

NOTES

Acknowledgments

1. Joseph Hatton, *Club-Land, London and Provincial* (London, 1890), 22.

Introduction

1. John Galsworthy, *The Island Pharisees* (London: William Heinemann, 1921), 59–60.
2. Galsworthy, *The Island Pharisees*, 65.
3. “Club Manners,” *The World: A Journal for Men and Women*, July 2, 1884, 9.
4. For example, Percy V. Bradshaw, “*Brother Savages and Guests*”: *A History of the Savage Club 1857–1957* (London: W. H. Allen, 1958); Percy Colson, *White’s 1693–1950* (London: William Heinemann, 1951); Frank Richard Cowell, *The Athenaeum: Club and Social Life in London, 1824–1974* (London: Heinemann, 1975); Bernard Denvir, *A Most Agreeable Society: A Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of the Arts Club* (London: Arts Club, 1989); Henry Swanston Eeles and Albert Edward John Spencer, *Brooks’s, 1764–1964* (London: Published for Brooks’s by *Country Life*, 1964); C. W. Firebrace, *The Army and Navy Club 1837–1933* (London: John Murray, 1934); Denys Forrest, *Foursome in St. James’s: The Story of the East India, Devonshire, Sports and Public Schools Club* (London: East India, Devonshire, Sports and Public Schools Club, 1982); Denys Forrest, *The Oriental: Life Story of a West End Club*, 2nd ed. (London: Batsford, 1979); Roger Fulford, *Boodle’s 1762–1962: A Short History* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962); Richard Alexander Hough, *The Ace of Clubs: A History of the Garrick* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1986); Louis Charles Jackson, *History of the United Service Club* (London: Committee of the United Service Club, 1937); Matthew Norgate and Alan Wykes, *Not So Savage* (London: Jupiter Books, 1976); John Bernard Thole, *The Oxford and Cambridge Clubs in London* (London: United Oxford and Cambridge University Club and Alfred Waller, 1992); George Woodbridge, *The Reform Club, 1836–1978: A History from the Club’s Records* (London: Published by Members of the Reform Club in association with Clearwater, 1978); G. M. Wrong, *The Savile Club, 1868 to 1923* (London: Privately printed for the Committee of the Club by Neill Edinburgh, 1923); Philip Ziegler and Desmond Seward, eds. *Brooks’s: A Social History* (London: Constable, 1991).
5. Barbara Rogers, *Men Only: An Investigation into Men’s Organisations* (London: Pandora, 1988), 167.
6. Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868–1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980); Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London’s West End* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 74–101.

7. Helen Berry, "Rethinking Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Moll King's Coffeehouse and the Significance of 'Flash Talk,'" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (2001): 65–81; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
8. Marie Mulvey Roberts, "'Pleasure Engendered' by Gender: Homosociality and the Club," in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1996).
9. Clark's work states that clubs and associations helped stimulate new ideas of progress in early modern Britain while maintaining elements of premodern, preindustrialised sociability. Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
10. Norman Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830–1850* (London: Longmans, 1953); William C. Lubenow, *Liberal Intellectuals and Public Culture in Modern Britain, 1815–1914: Making Words Flesh* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010). The political dimension of clubs is important enough to deserve a study of its own. Luckily, Seth Alexander Thévoz, a PhD candidate at Warwick University, is currently exploring the political dimension of clubland more thoroughly.
11. Peter Bailey, *Popular Culture and Performance in the Victorian City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Barry Faulk reinforced this periodization. Barry J. Faulk, *Music Hall & Modernity: The Late-Victorian Discovery of Popular Culture* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004).
12. Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
13. Jones also pulls his study back to look at the origins of the situation more explicitly in the 1860s and 1870s. Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).
14. Bill Luckin, "Revisiting the Idea of Degeneration in Urban Britain, 1830–1900," *Urban History* 33, no. 2 (2006): 235–236.
15. Stephen Inwood, *City of Cities: The Birth of Modern London* (London: Pan Books, 2006), xv.
16. Perhaps the most intriguing predecessor to the gentlemen's clubs were the eighteenth-century Hellfire Clubs. With their thwarting of cultural norms and explicit desire to be shocking and controversial, they were a far cry from the sober late-Victorian club. Geoffrey Ashe, *The Hell-Fire Clubs: A History of Anti-Morality* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2000); Evelyn Lord, *The Hell-Fire Clubs: Sex, Satanism and Secret Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
17. *Court Circular*, October 30, 1880, 326.
18. Recently, clubs have enjoyed a renaissance of sorts in London. Members particularly seem to enjoy their clubs as lunchtime meeting spots, though the exact reasons for the renewed interest are unclear. Many clubs now include female members, and most have done away with nineteenth-century election practices.
19. Popular guides demonstrate significant overlap between a core group of clubs, however listings changed depending on the publisher and the year of publication: Alfred Benzon, *Benzon's Black Book. A History of the Clubs of London, Baltimore and Washington* ([S. I.], 1891); Collins' *Guide to London and Neighbourhood* (London: William Collins & Sons, c. 1900); Eric Hammond and B. Prescott Row, *London Town, the "Daily Mail" Jubilee Guide to the Metropolis* (London, c. 1897); *A Guide to the Sights of London: A Glance at Every Object of Interest* (London, 1862); William Layton, *Guide Populaire de Londres et ses Environs ainsi que de L'exposition Franco-Britannique* (London: 1908); *London by Night, or the Bachelor's Facetious Guide to All the Ins and Outs and Nightly Doings of the Metropolis, Including Celebrated Chop-Houses, Wine and Supper Rooms, &C. To Which Is Added London by Day, with Its Exhibitions, Clubs, Billiard Rooms, Gymnasias, Boxiana, &C., and a Budget of Valuable Sporting and General Information* (London, c. 1857); Charles Eyre Pascoe, *A London Directory for American Travellers for 1874. Containing the*

- Fullest Information, in the Best Form for Reference, Respecting All That Is Valuable in Connection with a Visit to London* (Boston, 1874).
20. This mutual exchange and recognition of status did not, however, always mean members were happy about their temporary accommodations. This is discussed in further detail in Chapter Five.
 21. Hough, *The Ace of Clubs*, 13, 21, 27.
 22. Percy Fitzgerald, *The Garrick Club* (London: Elliot Stock, 1904), x.
 23. Hough, *The Ace of Clubs*, 27.
 24. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 7th ed. (London: Verso, 1996).
 25. These dues were, on average, 10 guineas per year.
 26. John Scott, *The Upper Classes: Property and Privilege in Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1983), 90.
 27. The Marlborough Club tacitly allowed this, although they insisted the boy would come up for election only when he reached his eighteenth birthday. *Rules and Regulations of the Marlborough Club* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1887), 10.
 28. Rosemary Crompton and Michael Mann, "Introduction," in *Gender and Stratification*, ed. Rosemary Crompton and Michael Mann (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), 6.
 29. Sven Beckert, "Comments on 'Studying the Middle Class in the Modern City,'" *Journal of Urban History* 31, no. 3 (2005): 395–396.
 30. In the course of this work the terms elite, upper class, and gentlemen are used interchangeably as they were at the time to denote the social group at the top of the social hierarchy.
 31. Carol E. Harrison, "The Bourgeois after the Bourgeois Revolution: Recent Approaches to the Middle Class in European Cities," *Journal of Urban History* 31, no. 3 (2005): 386.
 32. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
 33. David Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England, 1918–1951* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
 34. Even studies that focus more explicitly on political and educational boundaries and landed status make this point. Andrew Adonis, *Making Aristocracy Work: The Peerage and the Political System in Britain 1884–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Paul Adelman, "THE PEERS versus THE PEOPLE," *History Today* 35, no. 2 (1985): 24–30; J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660–1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986); Brian Simon and Ian Bradley, eds. *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975).
 35. Dror Wahrman makes a similar argument for the middle classes in his examination on shifting beliefs about the nature of the middle classes in the first half of the nineteenth century. Unlike Wahrman's work, however, this project examines both the rhetorical language of the upper classes and a concrete institution of that group. Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
 36. Defining the gentleman and his characteristics has proven an elusive subject to scholars who have tried to nail down the ideal for that very reason. For example, Michael Brander, *The Victorian Gentleman* (London: Gordon Cremonesi, 1975); David Castronovo, *The English Gentleman: Images and Ideals in Literature and Society* (New York: Ungar, 1987); Hugh David, *Heroes, Mavericks and Bounders: The English Gentleman from Lord Curzon to James Bond* (London: M. Joseph, 1991); Philip Mason, *The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal* (London: A. Deutsch, 1982); Karen Volland Waters, *The Perfect Gentleman: Masculine Control in Victorian Men's Fiction, 1870–1901* (New York: P. Lang, 1997).
 37. Robin Gilmour, *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 8. The claims of gentlemanly status by even the lowest status people were

- often the subject of comedy—particularly lower-middle-class pretensions to grandeur. George Grossmith, *Diary of a Nobody* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions), 1998.
38. London was universally recognized as the city where the ideal of the “gentleman” found its truest and most pure incarnation. Brent Shannon, *The Cut of His Coat: Men, Dress, and Consumer Culture in Britain, 1860–1914* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2006), 3.
 39. Carol Harrison makes the strong argument that historians of class should not have to choose between linguistic and ethnographic approaches. Harrison, “The Bourgeois after the Bourgeois Revolution,” 383.
 40. J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches: Style and Status in Victorian and Edwardian Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1999), 256.
 41. Some clubs were more successful at remaining exclusive than others. The Marlborough, Brooks’s, Boodle’s, White’s, and the Travellers’ largely set the standard as the most inaccessible institutions.
 42. Patrick Joyce, *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2.
 43. John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, UK: Pearson, 2005), 31.
 44. The fact of gender being a cultural construct is now almost universally accepted. As Thomas Laqueur has famously noted, even our understanding of biological sex has been deeply implicated in understandings of gender. According to Laquer’s model, any discussion of gender before the nineteenth century is thus shaped by this different vision of the sexes; it was only in the modern era that men and women were understood as opposites to one another. In the early modern era, the opposite of man was not woman, but rather boy. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 11, 5. This model has been somewhat problematized by other scholars. Elizabeth Foyster sees manhood as something to be acquired and asserted in various ways in the early modern period. Boys could have both male and female gender attributes that a parent had to ensure were correctly channelled. Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1999), 31.
 45. Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 42.
 46. Peter Filene, “The Secrets of Men’s History,” in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men’s Studies*, ed. Harry Brod (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 104, 112.
 47. “‘Hegemonic masculinity’ is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable.” R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 76.
 48. Thus masculinity is both a psychic and a social identity: “psychic, because it is integral to the subjectivity of every male as this takes shape in infancy and childhood; social, because masculinity is inseparable from peer recognition, which in turn depends on performance in the social sphere.” Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, 35, 51.
 49. Nineteenth-century British masculinity in particular has been admirably covered. See, for example, Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Mike J. Huggins, “More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England,” *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 3 (2000): 585–600; James Walvin and J. A. Mangan, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); John Tosh, “Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 455–472; John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University

- Press, 1999); John Tosh, "New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home," *History Today* 46, no. 12 (1996): 9–15.
50. Some works that touch on upper-class masculinity include James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005); Nancy W. Ellenberger, "Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-De-Siècle England," *Journal of British Studies* 39 (2000): 487–517. Martin Francis, "The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity," *Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002): 637–652. Narratives of public school life were some of the earliest explorations of elite men's lives. See, for example: John Raymond de Symonds Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Victorian Public School* (London: Millington Books, 1977); David Newsome, *Godliness & Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (London: John Murray, 1961); Simon and Bradley, eds., *The Victorian Public School*.
 51. Brian Harrison's point is that antisuffragists were clubmen, and, therefore, concludes that clubs were antisuffrage. But even in his work he uses clubs in a broad sense to encompass any clubbable space including the elite universities, public schools and even the House of Commons. Brian Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), 99ff. Clubs were representational of the spectrum of men's opinions about women and suffrage—some were passionately against, the idea many were ambivalent, and others active supporters.
 52. This parallels the integration of women and colonial subjects to the elite English universities; they became members of, though never *part of*, the institutions. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*.
 53. Cowell, *The Athenaeum*, 41.
 54. Lejeune, *White's*, 2.
 55. George Grossmith, *A Society Clown: Reminiscences by George Grossmith* (Bristol, 1888); George Grossmith Jr., G. G. (London: Hutchinson, 1933); Weedon Grossmith, *From Studio to Stage: Reminiscences of Weedon Grossmith, Written by Himself*, 3rd ed. (London: John Lane, 1913); Stanley Naylor, *Gaiety and George Grossmith: Random Reflections on the Serious Business of Enjoyment* (London: Stanley Paul, 1913).
 56. Percy Fitzgerald, *The Bachelor's Dilemma and Other Stories, Gay and Grave* (London, 1892); Fitzgerald, *The Garrick Club*; Almeric William Fitzroy, *Memoirs*, 3rd ed. (London: Hutchinson, 1925); Almeric Fitzroy, *History of the Travellers' Club* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1927).
 57. Charles Gavard, *Un Diplomate a Londres: Lettres Et Notes 1871–1877* (Paris, 1895); *Society in London by a Foreign Resident* (Leipzig, 1885); Paul Vasili, *The World of London, La Société De Londres* (London, 1885).
 58. Helen Josephy and Mary Margaret McBride, *London Is a Man's Town (But Women Go There)* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1930); Layton, *Guide Populaire de Londres*; Pascoe, *A London Directory for American Travellers*.
 59. For example, E. F. Benson, *Dodo; a Detail of the Day*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1894); William Dawbarn, *The Eccentric Club and Its Protégé, Morton Melville, with Some of the Notions of Its Members*, 2nd ed. (London & Liverpool, 1881); John Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga* (London: Penguin Books, 2001); George Gissing, *In the Year of Jubilee* (London, 1895); Albert D. Vandam, *The Mystery of the Patrician Club* (Philadelphia, 1894); I. Zangwill, *The Celibates' Club: Being the United Stories of the Bachelors' Club and the Old Maids' Club* (London, 1898), and so on. Galsworthy is still well known in some circles, but seems to be a little out of fashion in recent decades.
 60. Boodle's Club credits the story in so far as it chose a pimpernel motif on the carpet in the bar of the Club in tribute to the novel. Graves, *Leather Armchairs*, 8.

61. Mike Huggins, "Lord Bentinck, the Jockey Club and Racing Morality in Mid-Nineteenth Century England: The 'Running Rein' Derby Revisited," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, no. 3 (1996): 432–444.
62. Gentlemen's clubs were not the only form of association, even among the monied or privileged classes. Ruth Barton, "'Huxley, Lubbock, and Half a Dozen Others': Professionals and Gentlemen in the Formation of the X Club, 1851–1864," *Isis* 89, no. 3 (1998): 410–444; Jason M. Kelly, *The Society of Dilettanti: Archaeology and Identity in the British Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Christopher Kent, "The Whittington Club: A Bohemian Experiment in Middle Class Social Reform," *Victorian Studies* 18, no. 1 (1974): 31–55; Andrea Geddes Poole, *Stewards of the Nation's Art: Contested Cultural Authority 1890–1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
63. I do not want to suggest that no one ever discussed business in the clubs. For example, politics was the primary business of many men and was never off limits. But lingering prejudices against "trade" meant that to speak of speculations and business dealings, or to dare use club stationery for business letters was strictly forbidden.
64. Simon Gunn's investigation of the Manchester club scene clearly illustrates the differences. Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City 1840–1914* (Manchester and London: Manchester University Press, 2000). For middle- and working-class clublife, see Stan Shipley, *Club Life and Socialism in Mid-Victorian London* (Oxford: History Workshop, 1972); Antony Taylor, "A Melancholy Odyssey among London Public Houses: Radical Club Life and the Unrespectable in Mid-Nineteenth-Century London," *Historical Research* 78, no. 199 (2005): 74–95; George Tremlett, *Clubmen: History of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1987). Paul Menair's dissertation detailing mid-century Bohemia includes quite valuable information on the Savage Club, but this was before it could claim much pretence at being a gentlemen's club. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the Club gained its "respectability." Paul David Menair, "Savages in the City: British Bohemia and the Ideal of Artistic Squalor, 1840–1870" (PhD diss, Emory University, 2003).
65. Joseph Hutton, *Club-Land: London and Provincial* (London, 1890), 57.
66. "Proposed New Club," *The Builder*, August 31, 1878, 909.
67. For the empire, the club served an entirely different purpose that has been powerfully illustrated in Mrinalini Sinha, "Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India," *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 4 (2001): 489–521.
68. Roberts, "'Pleasure Engendered' by Gender," 48.
69. Blackballing was the term used to denote when a candidate was rejected from a club. It was a shorthand used by all of the gentlemen's clubs, and had wider popular usage as well.
70. Escott, *Club Makers and Club Members*, 105. And that definition of an Englishman was not always flattering. "The gentleman's club of the early nineteenth century did indeed seem the ultimate expression of what had emerged as the crucial characteristic of the English, their curious ability to imprison themselves within a cumbersome framework of rules and constraints while retaining their apparent freedom of action. A regime of ballots, black balls, committees, annual general meetings, chairmen and agendas, rule books and so on, imparted an air of almost Teutonic gravity to what was intended, after all, to be a centre of recreation." Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 284.
71. Lejeune, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London*, 10.
72. *Rules and Regulations of the Caledonian Club, St. James' Square* (London: 1911), 7.
73. Thus Scottish clubs and Celtic members of other clubs could use the term Britishness not as a short form of Englishness (as many used it) but rather to symbolize ideas of stability, elite status, and power. Jennifer Ridgen, "Elite Power and British Political Identity: The

- Irish Elite in the ‘British World,’” Helen Brocklehurst and Robert Phillips, eds., *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 197–212.
74. Arthur Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen* (London: Hutchinson, 1907), 133.
75. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England*; David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999); Mark Girouard, “Victorian Values and the Upper Classes,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 78 (1992): 49–60; Peter J. Jupp, “The Landed Elite and Political Authority in Britain, ca. 1760–1850,” *The Journal of British Studies* 29, no. 1 (1990): 53–79; Angela Lambert, *Unquiet Souls: The Indian Summer of the British Aristocracy, 1880–1918* (London: Macmillan, 1984); Roy Perrott, *The Aristocrats: A Portrait of Britain’s Nobility and Their Way of Life Today* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968); W. D. Rubinstein, *Men of Property: The Very Wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Croom Helur, 1981); Scott, *The Upper Classes*; Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England, 1540–1880* (Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press, 1986); F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963).
76. As Babcox First suggests, celebrities are best understood in this period not simply as people, but as pseudo-events. The representations of their actions were at least as important as their actual being. While she sees the creation of these public characters as the result of publicity and profit, in late-Victorian Britain these urban aristocratic celebrities were self-perpetuated to reaffirm their status and power. Sara Babcox First, “The Mechanics of Renown; Or, the Rise of a Celebrity Culture in Early America” (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2009), 15.

One Coffeehouses to Clubhouses: Understanding the Gentlemen’s Clubs of London

1. John Buchan, *The Half-Hearted* (London: Nelson, 1953), 85–86.
2. This is a fictional Rota Club, in no way related to the short-lived seventeenth-century debating society of the same name.
3. Buchan, *The Half-Hearted*, 87–92.
4. Charles Marsh, *The Clubs of London; With Anecdotes of Their Members, Sketches of Character, and Conversations* (London, 1828), 4.
5. See, for example, Algernon Bourke, *The History of White’s*, 2 vols. (London, 1892); Louis Fagan, *The Reform Club: Its Founders and Architect* (London, 1887); Percy Fitzgerald, *The Garrick Club* (London: Elliot Stock, 1904); Almeric Fitzroy, *History of the Travellers’ Club* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1927); Aaron Watson, *The Savage Club: A Medley of History, Anecdote and Reminiscence* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907); Francis Gledstances Waugh, *The Athenaeum Club and Its Associations* (London, 1894); J. F. Wegg-Prosser, *Memorials of Brooks’s from the Foundation of the Club 1764 to the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Ballantyne, 1906); Stephen Wheeler, ed., *Annals of the Oriental Club 1824–1858* (London: printed for private circulation, 1925).
6. W. Fraser Rae, “The Jubilee of the Reform Club,” *The Nineteenth Century*, May 1886, 685.
7. Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 19.
8. The patronage at the more “eclectic” coffeehouses such as Moll’s could vary between the most fashionable aristocrats to Covent Garden market workers to pimps and prostitutes. Its diversity of clientele actually made it one of the more popular sites for men on the town in the eighteenth century. Helen Berry, “Rethinking Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England: Moll King’s Coffeehouse and the Significance of ‘Flash Talk,’” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 11 (2001): 72.

9. Berry, "Rethinking Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England," 74.
10. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).
11. While the coffee and chocolate houses were imagined as male spaces, they certainly did not exclude female patrons. However, for an upper-class woman to frequent such a place would have caused suspicion; a woman who entered a coffeehouse would certainly have her morality questioned. Brian Cowan, "What Was Masculine About the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England," *History Workshop Journal* 51, no. 3 (2001): 127–157.
12. *The Character of a Coffee House* (1665), quoted in Lawrence E. Klein "Coffeehouse Civility, 1660–1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (1996): 35.
13. Brian Cowan, "Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 3 (2004): 351.
14. Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 102–109.
15. Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*, 94, 102.
16. John Timbs, *Club Life of London with Anecdotes of the Clubs, Coffee-Houses and Taverns of the Metropolis During the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries* (London, 1866), 1: 4–5.
17. In fact the Rota Club also had a membership fee beyond the penny laid on the bar; members paid 18d. Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 96.
18. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 59.
19. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 26–27.
20. Anthony Lejeune, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1979), 11. There is some discrepancy in the date of White's formation. Percy Colson, *White's 1693–1950* (London: William Heinemann, 1951). For example Griffiths states that the club opened in 1698. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen* (London: Hutchinson, 1907), 29. There is, in fact, disagreement about the foundation year of most clubs; this stems from the fact that many chroniclers date the club's inception from the time the organizational structure of the club was formed. Others opt for when club members actually moved into a building. I tend to favor the most commonly cited date; when most members and the general public believed the clubs were created.
21. Venetia Murray, *High Society: A Social History of the Regency Period, 1788–1830* (London: Viking, 1998), 161–162.
22. Anthony Lejeune, *White's: The First Three Hundred Years* (London: Black, 1993), 30.
23. Bourke, *The History of White's* v. 1, xii.
24. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 29–31.
25. All of the earliest records of White's were destroyed by a fire that razed the clubhouse in 1733. Lejeune, *White's: The First Three Hundred Years*, 21–26.
26. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 35–36.
27. Lejeune, *White's: The First Three Hundred Years*, 44.
28. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 70–71, 89.
29. Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, 61 ff.
30. Malcolm R. Smuts, *Culture and Power in England, 1585–1685* (New York: Macmillan, 1999), 139–142.
31. Almack's was a mixed-sex social club that was far more exclusive than its male-only counterparts. It was ruled by the most aristocratic *grande dames* of the London social world. They employed the black ball to keep out unwanted members, and the appeal of the institution was almost entirely based on social cachet. Venetia Murray characterises the club as "a temple of insipid propriety," and it fizzled out by mid-century. Murray, *High Society*, 52, 49.
32. Lejeune, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London*, 11.

33. For example, Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660–1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); Alex Shepard, “From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500–1700,” *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 287–295; Robert B. Shoemaker, “The Taming of the Duel: Masculinity, Honour and Ritual Violence in London, 1660–1800,” *Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002): 525–545.
34. Geoffrey Ashe, *The Hell-Fire Clubs: A History of Anti-Morality* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2005); Evelyn Lord, *The Hellfire Clubs: Sex, Satanism and Secret Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
35. Rouge et Noir, *The Gambling World: Anecdotic Memories and Stories of Personal Experience in the Temples of Hazard and Speculation, With Some Mysteries and Iniquities of Stock Exchange Affairs*, (London, 1898), 83.
36. Henry French and Mark Rothery, “‘Upon Your Entry into the World’: Masculine Values and the Threshold of Adulthood among Landed Elites in England 1680–1800,” *Social History* 33, no. 2 (2008): 403.
37. Henry Swanston Eeles and Albert Edward John Spencer, *Brooks’s, 1764–1964* (London: Published for Brooks’s by *Country Life*, 1964), 35.
38. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 49–50.
39. Charles Graves, *Leather Armchairs: The Chivas Regal Book of London Clubs. With a Foreword by P.G. Wodehouse*. London: Cassell, 1963, 10–11.
40. Mark Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter: Popular Gambling and English Society, c. 1823–1961*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 16.
41. Boodle’s unfortunately does not have a complete record of its betting books, and the original White’s betting book was destroyed in the fire.
42. Eeles and Spencer, *Brooks’s, 1764–1964*, 37.
43. Even by the end of the eighteenth century, there was increasing pressure for men to show more restraint in their behavior. Robert Shoemaker, “Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London,” *Social History* 26, no. 2 (2001): 190–208, 207.
44. Pierre Bourdieu defined cultural capital as a noneconomic system of exchange of cultural knowledge, power, and status. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 114.
45. White’s did still have gambling, but there was nothing remarkable about it.
46. Henry Luttrell, *Advice to Julia: A Letter in Rhyme* (London, 1820), 144–145.
47. Because of this, many women actually avoided walking along St. James’s Street.
48. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 60–62. Unfortunately for Brummell, even he could not live up to his high expectations for fashion and extravagance. In addition to the costs of his enormous wardrobe, gambling losses forced him to flee to France.
49. Jürgen Habermas summarized this as a transition from the idealized public sphere of critical public discourse in the coffeehouse to the passive apolitical culture of consumption by the nineteenth century. This idealizes in many ways the democracy of the coffeehouse and ignores the culture of debate and discussion embodied in the gentlemen’s clubs, their nineteenth-century descendants. Craig Calhoun, “Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere,” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, London: MIT Press, 1992), 22–23, 34.
50. Mrinalini Sinha, “Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere,” *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 4 (2001): 499–500.
51. Antonia Taddei, “London Clubs in the Late Nineteenth Century” (presentation, Discussion Papers in Economic and Social History, University of Oxford, April 1999), 4. The United Service was the first major military club in London, its founders first meeting three weeks before the battle of Waterloo. Early trouble erupted from suspicions of a military junta and some felt the Club was unconstitutional, harking back to the earliest fears about clubs. Lord Liverpool, then prime minister, tried to halt the creation of the Club and refused to give a crown lease in Charles Street where the United Service hoped to build.

- However, such worries were out of touch with the times; this was a social institution with no political or military overtones. With no legal claim barring the creation of the Club, the United Service moved into their new clubhouse on Charles Street in 1819. Graves, *Leather Armchairs*, 28.
52. Lejeune, *White's*, 110.
 53. Lejeune, *White's*, 99.
 54. As cited in Timbs, *Club Life of London*, 238.
 55. John Tosh notes a shift from the ideal of the gentleman to a more general manly ideal in mid-century. He explains that the socially inclusive nature of the term necessitated that a man earn the moral quality that marked a true man; manliness was largely divorced from birth, breeding, and education. However true this might have been for the middle classes, it did not hold true for aristocratic men who were equally concerned with manly and gentlemanly status. John Tosh, "Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 458.
 56. Philip Mason, *The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal* (London: A. Deutsch, 1982), 11, 148.
 57. Graves, *Leather Armchairs*, 62–63.
 58. While tradition and the Club's first biographer credited Edward Ellice with founding the Club, in fact three Radical MPs (Sir William Molesworth, Joseph Parkes, and Joseph Hume) actually transformed the floundering Radical Westminster Club into the Reform, home to the full spectrum of Liberal opinion. Fagan, *The Reform Club*, 33; George Woodbridge, *The Reform Club, 1836–1978: A History from the Club's Records* (London: Published by Members of the Reform Club in association with Clearwater, New York, 1978), 1–9. The club's most recent biographers also point to Lord Durham as perhaps an even more important founding member. Russell Burlingham and Roger Billis, *Reformed Characters: The Reform Club in History and Literature* (London: Reform Club, 2005), 12–20.
 59. The Reform and the Carlton coexisted as neighbours for many years, facing each other on Pall Mall separated by the small Carlton Gardens passageway. It was only after the Carlton clubhouse was bombed during the Second World War that the two rivals were finally separated.
 60. An example of the more strictly political clubs include: City Carlton Club (1868), St. Stephen's Club (1870), City Liberal Club (1874), Beaconsfield Club (1880), Eighty Club (1880), The National Liberal Club (1882), Palace Club (1882), Constitutional Club (1883), Primrose Club (1886), National Union Club (1887).
 61. Woodbridge, *The Reform Club*, 24.
 62. Woodbridge, *The Reform Club*, 26.
 63. Fagan, *The Reform Club*. This is echoed in the Club's most recent biography. Burlingham and Billis, *Reformed Characters*.
 64. The crisis over Home Rule spurred the end of the Reform Club's active participation in party politics. There was a brief renaissance of the Political Committee of the Reform Club as late as 1911, but it was only as an a means to organise and host a series of political banquets. Michael Sharpe, *The Political Committee of the Reform Club* (London: Reform Club, 1996), 5.
 65. Graves, *Leather Armchairs*, 56.
 66. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 117–118.
 67. Ruth Brandon, *The People's Chef: The Culinary Revolutions of Alexis Soyer* (New York: Walker, 2004), 122–126.
 68. Fagan, *The Reform Club*, 69.
 69. Lejeune, *White's*, 132.
 70. Lejeune, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London*, 15.
 71. Arthur Irwin Dasent, *Piccadilly in Three Centuries: With Some Account of Berkeley Square and the Haymarket* (London: Macmillan, 1920), 84.
 72. "The Second Home," *Club News* May 18, 1912, 3.

73. One of the purposes of George Ivey's book was to relate details of clubs around the world, and outline the privileges of reciprocity they possessed. Ivey identifies fifty clubs in England, twenty-eight in Ireland, fifteen in Scotland, four in Wales, and four in the Channel Islands. There were twenty-three clubs in Australia and New South Wales, seven in British North America, eight in Africa, nineteen in India, and nine scattered throughout other areas of the British Isles. While most continental countries had a few clubs, France had the highest number with twelve. The United States boasted thirty-two clubs of which ten were based in New York. These numbers would have only increased as the century progressed. George James Ivey, *Clubs of the World: A General Guide or Index to the London & County Clubs and Those of Scotland, Wales, Ireland, United Kingdom Yacht Clubs, and British Colonial Possessions, Together with the English & Other Clubs in Europe, the United States, & Elsewhere Throughout the World*, 2nd ed. (London, 1880), iii.
74. "Table Talk," *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1884, 519.
75. Maxwell Turner and A. S. Wilson, *The Law Relating to Clubs*, 5th ed. (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1935), 1.
76. Membership numbers can only be approximated as many clubs increased their numbers incrementally between 1880 and 1914.
77. The explanation for the large size of the service clubs is somewhat unclear. The larger size certainly had nothing to do with a more liberal admission policy—not only did these clubs have elections, but to be eligible members had to be highly ranked officers. The large size could be linked to a greater need for army men to have a home away from home, or because of foreign deployments members scattered their attendance, but this is conjecture.
78. Fitzroy Gardner, *More Reminiscences of an Old Bohemian* (London: Hutchinson, 1926), 256.
79. *The Leading Men of London: A Collection of Biographical Sketches, with Portraits* [S. I.], 1895), 20. Arthur À Beckett trumped Rothschild, belonging at one time to thirteen clubs, though he did not divide his time equally between them. Arthur À Beckett, *London at the End of the Century: A Book of Gossip* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1900), 90.
80. *Vanity Fair*, December 30, 1882, 372.
81. The first recorded usage of the term was apparently in the negative, by Samuel Johnson in approximately 1764 who described someone as "unclubbable." The term "clubbable" was again recorded by Johnson in 1783 in describing Boswell. *Oxford English Dictionary*.
82. As Mrinalini Sinha has pointed out, being clubbable was also seen as an intrinsically white quality that the colonizers could impart on the colonised. Clubs in the empire helped solidify cultural boundaries and pressured the elites to conform. Sinha, "Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere," 504–505, 513.
83. "Ladies' Clubs," *The Queen*, February 21, 1880, 159. Another female author, comparing the failure of women's clubs in Britain to their success in America, believed it was not women, but British women who were intrinsically unclubbable. This particular explanation seems rather far-fetched, however, since the English did, after all, invent clubs. Annie Swan Smith, "Annie Swan Smith on Women's Clubs," in *America at Home: Impressions of a Visit in War Time* (London: Oliphants, c. 1919), 185–188. Even Margaret Booth, a onetime chairman and current trustee of the Reform Club records that today women are often not believed to be clubbable. Cited in Burlingham, *Reformed Characters*, 227.
84. "Amazons at Bay," *The World*, December 26, 1894, 24–25.
85. In fact, some of the clubs that still survive do not allow women as equal members.
86. Marsh, *The Clubs of London*, 14.
87. *The Leading Men of London*.
88. Entrance and membership fees varied over the course of the study, but in 1890 they ranged from 15–40 guineas for entrance fees to 8–11 guineas for annual subscriptions. Alfred Benzon, *Benzon's Black Book: A History of the Clubs of London, Baltimore and Washington* [S. I.], 1891.
89. Possessing no formal home, and with much smaller membership numbers, their internal workings are difficult to track. Lubenow's recent work on the world of Liberal politics

- does an admirable job tracing the details of some of these dining societies. W. C. Lubenow, *Liberal Intellectuals and Public Culture in Modern Britain, 1815–1914: Making Words Flesh* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010).
90. Lucas might have been accused of being “unclubbable” for such a statement. E. V. Lucas, *A Wanderer in London*, 10th ed. (London: Methuen, 1911), 48.
 91. P. J. Atkins, “How the West End Was Won: The Struggle to Remove Street Barriers in Victorian London,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 19, no. 3 (1993): 265.
 92. Smoking was a flashpoint issue in mid-Victorian Britain. Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British popular culture, 1800–2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
 93. Bourke, *The History of White's*, 233–242.
 94. Edward Hamilton diary, v. 21, February 13, 1889, ADD.MSS.48650, British Library, London, 54.

Two The Black Ball: Looking for the “Right Sort” of Member

1. Quoted in James Payn, *Some Private Views* (London, 1881), 30–31.
2. Marjorie Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class in England, 1774–1858* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1994), 29. Another common way to refer to this same group of people was the “upper 10,000.”
3. J. V. Beckett identifies the nobility as a governing class defined through the Houses of Parliament and local government officeholders. J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660–1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 23, 21. While this definition might be true in the broadest of senses, there were many undoubted members of the highest circles who had no direct connection to politics by the end of the nineteenth century.
4. John Scott points to a gradual unification of this mixture the landed, manufacturing and commercial classes, though this process was not yet complete until the interwar years. John Scott, *The Upper Classes: Property and Privilege in Britain* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 78. W. D. Rubinstein points out a similar amalgamation, with the landed classes gradually absorbing the business classes over the nineteenth century. W. D. Rubinstein, *Men of Property: The Very Wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Croom Helur, 1981), 10 ff.
5. Scott, *The Upper Classes*, 3.
6. *Society in London by a Foreign Resident*, (Leipzig, 1885), 97.
7. David Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* London: Penguin Books, 1994), 9–36, Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England, 1540–1880* (Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press, 1986)
8. J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches: Style and Status in Victorian and Edwardian Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1999), 3. Walter Bagehot famously complained in the 1870s about the dilution of the aristocracy and the subsequent loss of social prestige. This complaint was as old as the aristocracy itself. Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (London, 1872), 94.
9. The more distant the association to trade, however, the better. Nancy W. Ellenberger, “The Transformation of London ‘Society’ at the End of Victoria’s Reign: Evidence from the Court Presentation Records,” *Albion* 22 (Winter 1990): 647. The Arts Club actually considered the issue directly in 1891 when the committee decided that a connection with trade would not disqualify a candidate—though the fact that the issue was raised does speak to some lingering prejudices. Committee Minute Book, June 2, 1891, Arts Club Archive, London.
10. Ellenberger, “The Transformation of London ‘Society’ at the End of Victoria’s Reign,” 633.
11. E. C. Cork, “Society Again!” *The Pall Mall Magazine*, May 1893, 34–40; Frances Evelyn Brooke, “What Is Society?” *The Pall Mall Magazine*, June 1893, 232–236; Mary Jeune,

- "More about Society," *The Pall Mall Magazine*, July 1893, 422–428; A Woman of the World, "Society: A Retrospect," *The Pall Mall Magazine*, August 1893, 577–583.
12. Morgan, *Manners, Morals and Class in England*, 27.
 13. David Cannadine sees the aristocracy as losing control over the limits of aristocratic society in the 1880s, forced to bow down to the plutocrats' demands and lavish lifestyles before crumbling during the interwar years. Through intermarriage, court presentations, monarchical favor, and the dilution of the peerage, he traces how the old guard eventually lost its ultimate control. David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 345–347. While this may be true, in many ways he overstates the case, as the cultural capital of the old order had significant power and the old the social system remained largely intact through the early twentieth century.
 14. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Translated by Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
 15. Bill Osgerby points out a similar process in America. Bill Osgerby, *Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-style in Modern America* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 12.
 16. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 1–7.
 17. Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 77.
 18. Historians often point to the power of middle-class values and mores, sometimes including the elites within that group, and sometimes excluding them. We need to pay more critical attention to when the middle and upper classes acted in harmony, and when they did not.
 19. Jeune, "More About Society," 425. There were always critiques of the aristocracy, however. Typically they focused on the idleness, luxury, and profligacy of the more indiscreet members. See, for example, George Standring, *The People's History of the English Aristocracy* (London, 1891).
 20. Ex-Attaché, "London's Leading Club: Features of English Club Life and the Relative Status of the Clubs of the Metropolis," *New York Daily Tribune*, January 19, 1902, 10.
 21. While this holds true of the gentlemen's clubs as a whole, at any time the most elitist clubs of the moment could in many ways be more discriminating and selective than society at large. This could be due to their election process, but also due to the fact that a twenty-year waiting list would not often allow for the fastest rising men.
 22. Nathan "Natty" Rothschild, W. O. Foster, Geroge Moore, Tom Brassey, and Pandeli Ralli were admitted only after being blackballed once. Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches*, 258, 259.
 23. By naming the man "Bounderston," the cartoonist implicitly agrees with the woman's point of view.
 24. Hilary Evans and Mary Evans, *The Party That Lasted 100 Days: The Late Victorian Season: A Social Study* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1976), 50.
 25. Francis Gledstances Waugh, *The Athenaeum Club and its Associations* (London, 1894), 47.
 26. Arthur Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen* (London, 1907), 207. The OED even records the word "clubocracy" entering the English language. While the term takes its etymology from aristocracy, and the definition links it to the class belonging to clubs, it implies something more. "Clubocracy" was closer in meaning to the democracy that existed among clubmen. *Oxford English Dictionary*.
 27. After the death of Princess Mary in 1897 Edward Hamilton dined with the Prince of Wales at the Marlborough Club, the only place apart from Marlborough House he was able to go while in mourning. Edward Hamilton diary, v. 63, October 27, 1897, ADD.MSS.48672, British Library, London, 36.
 28. Helen Josephy and Mary Margaret McBride, *London Is a Man's Town (But Women Go There)* (New York, 1930), 310.
 29. Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches*, 7–32, Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

30. Arthur Irwin Dasent, *Piccadilly in Three Centuries: With Some Account of Berkeley Square and the Haymarket* (London, 1920), 84.
31. Percy White, *The West End*, 5th ed. (London, 1900), 7–8, 150.
32. Some examples of new clubs in the late nineteenth century that were more likely to accept the newly wealthy include the City Carlton (1868), the Savile (1868), the City Liberal (1874), St. George's (1875), the National Liberal (1882), the Press (1882), and the Caledonian (1891).
33. John Galsworthy, *The Man of Property*, in *The Forsyte Saga*, 3 vols. (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 33.
34. "Social Types No. XII—The Climbing Man," *Vanity Fair*, April 24, 1880, 239.
35. When one wealthy candidate was "selected" for membership in the Carlton Club, bypassing the twenty-year waiting list, one author published his displeasure. *Vanity Fair*, March 15, 1884, 146.
36. "The Clubs of Today," *Vanity Fair*, September 12, 1885, 146.
37. J. F. Wegg-Prosser, *Memorials of Brooks's from the Foundation of the Club 1764 to the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Ballantyne, 1906), xii.
38. Aaron Watson, *The Savage Club: A Medley of History, Anecdote and Reminiscence* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), 280–281. Other writers agreed the Savage had a unique position as a respectable club that still held onto its bohemian roots. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 140.
39. George W. E. Russell, *Collections and Recollections by One who has Kept a Diary* (New York and London, 1899), 229–230.
40. Arthur Ransome, *A Bohemian in London* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), 204.
41. "Current Topics in London," *New York Times*, May 20, 1877, 1.
42. Waiting lists tended to be cited as a source of pride among clubs, signifying the desirability and popularity of the institution. Many of the club histories celebrate their high points of demand. The Army and Navy Club had 3,000 candidates waiting in 1865, the Athenaeum boasted a typical waiting list of 1,600 or sixteen years in the 1890s, while White's could still claim a nine-year waiting list in the 1990s. C. W. Firebrace, *The Army and Navy Club 1837–1933* (London: John Murray, 1934), 72; Lejeune, *White's: The First Three Hundred Years* (London: Black, 1993), ix; Waugh, *The Athenaeum Club and Its Associations*, 32.
43. Robert Blake, "Victorian Brooks's," in *Brooks's: A Social History*, ed. Philip Ziegler and Desmond Seward (London: Constable, 1991), 19–20.
44. Walter Besant offered to help drum up support for a friend at his club, but cautioned that they seemed to blackball every man he proposed. Walter Besant to Robert Ross, January 12, 1893, Eccles ADD 81732, British Library, London.
45. William Blackwood to Brackurbury, February 8, 1899, Box 1 1831–1899, Garrick Archives, London.
46. In this case, the clout of Merivale's proposers likely helped his case. He had been proposed by William Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, and John Everett Millias. The man stirring up trouble was an unnamed Irish editor who once felt Merivale snubbed him at an amateur theater in Canterbury. Herman Charles Merivale, *Bar, Stage and Platform: Autobiographic Memories*, 2nd ed. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1902), 48–50.
47. It is important to note here that many men could have been blackballed for failing to meet the requisite social cachet; this would have been considered a "good" blackballing. However, I have found very little evidence of this, as commentators tended to focus on the more controversial or flawed election practices.
48. I can find no evidence that the balls were actually of different colours. Rather, it appears that negative votes turned the balls black metaphorically.
49. Francis W. Pixley, *Clubs and Their Management* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1914), 26.
50. "The Reform Club," *The World*, March 22, 1882, 9.
51. These etiquette scenarios were weekly contests wherein a social situation would be outlined, and readers would write in responses. They all centered around everyday activities and events.

52. "Hard Case—No. 413," *Vanity Fair*, November 29, 1884, 353–354.
53. The chairman was correct and Irving went on to become one of the best-known members of the Club. Charles Taylor to Henry Irving, April 21, 1873, Box 1 1831–1899, Garrick Club Archives, London.
54. Christopher Hibbert, *Edward VII: The Last Victorian King* (Houdsmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 174. According to Hibbert's biography the Prince resigned his membership in the Travellers'; however, I found no trace of this in the Club's archives.
55. Minute Book, February 27, 1895, Travellers' Club Archive, London, 387. While there was a proposal to alter the rules to allow the committee to elect two candidates for membership annually, it did not succeed. The Chairman had to write to the men to tell them that nothing could be done for their candidate, unnamed in the official record. Minute Book, March 13, 1895, Travellers' Club Archive, London, 391–392.
56. Ralph Nevill, *The World of Fashion 1837–1922* (London: Methuen, 1923), 29.
57. Algernon West, *One City and Many Men* (London: Smith, Elder & Son, 1908), 161–162. It should be noted that neither the Savile nor the Cosmopolitan were considered truly "top-rate" gentlemen's clubs.
58. "The Clubs of Today," *Vanity Fair*, September 12, 1885, 145.
59. E. Lynn Linton, *The New Woman In Haste and at Leisure* (New York, 1895), 42.
60. Charles Dickens, Jr., *Dickens's Dictionary of London 1888: An Unconventional Handbook* (Moretonhampstead, Devon: Old House Books, 1993), 242.
61. "The Clubs of Today," *Vanity Fair*, September 12, 1885, 145.
62. Almeric Fitzroy, *History of the Travellers' Club* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1927), 150.
63. Ex-Attaché, "London's Leading Club: Features of English Club Life and the Relative Status of the Club of the Metropolis," *New York Daily Tribune*, January 19, 1902, 10.
64. Fitzroy, *History of the Travellers' Club*, 81.
65. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 258.
66. "Some People Have Such a Pleasant Way of Putting Things," *Punch*, June 20, 1883, 302.
67. Oscar Wilde, *A Woman of No Importance*, in *The Collected Works of Oscar Wilde: The Plays, The Poems, The Stories and The Essays including De Profundis* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions, 1997), 417.
68. *Punch*, June 20, 1883, 302.
69. Arthur À Beckett, *London at the End of the Century: A Book of Gossip* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1900), 84.
70. "Clubs," *Vanity Fair*, March 11, 1882, 138.
71. While the Travellers' Club was savage in its exclusivity, one wonders if this could also be a case of sour grapes. With a number of men blackballed by the Travellers', it would not be surprising if unsuccessful candidates held a grudge. *Vanity Fair*, February 26, 1881, 121.
72. George W. E. Russell, *A Pocketful of Sixpences* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1911), 100.
73. In fact, Alfred Pease emphasizes that Brooks's was far more political than most observers credited, at least until 1890. However, in an explicitly political memoir this might be overstated. Alfred Pease, *Elections and Recollections* (London: John Murray, 1932), 251.
74. The Home Rule Crisis was the result of persistent and growing problems with Ireland. William Gladstone, Liberal prime minister, determined by 1885 that the only answer to the problems in Ireland was a comprehensive and sweeping reform granting them the autonomy they wanted. Introducing a Home Rule Bill, however, deeply fractured his party. Ninety-three members of his own party joined with the Conservatives as "Liberal Unionists" to defeat the bill and bring down the government. The issue was emotionally charged, and was one of the few political issues to have such a deep impact on people's everyday social gatherings. Paul Adelman, *Gladstone, Disraeli & Later Victorian Politics*, 3rd ed. (New York: Longman, 1997), 57–58, 60–61.
75. In the official history, the "rats" reference is muted to a "disparaging" remark. Blake, "Victorian Brooks's," 65. Edward Hamilton diary, v. 16, January 26, 1887, ADD.MSS4865, British Library, London, 90–91.

76. George Leveson-Gower, *Years of Content 1858–1886* (London: John Murray, 1940), 171.
77. Anthony Lejeune, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1979), 67.
78. Pease notes that the Irish blackballing escalated from Gladstone's 1881 Irish Land Bill to this point. He points to this crisis as the moment when Brooks's ceased to be a political club, hereafter electing "even Tories and Radicals." Pease, *Elections and Recollections*, 251.
79. The committee of the Reform was obviously interested in monitoring their election results, since they kept such detailed records. The overall percentage of candidates blackballed in the late nineteenth century was approximately 6 percent, not including those whose names were withdrawn. George Woodbridge, *The Reform Club, 1836–1978: A History from the Club's Records* (London: Published by Members of the Reform Club in association with Clearwater, 1978), 83–84.
80. John Scott, *The Upper Classes: Property and Privilege in Britain* (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), 99–103.
81. Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches*, 244–259.
82. *Rules and Regulations with An Alphabetical List of the Members of the Reform Club with Dates of Entrance* (London, 1890), 9.
83. *Vanity Fair*, May 13, 1882, 271–272.
84. "Blackballing of Mr. Chamberlain—Lord Hartington's Method of Election of Members Voted Down," *New York Times*, May 19, 1882, 1; "London Gossip of the Day: Notes on Politics, Society, Books, and the Stage," *New York Times*, June 3, 1882, 5.
85. "Politics in Pall Mall," *The World*, May 24, 1882, 19.
86. *Society in London by a Foreign Resident*, 51.
87. Woodbridge, *The Reform Club, 1836–1978*, 30–31, 33.
88. *Rules and Regulations and List of Members of the Thatched House Club* (London, 1889), 7.
89. "The Pleasures of the Black-Ball," *Vanity Fair*, March 31, 1888, 187.
90. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 266.
91. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 269.
92. Dawkins' hatred of the Horse Guards was so intense that many speculated that his opinions on the matter might have been an indication of incipient madness. Leveson-Gower, *Years of Content, 1858–1886*, 221.
93. R. H. Firth, *The Junior: A History of the Junior United Service Club from its Formation in 1827 to 1929* (London: Junior United Service Club, 1929), 115.
94. Firth, *The Junior*, 14, 72, 81.
95. G. W. Stephen Brodsky, *Gentlemen of the Blade* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 57–90; Edward M. Spiers, *The Army and Society, 1815–1914* (London: Longman, 1980), 164.
96. "The Reform Club," *The World*, March 22, 1882, 9.
97. Minute Book, March 10, 1893, Arts Club Archive, London.
98. The likening of a middle-class man to another race is the most extreme example I have yet found of the belief in the distinguishing marks between classes. "A Club Type: The Fish out of Water," *Smart Society*, April 5, 1893, 23.
99. "Club Blabs," *Smart Society*, December 14, 1892, 17; H. M., "A Club Type: The Boozer," *Smart Society*, January 25, 1893, 19–20.
100. "A Club Type: The Fish Out of Water," 22–23.

Three Gentlemen Behaving Badly

1. Lord Percy Douglas to Army & Navy Club Committee, April 1895, ADD.MSS.81732, British Library, London.
2. The Gresham Club actually had a rule that if after the election it was discovered a new member was an "unfit or improper person," or if they falsified any aspect of their history

- or identity, they could be expelled immediately. *Rules and Regulations of the Gresham Club, with a List of Members* (London, 1867), 6.
3. Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855–1940* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Jennifer A. Low, *Manhood and the Duel: Masculinity in Early Modern Drama and Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Patrick F. McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880–1935* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
 4. Angus McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries 1870–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 2–5.
 5. Karen Volland Waters, *The Perfect Gentleman: Masculine Control in Victorian Men's Fiction, 1870–1901* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 5.
 6. David Castronovo, *The English Gentleman: Images and Ideals in Literature and Society* (New York: Ungar, 1987), 7, 14, 19, 31, 45, 52.
 7. "Occasional Notes: Who Is a Gentleman?" *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 9, 1901, 2.
 8. Mrs. Humphry, *Manners for Men* (London, 1897).
 9. *Etiquette for Gentlemen, Warne's Bijou Books* (London, 1868), 5. The fact that an etiquette book would support this idea is perhaps understandable. And yet etiquette guides did consistently reinforce the view that some things were simply the preserve of the well-born, which others could only acquire with extensive work if at all.
 10. John Tosh, "Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 456.
 11. Penny Corfield, "The Democratic History of the English Gentleman," *History Today* 42 (December, 1992): 45.
 12. "Social Types No. I—The Doubtful Gentleman," *Vanity Fair*, January 10, 1880, 28.
 13. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 110.
 14. McLaren, *Trials of Masculinity*, 89–90.
 15. The use of the term was so diffuse by the end of the nineteenth century, that many aristocrats feared it was in danger of losing all meaning. Corfield, "The Democratic History of the English Gentleman," 47.
 16. Antonia Taddei, "London Clubs in the Late Nineteenth Century" (presentation, Discussion Papers in Economic and Social History, University of Oxford, April 1999), 16.
 17. There are certainly parallels here to what Paul Deslandes discovered about self-regulation in the elite universities at the time. Paul Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).
 18. Simon Gunn, in his study of Manchester clubs, found that the increasingly rigid qualifications for membership and strict rules governing acceptable behavior extended beyond London. Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City 1840–1914* (Manchester and London: Manchester University Press, 2000), 95.
 19. Minute Book, July 9, 1875, BC/02/006, Brooks's Club Archive, London.
 20. Minute Book, June 22, 1875, BC/02/006, Brooks's Club Archive, London.
 21. *Bachelor's Club Rules and List of Members* (London, 1891) 20; *The Guards' Club List of the Trustees, the Committee and the Honorary Members, and the Rules and Regulations of the Club* (London, 1889), 12; *Rules and Regulations of the Marlborough Club* (London, 1887), 41; *Rules and Regulations of the Oxford and Cambridge University Club* (London, 1890), 23; *The Rules and Regulations of the Union Club: With a List of the Members*, &C. (London, 1868), 19–20; *The Rules and Regulations, with an Alphabetical List of the Members of the Army and Navy Club* (London, 1868), 14–15; *Rules, Regulations, and List of Members of the Carlton Club* (London, 1899), 17; *United University Club, Rules and Regulations, List of Members* (London, 1888), 18; *White's: Rules and List of Members* (London, 1891), 15.

22. *The Rules and Regulations of the East India United Service Club, as Revised at the Second Annual General Meeting, May 26th* (London, 1890), 19.
23. Club law was both similar enough that a general guide could be produced, and important enough for such a text to find a market. Maxwell Turner and A. S. Wilson, *The Law Relating to Clubs*, 5th ed. (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1935), 121, 17.
24. Minute Book, October 27, 1897, 7903-71-22, United Service Club Archive, London, 94. The extreme secrecy and the purposely vague language implies the offense could have been sexual misconduct, but with so little evidence it is impossible to know for certain. What is certain is that this case was out of the ordinary and the offense must have been deemed particularly serious.
25. Antony Taylor, "*Lords of Misrule: Hostility to Aristocracy in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Britain*" (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 22.
26. Baker was acquitted of the rape charges.
27. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
28. Baker's obituary has no mention of his previous problems, and he was officially remembered primarily for his Eastern adventures. His subsequent heroic military adventures overshadowed what became an isolated blot on his record. Taylor, "*Lords of Misrule*," 23.
29. G. W. S., "Journalism and Club Morality," *New York Tribune*, July 20, 1881, 5.
30. Many journalists across Britain agreed. See, for example, "London Gossip," *The Newcastle Courant*, May 6, 1881; "Latest Intelligence," *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, May 18, 1881; "What 'the World' Says," *The Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, June 17, 1881; "Gossip from the 'World,'" *North Wales Chronicle*, June 25, 1881.
31. Taylor, "*Lords of Misrule*," 24-29.
32. While etiquette books were somewhat contradictory in that they claimed that one was born a gentleman and the formal polish of etiquette was simply a final touch, in reality they gave guidelines for those of a lower class seeking entrance into the elites. Waters, *The Perfect Gentleman*, 33.
33. Executive Committee Minutes, December 1, 1891, Athenaeum Club Archive, London, 82-83.
34. Humphry, *Manners for Men*, 5-7.
35. An Old Fogey, "Clubs and Clubmen.—III. The Eccentric," *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 28, 1903, 1.
36. Junior Carlton Club Minutes, May 21, 1895, Carlton Club Archive, London.
37. Fitzroy Gardner, *More Reminiscences of an Old Bohemian* (London: Hutchinson, 1926), 174-175.
38. Executive Committee Minutes, December 2, 1895, Athenaeum Club Archive, London, 144.
39. Minto Wilson to Committee, May 7, 1913, in St. James's Club Minute Book, ACC/2371/SJC/02/016, Brooks's Club Archive, London, 136-137.
40. St. James's Club Minute Book, May 22, 1913, ACC/2371/SJC/02/016, Brooks's Club Archive, London, 140.
41. Minute Book, July 10, 1888, LMA/4452/01/03/017, Oriental Club Archive, London, 330.
42. Junior Carlton Club Minutes, May 21, 1895, Carlton Club Archive, London.
43. Alfred Ayres, *The Mentor: A Little Book for the Guidance of Such Men and Boys as Would Appear to Advantage in the Society of Persons of the Better Sort* (New York: D. Appleton, 1902), 176.
44. Though even on dinner bills members had to mind their language. One member was censured for the tone of his language on the back of his bill which was demeaning to the manager and insulting to his character. Committee to G. W. Leslie, June 15, 1892, Executive Committee Minutes, Athenaeum Club Archive, London.
45. "Scandal as to Treatment of Waiters," *New York Times*, June 18, 1881, 3.
46. Minute Book, November 18, 1903, A/UNC/28, Union Club Archive, London, 308.
47. *Vanity Fair*, June 4, 1881, 312.

48. William Gregory Dawkins, *A Review of Lord Coleridge's Judgement in the Court of Common Pleas* (London: 1879), 8.
49. William Gregory Dawkins, "More Dishonourable Conduct of Lt.-General Stephenson. Notes on an Appeal to Law against the Travellers' Club" (London, c. 1879), 15.
50. Wilson, *The Law Relating to Clubs*, 147–149.
51. Colonel M. Hale to the Committee, March 10, 1898, March 17, 1898, April 6, 1898, April 8, 1898, United Service Club Minute Book, 7903–71–22, United Service Club Archive, London, 116–117, 142, 152.
52. United Service Club Minute Book, April 20, 1898, 7903–71–22, United Service Club Archive, London, 157.
53. Colonel M. Hale to the Committee, March 30, 1901, "United Service Club Minute Book, 7903–71–22, United Service Club Archive, London, 349.
54. United Service Club Minute Book: General Meetings, April 24, 1901, 7903–71–2, United Service Club Archive, London, 16.
55. Lord Arthur Douglas was the younger brother of Percy Douglas, whose story began this chapter. The marquis of Queensberry quarrelled with all of his children to varying degrees.
56. Trevor Fisher, *Oscar and Bosie: A Fatal Passion* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Stroud, 2002), 109–110.
57. Oscar Wilde to Robert Ross, February 28, 1895, in *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Rupert Hart-Davis (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), 634.
58. The exact message has been transcribed as either "To Oscar Wilde, posing somdomite" or "To Oscar Wilde, ponce and somdomite." Neither spelling nor penmanship was apparently the marquis' strong point. Fisher, *Oscar and Bosie: A Fatal Passion*, 110.
59. Queensberry's defence to the libel charge was to prove the accusation was correct. This led to charges against Oscar Wilde under the Labouchere amendment. The first trial ended in a mistrial, while the second resulted in a guilty verdict and a sentence of five years' hard labor.
60. Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy*, 37–54.
61. The rule books are unanimous in stating that bankrupts are *ipso facto* no longer members of a club. However, it was implied that there were ways to lose money in an ungentlemanly fashion, and ways to go broke like a gentleman.
62. *Bachelor's Club Rules and List of Members*, 22.
63. United Service Club Minute Book, August 4, 1897, September 23, 1897, 7903–71–22, United Service Club Archive, London, 78, 86.
64. United Service Club Minute Book, October 6, 1897, 7903–71–22, United Service Club Archive, London, 88.
65. United Service Club Minute Book, October 20, 1897, 7903–71–22, United Service Club Archive, London, 91–92.
66. The rulebook of Arthur's Club explicitly lays out that any such action would lead to an immediate meeting to expel. *Rules, Regulations, and List of Members, of Arthur's Club* (London, 1890), 20.
67. Public violence among men had seen a marked decrease since the eighteenth century. Dueling and violent fighting, once a way to reaffirm masculinity and social status, gave way to more restrained codes of public behavior. Robert Shoemaker, "Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth-Century London," *Social History* 26, no. 2 (2001): 190–208.
68. Charles Biron, *Without Prejudice: Impressions of Life and Law* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936), 37.
69. John Bennion Booth, *Old Pink 'Un Days* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1925), 312.
70. Arthur Leach, *Club Cases; with Reference to the Liabilities and Expulsion of Members, with the Labouchere Case*, 2nd ed. (London, 1879), 38–42.
71. Leach, *Club Cases*, 38, 43.

72. Biron, *Without Prejudice*, 38.
73. *Vanity Fair*, July 25, 1885, 51.
74. *Vanity Fair*, August 1, 1885, 65.
75. At the Reform Club, in response to a complaint about an altercation in the Club itself, the committee responded that its only action in such a case, where complaints were made about both parties, was to ask both men to control their tempers. Minute Book, July 12, 1878, Reform Club Archive, London, 130.
76. In an era when many feared that Englishmen were too settled, and even effeminate, perhaps a show of violence was even secretly applauded.
77. Caledonian Committee Minute Book, March 28, 1906, May 1, 1906, December 13, 1911, Caledonian Club Archive, London.
78. One reason for such leniency could have been the fact that the small club had already lost thirteen members in the war at the time of this meeting. Committee Minute Book, October 20, 1914, Caledonian Club Archive, London.
79. Booth, "Master" and Men, 63.
80. Guy Deghy, *Noble and Manly: The History of the National Sporting Club Incorporating the Posthumous Papers of the Pelican Club* (London: Hutchinson, 1956), 81.
81. Arthur M. Binstead and Ernest Wells, *A Pink 'Un and a Pelican: Some Random Reminiscences, Sporting or Otherwise* (London, 1898), 56–57.
82. The suggestion by a member at the National Liberal Club that no member could enjoy intoxicating liquors except when lunching or dining was met with ironic support by one author who argued that wine would only force politicians to tell the truth, so it was a good thing to ban the stuff. Mostyn T. Pigott, "In Vino Veritas," *The World*, April 29, 1913, 107.
83. Arthur Sherwell, *Life in West London: A Study and a Contrast* (London: Methuen, 1901), 127.
84. George W. E. Russell, *An Onlooker's Note-Book* (London: John Murray, 1903), 266–267.
85. Minute Book, November 26, 1880, December 3, 1880, Reform Club Archive, London, 292, 293.
86. Caledonian Club Committee Minute Book, October 13, 1909, October 20, 1909, Caledonian Club Archive, London.
87. H. M., "A Club Type: The Boozer," *Smart Society*, January 25, 1893, 19.
88. Union Club Minute Book, October 22, 1913, A/UNC/31, Union Club Archive, London, 237–238.
89. C. Lucas to Committee, September 12, 1912, B 189, Reform Club Archive, London.
90. Attempts to imagine temperance in the clubs were transparent, at best. One humorous tale, "Squiff," tells the light-hearted story of a clubman renowned for his drinking. He left his club so inebriated that he had trouble walking on the sidewalks, and instead of his flat he wandered into a conjuror's shop. There he had a series of comical encounters with magical items. When wrestling with a bunch of snakes he finally awoke and realised he was safe at home. This ludicrous evening convinces the man to become an abstainer, and he comforts himself by thinking his club friends will have to devise another nickname for him. Fred Carlton, "Squiff" an Episode of London Club Life (London: Messrs. Price & Reynolds, 1907), 1–4.
91. E. F. Benson, *As We Were: A Victorian Peepshow* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 2001), 220.
92. Mark Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter: Popular Gambling and English Society, c. 1823–1961* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 19.
93. Clapson, *A Bit of a Flutter*, 30.
94. This would have been quite difficult as all gentlemen's clubs barred games of chance and had regulations on the stakes. At Arthur's Club they reinforced the seriousness of their gambling rules by stating that any member who broke one would be forced to pay £100 for every offense. *Rules, Regulations, and List of Members, of Arthur's Club*, 12.

95. Marie Corelli, *The Sorrows of Satan; or, the Strange Experience of One Geoffrey Tempest, Millionaire* (London, 1895), 112.
96. St. James's Club Minutes of Committee, April 11, 1888, April 18, 1888, ACC/2371/SJC/02/009, Brooks's Club Archive, London, 296, 298.
97. St. James Club Minutes of Committee, March 20, 1889, March 27, 1889, ACC/2371/SJC/02/010, Brooks's Club Archive, London, 16, 20.
98. St. James' Club Minutes of Committee, August 7, 1895, August 21, 1895, ACC/2371/SJC/02/011, Brooks's Club Archive, London, 279, 283.
99. Duff-Gordon was part of a family of remarkable women. His mother was the renowned traveler Lucie Duff-Gordon and his daughter became a journalist and author in her own right. Maurice was known primarily as a *bon vivant* and passed away in 1896. *Dictionary of National Biography*.
100. The fines of White's were as follows: £1 at 2:30, £2 after 3:30, £3 after 4:30, £4 after 5:30, £5 after 6:30, and £6 after 7:30 in the morning. *White's: Rules and List of Members*, 17.
101. *The Rules and Regulations, with an Alphabetical List of the Members of the Army and Navy Club* (London, 1889), 34.
102. Junior Carlton Club Minutes, November 6, 1888, November 20, 1888, Junior Carlton Club Archive, London.
103. *Rules and Regulations of the Oxford and Cambridge University Club*, 20.
104. For one very clear example in which cheating at cards was used as a shorthand for a villainous character see: Hamilton Aidé, *Introduced to Society*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), 1: 215. Arthur Conan Doyle also employed cheating at cards to characterize one of Professor Moriarty's accomplices as an irresolute scoundrel. Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventure of the Empty House," in *The Complete Original Illustrated Sherlock Holmes* (Secaucus, NJ: Castle Books, 1976), 449–463.
105. Albert D. Vandam, *The Mystery of the Patrician Club* (Philadelphia, 1894).
106. St. James's Club Minutes of Committee, August 28, 1878, 201; September 11, 1878, 205; ACC/2371/SJC/02/00728, Brooks's Club Archive; St. James's Club Minutes of Committee, August 3, 1881, 17; August 20, 1881, 29; ACC/2371/SJC/02/008, Brooks's Club Archive, London.
107. St. James's Club Minutes of Committee, January 24, 1883, February 7, 1883, February 21, 1883, ACC/2371/SJC/02/008, Brooks's Club Archive, London, 135, 137–138, 141.
108. St. James's Club Minute Book, July 11, 1905, 4–7; July 13, 1905, 8–11, ACC/2371/SJC/02/014, Brooks's Club Archive, London.
109. Junior Carlton Club Minutes, February 27, 1900, March 27, 1900, Carlton Club Archive, London.
110. Minute Book, July 12, 1905, Traveller's Club Archive, London, 159.
111. Sigma, "A Club Scandal," *The World*, November 28, 1894, 28–29.
112. This event is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.
113. P. D. Edwards, *Dickens's "Young Men": George Augustus Sala, Edmund Yates and the World of Victorian Journalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997,) 67.
114. The legal issue was that according to English law, no one could be denied his or her rights or a position of "profit or honour" without a fair trial. Arthur Leach published an entire book dedicated to the history of the struggle between club committees and wayward members in court. Leach, *Club Cases*, 16.
115. Athenaeum Club Committee to Charles Chambers, May 9, 1913, 29/4/7, Bonar Law Papers, House of Lords Record Office, London.
116. Nancy W. Ellenberger, "Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-de-Siècle England," *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 4 (2000): 491.
117. Philip Mason, *The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal* (London: A. Deutsch, 1982), 82.

Four Club Talk, Men's Gossip, and the Creation of a Community

1. C. Stein, "Yarns in the Club Smoking-Room: A V.C.," *The Pall Mall Magazine*, October, 1894, 195.
2. Anthropologists have long noted that gossip is often a subtle mechanism of social control. John Beard Haviland, *Gossip, Reputation, and Knowledge in Zinacantan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 3, 6.
3. Jennifer Coates, *Men Talk: Stories in the Making of Masculinities* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 3.
4. James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
5. Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Haviland, *Gossip, Reputation, and Knowledge in Zinacantan*; James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Gossip* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Melanie Tebbutt, *Women's Talk: A Social History of "Gossip" in Working-Class Neighbourhoods, 1880–1960* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995); Françoise Waquet, *Parler comme un livre: L'oralité et le savoir, XVI–XX^e siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003); Chris Wickham, "Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry," *Past and Present* no. 160 (August, 1998): 2–24.
6. As such, late-nineteenth-century elite society shared much with Elizabethan culture that required courtiers and politicians to familiarise themselves with not only printed materials, but the latest gossip and intrigues. In the sixteenth century, the ideal of free access to information was eschewed in favour of a system of privileged news and coded information. Smuts, *Culture and Power in England*, 59–65.
7. Lucy McDiarmid, "Oscar Wilde, Lady Gregory, and Late-Victorian Table-Talk," in *Oscar Wilde and Modern Culture: The Making of a Legend*, ed. Joseph Bristow (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2008), 50.
8. British newspaper consumption skyrocketed in the late nineteenth century. There were over 6 million regular readers in England by the 1870s and London alone had thirteen morning and nine evening national dailies in 1888. L. Perry Curtis, *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* (New Haven: Yale University press, 2001), 56, 59.
9. The *Star* was the first British daily with a regular gossip column. Gary Weber, "Henry Labouchere, Truth and the New Journalism of Late Victorian Britain," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 26, no. 1 (1993): 38, 19 n 38.
10. This is as true now as it was in the nineteenth century.
11. Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 51. A gossip was first identified as a sponsor for a baptism c. 1014. The term became associated with female friends in the mid fourteenth century, though often still tied to those present at a birth. It was only in the sixteenth century that gossip became associated with a woman who enjoyed idle talk and the latest news. *Oxford English Dictionary*.
12. Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, 63.
13. As Sir Oliver says, "There are a set of malicious prudent gossips, both male and female, who murder characters to kill time and will rob a young fellow of his good name before he has years to know the value of it." Richard Sheridan, *The School for Scandal*, in *The School for Scandal and Other Plays*, ed. Michael Corder (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 232.
14. *Punch*, March 21, 1900, 205. Sometimes the critique was less explicit, such as in another cartoon that simply demonstrates a group of women enjoying some gossip. *Punch*, July 24, 1912, 89.

15. A Woman, "Of Gossip," *Vanity Fair*, November 23, 1899, 358.
16. Alfred Ayres, *The Mentor: A Little Book for the Guidance of Such Men and Boys as Would Appear to Advantage in the Society of Persons of the Better Sort* (New York: D. Appleton, 1902), 152–153.
17. R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 76–81.
18. For example, "Club Gossip from London: Notes from the Metropolis," *New York Times*, August 19, 1877, 1; "European Gossip: From Our London Correspondent," *New York Times*, December 5, 1886, 5; "Gossip from England: London Society and the Drama," *New York Times*, July 9, 1877, 5; "London Gossip of the Day: Notes on Politics, Society, Books, and the Stage," *New York Times*, June 3, 1882, 5.
19. "Chat of the Gossips" was a regular feature in *The Penny Illustrated Paper* from 1878 through 1889 and the *Graphic's* "Court and Club" section was a regular in 1893 and 1894.
20. Cowan, "Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere," 349.
21. *Pall Mall Magazine*, 1904–1905.
22. The published biography of George Alexander Baird reads as an extended gossip column on the gentleman jockey who died at age thirty two. He was a constant source of gossip during his life as a wealthy spendthrift who was heavily involved in both the Turf and the boxing circuit. John Malcolm Bulloch, *The Last Baird Laird of Auchmedden and Strichen: The Case of Mr. Abington* (Aberdeen: Privately Printed, 1934).
23. "The Joys of Scandal-Bearing," *Punch*, March 21, 1896, 136.
24. This favourable sense first appeared in 1811. *Oxford English Dictionary*.
25. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 282.
26. Jan B. Gordon, *Gossip and Subversion in the Nineteenth-Century Novel: Echo's Economies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 38–39.
27. The freedom of talk inspired fear among authorities that atheism might take root. Brian Cowan, "What Was Masculine About the Public Sphere? Gender and the Coffeehouse Milieu in Post-Restoration England," *History Workshop Journal* 51, no. 3 (2001): 139–140.
28. Brian Cowan, "Mr. Spectator and the Coffeehouse Public Sphere," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, no. 3 (2004): 356.
29. Quoted in Venetia Murray, *High Society in the Regency Period, 1788–1830* (London: Penguin, 1998), 34.
30. Ex-Attaché, "London's Leading Club: Features of English Club Life and the Relative Status of the Clubs of the Metropolis," *New York Daily Tribune*, January 19, 1902, 10.
31. Bourke, *The History of White's*, vol. 2.
32. The Betting Book 2 vols., ACC/2371/BC/04/073/A, ACC/2371/BC/04/074, Brooks's Club Archive, London.
33. "London in Winter," *The World*, January 21, 1880, 6; "Club-Cleaning," *The World*, August 27, 1884, 9.
34. Francis Gledstanes Waugh, *The Athenaeum Club and Its Associations* (London, 1894), 14.
35. Serjeant Ballantine, *Some Experiences of a Barrister's Life* (London, 1898), 187.
36. "Clubs," *Vanity Fair*, March 11, 1882, 138.
37. Un Garçon, "The Social Pilgrimage: Clubs and Clubmen," *Vanity Fair*, September 7, 1893, 153.
38. Joseph Hatton, "London Club-Land," *The Art Journal*, April 1885, 100.
39. For example, Herbert Henry Asquith, *Memories and Reflections, 1852–1927*, vol. 1 (London: Cassell, 1928); Sir Charles Biron, *Without Prejudice: Impressions of Life and Law* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936); Barnaby Brook, *Mock-Turtle: Being the Memoirs of a Victorian Gentleman* (New York: Minton Balch, 1931); Almeric William Fitzroy, *Memoirs*, 3rd ed. (London: Hutchinson, 1925). Much more political gossip is outlined in such diaries and memoirs, but most men did not record where they heard the latest gossip.
40. Edward Hamilton diary, v. 7, April 7, 1884, ADD.MSS.48636, British Library, London, 16.

41. Edward Hamilton diary, v. 16, December 1, 1886, ADD.MSS.4865, British Library, London, 38.
42. He did not specify what club he was at for breakfast. Montstuart E. Grant Duff, *Notes from a Diary* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1905), 1: 21–22, 294.
43. Henry Lucy, *The Diary of a Journalist* (London: John Murray, 1920), 2: 83.
44. Lucy, *The Diary of a Journalist*, 1: 152–153.
45. For example, in Hamilton's diary references to women are often coded and personal details are left out. It is almost impossible to know who he is writing about, and what was so scandalous.
46. "Lady Hetty. A Story of to-Day: V. Another Nasty Jar," *Vanity Fair*, January 16, 1896, 47.
47. Mrs. Irwin Smart, "Which?" *Vanity Fair*, July 23, 1913, 95. In E. F. Benson's story the rumors are more vague at the man's club, and though widespread, are presented as untrue. E. F. Benson, *Dodo; a Detail of the Day*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1894), 190.
48. Fitzroy Gardner, *More Reminiscences of an Old Bohemian* (London: Hutchinson, 1926), 174.
49. As Laura Gowing makes clear, gossip has considerable social power generally, and particular power to shape normative concepts of gender and sexuality. Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
50. *Vanity Fair*, August 11, 1904, 165.
51. Determining the authorship of such tales is almost impossible. However, clubmen were certainly heavily involved in the periodical press, and it is unlikely they would have allowed any gross misrepresentation of life behind the clubhouse doors.
52. Emeric Hulme Beaman, "Vain Tale.—No. DXCIII. His Friend's Name," *Vanity Fair*, April 3, 1902. There is a record of at least one actual suicide occurring on club premises that was likely the subject of many club wags. In May 1905 Percival Osborn shot himself in the lower billiard room of the Travellers' Club. His death was officially ruled a suicide due to temporary insanity. The shame of this act was accentuated by the fact that he killed himself in a relatively public way. The son of the deceased man wrote to the committee of the Club soon after to apologize for his father's act. Committee Minute Book, May 17, 1905, Travellers' Club Archive, London, 140.
53. Major Griffiths, "Cotton Wool's Career," *Punch*, November 7, 1900, 341.
54. C. Stein, "Yarns in the Club Smoking-Room: A Death Vacancy," *The Pall Mall Magazine*, June 18, 1894; C. Stein, "Yarns in the Club Smoking-Room: A V. C.," *The Pall Mall Magazine*, October 18, 1894; T. P. N., "Bribery and Corruption. Some Club Yarns.—No. I," *Vanity Fair*, July 6, 1910; T. P. N., "Bribery and Corruption. Some Club Yarns.—No. II," *Vanity Fair*, July 13, 1910; T. P. N., "Bribery and Corruption. Some Club Yarns.—No. III," *Vanity Fair*, July 20, 1910; T. P. N., "Bribery and Corruption. Some Club Yarns.—No. IV," *Vanity Fair*, July 27, 1910; T. P. N., "Bribery and Corruption. Some Club Yarns.—No. V," *Vanity Fair*, August 3, 1910; T. P. N., "Bribery and Corruption. Some Club Yarns.—No. VI," *Vanity Fair*, August 10, 1910; T. P. N., "Bribery and Corruption. Some Club Yarns.—No. VII," *Vanity Fair*, August 17, 1910; T. P. N., "Bribery and Corruption. Some Club Yarns.—No. VIII," *Vanity Fair*, August 21, 1910.
55. The weekly periodical *Black and White* had a regular column in the 1890s entitled "In the Smoking Room" where a grouping of men discussed the popular topics of the day ranging from amusing news stories to court cases to ladies' fashions.
56. As we shall see in Chapter Seven, such talk was not always idle. "Overheard at the Club," *Vanity Fair*, February 15, 1906, 210.
57. Roger Fulford, *Boodle's 1762–1962: A Short History* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962), 1.
58. "Club Manners," *The World*, July 2, 1884, 9. This point holds true for the modern historian as well. When contacting Boodle's Club a researcher will be informed that the Club, in fact, holds virtually no records from the nineteenth century.

59. This fact presents a problem for this historian. Due to the importance of secrecy, it is impossible to reconstruct a comprehensive overview of exactly what men talked about, and how often. However, enough slips of club secrecy exist to provide a sense of both trivial and influential gossip. Popular reconstructions of club talk can also be studied in order to at least sketch out what most people believed was discussed within the inner sancta.
60. "Club Blabs," *Smart Society*, December 14, 1892, 17.
61. Michael Curtin, *Propriety and Position: A Study of Victorian Manners* (New York: Garland, 1987), 148.
62. Lord Edmund Talbot to Arthur Lee, 6 September 1914, 34/5/17, The Bonar Law Papers, House of Lords Record Office, London.
63. Unfortunately, due to the destruction of the Carlton clubhouse during the Second World War, there are no existing minute books from this period to verify if this case ever came before the Club committee.
64. Trevor Fisher, *Oscar and Bosie: A Fatal Passion* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2002), 109.
65. Oscar Wilde to R. H. Sherard, October 16, 1897, in *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Rupert Hart-Davis and Merlin Holland (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), 963.
66. In this way, clubmen were right in line with other gossip communities. Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, 381.
67. Stanley Naylor, *Gaiety and George Grossmith: Random Reflections on the Serious Business of Enjoyment* (London: Stanley Paul, 1913), 179.
68. John Scott, *The Upper Classes: Property and Privilege in Britain, Contemporary Social Theory* (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), 177–178.
69. Jeannette Walls, *Dish: How Gossip Became the News and the News Became Just Another Show* (New York: Harper, 2001), 4.
70. In the American context, jurists even agreed that some right to privacy should be guaranteed by laws, and a number of decisions in the 1890s confirmed that right. Jennifer Frost, *Hedda Hopper's Hollywood: Celebrity Gossip and American Conservatism* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 20.
71. *New York Times*, March 20, 1877, 1–2.
72. Patricia Meyer Spacks, *Gossip* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 10.
73. Weber, "Henry Labouchere, *Truth* and the New Journalism of Late Victorian Britain," 36–39.
74. Two of the most famous examples of this were *The Green Carnation*, a scandalous novel based on Oscar Wilde and Lord Douglas and the more popular *DoDo*, a novel detailing a heroine modelled after Margot Tennant. Fisher, *Oscar and Bosie*, 76.
75. Nicola Parsons, *Reading Gossip in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 8. Shared stories or inside jokes typically provide a unique view of social structure, as they depend on a consensus of knowledge for recognizing the humor. Mary Douglas, "Jokes," in *Rethinking Popular Culture*, 293.
76. For example, see coverage in: *Belgravia* (1873), *Clubland* (1910), *Illustrated London News* (1880s and 1890s), *New York Times* (1890), *New York Tribune* (1900, 1902), *Pall Mall Gazette* (1912), *Smart Society* (1893), *The Society Herald* (1888), *The Times* (1880), *Vanity Fair* (1910).
77. Joseph Hatton, "London Club-Land II," *The Art Journal*, May 1885, 130.
78. In fact, a motto modeled on one of Horace's epistles hung in the Club dining room that read: "Let no one bear beyond this threshold hence, words uttered here in friendly confidence." "Henry Irving at Home," *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, February 1882, 392.
79. G. M. Wrong, *The Savile Club, 1868 to 1923* (London: Privately printed for the Committee of the Club by Neill Edinburgh, 1923), 24.
80. Many clubmen owned newspapers, while others were journalists, critics, and artists hired by the press. Nineteenth-century society journalists had not yet reached the era of Waugh's *Vile Bodies* where friends betrayed every secret of their social lives to the press. Evelyn Waugh, *Vile Bodies* (Boston: Back Bay Books), 1999.

81. Percy Fitzgerald to sub-committee of Garrick Club, October 4, 1904, Box 2 1900–1949, Garrick Club Archive, London. Fitzgerald’s book proves his claim, as it focuses on the early history of the club, its picture collection, and the early days of the London theater. Percy Fitzgerald, *The Garrick Club* (London: Elliot Stock, 1904).
82. Percy Fitzgerald to subcommittee of Garrick Club, March 18, 1905, Box 2 1900–1949, Garrick Club Archive, London.
83. E. F. Benson, *As We Were: A Victorian Peepshow* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 2001), 204.
84. Benson, *As We Were*, 204.
85. Richard Alexander Hough, *The Ace of Clubs: A History of the Garrick* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1986), 117.
86. A further layer to the story is that Yates’ article was published on the same day that Dickens publicly announced his separation from his wife. The literary rivalry, and the fact that Dickens believed Thackeray had been spreading rumours about his separation in the Garrick make it difficult to believe the timing was mere coincidence. P. D. Edwards, *Dickens’s “Young Men”: George Augustus Sala, Edmund Yates and the World of Victorian Journalism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 62.
87. William Thackeray to Edmund Yates, June 13, 1858, Box 1 1831–1899, Garrick Club Archive, London.
88. Alexander Doland to Edmund Yates, c. 1858, Box 1 1831–1899, Garrick Club Archive, London.
89. According to his lawyer, the committee had no power to expel as he had not transgressed any specific club rule. Messrs. Farrer & Co. to Alexander Doland, August 3, 1858, Box 1 1831–1899, Garrick Club Archive, London. However, all clubs had a rule that unbecoming conduct or actions that might reflect badly on the interests of the club could result in expulsion.
90. Edmund Yates, *Mr. Thackeray, Mr. Yates, and the Garrick Club: The Correspondence and Facts* (London, 1859). While he claimed no bitterness as to his expulsion, he still believed in the injustice of the act. Edmund Yates, “An Old Club Scandal” c. January 1880, Box 1 1831–1899, Garrick Club Archive, London.
91. Anthony Lejeune, *The Gentlemen’s Clubs of London* (London: Macdonald and Jane’s, 1979), 34, 127.
92. Fred Inglis, *A Short History of Celebrity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 10–12.
93. Newspapers were only condemned for intruding on private life if the portrait was unflattering. “Society Journalism,” *The World*, March 21, 1883, 8.
94. As Laura Nym Mayhall points out, it was not until after the First World War that British monarchs began to seek out popularity through the press. Laura E. Nym Mayhall, “The Prince of Wales versus Clark Gable: Anglophone Celebrity and Citizenship between the Wars,” *Cultural and Social History* 4, no. 4 (2007): 532.
95. The parallels with modern debates on gossip and “entertainment news” are shockingly similar.
96. “A Phase of Humbug,” *Vanity Fair*, December 3, 1881, 314.
97. “Club Life in London: The Leading Clubs of the City,” *New York Times*, March 20, 1877, 1.
98. The editor of *Vanity Fair* attacked a correspondent for *To-Day*, a short-lived rival. While the veracity of the reporter’s information was not challenged, the propriety of disclosing his information was called into question. *Vanity Fair*, December 29, 1898, 448–449.
99. Isabella, “A Letter from an American Lady,” *The World*, August 25, 1880, 18.
100. As detailed in Chapter Three, excessive gambling or gambling for high stakes was no longer considered acceptable for a gentleman and was no longer a part of mainstream club life.
101. A Member of the St. James’s Club, “The St. James’s Club,” *Vanity Fair*, December 11, 1881, 335.

102. *Vanity Fair*, December 11, 1881, 335. When the *Times* reported on proposed rule changes at the Reform Club, it excused itself by saying that not only was the issue already public knowledge, but that the changes were publicly relevant. *The Times*, May 19, 1882, 9.
103. Michael Havers, Edward Grayson, Peter Shankland, *The Royal Baccarat Scandal* (London: William Kimber, 1977), 60.
104. "The Prince as Witness: Damaging points against Sir Gordon Cumming," *The New York Times*, June 3, 1891. The trial was also heavily covered by the *Times*, the *Nottingham Express*, the *Daily Chronicle*, and the *Star*.
105. Havers, *The Royal Baccarat Scandal*, 248.
106. Michael Diamond, *Victorian Sensation: Or the Spectacular, the Shocking and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 34. The Prince of Wales' reputation suffered almost as much as Gordon-Cummings. As E. F. Benson quipped, "If the Prince himself had been detected cheating, he could not have been more savagely sentenced." Benson, *As We Were*, 212.
107. Michel Foucault, "Two Lectures," *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings, 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980).

Five The Club as Home: Imagining Male Domesticity

1. "Ramblings in Clubland: Ramble No. 3—The Junior Constitutional," *The Society Herald: A Weekly Record of Social, Political, Theatrical, Literary and Financial Events*, May 14, 1888, 14.
2. John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 77.
3. Witold Rybczynski, *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York: Penguin, 1986), 75; John Tosh, "New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home," *History Today* 46, no. 12 (1996): 10.
4. John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
5. In particular, working-class men would have found Ruskin's ideal difficult to replicate, even if they wanted to—they did not own their own homes. According to one study, 95 percent of working-class people rented their accommodations in 1850; in 1918 the number was still 90 percent. John Benson, *Working Class in Britain, 1850–1939* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 73.
6. Mike Hepworth, "Privacy, Security and Respectability: The Ideal Victorian Home," in *Ideal Homes? Social Change and Domestic Life*, ed. Tony Chapman and Jennifer Lorna Hockey (London: Routledge, 1999), 18–19.
7. Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850–1930* (Washington & London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 106.
8. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 291.
9. Indeed, John Ruskin's own marriage crumbled over his unrealistic expectations, inability to consummate the union, and failure to create a family home. The marriage ended in public scandal after six years. Jennifer M. Lloyd, "Conflicting Expectations in Nineteenth-Century British Matrimony: The Failed Companionate Marriage of Effie Gray and John Ruskin," *Journal of Women's History* 11, no. 2 (1999): 102–103.
10. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987). Working-class homes had their own patterns of sociability, and also struggled against middle-class norms of privacy. Martin Hewitt, "District Visiting and the Constitution of Domestic

- Space in the Mid-nineteenth Century,” in *Domestic Space: Reading the Nineteenth-Century Interior*, ed. Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 137–138.
11. John Tosh is perhaps the premier English historian to deal with men’s reaction to the domestic sphere, and explicitly examines middle-class men, the home, and a perceived “flight from domesticity.” This might be a case of when the subtle distinctions between the comfortable middle classes and the social elites made a real difference. John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, England: Pearson, 2005), 107.
 12. Tosh, “New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home,” 14. Nancy Ellenberger points to middle-class monogamy as an oppressive constraint driving elite men out of the home. Ellenberger, “Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-de-Siècle England,” 498, 501. Mike Huggins sees the middle-class variant of the gentlemen’s clubs as a center for drinking and socializing that masqueraded as a respectable space. Mike J. Huggins, “More Sinful Pleasures: Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England,” *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 3 (2000): 593. Jeff Hearn sees club and public life as examples of “homoerotic self-advertisement.” Jeff Hearn, *Men in the Public Eye: The Construction and Deconstruction of Public Men and Public Patriarchies* (London: Routledge, 1992), 224. Venetia Murray sees the Regency clubs as examples of men’s flight from women’s social world. Venetia Murray, *High Society: A Social History of the Regency Period 1788–1830* (London, 1998), 158. Howard Chudacoff’s work on the American bachelor is an exception to this general attitude, as he notes late nineteenth-century clubs as possible rival domestic spaces. Howard P. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 42.
 13. Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, 4.
 14. Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, 183, 85; John Tosh, “What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *History Workshop Journal* 38, no. 1 (1994): 188–189.
 15. H. T. Waddy, *The Devonshire Club—and “Crockford’s”* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1919) 105.
 16. Rybczynski, *Home*, 75.
 17. Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space & Architecture in Regency London* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 70.
 18. Many male family members often belonged to the same club, sometimes founding dynastic legacies. For example, the Devonshire family at Brooks’s Club. Anthony Lejeune, *The Gentlemen’s Clubs of London* (London: Macdonald and Jane’s, 1979), 8.
 19. Martin Francis, “The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity,” *Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (2002): 643.
 20. Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 171ff.
 21. More work certainly needs to be done on men’s private lives to understand fully their relationship to the domestic arena as it is clearly a complicated connection. Peter Filene, “The Secrets of Men’s History,” in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men’s Studies*, ed. Harry Brod (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 112.
 22. Cecil Hay, *The Club and the Drawing-Room: Being Pictures of Modern Life: Social, Political, and Professional* (London, 1870), 1: 1–2.
 23. “Club-House for Literary and Scientific Bodies,” *The Builder*, November 9, 1850, 545.
 24. Paul Goldberger, *Why Architecture Matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), x.
 25. Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), xi ff.
 26. Marcus notes a similar function with urban apartments. Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 2–3.

27. Nineteenth-century clubs also had to fit into a preexisting framework of club buildings. The oldest clubs—Brooks's, Boodle's and White's—were the creations of another century, and though each was renovated over the years, they were built on a smaller scale.
28. "The New Carlton Club-House," *The Builder* 5, no. 222 (1847): 218, 221.
29. Barry is, of course, best known for his later work as architect for the Houses of Parliament.
30. Charles Eyre Pascoe, *A London Directory for American Travellers for 1874. Containing the Fullest Information, in the Best Form for Reference, Respecting All That Is Valuable in Connection with a Visit to London* (Boston, 1874).
31. Yet as William Whyte points out, the imposing look of building and entrances have a filtering effect even on public buildings. William Whyte, "The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces," 292–310 in *The Public Face of Architecture: Civil Culture and Public Spaces*, ed. Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla (New York: Free Press, 1987), 307.
32. Crockford's was an elite gambling club that was the height of fashion in the early nineteenth century. It was highly selective and highly luxurious. Contemporaries often commented on the building itself as a reflection of the abundance of play. "They stress the dazzling splendour of the building, the mirrors, the hanging lamps, the chandeliers, the ceilings, the carvings, and the general furnishings." A. L. Humphreys, *Crockford's, or The Goddess of Chance in St James's Street 1828–1844* (London: Hutchinson, 1953), 56–57. Crockford's meteoric rise and fall (1828–1844) in many ways represents the last great gaming boom of the nineteenth century.
33. "Military, Naval, and County Service Club-House," *The Builder*, May 12, 1849, 225.
34. Arthur À Beckett, *London at the End of the Century: A Book of Gossip* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1900), 79.
35. Sarah Luria, "The Architecture of Manners: Henry James, Edith Wharton and the Mount," in *Domestic Space: Reading the Nineteenth Century Interior*, ed. Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 187.
36. Alfred Benzon, *Benzon's Black Book. A History of the Clubs of London, Baltimore and Washington* ([S. I]: 1891), 12–13.
37. Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed* (London: Harper Collins, 2003), xxiv.
38. "The Turf Club in Piccadilly," *The Builder*, June 4, 1876, 571.
39. Benzon, *Benzon's Black Book*, 18.
40. W. H. Leeds, *Studies and Examples of the Modern School of English Architecture: The Travellers' Club House* (London, 1839).
41. Ralph Nevill, *The Gay Victorians* (London: Eveleigh, Nash & Grayson, 1930), 73.
42. Various letters, ACC/2317/BC/03/135 (1894), ACC/2317/BC/03/136 (1895–1896), Brooks's Club Archive, London.
43. Frederick Verney to Eustace Ponsonby, April 25, 1894, ACC/2317/BC/03/135, Brooks's Club Archive, London.
44. Charles Graves, *Leather Armchairs: The Chivas Regal Book of London Clubs* (London: Cassell, 1963), 30.
45. Several texts are devoted to outlining the impressive collection. Geoffrey Ashton, Kalman A. Burnim, and Andrew Wilton, *Pictures in the Garrick Club: A Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, Watercolours and Sculpture* (London: Garrick Club, 1997); C. K. Adams, *A Catalogue of the Pictures in the Garrick Club* (London: Garrick Club, 1936).
46. Nicholas Cooper, *The Opulent Eye: Late Victorian and Edwardian Taste in Interior Design* (London: Architectural Press, 1976), 15, 17.
47. John Gloag, *The Englishman's Chair: Origins, Design, and Social History of Seat Furniture in England* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964), 208.
48. Anthony Lejeune, *White's: The First Three Hundred Years* (London: Black, 1993), 141–142.
49. "Clubs," *Temple Bar, a London Magazine for Town and Country Readers* 51 (1877): 194.

50. "Social Clubs in London: Where Englishmen Pass Their Leisure Time," *New York Times*, August 1, 1885, 3.
51. W. Bayne Ranken, "Club Land," *Belgravia*, a *London Magazine*, October 1873, 461–463.
52. F. M. L. Thompson, "Moving Frontiers and the Fortunes of the Aristocratic Town House 1830–1930," *London Journal* 20, no. 1 (1995): 75.
53. One married woman admitted that a man could survive quite frugally and comfortably by living in a lodging house for 48 guineas a year and then maintaining his club fees. White Sergeant, "Bachelor Ways. And What They Teach the Housewife," *The Queen*, January 31, 1880, 106. To keep up one of the grand London palaces a man would have needed at least £20,000 per year. Thompson, "Moving Frontiers and the Fortunes of the Aristocratic Town House," 72.
54. Peter Thorold, *The London Rich: The Creation of a Great City, from 1666 to the Present* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 262.
55. "Social Clubs in London," 3.
56. A Member of the Aristocracy, *Manners and Tone of Good Society: Or, Solecisms to Be Avoided*, 2nd ed. (London, c. 1880), 4.
57. Francis [Trivvel] to Bonar Law, 11 November 1912, 27/4/18, Bonar Law Papers, House of Lords Record Office, London. The idea that a club would be a man's first point of call was echoed in popular fiction when a young woman awaiting the return of her fiancé assumes he has gone to his club when he does not immediately appear at her door. Ella Hepworth Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Literary Texts, 2004), 119.
58. Jules Verne, *Around the World in Eighty Days*, trans. Geo. M. Towle (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1956), 10.
59. *Catalogue of the Library of the Reform Club*, 2nd ed. (London, 1894), 11.
60. George Woodbridge, *The Reform Club, 1836–1978: A History from the Club's Records* (London: Published by Members of the Reform Club in association with Clearwater, 1978), 108.
61. Francis Gledstances Waugh, *The Athenaeum Club and Its Associations* (London: Printed for Private Circulation, 1900), 91.
62. Anthony Lejeune, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1979), 39.
63. Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne, Ashley MSS B 4375, British Library, London, 104.
64. "In Clubland: The Carlton," *Clubland*, June 1910, 35.
65. "Club Manners," *The World*, June 22, 1892, 14.
66. Sylvanus Urban, "Table Talk," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January/June 1880, 378–379.
67. Edward Hamilton diary, v. 3, August 26, 1882, ADD.MSS.48632, British Library, London, 223.
68. Roger Fulford, *Boodle's 1762–1962: A Short History* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1962), 43.
69. Charles Biron, *Without Prejudice: Impressions of Life and Law* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936), 30.
70. Horace G. Hutchinson, ed., *Private Diaries of the Rt. Hon. Sir Algernon West, G.C.B.* (London: John Murray, 1922) xi.
71. See, for example, an invitation for a small dinner party at the Junior Carlton Club. Fred Burnay invitation, August 29, 1883, Escott Papers ADD.MSS 58776, British Library, London, 57.
72. Menu from United Service Club Dinner, October 28, 1911, Wood Family ACC/1302/134, British Library, London.
73. Almeric William Fitzroy, *Memoirs*, 3rd ed. (London: Hutchinson, 1925), 63.
74. Squire Bancroft, *Empty Chairs* (London: John Murray, 1925), 7.
75. The surviving diaries of the Prince of Wales record that between 1875 and 1877 the prince dined at clubs at least thirty-three times. Twenty-three of those occasions were at the Marlborough Club. Index to King Edward VII's Diary 1875–1877, EVII/D Royal Archives, Windsor.

76. Matthew Norgate and Alan Wykes, *Not So Savage* (London: Jupiter Books, 1976), 23.
77. T. H. S. Escott, *Club Makers and Club Members* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1914), 233.
78. Henry James to W. E. Norris, December 23, 1900, B47 Correspondence of notable Club figures, 1895–1912, Reform Club Archive, London.
79. “The Junior Carlton Club–House, Pall–Mall,” *The Builder*, July 20, 1867, 533.
80. *New York Times*, January 31, 1879, 4.
81. Jessica Gerard, *Country House Life: Family & Servants, 1815–1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 143.
82. The introduction of female staff into the clubs was one of many wartime measures. Only the exigencies of war could have precipitated such a drastic change so quickly. Waddy, *The Devonshire Club*, 107. At the Windham Club the female staff were praised for their service and bravery, choosing to go on with their work during air raids rather than retire to shelters. Despite this, most clubs attempted to lure back their male staff when they could. At the Windham only two of the female wartime staff remained on a permanent basis. *A Short Account of the Windham Club from Its Formation in 1828* (Bath: Cedric Chivers, 1923), 36.
83. Beckett, *London at the End of the Century*, 90.
84. Louis Charles Jackson, *History of the United Service Club* (London: Committee of the United Service Club, 1937), 97.
85. Percy Colson, *White’s 1693–1950* (London: William Heinemann, 1951), 123.
86. *Punch*, November 27, 1912, 433.
87. Guy Deghy, *Noble and Manly: The History of the National Sporting Club Incorporating the Posthumous Papers of the Pelican Club* (London: Hutchinson, 1956), 82.
88. Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of Brooks’s, May 25, 1916, ACC/2371/BC/02/002/01, Brooks’s Club Archive, London 1.
89. Notice 6/1/1900, ACC/2317/BC/03/139, Brooks’s Club Archive, London.
90. E. Williams to Sir F. Fowell Buxton, December 4, 1899, ACC/2317/BC/03/139, .
91. Servants’ Book to May 12, 1891, Athenaeum Club Archive, London.
92. See events of February 1886 in Chapter Seven.
93. An Old Fogey, “Clubs and Clubmen.—V. The Club Staff,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 28, 1903, 1.
94. Club servants came under the category of domestic service and thus were not covered by the National Insurance Act of 1911; they were reliant on the Club for any pension or recompense. Maxwell Turner and A. S. Wilson, *The Law Relating to Clubs*, ed. Wertheimer’s, 5th ed. (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1935), 5.
95. The Old Age Pension Act of 1908 would not have applied to many club servants whose wages were higher than £21 per year, and domestic service was consistently an exception to the various pension and unemployment acts of the early years of the twentieth century. Geoffrey Finlayson, *Citizen, State, and Social Welfare in Britain, 1830–1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 183, 209.
96. Union Club Minute Book, March 8, 1911, A/UNC/31, Union Club Archive, London.
97. Gerard, *Country House Life*, 190.
98. The Queen’s Jubilee was another occasion to reward servants in celebration, and most did something to mark the event. The Senior United Service gave a year’s wages, while the Army and Navy contributed three months’ wages. *Vanity Fair*, June 18, 1887, 393.
99. A Fogey, *Vanity Fair*, September 8, 1898, 162.
100. “Midas in Pall Mall,” *The World*, December 29, 1880, 7.
101. Minutes of Committee, July 27, 1887, 233–234; August 10, 1887, 238; November 2, 1887, 248, ACC/2371/SJC/02/009, St. James’s Club Archive, London.
102. United Service Club Minute Book, July 27, 1904, 7903–71–23, United Service Club Archive, London, 278.
103. *The Times*, April 19, 1893, 13.

104. "Dressler v. The Athenaeum Club," *The Times*, March 21, 1894, 3; *The Times*, March 22, 1894, 14.
105. *Secretaryship of the Reform Club. Copies of Mr. C.C. Osborne's Testimonials* (Salisbury: 1888), 3.
106. Travellers' Club Minute Book, January 25, 1899, 623; February 15, 1899, 629; March 1, 1899, 633; May 17, 1899, 673; Travellers' Club Archive, London.
107. "London Clubs," *New York Times*, June 18, 1871, 3.
108. John Galsworthy, *The Island Pharisees* (London: William Heinemann, 1921), 59–60.
109. I do not entirely disagree with Tosh's point however, as he deals primarily with the middle classes and defines domesticity in a slightly different way. Among the elites, there certainly was a flight from the female social world, and clubs are a good example of the formation of a distinctly male domesticity. Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 183, 85, Tosh, "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity?" 188–189.
110. *Punch*, August 27, 1887, 90.
111. R. D. Stordale, "Clare, Lord Bayswater: A Tale of the Times," *Vanity Fair*, January 1, 1881, 7.
112. "The Homeless Husband," *The World*, August 15, 1883, 8–9.
113. An Old Fogey, "Clubs and Clubmen.—III. The Eccentric," *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 28, 1903, 1–2.
114. George Moore, *Confessions of a Young Man* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1917), 141.
115. "In Home Politics," *Vanity Fair*, July 17, 1902, 45.
116. Weedon Grossmith, *From Studio to Stage: Reminiscences of Weedon Grossmith, Written by Himself*, 3rd ed. (London: John Lane, 1913), 263.
117. T. H. S. Escott, "Concerning Club Servants," *Belgravia, a London Magazine* 25 (1874): 207.
118. Miscellaneous letter, ACC/2371/BC/03/131, Brooks's Club Archive, London.
119. Arts Club Minutes—Committee, February 4, 1879, October 6, 1885, Arts Club Archive, London.
120. Moira Donald, "Tranquil Havens? Critiquing the Idea of Home as the Middle-Class Sanctuary," in *Domestic Space: Reading the Nineteenth Century Interior*, ed. Inga Bryden and Janet Floyd (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 105.
121. Mike Hepworth, "Privacy, Security and Respectability: The Ideal Victorian Home," in *Ideal Homes? Social Change and Domestic Life*, ed. Tony Chapman and Jennifer Lorna Hockey (London: Routledge, 1999), 19.
122. Along with clubs, other examples include the hospitals, schools, prisons, workhouses, and orphanages that began to flourish in the nineteenth century. Leonore Davidoff et al., *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy 1830–1960* (London: Longman, 1999), 130–131.
123. Gunn has outlined a similar phenomenon in the clubs of Manchester. Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City 1840–1914* (Manchester and London: Manchester University Press, 2000), 92.
124. Waddy, *The Devonshire Club*, 42.
125. P. J. Griffiths, "Foreword," in *The Oriental: Life Story of a West End Club*, ed. Denys Mostyn Forrest (London: Batsford, 1979), 5.
126. "New Clubs," *The World*, April 23, 1884, 10.
127. Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 31.
128. The man caught doing something in the club lavatory with a page boy as described in Chapter Three was an exceptional case.
129. *Maudie: Revelations of Life in London and an Unforeseen Denouement* (London: Imprinted for members of the "Chatty" Club, 1909), 62.
130. "Zakouska," *Vanity Fair*, March 29, 1894, 201.
131. Only later does he discover that although he was attempting to be unfaithful with a chorus girl, his wife had never strayed. "Gloves," *The World*, July 3, 1895, 34–40.

132. Hatton, *Club-Land*, iii.
133. At many clubs to this day a "Strangers' Room" exists in some form.
134. Robert Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-Century City," in *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment*, ed. Anthony D. King (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 232.
135. Griffiths, "The Oriental," 73.
136. E. F. Benson, *Mammon and Co.* (New York, 1899), 98.
137. Committee Minute Book, Travellers' Club Archive, London.
138. Griffiths, *Clubs and Clubmen*, 189.
139. *The Guards' Club List of the Trustees, the Committee and the Honorary Members, and the Rules and Regulations of the Club* (London, 1889), 7; *The Rules and Regulations, with an Alphabetical List of the Members of the Army and Navy Club* (London, 1868), 4.
140. This change was not welcome among the more old-fashioned members of the Club. Even the staff disapproved according to one chronicler of the Club. After joining in 1893 one author encountered "the pained disapproval on the faces of the Club Staff when new members ventured to take the grand staircase at a run." Jackson, *The United Service Club and Its Founder*, 23.
141. Minute Book, December 22, 1891, LMA/4452/01/03/018, Oriental Club Archive, London, 197.
142. Athenaeum Club Minute Book, June 14, 1892, Athenaeum Club Archive, London.
143. Travellers' Club Minute Book, February 4, 1906, Travellers' Club Archive, London, 205.
144. United Service Club Minute Book—General Meetings, May 15, 1900, 7903-71-2, United Service Club Archive, London, 11.
145. *Manners and Social Usages: Revised and Corrected* (New York, 1897), 297.
146. *Bachelor's Club Rules and List of Members* (London, 1891), 12-13.
147. Union Club Minute Book, February 13, 1907, A/UNC/30, Union Club Archive, London, 77.
148. Union Club Minute Book, February 20, 1907, A/UNC/30, Union Club Archive, London, 80.
149. Committee to the Hon. R. Lawley, November 9, 1882, Letter Book, ACC/2371/BC/03/003, Brooks's Club Archive, 137.
150. *Vanity Fair*, December 30, 1882, 381.
151. The reticence of the staff to question the intruder too closely is not to be wondered at, however. To not know a member by sight was considered a huge failing even if the man had been absent many years, or had changed his appearance or even if he had been disfigured, which was not uncommon in service clubs. Fogey, "Clubs and Clubmen.—V. The Club Staff," 2.
152. This did not necessarily entail that 28,000 men were without a club; some would have been members of several clubs, and many would have been out of town. "The Deserted West-End: Twenty-One Clubs Closed," *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 19, 1902, 6.
153. "London Clubland: Signs of Awakening," *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 6, 1905, 6.
154. "Club-Cleaning," *The World*, August 27, 1884, 9.
155. "Autumn in London," *Vanity Fair*, October 5, 1893, 220.
156. Articles typically focus on either the intrusion of outsiders or the desertion of the once full buildings.
157. "Club-Cleaning," 9.
158. "The Cry of the Club Man," *Vanity Fair*, August 24, 1889, 116.
159. Most clubs typically had to resort to a wider group of clubs, however. While the East India United Service was the most common host for the members of the Oriental Club, they also exchanged with the Union, Windham, Conservative, Junior United Service, Arts, Caledonian, Naval and Military, and Garrick clubs. Minute Books, LMA/4452/01/02/001-002, LMA/4452/01/03/001-023, Oriental Club Archive, London.

160. *Vanity Fair*, August 17, 1889, 102.
161. Matthew Arnold to the Committee, c. 1883–1884, Escott Papers, ADD/58774, British Library, London, 42.
162. George W. E. Russell, *A Londoner's Log-Book 1901–1902* (London: Smith, Elder, 1902), 154.
163. Cotsford Dick, “The Lonely Londoner,” *The World*, September 2, 1896, 13.
164. *Vanity Fair*, October 16, 1902, 283.
165. Beckett, *London at the End of the Century*, 85–86.
166. W. F. W., “Notes About,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, August 20, 1902, 1.
167. To qualify as being absent and placed as a supernumerary member, a man had to be absent from England for one full year. At the Marlborough, Guards’, Gresham, Carlton, and Brooks’s Club absent members were exempt from all fees. At the Reform, Windham, Army and Navy, East India United Service, Thatched House, Union, and United University Clubs members had to pay a reduced subscription of 2 guineas or less. *Brooks’s List of Members, and Rules* (London, 1889), 42; *The Guards’ Club List of the Trustees*, 6; *Rules and Regulations and List of Members of the Thatched House Club* (London, 1889), 10; *The Rules and Regulations of the East India United Service Club, as Revised at the Second Annual General Meeting, May 26th* (London, 1890), 15–16; *Rules and Regulations of the Gresham Club, with a List of Members* (London, 1867), 4; *Rules and Regulations of the Marlborough Club* (London, 1887), 20; *The Rules and Regulations of the Union Club: With a List of the Members, &C., &C.* (London, 1868), 11; *Rules and Regulations of the Windham Club, 13 St. James Square, with a List of the Members* (London, 1890), 13; *The Rules and Regulations, with an Alphabetical List of the Members of the Army and Navy Club* (London, 1889), 25; *Rules, Regulations, and List of Members of the Carlton Club* (London, 1890) 9; *United University Club, Rules and Regulations, List of Members* (London, 1888) 10.
168. “Vain Tale.—No. CCCCXCV. A Popular Dramatist,” *Vanity Fair*, July 12, 1900, 28.
169. Forrest, *The Oriental*, 21–22.
170. “Home from Madagascar: A Chat with Three Englishmen,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, April 20, 1895, 3.
171. H. R. Panckridge, *A Short History of the Bengal Club* (Calcutta: 1927), 1.
172. Mrinalini Sinha, “Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India,” *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 4 (2001): 499. The formation of clubs would be a good example of what David Cannadine sees as imperialists replicating the familiarity and domesticity of England throughout the world. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), xix.
173. George James Ivey, *Clubs of the World: A General Guide or Index to the London & County Clubs and Those of Scotland, Wales, Ireland, United Kingdom Yacht Clubs, and British Colonial Possessions, Together with the English & Other Clubs in Europe, the United States, & Elsewhere Throughout the World*, 2nd ed. (London, 1880), iii.
174. Imperial clubland is a topic that requires much greater research but is beyond the scope of this project.
175. Max Beerbohm, “A Club in Ruins,” in *Yet Again* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1909), 60–61.
176. The more impersonal nature of men’s friendships and the large sphere of their social acquaintances mark modern society. Daphne Spain, “The Spatial Foundations of Men’s Friendships and Men’s Power,” in *Men’s Friendships: Research on Men and Masculinities*, ed. Peter M. Nardi (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992), 60, 72.
177. Richard Dellamora, *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 195.
178. *Vanity Fair*, September 3, 1897, 4.
179. Joseph Sykes to the Committee, October 8, 1892, B 173, Reform Club Archive, London.

180. E. Lees to the Committee, November 20, 1890, B 172, Reform Club Archive, London.
181. Such supplementary forms of income also helped clubs maintain their financial viability. Richard Alexander Hough, *The Ace of Clubs: A History of the Garrick* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1986), 52.
182. George Grossmith Jr., *G.G.* (London: Hutchinson, 1933), 6.
183. Clearly more work needs to be done on men's private lives and the social life of the English social elites in general; perhaps then a clearer picture will emerge as to how far men were able to satisfy their emotional needs in the family home. This research would also need to include other sites of urban male life, both reputable and illicit.

Six Naughty Bachelors, Bad Husbands, and Mixed-Sex Possibilities

1. The reference in the poem is to the confirmed bachelor character Benedick in Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*. "The Club," *Vanity Fair*, March 18, 1893, 174.
2. Almeric William Fitzroy, *Memoirs*, 3rd ed. (London: Hutchinson, 1925), 9.
3. Out of 6.6 million marriages, there were less than 1,000 divorces. Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530–1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6.
4. Some of the examples in the 1857 statute include "incestuous Adultery... Bigamy with Adultery, or of Rape, or of Sodomy or Bestiality, or of Adultery coupled with... Desertion, without reasonable Excuse, for Two Years or upwards." Ann Sumner Holmes, "The Double Standard in the English Divorce Laws, 1857–1923," *Law and Social Inquiry* 20, no. 2 (1995): 602 n 2.
5. Stone, *Road to Divorce*, 133, 123, 130, 134. Marriage to a deceased wife's sister had to wait until 1907. Mary Jean Corbett, "Husband, Wife, and Sister: Making and Remaking the Early Victorian Family," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 35 (2007): 2.
6. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair make the point very strongly that it was the 1880s and 1890s that saw the lion's share of public debate on the institution of marriage itself. Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 74, 103.
7. The 1839 Child Custody Bill introduced the option for the Court of Chancery to grant custody of children under the age of seven to their mothers; however, if their mothers were accused of adultery (even if it was not proven) custody went immediately to the father. In terms of custody battles, the welfare of the child did not become the primary concern of the courts' decisions until 1925. Stone, *Road to Divorce* 179–180.
8. A series of property acts between 1870 and 1882 gradually stripped husbands' absolute control over their wives' property. Claudia Nelson, *Family Ties in Victorian England* (Westport, CO: Praeger, 2007), 9. Shanley points out that the Married Women's Property Acts were important as signifiers that women should have some right over her own property, but also that she deserved autonomy over her identity. Mary Lyndon Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage, and the Law in Victorian England, 1850–1895* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 183.
9. The rate of divorce increased fivefold from the period 1850–1854 to 1881–1885. Gordon, *Public lives*, 75. In 1880 the average yearly number of divorces in England and Wales was 460; by 1914 the number had more than doubled to 1,033 divorces per year. O. R. McGregor, *Divorce in England: A Centenary Study* (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1957), 36.
10. In 1891 legally separated husbands lost the right to reclaim their wives by force, and the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes found that grounds for divorce should be the same between the sexes, which became law in 1923. Stone, *Road to Divorce*, 166; Holmes, "The Double Standard in the English Divorce Laws," 602.

11. As Anderson points out, England's divorce rate was the lowest in Europe, but its legal separation rate the highest. By 1899, 2 couples divorced for every 1,000 married; but 45 couples out of 1,000 legally separated. Olive Anderson, "State, Civil Society and Separation in Victorian Marriage," *Past & Present* 163 (1990): 161–163.
12. John R. Gillis, *For Better, for Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 231.
13. Mona Caird, "Marriage," *Westminster Review* 130, no. 2 (1888): 197.
14. Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 167.
15. John M. Robson, *Marriage or Celibacy? The Daily Telegraph on a Victorian Dilemma* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 1, 38–39, 64.
16. Mona Caird, "Ideal Marriage," *Westminster Review* 130, no. 5 (1888): 621.
17. Even Charles Pooter, the comical upstart, read up on the debate in the *Telegraph*. Pooter pondered the topic with his wife, and they agreed that their marriage had been no failure. George Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1998), 96.
18. *The Westminster Review* itself published several other high-profile articles concerning marriage that year: Elizabeth Rachel Chapman, "Marriage Rejection and Marriage Reform," *The Westminster Review* 130, no. 3 (1888): 358–377; Jane Hume Clapperton, "Miss Chapman's Marriage Reform: A Critique," *Westminster Review* 130, no. 6 (1888): 709–717; "The Scriptural Doctrine Concerning Marriage and Divorce," *Westminster Review* 130, no. 4 (1888): 399–416.
19. E. B. Fox, "A Man's Thoughts on Marriage," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1893, 67.
20. European scholars, in particular on the continent, have explored the role of the bachelor in society. Less has been done on the image or idea of the bachelor. See, for example, Sandra Cavallo, "Bachelorhood and Masculinity in Renaissance and Early Modern Italy," *European History Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (2008): 375–395; Stanley Choinacki, "Subaltern Patriarchs: Patrician Bachelors in Renaissance Venice," in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. Clare A. Lees (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 73–90; Mark Rothery, "The Reproductive Behavior of the English Landed Gentry in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 3 (2009): 674–694; David R. Wier, "Rather Never than Late: Celibacy and Age at Marriage in English Cohort Fertility 1541–1871," *Journal of Family History* 9, no. 4 (1984): 340–354.
21. A London Bachelor of Long Standing, "London Bachelors and Their Mode of Living II," *Leisure Hour* 35 (1886): 349. As for unmarried women, we know their numbers were slightly higher in the second half of the century. Gordon, *Public Lives*, 172–173.
22. At mid-century, the census found that half of the adult female population was single, including widows and spinsters. Nelson, *Family Ties in Victorian England*, 15.
23. Penny Kane, *Victorian Families in Fact and Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1995), 93.
24. Mark Rothery's study of Devon, Hertfordshire, and Lincolnshire found that elite couples who married between 1860 and 1899 had the smallest number of children in the nineteenth century. The average number of children born to British couples more generally dropped from 6.2 in the 1860s to 2.4 in 1921. And the rate of decline was highest among the aristocracy and professional middle classes. Rothery, "The Reproductive Behavior of the English Landed Gentry in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," 677–680.
25. Edward Hamilton diary, v. 17, July 24, 1887, ADD.MSS.48646, British Library, London, 111.
26. Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 12.
27. Pat Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics 1860–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 254. Spinsters as a percentage of the population remained steady, but population growth led to the actual numbers of single women reaching half a million in 1911. Barbara Caine,

- Bombay to Bloomsbury: A Biography of the Strachey Family* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 181. By the late-Victorian period a significant minority of women remained unmarried; as many as one in four women were single. Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 8. Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1880–1930* (London: Pandora, 1985), 86.
28. The literature on the spinster is rich and diverse. See, for example, Barbara Caine, "Feminism in London, circa 1850–1914," *Journal of Urban History* 27, no. 6 (2001): 765–778; Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies*; Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).
 29. Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Houndmills, England: Palgrave, 2001), 173.
 30. *Vanity Fair*, December 3, 1886, 352.
 31. Fox, "A Man's Thoughts on Marriage," 66.
 32. In social gatherings, it was even rare for husbands and wives to spend much time together, and in fact this would have been considered poor form. For example, at dinner parties, a man would find a card placed in the hall with the name of the lady he was to take in to dinner. Such pairings were strictly made in terms of rank with the host leading the lady of honor in first. *Manners and Social Usages: Revised and Corrected* (New York, 1897), 119–120.
 33. "The Engaged Man," *The World*, September 11, 1889, 11.
 34. Historians of the United States have demonstrated the prominence of the bachelor in popular culture both in the colonial and modern periods. Howard P. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Randy D. McBee, *Dance Hall Days: Intimacy and Leisure among Working-Class Immigrants in the United States* (New York University Press, 2000), 115–197; John Gilbert McCurdy, *Citizen Bachelors: Manhood and the Creation of the United States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).
 35. I do not wish to suggest that critics were unconcerned with such issues as prostitution, gambling, or alcohol and drug use. Historians have done admirable work proving that these social ills were at the forefront of public debate. What I do want to highlight is that the late nineteenth-century club, on the whole a thoroughly respectable institution, was placed within the same constellation of troubles as a social problem and a threat to family life.
 36. Robert Audley, the protagonist of Mary Braddon's shocking bestseller, is one such harmless, smug contented bachelor. Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Lady Audley's Secret* (London, 1862).
 37. "Wise in His Generation," *Punch*, October 20, 1888, 186. The fact that the young man is reading a work by Dumas, in conjunction with the four photographs of women, implies that while he might be single, he might not be celibate.
 38. William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Book of Snobs* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978), 143.
 39. Angelo John Lewis, "Our Treasures: A Story of Bachelor Housekeeping," in *Wanted, a Wife! A Story of the 60th Dragoons and Other Tales*, ed. John Strange Winter (London: John Hogg, 1887).
 40. "Club Life," *Smart Society*, June 14, 1893, 21.
 41. George Moore, *Memoirs of My Dead Life* (London: William Heinemann, 1906), 312.
 42. James Payn, "The Pinch of Poverty," *Some Private Views* (London, 1881), 60–61.
 43. "A Hopeful Case," *Punch*, May 29, 1880, 241.
 44. "Scientific Accuracy," *Punch*, June 8, 1889, 271.
 45. M. B., "One Bachelor of Many," *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, January 1884, 332.
 46. M. B., "One Bachelor of Many," 332.
 47. This fictional club predates the actual Bachelor's Club formed in 1891.
 48. I. Zangwill, *The Celibates' Club: Being the United Stories of the Bachelors' Club and the Old Maids' Club* (London, 1898), 258.

49. Zangwill, *The Celibates' Club*, 328.
50. Transactions of the Seasons' Club, v. 1, June 17, 1886, Garrick Club Archive, London, 23a.
51. H. Schütz Wilson, "The Women of Fiction," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1894, 34.
52. The gender of this author is frustratingly unclear. Aureole, "Men and Hymen," *The World*, May 5, 1897, 31.
53. A Mere Man, "The Daughter's Worst Enemy: The Problem of the Marriage-Shy," *Vanity Fair*, March 19, 1906, 400.
54. "A Bachelor's Views," *Club Chat: A High-Class West-End Journal of London Life and Country Sport*, October 6, 1899, 42.
55. For example, see "Beware of Widows," *London Journal*, March 27, 1886, 196–197; "An Old Bachelor's Valentine," *Harpers New Monthly Magazine* 66, no. 394 (1883): 608; "'Telephoned,'" *London Journal*, October 2, 1886, 220–221.
56. "People I Have Met: The Old Bachelor," *Illustrated London News*, June 26, 1880, 625–626.
57. Ella Hepworth Dixon, *The Story of a Modern Woman* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Literary Texts, 2004), 115.
58. "The Wail of the Mothers," *Vanity Fair*, June 21, 1884, 361.
59. William J. Fishman, *East End 1888: A Year in a London Borough among the Labouring Poor* (London: Duckworth, 1988), 123.
60. Philip Howell, "Sex and the City of Bachelors: Sporting Guidebooks and Urban Knowledge in Nineteenth-century Britain and America," *Ecumene* 8, no. 1 (2008): 20–22.
61. "Middle-Class Mothers," *St. James' Magazine*, February 1880, 136.
62. E. F. Benson, *Mammon and Co.* (New York, 1899), 68.
63. Robson, *Marriage or Celibacy?*, 148, 150.
64. Peter Gay, *The Tender Passion: The Bourgeois Experience from Victoria to Freud*, vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 202.
65. Herbert Sussman, "Samuel Butler as Late-Victorian Bachelor: Regulating and Representing the Homoerotic," in *Samuel Butler, Victorian against the Grain: A Critical Overview*, ed. James Paradis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 161.
66. Gillis, *For Better, for Worse*, 238–239.
67. The Albany was perhaps one of the most infamous of such flats. Once associated with literary greatness and aristocratic grandeur, the Albany soon became a byword for sexual indiscretions. As Cook points out, the Albany was home to many homosexual men and at least one mollyhouse. Matt Cook, "'A New City of Friends': London and Homosexuality in the 1890s," *History Workshop Journal* 56, no. 1 (2003): 41, 17.
68. Lord Alfred Douglas, Roger Casement, and George Ives are just a few obvious examples.
69. Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 31.
70. Roger Casement, Black Diary, 17 February 1903, 18 December 1903, *Roger Casement: The Black Diaries with a Study of his Background, Sexuality, and Irish Political Life* (Belfast: Belfast Press, 2002), 109, 146.
71. E. H. Cooper, *A Fool's Year* (London: Methuen, 1901), 16.
72. Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1999).
73. Leonore Davidoff et al., *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy 1830–1960* (London: Longman, 1999), 84–85.
74. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 23–29.
75. Nancy W. Ellenberger, "Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-de-Siècle England," *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 4 (2000): 491.

76. Malcolm Seaborne, "The Architecture of the Victorian Public School," in *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution*, ed. Brian Simon and Ian Bradley (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975), 182.
77. Jeffrey Richards, "'Passing the Love of Women': Manly love and Victorian Society." *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800–1940*, ed. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 106.
78. In some ways the rise of public schools and their broadening appeal parallels the development of the gentlemen's clubs; this is hardly accidental.
79. Geoffrey Best, "Militarism and the Victorian Public School," in *The Victorian Public School*, 130; Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's School Days, by an Old Boy* (Cambridge, 1858).
80. Claudia Nelson, "Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness and Sexuality in Victorian Literature for Boys," *Victorian Studies* 32, no. 4 (1989): 525–526.
81. Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855–1940* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 5.
82. "Club Manners," *The World*, July 2, 1884, 9.
83. Alice Oldcastle, "Our Husbands' Clubs," *The Queen*, September 11, 1880, 229.
84. Goldwin Smith, *Reminiscences*, ed. Arnold Haultain (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 158.
85. J. V. A., "Social Ethics: Our Future Husbands," *Vanity Fair*, November 23, 1889, 355.
86. The bedroom and drawing rooms were the preserve of women whereas men were in control of the dining room, library, and billiard or smoking rooms. Helen Long, *The Edwardian House: The Middle-Class Home in Britain 1880–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 32–33. Jane Hamlett demonstrates the complexities in the overarching pattern: Jane Hamlett, "'The Dining Room Should Be the Man's Paradise, as the Drawing Room Is the Woman's': Gender and Middle-Class Domestic Space in England, 1850–1910," *Gender & History* 21, no. 3 (2009): 576–591.
87. Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House; or, How to Plan English Residences, From the Parsonage to the Palace* (London, 1865), 70.
88. Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 9.
89. In the mid-1890s, Ellen Ross found half a million women in England identified philanthropic work as their profession. Ellen Ross, introduction to *Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860–1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 1 ff.
90. Simon Morgan, *Victorian Woman's Place: Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007).
91. *Court Circular*, October 30, 1880, 326.
92. An Old Bohemian, "The New Woman," *Vanity Fair*, October 26, 1889, 275.
93. The anonymous author was not the only man to critique the "New Woman." While educated, socially progressive, "liberated" women were only ever a small percentage of the population they spurred enormous debates. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 72; Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 253–259.
94. The series ran in *Vanity Fair* throughout January and February 1884.
95. W. Bayne Ranken, "Club Land," *Belgravia, a London Magazine*, October 1873, 461.
96. "Clubs," *Temple Bar, a London Magazine for Town and Country Readers* 51 (1877): 190, 195. Another woman agreed in more vehement tones, that clubs made good bachelors and bad husbands. "The Dearth of Husbands," *The World*, February 18, 1880, 7.
97. "The Club," *Vanity Fair*, March 18, 1893, 174.
98. The poem is not only quoted in its entirety in Timbs' review of clublife in the 1860s, it was still relevant enough for Lejeune to present the full text in his overview of gentlemen's clubs over a century later. Anthony Lejeune, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1979); John Timbs, *Club Life of London with Anecdotes of the Clubs*,

- Coffee-Houses and Taverns of the Metropolis During the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries*, vol. 1 (London, 1866).
99. Tom Hood, "Clubs: Turned Up by a Female Hand," in *Club Life of London* (London, 1838).
 100. "The Proprietary Club Primer," *Smart Society*, February 22, 1893, 21.
 101. *Vanity Fair* was fond of this plotline and had two stories with almost the exact same plot: "No. 5, Dido Street," *Vanity Fair*, September 5, 1885; R. D. Stordale, "Clare, Lord Bayswater: A Tale of the Times," *Vanity Fair*, January 1, 1881.
 102. W. B. Maxwell, "Spinning the Web," *The World*, November 21, 1895, 55.
 103. Maxwell, "Spinning the Web," 58.
 104. This had at least some foundation in the real world. An enterprising detective agency sent out circulars to promote their work in divorce proceedings. Among other things it promised: "Late Hours Found Out. Whether the Club is responsible, Etc." As reported in *Vanity Fair*, August 24, 1899, 126.
 105. "Club Manners," *The World*, July 2, 1884, 9.
 106. The announcements of the various services at clubs were publicized in the press, and most had offered up their clubhouses to not only view the procession, but served their female guests a luncheon. *Vanity Fair*, June 11, 1887, 377.
 107. H. M. Jubilee Thanksgiving 1887 Album, Athenaeum Club Archive, London.
 108. *Vanity Fair*, June 11, 1887, 393.
 109. H. M. Diamond Jubilee 1897 Album, The Athenaeum: Visit of the Queen to St. Paul's Cathedral, June 22, 1897, Athenaeum Club Archive, London.
 110. Annual General Meetings Minute Book, n.d., April 23, 1896, 7903-71-1, United Service Club Archive, London, 424-427.
 111. This is not to say the committee might not have felt outrage. They simply did not record it as a reason to exclude women. Junior Carlton Club Minute Book, May 20, 1878, Junior Carlton Club Archive, London.
 112. Annual General Meetings Minute Book, May 21, 1889, 7903-71-1, United Service Club Archive, London, 362.
 113. At this same meeting, however, gentlemen guests were granted the right to be entertained at breakfast and lunch. Annual General Meetings Minute Book, May 17, 1892, 7903-71-1, United Service Club Archive, London, 388-389.
 114. Annual General Meetings Minute Book, May 15, 1894, 7903-71-1 United Service Club Archive, London, 412. The issue of a ladies' afternoon tea was raised again in 1901 but failed. Annual General Meetings Minute Book, May 9, 1901, 7903-71-2 United Service Club Archive, London.
 115. Minute Book, May 18, 1897, LMA/4452/01/03/020, Oriental Club Archive, London, 139.
 116. Minute Book, June 29, 1897, LMA/4452/01/03/020, Oriental Club Archive, London, 151.
 117. Eveleigh Nash to the Committee, Minute Book, March 3, 1906, LMA/4452/01/03/022, Oriental Club Archive, London, 55.
 118. Annual General Meeting Book, May 13, 1913, LMA/4452/01/02/002, Oriental Club Archive, London, 6.
 119. Minute Book, March 24, 1910, Reform Club Archive, London, 148.
 120. Aaron Watson, *The Savage Club: A Medley of History, Anecdote and Reminiscence* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1907), 235-236.
 121. The John Johnson Collection has a beautiful selection of original Savage Club menus, invitations and tickets from the 1880s through the 1920s. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford: John Johnson Collection; Menues, Savage Club 1 (33), 5.
 122. *Bachelors' Club Rules and List of Members* (London, 1891), 16.
 123. There were always dissenters, of course. One London observer found the Bachelors' Club somewhat unimpressive, and favored the New Club, a mixed-sex club that enjoyed a brief

- but intense vogue in the 1880s. Paul Vasili, *The World of London, La Société De Londres* (London, 1885), 268.
124. *Vanity Fair*, November 20, 1880, 290.
 125. Arthur Irwin Dasent, *Piccadilly in Three Centuries: With Some Account of Berkeley Square and the Haymarket* (London: Macmillan, 1920), 148.
 126. *Bachelors' Club Rules and List of Members*, 35.
 127. *Smart Society*, February 15, 1893, 10.
 128. Quentin Colville and Paul Deslandes have made similar points about the inclusion of women in all-male settings. Quintin Colville, "Corporate Domesticity and Idealised Masculinity: Royal Naval Officers and their Shipboard Homes, 1918–39," *Gender & History* 21 no. 3 (2009): 499–519; Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).
 129. United Service Club Minute Book, July 14, 1897, 7903-71-21, United Service Club Archive, London, 73. The transgressions at the Junior Carlton and Union were of a similar nature: Junior Carlton Club Minute Book, April 1, 1873, Carlton Club Archive, London; Union Club Minute Book, November 10, 1886, A/UNC/22 239, Union Club Archive, London.
 130. Brooks's Club Minute Book, November 8, 1882, ACC/2371/BC/02/007; Committee to Hon. R. Lawley, November 9, 1882, ACC/2371/BC/03/003, 137, Brooks's Club Archive, London.
 131. Edwin A. Ward, *Recollections of a Savage* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1923), 10–11.
 132. Ward, *Recollections of a Savage*, 11.
 133. With the rising feminist movement, one could have imagined women protesting the elite bastions of male power. And yet with the exception of some minor window smashing discussed in the last chapter, the suffragettes left clubmen alone.
 134. "London Restaurants," *Vanity Fair*, August 26, 1882, 129. The British were amazed by the popularity of the restaurant among Frenchwomen and some assumed it was because they lacked the demure restraint of British women. Others disagreed and found that women added only charm and appeal to the dining experience; by the turn of the twentieth century it was the latter camp that triumphed. Rebecca L. Spang, *The Invention of the Restaurant: Paris and Modern Gastronomic Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 199. Restaurants were far more popular in America at an earlier date. Andrew P. Haley, *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class, 1880–1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
 135. Sarah Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1989), 271.
 136. Edward Hamilton diary, v. 40, July 9, 1896, ADD.MSS.48669, British Library, London, 90.
 137. Robert Thorne, "Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-Century City," in *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment*, ed. Anthony D. King (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 243.
 138. Major Fitzroy Gardner, *More Reminiscences of an Old Bohemian* (London: Hutchinson, 1926), 51.
 139. H. G. Cocks, "'Sporty' Girls and 'Artistic' Boys: Friendship, Illicit Sex, and the British 'Companionship' Advertisement, 1913–1928," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11, no. 3 (2002): 457–482.
 140. D. J. Taylor, *Bright Young People: The Rise and Fall of a Generation: 1918–1940* (London: Chatto & Windus), 2007.
 141. Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality*; Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Joel Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Seven The Importance of Space and Place: Clubland and the Divided Capital

1. Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil or The Two Nations*, new ed. (New York: George Routledge & Sons, 1927), 76.
2. Nor am I the first historian to suggest that Disraeli's conceptualization of class was still relevant in the 1880s and 1890s. See Rob Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century: Media Panic or Real Danger?* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), 162.
3. Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 11; Jerry White, *London in the Nineteenth Century: A Human Awful Wonder of God* (London: Vintage Books, 2007), 374.
4. Frank Mort and Miles Ogborn, "Transforming Metropolitan London, 1750–1960," *Journal of British Studies* 43 (2004): 5.
5. There is a long historical tradition of seeing the world in binaries; historians now recognize the world was rarely actually so divided, but this should not blind us to the fact many contemporaries saw their city that way. Anne Humpherys, "Knowing the Victorian City: Writing and Representation," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 30, no. 2 (2002): 604.
6. Adonis notes that while fear of social revolution was not unique to the 1880s, it was particularly prevalent then. It was not simply one group of political outliers or diehard aristocrats who felt this fear, but a more general sense of an imminent collapse of the entire social hierarchy. Andrew Adonis, *Making Aristocracy Work: The Peerage and the Political System in Britain 1884–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 241. He is not alone in pointing to increased critiques and pressures on the aristocratic classes starting in the 1880s. David Cannadine points out that the official inquiries into the extensive monopolies on land and wealth in the 1870s and 1880s and subsequent demands to legislate redistribution and heavier taxation on the rich gave the patrician class much to fear. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, 36; David Spring, "Land and Politics in Edwardian England," *Agricultural History* 58, no. 1 (1984): 18; Norman Stone, *Europe Transformed: 1878–1919*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 20, 32, 42.
7. Michael Bentley, *Lord Salisbury's World: Conservative Environments in Late Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 92.
8. While the 1832 Act might have been symbolically important, the redistribution of parliamentary seats combined with the extension of the franchise embodied in the 1884–1885 Act were dramatic. In essence, while 1832 and 1867 might have extended the vote, it was only in 1885 that parliamentary reform seriously attempted to "democratise the electoral system" of Great Britain. Mary Chadwick, "The Role of Redistribution in the Making of the Third Reform Act," *Historical Journal* 19, no. 3 (1976): 666. The pitting of the two houses against each other in 1884–1885 can be seen as the first incarnation of the greater conflict in 1909–1911 leading to the political castration of the House of Lords. Paul Adelman, "THE PEERS VERSUS THE PEOPLE," *History Today* 35, no. 2 (1985): 24–30.
9. William Layton, *Guide Populaire de Londres et ses Environs ainsi que de L'exposition Franco-Britannique* (London: 1908), 41.
10. Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 312.
11. Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (London: Macmillan, 1998), 411. Roy Porter uses the more conservative Central London figures of 4.5 million residents in 1900; still a remarkable number. Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1994), 186.
12. Robert Park, "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment," in *Classic Essays on the Culture of Cities*, ed. Richard Sennett (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969), 94.
13. Disraeli, *Sybil*, 76.

14. By the mid-sixteenth century, the tone of the West End was set by a number of large houses; however, the space was still largely a heterogeneous area. It was not until the seventeenth century that the majority of the landed class moved west. Deliberate social distancing and residential segregation became an explicit goal after the Restoration era. By the nineteenth century the segregation increased as the area of Belgravia was developed, and Buckingham House was transformed into Buckingham Palace beginning in 1821. P. J. Atkins, "The Spatial Configuration of Class Solidarity in London's West End 1792–1939," *Urban History Yearbook* 17 (1990): 37–39, 43.
15. Porter, *London*, 286–287.
16. Ford Maddox Ford, *The Soul of London*, ed. Alan G. Hill (London: Everyman, 1995), 73.
17. P. J. Atkins, "How the West End Was Won: The Struggle to Remove Street Barriers in Victorian London," *Journal of Historical Geography* 19, no. 3 (1993): 267–269.
18. *Vanity Fair*, August 16, 1894, 122. Percy White, in his novel entitled *The West End*, tried to capture the importance of this neighborhood. "There are streets which have an atmosphere of their own into which even the tradesmen's carts rattle with a sense of reverence. 'We are the West End,' they say. 'Our tenants help to make the London Season. When our shutters are up you may say with truth, 'There is no one in town.'" Percy White, *The West End*, 5th ed. (London: Sands, 1900), 27.
19. Most socialites had several events in a single day and it would have been difficult to attend them all if they were not closely situated. For women, the residences of Mayfair and Belgravia would have occupied the morning's calling rituals, and if there were no afternoon entertainments the shops of Regent and Oxford Streets would have largely hosted their time, before heading to the theaters on the edge of Covent Garden or back to the residential palaces for balls. Men would have divided their time between the clubs of Pall Mall and St. James's, down Whitehall for Parliamentary duties, into the City for business, and along Regent or Bond Street for their own shopping needs.
20. Atkins, "Spatial Configuration of Class," 44–45.
21. Mary H. Krout, *A Looker-on in London* (New York, 1899), 35.
22. Augustus J. C. Hare, *Walks in London*, 7th ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1901), 2:39.
23. Timbs was less impressed with the older clubs of St. James's. He in fact thought the bow window of White's was "paltry" by comparison to the new additions in Pall Mall. John Timbs, *Club Life of London with Anecdotes of the Clubs, Coffee-Houses and Taverns of the Metropolis during the 17th, 18th, and 19th Centuries* (London, 1866), 1: 279–280.
24. For example, Karl Baedeker, *London and Its Environs: Handbook for Travelers*, 11th ed. (Leipzig, 1898); Edwin Beresford Chancellor, *Memorials of St. James's Street, Together with the Annals of Almack's* (London: G. Richards, 1922); Charles Eyre Pascoe, *A London Directory for American Travelers for 1874. Containing the Fullest Information, in the Best Form for Reference, Respecting All That Is Valuable in Connection with a Visit to London* (Boston, 1874).
25. *Roses and Thorns of Paris and London* (Philadelphia: Historical Publishing, 1900), 351.
26. Mary Bone, *The London Perambulator* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), 101.
27. Minute Book, March 24, 1864, January 14, 1868, Travellers' Club Archive, London.
28. This is manifest today by the listing system in Britain. White's, Brooks's, Boodle's, the Reform, and the Athenaeum are all Grade One listed buildings of "exceptional interest" to the national heritage.
29. *Vanity Fair*, March 5, 1887, 167.
30. Alexander F. Baillie, *The Oriental Club and Hanover Square* (London: Longmans Green, 1901), 141.
31. The New Club was a mixed-sex venue that had a brief vogue in the mid-1880s. People enjoyed the select company and the novel entertainments, and yet consistently complained about its location "away up in Covent Garden." *Vanity Fair*, November 4, 1882, 267; The following year the club was again praised, yet the author wondered how it would survive

- during the busiest time of year, for “In the height of the season one cannot drive all the way to Covent-garden to dance.” *Vanity Fair*, June 2, 1883, 294.
32. Charles Gavard, *Un Diplomate a Londres: Lettres et Notes 1871–1877* (Paris, 1895), 73.
 33. Jones, *Outcast London*, 15.
 34. John Davis, “Modern London,” in *The English Urban Landscape*, ed. Philip Waller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 133–134.
 35. L. Perry Curtis, Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 2001; Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1992.
 36. Jones, *Outcast London*, 282–286.
 37. Stana Nenadic, “English Towns in the Creative Imagination,” in *The English Urban Landscape*, ed. Philip Waller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 322.
 38. Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the Condition of the Abject Poor* (London: 1883), 23, 24. Mearns’ text is often seen as the classic example of East End life then and now: while it certainly applies to the situation, the study actually focuses on an area south of the river by Elephant and Castle.
 39. Carl Chinn, *Poverty Amidst Prosperity: The Urban Poor in England, 1834–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 19.
 40. Park, “The City,” 113.
 41. Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 1–22.
 42. Ford, *The Soul of London*, 49.
 43. Atkins, “Spatial Configuration,” 46, 50.
 44. Arthur Sherwell, *Life in West London: A Study and a Contrast* (London: Methuen, 1901), 8.
 45. West End residents were not wholly ignorant of these problems. In particular the plight of the dressmaker who during the Season worked herself almost to death was particularly well publicized. The seamstress was one of the most popular social issues represented in Victorian painting. Despite such long-standing critiques, the dress trade continued at its hectic pace throughout the century, and seasonal work continued. T. J. Edelstein, “They Sang ‘the Song of the Shirt’: The Visual Iconology of the Seamstress,” *Victorian Studies* 23, no. 2 (1980): 184; Joel Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 82–85.
 46. “Jades in St. James’s,” *The World*, March 20, 1889, 8–9.
 47. Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 106–107.
 48. Percy Colson, *Close of an Era, 1887–1914* (London: Hutchinson, 1945), 15.
 49. The Cleveland Street Affair was a case of high profile aristocrats implicated in frequenting a gay brothel. Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality*, 106–107.
 50. Philip Hoare, *Oscar Wilde’s Last Stand: Scandal, Decadence and Conspiracy during the Great War* (New York: Arcade, 1998), 10.
 51. Leslie Weisman, *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 10–11.
 52. *Vanity Fair*, August 21, 1886, 109.
 53. Jane Rendell, “Ramblers and Cyprians: Mobility, Visuality and the Gendering of Architectural Space,” in *Gender and Architecture*, ed. Louise Durning and Richard Wringley (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 138.
 54. Koven, *Slumming*, 14.
 55. Koven, *Slumming*, 5.
 56. Rendell, “Ramblers and Cyprians,” 147.
 57. Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space & Architecture in Regency London* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 74.

58. Anthony Lejeune, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1979), 291.
59. Ian Kelly, *Beau Brummell: The Ultimate Dandy* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2005), 245, 247.
60. Venetia Murray, *High Society: A Social History of the Regency Period 1788–1830* (London: Viking, 1998), 91.
61. Gregory Shaya, "The *Flâneur*, the *Badaud*, and the Making of a Mass Public in France, circa 1860–1910," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 1 (2004): 14.
62. Mairi Liston, "'Le Spectacle De La Rue': Edmond De Goncourt and the Siege of Paris," *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 32, nos. 1 & 2 (2003–2004): 59–60. The 1880s also saw the real beginnings of women's attempts to take their place as some of the urban explorers. Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets: Women, Representation, and the City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 180, 182.
63. Ford, *The Soul of London*, 73.
64. Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 64.
65. H. T. Waddy, *The Devonshire Club—and "Crockford's"* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1919), 111.
66. The smell of tobacco smoke was considered distasteful and thus smoking was regulated. Men restricted their cigarette smoking to certain times of day and certain areas. It was considered poor form to smoke in all areas of the house, or to smoke while walking along a public street. All clubs had their smoking rooms, and many houses also had a smoking room for men only. The Prince of Wales set the fashion for smoking and rescued it from its association with vulgarity. By the end of the century, even some women had taken up the habit of smoking cigarettes, though not in public and men were still supposed to ask before smoking in front of a lady. Humphry, *Manners for Men*, 4, 32. At mid-century smoking was the source of much tension and debate. Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800–2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000),
67. This is a distinct change from the Regency clubmen who wanted to put themselves on display as much as they viewed others. Perhaps it should not be surprising that later additions to clubland did not mimic the bow window at White's, instead preferring large picture windows.
68. Koven, *Slumming*, 76.
69. Clubs were recognized by the police as spaces sometimes needing extra protection. In response to a complaint about suspicious characters near Brooks's Club, the Director of Criminal Investigations wrote to the committee to assure them there was adequate police presence in the vicinity, and when "some of the more prominent members" were attendant on the Club, additional measures were taken. Letter from Director of Criminal Investigations, Great Scotland Yard, April 24, 1883, ACC/2371/BC/02/129, Brooks's Club Archive, London.
70. The historiography of crowds and protests is extensive. Some of the most important studies are as follows: Mark Harrison, *Crowds and History: Mass Phenomena in English Towns, 1790–1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1988; Philip Jones, "The Bristol Bridge Riot and Its Antecedents: Eighteenth-Century Perception of the Crowd," *Journal of British Studies* 19, no. 2 (1980): 74–92; Nicholas Rogers, "The Gordon Riots Revisited," *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* 23, no. 1 (1988): 16–34; E. P. Thompsom, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd," *Past and Present* 50, no. 1 (1971): 76–136.
71. White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, 362–363.
72. Hazel Conway, *The People's Parks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 190.
73. White, *London in the Nineteenth Century*, 369.
74. Jones, *Outcast London*, 241–242.
75. The first bombs planted were in March 1883 at the offices of the *Times* newspaper and at Whitehall. Later that year underground stations were the focus of attack and Charing Cross, Praed Street, and Westminster stations were bombed; at the last site, sixty people were injured

- when dynamite was thrown out of a train window. In 1884 mainline stations were targeted, and time bombs were discovered at Charing Cross, Paddington, and Ludgate Hill after the arrest of one bomber. In May an attempt to blow up Nelson's Column was foiled by the police. The attack on Scotland Yard was seen as revenge for this failure. Clive Bloom, *Violent London: 2000 Years of Riots, Rebels and Revolts* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 2003), 155.
76. *A Short Account of the Windham Club from Its Formation in 1828* (Bath: Cedric Chivers, 1923), 29; "More Dynamite in London: Attempts to Destroy Several Buildings," *New York Times*, May 31, 1884, 1.
 77. "Fearing More Dynamite: London Greatly Alarmed by the Recent Explosions," *New York Times*, June 1, 1884, 2.
 78. *Vanity Fair*, June 7, 1884, 313.
 79. One kitchenmaid was injured seriously enough that she was unable to work again. The Club raised funds among its members to form a trust for her. After the blast they also insured the plate glass windows of the clubhouse that had been destroyed. Junior Carlton Club Minute Book, May 31, 1884, June 10, 1884, June 24, 1884, February 24, 1885, Carlton Club Archive, London.
 80. For example, for Jones the riot is subsumed within the larger social crisis of the 1880s, for Kynaston it symbolized a much longer process toward an organized New Unionism. Jones, *Outcast London*, 281–314; David Kynaston, *King Labour: The British Working Class, 1850–1900* (Totawa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1976), 122.
 81. "The Unemployed in London," *The Times*, February 9, 1886, 6. Exact figures varied and these are the most cited; the *Daily Telegraph* claimed the highest number of almost 50,000 people. A Working Man, "The Rioting at the West-End," *Daily Telegraph*, February 9, 1886.
 82. Donald C. Richter, *Riotous Victorians* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1981).
 83. The Democratic Federation was formed in 1881 among strong, but vague, calls for revolution. By 1884 under the name of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), it had pledged itself to the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. While the group hoped for a bloodless revolution, they were not naive enough to believe that the ruling classes would allow their privileges to be removed without a fight. The group saw the rampant unemployment of the 1880s not only as the result of capitalism, but as a necessary precondition of its survival. Graham Johnson, "'Making Reform the Instrument of Revolution': British Social Democracy, 1881–1911," *Historical Journal* 43, no. 4 (2000): 978, 998, 992.
 84. Chushichi Tsuzuki, *H.M. Hyndman and British Socialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 73.
 85. "The Unemployed in London," *The Daily News*, February 8, 1886, 5.
 86. Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, 107.
 87. Draft Replies to H.O. Queries, Committee as to the West End Riots on February 8, 1886, MEPO 2/174, National Archives, London.
 88. Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, 109.
 89. Commentators universally admitted this did not seem the kind of crowd that was bent on violence when they were in the square. See, for example, in the newspapers: "The Democratic Show; or, the World we Live in," *Reynold's Newspaper*, February 14, 1886, 2; "'Demonstration' of Unemployed in London," *The Echo*, February 9, 1886, 8; "Mob Violence at the West-End," *Daily Telegraph*, February 9, 1886, 5; "The Unemployed in London," *The Times*, February 9, 1886, 6. All of the witnesses in the trial of the SDF leaders agreed on this point.
 90. Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, 118–119.
 91. "The Riot in the West-End," *The Pall Mall Gazette*, February 9, 1886, 8.
 92. Wahrman discusses representations of the middle class in a similar way. Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6.

93. Harrison, *Crowds and History*, 33.
94. Brodie does make the point that the composition of the crowd was more diverse than observers remarked, with at least one-third being tradesmen and the other two-thirds were not necessarily the "residuum" that observers blamed for most violence in the city. Marc Brodie, "Artisans and Dossers: The 1886 West End Riots and the East End Casual Poor," *London Journal* 24, no. 2 (1999): 37–45.
95. Reporters generally had no problem ascribing motives to the crowd and individuals. "The Rioting at the West-End," 3. Burns's contemporary biographer reported that Burns alluded to "club loungers" in his speech, citing them as those who would one day realize the importance of the unemployed. Joseph Burgess, *John Burns: The Rise and Progress of a Right Honourable* (Glasgow: Reformer's Bookstall, 1911), 53.
96. Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, May 27, 2010), April 1886, trial of John Burns, William Hyde Champion, Henry Mayers Hyndman, and John Edward Williams (t18860405-465).
97. Weisman, *Discrimination by Design*.
98. The Metropolitan Police declared in their explanation to the Home Office that they did not anticipate any violence in Pall Mall, that they had been prepared for what seemed like more likely violence in Trafalgar Square. They also pointed out that most of the crowd exited the square peacefully via Charing Cross and Northumberland Avenue to the East End. "Draft replies to H.O. queries, confidential, committee as to the West End Riots on 8 February 1886," National Archives, London, MEPO 2/174.
99. For example, several looters were later arrested trying to pawn their pilfered items. Old Bailey Proceedings Online (t18860308-330a, t18860308-406).
100. "London Firebrands," *The Echo*, February 9, 1886, 2.
101. "The Demonstration of the 'Unemployed': Serious Riot at the West-End," *The Standard*, February 9, 1886, 5; "Socialist Riots at the West-End," *The Echo*, February 9, 1886, 4; "The Unemployed in London," 6.
102. "The Demonstration of the 'Unemployed': Serious Riot at the West-End," 5.
103. "The Rioting at the West-End," 3.
104. "Route of the Wreckers on Monday," 5.
105. *Morning Post*, February 9, 1886, 5.
106. "The Unemployed in London," 6. One man who had been attacked in his carriage near Hyde Park found that the large jagged stone that landed in his carriage was not from any surrounding area, and he thought it looked as though it had been specifically chosen for such an act. Erick Stuart Bruce, "To the Editor of the Times," *The Times*, February 9, 1886.
107. "Draft replies to H.O. Queries, Committee as to the West End Riots on 8 February 1886," MEPO 2/174, National Archives, London.
108. One Who Was Present, "To the Editor of the Times," *The Times*, February 11, 1886. Proof of the association is also found in the title of the collection of speeches Burns published that year. John Burns, *The Man with the Red Flag: Being the Speech Delivered at the Old Bailey by John Burns When Tried for Seditious Conspiracy on April 9, 1886* (London, 1886).
109. "The Rioting at the West-End," 3; "Meetings of the Unemployed in London," *John Bull*, February 13, 1886, 113.
110. In another cartoon, the central figure of the Chief Commissioner of Police is seen sleeping at his desk as the mob marches past his window bearing an enormous flag. "The Great Unemployed," *Punch*, February 20, 1886, 91.
111. "The Late Riots in London," *The Times*, February 15, 1886, 7; "Socialist Riots at the West-End," 4. The associations between the red flag and social revolution mirror what James Epstein uncovers as deep fears of the symbolic power of the liberty cap in the early nineteenth century. James Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England 1790–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
112. "The London Riot," *The Times*, February 11, 1886, 5.

113. *Punch*, February 20, 1886, 90.
114. Again, the size of the red flag(s) is the stuff of fantasy. Witnesses for the prosecution consistently testified that the flag was in fact not much larger than a handkerchief. Old Bailey Proceedings Online (t18860405-465).
115. "The London Riots," *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, February 20, 1886, n.p.; The Showman, "London Realistic Harlequinade," *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, February 20, 1886, n.p.
116. Gathorne Hardy, *The Diary of Gathorne Hardy, later Lord Cranbrook, 1866-1892: Political Selections*, Edited by Nancy E. Johnson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 244.
117. "From a Correspondent," *The Daily Telegraph*, February 9, 1886, 5.
118. For example, just a sampling of letters published in the *Times*: "Unlawful Meetings," *The Times*, February 12, 1886, 8; "The Riots in London," *The Times*, February 12, 1886, 10; F. M. Stuart Wortley, "To the Editor of the Times," *The Times*, February 12, 1886, 10. This last letter was actually written from the Carleton Club. One author explicitly critiqued those trying to lay blame on the violence with the socialists. He said that to do so would be to overestimate their power and importance. "The Riots in London," February 13, 1886, 7.
119. The exact charges were "uttering seditious words of and concerning Her Majesty's Government, with intent to incite to riot. *Other Counts*, with intent to stir up ill-will between Her Majesty's subjects, and *Other Counts* for conspiracy to effect the said objects." Old Bailey Proceedings Online, April 1886 (t18860405-465).
120. "The Riots and the Police," *The Saturday Review*, February 20, 1886, 246.
121. "Sneaking Seditious: Mr. Punch Giving them Rope Enough," *Punch*, February 20, 1886, 86. The image is quite grotesque, with Hyndman, Burns and Champion all hung in the same noose held by a demonic Mr. Punch.
122. *The Times*, April 12, 1886, 9. The verdict of not guilty was explained as such: "We are of opinion that the language of Champion and Burns was highly inflammatory and greatly to be condemned, but upon the whole of the facts before us we acquit them of any malicious intent. We wish to add that considering the circumstances and the public excitement of the moment, and after the reports made in the press of the speeches on the occasion of February 8th, the prosecution by the Crown was rightly instituted." Old Bailey Proceedings Online (t18860405-465).
123. Brodie, "Artisans and Dossers," 38.
124. Henry Mayers Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (London: Macmillan, 1911), 401.
125. In the course of his career Burns was a socialist, trade unionist, and eventually a Liberal MP. Unlike Hyndman, however, he did have working-class roots.
126. Burgess, *John Burns*, 57-58; Burns, *The Man with the Red Flag*, 11.
127. Special Correspondent, "Aims of the Socialists," *The Daily Telegraph*, February 10, 1886, 3.
128. H. M. Hyndman, "Starving Men Refuse to Wait!" *Justice: The Organ of the Social Democracy*, February 13, 1886, 2.
129. Hyndman, *The Record of an Adventurous Life*, 15.
130. "The Late Riots in London," 12.
131. Whether or not missiles were actually thrown from any club window is impossible to determine from the evidence. It is interesting to note, however, that historians have consistently blamed the clubmen for either laughing or throwing something to start the events, thus implicitly accepting the socialists' position. Jones, *Outcast London*, 291; Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, 115; Tsuzuki, *H.M. Hyndman and British Socialism*, 73.
132. *Etiquette for All: Or Rules or Conduct for Every Circumstance in Life* (Glasgow, 1861), 47.
133. As quoted in John Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse: The Lost History of the British Anarchists* (London: Granada, 1978), 43-44.

134. For example, there is no record of a war medal found among the debris in any of the clubs.
135. "The Rioting in London," *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 14, 1886, 4.
136. *Reynolds's Newspaper* was generally critical of the aristocracy, and relished pointing out its wrongdoings and hypocrisies. It was also very widely read. Taylor, *Lords of Misrule*, 34.
137. "Mob Violence at the West-End," *The Daily Telegraph*, February 9, 1886, 5.
138. Quoted in "Aims of the Socialists," *The Daily Telegraph*, February 10, 1886, 3.
139. "Rioting in London," *Daily News*, February 8, 1886, 4–5.
140. "The Social Democrats in Hyde Park," *The Times*, February 22, 1886, 7.
141. George Standring, *The People's History of the English Aristocracy* (London, 1891).
142. Francis Doyle was referring a recent speech by Gladstone, who had explained the dominance of the "leisured rich" as the reason behind Liberal losses near London. He believed that, while a riot was not what Gladstone intended, his tendency to see classes pitted against each other would lead to more dangerous results. And he believed that tradesmen, ladies, and clubmen who found themselves part of Gladstone's "callous rich" should look on the man as dangerous. Francis H. Doyle, "To the Editor of the Times," *The Times*, February 9, 1886, 6–7.
143. "A Meeting of the Unemployed," *Punch*, February 20, 1886, 93.
144. Alfred Pease, *Elections and Recollections* (London: John Murray, 1932), 105–106.
145. As an ardent conservative and defender of the aristocracy, Mallock's perspective on this issue is not surprising. It is important to note that this incident is a small part of a novel largely devoted to critiquing the socialist movement and socialist thought.
146. William Hurrell Mallock, *The Old Order Changes* (New York: Garland, 1976), 3: 32.
147. "'Demonstration' of Unemployed in London," *The Echo*, February 9, 1886, 8.
148. "Route of the Wreckers on Monday," 5.
149. Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century*, 123.
150. *Daily Express*, February 9, 1886, 4.
151. "The Rioting at the West-End," 3; "Mob Violence at the West-End," 5.
152. "The No-Police Riots," *The Saturday Review*, February 13, 1886, 219.
153. "Meetings of the Unemployed in London," 113.
154. Marc Brodie, *The Politics of the Poor: The East End of London 1885–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004), 23.
155. Hyndman, "Starving Men Refuse to Wait!" 2.
156. "Mobs," *The Anarchist*, March 14, 1886, 3.
157. "The Democratic Show; or, the World We Live In," *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 14, 1886, 2.
158. Godfrey Lushington to Commander of Police, February 9, 1886, 273–274; Godfrey Lushington to Col. Julian H. Hall, February 10, 1886, 277, HO/41/31, National Archives, London.
159. J. M., "To the Editor of the Times," *The Times*, February 8, 1886, 6.
160. "A General Panic," *Reynolds's Newspaper*, February 14, 1886, 5.
161. "The Rioting in the West-End," *The Times*, February 10, 1886, 5.
162. Within a few days of rioting, a new socialist government with Hyndman as home secretary established its rule over England. Another mass meeting in Trafalgar and a directed attack on the West End led to absolute chaos. Lord Wolsley eventually took over as dictator, much to the satisfaction of the fictional author. "What It May Come To: Extract from Diary of a London Tradesman," *John Bull*, February 13, 1886, 107.
163. A. G. Renshaw to Committee, January 13, 1890, B172, Reform Club Archive, London.
164. Chinn, *Poverty Amidst Prosperity*, 120.
165. While Sindall is right in general, his casual use of middle classes betrays a common habit among historians to lump all of the middle and upper classes together indiscriminately. The shopkeeper and clubman were of the same class only if one is discussing concepts

- of “rich versus poor.” In a tripartite class system, the clubmen can hardly be considered middle class. Sindall, *Street Violence in the Nineteenth Century*, 100.
166. Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, 134.
 167. There is a large amount of fictional and semifictional late-Victorian slum literature. Some is realistic, some sensationalistic, and some evangelical. Seth Koven also traces the extensive first-person slum journalism that sensationalized the slums. Koven, *Slumming*.
 168. Margaret Elise Harkness, *Out of Work* (London, 1888), 176. The hero of the story was also present for the Trafalgar Square Riot of 1887 and was roughed up by police.
 169. The desire to close potential sites of political meeting was not without precedent. During the height of the Chartist movement in 1848, the duke of Wellington had military control of London and recommended closing all parks in the city. Conway, *The People's Parks*, 190.
 170. Bloom, *Violent London*, 234.
 171. Richter, *Riotous Victorians*, 142–147.
 172. Notices signed by Charles Warren went up across the city maintaining the closure of Trafalgar Square to meetings or speeches, explaining: “the holding of Meetings and the passage of Procession have caused *and are liable to cause* public tumult and disorder in Trafalgar Square, and have created, and are liable to create obstruction in the Streets and Thoroughfares.” Notice, November 18, 1887, MEPO 2/174, National Archives, London. The desire to close potential sites of political meeting was not without precedent.
 173. Richter, *Riotous Victorians*.
 174. November 2, 1892, MEPO 1/174, National Archives, London.
 175. “Metropolitan Police Central Officer’s Special Report,” January 12, 1903, MEPO 2/174, National Archives, London.
 176. David Cannadine outlines a number of possibilities: landlords versus tenants, peers versus people, aristocracy versus democracy, idle versus industrious, capital versus labor, and so on. David Cannadine, *The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 113.
 177. One such division was the issue of “sweated labor.” Factory Acts might have helped relieve the most obvious social ills but later published parliamentary findings brought the persistent suffering of workers home to everyday Londoners. Ross McKibbin, *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 168.
 178. Charles Booth, *Maps Descriptive of London Poverty*, 1898–1989, June 19, 2006, <http://booth.lse.ac.uk/static/a/4.html>. London School of Economics. Even Booth’s map might underestimate the number of poor in the West End; he calculated poverty not by simple income, but based on behavior patterns, and thus a “respectable” group of the desperate poor might not appear as such. Pamela K. Gilbert, “The Victorian Social Body and Urban Cartography,” in *Imagined Londons*, ed. Pamela K. Gilbert (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 25.
 179. Arthur Morrison, *A Child of the Jago* (Chicago, 1896); Arthur Morrison, *Tales of Mean Streets* (New York: Modern Library, 1921), xiv.
 180. Obsessive scrutiny, slum clearances, and the calm and respectable behavior of the 1889 dockers helped alleviate the panic of West End residents and the middle classes more generally. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, 226–227.
 181. Francis Peek, *Our Laws and Our Poor* (London, 1875), 25.
 182. Stephen Inwood, *City of Cities: The Birth of Modern London* (London: Pan Books, 2006), 108; Victor Bailey, “In Darkest England and the Way Out: The Salvation Army, Social Reform and the Labour Movement, 1885–1910,” *International Review of Social History* 29, no. 2 (1984): 133–171.
 183. The all-male settlement houses of Toynbee Hall or Oxford House inspired a settlement movement in America. But the American example was largely led and staffed by women; the homosociality of the British houses was distinctive.

184. Koven, *Slumming*, 234, 236.
185. The men who were drawn to Toynbee Hall took the idea of public service seriously, and included those who would go on to be key in framing the laws and policies of the Welfare state, including Clement Attlee, Ernest Aves, William Beveridge, Robert Morant, and Hubert Llewellyn Smith. Inwood, *City of Cities*, 46–47.
186. When Liberal politician William Compton suggested such an event in 1885, it was still strange enough to spur a sarcastic poem in *Vanity Fair* that read: “In Pall Mall and St. James’s Street/ Long rows of princely mansions meet / The eye on every side; / All these are Clubs. Now, is it fair/ Such luxuries you should not share, / *You—you—the nation’s pride?*” “The Ribald Voice,” *Vanity Fair*, September 19, 1885, 166.
187. Improvements included free military band concerts, allowing bicyclist access, and the rumoured addition of a refreshment chalet. Marmaduke, “Court and Club,” *The Graphic*, November 23, 1895.
188. The Fabians and SDF had been largely London-based, and their anger was very much focused on the most elite manifestations of power like the clubs. The ILF, by contrast, was based in the north, in Scotland, with headquarters at Bradford. Glyn Williams and John Ramsden, *Ruling Britannia: A Political History of Britain, 1688–1988* (London: Longman, 1990), 322.
189. Perhaps the Dock Strike is the best example of this. This strike garnered a shockingly broad level of support, from socialists and union leaders to middle-class housewives and stockbrokers. Jones, *Outcast London*, 315–316.
190. Another small group were arrested in 1892 for possessing explosives, but they never had a chance to do anything with them. And while it is possible that foreign assassinations were plotted on British soil, in general the British anarchists were non-violent. Haia Shpayer-Makov, “Anarchism in British Public Opinion, 1880–1914,” *Victorian Studies* 34, no. 4 (1988): 490.
191. Coral Lansbury, *The Old Brown Dog: Women, Workers, and Vivisection in Edwardian England* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 15–22.
192. Williams and Ramsden, *Ruling Britannia*, 321.
193. Taff Vale, a railway company, sued its striking workers for loss of business and profits. The House of Lords ruled that trade unions could, in fact, be held liable for employers’ losses and were responsible for the results of strikes. Taff Vale was awarded £42,000 in costs and damages. Charles Harvey and Jon Press, “Management and the Taff Vale Strike of 1900,” *Business History* 42, no. 2 (2000): 63, 77. Lloyd George proposed the People’s Budget in 1909, and its perceived attacks on landed wealth placed the House of Commons and Lords at loggerheads. This eventually created a constitutional crisis, and the Parliament Act of 1911 limited the Lords’ ability to block legislation to a suspensory veto. Andrew Chadwick, “Aristocracy or the People? Radical Constitutionalism and the Progressive Alliance in Edwardian Britain,” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 4, no. 3 (1999): 365–390.
194. Given that many suffragettes saw the fight for women’s equality as a civil war between suffragists and antisuffragists, they too would have seen no use in the “two nation” model.
195. Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp, *The Transfiguring Sword: The Just War of the Women’s Social and Political Union* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997), 24. This technique proved useful and drew attention, but it was only one tool in the suffragettes’ arsenal. See, for example “Women Smash London Windows: Suffragettes’ Demonstration Develops Into a Crusade of Destruction,” *New York Times*, November 22, 1911, 1.
196. C. J. Bearman, “An Examination of Suffragette Violence,” *English Historical Review* 120, no. 486 (2005): 372. Equally importantly, the violence was truly national, not simply limited to London.
197. Speech at Parson’s Theater, November 13, 1913 quoted in Jorgensen-Earp, *The Transfiguring Sword*, 114.

198. Antisuffragist sentiment might have been popular, but how central clubland reacted to the antisuffrage movement is still unclear. Brian Harrison's characterization of clubland is extremely broad, including any clubbable space from clubs to the public schools, Oxbridge, the House of Commons, and certain periodicals. Brian Harrison, *Separate Spheres: The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978). While many antisuffragists belonged to clubs, the argument is not entirely clear that clubs themselves were explicitly antisuffrage. This area clearly needs to be further researched, as the club archives have no references to antisuffrage activism. Even when Frederick Pethick-Lawrence was expelled from the Reform Club, it is not clear it is for his suffragist activities but rather after his bankruptcy. June Balshaw, "Sharing the Burden: The Pethick Lawrences and Women's Suffrage," in *The Men's Share? Masculinities, Male Support and Women's Suffrage in Britain, 1890–1920*, ed. Claire Eustance and Angela V. John (New York: Routledge, 1997), 149.

Epilogue

1. Lady Correspondent, "Metropolitan Gossip," *The Belfast News-Letter*, February 5, 1900.
2. Charles Gavard, *Un Diplomate a Londres: Lettres et Notes 1871–1877* (Paris, 1895), 83–87.
3. Denys Forrest, *Foursome in St. James's: The Story of the East India, Devonshire, Sports and Public Schools Club* (London: East India, Devonshire, Sports and Public Schools Club, 1982), 107.
4. Committee Minute Book, 6 December 1905–20 November 1917, Caledonian Club, London.
5. Henry Lucy, *The Diary of a Journalist: Later Entries 1890–1910* (London: John Murray, 1920), 2: 270.
6. Siegfried Sassoon, "Lines Written in the Reform Club, December 25, 1920," B47, Admin./Corresp., Reform Club Archive, London.
7. Denys Mostyn Forrest, *The Oriental: Life Story of a West End Club*, 2nd ed. (London: Batsford, 1979), 136; Denys Forrest, *Foursome in St. James's: The Story of the East India, Devonshire, Sports and Public Schools Club* (London: East India, Devonshire, Sports and Public Schools Club, 1982), 106.
8. Thomas Burke, *London in My Time* (London: Rich & Cowan, 1934), 197.
9. Robert Graves and Alan Hodge, *The Long Week-End: A Social History of Great Britain 1918–1939* (London: W. W. Norton, 2001), 114. D. J. Taylor, *Bright Young People: The Rise and Fall of a Generation: 1918–1940* (London: Vintage Books, 2008).
10. Graves and Hodge, *The Long Week-End*, 108–109.
11. Allison Abra, "Doing the Lambeth Walk: Novelty Dances and the British Nation," *Twentieth Century British History* 20, no. 3 (2009): 348, 351.
12. Claire Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England, 1920–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).
13. It was only when women had tangible equality that marriage could be companionate with both partners freely choosing to be married without economic dependence. Marcus Collins, *Modern Love: Personal Relationships in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 19–23, 26.
14. Fitzroy Gardner, *More Reminiscences of an Old Bohemian* (London: Hutchinson, 1926), 51.
15. For a recent collection of stories see P. G. Wodehouse, *The World of Jeeves* (London: Arrow Books, 2008).
16. The Albemarle and the Russell Club were two of the more successful mixed-sex clubs.
17. Escott, *Club Makers and Club Members*, 338.

18. Bertie Wooster, the amusing hero of many P. G. Wodehouse tales, often spent his days at the “Drones Club,” a club based on a combination of the Bath, Buck’s, and Bachelors’ Clubs. The Bachelors’ and the Bath were both bombed during the Second World War. Buck’s Club was founded in 1919 and still exists.
19. In fact, several gentlemen’s clubs are still all-male to this day, including Boodle’s, Brooks’s, Cavalry and Guards, the East India, the Garrick, the Savage, Travellers’ and White’s.
20. There were very few fine dining spaces in mid-Victorian London, Sablonière’s, Bertolini’s, and Verry’s being notable exceptions. Robert Thorne identifies the opening of the Grand Divan Restaurant in 1848 (later Simpson’s) as perhaps the first modern restaurant. Robert Thorne, “Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-Century City,” in *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment*, ed. Anthony D. Kin (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 232, 237.
21. Ralph Nevill, *The Gay Victorians* (London: Eveleigh, Nash & Grayson, 1930), 73–74.
22. Helen and Mary Margaret McBride Josephy, *London Is a Man’s Town (But Women Go There)* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1930), 165–174.
23. Sarah Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1989), 287.
24. “Changing Piccadilly,” *The World*, July 15, 1913, 90.
25. The owners of the Ritz Hotel, which opened in 1906, explicitly tried to lure fashionable women out of their homes and men out of their clubs with attractive and accessible meals. Marcus Binney, *The Ritz Hotel London* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), 102.
26. Jeffrey Richards, *The Age of the Dream Palace: Cinema and Society in 1930s Britain* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 5, 323.
27. Jeff Hill, *Sport, Leisure, and Culture in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
28. John K. Walton, *The British Seaside: Holidays and Resorts in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
29. Adrian Horn, *Juke Box Britain: Americanisation and Youth Culture, 1945–60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).
30. Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.
31. Quoted in J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches: Style and Status in Victorian and Edwardian Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1999), 187.
32. Frank Mort, *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 6.
33. Even in the 1970s club membership could be used as a marker of elite identity. Philip Stanworth and Anthony Giddens, ed. *Elites and Power in British Society* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 70–71. Clubland is flourishing today, but just as in every other moment of success, it has changed to suit contemporary society’s needs.
34. Barnaby Brook, *Mock-Turtle: Being the Memoirs of a Victorian Gentleman* (New York: Minton Balch, 1931), 271.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Archival Collections

The Arts Club

Committee Minute Book 1878–1896

Athenaeum Club

Executive Committee Minutes 1889–1901
Memorandum of the Finances of the Club 1878
Minute Books 1887–1897
Servants Book 1836–1901
Special Events Folders, 1887, 1897, 1902

Bodleian Library, Oxford

John Johnson Collection
Papers of Osborn Gordon

British Library Manuscripts

Althorp Papers
Ashley Library
Burns Papers
Diary of Edward Hamilton
Eccles Bequest
Escott Papers
Gladstone Papers
Guest Papers
Wood Family

Caledonian Club

Deaths, Resignations, Etc. Book 1902–1938
 Minute Books 1905–1918
 Sub Committees Book 1917
 Unmarked Scrapbook 1901–1952

Carlton Club

Junior Carlton Club Minute Books 1864–1921
 Members Complaint and Reply Book 1864–1893

Garrick Club

Letter Boxes
 Transactions of the Seasons' Club 1885–1904

House of Lords Record Office

Bonar Law Papers

*London Metropolitan Archives**Army and Navy Club Archive*

Minutes of General Committee 1885–1916
 Special Committees Books
 Various Committee Books and Ledgers

Brooks's Club Archive

Annual General Meetings 1909–1918
 Betting Book 1771–1892
 Building Plans
 Letter Book 1881–1890s
 Letters 1880–1914
 Minute Book 1841–1916
 Minutes of House Committee 1901–1915

Fox Club

Various Materials

St. James's Club

Minute Books 1869–1915
 Servants' Book and Records 1859–1938

Oriental Club Archive

Annual General Meetings 1834, 1906–1919
 Oriental Club Minutes 1879–1915
 Plans, Deeds, Misc.
 Prospectus, Meeting of 24 February 1824 at house of Royal Asiatic Society

Union Club Archive

Minute Books 1880–1914

*National Army Museum**United Service Club Archive*

Annual General Meetings 1880–1914
 Letters
 Minute Books 1880–1914

Public Record Office, Kew

Home Office Records
 Metropolitan Police Records

Reform Club

Administration & Correspondence Folders
 Letter Books
 Minutes of the Political Committee
 Reform Club Minute Books

The Royal Archives, Windsor

Index to King Edward VII's Diary 1875, 1876, 1877
 Selected Correspondence

Travellers' Club

Minute Books 1863–1914

Westminster Archives

Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall: Legal papers re mortgage 1898–1935
 Brooks' Club, St James's Street: Schedules of Documents 1925
 Isthmian Club, Piccadilly: Account Book 1889–1897
 Ordnance Survey Maps 1894–1896

Newspapers and Journals

The Anarchist
The Art Journal
Black and White
Belgravia, a London Magazine
The Builder
Club Chat: A High-Class West-End
Club News: A Weekly Journal for Clubmen, Clubwomen, and All Interested in the Club World
Clubland
Commonweal
The Court Circular
The Daily Express
The Daily News
The Daily Telegraph
The Echo
The Gentleman's Magazine
Harpers New Monthly Magazine
The Illustrated London News
John Bull
Journal of London Life and Country Sport
Justice: The Organ of the Social Democracy
Leisure Hour
The London Journal
London of To-Day's Calendar of Fixtures and Events for the Present Month
The Masher
The Morning Post
The New York Times
The New York Tribune
The Nineteenth Century
The Pall Mall Gazette
The Pall Mall Magazine
Punch; or the London Charivari
The Queen
Reynolds's Newspaper
The Saturday Review
Smart Society
The Society Herald: A Weekly Record of Social Political Theatrical Literary and Financial Events
Temple Bar, a London Magazine for Town and Country Readers
The Times
Vanity Fair: A Weekly Show of Political, Social, & Literary Wares
The Westminster Review
The World: A Journal for Men and Women

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