

**THE ARCHITECTURE OF GENTLEMEN'S CLUBS IN
NEW YORK CITY**
A STUDY OF GENDER AND CLASS IN AMERICA, 1879-1909

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Henry Horatio Joyce

St Cross College

2019

Contents

<i>Short Abstract</i>	1
<i>Long Abstract</i>	2
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	7
<i>List of Figures</i>	9
<i>Key to Abbreviations</i>	15
Introduction	16
1 The American Renaissance: Century Association	55
2 The Gift that Kept on Giving: New York's Harvard House	84
3 Aristocracy by Ballot: Metropolitan Club	113
4 New Women—Old Clubhouse: Colony Club	138
5 From Gesellschaft to Harmonie Club	167
Conclusion	205
Figures	214
Bibliography	266

Short Abstract

This thesis is about America's most famous architects and, frankly speaking, some of their least famous buildings. It is a study of the firm of McKim, Mead & White and the gentlemen's clubhouses it built in New York City around the turn of the twentieth century. Though obscure, I argue, these buildings were of equal if not greater significance—architecturally as well as socially—than many of the firm's more noted projects. While McKim, Mead & White's pavilions at Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Madison Square Garden, and Pennsylvania Station have all been demolished, the great majority of the firm's clubhouses are still extant, occupied by the same organisations that commissioned them more than a century ago. My aim here is to explore how McKim, Mead & White designed these places, what social function they served for their clients, and where they fit within the larger story of this fabled architectural firm.

Long Abstract

This thesis is about America's most famous architects and, frankly speaking, some of their least famous buildings. It is a study of the firm of McKim, Mead & White and the gentlemen's clubhouses it built in New York City around the turn of the twentieth century. Though obscure, I argue, these buildings were of equal if not greater significance—architecturally as well as socially—than many of the firm's more noted projects. While McKim, Mead & White's pavilions at Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Madison Square Garden, and Pennsylvania Station have all been demolished, the great majority of the firm's clubhouses are still extant, occupied by the same organisations that commissioned them more than a century ago. My aim here is to explore how McKim, Mead & White designed these places, what social function they served for their clients, and where they fit within the larger story of this fabled architectural firm.

The chapters proceed from a straightforward theory about McKim, Mead & White's clubhouses, what it is they did, and how they did it. I am interested in the architectural process as an end in itself. By utilising the records of the firm, the personal papers of the partners, as well as that of the organisations they built for and its individual members, I reconstruct the ideas behind the buildings and how they evolved through the stages of design and construction. What emerges from these narratives are the thoughts, schemes, ambitions, and fears of an emergent social class that otherwise went unrecorded.

I contend that the development of the clubhouse idea, often undertaken in close collaboration with the architects, helped wealthy New Yorkers, women as well as men, develop into a self-conscious and cohesive upper class. That experience of building these places was, in other words, a mechanism for class formation. What made this class remarkable—and worth studying—was the geographical

scope of its business, education, and leisure. It was the country's first truly national upper class—an American aristocracy—and in building its New York clubhouses it was in a sense building itself.

The case study chapters proceed in a generally chronological fashion in order to show how the club idea grew alongside the evolving needs of the emergent ruling class. They fall into two distinct periods: the first runs from 1889 to 1894, covering chapters one through three, and the second from 1902 to 1907, covering the final two chapters. What distinguished the clubhouses from the first period as a group, besides their dates, was the characteristic that the architects were themselves members of the organisations. And this gave the design process special directness in its contribution to the development of the American ruling class, its identity, and institutional underpinnings.

This was especially true for the Century Association, the New York's oldest cultural organisation, examined in chapter one. Here we see more clearly than ever the ideological edge of Charles F. McKim's American Renaissance, a little studied artistic movement that he led around the turn of the century. In the first chapter, I thus reconstruct for the first time an internal debate that roiled the association for nearly a decade over the question of whether to build new quarters, teasing out new themes and characters behind the American Renaissance. These, I argue, show the artistic movement to have been far more than merely a reflection of fantasies of Old World aristocracy on the part of Gilded Age robber barons. Rather, the debate over new quarters shows the American Renaissance to have been a forgotten component of a well-studied effort by a small but influential group of patricians like Theodore Roosevelt to reconcile what they saw as the best and worst of their own class and that of the new men in American business.

Chapter two offers another example of the club idea helping an antebellum institution transition into the new realities of industrialised America. In fact, it examines America's oldest institution, Harvard University, and how Harvard alumni in New York City with the help of McKim (an alumnus himself) used the club form to develop the country's first modern metropolitan alumni community. This, I argue, gave their alma mater an important yet overlooked advantage in its improbable rise to become America's first national university. It allowed them and Harvard's leaders

to transfer a Brahmin image of a ruling-class man to a national context. The number of institutions that followed their lead, erecting alumni clubhouses not only in New York but in cities across the United States, brings new insight into how exactly higher education became such an important facet of American ruling-class identity.

The third case study, and the final example from McKim, Mead & White's early clubhouse period, shifts attention from McKim to Stanford White in his work on the Metropolitan Club. Unlike the first two clubs, the Metropolitan was an entirely new institution. As such, it depended especially on the architect for its form and meaning—almost to the point of breaking the architect-client fraternity. The clients were some of America's most influential businessmen in the world of high finance and railroads, led by the club's founding president, J. P. Morgan, who were frustrated by the intransigence of the old Knickerbocker elite to welcome the new men in American business. Here we see the social counterpart to a well-studied story about the corporate reorganisation of the American economy. The work of these men at the boardroom tables has been the subject of many a business study. This chapter by contrast considers their work at the drafting table of their friend and architect, Stanford White. In this way, the Metropolitan shows itself to have been part of a long-running and multi-institutional campaign by these men to do to high society what they were also doing to American business, consolidating and eliminating competition.

The Metropolitan Club would be McKim, Mead & White's last until the beginning of the next century. The economic crash of 1893 brought the clubhouse building boom to a temporary halt. When it picked back up again around 1900, as the economy strengthened, the clubs that now commissioned McKim, Mead & White were different and the way the firm built them had no less changed.

The Colony Club of 1905-07, the subject of chapter four, is the first example from McKim, Mead & White's later clubhouse period. It is a testament to how far the ruling class had evolved in the intervening years. First, the Colony was a women's club; the first in New York. Here we see women beginning to assert themselves as upper-class actors in their own right. The American ruling class had solidified their position by the early 1900s, partly thanks to the economic depression and the

opportunities it afforded for industrial consolidations. The Colony sheds light on a persistent mystery in the historiography: when and how ruling-class women left the home and began to assert themselves in philanthropy and social reform, ultimately helping to soften the Progressive Era reforms in ways that ensured their class remained at the pinnacle of society. In building the Colony, the founders created a stepping stone between the public and private spheres, as well as receiving an architectural education they would use time and time again in their later work as reformers and philanthropists.

If the first four chapters establish anything, it is that McKim, Mead & White, in close collaboration with their clients, had been crucial in helping to establish the club as a hegemonic institution in upper-class life, one that was as useful and as effective to elites as it was flexible. That flexibility was tested to the limits in the Harmonie Club of 1902-05, which is taken up in the fifth and final case study. The pre-clubhouse history of the Harmonie is a story of growing antisemitism in the upper class and its institutionalisation in clubs. It shows in more detail than other histories the effect of genteel discrimination on the German Jewish elite, who founded the Harmonie in 1847, originally as a family club, suggesting that racism was more serious a factor in undermining the American upper class than historians of capitalism have portrayed. The architectural history of the Harmonie Club, on other hand, shows just how valuable a mechanism the gentlemen's club was in the hands of McKim, Mead & White for ensuring that that class remained cohesive even while segregated. The major theme running through both parts of this history, pre-clubhouse and clubhouse, is the question of women's participation in club life which was intimately tied to the question of assimilation in the face of antisemitism: to be or not to be a gentlemen's club. Had the Harmonie Club known just how flexible the club form was in the hands of McKim, Mead & White, it may have been quicker to award the commission, which it only did after two decades of debate. The Harmonie Club was a gentlemen's club but one that did not mean—as many had feared—forsaking the German Jewish community's traditions of mixed sociability.

In these five chapters are five intimate portraits of the making of the American ruling class. From culture to education, from Jews to women, from new money to old money, and much more, if

this thesis covers more ground and does so in more detail than most histories of elites, it is because of its subject, the gentlemen's clubs of McKim, Mead & White. These buildings and their architects, long overlooked and neglected, served a remarkable purpose at the turn of the nineteenth century. New York City had become the capital of the new American economy, integrated and mighty, producing a new class of financial and industrial elites whose fortunes the likes of which the world had never seen. On the whole they were a mixed bunch, most were newly rich, but one segment was different. An elite within the monied elite, a renegade faction of the old commercial and intellectual gentry, these men, women, and architects looked to overcome their parochial roots, taking the best of their patrician heritage and the best of the new raw talent of the industrial economy to sculpt a new American ruling class. Their mechanism of choice was gentlemen's clubs. An unusual type of organisation which could be established for almost any purpose or even none at all, the one definitive thing about them was their building. Though first seen in early nineteenth-century London, McKim, Mead & White had developed a command of its form through their own evolution from Shingle Style to Renaissance classical architects. The informal experience of working with McKim, Mead & White on their clubhouses, tailoring the rigid clubhouse form to meet their needs, provided a remarkable laboratory for the capitalist elite, a centre for ruling-class innovation, and a springboard for the culture and institutions of the American ruling class.

Acknowledgements

The topic of this thesis evolved from a happy coincidence of research seminars at Boston University. Professor Keith Morgan first ushered me in the direction of American clubhouses, while Professor Melanie Hall guided my early investigations of English ones. I thank them for their early guidance.

At Oxford, I had the good fortune to be supervised by Professor William Whyte. I am indebted to him on a number of fronts, not least for helping me to conceive of the thesis as a social history of architecture and for his extraordinary grasp of the field. The Rothermere American Institute has been an immeasurable source of knowledge and support for developing the American history component of my research. In particular, I wish to thank the members and conveners of the American History Graduate Seminar, including Pekka Hämäläinen, Louisa Hotson, Mara Keire, Oenone Kubie, Daniel Rowe, and Jay Sexton. I thank them for their help.

In addition to the Rothermere American Institute, St Cross College, the Santander Research Fund, the Oxford History Faculty, the Arnold, Bryce and Read funds, the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, the Society of Architectural Historians, and the New-York Historical Society have all contributed generously to funding my research in the United States.

On the ground in the United States my success hinged on the expertise and assistance of many archivists, librarians, and curators. I am indebted to Janet Parks at the Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library at Columbia University, Mary Saunders at the Harvard University Club Archives, Timothy J. DeWerff at the Century Association Archives, and Marilyn Kushner and Michael Ryan at the New-York Historical Society.

In writing up I have greatly depended on a smart and generous group of friends and family, many of whom have read and re-read this work over the years. On the front line were Peter Budden,

Marion Frostick, Katharina Oke, and Juliane Sachschal. This work would have been impossible without their incredible support and I cannot thank them enough. At critical moments, I have also incurred debts to Ralph Alswang, Melissa Bingmann, J. M. Crook, Linda Culman, Huw David, Edward Gillin, Ben Holtzman, Augusta Joyce, Naomi Lamoreaux, Susie Pak, Sian Pooley, Jane Rawson, Luke Syson, Alex Tait, Katherine Taylor, Seth Alexander Thévoz, Stephen Tuffnell, Geoffrey Tyack, Abigail Van Slyck, Giles Waterfield, Marley Wertheimer, and Samuel White.

If the immediate origins of this study were in two seminars, then its roots run much deeper, to my parents and their curiosity, creativity, and passion for history. This thesis is dedicated to them, Hope and Henry.

List of Figures

Figure 1. Morgan's Study, New York City, by McKim, Mead & White, 1902-06: It was here that Morgan summoned a group of bankers in 1907 (Morgan Library & Museum)

Figure 2. Morgan's Library, across from Morgan's Study, by McKim, Mead & White, 1902-1906 (Morgan Library & Museum)

Figure 3. University Club, London, elevations and ground-floor plan, by William Wilkins, 1822-26. (W. H. Leeds, *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*, II)

Figure 4. South Side of Pall Mall, London. From left to right: United Service Club; (across Waterloo Place) Athenaeum Club; Travellers' Club; Reform Club. (*Survey of London*)

Figure 5. United Service Club, first-floor plan. (*Survey of London*)

Figure 6. Athenaeum Club, First-floor plan, drawn 1882. (*Survey of London*)

Figure 7. Travellers' Club, first-floor plan, published 1839. (*Survey of London*)

Figure 8. Reform Club, Ground-floor plan, executed design, published 1840. * First-floor unavailable. (*Survey of London*)

Figure 9. United Service Club, Library (*Survey of London*)

Figure 10. Athenaeum Club, Drawing Room. (*Country Life*, 1955)

Figure 11. Travellers' Club, Library. (*Survey of London*)

Figure 12. Reform Club, Library. (*Survey of London*)

Figure 13. Reform Club, London, by Charles Barry, 1838-41. (*Survey of London*)

Figure 14. University Club, New York City, by McKim, Mead & White, 1898-1901. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 15. Union Club, at 21st Street and Fifth Avenue, New York, by Thomas Thomas, 1852-55. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 16. Location of private members' clubs in New York City in 1879, 1893, and 1909. Sources: *The King's Handbook* (1893), *Troy's New York City Directory* (1879); *New York Social Registrar* (1909); and *The Elite Catalogue of Clubs* (1890-91). (Authors)

Figure 17. Leonard W. Jerome Mansion, 32 East 26th Street, New York City, by Thomas R. Jackson, 1859. (Library of Congress)

Figure 18. Victor Newcomb House, Elberon, New Jersey, by McKim, Mead & White, 1880-81. (V. J. Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style*)

Figure 19. Robert Goelet House, Newport, Rhode Island, by McKim, Mead & White, 1882-83. (Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style*)

Figure 20. H. A. C. Taylor House, Newport, Rhode Island, by McKim, Mead & White, 1885-86. (Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style*)

Figure 21. Century Association, first-floor plan, New York City, by McKim, Mead & White, 1889-91 (Century Association Foundation Archives)

Figure 22. Villard Houses, 451 Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1900. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 23. Entrance hall in the Henry Villard House, 451 Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1900. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 24. Century Association, 15th Street clubhouse, façade by Joseph C. Wells, photographed c. 1860s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

Figure 25. Century Association, 15th Street clubhouse, art gallery and library, remodelled by Charles Dexter Gambrill, photographed c. 1870s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

Figure 26. Century Association, 15th Street clubhouse, façade by Gambrill & Richardson, 1869. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

Figure 27. Century Association, proposed clubhouse, Fifth Avenue and 30th Street, floor plans, 1885. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

Figure 28. Boston Public Library, exterior from across Copley Square, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1909. (Library of Congress)

Figure 29. Boston Public Library, delivery room, murals by Edwin Austin Abbey, photographed c. 1909. (Library of Congress)

Figure 30. Boston Public Library, main staircase, murals by John Singer Sargent, photographed c. 1909. (Library of Congress)

Figure 31. Century Association, West 43rd clubhouse, by McKim, Mead & White, 1889-91. (*Monograph of McKim, Mead & White*)

Figure 32. Century Association, floor plans, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

Figure 33. Century Association, view of main staircase from ground floor, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1890s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

Figure 34. Century Association, main dining room, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1890s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

Figure 35. Century Association, second-floor library, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1890s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

Figure 36. Century Association, first-floor hall, facing south, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1890s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

Figure 37. First-floor plan, principal elevation, and interior photographs of the Great Hall, Harvard Student Union, Cambridge, by McKim, Mead & White, 1901. (A Monograph of the Work of McKim, Mead & White, 1879-1915, vo. 2)

Figure 38. Harvard Club of New York, 11 West 22nd Street, occupied 1887 to 1894. (O. de Kay, *From the Age That is Past*)

Figure 39. Typical first- and second-storey floor plans for a New York brownstone house in the late nineteenth century. (Lockwood, *Bricks & Brownstone*)

Figure 40. New York's Harvard House, West 44th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1894. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 41. Floor plans, New York's Harvard House, by McKim, Mead & White. (*The American Architect and Building News*, 4/1021, 1895)

Figure 42. Reception room, staircase, and library, New York's Harvard House, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1894. (*Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 3/9, 1894)

Figure 43. Unexecuted design for library interior, New York's Harvard House, possibly by Rosina (née Emmet) Sherman, c. 1893. (Harvard Club of New York City Archives)

Figure 44. A. D. Clubhouse, viewed from Commonwealth Avenue, Cambridge, by Cummings & Parker, 1899. (Harvard University Archives)

Figure 45. First-floor plan, A. D. Clubhouse, Cambridge, by Cummings & Parker, 1899. (Harvard University Archives)

Figure 46. Proposed building for the Princeton Club of New York, corner of Park Avenue and 58th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1915. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 47. Caroline Astor's House, 34th Street and Fifth Avenue, by Griffith Thomas, 1853; photographed c. 1900. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 48. Madison Square Garden, corner of 26th Street and Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, 1887-91. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 49. Elevation and plans, Madison Square Garden, by McKim, Mead & White, 1887-91. (*Monograph of McKim, Mead & White*)

Figure 50. Amphitheatre, Madison Square Garden, c. 1896. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 51. Tower of Madison Square Garden, by Augustus Saint-Gaudens and McKim, Mead & White, 1887-91. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 52. Goelet Building, New York City, by McKim, Mead & White, 1886-7. (New York Times)

Figure 53. Goelet Family Office, New York City, McKim, Mead & White, 1889. (Office for Metropolitan History)

Figure 54. Nahma, Robert Goelet's yachts, with interiors by Stanford White, 1890. (New-York Daily Tribune)

Figure 55. Goelet Family Mausoleum, Woodlawn Cemetery, McKim, Mead & White, 1887-8. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 56. 'Plan showing the new arrangement of Park Entrance [Scholars' Gate] at the corner of 59th Street and 5th Avenue.' The Metropolitan Clubhouse was erected on the corner of 60th Street and Fifth Avenue. (New York Public Library)

Figure 57. Robert Goelet's letter to Stanford White, from spring 1891, proposing a new scheme for Metropolitan Clubhouse. (NYHS)

Figure 58. Metropolitan Club, East 60th Street and Fifth Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-94. (George Eastman House)

Figure 59. Carriageway and ladies' annexe, Metropolitan Club, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-4. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 60. Metropolitan Club, plans of first and ground floors, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-4. (*Monograph of McKim, Mead & White*)

Figure 61. Main Hall, Metropolitan Club, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-4. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 62. Ladies' Restaurant, Metropolitan Club, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-4. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 63. Metropolitan Club planning chart, office of McKim, Mead & White (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 64. Colony Club, Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, 1905-7. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 65. McKim, Mead & White's office rules, published in 1894, evidencing a growing formality in firm's working practices. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 66. Some of the daily reports sent to McKim, Mead & White's office from Jacob & Youngs, the Colony Club's general contractor. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 67. Colony Club, 124 Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, 1904. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 68. Floors plan of ground (below) and first (above) storeys, Colony Club, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907. (*The Brickbuilder*, vo. XVI, No. 4, April 1907.)

Figure 69. Assembly Room, Colony Club, by McKim, Mead & White, with interiors by Elsie de Wolfe. (*Munsey's Magazine*, vol. XXXVII, August 1907, No. V.)

Figure 70. Basement floor plan, Colony Club, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907. (*The Brickbuilder*, vo. XVI, No. 4, April 1907.)

Figure 71. Swimming pool, Colony Club, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)

Figure 72. Dining Room, Colony Club, interiors by Elsie de Wolfe, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)

Figure 73. Bedroom, Colony Club, interiors by Elsie de Wolfe, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)

Figure 74. Parlour, Colony Club, interiors by Elsie de Wolfe, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)

Figure 75. Trellis Room, Colony Club, interiors by Elsie de Wolfe, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)

Figure 76. Cartoon that accompanied the *New York Times* article 'A Strenuous Day within the Colony Club. (14 Apr., 1907)

Figure 77. American Women's Association, New York City, opened by Anne Morgan in 1929. (Bernard College Archives)

Figure 78. Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1905-7. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 79. Plans of ground floor, Harmonie Club, by McKim, Mead & White, c. 1906. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 80. Plans of first floor, Harmonie Club, by McKim, Mead & White, c. 1906. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 81. Plans of fifth floor, Harmonie Club, by McKim, Mead & White, c. 1906. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 82. Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, by Henry Fernbach, 1867; photographed c. 1893. (*King's Handbook of New York City*)

Figure 83. Temple Emanu-El, corner of West 43rd Street and Fifth Avenue, by Henry Fernbach, 1868. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 84. Geographical distribution of Harmonie Club members in 1898, produced by the subcommittee on site. (New-York Historical Society)

Figure 85. Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898; photographed c. 1910. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 86. Street entrance, Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898. (*New York Tribune*, 19 June 1898)

Figure 87. Lounging room, Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898. (*New York Tribune*, 19 June 1898)

Figure 88. Ball room, detail of music gallery, Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898. (*New York Tribune*, 19 June 1898)

Figure 89. Grillroom, Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898. (*New York Tribune*, 19 June 1898)

Figure 90. Billiard Room, Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 91. Dining Room, Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 92. Entrance Hall, Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 93. Lounging Room, Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907. (Museum of the City of New York)

Figure 94. Entertainments Poster, Harmonie Club, c. 1908. (New-York Historical Society)

Key to Abbreviations

CAAF	Century Association Archives Foundation
EKFP	Erving-King Family Papers, New-York Historical Society
FJHH Papers	Florence Jaffray Hurst Harriman papers, 1857-1982, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress
HCR	Harmonie Club Records, New-York Historical Society
HUA	Harvard University Archives
HCNY	Harvard Club of New York City Archives
HGM	<i>Harvard Graduates' Magazine</i>
LC	Library of Congress
NYHS	New-York Historical Society
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
MMW	McKim, Mead & White Architectural Record Collection, Department of Prints, Photographs, and Architectural Collections, New-York Historical Society

Introduction

This thesis is about America's most famous architects and, frankly speaking, some of their least famous buildings. It is a study of the firm of McKim, Mead & White and the gentlemen's clubhouses it built in New York City around the turn of the twentieth century. Though obscure, I argue, these buildings were of equal if not greater significance—architecturally as well as socially—than many of the firm's more noted projects. While McKim, Mead & White's pavilions at Chicago's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Madison Square Garden, and Pennsylvania Station have all been demolished, the great majority of the firm's clubhouses are still extant, occupied by the same organisations that commissioned them more than a century ago. My aim here is to explore how McKim, Mead & White designed these places, what social function they served for their clients, and where they fit within the larger story of this fabled architectural firm.

The chapters proceed from a straightforward theory about McKim, Mead & White's clubhouses, what it is they did, and how they did it. I am interested in the architectural process as an end in itself. By utilising the records of the firm, the personal papers of the partners, as well as that of the organisations they built for and its individual members, I reconstruct the ideas behind the buildings and how they evolved through the stages of design and construction. What emerges from these narratives are the thoughts, schemes, ambitions, and fears of an emergent social class that otherwise went unrecorded.

I contend that the development of the clubhouse idea, often undertaken in close collaboration with the architects, helped wealthy New Yorkers, women as well as men, develop into a self-conscious and cohesive upper class. That experience of building these places was, in other words, a mechanism for class formation. What made this class remarkable—and worth studying—was the geographical

scope of its business, education, and leisure. It was the country's first truly national upper class—an American aristocracy—and in building its New York clubhouses it was in a sense building itself.¹

The idea of an American ruling class remains contentious among historians and rarely forms the primary subject of investigation.² Most scholars who worked on American elites such as E. Digby Baltzell, Christopher Lasch, and Jackson Lears had explored the characteristics of the class rather than its making.³ However, all did on some level agree that a national upper class had indeed emerged

¹ The historiography is discussed in detail below, but it bears stating here that historians rarely address this class in explicit terms, even when their subjects intersect with its centres of power. For business, see S. Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1856-1896* (Cambridge, 2001); E. Cook, *The Pricing of Progress: Economic Indicators and the Capitalization of American Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017); T. Kessner, *Capital City: New York City and the Men behind America's Rise to Economic Dominance, 1860-1900* (New York, 2004); J. Levy, *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012); and S. J. Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers: The World of J. P. Morgan* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013). For leisure as well as culture, see T. J. Lears, *No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York, 1981); J. M. Mayo, *The American Country Club: Its Origins and Development* (New Brunswick, 1998); and R. G. Wilson (ed), *Victorian Resorts and Hotels: Essays from a Victorian Society Autumn Symposium* (Philadelphia, 1992). For education, see M. Bingmann, *Prep School Cowboys: Ranch Schools in the American West* (Albuquerque, 2015); P. W. Cookson and C. H. Persell, *Preparing for Power: America's Elite Boarding Schools* (New York, 1985); P. D. Hall, 'Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie: Higher Education and Governing-Class Formation in the United States, 1870-1914', in S. Beckert and J. B. Rosenbaum (eds), *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2010), pp. 167-89; and J. Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale and Princeton* (Boston, 2005).

² The reasons tend to be historiographically specific and some are explored below. However, two excellent overviews are S. Fraser, *Class Matters: The Strange Career of an American Delusion* (New Haven, 2018), pp. 1-25; and S. Fraser and G. Gerstle, 'Introduction', in S. Fraser and G. Gerstle (eds), *Ruling America: A history of Wealth and Power in a Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pp. 1-26. Three prominent scholars who have either rejected the idea of a national upper class emerging around the turn of the century or significantly downplayed its significance are David C. Hammack, Frederic C. Jaher, and Robert Wiebe. First, Hammack, in his study *Power and Society: Greater New York at the turn of the Century* (New York, 1982), argued that elites in New York were too fractured to speak of as a united urban upper class let alone a national one. Second, Jaher, in his comparative study *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), observed powerful but discrete urban elites. See also Jaher's essays, 'Nineteenth-Century Elites in Boston and New York', *Journal of Social History*, 6/1 (1972), pp. 32-77; and 'Style and Status: High Society in Late Nineteenth-Century New York', in F. C., Jaher (ed), *The Rich, Wellborn, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History* (Secaucus, NJ, 1973), pp. 258-84. Third, Wiebe, in his seminal study *The Search for Order: 1877-1920* (New York, 1967) argued that the major social development in this period was the middle class. And while elites did appear in Wiebe's narrative, they were usually cast as businessmen—at most 'an elite within the monied elite'—but never a social class. Moreover, as Louis Galambos observed, 'Wiebe portrayed businessmen as confused participants, along with most other Americans, in a quest, a search order.' *Search for Order*, p. 25; and Galambos, 'The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in Modern American History', *The Business History Review*, 44/3 (1970), p. 282.

³ E. D. Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy & Caste in America* (1964; New Haven, 1987); C. Lasch, 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class', in C. Lasch, *The World of Nations: The World of Nations: Reflections on American History, Politics, and Culture* (New York, 1973), pp. 80-99; and T. J. Lears, *No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York, 1981). Other notable studies that consider the national upper class in passing include R. H. Wiebe, *Self-Rule: A Cultural History of American Democracy* (Chicago, 1995), pp. 139-41; J. Livingston, *Origins of the Federal Reserve System: Money, Class, and Corporate Capitalism, 1890-1913* (Ithaca and London, 1986); and M. J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916: The Market, the Law, and Politics* (Cambridge, 1988).

around 1900 and that it owed its definition and *esprit de corps* to a host of new or reinvented institutions such as exclusive resorts, social clubs, boarding schools, and Ivy League colleges.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s the historian Sven Beckert developed a compelling framework around these and other types of institutions for describing how a national upper class established itself in the United States.⁴ He saw New York as an exceptional city in this history, giving rise to the American ruling class earlier and in greater numbers than in other cities. While Beckert did not deny that various divisions existed between different elites, as observed by historians such as David C. Hammack and Frederic C. Jaher, he argued that these divisions had either disappeared or receded enough over the second half of the nineteenth-century to allow for the emergence of a self-aware ruling class.⁵ The economic opportunities were simply too seductive, he maintained, and the growing proletarianisation and working-class consciousness too serious a threat to those opportunities for elites not to coalesce. He saw this social development forming through the building boom in elite institutions—among them gentlemen’s clubs, genealogical organisations, political committees, religious congregations, and employers’ associations—which if not always mixed in membership were sufficiently shared across lines to engender a common style and shared outlook. To demonstrate his point, Beckert explored instances when seemingly irreconcilably different groups like manufacturers and merchants or Jews and Gentiles mobilized and worked in concert to slow the enfranchisement of workers or to ensure the federal government remained on the gold standard. In other words, when class interests were at stake, capitalists had the cultural resources to exert class power.

⁴ In addition to his monograph *Monied Metropolis*, Beckert explored the subject in a number of essays. See ‘Merchants and Manufacturers in Antebellum North’, in S. Fraser and G. Gerstle (eds), *Ruling America: A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pp. 92-122; ‘Institution-building and Class Formation: How Nineteenth-century Bourgeois Organized’, in G. Morton, R. J. Morris, and B. M. A. de Vries (eds), *Civil Society, Associations, and Urban Places: Class, Nation, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 17-37; and ‘Bourgeois Institution Builders: New York in the Nineteenth Century’, in J. B. Rosenbaum and S. Beckert (eds), *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2010), pp. 103-17.

⁵ Hammack, *Power and Society*, pp. 59-79; and Jaher, ‘Style and Status’, pp. 258-84. Notably, Beckert also went further than either Lasch or Baltzell by including Jews in the national upper class at the turn of the century. Baltzell had explored at some length the institutionalisation of Protestant exclusivity, and Lasch stated that antisemitism itself became a form of upper-class identity. By contrast, Beckert argued antisemitism ‘did not overwhelm class identities’ since ‘association based upon ethnic and religious loyalties were, in the form of their activities, very much classic examples of bourgeois socializing. They were, in effect, societies within a society’. *Monied Metropolis*, p. 266; Baltzell, *Protestant Establishment*; and Lasch, ‘The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class’, especially pp. 87-89.

However, the relation between institution building and class consciousness remains unresolved.⁶ Beckert favoured taking a ‘birds-eye view’ of his subject, which allowed him to discern big trends in the number and types of upper-class associations from the 1850s to the 1890s, but little of what was actually happening on the ground: what class formation actually looked like.⁷ Beckert had, in a sense, skipped a step. He had identified the before (different economic elites fragmented by various seemingly insurmountable differences) and the after (collective and often effective upper-class action, despite differences) and hypothesised a connection (institution building). But he did not offer a picture of how the activity of organising, joining, and participating in societies translated into class consciousness. Thus preventing institution building from becoming a model for other historians to study class formation and, more generally, perhaps, hurting the impact of his research. Nearly twenty years after Beckert’s book, which he opened with the argument ‘the upper class remains the most neglected social group in United States historiography’, the situation in many respects remains unchanged.⁸

The one area where the situation has markedly changed is our understanding of the mechanisms by which the emergent ruling class at the turn of the century made its money. This is in no small measure due to Beckert’s influence within the new history of capitalism.⁹ His recent work, focused on market creation, carries forward the financial aspect of his earlier work on New York’s elites.¹⁰ Though he has continued to engage with the subject of class, it no longer occupies a central position in his thinking. It is perhaps partly because of this, the lack of a clear example of how to write

⁶ My thinking here falls into line with T. J. Gilfoyle, ‘Making an American Upper Class’, *Reviews in American History*, 30/2 (June 2002), pp. 279-87.

⁷ Beckert, ‘Institution-building and Class Formation’, p. 20.

⁸ Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, p. 11.

⁹ For the new history of capitalism, see S. Beckert, ‘History of American Capitalism’, in E. Foner and L. McGirr (eds), *American History Now* (Philadelphia, 2011), pp. 314-35; ‘Interchange: The History of Capitalism’, *Journal of American History*, 101/2 (1 September 2014), pp. 503-36; E. Foner, ‘The Continental Revolution: The Gilding of American Capitalism Happened on both Side of the Continent’, *The Nation* (1 June 2017); and S. Beckert and C. Desan, ‘Introduction’, in Beckert and Desan (eds), *American Capitalism: New Histories* (New York, 2018).

¹⁰ S. Beckert, ‘American Danger: United States Empire, Eurafica, and the Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870–1950’, *The American Historical Review*, 122/4 (October 2017), pp. 1137–70; S. Beckert and S. Rockman, *Slavery’s Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia, 2016); and S. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2015).

about elites that so many within the burgeoning history of American capitalism have neglected class. Rather the tendency, as the historian Jeffrey Sklansky observes, has been to formulate capitalism as a ‘faceless sovereign’ or ‘as a realm with no rulers’, subject to ‘the seemingly authorless edicts of “the market”’.¹¹ Thus Sklansky has joined others in highlighting the need for new research on class, class formation, and class power in American history.¹²

McKim, Mead & White’s clubhouses were well suited to the business of ruling-class formation.¹³ Indeed, they were remarkably effective and versatile as a mechanism, helping elites to exploit a variety of opportunities as well as resolve an array of challenges, from the development of an aristocratic tradition and identity to the soothing of internal divisions like those based on gender and wealth. There were major ingredients that made McKim, Mead & White’s club projects so valuable to

¹¹ J. Sklansky, ‘The Elusive Sovereign: New Intellectual and Social Histories of Capitalism’, *Modern Intellectual History* 9/1 (2012), pp. 247. See also, Fraser, *Class Matters*, pp. 1-25; and Fraser and Gerstle, ‘Introduction’, especially p. 4.

¹² J. Sklansky, ‘Labor, Money, and the Financial Turn in the History of Capitalism’, *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, 11/1 (2014), p. 43. Recent work on class has tended to focus on inter-class relations. My research, by contrast, is intra-class focused. See, for example, D. Huyssen, *Progressive Inequality: Rich and Poor in New York, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 2014); and E. T. O’Donnell, *Henry George and the Crisis of Inequality: Progress and Poverty in the Gilded Age* (New York, 2015). For a colonial comparison, see J. D. Goodfriend, *Who Should Rule at Home? Confronting the Elite in British New York City* (Ithaca, 2017).

¹³ As noted above, historians have long recognised clubs as key institutions for American elites. Few, however, have singled clubs out for sustained analysis and the largest contributions to date are highly individualised studies, often self-published by clubs to commemorate special anniversaries. A particularly valuable example of such a history both for its insights into its own institution as well as clubland more generally is O. de Kay, *From the Age that is Past: Harvard Club of New York City, A History* (New York, 1994). As to those scholars who have touched on clubs, few have agreed about their effectiveness as elite institutions. In 1964, E. Digby Baltzell considered them briefly as important centres in the transformation of parochial elites into a national upper class, ‘replaced by an aristocracy by ballot, in the hierarchy of metropolitan clubdom.’ *The Protestant Establishment*, p. 138. By contrast, in 1982, Hammack argued that the large number of social clubs in 1890s New York ‘reduced the likelihood of casual meetings among men of divergent tastes’ and impeded ‘the development of a single notion of upper-class behaviour and social responsibility.’ Ultimately, they ‘served more to divide than to unify’, Hammack wrote in *Power and Society*, pp. 76-77. In 2001, Beckert disagreed, including clubs as one of many upper-class institutions that contributed to the consolidation of New York’s elites. However, implicit in his analysis was the idea that no hierarchy existed for the purposes of class formation and all institutions contributed equally. In 2013, clubs came in for special attention by Susie J. Pak in her analysis of *Gentlemen Bankers: The World of J. P. Morgan*. Interestingly, she noted ‘though social clubs were (and are) assumed to be important to the world of business, actually establishing that is the case is very difficult’, before resorting to a similar methodology of tallying club memberships like scholars before her. Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*, p. 73, 75, 195, 203, 217-22. In 2017, Clifton Hood, in one of the most substantial analyses given over to New York’s Gilded Age clubs, concluded that the institution was neither very effective at policing class boundaries nor in fostering an authentic aristocratic culture. Hood attributed their popularity to their function as male retreats from the claustrophobic confines of the female domestic sphere. However, as my study demonstrates, the boundaries between these spheres was rarely so simple. C. Hood, *In Pursuit of Privilege: A History of New York City’s Upper Class and the Making of a Metropolis* (New York, 2017), p. 195, 203, 217-22.

the emergent upper class. The first had to do with the nature of gentlemen's clubs as organisations and the meaning they derived from the architecture of their quarters over any explicit interest or objective to unify members as in other types of organisations. The second and more important ingredient was the architects themselves, McKim, Mead & White, who they were, and how they worked with their clients. They were, I argue, members themselves of the emerging upper class they helped establish, connected by family, friendship, and club membership. As such, and as this study demonstrates, they often worked with their clients in a highly collaborative fashion, almost as partners. The result was that clubhouse building in the hands of McKim, Mead & White came to shape nearly every major facet of the American ruling elite.

A second line of enquiry running through the chapters is more architectural in nature. It asks what the class interpretation of McKim, Mead & White's clubhouses add to our understanding of the firm. On the most straightforward level, it illuminates a little studied yet substantial corpus of work.¹⁴ McKim, Mead & White's gentlemen's clubs have typically been viewed as marginal projects on the side lines of major trajectories that animated the firm's career. But by placing clubs front and centre, this study offers two major insights into McKim, Mead & White, one concerning style and the other working practices

First, the firm's clubhouses highlight the influence of the emergent upper class on the dramatic stylistic shift in the firm's output in the late 1880s and early 1890s, which historians have long seen as epochal in the larger story of American architecture.¹⁵ That shift, briefly described, moved the firm

¹⁴ Richard Guy Wilson selects just one of McKim, Mead & White's clubhouses for discussion in his monograph on the firm, *McKim, Mead and White: Architects* (New York, 1983), pp. 186-191. Leland Roth, in his own monograph, *McKim, Mead and White: Architects* (New York, 1985), briefly considers each clubhouse across 16 pages total. The greatest treatment of the firm's clubhouses is typically found in the partners' biographies, though they are almost always folded into a separate chapters and treated as distinct from the main narrative. For example, 'The Consummate Clubman', in P. Baker, *The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York, 1989), pp. 133-48; 'Club land' and 'McKim's New York Clubhouses', in M. Broderick, *Triumvirate: McKim, Mead & White: Art, Architecture, Scandal, and Class in America's Gilded Age*, pp. 277-90, 401-5; and D. G. Low, 'Architect to Clubland', in *Stanford White's New York* (New York, 1992), pp. 149-71.

¹⁵ The seminal text is Vincent J. Scully's *The Shingle Style & the Stick Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Downing to the Origins of Wright*, red edn (1955; New Haven and London, 1971). See also, H-R. Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 4th edn (1958; New Haven and London, 1987), pp. 311-26; and S. Isenstadt, *The Modern American House: Spaciousness and Middle-Class Identity* (New York, 2006), pp. 62-70.

away from its early experimentation with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century American and English architecture—which the architectural historian Vincent J. Scully later consecrated as the ‘Shingle Style’—to a mode that looked predominantly to ancient Roman and Greek architecture, especially as it was interpreted by French and Italians during the European Renaissance. Whereas architectural historians such as Lewis Mumford and Richard Guy Wilson have explained McKim, Mead & White’s pivot in the context of the rising nationalism and imperial fever of the period, clubs suggest it can also be explained in relation to the emergent ruling class.¹⁶ This was surely true but it was never completely satisfactory, never sufficient to account for so dramatic a change in the firm’s design work. When combined with the idea of an emerging national elite who saw themselves as the rulers of a new American empire, the inheritors of European civilisation, McKim, Mead & White’s stylistic development comes into greater focus.

It also becomes more important. This is because the shift from Shingle Style to Renaissance classicism has marked the place where scholars such as Scully have stopped paying attention to McKim, Mead & White. The idea is that McKim, Mead & White’s early career saw them participate in a highly creative moment in American architecture that appeared to be on the cusp of something genuinely original, something that might have otherwise seen the United States take a leading place in the rise of Modernism. The result is that remarkably little research has been done in architectural history on the firm’s later work, around the time they began building clubhouses. What the class interpretation I attempt to develop here suggests is that while American architecture at the turn of the century might have been an aesthetic *cul-de-sac* it is rich for social interpretation.

¹⁶ L. Mumford, *Sticks and Stones: A Study of American Architecture and Civilization* (New York, 1924), pp. 123-51; R. G. Wilson, D. H. Pilgrim, and R. N. Murray, *The American Renaissance, 1876-1917* (New York, 1979), especially pp. 75-109; R. G. Wilson, ‘American Renaissance: Charles Follen McKim and the Aesthetic Ideal’, in N. Glazer and C. R. Field (eds), *The National Mall. Rethinking Washington’s Monumental Core* (Baltimore, 2008), pp. 27-40; and R. G. Wilson, ‘Architecture and the Reinterpretation of the Past in the American Renaissance’, *Winterthur Portfolio*, 18/1 (Spring 1983), pp. 69-87. See also, M. Savorra, ‘Money with Style. The Italian Renaissance and American Architects’, in A. Brucculeri and S. Frommel (eds), *Renaissance italienne et architecture au XIXe siècle: Interprétations et restitutions* (Rome, 2015), pp. 243-55.

In terms of McKim, Mead & White's working practices, this study brings new light to how it grew into the first large-scale and thoroughly modern architectural office in the United States.¹⁷ What the clubhouse projects, especially the early ones, reveal is that the architects repeatedly mixed business with pleasure, working with their clients almost as partners. The lack of professional boundaries and the intimacy and frequency of the partners' interaction with businessmen who were in the vanguard of corporate capitalism illuminates a likely conduit by which modern business practices transferred into the office of McKim, Mead & White.

Finally, the lack of professional boundaries may also help explain why the partners and Charles F. McKim in particular became such important figures in the professionalization of American architecture. In other words, it was perhaps partly the desire for autonomy that led McKim to found and lead major professional organisations such as the American Academy in Rome and the American Institute of Architects. This would put architecture in line with such other professions of the period as engineers and lawyers who also had close proximity to corporate capitalists and who also sought to establish professional autonomy for themselves.¹⁸

The growing literature on *fin de siècle* business culture allows us to look afresh at McKim, Mead & White, their clients, and clubhouses. The network of patronage that McKim, Mead & White relied on to

¹⁷ Fragmentary accounts of this history exist in P. Baker, *Stanny: The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York, 1989), pp. 199-210; B. M. Boyle, 'Architectural Practice in America', in S. Kostof (ed), *The Architect: Chapters in the History of a Profession* (New York, 1976), pp. 313-17; Broderick, *Triumvirate*, pp. 124-28, 301-04, 363-64; Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, pp. 57-66, 115-16; M. N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1999), especially pp. 119-37. See also, M. Osman, *Modernism's Visible Hand: Architecture and Regulation in America* (Minneapolis and London, 2018), pp. 165-84.

¹⁸ D. F. Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York, 1977); R. W. Gordon, "'The Ideal and the Actual in the Law": Fantasies and Practices of New York City Layers, 1870-1910', in G. W. Gawalt (ed), *The New High Priests: Lawyers in Post-Civil War America* (Westport, Conn. and London, 1984), pp. 51-74; and W. K. Hobson, 'Symbol of the New Profession: Emergence of the Large Law Firm, 1870-1915', in G. W. Gawalt (ed), *The New High Priests: Lawyers in Post-Civil War America* (Westport, Conn. and London, 1984), pp. 3-27.

establish their careers as well as for their early clubhouse commissions was a fairly specific cohort. On the whole they were Protestant, classical liberals, men and women from genteel families on the Eastern Seaboard, who were actively engaged with the changing social and economic landscape of the United States in the period following the Civil War.¹⁹ A good many were businessmen with an especially heavy representation from the worlds of high finance, railroads, and corporate law—key players in the emerging industrial and newly integrated national economy. There was also a notable sprinkling of politicians, educators, and men of letters. And more than a few moved between these various worlds, publishing, politicking, and moneymaking. They were, in sum, industrious, entrepreneurial, patrician risk takers, *bona fide* neurasthenics, prone to spectacular financial and personal falls as well as miraculous rehabilitations, but always, unquestionably, in positions of unusual authority and influence in American life.

The architects more than a little resembled their clients. They were artists but also businessmen, overseeing an office that eventually reached more than 120 employees before the turn of the century.²⁰ In the early years, the partners ran a small atelier-like office, balancing the education of their assistants alongside the commercial output of the practise. The three partners also collaborated on most stages of the design. By the mid-1890s, however, as the firm grew, the partners dropped the educational emphasis and adopted a division of labour that saw McKim handle the early development of the overall scheme, White the interiors, and Mead office management and, at times, engineering. All this, at a time when even the most successful architects still practiced alone and rarely formed partnerships, with a couple dozen assistants at most, and usually just two or three. The firm was responsible for many of the most iconic projects of the day, from world fairs and key government buildings to libraries and

¹⁹ My thinking about the character and consequence of this group has been shaped in particular by Lasch, 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class', pp. 80-99; R. White, *Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 172-212, 440-476; J. H. Sproat, *The Best Men: Liberal Reformers in the Gilded Age* (Oxford, 1968); and L. Butler, *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill, 2007).

²⁰ For the working practices of McKim, Mead & White in particular and American architectural practice more generally in this period, see Baker, *Stanny*, pp. 199-210; Boyle, 'Architectural Practice in America', pp. 313-37; Broderick, *Triumvirate*, pp. 124-28, 301-04, 363-64; Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, pp. 57-66, 115-6; Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, especially pp. 119-37; and Osman, *Modernism's Visible Hand*, pp. 165-84.

university campuses. The partners, moreover, played leading roles in the professionalization of American architecture and the hundreds of young men who came to train with them as assistants dominated the profession well into the twentieth century.²¹

All three partners, notably, came from families of the pre-Civil War intellectual elite. This was their chief entre into the privileged world of Gilded Age patronage and friendship that propelled them to the forefront of American architecture.²² Charles F. McKim (1847-1909) was born in Furnace, Pennsylvania to a Quaker mother and radical, abolitionist father. Of the three partners, it was McKim who stood out as the theorist, conceptual planner, and was the only to put down his ideas in writing. His social connections were also key to the firm's rise. One of his father's abolitionist friends and later McKim's in-law was the journalist cum railway magnate Henry Villard, a quintessential early McKim, Mead & White client.²³ Villard, in the early 1880s, was president of a transportation empire, the Northern Pacific Railway, which had ambitious plans to link up the Pacific Northwest to the rest of the country. McKim, Mead & White had more than a dozen projects on the board for the Villard companies in Oregon, including what would have then been the world's largest rail terminal in Portland, a luxurious palace hotel, and the interiors of at least two steamboat ferries.²⁴ The partners, sensibly, considered opening an office in Portland, but in 1883, Villard exhausted his financial resources and control of the Northern Pacific slipped through his fingers. Villard's fall—likely at the hands of banker J. P. Morgan, another early McKim, Mead & White client—forced the Villard family to take up residence early in their as yet unfinished McKim, Mead & White-designed mansion, known as the Villard Houses—the only major Villard project ever completed—a *palazzo*-style tour de force in

²¹ See the office roll reproduced in C. Moore, *The Life and Times of Charles F. McKim* (New York and Boston, 1929), pp. 327-37.

²² The chief biographical references for the architects, and the ones which underline the following account, are P. Baker, *Stanny*; Broderick, *Triumvirate*; Lowe, *Stanford White's New York*; Moore, *Charles F. McKim*; Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*; and Wilson, *McKim, Mead and White: Architects*.

²³ Villard married the daughter of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, whose son, Wendell Phillips Garrison, married McKim's sister, Lucy. For Villard's life and career, see M. Klein, *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould* (Baltimore, 1997); D. G. Buss, *Henry Villard: A Study of Transatlantic Investments and Interests, 1870-1895* (New York, 1997); and C. R. Geisst, *Wall Street: A History*, 4th edn (1997; New York, 2018), pp. 95-97, 109-11.

²⁴ A. B. Craghead, *Railway Palaces of Portland, Oregon: The Architectural Legacy of Henry Villard* (Charleston, 2016), p. 90.

Midtown Manhattan (1882-84).²⁵ In the end, they had just three months in the sumptuous new house, before having to sell it. Although this spelled the end of Villard's patronage of the firm, Villard himself, after a brief hiatus in Germany, his home country, returned to the United States, this time as the representative of Deutsche Bank and, soon after that, president of Edison General Electric Company (only to be eventually forced out of this position as well, by Morgan once again).

McKim's two marriages were also the source of at least one major commission. In 1874, he married Annie Bigelow, the daughter of a prosperous Boston cotton merchant, John William Bigelow, who summered in Newport, Rhode Island, where he was a member of the town's vibrant *literati* community. It was also in Newport that the young McKims mostly made their home, before Annie, after three years, sued for divorce—at a time when legal separation was a rare and shocking thing. 'To a highly sensitive nature like that of Charles McKim, the humiliation was extreme', compounded by depression because of his separation from his daughter and only child for nearly two decades as a result of the divorce.²⁶ McKim married again in 1885 to Julia Amory Appleton, of the old and prominent Boston family of the same name. The marriage was by all accounts happy, but Julia died unexpectedly little over a year later. Although McKim never actually settled in Boston, his marriages had given him entry into Brahmin society—Brahmin being a term for old New England families, because of their supposed erudition like the Indian priest cast. It was thanks to this as much as anything else that he and partners secured the commission for the Boston Public Library (1888-95), which was loosely based on the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, and which did require that McKim open a temporary office on Beacon Street in Boston, in his wife's old house.

These two key commissions early in the firm's career—the Villard Houses and the Boston Public Library, both awarded through McKim's connections—together marked a major turning point in the firm's history, as noted above, from suburban to urban architects, with an accompanying stylistic shift towards Renaissance Classicism and the *palazzo* form. Before this, McKim, Mead & White had

²⁵ The Villard Houses are discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. Wilson, *McKim, Mead and White*, pp. 94-98; and W. C. Shopsin and M. G. Broderick, *The Villard Houses: Life Story of a Landmark* (New York, 1980).

²⁶ Moore, *Charles F. McKim*, p. 43.

worked predominantly in the Shingle Style, designing two to three storey, shingle-clad country houses, with pitched roofs, wrap around piazzas, open floor plans, and detailed Shavian interiors, influenced by their near British contemporary, Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912), and their novel investigations of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architecture in New England.²⁷ These they built mostly along New Jersey shore, on Long Island (outside New York City), and in Newport, Rhode Island, especially.

William R. Mead (1846-1928) came from a prosperous family in Brattleboro, Vermont, with connections to the radical religious sect of the Oneida community. It was a house for William's sister, Elinor Mead, and her husband, the leading literary figure William Dean Howells (the so-called 'Dean' of American letters) in Belmont, Massachusetts, completed 1877-78, that provided the firm with one of its first opportunities to experiment in the Shingle Style.²⁸ Mead's design role even for this, his sister's house, was minimal, which was generally the case throughout his career at the firm.²⁹ Instead, Mead played a no less vital role as office manager, occasional engineer, and—perhaps most importantly of all—counterbalance to the boisterous, compulsive, and sometimes destructive personalities of his partners.

This was especially true of Stanford White (1853-1906), by far the most energetic and vivacious of the three partners. White was born in New York City, the son of a prominent Shakespeare scholar. After briefly studying to be an artist, he turned to architecture in the hopes of better financial prospects. He married Bessie Smith, an heiress, whose fortune combined with his own often-substantial earnings, as well as significant borrowing from family and friends (amounting to several hundred thousand dollars by the end of his life), provided for a lifestyle so luxurious that it was remarkable even for the Gilded Age. More so than his partners, White befriended the men and women he worked for, oftentimes collaborating with them like partners. His masterpiece, Madison Square Garden, a vast

²⁷ The seminal text on the Single Style remains Vincent J. Scully's *The Shingle Style & the Stick Style*.

²⁸ At this point, McKim and Mead were in partnership with William Bigelow, McKim's brother-in-law. Stanford White replaced Bigelow in 1879, following McKim's divorce. R. G. Wilson, 'The Early Work of Charles F. McKim: Country House Commissions', *Winterthur Portfolio* 14/ 3 (Autumn, 1979), pp. 263-64.

²⁹ The house and Elinor Howell's letters to the architects survive, and, as Richard Guy Wilson points out, they show that McKim's partners deferred to him 'for most design decisions', despite the assumption of many of Howell's biographers that it was Mead who was responsible for the design. Wilson, 'The Early Work', p. 263.

entertainment centre for New York's elites, though an instant city landmark with its fanciful Spanish and Venetian-inspired exterior, was a particularly notable example of this. In addition to being the Garden's architect, White was also one of the directors of the company that financed it, alongside members of his social circle such as J. P. Morgan and W. K. Vanderbilt, the railway magnate.³⁰ An almost continuous cascade of popular histories and at least one film has helped to make White, for many, the very embodiment of Gilded Age excess.³¹ His dramatic murder atop Madison Square Garden by the jealous millionaire husband of his former lover, Evelyn Nesbit, attracted considerable interest and was heralded as the Murder of the Century. With the exception of the Garden and a handful of other projects, however, White worked mostly as the firm's decorator and embellisher. This saw him take responsibility for interiors and elevations of buildings, while McKim developed the overall form and floor plans.

This arrangement was generally true of the firm's clubhouses. Though White was known to serve as the principal partner on clubhouses in which he took a personal interest. Indeed, White himself was an inveterate clubman, boasting no less than a dozen New York club memberships, many of them held simultaneously.³² His long-time favourite was the Players', off Gramercy Park, in the former house of actor Edwin Booth (the brother of the actor John Wilkes Booth who assassinated President Abraham Lincoln), which he converted for the club by replacing the front stoop with an entrance porch and more minimal modifications inside.³³ He also helped cultivate the mixed, bohemian membership, encouraging, for instance, the prototypical genius inventor Nikola Tesla (after whom the

³⁰ I offer a new interpretation of Madison Square Garden in chapter three of this thesis.

³¹ The film was *The Girl in the Red Velvet Swing* (1958). As for books, recent examples include S. Baatz, *The Girl on the Velvet Swing: Sex, Murder, and the Madness at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2018); and M. Cummings, *Saving Sin City: William Travers Jerome, Stanford White, and the Original Crime of the Century* (New York, 2018). Though rarely has a decade passed, especially since the second half of the twentieth century, without some account of White's life, either fictional or factual, being published. The fascination appears especially strong among American baby boomers. This may be due to how, as Suzannah Lessard (White's great-granddaughter) points out, 'In the fifties and sixties, Stanford became a glamorous, sexy figure, whose murder was an iconic event at the juncture of [two] centuries', and how, 'The censorious judgement of Stanford at the time of his death came to be seen as a reflection of Victorian prudery, hypocrisy, and naïveté.' 'Stanford White's Ruins', *The New Yorker* (8 July 1996), <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1996/07/08/stanford-whites-ruins> (3 Jan. 2019).

³² Lowe, *Stanford White's New York*, p. 150.

³³ Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 143; and R. Wemmlinger and B. McNamara, *Edwin Booth's Legacy: Treasures from the Hampden-Booth Theatre Collection at the Players* (New York, 1989), pp. 45-46.

modern Tesla car company is named) to join—‘By the way, will you not let me put you up for membership at the Players Club? It is an inexpensive club and the character of men I think you would like, and I know it would give me the greatest of pleasure to meet you there now and then.’—while, at the same time, agonising over how to excuse himself from having to nominate an acquaintance, whose presence, he was sure, would ‘make me feel uncomfortable and keep me away from it’.³⁴ Towards the end of his life, when he appears to have felt that ‘clubland’ in New York was undergoing a general stultification, he attempted to cajole his good friend, the prominent sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens into joining the Brook, a club he helped found, and presumably name, with the idea that, like a running brook, with constantly flowing water, members would be able to drop by the clubhouse at any time, day or night, for good meals and good conversation.³⁵ The Brook is yet another example of a Gilded Age club that continues to operate today.

McKim and Mead were also no strangers to clubs. They belonged to many of the same ones as White, served on club committees, and actively nominated their friends and colleagues for membership. Both they were particularly fond of the Century Association, the city’s premier arts club, where culture and capital crossed paths. Between them, McKim and Mead supported the candidacy of no less than 35 men to the association, many of them designers such as Henry Bacon, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., and Cass Gilbert, providing them with opportunities to fraternise with elite businessmen and potential clients like the Vanderbilt and Morgan families, who were themselves Centurions (as members were called).³⁶ It was also McKim, Mead & White who designed the Century’s clubhouse at

³⁴ Columbia University, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Dept. of Drawings & Archives, Stanford White Letterpress Books, S. White—N. Tesla, 25 Feb., 1894; and S. White—B. Matthews, 25 March, 1891. His solution, in the end, was to tell the man that he had ‘seconded so many men that...my name lost its value’. Columbia University, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Dept. of Drawings & Archives, Stanford White Letterpress Books, S. White—A. Brennon, 31 March, 1891.

³⁵ The letter was reproduced in full in *The Architectural Record*, Vol. XXX, No. 2 (August 1911), p. 400.

³⁶ For the record, McKim proposed Samuel A. B. Abbott, Daniel H. Burnham, and Charles Moore (his biographer); and seconded Walter Cook, George B. de Gersdorff, Francis Korbay, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., T. Markoe Robertson, and Stanford White. And Mead proposed Henry Bacon, James Brite, Jesse Benedict Carter, C. Densmore Curtis, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Alfred D. F. Hamlin, William Mitchell Kendall, Stanley King, Walter Butler Mahony, John Grant Mitchell, Charles Dyer Norton, William Stone Post, Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, Egerton Swartwout; and seconded Lawrence F. Abbott, William Martin Aiken, Owen W. Brainard, Charles M. Burns, Cass Gilbert, Joseph C. Hornblower, Benjamin Wistar Morris, Dwight W. Morrow, George D. Olds, Wallace C. Sabine,

West 43rd Street, which is explored in chapter one of this thesis. Similarly, McKim was a member of the Harvard Club of New York, the subject of chapter two, and all three partners were members of the Metropolitan Club, the subject of chapter three. As this brief survey of the work and lives of the architects makes clear, McKim, Mead, and White inhabited the same small, exclusive world as their clients. They were connected to it by birth, marriage, friendship, and membership. They too were members of the emergent ruling class.

There had always been powerful regional groups in the United States such as Boston Brahmins and New York Knickerbockers. But as for a class whose business, education, and leisure transcended state and regional lines, the one to emerge in New York City around the turn of the century was novel: its power and wealth mirrored if not exceeded Old World aristocracy.³⁷ The conditions that gave rise to its emergence at the end of the nineteenth century were deeply rooted in the particularities of local and national developments, many of which were decades in the making.

From the standpoint of the early nineteenth century, it looked that if a national elite was going to emerge anywhere it was surely Philadelphia.³⁸ The city boasted the largest seaport and was home to the nation's chief financial institutions. The status quo began to change in the 1820s, however, with the completion of the Erie Canal and further waterways, which gave New York City unrivalled access to the American hinterland, from Michigan in the West and Tennessee and Mississippi in the South.

Henry Preserved Smith, and Edward P. York. I am indebted to Timothy J. DeWerff at the Century Association Foundation Archives for this information.

³⁷ For business, see Cook *Pricing of Progress*; Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*; Kessner, *Capital City*; Levy, *Freaks of Fortune*; Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*. For leisure, see Mayo, *The American Country Club*; and Wilson (ed), *Victorian Resorts and Hotels*. For education, see Bingmann, *Prep School Cowboys*; Hall, 'Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie', pp. 167-89; Karabel, *The Chosen*; and Cookson and Persell, *Preparing for Power*.

³⁸ On intercity rivalries, see A. M. Schlesinger, 'The City in American History', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 27/1 (June 1940), pp. 43-66. For transportation, see E. G. Burrows and M. Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York to 1898* (Oxford and New York, 1999), pp. 429-51; Geisst, *Wall Street*, pp. 22-24; and Schlesinger, 'The City in American History', pp. 50-51. For financial institutions, see R. E. Wright, *The First Wall Street: Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and the Birth of American Finance* (Chicago, 2005); Geisst, *Wall Street*, pp. 17-22, 50-52; and J. Livingston, *Origins of the Federal Reserve System: Money, Class, and Corporate Capitalism, 1890-1913* (Ithaca and London, 1986). For the relationship between commercial banks, insurance companies, and investment houses, see V. P. Carosso, *Investment Banking in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), pp. 48-49; and J. Levy, *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012). On the centrality of investment banking for early securities, see J. C. Ott, *When Wall Street met Main Street: The Quest for an Investors' Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011), pp. 9-35.

Innovations in ferry and transatlantic service all but cemented New York's position of commercial dominance. And its financial importance grew with President Andrew Jackson's dissolution of the Second National Bank in 1832 (which had been based in Philadelphia) and the passing of the National Banking Act in 1863 (to help pay for the Civil War) now combined to make New York the nation's leading financial centre. The federal system encouraged state banks across the country to deposit cash reserves in banks in New York City. This created an enormous pool of capital for investment in local markets, which attracted the railroad industry in the period after the Civil War. Railroads relied on investment banks to underwrite and distribute their securities. Most of the domestic demand for securities were met by commercial banks and insurance companies, which became increasingly intertwined with investment banks. But the capital needs of American industry outstripped national supply, as railroad building continued to grow and manufacturing began to consolidate in the 1870s and 1880s. This made New York's investment banks and their connections to European investors all the more important to American industry. Much of this activity, finally, was facilitated by the absence of any meaningful regulation as well as a national bank until early in the next century.³⁹

No one embodied this history better than McKim, Mead & White's client J. P. Morgan. During the 1907 financial panic, Morgan, in lieu of a powerful central bank, played god, holding an all-night session with the nation's bankers whom he summoned to his famous Madison Avenue library designed by McKim, Mead & White (Figure 1 and Figure 2).⁴⁰ He emerged having single-handedly saved the economy from catastrophe, organising the infusion of \$25 million into the nation's banks. America's initial awe and gratitude quickly matured into horror that one citizen could command so much power. To Morgan and a select group around him, surely including his architects, who perhaps did more than most to encourage his fantasies of aristocracy, it seemed perfectly natural. This was evident in his testimony a few years later before congress during the Pujo Hearings, whose report outlined an

³⁹ The implicit message to bankers for much of the later nineteenth century was, as Charles R. Geisst puts it, 'do what you wish to make money without upsetting anyone or causing financial scandal and you will most likely be left alone'—though as Geisst's own account demonstrates, there was plenty of upset and scandal with little meaningful intervention by the state. *Wall Street*, p. 21.

⁴⁰ J. Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (New York, 1999), pp. 573-96.

astounding interlocking network of directorates: the ‘money trust’. Morgan and his partners sat on no less than 72 boards covering a staggering sweep of the American economy.⁴¹ Morgan’s financial genius lay in his early command of European capital for investment in American railroads, fortified by cash from New York’s commercial banks and especially its insurance companies, whose executives were often simultaneously or subsequently Morgan partners. Finally, he rarely missed the chance to finagle personal control from companies when they fell on hard times, most notably following the crash of 1893, which brought nearly one fourth of the nation’s railroads into receivership.⁴² No wonder, then, that Morgan was a figure in nearly every club in this thesis, whether for culture, women, new money or old money, Morgan belonged to them all. The man who helped consolidate the American economy also helped consolidate its ruling class.

Before Morgan began investing in social engineering, however, conditions in elite society in New York City were chaotic. By 1856, two decades after the Erie Canal’s completion, only 31 percent of wealthy New Yorkers had been born in the city. The rest, as Sven Beckert has found, came from New England (15 percent), New Jersey (6 percent), Great Britain (10 percent), Germany (6 percent), and Ireland (6 percent), among other places.⁴³ After a couple of decades’ pause, during the Civil War and the 1870s economic depression, elite migration continued apace. Now, the most notable arrivals were industrialists, looking to consolidate, with the help of the city’s investment banks and professional service firms, especially corporate law. Examples include the Pittsburgh industrialist John H. Shoenberger (1880), Pennsylvania oil magnate John D. Rockefeller (1884), Arkansan owner of the American Cotton Oil Trust Edmund Urquhart (1887), and Colorado coal mine tycoon Meyer Guggenheim (1889).⁴⁴ As a result, by 1892, the city boasted more than a quarter of the country’s millionaires, despite accounting for only two percent of its population.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Strouse, *Morgan*, p.10.

⁴² V. P. Carosso, *Investment Banking in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), p. 40.

⁴³ Based on Beckert’s ‘sample of 191 New York City taxpayers who were assessed on real and personal property of \$10,000 or more in 1885’, *The Monied Metropolis*, p. 31; see also, Hammack, *Power and Society*, especially pp. 59-79.

⁴⁴ Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, p. 239; M. Wallace, *Greater Gotham: A History of New York City from 1898 to 1919* (New York, 2017), pp. 15-26.

⁴⁵ Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, p. 238.

As might be expected, the divisions separating these various elites were many and often deep. The chasm separating merchants and manufacturers was especially pronounced, with the former often ‘old money’ and the latter ‘new money’, with different economic visions for growth, one espousing trade, the other industrialisation. In addition to types of capital, there was also ethnicity, heritage, and religion separating New York’s economic elites. Tensions existed, for example, between Jews and Gentiles, and New Englanders and New Yorkers. Yet, as Beckert argues, they managed to consolidate in the decades surrounding the turn of the century through institution building, becoming a self-conscious and self-aware American ruling class.⁴⁶

This class history has only become clear over the last two decades. A growing body of work on the history of American capitalism and, in particular, the history of high finance has illuminated the business practices of bankers and railroad presidents, for example—types that McKim, Mead & White worked with.⁴⁷ It has not, however, done much in the way of elucidating the actual mechanisms of class formation. In other words, despite the growing acceptance amongst historians that an American ruling class emerged around the turn of the twentieth century, with its own distinctive culture, developed through institutions, the question of how exactly those institutions worked towards that end remains to be said. A connection has been merely supposed rather than explicated between the flurry of club building on the one hand and the emergence of a cohesive ruling-class on the other. A step, in a sense, has been skipped in the story of power and privilege in American society. By comparison, this thesis suggests that McKim, Mead & White’s clubhouses were one of the most, if not *the* most, versatile, effective, and far reaching vehicle behind the consolidation of the new national elite: the institution *par excellence* of the American ruling class.

⁴⁶ Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*; Livingston, *Origins of the Federal Reserve System*; Sklar, *Corporate Reconstruction*; Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment*.

⁴⁷ Cook, *The Pricing of Progress*; Kessner, *Capital City*; Levy, *Freaks of Fortune*; Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*; and Ott, *When Wall Street met Main Street*.

The same conditions that attract business and economic historians to the turn of the century have, conversely, repelled architectural historians. McKim, Mead & White and their Beaux-Arts contemporaries have become an historical *cul-de-sac*, a stand-in for Gilded Age opulence and architectural obsolescence.⁴⁸ They have been comfortably forfeited to a cottage industry of popular histories and coffee table books focused on, for instance, Stanford White's most decadent buildings and dissolute pastimes. It is difficult indeed to think of a more influential office in its own day and for the next two generations at least that has been more neglected than McKim, Mead & White have.⁴⁹

There are at least two reasons for this neglect. Firstly, the field's Modernist bias. Even before the death of the longest living partner—William R. Mead in 1928—the Modernist movement had begun its ascent in the United States, leading to a growing chorus of condemnation of Beaux-Architecture in general and McKim, Mead & White in particular. One of the earliest to do so was Lewis Mumford. In the first survey of American architecture ever written, Mumford drew an explicit connection between the rise of a new economic order around the turn of the twentieth century and the buildings of McKim, Mead & White, which he organised into a period he called the 'imperial age'.⁵⁰ The architects, he wrote, 'divined that they were fated to serve Renaissance despots and emperors with more than Roman power, and unerringly they chose the proper form for their activities.'⁵¹ Charles F. McKim and Daniel H. Burnham came in for special approbation because of their de facto leadership of the American Beaux-Arts:

In government, in industry, in architecture, the imperial age was one. The underlying policy of imperialism is to exploit the life and resources of separate regions for the benefit of the holder of privilege in the capital city. Under this rule, all roads lead literally to Rome. ...It is no accident that the great triumphs of American

⁴⁸ The two most authoritative monographs on the firm are those by Wilson, *McKim, Mead & White*, and Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*. See also, Broderick, *Triumvirate*.

⁴⁹ For a general observation about waning interest in nineteenth-century American architecture, see Barry Bergdoll's lecture about three great architects of European architecture in the 19th Century, YouTube (recorded 26 Feb. 2014, uploaded 10 Mar. 2014), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pXcuy9bO7zQ> (19 Apr. 2018)

⁵⁰ L. Mumford, *Sticks and Stones: A Study of American Architecture and Civilization* (New York, 1924), p. 124, 123-51; see also Mumford's briefer though still censorious treatment of the firm and its work in *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895*, 2nd rev edn (1955; New York, 1971), pp. 55-59.

⁵¹ Mumford, *Sticks and Stones*, p. 128.

architecture during the imperial period were the railroad stations; particularly Pennsylvania...in New York, and Union Station in Washington [D.C.]. Nor is it by mere chance that the Washington and Pennsylvania stations are the monuments to two architects, McKim and Burnham, who worshipped most whole-heartedly at the imperial shrine. With capital insight, these men established the American Academy at Rome: they recognised their home.⁵²

The American Academy in Rome was a school for American art and architecture students to study, it was hoped, the best of past civilisations in the design of American civilisation, the heir to Europe. It was also, as Mumford implied, the result of serious thinking on the part of its founders, including McKim—its first president—about the relation of the arts and its practitioners to the new American capitalism and its princes.

Another architectural historian, deeply influenced by Mumford, was Henry-Russell Hitchcock. His narrative of nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture, which remained a core text book on the subject from its publications in the late 1950s through to the 1980s, treated McKim, Mead & White only to the extent that it was necessary to fully narrate the career and short afterlife of H. H. Richardson.⁵³ Richardson, who employed and mentored McKim and then White in the 1860s, was seen by Hitchcock and subsequent generations of historians as an indigenous American expression of the Modernist movement, whose precocious genius and foresight was ultimately snubbed by the generation that followed him, namely McKim, Mead & White, who betrayed their artistic integrity in the face of Gilded Age money.

It was ultimately Vincent J. Scully (one of Hitchcock's PhD students) who did the most to develop this line of thinking. McKim, Mead & White, Scully argued, had been key in helping Richardson cultivate the Shingle Style.⁵⁴ But unlike Mumford, Scully eschewed social criticism,

⁵² Mumford, *Sticks and Stones*, pp. 138-39.

⁵³ Hitchcock, *Architecture*, pp. 311-26; see also Hitchcock's subsequent biography, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Time* (1936; Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1966). For historiographical discussion of Hitchcock, see F. Salmon, 'Introduction', in F. Salmon (ed), *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essays on Architectural Historiography* (New Haven and London, 2006), xx-xxi, xxv-xxvi; and in the same volume, P. Scrivano, 'A Thirty-Year Project: Henry-Russell Hitchcock's Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', pp. 171-91.

⁵⁴ V. Scully, *The Shingle Style & the Stick Style*, especially pp. 130-54. A more recent example of this type of architectural history, which considers McKim, Mead & White only insofar as it elucidates the genealogy behind something relevant to contemporary architectural practice, is Isenstadt, *Modern American House*, pp. 62-70.

describing the development in largely formal terms, charting the growing classicism of McKim, Mead & White in the 1880s. Scully's analysis remains a useful framework for understanding the firm's development, and I will return to it below, but it suffices to say for the moment that the firm's clubhouses offer new insight into a key moment in American architectural history. They help illuminate a transition within the firm's oeuvre when, according to Modernist orthodoxy, McKim, Mead & White stopped doing original work and when, almost as a rule, architectural history stopped paying attention.

There was a brief reprieve in the 1970s and 1980s. The rise of postmodernism on the one hand and the preservation movement on the other—though not natural allies—prompted a re-appraisal of nineteenth-century American architecture. As the author of one survey published in these years admonished, 'Perhaps we should stop scolding our grandfathers for spending money which after all was theirs to spend. Pageants have their place, and America without a palace would be as poor a thing as a parade without a banner.'⁵⁵ Alongside new and revised surveys like this one, there was also a flurry of articles, books, and exhibitions on McKim, Mead & White. In particular, those by Leland Roth and Richard Guy Wilson remain essential texts for understanding the firm's development and oeuvre, but they do little to advance our understanding of the architects' milieu or the social agency of their work.⁵⁶ Finally, the extreme wealth that characterises the present era, its parallels with the Gilded Age, including, perhaps, the prominence of investment banking now as it was then, has, it seems, played a part in stoking a growing body of work on elite architects around the turn of the twentieth century. Much of the work is architecturally illuminating—a good number, notably, produced by practicing architects—but its critical value is a matter of debate. They are, essentially, *catalogue raisonnés*. It is about time we started thinking critically about Gilded Age architecture.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ W. Andrews, *Architecture, Ambition, and Americans: A Social History of American Architecture*, rev edn (New York and London, 1979), p. 196. Also illustrative of the new, reformed thinking is James Marston Fitch's substantially softened consideration of the Beaux-Arts in the second and revised edition of *American Building: The Historical Forces that Shaped It* (1947; Boston, 1968), chapter six, pp. 168-213.

⁵⁶ Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*; R. G. Wilson, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*; and R. G. Wilson, D. H. Pilgrim, R. N. Murray, *The American Renaissance, 1876-1917* (New York, 1979).

⁵⁷ For example, see P. Pennoyer, A. Walker, and R. A. M. Stern, *Transformed: The Architecture of Cross & Cross* (New York, 2014); Carlhian, J. P., and Ellis, M. M., *Americans in Paris: Foundations of America's Architectural Gilded Age: Architecture Students at the École des Beaux-Arts, 1846-1946* (New York, 2014); M. C. Kathrens, *Great Houses of New York*

A second though not unrelated reason for scholarly neglect of McKim, Mead & White is the longstanding Europhilia in many university art and architectural history departments. In response, American architectural history created a home for itself within the emerging field of American Studies, where its expertise mixed well with a growing interest in material culture. Thus, it early adopted and has continued to be shaped by the intellectual forces that consecrated that field in the 1960s, namely its emphasis on the subaltern and the other. Like Americanists generally, historians of United States architecture oriented themselves towards the study of the commonplace and the vernacular in the American landscape. The gilded lives and buildings of McKim, Mead & White were felt to be beside the point. From residential hotels and YMCAs to women's shopping districts and children's summer camps, the resulting literature is as broad and as rich as it is unequivocally vital to our understanding of modern America.⁵⁸

However, to quote Sven Beckert,

And though it has become fashionable of late to de-emphasize questions of social power in order to celebrate a whole range of presumably autonomous cultural worlds, crafted by diverse ethnic, social, and gender groups, a sustained look at the history of bourgeois New Yorkers shows that, for better or for worse, the dramatically uneven distribution of economic resources allowed this small group of Americans to exercise an expanding power over the way people lived and worked in the United States and beyond...[they] have stamped the lives of all Americans, independent of race, class, and gender, along with our natural and built environment. Indeed, the wielders of capital have played an extraordinarily important role in American society. And though they have been challenged on numerous occasions, they have mastered every crises that has threatened their power or developmental vision, and have remained, to this day, at the pinnacle of United States society.⁵⁹

1880-1940: Volume 2 (New York, 2013); G. Montgomery, *An Elegant Wilderness: Great Camps and Grand Lodges of the Adirondacks, 1855-1935* (New York, 2011); L. Ossman, H. P. Ewing, and S. Brooke, *Carrere & Hastings: The Masterworks* (New York, 2011); P. Pennoyer, A. Walker, and J. Wallen, *The Architecture of Grosvenor Atterbury* (New York, 2009); S. White, *Houses of McKim, Mead & White* (New York, 2009); W. Craven, *Gilded Mansions: Grand Architecture and High Society* (New York, 2009); and P. Pennoyer and A. Walker, *The Architecture of Delano & Aldrich* (New York, 2003). For the importance of investment banking now and in the first Gilded Age, see Sklansky, 'Labor, Money, and the Financial Turn in the History of Capitalism', pp. 23-46.

⁵⁸ Much of these work falls under the rubric of 'cultural landscape studies', largely pioneered at the University of California, Berkeley, by such scholars as J. B. Jackson. For an overview, see P. Groth and C. Wilson, 'The Polyphony of Cultural Landscape Study: An Introduction', in C. Wilson and P. Groth (eds), *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2003), pp. 1-22; and P. Groth, 'Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study', in P. Groth and T. W. Bressi, *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* (New Haven and London, 1993), pp. 1-21.

⁵⁹ Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, p. 332-33.

Yet there has been little actual work on how those ‘wielders of capital’ translated economic interest into class consciousness. Beckert identified institutions generally as the vehicle, but how they actually worked in practice remains unknown. The architectural approach developed in these chapters show gentlemen’s clubhouses and specifically the architectural process behind them to have been particularly effective.

Gentlemen’s clubs were excellent mechanisms for class formation, perhaps most of all because they appeared to be nothing of the sort. They blended into American civil society under the camouflage of a voluntary association. The United States was, of course, a nation of joiners, as observed by the early political scientist Alexis de Tocqueville. When Tocqueville visited the young republic in the 1830s, he marvelled at the American propensity to establish and join associations. What he deduced from this was that associations were what allowed large groups of people to do for themselves what the state or the aristocracy might undertake in any other country. If Americans wanted a new hospital, library, or church, for example, they had to do it themselves and volunteer their time. Thus lively associational activity was the sign of a functioning and healthy democracy, the last place one would expect an aristocracy-making machine to be hard at work.⁶⁰

That the true function of gentlemen’s clubs managed to avoid notice was understandable given just how much they looked and worked like voluntary associations. They utilised the same technologies of voluntarism, such as committee governance, and moreover, like many religious and charitable

⁶⁰ A. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New York, 2004), especially pp. 595-99. For historical interpretations of American democracy that place associations front and centre, see K. Butterfield, *The Making of Tocqueville’s America* (Chicago and London, 2015); and M. P. Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1997).

organisations, for example, they incorporated under the same general incorporation laws of the State of New York, which granted members the right to hold property in common.⁶¹ As such, most clubs possessed a constitution, by-laws, and regulations—all as one would expect of a voluntary association.

However, on closer examination, gentlemen's clubs appeared to be something quite distinct. What set them apart from voluntary associations—and made them amenable as vehicles for the development of a new social class—was the unusual emphasis that clubs placed on their quarters. Whereas voluntary associations were formed in order to achieve fairly concrete objectives—such as campaigning for the legal prohibition of alcohol (temperance societies) or facilitating collective action among workers (labour unions)—two commonplace examples from Gilded Age New York—gentlemen's clubs were formed for vague and unspecific purposes. What mattered most was the clubhouse. For example, many of the clubs taken up as case studies in this thesis were only able to articulate a purpose *after* they had begun work on the clubhouse idea. That purpose, furthermore, could be almost anything, whether it was promoting relations between artists and capitalists (as in chapter one) or cultivating alumni identity (as in chapter two). The one common dominator was the clubhouse. For clubs—to borrow from the architectural historian Anthony Vidler's discussion of Freemasonry—'the most *influential* agent of their isolation and institutional existence was the architecture of their domain'.⁶² But architecture was even more important for clubs than for Freemasonry or for any other

⁶¹ The history of corporation law in New York State is difficult to penetrate, though it is likely the case that, before the 1880s, there were limited ways for clubs to legally organise and acquire quarters. So, for instance, the Union Club appears to have re-organised around 1845, when it moved into more substantial converted quarters, which saw it published what appears to have been its first set of constitution, rules and byelaws. The Union's new property was reported as 'invested in three trustees', rather than in a corporation, as later clubs would do. In other words, it may well have been the liberalisation of New York's corporation laws in the 1880s for businesses that trickled down and spurred the clubhouse building boom. Clubmen, it is worthwhile pointing out, were the businessmen who were organising their companies under these new corporation laws. It is further interesting to note that for a time, upper-class men in New York did not make much a distinction between directorships of companies, service on non-profit boards, and club memberships. All were listed side by side in the *New York Social Register* and in obituaries: all were part and parcel of being an upper-class American. For the history of corporations, see E. Hilt, 'Early American Corporations and the State', in N. R. Lamoreaux and W. J. Novak (eds), *Corporations and American Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017), pp. 37-73; and J. L. Hennessey and J. J. Wallis, 'Corporations and Organizations in the United States after 1840', also in *Corporations and American Democracy*, pp. 74-105. For the system of ownership used by the Union Club, see 'Clubs-Club Life-Some New York Clubs', *The Galaxy*, 2 (August 1876), p.230; and 'The Clubs of New York', *The New York Herald* (22 April 1845).

⁶² My thinking on the significance of clubhouse architecture has been greatly informed by Antony Vidler's discussion of Freemasonry. The full passage reads, 'While formation, together with the ceremonial activities that made up the daily life of the societies, constituted the *primary* social bond of the society, by far the most *influential* agent of their

type of society. The gentlemen's clubhouse constituted the primary social bond of the organisation, its chief *raison d'être*.

Nothing can demonstrate this characteristic better than taking a closer look at the organisations themselves. Clubs were run by members, who organised into committees to undertake the work of running the organisation.⁶³ The more prestigious and desirable a committee, the more influence it tended to have over the character and operation of the clubhouse. At the pinnacle of every club organisation was a body of members variously known as the board of governors, board of directors, or board of managers. They had ultimate power over the clubhouse. It was boards who initiated the building, expansion, and remodelling of clubhouses. Typically, they delegated the work to a smaller committee drawn from their own, called a building committee, usually five members strong. Once the building committee's work was done, it handed the clubhouse over to another committee, called a house committee, the next most prestigious body within an organisation. The house committee supervised the building's maintenance and upkeep, a large part of which entailed managing the club's servants, the most senior of whom was the steward. Though some house committees, especially those with larger quarters and memberships (often the case for university alumni clubs), would also employ a superintendent as a manager of day-to-day operations.⁶⁴

The last type of committee that deserves mention was the one in charge of admissions, essentially the clubhouse gatekeeper. The boards of some older clubs retained this function for themselves, though as organisations grew and workloads increased, many delegated admissions to

isolation and institutional existence was the architecture of their domain. At once the expressive and characteristic statement of their nature and the physical outline of their social life, the design of the space that enclosed, protected, and enhanced these *asiles du Bonheur* was as much a part of their definition as were the rules of admission and conduct.⁷ Dependence on architecture was perhaps even greater for gentlemen's clubs. *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment* (Princeton, 1987), p. 85.

⁶³ Clubs produced yearbooks which it distributed to members, containing copies of the organisation's constitution, by-laws, and committees. These are valuable documents for deciphering a club's government and its idiosyncrasies, such as term limits for committee positions, which might be for life in one clubs and for just one or two years in another. For example, see *Officers, Members, Constitution and Rules of the Union Club* (New York, 1894); and *Officers, Members, Constitution & By-Laws of the Colony Club* (New York, 1908).

⁶⁴ A particularly helpful document for understanding club management is a report commissioned by the Harvard Club of New York in 1907, as it sought to navigate a complex transition from its smaller, simpler days to an operation that resembled a midsize hotel. HUA, HUD 3605.641, 'Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Affairs of the Club'.

specialised committees.⁶⁵ Rules of admission could be quite elaborate. Though at minimum most organisations required that candidates have the support of at least two existing members, someone to nominate them (or ‘put them up’ in club parlance) and another to second them. Once a candidate had fulfilled this requirement and a space was available (candidates sometimes languished for years on waiting lists), they passed to the admissions committee for consideration. There was also always—and this was key—a mechanism by which club members could ‘blackball’ any given candidate, that is, remove them from consideration without having to justify or even identify themselves.⁶⁶ In sum, club life was to a great extent elaborated around the creation, maintenance, and policing of the organisation’s physical quarters.

Just as clubhouses were the heart of these organisations they were also the heart of what made them useful tools for the cultivation of a ruling class. The class forming potential was realised not least in the design process, in a creative dialectical tension between the vague reasons for why clubs were formed on the one hand and the highly defined architectural template used by McKim, Mead & White on the other.

The origins of this template can be traced to two sources. The first is early nineteenth-century London. It was there that the gentlemen’s clubhouse type first emerged with the sort of floorplans, interior features, and elevations that McKim, Mead & White would later use.⁶⁷ The first London

⁶⁵ The Harmonie Club, explored in chapter five, is one such example.

⁶⁶ For sociological perspectives on mechanisms for club exclusion, see P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Distinction of Taste*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 161-63; G. W. Domhoff, *The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats: A Study in Ruling-Class Cohesiveness* (New York, 1974); and D. Kendall, *Members Only: Elite Clubs and the Process of Exclusion* (Lanham, 2008), pp. 44-50.

⁶⁷ Remarkably, the clubhouse type has been overlooked by architectural historians, though aspects of its plan and exterior have been treated separately and in passing by scholars such as John Summerson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, as discussed below. I am working on an article soon on the social conditions in early nineteenth-century London that gave rise to the gentlemen’s clubhouse, which appear to have mirrored those in Gilded Age New York City. Nor has very much research been done on the early social history of London gentlemen’s clubs, perhaps owing to the difficulties of studying organisations that derive their primary social bond from their architecture. For example, Peter Clark omits consideration of gentlemen’s clubs and how they may have evolved from eighteenth-century developments in associational culture as he does for other examples in his authoritative survey, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000). Other historians have accepted uncritically the idea that London gentlemen’s clubs evolved in an uncomplicated fashion from eighteenth-century aristocratic gambling clubs. See, for example, J. Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space & Architecture in Regency London* (New Brunswick, 2002), p. 68. The later nineteenth-century history of London clubs is the subject of a growing body of literature, each

clubhouses to exhibit the standard plan was the University Club on Suffolk Street, just below Pall Mall, in 1822-26 (*Figure 3*). Inside the two-storey rectangular block, William Wilkins, its architects, arranged the major club rooms symmetrically across the ground and first floors, around a top-lit central hall with a grand staircase immediately facing the entrance. The kitchen was placed in the basement. This likely dictated the location of the dining room on the ground floor, which otherwise contained less formal spaces like the coffee and committee rooms, whereas important functions such as the library and drawing room were situated on the first floor. Though both storeys abided by the same programme, which was essentially a circuit of rooms with interconnecting doors, thereby allowing members to progress from one to the next without having to reenter the central hall, though these rooms could also be entered individually from the hall. This plan, as the architectural historian John Summerson rightly observed, ‘was to give clubland its sense of architectural consequence.’⁶⁸

Indeed, many of the clubhouses built in London over the following decades adhered to Wilkins’ formula. Four notable examples, occupying a prestigious stretch on the south side of Pall Mall were the United Service Club (1828) by John Nash, Athenaeum Club (1828-30) by Decimus Burton, Travellers’ Club (1829-32) by Charles Barry, and Reform Club (1838-41) also by Barry (*Figure 4*). The Pall Mall clubs all exhibit the same essential elements of the University Club’s two-storey rectangular block with a symmetrical arrangement of rooms across two floors, organised round a top-lit central hall or court; all but the United Service contained a basement kitchen (*Figure 5*, *Figure 6*, *Figure 7*, and *Figure 8*). Most first-floor rooms, moreover, could be entered from either the hall or an adjacent room via interconnecting doors. This programme, as one architectural theorist points out, was

attempting on some level to explain these places through a single lens, whether through homosocial domesticity, like A. Milne-Smith, *London Clubland: A Cultural History of Gender and Class in Late-Victorian Britain* (New York, 2011); extra-parliamentary government, like S. A. Thévoz, *Club Government: How the Victorians Ruled the World from London Clubs* (London, 2017); and literature, like B. Black, *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland* (Athens, Ohio, 2012).

⁶⁸ J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 9th edn (1953; New Haven and London, 2007), pp. 474-75. For the development of the circuit programme in English houses, see M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, 1978), pp. 194-95.

felicitous to the needs of a social organisation, providing for ‘a choice of routes’ or ‘rings’ which facilitated ‘chance encounters’ between members.⁶⁹

The Pall Mall clubhouses also shared certain interior elements that would later reappear in McKim, Mead & White’s clubs (Figure 9, Figure 10, Figure 11, and Figure 12). The reading and drawing rooms on the first floors were all oblong in shape, ran the full length of the buildings, and contained large windows with exterior balconies. Furthermore, the bookshelves, though often quite extensive, were never institutional looking: they remained around human height, hugging the walls, and did not project into the centre of the rooms, unlike for example, those designed around the same time for the King’s Library at the British Museum (1823-27). Finally, the reading and drawing rooms were divided into three compartments by screens of Corinthian columns toward either end. These may have been included with the idea of supporting the circuit programme, to pivot members visually between rooms.⁷⁰

Finally, McKim, Mead & White’s clubhouse façades often recalled the Italian *palazzo* design used by Charles Barry for the Reform Club (Figure 13). In fact, the Reform, which was the last of the Pall Mall examples to be built, did for the exterior of the clubhouse type what the University Club had earlier done for the floor plan. Its emphasis on cubic mass, central doorway, and astylar composition (though Barry did insert slender columnettes around the Reform’s windows) became the dominant mode for later clubhouses in London and then New York City.⁷¹ Barry’s achievement, as Henry-Russell Hitchcock noted, was the codification of the ‘club style’, an idiom that persisted through the

⁶⁹ T. A. Markus does not specifically mention the circuit programme of London clubs, but comes close in his discussion of ‘large, unobstructed spaces...with a choice of routes, that is rings.’ *Buildings & Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (London, 1993), p. 157.

⁷⁰ Corinthian screens like these became fashionable in English country houses over the second half of the eighteenth century. They recall, for instance, Henry Holland’s library at Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire (1780s). An earlier possible source were Robert Adam’s ante-rooms, like those at Syon House, west London (1760s) and Kenwood House, Hampstead (1767-69). Damie Stillman notes how they served ‘as a pivot’ and ‘played a decisive spatial, decorative, and coloristic role in the social parade through the public rooms of the house.’ *English Neo-Classical Architecture* (New York, 1988), p. 125, 284.

⁷¹ Emil Kaufmann pointed out that the emphasis on cubic mass was actually already apparent in the Decimus Burton’s Athenaeum Club, arguing that it became increasingly important in nineteenth-century architecture—outside any club style—to the point of becoming a ‘new compositional principle.’ *Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England, Italy, and France* (1955; New York, 1968), p. 67.

decades and across oceans, reaching its apogee perhaps in the work of McKim, Mead & White.⁷² When the Modernist architect Le Corbusier visited New York City he is said to have remarked to his host, Hitchcock himself, that McKim, Mead & White's *palazzo*-like University Club on Fifth Avenue (completed 1900) was even better than the Italian prototypes (Figure 14).⁷³

The influence of this standard club plan and façade can be seen in fact that it was adopted by McKim, Mead & White even though they may never have encountered it in person.⁷⁴ It does, though seem almost certain that McKim, Mead, & White did have first-hand knowledge and may have even stayed in London clubs when visiting the city, which they did with some regularity. The first to do so was McKim in summer 1869, towards the end of his three years studying at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris. The trip came about as a result of McKim's father asking Henry Villard for advice on a good European itinerary.⁷⁵ The young McKim toured Britain over three months in the company of architects his own age, made friends, immersed himself in the world of British architecture. By the time he departed he had been made an honorary member of the Architectural Association in London. And by most accounts became a lifelong anglophile, buying his clothes, umbrellas, and hats in London. 'McKim loved London', his typically reserved biographer declared.⁷⁶

McKim, Mead & White also developed a feeling for clubhouse architecture independently of any careful study or knowledge they may or may not have had of Pall Mall by virtue of their early

⁷² H-R. Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (New Haven, 1954), p. 175.

⁷³ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 174; Broderick, *Triumvirate*, p. 405.

⁷⁴ For example, neither McKim nor White's surviving sketchbooks from some of their early European tours (now in the collection of the Avery Library at Columbia University) contain drawings of London clubhouses. This is not particularly surprising considering their primary interest at that time lay with the English architect Richard Norman Shaw and his followers. More surprising is the lack of surviving material on London clubhouses from the firm's sourcebooks, many though not all of which survive at the Avery Library. Especially frustrating is the absence of any surviving catalogue of the firm's library, which was known to have been extensive, making it difficult to determine whether it contained volumes with illustrations of London clubs such as W. H. Leeds' *Studies and Examples of the Modern School of English Architecture: The Travellers' Club* (1839). And though some of McKim, Mead & White's books were eventually donated to the Avery after the successor firm discontinued, no record of that gift survives and many of the books have since been rebound thus losing any original bookplate which might have provided clues about its provenance. This is the case for Leeds' essay on the Travellers' Club, which the Avery owns a copy of contained within Charles Barry's *The Travellers' Club House* (1839). I am indebted to Janet Parks and Teresa Harris at the Avery Library and Sam White for their assistance with this information.

⁷⁵ Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 24; Broderick, *Triumvirate*, pp. 18-20; and Moore, *Charles F. McKim*, pp. 34-35.

⁷⁶ Moore, *Charles F. McKim*, p. 199.

country house commissions. These were designed in the Shingle Style, which on first glance appear to be the very antithesis of the club style. Although named after the distinctive shingle-clad exteriors, what really distinguished this mode of architecture lay inside the buildings, in the asymmetrical arrangement of the rooms and the singularity of the floor plans. Vincent J. Scully, in trying to understand how McKim, Mead & White evolved as architects, pivoting from Shingle Style to Renaissance Classicism in the 1880s, observed how over the course of that decade the firm's Shingle Style house actually changed, becoming more restrained, more classical and symmetrical.⁷⁷ To the point that the floor plans of McKim, Mead & White's later Shingle Style houses, and even to some extent the façades, began to look a great deal like the clubhouses the partners began designing in the late 1880s.

The major lines of Scully's analysis can be traced through three country house examples by McKim, Mead & White. First, the Victor Newcomb House in Elberon, New Jersey, completed 1880-81, represents the height of the Shingle Style plan (Figure 18). The emphasis is on the hall as a central living space, which featured an outside fireplace, and surrounding rooms which opened widely into one another as well as onto the piazzas that extended to most sides of the house. Second, the Robert Goelet House in Newport, Rhode Island, from 1882-83 (Figure 19). This house contained many of the same elements as the Newcomb House, including the central hall and fireplace, open circulation of rooms, and the not ungenerous piazza. The piazza, however, was limited to just one elevation, and only a section of it. The overall form of the building was, furthermore, less irregular and more geometric than the Newcomb House. These differences grew more pronounced in the third and final example, the H. A. C. Taylor House, also in Newport, completed in 1885-86 (Figure 20).⁷⁸ Here the basic elements of the Shingle Style were still in evidence, including a central hall and a fluidity of spaces, thanks to interconnecting doors between most rooms, but all now compressed into the rigid geometry

⁷⁷ Scully, *The Shingle Style & the Stick Style*, pp. 130-54.

⁷⁸ Hitchcock also notes the H. A. C. Taylor House as among 'the most drastic examples' of McKim, Mead & White's stylistic turn, noting in particular its 'formal Anglo-Palladian plan of central hall and four corner rooms'. *Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, p. 369.

of a cube. The Shingle Style piazzas had, moreover, been greatly reduced in size and were, in fact, mere porches. No less dramatic was the classical exterior, all in all not dissimilar to a London clubhouse.

Scully's interest in McKim, Mead & White extended no further than the Taylor House. It marked, for him and for many architectural historians since, the end of McKim, Mead & White's 'lively and original' period.⁷⁹ The Shingle Style, according to Scully and Modernist orthodoxy, was on the brink of achieving something truly outstanding in American architecture, which would only be picked up again by Frank Lloyd Wright his Prairie Style houses in the twentieth century. The same years that economic historians view as the pre-history of today is what many architectural historians see as an era of inconsequence, before the rise of Modernism.

In a sense, this thesis picks up where Scully and other architectural historians have left off to consider how the architects' abandonment of their Shingle Style experimentation in the 1880s set them up nicely to become key agents in the making of the American ruling class.⁸⁰ The architectural paradigm that had evolved through their country house work provided them with the framework they would use in one form or another in nearly every gentlemen's clubhouse they designed, beginning with the Century Association in 1889-91 (Figure 21), the subject of chapter one. Indeed, the Century and the Taylor House exhibit many of the same elements, including a formal central hall plan with corner rooms and interconnecting doors, allowing for a circuit programme akin to a London clubhouse. One might even say the piazzas of the Shingle Style, which had been reduced to porches in the Taylor House, were still further reduced in the Century, appearing now as a second-storey loggia—which would become a signature feature of McKim, Mead & White's clubhouse.

The creative exercise of bringing this highly disciplined plan to bear on the often inchoate social impulses underlying McKim, Mead & White's gentlemen's clubs is ultimately what made

⁷⁹ A more recent example of this type of architectural history narrative that considers McKim, Mead & White only for its early work and how it bears on a genealogy of architecture that picked back up again the 1920s and 1930s is S. Isenstadt, *The Modern American House: Spaciousness and Middle-Class Identity* (New York, 2006), pp. 62-70.

⁸⁰ Scully, *The Shingle Style & the Stick Style*; Hitchcock, *Architecture*, pp. 311-26; and Isenstadt, *The Modern American House*, pp. 62-70.

clubhouse building such a powerful class-constituting experience. Design became an opportunity for the architects and their clients to explore and develop ideas which might otherwise be too abstract or even antidemocratic to say and articulate explicitly. Design was a proxy for working through complex ideas about class, power, and privilege—and for giving them institutional expression. The following chapter case studies demonstrate the flexibility of the clubhouse form in McKim, Mead & White’s hands, their ability to tailor it to the needs of almost any client. In choosing the clubs, I have endeavoured to find diverse examples with strong archives capable of painting the broadest possible portrait of America’s rulers at the point of inception. The chapters shed new light on the relationship between the emergent upper class and the ideological function of the arts and higher education. They also explore key challenges that this class faced because of internal divisions, including the antipathy of old money to new money, the question of women as class actors, and, perhaps the greatest paradox of all, its accommodation of both Jew and Gentile, at a time when antisemitism threatened to become a component of upper-class identity.

The impetus for ruling-class formation at the turn of the twentieth century was bitter class warfare, the worst New York City had ever seen.⁸¹ In fact, the growth of club life throughout the nineteenth century provided a fairly accurate barometer of class conflict. For instance, Gotham’s first English-style gentlemen’s club, the Union Club, was founded in the 1830s, during the height of Jacksonian democracy, when republican moralism was in decline and class divisions were sharpening.⁸² Philip Hone, one of the club’s founders, confided in his diary at the time, that if the club could be ‘gotten up like the English clubs, it may succeed; little short of that will not meet the views of the members’.⁸³ The desire to establish an exclusive organisation like this one would have been difficult to imagine even

⁸¹ For class conflict, see Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, pp. 1002-38; M. P. Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1997); and A. Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, pp. 70-100.

⁸² Info about club founding, . For context, see Mary ryaN?

⁸³ *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851*, ed. B. Tuckerman (2 vols, New York, 1889), i, p. 237; ee also M. Simmons, *The Union Club of the City of New York: The History of the Club from the Year of its Founding to Year of its Sesquicentennial, 1836-1986* (New York, 1987), pp. 1-8.

one or two decades earlier, when rich and poor, merchant and labourer lived in close proximity and mixed regularly in the city's streets.⁸⁴

It was class conflict once again that formed the backdrop for the Union Club's decision two decades later to commission its own purpose-built clubhouse—the first in the city. The late 1840s and 1850s saw the worst rioting yet in the city, including the Astor Place Riot of 1849, which left 18 dead and more than 150 wounded.⁸⁵ The Union's clubhouse, completed 1852-55, by the English-born architect Thomas Thomas, was located at Fifth Avenue and 21st Street, an exclusive enclave at what was then the northern edge of the city (Figure 15). In location as well as architecture, the *palazzo*-style clubhouse reflected New York's increasingly segregated society.⁸⁶ The *palazzo* mode—which had first evolved as an urban fortress for merchant princes in Italian cities such as Florence in the fifteenth century, an era marked by intense urban warfare—was entirely appropriate for 1850s Gotham.

But the scale of the of class warfare that erupted in the 1870s and 1880s, which formed the backdrop to McKim, Mead & White's clubs, was unlike anything that had come before.⁸⁷ Instigated by the 1873 economic crash, the extended recession that followed, and massive unemployment, these years witnessed increasingly brutal confrontations between workers and the police and growing working-class consciousness. For elites, the prospect of a French commune seemed at times imminent. Their response was to segregate themselves ever more in their exclusive neighbourhoods, private palaces, and increasingly, a growing number of gentlemen's clubs.

⁸⁴ For the antebellum city, see Ryan, *Civic Wars*; pp. 21-94; P. G. Buckley, 'Culture, Class, and Place in Antebellum New York', in J. H. Mollenkoph (ed.), *Power, Culture, and Place: Essays on New York City* (New York, 1988), pp. 25-52; and A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, 'A Public House for a New Republic: The Architecture of Accommodation and the American State, 1789-1809', *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 9 (2003), pp. 54-70.

⁸⁵ Wallace and Burrows, *Gotham*, p. 764.

⁸⁶ The Union Club relocated in 1902, to another *palazzo*-style clubhouse designed by Cass Gilbert and John du Fais (both members) at Fifth Avenue and 51st Street. The designs were submitted as a concealed bid and selected by Charles F. McKim on behalf of the club. The club moved again in 1933, this time into a clubhouse designed by Delano Aldrich at Park Avenue and 69th Street, where the club remains today. The club rejected my request to look at the organisation's archives. As far as I am aware, neither plans nor drawings of the 21st street clubhouse have been published, nor do any survive in New York's municipal archives. For a history of the Union Club's homes, see Simmons, *Union Club*, pp. 19-33.

⁸⁷ Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, pp. 1002-38; M. P. Ryan, *Civic Wars*, pp. 183-222; and A. Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, pp. 70-100.

In total, more than 150 clubs organised and acquired quarters in the city between 1879 and 1909 (Figure 16).⁸⁸ As many as a third of the clubs commissioned new quarters, while the rest converted former private residences. The city's ready supply of grand residences that lent themselves to clubhouse conversions undoubtedly helped fuel the rise of club life.⁸⁹ Some former mansions, such as the Leonard W. Jerome Mansion at 32 East 26th Street saw no less than four club tenants (Figure 17. Leonard W. Jerome Mansion, 32 East 26th Street, New York City, by Thomas R. Jackson, 1859. (Library of Congress). Many of these, including the University Club, graduated on to purpose-built quarters.⁹⁰ McKim, Mead & White were by far the most prolific club architects in New York City. During the firm's three decades of practice in New York, from 1879 to 1909, it worked on no fewer than 23 clubhouse projects, completing 10 new constructions and a further 13 by way of conversions, consultations, remodelling, or unsuccessful bids.⁹¹ The second most prolific clubhouse architect was R. H. Robertson (1849-1919), with two purpose-built clubhouses (both for the Mendelssohn Glee Club) and three conversions (two for the Knickerbocker Club and one for the New York Club). If counting new construction only then second place would instead go to architect Cyrus L. W. Eidlitz (1853-1921). Eidlitz designed quarters for the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, the Racquet & Tennis Club, and the American Society of Civil Engineers. Many other architects and firms

⁸⁸ Refer to figure for sources.

⁸⁹ Fashionable New Yorkers seemed to be constantly on the move, migrating up the island of Manhattan, sometimes as frequently as every few years to escape the encroachment of the growing commercial districts. 'They gathered their schools, clubs, and churches. . . all were moved to the new uptown oasis.' M. Wallace, *Greater Gotham: A History of New York City from 1898 to 1919* (New York, 2018), p. 297. A rich contemporary description of elite migration in Manhattan can be found in H. James, *Washington Square* (1880; New York, 2003), p. 50.

⁹⁰ The Jerome Mansion was originally designed by Thomas R. Jackson in 1859. The other three club occupants were the Madison, Union League, and Manhattan Clubs. The mansion was demolished in the late 1960s. 'Leonard Jerome House (Manhattan Club)', New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Report (23 November 1965); 'Madison Square North Historic District Designation Report', New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Report (26 June 2001), p. 14.

⁹¹ For the record, they were the Brook Club (interior alterations, 1904-1905); Brooklyn Riding and Driving Club (1890-1891); Calumet Club (alterations in the former Henry B. Hollins house, 1914); Century Club (1889-1891); Colony Club (1904-1908); Deutscher Verein (1886-1887); Freundschaft Society (1885-1889); Harmonie Club (1904-1907); Harvard Club of New York (1893-1894; 1902-1905; 1913-1916); Knickerbocker Club (alterations to existing club, 1891); The Lambs Club (1903-1905); Merchants Club (in the New York Life Insurance Company building, 1896); Metropolitan Club (1891-1894); Players' Club (alterations to the former Edwin Booth home, 1888-1889; 1893); Princeton Club (project unbuilt, 1917); Progress Club (competition entry, 1887); Racquet and Tennis Club (1916-1919); Recess Club (1911-1912); Union Club (alterations in existing club facilities, 1891-1892); Union League Club (competition entry, 1879); University Club (alterations to existing clubhouse, 1889-1893); University Club (1896-1900; 1916-1920); Women's City Club (alterations in the former P. H. Butler house, 1904-1905). See L. M Roth, *The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White: 1870-1920, A Building List* (New York, 1978), p. 16, 34, 36, 39, 40, 44, 54, 61, 69, 69-70, 86, 87, 93, 121, 123, 128, 129, 153, 155, 169.

are associated with two clubhouse projects, among them C. C. Haight, DeLemos & Cordes, Donn Barber, Francis H. Kimball, Henry F. Kilburn, Henry Fernbach, Henry J. Hardenbergh, Richard Morris Hunt, Weber & Drosser, and William C. Frohne. But the remaining vast majority were one-off club architects. McKim, Mead & White were, on the other hand, specialists.

But specialists at what exactly? Sure, they exercised an early command of the clubhouse type, and were credited with establishing it as the dominant mode for clubs in New York and around the country. But can this really account for their success? Alternatively, I would argue they were specialists in *class formation*; the firm's clubhouses were the tools *par excellence* of America's first rulers.

New York's elites needed tools to engineer their consolidation. They were, in effect, starting from scratch. They did not have, as was so often the case for industrial capitalists in Europe, an aristocracy against which it might define itself at times while appropriating at other times. Would America's new rulers possess their own aesthetic, a unique artistic sensibility?⁹² Would they, like so many ruling classes in Europe during the nineteenth century, cultivate a special relationship with higher education? And how would they resolve their internal divisions? Among the most pressing was the one that existed between new and old money—which today may sound trite but in the 1870s and 1880s was a new global phenomenon.⁹³ How about women? One of the few areas of agreement in the historiography on nineteenth-century American elites was its heavy identification with a version of masculinity often associated with the 'strenuous life'.⁹⁴ How, then, would elite women fit into the picture? What part would they play? And how about German Jews? Up until the end of the century, German Jews mixed with other economic elites in the city. But the new American economy and the allure of great wealth seems to have been too powerful to resist. Antisemitism was, bluntly, good for

⁹² Beckert, 'Institution-building and Class Formation', pp. 17-37; R. J. Morris, 'Introduction: Civil Society, Associations and Urban Places: Class, Nation and Culture in Nineteenth-century Europe', in G. Morton, R. J. Morris, and B. M. A. de Vries, (eds), *Civil Society, Associations, and Urban Places: Class, Nation, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 1-16.

⁹³ J. Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 2015), pp. 218-21.

⁹⁴ Lasch, 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class', pp. 80-99; G. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, 1995); and F. Ninkovich, 'Theodore Roosevelt: Civilization as Ideology', *Diplomatic History*, 10/3 (July 1986), pp. 221-45.

business.⁹⁵ Plus, it doubled as form of class identification, something around which non-Jewish elites could coalesce.⁹⁶ Club life engaged with all these questions; the following chapters begin answering them.

To answer these questions, the chapters in this thesis are organised around case studies which proceed in a generally chronological fashion to show how the club idea grew alongside the evolving needs of the emergent ruling class. They fall into two distinct periods: the first runs from 1889 to 1894, covering chapters one through three, and the second from 1902 to 1907, covering the final two chapters. What distinguished the clubhouses in the first period as a group, besides their dates, was the characteristic that the architects were themselves members of the organisations. They were in a sense building for themselves. And this gave the design process special directness in its contribution to the development of the American ruling class, its identify, and institutional underpinnings.

This was especially true for the Century Association, the New York's oldest cultural organisation, examined in chapter one. Here we see more clearly than ever the ideological edge of Charles F. McKim's American Renaissance, a little studied artistic movement that he led around the turn of the century. In the first chapter, I thus reconstruct for the first time an internal debate that roiled the association for nearly a decade over the question of whether to build new quarters, teasing out new themes and characters behind the American Renaissance. These, I argue, show the artistic movement to have been far more than merely a reflection of fantasies of Old World aristocracy on the part of Gilded Age robber barons. Rather, the debate over new quarters shows the American Renaissance to have been a forgotten component of a well-studied effort by a small but influential group of patricians like Theodore Roosevelt to reconcile what they saw as the best and worst of their own class and that of the new men in American business.

Chapter two offers another example of the club idea helping an antebellum institution transition into the new realities of industrialised America. In fact, it examines America's oldest

⁹⁵ Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, pp. 265-66.

⁹⁶ Lasch, 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class', pp. 87-89.

institution, Harvard University, and how Harvard alumni in New York City with the help of McKim (an alumnus himself) used the club form to develop the country's first modern metropolitan alumni community. This, I argue, gave their alma mater an important yet overlooked advantage in its improbable rise to become America's first national university. It allowed them and Harvard's leaders to transfer a Brahmin image of a ruling-class man to a national context. The number of institutions that followed their lead, erecting alumni clubhouses not only in New York but in cities across the United States, brings new insight into how exactly higher education became such an important facet of American ruling-class identity.

The third case study, and the final example from McKim, Mead & White's early clubhouse period, shifts attention from McKim to Stanford White in his work on the Metropolitan Club. Unlike the first two clubs, the Metropolitan was an entirely new institution. As such, it depended especially on the architect for its form and meaning—almost to the point of breaking the architect-client fraternity. The clients were some of America's most influential businessmen in the world of high finance and railroads, led by the club's founding president, J. P. Morgan, who were frustrated by the intransigence of the old Knickerbocker elite to welcome the new men in American business. Here we see the social counterpart to a well-studied story about the corporate reorganisation of the American economy. The work of these men at the boardroom tables has been the subject of many a business study. This chapter by contrast considers their work at the drafting table of their friend and architect, Stanford White. In this way, the Metropolitan shows itself to have been part of a long-running and multi-institutional campaign by these men to do to high society what they were also doing to American business, consolidating and eliminating competition.

The Metropolitan Club would be McKim, Mead & White's last until the beginning of the next century. The economic crash of 1893 brought the clubhouse building boom to a temporary halt. When it picked back up again around 1900, as the economy strengthened, the clubs that now commissioned McKim, Mead & White were different and the way the firm built them had no less changed.

The Colony Club of 1905-07, the subject of chapter four, is the first example from McKim, Mead & White's later clubhouse period. It is a testament to how far the ruling class had evolved in the intervening years. First, the Colony was a women's club; the first in New York. Here we see women beginning to assert themselves as upper-class actors in their own right. The American ruling class had solidified their position by the early 1900s, partly thanks to the economic depression and the opportunities it afforded for industrial consolidations. The Colony sheds light on a persistent mystery in the historiography: when and how ruling-class women left the home and began to assert themselves in philanthropy and social reform, ultimately helping to soften the Progressive Era reforms in ways that ensured their class remained at the pinnacle of society. In building the Colony, the founders created a stepping stone between the public and private spheres, as well as receiving an architectural education they would use time and time again in their later work as reformers and philanthropists.

If the first four chapters establish anything, it is that McKim, Mead & White, in close collaboration with their clients, had been crucial in helping to establish the club as a hegemonic institution in upper-class life, one that was as useful and as effective to elites as it was flexible. That flexibility was tested to the limits in the Harmonie Club of 1902-05, which is taken up in the fifth and final case study. The pre-clubhouse history of the Harmonie is a story of growing antisemitism in the upper class and its institutionalisation in clubs. It shows in more detail than other histories the effect of genteel discrimination on the German Jewish elite, who founded the Harmonie in 1847, originally as a family club, suggesting that racism was more serious a factor in undermining the American upper class than historians of capitalism have portrayed. The architectural history of the Harmonie Club, on other hand, shows just how valuable a mechanism the gentlemen's club was in the hands of McKim, Mead & White for ensuring that that class remained cohesive even while segregated. The major theme running through both parts of this history, pre-clubhouse and clubhouse, is the question of women's participation in club life which was intimately tied to the question of assimilation in the face of antisemitism: to be or not to be a gentlemen's club. Had the Harmonie Club known just how flexible the club form was in the hands of McKim, Mead & White, it may have been quicker to award the

commission, which it only did after two decades of debate. The Harmonie Club was a gentlemen's club but one that did not mean—as many had feared—forsaking the German Jewish community's traditions of mixed sociability.

In these five chapters are five intimate portraits of the making of the American ruling class. From culture to education, from Jews to women, from new money to old money, and much more, if this thesis covers more ground and does so in more detail than most histories of elites, it is because of its subject, the gentlemen's clubs of McKim, Mead & White. These buildings and their architects, long overlooked and neglected, served a remarkable purpose at the turn of the nineteenth century. New York City had become the capital of the new American economy, integrated and mighty, producing a new class of financial and industrial elites whose fortunes the likes of which the world had never seen. On the whole they were a mixed bunch, most were newly rich, but one segment was different. An elite within the monied elite, a renegade faction of the old commercial and intellectual gentry, these men, women, and architects looked to overcome their parochial roots, taking the best of their patrician heritage and the best of the new raw talent of the industrial economy to sculpt a new American ruling class. Their mechanism of choice was gentlemen's clubs. An unusual type of organisation which could be established for almost any purpose or even none at all, the one definitive thing about them was their building. Though first seen in early nineteenth-century London, McKim, Mead & White had developed a command of its form through their own evolution from Shingle Style to Renaissance classical architects. The informal experience of working with McKim, Mead & White on their clubhouses, tailoring the rigid clubhouse form to meet their needs, provided a remarkable laboratory for the capitalist elite, a centre for ruling-class innovation, and a springboard for the culture and institutions of the American ruling class.

1

The American Renaissance Century Association

In the late 1880s McKim, Mead & White's circle of artist friends in New York grew heady with importance. There was a genuine feeling, according to one painter, 'that the days of the Italian Renaissance' had been 'revived on Manhattan Island.'⁹⁷ The partners was hardly immune to the new mood. Rather it appears to have affected their office with particular strength. For instance, they and their assistants began referring to each other by nicknames plucked from the annals of Renaissance art: Charles F. McKim became Bramante and Stanford White, Cellini.⁹⁸ More tangible was the stylistic change in the firm's output. McKim, Mead & White moved boldly towards classicism.

The firm's designs for the Villard Houses (1882-86) at 451 Madison Avenue marked the turning point in this development, commissioned by the railway financier and McKim's in-law and family friend, Henry Villard.⁹⁹ It was based on the Palazzo Cancelleria in Rome, then thought to have been designed by Bramante, though without the pilastration and generally simplified. The firm designed the building to look like a single residence, but it was in fact five residences (Figure 22). Villard's house was the largest and occupied the southern wing; he sold the remaining houses to friends and business associates. McKim, Mead & White designed the interiors for all but one of the owners, who complained about the firm's high prices. Villard appeared to have had no such qualms. His wing was by far the most embellished (Figure 23). The architects assembled a team of friends and colleagues

⁹⁷ The painter Theodore Robinson quoted in R. G. Wilson, D. Pilgrim, and R. N. Murray, *The American Renaissance, 1876-1917* (New York, 1979), p. 12.

⁹⁸ Based on the recollections of William A. Boring, who worked as an assistant in McKim, Mead & White's office in the late 1880s. He later became professor and director of the School of Architecture at Columbia University. Quoted C. Moore, *The Life And Times Of Charles Follen Mckim* (New York and Boston, 1929), p. 57. See also R. G. Wilson, 'American Renaissance: Charles Follen McKim and the Aesthetic Ideal', in Nathan Glazer and Cynthia R. Field (eds), *The National Mall: Rethinking Washing's Monumental Core* (Baltimore, 2008), p. 31.

⁹⁹ R. G. Wilson, *McKim, Mead and White: Architects* (New York, 1983), pp. 94-98; and W. C. Shopsin and M. G. Broderick, *The Villard Houses: Life Story of a Landmark* (New York, 1980).

to do the interiors, including the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens and his brother, Louis, who was also a sculptor. The result was befitting of a Renaissance prince, and was executed in the artistic spirit of that period, around the Renaissance ideal of a unity of the arts, with architects, painters, and sculptures collaborating on a total design.

The Villard Houses were significant not only for the story of McKim, Mead & White but also for United States architecture more generally. The houses became a landmark in the artistic movement at the turn of the century known as the American Renaissance.¹⁰⁰ Though little studied, the American Renaissance was responsible for a good deal of the civic, institutional, and government art and architecture that continues to exist around the United States today. McKim, Mead & White were among its leading figures, if not its de facto leaders. The Villard Houses solidified that Manhattan mood, mentioned above, about the Italian Renaissance reviving itself on Manhattan Island. It spoke to the affinity that the architects and many in their circle felt existed between the Renaissance in fourteenth-century Italy, as well as those in seventeenth-century France and eighteenth-century England, and their own day. The American Renaissance architectural mode was, therefore, broadly classical and buoyed by a conviction that American civilisation would inherit the mantle of Western civilisation from industrially declining European powers.¹⁰¹ Understandably, the dominant interpretation of the American Renaissance usually emphasises its nationalist rhetoric and the statements of some of its leading figures about a desire to cultivate an American identity in the arts.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Richard Guy Wilson, Diana Pilgrim, and Richard N. Murray's catalogue for the Brooklyn Museum's 1979 exhibition *The American Renaissance, 1876-1917* (New York, 1979) remains the standard and most comprehensive account of the movement. For the special importance of architects in the movement, see also R. G. Wilson, 'Architecture and the Reinterpretation of the Past in the American Renaissance', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 18/1 (Spring 1983), pp. 69-87; and K. N. Morgan, 'Charles A. Platt and the Promise of American Art', in K. N. Morgan (ed), *Shaping an American Landscape: The Art and Architecture of Charles A. Platt* (Hanover, N.H., 1995), pp. 3-23. A more recent examination is M. Savorra, 'Money with Style: The Italian Renaissance and American Architects', in A. Brucculeri and S. Frommel (eds), *Renaissance italienne et architecture au XIXe siècle: Interprétations et restitutions* (Rome, 2015), pp. 243-55.

¹⁰¹ For a recent economic history that helps put this perception into context, see S. Beckert, 'American Danger: United States Empire, Eurafica, and the Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870-1950', *The American Historical Review*, 122/4 (October 2017), pp. 1137-70. See also E. C. Kirkland *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900* (Chicago, 1990).

¹⁰² In addition to the standard literature on the American Renaissance, noted above, see also, M. Bacon, 'Toward a National Style of Architecture: The Beaux-Arts Interpretation of the Colonial Revival', in A. Axelrod (ed), *The Colonial Revival in America*, (New York and London, 1985), pp. 91-121.

This chapter develops an alternative interpretation for the American Renaissance based on an investigation of a less studied early Renaissance classical building by McKim, Mead & White. The clubhouse that the firm designed in 1889-91 for New York's oldest arts institution, the Century Association, illuminates how the American Renaissance may have in fact been the aristocratic culture of the American ruling class. I argue that key ideas for the American Renaissance first evolved through a debate that divided members of the Century Association for much of the 1880s. The debate was over the question of whether the association should relocate from its modest downtown quarters into something more luxurious. Many of the key artists, architects, and patrons of the emerging American Renaissance belonged to the Century and threw themselves behind the idea of a new premises. In formulating their arguments for removal, I contend, they were also formulating the idea of an alliance between capital and culture that was to underlay much of the art and architecture of the American Renaissance. The contention laid out in this chapter challenges the view of historians such as Christopher Lasch about how the American ruling class coalesced around a specific idea of masculinity, often epitomised in the figure of Theodore Roosevelt and his martial ethic, 'the strenuous life', and assiduous avoidance of the arts.¹⁰³ But as we shall see Roosevelt himself and others like him belonged to the Century and were active in the campaign for a new clubhouse. If the American Renaissance did indeed constitute an elite culture, then historians have overlooked a chapter in the making of the American ruling class that brings into question their scepticism about its ability to maintain itself into the twentieth century.

The Century Association and Disassociation

¹⁰³ C. Lasch, 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class', in C. Lasch, *The World of Nations* (New York, 1973), pp. 80-99; see also, G. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, 1995); J. Lears, 'The Managerial Revitalisation of the Rich', in S. Fraser and G. Gerstle, *Ruling America A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pp. 181-214; and F. Ninkovich, 'Theodore Roosevelt: Civilization as Ideology', *Diplomatic History*, 10/3 (July 1986), pp. 221-45.

That one organisation should play such a central role in the development of the American Renaissance makes sense in light of the Century Association's long-established place of importance in Gotham's arts. In the more than four decades that separated its foundation in 1847 and the move to its McKim, Mead & White clubhouse at 7 West 43rd Street in 1891, the Century Association had been many things. Its history, as the journalist A. R. Macdonough noted, was one of 'association' and 'dissociation'.¹⁰⁴ Originally established as a 'composite of club and academy' to advance the fine arts and literature and to promote social intercourse, the Century gradually relinquished its quasi-public mission and became one of the city's most prestigious gentlemen's clubs.¹⁰⁵ One constant throughout this history, however, was the Century's function as place for bringing capital and culture together in the city. In fact, it was always *the* place for this. And McKim, Mead & White planned the clubhouse accordingly. Charles F. McKim, the partner who led the commission, designed the clubhouse with the idea of re-setting the terms of that relationship and its players: the artists and the capitalists. In short, the building helped bring about an end to the interregnum that had opened up between the fizzling cultural hegemony of New York's old guard in the 1860s and 1870s and the rise of a new business elite in the 1870s and 1880s.

Founded in 1847, the Century Association was one of several arts institutions established by New York's mercantile elite, the Knickerbockers, in an effort to institutionalise categories of high and popular culture. These included the American Academy of Fine Arts (organised 1802), the National Academy of Design (1823), the New York Gallery of Fine Art (1844), and the American Art-Union (1839). All were organised and supported by many of the founders and early presidents of the Century Association. The art historian Allan Wallach argues that the organisations represent a 'series of contradictory and thwarted impulses towards the institutionalisation of high art' in the first half of the nineteenth century. While disagreements existed between them, and most institutions eventually failed,

¹⁰⁴ A. R. Macdonough, 'The Century Club', *The Century*, 41/ 5 (March 1891), pp. 673-89.

¹⁰⁵ Macdonough, 'The Century Club', p. 685-86.

Wallach suggests they can be taken ‘as evidence for the [upper] class’s growing determination...to consolidate its economic, political and cultural power.’¹⁰⁶

What distinguished the Century Association was its unusual combination of private and public objectives, ‘the advancement of art and literature’ with ‘the promotion of social intercourse.’ Its founding members, who included leading literary and artistic figures such as the romantic poet William Cullen Bryant, attorney and writer Gulian C. Verplanck, and Hudson River School painter Asher B. Durand, aspired to create an association that brought together artists, writers, and other sympathetic amateurs among the mercantile and professional classes. The plan they settled on was to fuse an academy and a club, to accommodate creativity and capital in one place. As one chronicler of the club described the arrangement, it ‘meant much more than the mutual improvement of members in a limited society.’ The founding Centurions regarded New York’s growing population as ‘a missionary field.’ By providing ‘concentration for study, discussion, and production among the qualified few’, they hoped to effect ‘the widest dissemination of approved results among the many.’ In short, the Century was imagined as ‘an instrumentality for the transformation of aesthetic ideas into definite and permanent methods of public influence.’¹⁰⁷ The early period of the Century Association, then, can be described as a mission-driven arts institution, organised on the basis of a gentlemen’s club.

Even so, the club aspect grew in these years alongside a robust programme of exhibitions. In 1850, the Century Association overturned its short-lived prohibition on games, opening its rented rooms, then at 575 Broadway (over a millinery shop), to chess, backgammon, and dominos. Betting, however, remained banned. So, too, did billiards, despite growing member support for the game.¹⁰⁸ In 1854, now in a larger rented premises at 24 Clinton Place, the association formed two new committees: a committee on supplies, which managed the clubhouse like a house committee, and a

¹⁰⁶ A. Wallach, ‘Rethinking “Luminism”’: Taste, Class, and Aestheticizing Tendencies in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Painting’, in N. Siegel (ed.), *The Cultured Canvas: New Perspectives on American Landscape Painting*, (Durham, N. H., 2011), p. 129.

¹⁰⁷ Macdonough, ‘The Century Club’, p. 677.

¹⁰⁸ CAAF, Membership Meeting Minutes, 13 Jan., 1850, p. 16 (betting); 7 Dec., 1850, p. 58 (checkers and dominos); 7 Jul., 1852, p.79 (billiards).

committee on admissions.¹⁰⁹ Organisationally, in other words, the Century was aligning itself with the club model. This was soon matched architecturally, when, in 1857, the association purchased its first permanent home, a two-and-a-half-storey dwelling at 42 East 15th Street. Almost immediately the club commissioned one of their own, architect Joseph C. Wells, to redesign the façade in a vaguely Palladian fashion, which helped distinguish the building from its brownstone neighbours. (Figure 24). The location, near Union Square, already one of the most fashionable in the city, soon acquired new distinction as a cultural district. Notable neighbours included the Academy of Music (opened 1854), an opera house patronised by the city's elite, on East 14th Street and Irving Place, and Steinway Hall (1866), the long-time home of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, on East 15th, opposite the Century. In the 1860s there followed a number of theatres, music shops, publishing houses, and studios of photographers, painters, and sculptors.¹¹⁰ But inside, the Century continued to take shape as a club. By 1860, for example, the committee on supplies had been replaced by a house committee and the ban on billiards lifted.¹¹¹ A year later, the board of managers pronounced the billiards table 'among the settled institutions of the club.'¹¹² Notably, when *Harper's* magazine ran an article about 'Clubs and Club-Men' in the late 1850s, it identified the Century as one of the few American iterations of English club life.¹¹³

The Century Association's adoption of the club form accelerated after 1867, when it elected the poet William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878) into the president's chair. Bryant, like his predecessors, was one of the association's original founders, but in almost every other respect his tenure was exceptional. He served longer than any recent president and brought about more change than any

¹⁰⁹ CAAF, Membership Meeting Minutes, 7 Oct., 1854, p. 105; (Admissions); 2 Dec., 1854, p. 108 (Supplies).

¹¹⁰ For a description of the neighbourhood, see D. Breiner, '(Former) Century Association Building', New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (1993), p.2; J. Shockley, 'Aschenbroedel Verein', New York City Landmarks Preservation Committee Report (2009), pp. 2-3.

¹¹¹ CAAF, Board of Managers Meeting Minutes, 10 Dec., 1857 (House Committee); and CAAF, Membership Meeting Minutes, 3 Mar., 1860, p. 270 (billiards).

¹¹² CAAF, Membership Meeting Minutes, 14 Jan., 1861, p. 289.

¹¹³ 'Clubs and Club-Men', *Harper's* (November 1857), pp. 810-6.

president ever.¹¹⁴ He was ‘a sort of fixed president’, noted New York’s first club handbook in 1872.¹¹⁵ The permanency was essential to lifting the Century into the first of ‘the two great classes’ into which the handbook divided the city’s growing list of clubs: ‘those in which a thorough amalgamation of materials and something like a social crystallisation has taken place, and those’—the vast majority, simply—‘in the different stages of formation.’¹¹⁶ Indeed, the Century progressed on all fronts under Bryant: membership expanded by one-fifth, a formal constitution was ‘adopted, tested and perfected’, and the clubhouse gained \$90,000 worth of art, furniture, and other objects. ‘These are the outward signs of that prosperity which attended his rule’, the board of managers reflected upon his death in 1878, ‘[b]ut there is [also] an inward grace, and invisible harmonious growth of strength which the Century owes to his personality.’¹¹⁷ Put less poetically, Bryant gave the association a more coherent identity as a gentlemen’s club.

The changes began almost as soon as Bryant took office. In the same year he was elected, he opened a new wing to 15h Street clubhouse designed by architect and Centurion Charles D. Gambrill (1832-1880).¹¹⁸ The extension contained a ground-floor billiard room and first-storey art gallery and library (Figure 25). Notably, the library, which was oblong and occupied the full length of the first storey, resembled the principal rooms in many London clubs. The high ceilings, burled-walnut bookcases, and elaborate carvings, moreover, introduced a new level of grandeur to 15th Street. Changes to the front of the clubhouse followed not long after in 1869. Gambrill, now in partnership with another Centurion, H. H. Richardson (1838-1886), gave the club a new street façade that extended the old attic into a full third storey (Figure 26). What contribution, if any, Richardson made is uncertain, although he was a far more consequential figure in the development of American architecture than his

¹¹⁴ The club’s first two presidents were Gulian Crommelin Verplanck (1857-64) and George Bancroft (1864-67). *Reports, Constitution, By-Laws and List of Members of the Century Association for the Year 1900* (New York, 1901), p. 93.

¹¹⁵ Fairfield, *Clubs of New York*, pp. 25-26.

¹¹⁶ Fairfield, *Clubs of New York*, p. 25.

¹¹⁷ CAAF, Building Records, *Reports of the Treasurer and Board of Management for the Year 1878*, 1879, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ For an excellent study of the remodelling by Gambrill and later Gambrill & Richardson, see D. Breiner, ‘(Former) Century Association Building’, New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Report (5 January 1993).

partner.¹¹⁹ Of greater interest is how Gambrill & Richardson's handling of the street front, with its mansard roof, red brick, and limestone detailing, disregarded the London clubhouse type. Rather, it was designed in the Neo-Grec mode, the official style of Second Empire France, which was then in vogue in New York.¹²⁰

Not coincidentally, it turned out. Although Bryant had indeed moved the Century Association further towards a club identity, he did not appear to believe that this necessarily had to be an English club identity. In fact, under Bryant, the association went so far as to define itself *against* London clubs. An 1872 special committee report, which read like a state of the union for the organisation, made pains to praise the modesty of 15th Street quarters. The Century was unlike 'those great luxurious clubs' in London that 'gather the cream of particular classes, or professions, or parties'. What the Century aspired to instead was a 'variety of tastes...and the most simple and independent conditions of intercourse.' The principle was to provide 'plain living' in return for 'high thinking'.¹²¹

The committee behind the report had been created to investigate a seemingly unrelated question, whether the association should increase its membership. At the heart of the matter, however, was the future direction of the organisation in New York's increasingly crowded institutional landscape. In the end, the committee concluded that no fewer than 100 additional members would be needed to maintain the Century's standing and prestige. Though they conceded that the scale of this change would almost certainly spell the end of the association's 'more private and personal pleasures', they exhorted 'We must not relapse into stagnation, but advance, and this can be accomplished only by the fresh renewal, from the outside, of that vigour which is steadily perishing within'. The alternative—to exclude the growing number of qualified gentlemen—was explained in equally pessimistic terms. 'The tendency and ultimate result would be the formation of other associations of a character resembling

¹¹⁹ Breiner, '(Former) Century Association Building', pp. 2-4; and C. Gray, 'The Century Association Clubhouse', in *Changing New York: The Architectural Scene* (New York, 1992), p. 72.

¹²⁰ Richardson was familiar with the Neo-Grec from his time studying at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the early 1860s. H-R Hitchcock, *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Time* (1936; Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1966), pp. 37-50.

¹²¹ The report's authors are quoting here from a recent club history. CAAF, Building Records, 'Report of the Committee upon the Proposed Increase of the Number of Members', 21 Nov., 1872, pp. 2-3.

our own, and the establishment of a rivalry quite injurious to the objects which all such associations should have in view.’¹²²

The report’s defence of the 15th Street clubhouse, its recommendation to increase the membership, as well as its omission of any discussion about art and exhibiting, suggests that the Century had reached some sort of historical juncture. It is an early instance of the association reflecting on itself as a *club* in the context of *clubland*. What might have prompted this introspection? The growth of clubland and the emergence of several new arts clubs in New York, including the Lotus (1870), Salmagundi (1871), and Lambs (1874), were all undoubtedly factors. But an even more intriguing possibility lies in altogether different institution, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, founded the same year the report was published. It was Bryant after all who famously began the movement to found the museum a couple of years into his presidency of the Century, and who took the reins as its first director. In an impassioned speech to the Union League Club in 1869, Bryant called for an art museum capable not only of elevating taste in the city but also of commissioning (and hanging) large canvases by American artists on ambitious subjects, the lack thereof he derided for the depressed state of the nation’s art. New York’s ineluctable growth at the crossroads of Europe and the American heartland, Bryant believed, was certain to elevate the city to a comparable position of London or Paris sooner rather than later and the city should assume its new rank with all the dignity, splendour, and responsibility that it entailed.¹²³

Bryant was a proficient institution builder, someone capable of articulating big ideas and devising organisational forms that could see them through. Particularly remarkable was his adept use of the Century Association as a sort of institutional parent for the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Century, for example, hosted the museum’s executive committee meetings and loaned its pictures for some of the museum’s first exhibitions. Notably, the museum’s first home was on 15th Street, not far

¹²² ‘Report of the Committee upon the Proposed Increase of the Number of Members’, p. 5.

¹²³ W. C. Bryant, ‘The Metropolitan Art Museum’, in *Oration and Addresses by William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1878), pp. 333-41. See also Lawrence W. Levine’s discussion of Bryant’s speech in *Highbrow Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), pp. 201-02.

from the association.¹²⁴ Bryant, then, had effectively siphoned off one of the Century's two founding objectives, about the elevation of public taste, to a more specialised institution. This freed the Century to refocus on its private and social aspect. But the two organisations presided over by Bryant could also be seen as dual enterprises, like pendant institutions, performing different functions but with the same end goal of elevating the American arts: one providing artists with commissions and a venue for exhibition; the other socialising those artists and ensuring their position as gentlemen and integrated members of the emergent national upper class in New York. In the Metropolitan and the Century, Bryant advanced his own particular vision of how Gotham could, like other great world capitals, provide the United States with a united and cultured elite.¹²⁵

Bryant's agenda grew increasingly difficult in the 1870s. Improved transatlantic travel and greater wealth saw collectors more often in Europe and able to capture European art prices. American art prices dropped precipitously as a result. At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, critics praised exhibitions of European pictures while questioning the merit of American canvases hanging nearby. The Hudson River School became *retardataire* and the French Barbizon School of Corot, Rousseau, and Dupré the height of fashion.¹²⁶ By necessity, far from shedding its function as an exhibition venue, the Century evolved into a sort of mutual aid society, where artists bought one another's pictures to stave off poverty.¹²⁷

Reflecting on this situation in an article about clubs in New York in 1880, the *Sum* avowed that the Century Association was not a gentlemen's club 'in the modern London sense'. It predicted,

¹²⁴ CAAF, Minutes of the Monthly Meetings and Board of Management, vo. III, pp. 335-36, 321, 322; XVII, 153, 175.

¹²⁵ Surprisingly little work has been done on the social context for the founding of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. More rigorous studies exist for the Metropolitan's counterparts in Boston and Chicago, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Art Institute of Chicago, also both founded in the 1870s. See P. DiMaggio, 'Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organisational Base for High Culture in America', in *Media, Culture and Society*, 4 (1982), pp. 33-50; N. Harris, 'The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement', *American Quarterly* (Winter 1962), pp. 545-66; and H. Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Lexington, Ken., 1976).

¹²⁶ The effects of this changing art market is examined in David Schuyler's study of Centurion 'Jervis McEntee: The Trials of a Landscape Painter', in N. Siegel (ed.), *The Cultured Canvas: New Perspectives on American Landscape Painting* (Durham, N. H.: 2011), pp. 185-216.

¹²⁷ Diana S. Greenwald comes to this compelling conclusion in 'Colleague Collectors: A Statistical Analysis of the History of Collecting and Artists' Networks in Nineteenth-Century New York', in *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* [forthcoming 2018].

moreover, that the association's monthly meeting would soon 'have little other significance than as presenting a favourable occasion for the display and sale of works of art.'

Bryant died in 1878. He was 84 years old. The younger literary set at the Century Association, including the editor Richard Henry Stoddard (joined 1864), writer George William Curtis (1851), poet Richard W. Gilder (1880), and critic Edmund C. Stedman (1864), tended towards a contemptuous view of contemporary America. They were antagonised rather than energised by the rise of scientific thinking and saw little to celebrate about the new financial and corporate systems. They created a world onto themselves into which they withdrew.¹²⁸ Still others, while less jaded, perhaps, severed themselves even more completely from society. In *A Backward Glance* (1934), Edith Wharton remarked on the antisocial tendencies of several friends, distinguished men of letters such as William Brownell, who joined the Century in 1888, but 'who led the life of a recluse', and William Dean Howells, 'another irreducible recluse', who notably never joined.¹²⁹ They 'shut themselves obstinately away from the people they despised as "fashionable"'.¹³⁰ The *Sun's* depiction of the Century as a declining cultural entity was on the whole accurate.

The root of these troubles, it is now clear, was the chaotic state of high society in New York City. There was no clear core of elites who could assume cultural stewardship as the Knickerbockers had once attempted to do. In the 1880s, especially, observers spoke of culture and capital as having parted ways, having become somehow incompatible.¹³¹ The deluge of new money into the city bred new tastes and upset antebellum conventions of patronage. The ostentation of the newly rich infected older families, and a new cosmopolitan taste began to emerge.¹³² American painters were not the only

¹²⁸ For this group see T. Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York, 1987), pp. 119-68; and J. Tomsich, *A Genteel Endeavor: American Culture and Politics in the Gilded Age* (Stanford, 1971).

¹²⁹ E. Wharton, *A Backward Glance* (New York and London, 1934), p. 144, 146; see also G. M. Frederickson's *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crises of the Union* (New York, 1965), p. 158.

¹³⁰ Wharton, *Backward Glance*, p. 93.

¹³¹ The autobiographies of Henry Holt and Edith Wharton offer valuable insights on this subject. Holt, *Sixty Years as a Publisher: With Other Essays Somewhat Biographical and Autobiographical* (London, 1924), especially pp. 172-3, 179; Wharton, *Backward Glance*, p.92-6.

¹³² For the rise of cosmopolitanism, see S. Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven, Conn., 1996); and S. J. Moore, *John White Alexander and the Construction of National Identity: Cosmopolitan American Art, 1880-1915* (Newark, DE, 2003).

victims of this development. The frivolity of the very rich left little time for intellectual pursuits. In fact, some were even openly hostile to higher thinking.¹³³ Wharton recalled a whole generation of wealthy men, natural intellectuals, she believed, who, isolated from higher thinking, preoccupied themselves with mundane society matters, suppressed their higher interests, and ‘lived in dilettantish leisure’.¹³⁴ In more ‘enlightened societies’, she felt certain, such men would have risen to become great politicians and civil servants.¹³⁵

The Century Association’s Removal Debate

William Cullen Bryant’s death threw the Century Association into a period of turmoil for much of the 1880s. Not only had it lost its president, but also New York’s most active figure on the question of wealth, culture, and the relationship between the two. Bryant’s eleven years at the helm saw the association move decidedly towards a distinctively New York interpretation of a gentlemen’s club, as part of his particular vision of an elite American culture. Should the Century continue his project of disassociation into a club without him? This question quickly came to be identified with another, should the Century relocate to a new clubhouse?

A belated memorial to Bryant in 1880, signed by nearly 100 Centurions, affirmed that it should relocate, thus setting off a decade-long debate about the merits of removal.¹³⁶ This debate, broadly described, split the association along the lines of ‘innovators’, who advocated for removal, and ‘conservatives’, who argued that the Century should stay put on 15th Street. The conservatives accused the innovators of material preoccupations that ran counter to the Century’s intellectual ethos, while the innovators insisted that only larger, more luxurious quarters could save the Century from almost

¹³³ F. C. Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), pp. 263-72.

¹³⁴ Wharton, *Backward Glance*, p. 93, 95.

¹³⁵ Wharton, *Backward Glance* (New York and London, 1934), p.95.

¹³⁶ CAAF, Minutes of the Board of Managers, 30 Jan., 1879; also noted in CAAF, Building Records, ‘Suggestions for a Clubhouse’, 1885. The memorial was copied into the minutes, without the names of the signatures. Although the memorial does not explicitly address Bryant, it is difficult to imagine another recently deceased Centurion arousing this level of action.

certain extinction in the growing and increasingly competitive world of New York's clubs. Both factions in a sense agreed that the city and clubland in particular were changing, but where one saw opportunity—an expanding pool of qualified candidates; luxurious clubhouses; and fashionable new uptown neighbourhoods—the other saw only compromise and moral declension.

These arguments were exchanged in a lively output of pamphlets, though most were anonymously authored, perhaps in an effort to maintain associational decorum. However, thanks to the board of manager's unusual decision to record the way Centurions cast their ballot at an association-wide vote in 1888, which ultimately ended the removal debate, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the makeup of the different sides.¹³⁷ Notably, among those who voted in favour of removal were Theodore Roosevelt and J. P. Morgan, leading figures in what Christopher Lasch termed 'the moral and intellectual rehabilitation of the ruling class.'¹³⁸ Railway magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt also cast his ballot for a new clubhouse. Interestingly, Charles F. McKim and Stanford White did not vote, though a number of their friends in the arts did. Among them were the designer Charles C. Tiffany and the landscape architect Charles A. Platt, two leading figures in the American Renaissance, both of whom voted for removal. On the other side of the aisle were patrician types like William Brownell, who Edith Wharton noted in her autobiography as one of many highly intelligent but frivolous men she knew in late nineteenth century New York—precisely the sort of man that Roosevelt railed against.¹³⁹ Another man who voted with the conservatives was the poet and editor Richard W. Gilder, representative of a genteel generation of literary men in New York who closed themselves off from society in a way that some of their contemporaries who sensed a ruling-class crisis found abominable.

The innovating faction dominated the Century's board of managers from the very start of the debate. In 1878 William Cullen Bryant was replaced in the president's chair by the artist Daniel Huntington (1816-1906). Huntington was a prominent figure in the American arts, though 'his

¹³⁷ My summary of the vote is based on the CAAF, Members' Monthly Meetings, 2 Feb., 1889, pp. 64-72.

¹³⁸ Lasch, 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class'.

¹³⁹ Wharton, *A Backward Glance*, p. 144.

importance was based on administrative and political leadership rather than artistic consequence', art historian Wendy Greenhouse explains.¹⁴⁰ Like Bryant, Huntington was a founding member of the Century and had also helped to establish the Metropolitan Museum of Art; notable as well was his long-time leadership of the National Academy of Design, another Knickerbocker institution founded alongside the Century. Huntington was, in short, and again like Bryant, an experienced institution builder. 'He had a positive genius for prominence and was the predestined chairman of any group he might join.'¹⁴¹ He was just the sort of leader to move the association into new quarters.

Under Huntington's leadership, the board of managers worked diligently to fulfil the 1880 Bryant Memorial request signed by close to 100 members. In April 1880, the board reported in favour of purchasing the Thomas Ward house on 47th Street, near Fifth Avenue. The building, one-hundred-by-forty feet, with an extension of a large music hall in the rear, was deemed well suited to the association's needs.¹⁴² But property restrictions, it was later discovered, precluded its use as a clubhouse. A similar discovery was made for two lots on the south side of 40th Street, near Sixth Avenue, which the board had also reported in favour of in March 1882.¹⁴³

Thereafter the board of managers became savvier in their proposals for removal. The next property they presented to the association, two houses at 15 and 17 West 38th Street, had no restrictions to speak of. But even so the board steered clear of revealing too many details to members about the buildings and what sort of clubhouse they would make. Instead they adopted an offensive approach, displaying a rhetoric that was to become the hallmark of the innovating faction. 'The Century has for some years been relinquishing its rights to be recruited from the choicest part of the community,' the managers stated, before brazenly adding, 'there are men asking for admission who ten years ago

¹⁴⁰ W. Greenhouse, "Daniel Huntington and the Ideal of Christian Art", in *Winterthur Portfolio*, 2/3 (1996): p. 112.

¹⁴¹ Quoted in Greenhouse, 'Daniel Huntington', p. 112.

¹⁴² 'City Real Estate', *NYT* (4 March 1880).

¹⁴³ A helpful timeline for the removal debate can be found in CAAF, Building Records, 'Suggestions for a Clubhouse', pp. 3-4. The document is undated but contains the pencilled inscription '1 April 1885: Archibald W. Speir, who was a Centurion 1886-1910.'

would not have dreamed of ever doing so.¹⁴⁴ In other words, the issue was not so much the Century's desirability but rather the *undesirability* of men presuming to join.¹⁴⁵ The best candidates apparently were attracted to other clubs and the implication was that the Century had begun to garner a reputation as a place for social arrivistes. The board was anxious to keep the organisation above and away from this riff raff.

The proposal to purchase the West 38th Street lots elicited the first conservative protest in the form of a two-page pamphlet, 'Facts for the Consideration of the Club', dated 1 March 1883.¹⁴⁶ Signed by 'Many Centurions', it opened with the epigraph:

Have I not seen dwellers on form and favour
Lose all, and more, by paying too much rent,
For compound sweet foregoing simple savour?
-Shakespeare's Sonnets.

The pamphlet then proceeded to accuse the board of managers of a materialism that ran counter to the Century's tradition of measuring 'men by their intrinsic worth', and which jeopardised its position of 'protest against prevailing worship of mere material success and all vulgar regard for mere appearances.' The authors were also concerned about the cost of removal and how it would influence the character of new members. The board had estimated it would need to raise \$15,000 by mortgage or bonds, but the authors contended that actually the debt would be several times that figure, at least \$50,000, owing to the poor condition of West 38th Street houses and the fact the board had neglected to budget for new furniture. Such extraordinary debt, the pamphlet continued, would necessitate either increasing the Century's membership or raising its annual dues. Both options were disastrous, according to conservatives: the first resulting in the admission of men for their money and the second compelling the resignation of poorer members. With its distinctly republican aversion to decadence, it

¹⁴⁴ Quoted in CAAF, Building Records, 'The Proposed Removal of the Century. Facts for the Consideration of the Club', 1 Mar., 1883.

¹⁴⁵ In 1872 'exceptionally qualified men' were said to languish more than a year before consideration for admission. By 1878, this waiting time must have increased significantly, given that 70 applications were considered for just four vacancies. See 'Report of the Committee upon the Proposed Increase of the Number of Members'; and CAAF, Building Material, 'Reports of the Treasurer and the Board of Management for the Year 1878', 1879.

¹⁴⁶ All references in this paragraph are to the two-page pamphlet in CAAF, Building Records, 'The Proposed Removal of the Century. Facts for the Consideration of the Club', 1 Mar., 1883.

is not difficult to imagine the men behind the pamphlet as the Century's writers, magazine editors, and penurious painters.

At the next meeting of the association, '[a]fter a long and animated discussion', members voted down the board's proposal for the West 38th Street properties. But the roll call—187 to 97—was just three votes shy of the two thirds affirmative that the innovators needed.¹⁴⁷ Although they were clearly in the majority and dominated the board of managers, the innovators struggled to overcome the challenges of the Century's town-hall style governance—a vestige of its associational origins. Whereas most clubs typically placed major decisions in the hands of its board or an equivalent, every Centurion was entitled to vote on almost all club matters. This meant that decisions about removal often dragged on for two or three meetings, by which time members often struggled to recall the issue at hand.¹⁴⁸

The argument for removal became more compelling as conditions on 15th Street deteriorated in the mid-1880s. The great height of Steinway Hall, just opposite, had long cast a shadow across the front of the clubhouse. But now, following the completion of a four-storey apartment building one block north, directly to the rear of the clubhouse, the back rooms were also deprived of direct sunlight and good air flow. As a result, gas-lighting had to be used at all times of day in the dining room and art gallery, and the smoking room was reported as perpetually 'dark and gloomy, except in the spaces near the windows.'¹⁴⁹ This development proved especially bitter for some, as the lot had been available for purchase before the apartment building went up, but the question of removal had paralysed the association and the opportunity passed.¹⁵⁰

One group of members in 1885 viewed the general disgruntlement as an opportunity to bring conservatives and innovators together behind a plan that both parties could support. They produced an especially elegant pamphlet, entitled 'Suggestions for a Clubhouse', replete with professionally

¹⁴⁷ 'Suggestions for a Clubhouse', p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ CAAF, Building Records, 'A Crises in the Century'. Pencilled on original: 'By Henry Holt '86, Revised by (E. L.) Godkin'.

¹⁴⁹ 'Suggestions for a Clubhouse', p. 4.

¹⁵⁰ 'Suggestions for a Clubhouse', p. 4.

drawn plans, proposing to convert a modest dwelling at the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 30th Street (Figure 27). The building would offer comparable space and amenity to the 15th Street clubhouse, but only with a three-storey addition on an adjacent lot, containing a billiard room, council room, library, and picture gallery. The pamphlet vaunted the attractive ‘privileges of light and air’ afforded by the extra wide thoroughfare of Fifth Avenue. ‘Being the northwest corner, and consequently having a southern exposure, the rooms will [also] be sunny and dry in winter and cool in summer.’¹⁵¹ But the need for a substantial new wing pulled the proposal into the very centre of the debate its authors had hoped to transcend, and the plan came to nothing.

After watching one such proposal after another fail to obtain the necessary majority year after year, one Centurion could stand it no longer and, in 1886, circulated a lengthy pamphlet which articulated more forcefully (and colourfully) than ever the innovator point of view. The pamphlet, like those before it, went unsigned. But the identity of the author was later revealed to be the successful publisher Henry Holt, affording a rare opportunity to study the arguments for removal against a biography.

The first thing that needs to be said about Holt was that he was a fervent social Darwinist and belonged to a small circle of men who were chiefly responsible for establishing evolutionary philosophy in the United States.¹⁵² Among them were key American disciples of the English philosopher Hebert Spencer such as John Fiske, William Graham Sumner, E. L. Godkin, and Edward L. Youmans. Notably, all were Centurions, and, according to Holt, all were fond of the club and socialised often at its clubhouse.¹⁵³ Though a successful commercial publisher, Holt did not shy away from publishing academic works by Fiske and Sumner on subjects relating to social Darwinism, despite the prospect of

¹⁵¹ ‘Suggestions for a Clubhouse’, p. 3.

¹⁵² Holt continued to defend Herbert Spencer into the early twentieth century, after the philosopher’s celebrity had begun to fade and many critics had dismissed his work. Holt, *Sixty Years*, pp. 296-320. On Holt, see C. A. Madison, ‘Gleanings from the Henry Holt Files’, *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 27/2 (1966), pp. 86-106. For social Darwinism in the United States and the activities of this group in particular, see R. C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought* (Philadelphia, 1988); and R. Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston, 1955).

¹⁵³ For example, Holt, *Sixty Years*, p. 48, 121, and 292.

limited sales. The arguments developed by Holt's friends and colleagues helped frame his response to events in elite society around the time of the removal debate as well as the debate itself.

Holt also mixed with artists and architects. He was friends with the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, for example, and owned a country place in New Rochelle, which had been designed for him by Charles F. McKim. Later in life, in his autobiography, Holt recorded his high esteem for both men. Saint-Gaudens, Holt believed, was 'the greatest sculptor the world has ever seen', greater even than Michelangelo, whose Pietà in St. Peter's, he confessed, had failed to affect him.¹⁵⁴ As for McKim, the architect was a 'genius', whom he praised for bringing about 'the renaissance in American architecture which has raised it from its low estate in the sixties to perhaps the first position in the world.'¹⁵⁵ Unsurprisingly, Holt also lamented his memory of the cultural situation in New York in the 1880s, when artists and businessmen had ceased to interact.¹⁵⁶ When the two mixed he saw tremendous gain for everyone. 'This benefaction, like the quality of mercy, works both ways, and reacts most favourably on society itself.'¹⁵⁷

Holt's target, in his six-page contribution to the removal debate, was the Century Association's style of governance: its 'principles of pure democracy'. He saw the town hall-style meetings as a quaint anachronism that may have worked well when the Century was still 'small and monolithic', but which now appeared to serve no other purpose except as a platform for the 'communistic ideals' of a small minority of members.¹⁵⁸ '[I]s it not against the very spirit of civilisation—against the development of art, literature, elegant living, the cultivation of the beautiful in all its forms, for ninety-eight or ninety-nine per cent of the community to say, "We will indulge in nothing that is not within the reach of the one or two percent of us who are not fortunate"?'¹⁵⁹ He was referring to the expected increase in annual dues following a move, which led him to wonder, in true Spencerian fashion, whether those

¹⁵⁴ Holt, *Sixty Years*, p. 161.

¹⁵⁵ Holt, *Sixty Years*, p. 146-7, 160-1.

¹⁵⁶ Holt, *Sixty Years*, p. 172-3.

¹⁵⁷ Holt, *Sixty Years*, p. 173.

¹⁵⁸ CAAF, Building Records, 'A Crises in the Century' (1886). Pencil on original: 'By Henry Holt '86, Revised by (E. L.) Godkin'.

¹⁵⁹ Holt, 'A Crises in the Century', p. 6.

among them who could not afford higher dues really deserved to call themselves Centurions at all. He pointed to the Athenaeum in London, ‘the only club in the world to be compared to ours’, though it had long offered ‘all the club appliances of modern civilisation’ and occupied ‘the best and most valuable club site in the world’. The Athenaeum ‘had by no means lowered its standard of high thinking, in having forsaken the barbarian’s necessity for plain living.’¹⁶⁰ According to the innovator Holt, luxury and intellect were perfectly at home together.

Holt’s interjection marked the start of a concerted effort by innovators to overcome the constitutional obstacles of ‘pure democracy’. This was not a straightforward business, however, and progress followed only after a fair bit of improvisation. One of the innovators’ first strategies was to take on the constitution directly. This involved a proposal to empower the innovator-friendly board of governors to transact business on the Century’s behalf. The idea was that if a suitable opportunity arose, the board would not have to first obtain permission from the membership at large. This was too blunt and was quickly killed by vote at a members’ meeting.¹⁶¹ From then on the innovators devoted themselves to, whenever possibly, inching the subject of removal away from members’ meetings and into the hands of special committees, whose powers could be increased incrementally. The reasoning seems to have been that increasing the power of the committees could be done relatively quietly. This, too, was a case of trial and error. The first such committee, tasked with identifying suitable properties in February 1887, existed for just one month. A pamphlet, employing the typical conservative rhetoric, attracted a large, sympathetic turn-out at the next members’ meeting, which ended with the committee’s discharge by a vote of 94 to 63.¹⁶²

The final such committee—the committee that ultimately ended the removal debate—emerged from a combination of luck and an excellent knowledge of New York State corporate law. It

¹⁶⁰ Holt, ‘A Crises in the Century’, p. 7.

¹⁶¹ CAAF, Members’ Annual Meeting, 12 Jan., 1889, p. 48.

¹⁶² CAAF, Special Meeting, 19 Mar. 1887, pp. 133-4; and CAAF, Building Records, ‘To the Members of the Century’, 15 Mar., 1887. This pamphlet employed the usual moral rhetoric of the conservatives and called for a large turn out to oppose any proposed removal at a special meeting on 19 March 1887. Notably, it was signed by 79 Centurions, including several predictable conservative figures like the editor Richard H. Stoddard and the impoverished landscape painter Jervis McEntee. Though it also contains the cosmopolitan artist John La Farge.

began with a special meeting in May 1888 to consider a small addition to the 15th Street clubhouse, but an innovator heavy turn-out resolved that it was unwise to spend any more money on the club's exiting quarters. Instead, the meeting resulted in the creation of a committee on site to investigate a new clubhouses.¹⁶³ After several months of investigation, the committee reported that its efforts had been 'greatly hampered' by its inability 'to negotiate for property without first coming to the club for its sanction.' Success was 'almost impossible' since property owners were loath to divulge their asking price to so large an organisation for fear that if negotiations fell through and word spread they would be forced to lower it. The committee requested, therefore, that they be given the power to negotiate on the association's behalf. Technically, this could be achieved, they pointed out, were their committee on site temporarily to merge with the board of managers, forming a 'Joint Committee of Site and the Board of Managers'. The proposal went through several rounds of tabling and amendment before members resolved to send it the board of managers for consideration (a requirement of the constitution).¹⁶⁴

Many innovators attended these meetings and did their part to push the resolution along. Though notably the very last to do so before it was sent to the board of managers was an attorney by the name of Charles C. Beaman.¹⁶⁵ Beaman, even more than Holt, belonged to McKim, Mead & White's circle.¹⁶⁶ He met the architects through the partners of his prominent Wall Street law firm, Evarts, Southmayd & Choate, notable for, among other things, convincing the Supreme Court that income tax was unconstitutional in 1895. The Evarts firm also 'represented McKim, Mead & White in practice related disputes'.¹⁶⁷ In the late 1870s, Beaman supported McKim with a number of projects, including substantial alterations to his Manhattan townhouse at 27 East 21st Street and possibly the design of his weekend retreat in Wave Crest, Far Rockaway on Long Island. Of greater significance,

¹⁶³ CAAF, Members' Monthly Meetings, 19 May, 1888, pp. 17-8.

¹⁶⁴ CAAF, Members' Monthly Meetings, 1 Dec., 1888, pp. 29-35. See also the committee's original report, CAAF, Members' Monthly Meetings, 2 June, 1888, p. 20-23.

¹⁶⁵ CAAF, Members' Monthly Meetings, 1 Dec., 1888, p. 33.

¹⁶⁶ My discussion of Beaman is based on Mosette Broderick's account in *Triumvirate: McKim, Mead & White* (New York, 2011), pp. 340-345.

¹⁶⁷ Broderick, *Triumvirate*, p. 345.

however, was Beaman's summer house, a large farm in Cornish, New Hampshire, which McKim, White, and their artist friends visited in the summer. By the mid-1880s, thanks to Beaman, a summer artists' colony had evolved at Cornish, with several key American Renaissance figures in regular residence such as Augustus Saint-Gaudens, muralist George de Forest Brush, and painter Thomas Wilmer.

On the evening of 2 February 1889, Beaman along with 275 other Centurions, almost half the total membership, gathered at the 15th Street clubhouse to hear the board of managers deliver its opinion.¹⁶⁸ It was the largest turn out in living memory for a members' meeting. If the board recommended in favour of the joint committee and called for a vote, innovators and conservatives alike wanted to be there in strength to cast their ballots. In the end, the board did endorse the recommendation and a vote was taken that same evening. The final roll call was 202 in favour, with 74 opposed. The resolution was carried, and the committee of site and the board of managers were joined so that they could begin the business of removal.

A New Clubhouse for the Century Association

The joint committee wasted no time in fulfilling its purpose. In March 1889, it purchased four lots on West 43rd Street, between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, where construction on the new clubhouse began within the year. Having fulfilled its purpose, the joint committee discharged itself and the old committee on site was reconstituted as a building committee.

At the top of the agenda for the new committee was the question of an architect. '[T]he principal subject' at its first meeting, the committee later reported, 'was whether a number of architects should be invited to present plans, or whether a single architect should be selected with whom the committee might fully consult upon the various matters'. It was 'unanimously of the opinion that a single architect should be selected, and after having received the approval of the board of managers,

¹⁶⁸ CAAF, Members' Monthly Meetings, 2 Feb., 1889, pp. 64-72.

selected the firm of McKim, Mead & White.’¹⁶⁹ The records contain no further insights into their decision. That McKim, Mead & White, who appear to have accepted at once, were decided on before the fact is a strong possibility.

The firm’s selection might even be regarded as a *fait accompli*. Not only were the two most pivotal innovators in the removal debate, Henry Holt and Charles C. Beaman, admirers and patrons of Charles F. McKim, but the building committee also gave the architects remarkable latitude in executing the commission. It was left to McKim, Mead & White to determine the style, plan, and form of the new clubhouse. After an initial meeting with the architects, the building committee set out the following ‘conditions under which the designs were to be made’:

A building was to be erected covering a large of ground, and having the conveniences of a clubhouse, including a picture gallery, a library, a room for monthly meetings, a billiard room,—all large rooms—; the character of the building must in its external as well its internal aspect [be] in harmony with the character of the Century Club; and these objects must be accomplished at an expenditure not exceeding one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, the superior limit of expenditure fixed by the club itself.¹⁷⁰

All these conveniences, with the exception of the art gallery, were standard club functions, and as the ‘character of the Century’ was left open to interpretation, the architects were given virtually free reign over the building’s design. Only the budget can be said to have presented a serious restriction. But even here the architects were treated with unusual restraint. After the first set of plans, which the building committee unanimously accepted, was returned by the builders with an estimate far in excess of the budget, the board showed no signs of wanting to take a stronger hand. Rather they asked McKim, Mead & White ‘to modify the designs in order to bring them within the amount appropriated for the building, retaining if possible the general features of the structure’ first proposed.¹⁷¹ The result of this further study was the production of plans which the committee then brought to the board of managers ‘to present, and which they unanimously recommend for adoption.’¹⁷² At that meeting, also

¹⁶⁹ CAAF, Board of Managers, Building Committee Report, 18 Jun., 1889, pp. 150-1.

¹⁷⁰ Building Committee Report, 18 Jun., 1889, pp. 151-2.

¹⁷¹ Building Committee Report, 18 Jun., 1889, pp. 151-2.

¹⁷² Building Committee Report, 18 Jun., 1889, pp. 153.

attended by McKim and White, who explained the plans in detail, floor by floor, plus all elevations and materials, the board unanimously accepted. From there on out, both the board and committee rarely met with the architects. The Century Association's building was, far more than any other case study in this thesis, the work of McKim, Mead & White more than the clients.

It was this latitude that allowed McKim to approach the commission as he did, as a manifesto and an agent for his ideas about an American Renaissance, particularly about its relationship to the emerging economic order. That economic order, including the likes of J. P. Morgan, it is worth recalling, had voted for a new clubhouse and in a sense had voted for McKim and the American Renaissance. The innovators had won the removal debate and the freedom afforded to the architects suggests they, like McKim, wanted to see the design turned into a statement about the new American era. McKim, Mead & White were the obvious—and perhaps only—candidates for the job.

It is difficult to overstate the firm's stature in the late 1880s. After the country's preeminent architect, H. H. Richardson died in 1886, McKim, Mead & White moved to the forefront of the profession. Both McKim and White had in turn worked as Richardson's chief assistant and had, after setting off on their own, worked alongside their teacher in trying to develop an American style of architecture through their work in the Queen Anne and Colonial revival idioms. Now, after Richardson's death, McKim, Mead & White turned in a new direction, developing an architecture of Renaissance classicism, which captured the public's imagination with great intensity. They became at once national celebrities and figures of tremendous cultural authority, in much the same way Michelangelo and Leonardo Da Vinci were regarded in their own day. Indeed, as one assistant who entered the office in 1887 recalled, 'It was an esteemed privilege to be admitted to the offices of these architects, which seemed to breathe [SIC] the spirit of the fifteenth century. Mr White was looked upon as the Benvenuto Cellini, while Mr. McKim was regarded as the Bramante of the firm.'¹⁷³ As Richard Guy Wilson observes, 'These references to the Italian Renaissance architect Donato Bramante and the

¹⁷³ This was the recollection of William A. Boring, later a professor director of the School of Architecture at Columbia University. Quoted C. Moore, *The Life And Times Of Charles Follen Mckim* (New York and Boston, 1929), p. 57.

sixteenth-century ornamentalist Benvenuto Cellini catch the character of each partner: McKim the monumental formalist and White the ingenious decorator.¹⁷⁴ It is fitting, then, that they became the partners' nicknames around the office.

McKim and White certainly did not shy away from the ideal of the Renaissance artist. Their first great experiment in this regard was the Boston Public Library in 1887 to 1895 (Figure 28, Figure 29, and Figure 30). The New York architects owed the commission in part to McKim's recent marriage to Anne Applebee, whose cousin, dominated the commission. The firm set up a local office on Commonwealth Avenue where McKim could work on the designs which on the façade drew heavily from Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. But it was also a thoroughly American job in light of the large number of American artists who collaborated on the commission. In addition to serving as the architect, McKim also directed the dozens of artistic commissions that embellished the exterior and interior. John Singer Sargent worked on a programme of murals for the grand hall and Charles Tiffany on the stained glass. The library's grandeur earned it the moniker the 'people's palace'.

Unlike the Boston Public Library, for which Charles F. McKim assumed singular responsibility, the new Century Association clubhouse on West 43rd was undertaken in a collaborative way, with McKim responsible for the plan and White the façade.¹⁷⁵ Like the London club style, the exterior was patterned after an Italian palazzo (Figure 31). In particular, Leland Roth points out White's debt to the Palazzo Canossa in Verona, designed by Michele Sanmicheli for the Marquise of Canossa in 1527.¹⁷⁶ Though, as Roth also points out, the decorations drew inspiration from a variety of northern Italian palazzi, and involved a great deal of invention, resulting in something far more ornate than anything found in London. It was even a further cry from the 15th Street facade designed by Gambill, possibly with his partner Richardson. The sombre yellow brick of the downtown building had been swapped for a combination of brick and marble used in a variety of patterns, including two types of rustication. The mansard roof, likewise, was dropped in favour of the standard palazzo flat roof, topped by a

¹⁷⁴ Wilson, 'American Renaissance', p. 31.

¹⁷⁵ Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects*, p. 43.

¹⁷⁶ Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 43.

balustrade, behind which the architects had originally planned to place a roof garden. Members, however, had use of a large loggia, designed like a Palladian window, off the second-floor, directly above the entrance. Elsewhere as well the palazzo block, so revered by Charles Barry in the Reform Club, was more freely, even playfully handled. Corinthian pilasters were arranged on the principle floor, between four large windows crowned with oculi above those on the principal floor. In a further irreverent display, White chose not to extend the façade around the corners, leaving the underlying brick exposed as though the façade were a peelable layer.¹⁷⁷

McKim was responsible for the plan. He organised the rooms across three principal floors, in a sense two *piano nobilis* above the rusticated basement (Figure 32). As in the Athenaeum in London, the main entrance, off 43rd Street, directly faced a large central staircase, this one enclosed in white marble (Figure 33). The club's office was just to the left of the entrance, with the remainder of the ground floor given over to committee and strangers' rooms, both to the right of the entrance, along with such other notable facilities as a barber's shop. The art gallery was entered via the landing between the ground and first floors, and was designed with dimensions that recalled the old one on 15th Street. McKim dealt with this inherited function as he and his partners would so often do in the future with spaces that were not easily integrated into a clubhouse: he simply attached it the rear, almost as an add-on or afterthought.

The Century's first floor plan possessed a full circuit programme like those found in London clubhouses or a *palazazzo*. This meant that all rooms on this floor—for reading, writing, and smoking—could be entered from either the central hall or one of the adjoining rooms. But McKim also made his own distinctive contribution to the plan. The rooms opened widely onto one another, almost to the point of merging into a single space, as was often the case in his Shingle Style houses. The floor above was a close facsimile to the one below. The second floor was divided between a library and two dining

¹⁷⁷ I am indebted here to an observation made by Sam White about Stanford White's design for the Tiffany and Company Building (completed 1905) in New York City. White's 'floating' architraves in the upper windows of the building suggest the sort of playful approach to the classical language that can also be seen in the façade of the Century Association.

rooms. One was an intimate space for private dining, overlooking the loggia, while the other, the main dining room, which was listed as a grill on the plan, was not significantly larger (Figure 34). Indeed, the main dining room offered an intimate experience with only a few small tables around a larger communal one. As for the library, its oblong shape recalled the principal rooms in many Pall Mall clubhouses and also the one Garrison had added to the old clubhouse downtown (Figure 35). The library's ministerial gallery and the integration of the bookshelves throughout the club rooms, along with the dimensions of the picture gallery, are some of the few gestures McKim, Mead & White made to the building committee's stipulation that 'the character of the building must be in its external as well as internal aspects in harmony with the character of the Century Club.'

No such nostalgia can be detected in the decoration of the club rooms. The Century's old 15th Street furniture was left behind for the building's new owners, a Brewers' association. The Century agreed to a budget of \$30,000 to complete the rooms, which was largely overseen by White.¹⁷⁸ The overall effect was clearly different to his and McKim's work at the Boston Public Library or the Villard Houses. The European grandeur was there, it was true, for instance, in the collection of marble statues that White had purchased in Europe and positioned throughout the clubhouse (Figure 36). But the grandeur was tamer, more restrained, and with colonial revival accents, which was especially on display in the furniture. Many of these pieces were, in fact, custom-designed by White, who worked closely with the furniture manufacturer Davenport of Boston.¹⁷⁹

Conclusion

The removal debate was about more than just the fate of a single institution. It was an arena in which the emergent national upper class fought for cultural hegemony—and ultimately won. The innovators' victory was a class victory. Both the process of the debate, lasting nearly a decade, and the outcome of

¹⁷⁸ H. S. F. Cooper, Jr., *Inside the Century Association* (New York, 1997), p. 78.

¹⁷⁹ N. Carlisle, 'John Ellis and A. H. Davenport: Furniture Manufacturing in Each Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1850-1900', in B. Jobe and G. W. R. Ward (eds.), *Boston Furniture 1700-1900*, 88 (Boston, 2016), pp. 351-369.

the debate, the West 43rd clubhouse, contributed to the development and definition of the American Renaissance. More specifically, the Century Association was where the alliance between culture and a new sort of capital, represented by investment bankers and industrialists, was forged to a significant degree. It was not coincidence that the American Renaissance and the American ruling class arose in the same years. The two were related. The American Renaissance was the aristocratic culture of that class.

The class interpretation of the American Renaissance has the potential to bring new light to some persistent mysteries in the historiography of rich and powerful Gilded Age men. Two prime examples were J. P. Morgan and Theodore Roosevelt, Centurions who cast their ballot in favour of a new clubhouse. Morgan's late start in life to art collecting in the late 1880s, when he was already middle aged, has been put down by some historians to the sense of freedom that the investor must have felt following the death of his father around the same time.¹⁸⁰ But the Century Association suggests a more interesting possibility: an awakening of the super-rich to the urgent need for an aristocratic tradition. Thus Morgan became one of the most voracious art collectors in history, acquiring entire collections from impecunious aristocrats in Europe, sometimes without even seeing them.¹⁸¹ Many of these pieces he donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art—where he was the long-time chairman of the board of trustees—or kept in his library which he had converted into a museum after his death. Notably, both the museum and the library commissioned McKim, Mead & White.¹⁸² Morgan also became the most generous and passionate supporter of Charles F. McKim's intellectual child, the American Academy in Rome.¹⁸³ The Academy was the preeminent American Renaissance institution, which McKim had founded in 1894 with the idea of bringing young American artists and architects to study

¹⁸⁰ R. Chernow, *The House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York, 1990), p. 116.

¹⁸¹ Chernow, *The House of Morgan*, pp. 112-20; and J. Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (New York, 1992), pp. 485-508.

¹⁸² For the firm's design of the Morgan Library (1902-07), see Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, pp. 288-92; and Wilson, *McKim, Mead & White*, pp. 218-24. For the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1904-06), see Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 295-97.

¹⁸³ For the early history of the American Academy in Rome, see F. K. Yegül, *Gentlemen of Instinct and Breeding: Architecture at the American Academy in Rome, 1894-1940* (Oxford, 1991).

original Roman and Renaissance works. The death of a parent—even one as overbearing as Junius S. Morgan—alone cannot account for Morgan’s extraordinary commitment to the arts.

It was under President Theodore Roosevelt that the American Academy in Rome was incorporated by a special act of the United States Congress.¹⁸⁴ Although the dominant image of the 26th President of the United States was that of a Tough Rider in Spanish-American Civil War, cowboy on his Western ranch, and every bit the embodiment of ‘the strenuous life’ he implored Americans to adopt, he also oversaw something like a renaissance in Washington D. C. Besides signing the American Academy of Rome into existence, Roosevelt also oversaw the most extensive remodelling of the White House since it had been rebuilt after the British destroyed it during the War of 1812, as well as the largest redesign campaign of the nation’s capital since Peter Charles L’Enfant had planned the federal city in the 1790s. It was McKim who Roosevelt personally commissioned to restore the White House shortly after moving in, and it was McKim again who shaped the redesign of the nation’s capital as a member of the select group of three with Daniel Burnham and Frederick Law Olmstead Jr. who formed the Senate Park Commission.¹⁸⁵ If, as historians have suggested, Roosevelt was the prototypical American aristocrat at the turn of the century, one of the renegade members of the old commercial elite who consciously went about establishing an American ruling class, then his interest in the nation’s art and architecture begins to look a lot like an effort at establishing an aristocratic high culture.¹⁸⁶

While the American Renaissance has never been interpreted as having had a class function, historians of higher education have long accepted the existence of a link between the rise of the modern

¹⁸⁴ The list of academy incorporators reads like a *who’s who* of American Gilded Age business and culture. Among the 80 or so incorporators were all three partners of McKim, Mead & White; railroad presidents Charles Francis Adams and William K. Vanderbilt; bankers Charles T. Barney and James Stillman; financiers Henry L. Higginson and J. P. Morgan; Harvard University President Charles W. Eliot; Art Institute of Chicago founder Charles L. Hutchinson; architects Richard Morris Hunt, Daniel Burnham, and Robert Peabody; landscape designer Frederick Law Olmstead; sculptor Daniel French; and painter John La Farge. *The American Academy in Rome: Officers, Act of Incorporation, By-Laws* (New York, 1905).

¹⁸⁵ For the remodelling of the White House (1902-03), see Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, pp. 267-71. For the Senate Park Commission (1902), see Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, pp. 251-59; and Wilson, ‘American Renaissance’, pp. 27-40.

¹⁸⁶ Lasch, ‘The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class’, pp. 80-99; and Ninkovich, ‘Theodore Roosevelt’, pp. 221-45.

American university and the efforts of old regional elites, like those in New England who controlled Harvard University, to invent a national upper class. Indeed, Roosevelt himself was one of the first beneficiaries of the 'new' Harvard. Roosevelt was the first in his family, which was a particularly old and established one in New York, to attend Harvard instead of the local Columbia College. It is Harvard's transformation into the modern exemplar of elite university education in the United States that is taken up or rather revised in the next chapter through the lens of McKim, Mead & White's building for the Harvard Club of New York.

2

The Gift that Kept on Giving New York's Harvard House

In October 1901, the Student Union at Harvard University was formally opened by the Boston banker and Harvard alumnus Henry L. Higginson (Figure 37). Although he was the union's single largest benefactor, having donated \$150,000 (over half the total costs), Higginson spent most of his dedication speech reflecting on the many other, mostly non-monetary gifts that had gone into the building, especially those of its architect, Charles F. McKim.

For several years men have dreamed of and striven for such a plan, and thus had laid the foundation for it. ... When the building was set on foot, three graduates at once asked to furnish the house. ... [In addition] These carved panels, these mantel-pieces and coats of arms at either end of the hall, as well as the brass wreath in the floor yonder, are gifts of various graduates, students and friends. The bust of John Harvard, above the mantle, is the work and the gift of the distinguished sculptor, Daniel C. French, and the bust of Washington, together with the eagle and the stag horns, we have from the hands of our great architect. The chief happiness of the architect seems to lie in the beautification of our college grounds ... He has made this building a labour of love. He has outdone even himself. Thus you see that our house springs from the imagination and the work of many men, and you may be sure that the work and joy of building it have gone hand in hand. It is pleasant to record such a united effort on behalf of Mother Harvard, for she exists only through the constant labour and bounty of her friends. It is her whole mission in life to hand out her blessings on us, and we, as grateful children, can do no less than hold up and strengthen her hands, thus emulating the example of the friends outside, who have of late showered her with gifts in so splendid and thoughtful a fashion.¹⁸⁷

When Henry James, also a Harvard alumnus, visited the university a few years later—after two decades living abroad—he was struck most by McKim and Higginson's Student Union. Not because so little else had changed on campus (a great many new buildings had gone up), but rather because the union captured so well the remarkable nature of that change. Unlike the rest of the country—where he had encountered 'a perpetual repudiation of the past' and 'importune newness'—James marvelled at how

¹⁸⁷ Reprinted in *Harvard Illustrated Magazine*, 3/1 (1901), pp. 1-5.

the university, even with its ‘multiplied resources, halls, faculties, museums, undergraduate and postgraduate habitations’, remained *Harvard*.¹⁸⁸ And it was while visiting the union, and while standing in front of a portrait of Higginson in fact, ‘that the actual vibration of [this] response seemed most to turn to audible music’. The place was quite clearly designed for students, ‘addressed...to an enjoying and producing future’, but also, he felt, as ‘a liberal monument to those who had come and gone, to the company of the lurking ghosts. The air was full of them, and this was its service, that it cared for them *all*—students, past, present, and future.’¹⁸⁹

The Harvard of 1901 was indeed a very different place to the Harvard of the 1850s or 1860s, when James, Higginson, and McKim had been students. Then, the footprint of the university remained well within the boundaries of Harvard Yard, an unfenced 20-acre parcel of land abutting Cambridge city centre.¹⁹⁰ Class sizes hovered around 100, students chose few if any of their courses, and the majority came from towns and cities around New England, not least Boston, just across the Charles River. Now, in the opening years of the twentieth century, class sizes typically exceeded several hundred, students chose nearly all of their courses, and more than half hailed from states outside New England, some from as far away as Oregon, Washington, and California. As for the campus, Harvard Yard had been built up and fenced in, though still, as James observed, ‘it appeared to have wandered wide and to be stretching forth, in many directions, long, acquisitive arms.’¹⁹¹ In effect, Harvard had been reinvented, from a small, provincial college into a national university—America’s *first* national university—while somehow retaining the old spirit of the place.

As James, Higginson, and McKim knew, Harvard’s rise was never a foregone conclusion. Indeed, up until at least the turn of the century there was much to suggest that another institution and model of higher education would ascend to the national position that Harvard eventually claimed. For starters, Boston was fading, economically as well as culturally. New York City’s ever growing economic

¹⁸⁸ H. James, *The American Scene* (London, 1907), p. 53, 63, 58.

¹⁸⁹ James, *American Scene*, p. 60.

¹⁹⁰ B. Bunting, *Harvard: An Architectural History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), p. 62-3.

¹⁹¹ James, *American Scene*, p. 57.

importance put its own institutions at a tremendous advantage. For example, Boston, once ‘America’s Athens’, had largely ceded its position of cultural pre-eminence to Gotham by the late 1880s.¹⁹² Secondly, Harvard was hardly the only aspirant to the title of national university. The question of a federally endowed one, located in Washington D.C.—a dream of the George Washington’s—enjoyed several waves of support during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The government eventually retreated from the idea in part because of assurances from leaders of private universities that their institutions could perform the function better than the federal government.¹⁹³ Yale pursued its own vision of a national university, and by its own measure, probably succeeded. However, as Peter Dopkin Hall has shown, its particular vision of a national university is not one we would recognise today.¹⁹⁴ Yale was rural and religious rather than professional and metropolitan in outlook. Up until 1900, Yale graduates could be found preaching to small-town congregations across the United States. The clergy dominated Yale as well as other universities, shaped their outlook, often well into the twentieth century. Harvard, on the other hand, severed its denominational link in 1865, at the same time it divorced itself from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Both church and state had originally helped found the institution and thereafter played a formal role in Harvard’s governance. After 1865, that role was effectively transferred to Harvard alumni, who comprised the newly created Board of Overseers.¹⁹⁵ This could not have made Harvard more different to the spate of newly organised and richly endowed research universities like John Hopkins (1876), Clark University (1889), and the University of Chicago (1890), all of which on some level prioritised graduate over undergraduate studies and were dominated

¹⁹² Marked for many by the relocation of William Dean Howells (‘America’s dean of letters’) from Boston to Manhattan in 1888. On the evolving fortunes of American cities see A. M. Schlesinger, ‘The City in American History’, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 27/1 (June 1940), pp. 43–66; and R. E. Wright, *The First Wall Street: Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and the Birth of American Finance* (Chicago, 2005).

¹⁹³ In 1816 Benjamin Henry Latrobe drew up elaborate plans for a National University, to be located in the middle of Washington D.C.’s Mall. P.V. Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (New York, 1984), pp. 62–67. For the later nineteenth century revival of the idea, see D. Madsen, *The National University, Enduring Dream of USA* (Detroit, 1966), pp. 67–103; and R. L. Williams, *The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education: George W. Atherton and the Land Grant College Movement* (University Park, 1991).

¹⁹⁴ ‘Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie: Higher Education and the Governing-Class Formation of the United States, 1870–1914’, in S. Beckert and J. B. Rosenbaum (eds), *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2010), pp. 167–87. For Yale in particular and other elite colleges in this period, see L. R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965); and R. L. Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* (Princeton, 2015), pp. 316–63.

¹⁹⁵ S. E. Morrison, ‘Government and Administration, 1869–1929’, in S. E. Morrison (ed.), *The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot*, xxv–xxxviii.

by their founders or a small group of educators rather than empowered alumni like Harvard's Overseers.¹⁹⁶

Alumni were key to the making of modern Harvard to a much greater extent than historians have realised. This is because most of their accounts have understandably focused on Harvard itself and events that took place in Cambridge. This chapter explores an alternative narrative, examining the work of Harvard alumni in New York to organise the country's first alumni club. The product of that work was New York's Harvard House, designed by Charles F. McKim, which was completed in 1894. But like the Century Association, it was the architectural process rather than the finished building that did the most for club members. McKim, himself a Harvard graduate as well as a member of the Harvard Club, gifted his professional services to the organisation and collaborated with other alumni on its design, many of whom donated family furniture and bric-a-brac to furnish and decorate the club rooms. Through this experience of coming together to build the clubhouse, members began to cultivate a new language of alumni community, based around the metaphor of family and house. This was the model for Higginson and McKim's Student Union in Cambridge. Higginson's emphasis on the 'united effort' behind the union for 'Mother Harvard' was more than just rhetoric. While these new centres of alumni and student life were developed by Harvard men for Harvard men, they did so with an eye on creating a paradigm for elite higher education in America more generally. They actively proselytised the virtues of these new institutions to other universities and were only too happy to see them adopted. The story of New York's Harvard House, then, is a revisionary history of Harvard's transformation into the prototypical American university and more: it is about how higher education became a key component of ruling-class identity in the United States.

Towards an Alumni Clubhouse in New York

¹⁹⁶ Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education*, pp. 338-47.

Until the Harvard Club of New York acquired its first permanent quarters in 1887, a rented brownstone house near Madison Square, it was all but indistinguishable from the dozen or so other alumni groups in the city. It had been founded in 1865, around the same time as the associations set up for Princeton and Yale, among others, who met occasionally in restaurants and rented rooms.¹⁹⁷ The Harvard Club's motivation for charting a new course by signing the lease, and ultimately for building its own premises, had to do with the extraordinary changes taking place in Cambridge. Harvard, unlike Princeton and Yale, had begun to shed its provincial roots. Underlining this development was a clearly articulated agenda by Harvard's leaders to educate an American leadership class. This new social order was to be morally competent, capable of steering the country away from another civil conflict, as well technically proficient, able to lead the country into the new industrial age.¹⁹⁸ In moving into its own home, the Harvard Club set out to support that project from their base in New York City.

The idea of an American leadership class was based on traditional elite New England thinking about a natural aristocracy.¹⁹⁹ This had developed principally through Harvard, which had, over the course of the nineteenth century, been thoroughly monopolised by the region's wealthy families.²⁰⁰ These merchants and bankers became known as 'Brahmins', after the Indian priest caste, because of their marked erudition and cohesiveness.²⁰¹ Both characteristics can be tied to their adeptness with institutions, Harvard being the most important. It stood at the centre of a constellation of others, including the Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston Athenaeum, Lowell Institute, Natural History

¹⁹⁷ For the growth of alumni associations see J. Axtell, *Wisdom's Workshop: The Rise of the Modern University* (Princeton, 2016), pp. 292-3; and E. Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* 20th printing (1983; Cambridge, 2012), pp. 294-6.

¹⁹⁸ Harvard's leaders were not alone in theorising about a ruling stratum in these years. Lester F. Ward's 'sociocracy' and John D. Draper's 'organised intelligence' were analogous. The development of this thinking is traced in G. M. Frederickson's *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crises of the Union* (New York, 1965).

¹⁹⁹ The work of Peter Dopkin Hall has been important to my thinking on this subject. See *The Organisation of American Culture, 1700-1900: Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York, 1984), pp. 259-68; and 'Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie: Higher Education and the Governing-Class Formation of the United States, 1870-1914', in S. Beckert and J. B. Rosenbaum (eds), *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2010), pp. 167-87.

²⁰⁰ R. Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard & the Boston Upper Class, 1800-1970* (Middletown, Conn., 1980).

²⁰¹ An excellent history of the term is D. Shand-Tucci, 'American Aristocracy – Harvard Pulpit: Boston Brahmin Liberalism' (1 April 2012), accessed 29 January 2018, at <https://www.openlettersmonthly.com/letter-from-boston-toward-a-new-history/>.

Society, Mount Auburn Cemetery/Horticultural Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Museum of Fine Arts, and Boston Symphony Orchestra.²⁰² Most of these institutions were founded in one of two periods in the nineteenth century, in the middle or last quarter. They were central to Brahmin class identity, and the development of the Harvard Club in New York can be understood as a capillary of the later surge in institution building, known as the Boston Renaissance.

Nearly all of the leaders of the Harvard Club were, importantly, New England-born elites, among them the Ordways, Purringtons, and Beamans—some of Boston’s most distinguished families.²⁰³ They migrated to New York in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, mostly following the end of the Civil War, drawn by the extraordinary demand for their professional expertise, especially in law.²⁰⁴ Indeed, over half of them were lawyers. Banking was the next largest represented profession among the club leaders, though even a few of these men had also trained as attorneys. They were on the whole, then, key figures in the emerging financial and corporate economy of late nineteenth-century New York.²⁰⁵ But when they founded the club in the 1860s, they did so for purely

²⁰² Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy*. See also P. DiMaggio, ‘Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organisational Base for High Culture in America’, in *Media, Culture and Society* 1982 4, pp. 33-50.

²⁰³ This prosopography is based on the 17 members who signed the club’s bill of incorporation in 1887. Three quarters were born in New England. For the record they were Edward King, Charles C. Beaman, Edmund Wetmore, Edward L. Parris, Thomas F. Brownell, Nathaniel A. Prentiss, George S. Greene, Jr., James W. Hawes, Amos K. Fiske, Clement Cleveland, William Montgomery, Jr., Nathaniel S. Smith, Camillus G. Kidder, William S. Seamans, Eugene D. Hawkins, William A. Purrington, and Samuel H. Ordway. Biographical information gleaned from *Harvard College Class of 1861, Sixth Report* (Cambridge, 1902); *Report of the Class of 1860* (Cambridge, 1895); *Seventh Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1865 of Harvard College* (New York, 1890); *Tenth Report of the Secretary, Class of 1865, of Harvard College* (Boston, 1907); *Class of 1862, Fiftieth Anniversary Report* (Norwood, Mass., 1912); *Report of the class of 1860* (Cambridge, 1915); *Class of 1866, The Tenth Secretary’s Report* (Boston, 1901); *The Twentieth Secretary’s Report of the Class of 1866* (Boston, 1922); *Class of 1867. Secretary’s Report No. 12* (Boston, 1907); *Class of 1867. Secretary’s Report. No. 14* (Boston, 1918); *Tenth Report of the Class of 1869 of Harvard College* (Boston, 1908); *Harvard College Class of 1872, Tenth Report of the Secretary 1912-1917* (Norwood, Mass., 1917); *Class of 1887, Harvard College, 25th Anniversary, 1887-1912* (Boston, 1912); *Fortieth Anniversary Report (Report 7) of the Secretary of the Class of 1881 of Harvard College* (Cambridge, 1921); *The Ninth Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1873* (Boston, 1913); Obituary of Samuel H. Ordway, *NYT* (20 April 1934).

²⁰⁴ Gerald W. Gawalt has found that 18 percent of New England-educated lawyers admitted to practice before 1840—which would cover the original group of alumni who founded the club in 1865—moved out of state. Whereas less than 5 percent of lawyers admitted between 1870 and 1890 did so. He suggests that the high geographic mobility of the older lawyers reflected the lack of opportunities in industrial Massachusetts. ‘The Impact of Industrialization on the Legal Profession in Massachusetts, 1870-1890’, in G. W. Gawalt (ed), *The New High Priests: Lawyers in Post-Civil War America* (Westport, Conn. and London, 1984), p. 102. See also, in the same volume, R. W. Gordon, ‘“The Ideal and the Actual in the Law”: Fantasies and Practices of New York City Lawyers, 1870-1910’, p. 56. For a broader picture of different professional groups in Gilded Age New York, see S. Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850 – 1896*, pp. 29-32, 65.

²⁰⁵ Brahmin business acumen in the late nineteenth century has been charted by a number of historians over the years. Notably, however, this work has neglected the Gotham-based Brahmins treated here. The most recent addition to the literature is N. Maggor, *Brahmin Capitalism: Frontiers of Wealth and Populism in America’s First Gilded Age* (Cambridge,

social reasons. Early accounts of the club attest to this function. ‘To be a man coming from a small home town, New York seemed a very lonesome place in the old days.’²⁰⁶ The club grew slowly in the early years, reaching 200 members in 1879, gaining unevenly and occasionally falling from one year to the next.²⁰⁷ The monthly meetings and annual dinners, both held at the smart restaurant Delmonico’s on 14th Street, ‘were quite informal’, recalled the club’s first secretary, Henry Sherwin. ‘We conversed, told stories, and sang songs and had refreshments, liquid and otherwise...I kept no records, which was a pity, and my only duty was to notify members of the meetings. I think there was no constitution or by-laws, for none dreamed that the club would ever grow as it has grown since then.’²⁰⁸

The stimulus for that growth was the quickening pace of change at Harvard, under university president Charles W. Eliot, also a Harvard-educated Brahmin (class of 1853). In the aftermath of the Civil War, Eliot, whose tenure spanned forty years, sought to make Harvard ‘useful’ and its curriculum ‘practical’. Shortly before his election as president in 1869, he declared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, ‘The American people are fighting a wilderness, physical and moral, on the one hand, and on the other are struggling to work out the awful problem of self-government. For this fight they must be trained and armed’. During his presidency, Eliot set out to produce ‘commissioned officers in the army of industry’, Harvard-trained architects, chemists, engineers, and manufacturers, who would meet America’s new organisational and technological demands and solve its ‘awful problem of self-government’.²⁰⁹

Eliot first turned his attention to refashioning Harvard’s graduate education. The existing professional schools—in law, medicine, and divinity—were reorganised, expanded, and most contentious of all, a bachelor’s degree became a requirement for admission. Several new schools were also added, with many of them among the first or *the* first examples of their kind in the country, including a curriculum in architecture (1897); Graduate School of Applied Science (1906); and the

Mass., 2017). See also T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York, 1981).

²⁰⁶ T. W. Slocum, ‘Celebration of the Harvard Club of New York City,’ in *HGM*, March 1906, p. 432.

²⁰⁷ HCNy, loose file, ‘Membership’.

²⁰⁸ HCNy, loose file, quoted in F. M. Weld—C. N. King, 16 Dec., 1914 (photocopy).

²⁰⁹ Quoted in Hall, ‘Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie’, pp. 168-69.

Graduate School of Business Administration (1909).²¹⁰ Undergraduate education was, in turn, reformed to complement these changes. At the start of Eliot's tenure, most undergraduate courses were prescribed and students had little say in what they took. By the time he left, students had great autonomy over the courses they enrolled in, thanks to the elective system of courses—probably Eliot's most radical reform. His rationale was to encourage young men to identify their interests and develop their passions, so that by the time they graduated they would be well-placed to think about what sort of role they wanted to play 'in the army of industry' and what sort of vocational training that required.²¹¹

Harvard alumni in New York were enthusiastic supporters of Eliot and his leadership class project. They praised the elective system in particular as a necessary 'revolution' to adjust higher learning in America 'to the spirit and the needs of the time and the country in which we live'.²¹² Unlike Eliot, however, they believed the university also had an important role to play beyond graduation, beyond the campus, and into the adult lives of its former students. While Eliot saw Harvard mostly as a vehicle for delivering organisational and technical expertise, as a single step in the lives of America's future leaders, Harvard alumni were convinced of the value of maintaining college friendships and a connection with the college itself. A degree was not enough, they decided, and Harvard would have to do more to ensure that its students actually formed a governing elite after leaving campus. Cities like New York were too big, too uncertain, and too full of corrupting influences for graduates to navigate alone. The university needed somehow to extend its influence out from Cambridge to protect young Harvard men and to help them on their professional paths.

It was this sort of thinking that contributed to the clubhouse idea. It did not, however, develop all at once, nor did it unfold from the mind of a single individual. Rather it evolved gradually, and collectively, the result of the New England Brahmin experience in New York. The germ of an idea for

²¹⁰ H. Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York, 1972), chapter two, especially pp. 58-61, also pp. 201-3. For detailed studies of individual schools and programmes at Harvard, see S. E. Morison, *The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930).

²¹¹ Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America*, chapter three, especially pp. 91-105. For a general overview of Eliot's tenure see A. Schlesinger, *Veritas: Harvard College and the American experience* (Chicago, 2005), chapter seven.

²¹² HCNY, 'Report of the Committee on the Elective System' (1886), p. 5.

a clubhouse can be traced to the club's campaign to win representation in the university's governance. Harvard, unlike any other institution of higher learning in the United States, had (and continues to have) two governing bodies, similar to the lower and upper houses in American governments.²¹³ The Harvard Corporation was the upper house and it was composed of seven 'fellows', which acted much like a traditional board of directors or trustees, but with checks on its power from the lower house, known as the Board of Overseers. This second body was 30-members strong, composed entirely of alumni elected to six-year terms by fellow alumni at Harvard's spring commencement.²¹⁴ At the time, eligibility to the Overseers was restricted to alumni residing in Massachusetts. In 1878, the Harvard Club of New York launched a campaign to change that, which they inaugurated with a report arguing that the university had erred in its eligibility rules. These had been devised in 1865, when Harvard severed itself from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. One of the reasons behind the divorce had been to help the college grow into a national university. But Harvard's ambitions in that respect would be limited, the report contended, if Overseers continued to be elected only from local areas.²¹⁵

This argument pitted New York alumni against Eliot and other university leaders. The president and the Corporation favoured the status quo and appeared un-swayed by the legal exposition in the Harvard Club's report. Forced to justify their position in more personal terms, club members subsequently began to cultivate arguments centred on the alienating effects of life in a large city like New York. They felt unanchored, overwhelmed, fragmented by 'the great rush of life' taking place around them. The club's objective 'with reference to this Overseer question', as Charles C. Beaman, one of the club's two vice presidents—and also a member of the Century Association, whom we first met in chapter one—explained to Eliot, 'has been to renew and strengthen our friendship for each

²¹³ Eliot conceptualised the two bodies as such, stating 'the University enjoys that principal safeguard of all American governments,—the natural antagonism between the two bodies of different constitutions, powers and privileges. Quoted in S. E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1926* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), ixxiii.

²¹⁴ For an overview of the history of Harvard's governance, see Morrison, 'Government and Administration, 1869-1929', xxv-xxxviii. Though it is worth noting that the role played by New York alumni in changing Harvard's governance is overlooked by Morrison and other scholars. This is likely because the role developed relatively unseen, through the history of the clubhouse.

²¹⁵ HUA, HUD 3605.624 A, 'Report of a Committee of the Harvard Club of New York City on the Eligibility of Graduates Residing Without the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Membership in the Board of Overseers of Harvard College', 8 Oct., 1878.

other, and especially to maintain the circuit of close connection with the university.²¹⁶ Alumni would later use a similar argument when they sought to justify permanent club quarters.

An alumni clubhouse was perhaps less of a leap than it may at first seem. Firstly, Victorian club life in London had always included alumni-based institutions. It was, after all, William Wilkins' designs for the University Club on Suffolk Street in London in 1826 that first established the plan *de rigueur* for clubhouses in St. James'.²¹⁷ Though the club eventually folded, the idea was picked up again by the Oxford and Cambridge Club, whose style of sociability and purpose-built quarters on Pall Mall were all but indistinguishable from its prestigious neighbours, including the Reform, Travellers', and Athenaeum clubs.

Yale alumni in New York attempted to set up an American version of a university club in 1865, for men who had attended (for at least three years minimum) college or university. The endeavour turned out to be premature—club life in the city was still too small—and the University Club in New York soon went dormant.²¹⁸ It was revived in 1879 by, among others, the publisher Henry Holt, whose waspish circular helped bring about the end of the Century Association's removal debate in the previous chapter. By the mid-1880s, around the same time Harvard alumni had begun exploring the idea of permanent quarters, Holt and his circle had managed to re-establish the University Club in a converted mansion at the corner of Madison Avenue and 26th Street. Later, just before the turn of the century, it would move into its own purpose-built McKim, Mead & White clubhouse on Fifth Avenue.

Even more influential as a local exemplar for Harvard alumni were city fraternity clubs. Now largely forgotten, there were more than half a dozen in the city in the 1880s, making them one of the most popular club types during the clubhouse building boom. They were the Delta Kappa Epsilon (1885), Delta Phi (1884), Delta Upsilon (1865), Psi Upsilon (1886), Sigma Phi (1885), St. Anthony (founded originally as Delta Psi 1879), and Zeta Psi (1882) clubs.²¹⁹ All occupied converted quarters,

²¹⁶ Quoted in *The Harvard Register: An Illustrated Monthly*, 3/2 (February 1881), pp. 156-7.

²¹⁷ J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 9th edn (1953; New Haven and London, 1993), pp. 474-5.

²¹⁸ H. Holt, *Sixty Years as a Publisher: With Other Essays Somewhat Biographical and Autobiographical* (London, 1924), p. 109.

²¹⁹ All are listed, with addresses, in M. King, *King's Handbook of New York*, 2nd edn (Boston, 1893), p. 535.

except for the St. Anthony, which owned a modestly sized, purpose-built clubhouse on East 28th Street, near Madison Avenue, designed by James Renwick, Jr. in 1879. What this building and other fraternity clubhouses suggest is that up until the turn of the twentieth century, the principal way in which alumni organised and interacted with their alma maters was through their association as former members of exclusive undergraduate societies.²²⁰

As Harvard alumni were interested in developing a different if not competing paradigm for alumni-university relations it is natural that they should also contemplate acquiring a clubhouse. Still, there was no guarantee that they would succeed in this endeavour. What sort of niche would the Harvard Club of New York attempt to carve out for itself with a clubhouse? Would it seek to rival the more established clubs? To investigate, members appointed a committee, their third ever, after those they had formed for the Board of Overseers question and later to endorse Eliot's elective system of courses. After a couple of meetings, however, the committee resolved that 'although everyone present favoured the proposition' it would 'make no final report until by means of a circular letter the subject should be presented to the attention of *every member* of the club, and his opinion thereon solicited.'²²¹ In the circular, as a prompt, the committee included five arguments in support:

The existence of a Harvard Club in this city with permanent accommodation would
First—Add to the prestige of the University. *Second*—Promote social intercourse among the Alumni residing in the city and vicinity. *Third*—Afford to younger graduates not yet eligible to membership in older clubs the advantages of club rooms on the payment of moderate dues. *Fourth*—Afford a rendezvous to all non-resident men temporarily in the city. *Fifth*—Stimulate the efforts of students at the University by keeping records of college events.²²²

On the whole, these arguments were based on the ones that the club had elaborated in its campaign for representation in the university's governance, about drawing members closer together and to the university. The one innovation was argument three, the advantage of quarters for younger members

²²⁰ Henry Holt makes this observation in *Sixty Years as a Publisher*, p. 41. For the growth of New York's fraternity clubs, see W. M. R. Baird, *Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities*, 6th edn (New York, 1905), pp. 19-20.

²²¹ NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), Box 18, Folder K17-A, Harvard Club of New York City Circular and Questionnaire, 1 Jan., 1885. See also O. de Kay, *From the Age that is Past: Harvard Club of New York City, A History* (New York, 1994), pp. 36-7.

²²² NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), Box 18, Folder K17-A, Harvard Club of New York City Circular and Questionnaire, 1 Jan., 1885.

who were not yet members of other clubs. This function would, as we will see, eventually take precedence over everything else. But at the moment it was tagged on to distinctively Brahmin concerns for community and solidarity of purpose with the university.

The committee received a ‘torrent of affirmative replies’ and, in 1887, signed a lease for the Harvard Club of New York’s first home, a four-storey brownstone at 11 West 22nd Street, in the fashionable neighbourhood around Madison Square (Figure 38).²²³ An article in the *New York Times* described how

When all is complete the first floor will be used for the restaurant, and in it also the monthly meetings will be held. The Second floor will contain a singing room, parlour, library, and reading and card rooms. The third will have a billiard room and several bedrooms for the accommodation of members, and the fourth will be wholly occupied by bedrooms. ... A beginning has been made toward the library, and the reading room is well supplied. It is intended to have in the reading room a full collection of all documents relating to Harvard.²²⁴

Of note were the bedrooms, not yet the norm in clubhouses, but an excellent amenity for fulfilling the club’s wish to draw itself closer to the university by hosting visiting faculty and officials. Also of note was the club’s intention to stock the reading room with documents relating to Harvard. The club, as early as 1881, had written to ‘all of the surviving secretaries of past college classes ... requesting copies of their class reports’.²²⁵ With quarters, the impulse to collect books now also grew and graduated from the shelves of the library to the walls of the clubhouse. The committee of literature and art appealed to members ‘for anything and everything relating to Harvard’ and were rewarded with a variety of memorabilia, including college photographs, ‘badges, keys, and pins; and invitations, dance cards, posters, programs, and tickets to Commencement exercises, Hasty Pudding shows and the like.’²²⁶

But despite its best efforts to personalise 11 West 22nd Street, the Harvard Club found itself a stranger in its own home.²²⁷ The problem was that the property was rented and the landlord, Nathan Clark, a former restaurateur and small hotelier, managed the clubhouse, including the restaurant,

²²³ de Kay, *From the Age that is Past*, p. 37, 43.

²²⁴ Quoted in de Kay, *From the Age that is Past*, p. 46.

²²⁵ de Kay, *From the Age That is Past*, p. 34.

²²⁶ de Kay, *From the Age that is Past*, pp. 46-7.

²²⁷ This account draws mainly from de Kay, *From the Age that is Past*, p. 43, 45, 47, 52, 53.

bedrooms, and servants. If at first this arrangement struck alumni as attractive, as it allowed them speedily to set up and occupy the building, it soon became evident that the lack of control undermined their ability to foster a sense of place and purpose. The club had essentially subcontracted the duties of a typical house committee, though it still created one, desperate to make the most of 11 West 22nd Street. Disagreements inevitably arose between committee and landlord. The fact that Clark's own house on West 23rd Street backed on to the club made the situation even more difficult. Unsurprisingly, the club eventually came to the conclusion that Clark's superintendence was not only unsatisfactory but 'that the only method that will make the club thoroughly successful and permanent is the occupation and management of a house of our own.'²²⁸

The inadequacies of the floor plan at 11 West 22nd Street may have also contributed to the club's decision to not just own the next clubhouse but also to have it purpose-built. As one member put it, the brownstone was 'rather mean and dismal [in] character, the rooms being ill ventilated, badly lighted, and worse heated'.²²⁹ Originally a single-family residence, twenty-five feet wide and three or four rooms deep, the standard side-hall plan presented challenges for the circulation of air, light, and 531 members (Figure 39).²³⁰ It was the antithesis of a London club plan, which provided a sense of spaciousness and encouraged members to circulate and interact. Indeed, the building on West 22nd Street proved 'so inadequate' that after just a couple of years the club questioned whether it should 'abandon housekeeping altogether'.²³¹

That the club did not ultimately abandon the clubhouse idea was due to its new president in 1890, Edward King (1833-1908). Shortly after his election, King 'was confronted with the statement

²²⁸ HCNY, Records April 1885-May 1890 (Board of Managers' Minutes), undated committee report; see also HUA, 3605.176, Harvard Club of New York 1874-1894, Miscellany, File 1891-1892, Building Committee Report, 1 June, 1891.

²²⁹ L. M. Garrison, 'New York's Harvard House', *HGM*, September 1894, p. 24.

²³⁰ de Kay, *From the Age that is Past*, p. 43. A good overview of this building type can be found in Charles Lockwood's *Bricks and Brownstone: The New York Row House, 1783-1929* (New York, 1972).

²³¹ Garrison, 'New York's Harvard House', p. 24. In a speech just over two decades later, Edward King gave a similar account of the club's sense of defeat after the unpleasantness of West 22nd Street, relating how soon after being elected club president he was 'confronted with the statement that the house was so unsatisfactory that many of the members would resign,' adding that the rented brownstone was neither 'a success...nor did it recommend itself to the members generally.' NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), Box 17, Folder K15-A, Edward King, 'Text of Speech for his first Dinner in Harvard Hall, 1908'.

that the house was so unsatisfactory that many of the members would resign' and so, as he later recalled, 'prompt measures seemed necessary'.²³² But the measures he took were more than just ad hoc: they were carefully delineated, even philosophically grounded, and consciously elaborated on Eliot's project to educate American leaders.

King was particularly well suited for this sort of work. His family had attended Harvard for generations and were, almost uniquely, as much at home among Boston Brahmins as New York Knickerbockers. His grandfather, Rufus King, was the Massachusetts signer of the constitution and the first in the family to attend Harvard (class of 1777).²³³ The Kings later moved to New York and New Jersey, where they established reputations as both politicians and bankers, while continuing to send their sons to Harvard. King met Eliot at Harvard, where they were both members of the class of 1853, along with 85 others, the largest class ever graduated at the time. After graduation, King briefly pursued a career in engineering, before joining the family's bank after his father's death. By all accounts he did exceedingly well, known principally for his role leading the union bank and for his directorships of several corporations. He was, in short, a patrician who embraced and prospered in the new industrial era. Eliot spoke of him as someone who 'typified the "Harvard Force" in its best manifestation in business life.' By this he meant that King 'was one in whom all placed great reliance, upon whom the country relied in emergency, and who was worthy of this reliance.'²³⁴ This was, for Eliot, the highest compliment. King, in Eliot's mind, represented the very best of Harvard-educated leaders in the world of business.

The matriculation of his oldest son at Harvard appears to have revived King's interest in his alma mater, and prompted him to join the Harvard Club in 1884. Similarly, the matriculation of his younger son coincided with his decision to run for election as club president in 1890. A large amount

²³² NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), Box 17, Folder K15-A, Edward King, 'Text of Speech for his first Dinner in Harvard Hall, 1908'.

²³³ This biographical sketch is based on King's biography in the *Report of the Harvard Class of 1853* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), pp. 167-72.

²³⁴ NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), box 18, Folder K17-B, 'Note made...of President's remarks about Edward King at a meeting of the Harvard Club held 27 Jun 1909'.

of King's correspondence with his older son, James, survives, and reveals the father to have taken a keen interest in his son's progress at Harvard. Among other things, the two discussed James' admission to the Hasty Pudding and the Institute of 1770, two exclusive societies which King had also been invited to join as a student.²³⁵ It was perhaps an interest in legacy, then, and Harvard's ability to function as a vehicle for the formation of an American upper-class, that motivated King to resolve the clubhouse question.

In his second year as president, as he was debating what to do about the situation at 11 West 22nd Street, King attended the annual dinners of the New York alumni clubs of Columbia, Princeton, and Yale. His stump speech at these events amounted to a manifesto about the function of alumni clubs for supporting the new social order, a project in which Columbia, Princeton, and Yale were also invested.²³⁶ In January, King delivered the most developed version of the speech to more than 200 Princeton alumni at the Hotel Brunswick.²³⁷ 'The dinner was the usual formal informality', quipped a reporter from the *New York Times*, who quoted one or two lines from most of the speeches that night, particularly the jokes.²³⁸ King's speech, however, went un-noted; his was serious, dry, ponderous, and philosophical - out of step with the night's festivities. But the speech hinted at King's own views about the role a clubhouse could play in the making of an educated elite. King was chiefly concerned with how alumni associations benefitted their members rather than the universities. He offered a novel interpretation of college nostalgia, sentimentality, and the higher purpose of events like annual dinners:

In a busy city like this, the hours of business, the quick succession of stirring sounds, the kaleidoscopic changes that pass over social life all lend to obliterate the past and to relegate college training and college culture to the misty jargon of memory. It is an absolute benefit therefore to bring a man to a gathering like this where the vigil of old classmates, the sound of old songs and the whole magnetic influence of the scene dispels the cobwebs that have dimmed the bright memories of old days at the university. And more than this - revive the interest in the things that those days brought. In the march of science, the course of literature, the ever new steps in the progress of modern culture. What we all need is just some such stimulus to remind us that the objects of life are not confined to success in business or the rewards of

²³⁵ NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), box 16, folder K11, letters to family, 1847-1906.

²³⁶ For a comparison of the different approaches taken by Harvard and Yale, see Hall, 'Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie', pp. 167-89.

²³⁷ The speeches are untitled and undated, but the intended audiences are indicated in the opening paragraphs. NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), box 17, fo. K15-B, Other Writings, Speeches at Harvard, Columbia, Yale, and Princeton.

²³⁸ 'Princeton Men at Dinner', *NYT* (16 January 1891).

professional ambition, but that there are intellectual pleasures which like ripe fruit hang ready for the hand that is untroubled to pluck them.²³⁹

King's anxiety about the corrupting influence of wealth and the need for businessmen vigilantly to maintain an eye on the real prize, 'the progress of modern culture', were distinctly Brahmin concerns. It recalled the moral component of Eliot's aristocracy. It also reveals how King imagined an alumni clubhouse in New York: as more than just an annexe to the university, it would be a place that extended Harvard's intellectual influence into the very heart of metropolitan America. And finally, it accounts for why it was Harvard alumni, rather than Princeton or Yale men, who first took up the challenge of opening a clubhouse.

New York's Harvard House

In 1894, after almost three decades, the Harvard Club of New York finally moved into a home fully its own, known officially as Harvard House (Figure 40). It was designed in the colonial revival style by Charles F. McKim. The architect, who had briefly studied at Harvard before moving to the *École des Beaux Arts* in Paris, was a member of the club and gave his professional services as gift to the organisation. On the façade, McKim used Indiana limestone and 'Harvard Brick', designed to look like the old brick used of Harvard Hall in Cambridge. McKim had especially developed the brick to use in the design of Johnston Gate (1890), one of the main entrances to Harvard Yard and his first commission from the university. The relationship between the university and the clubhouse was made explicit in other ways as well. The three-storey clubhouse was surmounted by the Harvard arms with the dates 1636, 1865, and 1893, respectively the dates of the university, the club, and the house. The message, clearly, was that these institutions had evolved organically one from the other, forming a harmonious trinity in the life of the modern American university.

²³⁹ NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), box 17, fo. K15-B, Other Writings, Speeches at Harvard, Columbia, Yale, and Princeton.

The entrance at 27 West 44th Street was raised three steps and sheltered by a simple Doric portico. The front door opened onto a small vestibule, beyond which lay an entrance hall, two small reception rooms, and a grille room at the rear, overlooking a garden. The ground floor rooms opened widely onto each other, lending a sense of spaciousness to a plan which was actually quite diminutive, one-hundred-by-one-hundred feet, thus possessing the cube-like form of the Century Association's building but in miniature. Economy of space also explains the position of the staircase in a rear corner of the building, though the superbly carved balusters and heavy mahogany rail made it one of the few showy details in an otherwise plain interior. Even the club's grandest room, the high-ceilinged library, which occupied the full front of the first floor, contained only the simplest mouldings. It was separated from the second room of this floor, the supper room, by a simple curtain. The attic above contained modest rooms for billiards (just three tables), cards, and committee meetings. There were no bedrooms, unlike 11 West 22nd Street, and only a small kitchen in the basement for occasional catering. The rooms were decorated, as the exterior was embellished, in the colonial revival style, which recalled the architecture of Harvard and Cambridge. Just as McKim had done in preparing the plans, the interiors—furniture, paintings, and bric-a-brac—had been donated by various members.²⁴⁰

There was never any question about the person responsible for bringing this little piece of eighteenth-century New England to midtown Manhattan. '[T]he work of Edward King!' exclaimed the chairman of the building committee on opening night.²⁴¹ The *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* (*HGM*) agreed, informing alumni around the country, 'Most of all, the conception and the fulfilment of the vision of Harvard House were due to the optimism, energy, and sagacity of President King'.²⁴² In the end, then, King had managed to mould architecture around his theories about alumni communities. The *HGM* promulgated as much, describing the building as 'essentially a place of reunion, comfortable and homelike. It will be the scene of many periodical jollifications and formal meetings, but, above all,

²⁴⁰ The 1905 remodelling and addition substantially changed the plan and character of the original building. My description of the building draw on several contemporary reviews, including 'The Harvard Club House in New York' *The Outlook*, 30 June 1894; J. Pooton, 'The Harvard Club', *NYT* (23 May 1897); and 'Harvard House', *The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts* (14 July 1894).

²⁴¹ Quoted Garrison, 'New York's Harvard House', p. 26.

²⁴² Garrison, 'New York's Harvard House', p. 26.

its chief value will be the calm and repose, and the reminiscence of the scholastic life, it will offer to those who are tired of the battle and cannot go all the way to Mecca for new inspiration'.²⁴³ Thus Harvard House was to serve as a sort of permanent 'stimulus', for reminding elite businessmen of their alma mater, of the idea of progress, that American culture was their actual purpose in the city, not the accumulation of wealth, nor the fulfilment of personal ambition.

It was thanks to McKim that King was able to develop and give physical form to his ideas. The architect provided the material template, a variation of the standard clubhouse plan, which he miniaturised and dressed in Georgian and colonial revival trimmings to suit the client (Figure 41). No less important was McKim's willingness to accommodate King in the design process. The nature of their partnership is suggested by a missive from the architect to the club president as the project neared completion, relating 'how much pleasure' he had had in working with the club president 'in the construction of the building whose plan was yours!'²⁴⁴

That McKim gifted the architectural plans to the club, foregoing his usual five percent fee, was also significant. It continued and expanded on earlier efforts by the club to make the clubhouse project as participatory as possible for members. McKim's gift became the symbolic centrepiece for a programme of building through donations, helping alumni to conceptualise the building as 'home' and themselves as 'family'. Contrary to expectation, then, which might suggest that club decoration was only a commercial narrative, this once again emphasizes the way in which clubs were homes and mattered not least because of the effort that went into designing them (Figure 42).

'The question of furnishing', building committee chairman Arthur M. Sherwood announced on opening night, 'was a most difficult one, for the treasury was almost empty and the club had but \$6,500 to spare for that purpose'. Their fears were allayed, however, 'by the most liberal voluntary assistance from the graduates', who donated nearly every object, just as they had generously subscribed

²⁴³ Garrison, 'New York's Harvard House', p. 30.

²⁴⁴ NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), box 16, fo. 12, C. F. McKim—E. King, n.d.

to cover the construction costs, including tables, chairs, andirons, mantels, candelabra, and clocks.²⁴⁵ As for wall decoration, members donated an ‘archive’ to adorn them, comprising ‘everything which may have bearing upon illustrating the life of a student at Harvard in the past’.²⁴⁶ Items included event tickets, sports kit and even unpaid tuition bills. More serious, but along similar lines, were the donated portraits of distinguished alumni. The total effect was something quite different to that of the typical custom-designed furniture and handpicked European antiques of clubhouse interiors, or of 11 West 22nd Street, which had never felt like home. Harvard House, as its name suggested, was more house than clubhouse.

The domestic aspect was further enhanced by the participation of members’ wives in the decoration of the club rooms. Sherwood acknowledged the contributions of several in his opening night speech, which included the embroidered fireguard and the Harvard flag flown from the roof. King’s wife even donated a piece of family furniture, a reproduction of a chair from Glastonbury Cathedral, which she hoped would be used by her husband and his successors as the president’s chair.²⁴⁷ In a speech made many years later, King recalled how there were, in fact, two clubhouse openings, one for members ‘and also a reception for ladies to whom we owed much in the way of encouragement and actual contributions towards furniture and ornaments’.²⁴⁸ This was perhaps a belated acknowledgement that members’ wives played a more extensive role than had been appreciated, that they also helped to organise the donations and arrange them in the rooms. A superb watercolour for an unrealised design scheme for the interior of the library, still in the collection of the club, also hints at this (Figure 43). Long believed to be the work of McKim or one of his assistants, it actually bears, on closer examination, the hallmark style of Rosina Sherwood, the wife of the building

²⁴⁵ Garrison, ‘New York’s Harvard House’, p. 25.

²⁴⁶ Ex- Secretary A. Chevalier Haseltine, republished letter in the *HGM*, September 1893, 113.

²⁴⁷ NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), box 18, fo. K17-B, letter from descendent of King to F. R. Appleton, 10 Feb., 1917.

²⁴⁸ NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), box 17, fo. K15-A, text of speech for first dinner in Harvard Hall, 1908.

committee chairman. Rosina (née Emmet) trained with William Merritt Chase, worked as a designer in Candice Wheeler's Associated Artists, and became a widely published authority on home decoration.²⁴⁹

On any level, the collective effort of Harvard Club members and the participation of their families not only worked within King's republican moralist views about moderating the influence of wealth, but also introduced a new element: a link between the club and home, alumni and family. In describing the opening night of Harvard House, the *HGM* put it thus: 'It was more like a home-coming after a long family separation than a house-warming; and the consciousness was on us all that it was beginning of an epoch of Harvard life in New York of the greatest interest and importance'.²⁵⁰

The clubhouse library was another major area of focus for donations as well as a key component of King's cultural agenda. While it was not unusual for club libraries to collect heavily (the New York Athletic Club became a voracious collector of printed matter on the subject of court games for instance), the Harvard Club fashioned its library as something like an extension of the university library in Cambridge. Founding member Thomas F. Brownell initiated the collection in the late 1880s, as the club prepared to move to its first quarters at 11 West 22nd Street. Brownell brought to the job his experience as the secretary of his Harvard class: in this position he had been responsible for compiling details about his fellow students, to be published in the class yearbook. With similar scrupulousness, Brownell, now as the first chairman of the Harvard Club's committee on art and literature, wrote to every club, department, institute, and school of the university, requesting copies of their printed collections. He was not always successful. 'We have literally no "literature"', replied the dean of the dental department.²⁵¹ And the secretary of the Theta Delta Chi observed that, 'As the Society is Secret I am unable to send you By Laws, Constitutions, etc.'.²⁵² But on the whole, the efforts of Brownell and his successors were more successful than these anecdotes suggest. As Harvard House neared completion, the club broadened its collection still further, going so far as to request Eliot's help

²⁴⁹ A. Peck and C. Irish, *Candace Wheeler: The Art and Enterprise of American Design, 1875-1900* (New York, 2001), pp. 178-82.

²⁵⁰ Garrison, 'New York's Harvard House', p. 28.

²⁵¹ HCNY, standing file, fo. 1887-1888 and 1892, 28 Apr., 1889.

²⁵² HCNY, standing file, fo. 1887-1888 and 1892, 21 Feb., 1889.

in obtaining copies of books whose authors were even marginally associated with the university.²⁵³ The completed clubhouse, as a result, became a substantial repository of Harvard material, perhaps the largest outside Cambridge, all with the idea of helping alumni ward off the corrupting influences of Gotham money.

This function was augmented by regular lectures from visiting Harvard professors. Eliot's secretary compiled a list of more than two dozen faculty members for the club to consider as potential speakers. He noted their fields and, no less helpfully, their ability to provide an 'enjoyable general talk' for members. In return, the club supplied the president's office with admission tickets for professors and lecturers wishing to use the clubhouse on trips into the city. Thus Harvard alumni had established an outpost of their alma mater in midtown Manhattan, where graduates were offered a 'stimulus to remind' them 'that the objects of life are not confined to success in business or the rewards of professional ambition', as King had explained to Princeton alumni, but rather 'in the march of service ... literature ... in the progress of modern culture'.²⁵⁴ King had plucked the 'ripe fruit' of culture and placed it in the hands of Harvard alumni in New York. And in doing so, the club had also cultivated a new kind of alumni community.

Harvard's Student Union

Around the same time Harvard alumni in New York City were coalescing into a community in the late 1880s and 1890s, thanks to their clubhouse efforts, the student body at Harvard was fragmenting. The immediate cause of this was the dramatic rise of exclusive undergraduate societies and the large number of clubhouses they had built around Harvard Yard in Cambridge, modelled after the adult world of clubs in New York.²⁵⁵ The more fundamental reason for the fragmentation, however, was Charles W. Eliot's educational reforms and the president's refusal to consider, let alone attempt to remedy, their

²⁵³ HUA, UAI 15.894 (Papers of Charles William Eliot), Harvard Club Secretary—Eliot, 1 Oct., 1893.

²⁵⁴ NYHS, MS 204 (EKFP), box 17, fo. K15-B, Princeton speech.

²⁵⁵ E. D. Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy & Caste in America* (1964; New Haven and London, 1987), p. 135.

effects on student life. The situation became a major concern for alumni, who wondered what impact it would have on the ability of Harvard men to perform as a cohesive leadership class after graduation and whether they, alumni themselves, ought to intervene to fix the problem by building a student club for all in Cambridge modelled on New York's Harvard House.

Two of Eliot's educational reforms were particularly blamed for splintering the student body. One was the substantial increase in the size of the undergraduate college, mostly by enrolling men from poorer but still white Protestant backgrounds. He intended these recruits to establish new dynasties of 'good' families:

If society as a whole is to gain by mobility and openness of structure, those who rise must stay up in successive generations, that the higher levels of society may be constantly enlarged, and that the proportion of pure, gentle, magnanimous, and refined person may steadily be increased. New-risen talent should reinforce the upper ranks. ...The assured permanence of superior families is quite as important as the free starting of such families.²⁵⁶

This thinking saw undergraduate class size more than double between 1880 and 1900, from 196 to 407.²⁵⁷ By comparison, the class of 1853, of which Eliot and Edward King both belonged, was just 88 students. The scale of this growth made it impossible for students to become personally acquainted with every member of their year. Indeed, an undergraduate could now pass three or four years in Cambridge without ever meeting the majority of his fellow classmen, something quite alien to the experience of most alumni.

The significance of college classes as social units in undergraduate life was further diminished by Eliot's introduction of the elective system of courses, the second of his reforms that alumni identified with the social disintegration of the student body. The Harvard Club of New York had wholeheartedly endorsed the elective system as a necessary revolution in pedagogy when it was first rolled out in the 1880s. What the club had not foreseen was how electives would denude the significance of the college class as a cohort and even the significance of the *college* itself, as upper level

²⁵⁶ Baltzell, *Protestant Establishment*, p. 146.

²⁵⁷ *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Harvard College 1880-1881* (Cambridge, Mass., 1882), p. 44; *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Harvard College 1900-1901* (Cambridge, Mass. 1902), p. 90.

courses enrolled undergraduate and graduate students alike. The effect of this, alumni believed, was that students now looked elsewhere for social identity and friendship, hence the rise of student clubs. Older societies, like the Hasty Pudding and Institute of 1770, to which many Harvard Club of New York founders had belonged, also moved to fill the void. In effect, they reinvented themselves as metropolitan-style gentlemen's clubs.²⁵⁸ In the 1880s, after decades of renting rooms in university buildings, they moved off campus, first into converted dwellings, before graduating to purpose-built clubhouses.²⁵⁹

The A. D. Club (originally the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity) was one of the earliest to do so and the clubhouse it built illustrates just how much of students' daily lives could be absorbed by such places.²⁶⁰ Originally founded in the 1830s, the club acquired its first clubhouse, a clapboard dwelling at 46 Dunster Street, in the early 1880s. Despite its remodelling by the fashionable Boston architects Peabody & Stearns, the club upgraded to a large brick clubhouse designed as such by the firm of Cummings & Parker in 1901, directly opposite Harvard Yard (Figure 44, Figure 45). The new three-storey structure, though Georgian revival on the exterior, had the plan of a New York gentlemen's club. The club rooms, perched above ground-floor shops, were organised around a central hall, each room opening onto the next. On the front facing Harvard Yard, across Massachusetts Avenue, were three 'living rooms', though they opened widely into one another and resembled the grand rooms placed along the first-floor street fronts of large clubs in London and New York. Above, on the second storey, the plan was largely repeated, with the full front of Massachusetts Avenue given over to a large library, like in clubhouses in London and New York. There was also a billiard room on this floor, again like in adult exemplars. On the third and final storey was a banquet hall, with an attached servery, indicating that the A. D. Club had been designed to be an all-encompassing social centre for its members: from breakfast through dinner, for work and for play. An entire day and the majority of

²⁵⁸ W. Thayer, 'Shall we have University Club?', *HGM* (June 1895), p. 474; see also J. Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale and Princeton* (Boston, 2005).

²⁵⁹ HUA, HUD 3014.8, S. T. Cooney, 'Social Clubs at Harvard', Cambridge Historical Commission (October 1990), pp. 7-12, 14-23.

²⁶⁰ Cooney, 'Social Clubs at Harvard', pp. 22, 24-5.

members' college lives were spent in this clubhouse and the dozen or so like it that peppered the streets south of the Yard—Cambridge's very own club district.²⁶¹

Many alumni and students perceived organisations like the A.D. Club as effecting 'social disintegration' and even 'social chaos' at Harvard.²⁶² They were blamed for undermining the cohesion of the study body and, therefore, the very viability of a Harvard-trained aristocracy. If students struggled to overcome club allegiances on the playing fields, alumnus William R. Thayer asked in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* in 1895, then how could they ever be expected to form a unified leadership class in the adult world? His essay, entitled 'Shall We Have a University Club', helped sound the alarm for alumni who were not aware of campus developments. Thayer explicitly tied the university's 'athletic decadence'—that is, its chronic losing streak in varsity sports—to students' inability to transcend club loyalties in the name of the university.²⁶³ What Harvard needed, he argued, was a university club on campus: 'an organisation which shall be large enough to embrace a majority of all the social-disposed students in all the university departments at Cambridge; a centre where fellows of every set can mingle, with incalculable benefit, and where a true Harvard spirit would be fostered and a genuine public opinion could take shape.'²⁶⁴ It was time, in other words, to acknowledge the effects of Harvard's transformation, its growth and increasing tendency towards specialisation, on student life and to develop a 'social counterpart at Harvard' to Eliot's 'conception of a great university.'²⁶⁵

Eliot was of a different mind, however. He viewed the large number of small clubs in the same way he did the elective system of courses—an analogy he did not shy away from making. 'I have heard much said in criticism of the small [student] society. With that I do not agree. They may be small and exclusive, but I think they have their purpose. We have a great university and size of courses here, we

²⁶¹ Cooney, 'Social Clubs at Harvard', pp. 14-16.

²⁶² This account draws mainly from W. R. Thayer 'Shall We Have a University Club?', in *HGM* (June 1895): pp. 468-81; but see also editorial, *Harvard Monthly* (January 1900), pp.183-184; *The Harvard Advocate*, vol. LX. No. 6 (5 December 1895), pp. 81-82; 'Undergraduate Views of a University Club' *The Harvard Monthly* (clipping without date), pp.130-133; James B. Ludlow, 'The Oxford Union I', the *Harvard Crimson*, 7 November 1879; and James B. Ludlow, 'The Oxford Union II', the *Harvard Crimson*, 21 November 1879.

²⁶³ Thayer, 'Shall We Have a University Club?', p. 468.

²⁶⁴ Thayer, 'Shall We Have a University Club?', p. 476.

²⁶⁵ Thayer, 'Shall We Have a University Club?', p. 479.

may have the same in clubs. We should not criticize the small because we want the large.²⁶⁶ The clubs, in his view, were a microcosm of the adult world; it was an opportunity to learn, to discover one's interests and passions, and to socialise with those who were like-minded. The social equivalent, in other words, to the elective system of courses. He thus regarded the small and exclusive club as another key ingredient for shaping the next generation of leaders. Alumni were alarmed, however, and realising that Eliot was unlikely to act, they decided to move around him, just as they had done in building New York's Harvard House.

The alumnus who took definite action in the matter was Henry L. Higginson (1834-1919). Higginson, despite living in Boston, had early been involved in the campaign to build New York's Harvard House. His name appears near the top of a list of subscribers, with \$500, just under Edward King.²⁶⁷ Higginson, like King, came from a patrician family of bankers and had transitioned into the new financial age with considerable success; his Boston-based Lee, Higginson & Co. was a close second to the leading investment banks in New York. He was a Brahmin of unquestionable credentials and a devoted benefactor of Harvard. Although he left Harvard in the middle of his first year, he was awarded an honorary doctorate in 1882. His first major gift to the university was Soldiers Field in the early 1890s, which he hoped would encourage American gentlemen athletes. He was elected a fellow of the Harvard Corporation in 1893, which he held until 1919. 'His only son, Alexander, had entered Harvard in 1894, and for four years the father had been brought into close contact with undergraduates and their problems.'²⁶⁸ After reading William R. Thayer's article in the *HGM*, Higginson joined other alumni in writing a report that strongly endorsed the proposal to build a university club.

In 1899, Higginson wrote to Charles F. McKim asking for 'a good guess of cost and size' for a 'University Clubhouse' in Cambridge, the initial step in a project that turned into the Harvard Student Union, where this chapter began. 'It is needed,' he explained, 'for the social unity of the university.'

²⁶⁶ President Eliot's speech at the opening of the Harvard Union. Quoted in 'For Harvard Men, Henry L. Higginson Talks to Students and Faculty about His Gift to Found a University Club—Great Meeting' *The Boston Journal* (14 June 1899).

²⁶⁷ HCNY, 'To the Graduates of Harvard University', 15 Mar., 1892.

²⁶⁸ B. Perry, *Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson* (Boston, 1924), pp. 349-50.

Still, he warned, ‘Don’t plan this; don’t work over it; don’t think much about it. Remember that not a penny for it has been raised, or asked for, and honestly will come hard.’²⁶⁹ But the building, McKim must have known, was as good as commissioned. Higginson was an institution builder *par excellence*. His creations were numerous and varied. They permeated most areas of his life. He developed, managed, and lived in, for instance, one of Boston’s earliest apartment houses—a great novelty at the time.²⁷⁰ But the chief focus of Higginson’s public life was the founding of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1881, the first city symphony in the United States.²⁷¹ Its headquarters in the Back Bay was designed by McKim in 1899-1901 and became a landmark in acoustical design, thanks in part to the architect’s openness to Higginson’s suggestion that he collaborate with the young and as yet untested Harvard physicist Wallace C. Sabine.²⁷² With the conclusion of this project, Higginson’s attention gravitated towards Harvard. As with Eliot and King, Higginson was driven by a deep concern for the ‘relations of the American college to the American Commonwealth.’²⁷³ He was also, and again like King, inspired in this direction by his son’s entrance at Harvard in the early 1890s.

In his letter to McKim for estimates, Higginson also encouraged the architect to investigate the new student union at the University of Pennsylvania, the first building of its kind in the United States. That building, known as Houston Hall (1896), shared a good deal in common with a metropolitan gentlemen’s club. Among its amenities were a restaurant, library, and rooms for reading, writing, and games, including billiards.²⁷⁴ The similarities between Houston Hall and the club form was owed, as McKim would have undoubtedly known, to the fact that the former had been modelled on the unions at Oxford and Cambridge, which were themselves based on London clubs. It was thus perfectly logical that after Higginson formally committed funds to erecting the Student Union at

²⁶⁹ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), Harvard Union correspondence, fo. Harvard Union, Higginson—McKim, 11 Sept., 1899.

²⁷⁰ M. Miller, *Château Higginson: Social Life in Boston’s Back Bay, 1870-1920* (Charleston, 2017).

²⁷¹ Perry, *Henry Lee Higginson*, p. 325. Paul DiMaggio provides an excellent social and cultural analysis of Higginson’s efforts in regards to the Boston symphony. ‘Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston’, pp. 40-5.

²⁷² L. M. Roth, *McKim, Mead and White: Architects* (New York, 1985), p. 226.

²⁷³ Perry, *Henry Lee Higginson*, p. 325.

²⁷⁴ G. E. Nitzsche, *University of Pennsylvania: Its History, Traditions, Building and Memorials* (Philadelphia, 1916), pp. 46-9.

Harvard later that year, its building committee should arrange to visit McKim in New York and tour the firm's clubhouses for ideas.²⁷⁵

The outcome was the Harvard Student Union in Cambridge, opened in 1901, at the corner of Harvard and Quincy streets—a prime site, just opposite Harvard Yard (Figure 37). It was designed in the Georgian style with ‘the deep red brick which McKim had now made synonymous with Harvard’.²⁷⁶ From the Yard, the union looked like any other university hall, but the main front, facing north, had the grandeur of a seventeenth-century English country house. The central block and flanking wings were topped by pediments, where the brick came alive in a diaper pattern. Besides the brick, McKim’s design was distinguished by stone quoining, used most dramatically in the central block to divide the outer bays. The greatest concentration of decoration, however, was focused around the main entrance. The front door was sheltered by a Doric portico and the windows above were encased in richly carved stone. Finally, the central pediment bore Harvard’s coat of arms, and the whole was crowned by a window’s walk perched atop the gabled roof. It was, in short, a perfect gentlemen’s house.

Inside, the country house and metropolitan club merged easily, with the central block given over to a large library and rooms for dining and billiards in the wings. The upper stories contained bedrooms and offices for college societies. In the decoration of the rooms, Higginson took express interest, in much the same way Harvard alumni in New York had overseen the interiors of Harvard House. He combined donations from various alumni with his own purchases, working closely with McKim and corresponding personally with various contactors.²⁷⁷ In one representative missive to McKim in the final stages of the building project, Higginson reported that he had ‘ordered the china, etc. and will try to finish the linen today. Getting an answer out [of] people is a difficult matter... You can read between the lines here that I am feeling pretty cross.’²⁷⁸ Not only did Higginson and McKim

²⁷⁵ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), Harvard Union correspondence, fo. Harvard Union, Ira N. Hollis—McKim, 23 Jan., 1900.

²⁷⁶ Roth, *McKim, Mead and White*, p. 219.

²⁷⁷ See for example Higginson’s letter to McKim on 2 December 1900, commenting at length, sometimes playfully, on the architect’s drawings and furniture lists. NYHS, PR42 (MMW), Harvard Union correspondence, fo. Harvard Union.

²⁷⁸ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), Harvard Union correspondence, fo. Harvard Union, H. L. Higginson—C. F. McKim, 8 Mar., 1901.

pattern the union after a metropolitan clubhouse, but they also borrowed the highly collaborative mode of architect-client work that underlined such projects, including New York's Harvard House. The result—in a sense—was that a little bit of New York City had been set down in the centre of Cambridge, just as a little piece of Cambridge had been brought to midtown Manhattan.

Conclusion

These new centres of student and alumni life in Cambridge and New York helped weave Harvard into the identity of the new American leadership class. Whereas President Charles W. Eliot had been content to make Harvard into a training ground for this new social order, alumni such as Edward King and Henry L. Higginson worked to turn the university into something more. They did this by crafting a new type of community—an *alumni community*—around the metaphor of family and the architectural form of the house. This work was enabled by Charles F. McKim and his literal gift of the material template for a clubhouse, a building type which he had now, following the Century Association commission, firmly added to his repertoire. The ambiguity of McKim's roles as both architect and alumnus, professional and client cannot be overstated. It played a key part in the development of the alumni club, student union, and the alumni language of family.

It is important to emphasise that these developments had a significant impact outside Harvard, on the remaking of elite higher education more generally in the United States. And that this was always on some level part of the plan for Harvard's leaders and alumni. They had, in other words, no intention of monopolising the position of elite national university. America was too big; the American leadership class was also going to require several centres of higher education. Recall Edward King's speeches at the annual alumni association dinners of Princeton, Yale, and Columbia. King was proselytising his ideas about the function of elite alumni clubs. His ideas for Harvard House were always meant for a wider audience, for other alumni associations of other universities.

It follows then that the ideas, money, and architects behind the subsequent building boom of alumni clubs and student unions around the country should so often cross university lines. Because although they were geared towards the creation of ‘Yale boys’ or ‘Harvard men’, their real allegiance was to the new American ruling class.²⁷⁹ Consider for example the genesis of the Yale and Princeton Clubs. In 1898 and 1900, the Harvard Club held receptions for the Yale and Princeton Clubs, respectively, just months after each was incorporated.²⁸⁰ ‘Invigorated by that experience’, according to one Yale club historian, ‘the Yale guests immediately decided they must have a bigger, better clubhouse to return the complement.’²⁸¹ In 1901, they opened a clubhouse diagonally opposite Harvard House on West 44th Street, whilst Princeton long made a home for itself in Stanford White’s former house on the corner of Lexington Avenue and Gramercy Park. Princeton alumni also worked with McKim, Mead & White for several years on plans for a new clubhouse, a palazzo tower, never built, which would have stood at the corner of Park Avenue and 58th Street (Figure 46).²⁸² By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, nearly every Ivy League university in New York boasted quarters.²⁸³ In 1903 McKim, Mead & White designed Rockefeller Hall at Brown University, the third student union erected in the country, with funds provided by Brown alumnus John D. Rockefeller, Jr.²⁸⁴ In the 1920s, a Rockefeller business partner, Edward S. Harkness, in part out of a belief that the new student centres were inadequate for ensuring the ruling-class solidarity, paid for the creation of Oxbridge-style colleges at both his alma mater and Harvard.²⁸⁵ Taken together, these projects bring new light to the melding of higher education and upper-class life, linking the public and private lives of the rich.

²⁷⁹ The advent of the ‘college man’ in this period was also owed to other innovations such as alumni magazines and new genres of fictional writings about college life that peddled the sentimental and nostalgic. D. A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915* (Madison, Wis., 2010), pp. 5-10; B. W. Casey, ‘Romantic Campus: Emotion and the American College, 1880-1940’ (PhD Diss., History of American Civilisation, Harvard University, 2000).

²⁸⁰ de Kay, *From the Age That is Past*, p. 68, 70.

²⁸¹ Quoted in de Kay, *From the Age That is Past*, p. 68.

²⁸² NYHS, PR42 (MMW), Princeton Club Correspondence.

²⁸³ Robert Dunn, ‘Saving College Graduates: the clubs of the various universities in New York, and how they ease the tasks of young men in the city’, *Outing Magazine*, April 1908, 21-31.

²⁸⁴ *Buildings of Rhode Island*, W. H. Jordy, with R. J. Onorato, and W. M. Woodward (New York, 2004), pp. 97-102.

²⁸⁵ A. Duke, *Importing Oxbridge: English Residential Colleges and American Universities* (New Haven, 1996).

3

Aristocracy by Ballot Metropolitan Club

Compared to the Boston Brahmin effort to open Harvard University to new money, New York Knickerbockers appeared intransigent, even hostile to the changing social order. Geography was one reason for the difference. Boston's remove from the country's unfolding economic situation in New York may have provided Brahmins with just the right amount of critical distance, whereas New York Knickerbockers were literally surrounded by it.²⁸⁶ The situation—from a Knickerbocker point of view—might even be described as something like an invasion.

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, New York City attracted a growing number of wealthy families from across the United States and Europe. Already by 1856, just 31 percent of wealthy New Yorkers had been born in the city itself.²⁸⁷ After a lull during the depression in the 1870s, elite migration continued apace. In 1880 the Pittsburgh industrialist John H. Shoenberger. In 1884 the oil magnate John D. Rockefeller from Pennsylvania. In 1887 the Arkansan owner of the American Cotton Oil Trust, Edmund Urquhart. In 1889 the Colorado coal mine owner Meyer

²⁸⁶ Another, perhaps more fundamental, reason for the difference was that Brahmins had a coherent ruling philosophy to begin with. Knickerbockers never reached the same level of cohesiveness or institutionalisation quite like their New England counterparts. For a comparative study of these regional elites, see F. C. Jaher, 'Nineteenth-Century Elites in Boston and New York', *Journal of Social History* 6/1 (1972), pp. 32-77. On the unique development of Brahmins as a social class, see R. Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard & the Boston Upper Class, 1800-1970* (Middletown, Conn., 1980); P. D. Hall, 'Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie: Higher Education and the Governing-Class Formation of the United States, 1870-1914', in S. Beckert and J. B. Rosenbaum (eds), *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2010), pp. 167-87; and P. DiMaggio, 'Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organisational Base for High Culture in America', *Media, Culture and Society* 4 (1982), pp. 33-50.

²⁸⁷ The rest came from, among other places: New England (15 percent), New Jersey (6 percent), Great Britain (10 percent), Germany (6 percent), and Ireland (6 percent). Based on Sven Beckert's 'sample of 191 New York City taxpayers who were accessed on real and personal property of \$10,000 or more in 1885', *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 31.

Guggenheim.²⁸⁸ By 1892, more than a quarter of the nation's millionaires resided in New York, despite the fact that the city accounted for only two percent of the nation's population.²⁸⁹

We have already seen something in the first chapter of how New York's patrician world of clubs could treat these millionaire newcomers. But whereas the Century Association was eventually reinvented as a more modern, business-friendly club, the city's oldest club, the Union, proved more successful at resisting change. In the 1880s, a particularly conservative group of Knickerbocker members gained control of the board of governors.²⁹⁰ This body, unlike the board of managers at the Century, whose powers were checked by town-hall-style governance, had authority over most areas of the organisation including admissions and the clubhouse.²⁹¹ In the late 1880s, the Union's board began to wield this power to make a series of blistering public statements about the emerging economic order and one man's vision for it in particular.

That man was J. P. Morgan. At this point in his legendary banking career, Morgan had become exasperated with what he saw as needless and costly competition in the railroad business.²⁹² Despite what may be commonly thought, this capitalist had little patience for competition. Morgan headed the investment bank Drexel, Morgan & Company, the New York branch of the international House of Morgan, with offices in Philadelphia, London, and Paris. However, power lay with the London affiliate, J. S. Morgan & Co., under the thumb of Morgan's father, Junius Spencer. This arrangement is what

²⁸⁸ Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis*, p. 239; see also, M. Wallace, *Greater Gotham: A History of New York City from 1898 to 1919* (New York, 2017), pp. 15-26.

²⁸⁹ Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis*, p. 238.

²⁹⁰ Of the 143 New York industrialists included in *America's Successful Men of Affairs* in 1894, only seven listed memberships to the Union Club (less than one percent of the total membership). Based on Sven Beckert's analysis in *Monied Metropolis*, p. 246, 430; and the Union Club's report of 1,399 regular members in *Officers, Members, Constitution and Rules of the Union Club* (New York, 1894), p. 80.

²⁹¹ *Officers, Members, Constitution and Rules of the Union Club*, p. 85, 87, 93-94. Most clubs in New York elected its governors or their equivalents for terms of one to three years. Most clubs also organised admissions through a separate specialised committee, whose members were often elected for shorter terms than governors or managers. See my introduction above.

²⁹² There is a large and excellent body of scholarship on Morgan and his firm. In particular, my account draws from R. Chernow, *The House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York, 1990); V. P. Carosso, *Investment Banking in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), pp. 29-50; V. P. Carosso & R. C. Carosso, *The Morgans: Private International Bankers 1854-1913* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); C. R. Geisst, *Wall Street: A History*, 4th edn (1997; New York, 2018), especially pp. 82-88, 101-148; J. Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (London, 1999); S. J. Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers: The world of J.P. Morgan* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013).

made the Morgans so successful in their primary business of selling American railroad securities to European investors. It was a big, often highly lucrative, but also volatile and potentially ruinous business. Between 1870 and 1900, foreign investments in the United States rose from \$1.4 billion to \$3.3 billion, much of it earmarked for railroad expansion.²⁹³ Between 1878 and 1893 total railroad mileage nearly tripled, and the combined total outstanding issues of railroad bonds and stocks more than doubled, increasing from \$4.8 billion to \$9.9 billion.²⁹⁴

But a large portion of this system was superfluous. The result of competing lines running parallel tracks. The ensuing rate wars—usually a winner takes all game—made Europeans increasingly wary of investing in American railroads. Morgan responded by searching for ways to bring stability to the industry, to make it less volatile, in order to shore up confidence in his clients. He began by arranging informal ‘gentlemen’s agreements’ between individual railroads and later experimented with organising trusts.²⁹⁵ The social counterpart to that story, Morgan’s response to the chaos in New York’s high society, is the subject of this chapter. It reveals, for the first time, a concerted campaign on the part of Morgan and a group of similarly-minded men to remake New York’s upper-class. More specifically, it focuses on the development of the Metropolitan Club, organised by the 25 of America’s most influential businessmen in 1891, with the objective of remaking New York’s upper class into an aristocracy of wealth as opposed to lineage or family pedigree.²⁹⁶ Notably, most of this group already belonged to the Knickerbocker-dominated Union Club at 21st Street and Fifth Avenue. But they were the lone representatives of the new economic order at the Union. Of the 143 New York industrialists included in *America’s Successful Men of Affairs* in 1894, only seven listed membership to the Union Club, which was less than one percent of the membership. In fact, only 43 industrialists listed any club

²⁹³ Carosso, *Investment Banking in America*, p. 30.

²⁹⁴ Carosso, *Investment Banking in America*, p. 29

²⁹⁵ On the rise of the modern corporation around the turn of the twentieth century, see A. D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), especially pp. 145-87; and N. R. Lamoreaux, *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904* (Cambridge, 1988).

²⁹⁶ The Metropolitan Club’s founders were Samuel D. Babcock; George S. Bowdoin; John L. Cadwalader; Ogden Goelet; Robert Goelet; George G. Haven; Adrian Iselin; James P. Kernochan; Charles Lanier; Louis L. Lorillard; Henry J. Marquand; D. Ogden Mills; J. P. Morgan; A. Newbold Morris; James A. Roosevelt; W. Watts Sherman; Frank K. Sturgis; Henry A. C. Taylor; Cornelius Vanderbilt; W. K. Vanderbilt; James Waterbury; Sidney Webster; George Peabody Wetmore; William C. Whitney; and Egerton L. Winthrop.

affiliation whatsoever.²⁹⁷ Clubs in general, then, and the Union Club in particular were still the province of old money. And the 25 founders of the Metropolitan Club were a rare type that moved between the worlds of old money and new money.

Some of the Metropolitan's founders, such as Morgan and the Goelet brothers, Ogden and Robert, came from established enough families before they made their millions that when they did the Knickerbocker elite were happy enough to make room for them. Others were true Knickerbocker aristocracy, among them James A. Roosevelt and A. Newbold Morris, whilst still others, notably the Vanderbilt brothers, W. K. and Cornelius, had earned their millions early enough and had been determined enough to break into the city's old guard, at least as far as membership rolls and invitation lists were concerned. They were, in short, a group of likeminded men, dedicated to remaking New York's ruling elite on the basis of wealth as opposed to ancestry.

They were engaged in this social movement at the same time, using the many of the same techniques, and guided by the same principles as their work in American business and especially railroads. In sum, this chapter explores how this group tackled society through a series of institutions that culminated in the Metropolitan Club. Similarly to their work in business, they were driven by a passion to bring order and harmony to the social situation. In many ways the existence of such a conspiracy will come as little surprise to those familiar with Morgan's fanatical attachment to the principle of consolidation.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ Based on Sven Beckert's analysis in *Monied Metropolis*, p. 246, 430; and the Union Club's report of 1,399 regular members in *Officers, Members, Constitution and Rules of the Union Club* (New York, 1894), p. 80.

²⁹⁸ Here I am thinking, firstly, of Ron Chernow's evocation of J. P. Morgan as an idealist, confronted with 'an economy that offended his sense of business propriety', driven by a principle of 'community among competitors', with 'a messianic faith in his ability to reorder businesses' (*The House of Morgan*, p. 38, 58, 68, 100, 101). And secondly, a written exchange between Morgan and a client, from 1889, that begins to suggest a social dimension to his work. The correspondence relates to Morgan's chairmanship of the reorganisation committee of the New York, West Shore and Buffalo Railway Company for the New York Central—the Vanderbilt-controlled railroad—and Morgan's decline to accept any compensation for perhaps as many as four years of work. Now, this may have been simply a case of Morgan genuflecting to an important client. However, a close reading of the correspondence suggests otherwise. The missives, inflected with expressions of honour and gratitude on all sides, suggested that both client and banker were working from a shared and deeply seated idea about business, if not life, that made it more than merely a matter of professional services rendered or pecuniary compensation received. Indeed, in the end, Morgan gratefully accepted a 'testimonial' which the Central's board of directors had designed and manufactured by Tiffany & Co. as an expression of their thanks. Pierpont Morgan Library Archives, ARC 1196 (J. Pierpont Morgan Papers), box 6, fo. 6: Cornelius Vanderbilt,

As the first two chapters have begun to lay out, clubhouse building was an intensely creative and productive vehicle for ruling-class formation. The gentlemen's club, devoid of any single purpose or objective, could be bent towards most any social impulse. That impulse, moreover, whether about forging an alliance between culture and capital (as in the Century Association) or establishing a new paradigm of community for alumni (as in New York's Harvard House), tended to develop and take shape through the exercise of clubhouse building. Strictly speaking, however, this thesis thus far has only dealt with *transformations* of antebellum institutions into Gilded Age clubs. Unlike the Century Association, which had alternatively served as an art gallery and mutual aid society, or New York's Harvard House, which evolved out of America's oldest corporation (Harvard University), the Metropolitan Club had to be constructed from scratch. One consequence of this was that the Metropolitan Club idea—its form and purpose as an organisation—depended more heavily on the architects and their collaboration with the clients. Naturally, this subjected the architect-client relationship to unusual pressure. Indeed, as we shall see, the relationship came close to rupturing.

New York's Arenas for Social Distinction

J. P. Morgan's first great success in his efforts to stabilise the railroad industry was the truce he brokered between the New York Central Railroad and Pennsylvania Railroad in 1885.²⁹⁹ Morgan's chief concern was the financial health of the Central. Morgan had been the Central's chief banker as well as a company director since 1879, when he organised the sale of a vast portfolio of William H. Vanderbilt's personal shares in the railroad. Now, personally invested in the company's wellbeing, he lobbied Vanderbilt to end the company's destructive war with the Pennsylvania, another vast railroad corporation. The war had erupted because each had infringed on the other's territory. In retaliation for the Pennsylvania's support of the West Shore line, which was to run parallel to the Central from New

Chauncey M. Depew, and Samuel F. Barger—Morgan, 11 Dec., 1889; and Morgan—Cornelius Vanderbilt, Chauncey M. Depew, Samuel F. Barger, 18 Dec., 1889.

²⁹⁹ The following account is based on Carosso & Carosso, *The Morgans*, pp. 254-257; and Chernow, *House of Morgan*, pp. 53-55.

York to Buffalo (and coincidentally passed Morgan's summer house, Cragston), the Central had initiated construction of the South Pennsylvania which threatened the Pennsylvania's traffic between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. In 1885, Morgan, while returning from Europe on the same steamer as Vanderbilt, succeeded in convincing the magnate to explore the possibility of a truce. The resulting agreement, negotiated on Morgan's personal yacht the *Corsair* as it crisscrossed the Hudson River, saw the West Shore transferred to the Central and the South Pennsylvania to the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The success of the Corsair Compact, as it came to be known, appears to have emboldened Morgan and the two oldest sons of Vanderbilt, Cornelius II and William K., who inherited the management of the New York Central Railroad after their father's death later that same year. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, they put up a number of railroad men for membership at the Union Club, all of whom were rejected by the club's board of governors.³⁰⁰ In November 1889, John King, president of the New York, Lake Erie and Western Railway Company, and a self-made man, was blackballed.³⁰¹ In January 1891, W. Seward Webb, Cornelius' new son-in-law, as well as the president of the Vanderbilt-controlled Wagner Palace Car Company, was blackballed.³⁰² A few months later, Austin Corbin, president of the Long Island Railroad, met the same fate.³⁰³ Each rejection was leaked to the newspapers, along with Morgan's support and the Vanderbilt connection. They were a direct challenge to Morgan's vision for a new unified and consolidated social and economic order. It was after hearing that King had been blackballed, the story goes, that Morgan 'in a fit of pique' instructed Stanford White, 'Build a club fit for gentlemen. Damn the expense!'³⁰⁴

But King was blackballed two years before J. P. Morgan founded the Metropolitan Club.³⁰⁵ If King's rejection had indeed influenced any Morgan project by McKim, Mead & White, it was more

³⁰⁰ P. Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club of New York* (New York, 1982), p. 8.

³⁰¹ 'Mr. King Rejected', *The Evening World* (Extra 2 o'clock; 4 Nov., 1889).

³⁰² 'Barred the Union Club', *The Evening World* (Sporting Extra; 22 Jan., 1891).

³⁰³ 'Mr. Corbin is Wrathful', *The Evening World* (Last edition; 13 Apr., 1891).

³⁰⁴ Quoted in P. Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club of New York* (New York, 1982), p. 9; and J. Strouse, *Morgan: American Financier* (London, 1999), p. 276

³⁰⁵ In his otherwise excellent history of the club, Porzelt mistakenly states King was blackballed in the mid-1890s. Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club*, p. 9.

likely Madison Square Garden, a vast entertainment complex for men as well as women at the northwest corner of Madison Square Park, which was completed 1887-91 (Figure 48). My argument here is that Morgan's frustration with Knickerbocker conservatism spurred him to try and reconceive elite sociability in New York. In a sense, he had given up on ever changing the Union. Madison Square Garden was one of a number of institutions he developed to rethink high society. Its shortcomings, which became apparent almost as soon as it opened in 1891, appear to have led to the Metropolitan Club. But before we can consider how Morgan developed and refined his approach to social engineering in the Metropolitan, we must consider three other social arenas, outside gentlemen's clubs, where upper class distinction was cultivated and how they were consolidated under one roof in Madison Square Garden.

The first and most open social arena in the city was carriage driving in Central Park. Unlike other elite institutions, the Park's nine miles of 'carriage drives posed no entrance barriers based on family background, source of wealth, or even religion.'³⁰⁶ All that was required was 'owning a carriage and riding in the park', historians Elizabeth Blackmar and Roy Rosenzweig point out.³⁰⁷ Since it was possible for daughters and wives to drive coaches 'properly safeguarded and within reasonable limits' while their fathers and husbands worked, they 'more than men dominated the carriage parade and shaped its larger social meaning.'³⁰⁸ Indeed, 'seeing and being seen in the park was part of the "job" of wealthy women, a way of establishing their position and that of their family and of maintaining their livelihoods.'³⁰⁹

Slightly less open than carriage driving were society balls. The most important ball each year was the one thrown by Caroline Astor at her family's mansion at West 34th Street and Fifth Avenue. The Astors were *nouveau riche*, but Caroline was born to a particularly old and distinguished

³⁰⁶ R. Rosenzweig and E. Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca, 1998), p. 218.

³⁰⁷ Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *Park and the People*, p. 216.

³⁰⁸ Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *Park and the People*, p. 222, 220.

³⁰⁹ Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *Park and the People*, p. 220.

Knickerbocker family, the Schermerhorns.³¹⁰ She married William B. Astor II with the idea of integrating his family into the old guard. As a sign of the young couple's aristocratic pretensions, they commissioned architect Griffith Thomas (whose father had designed the Union Club) to build their sober brick mansion on West 34th Street, completed in 1853, the kind that Knickerbockers had been living in for generations (Figure 47). Two decades later, with her children having grown up, Astor turned her attention to integrating other parvenu families who, like her husband's, she deemed respectable. She asked Thomas to add a perfectly square thirty-five-by-thirty-five-foot ballroom to the rear of the family's mansion, where she could entertain on a large scale.³¹¹ The new space accommodated 400 people, thereby limiting high society in New York to the men and women who made it onto Astor's annual guest list. Collectively, they came to be called the 'Four Hundred'. Among the future founders of the Metropolitan Club who were early members of this circle were J. P. Morgan and Robert Goelet, though W. K. Vanderbilt had more difficulty obtaining entrance. It was only after hosting a larger and more spectacular ball—a competitor, though one to which the Astors were invited—that the Vanderbilts were also inducted into the Four Hundred.³¹²

William H. Vanderbilt, W. K.'s father, took even more drastic steps than his son did to break the old guard's monopoly on the third and final forum for social success in New York: opera. After his offer of \$30,000 for a private box at the Knickerbocker-controlled Academy of Music was refused in the 1870s, Vanderbilt set about organising a new opera company, which came to be the Metropolitan Opera. He was joined in this enterprise by several men who would later become founding members of the Metropolitan Club.³¹³ Together they purchased a site at West 39th Street and Broadway, and organised a limited competition for the design of a new opera house. The winning entry, which

³¹⁰ For an overview of the Schermerhorn's aristocratic credentials see E. Homberger, *Mrs. Astor's New York: Money and Social Power in a Gilded Age* (New Haven, 2002), pp. 237-242

³¹¹ R. A. M. Stern, D. Fishman, and T. Mellins, *New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1999), p. 571.

³¹² On the Four Hundred see F. C. Jaher, F. C. Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, ad Los Angeles* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), p. 251, 269-70, 279.

³¹³ Here I disagree with Clifton Hood's argument that the coalition behind the Metropolitan Opera made it an expression of upper-class unity rather than a rebellion of new money. C. Hood, *In Pursuit of Privilege: A History of New York City's Upper Class & The Making of a Metropolis* (New York, 2017), pp. 236-42.

belonged to J. Cleaveland Cady, was selected 'according to all accounts, because it offered comparatively inexpensive construction costs, extensive fireproofing, and the inclusion of other functions in the complex.'³¹⁴ It was not Cady's monotonous Italian Renaissance exterior that secured him the job, in other words, but rather the clever practicality of his design. Impressively, he managed to squeeze no less than 222 private boxes into the plan. The Academy of Music, by contrast, boasted just 18 boxes. J. P. Morgan was among the first to purchase a private box at the Met, as was Robert Goelet, who was also chairman of the company's first executive committee, most of whom, like Goelet and Morgan, would later help found the Metropolitan Club.³¹⁵

If it was men who purchased the private boxes, it was wives and daughters who made full use of them. Boxes allowed people to see in as much as see out. This was, of course, the point. While men's white tie and black tails made them virtually indistinguishable from one another, women wore highly individualised and attention-grabbing gowns. At the opera, women were on display. Private boxes were more like display boxes.³¹⁶ In no small part due to the success of the building's design for self-display, the Metropolitan Opera pushed the Academy of Music out of business within a few years. 'I cannot fight Wall Street', confessed the Academy's manager.³¹⁷

The common feature that ran through all three arenas for social distinction was the important role played by women. It was women who defined the meaning of carriage driving in Central Park; Caroline Astor who drew up the list for the Four Hundred; and arguably women in private boxes who put on the most important show at the Metropolitan Opera. In other words, social status in New York greatly depended on the work of upper-class women. An explanation for why can be found in the work of the contemporary economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen. In his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), Veblen introduced the idea that wealthy women's leisure was not their own, that it

³¹⁴ The other firms were George B. Post, Potter and Harrison, G. E. Harvey. K. Curran, *A Forgotten Architect of the Gilded Age: Josiah Cleaveland's Cady's Legacy* (Hartford, Conn., 1993), pp. 16-18. For a thorough overview of Metropolitan Opera's building, see Stern et al., *New York 1880*, pp. 681-88.

³¹⁵ 'THE NEW OPERA-HOUSE', *The New York Times* [henceforth 'NYT'], 29 Apr., 1880.

³¹⁶ M. E. Montgomery, *Displaying Women: Spectacles of Leisure in Edith Wharton's New York* (New York, 1998), pp. 126-30.

³¹⁷ Quoted in Jaher, *Establishment*, p. 271.

belonged to their male relations.³¹⁸ He called this ‘vicarious leisure’, and he went so far as to argue that nearly every aspect of life for the wives and daughters of the rich served this function, that they were subsumed into the business of creating and maintaining family status.³¹⁹ As might be expected in a place like New York, where wealth abounded and men worked long hours on Wall Street, vicarious leisure was crucial for a man’s social standing.

Thus if J. P. Morgan was intent on overcoming the impediment of the Union Club and establishing an aristocracy of wealth, he would need to enlist the help of women. In other words, his response to the blackballing of the various railroad executives was not to create a new gentlemen’s club which they might join, but rather to invent a whole new sort of social centre for elites that utilised women’s important function as vectors of conspicuous leisure. Morgan’s solution more than echoed his approach to business.³²⁰ He combined all three social arenas that did include women—carriage driving, society balls, and opera—under one roof, into something that, for lack of a better term, resembled an ‘elite multiplex’. This was Madison Square Garden, Morgan’s first attempt to do for upper-class society what he was also attempting to do for business: consolidate. The Garden was to be *the* social centre for elites in New York, open to anyone who could afford the price of admission.

Morgan was joined in this new enterprise by many of the same dramatis personae who had earlier wedged open the Astor 400 and established the Metropolitan Opera. Starting with Morgan himself, who was founding president of the Madison Square Garden Company, and W. K. Vanderbilt, who donated the land and also served as a company director. Other notable directors were the project’s architect Stanford White and general contractor David H. King Jr., who later became general contractor for the Metropolitan Club.³²¹ It is worth pointing out White’s personal investment in the

³¹⁸ T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; Oxford, 2007), pp. 53-8, 65-7.

³¹⁹ For the changing nature of women’s leisure, see M. E. Montgomery, *Displaying Women: Spectacles of Leisure in Edith Wharton’s New York* (London, 1998), pp. 10-12.

³²⁰ For Morgan’s business reorganisations, see T. Kessner, *Capital City: New York City and the Men Behind America’s Rise to Economic Dominance, 1860-1900* (New York, 2003); and A. D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 145-87.

³²¹ For the record, the incorporators were George S. Bowdoin, Adrian Iselin, Charles Lanier, Ogden D. Mills, and J. P. Morgan. ‘A Big Amusement Scheme’ *New-York Tribune* (10 Mar., 1887).

project. As a director, he eventually accumulated 1,100 shares in the Garden Company, while his firm acquired an additional 350 shares.³²² The blurred boundary between architect and client would also typify White's later involvement in the Metropolitan Club.

In total, the Garden Company raised just over \$1,250,000 for its monumental building, which occupied a full city block, between Madison and Fifth Avenues and 26th and 27th Streets (Figure 49).³²³ In addition to a ground-floor restaurant and rooftop garden and café, the Garden boasted three major entertainment spaces.³²⁴ The largest of these was the amphitheatre, which dominated the building's footprint and could accommodate as many as 14,000 spectators (Figure 50). Its anchor tenant was the National Horse Show Association, whose annual event was a favourite among upper-class New Yorkers, 'almost as dazzling as the opera', with several categories of competition for carriage driving alone.³²⁵ The Garden had opera as well, or rather comic opera, but opera nonetheless, hosted in the Garden Theatre, the second major entertainment space. The third and final venue was the concert hall, which hosted, among other events, the fashionable Assembly Balls, often attended by J. P. Morgan, W. K. Vanderbilt, Robert Goelet, and Stanford White.

Although the Garden succeeded in consolidating the three major areas for social distinction in New York, it struggled to fulfil its purpose as a centre for upper-class life. For one thing, it *looked* like a public building (Figure 51). 'The capitalists' who made this 'architectural triumph' possible 'deserve the warmest thanks of the public', as one local newspaper exclaimed, was typical of public sentiment around the time the Garden opened in 1891.³²⁶ Perhaps regretful of not having made more of the opportunity for the design of the Metropolitan Opera, the directors gave White a free hand in the Garden. The Spanish and Venetian inspired exterior and eight-storey tower, originally topped by an

³²² P. R. Baker, *Stanny: The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York, 1989), p. 151.

³²³ 'Bailey's Bid for Garden Stock', *NYT*, 17 Jan., 1893, p. 9.

³²⁴ Remarkably little social analysis has been done on the Garden's founding history, though its architectural history has been thoroughly documented. A potentially fruitful comparison for future study is Carnegie Hall, another multiplex, further uptown, which opened the same year. For the Garden's architectural history, see L. Roth, *McKim, Mead & White, Architects* (New York, 1983), pp. 158-65; and Baker, *Stanny*, pp. 149-66.

³²⁵ Harriman, *Pinajores to Politics*, p. 48.

³²⁶ Quoted in Baker, *Stanny*, pp. 159-60.

18-foot statue of the hunting goddess Diana (later reduced to 13 feet, both paid for by White), made the Garden hands down New York's most exciting building. It was also far too big for elites alone. In fact, '[a]s a financial proposition, the Garden was a disaster.'³²⁷ In an attempt to rescue the commercial viability of the enterprise, its directors introduced large-scale popular entertainments. Inside the amphitheatre, for instance, White recreated Shakespeare's house and Globe Theatre, while P. T. Barnum's and John Ringling's circuses joined the National Horse Show Association as tenants. 'Madison Square Garden thus became an institution that oscillated, from night to night, between patrician and plebeian entertainments', as historians Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace point out.³²⁸

Clearly, Morgan, Vanderbilt, White, and the others needed a more exclusive institutional model than the Garden's. And so they returned to the idea of a gentlemen's club, discarding the commercial focus of the Garden, but bringing with them the possibilities of a more open and mixed sociability. More specifically, they set out to build a clubhouse that contained spaces for non-members, including women, as well as facilities for carriages, all on a site near Central Park and its carriage drives.

Architect and Building Committee Chairman

Finding a middle path between the openness of Madison Square Garden and the exclusivity of the Union Club was going to require a great deal of collaboration between architect and client. It was perhaps for this reason that the Metropolitan Club's founders elected Robert Goelet, one of Stanford White's closest friends and best clients, to the position of building committee chairman. The two had worked together on number of projects in the 1880s, which appears to have endowed Goelet with an excellent knowledge of architecture. As will become clear, the Metropolitan Clubhouse was the result of a close partnership between these men, with Goelet resolving some of the key difficulties in the commission.

³²⁷ E. G. Burrows and M. Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, 1999), p.1148.

³²⁸ Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, p.1148.

The Goelets were one of those rich families that cannot help but get richer. Their ancestors had been in New York since at least the eighteenth century, and were, for a long time, prosperous manufacturers, so distinct from the mercantile Knickerbockers. But the family's habit of buying up land in Manhattan later catapulted them into the hemisphere of monied society. As New York boomed in the later nineteenth century, so too did the family's fortune. When Robert Goelet's uncle died, he and his brother each inherited \$15 million. When his father died, he and his brother inherited another \$25 million apiece. The grand total for Robert Goelet stood around \$50 million, much of it in undeveloped New York real estate.³²⁹ When he died in 1898, after more than two decades of developing and divesting his fortune, including in railroads, his estate had increased to \$70 million; a vast fortune, even greater than W. K. Vanderbilt's.³³⁰

Stanford White worked for Robert Goelet on a variety of projects, private, social, as well as commercial. The two probably met in conjunction with Newport Casino in Rhode Island at the start of the 1880s. McKim, Mead & White were the Casino's architects, and Goelet one of its shareholders.³³¹ Like Madison Square Garden, the Casino, essentially a precursor to the American country club, was the first of its kind in the United States. It too was commercially organised but at heart was about meeting the social needs of the new capitalist order. Although Newport had long been a retreat for wealthy New Englanders, improved rail connection to New York City after the Civil War brought a new sort of crowd during the summer season.³³² Robert Goelet was among them.

White's first commission for Goelet was a summer villa in Newport called Southside (1881-84), which was discussed above in the introduction. Next was the Goelet Building (1886-87) in New York City, their first commercial venture together, and a rare and dignified foray by White into the Chicago School of architecture (Figure 52). Then came the Goelet family office (1885-86), a modest three-storey structure reminiscent of McKim, Mead & White's clubhouses for secret societies at Yale

³²⁹ Broderick, *Triumvirate*, p. 265.

³³⁰ 'Death of Robert Goelet', *NYT*, 29 Apr., 1899.

³³¹ 'Mr. Goelet's Newport Life', *NYT*, 28 Apr., 1899.

³³² For the Newport season, see Montgomery, *Displaying Women*, pp. 24-6.

and Williams (Figure 53). The family office, which was located around the corner from White's office, became the headquarters of Goelet's increasingly ambitious forays into real estate development, including the luxurious Hotel Imperial and Sherry's Restaurant—both, of course, designed by White. There were smaller, more exotic projects as well, such as interiors for Goelet's 306-foot steam yacht *Nabma* (Figure 54), and the family mausoleum in Woodlawn Cemetery (Figure 55), a large granite box with an ionic porch attached. Through this large and diverse corpus, White and Goelet became close friends. Their correspondence was voluminous—'Dearest Stanny' and 'Dear Bob' were their usual salutations for close to two decades.³³³ It was this rare combination of affection, experience, and ability to collaborate that would drive the design of the Metropolitan Club.

The Development of the Metropolitan Clubhouse

The Metropolitan Club set off with impressive speed. On 20 February 1891, the founding members inaugurated the project with a dinner at the Knickerbocker Club, an association second only to the Union Club in prestige but, contrary to its name, radically less discriminating when it came to admitting newly rich men. Yet even the Knickerbocker was not prepared to admit women, and so guests dined on the idea of a club that would do just that. Three weeks later, on 7 March, they had settled on a club name, though it stirred some controversy. There was, it turned out, already a Metropolitan Club in New York. It had an exclusively Jewish membership and had rented quarters on the corner of Fifth Avenue and 48th Street, 'which is but a stone's throw from' the houses of several of the founders of the new Metropolitan Club, as *The New York Times* pointed out.³³⁴ 'Were they paid to give up the name? Or was the lease on the...[club]house...somehow involved?'³³⁵ It remains unclear what exactly happened to the original Metropolitan Club. Though the new Metropolitan Club wasted no time in tackling the next big question of where to build its clubhouse. On 9 May 1891, the club founders

³³³ For Goelet's patronage and friendship, see Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, pp. 109-11, p. 72, 138, 327; and Broderick, *Triumvirate*, pp. 167-72.

³³⁴ Quoted in Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club*, p. 22.

³³⁵ Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club*, p. 23.

acquired land at the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and East 60th Street, opposite Scholar's Gate, one of Central Park's two principal carriageways (Figure 56). This, too, was not without its own difficulty. The land was owned by the Duchess of Marlborough, who paid a visit to the United States Consulate in London to sign over the deed.³³⁶

It is fitting that the Duchess of Marlborough's signature should mark the beginning of formal work on the clubhouse, since much of it centred on the question of how closely the plan should cleave to the English clubhouse model. The Duchess, the American-born Lilian Warren Price, is also a reminder of the magnetic pull that the English aristocracy, its members, customs, and institutions had for plutocrats in the United States. Thorstein Veblen noted the importance of 'the English exemplar' in his concept of 'conspicuous consumption', which he first introduced alongside 'women's vicarious leisure' in his book on the American leisure class. Emulating (or marrying) dukes, marquesses, earls etc. trumped all else, he concluded, even the most tempting opportunities for conspicuous displays of wealth, which otherwise determined the behaviours of the superrich.³³⁷ Indeed, Warren was one of hundreds of Gilded Age 'dollar princesses' married off with large dowries to impecunious noble families.³³⁸ Which begs the question, would the English exemplar hold sway over the design of the Metropolitan Club? Or would Stanford White and Robert Goelet venture out to create something new and autonomously American?

At first, it appeared as though they would abandon the English clubhouse in favour of another European model, the Parisian *hôtel particulier*. The appeal of this plan, which had developed around aristocratic life in the French capital, was its provision for carriages in an internal courtyard. On 13 May 1891, the building committee and Stanford White met and agreed on a preliminary plan for a building that would occupy most of the one-hundred-by-two-hundred-foot site, which was shortest

³³⁶ This timeline is based on Paul Porzelt's excellent club history, *Metropolitan Club*, pp. 11-32; see also H. A. Plummer, *Metropolitan Club, New York, 1891-1941* (New York, 1941), p. 7.

³³⁷ This is how Veblen explained the popularity of horses, especially racehorses, which unlike dogs cannot be 'bred into grotesque deformity' as 'items of conspicuous consumption.' The English leisure class, he continues, forms 'the upper leisure class of this country, and the exemplar for the lower grades.' Veblen, *Leisure Class*, pp. 92-4.

³³⁸ R. Brandon, *The Dollar Princesses: Sagas of Upward Nobility, 1870-1914* (New York, 1980).

along Fifth Avenue. The clubhouse, like *hôtel particuliers*, would contain a carriage court, thirty-feet-by-sixty-feet, near the centre of the building, accessible via a carriageway on East 60th Street. Flanking the carriageway were main entrances, one for members and another for members' wives and daughters.³³⁹ By gathering the carriageway and entrances on East 60th, the scheme thus preserved the Fifth Avenue front for large rooms overlooking Central Park.

Robert Goelet left the meeting unsatisfied. He decided against saying anything in front of the committee for the sake of the group, as he explained to White in a missive later that day. But he now confessed an uneasiness about the design of the two street fronts, which he thought would look 'lopsided', with so many entrances along East 60th Street and nothing but windows on Fifth Avenue. His concern was not unwarranted. The two façades would be easily compared, thanks to an open space diagonally opposite the clubhouse corner, between the Plaza Hotel and Fifth Avenue, then known as Grand Circle. To remedy the problem, Goelet offered an alternative scheme that imagined moving the carriage court further east, almost to the rear of the building (Figure 57). Here he also tucked separate entrances for men and women. The result, he believed, would create a 'nicer balance' between the East 60th Street and Fifth Avenue fronts.³⁴⁰

Besides rescuing the clubhouse from a heavily institutional appearance, like a school with separate entrances for boys and girls, Goelet's plan also opened up the possibility of designing the exterior in the English club style. Indeed, White's eventual *palazzo*-block design made the Metropolitan the most Pall Mall-like clubhouse yet in New York City (Figure 58).³⁴¹ Unlike for the Century Association, White decided against incorporating a central loggia, leaving members to make do with two large balconies, one on the first floor of each elevation. Absent, too, was any hint of the classical orders (at least in the main block). This, combined with the recessed entrances, left the *palazzo* form particularly unadulterated and cube-like in appearance. That is not to say, however, that the composition was uninteresting. In fact, White made full use of the substantially larger Metropolitan

³³⁹ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 239, fo. Robert Goelet, S. White—Goelet, 14 May.

³⁴⁰ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 239, fo. Robert Goelet, S. White—Goelet, 13 May.

³⁴¹ For the clubhouse exterior, see Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, pp. 145-46; and Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club*, pp. 51-56.

budget, which was nine to ten times greater than the Century's. He employed not one but two varieties of white marble for the exterior, for instance, and designed an especially luxurious marble and copper cornice that jutted six feet beyond the façade. Along East 60th Street, finally, for the main entrance and carriageway, White designed three wrought-iron gates (Figure 59). All were executed in the style of Baroque metalworker Jean Tijou, whose principal work had been done alongside Christopher Wren in England such as at Hampton Court and St Paul's Cathedral. For the gateway, White arranged two screens of Tuscan columns, one directly in front of the other, set on high plinths, several feet above the street.³⁴²

Goelet was also responsible for bringing the floor plan into harmony with the London exemplar. Just days after his original letter to White, in which he expressed his concern about the unbalanced street fronts, Goelet followed up, on 15 May 1891, to say 'I have hit out a plan [which] if it can be carried out will satisfy all or nearly all'. Its major features were three substantial storeys, a central hall and grand staircase, and a separate women's area, or annexe, as it became known. 'Now this is my idea and I will come see you tomorrow.'³⁴³ The plan, which was the one largely adopted, turned the Metropolitan Clubhouse from a Parisian *hôtel* into a faithful evocation of the London clubhouse type.

White appears to have received the plan well. But not everyone fell in behind Goelet. In the eleventh hour, in late January 1892, not long before the plans were to be handed over to the general contractor, W. K. Vanderbilt intervened. The railroad tycoon had been in Paris and the *hôtel particulier* was back on his mind. In long hand, across nine pages, plus drawings (now lost), Vanderbilt presented White with an alternative proposal that returned the carriage court to the centre of the building.

I prefer individually these plans to any I have yet seen, they do not embrace some of the grand features that yours do but for practicality I think they will answer every purpose. The plan is on a French house with porte cochere and courtyard. ...I have placed courtyard more in centre of building instead of at rear, and the building covers more of the land, but I make fewer cubic feet than even in your last plan.... You will notice I have done away with one story [sic]—from original design—

³⁴² The outer row was removed when the city widened East 60th in the 1922. Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club*, p. 53.

³⁴³ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 239, fo. Robert Goelet, S. White—Goelet, 15 May

having a large room on corner...and an enormous room over it and two large halls, I do not consider another lounging room necessary.... I consider the service arrangement good (in your plan there was not enough space allowed)....³⁴⁴

Although the plan was indeed highly practical, Vanderbilt had written in vain. Designing a gentlemen's clubhouse, Goelet seemed to believe, was less about practicality or finding the most efficient solution as it was about ensuring that the building actually looked like a *gentlemen's club*, that it checked all the boxes of the club style. These men had, after all, already tried their hand at something new in Madison Square Garden. The Metropolitan Club, Goelet likely decided, perhaps drawing on his authority as building committee chairman, would be a gentlemen's club even if a better model did exist for their purposes. Thus, Vanderbilt's proposal was shelved and the clubhouse was built according to Goelet's plans.

Let us then examine how the completed Metropolitan Clubhouse conformed to the London model before considering those places where it deviated (Figure 60). To begin, the major organising space in the Metropolitan, as in London clubs and in the Century Association in New York, was a central hall (Figure 61). In some London clubhouses, the central hall also contained a grand staircase immediately facing the entrance, as in Athenaeum, and the Metropolitan Club's building committee probably intended to do something similar in its initial scheme. But when Goelet moved the entrances to the rear of the building, the staircase remained oriented towards East 60th Street. Changing the direction of the staircase would have meant a far smaller design, and the double staircase Stanford White designed for the club was one of the grandest in New York City. It was around the central hall and grand stair, on the ground and first floors, that the club's principal rooms were distributed, in a three-quarter circuit, with interconnecting doors between them. Included in this programme were rooms for lounging on the ground floor, and cards and billiards on the first. At the far corners of the first floor were also a reading room and library, though these spaces were excluded from the circuit

³⁴⁴ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 242, fo. W. K. Vanderbilt, transcribed copy, Vanderbilt—White, 31 Jan., 1892.

programme and so insulated from the noise of cards and billiards. Thus, the central block of the Metropolitan retained the programme and many of the functions of the London prototype.

It was above and behind the main block of the clubhouse that Goelet and White inserted functions that the project had inherited from Madison Square Garden. As Goelet had proposed, the building contained three principal storeys, allowing for an entire floor, the third, to be given over to dining. In addition to the main dining room, which occupied the full Fifth Avenue front, as in a London club, this floor also contained several smaller dining rooms for private functions. Similarly, a mezzanine level—obtained by lowering the ceiling above the ground-floor entrance—contained a suite of rooms dedicated to extra-club activities. Known as the ‘strangers’ wing’, this level featured a restaurant and reception room, accessible via a stairway from the strangers’ waiting room below, adjacent to the entrance. The strangers’ wing could, according to the club’s rulebook, be used by out-of-town guests (defined as those living at least fifty miles outside the city and not having an office there) for a period of one week. Members could also invite non-members to lunch or dinner in the strangers’ dining room.³⁴⁵ This specialised apartment, unlike anything in London or New York at the time, opened up the clubhouse to business as well as leisure.

Even more novel than the extensive accommodation of strangers was the accommodation of women inside the clubhouse, and not just in the annexe. An early copy of the Metropolitan Club’s rulebook contains the provision that, unlike almost every other gentlemen’s club in London or New York, ‘A portion of the clubhouse may, at the discretion of the board of governors, be appropriated to the use of ladies, to be used upon terms and conditions as may be prescribed from time to time by the said board.’³⁴⁶ What sort of uses the governors had in mind remains a mystery. But given the evolution of the clubhouse idea through Madison Square Garden it seems possible they played with the idea of making the clubhouse available for balls, like the popular Assembly Balls in Madison Square Garden’s concert hall. This would have certainly maximised the building’s value as a staging ground

³⁴⁵ Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club*, p. 130. Porzelt infers from the strangers’ rooms in London clubs that the strangers’ wing was also an ‘English custom’. In fact, the wing appears to be entirely unique to the Metropolitan Club.

³⁴⁶ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 241, fo. Club History, ‘Constitution of the Metropolitan Club’, p. 11.

for conspicuous consumption and women's vicarious leisure. But this would have been radical for a gentlemen's club and there is no evidence that the clubhouse was in the end used for balls.

The women's annexe has a more certain history (Figure 62, Figure 59). This space appears to have been created jointly by Robert Goelet and Stanford White. Notably, where one might expect to find evidence of the involvement of members' wives, such as we saw in Harvard House, none exists for the annexe in the Metropolitan Club. It was Goelet, we will recall, who first came up with the idea of separating the women's rooms from the main clubhouse (and indeed only service areas connected them). Later, he worked with White to select the wall colour (he preferred green) and carpeting (the sample White sent 'will do').³⁴⁷ The annexe originally included two reception and two private dining rooms above the ladies' restaurant, though these do not appear to have been considered part of the annexe once the clubhouse opened. When Goelet ordered the annexe's furniture, it was for the restaurant: 90 chairs, 1 large table, and 20 small ones.³⁴⁸ The club's rulebook more or less confirms that the space functioned primarily if not exclusively for dining:

Ladies, temporarily or permanently of the family of a Member of the Club, and while resident with him, shall, whether or not attended by such Member be permitted to use the Restaurant for Ladies and accompanied by other ladies.³⁴⁹

The idea behind the women's annexe, then, appears to have been as a lunch or rest stop for club members' wives and daughters during their carriage drives in Central Park. They would exit the park via Scholars' Gate on East 60th Street, cross Fifth Avenue, and pull into the Metropolitan Club's carriage court. The annexe, though designed by clubmen, was nothing like a club. The only activity was dining. No comfortable furniture to rest in, no periodicals to browse, no games to play. There was nothing to do but eat and return to the business of carriage driving. And driving was indeed a business for upper-class women, as we have already seen. What Goelet accomplished in the annexe was the

³⁴⁷ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 239, fo. Robert Goelet, Goelet—White 17 Nov., 1893 (wall colour); Goelet—White 29 Sept. (carpeting).

³⁴⁸ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 244, fo., MMW-Interiors, 'List of furniture & curtains'.

³⁴⁹ Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club*, p. 131.

institutionalisation of carriage driving in Central Park, an example of women's vicarious leisure, as defined by Thorstein Veblen, and of bringing it under greater male control.

With the women's annexe appended, the Metropolitan Club emerges more clearly as an effort to subvert the exclusivity of the Union Club, and to make wealth as opposed to ancestry the basis of social status in New York. The major author of this space was Robert Goelet and we have seen how he and other club founders worked closely with Stanford White, almost as partners. This close collaboration allowed them to stretch the gentlemen's club in surprising new directions. In addition to the annexe and carriage court, the clubhouse marked a new attitude towards non-members and an openness to business. It would be difficult indeed to imagine more foreign elements than these being introduced into the building type. It was only through Goelet's careful attention and diligent work that the Metropolitan Club remained identifiably a gentlemen's club.

Decorating the Club Rooms and the Rupturing of Architect-Client Relations

In contrast to the contention surrounding the form and plan of the Metropolitan Clubhouse, there was hardly any question, let alone debate, about what the club rooms should look like. Stanford White and the building committee appear to have always been in agreement that they would decorate the rooms in the Louis XIV style. This in itself was not especially remarkable. Late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French design was then becoming *de rigueur* for upper-class interiors.³⁵⁰ Probably in part because it sidestepped the thorny question of family heirlooms: few if any New Yorkers inherited old French furniture, but those with enough money could purchase it abroad or better yet pay Stanford White for custom-designed reproductions. More central to the purposes of this chapter is how the architect and founders went about the *business* of decoration. Their strategies for organising and

³⁵⁰ The taste for French furniture, as J. M. Crook has shown, also evolved among English *nouveaux riches* around this time. In New York, it was established chiefly by Edith Wharton and Ogden Codman, Jr., who praised the reign of Louis XIV for bringing about 'modern domestic life' in their book *The Decoration of Houses* (New York, 1898), p. 8; see also, Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 183; and Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, pp. 257-61. J. M. Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches* (London, 1999), pp. 62-9; and J. M. Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches* (London, 1999), pp. 62-9.

managing the project—a large and complex undertaking—says a great deal about how they understood the clubhouse as a mechanism for class formation, as a place that mixed elements of public and private, work and home.

Interior work on the clubhouse began in earnest in spring 1892. White could now concentrate on assembling a team of nearly 50 different decorating firms from around the country as well as France, thanks to the employment of Madison Square Garden general contractor David H. King Jr., who assumed responsibility for the construction.³⁵¹ This saw the office of McKim, Mead & White's switch gears. Assistants now typed specifications, inviting bids for an array of contracts, including marblework, mosaic, decorative plastering, papier mâché, cabinetry, decorative painting, leaded glass, fireplaces, furnishings, and window treatments.³⁵² Estimates were recorded on a giant chart for easy comparison and incoming correspondence was stamped and carefully filed (Figure 63).³⁵³ Managing the decorating firms, once contracted, presented its own set of challenges. White at one point proposed having a direct phone line installed between his office and the clubhouse in the hopes of expediting the work.³⁵⁴ Thus decoration was tackled with technologies developed for industrial settings: be that planning charts or telephones (though we do not know if one was ever installed). In this way, the Metropolitan Clubhouse was treated as both quasi-domestic and quasi-commercial.

While White handled the decoration, the building committee busied itself with furnishing the clubhouse. Since this work coincided with summer 1893, the committee convened its meetings in Newport, Rhode Island, mostly at Southside, Robert Goelet's house. Remarkably, despite the informal setting, the committee maintained its usual boardroom formality. Meeting procedures were observed, minutes were kept, typed, and copies sent to McKim, Mead & White for reference. Those minutes suggest that no detail was deemed too insignificant. In August, for example, the committee discussed livery for the club's servants. After discussing samples that had been sent to them, the committeemen

³⁵¹ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 244, fo. Building committee, Minutes, 18 Apr., 1892 (King's appointment); NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 244, fo. MMW – Contractors, list of contracts, 30 Jan., 1893 (King's subcontracts).

³⁵² NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 244, fo. MMW—Contractors, list of contracts, 30 Jan., 1893.

³⁵³ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 244, fo. MMW – Contractors, large chart, 5 Apr., 1892.

³⁵⁴ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 240, fo. Haven G.G., White—Haven, 8 Jun., 1893.

approved the 'MC' monogram, but wanted it 'raised and slightly heavier'. They also approved the coat and trouser, but rejected the vest on account of its stripes. Before adjourning, discussion was also given to the subject of inkstands, playing cards, and the employment of a housekeeper.³⁵⁵ In short, these men were setting up house in the same systematic fashion they went about any other business interest. And indeed, the clubhouse was a combination of home and work, a kind of third space, which appeared domestic but at heart was a mechanism—a technology—for forging an American aristocracy.

The nature of this work, unsurprisingly, took a toll on the building committee's relationship with White. It was at one such meeting in Newport, in late summer 1893, that the committee first expressed its frustration with his performance. The clubhouse had been scheduled to open in autumn, but delays in finishing the decoration of the rooms had forced the club to postpone. The committee blamed this on White. Whether it wished to motivate him or punish him, it is unclear, but the committee voted unanimously to strip White of his authority to pay his contractors.³⁵⁶ White, for his part, had thrown in the towel much earlier. In June, he put a stop to unscheduled office visits by committee members, sending a formal request to committee secretary George G. Haven.³⁵⁷ Thus, White ended the impromptu meetings that had been such a feature and driving force behind the early stages of the project. Evidently, the architect-client fraternity had begun to rupture.

After the club finally opened on 1 March 1894, McKim, Mead & White began receiving a slew of letters from George C. Haven, now chairman of the Metropolitan Club's executive committee, about a number of construction issues. It began with the committee's discovery that some of the fireplaces were false. While the committee 'fully appreciate the architectural beauties of the club, they as laymen, certainly expected that the necessary chimneys... would not be sacrificed.'³⁵⁸ Then the floors beneath the boilers were found faulty and the electricity started going out.³⁵⁹ As the issues escalated,

³⁵⁵ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 241, fo. Building committee, minutes, 20 Aug., 1893. For domestic service in this period, see Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society since 1750* (1986; London, 2005), pp. 79-86.

³⁵⁶ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 239, fo. Robert Goelet, Goelet—White, 29 Aug, 1893.

³⁵⁷ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 240, fo. Haven G.G., White—Haven, 8 Jun., 1893.

³⁵⁸ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 241, fo. Metropolitan Club History, Ass. Sec.—MMW, 9 Dec., 1895.

³⁵⁹ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 241, fo. Metropolitan Club History, Club—MMW, 15 Oct., (electricity); Ass. Sec.—MMW, 27 Oct., 1896 (boiler).

so did the tone of the correspondence. Eventually, Haven laid blame directly on the architects, for their ‘failure...to see that the proper materials and workmanship had been provided by the contractors.’ He demanded that McKim, Mead & White cover the cost of repairs. The architects balked at the imputation of negligence, especially coming as it did from a layman. They punched back with the full professional weight of the firm, questioning the committee’s ability to ‘understand how very slight indeed the variation from proper workmanship or materials were, or that they appreciate how entirely technical are the matters involved, and how absolutely valueless any opinion in the matter is unless backed up by expert knowledge and judgement.’³⁶⁰ No longer on first name terms, this missive was signed simply McKim, Mead & White.

Conclusion

In some ways the powerful businessmen on the Metropolitan Club’s board of governors were more to blame than their architects for the delayed opening of the clubhouse. In 1893, while the complex work of decorating the club rooms was underway, the economy crashed. The project was soon bedevilled by labour problems. First, McKim, Mead & White received a formal complaint from a plasterer’s association, citing the use of foreign workers at a time when jobs were scarce.³⁶¹ The complaint referred to the decorator Gilbert Cuel’s French assistants, who themselves grew disgruntled and caused trouble by urinating on the unfinished floors of the clubhouse.³⁶² Even more damaging was the predicament of the undelivered marble fireplaces.³⁶³ They had arrived in New York by ship but a labour strike left them stranded in port. White finally hatched a plan to have them transported by non-union workers under the cloak of darkness, which worked but only after serious delays.

³⁶⁰ NYHS, PR42 (MMW), box 240, fo. Haven, G. G, MMW—G. G. Haven, 9 Jan., 1897.

³⁶¹ Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club*, p. 78; Broderick, *Triumvirate*, p. 359.

³⁶² Broderick, *Triumvirate*, p. 359.

³⁶³ Broderick, *Triumvirate*, pp. 360-61.

In the four years of severe depression that followed 1893, nearly one fourth of the country's railroads went bankrupt and fell into receivership.³⁶⁴ Many of them ended up in the control of Metropolitan Club president J. P. Morgan, enabling him to bring the sort of order to the industry that had mostly eluded him in the 1880s. He consolidated many of the lines that fell under his bank's control and transformed them into trusts, on whose boards he placed himself or one of his partners. The consolidation of the railroads were only the beginning, it turned out. In the opening of the twentieth century, Morgan moved forcefully into mergers and consolidations for manufacturing and other heavy industries. His first major effort in this direction was the organisation of United States Steel in 1898. The bulk of the new corporation was made up of Andrew Carnegie's companies, but some of the difficult negotiations for the remaining smaller companies were undertaken at the Metropolitan Club's library.³⁶⁵

But by that time another Morgan meeting of possibly even greater consequence had already taken place at the Metropolitan Club. In 1895, Morgan reorganised his bank as J. P. Morgan and Company, part of a larger reorganisation of the House of Morgan, which formally transferred power from London to New York. The meeting behind these changes, which brought together the partners of the London, New York, Philadelphia, and Paris offices, some for the first time ever, was held in the clubhouse, likely in the library.³⁶⁶ Here, above the ladies' annexe and looking out over the club's carriageway, Morgan laid out his plan for the new balance of power within his firm and—in a sense—the world's economy. Morgan and New York were, of course, prepared to inherit the power. Not only because he and his allies had laid the necessary economic groundwork, but because they had also simultaneously attended to the social aspect of the new world order they had set out to create. Much of the work behind this new world was, as we have seen, undertaken not in some Wall Street board room but rather in the drafting room of McKim, Mead & White.

³⁶⁴ Carosso, *Investment Banking in America*, p. 40.

³⁶⁵ Porzelt, *Metropolitan Club*, p. 105, 107, 199.

³⁶⁶ Chernow, *House of Morgan*, pp. 64-65.

4

New Women – Old Clubhouse Colony Club

And so at last we had done it, all unconscious of the deeper significance of the achievement...the most luxurious women's club in the world...Its establishment really marked the epoch of that new understanding about women...Women's clubs before had been mostly for what they could do for others. This was for what we would do for ourselves'.³⁶⁷

Florence J. Harriman, Founding President of the Colony Club

If the Metropolitan was a men's a club with a room for women, then the Colony was the first social club for women in New York City.³⁶⁸ Shortly after the Colony's McKim, Mead & White-designed clubhouse opened in 1907, all the doubts of its founding president, Florence J. Harriman, were dispelled when going into dinner one evening at the club (Figure 64). There she bumped into another member, Mrs. Perkins, the mother of many prominent clubmen. 'She was beaming. "I've waited for this evening all my life. I have just telephoned the boys, 'Don't wait [on me for] dinner; I'm dining at my club.' My dear, I've been getting that message for years—now I'm giving it.'" At that point, 'I knew we had won.'³⁶⁹

More often than not founding the Colony really did feel like a battle for Harriman: a battle against public opinion about women's roles outside the home. Ex-United States President Grover Cleveland summed up well the criticism when he remarked, 'A women's club is her home.' Though as Harriman noted in her 1923 memoir, 'this was actually the mildest of [all] the many criticisms hurled

³⁶⁷ LC, MSS24976 (FJHH Papers), box 23, fo.: Early Miscellaneous Speeches and Articles ca. 1912-1932, handwritten document, n.d.

³⁶⁸ Sociability distinguished the Colony from other types of women's clubs of the day, including the large number of middle-class literature clubs. See Karen J. Blair in *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York and London, 1980), pp. 57-71.

³⁶⁹ J. B. Harriman, *From Pinafores to Politics* (New York, 1923), p. 73.

at us'.³⁷⁰ The club, it must be said, inspired a special animus and obsessive attention in the press, not only in New York but in cities around the country. The difficulty with women's clubs, as editorialised by one club periodical several years before the Colony, was two-fold. One was that women belonged at home, with her families, as Cleveland insinuated. Second, women were weak-minded and petty, incapable of taking on the small responsibilities that were necessary for maintaining a congenial association of persons—'the fact that disaster so often attends woman's effort at organization.'³⁷¹ So entrenched was this type of thinking that Princeton alumni were said to have put their own plans for a McKim, Mead & White clubhouse into abeyance, believing they could eventually scoop up the Colony's at a bargain after it shut.³⁷²

And yet, as the previous chapters attest, when clubmen needed women they were only too happy to ignore these dictums. Harvard Club members, we will recall, greatly depended on their wives to oversee the decoration of the club rooms in Harvard House. The Metropolitan Club founders, in the last case study, entirely excluded women from the design process, even though the question that preoccupied them most was how to create room for women in the clubhouse. Women, in other words, were invited inside when it served a particular purpose. For Harvard alumni, women's involvement cultivated a specific idea about the clubhouse as a home for a family-like community of alumni. In the Metropolitan, it was women's leisure and consumption that interested clubmen. Women, then, were crucial to these clubs' contributions to the invention and refinement of upper-class identity. But it was hardly rewarding or enjoyable work for members' wives and daughters.

As we shall see, Harriman, who belonged to one of the innermost circles of New York's high society, approached the Colony, from the outset, with a sense of injustice about her lack of power as a woman. She chose the club as vehicle to obtain a degree of freedom because, simply put, clubs were ubiquitous enough in elite life that one could be organised without much trouble or protest from

³⁷⁰ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 72.

³⁷¹ *The Club* (April 1894), Union League Number, p. 32.

³⁷² Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 73.

friends and family. The Colony, in fact, enjoyed the support of several prominent clubmen we have encountered in earlier chapters.

But if the Colony was organised on the pattern of a gentlemen's club, with the help of clubmen, its inspiration came from elsewhere, from middle-class women, who had enjoyed far more success in their interactions with men's institutions. Middle-class women had adopted two male institutions in particular, settlement houses and colleges, and had used them to move into the world and to lead lives outside male control.³⁷³ It was around these institutions that the phenomenon of New Women, that is, economically independent women, had developed in the United States in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It was thus against the background of Harriman's sense of dissatisfaction with her allotment as an upper-class woman and a desire, vague at first, to replicate some of the autonomy that middle-class New Women enjoyed that she embarked on the Colony project.

Unlike settlement houses and women's colleges, but similarly to gentlemen's clubs however, the experience of building the Colony Clubhouse turned out to be far more consequential than the experience of actually using it. Although there were certainly moments inside the completed building, it was rather the responsibility and the freedom associated with the design and construction that proved most emancipatory for Harriman and several other society women who joined her in founding the club. It provided them with an opportunity to sharpen their sense of themselves, to enter into the outside world, and allowed them to gain experience in institution building that many, including Harriman, would later parlay into careers as philanthropists and reformers. The gentlemen's club, surprisingly, held feminist potential and could be used for strikingly different ends than anything we have seen thus far. In the history of the Colony, then, we can find new explanations for how elite women emerged as upper-class actors in their own right, how they could transition from supporting

³⁷³ My thinking on middle-class New Women's institutions, especially in relation to place, has been influenced by Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighbourhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), especially pp. 151-205; Helen L. Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from the Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Boston, 1986); Estelle B. Freedman, 'Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930', *Feminist Studies*, 5 (1979), pp. 512-29; Linda K. Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *The Journal of American History*, vol. 75, no. 1 (June 1988), pp. 9-39; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 243-96; and Judith Schwarz, *Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village, 1912-1940*, revised edn (Norwich, VT, 1986).

roles performing ‘vicarious leisure’ and as vectors of ‘conspicuous consumption’ for their husbands and fathers into reform movement leaders, who helped ensure that the Progressive Era accommodated rather than subverted ruling-class interests.³⁷⁴

The Colony Club Idea and Founders

The initial idea for the Colony Club came to Florence J. Harriman (1870-1967) in summer 1902, when she and her husband, along with the rest of New York society, were in Newport for the season. Harriman, born Florence Jaffray Hurst, the daughter of shipping magnate F. W. J. Hurst and his wife Caroline, was raised in Gilded Age New York among that inner circle of plutocratic society, the Four Hundred. Both her father and grandfather were close friends of J. P. Morgan and Harriman was educated with his daughters, Anne and Ruth, on the top floor of the Morgan residence on Madison Avenue, not far from where the Colony Club would later go up. ‘Mrs. Lockwood kept private classes there...where a few families sent their daughters for what I now see was a very sketchy education’.³⁷⁵ The Morgan sisters would later help her found the Colony. Harriman’s debut into society, in the late 1880s, coincided with the height of Mrs. William Astor’s reign. ‘Her sceptre she held firmly, absolutely, and charmingly.’³⁷⁶ In 1888, Harriman married J. Borden Harriman, a sportsman, financier, and a cousin of railway magnate E. E. Harriman; and became, by her own admission, a society wife. ‘The best thing in the world is creative work, but I did not know that then’, Harriman confessed. ‘What I did know was that being busy was tremendously important.’³⁷⁷ She made do with her ‘baby, the house, the garden, the horses, [and] a husband who smiled at my hobbies. Books, porcelain, old glass and furniture—I collected them all’.³⁷⁸ The Colony changed things. In the years after she opened the clubhouse on Madison Avenue, Harriman rose to become a leading figure in the women’s suffrage movement, a powerful voice in the Democratic Party, appointed to a number of government posts,

³⁷⁴ Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, pp. 328-29.

³⁷⁵ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 16.

³⁷⁶ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 50.

³⁷⁷ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 69.

³⁷⁸ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 71.

including United States' Minister to Norway during World War Two. Harriman was not alone among the club founders in this respect. The lives of several others, notably Anne Morgan, also underwent remarkable transformation as a result of the club.

It was usually Harriman's husband who returned to New York for business during their summers in Newport; but in 1902, she also had business back in the city. The couple were renovating their townhouse and she planned to check in on the work. One evening, while the tennis star Charles MacDonald happened to be staying with them, Harriman announced her plan and asked, in passing, "I can't stay in the mess. What hotel shall I go to—the Waldorf?"—a big luxurious hotel, not far from their house. She was taken aback by her husband's response. "I don't approve of women going to hotels alone, especially large ones." He laid his disapproval down like family law,' she later recalled. "But Bordie"—his nickname, they all had nicknames—"what can women do? Of course, there ought to be a women's club, and we could go to that in the summer, and have parcels sent there and do telephoning." And 'as casually as that, the Colony Club began.' The rest of the evening she, her husband, and their tennis star guest discussed clubs for women.³⁷⁹

The club idea also kept Harriman up that night. The next morning she got up and 'much too early' went to see her friend Kate Brice, daughter of the Ohio senator Calvin Brice. Brice, though barely awake after an all-night ball, took immediately to the idea. Together they went to their friend Ava Astor, the grand dame of New York, who suggested they incorporate an athletic component. They discussed it still further until finally the club had developed 'to be a place' not only 'where women passing through town in summer could find comfortable accommodation', but where they could go 'in winter for rest and recreation.'³⁸⁰ It was, in short, to be a gentlemen's club for women. With the name 'Colony', as one historian of the club has pointed out, 'the founders retained the sense that something new and daring was being undertaken.'³⁸¹

³⁷⁹ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, pp. 73-4.

³⁸⁰ LC, MSS24976 (FJHH Papers), box 10, fo.: Colony Club 1916, 'Talk on the Colony Club', n.d.

³⁸¹ A. F. Cox, *The History of the Colony Club 1903-1984* (New York, 1984), p. 29.

The Colony officially came into existence in 1903, and the founding board of governors in 1905. The board, which was composed of 20 women, including Florence J. Harriman as president, features prominently in this chapter because it also acted as the club's de facto building committee. The Colony never formed a conventional building committee of five members, like those we have seen in previous case studies, perhaps because doing so would have restricted participation to just a fraction of the group. The size and complexity of the clubhouse was a rare opportunity in the women's lives and many took full advantage, becoming deeply involved in the design and construction.

As this unorthodox approach to the building begins to suggest, the Colony founders were interested in experiencing something new and different. In fact, a brief consideration of their biographies reveals something even more radical, and that was a desire to lead lives outside those dictated by their gender and class and, most of all, outside male control. In this respect they resembled middle-class New Women who founded and worked at women's college and settlement houses. The first indication of this is that half of the 20 founders were unmarried when the club was formed in 1902, though all were of marrying age, at a time when only ten percent of American women did not marry.³⁸² Even more striking is that several founders lived openly with female companions. The more well-known of these relationships was Elisabeth Marbury and Anne Morgan, who lived together in New York and Paris, along with a third woman, the club's decorator, Elsie de Wolfe, whose work is considered in detail below.³⁸³ As might be imagined, this ménage à trois scandalised the Morgan family. Yet it was, on some level, tolerated.³⁸⁴ Another founder, Helen R. Benedict, lived with her companion

³⁸² The unmarried founders were Helen T. Barney, Kate Brice, Mary Harriman, Elisabeth Marbury, Eunice Ives, Anne Morgan, Ruth Morgan, Mary Parsons, Florence Rhett, and Helen Julia Hay. Four of these women subsequently married: Benedict (1905), Mary Harriman (1910), Hay (1902), and Ives (1903). 'TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE', *Town and Country* (8 April 1905), p. 19; 'SOCIETY OUT OF DOORS', *The Washington Post* (22 November 1909), p. 7; 'A YOUNG SCULPTOR WINS E.H. HARRIMAN'S DAUGHTER', *NYT* (8 May 1910), p. SM6; 'ELIZABETH MARBURY DEAD; WAR PATRIOT', *The Washington Post* (23 January 1933), p. 2; 'SOCIETY AT HOME AND ABROAD', *NYT* (5 April 1903); 'ASSOCIATES MOURN MISS RUTH MORGAN', *NYT* (14 March 1934), p. 22; 'TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE', *Town and Country* (16 July 1904), p. 19; 'THE WHITNEY-HAY WEDDING', *NYT* (5 February 1902), p. 9; see also Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, p. 253.

³⁸³ A. A. Lewis, *Ladies and Not-So-Gentle Women* (New York, 2001).

³⁸⁴ The extraordinary wealth of the Colony founders allowed them to defy social conventions that few others could, even in elite society, where homosexuality was little tolerated. G. Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World, 1890-1940* (New York, 1994), especially, pp. 44-5.

Jessie Mann in Old Westbury, Long Island, whilst her husband, the architect Thomas Hastings, continued seeing other men.³⁸⁵

Another, almost universal, characteristic that distinguished the Colony founders was a desire to escape the routines of leisure-class life. Marbury was particularly remarkable in this regard. She was the leading theatrical agent of her day and a pioneer in the profession. She built her business into an international agency with offices in New York, London, and Paris, and represented much of the leading talent of the day including George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde, and P. G. Wodehouse.³⁸⁶ Another founder, Mary Irvin, became involved in progressive causes long before other members of her class.³⁸⁷ A different but no less remarkable example was founder Mary Harriman, who managed her family's farm after the death of her father, which she expanded to 600 employees. The *New York Times* described her as 'particularly free from the foibles that are popularly attributed to the daughters of the rich' and noted that 'she showed considerable indifference' to her debut into society and 'developed an aversion to the doings of the "Four Hundred"'.³⁸⁸

This aversion was widely shared among the Colony founders. Their most common grievance with the Four Hundred was its intellectual vapidness.³⁸⁹ In addition to attending debutant balls and polo tournaments, they also spent time, pre-Colony, joining and founding intellectual societies, which hosted lectures, discussions, and on occasion, staged theatrical productions, all in the parlours of members' homes. Among some of the most active clubbers in this regard were Florence J. Harriman and Margaret Damrosch, who together organised the Tuesday Club 'for intellectual treats' as a sort of a junior version to the older, Knickerbocker-dominated Thursday Eve Club.³⁹⁰ Damrosch, who was married to the director of the New York Symphony Orchestra, was probably the most intellectually inclined of the Colony founders. Indeed, she went on to chair the Colony's first art & literature

³⁸⁵ Broderick, *Triumvirate*, p. 368.

³⁸⁶ E. Marbury, *My Crystal Ball* (London, 1924), especially p. 80.

³⁸⁷ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 76; 'AID FOR POOR CONSUMPTIVES', *NYT* (27 April 1894), p. 8.

³⁸⁸ 'A YOUNG SCULPTOR WINS E.H. HARRIMAN'S DAUGHTER', *NYT*, (8 May 1910), SM6.

³⁸⁹ F. C. Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, and Los Angeles* (Chicago, 1982), pp. 269-70.

³⁹⁰ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 55.

committee. But in the days before this, Damrosch could also be found frequenting the 100 Club, said to be reserved for ‘the most clever and talented people in society’, among them another future Colony founder, Florence Rhett.³⁹¹ Rhett was the long-time companion of the Morgan sisters, Anne and Ruth, and all three participated in the Omnibus Club, a further intellectual society, this one notable for its sprinkling of distinguished professionals.³⁹² Rhett, Anne, and Ruth were, finally, known for presiding over an alternative set to the Four Hundred, which centred on the Morgan’s box at the Metropolitan Opera.³⁹³ At a time when elite society was openly anti-intellectual, such activity, especially for women, verged on radical.³⁹⁴

Many of the Colony founders, then, in their relationships with other women or in their desire to be productive and intellectual shared a great deal in common with middle-class New Women. Like college women and settlement house workers, the Colony founders were dissatisfied with the status quo. They wanted an institution—a New Women’s institution—of their own which would allow them to lead lives outside the home. And just as middle-class women before them had reached out and adopted the settlement house and the college from middle-class men and remade them into New Women’s institutions, upper-class women now looked to do something similar to the gentlemen’s club.

The Colony Clubhouse

The Colony Club’s board of governors took up the work of designing and constructing the clubhouse through its different standing committees. They were the athletics, house, literature & art, and executive committees, the last of which was chaired by Florence J. Harriman, who worked closely with Stanford White on the floor plans. But even here the Colony defied clubhouse building conventions. More than one committee divided its work between its individual members who then proceeded independently

³⁹¹ ‘TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE’, *Town and Country* (26 April 1902), p. 21.

³⁹² ‘TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE’, *Town and Country* (10 January 1903), p. 18.

³⁹³ ‘TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE’, *Town and Country* (5 April 1902), p. 22.

³⁹⁴ For elite anti-intellectualism, see Karabel, *The Chosen*, p. 19-23. Edith Wharton’s account of how her family received her literary success is also illuminating in *A Backward Glance* (New York and London, 1934), pp. 143-44.

and corresponded directly with McKim, Mead & White. As such, the Colony Clubhouse presented serious challenges for the architects and their assistants.

In light of all this it is not difficult to imagine a deterioration of relations between architects and clients like the one in the Metropolitan Club also unfolding during the Colony Club project. Surprisingly, however, work on the clubhouse progressed without major incidents and relations between McKim, Mead & White and the Colony founders remained strong throughout. The reason for this was that the architects had modified their working practices in two important respects since we last saw them at work more than a decade ago. First, McKim, Mead & White's relationship with clients had become more formalised. In 1894—significantly, in the same year the Metropolitan Clubhouse opened—the architects introduced 15 office rules, printed on large placard, which among other things barred clients from entering the drafting room or from approaching desks elsewhere in the office (Figure 65). Notably, the rule about where clients could and could not go was the only one to be given special emphasis, with the additional line in large bold text, **'This rule must be followed absolutely.'**³⁹⁵ Among the 15 office rules is also evidence of how much more structured the firm's partnerships with general contractors had become since the Metropolitan days, which is the second major change we see in its working practices. General contractors were still new to the building industry and McKim, Mead & White's rupture with the Metropolitan founders stemmed in part from the uncertainty surrounding the position of the project's contractor, David H. King, Jr., who was, like the architects, also a charter member of the Metropolitan.³⁹⁶ In the case of the Colony, the role of the contractor vis-à-vis the architects was clearly delineated and communication between them was open and constant. The Colony's contractor, Jacob and Youngs, kept the architects abreast of the building's progress with daily typed notecard-sized reports, which often included block quotations from its correspondence with subcontractors (Figure 66). The firm of McKim, Mead & White, for its part, discouraged its own employees from communicating directly with subcontractors unless absolutely

³⁹⁵ NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box: flat files, fo.: FF 81, 'Office Rules'.

³⁹⁶ M. N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, 1999), pp. 154-58.

necessary, in which cases they were required to send a detailed report to the general contractor specifying what orders had been given.³⁹⁷ In effect, this system of rules streamlined the process of design and construction, insulated the firm from its clients, and made effective use of its general contractor. Put differently, McKim, Mead & White had organised itself against a repeat of the Metropolitan Club incident and could take up the Colony Club project with confidence.

No less significant for maintaining good relations were the personal connections that existed between the Colony Club founders and McKim, Mead & White. In fact, the architects enjoyed even more connections with these clients than for any previous clubhouse project examined in this study. And although the exact details surrounding the firm's appointment remain unknown, as the Colony's archive is restricted, these connections are a strong indication of why McKim, Mead & White were selected in the first place. At the time of the firm's appointment in 1905, Stanford White had been working separately on residential projects for two Colony founders. The first was a New York townhouse for Helen Hay Whitney and her husband, begun in 1900. The project would come close to costing a million dollars, paid for by her husband's uncle, Oliver H. Payne, as a wedding present.³⁹⁸ White, who knew Payne well and fretted about breaking the news to him, received a reassuring note from Helen, promising to write her uncle-in-law 'such a letter about the house that he will forgive you anything.'³⁹⁹ Suffice to say, she was pleased. The second Colony founder for whom White had already worked was Ava Astor and her husband in 1902-04, designing a fine one-storey playhouse at their country estate at Ferncliff in Rhinebeck, New York. The pavilion, which resembled the Grand Trianon at Versailles, incorporated squash courts, indoor tennis, and a swimming pool.⁴⁰⁰ Astor was, as we have seen, the first to suggest the Colony incorporate an athletic component and later served as the Club's first athletic committee chairman.

³⁹⁷NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box: flat files, fo.: FF 81, 'Office Rules'.

³⁹⁸ Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 261.

³⁹⁹ Quoted in Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 262.

⁴⁰⁰ Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 265.

White also enjoyed strong working relationships with the fathers of two other Colony Club founders, which helps explain why he became the lead partner on the project, especially since both men were formerly involved as members of the men's advisory committee for the club. The first was the committee's chairman, J. P. Morgan, who was, as we already know, the father of not one but two Colony founders, as well as a family friend of Florence J. Harriman's. In her memoir, Harriman recalled making frequent trips to see the financier in his famous Madison Avenue library for advice. Though what passed between them goes unmentioned, it could hardly not have touched on his experience founding the Metropolitan Club. In any case, Harriman seems to have felt genuinely indebted to him. 'Mr. Morgan was godfather and general adviser to the Colony Club', was how she put it.⁴⁰¹ Morgan donated money as well as time to the project. His gift of \$10,000 'set things going practically', Harriman acknowledged, attracting at least a further \$90,000 in support from various other male relations and friends if not a great deal more. One of them was William C. Whitney, who promised \$25,000 if they 'could build something as large as the Metropolitan [Club]'.⁴⁰² The overall cost of the building came close to \$300,000.⁴⁰³

Although Anne Morgan officially held the title of Colony Club treasurer, perhaps as early as 1905, financial superintendence for the building project rested with Colony founder Helen Alexander's father, Charles C. Barney, the second member of the men's advisory committee who had frequently worked with Stanford White. Barney first hired White to design his New York townhouse, not long after the architect joined McKim, Mead & White in 1879. This was followed some years later by a commission to design the headquarters of his bank, the Knickerbocker Trust Company. The result was a distinctive four-storey building rung with colossal Corinthian columns, the base for a ten-storey tower that was never built.⁴⁰⁴ From his office at the Knickerbocker Trust, Barney kept a close eye on the Colony's building funds, writing regularly to White and his assistants. Strangely, in one such missive

⁴⁰¹ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 16.

⁴⁰² Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 76.

⁴⁰³ Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 44.

⁴⁰⁴ Roth, *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 6, 80, 301-2, 312.

he reveals that the founders had made him building committee chairman, which he described as ‘a perfectly intelligible position’ and one which he accepted ‘to prevent a list of extras coming in at the end.’ But they did come in. ‘I realise the building is theirs. On the other hand, they asked me to act a chairman, in order to keep down expenses as much as possible. This I cannot do, unless I know of any contemplated expense before it is incurred.’⁴⁰⁵ The building was indeed theirs and they were determined to make the most of it.

If the Colony commissioned New York’s most prestigious club architects, it chose a decidedly un-prestigious location to build, at least by gentlemen’s club standards. The founders settled on three lots at 122 Madison Avenue, one mile southeast of that short stretch of West 44th Street, between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, which had now fully emerged as the epicentre of New York clubland, with no less than seven clubs, including the Harvard Club, the first on the block. This midtown location was of special convenience for clubmen, between their downtown offices and uptown homes, not to mention easily accessible via either the elevated railway on Sixth Avenue or by car along the extra-wide thoroughfare of Fifth. The Colony founders, by contrast, chose their club location for its proximity to their houses. Anne Morgan, for example, lived only a few blocks north at her father’s house on the corner of West 37th Street and Madison Avenue, in what today forms part of the Morgan Library & Museum. Several other founders also lived nearby in the fashionable Murray Hill neighbourhood. In sum, though located outside the club district, the Colony Club chose its site based on the same principle of convenience used by gentlemen’s clubs.

This similarity was something the Colony founders took pains to emphasise in one of the many press articles that chronicled their progress on the clubhouse. The Colony was not a ‘shopping club’, one unnamed founder affirmed to a reporter from the *New York Times*, who sat in on a meeting of the board of governors in 1905. The meeting had been organised to approve Stanford White’s floor plans, but there was already speculation that the Colony was struggling and would soon merge, before it had

⁴⁰⁵ NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box 113, fo.: The Colony Club. Knickerbocker Trust Co/Mr. Charles Barney, Barney—McKim, Mead & White, 10 Dec., 1906.

even had a chance to break ground, with the Woman's Club of New York, a shopping club, located at 9 East 46th Street, in the heart of city's premier commercial and entertainment district.⁴⁰⁶ This club was also the first club of its kind in the city, founded in 1901, for out-of-town women in need of somewhere to stay while visiting.⁴⁰⁷ 'The objects of our club and the Woman's Club are so different that a union of the two clubs is out of the question', the same Colony founder continued. 'Our club is intended, primarily, for women living in New York. The other club has as many non-resident members as resident members. We shall have a non-resident list, of course....But we don't mean to allow non-resident members to interfere in the management of the club.' Related to this was the matter of exclusivity, which also differentiated the two clubs. 'For the present our policy is rather one of exclusion. Getting rid of undesirable members, once admitted, is a difficult and disagreeable task. We are anxious to avoid it.'⁴⁰⁸ The point, it bears repeating, was that the Colony was to be a place for sociability, like a gentlemen's club, not a temporary base for out-of-town shoppers.

Architecture was also used to emphasize this point. Though designed in the colonial revival style, the Colony's building nevertheless retained the distinctive palazzo block form of the ideal gentlemen's clubhouse (Figure 67). We have, of course, seen McKim, Mead & White use colonial revival before in the design of New York's Harvard House. But there the idiom was intended to evoke the architecture of Harvard University. Here it alluded to the gender of Colony members. Since at least the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, which featured the popular colonial kitchen with period recipes and female servers in eighteenth-century costume, there had grown an equivalence in popular imagination between the perceived purity of this simpler, bygone era and the moral superiority of women.⁴⁰⁹ In the early 1890s, three lineage-based societies for women were founded—the Colonial Dames of America, the National Society of Colonial Dames in America, and the Daughters of the American Revolution—and headquartered in historic houses or colonial revival buildings. All three,

⁴⁰⁶A. Aaron, 'Ladies Mile', in K. Jackson (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of New York*, p.650; J. E. Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890-1915* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2011), especially pp. 68-75.

⁴⁰⁷ *Club Women of New York 1910-1911*, ed. I B. Roberts (New York, 1910), pp. 124-25.

⁴⁰⁸ 'Colony Club Formed by Society Women a Very Exclusive Organization', *NYT* (7 May 1905), p. SM6.

⁴⁰⁹ C. Betsky, 'Inside the Past: The Interior and the Colonial Revival in American Art and Literature, 1860-1914', in Alan Axelrod (ed.), *The Colonial Revival in America*, (New York and London, 1985), pp. 241-77.

moreover, pursued historic preservation missions, alongside their interests in ancestry.⁴¹⁰ But those clubhouses were chosen or designed with historical authenticity in mind. Whereas the Colony was, in fact, rather inventive. Into a palazzo block mould, Stanford White poured a highly original and fairly elaborate pattern of brickwork. He was said to have based it on examples in Annapolis, which he took a group of Colony founders to see on a special trip.⁴¹¹

A similar balancing act of tradition and invention also played out inside the clubhouse. On the one hand, the Colony Club's floor plan was overwhelmingly patterned on the circuit programme of the London clubhouse type, which we have seen McKim, Mead & White use ever since the Century Association (Figure 68). But there was also a good degree of variation, also, like in McKim, Mead & White's older clubhouses. The principal ways the Colony plan adhered to the standard London and New York type was its organisation around a central hall and to some extent a circuit programme of rooms. This included the assembly room (Figure 69), a double-height space which ran the full length of the Madison Avenue front and recalled the large lounges and libraries in earlier McKim, Mead & White clubhouses as well as those they were modelled after in London.

The Colony Club, like the Metropolitan Club before it, had a second entrance off the street, known as the 'strangers' entrance'. 'Men will not be excluded from the building', one of the founders was quoted as saying in the same *New York Times* article noted above. 'That would be foolish. But they will not be admitted to the club. Members who wish to entertain men can do so in a reserved part of the building reached by a separate entrance.'⁴¹² The separate entrance led to a staircase which accessed the first-floor assembly room and second-floor strangers' dining room directly above. Notably, shortly after the clubhouse opened, the main dining room, also on the second floor, was photographed without a communal table (Figure 72). If this was indeed the case it would mark an important departure from

⁴¹⁰ P. C. Metcalf, 'Creating a "Dignified Home": Richard Henry Dana Jr. and the New York Headquarters of the National Society of Colonial Dames, 1928-1930', in R. G. Wilson (ed.), *Re-Creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival* (Charlottesville, VA & London, 2006), pp. 269-83.

⁴¹¹ The brickwork was criticized by at least one contemporary as 'immoral', and Leland Roth has added, 'If the brickwork was not actually immoral, it was certainly unconventional, and in this, White may have been making a conscious reference to the club's flouting of social conventions'. *McKim, Mead & White*, p. 272.

⁴¹² 'Colony Club Formed by Society Women a Very Exclusive Organization'.

a more intimate style of club sociability, as seen, for example, in the first chapter on the Century Association.⁴¹³

But even if Colony members interacted less with one another compared to Centurions the distinction between members and non-members was just as great in the Colony Clubhouse as in other New York clubs. Indeed, the Colony's dexterous segregation of strangers recalled the clever arrangement in the Metropolitan Club, which contained a strangers' suite, with a separate staircase and designated restaurant, not to mention the women's restaurant in the rear annexe, which also had a separate entrance. The divisions in the Colony's building, then, were only slightly less elaborate than what we have seen elsewhere.

Another major feature of the Colony Clubhouse that recalled the New York club type were the abundant health and fitness facilities. A gymnasium, running track, and squash courts were appended to the rear of the building in much the same way McKim, Mead & White had handled the art gallery for the Century Association and the women's annexe for the Metropolitan Club. Though neither the Century nor the Metropolitan had much in the way of health and fitness facilities, they were increasingly becoming the norm in New York clubhouses. For instance, squash courts and a gymnasium were added to New York's Harvard House by McKim, Mead & White in two expansion campaigns, the first of which was completed around the time as the Colony plans were taking shape in 1905. Another McKim, Mead & White clubhouse in New York for the University Club, completed in 1901, boasted a swimming pool in the basement. The Colony's facilities, which also extended into the basement, rivalled anything yet built in New York (Figure 70, Figure 71). Here was an even larger pool than the University's and a fully outfitted spa, which was, as all of this suggests, very much in line with the general trend in New York club life towards the amalgamation of its athletic and social elements. But it was exceptional in that it now existed for clubwomen as well as clubmen.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹³ Further research is needed in the project records at New-York Historical Society to confirm whether a communal table was ever purchased for the clubhouse.

⁴¹⁴ J. D. Jarvis and R. G. Wettan, 'Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915', *Journal of Sport History* 3 (1976), pp. 45-63.

Harriman and her executive committee carefully shaped every aspect of this plan as they worked with Stanford White to finalise the drawings over winter 1905. Her surviving letters to the architect reveal the extent of their input. In one particularly substantial letter to White, following up from a telephone conversation—‘In case I may have forgotten something’—Harriman reiterated the committee’s requests in list form, noting as well some of the estimated savings, before ending with an appeal to modify the arrangement for strangers:

Also, they [the executive committee] wish the entrance to the strangers’ room from the private entrance, and the present door to the strangers’ room placed nearer the vestibule. With these changes they hope you will keep figures as near Mr. Barney’s figures as possible. I am too sorry that we are all being so annoying to you, especially as I am sure that your point of view is the right one.

May we have the plans as early as possible Monday morning so that we can go over them before the meeting...⁴¹⁵

Besides confirming the founders’ involvement in some of the most interesting areas of the clubhouse, Harriman’s letter is also a striking illustration of the challenges she faced exercising effective authority over the project as a woman.⁴¹⁶ Her juggling supplication and assertiveness takes up a good deal of the letter, beginning with the excuse that she may have forgotten something over the telephone, the concession that of course his point of view was the correct one, but even so could he send the revised drawings right away. Still, she felt that White had been something more than just their architect on the clubhouse. ‘He was our instructor in architecture.’⁴¹⁷

The clubhouse was indeed an education and wherever they could the founders turned the process of building into opportunities for learning. Another example of this was the founders’ work acquiring equipment for the clubhouse, from exercise apparatuses for the gymnasium to various new technologies for the kitchens, all of which was thoroughly investigated. In outfitting the gymnasium, Anne Morgan shopped around, making enquires and soliciting advice, before settling on one manufacturer and placing an order. She met, for instance, with Elizabeth Burchanel, one of the

⁴¹⁵ NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box 113, fo.: Colony Club Members/Committee/Insurance/Inspection, Harriman—White, n.d.

⁴¹⁶ G. Sutherland, *Search of the New Woman: Middle-Class Women and Work in Britain, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 150.

⁴¹⁷ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 78.

assistant secretaries for the Girls' Branch of the Public Schools Athletic League, who recommended several pieces of apparatus but also followed up by letter to say that she did 'not remember any climbing ropes mentioned, and they are very necessary!'⁴¹⁸ This was one of Morgan's first interactions with a middle-class social reformer, a group she would later become deeply involved with in New York. When Morgan finally requested an estimate from the gymnasium outfitters, the Narragansett Machine Company of Providence, the company's agent replied that the Club's order, which he estimated at nearly \$1,000, could be fulfilled well before the date she had asked. 'Our ordinary contracts are put in in much less time than you are giving us; the Jacob Riis Settlement'—named after the photographer who brought public attention to New York's slums—'just furnished having been finished three weeks' time from date of order, and the St. George's Girls' Club...' the world of middle-class settlement houses, in other words, where Morgan would soon become active, thanks to her experience on the Colony project.⁴¹⁹

Someone else who can be said to have received their initial push and education thanks to the Colony was the club's decorator, Elsie de Wolfe (1865-1950). The clubhouse launched her career as the first professional decorator in the United States (Figure 72, Figure 73, Figure 74, Figure 75). De Wolfe was the companion of club founder Elisabeth Marbury, who also served as the Colony's first house committee chairman, beginning long before the clubhouse had actually opened. It was probably this connection more than anything that helped de Wolfe secure the commission, though her biographer relates that the founders were reluctant about giving it to someone so inexperienced and that they only acquiesced after White insisted on it. 'Give it to Elsie, and let the girl alone! *She knows more than any of us.*'⁴²⁰ De Wolfe, in fact, worked within (and significantly refined) a movement in upper-class interior design that had been developing since the 1870s and 1880s and which we have glimpsed evolving through the case studies. That is, a movement towards a greater simplicity and severity of

⁴¹⁸ NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box 113, fo.: Colony Club Members/Committee/Insurance/Inspection, Burchanel—Morgan, 7 May, 1906.

⁴¹⁹ NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box 113, fo.: Colony Club Members/Committee/Insurance/Inspection, Narragansett Machine Co.—Morgan, 6 Nov., 1906.

⁴²⁰ J. S. Smith, *Elsie de Wolfe: A Life in the High Style* (New York, 1982), p. 104.

form, away from the cluttered Victorian interior, and now, in the Colony, the inclusion of lighter pieces, combining both later eighteenth-century English and French design.⁴²¹ De Wolfe's work for the Colony was a watershed moment in design history, not only because it launched a notable career but also because it helped solidify an upper-class American aesthetic that continues in some form today.⁴²²

The Colony Club, then, was a variation on a theme we have seen before, a gentlemen's clubhouse tailored to fit the particular needs of the client. It was designed by the preeminent New York club architects, McKim, Mead & White, who specialised in doing precisely that, in making the club form *fit* the client, no matter who they were. The Colony was not, it is true, located in clubland proper, nor was the façade designed in the Renaissance classical style like the major exemplars in London and New York City. It was, nonetheless, cube-like in form and villa-like in plan, what Henry-Russell Hitchcock would recognise as the 'club style'.⁴²³ Its separate entrance for non-members and facilities for staying fit and healthy had, moreover, become part and parcel of club life in New York. The Colony Club was, in short, a gentlemen's club—for women—and no one, not the architects, not the founders, disputed this fact. They were, in fact, forthright about the prototype when dealing with the press. 'The architects say that the Colony Club is more diversely complete in arrangement than any men's club in America', remarked the *New York Times*, just as the building broke ground in spring 1905.⁴²⁴ Later, when the clubhouse started to emerge from its scaffolding, the *Washington Post* excitedly confirmed for its readers that the building was indeed 'a real imitation of the man's club'.⁴²⁵

The Colony Club as Settlement House?

⁴²¹ Smith, *Elsie de Wolfe*, pp. 102-12.

⁴²² Many of today's blue-chip decorators can trace themselves back through three or four generations of mentorship to de Wolfe, mainly through her student Albert Hadley. 'Décor Has a Family Reunion', *NYT* (24 November 2005).

⁴²³ H-R. Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (New Haven, 1954), p. 175.

⁴²⁴ 'Colony Club Formed by Society Women a Very Exclusive Organization'.

⁴²⁵ 'Exclusive Club for Women: New York Society Leader Launches Organisation for the Elect', *The Washington Post*, (29 November 1906), p. 1.

In March 1907, Florence J. Harriman, at the age of 37, gave the first speech of her life at a dinner thrown by the Colony Club founders for their families, before opening the clubhouse to members. She had never been so nervous. ‘For days and days before the night of the dinner, I began learning by heart what I intended saying. I followed the cook into the kitchen and tried it on her....My husband said to me on the way to the club, “Everyone in the house knows your speech as well as you do. If you get stuck, I’ll finish.”’ At one point she did get stuck. “I’ve forgotten what comes next,” I said frankly, and looked at my notes.’ Later in life, as a leader in the National Civic Federation, the Consumers’ League, and the sole woman member of the Federal Industrial Relations Commission, and other organisations, she developed a better style. ‘It is fatal, I think now, to learn speeches by heart. The only way in the world for me to manage is to write out what I want to say and make myself perfectly familiar with the gist, put four or five headings on a card, and on the night of the speech, to tumble it out in whatever words the moment and the audience inspire me with.’⁴²⁶

We can, however, read the words of her first speech. There she declared that women had a role to play in American life. She spoke of the seminars, classes, and exhibitions to be held in the clubhouse for Colony Club members, as well as the simple but profound value the building would have in expanding the number and types of interactions women could have.⁴²⁷ Even so, she remarked later in her memoir, she and other founders were reluctant to open the clubhouse. ‘I am afraid...we were just the least bit selfish about disliking to turn our club over to the membership at large. It had been our responsibility and plaything too long.’⁴²⁸ Perhaps they sensed that the Colony’s most exciting and fulfilling days as a New Women’s institution were about to end, as soon as they opened the doors, and invited the members inside.

Nonetheless, the Colony Club founders still experimented with using the clubhouse like a women’s college and a settlement house. Although the architecture was mostly that of a gentlemen’s clubhouse, its early uses were anything but. As Harriman indicated in her dinner speech, educational

⁴²⁶ See also Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, pp. 81-2.

⁴²⁷ Reproduced in Cox, *Colony Club*, pp. 9-10.

⁴²⁸ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 81.

uses were foremost in the founders' minds. They even went so far as to cover the entrance fees of 'two impecunious women much desired on the enrolment book', like college scholarships. The idea was 'any woman with proper requirements of culture, irrespective of the size of her bank account...may be admitted', the founders claimed.⁴²⁹ Thus the two impecunious members were able to enjoy a programme of talks and lectures far more ambitious than any men's club, as outlined by Harriman,

Here every Tuesday afternoon there will be an opportunity the consideration of something worthwhile.

In the first week of the month, a lecture on a literary topic by someone qualified to speak with the highest authority on his or her particular subject.

The following week a conference to discuss the various problems of the day in politics and social science.

On the third Tuesday we have planned to have loan exhibitions of laces, miniatures, bindings, etc., and in the last week of each month, we hope to have music of the best sort, pox on music.⁴³⁰

All of this planned before the clubhouse had even opened. Thus the club was quickly put into service as an intellectual centre in the lives of upper-class women. It expanded and formalised the intellectual societies that were such a strong feature of the founders' early biographies. For a generation who were denied a college education and were, like Harriman, recipients of only a 'very sketchy' type of any education, the Colony served a crucial purpose. Tellingly, Harriman later spoke with pride about the fact that the endowment campaign for the all-women's college in Massachusetts, Wellesley, was inaugurated there—though the records of the college itself are mute as to the Colony's involvement.⁴³¹ For the founders' daughters and granddaughters' generation places like Wellesley became matter of fact, but the Colony came first.

⁴²⁹ B. D. Knobe, 'The New York Women's Colony Club', *Harper's Bazaar*, vol. 40, iss. 4 (April 1906), p. 345.

⁴³⁰ Reproduced in Cox, *Colony Club*, p. 10.

⁴³¹ It more likely that the Colony inaugurated the efforts of the Wellesley alumni chapter of New York City—whose fundraising far outstripped that of any other city or state several times over—in the college's 'One-Million Dollar' appeal in 1913. I am grateful to Wellesley College Archivist Rebecca Goldman for her assistance examining the college's records and for recommending the following literature. *The Wellesley College News* (alumni magazine), XXXIII/6 (March 1915), especially pp. 1-8; J. Glasscock, 'The Development of Wellesley's Financial Resources', in J. Glasscock (ed), *Wellesley College 1875-1975: A Century of Women* (Wellesley, Mass., 1975), pp. 370-386; and H. A. Wood, Jr. 'The Wellesley College Endowment', in J. Glasscock (ed), *Wellesley College 1875-1975: A Century of Women* (Wellesley, Mass., 1975), pp. 387-391. Harriman made the claim in *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 93.

A few very bold efforts were made to utilise the Colony Clubhouse on the lines of a settlement house. One strong indication of that intention was that the club elected Jane Addams, the founder of Hull House in Chicago and the leader of the settlement house movement in America, as one its first honorary members in 1911.⁴³² One of the first events ever organised by the arts & literature committee was a talk by Terence V. Powderly, president of the Knights of Labor, a powerful organisation in the American labour movement, held in the assembly room. The Knights of Labor had once struck palpable fear in the hearts of upper-class New Yorkers, including Harriman, whose father had been knocked unconscious by striking longshoremen in the 1880s. Still, she saw humour in the fact that a talk by the president of the Knights of Labor, ‘the reign of terror of my childhood’, had been organised by the arts & literature committee.⁴³³ In 1909, the assembly room hosted a far more consequential labour event, a fundraiser for the striking shirtwaist factory workers, predominantly young Jewish women, known as Uprising of 20,000.⁴³⁴ Anne Morgan, who became involved with the strike via suffrage organisations, invited a group of strikers to share their experience with Colony members. While Morgan raised a trifling \$1200 and the strikers ultimately rejected a deal she helped orchestrate, the strike, as a whole, became a milestone in the suffrage movement. ‘Put another way,’ historian Ellen Carol Dubois has argued, ‘the outcome of the strike helped to shift the class dynamic of the suffrage movement away from the wage-earning women and toward upper-class leadership.’⁴³⁵ What Dubois and other historians of the American suffrage and labour movements have struggled to account for is the timing of the emergence of upper-class women’s leadership.⁴³⁶ The Colony Clubhouse begins to shed a little light on that mystery.

⁴³² Cox, *Colony Club*, p. 88.

⁴³³ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 77.

⁴³⁴ For an account of the strike, see M. Tax, *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917* (New York, 1980), pp. 229-31.

⁴³⁵ E. C. Dubois, ‘Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Transformation of Class Relation among Woman Suffragists’, in N. Frankel and N. S. Dye (eds), *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington, 2015), p. 175.

⁴³⁶ J. M. Johnson briefly speculates that wealthy women took up leadership roles because of unhappy marriages and expresses bafflement at their lack of education, compared to middle-class organisers, in *Funding Feminism: Monied Women, Philanthropy, and the Women’s Movement, 1870-1967* (Chapel Hill, 2017), pp 21-2, 188-89. J. Neuman considers the conversations and events hosted at the Colony Club as a catalyst for rich women in *Gilded Suffragists: The New York Socialites who Fought for Women’s Rights to Vote* (New York, 2017), pp. 5-22. See also D. Huyssen, *Progressive Inequality: Rich and poor in New York, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 2014), pp. 181-226.

Harriman addressed the matter directly. Running the clubhouse, she recalled in her memoir, ‘removed the mote’ between the upper-class world members inhabited and the emerging one outside of Progressive-Era politics. They relished creating, for example, ‘all sorts of sick-leave benefits and other bits of welfare into the management of the servants of the Club.’ After that, ‘we went out and did our small share of public housekeeping.’⁴³⁷ The clubhouse was a laboratory. Indeed, the addition of a special house rule—which were otherwise identical to those used in gentlemen’s clubs—in 1908, asking that members request permission from the house committee before interviewing club servants (likely about their living and working conditions, something which members may have been reluctant to do with their own butlers and maids), suggests that social reform zeal among members was strong and growing.⁴³⁸

Colony Club founder Elisabeth Marbury, in her position as house committee chairman, also experimented with progressive causes, often ones with a feminist orientation. She was, as we already know, behind the appointment of de Wolfe as the club’s decorator and she leveraged the clubhouse again and again to help other professional women too. She wrote to the office of McKim, Mead & White, for instance, asking that it do everything possible to help a woman journalist writing a piece about the clubhouse for the *New York Herald*.⁴³⁹ Marbury was also likely behind the decision to purchase the club’s fire and liability insurance from a female agent, who made the most of the commission by pressing McKim, Mead & White to bear her services in mind for any future projects.⁴⁴⁰ It seems Marbury’s ambition only grew after the clubhouse opened. Most striking of all was the employment of an all-female clubhouse staff from the cook (who came from the Union League Club) on down.⁴⁴¹ And as head of the house committee, she almost certainly had a hand in the introduction of a special Colony Club bathing costume for use in the clubhouse swimming pool. The *New York*

⁴³⁷ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 89.

⁴³⁸ *Officers, Members, Constitution & By-Laws of the Colony Club* (New York, 1908).

⁴³⁹ NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box 113, fo.: Press Related, Marbury—McKim, Mead & White, 8 Feb., 1905.

⁴⁴⁰ NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box 113, fo.: Colony Club Members/Committee/Insurance/Inspection, (Miss) ? — McKim, Mead & White, 11 Jul., 1907.

⁴⁴¹ ‘COLONY CLUB GIRLS TALKED. THAT’S WHY THEY WERE DISCHARGED IN FAVOR OF MEN’S EMPLOYEES’, *NYT* (25 September 1908), p. 7.

Times reported that the design eschewed the standard skirt, waistband, and collar, which so often became tangled during serious swims. This one, patented and produced exclusively by the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, was one-piece and open at the shoulders. ‘No one seemed to think of the bathing suit on this plan until this summer. Possibly it was because a greater number of women now insist upon a suit in which they can swim. They do not merely want to pose on the beach and look pretty.’⁴⁴²

The Colony’s bathing costume was an important moment in women’s clothing reform, not because the design endured (members were eventually allowed to go nude) but rather because it was reported in the newspapers.⁴⁴³ Indeed, we know as much as we do about life inside the clubhouse because so much was published about it—and in a remarkably positive light. This, we can conclude, was the result of Marbury’s work.⁴⁴⁴ It seems that she used her skill and contacts with the press to influence public perception about the project, just as she did for her celebrity clients. Some of her handiwork can be studied in detail, thanks to her correspondence with McKim, Mead & White about controlling the publicity for the clubhouse (something which the architects usually did for themselves). She insisted, for one, that they forward her any press requests for interior images of the clubhouse, which she duly had copyrighted.⁴⁴⁵ Still, the editor of *Town & Country* tried to circumvent her, ‘but Miss Marbury forestalled this, with her usual business acumen and promptness by cornering the market’, he later confessed.⁴⁴⁶ So while Harriman and Morgan were exploring the potential of the clubhouse as a political base, Marbury was arguably doing something just as interesting and significant. She was using the clubhouse to proselytise an image of women as strong, capable, and independent.

⁴⁴² ‘The New Bathing Suits’, *NYT* (9 August 1908), p. X9.

⁴⁴³ Nude swimming was introduced by Club President Ruth Morgan. Cox, *Colony Club*, p. 12.

⁴⁴⁴ Harriman makes an oblique reference to this in her memoir, noting ‘Marbury worked like a steam-engine and brought all her business experience into our service as Chairman of the House Committee.’ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 76. Much of the press coverage bearing Marbury’s fingerprints echoes the ironic and provocative style used in contemporary New Women fiction, like the serialised short stories that appeared in the journal *The Yellow Wallpaper*. For an excellent overview of this canon, see Elaine Showalter’s introduction to the anthology *Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin-de-Siècle* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1993), vii-xix; also Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, pp. 243-96; and Marbury’s autobiography, *Crystal Ball*.

⁴⁴⁵ NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box 113, fo.: Colony Club Members/Committee/Insurance/Inspection, Marbury—McKim, Mead & White, 23 Feb., 1907.

⁴⁴⁶ NYHS, PR 42 (MMW), box 113, fo.: Press Related, editor—H. K. White, 26 Feb., 1907.

One of the most striking examples of this publicity work can be found in a *New York Times* article, mentioned above, about the 1905 meeting of the board of managers. Here the reporter portrayed the founders as a knowledgeable and collegial working group, as they ‘carefully examined the plans’. No small thing in light of the deep scepticism that existed about women’s abilities to organise and cooperate. The anonymous founder quoted at length in the same article, who must, it is now clear, have been Marbury, went on, moreover, to make some fairly provocative statements about the sale of liquor and cigarettes in the clubhouse. She not only confirmed they would be sold, but added that it was about time Americans stopped pretending women did not smoke. She even seems to have suggested that one of the purposes behind the elegant ground-floor trellis room (de Wolfe’s most famous) was for smoking no less (Figure 75).⁴⁴⁷ But the most extraordinary article about the Colony, and one likely to have been orchestrated if not actually written by Marbury herself, was a fictitious account about life inside the clubhouse, penned by an anonymous male author. The piece, again from the *New York Times*, replete with a cartoon of elegant women playing cards (Figure 76), was supposed to have been based on a letter the author had intercepted from his young niece. In one of the most memorable lines, the niece, who had been given a tour of the club, was quoted as remarking that never before had she seen women so at ease, so unconcerned with making others around them comfortable.⁴⁴⁸

But how accurate was Elisabeth Marbury’s representation of Colony Club life? How much of a feminist culture and progressive politics did the Colony actually hold? It was, after all, a gentlemen’s club in form—an instrument of social exclusion. Elitism and prejudice was always there, always latent. After the labour meetings mentioned above, for the Knights of Labor and the Uprising of 20,000, the assembly room never again hosted anything quite so spectacular or so unabashedly sympathetic to workers. Marbury’s experiment in employing an all-female staff turned out to be just that - an experiment. There was also the case of the Jewish woman Marbury and Morgan put up for

⁴⁴⁷ ‘Colony Club Formed by Society Women a Very Exclusive Organization’.

⁴⁴⁸ ‘A Strenuous Day within the Colony Club’, *NYT* (14 April 1907), p SM9.

membership. After a campaign to drum up support for her candidacy, Morgan eventually removed the woman's name from consideration because of antisemitic sentiment among Colony members, though not before she made her own opinion absolutely clear to the admissions committee. 'It is impossible for me to endorse your attitude about Jews. I consider that every woman whose name comes up for membership at the Colony Club should be judged on individual merits, rather than on race qualifications. There are many Gentile member of the club whom I consider undesirable, and there [are] many Jewish women outside of the club who I feel would be desirable additions to the membership.'⁴⁴⁹ The sympathetic views of Florence J. Harriman, the club president herself, as to the Jewish question did little good.⁴⁵⁰ Eleanor Roosevelt, Harriman's friend, who joined the Colony before becoming first lady, ended up resigning in the 1930s when her friend, Elinor Morgenthau, was not accepted for membership because she was Jewish.⁴⁵¹ By that time Harriman had long since resigned as president, after running afoul of anti-suffrage elements within the club. After 17 years of leading the club, it was made clear to her, in no uncertain terms, that she could not continue in the president's chair whilst publicly fighting for women's suffrage. She chose to resign.⁴⁵²

The fact that the club's president could be pressured into resigning at all begins to suggest why the Colony failed to sustain the feminist culture and progressive politics of its key founders. It was Harriman and the other founders who chose the club's system of governance, which they copied wholesale from the Union Club (to which her father and husband both belonged), including the provision that the club's governors were elected for a period of five years and presidents elected by the governors for one year. This, she later professed, they had consciously chosen over the more conservative system in place at the Knickerbocker Club, which elected its governors and presidents for life. 'We were shy of following the Knickerbocker...so aware were we that a social club for women was a new departure, and we made timid acknowledgement of this by having our arrangements as

⁴⁴⁹ Pierpont Morgan Library Archives, ARC 1215 (Anne Tracy Morgan Papers), box 27, fo.1: copy of letter from Morgan to Eunice (Mrs. Walter Maynard), 29 Dec., 1914. See also Morgan—Twombly, 16 Feb., 1915.

⁴⁵⁰ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 93, 11.

⁴⁵¹ K. Miller, 'Harriman, Florence Jaffray Hurst', in M. H. Beasley and H. Cowan (eds), *The Eleanor Roosevelt Encyclopaedia* (Westport, CT, 2001), p. 228.

⁴⁵² Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 93.

democratic and easily remedied as possible.⁴⁵³ But alongside the president's term length, Harriman also selected and instituted the club's high fees (\$150 for admission and \$100 in annual dues) and the system of admissions that became a rife with antisemitism and an untold number of other discriminatory episodes. This is what gentlemen's clubs had been doing for a century, the very function they had evolved to fulfil in upper-class society. It was not, in other words, a woman's institution. It struggled to reflect women's experiences and thus, in turn, to foster their political goals.⁴⁵⁴ Colleges and settlement houses were open and progressive by their very nature; gentlemen's clubs were closed and conservative.

Radicalised by Design

What these disappointments suggest was that the Colony Club founders were more progressive in some ways than the institution they established. Still, the club was neither a disappointment nor a dead end for them. Rather the experience of designing the building, of making the club form their own, was transformative. It gave them a cause to fight for and weapons to fight with. If settlement house workers and college women were guided by an impulse to create a separate women's sphere, which they managed to do by dedicating themselves to social reform and education—under the banner of 'women's work for the public good'—than the Colony Club founders, in doing something for no one but themselves, and in working alongside professional women, such as Elisabeth Marbury and Elsie de Wolfe, found their own *raison d'être* as upper-class New Women. They became, in short, champions of working women. And they put the club form to use as a residential solution for the efflorescence of women professionals that came to New York in the teens and 1920s, doctors, lawyers,

⁴⁵³ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, p. 80.

⁴⁵⁴ My thinking on this has been influenced by Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's doubts about whether New Women's fiction of the period succeeded in articulating women's experiences. In fact, her suggestion that this work was too preoccupied with inverting the language and imagery used by men to criticise New Women, instead of developing something of their own, could also be applied to the Colony Club as a gentlemen's club, not a women's institution. *Disorderly Conduct*, pp. 265-296.

engineers, and architects. As we shall see below, the Colony Club was merely a stepping stone in these women's lives towards a new type of women's institution building.

One of the most dramatic and well documented examples of how the Colony Club served as a stepping stone for the founders was Anne Morgan's entry into philanthropic work after the clubhouse opened.⁴⁵⁵ In 1910, Morgan became the treasurer of what was then the Working Girls' Vacation Association.⁴⁵⁶ She spearheaded its transformation into the American Women's Association (AWA), whose flagship project was a residential clubhouse in New York for professional women. Over the course of her tenure, the organisation metamorphosed from one that organised cottage vacations for single working women in the city, where each cottage was 'supervised by a matron, who encouraged the girls to form a close filial relationships with her' to one that provided residential solutions for professional women.⁴⁵⁷ In other words, Morgan's involvement saw the organisation shift its focus from working-class women with vacations based on 'gender-based ideology of domesticity, moral guardianship, and sisterhood from the realm of the home and family' to one focused on middle-class women in professional jobs as doctors and lawyers, for example.⁴⁵⁸ What inspired this switch? What was the model for the AWA clubhouse? The answer is the Colony Club.

The AWA clubhouse provided one of the most basic and yet complex needs for the thousands of mostly unmarried, white-collar women working in New York in the opening decades of the twentieth century. It was to this end that Morgan, as the association's treasurer, just as she had been for the Colony, raised more than \$4 million to build the AWA clubhouse on Ninth Avenue, between 57th and 58th, which opened in 1929 (Figure 77). Although in scale it looked nothing like the Colony,

⁴⁵⁵ Morgan's emergence 'from the seclusion of her youth' at age 34 is usually attributed to Marbury's influence rather than the Colony. Though this appears to have relied on Marbury's account of their relationship in her oftentimes boastful autobiography. M. T. Wilson, 'Morgan, Anne Tracy', in B. Sicherman and C. H. Green (eds), *Notable American Women: The Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), pp. 498-99; Marbury, *Crystal Ball*, pp. 148-51.

⁴⁵⁶ A. B. Govenar, M. N. Maack, and C. Barzilăi, *Anne Morgan: Photography, Philanthropy & Advocacy = Photographie, philanthropie & engagement social* (New York, 2016).

⁴⁵⁷ K. L. Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in turn-of-the-century New York City* (Philadelphia, 1986), p. 166.

⁴⁵⁸ Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, p. 165-66.

its list of amenities did. The building featured bedrooms (1,250 of them), a restaurant, meeting rooms, gymnasium, swimming pool, and expansive terraces on the upper floors. The AWA clubhouse was, in short, a greatly enlarged version of the Colony's building, repurposed for professional women. As Morgan put it in one of her many radio addresses for the building campaign, 'It's a big thing for Women to do. It's a big thing for anyone to do. And it will take a bit of doing. But these are New York women. They're used to big things. And they'll see it through.'⁴⁵⁹

It is difficult to imagine how the AWA clubhouse could have ever been built without Morgan first having had experience organising the Colony. Her correspondence with McKim, Mead & White and the various contractors were the embryo for her ideas about women's institutions. As Colony treasurer she carefully researched apparatus for the gym, soliciting advice, for example, from the Public Schools Athletic Association, which may well have marked her first contact with middle-class reformers. But also as treasurer, Morgan's involvement in the clubhouse seems to have reached nearly every crevice of the project. For example, she helped oversee the orders for state-of-the-art technology for the service areas, most of which was usually installed in large hotels and hospitals.

Mary Irvin is another example. She dedicated the better part of her remaining years to setting up the Hotel Irvin for Women in New York, which opened, after her death, in 1924 at 308 West 30th Street, 'for exclusive occupancy by business women'.⁴⁶⁰ But the most illustrative example besides Morgan and Irvin must be Florence J. Harriman. Towards the end of her life Harriman gave plenty of speeches and even published a book about her journey from *Pinafores to Politics* (1923). There was much to write about. She had stepped into the world as a New York socialite, but had travelled the globe and taken several first steps for American women. She became a major figure in the Democratic Party, was instrumental in positioning Woodrow Wilson for his presidency, and served the Roosevelt administration as the United States' Minister to Norway during the Second World War. She did all of

⁴⁵⁹ Pierpont Morgan Library Archives, ARC 1215 (Anne Tracy Morgan Papers), box 13, fo.1: 'The American Woman's Association by Miss Anne Morgan', Radio Talk, 11 Apr., 1925.

⁴⁶⁰ 'LATEST DEALINGS IN REALTY FIELD', *NYT* (4 July 1924), p. 20.

this whilst having received, by her own admission, a very poor education, which did little to engage her with the world outside New York society. What changed? The answer is the Colony Club.

In none of Harriman's accounts about her rise to the heights of national politics did she fail to mention her role founding America's first social club for women. Why? Because the experience was transformative, if not downright radicalising. For her, as well as for Morgan, Irvin, and likely others, the Colony bestowed its most important gift before the clubhouse doors had even been opened: an education in architecture and organising. She parlayed her experience working alongside a leading architectural firm to help set up the Women's Democratic Club in its home in Washington D.C. in the 1920s.⁴⁶¹ And the experience of managing a large organisation and its staff made her one of America's most active social reformers and suffragettes. After finishing the clubhouse in Washington, she explained in a speech towards the end of her life, she and the other founders were 'all unconscious of the deeper significance of the achievement...the most luxurious women's club in the world. And now I know how much more it is than we thought. Its establishment really marked the epoch of that new understanding about women....Women's clubs before had been mostly for what they could do for others. This was for what we would do for ourselves'.⁴⁶² And in doing so the Colony moved a great ways beyond the initial idea and what it came to stand for in later years, which was practical, conservative, and elitist, into a transformative institution in its founders' lives.

⁴⁶¹ Harriman, *Pinafores to Politics*, pp. 96-7.

⁴⁶² LC, MSS24976 (FJHH Papers), box 23, fo.: Early Miscellaneous Speeches and Articles ca. 1912-1932, handwritten document, n.d.

5

From Gesellschaft to Harmonie Club

Unlike almost every other private members' club in Gilded Age New York City, the Harmonie Club was truly private. It did not host meetings of municipal importance (unlike the Century Association); wine and dine journalists at its annual dinners (unlike the Harvard Club); have a press opening for its clubhouse (unlike the Metropolitan Club); nor spin the story in the press (unlike the Colony Club). Of all New York clubs, the Harmonie was, as one city handbook put it, 'the most homelike in jealous regard for privacy'.⁴⁶³ This aversion to publicity was longstanding. Although it was one of the oldest associations in New York, founded in 1852, and its building on West 42nd Street, completed in 1867, one of the first purpose-built clubhouses, the Harmonie was conspicuously absent from early accounts of club life in the city.

Then, in 1906, the Harmonie Club made a rare public announcement: it was moving uptown to East 60th Street, into a new clubhouse designed by McKim, Mead & White (Figure 78). The critic Herbert Croly, writing for the *Architectural Record*, commended the building as 'a worthy successor of the long line of similar buildings' by the architects, though he regretted 'it does not...possess the peculiar distinction of a number of the previous clubhouses'. This, Croly surmised, was 'doubtless because the club itself does not possess any distinguishing characteristics which would naturally suggest some individual and interesting building.' This was dubious praise but it was nothing short of a public relations coup for the Harmonie, which had, in fact, more 'distinguishing characteristics' than any New York club but wanted nothing less than to see them declared in 'some individual and interesting building'.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶³ M. King, *King's Handbook of New York City*, 2nd edn (Boston, 1893), pp. 550-1.

⁴⁶⁴ H. D. Croly, 'The Harmonie Club House', *Architectural Record*, no. 3 (March 1906), p. 239.

What Herbert Croly neglected to say was that members of the Harmonie Club were predominantly of German Jewish descent, that until the 1880s, the club had been a family club, officially called the Gesellschaft Harmonie until it changed its name in 1894, and that McKim, Mead & White's building contained vestiges of this earlier history (Figure 79). There were elaborate elements designed to cater to members' families. Not one but two doors stood behind the giant Doric columns on East 60th Street, for example, one for members and another for women. Adjoining the women's entrance was a lounge, also for women, with custom-designed furniture, velvet upholstery, and matching wallpaper. From the lounge, via a small lobby, women had access to the main stairs and elevators of the building—the same used by members. For there were rooms for women above and below. In the basement, a bowling alley, with dressing rooms for both sexes; and high above, on the fifth floor, a women's dining room, abutting on the one for members.⁴⁶⁵ All of this had been overlooked by Croly in his review.

The Harmonie Club's building by McKim, Mead & White was the culmination of three decades of debate about assimilation in the face of growing antisemitism. The club's journey, from West 42nd Street to East 60th Street, reconstructed here for the first time, uncovers an otherwise unrecorded history: a world overturned by discrimination; of one of the city's most successful immigrant group's efforts to maintain authority and respect as prejudice took hold of the city, including in gentlemen's clubs, where Jewish men found themselves excluded and publicly humiliated. Finally, this chapter reveals how these developments disproportionately affected German Jewish women, whose rights to the clubhouse were called into question, as their husbands, fathers, and brothers undertook to transform the Harmonie from a family club into a gentlemen's club. If New York's disparate elites did indeed succeed in consolidating and emerging as a self-conscious upper class at the turn of the century, mainly through institution building, as some historians suggest, then the history of

⁴⁶⁵ My description of the clubhouse here and elsewhere in the chapter is based on drawings and correspondence in the McKim, Mead & White collections at the New-York Historical Society. NYHS, PR 042 (MM&W Collections), box 218: Hiss Company estimate for furniture, 17 Jul., 1905; and Hiss Company estimate for textiles, 25 Sept., 1905; NYHS, PR24-T0939.2 (MM&W Rolled Drawings).

the Harmonie and its building provides an unusually intimate portrait of how that process was more difficult, more protracted, and more uncertain than has generally been understood.⁴⁶⁶

The Origins of the Harmonie Club and its Original Building

The Harmonie Club was originally established in rented rooms as a social centre for the first Reform synagogue in New York, Temple Emanu-El. Most if not all of the founding members had emigrated from Germany in the 1830s and 1840s to escape religious persecutions and general economic hardships.⁴⁶⁷ While the community prospered in antebellum New York, religion nonetheless set them apart from other New Yorkers, not only from their protestant neighbors but also from the larger Jewish community. That community was, on the whole, more conservative than the liberal Congregation Emanu-El, who gradually brought their Jewish life into harmony with their American surroundings, even when this involved altering or dispensing with Jewish law.⁴⁶⁸ Its liberal views on the mixing of men and women, for example, laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Harmonie Club in 1852.⁴⁶⁹

Although Harmonie Club membership was always restricted to men, its activities and entertainments were mostly mixed in the first few decades of its existence. This had some precedent

⁴⁶⁶ For elite antisemitism, see S. Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 265-71; S. J. Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers: The World of J.P. Morgan* (Cambridge, M.A., 2013), especially pp. 80-106; and E. G. Burrows and M. Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, 1999), pp. 1087-88. My thinking in this chapter on the coincidence of antisemitism and misogyny has been shaped by P. E. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women* (Seattle, 1995), especially pp. 134-69. For a recent overview of Jewish social clubs in America, see J. W. Joselit, 'Fun and Games: The American Jewish Social Club', in M. L. Raphael (ed.), *The Columbian History of Jews and Judaism in America* (New York, 2008), pp. 246-62.

⁴⁶⁷ B. E. Supple, 'A Business Elite: German-Jewish Financiers in Nineteenth-Century New York', *The Business History Review*, vol. 31, no. 2 (Summer 1957), pp. 146-9.

⁴⁶⁸ R. B. Sobel, 'A History of New York's Temple Emanu-El: the Second Half Century' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1980), p. 2, 3-4.

⁴⁶⁹ Congregation Emanu-El also founded other types of institutions in this period, including a short-lived elementary school and a more successful burial society. Rabbi Leo Merzbacher served as first president of both the burial society and the Harmonie Club. M. Stern, *The Rise and Progress of Reform Judaism* (New York, 1895), pp. 13-54. It is unclear exactly when or why Temple Emanu-El and the Harmonie Club grew apart. One possibility, however, is sometime in the 1880s when the Congregation was growing and the club, as this chapter shows, became increasingly committed to the principle of exclusivity.

in German associational life, but emerged more directly from the evolving nature of the community's faith.⁴⁷⁰ Notably in the mid-1850s, Temple Emanu-El became the first synagogue in New York, and the second in the nation, to replace separate seating for men and women with family pews.⁴⁷¹ The death of older members and the admission of more recent German immigrants in the 1860s, initiated a period of 'complete change', which saw the congregation become even less concerned for 'the perpetuation of old forms' of Jewish practice.⁴⁷² It was at this point that the community commissioned the German-born Jewish architect Henry Fernbach to draw up plans for both a new synagogue on West 43rd and a new clubhouse on West 42nd, which were completed within a year of each other in 1868 and 1867, respectively (Figure 82, Figure 83).

The new three-storey clubhouse stood at 45 West 42nd Street, between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, just around the corner from Temple Emanu-El. While the synagogue was erected in the Moorish style, the clubhouse was designed in the Renaissance idiom, with French details such as the mansard roof and rounded first-floor windows. In its French aspects it resembled the contemporaneous façade of the Century Association on 15th Street by Charles H. Gambrill. And in its Renaissance aspects it resembled the Union Club, also a three-storey Renaissance style clubhouse, which was completed in 1855, and was at that time still the only purpose-built gentlemen's club in New York. The plans of these two clubhouses, however, reveal fundamental differences.⁴⁷³ While both

⁴⁷⁰ B. M. Baader, *Gender, Judaism, and Bourgeois Culture in Germany: 1800-1870* (Bloomington, Ind., 2006), pp. 161-83; R. A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton, 2004), p. 102.

⁴⁷¹ The switch to mixed seating followed Temple Emanu-El's relocation to a former church in 1854, where it retained the pre-existing family pews. J. D. Sarna, 'The Debate over Mixed Seating in the American Synagogue', in J. Wertheimer (ed.), *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 368, 372; H. B. Grinstein, 'Reforms at the Temple Emanuel of New York, 1860-1890', *Historia Judaica*, no. 2 (Oct. 1944), p. 164; see also K. Goldman, 'Beyond the Synagogue Gallery? Women's Changing Role in Nineteenth-Century American and German Judaism', in C. Weise and C. Wilhelm (eds.), *American Jewry: Transcending the European Experience?* (London and New York, 2017), pp. 169-78.

⁴⁷² Grinstein, 'Reforms at the Temple Emanuel of New York', pp. 173-4. In 1905, Harmonie Club President Henry L. Calman characterised the club's first clubhouse as 'an experiment'. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Report of the Board of Directors, 9 Apr., 1905, p. 9.

⁴⁷³ Neither club ever published their floorplans, nor do any copies in the public archives. My descriptions of the interiors in both cases are based on written accounts. For the Harmonie Clubhouse, see J. W. Kennion, *The Architects' and Builders' Guide* (New York, 1868), pp. 47-8. For the Union Clubhouse, see M. Simmons, *Union Club of New York* (New York, 1986), pp. 22-5. New York City Department of Buildings, Union Club, 45 West 42nd Street, Block 1258, Lot 9; Municipal Archives (for pre-1865 records), Union Club, 162 Fifth Avenue (two lots on the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 21st Street), Block 823, Lot 37.

clubhouses did contain rooms for dining, cards, and billiards, all richly detailed and finely furnished, the Union Club gave them pride of place on the first floor, as in a typical London club, whereas the Harmonie Club distributed them across the ground and second floor.⁴⁷⁴ The Harmonie's first floor was instead given over to a series of spaces which had no equivalent inside the Union. These included a concert hall, ballroom, and rooms 'fitted up with all the conveniences and appurtenances for the accommodation of the fair sex', that is, 'ladies' parlors, cloak rooms and dressing rooms'.⁴⁷⁵ With its principal floor given over to a suite of rooms exclusively for the use of women and two large entertainment spaces, which, as we shall see, accommodated mixed entertainments, the Harmonie Club on West 42nd Street was, quite clearly, designed as a family club, not a gentlemen's club.

It is possible to build a fairly detailed picture of life inside the West 42nd Street clubhouse, thanks to a substantial collection of club ephemera which Harmonie Club members began to collect in handsome leather portfolios, beginning with material from the opening banquet. The Harvard Club of New York, it will be recalled, made a similar effort to commemorate itself when it acquired quarters. After dozens of pages of invoices from the opening banquet—a vivid snapshot of the big banqueting business in mid-century New York—the Harmonie's first scrapbook, covering the 1870s, gives way to increasingly elaborate invitations, menus, and programs for a diverse range of club entertainments. 'The dances, large and small, were the social events of the season,' and the annual masquerade ball was 'the great event of each year'.⁴⁷⁶ The concert hall was even busier. Here were lectures, musical concerts, and theatrical performances, including amateur plays and operettas. 'The operettas, the special feature of the seasons following those of the mask balls, were sumptuous in their costuming and perfect, regardless of expense, in their other appointments, while the young ladies of the club shone as principals in the chorus, according to their attainments.'⁴⁷⁷ There were also children's evenings, attended by the entire family, with special entertainments and separate dinners for parents and children.

⁴⁷⁴ Union Club founder Philip Hone noted the importance of the English exemplar in his diary. *The Diary of Philip Hone*, (ed.) B. Tuckerman (2 vol., New York, 1889), i, p. 237.

⁴⁷⁵ Kennion, *Architects' and Builders' Guide*, pp. 22-5.

⁴⁷⁶ '1852-1912, Reprinted from the Souvenir Booklet of the Sixtieth Anniversary Banquet', in *One Hundred Years: the Harmonie Club* (New York, 2005), p. 24.

⁴⁷⁷ 'Reprinted from the Souvenir Booklet', pp. 24-5.

Finally, the clubhouse was where young women in the community would make their debut into society. ‘This appearance...marked the turning point in their lives’, recalled one member in his account many years later of how the Harmonie had once served as ‘the social centre for its members’.⁴⁷⁸

Thus the Harmonie Club arose from the liberal Jewish thinking of Temple Emanu-El, and flourished alongside its mother institution. Indeed, the club’s first decade on West 42nd Street was one of optimism and growth. Here women, and family more generally, occupied a central position in the everyday life of the organisation. The Harmonie, then, was distinct and separate from the club tradition that took hold in New York in the closing decades of the century. For the present at least, this did not give members cause for concern.

The Harmonie Club’s Early Reforms

The end of this felicitous period is easy enough to discern in the Harmonie Club’s scrapbooks. Placed at the front of the second volume, covering the 1880s, is a yearbook from the St. Nicholas Club of New York City, dated 1882. The St. Nicholas, the yearbook tells us, was organised in 1835, for ‘old residents of the City of New York and their descendants’.⁴⁷⁹ Later, after the Civil War, the St. Nicholas, like other antebellum heritage societies in the city, acquired a clubhouse and became, for all intents and purposes, a gentlemen’s club. In the yearbook was a copy of the society’s constitution, house rules, along with a list of its committees and officers. Harmonie Club members, it will become clear, were not just interested in copying the yearbook (a standard gentlemen’s club publication and something the Harmonie did indeed begin producing for the first time); they were interested in copying the St.

⁴⁷⁸ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, unidentified printed report, p. 7. This document is in the folder ‘Harmonie Club, vol. 13, material from inside’ that has been inserted into the volume. It appears to be the 1902 Board of Directors Report, delivered by President Henry L. Calman, as is henceforth identified as such.

⁴⁷⁹ *Charter, Constitution, By-laws and List of Members of the Saint Nicholas Society of the City of New York* (New York, 1910), p. 5.

Nicholas, the organisation itself: its constitution, house rules, and committees.⁴⁸⁰ They were, in other words, intent on transforming their family club into a gentlemen's club.

In 1882, the same year the St. Nicholas Club yearbook was printed, we can observe the beginnings of this project. Many reforms, big and small, and not always successful, were proposed by members. One of the first was to ease restrictions on the use of German, the club's official language. This attempt was unsuccessful, as was a similar effort in 1888, but on the third attempt, in 1889, reforming members succeeded in making English permissible in club debates.⁴⁸¹ Temple Emanu-El in these years saw a related campaign, widely supported by the congregation, to eliminate the last of the Hebrew prayers.⁴⁸² Another successful club reform in the early 1880s, less bold but still significant, was the discontinuation of 'the custom of calling a special meeting of the club, to adopt resolutions of regret on the death of a member', first begun 1859. The custom lived on briefly in board meetings until 1887, when it ceased altogether in favour 'of placing a note of the date of death in the minute book', as was done in most gentlemen's clubs. Though an apparently small change, it indicates how comprehensive the emerging programme of reform was and what sort of transformation members had in mind: from family club to gentlemen's club.

But what inspired such radical thinking—seemingly in the middle of a golden age? The St. Nicholas Society is our first clue. That Harmonie Club members should look to this lineage-based-organisation-turned gentlemen's club as a model for reform suggests that something had happened, that they had perhaps been jolted by the arrival of thousands of Russian Jewish immigrants in New York in the early 1880s. Club members saw the Harmonie, organised as it was by their parents and grandparents, as a good opportunity to differentiate themselves from these new emigres. But only if reformed, since the club, with all of its inherited idiosyncrasies, also marked the German Jewish

⁴⁸⁰ The only indication of the Harmonie Club's interest in the St. Nicholas Club's yearbook is a pencilled check mark beside Article V, Section 7 of the St. Nicholas' constitution, which outlines the power of the Club's trustees to 'annually elect from their members a House Committee, and such other committees as they shall deem expedient.' NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 39: Scrapbook 1879-89, *St. Nicholas Club*, p. 150.

⁴⁸¹ 'Reprinted from the Souvenir Booklet', p. 27.

⁴⁸² Grinstein, 'Reforms at the Temple Emanuel of New York', pp. 166-7.

community as other in the eyes of Anglo-Saxon Protestant elites who had no family clubs to speak of. The urgency of their work and the further significance of the gentlemen's club as a model for reform can be appreciated by examining this second wave of Jewish immigration and how it affected the lives of German Jews.

The new Jewish immigrants, usually entire families, had fled pogroms in the aftermath of the assassination of the Russian Emperor in 1881. Unlike the German Jewish immigrants who preceded them, including those who founded the Harmonie Club, most Russian Jews came from shtetls— isolated market towns—with little or no exposure to liberal Jewish thinking. This, combined with their relative poverty, meant that assimilation came more gradually to the second wave; something which alarmed the existing Jewish population. Their numbers, moreover, were far greater. In 1880, there were 80,000 Jews in New York City, but by the early 1890s that number had more than doubled to nearly 170,000, and before the turn of the century it had reached 290,000.⁴⁸³ Most settled on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, an area not much more than half a square mile, between the Bowery and the East River. Thus, within a remarkably short period of time a large Jewish ghetto had sprung up in downtown New York, not far from the Harmonie Club.

Upper-class New Yorkers responded with virulent antisemitism. Before the 1880s, Jews were admitted to a number of prestigious clubs in the city, including the Union, the Union League, and the Knickerbocker. After 1880, Jews found themselves excluded not only from these clubs and almost all others, but also from most other centres and institutions in elite life, such as the *Social Register*, Mrs. Astor's 400, schools, restaurants, and hotels.⁴⁸⁴ The endemic levels of antisemitism in elite society show more clearly just how radical Anne Morgan, Elisabeth Marbury, and Florence J. Harriman were in their views on Jewish admission to the Colony Club.

⁴⁸³ Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, p. 1114.

⁴⁸⁴ Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, pp. 1087-88; Sobel, 'A History of New York's Temple Emanu-El', p. 208; M. Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), p. 103, 95-111.

Sven Beckert has rightly suggested that antisemitic social ostracism may have been incentivised by economic opportunity.⁴⁸⁵ German Jews such as the Seligmans, for example, were financiers in the same league of J. P. Morgan, whose prejudicial views of Seligman and other Jewish financiers were well known.⁴⁸⁶ This would not only help explain why discrimination became so comprehensive in upper-class life, but also why Harmonie Club members worked so hard to transform the institution into a gentlemen's club. They were desperate to retain their authority and respect. Clubs were emerging as the elite institution *par excellence* in the 1880s, just as antisemitism was taking hold of elite life. Indeed, 'club class' became in this period a widely accepted euphemism for 'upper class'. The Harmonie Club reforms were thus precipitated by the desire of upper-class German Jews to assert their status as elite New Yorkers.

The reformers saw themselves as modernisers. They pushed for the adoption of English as the club's official language on the grounds that younger members were not fluent in German. Later, when they turned their attention to restricting women's use of the clubhouse, they pointed to decreased attendance at mixed social entertainments and the popularity of exclusively male ones. The club, they argued, should invest its resources accordingly—and become a gentlemen's club. The two processes went hand-in-hand. The first all-male event was called a Stag Party, which was simply an all-male party, introduced in the 1882-83 season, the same year as the English language gained a footing in club debates.⁴⁸⁷ In fact, three 'Stags' were thrown that season alone and thereafter became a regular feature of the entertainments calendar. At the same time, wives and daughters began shunning traditional entertainments, such as dinners and balls. In 1902, club president Henry Calman observed that 'the drift in this direction' had 'been apparent for a number of years past'. 'Club entertainments have lost many of their characteristics, in so far that the social features following our performances are no longer considered of great importance, and even the younger element becomes more and more conspicuous

⁴⁸⁵ Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, pp. 265-6.

⁴⁸⁶ R. Chernow, *The House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York, 1990), pp. 89-90.

⁴⁸⁷ 'Reprinted from the Souvenir Booklet', p. 27.

by its absence.’ This was particularly true for women. ‘Young ladies, who in former years would never have considered the question of remaining away from a club entertainment for the purpose of attending some small private sociable, now generally give the preference to smaller gatherings and will come to the Harmonie only if nothing else is offered for that particular evening.’⁴⁸⁸

The explanation usually offered by Harmonie members for the changing pattern of entertainments was the community’s new prosperity. Indeed, the wealth of many families increased significantly in the 1880s and worked alongside antisemitism as the more positive force behind reforms. The growing fortunes of families such as the Shifts and Loeb’s saw them move to bigger mansions capable of hosting the sorts of entertainments that not long before could have only been accommodated in the Harmonie Club. And individual families were now able to shoulder the expense of large banquets and balls whereas before these large-scale events had only been possible by pooling resources. Finally, not everyone in the community prospered so fantastically as the Shifts or the Loeb’s, which caused the membership to fragment into cliques and ‘social circles’ that were ‘more narrow and restricted’ than before.⁴⁸⁹

Wealth alone, however, cannot account for the newfound popularity of Stag Parties and women’s waning interest in club entertainments. The underlying reason was the second wave of Jewish immigration and the antisemitism that followed it. The need to conform to the upper-class ideology of separate spheres for men and women and to differentiate the community from the ‘promiscuous’ ways of immigrant groups, must have struck younger members as an urgent problem.⁴⁹⁰ Simply put, the presence of women in the clubhouse was bad for business. When the popular 1893 *King’s Handbook of New York* reported that the Harmonie Club’s main feature was ‘the characteristic that the members attend it with their wives’, reform-minded members must have winced.⁴⁹¹ Women had to go.

⁴⁸⁸ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Board of Directors Report, 1902, p. 7.

⁴⁸⁹ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Board of Directors Report, 1902, p. 7. For an overview of this new social world, see S. Birmingham, *“Our Crowd”: The Great Jewish Families of New York* (1967; Syracuse, N.Y., 1996); also Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*, pp. 45-79.

⁴⁹⁰ Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, pp. 26-7.

⁴⁹¹ King, *King’s Handbook*, p. 550.

The arrival of thousands of Jewish immigrants from Russia and the rising wealth of existing members thus precipitated an almost immediate effort to transform the Harmonie Club into a gentlemen's club. A reformed Harmonie promised to counteract some of the effects of antisemitism by allowing German Jewish men to participate in the dominant form of elite male sociability, whilst also advertising their New York roots, akin to the St. Nicholas Society. An unreformed Harmonie, however, threatened to advertise something very different: the community's lack of cultural conformity. Upper-class women were expected to be guardians of the home and the Harmonie's entertainments were a most unusual break with that ideology.⁴⁹² Thus reformers became increasingly focused on abolishing mixed entertainments and more generally women's use of the clubhouse.

No Turning Back

In the early 1890s, the Harmonie Club's transformation into a gentlemen's club accelerated markedly. The number of reforms increased, their targets were more ambitious, and they appear to have encountered less opposition. One of the first and most significant of these changes was the creation of the admissions committee in 1892, which brought the Harmonie into greater conformity with most other clubs in the city. It not only 'relieved the board of the work of investigating candidates and relieved the General Meetings of the labour and unpleasantness of balloting upon them', but it also allowed the club to acquire the lustre of exclusivity.⁴⁹³ They also began to sound like other clubs in the city. For, in the following year, the club's official language was finally changed to English, with German permitted in debates, before that too was abolished in 1894. And finally that same year, the club's name was officially changed from Gesellschaft Harmonie to Harmonie Club. That so many major reforms were passed in rapid succession, some of which had been defeated only a few years earlier, suggests that something had emboldened the club's reformist faction as well as diminished the number and effectiveness of their opponents.

⁴⁹² Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, pp. 23-30.

⁴⁹³ 'Reprinted from the Souvenir Booklet', p. 27.

The cause was, without a doubt, the quickening pace of the clubhouse building boom and the increasingly obvious fact that club life was organising itself along ethnic lines. The elite Jewish clubs in New York at the end of the nineteenth century were the Metropolitan (until it forfeited its name to J.P. Morgan), Freundschaft, and Progress Clubs.⁴⁹⁴ McKim, Mead & White were no strangers to this clubland development. The Freundschaft was the first clubhouse ever designed by the firm in 1885-89 and it also participated unsuccessfully in the competition to build the Progress Club. Notably, the Progress Clubhouse, as completed by Jewish architect Alfred Zucker in 1891, was ‘the first clubhouse in a decade to carry forward the spirit of McKim’s Union League design’ even though the ‘elevations were naive representations of a palazzo’.⁴⁹⁵ Also of note were the accommodations for women inside the Progress Clubhouse, including a reception room and a ballroom ‘said to be the largest and handsomest on the globe’, according to the *Century Magazine*.⁴⁹⁶ Whether these facilities were debated by members, we do not know, but within only a few years of the Progress opening its doors, reform-minded Harmonie Club members were resolved on moving out of their own family clubhouse on West 42nd Street and into a new gentlemen’s clubhouse.

This development can be traced to an incident at the Union League Club in 1893, which confirmed beyond any doubt the Protestant-Jewish divide in New York clubland.⁴⁹⁷ The Union League that year rejected Theodore Seligman, the son of Jesse Seligman, who was the head of J. & W. Seligman & Co., the most prestigious Jewish banking house in the United States; a member of Temple Emanuel and the Harmonie Club. Theodore’s rejection was unexpected to say the least. Not only because his father was a long-time member of the Union League and one of its vice presidents, but also because Theodore’s sponsors were socially impeccable Protestants: he was nominated by LeGrand Camon, one of the Union League’s founders, and seconded by General Horace Porter, not to mention staunchly supported by other notables like lawyers Joseph Choate and Elihu Root. It was, it turned out, a younger

⁴⁹⁴ R. Wheatley, ‘The Jews in New York-II’, *The Century Magazine* (February 1892), p. 530.

⁴⁹⁵ R. A. M. Stern, G. Gilmartin, and J. M. Massengale, *New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism 1890-1915* (New York, 1995), p. 231.

⁴⁹⁶ Wheatley, ‘The Jews in New York-II’, p. 530.

⁴⁹⁷ My account of this incident is based on Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*, pp. 85-93; and Birmingham, ‘*Our Crowd*’, pp. 238-42.

cohort who opposed Theodore's election. 'The objection is purely racial', the membership committee apparently explained to Jesse, 'not a personal matter in any way, either as to father or son.'⁴⁹⁸ The incident revealed a fault line that many had missed, not because they were naïve, but rather because the virulence of the antisemitism and the phenomenon of club life were still both so new that it had been all but impossible to discern.

The question now for German Jewish men, especially younger ones, was how to respond to this assault on their status as elite New Yorkers. Establish a new society, like J. P. Morgan and the Metropolitan Club? That was certainly an option considering the tremendous wealth of the Seligmans and other families. But reforming the Harmonie Club struck them as a more attractive option. Here was an idiosyncratic institution, a relic really from their grandparents' era and as such an opportunity to remind other elites (as well as themselves) of their New York roots. The goal was to transform the Harmonie into the type of gentlemen's club they now found themselves barred from joining.

A New Clubhouse for the Harmonie Club?

Following the Seligman/Union League Club incident, the pace of reform quickened at the Harmonie Club. One of the most notable efforts was the first attempt to relocate the club to a new building in 1893. Although we know next to nothing about the member who led this effort or the details of his ultimately unsuccessful proposal, other than the fact he was 'younger' and 'energetic' and raised an impressive \$300,000 in subscriptions (about a third of what it would cost to build a new clubhouse), we can confidently conclude that his efforts were made with the goal of reform.⁴⁹⁹ For reforming members must have realised that complete metamorphosis required new quarters. The building on West 42nd Street was, after all, built as a family club.

⁴⁹⁸ Quoted in Birmingham, *"Our Crowd"*, p. 239.

⁴⁹⁹ Reprinted from the Souvenir Booklet', p. 28.

Fortunately for the reformers, the question of a new building was inevitable. The Harmonie Club's ground lease—the club owned the building but not the land—was approaching expiration early in the new century.⁵⁰⁰ And while the club had the option to renew it was unlikely to do so, for during the club's 30-year occupancy, its midtown neighbourhood had transformed into the city's premier commercial district. All of which meant that its rent was expected to rise considerably. One club estimate put the renegotiated ground rent at a nearly three-fold increase from \$7,500 to \$21,000, and possibly as high as \$40,000.⁵⁰¹ In short, the question of a new building weighed upon all members, reformers and conservative alike.

It was perhaps in part this financial predicament that inspired the next club president, Jacob W. Mack (elected 1898), who was a self-confessed conservative, to propose a scheme for removal.⁵⁰² At a special general meeting of the club in early March 1896, Mack put the proposal to a vote, but not before making his own views absolutely clear. He addressed growing member sentiment 'that this club should leave the social field as far as its entertainments are concerned, and should resolve itself upon a "Gentlemen's Club."' But was quick to add how 'those who have advocated such a change, have not denied the probability, and have even accentuated the desirability, of such a so-called "Gentlemen's Club" becoming in the course of time and by logical evolution little more than a card or gambling club.' This was not his intention. Such change, he protested,

⁵⁰⁰ Ground leases, though common in England, are an archaic concept in the United States. They were standard in New York during the first half of the nineteenth century, but disappeared around 1850 due to changing tax codes, new forms of investment, and the evolving social composition of landowners from merchants to developers. The Harmonie's ground lease, originally signed in 1867, was probably unusual even for its day, and may reflect the difficulty the club experienced finding an appropriate site in proximity to Temple Emanu-El. E. Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1750-1850* (Ithaca and London, 1989), p. 251.

⁵⁰¹ This estimate, given to the club in the president's address on 1 March 1896 (NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook 1890-99, 1 Mar., 1896, p. 16) appears accurate given the extraordinary property boom in midtown Manhattan in these years. According to M. A. Mikkelsen, in an account of New York real estate, published two years later, the boom was first ignited by the completion of the popular 6th Avenue elevated rail line in 1879, public improvements to the district in the 1890s, and the area's growing identity as a premier shopping district. 'Between 23d and 42d...in the centrally located avenues, the typical three and four-story [SIC] private dwellings are rapidly being displaced by taller structures of a semi-public nature—store and office buildings, studios, hotels, theatres, clubs, and high-class apartment houses.' 'Real Estate on Manhattan Island, A Review of—', in *A History of Real Estate, Building, and Architecture in New York City During the Last Quarter of a Century* (New York, 1898), p. 129, 76-129; see also D. M. Abramson's discussion of the unique real estate market in New York in this period, *Obsolescence: An Architectural History* (Chicago, 2016), pp. 12-37.

⁵⁰² NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook 1890-99, President's Address, 1 Mar., 1896, p. 1.

...would certainly make the Harmonie turn its back upon all its traditions, usages and customs, and make it, not a “Gentlemen’s Club,” but simply a “Men’s Club” between which two there is a vast distinction. If you should at any time decide upon such a change, you may retain the name and title of the Club, but you will have retained the shadow only and lost the substance. When this club becomes a “Men’s Club”, you will in my humble opinion lose the respect of the world, which is bad enough; but you will also lose your self-respect, which is infinitely worse.⁵⁰³

Mack, then, was not about to relinquish the social element of associational life. To do so, in his mind, was tantamount to closing the club.

Nonetheless, Mack was willing to make concessions. What he proposed was a new building that carefully sequestered the entertainments. This could be done, he suggested, by locating the clubhouse on a corner which would have the ‘distinct and supreme advantage’ of permitting ‘two separate and independent entrances, one of which might be used for entertainments only, while the other would be the regular main front of the club.’ The former would lead ‘to the banquet hall, reception rooms, dressing rooms, etc.,’ and the latter ‘to the regular reading room, card rooms, billiard room etc.’ This arrangement would better accommodate ‘regular habitués’ who, on West 42nd Street, complained of being shut out of the clubhouse on entertainment nights.⁵⁰⁴ He endorsed, furthermore, incorporating several bachelors’ apartments, ‘say from ten to fifteen’, for the financial as well as cultural benefits their occupants would bring to the club. ‘Apart from this mere rental [income], the occupants of these quarters, or at least the greater majority of them, would undoubtedly become themselves “fixtures” of the clubhouse and regular daily guests at its table.’⁵⁰⁵ Mack may have been alluding to a plan for a communal table like the one in the Century Association’s building, though it is unclear whether the Harmonie already had one on West 42nd Street. In effect, then, Mack envisioned something far more substantial than a women’s annexe, such as we have seen in the Metropolitan Club, or a separate entrance and staircase, such as we saw in the Colony Club. He wanted two discrete but attached clubhouses: a gentlemen’s club and a family club.

⁵⁰³ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook 1890-99, President’s Address, 1 Mar., 1896, p. 13.

⁵⁰⁴ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook 1890-99, President’s Address, 1 Mar., 1896, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁰⁵ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook 1890-99, President’s Address, 1 Mar., 1896, p. 9.

Harmonie Club members voted overwhelmingly for Jacob W. Mack's proposal, including his plans for moving forward. Just as at the Colony Club, it was decided to appoint an unusually large building committee, of 21 members, with himself as chairman.⁵⁰⁶ The committee would undertake most of its work in three subcommittees, however, tasked with finding a site, disposing of the existing leasehold, and raising building funds through subscriptions. The work of the first two subcommittees depended, of course, on the success of the last. But Mack went further in recommending that before any definite action could be taken with regards to selling the existing leasehold or purchasing a new site, the subcommittee on subscriptions would need to have raised \$400,000 from members, about half of the projected building costs.⁵⁰⁷ Doubtless a ploy to motivate members to subscribe, this stipulation would prove a serious nuisance to him and the building committee.

The building committee made its first report to the Harmonie Club at the next annual meeting in 1897. The subcommittee on site had been the busiest. It boasted no fewer than 20 different site visits around New York, selected on the basis of a study it had conducted on the geographical distribution of members' houses around the city (Figure 84).⁵⁰⁸ With nearly as many members on the Upper West Side as the Upper East Side, the subcommittee had considered locations across a wide area of upper Manhattan. Indeed, three of the five sites which Mack brought to members' attention as particularly promising were on the Upper West Side.⁵⁰⁹ Only a handful of clubs ever situated themselves west of Central Park and many that did struggled as a result. In the early 1890s, there were at least four clubs on the Upper West Side, plus the Columbia Yacht Club.⁵¹⁰ By 1909, all four had disappeared.⁵¹¹ One of these was the Colonial Club at West 72nd Street and Sherman Square, which foreclosed in 1903, owing to its difficulty attracting members and the cost of maintaining its large purpose-built premises by architect Henry F. Kilburn in 1891-92. The Progress Club paid no heed,

⁵⁰⁶ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 9: Secretary Minutes 1896-97, President's Address, 11 Apr., 1897.

⁵⁰⁷ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook 1890-99, President's Address, 1 Mar., 1896, p. 14, 11.

⁵⁰⁸ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 9: Secretary Minutes 1896-97, Report of the Building Committee, 11 Apr., 1897, pp. 132-5; NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook 1890-99, President's Address, 1 Mar., 1898, pp. 20-1.

⁵⁰⁹ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook 1890-99, President's Address, 1 Mar., 1898, pp. 7-8.

⁵¹⁰ They were the Riverside Wheelman, West-End Democratic Club, Colonial Club, and West-End Club.

⁵¹¹ Those clubs on the Upper West Side in the 1909 map (figure 1) are the Pastime Athletic Club, New York Riding Club, Progress Club, and Columbia Yacht Club.

however, as it relocated shortly after the Colonial closed, moving from its old clubhouse on the Upper East Side, mentioned above, into a new palazzo-like building at the corner of 88th Street and Central Park West, designed by Louis Korn in 1901-04. The Progress hoped to attract new members by moving, ‘but something went wrong with the club’s membership strategy’ and foreclosure eventually caught up with the club in 1933.⁵¹²

As with other aspects of Mack’s plan, his willingness to build on the Upper West side reflected his insistence that the club retain its identity as a family club. He was not, in other words, concerned with finding a site within the precinct of clubland. Next up was the subcommittee on disposing the leasehold. It reported ‘several offers for the unexpired lease’, noting ‘recent developments and project improvements’ around the old clubhouse ‘promise a realisation of an amount...quite in excess of the amount expected for the same a year ago.’⁵¹³ So far so good.

The last to report was the subcommittee on subscriptions. After a year of fundraising, it had raised \$304,250 from 337 of the roughly 560 members. While a substantial sum, about equal to the amount raised by the young and energetic member in 1893, it was still almost \$100,000 short of the goal Mack had set for the subcommittee. His prediction, a year earlier, that members would ‘freely and cheerfully participate’ in subscribing and perhaps even raise the entire sum themselves—‘the proposition is not such a chimerical one as might appear at first glance’—now threatened to derail the entire project.⁵¹⁴ Which is precisely what happened, despite the building committee’s best efforts to convince the club otherwise. It argued—almost certainly justifiably—that members had been distracted by ‘the unprecedented business depression,’ following the stock market crash of 1893, and the ‘additional disturbing influences’ of the 1896 presidential campaign, on which the future of the gold standard and many New York banks, including those owned and managed by Harmonie members,

⁵¹² C. Gray, ‘Cityscape; A Turn-of-the-Century Vestige Threatened on the “West End”’, *NYT*, (2 August 1987).

⁵¹³ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 9: Secretary Minutes 1896-97, Report of the Building Committee, 11 Apr., 1897, p. 134.

⁵¹⁴ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook 1890-99, President’s Address, 1 Mar., 1896, p. 14, 11.

rested.⁵¹⁵ But with Republican William McKinley safely installed in the Whitehouse and the gold standard saved—thanks in no small part to the joint effort of Anglo-Saxon Protestant and German Jewish elites in New York—the building committee felt sure that the remaining sum could now be raised without difficulty. It therefore asked that members vote to reduce the set minimum to the \$304,250 already raised, pointing out that once members saw the committee taking ‘active steps...a new interest will be awakened among all the members of the club, and more especially among those who have hitherto refrained from subscribing’.⁵¹⁶ Except for the \$100,000 or so shortfall, the committee had done its work—fastidiously. It was anxious to move ahead and sell the existing leasehold before the attractive offers were withdrawn and purchase land for the new clubhouse before all the sites on its carefully compiled shortlist vanished from the market.

The decision was deferred to a special meeting after four members opposed the building committee’s request. The biographies of those men suggest that they were reformers who would have supported more radical measures.⁵¹⁷ At least three had joined the club after 1880, which means they had no memory of the club’s golden years in the 1870s and so little reason to fight for the continuation of its mixed entertainments.⁵¹⁸ Jacob Wertheim, for example, who was the first to voice his opposition, joined the club in 1890. He was, moreover, the first and only member of his family to become a member.⁵¹⁹ His father, Baruch, had emigrated with relatively limited resources from Kassel in the 1850s and had originally earned his living as a peddler, a classic ‘rags to riches’ story.⁵²⁰ Jacob was a cigar manufacturer, and a rising figure in the German Jewish elite. He was a member of Temple Emanu-El

⁵¹⁵ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 9: Secretary Minutes 1896-97, Report of the Building Committee, 11 Apr., 1897, p. 133. For an account of 1896 gold crises, see Q. R. Skrabec Jr., *The 100 Most Important American Financial Crises* (Santa Barbara, 2015), pp.113-14.

⁵¹⁶ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 9: Secretary Minutes 1896-97, Report of the Building Committee, 11 Apr., 1897, p. 134.

⁵¹⁷ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 9: Secretary Minutes 1896-97, 11 Apr., 1897, p. 127.

⁵¹⁸ In addition to Jacob Wertheim, the opposing members were Elias Rothschild, Mr. Kruass, and Mr. Rice (the last two identified only by surname). Elias Rothschild is spelled incorrectly in the minutes (missing the ‘s’ on the end of the first name). There is no Elia or any other similarly spelled name in the membership log. Elias Rothschild joined in April 1887. Mr. Krauss could refer to either Henry Krauss, who joined in January 1883, or Max W. Krauss, who joined in March 1881 and retired in November 1907. Mr. Rice could refer to Henry, who joined in January 1867 or, more likely, Isaac L., who joined in 1886. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 57: Membership Log.

⁵¹⁹ Jacob Wertheim is identified only as Wertheim in the meeting minutes. However, this is almost certainly Jacob as he is the only Wertheim in the Harmonie Club’s membership log. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 57: Membership Log.

⁵²⁰ See Supple, ‘A Business Elite’, p. 147.

and a close friend of many familiar names, including Daniel Guggenheim, the Seligmans, Loeb, Jacob Schiff, and the Lehmans.⁵²¹ In sum, he and the others were probably dissatisfied with the changes proposed by Mack—perhaps wishing to see the club relocated in clubland proper, not the Upper West Side, and without any mixed entertainment spaces whatsoever—and they used the issue of subscriptions as an opportunity to revolt.

It took several special meetings, but in the end the opposition triumphed and Mack's plan was killed. Some meetings were too poorly attended for a quorum and at others the vote was too narrow to call.⁵²² What members said and how they voted has been lost—the minutes recorded the barest of details—but in seeking to address the needs of everyone, conservatives and reformers alike, Mack is likely to have satisfied no one. A building divided down the centre, with one half for family and the other for men, must have struggled to arouse strong support from either side of the debate. But everyone realised, including conservatives that the organisation could no longer survive purely as a family club. This is why they voted in favour of Mack's plan; it represented action. But as details of his plan became clearer and the date drew nearer, the issue of funds appears to have struck reformers as an opportunity to put the brakes on a scheme that did not go far enough, and Mack, lacking a passionate base, was doomed to lose.

Patching, Mending, and Cleaning the Harmonie's Old Suit

While Jacob W. Mack's plan for a new clubhouse was defeated, the man clearly was not. Just five weeks after being forced to disband his building committee, Mack announced a new plan to remodel the club's West 42nd Street building. This time, however, he trod more softly, proceeded more strategically. At a special meeting of the club in June 1897, he arrived armed with architectural drawings (none

⁵²¹ Supple, 'A Business Elite', p. 162, 166.

⁵²² These events took place over the course of May 1897. See NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook, 1890-99.

survive) from at least two architects but possibly more (all anonymous) and attempted to coax the club towards action with a delicately composed analogy about an old suit:

When a man outgrows his clothes, or when, after a use of many seasons, they become shabby and worn that he is well nigh ashamed of showing himself in public, in addition to his feeling of personal discomfort and inconvenience, his thoughts turn in the direction of purchasing new garments. Into the choice of these there enter many elements that of taste, of fashion, and particularly the question whether his purse is able to afford what his wish would dictate....When all these things fail, when he can neither find what he wants, nor purchase for cash or credit, his next thoughts are turned to the possibility of patching, mending and cleaning his old suit, that it may do him for a while, until an improvement in his circumstances, or absolute necessity, compels him to new clothes.⁵²³

By 'old suit' he meant, of course, the West 42nd Street clubhouse. That Mack eventually won approval from members to remodel the building suggests that it had indeed become uncomfortable and inconvenient and a source of embarrassment. Doing nothing simply was not an option. Issues of maintenance, safety, and outdated amenities could be addressed, members agreed, without wading into questions of taste and fashion which had beset plans for a new building. It was in the interest of everyone, conservatives and reformers alike, that the club, as Mack bluntly put it, 'show at least some sign of life'.⁵²⁴ And so began the process of 'patching, mending and cleaning' the Harmonie's old suit.

Mack had become a canny club politician in one other respect. Speaking in metaphors and generalities saved him from having to make promises and share details about what exactly he had in mind for West 42nd Street. This afforded him considerable latitude, and Harmonie Club members, undoubtedly exhausted by the failed building project, were only too happy to take a back seat and let him get on with his work. It was only a matter of patching and mending after all. Or so they thought.

The remodelled clubhouse opened in 1898, after about a year of construction, and bore little resemblance to the original 1867 building (Figure 85).⁵²⁵ The clubhouse had, in effect, been rebuilt. The work, supervised by the Jewish architect Henry Beaumont Herts and his partner Hugh Tallant,

⁵²³ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 9: Secretary Minutes 1896-97, 'Address of President', 21 Jun., 1897, p. 174.

⁵²⁴ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 9: Secretary Minutes 1896-97, 'Address of President', 21 Jun., 1897, p. 178.

⁵²⁵ My description of the remodelled clubhouse draws mainly from 'The Harmonie Clubhouse' *New York Tribune* (19 June 1898), pp. 16-7.

known mostly for their theatre design work, cost \$85,000 and saw every room altered or replaced.⁵²⁶ The floor plans had been completely reconfigured. The Harmonie Club's old suit looked very new.

The remodelled clubhouse was in many ways the realisation of Mack's idea for a new building containing two distinct and separate clubs: one for men and the other for families. The architects achieved this division by more than simply remodelling the existing building. On the vacant lot to the east of the clubhouse, formerly the club's garden, Herts & Tallant erected a separate wing for women, known as the ladies' annexe. An obvious model for this addition was McKim, Mead & White's women's annexe at the Metropolitan Club, completed only a few years earlier. Like the Metropolitan, the Harmonie annexe extended three-storeys and was reached via the street from a separate entrance. But the facilities in Herts & Tallant's annexe were far more extensive than McKim, Mead & White's, and all three levels were set aside for women. On the ground floor of the Harmonie annexe was a reception room, coat room, reading room, and on the first floor, a high-ceilinged dining room, with a music gallery. Herts & Tallant crowned the new wing with a second-floor conservatory, which was reached via a staircase from the annexe dining room.

Women's accommodation, then, was simultaneously extended and segregated in the remodelled Harmonie Club. Its new status as almost a second club, or a club within a club, was reflected in the addition of two house rules shortly after the building reopened:

4. Ladies, of the family of a member of the Club, whether or not attended by such member, may use the annexe including the ladies' restaurant, and may be accompanied by other ladies.
5. A lady making use of the ladies' restaurant may incur charges for meals served, when duly authorised by a member. Such authority must be entered by the member in a book kept for that purpose.⁵²⁷

Thus, women now enjoyed highly unusual privileges. They could attend the club independently of their male relations, host other women, and even, if authorised, charge meals to an account. The annexe was

⁵²⁶ F. Bedoire, *The Jewish Contribution to Modern Architecture 1830-1930*, translated by R. Tanner (Jersey City, NJ, 2004), p. 429; P. L. Donhauser, 'Herts and Tallant', in K. T. Jackson (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of New York City*, 2nd edn (New Haven, 2010), p. 593.

⁵²⁷ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 10: Secretary Minutes 1897-99, 'House Rules', p. 82.

nothing short of extraordinary for elite women in Victorian New York. It took the Metropolitan Club's idea of an annexe but turned it into a real amenity for members' wives and daughters. It provided them with a purpose-built space outside the home and the potential for a different type of sociability than the one they knew, which was dominated by the practice of making house calls—and a full decade before the Colony Club.

In light of how developed the ladies' annexe was, in architecture as well as organisation, it is difficult to imagine that members alone were responsible for its development. The more likely explanation is that it was shaped by the private lobbying of members' wives and daughters. Though denied membership and excluded from club meetings, women may have been using the clubhouse more than ever in the 1890s to meet and to socialise with one another for two reasons. First, the surrounding neighbourhood had grown into one of the city's premier shopping and entertainment districts; one of the few places where elite women could walk without male chaperones.⁵²⁸ The annexe, then, may have been conceived along the lines of a shopping club, but one with much greater potential for community as the women were local and not out-of-town visitors in the city to shop. Second, elite German Jewish women were more active outside the home than their elite Protestant counterparts. They belonged to benevolent societies such as the Independent Order of the True Sisters, founded in 1846 as a ladies' auxiliary to the Congregation Emanu-El, and the Emanu-El Sisterhood of Personal Service, founded in 1889 in response to the new immigration from Eastern Europe.⁵²⁹ Furthermore, as the historian Paula Hyman has noted, there were 'potentially radical elements' in 'the female version of the project of Jewish assimilation...in addition to its conservative domestic thrust.' That is, Jewish women's growing responsibility for their children's religious education as well as benevolent work led them to develop 'new forms of female expression' and 'subsequently, they began to demand communal

⁵²⁸ M. C. Boyer, *Manhattan Manners: Architecture and Style, 1850-1900* (New York, 1985), p. 129. In the English context, Erika Rappaport has explored how consumerism constituted important spaces for female autonomy. *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, 2000).

⁵²⁹ A. Polland and D. Soyfer, *Emerging Metropolis: New York Jews in the age of Immigration, 1840-1920* (New York, 2012), pp. 35-6.

recognition of their public role'.⁵³⁰ This is perhaps the best explanation we have for the ladies' annexe. In the long term, women's private lobbying would also help explain the persistence of the conservatives and their later determination to influence the design of the McKim, Mead & White clubhouse. In other words, the annexe raises the serious possibility that the conservative voice did more than just articulate members' anxieties about tradition and assimilation; it represented the opposition of an institutionally powerless yet organised and self-aware female constituency within the club and the wider community.

The renovation brought dramatic changes to how men experienced the clubhouse too. The building now looked and functioned much like a gentlemen's club. Herts & Tallant did their best to convert the old building into a McKim, Mead & White-style clubhouse. The front stoop was removed and the old first-floor entrance converted into a loggia, akin to the one at the Century Association (Figure 86). Instead of entering the clubhouse on the first floor, via the stoop, members now entered on the ground floor. Inside, the former dark mahogany staircase designed by Henry Fernbach had been replaced with 'a simple and classical' one 'built through a stone colonnade' that formed 'a double loggia on the floor above.'⁵³¹ Although no drawings or photographs survive, this description brings to mind the staircase designed by Charles Barry for the Reform Club in London, which was also built through a colonnade and formed a double loggia above.

After ascending the new stairway, members encountered an entirely new suite of first-floor rooms. Along the front of the building was the main dining room (formerly one storey above) and a lounging room 'so arranged that they may be made into one large apartment' (Figure 87). Across the full rear of the building was a billiard room with six tables. The spaces which had formerly occupied this floor—an extensive suite for women and a large concert hall—had disappeared from the building. Though two new entertainment spaces, a ballroom and a music room, were added to the third floor, where the principal supper room had once been located (Figure 88). The *New York Tribune* described this part of the transformed clubhouse 'the most pretentious part', pointing to the architectural pomp

⁵³⁰ Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, p. 30. See also W. Toll, 'A Quiet Revolution: Jewish Women's Clubs and the Widening Female Sphere, 1870-1920', *American Jewish Archives* vo. 1. (1989), pp. 7-26.

⁵³¹ 'The Harmonic Clubhouse', *New York Tribune* (19 June 1898), pp. 16-7.

at either end: one with ‘a series of columns, mirrors and mural paintings, producing a most pleasing effect. On the opposite side is a large mezzanine music gallery, supported by four caryatids representing characters from Wagner’s operas.’ Another notable decorative idiosyncrasy was the new ground-floor grillroom (Figure 89), which had ‘the appearance of a palatial “Kneipe”’—a common German-style pub—with ‘heavy wood-top tables and antique chairs’ and ‘a row of beer mugs on the shelf which surround the room’. Although grillrooms had become ubiquitous in clubland, offering an informal alternative to the main dining room, the decoration of the Harmonie’s was unique. The Kneipe aesthetic undoubtedly paid homage to members’ German heritage.⁵³² It was likely an effort by members to emphasise the national aspect of their heritage over the religious one and to participate in the broad immigrant culture of German national reverence.

Life inside the remodelled clubhouse changed almost as dramatically as the architecture. The preeminence of the entertainment committee were superseded by the newly created or at least newly empowered house committee, which caused considerable controversy in its tug of war with Mr. Siebrecht, the club’s steward and most senior servant. Problems began when the house committee sought to institute ‘modern ideas in regards to the running of such an establishment’, by which they presumably meant a gentlemen’s club. This antagonised Mr. Siebrecht, who had begun his employment when the Harmonie was still a family club, more than 30 years earlier. His ideas were said to have been at variance with the committee’s and he sometimes ignored its orders. But the committee decided against firing him and even rejected his resignation at first, in the hopes that he would eventually transition to the new ways. Problems persisted, however, until ‘it finally resolved itself to the question, as to whether the steward or the house committee were in proper authority to run the affairs of the club’. Thus when Mr. Siebrecht again offered his resignation, the board of governors accepted it ‘by an overwhelming majority.’ The club paid his salary in full until the end of the year and briefly considered awarding a pension, before deciding to liberally remember him in the distribution of its

⁵³² The kniepe enjoyed considerable popularity in turn-of-the-century America, especially on university and college campuses, where they often appeared in the basements of student centres, fraternities, and clubhouses, all relatively new building types that were then proliferating.

‘Christmas Fund’—a striking reminder of the links between the organisation’s metamorphosis and the community’s assimilation.⁵³³

Unlike Mr. Siebrecht, the entertainment committee limped on after the remodelling, though its prestige had been greatly diminished. It now organised just one large entertainment every month during the winter season. During the 1898-99 season, the first after the clubhouse reopened, the committee set off in October with a lecture by the British author and Zionist, Israel Zangwill, likely touring for his book *Ghetto Tragedies* (reissued in 1899); a concert and ball in November; with just a concert in December; a Vaudeville performance and ‘Smoker’ in January; an amateur minstrel performance in February; and a ‘Continuous Performance’ in March. All six events were ‘largely attended’, the committee reported at the end of the year, though it did not specify how many were mixed.⁵³⁴ Two years later, when it did include this information, only three of the seven entertainments that season were open to women as well as men. Perhaps to pre-empt criticism from conservative members, the committee added, this ‘proves to a remarkable degree...that the social features still form a salient element in our club life’ and ‘that it is not alone our function to provide the usual conveniences and opportunities afforded by associations generally known as “Gentlemen’s Clubs”’.⁵³⁵

Indeed, the remodelled clubhouse did not resolve the question of whether to be a gentlemen’s club. Rather it gave physical form to the club’s confusion and ambivalence. The old clubhouse had essentially been rebuilt on the pattern of a gentlemen’s club, but with an unusual appendage: the ladies’ annexe, which amounted to a ladies’ club. As such, it is difficult to imagine how either faction of members, the conservatives or the reformers, would have been happy with result on West 42nd Street. The reformers, after all, wanted a new clubhouse, a gentlemen’s clubhouse built as such. Although the reconfigured clubhouse provided many of the amenities they desired in a new building, they were forced to contend with an unwelcome neighbour, a veritable women’s club. The more radical among

⁵³³ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 11: Secretary Minutes 1899-1901, ‘To the members of the Harmonie Club’, 1900, pp. 3-4.

⁵³⁴ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 10: Secretary Minutes 1897-99, President’s Address, 9 Apr., 1899, p. 198.

⁵³⁵ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 11: Secretary Minutes 1899-1901, ‘To the members of the Harmonie Club’, 1900, p. 2.

them must have viewed this as a gross perversion of their hopes, and a potential source of serious embarrassment for the club. Nor could have the conservatives been happy. Ideally, this faction would have liked the club's traditional functions to have continued, whereas its spaces had now been purged from the main block and segregated in the annexe.

In sum, the remodelled clubhouse recycled Mack's failed proposal for a new building. Members charged Mack and the board of governors with having undertaken the project surreptitiously.⁵³⁶ Many were surprised by the cost and embittered by the long construction. In contrast to the original opening in 1867, memorialised in the club's scrapbook, a planned banquet for the reopening was cancelled for want of interest.⁵³⁷ Hostility was such that Mack complained of feeling unwelcomed in the clubhouse, ignored at club meetings, and, worse still, 'assailed with a varied amount of language of assorted quality.' The building 'has been the cause of more heart-burnings, crimination and incriminations, dissatisfaction and bad language, than any other which has ever engaged out attention'.⁵³⁸ No one, it seemed, neither conservatives nor reformers, was happy with the rebuilt clubhouse. Some sort of resolution was needed and the impending matter of the ground lease meant that the club would have to face the question of new quarters sooner rather than later.

The Gentlemen's Club

The 1902 Annual Meeting of the Harmonic Club might have been a celebratory one for it marked the organisation's 50th anniversary. But the club's new president, Henry L. Calman, said almost nothing of the historical milestone in his address. Nothing in his speech, in fact, could be described as celebratory. He began by announcing that more than two dozen members had resigned in the previous year, 'a record number', he warned, 'evidencing that fact that something is wrong, for which a proper

⁵³⁶ Mack revealed this in his 1898 annual address to the club. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 10: Secretary Minutes 1897-99, President's Address, 10 Apr., 1898.

⁵³⁷ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 40: Scrapbook, 1890-99, member announcement, 8 Oct., 1898.

⁵³⁸ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 10: Secretary Minutes 1897-99, President's Address, 10 Apr., 1898, p. 72.

remedy should be sought.’⁵³⁹ The remedy, as he saw it, was fully committing the Harmonie to its transformation into a gentlemen’s club. There could be no mistake: the Harmonie had elected its first reformer—and a radical one no less—to the president’s chair.

Calman’s election was likely helped by an influx of new members. Although there had indeed been an unprecedented exodus, the Harmonie Club had no difficulty filling the vacancies or any of the new places it had created to offset the cost of the West 42nd Street remodelling. In 1898, the club increased in size from 550 to 600 members, which had little effect on the 120-person waiting list. In the following year, the list jumped to 199.⁵⁴⁰ The desirability of Harmonie membership reflected the growing size of New York’s German Jewish population and the small number of elite clubs that would admit Jewish men. Not only were the new Harmonie members ignorant of the club’s history, giving them little cause to fight for the perpetuation of its traditions, but they could also be relied on to support reforms that enhanced the organisation’s prestige and its identity as a gentlemen’s club.

What exactly was Calman’s plan? A gentlemen’s clubhouse to be sure, but he believed one last reform had to be made before the club could take this momentous step: a constitutional amendment to allow gambling. Something had to replace the ballroom and concert hall and their mixed entertainments in the new building, he argued, and that something was cards and plenty of rooms to play them in. If the club was no longer viable as a social centre in its current form then other functions had to be found. ‘It therefore behoves us to look for other means of enhancing the attractiveness of the club to its members,’ Calman contended, ‘and those who favour the proposed amendment [to permit gambling] are of the opinion that its adoption would prove, if not a sovereign remedy, at least a palliative.’ Plus, gambling, especially poker, Calman argued, was an activity that would be acceptable in a clubhouse without women. The individual wealth of members also changed things. An activity ‘formerly deemed dangerous’ had now ‘been rendered safe through the greater ability of the majority

⁵³⁹ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Board of Directors Report, 1902, p. 1.

⁵⁴⁰ For membership increase see NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 10: Secretary Minutes 1897-99, President’s Address, 10 Apr., 1898, pp. 1-2; and for waiting list see President’s Address, 9 Aug., 1899, p. 2.

to bear losses which could formerly not be met.⁵⁴¹ When Calman's predecessor, Jacob W. Mack, had been confronted with a member petition to allow gambling a few years earlier, he chided the petitioners that not only would 'such a step...run counter to the laws of the State' but it 'would be a day of ill-omen...it would be more, it would be [the club's]...death-knell. It cannot be, it must not be, that an indiscriminate desire for promiscuous gambling has taken such a violent hold upon the majority of the respectable members of this club, as to cause them to fling to the winds all the traditions of its respectability and its high standing among the club of this city.⁵⁴² Suffice to say, Mack succeeded in scaring the club to vote against the petition.

The new president was more interested in the law of clubland and had a very different notion of club respectability. In order to convince the Harmonie Club to change its constitution, Calman had looked into what 'other prominent clubs' stated on the one hand and practised on the other with regards to gambling. Almost all, he discovered, had the same arrangement—the Union, the Manhattan, the Metropolitan—with prohibition on the books but never actually enforced. All Calman asked was 'that members should be allowed to have the use of private rooms, without being subject to inquiry as to the purpose for which such room shall be used. The outward appearance of the club would therefore be the same it is at present.'⁵⁴³ The club agreed and the constitution was changed to his satisfaction.

Calman could proceed with his plan for a new building. 'I feel convinced that a majority of our members would now be favourable to a plan which would gradually eliminate entertainments to which ladies are invited,' the president began; 'and it is my opinion that if a new building is to be constructed it should be constructed on the plan of a gentlemen's club.'⁵⁴⁴ But it fell to his successor, Albert F. Hochstadter, a lawyer and trustee of Temple Emanu-El, to put the plan into motion.⁵⁴⁵ While it was true that a majority of members were now in favour of building a gentlemen's clubhouse—two thirds,

⁵⁴¹ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Board of Directors Report, 1902, pp., 8-9.

⁵⁴² Mack also pointed out that such a proposition, if passed, would require the creation of private rooms, which the club did not then have. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 9: President's Address, 11 April, 1897, p. 8, 9.

⁵⁴³ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Board of Directors Report, 1902, p. 5.

⁵⁴⁴ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Board of Directors Report, 1902, p. 11.

⁵⁴⁵ 'Death List of a Day. Albert F. Hochstadter. Special to the New York Times.' *NYT*. 5 July 1903. p.7.

in fact—Hochstadter, perhaps less radical than Calman or simply more sympathetic to the appeals of members' wives and daughters, revised the plan to accommodate women.⁵⁴⁶ He added a women's luncheon room alongside the main dining rooms on the fifth floor and 'a reception room for their convenience on the ground floor.'⁵⁴⁷ When Calman returned to the president's chair following Hochstadter's sudden death in 1903, he preserved these rooms and oversaw the completion of the new, though not entirely reformed, Harmonie Club.

For its new location, the Harmonie Club selected a plot at 4 East 60th Street, between Fifth and Madison Avenues. The board of governors described the locality as 'the most desirable and fashionable' though it conceded that 'delay in taking this important step' prevented the club 'from locating on Fifth Avenue itself'. Still, it emphasised that the new clubhouse would be 'adjacent to Fifth Avenue' and 'almost at the entrance of our beautiful park'.⁵⁴⁸ Even so, East 60th Street represented the northernmost edge of the district members had agreed on by special vote in 1902, which effectively specified that the clubhouse be erected within the boundaries of clubland.⁵⁴⁹ Notably, there was never any discussion of relocating the Club to the Upper West Side, as Mack had contemplated doing only a few years earlier. There was also scant discussion of rebuilding on the West 42nd Street site, even though it was a more prestigious address for a club than East 60th. If it did decide to renew its ground lease in 1907, the board of governors estimated it would pay as much as \$45,000 per year in ground rent, five times the 1902 rate, plus the cost of a new building.⁵⁵⁰ The phenomenal increase in rent reflected the booming New York real estate market and the transformation of the West 42nd Street neighbourhood into a fashionable commercial district. In 1902, moreover, construction had begun on

⁵⁴⁶ At a special meeting of the club in 1903, Hochstadter put Calman's ideas for a new clubhouse to a vote clause by clause. The clause 'That the building be constructed on the lines of a modern club house for men, and shall not be constructed with a view of providing a ball room' passed with 144 in favour and 71 against. When this clause was excluded in the final vote, the resolution to build passed 300 to seven. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 12: Special Adjourned Meeting and Special Meeting, 2 Nov, 1902, p. 145, 147.

⁵⁴⁷ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Board of Directors Report, 1902, p. 6.

⁵⁴⁸ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Board of Directors Report, 1902, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁴⁹ The agreed upon district was 'bounded by 40th Street on the South [and] 60th Street on the North, Madison on the East and Eighth Avenue on the West.' NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 12: Secretary Minutes 1901-3, Special Adjourned Meeting and Special Meeting, 2 Nov., 1902, pp. 144-6.

⁵⁵⁰ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, Board of Directors Report, 1902, p. 10.

the Carrère & Hastings' central branch of the New York Public Library on the former site of the Croton Reservoir. In sum, East 60th Street represented that best option for the Harmonie Club.

The neighbourhood was mostly residential with one important exception. The site was directly opposite another McKim, Mead & White clubhouse, the Metropolitan Club, which, as we already know, chose the site for proximity to Scholars' Gate and the carriage drives beyond in Central Park. That the two clubs should now become neighbours was not without significance. The Metropolitan Club had been established by J. P. Morgan, as we saw in chapter three, in part because of his trouble getting his business associates into the Union Club. Thus facing each other across East 60th Street were two clubs erected in an effort to overcome elite exclusion and maintain membership to the broader upper-class world.

The Harmonie Club also settled on the same architects as J. P. Morgan. This represented a break for both client and architect. In every case study so far in this thesis, McKim, Mead & White had a personal connection to the club. All were members of the Century Association; McKim a member of the Harvard Club; McKim and White were also charter members of the Metropolitan Club; and it was the daughters and wives of their closest friends and best clients who commissioned the Colony Clubhouse. But no partner ever joined the Harmonie Club, nor were they particularly close to any of its members. Though this may have mattered in the 1890s, when McKim, Mead & White were still refining the club form and establishing themselves as a firm, they were now a large business—one of the largest architectural offices in the country—thanks in no small measure to their success designing clubhouses. Unsurprisingly, when the Harmonie Club called, McKim, Mead & White agreed at once.

The Harmonie Club, for its part, had previously always worked with Jewish architects, including Henry Fernbach, who designed the West 42nd Street clubhouse (and joined the club in time for its opening), and Henry Beaumont Herts, who oversaw its remodelling.⁵⁵¹ There was, it should also be noted, an obvious candidate among the members in 1903. This was Harry A. Jacobs (1872-1932), a

⁵⁵¹ Fernbach joined the Harmonie Club in April 1866. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 57: Membership Logs through 1924.

graduate of the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris and a recipient of the Prix de Rome.⁵⁵² Jacobs was established, distinguished, and more than capable of designing a clubhouse. Yet, as a member of the subcommittee on building, he actually helped steer the commission into the hands of McKim, Mead & White.⁵⁵³ Perhaps because Jacobs, more than anyone, as both a Beaux-Arts architect and a Harmonie member, privy to its internal turmoil, could appreciate the firm's significance for completing the organisation's metamorphosis into a gentlemen's club. Although the subcommittee's minutes contain few details about the selection process, we do know that it was unanimous in recommending McKim, Mead & White to the larger committee on site and building which, in turn, fully supported the nomination.⁵⁵⁴

When McKim, Mead & White began work on the Harmonie Clubhouse they were told that the plans would need to accommodate women. In fact, this is one of the first things that the committee on building and site established. At their second meeting in 1902, before anything had been decided other than the composition of the committee, an unnamed member motioned 'that it is the intention of the committee that the building to be erected shall contain a room suitable for a ladies' dining room with dressing rooms and accessories; and bowling alleys, arranged for use by ladies and gentlemen.'⁵⁵⁵ The committeeman got his wish. However, the spaces and experiences of men and women changed in significant ways in the new clubhouse. The women's spaces were reintegrated into the main clubhouse, the entertainment spaces disappeared, and women were restricted from using much of the rest of the building, whilst male members enjoyed several new amenities.

The Harmonie's Club's East 60th Street limestone and marble façade might be thought of as a rather elongated, compressed, and simplified version of the Century Association's on West 43rd

⁵⁵² H. F. Withey and E. R. Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects* (Los Angeles, 1970), p. 319.

⁵⁵³ For the record the six other Subcommittee on Building members were Albert F. Hochstadter (chairman), Sylvan Bier (secretary), Max E. Bernheimer, Henry L. Calman, Ephraim A. Jacob, and Emanuel S. Ullman. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 26: Minutes of the Committee on Site and Building 1902-5, 10 Feb., 1903.

⁵⁵⁴ The Subcommittee on Building voted to recommend McKim, Mead & White to the Committee on Site and Building on 5 February 1903. That recommendation was accepted on 10 February 1903. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 26: Minutes of the Committee on Site and Building 1902-5.

⁵⁵⁵ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 26: Minutes of the Committee on Site and Building 1902-5, 28 Nov., 1902.

Street, now a decade and a half old. On the whole, McKim, Mead & White appear to have designed the Harmonie's public face with an eye towards minimising the effect of the building's seven-storey height, which by some contemporary measures made it a skyscraper. To counterbalance the appearance of a tower, the central loggia and paired Corinthian pilasters—two features shared with the Century—were stretched across two and three stories, respectively. The uppermost storey was discreetly tucked behind the classical frieze, also redolent of the Century, minus the pierced oval windows. Below, the entry portico was also stretched across two floor, though its provenance lay not with the Century but rather with in New York's Harvard House and the Colony Club. The members' entrance was framed by giant Roman Doric columns, though enough room to one side allowed for a second entryway for women. A small though novel feature were the iron balconies on the first and fourth floors, reminiscent of those found on Parisian architecture. Though elsewhere, as already mentioned, the facade was more restrained than previous McKim, Mead & White clubhouses. The depth of the loggia (if it could be called such), for instance, was greatly reduced to the point of providing no real practical outdoor space. It was more of a gesture—a symbol—that the building was a clubhouse, one designed by McKim, Mead & White.

The most important interior change to note was that women's accommodation was reintegrated into the main clubhouse. In the 1898 remodelling of the West 42nd Street building, Jacob W. Mack had introduced several new spaces for women—a separate entrance, parlour, and restaurant—for which the project architects had erected a purpose-built wing, known as the ladies' annexe. That design effectively segregated men and women into two separate clubhouses. By contrast, in the McKim, Mead & White clubhouse, the women's entrance shared the front portico with the members' entrance (Figure 79), though there was an unmistakable hierarchy between them: members entered through the double door at centre, whilst the women through the single door to the left. This led onto the women's reception room, which linked to the ground floor at two points—through the front vestibule and back lobby. That lobby provided access to the building's main staircase and

elevators, which allowed women to reach their dining room on the fifth floor, alongside the members' dining room.

In bringing the women's accommodation back into the main building, McKim, Mead & White found it necessary to reconceive the room functions. The most significant change in this respect was the transformation of the women's lounging room into a reception room. The idea for a women's reception room on the ground floor was first articulated by Albert F. Hochstadter in 1893, during his brief tenure as club president. It dramatically modified the plans proposed by his predecessor, Henry L. Calman, who proposed total exclusion. Hochstadter initially adopted those plans in full, but later changed his mind, probably in order to conciliate the still sizable faction that opposed the idea of a men's club. McKim, Mead & White and their contractors referred to this room, which occupied the northeast corner of the clubhouse, as the 'ladies' rooms'. Its function, however, is clearly a reception room, and the full significance of such a room can now be grasped.

The women's reception room was unlikely to have been as comfortable as the parlour they left behind on West 42nd Street, and certainly not as comfortable as the upstairs members' lounging rooms. The reception room was a transitory space, a crossing point, designed for those coming and going to pause just long enough to check or collect a coat (there was a separate women's cloak room), use the lavatory (there was a lavatory), check their appearance (there was a console table with mirror), and perhaps jot off a quick letter (on the room's desk). One thing it was not designed for was lounging. Other than a banquette, all of the principal furniture had cane seating and backs. But this is not to say the room was unattractive, on the contrary it was likely an elegant albeit austere space. This much is clear from the invoices of the Hiss Company and Tiffany Studios, who undertook the furnishing and decorating of the clubhouse, respectively. All of the furniture was either painted or upholstered in 'French grey', whilst the walls and curtains were in a matching grey damask, replete with gold and silver trimmings.⁵⁵⁶ Tiffany Studios also designed and installed cabinets along the north and east walls,

⁵⁵⁶ NYHS, PR 042 (MM&W Collections), box 218: Hiss Company estimate for furniture, 17 Jul., 1905; NYHS, PR 042 (MM&W Collections), box 218: Hiss Company estimate for textiles, 25 Sept., 1905. These estimates appear to have been accepted and ordered by McKim, Mead & White on 9 August and 4 October 1905, respectively.

surrounding the window and fireplace.⁵⁵⁷ In sum, while this was not an exceptionally comfortable or particularly inviting room (cane seating has its limits), it must have provided a formally elegant environment.

If women were discouraged from pausing for very long in this room, where else were they going to in the clubhouse? The only other room set aside exclusively for women was the women's dining room on the fifth floor (Figure 81). This was no longer a restaurant. The room was reached by using the main staircase or elevators, which could be accessed via the small lobby at the rear of the women's reception room. The women's dining room was placed in the same corner as their reception area several floors below. This allowed women to access their dining room from the stairs and elevator without walking through the members' dining rooms. The furnishing and decoration does not appear to have differed to the adjacent breakfast room and main dining room, both for members (Figure 91).⁵⁵⁸ Tiffany Studios may have executed alternative detailing in the ladies' dining room, though it is unclear from the bills.⁵⁵⁹ In sum, women now ate in a dining room as opposed to a restaurant, which brought them back into the main clubhouse. The only other major space designed with women in mind was the two-lane bowling alley in basement, with separate, but equally sized men's and women's changing rooms.

The second major change for women in the new building was the elimination of entertainment spaces. This was, of course, by design. Henry L. Calman had proposed the gradual elimination of mixed-sex entertainments as part of his plan for a new building. They were, after all, essentially the same issue. And so McKim, Mead & White's design excluded all spaces that had distinguished the old clubhouse—ballroom, concert hall, and, after the remodelling, music room. It is not surprising, then, to find that the traditional mixed-sex entertainments all but ceased in the new clubhouse. In the years

⁵⁵⁷ NYHS, PR 042 (MM&W Collections), box 218: Tiffany Studios bill of sale, 24 Jan., 1906.

⁵⁵⁸ NYHS, PR 042 (MM&W Collections), box 218: Hiss Company estimate for furniture, 17 Jul., 1905; NYHS, PR 042 (MM&W Collections), box 218: Hiss Company estimate for textiles, 25 Sept., 1905.

⁵⁵⁹ NYHS, PR 042 (MM&W Collections), box 218: Tiffany Studios bill of sale, 24 Jan., 1906.

after the clubhouse opened, the entertainment committee became a shadow of its former self, organising just two or three entertainments each season, all for male members only.⁵⁶⁰

But the old social character of the club was never fully extinguished. Invitations for member-only events, for example, became more whimsical. A poster, from one of the first seasons in the new clubhouse, pictured a large grinning policeman, announcing ‘a musical comedy... to be performed by members of the club’ (Figure 94).⁵⁶¹ And these events appear to have been very well attended. More than 400 members, just over half of the membership, attended a smoker and vaudeville performance in 1907-1908 season. In light of this positive reception, the board of governors pushed for more programming.⁵⁶² Two seasons later, the club introduced ‘special dinners’ for members and their wives which included musical entertainment. And so women were back in the clubhouse on special occasions, though the dinners were not billed as entertainments, as mixed events had been called in the past.

The precautions taken by the board of governors to manage the coexistence of men and women in the clubhouse is telling. For special evenings, it produced notices, presumably hung on a bulletin board, warning members in advance that women would have access to the building.⁵⁶³ Outside special evenings as well, the board felt compelled to introduce regulations in response to members’ complaints soon after the clubhouse opened that the presence of women was interfering with their comfort. Those rules, now lost, were framed by the idea ‘that the members should be considered in every instance, but that the ladies should be granted every privilege that did not conflict with this primary consideration.’ Calman reported ‘under the moderate restrictions imposed...this fear has been entirely dissipated.’⁵⁶⁴

What were those restrictions on women’s use of the clubhouse? They were almost certainly barred from all but the basement, ground, and fifth floors, which contained the women’s

⁵⁶⁰ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 14: Secretary Minutes 1906-9, ‘Fellow Members’, 8 Apr., 1906, p. 6; NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 14: Secretary Minutes 1906-9, ‘Fellow Members’, 12 Apr., 1908, p. 5.

⁵⁶¹ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 42: Scrapbook 1904-10, ‘Harmonie Club The Entertainment Committee...’, 18 Dec.

⁵⁶² NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 14: Secretary Minutes 1906-9, ‘Fellow Members...’, 12 Apr., 1908, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁶³ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 42: Scrapbook 1904-10, n.d.

⁵⁶⁴ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 14: Secretary Minutes 1906-9, ‘Fellow Members...’, 8 Apr., 1907, p. 2.

accommodation discussed above. This would have meant women lost or partially lost access to the library, a privilege they had enjoyed in the old clubhouse.⁵⁶⁵ As most or all of the collection was integrated into the lounging rooms on the first floor, now a decidedly male space, they would not have had access to those shelves (there did appear to be stacks in the basement, however).

But the most extensive restrictions placed on the movement of women in the new building were for the new amenities. First, there were eight bedrooms and private parlours for bachelors' distributed across the second and fourth floors. Such accommodation had originally been proposed by Mack over a decade earlier. In the couple of years following the opening, these rooms were reported as fully occupied, though the revenue was less than three quarters of Mack's estimation of \$10,000 per year. Second, there was the seventh-floor gymnasium, outfitted with a variety of exercise equipment. The house committee employed an instructor and masseur for the gymnasium, for which 'a charge of \$15.00 for the season will be made to such members desiring to avail themselves of this privilege.'⁵⁶⁶ The gymnasium was an increasingly common amenity in clubhouses, which we saw in the Colony Club.

The final change has to do with the ways the members' spaces changed. The Harmonie Club had always contained rooms traditionally associated with an English gentlemen's club. But their size and grandeur grew markedly in the new building. One such example was the card room. With gambling now permitted, thanks to the constitutional amendment ushered in by Calman, McKim, Mead & White distributed five card rooms of various sizes over the first and second floors. The space given over to billiards was almost as great. There were now nine tables occupying almost the entire third floor. While a little smaller than the billiard room promised by Alfred F. Hochstadter, 'sufficient to accommodate from ten to twelve tales, larger than any billiard room in any other club of this city', it was nonetheless

⁵⁶⁵ Jacob W. Mack reported in 1898 that several thousand books had been borrowed by members during the previous year, 'whose wives and daughters are now wiser by the contents of...[those] volumes'. NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 10: Secretary Minutes 1897-9, President's Address, 10 April, 1898, p. 4.

⁵⁶⁶ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 42: Scrapbook 1904-10, n.d., notice to members.

an impressive site (Figure 90).⁵⁶⁷ Special attention was given to the decoration of this room, with dark wood wainscoting and burlap wall coverings to match. In short, highly masculine.

The most opulent spaces in the clubhouse were a suite of first-floor rooms for lounging, magazines, and newspapers (Figure 80, Figure 93). The rooms opened onto each other in much the same way they did in McKim, Mead & White's designs for the Century Association, though there was no central hall like in the Century and the standard London plan, likely owing to the restrictions of the narrow site. The furniture was either mahogany or oak, and all were covered with rich velour or figured tapestry, except for one sofa, the Hiss Company invoice shows, which was custom designed by the architects, and covered in leather. The cost of furnishing these rooms was about a third more per square foot than the women's reception room. The walls were covered with figured green damask, and the windows curtained in a matching green velour lined with sateen, and bordered with silk rope, and gold galloon. The draw cords were looped and tasselled. The most impressive feature of this suite of rooms, however, was the coffered ceiling. It was designed and executed by Tiffany Studios, and was the single most expensive item in their astonishing \$21,000 contract.⁵⁶⁸ In short, these rooms were scaled and decorated for a prince.

Conclusion

As Harmonie Club President Henry L. Calman observed shortly after opening the East 60th Street clubhouse, becoming 'a man's club' did not mean as 'many supposed...the elimination of the ladies from our presence'.⁵⁶⁹ On the contrary 'ladies have benefited by the opening of our new house and... they have hastened to take advantage of the greater privileges which have been extended to them.' He noted, for example, 'lunch and dinner parties have become the rule and not the exception, and, whereas formerly the ladies' dining room was used to only a very limited extent [on West 42nd Street], its

⁵⁶⁷ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 13: Secretary Minutes 1903-6, President's Address, 1903, p. 6.

⁵⁶⁸ NYHS, PR 042 (MM&W Collections), box 218: Tiffany Studios, bill of sale, 24 Jan., 1906.

⁵⁶⁹ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 14: Secretary Minutes 1906-9, 'Fellow Members...', 8 Apr., 1907, p. 2.

capacity is now constantly taxed to its utmost or even overtaxed.⁵⁷⁰ The popularity of the women's dining room only grew over the next couple of years, when the board of governors reported that it was 'taxed beyond capacity', necessitating 'the use of the private dining rooms to accommodate the members and their families.'⁵⁷¹

Another testament to the remarkable flexibility of the club form. Thus the same characteristic that had attracted Protestant elites to the club idea now allowed German Jews to maintain some of their traditions and customs. Reforming the Harmonie Gesellschaft turned out to be far less drastic than anyone imagined. But in its history we have seen to a much a greater extent than historians have allowed the threat that antisemitism posed to upper-class cohesion and the importance of a special type of institution, the gentlemen's club, for providing a level of resolution as well as an outlet for the community to take up and debate, albeit implicitly, the elite Jewish American experience. Yes, New York's upper class was segregated along ethnic and religious lines, but the gentlemen's club and its architects McKim, Mead & White crossed them and in doing so provided a crucial vehicle for ensuring that, remarkably enough, segregation did not ultimately undermine class identity.

⁵⁷⁰ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 14, Secretary Minutes 1906-9, 'Fellow Members...', 8 Apr., 1907, p. 2.

⁵⁷¹ NYHS, MS 282 (HCR), vo. 14, Secretary Minutes 1906-9, 'Fellow Members...', 12 Apr., 1908, p. 1.

Conclusion

At the turn of the twentieth century the architectural firm of McKim, Mead & White and a small group of clients—their friends and family, men and women, all representatives of a new breed of industrialists and financiers—took up club life with a passion. Certainly, they were not the only ones going club crazy in Gilded Age New York City. But this group did lead the city's clubhouse building boom. Between them they were responsible for founding, reinventing, and building quarters for an array of organisations that ranked among the most prestigious and exerted a singular influence on club life and architecture in Gotham. No one ever talked about America's second most talented club architects, or its rising stars. They simply did not exist. McKim, Mead & White were *the* club architects.

A similar argument can be made for the firm's clients. They were inveterate figures in the world of Gilded Age clubs. The financier J. P. Morgan was exemplary. Of the five clubs taken up in this thesis, he was a member of two, the Century Association and Metropolitan Club, but exerted an influence on almost all. His shadow was detectable, for instance, behind the Harmonie Club's decision to transform itself from a family club into a gentlemen's club, since he, like many others, failed to protest the exclusion of Jews from organisations he belonged to. His daughter, Anne Morgan, moreover, was one of the founders of the Colony Club, the first social club for women in the city. Morgan himself played a direct role in the establishment of that organisation as chairman of the men's advisory committee, whose expertise the Colony's founding president felt had been of inestimable value.⁵⁷²

Another notable figure who re-appeared across the chapters was the Wall Street lawyer and McKim, Mead & White's attorney, Charles C. Beaman. He belonged to both the Century Association and the Harvard Club of New York and intervened at critical moments in the narratives of both

⁵⁷² J. B. Harriman, *From Pinafores to Politics* (New York, 1923), p. 16.

organisations that ultimately ended in clubhouse commissions for the firm. Likewise, members of the railway-owning Vanderbilt family cast their ballot in favour of a new clubhouse for the Century as well as helped establish the Metropolitan. Then, of course, there were the architects themselves. At least one partner belonged to each of the first three case study clubs, if not all, as at the Century, and made personal contributions to the clubhouse projects: Stanford White purchased a \$1,000 bond to help finance construction of the Century's West 43rd Street clubhouse, for example, while Charles F. McKim gave the plans for New York's Harvard House free as a gift to the Harvard Club.⁵⁷³

The clubhouse building phenomenon of America's leading architects and chief capitalists in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries had never been examined, let alone explained, until now. My argument through these chapters has been that the work behind the clubhouses—of planning, of designing, and of constructing—served as a vehicle for the formation of a powerful new social class. That the gentlemen's club possessed special properties as an organisation that lent itself to such work, namely its unique concern for the architecture of its domain over any one type of objective or explicit unifying interest for members. That clubhouse architecture was sufficiently defined as a building type to serve as a sort of mould for giving form to the sometimes vague social impulses of a nonetheless ambitious new breed of capitalists. That McKim, Mead & White possessed an unusual command of this building type, its floor plans, and elevations, thanks to their own stylistic evolution over the course of the 1880s, from Shingle Style to Renaissance classical architects, which allowed them to deftly modify it to meet the different needs of the club clients. That this, combined with their friendship with many of those clients and their willingness to invite them into the design process as genuine collaborators, helped awaken an American ruling-class consciousness.

This insight builds on the work of historian Sven Beckert, who provided one of the most compelling accounts yet for how a national upper class emerged in New York City around the turn of

⁵⁷³ For the White's Century Association bond, see CAAF, Stanford White, membership file (1886-1906), 1892 Bond. For McKim's gift to the Harvard Club of New York, see O. de Kay, *From the Age that is Past: Harvard Club of New York City, A History* (New York, 1994), p. 59.

the twentieth century.⁵⁷⁴ He saw institution building as the major agent in this development, but his bird's-eye approach kept him from developing a picture of how the work of joining, founding, and participating in elite clubs and societies actually translated into class consciousness.⁵⁷⁵ By focusing my research on the quite literal institution building process and bringing the architectural records of McKim, Mead & White and the organisations they built for to bear on the scholarship of economic and business historians, this thesis has brought to light an aristocracy-making machine, McKim, Mead & White's gentlemen's clubs.⁵⁷⁶

The preceding chapters have shown how it was the experience of building gentlemen's clubs that was responsible for a great deal of ruling-class culture.⁵⁷⁷ On some level elites must have appreciated this, which is why they built so many. It was in clubhouse building that they tackled their

⁵⁷⁴ S. Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1856-1896* (Cambridge, 2001). See also Beckert's essays, 'Merchants and Manufacturers in Antebellum North', in S. Fraser and G. Gerstle (eds), *Ruling America: A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pp. 92-122; 'Institution-building and Class Formation: How Nineteenth-century Bourgeois Organized', in G. Morton, R. J. Morris, and B. M. A. de Vries (eds), *Civil Society, Associations, and Urban Places: Class, Nation, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 17-37; and 'Bourgeois Institution Builders: New York in the Nineteenth Century', in J. B. Rosenbaum and S. Beckert (eds), *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2010), pp. 103-17.

⁵⁷⁵ Beckert sets out his approach most explicitly in 'Institution-building and Class Formation', especially p. 20. My thinking on this falls into line with T. J. Gilfoyle, 'Making an American Upper Class', *Reviews in American History*, 30/2 (June 2002), pp. 279-87.

⁵⁷⁶ The business and economic history that has been especially helping in developing the arguments in this study include V. P. Carosso, *Investment Banking in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); A. D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); E. Cook, *The Pricing of Progress: Economic Indicators and the Capitalization of American Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017); C. R. Geisst, *Wall Street: A History*, 4th edn (1997; New York, 2004); T. Kessner, *Capital City: New York City and the Men behind America's Rise to Economic Dominance, 1860-1900* (New York, 2004); J. Levy, *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012); N. R. Lamoreaux, *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904* (Cambridge, 1985); J. Livingston, *Origins of the Federal Reserve System: Money, Class, and Corporate Capitalism, 1890-1913* (Ithaca and London, 1986); N. Maggor, *Brahmin Capitalism: Frontiers of Wealth and Populism in America's First Gilded Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017); J. Sklansky, 'Labor, Money, and the Financial Turn in the History of Capitalism', *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, 11/1 (2014), pp. 23-46; J. Sklansky, 'The Elusive Sovereign: New Intellectual and Social Histories of Capitalism', *Modern Intellectual History*, 9/1 (2012), pp. 233-48; M. J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916: The Market, the Law, and Politics* (Cambridge, 1988); J. C. Ott, *When Wall Street met Main Street: The Quest for an Investors' Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011); S. J. Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers: The World of J. P. Morgan* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013); and R. E. Wright, *The First Wall Street: Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and the Birth of American Finance* (Chicago, 2005).

⁵⁷⁷ The historian David C. Hammack, by contrast, argued that social clubs in Gilded Age New York City 'served more to divide than to unify' elites based on how they were used. *Power and Society: Greater New York at the turn of the Century* (New York, 1982), pp. 76-77. Indeed, the experience of using rather than building has always been the primary mode of consideration among the small numbers of scholars who have given any consideration to the subject. Though few have agreed with Hammack. In addition to Beckert's *Monied Metropolis*, see especially E. D. Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy & Caste in America* (1964; New Haven, 1987).

most perplexing class questions and developed their most ambitious schemes. One especially striking example being antisemitism, a paradox at the heart of a good deal of literature on American elites, which has sought to understand how or even if it is possible to speak of a segregated yet cohesive ruling class, divided by religion.⁵⁷⁸ In the Harmonie Club's debate over whether to build and transform itself into a gentlemen's club it was possible to reconstruct what might have otherwise been lost: the experience of Jewish elites as genteel antisemitism became endemic, threatening to become part of the very fabric of upper-class identity. Chapter five also demonstrated the striking flexibility of the clubhouse form in the hands of McKim, Mead & White and how the architects bridged one of the deepest chasms that ran through the social landscape of upper-echelon America.

Just as organisational debate helped German Jews formulate a response to social ostracization, it also helped members of the Century Association cultivate a cultural outlook capable of on the one hand combatting the parochial and defeatist habits of the old commercial elite and on the other the worst excesses of the new manufacturers and financiers. In the removal debate in chapter one a new interpretation for the American Renaissance emerged. It challenged the standard account of this artistic movement as merely the expression of a new American nationalism, while challenging the dominant portrayal of upper-class identity in this period as 'a cult of masculinity, toughness, and pioneering, and war'.⁵⁷⁹ The removal debate revealed a concerted effort by a segment of the old commercial elite to establish an aristocratic tradition, which historians had previously insisted it had assiduously avoided doing in favour of using a martial ethic as the primary means of uniting themselves and the new capitalists into a national ruling class, often exemplified by the 'strenuous life' of Theodore Roosevelt.⁵⁸⁰ However, as we saw, the future president himself turned up for the vote that effectively landed the Century commission in the office McKim, Mead & White.

⁵⁷⁸ Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment*; C. Lasch, 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class', in C. Lasch, *The World of Nations: Reflections on American History, Politics, and Culture* (New York, 1973), pp. 87-89; and Pak, *Gentlemen Bankers*.

⁵⁷⁹ Lasch, 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class', p. 87. See also, G. Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, 1995); and F. Ninkovich, 'Theodore Roosevelt: Civilization as Ideology', *Diplomatic History*, 10/3 (July 1986), pp. 221-45.

⁵⁸⁰ Lasch, 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class', pp. 98-99.

Again and again we have encountered instances like this one, of men taking an active interest in design and decoration (and relishing it), which simply does not agree with the established view of upper-class American men as either preoccupied with business, military adventure, or hunting wild game. Likewise, we have encountered women in nearly every case study, in places where we really ought not to have found them if we accepted the dominant idea in the literature about a strict separation of public and private spheres, with gentlemen's clubs falling squarely into the former and women secluded at home.⁵⁸¹ One of the most striking scenes in chapter three, in the making of the Metropolitan Club, were the meetings of the building committee at its chairman's summer house in Newport, where they maintained strict boardroom-like formality, despite the informal setting and discussing, among other things, the design of the club servant's livery. Or in chapter two when the banker Henry L. Higginson complained to McKim of feeling 'pretty cross' over his delayed order of linen and china for the Student Union at Harvard University.⁵⁸² Higginson's idea for the union, including the one that alumni would furnish and decorate the building themselves, came from New York's Harvard House. Here, members were aided by their wives, who donated family heirlooms, embroidered fire screens, and maybe even managed the entire project for their husbands. Not only did the wives help complete the club rooms, but their participation then became a central vignette in the club's self-mythologizing about a family of alumni coming together to build the community's home—initiated by the original gift of McKim's drawings. This powerful new language, cultivated through the clubhouse building experience, helped link upper-class identity and higher education as well as transform Harvard into the modern paradigm of a preeminent American university.

Similarly, the Metropolitan Club founders refined their plans for a clubhouse, imagined as a vehicle for remaking the city's elite, from one based on the criterion of family to one based on wealth, by working closely with Stanford White, often alongside him at the drawing board. They only arrived

⁵⁸¹ L. K. Kerber, 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *The Journal of American History*, 75/1 (June 1988), pp. 9-39.

⁵⁸² NYHS, PR42 (MMW), Harvard Union correspondence, fo. Harvard Union, H. L. Higginson—C. F. McKim, 8 Mar., 1901.

at the final idea—a clubhouse that combined extensive spaces for non-members, including women, as well as facilities for members’ carriages—after the mixed successes and failures of their expensive prototype, known as Madison Square Garden. Importantly, this sort of work was neither new nor alien for the millionaire businessmen. They proceeded in much the same way they might have done, say, for restructuring a railroad company. In other words, they were guided by the same principles of consolidation and utilized the same bureaucratic methods. Still, the Metropolitan’ design emphasised family, with a room to display wives and daughters on their breaks from carriage drives in Central Park.

The odd marriage of family and corporation was central to the club’s ability to craft the American ruling class. The architects themselves were an adjunct of this—professionals but also friends, family, and club members. It was precisely the club’s characteristic as a quasi-public, quasi-domestic space that suited the founders of the Colony Club, providing them with a useful stepping stone between their homes and, as it turned out, philanthropy and reform work. In this respect, the Colony helped transition the American ruling class from its initial stage of identity formation to the next project of preserving its power, launching women into leadership roles in Progressive Era causes that ameliorated the worst injustices of American capitalism, ultimately ensuring reform rather than revolution.⁵⁸³ The timing of ruling-class women’s entrée into reform work along with their capacity for it, despite their lack of education compared to female middle-class reformers, has perplexed the authors of recent work on the subject.⁵⁸⁴ The Colony’s story suggests one explanation. The experience of building was liberating for the club’s founders. It gave them an architectural education (with White as their teacher) and a paradigm of organisation (gentlemen’s club) that they could—and did—adapt for their later philanthropic projects such as in Anne Morgan’s transformation of the American Women’s Association into a residential hotel for professional women in New York and Florence J. Harriman’s founding of the Women’s Democratic Club in Washington D. C.

⁵⁸³ Beckert, *Monied Metropolis*, pp. 328-29.

⁵⁸⁴ For example, see J. M. Johnson, *Funding Feminism: Monied Women, Philanthropy, and the Women’s Movement, 1870-1967* (Chapel Hill, 2017), pp 21-2, 188-89; J. Neuman, *Gilded Suffragists: The New York Socialites who Fought for Women’s Rights to Vote* (New York, 2017), pp. 5-22; and D. Huyssen, *Progressive Inequality: Rich and poor in New York, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 2014), pp. 181-226.

The Colony Club was also remarkable for the insight it offered into the evolution of McKim, Mead & White's working practices. Begun in 1905, more than a decade after the conclusion of the previous case study, the Metropolitan Club, the Colony showed the architects' office transformed. Despite the unusual demands of the Colony commission—the fact that most of the 20 founders worked independently of any committee and corresponded individually with the firm—there was no evidence to suggest that relations between the architects and Colony founders ever deteriorated as they had for the Metropolitan. In that earlier project, the intimacy of the architect-client relations became more extreme than for any previous clubhouse. The line between architect and client was all but completely blurred, with Robert Goelet, the Metropolitan's building committee chairman, for example, authoring more essential design elements than Stanford White himself. While this drove the creative solutions reached in that project, it also seriously strained the architect-client fraternity, especially as construction began. McKim, Mead & White just barely escaped litigation with the club, an organisation they were in the awkward position of belonging to and which was, moreover, run by men they had been friends with. Clearly, the partners needed a better system, one capable of delivering professional service while still allowing for a degree of architect-client collaboration and informality, which was key to making the clubhouse building experience a class-constituting mechanism. If the Colony Club project can be taken as any indication, then McKim, Mead & White's system of office rules instituted after the Metropolitan succeeded in doing that.

The architect-client fraternity that emerged in the clubhouse narratives raises interesting questions such as these about its role in the evolution of the firm's working practices and, given McKim, Mead & White's influence, the architectural profession more generally. What it begins to make a case for, and call for further investigation of, is two-fold. First, how such relationships drove the professionalization of American architecture (the need for professional autonomy). This seems especially plausible given McKim's prominent role in pushing for the professionalization of architecture. For example, translating his friendships with men like J. P. Morgan into financial support for architectural institutions such as the American Academy in Rome, of which he was the founding

president, or his efforts as president of the American Institute of Architects to secure government accreditation of architecture (which would only be achieved after his death), establish universal rules for architectural competitions, and set a standard architects' fee.⁵⁸⁵ Second, McKim, Mead & White's close client relationships help explain why they were the first large-scale architectural office in the world. After all, as these chapters have demonstrated, McKim, Mead & White closely worked with businessmen at the vanguard of the new corporations in American business, often almost like partners, and even at times literally as business partners (as in the case of the Madison Square Garden Company, of which White was a director alongside J. P. Morgan and the Vanderbilts).

Beyond merely showing us how an American ruling class took shape around the turn of the twentieth century, McKim, Mead & White's gentlemen's clubs also offer clues for where we might find the heirs of that class today. It seems plausible that the clubhouses taken up in these chapters—four of which continue to be owned and run by the same organisations that built them—have served as artefacts of ruling-class culture, helping to carry certain styles and sensibilities from one generation to the next, while simultaneously policing class boundaries.⁵⁸⁶ But it is difficult to accept the idea that they have somehow continued to function in the ways we saw in this thesis—as dynamic centres of ruling-class experimentation and innovation. That function has likely moved elsewhere. Possibly to institutions where architect-client relationships remain dominant and where there is still latitude for institutional creativity. One interesting option are the 'building drunk' boards of trustees of non-profit organisations like libraries, universities, and museums.⁵⁸⁷ It is surely significant that in the present Gilded Age, where wealth inequality looks much as it did during the era covered in this study, there is

⁵⁸⁵ For the founding of the American Academy in Rome, see F. K. Yegül, *Gentlemen of Instinct and Breeding: Architecture at the American Academy in Rome, 1894-1940* (Oxford, 1991). For accounts of the professionalization of American architecture, including the role of McKim and AIA, see M. N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, 1999), pp. 27-52; and A. Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven, 1983).

⁵⁸⁶ P. Bourdieu, 'Kabyle house or the world reversed?', in *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 271-83.

⁵⁸⁷ Here I am thinking particularly of the fascinating account offered by S. Sherman, *Patience and Fortitude: Power, Real Estate, and the Fight to Save a Public Library* (New York, 2015); and the recent insight into contemporary architectural practice from R. Graaf, *Four Walls and a Roof: The Complex Nature of a Simple Profession* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017).

an unprecedented building boom in cultural institutions.⁵⁸⁸ These projects are, moreover, rewriting institutional definitions and the designs are dominated by modern-day incarnations of McKim, Mead & White such as Renzo Piano and Norman Foster.⁵⁸⁹ These architecture-intensive projects would, it seems, provide just the right sort of vehicle for reaffirming and innovating anew upper-class ideas like gentlemen's clubs had in the first Gilded Age.

⁵⁸⁸ On the second Gilded Age see, T. Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, tr. Goldhammer, A., (Cambridge, Mass., 2014); and P. Krugman, 'Why We're in a New Gilded Age', *New York Review of Books* (8 May 2014).

⁵⁸⁹ Global Cultural Districts Network, AEA Consulting, '2017 Cultural Infrastructure Index', http://aeaconsulting.com/uploads/800008/1536717435612/AEA_-_Cultural_Infrastructure_Index_2017_-_web.pdf (14 Jan. 19).

FIGURES



Figure 1. Morgan's Study, New York City, by McKim, Mead & White, 1902-06: It was here that Morgan summoned a group of bankers in 1907 (Morgan Library & Museum)



Figure 2. Morgan's Library, across from Morgan's Study, by McKim, Mead & White, 1902-1906 (Morgan Library & Museum)

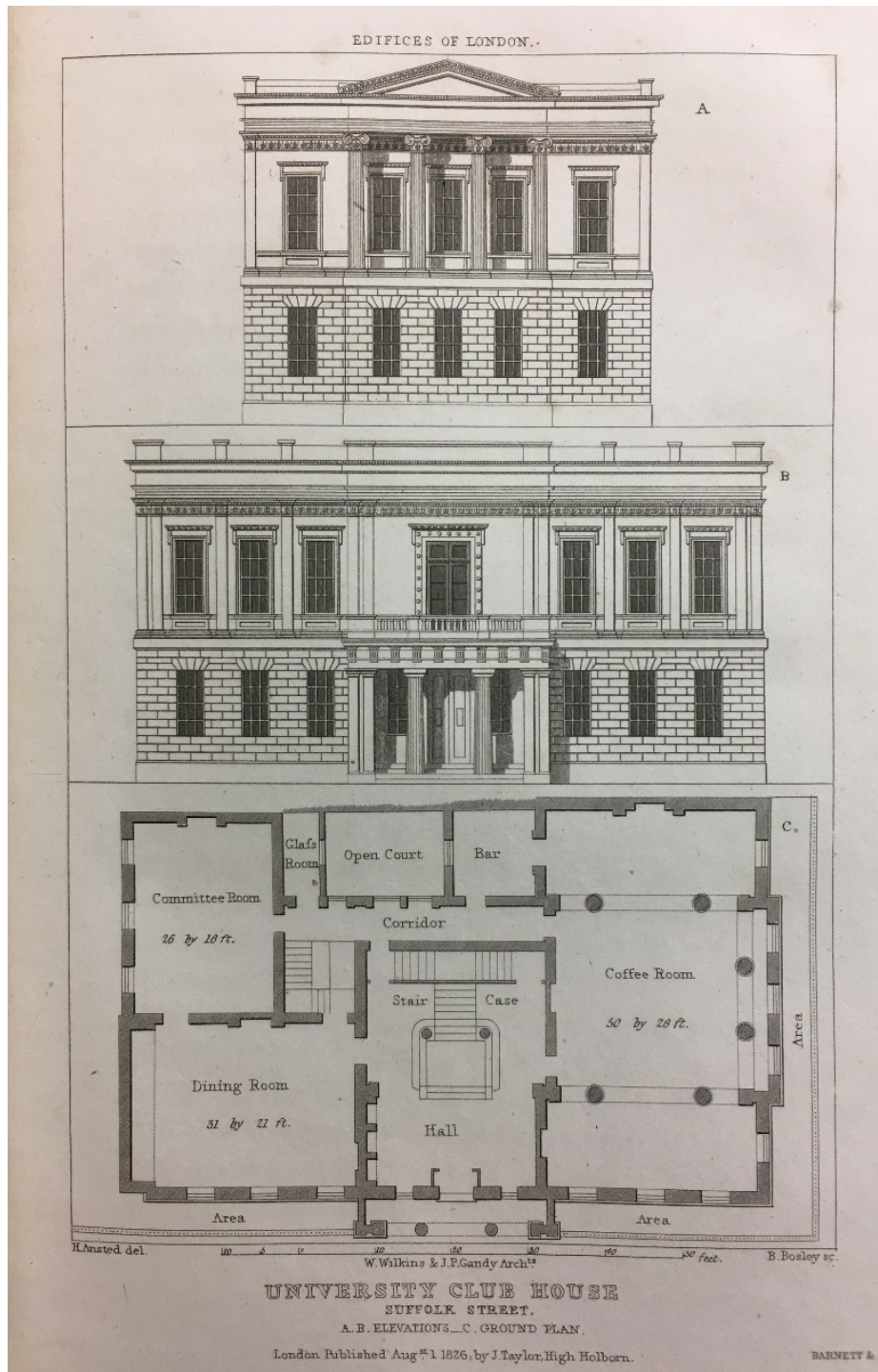


Figure 3. University Club, London, elevations and ground-floor plan, by William Wilkins, 1822-26. (W. H. Leeds, *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*, II)

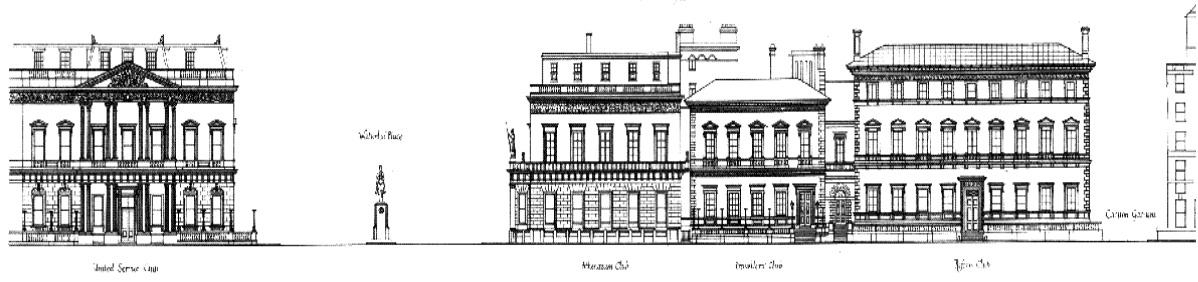


Figure 4. South Side of Pall Mall, London. From left to right: United Service Club; (across Waterloo Place) Athenaeum Club; Travellers' Club; Reform Club. (*Survey of London*)

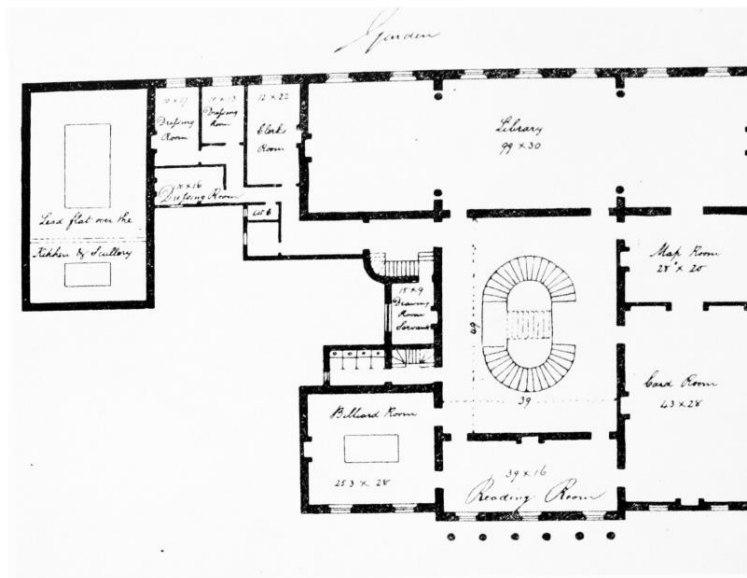


Figure 5. United Service Club, first-floor plan. (*Survey of London*)

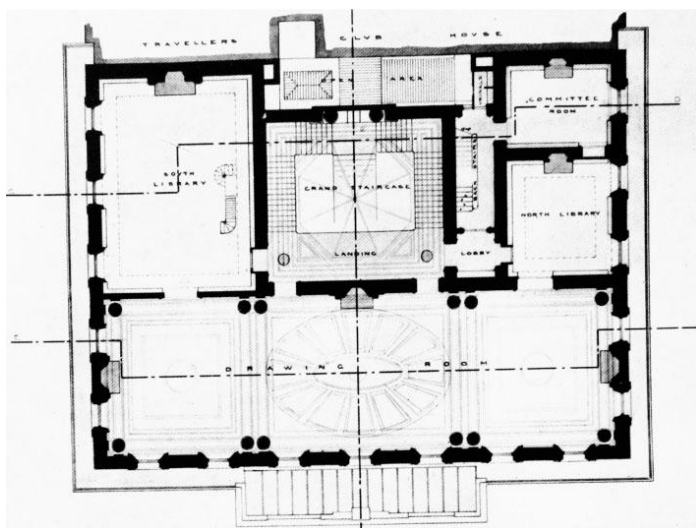


Figure 6. Athenaeum Club, First-floor plan, drawn 1882. (*Survey of London*)

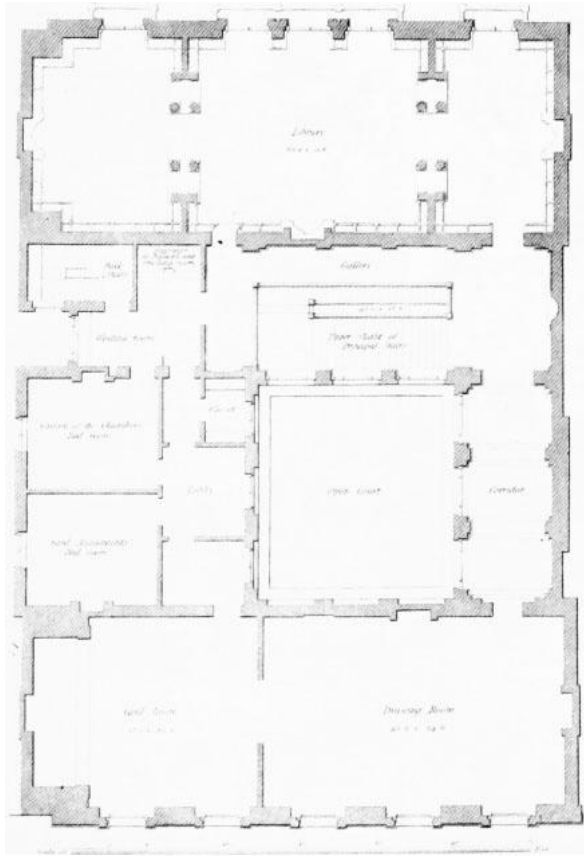


Figure 7. Travellers' Club, first-floor plan, published 1839. (*Survey of London*)

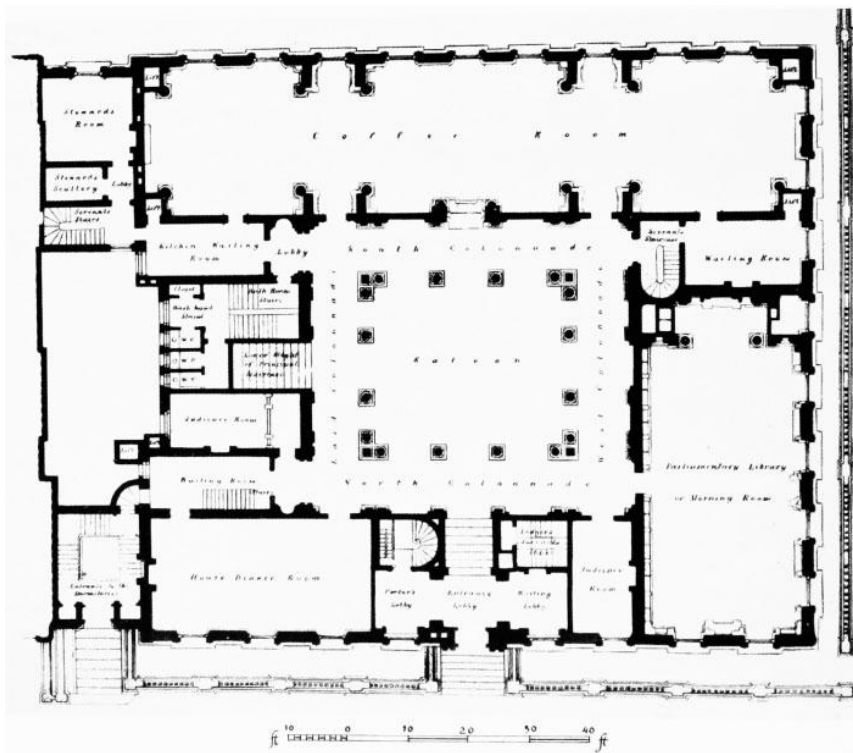


Figure 8. Reform Club, Ground-floor plan, executed design, published 1840. * First-floor unavailable. (*Survey of London*)



Figure 9. United Service Club, Library (*Survey of London*)



Figure 10. Athenaeum Club, Drawing Room. (*Country Life*, 1955)



Figure 11. Travellers' Club, Library. (*Survey of London*)



Figure 12. Reform Club, Library. (*Survey of London*)



Figure 13. Reform Club, London, by Charles Barry, 1838-41. (*Survey of London*)



Figure 14. University Club, New York City, by McKim, Mead & White, 1898-1901. (Museum of the City of New York)



Figure 15. Union Club, at 21st Street and Fifth Avenue, New York, by Thomas Thomas, 1852-55. (New-York Historical Society)



Figure 16. Location of private members' clubs in New York City in 1879, 1893, and 1909. Sources: *The King's Handbook* (1893), *Troy's New York City Directory* (1879); *New York Social Registrar* (1909); and *The Elite Catalogue of Clubs* (1890-91). (Authors)



Figure 17. Leonard W. Jerome Mansion, 32 East 26th Street, New York City, by Thomas R. Jackson, 1859. (Library of Congress)

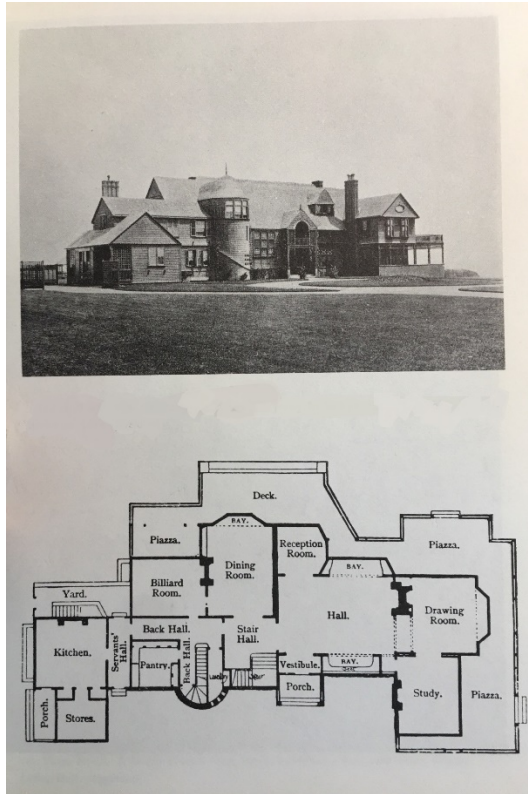
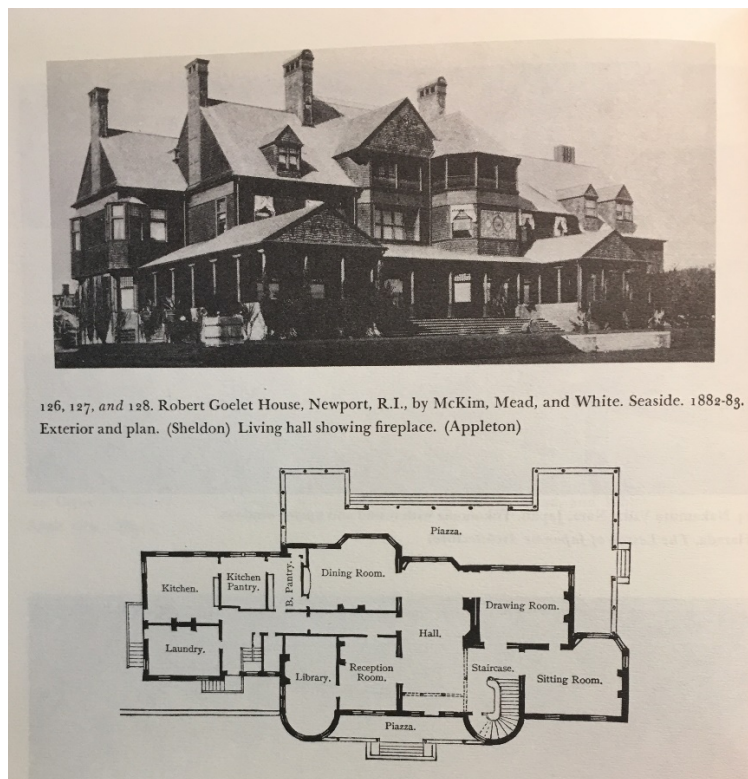


Figure 18. Victor Newcomb House, Elberon, New Jersey, by McKim, Mead & White, 1880-81. (V. J. Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style*)



126, 127, and 128. Robert Goelet House, Newport, R.I., by McKim, Mead, and White. Seaside. 1882-83. Exterior and plan. (Sheldon) Living hall showing fireplace. (Appleton)

Figure 19. Robert Goelet House, Newport, Rhode Island, by McKim, Mead & White, 1882-83. (Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style*)

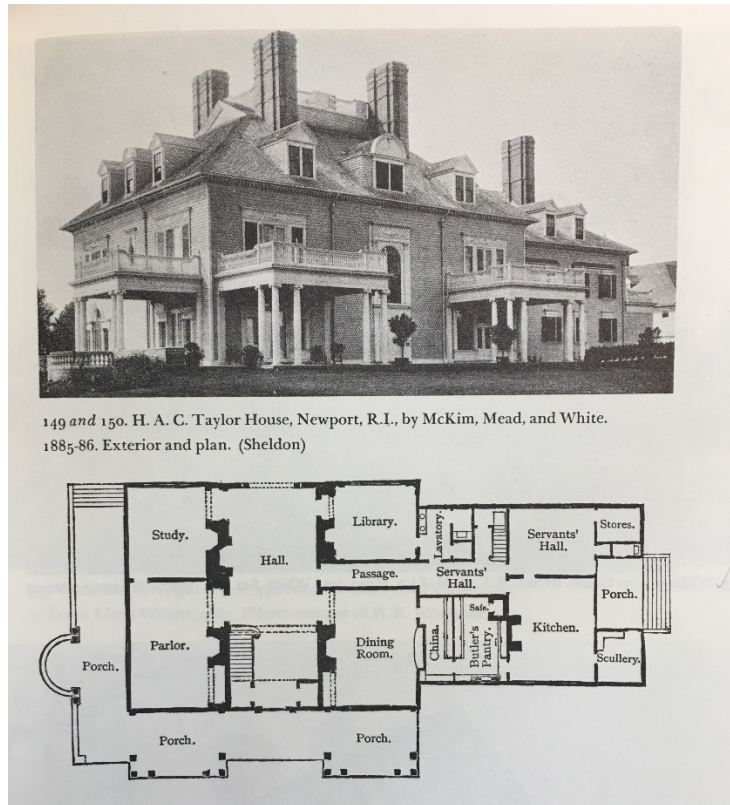


Figure 20. H. A. C. Taylor House, Newport, Rhode Island, by McKim, Mead & White, 1885-86. (Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style*)

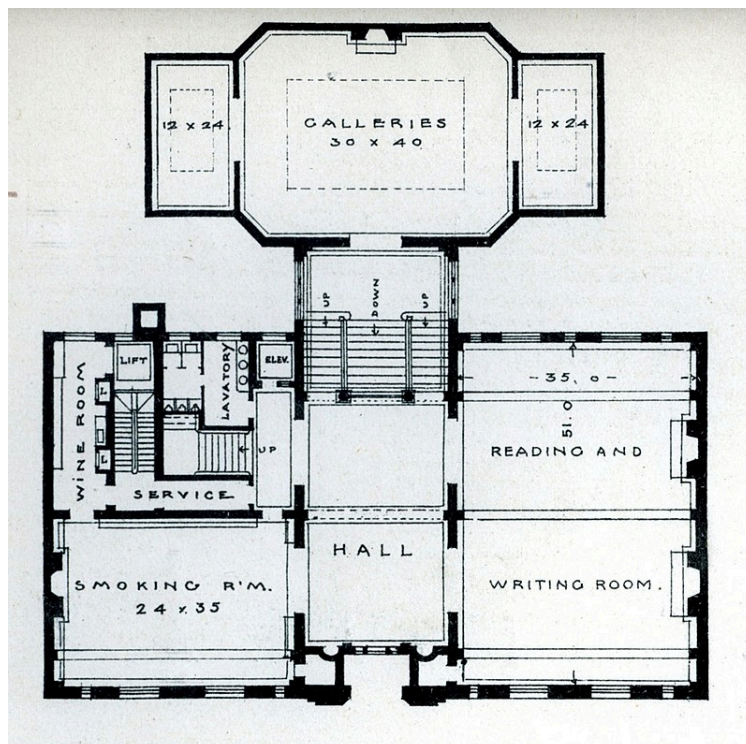


Figure 21. Century Association, first-floor plan, New York City, by McKim, Mead & White, 1889-91 (Century Association Foundation Archives)



Figure 22. Villard Houses, 451 Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1900. (Museum of the City of New York)



Figure 23. Entrance hall in the Henry Villard House, 451 Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1900. (Museum of the City of New York)

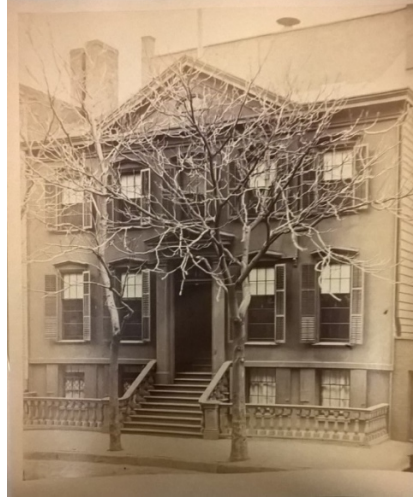


Figure 24. Century Association, 15th Street clubhouse, façade by Joseph C. Wells, photographed c. 1860s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)



Figure 25. Century Association, 15th Street clubhouse, art gallery and library, remodelled by Charles Dexter Gambrill, photographed c. 1870s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

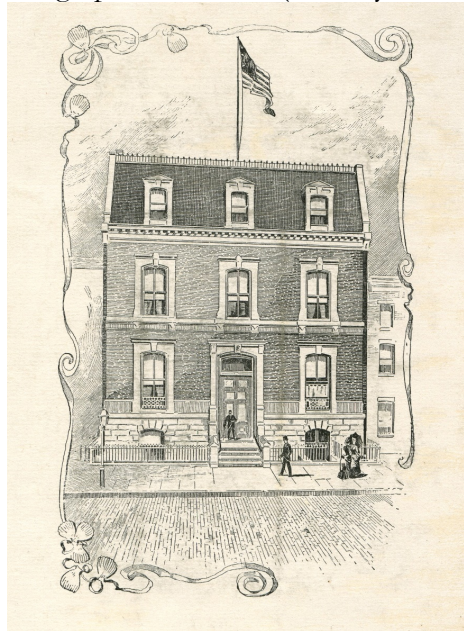


Figure 26. Century Association, 15th Street clubhouse, façade by Gambrill & Richardson, 1869. (Century Association Archives Foundation)



Figure 28. Boston Public Library, exterior from across Copley Square, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1909. (Library of Congress)



Figure 29. Boston Public Library, delivery room, murals by Edwin Austin Abbey, photographed c. 1909. (Library of Congress)

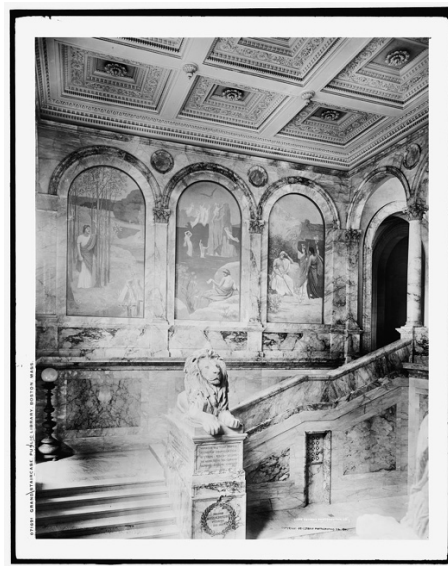


Figure 30. Boston Public Library, main staircase, murals by John Singer Sargent, photographed c. 1909. (Library of Congress)

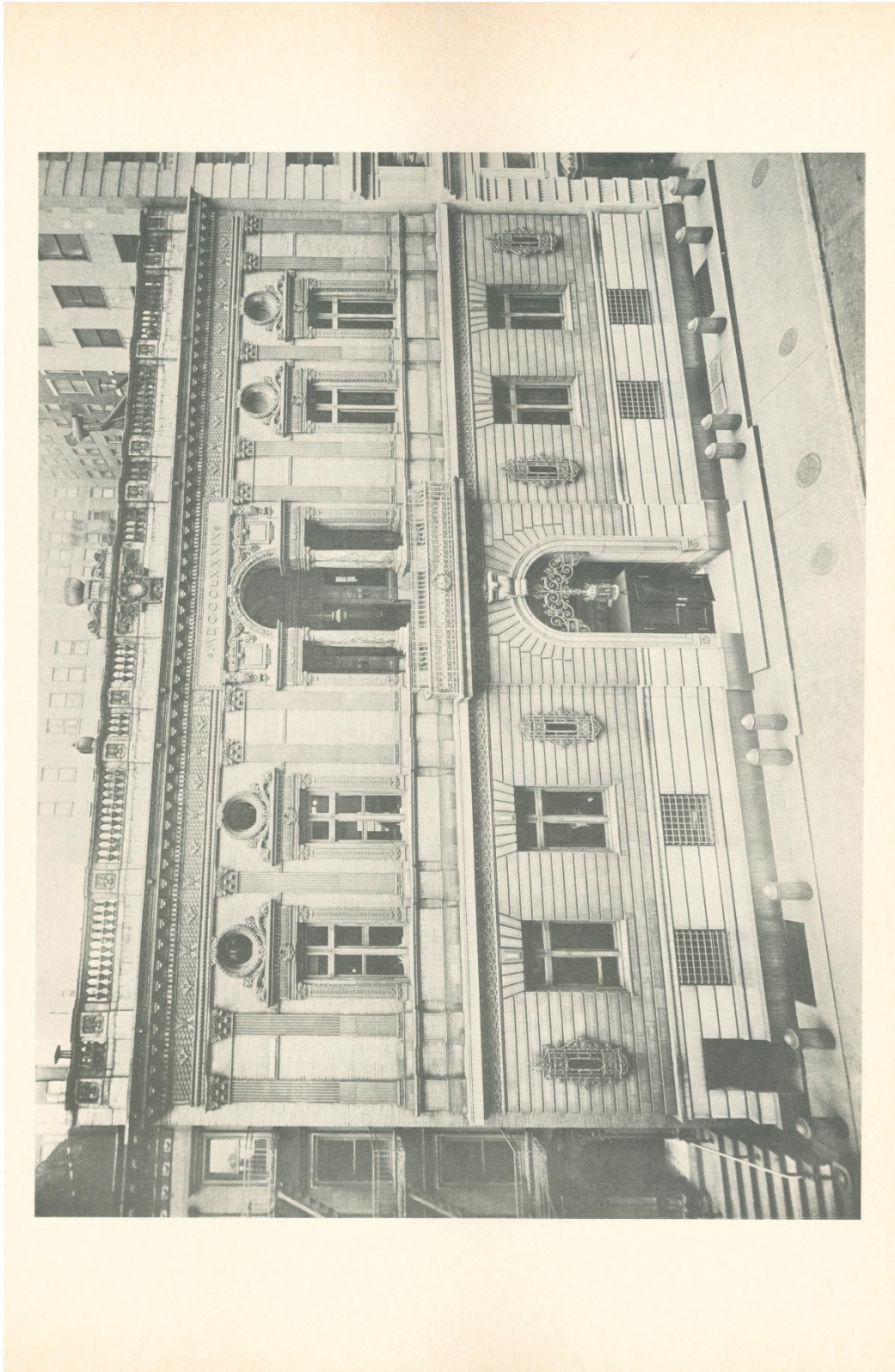


Figure 31. Century Association, West 43rd clubhouse, by McKim, Mead & White, 1889-91.
(*Monograph of McKim, Mead & White*)

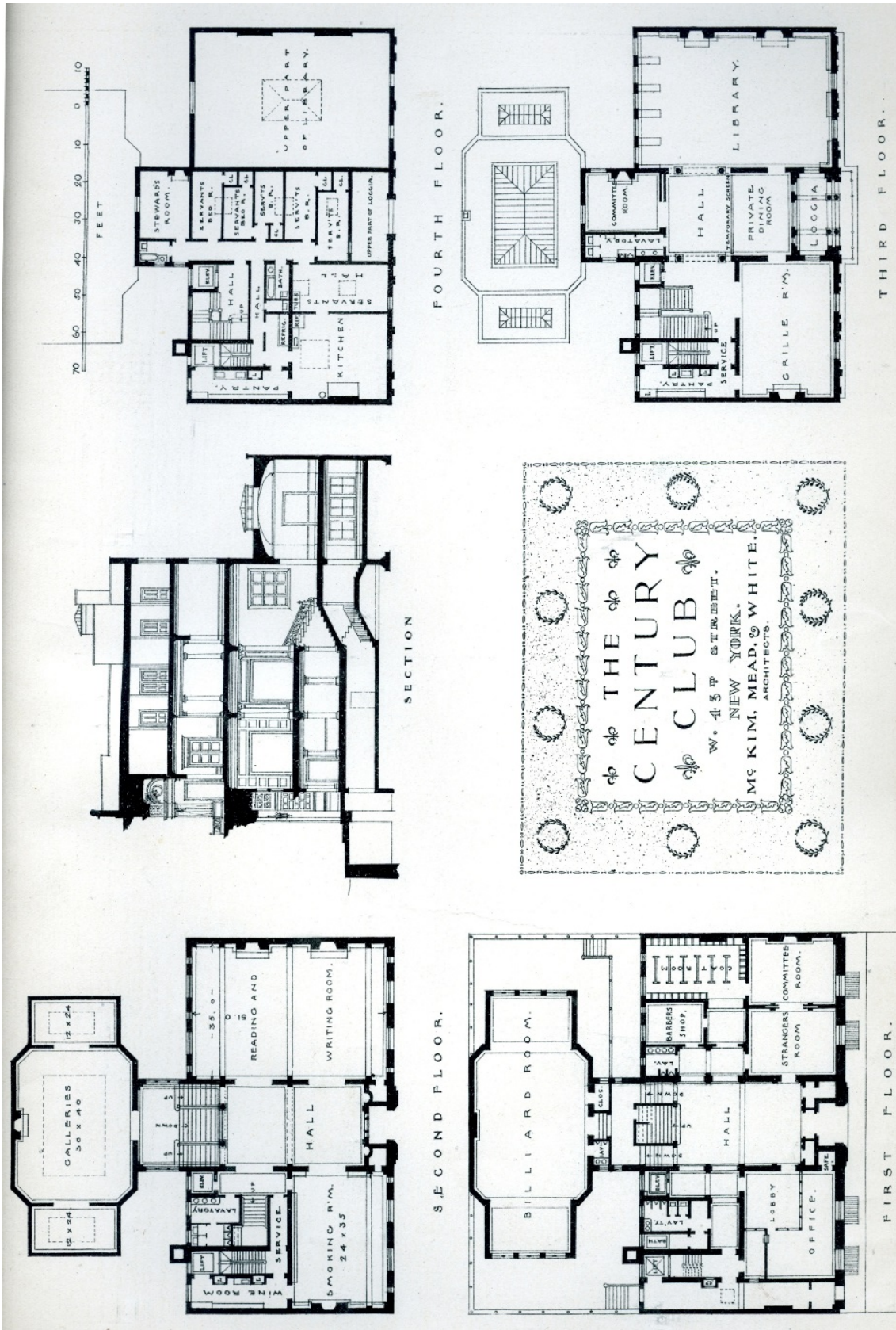


Figure 32. Century Association, floor plans, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891. (Century Association Archives Foundation)



Figure 33. Century Association, view of main staircase from ground floor, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1890s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)



Figure 34. Century Association, main dining room, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1890s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

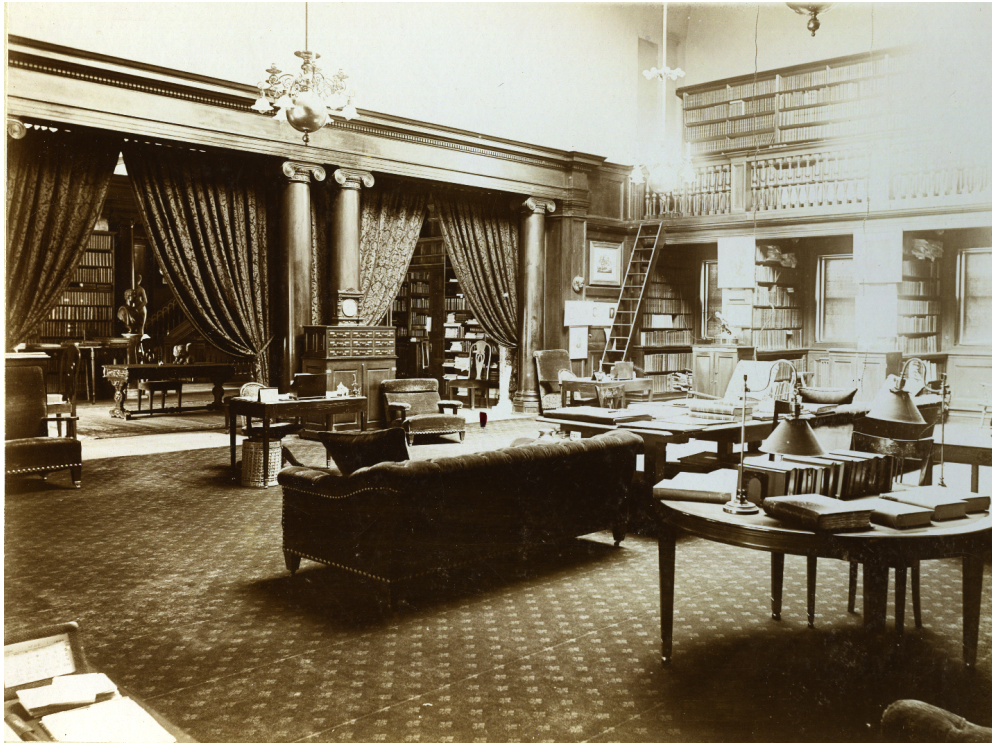


Figure 35. Century Association, second-floor library, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1890s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)



Figure 36. Century Association, first-floor hall, facing south, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1890s. (Century Association Archives Foundation)

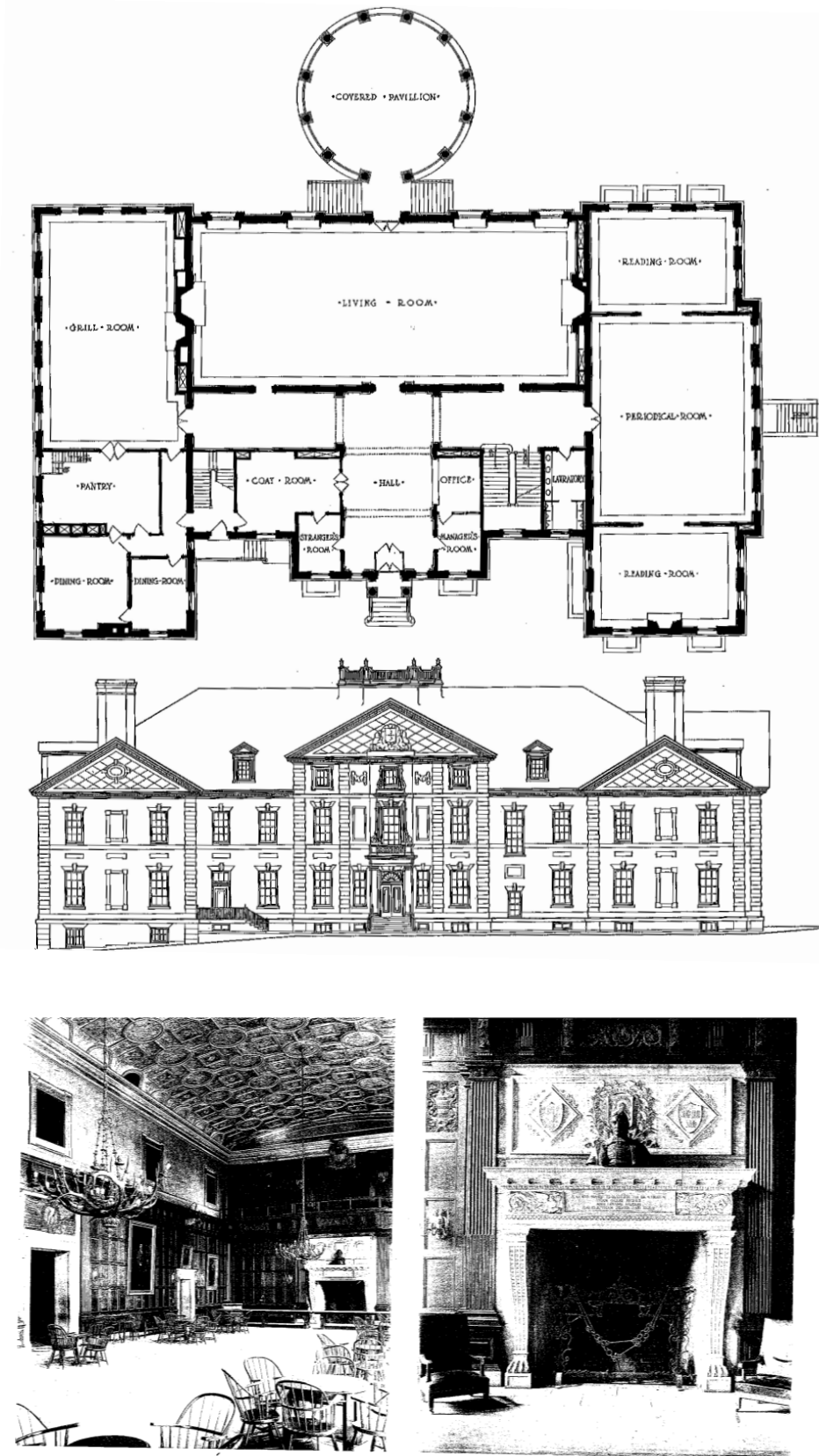


Figure 37. First-floor plan, principal elevation, and interior photographs of the Great Hall, Harvard Student Union, Cambridge, by McKim, Mead & White, 1901. (*A Monograph of the Work of McKim, Mead & White, 1879-1915, vo. 2*)



Figure 38. Harvard Club of New York, 11 West 22nd Street, occupied 1887 to 1894. (O. de Kay, *From the Age That is Past*)

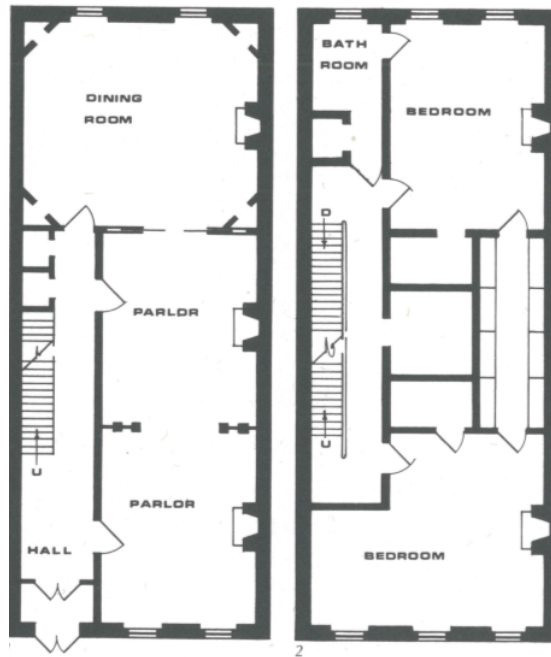


Figure 39. Typical first- and second-storey floor plans for a New York brownstone house in the late nineteenth century. (Lockwood, *Bricks & Brownstone*)



Figure 40. New York's Harvard House, West 44th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1894. (New-York Historical Society)

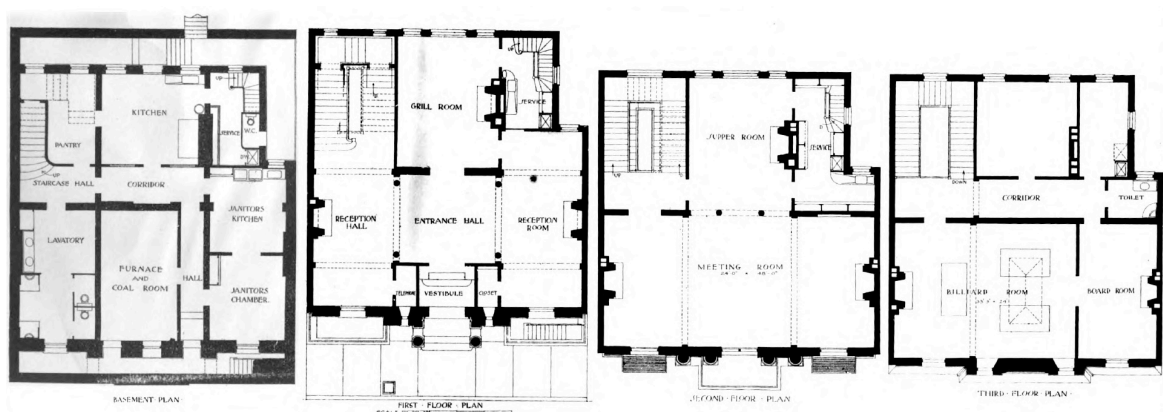


Figure 41. Floor plans, New York's Harvard House, by McKim, Mead & White. (*The American Architect and Building News*, 4/1021, 1895)



Figure 42. Reception room, staircase, and library, New York's Harvard House, by McKim, Mead & White, photographed c. 1894. (*Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 3/9, 1894)



Figure 43. Unexecuted design for library interior, New York's Harvard House, possibly by Rosina (née Emmet) Sherman, c. 1893. (Harvard Club of New York City Archives)



Figure 44. A. D. Clubhouse, viewed from Commonwealth Avenue, Cambridge, by Cummings & Parker, 1899. (Harvard University Archives)

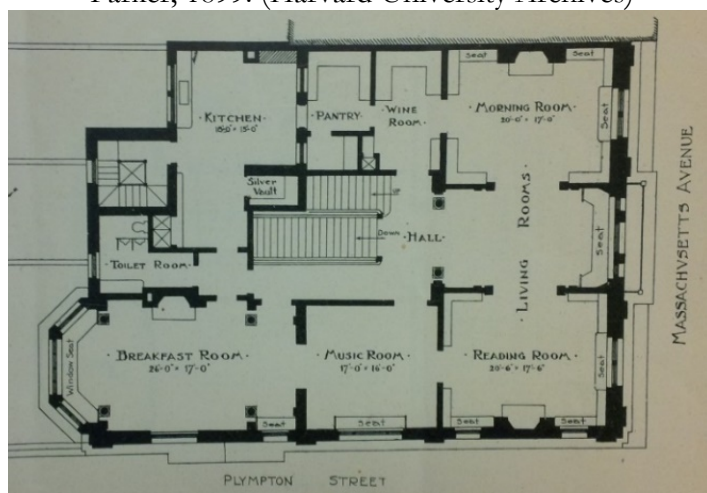


Figure 45. First-floor plan, A. D. Clubhouse, Cambridge, by Cummings & Parker, 1899. (Harvard University Archives)

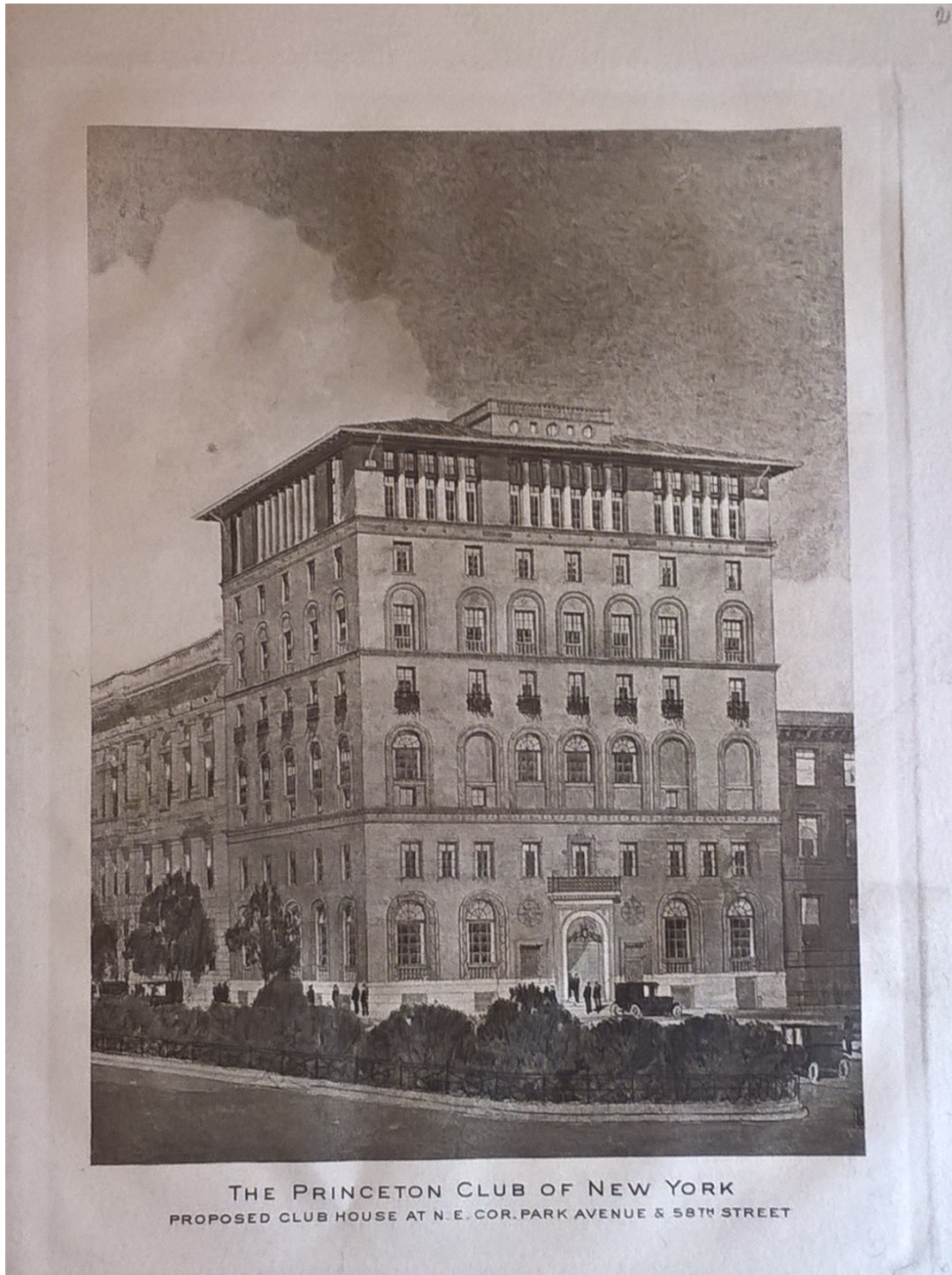


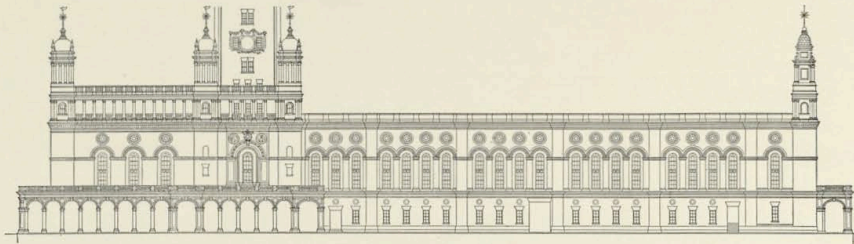
Figure 46. Proposed building for the Princeton Club of New York, corner of Park Avenue and 58th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1915. (New-York Historical Society)



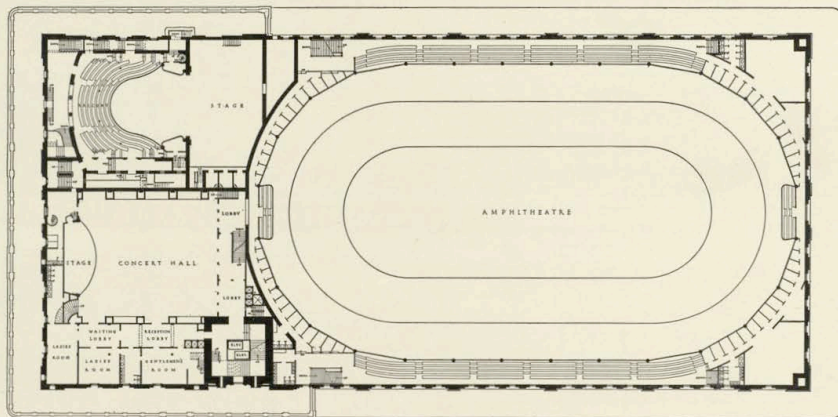
Figure 47. Caroline Astor's House, 34th Street and Fifth Avenue, by Griffith Thomas, 1853; photographed c. 1900. (Museum of the City of New York)



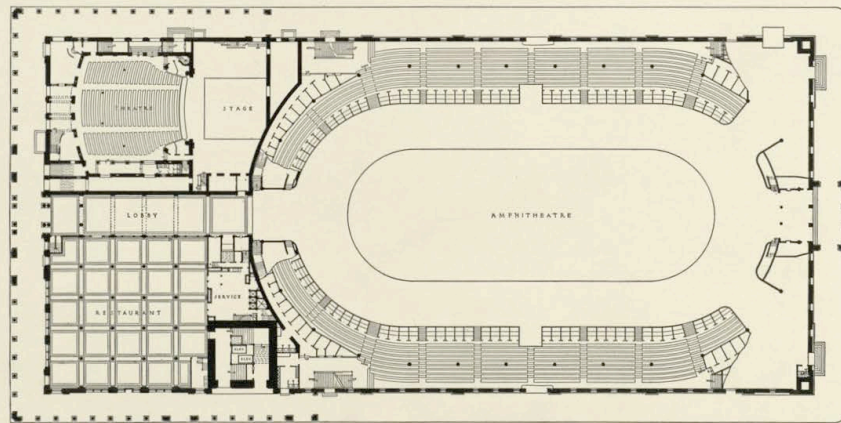
Figure 48. Madison Square Garden, corner of 26th Street and Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, 1887-91. (Museum of the City of New York)



TWENTY-SIXTH STREET ELEVATION



BALCONY FLOOR PLAN



SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"
 GROUND FLOOR PLAN
 MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY.
 1891

Figure 49. Elevation and plans, Madison Square Garden, by McKim, Mead & White, 1887-91. (*Monograph of McKim, Mead & White*)



Figure 50. Amphitheatre, Madison Square Garden, c. 1896. (Museum of the City of New York)



Figure 51. Tower of Madison Square Garden, by Augustus Saint-Gaudens and McKim, Mead & White, 1887-91. (Museum of the City of New York)



Figure 52. Goelet Building, New York City, by McKim, Mead & White, 1886-7. (New York Times)



Figure 53. Goelet Family Office, New York City, McKim, Mead & White, 1889. (Office for Metropolitan History)

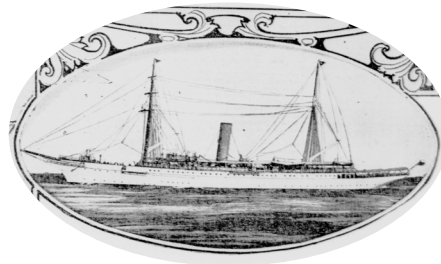


Figure 54. Nahma, Robert Goelet's yachts, with interiors by Stanford White, 1890. (New-York Daily Tribune)

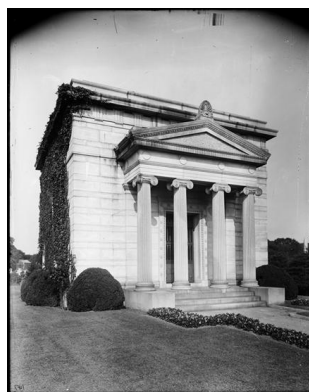


Figure 55. Goelet Family Mausoleum, Woodlawn Cemetery, McKim, Mead & White, 1887-8. (Museum of the City of New York)

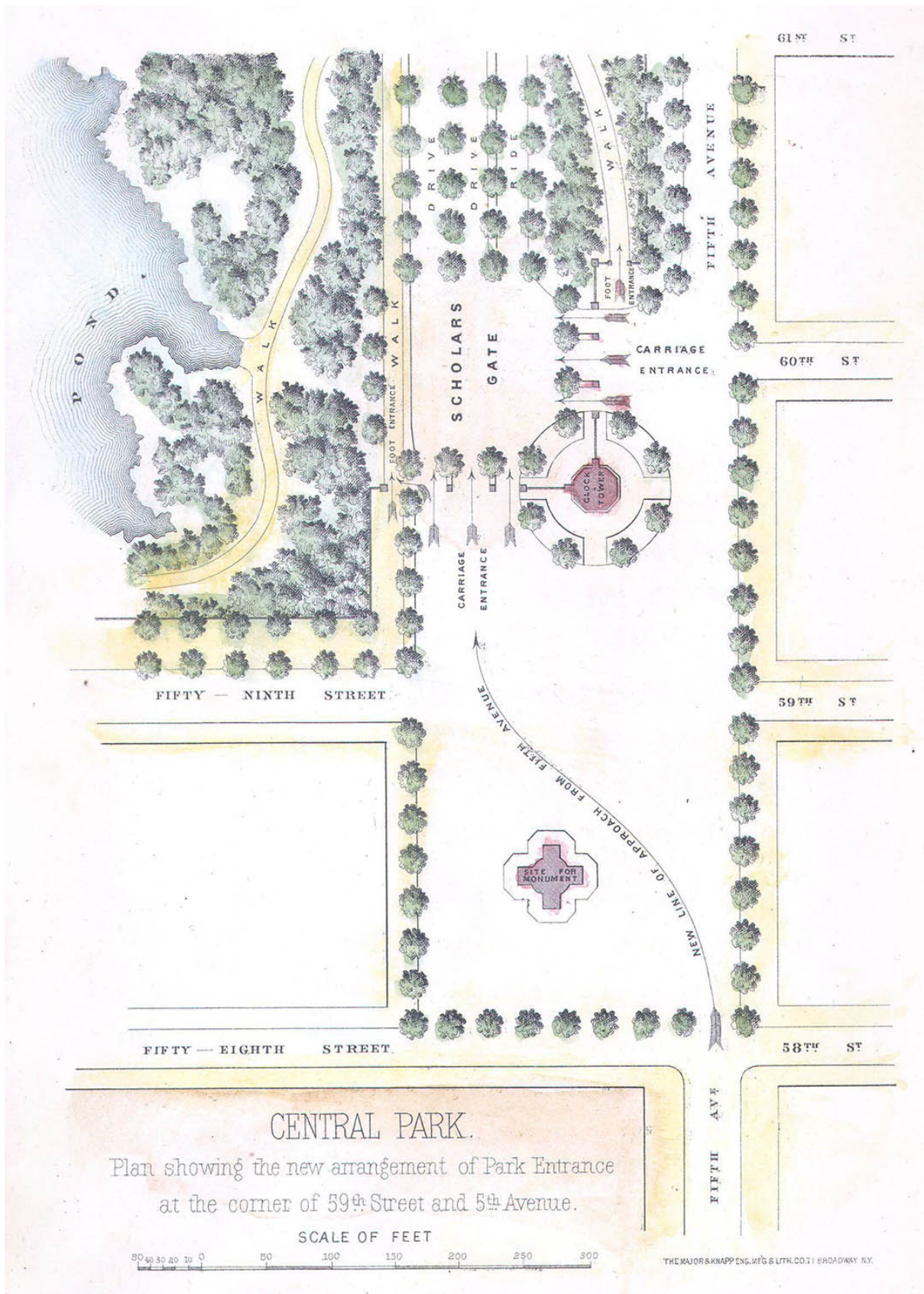


Figure 56. 'Plan showing the new arrangement of Park Entrance [Scholars' Gate] at the corner of 59th Street and 5th Avenue.' The Metropolitan Clubhouse was erected on the corner of 60th Street and Fifth Avenue. (New York Public Library)

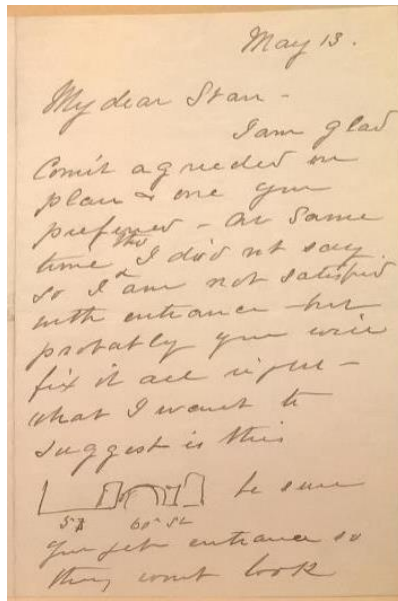


Figure 57. Robert Goelet's letter to Stanford White, from spring 1891, proposing a new scheme for Metropolitan Clubhouse. (NYHS)



Figure 58. Metropolitan Club, East 60th Street and Fifth Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-94. (George Eastman House)



Figure 59. Carriageway and ladies' annexe, Metropolitan Club, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-4. (Museum of the City of New York)

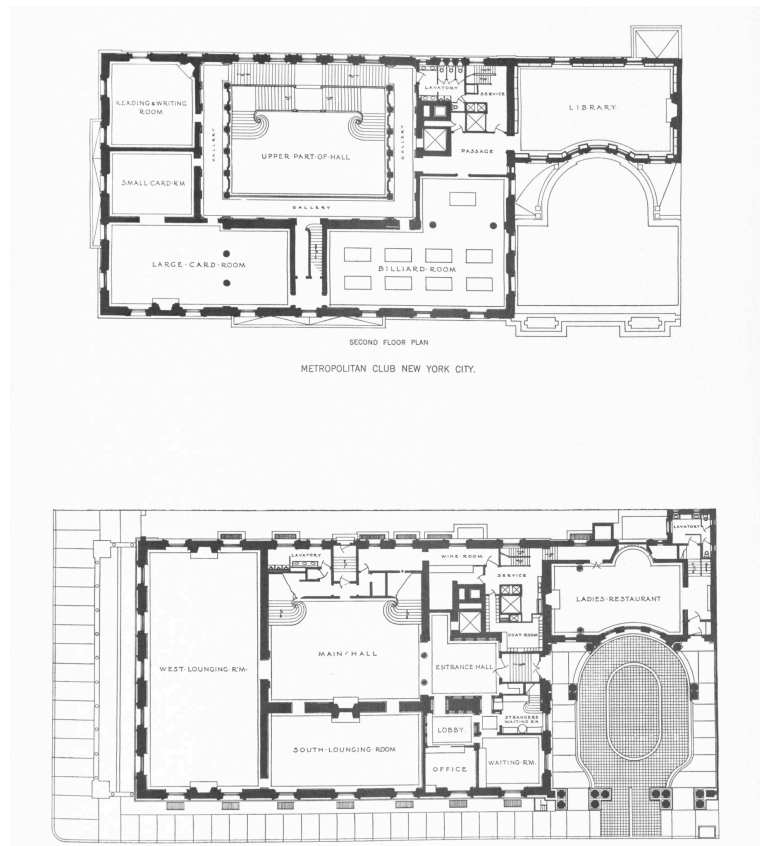


Figure 60. Metropolitan Club, plans of first and ground floors, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-4. (*Monograph of McKim, Mead & White*)



Figure 61. Main Hall, Metropolitan Club, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-4. (Museum of the City of New York)



Figure 62. Ladies' Restaurant, Metropolitan Club, by McKim, Mead & White, 1891-4. (Museum of the City of New York)

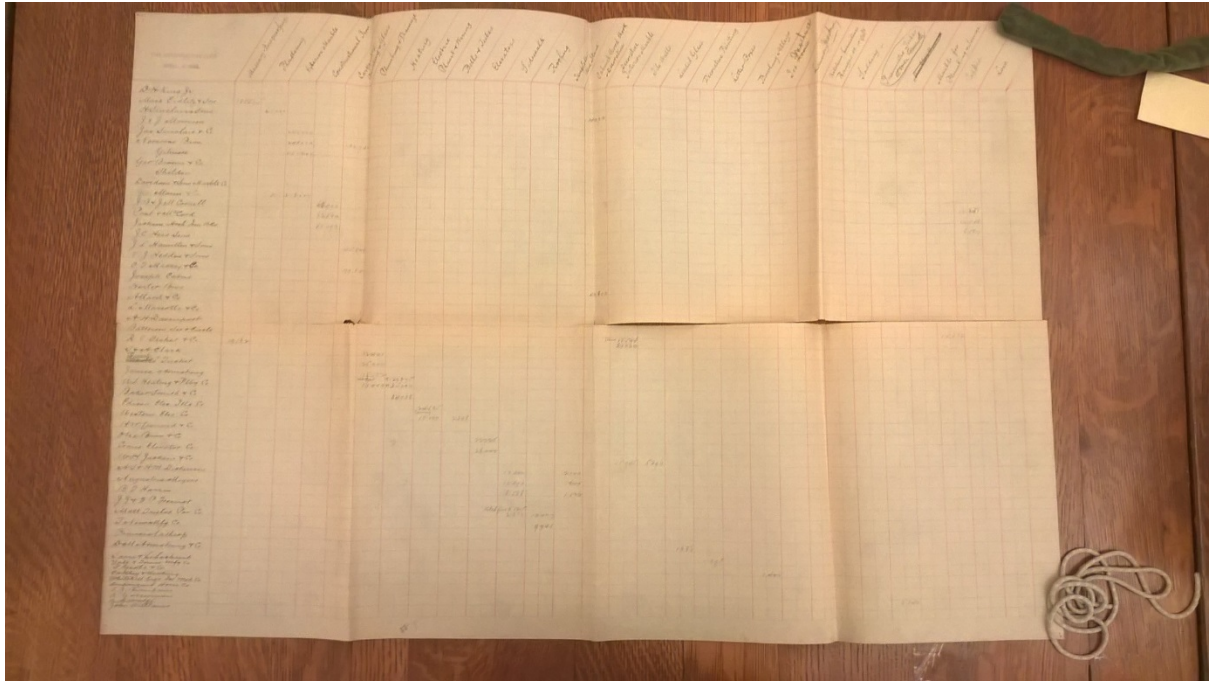


Figure 63. Metropolitan Club planning chart, office of McKim, Mead & White (New-York Historical Society)



Figure 64. Colony Club, Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, 1905-7. (New-York Historical Society)

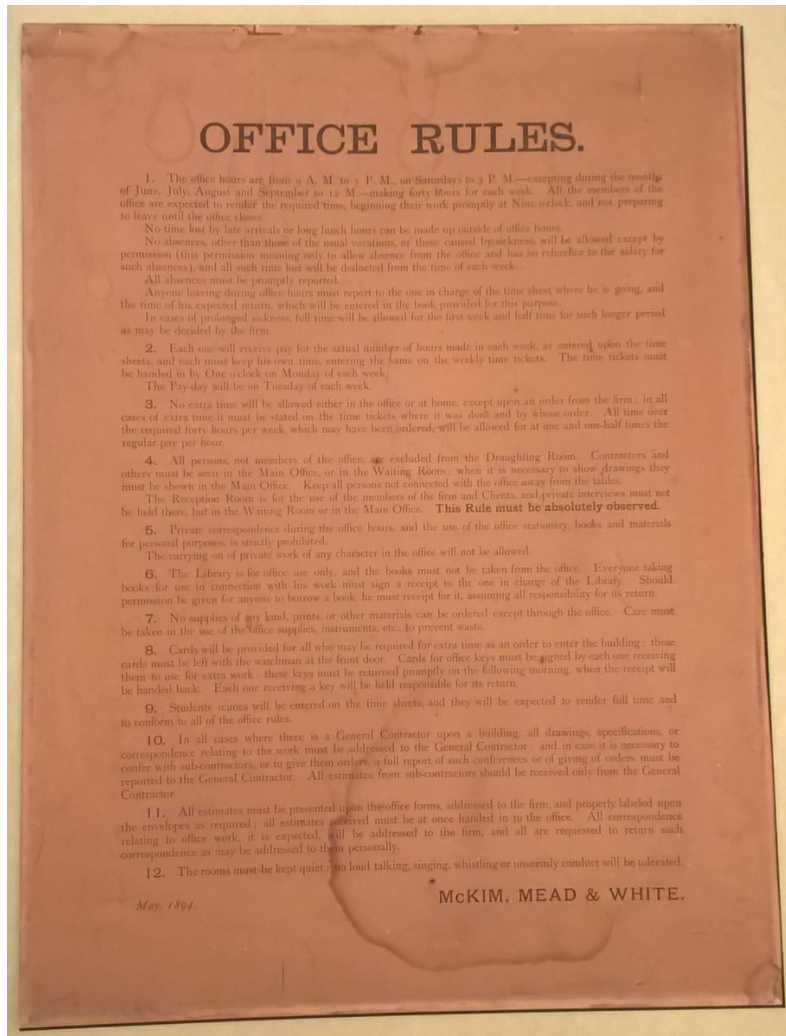


Figure 65. McKim, Mead & White’s office rules, published in 1894, evidencing a growing formality in firm’s working practices. (New-York Historical Society)

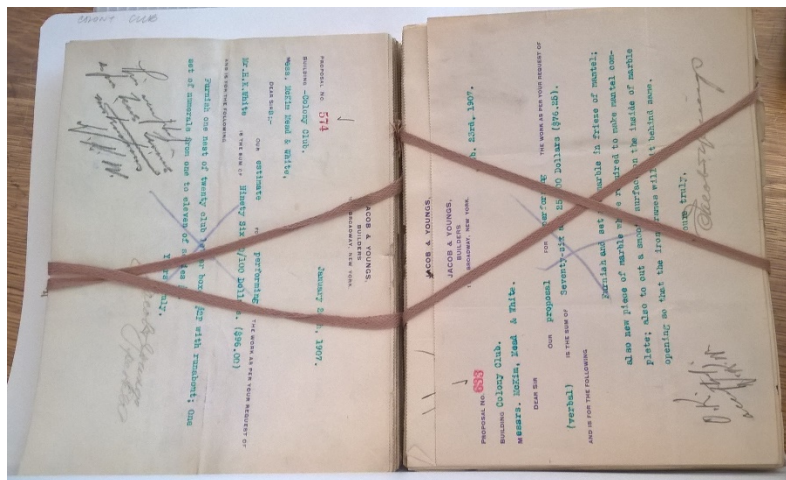


Figure 66. Some of the daily reports sent to McKim, Mead & White’s office from Jacob & Youngs, the Colony Club’s general contractor. (New-York Historical Society)

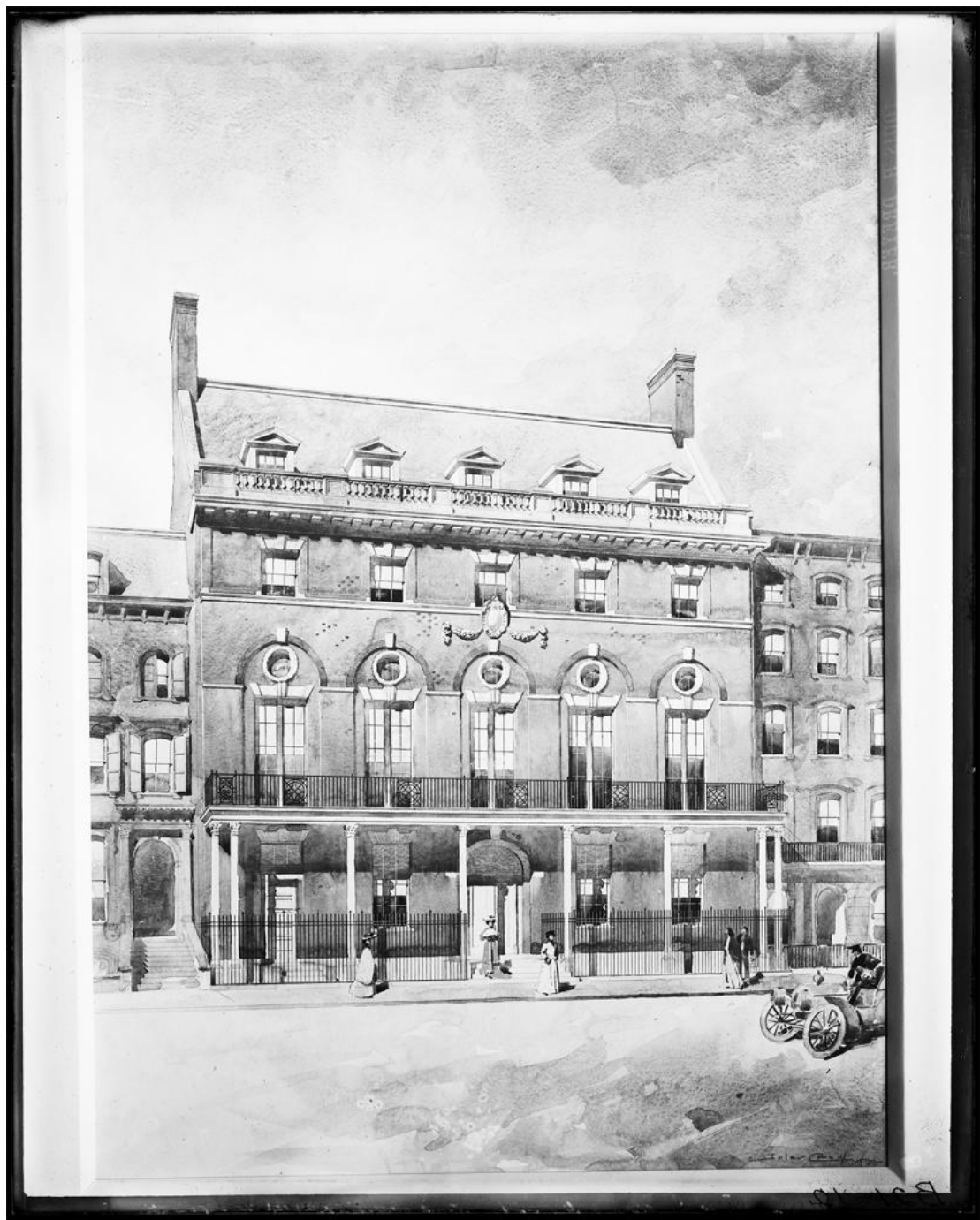


Figure 67. Colony Club, 124 Madison Avenue, by McKim, Mead & White, 1904. (Museum of the City of New York)

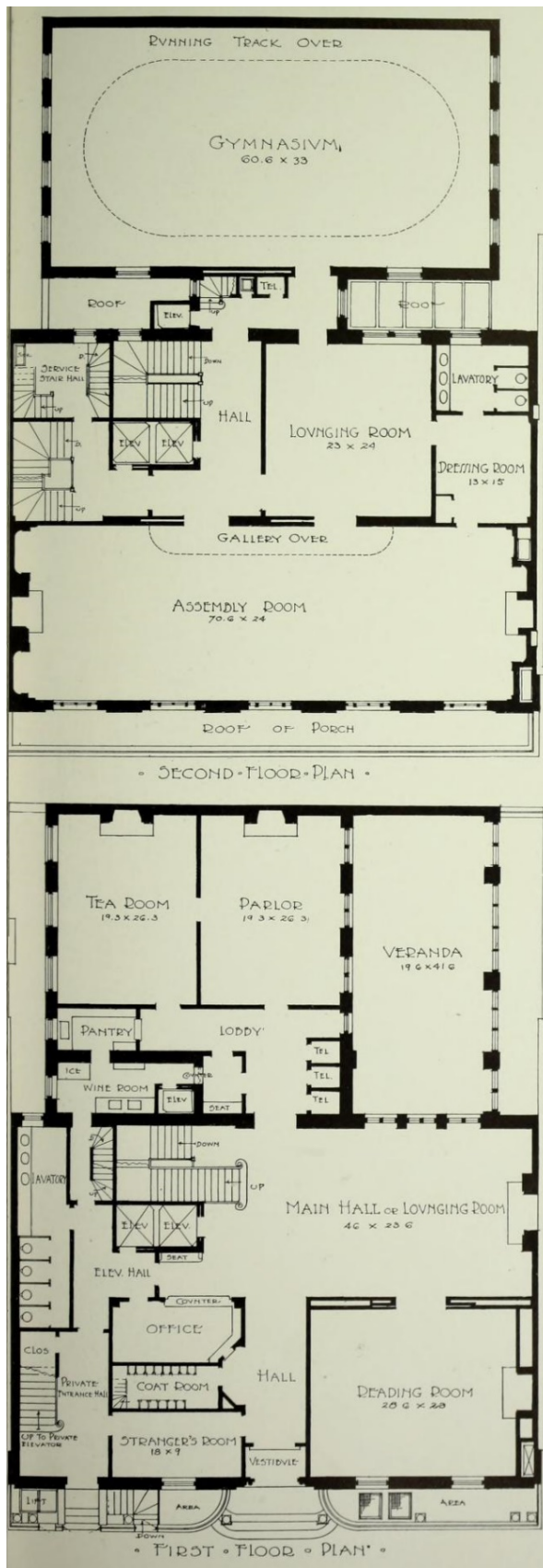


Figure 68. Floors plan of ground (below) and first (above) storeys, Colony Club, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907. (*The Brickbuilder*, vo. XVI, No. 4, April 1907.)

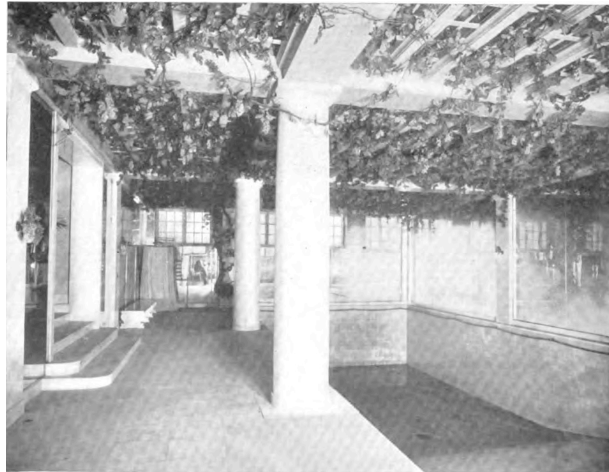


Figure 71. Swimming pool, Colony Club, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)



Figure 72. Dining Room, Colony Club, interiors by Elsie de Wolfe, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)

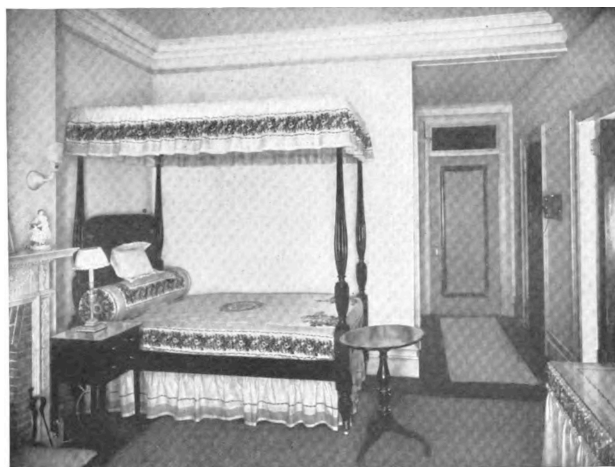


Figure 73. Bedroom, Colony Club, interiors by Elsie de Wolfe, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)

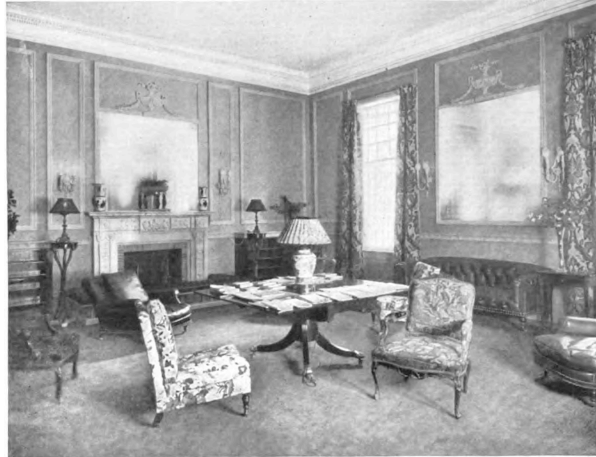


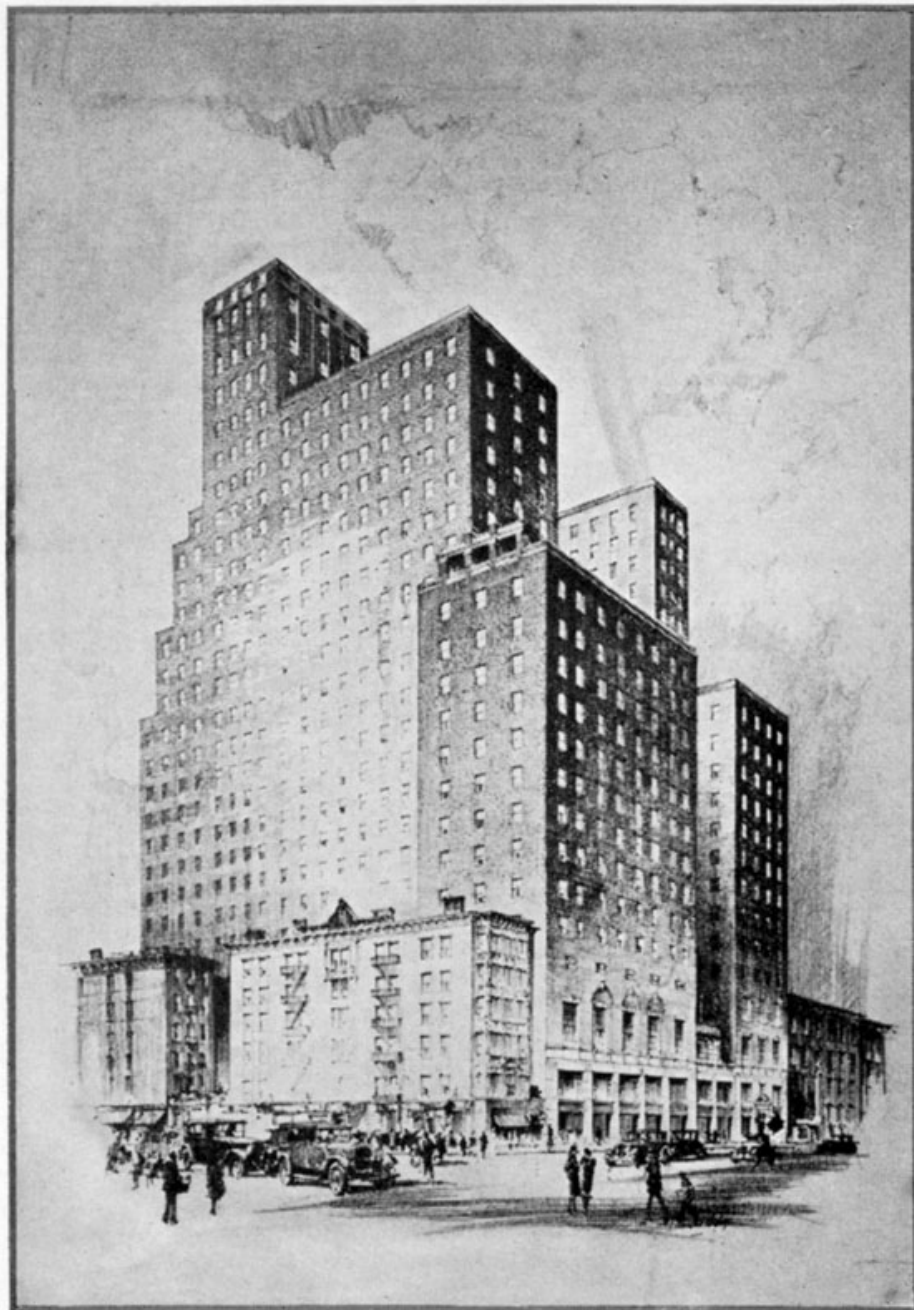
Figure 74. Parlour, Colony Club, interiors by Elsie de Wolfe, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)



Figure 75. Trellis Room, Colony Club, interiors by Elsie de Wolfe, photographed 1907. (*Munsey's Magazine*, vol. XXXVII, Aug. 1907, no. V.)



Figure 76. Cartoon that accompanied the *New York Times* article 'A Strenuous Day within the Colony Club. (14 Apr., 1907)



A1
CLUBHOUSE OF THE AMERICAN WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION
353 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y.

Figure 77. American Women's Association, New York City, opened by Anne Morgan in 1929.
(Bernard College Archives)



Figure 78. Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1905-7. (Museum of the City of New York)

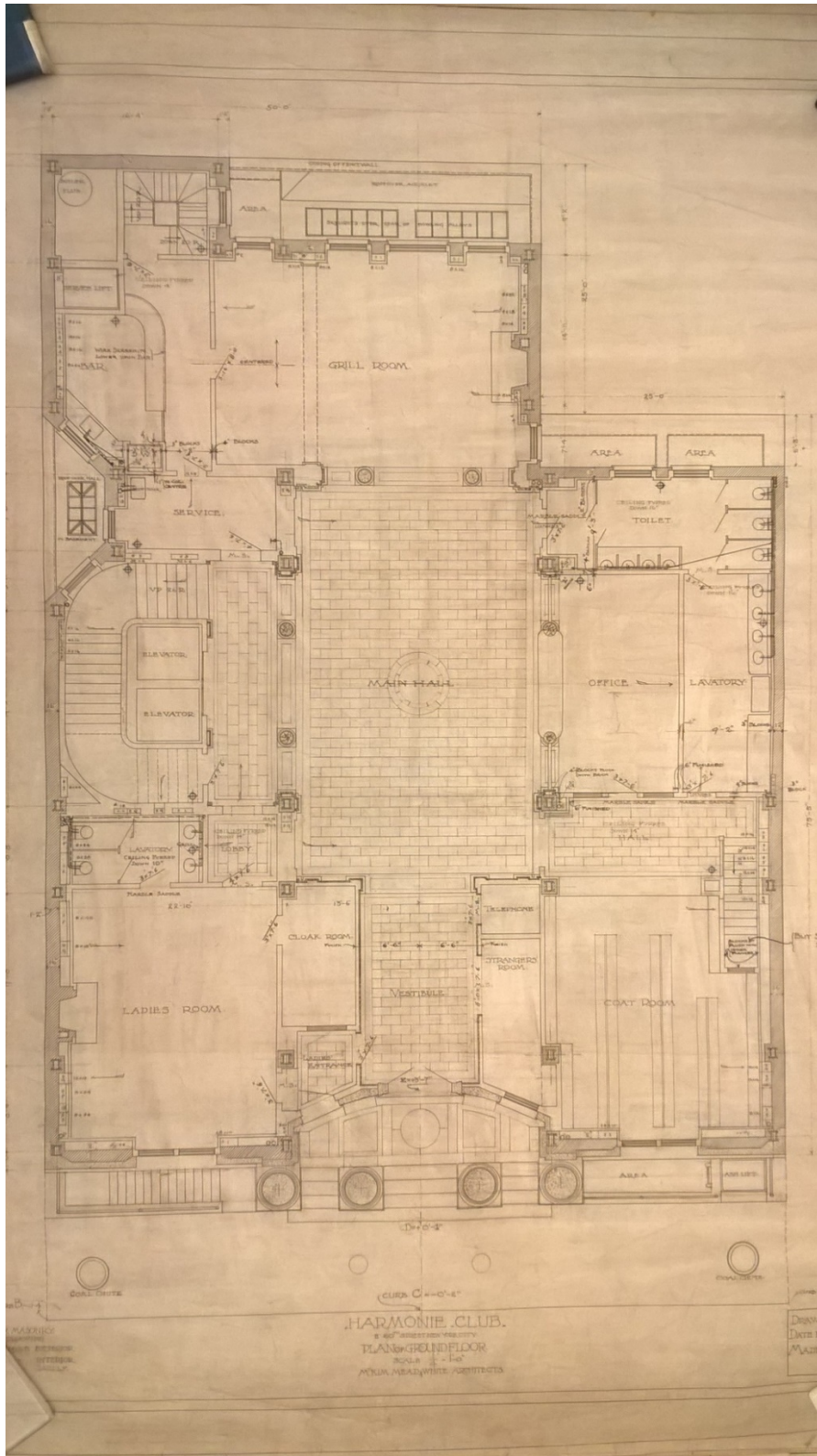


Figure 79. Plans of ground floor, Harmonie Club, by McKim, Mead & White, c. 1906. (New-York Historical Society)

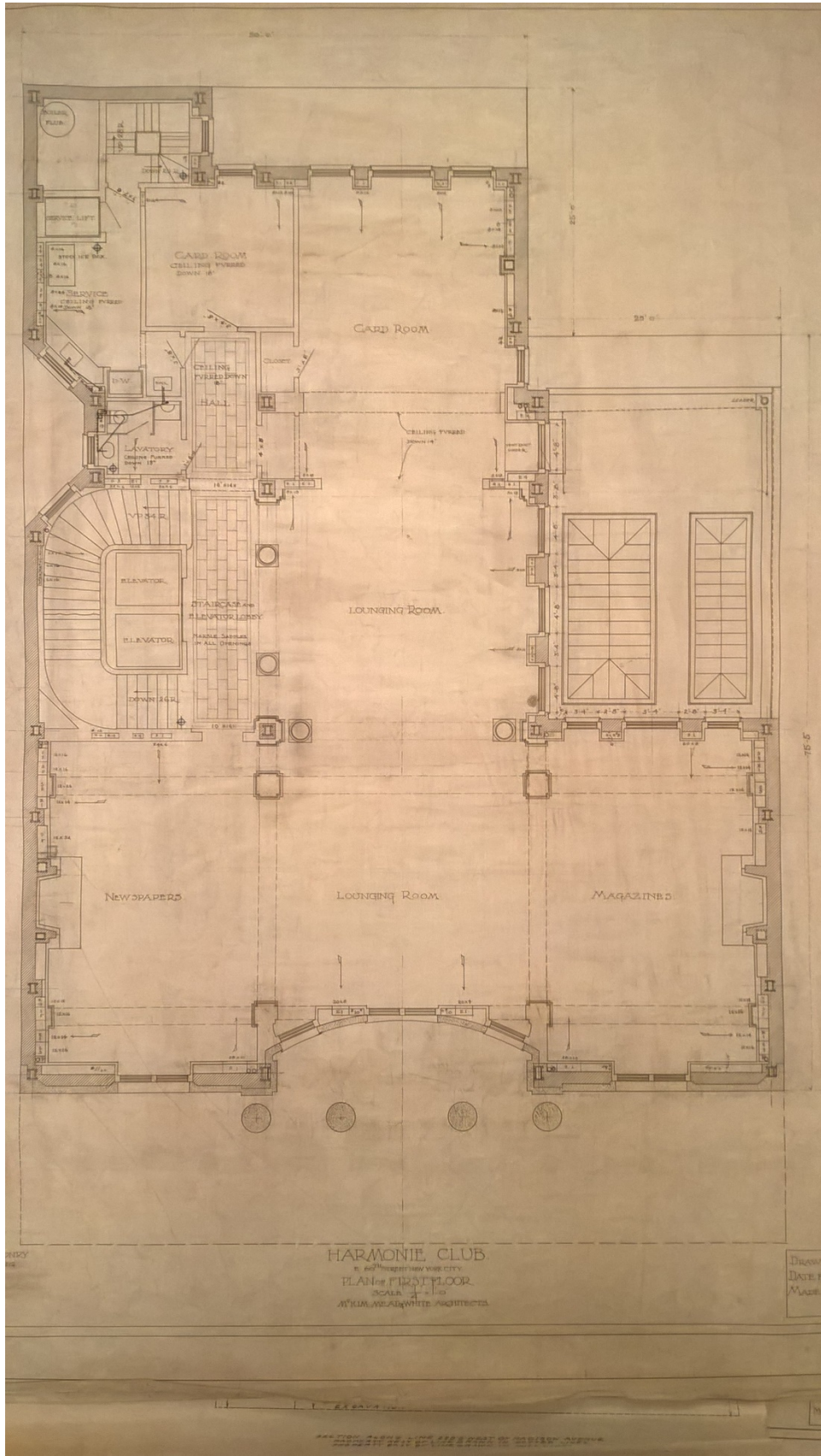


Figure 80. Plans of first floor, Harmonie Club, by McKim, Mead & White, c. 1906. (New-York Historical Society)

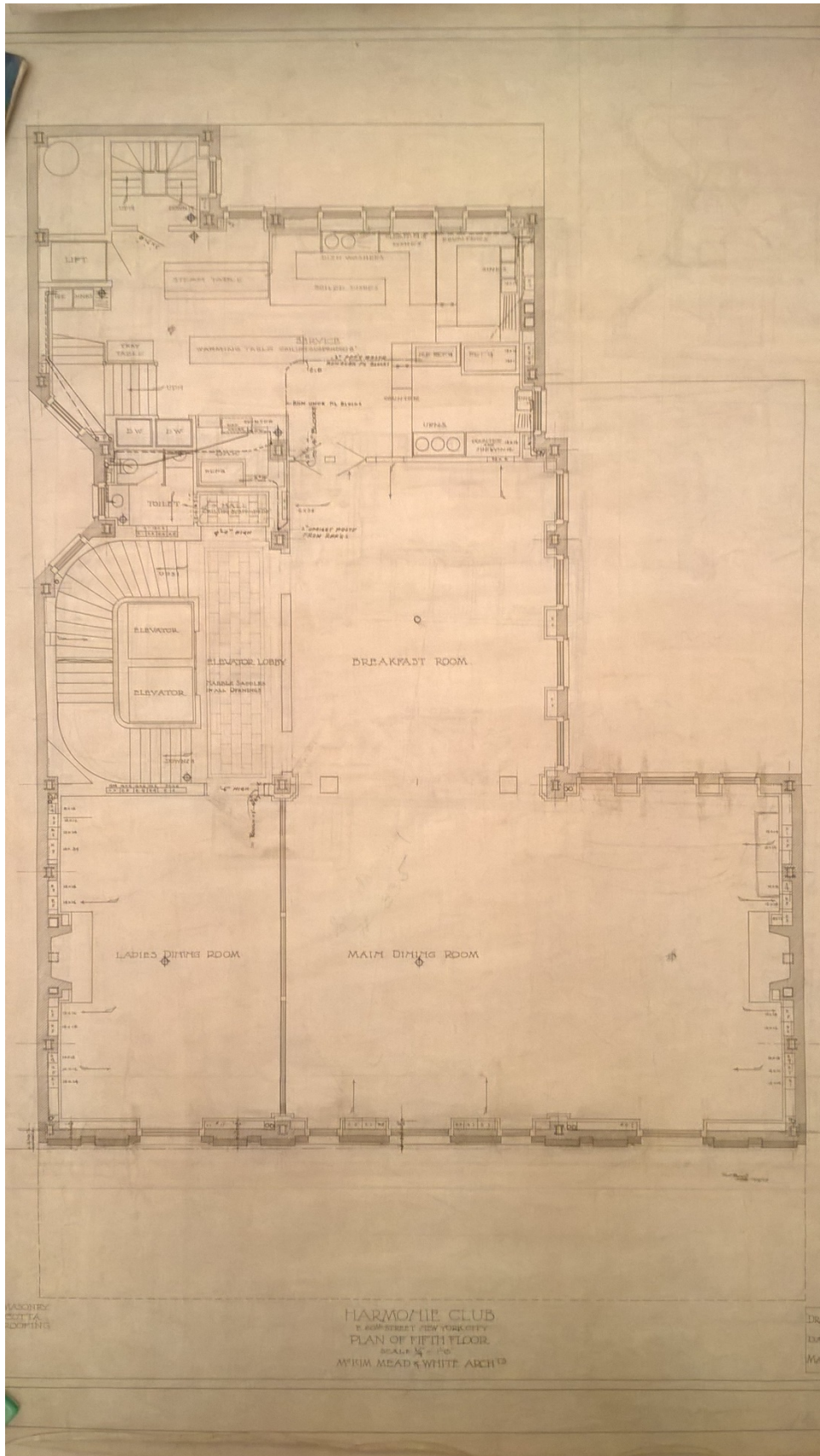


Figure 81. Plans of fifth floor, Harmonie Club, by McKim, Mead & White, c. 1906. (New-York Historical Society)

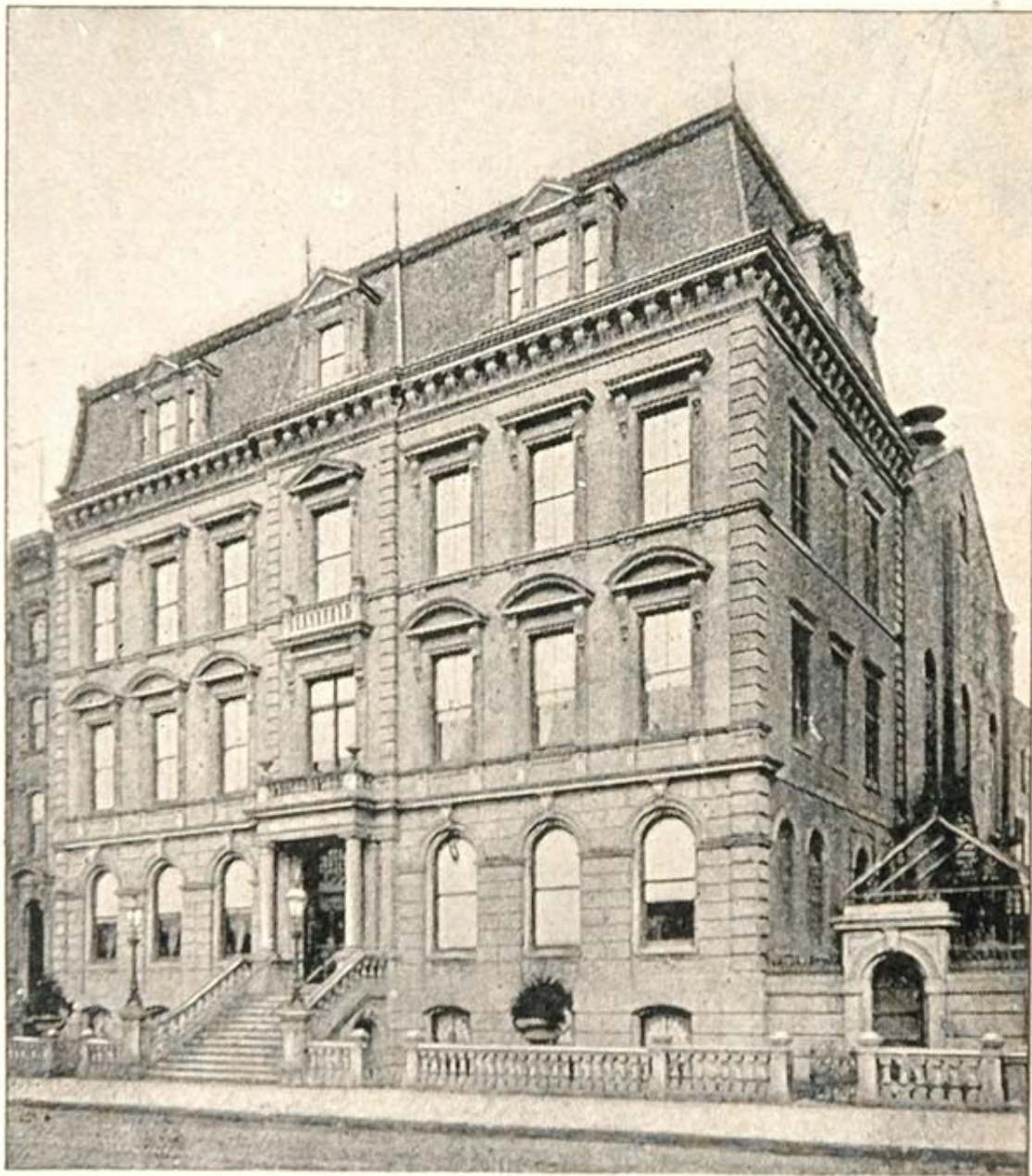


Figure 82. Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, by Henry Fernbach, 1867; photographed c. 1893.
(*King's Handbook of New York City*)



Figure 83. Temple Emanu-El, corner of West 43rd Street and Fifth Avenue, by Henry Fernbach, 1868. (Museum of the City of New York)

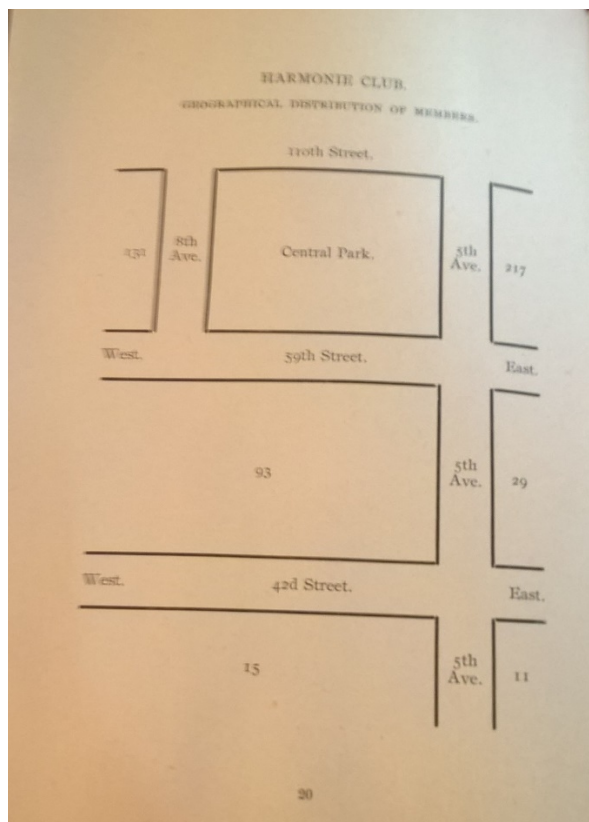


Figure 84. Geographical distribution of Harmonie Club members in 1898, produced by the subcommittee on site. (New-York Historical Society)



Figure 85. Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898; photographed c. 1910. (Museum of the City of New York)

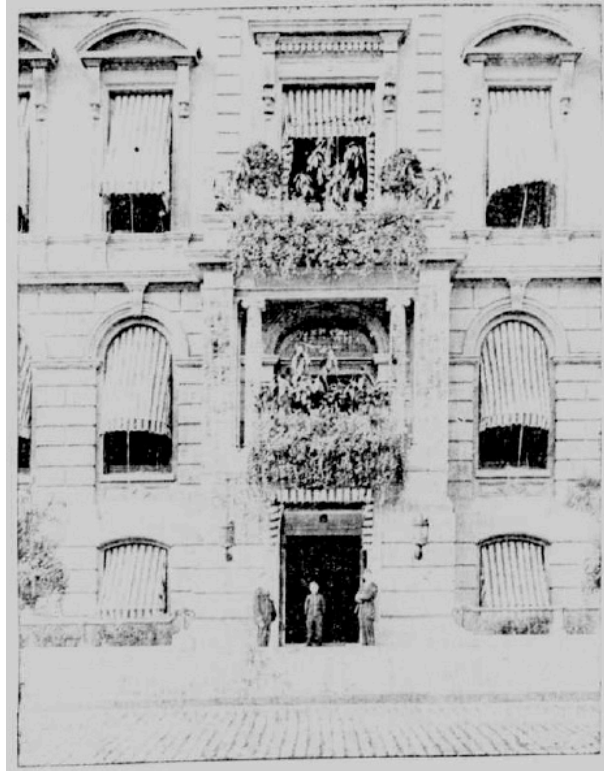


Figure 86. Street entrance, Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898. (*New York Tribune*, 19 June 1898)

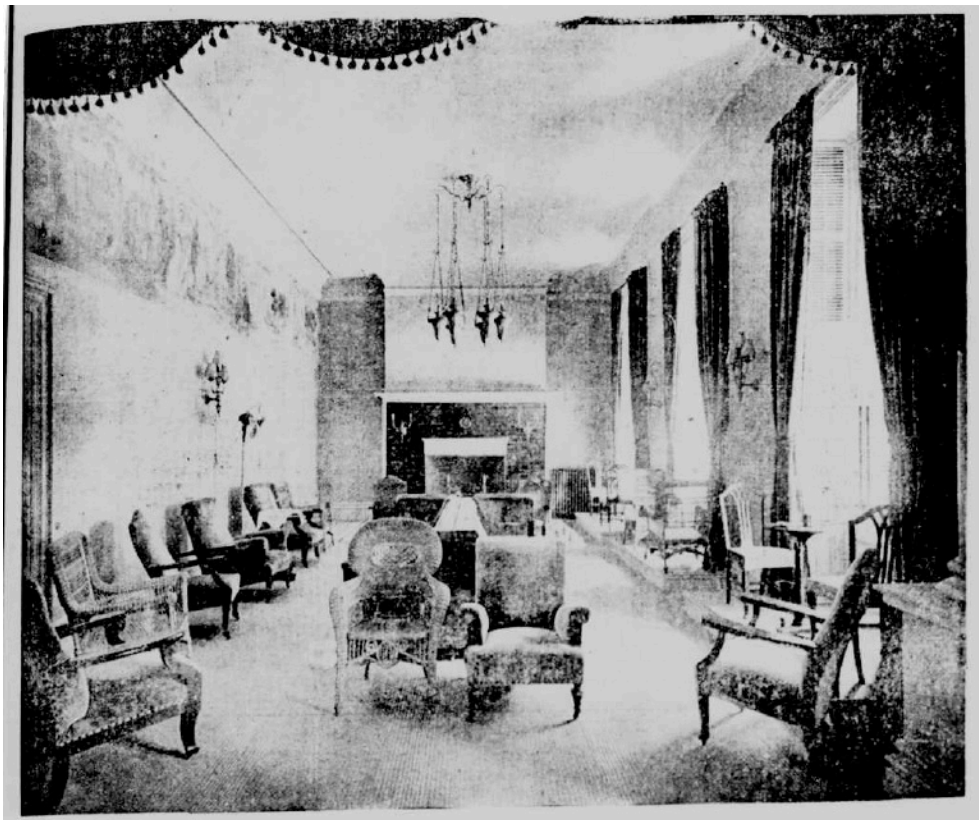


Figure 87. Lounging room, Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898. (*New York Tribune*, 19 June 1898)



Figure 88. Ball room, detail of music gallery, Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898. (*New York Tribune*, 19 June 1898)

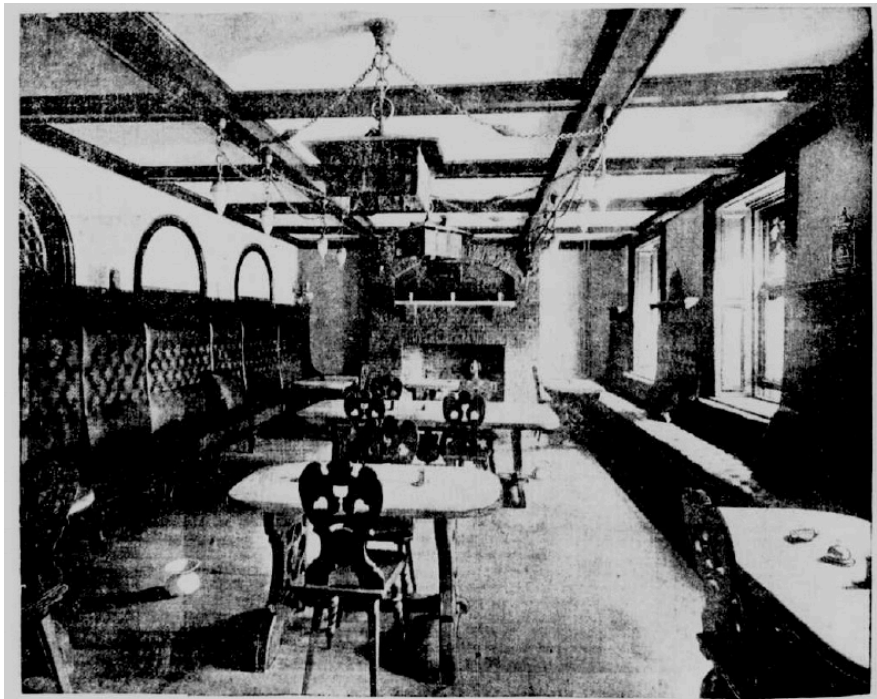


Figure 89. Grillroom, Harmonie Club, West 42nd Street, remodelled by Herts & Tallant, 1898. (*New York Tribune*, 19 June 1898)



Figure 90. Billiard Room, Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907.
(Museum of the City of New York)



Figure 91. Dining Room, Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907.
(Museum of the City of New York)



Figure 92. Entrance Hall, Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907.
(Museum of the City of New York)

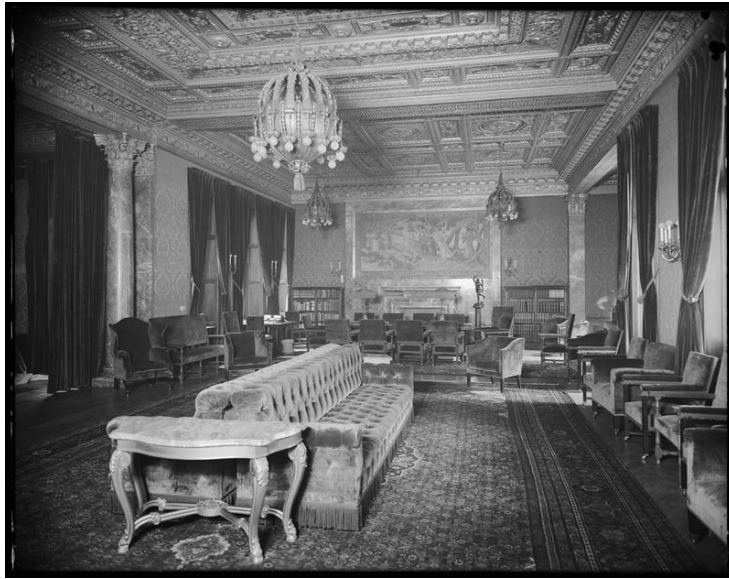


Figure 93. Lounging Room, Harmonie Club, East 60th Street, by McKim, Mead & White, 1907. (Museum of the City of New York)

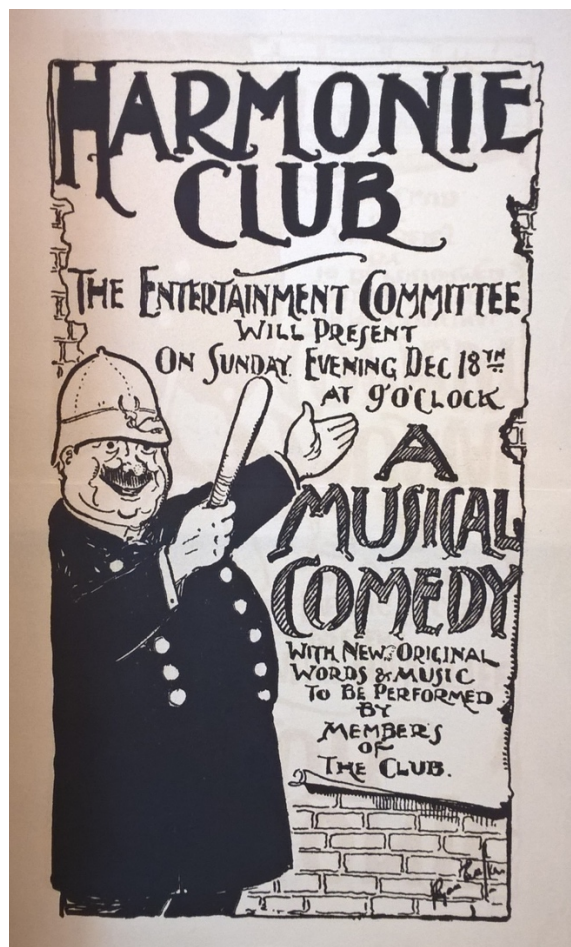


Figure 94. Entertainments Poster, Harmonie Club, c. 1908. (New-York Historical Society)

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscripts and Archives

Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Archives

3605.624 A, 'Report of a Committee of the Harvard Club of New York City on the Eligibility of Graduates Residing Without the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Membership in the Board of Overseers of Harvard College', 8 Oct., 1878.

3605.176, Harvard Club of New York 1874-1894, Miscellany, File 1891-1892, Building Committee Report, 1 June, 1891

UAI 15.894, Papers of Charles William Eliot

HUD 3014.8, S. T. Cooney, 'Social Clubs at Harvard', Cambridge Historical Commission (October 1990)

Municipal Archives (for pre-1865 records), Union Club, 162 Fifth Avenue (two lots on the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 21st Street), Block 823, Lot 37

New York City, Century Association Archives Foundation

Membership Meeting Minutes

Board of Managers Meeting Minutes

Building Records

Minutes of the Monthly Meetings and Board of Management

Members' Monthly Meetings

New York City, Columbia University, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library,

Department of Drawings & Archives, Stanford White Letterpress Books, 1887-1906

New York City Department of Buildings, Union Club, 45 West 42nd Street, Block 1258, Lot 9

New York City, Harvard Club of New York City Archives

Loose file, membership material and correspondence

Records April 1885-May 1890 (Board of Managers' Minutes)

'Report of the Committee on the Elective System' (1886)

Standing file, fo.: 1887-88, correspondence

'To the Graduates of Harvard University', 15 Mar., 1892

New York City, New-York Historical Society

Erving-King Family Papers, MS 204

Box 16, Edward King's correspondence

Box 17, Edward King's speeches

Box 18, Edward King's memberships

Harmonie Club Records, MS 282

Volume 9, Secretary Minutes 1896-97

Volume 10, Secretary Minutes 1897-99

Volume 11, Secretary Minutes 1899-1901

Volume 12, Secretary Minutes 1901-03

Volume 13, Secretary Minutes 1903-06

Volume 14, Secretary Minutes 1906-09

Volume 26, Minutes of the Committee on Site and Building

Volume 39, Scrapbook 1879-89

Volume 40, Scrapbook 1890-99

Volume 42, Scrapbook 1904-10

Volume 57, Membership Log

McKim, Mead & White Architectural Record Collection, PR42

Harvard Union Correspondence

Box 113, Colony Club correspondence

Box 218, Harmonie Club correspondence

Box 239, Metropolitan Club correspondence

Box 240, Metropolitan Club correspondence

Box 241, Metropolitan Club correspondence

Box 242, Metropolitan Club correspondence

Box 244, Metropolitan Club correspondence

Box: Flat Files, Folder: FF 81, McKim, Mead & White office rules 1894

T0939.2, McKim, Mead & White Rolled Drawings

New York City, Pierpont Morgan Library Archives, Anne Tracy Morgan Papers, ARC 1215

Box 13, American Women's Association material

Box 27, correspondence

Washington D. C., Library of Congress, Florence Jaffray Hurst Harriman papers, 1857-1982,
Manuscripts Division, MSS24976

Box 10, Colony Club material

Box 23, Early Miscellaneous Speeches and Articles c. 1912-1932

PRIMARY SOURCES

Printed

‘A Strenuous Day within the Colony Club’, *NYT* (14 April 1907), p. SM9

‘A YOUNG SCULPTOR WINS E. H. HARRIMAN’S DAUGHTER’, *NYT* (8 May 1910), p. SM6

‘AID FOR POOR CONSUMPTIVES’, *NYT* (27 April 1894), p. 8

‘ASSOCIATES MOURN MISS RUTH MORGAN’, *NYT* (14 March 1934), p. 22

‘Bailey’s Bid for Garden Stock’, *NYT* (17 January 1893), p. 9

‘Barred the Union Club’, *The Evening World* (Sporting Extra; 22 January 1891)

‘City Real Estate’ (classified ad), *NYT* (4 March 1880)

‘Clubs and Club-Men’, *Harpers* (November 1857), pp. 810-16

‘Clubs-Club Life-Some New York Clubs’, *The Galaxy*, 2 (August 1876), p. 230

‘Colony Club Formed by Society Women a Very Exclusive Organization’, *NYT* (7 May 1905), p. SM6

‘COLONY CLUB GIRLS TALKED. THAT’S WHY THEY WERE DISCHARGED IN FAVOR OF MEN’S EMPLOYEES’, *NYT* (25 September 1908), p. 7

‘Death List of a Day. Albert F. Hochstadter. Special to the New York Times.’ *NYT* (5 July 1903), p.7

‘Death of Robert Goelet’, *NYT* (29 April 1899)

‘Décor Has a Family Reunion’, *NYT* (24 November 2005)

‘ELIZABETH MARBURY DEAD; WAR PATRIOT’, *The Washington Post* (23 January 1933)

‘Exclusive Club for Women: New York Society Leader Launches Organisation for the Elect’, *The Washington Post*, (29 November 1906)

‘For Harvard Men, Henry L. Higginson Talks to Students and Faculty about His Gift to Found a University Club—Great Meeting’, *The Boston Journal* (14 June 1899)

‘Harvard House’, *The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts* (14 July 1894)

‘LATEST DEALINGS IN REALTY FIELD’, *NYT* (4 July 1924)

‘Mr. Corbin is Wrathful’, *The Evening World* (Last edition; 13 April 1891)

‘Mr. Goelet’s Newport Life’, *NYT* (28 April 1899)

‘Mr. King Rejected’, *The Evening World* (Extra 2 o’clock; 4 November 1889)

‘Nebulae: The Facts about New York Clubs’, *The Galaxy* (1 April 1867)

‘Princeton Men at Dinner’, *NYT* (16 January 1891)

‘SOCIETY AT HOME AND ABROAD’, *NYT* (5 April 1903)

‘SOCIETY OUT OF DOORS’, *The Washington Post* (22 November 1909)

‘Some New Books. The Clubs of the World’, *The Sun* (2 July 1880)

‘The Clubs of New York’, *The New York Herald* (22 April 1845)

‘The Harmonie Clubhouse’ *New York Tribune* (19 June 1898)

‘The Harvard Club House in New York’, *The Outlook* (30 June 1894)

‘The New Bathing Suits’, *NYT* (9 August 1908), p. X9

‘THE NEW OPERA-HOUSE’, *NYT* (29 April 1880)

‘THE WHITNEY-HAY WEDDING’, *NYT* (5 February 1902), p. 9

‘TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE’, *Town and Country* (10 January 1903), p. 18

'TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE', *Town and Country* (16 July 1904), p. 19

'TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE', *Town and Country* (26 April 1902), p. 21

'TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE', *Town and Country* (5 April 1902), p. 22

'TOWN & COUNTRY LIFE', *Town and Country* (8 April 1905), p. 19

'Undergraduate Views of a University Club', *The Harvard Monthly* (n.d.), pp. 130-33

'A Big Amusement Scheme', *New-York Tribune* (10 March 1887)

Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Harvard College 1880-1881 (Cambridge, Mass., 1882)

Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Harvard College 1900-1901 (Cambridge, Mass., 1902)

Baird, W. M. R., *Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities*, 6th edn (New York, 1905)

Boyd, J. T., 'The Addition to the New York Harvard Club...', *Architectural Record* 38 (December 1915), pp. 615-30

Bryant, W. C., 'The Metropolitan Art Museum', in *Oration and Addresses by William Cullen Bryant* (New York, 1878), pp. 333-41

Callahan, J. P., 'Few Private Clubs, Symbolic of another Era, Still Remain in City', *NYT* (15 March 1959), p. R1

Charter, Constitution, By-laws and List of Members of the Saint Nicholas Society of the City of New York (New York, 1910)

Class of 1862, Fiftieth Anniversary Report (Norwood, Mass., 1912)

Class of 1866, The Tenth Secretary's Report (Boston, 1901)

Class of 1867, Secretary's Report No. 12 (Boston, 1907)

Class of 1867, Secretary's Report. No. 14 (Boston, 1918)

Class of 1887, Harvard College, 25th Anniversary, 1887-1912 (Boston, 1912)

Club Women of New York 1910-1911, ed. I. B. Roberts (New York, 1910)

Croly, H. D., 'The Harmonie Club House', *Architectural Record*, 3 (March 1906)

Croly, H. D., 'The New Harvard Club House', *Architectural Record*, 19 (March 1906), pp. 194-98

Dunn, R., 'Saving college graduates: The clubs of the various universities in New York, and how they ease the tasks of young men in the city', *Outing Magazine* (April 1908), pp. 21-31

Editorial, *Harvard Monthly* (January 1900), pp.183-84

Fortieth Anniversary Report (Report 7) of the Secretary of the Class of 1881 of Harvard College (Cambridge, 1921)

Garrison, L. M., 'New York's Harvard House', *HGM* (September 1894), pp. 23-30

Gray, C., 'Cityscape; A Turn-of-the-Century Vestige Threatened on the "West End"', *NYT* (2 August 1987)

Gross, A., 'A New Private Club in San Francisco, and an Old Diversity Challenge', *The New Yorker* (9 October 2013)

Grynbaum, M. M., 'Election of Female President Quietly Open a New Era at a Former Boys Club', *NYT* (21 February 2016), p. A17

Harriman, F. J., *From Pinafores to Politics* (New York, 1923)

Harvard College Class of 1861, Sixth Report (Cambridge, 1902)

Harvard College Class of 1872, Tenth Report of the Secretary 1912-1917 (Norwood, Mass., 1917)

Haseltine, A. C., republished letter, *HGM* (September 1893), p. 113

Holt, H., *Sixty Years as a Publisher: With Other Essays Somewhat Biographical and Autobiographical* (London, 1924)

Hone, P., ed. B. Tuckerman, *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851* (2 vols, New York, 1889)

- Howells, W. D., *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (New York, 1890)
- James, H., *The American Scene* (London, 1907)
- James, H., *Washington Square* (1880; New York, 2003)
- Kennion, J. W., *The Architects' and Builders' Guide* (New York, 1868)
- King, M., *King's Handbook of New York City*, 2nd edn (Boston, 1893)
- Knobe, B. D., 'The New York Women's Colony Club', *Harper's Bazaar*, 40 /4 (April 1906), p. 345
- Leeds, W. H., *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London: With Descriptive Accounts of Each Edifice* (London, 1838)
- Ludlow, J. B., 'The Oxford Union I', *Harvard Crimson* (7 November 1879)
- Ludlow, J. B., 'The Oxford Union II', *Harvard Crimson* (21 November 1879)
- Macdonough, A. R., 'The Century Club', *The Century*, 41/5 (March 1891), pp. 673-89
- Marbury, E., *My Crystal Ball* (London, 1924)
- Mikkelsen, M. A., 'Real Estate on Manhattan Island, A Review of—', *A History of Real Estate, Building, and Architecture in New York City During the Last Quarter of a Century* (New York, 1898), pp. 1-129
- Obituary of Samuel H. Ordway, *NYT* (20 April 1934)
- Officers, Members, Constitution & By-Laws of the Colony Club* (New York, 1908)
- Officers, Members, Constitution and Rules of the Union Club* (New York, 1894)
- Pooton, J., 'The Harvard Club', *NYT* (23 May 1897)
- Report of the Class of 1860* (Cambridge, 1895)
- Report of the Harvard Class of 1853* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913)

Reports, Constitution, By-Laws and List of Members of the Century Association for the Year 1900 (New York, 1901)

S., A. G., 'Club life in America', *The Century* (December 1882), p. 310-11

Saint-Gaudens, H., 'The American Academy in Rome', *The Critic* (May 1905)

Seventh Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1865 of Harvard College (New York, 1890)

Slocum, T. W., 'Celebration of the Harvard Club of New York City', *HGM* (March 1906)

Tenth Report of the Class of 1869 of Harvard College (Boston, 1908)

Tenth Report of the Secretary, Class of 1865, of Harvard College (Boston, 1907)

Thayer, W., 'Shall we have University Club?', *HGM* (June 1895), p. 474

The American Academy in Rome: Officers, Act of Incorporation, By-Laws (New York, 1905)

The Architectural Record, XXX/2 (August 1911)

The Elite Catalogue of Clubs (1890-91)

The Harvard Advocate, LX/6 (5 December 1895), pp. 81-82

The Harvard Register: An Illustrated Monthly, 3/2 (February 1881), pp. 156-57

The Ninth Report of the Secretary of the Class of 1873 (Boston, 1913)

The Twentieth Secretary's Report of the Class of 1866 (Boston, 1922)

The Wellesley College News (alumni magazine), XXXIII/6 (March 1915), pp. 1-8

Timbs, J., *Clubs and Club Life in London with Anecdotes of its Famous Houses, Hostelries, and Taverns from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (London, 1872)

Troy's New York City Directory (1879)

Wharton, E. and Codman, O. Jr., *The Decoration of Houses* (New York, 1898)

Wharton, E., *A Backward Glance* (New York and London, 1934)

Wheatley, R., 'The Jews in New York-II', *The Century Magazine* (February 1892), p. 512-32

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books and Articles

Aaron, A., 'Ladies Mile', in K. Jackson (ed), *The Encyclopaedia of New York*, p.650

Abbott, A., *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Labor* (Chicago, 1988)

Abramson, D. M., *Obsolescence: An Architectural History* (Chicago, 2016)

Ackerman, J., *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (London, 1990)

Adam, T., *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840-1930s* (Bloomington, 2009)

Anderson, B., *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edn (1983; London and New York, 2006)

Andrews, W., *Architecture, Ambition, and Americans: A Social History of American Architecture*, rev edn (New York and London, 1979)

Axtell, J., *Wisdom's Workshop: The Rise of the Modern University* (Princeton, 2016)

Baader, B. M., *Gender, Judaism, and Bourgeois Culture in Germany: 1800-1870* (Bloomington, Ind., 2006)

Baatz, S., *The Girl on the Velvet Swing: Sex, Murder, and the Madness at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2018)

Bachelard, G., *The Poetics of Space: The Classical Look at How We Experience Intimate Space*, trans. M. Jolas (Boston, 1994)

Baker, P. R., *Stanny: The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York, 1989)

Baltzell, E. D., *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy & Caste in America* (1964; New Haven, 1987)

Bannister, R. C., *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought* (Philadelphia, 1988)

Beckert, S. and Rockman, S., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia, 2016)

Beckert, S., 'American Danger: United States Empire, Eurafrica, and the Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870–1950', *The American Historical Review*, 122/4 (October 2017), pp. 1137–70

Beckert, S., 'Bourgeois Institution Builders: New York in the Nineteenth Century', in S. Beckert and J. B. Rosenbaum (eds), *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2010), pp. 103-17

Beckert, S., 'History of American Capitalism', in E. Foner and L. McGirr (eds), *American History Now* (Philadelphia, 2011), pp. 314-35

Beckert, S., 'Institution-building and Class Formation: How Nineteenth-century Bourgeois Organized', in G. Morton, R. J. Morris, and B. M. A. de Vries, (eds), *Civil Society, Associations, and Urban Places: Class, Nation, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 17-37

Beckert, S., 'Merchants and Manufacturers in Antebellum North', in S. Fraser and G. Gerstle (eds), *Ruling America: A history of Wealth and Power in a Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pp. 92-122

Beckert, S., and Desan, C., 'Introduction', in S. Beckert and C. Desan (eds), *American Capitalism: New Histories* (New York, 2018)

Beckert, S., *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2015)

Beckert, S., *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1856-1896* (Cambridge, 2001)

Bederman, G., *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, 1995)

Bedoire, F., *The Jewish Contribution to Modern Architecture 1830-1930*, trans. by R. Tanner (Jersey City, 2004)

Bender, T., *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York, 1987)

Betsky, C., 'Inside the Past: The Interior and the Colonial Revival in American Art and Literature, 1860-1914', in Alan Axelrod (ed.), *The Colonial Revival in America*, (New York and London, 1985), pp. 241-77

Bingmann, M., *Prep School Cowboys: Ranch Schools in the American West* (Albuquerque, 2015)

Birmingham, S., *"Our Crowd": The Great Jewish Families of New York* (1967; Syracuse, N. Y., 1996)

Black, B., *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland* (Athens, Ohio, 2012)

Blackmar, E. S., *Manhattan for Rent, 1785-1850* (Ithaca and London, 1989)

Blair, K. J., *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York and London, 1980)

Bourdieu, P., *Distinction: A Social Critique on the Distinction of Taste*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge, Mass., 1984)

Bourdieu, P., *The Logic of Practice*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge, 1990)

Boyer, M. C., *Manhattan Manners: Architecture and Style, 1850-1900* (New York, 1985)

Boyle, B. M., 'Architectural Practice in America', in Kostof, S. (ed.), *The Architect: Chapters in the History of a Profession* (New York, 1976), pp. 313-7

- Brandon, R., *The Dollar Princesses: Sagas of Upward Nobility, 1870-1914* (New York, 1980)
- Breiner, D., '(Former) Century Association Building', New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (1993)
- Broderick, M., *Triumvirate: McKim, Mead & White: Art, Architecture, Scandal, and Class in America's Gilded Age* (New York, 2010)
- Buckley, P. G., 'Culture, Class, and Place in Antebellum New York', in J. H. Mollenkoph (ed.), *Power, Culture, and Place: Essays on New York City* (New York, 1988), pp. 25-52
- Bunting, B., *Harvard: An Architectural History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984)
- Burns, S., *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven, Conn., 1996)
- Burrows, E. G. and Wallace, M., *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, 1999)
- Bushman, R. L., *The Refinement of America, Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992)
- Buss, D. G., *Henry Villard: A Study of Transatlantic Investments and Interests, 1870-1895* (New York, 1997)
- Butler, L., *Critical Americans: Victorian Intellectuals and Transatlantic Liberal Reform* (Chapel Hill, 2007)
- Butterfield, K., *The Making of Tocqueville's America* (Chicago and London, 2015)
- Cannadine, D., *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* (New Haven, 1994)
- Carlhian, J. P. and Ellis, M. M., *Americans in Paris: Foundations of America's Architectural Gilded Age: Architecture Students at the École des Beaux-Arts, 1846-1946* (New York, 2014)
- Carlisle, N., 'John Ellis and A. H. Davenport: Furniture Manufacturing in Each Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1850-1900', in B. Jobe and G. W. R. Ward (eds), *Boston Furniture 1700-1900*, 88 (Boston, 2016), pp. 351-369
- Carosso, V. P. and Carosso, R. C., *The Morgans: Private International Bankers 1854-1913* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987)

- Carosso, V. P., *Investment Banking in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979)
- Chandler, A. D., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977)
- Chauncey, G., *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World, 1890-1940* (New York, 1994)
- Chernow, R., *The House of Morgan: An American Banking Dynasty and the Rise of Modern Finance* (New York, 1990)
- Clark, D. A., *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890-1915* (Madison, Wis., 2010)
- Clark, P., *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000)
- Cleveland, H. B. and Huertas, T. F., *Citibank, 1812-1970* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985)
- Cohen, B., *In the Club: Associational Life in Colonial South Asia* (Manchester, 2015)
- Cook, E., *The Pricing of Progress: Economic Indicators and the Capitalization of American Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017)
- Cookson, P. W., and Persell, C. H., *Preparing for Power: America's Elite Boarding Schools* (New York, 1985)
- Cooper, H. S. F. Jr., *Inside the Century Association* (New York, 1997)
- Cox, A. F., *The History of the Colony Club 1903-1984* (New York, 1984)
- Craghead, A. B., *Railway Palaces of Portland, Oregon: The Architectural Legacy of Henry Villard* (Charleston, 2016)
- Craven, W., *Gilded Mansions: Grand Architecture and High Society* (New York, 2009)
- Crook, J. M., *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches* (London, 1999)

Cummings, M., *Saving Sin City: William Travers Jerome, Stanford White, and the Original Crime of the Century* (New York, 2018)

Curran, K., *A Forgotten Architect of the Gilded Age: Josiah Cleaveland's Cady's Legacy* (Hartford, Conn., 1993)

de Kay, O., *From the Age that is Past: Harvard Club of New York City, A History* (New York, 1994)

de Leon, C. L. P., *Self-Exposure: Human-Interest Journalism and the Emergence of Modern America, 1890-1940* (Chapel Hill and London, 2002)

DiMaggio, P., 'Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organisational Base for High Culture in America', *Media, Culture and Society*, 4 (1982), pp. 33-50

Domhoff, G. W., *The Bohemian Grove and Other Retreats: A Study in Ruling-Class Cohesiveness* (New York, 1974)

Donhauser, P. L., 'Herts and Tallant', in K. T. Jackson (ed), *The Encyclopaedia of New York City*, 2nd edn (New Haven, 2010), p. 593

Dubois, E. C., 'Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Transformation of Class Relation among Woman Suffragists', in N. Frankel and N. S. Dye (eds), *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington, 2015), p. 162-79

Duke, A., *Importing Oxbridge: English Residential Colleges and American Universities* (New Haven, 1996).

E. Foner, 'The Continental Revolution: The Gilding of American Capitalism Happened on both Side of the Continent', *The Nation* (1 June 2017)

Fitch, J. M., *American Building: The Historical Forces that Shaped It* (1947; Boston, 1968)

Fogelson, R. M., *America's Armories: Architecture, Society, and Public Order* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989)

Foucault, M., 'Of Other Spaces', trans. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16/1, pp. 22-27

Fraser, S. and Gerstle, G., 'Introduction', in S. Fraser and G. Gerstle (eds), *Ruling America: A history of Wealth and Power in a Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pp. 1-26

- Fraser, S., *Class Matters: The Strange Career of an American Delusion* (New Haven, 2018)
- Frederickson, G. M., *The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crises of the Union* (New York, 1965)
- Freedman, E. B., 'Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930', *Feminist Studies*, 5 (1979), pp. 512-29
- Galambos, L., 'Technology, Political Economy, and Professionalization: Central Themes of the Organizational Synthesis', *The Business History Review*, 57/4 (1983), pp. 471-93
- Galambos, L., 'The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in Modern American History', *The Business History Review*, 44/3 (1970), pp. 279-90
- Galambos, L., and Spence, B. B., *The Public Image of Big Business in America, 1880-1940: A Quantitative Study in Social Change* (Baltimore, 1975)
- Gawalt, G. W., 'The Impact of Industrialization on the Legal Profession in Massachusetts, 1870-1900' in G. W. Gawalt (ed), *The New High Priests: Lawyers in Post-Civil War America* (Westport, Conn. and London, 1984), pp. 97-123
- Geiger, R. L., *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* (Princeton, 2015)
- Geisst, C. R., *Wall Street: A History*, 4th edn (1997; New York, 2018)
- Gilfoyle, T. J., 'Making an American Upper', *Reviews in American History*, 30/2 (June 2002), pp. 279-87
- Girouard, M., *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, 1978)
- Glasscock, J., 'The Development of Wellesley's Financial Resources', in J. Glasscock (ed), *Wellesley College 1875-1975: A Century of Women* (Wellesley, Mass., 1975), pp. 370-86
- Glazer, N. and Field, C. R. (eds), *The National Mall: Rethinking Washing's Monumental Core* (Baltimore, 2008), pp. 27-40

- Goldman, K., 'Beyond the Synagogue Gallery? Women's Changing Role in Nineteenth-Century American and German Judaism', in Weise, C. and Wilhelm, C. (eds), *American Jewry: Transcending the European Experience?* (London and New York, 2017), pp. 169-78
- Goodfriend, J. D., *Who Should Rule at Home? Confronting the Elite in British New York City* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2017)
- Gordon, R. W., "'The Ideal and the Actual in the Law": Fantasies and Practices of New York City Layers, 1870-1910', in G. W. Gawalt (ed), *The New High Priests: Lawyers in Post-Civil War America* (Westport, Conn. and London, 1984), pp. 51-74
- Govenar, A. B., Maack, M. N., and Barzilai, C., *Anne Morgan: Photography, Philanthropy & Advocacy = Photographie, philanthropie & engagement social* (New York, 2016)
- Graaf, R., *Four Walls and a Roof: The Complex Nature of a Simple Profession* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017)
- Gray, C., *Changing New York: The Architectural Scene* (New York, 1992)
- Greenhouse, W., "Daniel Huntington and the Ideal of Christian Art", in *Winterthur Portfolio*, 31 2/3 (July, 1996): p. 103-40
- Greenwald, D. S., 'Colleague Collectors: A Statistical Analysis of the History of Collecting and Artists' Networks in Nineteenth-Century New York', in *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* [forthcoming 2018]
- Grinstein, H. B., 'Reforms at the Temple Emanuel of New York, 1860-1890', *Historia Judaica*, no. 2 (October, 1944)
- Groth, P., 'Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study', in P. Groth and T. W. Bressi, *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes* (New Haven and London, 1993)
- Groth, P., and Wilson, C., 'The Polyphony of Cultural Landscape Study: An Introduction', in C. Wilson and P. Groth (eds), *Everyday America: Cultural Landscape Studies after J. B. Jackson* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2003)

Guarneri, J., *Newsprint Metropolis: City Papers and the Making of Modern Americans*, (Chicago and London, 2017)

Hall, P. D., *The Organization of American Culture, 1700-1900: Private Institutions, Elites, and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York, 1984)

Hall, P. D., 'Rediscovering the Bourgeoisie: Higher Education and Governing-Class Formation in the United States, 1870-1914', in S. Beckert and J. B. Rosenbaum (eds), *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2010), pp. 167-89

Hammack, D. C., *Power and Society: Greater New York at the turn of the Century* (New York, 1982)

Harris, N., 'The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement', 14/4 *American Quarterly* (Winter, 1962), pp. 545-66

Harris, N., *Building Lives: Constructing Rites and Passages* (New Haven, 1994)

Harris, N., *Cultural Excursions: Marketing, Appetites, and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago and London, 1990)

Harris, N., *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years 1790-1860* (New York, 1966)

Hawkins, H., *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York, 1972)

Hayden, D., *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighbourhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982)

Hayes, C., *Twilight of the Elites* (New York, 2012)

Hennessey, J. L. and Wallis, J. J., 'Corporations and Organizations in the United States after 1840', in N. R. Lamoreaux and W. J. Novak (eds), *Corporations and American Democracy*, pp. 74-105

Henry, A. W. D., *The Building of a Club: Social Institution and Architectural Type, 1870-1905* (Princeton, 1976)

Hilt, E., 'Early American Corporations and the State', in N. R. Lamoreaux and W. J. Novak (eds), *Corporations and American Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017), pp. 37-73

Hitchcock, H-R., *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 4th edn (1958; New Haven and London, 1987)

Hitchcock, H-R., *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (New Haven, 1954)

Hitchcock, H-R., *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Time* (1936; Cambridge, Mass. and London, 1966)

Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds), *Invention of Tradition*, 20th printing (1983; New York, 2012)

Hobsbawm, E., 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* 20th printing (1983; Cambridge, 2012), pp. 263-307

Hobson, W. K., 'Symbol of the New Profession: Emergence of the Large Law Firm, 1870-1915', in G. W. Gawalt (ed), *The New High Priests: Lawyers in Post-Civil War America* (Westport, Conn. and London, 1984), pp. 3-27

Hofstadter, R., *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston, 1955)

Holliday, K., "'Build More and Draw Less": The AIA and Leopold Eidlitz's Grand Central School of Architecture', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historian*, 65/ 3 (2006), pp. 378-401

Homberger, E., *Mrs. Astor's New York: Money and Social Power in a Gilded Age* (New Haven, 2002)

Hood, C., *In Pursuit of Privilege: A History of New York City's Upper Class & The Making of a Metropolis* (New York, 2017)

Horowitz, H. L., *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from the Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Boston, 1986)

Horowitz, H., *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Lexington, Ken., 1976)

Hudson, P. J., *Bankers and Empire: How Wall Street Colonized the Caribbean* (Chicago, 2017)

- Hull, J. S., 'The "School of Upjohn": Richard Upjohn's office', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 52/3 (Sept., 1993), pp. 281-306
- Huyssen, D., *Progressive Inequality: Rich and Poor in New York, 1890-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 2014)
- Hyman, P. E., *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representation of Women* (Seattle, 1995)
- 'Interchange: The History of Capitalism', *Journal of American History*, 101/2 (1 September 2014), pp. 503-36
- Isenstadt, S., *The Modern American House: Spaciousness and Middle-Class Identity* (New York, 2006)
- Jaher, F. C., 'Nineteenth-Century Elites in Boston and New York', *Journal of Social History*, 6/1 (1972), pp. 32-77
- Jaher, F. C., 'Style and Status: High Society in Late Nineteenth-Century New York', in F. C. Jaher (ed), *The Rich, Wellborn, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History* (Secaucus, NJ, 1973), pp. 258-84
- Jaher, F. C., *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago, ad Los Angeles* (Urbana, Ill., 1982)
- Johnson, J. M., *Funding Feminism: Monied Women, Philanthropy, and the Women's Movement, 1870-1967* (Chapel Hill, 2017)
- Jordy, W. H., *American Building and Their Architecture: Progressive and Academic Ideals at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (4 vols, New York and London, 1972)
- Jordy, W. H., Onorato, R. J. and Woodward, W. M., *Buildings of Rhode Island*, (New York, 2004)
- Joselit, J. W., 'Fun and Games: The American Jewish Social Club', in M. L. Raphael (ed), *The Columbian History of Jews and Judaism in America* (New York, 2008)
- Joyce, P., *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge, 2013)

- Karabel, J., *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale and Princeton* (Boston, 2005)
- Kathrens, M. C., *Great Houses of New York 1880-1940: Volume 2* (New York, 2013)
- Kaufmann, E., *Architecture in the Age of Reason: Baroque and Post-Baroque in England, Italy, and France* (1955; New York, 1968)
- Kazal, R. A., *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton, 2004)
- Keire, M. L. *For Business & Pleasure: Red-Light Districts and the Regulation of Vice in the United States, 1890-1933* (Baltimore, 2010)
- Kendall, D., *Members Only: Elite Clubs and the Process of Exclusion* (Lanham, Maryland, 2008)
- Kenny, N., *The Feel of the City: Experience of Urban Transformation* (Toronto, 2014)
- Kerber, L. K., 'Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *The Journal of American History*, 75/1 (June 1988), pp. 9-39
- Kessner, T., *Capital City: New York City and the Men behind America's Rise to Economic Dominance, 1860-1900* (New York, 2004)
- Kirkland, E. C., *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900* (Chicago, 1990)
- Klein, M., *The Life and Legend of Jay Gould* (Baltimore, 1997)
- Kohn, M., *Radical space: Building the House of the People* (Ithaca, 2003)
- Krugman, P., 'Why We're in a New Gilded Age', *New York Review of Books* (8 May 2014)
- Lamoreaux, N. R., *The Great Merger Movement in American Business, 1895-1904* (Cambridge, 1985)
- Lasch, C., 'The Moral and Intellectual Rehabilitation of the Ruling Class', in C. Lasch, *The World of Nations: Reflections on American History, Politics, and Culture* (New York, 1973), pp. 80-99

- Lears, J., 'The Managerial Revitalisation of the Rich', in S. Fraser and G. Gerstle (eds), *Ruling America: A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), pp. 181-214
- Lears, T. J., *No Place of Grace Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York, 1981)
- 'Leonard Jerome House (Manhattan Club)', New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Report (23 November 1965)
- Levine, L. W., *Highbrow Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986)
- Levy, J., *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2012)
- Lewis, A. A., *Ladies and Not-So-Gentle Women* (New York, 2001)
- Lipartito, K. J. and Miranti, P. J., 'Professions and Organizations in Twentieth-Century America', *Social Science Quarterly*, 79/2 (1998), pp. 301-20
- Livingston, J., 'The Social Analysis of Economic History and Theory: Conjectures on Late Nineteenth-Century American Development', *The American Historical Review*, 92/1 (1987), pp. 69-95
- Livingston, J., 'Vanishing Act: You've Probably Never Heard of Martin J. Sklar. But You Should Have', *The Nation* (15 October 2014)
- Livingston, J., *Origins of the Federal Reserve System: Money, Class, and Corporate Capitalism, 1890-1913* (Ithaca and London, 1986)
- Lockwood, C., *Bricks and Brownstone: The New York Row House, 1783-1929* (New York, 1972)
- Low, D. G., *Stanford White's New York* (New York, 1992)
- Madison, C. A., 'Gleanings from the Henry Holt Files', *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 27/2 (1966), pp. 86-106

'Madison Square North Historic District Designation Report', New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Report (26 June 2001)

Madsen, D., *The National University, Enduring Dream of USA* (Detroit, 1966)

Maggor, N., *Brahmin Capitalism: Frontiers of Wealth and Populism in America's First Gilded Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017)

Markus, T. A., *Buildings & Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (London, 1993)

McKenna, C. D., *The World's Newest Profession: Management Consulting in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 2006)

Metcalf, P. C., 'Creating a "Dignified Home": Richard Henry Dana Jr. and the New York Headquarters of the National Society of Colonial Dames, 1928-1930', in R. G. Wilson (ed), *Re-Creating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival* (Charlottesville & London, 2006), pp. 269-83

Miles, A. and Savage, M., 'The Strange Survival Story of the English Gentlemen, 1945-2010', *Cultural and Social History*, 9/4 (2012), pp. 595-612

Miller, K., 'Harriman, Florence Jaffray Hurst', in M. H. Beasley and H. Cowan (eds), *The Eleanor Roosevelt Encyclopaedia* (Westport, Conn., 2001), p. 228

Miller, M., *Château Higginson: Social Life in Boston's Back Bay, 1870-1920* (Charleston, 2017)

Miller, W., 'American Historians and the Business Elite', *The Journal of Economic History*, 9/2 (1949), pp. 184-208

Montgomery, G., *An Elegant Wilderness: Great Camps and Grand Lodges of the Adirondacks, 1855-1935* (New York, 2011)

Montgomery, M. E., *Displaying Women: Spectacles of Leisure in Edith Wharton's New York* (New York, 1998)

Moore, S. J., *John White Alexander and the Construction of National Identity: Cosmopolitan American Art, 1880-1915* (Newark, D. E., 2003)

Morgan, K. N., 'Charles A. Platt and the Promise of American Art', in K. N. Morgan (ed.), *Shaping an American Landscape: The Art and Architecture of Charles A. Platt* (Hanover, NH, 1995), pp. 3-23

Morison, S. E., *The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869-1929* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930)

Morison, S. E., *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1926* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964)

Morris, R. J., 'Introduction: Civil Society, Associations and Urban Places: Class, Nation and Culture in Nineteenth-century Europe', in G. Morton, R. J. Morris, and B. M. A. de Vries, (eds), *Civil Society, Associations, and Urban Places: Class, Nation, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 1-16

Mumford, L., *Sticks and Stones: A Study of American Architecture and Civilization* (New York, 1924)

Mumford, L., *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865-1895*, 2nd rev edn (1955; New York, 1971)

Neuman, J., *Gilded Suffragists: The New York Socialites who Fought for Women's Rights to Vote* (New York, 2017)

Ninkovich, F., 'Theodore Roosevelt: Civilization as Ideology', *Diplomatic History*, 10/3 (July 1986), pp. 221-45

Nitzsche, G. E., *University of Pennsylvania: Its History, Traditions, Building and Memorials* (Philadelphia, 1916)

Noble, D. F., *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York, 1977)

O'Donnell, E. T., *Henry George and the Crisis of Inequality: Progress and Poverty in the Gilded Age* (New York, 2015)

O'Sullivan, M. A., *Dividends of Development: Securities Markets in the History of U.S. Capitalism, 1866-1922* (Oxford, 2016)

One Hundred Years: the Harmonie Club (New York, 2005)

- Osman, M., *Modernism's Visible Hand: Architecture and Regulation in America* (Minneapolis and London, 2018)
- Ossman, L., Ewing, H. P. and Brooke, S., *Carrère & Hastings: The Masterworks* (New York, 2011)
- Osterhammel, J., *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 2015)
- Ott, J. C., *When Wall Street met Main Street: The Quest for an Investors' Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011)
- Pak, S. J., *Gentlemen Bankers: The World of J. P. Morgan* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013)
- Peck, A. and Irish, C., *Candace Wheeler: The Art and Enterprise of American Design, 1875-1900* (New York, 2001)
- Peiss, K. L., *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in turn-of-the-century New York City* (Philadelphia, 1986)
- Pennoyer, P. and Walker A., and Wallen J., *The Architecture of Grosvenor Atterbury* (New York, 2009)
- Pennoyer, P. and Walker, A., and Stern, R. A. M., *Transformed: The Architecture of Cross & Cross* (New York, 2014)
- Pennoyer, P. and Walker, A., *The Architecture of Delano & Aldrich* (New York, 2003)
- Pennoyer, P., Walker, A., Stern, R. A. M. and Wallen, J., *The Architecture of Delano & Aldrich* (New York, 2002)
- Perkin, H., *The Origins of Modern English Society* (London, 1969)
- Perry, B., *Life and Letters of Henry Lee Higginson* (Boston, 1924)
- Pevsner, N., *A History of Building Types* (Princeton, 1998)
- Pickford, J., 'Gentlemen's Clubs Savour Quiet Success', *Financial Times* (21 December 2012)
- Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, tr. Goldhammer, A., (Cambridge, Mass., 2014)

- Plummer, H. A., *Metropolitan Club, New York, 1891-1941* (New York, 1941)
- Pollard, A., and Soyer, D., *Emerging Metropolis: New York Jews in the age of Immigration, 1840-1920* (New York, 2012)
- Porzelt, P., *The Metropolitan Club of New York* (New York, 1982)
- Postal, M., 'Yale Club of New York City', Landmarks Preservation Commission Report (22 November 2016)
- Rappaport, E., *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton, 2000)
- Redlich, F., *The Molding of American Banking: Men and Ideas* (2 vols, New York, 1968)
- Rendell, J., *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space & Architecture in Regency London* (New Brunswick, 2002)
- Rischin, M., *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962)
- Rosenzweig, R. and Blackmar, E., *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca, 1998)
- Roth, L. M., *The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White: 1870-1920, A Building List* (New York, 1978)
- Roth, L. R., *McKim, Mead and White: Architects* (New York, 1985)
- Ryan, M. P., *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1997)
- Saint, A., *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven, 1983)
- Salmon F., "'Our Great Master Kent'" and the Design of Holkham Hall: A Reassessment', *Architectural History*, 56 (2013), pp. 63-96
- Salmon, F., 'Introduction', in F. Salmon (ed), *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essays on Architectural Historiography* (New Haven and London, 2006), xi-xxx
- Salmon, F., *Building on Ruins: The Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture* (Aldershot, 2001)

- Sandoval-Strausz, A. K., 'A Public House for a New Republic: The Architecture of Accommodation and the American State, 1789-1809', *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 9 (2003), pp. 54-70
- Sarna, J. D., 'The Debate over Mixed Seating in the American Synagogue', in J. Wertheimer (ed.), *The American Synagogue: A Sanctuary Transformed* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 363-94
- Savorra, M., 'Money with Style. The Italian Renaissance and American Architects', in A. Brucculeri and S. Frommel (eds), *Renaissance italienne et architecture au XIXe siècle: Interprétations et restitutions* (Rome, 2015), pp. 243-55
- Schlesinger, A. M., 'The City in American History', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 27/1 (June 1940), pp. 43-66
- Schlesinger, A., *Veritas: Harvard College and the American experience* (Chicago, 2005)
- Schuyler, D., 'Jervis McEntee: The Trials of a Landscape Painter', in N. Siegel (ed), *The Cultured Canvas: New Perspectives on American Landscape Painting* (Durham, N. H., 2011), pp. 185-216
- Schwarz, J., *Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village, 1912-1940*, revised edn (Norwich, VT, 1986)
- Scrivano, P., 'A Thirty-Year Project: Henry-Russell Hitchcock's Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in F. Salmon (ed), *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essays on Architectural Historiography* (New Haven and London, 2006), pp. 171-91
- Scully, V. J., *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style* (New Haven, 1971)
- Samuels, A., 'Why So Few American Economists Are Studying Inequality', *The Atlantic* (13 September 2016)
- Sennett, R., *The Fall of Public Man* (New York, 1976)
- Sewell, J. E., *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890-1915* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2011)

- Sharples, J., “‘The Visible Embodiment of Modern Commerce’: Speculative Office Buildings in Liverpool, c. 1780-1870’, *Architectural History* 61 (2018), pp. 131-73
- Sherman, S., *Patience and Fortitude: Power, Real Estate, and the Fight to Save a Public Library* (New York, 2015)
- Shockley, J., ‘Aschenbroedel Verein’, New York City Landmarks Preservation Committee Report (2009)
- Shopsin, W. C. and Broderick, M. G., *The Villard Houses: Life Story of a Landmark* (New York, 1980)
- Showalter, E., *Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin-de-Siècle* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1993)
- Simmons, M., *The Union Club of the City of New York: The History of the Club from the Year of its Founding to Year of its Sesquicentennial, 1836-1986* (New York, 1987)
- Sinha, M., ‘Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India’, *Journal of British Studies*, 40/4, At Home in the Empire (2001), pp. 489-521
- Sklansky, J., ‘Labor, Money, and the Financial Turn in the History of Capitalism’, *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, 11/1 (2014), pp. 23-46
- Sklansky, J., ‘The Elusive Sovereign: New Intellectual and Social Histories of Capitalism’, *Modern Intellectual History*, 9/1 (2012), pp. 233-48
- Sklar, M. J., *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916: The Market, the Law, and Politics* (Cambridge, 1988)
- Skrabec, Q. R. Jr., *The 100 Most Important American Financial Crises* (Santa Barbara, 2015)
- Smith, J. S., *Elsie de Wolfe: A Life in the High Style* (New York, 1982)
- Smith-Rosenberg, C., *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (Oxford, 1986)
- Sproat, J. H., *‘The Best Men’: Liberal Reformers in the Gilded Age* (Oxford, 1968)

- Stern, M., *The Rise and Progress of Reform Judaism* (New York, 1895)
- Stern, R. A. M., Fishman, D. and Mellins, T., *New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1999)
- Stern, R. A. M., Gilmartin, G., and Massengale, J. M., *New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism 1890-1915* (New York, 1995)
- Stillman, D., *English Neo-Classical Architecture* (2 vols, New York, 1988)
- Stone, L. and Stone, J. C. F., *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1982)
- Story, R., *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard & the Boston Upper Class, 1800-1970* (Middletown, Conn., 1980)
- Strouse, J., *Morgan: American Financier* (London, 1999)
- Summerson, J., *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830*, 9th edn (1953; New Haven and London, 2007)
- Supple, B. E., 'A Business Elite: German-Jewish Financiers in Nineteenth-Century New York', *The Business History Review*, 31/2 (Summer 1957), pp. 143-78
- Sutherland, G., *Search of the New Woman: Middle-Class Women and Work in Britain, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, 2015)
- Tax, M., *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917* (New York, 1980)
- Thévoz, S. A., *Club Government: How the Victorians Ruled the World from London Clubs* (London, 2017)
- Tocqueville, A., *Democracy in America*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New York, 2004)
- Toll, W., 'A Quiet Revolution: Jewish Women's Clubs and the Widening Female Sphere, 1870-1920', *American Jewish Archives*, 1 (1989), pp. 7-26
- Tomsich, J., *A Genteel Endeavor: American Culture and Politics in the Gilded Age* (Stanford, 1971)
- Trachtenberg, A., *The incorporation of America: Society in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1982)

- Turner, P. V., *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (New York, 1984)
- Veblen, T., *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; Oxford, 2007)
- Veysey, L. R., *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965)
- Vidler, A., *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment*. Princeton, 1987)
- Wallace, M., *Greater Gotham: A History of New York City from 1898 to 1919* (New York, 2018)
- Wallach, A., 'Rethinking "Luminism": Taste, Class, and Aestheticizing Tendencies in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Painting', in N. Siegel (ed), *The Cultured Canvas: New Perspectives on American Landscape Painting*, (Durham, N. H., 2011)
- Weisman, W., 'Commercial Palaces of New York: 1845-1875', *The Art Bulletin*, 36/4 (1954), pp. 285-302
- Wemmlinger, R. and McNamara, B., *Edwin Booth's Legacy: Treasures from the Hampden-Booth Theatre Collection at the Players* (New York, 1989)
- White, R., *Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896* (Oxford, 2017)
- White, R., *The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States During Reconstruction and the Gilded age, 1865-1896* (New York, 2017)
- White, R., *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York, 2011)
- White, S., *Houses of McKim, Mead & White* (New York, 2009)
- Whyte, W., 'How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture', *History and Theory*, 45/2 (2006), pp. 153-77
- Whyte, W., 'Scott's Office and Its Impact', in P. R. Barnwell, G. Tyack, and W. Whyte (eds), *George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878): An Architect and his Influence* (Donington, 2014), pp. 213-29

- Whyte, W., 'The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 10/1 (2011), pp. 15-45
- Whyte, W., *Oxford Jackson: Architecture, Education, Status, and Style 1835-1924* (Oxford, 2006)
- Whyte, W., *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities* (Oxford, 2016)
- Wiebe, R. H., *Self-Rule: A Cultural History of American Democracy* (Chicago, 1995)
- Wiebe, R. H., *The Search for Order: 1877-1920* (New York, 1967)
- Williams, R. L., *The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education: George W. Atherton and the Land Grant College Movement* (University Park, 1991)
- Willis, J., and Wettan, R., 'Social Stratification in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915', *Journal of Sport History*, 3/1 (1976), pp. 45-63
- Wilson, M. T., 'Morgan, Anne Tracy', in B. Sicherman and C. H. Green (eds), *Notable American Women: The Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), pp. 498-99
- Wilson, R. G., 'American Renaissance: Charles Follen McKim and the Aesthetic Ideal', in N. Glazer and C. R. Field (eds), *The National Mall. Rethinking Washington's Monumental Core* (Baltimore, 2008), pp. 27-40
- Wilson, R. G., 'Architecture and the Reinterpretation of the Past in the American Renaissance', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 18/1 (Spring 1983), pp. 69-87
- Wilson, R. G., 'The Early Work of Charles F. McKim: Country House Commissions', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 14/ 3 (Autumn, 1979), pp. 235-67
- Wilson, R. G., *McKim, Mead and White: Architects* (New York, 1983)
- Wilson, R. G., Pilgrim, D. H., and Murray, R. N., *The American Renaissance, 1876-1917* (New York, 1979)
- Wilson, R. G., *The ALA Gold Medal* (New York, 1984)
- Withey, H. F., and Withey, E. R., *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects* (Los Angeles, 1970)

Wood, Jr., H. A., 'The Wellesley College Endowment', in J. Glasscock (ed), *Wellesley College 1875-1975: A Century of Women* (Wellesley, Mass., 1975), pp. 387-91

Woods, M. N., *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley, 1999)

Worsley, G., *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven, 1987)

Wright, R. E., *The First Wall Street: Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, and the Birth of American Finance* (Chicago, 2005)

Yates, A. M., *Selling Paris: Property and Commercial Culture in the Fin-de-Siècle Capital* (Cambridge, Mass., 2015)

Yegül, F. K., *Gentlemen of Instinct and Breeding: Architecture at the American Academy in Rome, 1894-1940* (Oxford, 1991)

SECONDARY SOURCES

Unpublished Theses

Casey, B. W., 'Romantic Campus: Emotion and the American College, 1880-1940' (PhD Diss., History of American Civilisation, Harvard University, 2000)

Sobel, R. B., 'A History of New York's Temple Emanu-El: the Second Half Century' (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1980)

SECONDARY SOURCES

Websites

Carls, P., 'Émile Durkheim (1858—1917)', *The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, <https://www.iep.utm.edu/> (14 Jan. 2019)

Global Cultural Districts Network, AEA Consulting, '2017 Cultural Infrastructure Index', http://aeaconsulting.com/uploads/800008/1536717435612/AEA_-_Cultural_Infrastructure_Index_2017_-_web.pdf (14 Jan. 19)

Lecture by Barry Bergdoll about three great architects of European architecture in the 19th Century, You Tube (recorded 26 Feb. 2014, uploaded 10 Mar. 2014), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pXcuy9bO7zQ> (19 Apr. 2018)

Lessard, S., 'Stanford White's Ruins', *The New Yorker* (8 July 1996), <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1996/07/08/stanford-whites-ruins> (3 Jan. 2019)

Pertilla, A., 'The Old Boys' (Lunch) Club: Sharing Meals and Making Deals on Gilded Age Wall Street', Gotham: A Blog for Scholars of New York City History (24 November 2015), <https://www.gothamcenter.org/blog/the-old-boys-lunch-club-sharing-meals-and-making-deals-on-gilded-age-wall-street> (17 Apr. 18).

Seal, A., 'When Did the History of Capitalism Become New? Periodizing the Field', U.S. Intellectual History Blog (27 August 2018), <https://s-usih.org/2018/08/when-did-the-history-of-capitalism-become-new-periodizing-the-field/> (6 Sept. 2018)

Shand-Tucci, D., 'American Aristocracy – Harvard Pulpit: Boston Brahmin Liberalism' (1 April 2012), <https://www.openlettersmonthly.com/letter-from-boston-toward-a-new-history/> (29 Jan. 2018)