

Notes

Introduction

1. <http://www.fritzhaeg.com/schoolhouse/projects/queer-home-ec.html> (Accessed 1 June 2012).
2. <http://www.southbankcentre.co.uk/whatson/alternative-fairytales-alternative-families-70813> (Accessed 12 July 2013).
3. Collected in: Oscar Moore, *PWA: Looking AIDS in the Face* (London: Picador, 1996).
4. For a flavour see: Amy Brandzel, 'Queering Citizenship? Same-sex Marriage and the State', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 11, no. 2 (2005): 171–204; Jeffrey Weeks, Brian Heaphy, and Catherine Donovan, *Same Sex Intimacies: Families of Choice and Other Life Experiments* (London: Routledge, 2001); Michael Warner, *The Trouble With Normal: Sex, Politics and the Ethics of Queer Life* (New York: Free Press, 1999); Lisa Duggan, 'The New Heteronormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neo-Liberalism', in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); S. Roseneil and S. Budgeon, 'Cultures of Intimacy and Care Beyond "the Family": Personal Life and Social Change in the Early 21st Century', *Current Sociology* 52, no. 2 (2004): 135–159; A. Gorman-Murray, 'Contesting Domestic Ideals: Queering the Australian Home', *Australian Geographer* 38, no. 2 (2007): 195–213; Stephen Hicks, *Lesbian, Gay and Queer Parenting: Families, Intimacies, Genealogies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
5. On this point see: Carol Smart, *Personal Life: New Directions in Sociological Thinking* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 21.
6. Sharon Marcus, 'At Home with the Other Victorians', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 108, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 120–145.
7. Hilde Heynen and Gulsum Baydar, eds., *Negotiating Domesticity: Spatial Productions of Gender in Modern Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2005), intro, 2.
8. Cited in: Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 110.
9. John Osborne, 'Diary of a Somebody', *The Spectator*, 29 November 1986.
10. On home in relation to Englishness see especially: Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), xii; Alison Ravetz, *The Place of Home: English Domestic Environments, 1914–2000* (London: Spon, 1995).
11. Deborah Cohen and Sharon Marcus are notable exceptions in this regard. Cohen, *Household Gods*; Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: Living with Shame from the Victorians to the Present Day* (London: Viking, 2013); Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Marcus, 'At Home'.
12. As Kath Weston has it. Kath Weston, *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 22.

13. For foundational arguments on the power of these discourses see especially: Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London: Quartet Books, 1977); Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Allen Lane, 1979); Mary McIntosh, 'The Homosexual Role', *Social Problems* 16, no. 2 (1968): 182–192.
14. Jordon Goodman, 'History and Anthropology', in *Companion to Historiography*, ed. Michael Bently (London: Routledge, 1997), 794; on this approach see also: Judy Giles, *The Parlour and the Suburb: Domestic Identities, Class, Femininity and Modernity* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 24.
15. On this point see: Scott Bravmann, *Queer Fictions of the Past: History, Culture, and Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 127.
16. On the usefulness of stereotype in analysis see: David M. Halperin, *How to be Gay* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 91.
17. I borrow this idea of 'composure' from Graham Dawson who uses it to describe the effect of giving a testimony and creating a narrative of the self. See: Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), intro.
18. As Joe Ackerley has it in: J.R. Ackerley, *My Father and Myself* (New York: NYRB Classics, 2006), 239.
19. See: Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), chap. 4; On this see especially: Laura Doan, 'Woman's Place in the Home', in *Sapphic Modernities: Sexuality, Women and National Culture*, ed. J. Garrity and L. Doan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778–1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); for a flavour in sexology, see: Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, ed. Ivan Crozier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), chap. 4.
20. George Cruikshank, *Sinks of London Laid Open* (London: J. Duncombe, 1848).
21. Charles Ricketts, *Self-Portrait: Taken from the Letters and Journals*, ed. T. Sturge Moore and C. Lewis (London: Peter Davies, 1939), 341.
22. George Orwell, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 203.
23. Paul Sieveking, *Man Bites Dog: The Scrapbooks of and Edwardian Eccentric* (London: Jay Landesman, 1980), preface, 5.
24. Ackerley, *My Father*, 239.
25. Cited in: Simon Shepherd, *Because We're Queers: The Life and Crimes of Kenneth Halliwell and Joe Orton* (London: Gay Mens Press, 1989), title page.
26. Derek Jarman, *Smiling in Slow Motion* (London: Century, 2000), 10.
27. Historian of consciousness Teresa de Lauretis reputedly coined the term 'queer theory' at a lesbian and gay studies conference at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in 1990. She, Eve Sedgwick and Judith Butler were key to the development of associated concepts in the first part of the 1990s.
28. Mary Douglas, 'The Idea of a Home: a Kind of Space', *Social Research* 58, no. 1 (1991): 287–307.
29. For a vivid sense of the difference class can make see: Joanna Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain 1890–1960: Gender, Class, and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 1994), chap. 2 & 3; Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England, 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), chap. 5 & 8.

30. Zvi Razi, 'The Myth of the Immutable English Family', *Past and Present* 140, no. 1 (1993): 3–44; L. Davidoff, 'The Family in Britain', *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950* 2 (1993): 71–129; Tamara K. Hareven, 'The Home and the Family in Historical Perspective', *Social Research* 58, no. 1 (1991): 253–285.
31. Cohen, *Family Secrets*; Laura Doan, *Disturbing Practices: History, Sexuality, and Women's Experience of Modern War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).
32. John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 4. There is now a large literature on the gender and sexual dynamics of domestic life. Aside from works cited elsewhere in this introduction I have found the following especially suggestive: Calvin Smith, 'Men Don't Do That Sort of Thing', *Men and Masculinities* 12 (October 1998): 138–172; Peter Williams, 'Constituting Class and Gender: A Social History of the Home, 1700–1901', in *Class and Space: The Making of Urban Society*, ed. N.J Thrift and Peter Williams (London: Routledge, 1987); Tony Chapman, *Gender and Domestic Life* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); Juliet Kinchin, 'Interiors: Nineteenth Century Essays on the "Masculine" and "Feminine" Room', in *The Gendered Object*, ed. Pat Kirkham (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Heynen and Baydar, *Negotiating Domesticity*; Clare Cooper Marcus, *House as a Mirror of Self: Exploring the Deeper Meaning of Home* (Berkeley: Conari Press, 1995); Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London: Routledge, 1990).
33. Giles, *The Parlour and the Suburb*, 4; see also Cohen, *Household Gods*, 138; S.I. Benn and G.F. Gaus, eds., 'The Liberal Conception of the Public and the Private', in *Public and Private in Social Life* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 31–65; Linda McDowell, *Gender Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999); Marcus, *House as a Mirror*; Kenneth Plummer, *Intimate Citizenship: Private Decisions and Public Dialogues* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003); Rose, *Governing the Soul*; J.A. Holstein and J.F. Gubrium, 'Deprivatization and the Construction of Domestic Life', *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 57, no. 4 (1995): 894–908.
34. Freud's understanding of the uncanny (or 'unheimlich'/unhomely) has been helpful to my thinking here. Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (London: Penguin, 2003).
35. Morag Shiach, 'Modernism, the City and the "Domestic Interior" ', *Home Cultures* 2, no. 3 (2005): 251–268.
36. On the potency of desire in this respect see, for example: A. Blunt, 'Home and Identity: Life Stories in Text and Person', in *Cultural Geography in Practice*, ed. Alison Blunt, P. Gruffudd, J. May, Miles Ogborn, and D. Pinder (London: Arnold, 2003); Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society, 1750–1980* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986).
37. See: Aaron Betsky, *Building Sex: Men, Women, and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: William Morrow, 1995); Aaron Betsky, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire* (New York: William Morrow, 1997); and essays in: Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Sexuality & Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992).
38. There is a large literature describing this process; see, for example: Charles Rice, *The Emergence of the Interior: Architecture, Modernity, Domesticity* (London: Routledge, 2007); Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The*

- Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Tosh, *A Man's Place*; Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Cohen, *Household Gods*; Marcus, *Between Women*.
39. Cohen, *Household Gods*, chap. 4; J. Tosh, 'Imperial Masculinity and the Flight from Domesticity in Britain 1880–1914', in *Gender and Colonialism*, ed. Timothy P. Foley (Galway: Galway University Press, 1995), 72–85.
 40. Amanda Vickery, for example, suggests the importance of the eighteenth century in this division. Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
 41. On this point see: John D' Emilio, 'Capitalism and Gay Identity', in *Families in the US: Kinship and Domestic Politics*, ed. Karen Hansen and Anita Garey (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).
 42. Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chap. 1 & 2; see also: Sean Brady, *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain, 1861–1913* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); H.G. Cocks, *Nameless Offences: Homosexual Desire in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).
 43. Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side: Towards a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1992); Neil Bartlett, *Who Was That Man: A Present for Mr Oscar Wilde* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1988).
 44. Ravetz, *The Place of Home*, 41, 61–63; chap. 2 & 3; Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 84.
 45. Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 154; Marcus, *Apartment Stories*, 4.
 46. Marcus, *Apartment Stories*, 93.
 47. Cook, *London*.
 48. See also: Cocks, *Nameless Offences*; Morris B. Kaplan, *Sodom on the Thames: Sex, Love, and Scandal in Wilde Times* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Houlbrook, *Queer London*.
 49. On this point see: Catherine Robinson, 'I Think Home is More Than a Building: Young Home(Less) People on the Cusp of Home, Self and Something Else', *Urban Policy and Research* 20, no. 1 (2002): 27–38.
 50. Carlo Ginzberg, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know About It', *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (1993): 10–35, 33; for more on the use of case studies as indicative rather than representative see: Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 29; Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*, 3rd ed. (London: Sage, 2002).
 51. Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson, *Narrative and Genre* (London: Routledge, 1998), 13; see also and especially: Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (London: Verso, 1996), 8; Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), chap. 2 & 5; Smart, *Personal Life*, chap. 7; Daniel Miller, ed., 'Possessions', in *Home Possessions: Material Culture Behind Closed Doors* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Daniel Miller, *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter* (London: UCL Press, 1997), intro; Forty, *Objects of Desire*.

52. Judy Giles makes a related argument about women. Giles, *The Parlour and the Suburb*, 14.
53. Richard Dyer and David Halperin both pursue this argument in relation to a queer appreciation of the arts. See: Richard Dyer, *Culture of Queers* (London: Routledge, 2001); Halperin, *How to be Gay*.
54. Chamberlain and Thompson, *Narrative and Genre*, 1.
55. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 1990), 8.
56. Kenneth Plummer, *Telling Sexual Stories: Power, Change, and Social Worlds* (London: Routledge, 1994), 203; see also: Lynn Jamieson, *Intimacy: Personal Relationships in Modern Societies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 10–13.
57. On this see especially: Joan W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Inquiry* 17, no. 4 (July 1991): 773–797; Bravmann, *Queer Fictions of the Past*, intro.
58. For a survey of some of those myths and fantasies (and the way they relate to everyday lives) see especially: John R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (New York: Basic Books, 1996).
59. Marcus observes the domestic pulse in all of Wilde's work. Marcus, 'At Home', 140.
60. Peter Parker, *Ackerley: A Life of J.R. Ackerley* (London: Constable, 1989), 261.
61. Derek Jarman, *Modern Nature: The Journals of Derek Jarman* (London: Century, 1991), 18.
62. Samuel and Thompson, *The Myths We Live By*, 10.
63. *Ibid.*, 2. See also Ginzberg, 'Microhistory', 33.
64. *Ibid.*, 5.
65. On this point see especially: Poovey, *Uneven Developments*.
66. James W. Cook, Lawrence B. Glickman, and Michael O'Malley, eds., *The Cultural Turn in U.S. History: Past, Present, and Future* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 25; see also: Matt Cook, 'Squatting in History: Queer Pasts and the Cultural Turn', in *Social Research After the Cultural Turn*, ed. Sasha Roseneil and Stephen Frosh (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2012).
67. Bryant Keith Alexander, *Performing Black Masculinity: Race, Culture, and Queer Identity* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), xx; see also: Kath Weston, *Render Me, Gender Me: Lesbians Talk Sex, Class, Color, Nation, Studmuffins* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 5.
68. Seth Koven makes this point beautifully in: Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), intro.
69. Weeks, Heaphy and Donovan, *Same-Sex Intimacies*; Weston, *Families We Choose*

Part I Beautiful Homes: Introduction

1. Cited in: John Potvin, 'Askesis as Aesthetic Home: Edward Perry Warren, Lewes House, and the Ideal of Greek Love', *Home Cultures* 8, no. 1 (2011): 71–89.
2. Colin Cruise, *Love Revealed: Simeon Solomon and the Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Merrell, 2005), 9.
3. Rupert Croft Cooke, *Feasting with Panthers a New Consideration of Some Late Victorian Writers* (London: W.H. Allen, 1967), 42.
4. Cruise, *Love Revealed*, 11.

5. Simon Reynolds, *The Vision of Simeon Solomon* (Stroud: Catalpa Press, 1984), 89.
6. Cooke, *Feasting with Panthers*, 61.
7. Reynolds, *The Vision*, 90.
8. *Ibid.*, 89.
9. Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 120.
10. See especially: Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, C.1848–c.1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), chap. 16.
11. On the 1880s see: Jones, *Outcast London*; Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), chap. 4; Michelle Allen, *Cleansing the City: Sanitary Geographies in Victorian London* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008), chap. 4; of the 1930s Juliet Gardiner notes that 16,911 people were sleeping in casual wards nationally in 1932 as against 3188 in 1920. Juliet Gardiner, *The Thirties: An Intimate History* (London: Harper Press, 2010); see also: Jerry White, *London in the Twentieth Century: A City and Its People* (London: Vantage, 2008), 30, 203, 208, 221.
12. See: Koven, *Slumming*, chap. 1; Anthony Wohl, ed., 'Sex and the Single Room: Incest Among the Victorian Working Classes', in *The Victorian Family: Structures and Stresses* (London: Croom-Helm, 1977); P. Gurney, "'Intersex' and 'Dirty Girls': Mass-Observation and Working-Class Sexuality in England in the 1930s', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8, no. 3 (1997): 256–290.
13. See, for example: Octavia Hill, 'The Influence of Model Dwellings on Character', in *The Life and Labour of the People of London*, ed. Charles Booth, vol. 3 (London: Macmillan, 1892).
14. *The Daily Telegraph*, 6 April 1895: 4; see also: Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, chap. 1; Harry Cocks, *Nameless Offences: Homosexual Desire in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), chap. 2.
15. Cocks, *Nameless Offences*, chaps. 1 & 2; Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, chap. 2; G. Chauncey, 'Privacy Could Only Be Had in Public: Gay Uses of the Streets', in *Stud: Architectures of Masculinity*, ed. J. Sanders (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 224–267.
16. Cited by: Koven, *Slumming*, 47.
17. Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, ed. Ivan Crozier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 296.
18. *Ibid.*; see also: Koven, *Slumming*, 73.
19. Ellis and Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, 300.
20. For a discussion of the act and this connection see: Koven, *Slumming*, 70–74; Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chap. 2.
21. George Orwell, *Down and Out in Paris and London* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 203.
22. See the introduction to this book for a brief queer etymology.
23. Anthony Grey, 'Homes for Homosexuals', *Social Action* (May 1969): 4.
24. Houlbrook, *Queer London*, 119.
25. *Ibid.*, 121.
26. Orwell, *Down and Out in Paris and London*, 161.
27. Houlbrook, *Queer London*, 229.

28. White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, 124; Gardiner, *The Thirties*, 266, 262–263.
29. Cyril Donson and Armand Georgès, *Lonely-Land and Bedsitter-Land* (Bala: Bala Press, 1967); for further discussion of this association see the introduction to part III and also: Mark Armstrong, 'A Room in Chelsea: Quentin Crisp at Home', *Visual Culture in Britain* 12, no. 2 (2011): 155–169.
30. Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: Living with Shame from the Victorians to the Present Day* (London: Viking, 2013), 125.
31. For an overview see: Alison Ravetz, *The Place of Home: English Domestic Environments, 1914–2000* (London: Spon, 1995), chap. 3; 202–204.
32. Gardiner, *The Thirties*, 260.
33. *Ibid.*, 275.
34. Judy Giles, *Women, Identity and Private Life in Britain, 1900–50* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 22, 28; Judy Giles, "'Playing Hard to Get": Working-Class Women, Sexuality and Respectability in Britain, 1918–40', *Women's History Review* 1, no. 2 (1992): 239–255; Jill Greenfield, Sean O'Connell, and Chris Reid, 'Fashioning Masculinity: Men Only, Consumption and the Development of Marketing in the 1930s', *Twentieth Century British History* 10, no. 4 (1 January 1999): 457–476.
35. Sharon Marcus, *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 93; Gardiner, *The Thirties*, 261.
36. White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, 118; Houlbrook, *Queer London*, 134; Marcus, *Apartment Stories*, 93.
37. H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde* (New York: Dover, 1973), 178; see also: Houlbrook, *Queer London*, 20; Marcus, *Apartment Stories*, 93.
38. Less than half of the households in Deptford Katherine Holden examined were composed of just husband, wife and children or a couple alone; most had additional residents. Katherine Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage: Singleness in England, 1914–60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 57; Tamara K. Hareven, 'The Home and the Family in Historical Perspective', *Social Research* 58, no. 1 (1991): 253–285.
39. Gardiner, *The Thirties*, 278.
40. Edward Carpenter, *Towards Democracy* (1883–1902; London: GMP, 1985), 325.
41. See especially: Houlbrook, *Queer London*, part 3.
42. *Ibid.*, 134; Frank Mort, *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 156.
43. Richard Dennis, "'Babylonian Flats" in Victorian and Edwardian London', *The London Journal* 33, no. 3 (1 November 2008): 243.

1 Domestic Passions: Unpacking the Homes of Charles Shannon and Charles Ricketts

1. Christopher Hussey, 'The Keep, Chilham Castle, Kent. A Residence of Mr Charles Shannon, R.A. and Mr Charles Ricketts, A.R.A.', *Country Life* (21 June 1924).
2. On the legendary friendship of this couple see: Robert Aldrich, *Gay Life Stories* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 47.
3. Hussey, 'The Keep'.

4. Ricketts to Thomas Lewinsky, 18 November 1918 cited in: Charles Ricketts, *Self-Portrait: Taken from the Letters and Journals*, ed. T. Sturge Moore and C. Lewis (London: Peter Davies, 1939), 306.
5. Ricketts to R.N.R. Holst, 13 June 1919, in Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 317.
6. Ricketts to Gordon Bottomley, 23 March 1919, in Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, 341.
7. Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), x–xi; Judy Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior: Liberalism and the British Home 1870–1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 161.
8. Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior*, 33.
9. *Ibid.*, 33.
10. *Ibid.*, 40.
11. On this point see, for example: Cohen, *Household Gods*, chap. 1; Nicholas Cooper, *The Opulent Eye: Late Victorian and Edwardian Taste in Interior Design* (London: Architectural Press, 1976); Jane Hamlett, *Material Relations: Families and Middle-Class Domestic Interiors in England, 1850–1910* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2009); Helen Long, *The Edwardian Home: The Middle-Class Home in Britain 1880–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); David Dewing, *Home and Garden: Paintings and Drawings of English, Middle-Class, Urban Domestic Spaces, 1675–1914* (London: Geffrye Museum, 2003).
12. See: Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior*, 87; Cohen, *Household Gods*, chap. 4; Penny Sparke, *As Long as It's Pink: The Sexual Politics of Taste* (London: Pandora, 1995), pt. 1.
13. See: Note 65.
14. J. Tosh, 'Imperial Masculinity and the Flight from Domesticity in Britain 1880–1914', in *Gender and Colonialism*, ed. Timothy P. Foley (Galway: Galway University Press, 1995), 72–85.
15. Aldrich, *Gay Life Stories*, 47.
16. J.G. Paul Delaney, *Charles Ricketts: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 7, 19.
17. See: Chapter 2.
18. Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall, *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), chap. 2.
19. Charles Booth's map of Kennington is at: http://booth.lse.ac.uk/cgi-bin/do.pl?sub=view_booth_only&b.l=1&b.d.l=4&b.p.x=13871&b.p.y=12541&b.p.w=500&b.p.h=309&b.p.l=2&b.move.right.x=4&b.move.right.y=7&b.t.w=128&b.t.h=96 (Accessed 7 October 2012).
20. For a wonderful account of the mythology and putative distinctiveness of Bohemians and Bohemias see: Elizabeth Wilson, *Bohemians: The Glamorous Outcasts* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2000).
21. On the artistic reputation of particular areas of London in the period see Giles Walkley, *Artists' Houses in London 1764–1914* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), chap. 4 & 5; Caroline Dakers, *The Holland Park Circle: Artists and Victorian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 2.
22. See Charles Booth's poverty map of Chelsea at: http://booth.lse.ac.uk/cgi-bin/do.pl?sub=view_booth_and_barth&m.l=1&m.d.l=2&m.p.x=6283&m.p.y=9207&m.p.w=500&m.p.h=309&m.p.l=1&m.move.left.x=7&m.move.left.y=5&m.t.w=128&m.t.h=80&b.p.x=10192&b.p.y=13311&b.p.w=500&b.p.h=309&b.p.l=2 (Accessed 7 October 2012).
23. Cited in: White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, 16.

24. Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior*, 50; Walkley, *Artists' Houses*, 158.
25. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts*, 2.
26. *Ibid.*, 22.
27. *Ibid.*, 24–25.
28. Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart, eds., *Rethinking the Interior, c.1867–1896: Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 5. See also John Potvin, 'The Aesthetics of Community: Queer Interiors and the Desire for Intimacy', in *Rethinking*, ed. Edwards and Hart, 181.
29. Sharon Marcus, 'At Home with the Other Victorians', *South Atlantic Quarterly* 108, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 139.
30. On the femininity of diary writing see: Matt Cook, 'Sex Lives and Diary Writing: The Journals of George Ives', in *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, ed. David Amigoni (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), 199; Jennifer Sinor, *The Extraordinary Work of Ordinary Writing: Annie Ray's Diary* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002), 47.
31. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts*, 389.
32. Eve Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (London: Routledge, 1994), 79.
33. Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Edward Carpenter, ed., *Ioläus. An Anthology of Friendship* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1902); Jeffrey Weeks, Brian Heaphy, and Catherine Donovan, *Same Sex Intimacies: Families of Choice and Other Life Experiments* (London: Routledge, 2001); Sasha Roseneil, 'Why We Should Care About Friends: An Argument for Queering the Care Imaginary in Social Policy', *Social Policy and Society* 3, no. 4 (2004): 409–419; P. Nardi, 'That's What Friends Are For: Friends as Family in the Gay and Lesbian Community', in *Modern Homosexualities: Fragments of Lesbian and Gay Experience*, ed. K. Plummer (New York: Routledge, 1992); Kath Weston, *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).
34. Related arguments about what might constitute a queer life can be found in: Sedgwick, *Tendencies*; Mo Moulton, 'Bricks and Flowers: Unconventionality in Katherine Everett's Life Writing', in *British Queer History*, ed. Brian Lewis (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Diana Maltz, "'Baffling Arrangements": Vernon Lee and John Singer Sargent in Queer Tangier', in *Rethinking*, ed. Edwards and Hart (Ashgate: Farnham, 2010).
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63. On the Victorian trend for eclecticism, see Cohen, *Household Gods*, 84; on the need for more nuanced readings of eclecticism, see Jason Edwards and Imogen Hart, 'Introduction: The Victorian Interior' in *Rethinking*, ed. Edwards and Hart, 12–14.
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107. *Ibid.*, 220.
108. On this point, see also Potvin, 'Collecting Intimacy', 195.
109. Potvin, 'Askesis', 75.
110. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts*, 220.
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119. On this point, see Edwards and Hart, 'Introduction: The Victorian Interior', in *Rethinking*, ed. Edwards and Hart, 9.
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121. Walkley, *Artists' Houses*, 218; Delaney, *Charles Ricketts*, 49.
122. Potvin, 'Aesthetics of Community', 174.
123. Ricketts, *Oscar Wilde*, 44.
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125. Lewis in the preface to Ricketts, *Self-Portrait*, v–vi.
126. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts*, 58.
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132. Delaney, *Charles Ricketts*, 314.
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152. *Ibid.*, 388.
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2 Queer Interiors: C.R. Ashbee to Oliver Ford

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59. Juliet Gardiner, *The Thirties: An Intimate History* (London: Harper Press, 2010), 358; E. Darling, *Re-forming Britain: Narratives of Modernity Before Reconstruction* (Taylor & Francis, 2006), chap. 5.
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Epilogue

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13. Deborah Bright, 'Shopping the Leftovers: Warhol's Collecting Strategies in Raid the Icebox I', *Art History* 24, no. 2 (April 2001): 278–291; see also: R. Meyer, 'Mapplethorpe's Living Room: Photography and the Furnishing of Desire', *Art History* 24, no. 2 (2001): 292–311.
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15. Fellows, *A Passion to Preserve*, 27; Richard L. Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class* (London: Routledge, 2005); Richard L. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); Halperin, *How to Be Gay*, 10.
16. Around half the 132 Queen Anne Mansions apartments were single occupancy according to the 1901 census. Dennis, 'Babylonian Flats', 233, 243; Houlbrook, *Queer London*, 113–114.
17. A Mayfair flat was used by 'homosexual' spies Burgess and Maclean in 1951, for example, and in the same year a BBC official, 43-year-old Arthur Birley and 23-year-old Trooper George Baldwin (who lived at the Hyde Park Barracks) were watched by police and military officials through the window of Birley's Curzon Street flat. 'Flat was Watched from Fire Escape', *News of the World*, 18 May 1951.
18. 'Pink Pound Powers Gay Housing Boom', *The Sunday Times*, 10 August 1997.
19. *Ibid.*; see also: J. Binnie, 'Quartering Sexualities: Gay Villages and Sexual Citizenship', in *City of Quarters: Urban Villages in the Contemporary City*, ed. David Bell and Mark Jayne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 163–172.
20. See: A. Collins, 'Sexual Dissidence, Enterprise and Assimilation: Bedfellows in Urban Regeneration', *Urban Studies* 41, no. 9 (2004): 1789; the trend for central loft living was identified in the early 1980s. See, for example: Zukin, *Loft Living*.
21. 'Pink Pound', *The Sunday Times*.

22. 'Queer Eye for the Perfect Flat', *The London Paper*, 14 September 2007.
23. See: Part IV.
24. See: K.P.R. Hart, 'We're Here, We're Queer – and We're Better Than You: The Representational Superiority of Gay Men to Heterosexuals on Queer Eye for the Straight Guy', *The Journal of Men's Studies* 12, no. 3 (2004): 241–253; E.M. Ramsey and G. Santiago, 'The Conflation of Male Homosexuality and Femininity in Queer Eye for the Straight Guy', *Feminist Media Studies* 4, no. 3 (2004): 353–355; Andrew Gorman-Murray, 'Queering Home or Domesticating Deviance?', *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (1 June 2006): 227–247; K. Pearson and N.M. Reich, 'Queer Eye Fairy Tale: Changing the World One Manicure at a Time', *Feminist Media Studies* 4, no. 2 (2004): 229–231; on this sense of queer superiority see also: Halperin, *How to be Gay*, 226.
25. Buck Clifford Rosenberg, 'Masculine Makeovers: Lifestyle Television, Metrosexuals and Real Blokes', in *Exposing Lifestyle Television: The Big Reveal*, ed. Gareth Palmer (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
26. For an indicative sense of the debate on this see: Lisa Duggan, 'The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism', in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson (London: Duke University Press, 2002); Steven Seidman, *Beyond the Closet: The Transformation of Gay and Lesbian Life* (London: Routledge, 2003), chap. 4 & 5; Michael Warner, *The Trouble With Normal: Sex, Politics and the Ethics of Queer Life* (New York: Free Press, 1999); S. Reimer and D. Leslie, 'Identity, Consumption, and the Home', *Home Cultures* 1, no. 2 (2004): 187–208; Hennessy, 'Queer Visibility in Commodity Culture'.
27. See: G.A. Dunne, S. Prendergast, and D. Telford, 'Young, Gay, Homeless and Invisible: A Growing Population?', *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 4, no. 1 (2002): 103–115; S. Prendergast, G.A. Dunne, and D. Telford, 'A Story of "Difference", a Different Story: Young Homeless Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual People', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 21, no. 4/5/6 (2001): 64–91.
28. See: Part III.
29. As Daniel Miller has it: Daniel Miller, *The Comfort of Things* (Cambridge: Polity, 2008).
30. Neil Bartlett, interview 14 June 2012. Unless otherwise indicated, all ensuing quotation is from this interview.
31. On the concept of the uncanny and of the familiar made strange see: Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (London: Penguin, 2003).
32. Martin F. Manalansan, *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 3.
33. Neil Bartlett, *Who Was That Man: A Present for Mr Oscar Wilde* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1988); Alan Sinfield, *The Wilde Century: Effeminacy, Oscar Wilde and the Queer Moment* (London: Cassell, 1994), 11; Dick Hebdige, 'Subculture: The Meaning of Style', in *The Subcultures Reader*, ed. Ken Gelder (London: Routledge, 2005).
34. See: Chapter 8.
35. See: Meyer, 'Mapplethorpe's Living Room', 292–311, 309.

Part II Queer Families: Introduction

1. Dir. Adrian Goycoolea, *Uncle Denis*, 2009.
2. Adrian Goycoolea, Programme notes on *Uncle Denis*, 'Beautiful Things' collection, British Film Institute.
3. Goycoolea, *Uncle Denis*.
4. Goycoolea, *Uncle Denis*.
5. Ibid.
6. Adrian Goycoolea to Matt Cook, e-mail, 18 October 2012.
7. Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: Living with Shame from the Victorians to the Present Day* (London: Viking, 2013), 143.
8. 'Exiles from kin' is a phrase used by Kath Weston. See: Kath Weston, *Families We Choose: Lesbians, Gays, Kinship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 22.
9. Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, ed. Ivan Crozier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 213.
10. Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Time in Its Relations to Modern Civilization* (London: Rebman, 1908), 510. Bloch was citing his forerunner Magnus Hirschfeld in this.
11. Auguste Forel, *The Sexual Question: a Scientific, Psychological, Hygienic and Sociological Study for the Cultured Classes* (London: Rebman, 1908), 446.
12. Charles Féré, *The Evolution and Dissolution of the Sexual Instinct* (Paris: Charles Carrington, 1904), 309; Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis* (London: Rebman, 1893), 321.
13. Friedrich Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Chicago: C.H. Kerr, 1902).
14. John D'Emilio, 'Capitalism and Gay Identity', in *Families in the US: Kinship and Domestic Politics*, ed. Karen Hansen and Anita Garey (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).
15. On this point see: Joseph Bristow, *Effeminate England: Homoerotic Writing after 1885* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 133.
16. Bloch, *Sexual Life*, 534.
17. M.D. O'Brien, *Socialism and Infamy: The Homogenic or Comrade Love Exposed: An Open Letter in Plain Words for a Socialist Prophet* (Sheffield: Privately Published, 1909), 21, cited in: Sean Brady, *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain, 1861–1913* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 46.
18. Bloch, *Sexual Life*, 405; Rictor Norton, *Mother Clap's Molly House: Gay Subculture in England 1700–1830* (London: GMP, 1992).
19. Ellis and Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, intro.
20. Weston, *Families We Choose*, 22.
21. A notable exception was the play discussed in the last chapter – Mordant Sharpe's *The Green Bay Tree* (1934).
22. See: Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).
23. Eileen Cleere, *Avuncularism: Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Nineteenth-Century English Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 7.
24. Cohen, *Family Secrets*, 110.
25. Sixty-three per cent of deaths were in the under sixties between 1911 and 1915 compared to 12 per cent for the period 1991–1995, for example. Joe Hicks and Graham Allen, 'A Century of Change: Trends in UK Statistics

- since 1900', *Research Papers* 99/111 (2 December 1999) (London: Social and General Statistics Section, House of Commons Library, 1999): 9. <http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp99/rp99-111.pdf>.
26. Katherine Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage: Singleness in England, 1914–60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 141; Jenny Keating, *A Child for Keeps: The History of Adoption in England, 1918–45* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
 27. On this role see: Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1908); Cleere, *Avuncularism*, 7, 10; Craig Owens, 'Outlaws: Gay Men in Feminism', in *Men in Feminism*, ed. Alice Jardine and Paul Smith (New York: Methuen, 1987); Holly Furneaux, *Queer Dickens: Erotics, Families, Masculinities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); on the frequency with which unmarried uncles appear in children's fiction see: Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 17.
 28. Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*.

3 George Ives, Queer Lives and the Family

1. George Ives, 'Diary', vol. 70, 21 May 1917, 118, George Cecil Ives Papers, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.
2. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 103, 24 February 1939, 206.
3. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 78, 14 January 1921, 14.
4. For more on Ives' diary see: Matt Cook, 'Sex Lives and Diary Writing: The Journals of George Ives', in *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, ed. David Amigoni (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006).
5. *Ibid.*
6. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 100, 19 March 1935, 11.
7. Her dementia was suggested in letters to Ives from nuns who cared for her in Oxfordshire until her death in 1935. I am grateful to Brian Lewis for this information.
8. On this point see especially: John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
9. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 109, 1 April 1943, 62.
10. Arthur Brittan, *Masculinity and Power* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 41.
11. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 9, 6 December 1890, 66.
12. Roy Porter, *London: a Social History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 282.
13. Alan Crawford, *C.R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 4, 185.
14. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 17, 26 October 1893, 129.
15. 'London Bachelors and their Mode of Living', *Leisure Hour* 35 (1886): 413–416, 415.
16. Cited in: Karl E. Beckson, *London in the 1890s: A Cultural History* (New York and London: Norton, 1993), 210.
17. Cited in the in-house booklet: *Albany* (Albany, 2003).
18. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 17, 28 October 1893, 119.
19. 'Ben' (not his real name), interview, January 2012.

20. Henry James Forman, *London: An Intimate Portrait* (1913) cited in: Jerry White, *London in the Twentieth Century: A City and Its People* (London: Vantage, 2008), 17.
21. On the correspondence of household and family see: Michael Gilding, *The Making and Breaking of the Australian Family* (North Sydney, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1991), 2–4; G.K. Behlmer, *Friends of the Family: The English Home and Its Guardians, 1850–1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 26; T.M. McBride and P. McCandless, 'The Domestic Revolution: The Modernisation of Household Service in England and France 1820–1920', *History: Reviews of New Books* 4, no. 10 (1976): 16; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 196.
22. I am grateful to Brian Lewis for this observation.
23. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 113, 20 November 1944, 32.
24. Cited in Behlmer, *Friends of the Family*, 6.
25. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 78, 20 January 1921, 25.
26. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 74, 9 May 1919, 30.
27. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 85, 1 August 1923, 46.
28. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 78, 13 January 1921, 12.
29. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 78, 20 January 1921, 27.
30. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 76, 2 October 1920, 49.
31. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 103, 25 March 1939, 229.
32. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 85, 23 July 1923, 31.
33. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 76, 29 September 1920, 43.
34. Matt Houlbrook observes a similar inclusiveness in some of his case studies. Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 185.
35. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 76, 20 January 1921, 25.
36. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 78, 16 January 1921, 17.
37. Michael Roper, 'Maternal Relations: Moral Manliness and Emotional Survival in Letters Home during the First World War', in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. S. Dudink, K. Hagemann, and J. Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 295–315.
38. As Ralph LaRossa and others observe, see: Ralph LaRossa, *The Modernization of Fatherhood: A Social and Political History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 15; Eva Paulina Bueno, Terry Caesar, and William Hummel, *Naming the Father: Legacies, Genealogies, and Explorations of Fatherhood in Modern and Contemporary Literature* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2000), intro, 8.
39. See: Chapter 2.
40. The classes ran between c.1900 and 1907. See Kate Bradley, 'Poverty and Philanthropy in East London, 1918–1959: The University Settlements and the Urban Working Classes' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Institute of Historical Research, London, 2006), 78–79.
41. Tim Fisher, 'Fatherhood and the British Fathercraft Movement, 1919–1939', *Gender & History* 17 (2005): 441–462.
42. Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 4.
43. See: Alison Light, *Mrs Woolf and the Servants: The Hidden Heart of Domestic Service* (London: Fig Tree, 2007).
44. See, exceptionally, Ives, 'Diary', vol. 78, 5 February 1921, 56.
45. Judy Giles, *Women, Identity and Private Life in Britain, 1900–50* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 8.

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47. Paul Sieveking, *Man Bites Dog: The Scrapbooks of and Edwardian Eccentric* (London: Jay Landesman, 1980), preface, 5. The scrapbooks are now held by the Beinecke Library at Yale University.
48. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 68, 13 September 1917, 123.
49. Jeffrey Weeks, Brian Heaphy, and Catherine Donovan, *Same Sex Intimacies: Families of Choice and Other Life Experiments* (London: Routledge, 2001), 9.
50. For more on this see: Cook, 'Sex Lives and Diary Writing'.
51. On this point see: Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 13.
52. Other examples include Reginald Brett, the second Lord Esher, and the writer Edmund Gosse. See: Morris B. Kaplan, *Sodom on the Thames: Sex, Love, and Scandal in Wilde Times* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 161; Ann Thwaite, *Edmund Gosse: A Literary Landscape 1849–1928* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1984).
53. See Felicity Ashbee, *Janet Ashbee: Love, Marriage and the Arts and Crafts Movement* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002); Crawford, *C.R. Ashbee*.
54. Kaplan, *Sodom on the Thames*, 161.
55. Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 59.
56. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 108, 4 September 1942, 90.
57. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 96, 2 January 1932, 139.
58. Kaplan, *Sodom on the Thames*, 208. Henry's brother Arthur was implicated in the Cleveland Street male brothel scandal of 1889–1890 and also went into exile.
59. There is evidence that people were increasingly exercising this choice: family sizes were declining in the interwar period, and in 1930 40 per cent of middle-class couples and 28 per cent of working-class couples were thought to be using some form of contraception. See: Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 89; Juliet Gardiner, *The Thirties: An Intimate History* (London: Harper Press, 2010), 563.
60. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 100, 11 April 1935, 27.
61. I am grateful to Brian Lewis for making the connection between Hayes and the 'certain girl' Ives evasively refers to.
62. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 76, 14 September 1920, 20.
63. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 101, 15 April 1936, 34.
64. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 94, 10 March 1930, 108.
65. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 114, 13 June 1945, 19.
66. See Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: English Feminism and Sexual Morality 1885–1914* (London: Penguin, 1995), chap. 1 & 4.
67. Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 182–185.
68. Lynn Jamieson, *Intimacy: Personal Relationships in Modern Societies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 27, 43; Brady, *Masculinity*, 37.
69. Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1992); Joseph Bristow, 'Fratrum Societati: Forster's Apostolic Dedications', in *Queer Forster*, ed. Robert K. Martin and George Piggford (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); H. Cocks, 'Calamus in Bolton: Spirituality and Homosexual Desire in Late Victorian England', *Gender & History* 13, no. 2 (2002): 191–223.

70. See the 'Service of Initiation' (1899) and 'Order Rules' (1933) in box 5, folder 11, George Cecil Ives Papers, HRHRC.
71. Derek Jarman, *Modern Nature: The Journals of Derek Jarman* (London: Century, 1991), 63.
72. Ives, 'Diary', vol. 101, 15 April 1936, 34.
73. Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 26.
74. See, for example, Ives, 'Diary', vol. 60, 5 May 1914, 87.
75. Jacques Derrida, *Politics of Friendship*, vol. 5 (London: Verso, 2005), 306.
76. *Ibid.*, vii.
77. A.T. Fitzroy, *Despised and Rejected* (London: C.W. Daniel, 1918); Radclyffe Hall, *The Well of Loneliness* (Paris: Pegasus, 1928).
78. Ives told Janet early on of his 'tastes'. Ives and Janet Ashbee, 4 April 1902, 'Ashbee Journals: 1902, January – July', C.R. Ashbee Collection, King's College, Cambridge, CRA/1/11.
79. This sense of rhetorical restriction was theorised in relation to the chartist movement by Gareth Stedman-Jones. See: Gareth Stedman-Jones, ed., 'Rethinking Chartism', in *Languages of Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
80. 'The Last Will of George Cecil Ives', 1 December 1939 (date of death 4 June 1950; executed 15 November 1950), Probate Registry, London.
81. Daniel Monk, 'E.M. Forster's Will: An Overlooked Posthumous Publication', *Legal Studies*, 33, 4 (2013): 572–597, early view online. I am extremely grateful to Daniel for discussion on these points.
82. 'The Last Will of George Cecil Ives'.
83. Carol Smart, *Personal Life: New Directions in Sociological Thinking* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 167.
84. I am grateful to Brian Lewis for making this connection.
85. On these issues see: Janet Finch, *Passing On: Kinship and Inheritance in England* (London: Routledge, 2001).
86. 'The Last Will and Testament of Joe Randolph Ackerley', 25 May 1965 (date of death 4 June 1967; executed 18 December 1967); Probate Registry, London.

4 Joe Ackerley's 'Family Values'

1. Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: Living with Shame from the Victorians to the Present Day* (London: Viking, 2013), 154. See also: Chris Waters, 'Havelock Ellis, Sigmund Freud and the State: Discourses of Homosexual Identity in Interwar Britain', in *Sexology in Culture: Labelling Bodies and Desires*, ed. Lucy Bland and Laura L. Doan (Cambridge: Polity, 1998).
2. Susan McHugh, 'Marrying My Bitch: J.R. Ackerley's Pack Sexualities', *Critical Inquiry* 27, no. 1 (Autumn 2000): 21–41.
3. Peter Parker, *Ackerley: A Life of J.R. Ackerley* (London: Constable, 1989), 10–11.
4. J.R. Ackerley, *My Dog Tulip* (New York: New York Review Books, 1999), back cover.
5. J.R. Ackerley, *The Letters of J.R. Ackerley*, ed. Neville Braybrooke (London: Duckworth: Duckworth, 1975), 15 July 1954, 102.

6. On this point see the Introduction to Part III and also: Chris Waters and Matt Houlbrook, 'The Heart in Exile: Detachment and Desire in 1950s London', *History Workshop Journal* 62 (Autumn 2006): 142–163.
7. Esther Saxey, *Homoplot: The Coming Out Story as Sexual Identity Narrative* (University of Sussex PhD, 2003).
8. See the epilogue to this part and the Introduction to Part IV.
9. J.R. Ackerley, *My Father and Myself* (New York: NYRB Classics, 2006), 153.
10. Ackerley, *My Father*, 83.
11. Cited in: Juliet Gardiner, *The Thirties: An Intimate History* (London: Harper Press, 2010), 577.
12. Parker, *Ackerley*, 211–212.
13. P.N. Furbank, *E.M. Forster: A Life* (London: Cardinal, 1988), 212.
14. Parker, *Ackerley*, 215.
15. Ackerley, *My Father*, 239.
16. *Ibid.*, 240.
17. Cited in: Parker, *Ackerley*, 103.
18. *Ibid.*, 113.
19. Jerry White, *London in the Twentieth Century: A City and Its People* (London: Vintage, 2008), 39.
20. Quentin Crisp, *The Naked Civil Servant* (Glasgow: Fontana Collins, 1977), 155.
21. Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, ed. Ivan Crozier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 182.
22. Cohen, *Family Secrets*, 159.
23. Ellis and Symonds, *Sexual Inversion*, 141.
24. *Ibid.*, 135.
25. See 'Tales of the Avunculate', in Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Tendencies* (London: Routledge, 1994); Katherine Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage: Singleness in England, 1914–60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 166.
26. John Addington Symonds, *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), 38.
27. Edmund Gosse, *Father and Son*, ed. Michael Newton (1907; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
28. Parker, *Ackerley*, 11.
29. Ackerley, *My Father*, 252.
30. Joseph Bristow, *Effeminate England: Homoerotic Writing after 1885* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 150.
31. John Byng-Hall, 'Family Myths', in *The Myths We Live By*, ed. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London: Routledge, 1990).
32. Ackerley, *My Father*, 243.
33. *Ibid.*, 259.
34. *Ibid.*, 32.
35. *Ibid.*, 33.
36. *Ibid.*, 34.
37. *Ibid.*, 39.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*, 56.
40. Diana Petre, *The Secret Orchard of Roger Ackerley* (London: Phoenix, 1993).
41. Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*, 134.
42. Parker, *Ackerley*, 169.

43. Ackerley, *My Father*, 154.
44. *Ibid.*, 257.
45. Joseph Bristow highlights some of these acutely in Bristow, *Effeminate England*, 146–153.
46. Parker, *Ackerley*, 53.
47. Ackerley, *My Father*, 211.
48. *Ibid.*, 102.
49. On this point see: Bristow, *Effeminate England*, 152.
50. Ackerley, *My Father*, 108.
51. *Ibid.*, 190.
52. *Ibid.*, 255.
53. Parker, *Ackerley*, 82.
54. Bristow, *Effeminate England*.
55. On the potency and significance of such silences see: Harry Cocks, *Nameless Offences: Homosexual Desire in the Nineteenth Century* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), intro; Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991); Carol Smart, *Personal Life: New Directions in Sociological Thinking* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), chap. 5.
56. Ackerley, *My Father*, 71.
57. *Ibid.*, 145.
58. *Ibid.*
59. Katie Hindmarch-Watson, 'Male Prostitution and the London GPO: Telegraph Boys' "Immorality" from Nationalization to the Cleveland Street Scandal', *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 3 (July 2012): 594–617; H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Cleveland Street Scandal* (London: W.H. Allen, 1976).
60. Ackerley, *My Father*, 161.
61. *Ibid.*, 186.
62. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), chap. 4; Lucy Delap, *Knowing Their Place: Domestic Service in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
63. 'Clergyman's ex-Valet', *News of the World*, 21 September 1959.
64. Derek Jarman, *Modern Nature: The Journals of Derek Jarman* (London: Century, 1991), 11; Nigel Slater, *Toast: The Story of a Boy's Hunger* (London: Fourth Estate, 2003), 13–14.
65. B. Osgerby, 'The Bachelor Pad as Cultural Icon: Masculinity, Consumption and Interior Design in American Men's Magazines, 1930–65', *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 1 (2005): 99; Katherine V. Snyder, *Bachelors, Manhood, and the Novel, 1850–1925* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 26–27; Holden, *The Shadow of Marriage*.
66. Ackerley, *My Father*, 166.
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68. Jeffrey Weeks, *The World We Have Won: The Remaking of Erotic and Intimate Life* (London: Routledge, 2007), 46.
69. J.R. Ackerley, *My Sister and Myself: The Diaries of J.R. Ackerley* (London: Hutchinson, 1982), 9 January 1949, 92.
70. *Ibid.*, 12 February 1949, 121; 9 July 1957, 206.
71. *Ibid.*, Francis King, 'Introduction', 12.
72. *Ibid.*, 23 February 1949, 125–126.

73. On this point see especially: Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Prophecy Coles, ed., *Sibling Relationships* (London: Karnac, 2006); Juliet Mitchell, *Siblings: Sex and Violence* (Oxford: Polity, 2003).
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75. On this point see: Edmund Bergler, *Counterfeit-Sex* (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1958), 185; Alex Comfort, *Sex in Society* (London: Duckworth, 1963), 131–132; Waters, ‘Havelock Ellis’; Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London: Routledge, 1990); Edgar Jones and Simon Wesseley, ‘The Impact of Total War on British Psychiatry’, in *In the Shadow of Total War: Europe, East Asia and the United States, 1919–1939*, ed. R. Chickering and S. Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
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81. Ackerley, *The Letters of J.R. Ackerley*, Appendix F, 339.
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5 Remembering Beddsitteland: Rex Batten, Carl Marshall and Alan Louis

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6 Homes Fit for Homos: Joe Orton's Queer Domestic

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3. Jeffrey Weeks, *The World We Have Won: The Remaking of Erotic and Intimate Life* (London: Routledge, 2007), 23.
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12. *Ibid.*, 350.
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15. White, *London in the Twentieth Century*, 142, 144.
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31. See: Chapter 2.
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Part IV Taking Sexual Politics Home: Introduction

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7 'Gay Times': The Brixton Squatters

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8 Derek Jarman's Domestic Politics

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24. Deborah Bright, 'Shopping the Leftovers: Warhol's Collecting Strategies in Raid the Icebox I', *Art History* 24, no. 2 (April 2001): 289.
25. See: Chapter 2.
26. Jarman, *Smiling*, 43.
27. Peake, *Derek Jarman*, 60.
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30. Peter Burton, *Parallel Lives* (London: GMP, 1985), 52.
31. Keith Collins (HB), interview, 2012. Hereafter references are in-text.
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33. 'Andy the Furniture Maker', *Channel 4*, 29 November 1986.
34. See: Part I.
35. 'Andy the Furniture Maker', *Channel 4*.
36. See: Chapter 1.
37. John Grube, '"Native and Settlers": An Ethnographic Note on Early Interaction of Older Homosexual Men with Younger Gay Liberationists', *Journal of Homosexuality* 20, no. 3 (1990): 119–136.
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39. For a detailed examination of each of Jarman's films see: Rowland Wymer, *Derek Jarman* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).
40. See: Epilogue to Part I.
41. Cook, 'Words Written'.
42. Peake, *Derek Jarman*, 280–281.
43. For more on Collins and his relationship with Jarman see: *Ibid.*, 390–394.
44. Jarman, *Modern Nature*, 17.
45. *Ibid.*, 276.
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50. *Ibid.*, 15.
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55. Alison Ravetz, *The Place of Home: English Domestic Environments, 1914–2000* (London: Spon, 1995), chap. 9.
56. Jarman, *Modern Nature*, 3.
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62. *Ibid.*, 8.
63. Peake, *Derek Jarman*, 402.
64. Jarman, *Smiling*, 382.
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