

the two parties. Despite Churchill's landslide 1922 defeat, Dundee was actually highly marginal in the 1923 and 1924 general elections, with the Liberal candidate just 314 votes from victory in 1923 and the Conservative candidate 1,075 votes short in 1924. An analysis of split voting in Dundee throughout the six elections of 1923–45 finds that the Liberal vote overwhelmingly split in the Conservatives' favour. (In 1924, for instance, 23,941 of the 25,556 votes cast for the Liberal candidate were split with the Conservatives.)<sup>21</sup> This culminated in Dundee finally electing its first and only Conservative MP, Florence Horsbrugh, in the general elections of 1931 and 1935, in conjunction with Dundee's last Liberal MP, Dingle Foot (brother of Michael Foot). Both Foot and Horsbrugh were defeated in 1945, and their tenure at Dundee can be seen as the fulfilment of Churchill's own design for winning the constituency after the First World War.

Churchill was undoubtedly motivated by major national and international factors in his attitude towards coalition, and in his *rapprochement* with the Conservatives. However, the experience of representing Dundee, with its unusual political environment, has long been neglected as a factor in convincing Churchill that Liberal-Conservative coalition could work. Throughout the 1920s, he developed the theme of halting the rise of socialism through Liberal-Conservative co-operation, and it was on these grounds that Churchill joined Baldwin's government in 1924 and re-joined the Conservatives the following year. For all the bitterness of the pre-war contests against the Dundee Unionists, the constituency provided Churchill with a rare example of relatively smooth co-operation between Liberals and Conservatives during the Lloyd George coalition, strengthening his pro-coalition sentiments.

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- 1 The most detailed existing account of Churchill's time as MP for Dundee is Tony Paterson, *Churchill: A Seat For Life* (Dundee: David Winter, 1980), which has long been prized by Churchillians for its wealth of unique sources. However, its eccentric writing style, in which primary sources are extensively quoted without any attribution, speechmarks or citations, can make it hard to follow. The relevant chapters of Martin Gilbert's extensive Churchill opus are the most reliable, and my 2009 M.Phil. thesis on the reasons for Churchill's landslide electoral defeat at Dundee in 1922 is being revised for publication.
- 2 For the significance of Churchill's anti-Bolshevik views during this period, see Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Lloyd George's Stage Army: the Coalition Liberals 1918–22' in A.J.P. Taylor (ed.), *Lloyd George: Twelve Essays* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1969) pp. 231–3, and Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill, Volume IV, 1917–1922: World in Torment* (London: Heinemann, 1975) pp. 320–430. Chief among the many Churchill biographers to stress the influence of Churchill's friendship with F.E. Smith was unsurprisingly Smith's own son, the Earl of Birkenhead, *Churchill, 1874–1922* (London: Harrap, 1989) pp. 491–503.
- 3 For more on Churchill's affinity for coalitions, see G.R. Searle, *Country Before Party: Coalitions and the Idea of 'National Government' in Modern Britain, 1885–1987* (London: Longman, 1995), especially pp. 120–47.
- 4 See *Minutes of the Dundee Unionist Association, passim*, University of Dundee Archives.
- 5 For Churchill's 'life seat' remark, see Churchill to Lady Randolph Churchill, c. 29 April 1908, Randolph S. Churchill (ed.), *Winston S. Churchill: Volume II Companion, Part 2, 1907–1911* (London: Heinemann, 1969) p. 789. This is often misquoted as 'a seat for life'.
- 6 Dundee Liberal Association papers, Dundee City Archive, GD/DLA/4/6.
- 7 As a two-member constituency, the electorate was approximately twice the size of most contemporary Scottish boroughs.
- 8 The corresponding vote shares were 18.6 per cent for Baxter and 30.2 per cent for Churchill, although these percentages are not directly comparable to the 1908 by-election, as that was fought over a single vacancy, while the general elections were two-member elections.
- 9 *Minutes of the Dundee Unionist Association*, ff. 117–18, 11 August 1913, University of Dundee Archives. The Dundee Liberals were extremely

- organised in pursuing the new Lodger Franchise, with a series of circulars, and the deployment of the Dundee and District Women's Liberal Association. Dundee Liberal Association papers, Dundee City Archive, GD/DLA/4/6.
- 10 *Minutes of the Dundee Unionist Association*, ff. 117–8, 11 August 1913, University of Dundee Archives.
  - 11 For a detailed analysis of the national context of this Act in its various stages, see Pugh, *Electoral Reform in War and Peace*, pp. 103–84.
  - 12 *Minutes of the Dundee Unionist Association*, ff. 156–7, 27 February 1918, University of Dundee Archives. See also George Brown, *Representation of the People Act: Memorandum by Central Council* (Edinburgh: Scottish Unionist Association, 1918), 4 pp.
  - 13 The most detailed study of the politics of this period remains Kenneth O. Morgan, *Consensus and Disunity: The Lloyd George Government, 1918–1922* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).
  - 14 Inbal Rose, *Conservatism and Foreign Policy during the Lloyd George Coalition, 1918–1922* (London: Frank Cass, 1999) pp. 204–20. For more on long-standing Conservative mistrust of Churchill's influence over Irish policy, see David Dutton, 'His Majesty's Loyal Opposition': *The Unionist Party in Opposition, 1905–1915* (Liverpool University Press, 1992) especially pp. 229–31.
  - 15 Thomson is now best remembered as founder of the *Beano* and *Dandy*, but his Dundee-based publishing empire included several major Scottish newspapers.
  - 16 For the view that Thomson engineered Churchill's defeat, see Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill, Volume IV*, p. 885, which is based on Churchill's own strong belief that he was being hounded by Thomson. Most subsequent accounts repeat this interpretation.
  - 17 See, for instance, pro-Churchill stories like the two-column article on 'MR. CHURCHILL AS AN ANTI-WASTER – Claims Large Part In Cutting Expenditure' *Dundee Advertiser*, 1 November 1922, and articles attacking Churchill's Communist and Labour opponents, like 'MR. GALLACHER ON MR. MOREL – Led by Churchill into a trap', *Dundee Courier*, 9 November 1922.
  - 18 *People's Journal*, 14 December 1918.
  - 19 *Dundee Advertiser*, 14 November 1922 – a quarter-page, front-page advertisement on the eve of poll.
  - 20 *ibid.*
  - 21 F.W.S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results, 1918–1949* (Chichester: Parliamentary Research Services, 1969 [rev. 3rd ed. 1983]), pp. 715–6.



The original St. Stephen's clubhouse stands in the shadow of Parliament (The Graphic, 21 February 1874)

## St. Stephen's Club, 1870–2012

*The news that the St. Stephen's Club is closing its doors in December signals the end of an institution closely bound to the Conservative Party for more than 140 years. Stephen Parkinson surveys its history.*

From the start, the St. Stephen's Club was closely associated with the machinery of the Conservative Party organisation. It was founded in 1870 – the same year as Conservative Central Office, and shortly after the establishment of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations. All three were products of the second Reform Act, which became law in 1867 and brought about permanent changes in election management. Although it had been championed by Disraeli, the first election under the Act – held in 1868 and involving nearly three times as many voters including, for the first time, working men in urban seats – saw the Conservatives ejected from office. The Tories faced a stark challenge:

*To convert the recently enfranchised voters required more systematic organisation, and without many such conversions, the Conservative Party could not return to office.<sup>1</sup>*

Hitherto, organisational work had taken place at that 'first great Party bastion', the Carlton Club – which had itself been established in the wake of the first Reform Act in 1832.<sup>2</sup> But clubs like the Carlton – and its Liberal counterparts, Brooks's and the Reform – were highly exclusive, and not (in their minds) suitable for members of the newly-enlarged electorate. A 'new era' therefore opened in 1868 and, as well as the development of Party apparatus, 'a rush of new building' saw a new wave of political clubs catering for ordinary business men or party workers from the provinces who came up to London on political business.<sup>3</sup>

In 1870, a new principal agent for the Party was appointed – John Gorst, a 35-year-old barrister who had recently lost his seat in Parliament.<sup>4</sup> The headquarters he established at 53 Parliament Street became the first home of Conservative Central Office. Gorst was a devoted follower of Disraeli and, like his leader, 'a fervent adherent of the policy of building the future of the Tory party on the loyalty of the working masses'.<sup>5</sup> He set about strengthening and co-ordinating the Conservative Party organisation – registering voters, finding

candidates, forming new associations around the country, publishing pamphlets, answering correspondence, and supporting the Party's representatives in Parliament. His work paid dividends: at the following general election in 1874, the Conservatives were outpolled by Gladstone's Liberals, but won more seats, gaining 79 new MPs and enabling Disraeli to form his first majority administration. His work done, Gorst left to pursue his own return to the House of Commons, and Central Office moved to new premises directly opposite Parliament on the corner of Westminster Bridge – St. Stephen's Chambers, the home of the St. Stephen's Club.

This location made the St. Stephen's a convenient meeting place for Conservative MPs and their associates, being 'nearer than the Carlton and easier to join'.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, Tory MPs did not have to set foot outside to reach it: a subway connected it to the Palace of Westminster (along with a new Underground station opened in 1868). The club took its name from St. Stephen's Chapel, the original meeting place of the Commons, and Benjamin Disraeli was one of its founding fathers.<sup>7</sup> Members were required to 'profess and maintain Conservative principles as recognised by the leaders of the Conservative Party of Great Britain'. However, provision was made for up to 100 non-political members who were allowed to omit that clause – a striking departure from the practice of the Carlton and other political clubs of the day, but designed to allow members of the Armed Forces or other professions which debarred them from professing political opinions to join. Indeed, the St. Stephen's attracted a 'surprising blend of Tory politicians and consulting engineers' from its earliest days.<sup>8</sup> This was a period of rapid growth for Britain's railways and, with civil engineers regularly in Parliament to advise on railway expansion and the legislation it required, a number of them were soon elected to the club. Perhaps through their influence, the St. Stephen's was one of the first clubs to install electric lighting. Its non-political ranks were further increased in 1914 when the premises of the Whitehall Club in Storey's Gate were requisitioned and many of its members – mostly professional engineers and people from related disciplines – joined the St. Stephen's.<sup>9</sup>



St. Stephen's Chambers, on the corner of Westminster Bridge, also housed Conservative Central Office (Illustrated London News, 27 February 1875)

The club's premises were designed by John Whichcord, Jr., later president of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Whichcord was an apt choice. In 1865, he had made an unsuccessful bid for Parliament as a Conservative in Barnstaple.<sup>10</sup> Among his commissions was another building which would play a prominent role in Conservative history: the Grand Hotel at Brighton. His clubhouse for the St. Stephen's, finished in 1874, was 'a classical building with boldly corbelled projections'. Inside, it was suitably lavish – having to compete with Pugin across the road – and Whichcord was later hired to design the interiors of the Parliament buildings in Cape Town.<sup>11</sup>

Conservative MPs soon took to eating at the St. Stephen's rather than the Commons – dining, in the words of *Punch's* parliamentary sketch writer, 'something after the fashion of the Children of Israel at Passover time, with staff in hand and loins girded'.<sup>12</sup> A division bell was installed in the club's dining room, allowing them to reach the lobby in good time if needed – but this was not always a fail-safe plan. On one occasion, during the passage of the annual Mutiny Bill, Irish Members moved an amendment and made clear their intention to sit all night in order to delay the Bill. 'In view of this prospect, a good dinner, leisurely eaten at the St. Stephen's Club, promised an agreeable and useful break' for the Conservative Members:

*Just before eight o'clock the Gentlemen of England trooped off to the Club. They were not likely to be wanted for the division till after midnight. If by accident a division were sprung upon the House, the bell would clang here as it did in the Commons' dining-room, and they would bolt off to save the State.*

*Nothing happened. They ate their dinner in peace and quietness, and, strolling back about half-past ten, were met at the lobby door by the desperate Whip, who, in language permitted only to Whips and the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, reproached them with their desertion.*

The returning MPs were informed that, soon after eight o'clock, the Irish members had permitted the debate to collapse. 'The bells clanged along the corridors and through all the rooms. The Irish members mustered in full force' – but the St. Stephen's contingent was nowhere to be seen. The face of Rowland Winn<sup>13</sup> 'grew stonier and stonier as he stood at the top of the stairway waiting for the hurried tramp of the diners-out.' But no one came, and Winn only just made it back himself before the doors closed. The Government had a majority, 'but it was an exceedingly small one'. Investigation revealed that the bell wire running along the underground passage between the Commons and the St. Stephen's had been cut:

*Of course, it was never – at least, hardly ever – known who did it.*<sup>14</sup>

★

By 1885, the St. Stephen's had 1,500 members (the Carlton had 1,600, and the Junior Carlton 2,100).<sup>15</sup> Not all those who joined were exclusively political: early members of the club included the American-born artist James Whistler and Oscar Wilde, who joined in 1877 while still at Oxford – it was his first London club, and the membership fee left him short of money.<sup>16</sup> After coming

down from Magdalen College, Wilde stayed at the club while 'looking for lodgings and making literary friends'.<sup>17</sup>

Further down the literary scale, the St. Stephen's enjoyed a connection with *The Tatler*, an early incarnation of which was founded at the club. Louis Diston Powles, 'a barrister with a fair amount of practice in probate and divorce cases, had taken it into his head that the proprietorship of a weekly paper was a shorter cut to fortune than the Bar.' He invited a number of people – some he had never met before – to a 'well-attended dinner' at the St. Stephen's in 1877 to discuss the arrangements for such a venture. The novelist Robert Francillon was one of them – and found himself roped into editing the fledgling paper after the original editor stepped down a fortnight into the job. When the paper itself went under, Francillon was far from dismayed:

*I cannot say I deplored, for my own sake, my downfall from an editorial throne whereof the cushions had proved to be stuffed, even to bursting, with thorns. I deplored rather that dinner at the St. Stephen's, which had left me, in its consequences, only too appreciably poorer than before the soup was served.*<sup>18</sup>

The St. Stephen's played host to the composers Tchaikovsky and Saint-Saëns in 1893. The pair were *en route* to Cambridge to be awarded honorary degrees, but made time to conduct a symphony in London for the Philharmonic Society, whose directors invited them to dinner at the St. Stephen's. 'It was a sumptuous occasion, the meal beginning at seven and ending at eleven-thirty'.<sup>19</sup> But the evening went on even longer for Tchaikovsky, who accompanied the Scottish composer Alexander Mackenzie on 'a long ramble through the streets until past one o'clock in the morning', discussing musical matters.<sup>20</sup>

Despite these artistic connections, the club's main fare was political. By the mid-1880s, the Conservative clubs of London 'were an important source of finance', and the St. Stephen's contributed to Party coffers – albeit rather less than

the wealthier clubs.<sup>21</sup> It regularly hosted senior Party figures: Lord Salisbury spoke to 240 members on the last night of the 1885 general election campaign, describing the Liberal Party as:

*an artificial confederacy of men who are united by motives and opinions of a very different kind ... but whom false shame and old association and other sophistries of the kind prevent from assuming in the face of the world the responsibility of the convictions which they entertain.*<sup>22</sup>

He might have spluttered had he discovered that a Liberal Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, would breakfast with Tory colleagues at the St. Stephen's during the First World War.<sup>23</sup>

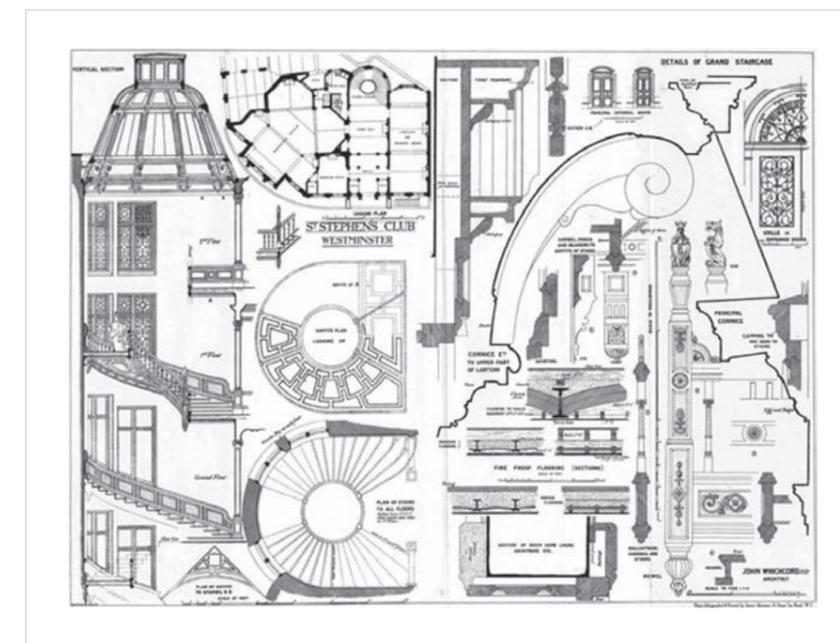
Neville Chamberlain – a prime minister 'well ahead of his time in the manipulation and massaging of the press' – invited lobby correspondents to chat with him at a series of off-the-record luncheons held at the St. Stephen's.<sup>24</sup> With his *éminence grise*, Sir Joseph Ball,<sup>25</sup> the club became an important base in 'the most sophisticated press management system until then seen at Downing Street'. Favoured journalists were given two

briefings a day – 'and the ultimate flattery was to be welcomed by Chamberlain into the small group of blue-chip journalists who were acknowledged as enthusiastic supporters, and were briefed in private at the St. Stephen's Club'.<sup>26</sup> Michael (now Lord) Dobbs imagines the scene in one of his wartime novels, describing the club as 'a place of ne'er-do-wells within the shadow of Big Ben'.<sup>27</sup>

The 1922 Committee hosted a dinner there in Chamberlain's honour on 28 March 1939. Christopher York, a 29-year-old backbencher who had been elected as the MP for Ripon only the previous month, recorded in his diary that the Prime Minister mounted a strong defence of his appeasement policy. Chamberlain

*said in effect 'I'm not such a B[loody] F[ool] as some people think' about Munich. He didn't really believe Hitler would keep his word but had to say so to give Hitler a chance to do what he promised and to give us time to prepare ... It was a great speech and very heartening.*<sup>28</sup>

The war for which Chamberlain bought Britain time to prepare found



John Whichcord's plans for the Clubhouse (The Building News, 17 September 1875)

St. Stephen's burdened with a considerable overdraft. While the membership numbers of the older political clubs fared well in the face of developing party political organisations, newer clubs like the St. Stephen's saw a dip.<sup>29</sup> In 1939, the club decided to lease its premises to the Ministry of Works. It was a shrewd move: other clubs were requisitioned, and members of the St. Stephen's were able to move back in more quickly at the war's end. But the club's financial problems continued. A pre-war scheme to redevelop its site as new headquarters for the Conservative Party, part of which the club would occupy, was revived. 'Winston Churchill approved. But the London County Council planners didn't. They wanted the site for themselves and opposed any private development.'<sup>30</sup> The club gave in: its premises were sold to the Government for £395,000 at the start of the 1960s. The 'squalid Victorian buildings' were to be redeveloped as new offices for Members of Parliament. But decades of 'delay and indecision' – exacerbated by plans for the extension of the Jubilee line – meant their demolition and replacement with Portcullis House did not begin until 1994.<sup>31</sup> By then, members of the St. Stephen's were long settled in their new abode: 34 Queen Anne's Gate, a Georgian townhouse formerly owned by Lord Glenconner and Sir Harrison Hughes, Bt., a long-serving and 'notoriously quirky' director of the Suez Canal Company.<sup>32</sup> The club's new home was officially opened on 12 December 1962 by the Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan – who 'took refuge in West End clubs to an almost pathological extent'.<sup>33</sup> A division bell was installed for tradition's sake, and MPs and Parliamentary candidates were offered a reduced subscription rate – as were officials from Central Office and the Conservative Research Department, then around the corner on Old Queen Street. During election campaigns, the Party was able to use the St. Stephen's 'almost as a canteen', with special lunches and dinners laid on for Party workers.<sup>34</sup>

However, the disruption of the club's relocation led to a further drop in numbers. By the 1970s, it was 'almost empty in the evenings and closed at weekends'. The clubland historian Anthony Lejeune complained: 'There are perhaps too many conferences at St.



Club rules and membership lists (Conservative Party Archive)

Stephen's Club, but they provide much-needed funds.<sup>35</sup>

Merger with the Constitutional Club provided a shot in the arm in 1979. Founded in 1883, the Constitutional was even more a product of the late nineteenth-century extension of the franchise. Existing Tory clubs like the Carlton feared that they would become inundated with applications from the new voters, so new clubs were established to cater for them (and keep them separate). As *The Times* explained, the Constitutional Club would be 'The popular club of the Party as opposed to the old and well-established clubs which have necessarily acquired somewhat of an exclusive character'.<sup>36</sup> It was the favourite club of P.G. Wodehouse, many of whose books feature a 'Senior Conservative Club' in Northumberland Avenue.<sup>37</sup> This was where the Constitutional was located – in its distinctive terracotta and yellow neo-gothic edifice – from 1886 until 1959. Its sale and demolition in the face of financial difficulties began an itinerant chapter for the club, its members lodging with the Junior Carlton (1962–3), the United Services (1963–4), and in the former premises of the Union Club (at 85–86 St. James's Street). Four hundred of them were residing at the 'In & Out' on Piccadilly when the decision was finally taken to merge with the St. Stephen's.

Lejeune thought the two clubs would 'prove a very suitable match, both socially and politically'.<sup>38</sup> But sadly this marriage could not propel the St. Stephen's to the top tier of Conservative institutions. It is listed by just 319 entrants in the pages of *Who's Who* – compared to more than 3,700 for the Carlton. Nor was the St. Stephen's immune from the 'inflation

and ever-rising costs' which beset London's clubs in the 1970s and '80s – but 'wise and imaginative leadership brought the Club through the crisis'. The upper storeys of the clubhouse were converted into offices, releasing money to restore the club's fortunes and to permit extensive refurbishment.<sup>39</sup> The spruced up club was officially re-opened by Margaret Thatcher in July 1984.

The introduction of a corporate membership scheme, and the transfer of the day-to-day management of the club to a new company, the St. Stephen's Partnership, kept the club going through the 1990s. In January 2003, it ceased to be a proprietary membership club, being bought by James Wilson and Myra Jauncey, who broke its links with the Conservative Party. They ran it as a private members' luncheon club and venue for evening functions until 2007, when it was put on the market for £5.5 million. It was bought by the founder of a Danish clothing business, Troels Holch Povlsen. He initially subsidised the club's losses, but its members – who had by now dwindled to some two hundred – were told at their AGM in November 2011 that, unless the it was able to break even by the end of 2012, 'the owner will be left with no alternative but to close the club'.<sup>40</sup> If no investor comes forward – either to pay the rent of £100,000 *per annum* or purchase the freehold of the building – the club will close its doors for the last time on 21 December 2012, shortly after celebrating its 50th anniversary at Queen Anne's Gate.<sup>41</sup>

Whether or not such a white knight is found in time, the St. Stephen's survived long enough to play one final part in Conservative history. David Cameron regularly used the club for his press conferences in Opposition, and returned there on the morning of 7 May 2010 to make his 'big, bold and generous' offer to the Liberal Democrats in the wake of the hung parliament. Thus a club which had played host to Tory Prime Ministers since the time of Disraeli was able to help usher one more Conservative into Downing Street.

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Sadly, only a small number of the club's records survived its move in the 1960s and a later flood. I am grateful to Bernard Moray, the club's manager, who allowed me to consult them, as well as to Lord Lexden, Seth Thévoz and Elliot Grainger, all of whom commented on an early draft of this article

- 1 E.J. Feuchtwanger, *Disraeli, Democracy and the Tory Party: Conservative leadership and organisation after the Second Reform Bill* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 114.
- 2 Sir Charles Petrie, Bt. and Alistair Cooke, *The Carlton Club, 1832–2007* (London: Carlton Club, 2007), p. 2.
- 3 H.J. Hanham, *Elections and Party Management: Politics in the time of Disraeli and Gladstone* (London: Longmans, 1959), pp. 99–100.
- 4 (See biographical note on p. 30.) Gorst's predecessor, Markham Spofforth, resigned in March 1870 following a contentious – and unsuccessful – attempt to install his colleague the Hon. C.K. Keith-Falconer as Secretary of the Junior Carlton Club. Spofforth 'became increasingly unpopular with many members' as a result of this intrusion into the club's affairs, and a number of senior figures resigned in protest – which seems to have triggered his own resignation as party agent (Feuchtwanger, *op. cit.*, p. 112).
- 5 Feuchtwanger, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
- 6 Anthony Lejeune, *The Gentlemen's Clubs of London* (London: MacDonald and Jane's, 1979), p. 245.
- 7 The tradition of marking Primrose Day on 19 April, the anniversary of Disraeli's death, originated in the club. The botanist and administrator Sir George Birdwood, a member of the club's committee, suggested that the dining room tables be decorated with primroses (reportedly Disraeli's favourite flower) on the first anniversary. This led, the following year, to the practice of decorating his statue in Parliament Square with the flowers, which continued for many years. (Alistair Cooke's 2010 book, *A Gift from the Churchills: The Primrose League, 1883–2004* contains further information about this and much more besides.)
- 8 Lejeune, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
- 9 Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert (eds.), *The London Encyclopaedia* (London: Macmillan, 1983), p. 766.
- 10 There is some confusion over whether he made the poll. Whichcord's entry in the *DNB* says that he 'unsuccessfully stood as a Conservative candidate for the Barnstaple constituency' (Paul Waterhouse, 'Whichcord, John (1823–1885)', rev. John Elliott, *Oxford*

- Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004), but the eminent psephologist F.W.S. Craig lists an H. Gwyn as the unsuccessful Conservative candidate (*British Parliamentary Election Results, 1832–1885*, London: Macmillan, 1977). It is possible that Whichcord unsuccessfully sought the nomination, or that he relinquished it before the poll; in either event, he would probably have been unlucky: Barnstaple was a split two-member constituency, returning one Conservative and one Liberal that year – and the winning Tory was the former MP and local *châtelain* Sir George Stucley, Bt.
- 11 Waterhouse, *op. cit.*
  - 12 Sir Henry W. Lucy, *A Diary Of The Home Rule Parliament 1892–1895* (London: Cassell & Co., 1896), p. 134.
  - 13 Rowland Winn, 1st Baron St. Oswald (1820–93). MP (C) North Lincolnshire, 1868–85. Government Whip, 1874–80; Chief Whip, 1880–85.
  - 14 Sir Henry W. Lucy, *Later Peeps at Parliament: Taken from Behind the Speaker's Chair* (London: George Newnes Ltd., 1905), pp. 4–5. Division bells had been fitted in the Carlton and Reform Clubs since at least the 1850s. (Seth Thévoz, 'The political impact of London clubs, 1832–1868', forthcoming Warwick University Ph.D. thesis (2013), ch. 4.)
  - 15 *Whitaker's Almanack*, cited in Hanham, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
  - 16 Richard Ellman, *Oscar Wilde* (London: Penguin, 1988), p. 67. *Whitaker's* (1885) gives the fee as 20 gn. entrance and 10 gn. *per annum*.
  - 17 Joseph Pearce, *The Unmasking of Oscar Wilde* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004), p. 119.
  - 18 R.E. Francillon, *Mid-Victorian Memories* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914), pp. 232–9.
  - 19 David Brown, *Tchaikovsky: vol. IV, The Final Years, 1885–1893* (London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991), p. 467.
  - 20 Cited in Simon Mundy, *Tchaikovsky* (London: Omnibus Press, 1998), p. 193.
  - 21 *The St. Stephen's Review* (a weekly political magazine unconnected to the club) of 2 February 1884 reported that the Carlton gave £1,400, the Junior Carlton about half that sum, but that the St. Stephen's 'does not do much' (Hanham, *op. cit.*, p. 374n).
  - 22 Andrew Roberts, *Salisbury: Victorian Titan* (London: Phoenix, 2000), p. 367.
  - 23 Lord Edmund Talbot, the Unionist Chief Whip, acted as host. John Grigg, *Lloyd George: War Leader, 1916–1918* (London: Faber & Faber, 2011 edn.), p. 508.
  - 24 Lynne Olson, *Troublesome Young Men: The Churchill Conspiracy of 1940*

- (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), p. 120.
- 25 Sir (George) Joseph Ball (1885–1961). Director, Conservative Research Department, 1930–39; Deputy Chairman, National Publicity Bureau, 1934–39; Security Executive, 1940–42. Lord Lexden is working on a biography of this shady but influential figure.
  - 26 David Faber, *Munich: The 1938 Appeasement Crisis* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2008), p. 172.
  - 27 Michael Dobbs, *Winston's War* (London: HarperCollins, 2011), p. 244.
  - 28 Andrew Roberts, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples Since 1900* (London: HarperCollins, 2007), p. 250.
  - 29 Antonia Taddei, 'London Clubs in the Nineteenth Century', University of Oxford Discussion Papers in Economic and Social History, No. 28 (1999), Table 14.
  - 30 Lejeune, *op. cit.*, p. 249. Churchill was a member of the St. Stephen's Club: accounts and letters relating to his annual subscription are among his papers at Churchill College, Cambridge (e.g. CHAR 1/47/75 and 1/50/5).
  - 31 The Rt. Hon. Virginia Bottomley, 'Ginny's New Palace', *Building Review*, issue 43 (October 2000), pp. 30–34.
  - 32 Keith Kyle, *Suez: Britain's End of Empire in the Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), p. 605. The present house was built c.1810 in the place of two red brick houses of the Dutch style (similar to the others extant in the street) which had fallen into disrepair. This in turn was substantially rebuilt and extended in 1910 by the arts and craft architect Detmar Blow.
  - 33 Ferdinand Mount, 'Too Obviously Cleverer', *London Review of Books*, vol. 33, no. 17 (8 September 2011).
  - 34 Lejeune, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
  - 35 *ibid.*, pp. 247–9.
  - 36 *The Times*, 4 October 1886.
  - 37 In *Leave it to Psmith*, for instance, the eponymous Old Etonian socialist steals an umbrella from the club's cloakroom on the pretext that 'Other people are content to talk of the redistribution of property. I go out and do it' (Everyman edn., 2003, p. 75).
  - 38 Lejeune, *op. cit.*, p. 249. They were not the only Tory clubs to combine their memberships. When the Bath Club and the Conservative Club merged after the Second World War, they were vulgarly referred to as the 'Lava-Tory' (Sampson, *op. cit.*, p. 55).
  - 39 'St. Stephen's Constitutional Club', short historical preface to club rules and bye-laws by 'PP', dated March 2000.
  - 40 Email from Martin Day, the club's chairman, to members, 25 November 2011.
  - 41 Minutes of an Extra General Meeting of the St. Stephen's Club, 2 August 2012.