

Manliness in Britain 1760-1900: Bodies, Emotions, and Material Culture

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Making manliness manifest: an introduction

Among ‘Lord Byron’s Relics,’ a collection of ‘treasures’ owned by the Murray family, there is a beautiful six-foot high decoupage dressing screen that Robert Murray purchased from Byron in 1816. One side is covered with theatrical actors and productions, the other is ‘crowded with his heroes in the boxing ring.’¹ The four panels of famous prize fighters, cut out and glued chronologically, are a decorative paean to British manliness (figure 1).² Posed in fighting stance, stripped to the waist with boxing breeches and silk stockings, the pugilists are reproductions of well-known engravings and paintings.³ Individual boxers grace the lower third of each panel, reproduced in black and white, unaccompanied by text, and framed by a painted border; the top two thirds teem with large colour portraits of pugilists, surrounded by head and shoulder portraits, pictures of notable matches in the ring, and newspaper cuttings describing fights and fighters, interspersed with handwritten titles and descriptions.⁴ The cuttings celebrate the depicted boxers’ bodies. Those placed next to ‘Gentleman’ Jackson, for example, admire his strength, initiative, and ‘bottom.’ One text box praises his ‘anatomical beauty, and ... athletic and muscular appearance’. The paragraph selected for Bob Gregson, known as ‘Dutch Sam’, similarly commends his physique:

To Nature he is indebted for a fine figure, and his appearance is manly and imposing; and who has been considered so good an anatomical subject to descant upon that Mr. CARLISLE, the celebrated Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy, has selected BOB to stand several times for that purpose; and who has likewise been the subject of the pencils of LAWRENCE, DAW.

Strikingly, these corporeal accounts also attach emotions to bodies. The text chosen for Tom Johnson describes him as ‘extremely active, cheerful, and good-tempered,’ winning in 1789 although his opponent Isaac Perrins was three stone heavier. That for Richard Humphries, ascribes to him ‘gaiety’ and ‘impetuosity’. Two black American boxers are placed alongside each other, Tom Molineaux and Bill Richmond, both born in slavery. Richmond, who lived in England for most of his life, trained Molineaux when he visited to fight Tom Crib. Posed like the white fighters, the cuttings acknowledge their race, applauding Richmond’s ability as ‘a Man of Colour’ to remain ‘good tempered and placid’ in the face of the racial ‘taunts and insults’ he received.

[FIGURE 1 NEAR HERE: not available in this manuscript]

It is not clear who crafted the screen. In the 1820s, Pierce Egan claimed that it was compiled from the first volume of his *Boxiana*. Calling it ‘Angelo’s Screen,’ he stated that Henry Angelo made it for his pupil, Byron, who, he also said, bought it for the astounding price of £250, before selling it to his publisher John Murray for £16 5s 6d, in 1816, when he left England.⁵ By the twentieth century, the screen, now designated a ‘relic,’ was understood to have been made by Byron’s own hands.⁶ Describing the artefacts displayed in the Murray’s London home, *The Globe* professed in 1906 that ‘the erratic genius’ had designed the screen.⁷ By the time the *Worthing Herald* reviewed Bohun Lynch’s book *The Prize Ring*, in 1937, which included an illustration of Byron’s screen, Byron had ‘made’ the screen, between 1812 and 1816, ‘when he was a close friend of John Jackson, the fighter’.⁸ Byron’s interaction with the collaged screen certainly may have extended beyond purchasing it, since it was further embellished with painted ‘blood’ splatters.⁹

Whatever its origin, Byron’s screen does more than showcase his love of boxing and membership of the Fancy, a fraternal community devoted to pugilism.¹⁰ It is the physical manifestation of a homosocial culture of masculinity predicated on ‘social promiscuity’ and

the mixing of patrician and plebeian men brought into close proximity by their love of prize-fighting.¹¹ On these four panels we also witness elite men's admiration for white and black working-class men's sporting skill, strength, and fortitude. More than this, they thrum with erotic potential in their celebration of men's physicality and beauty. As Gary Dyer remarks, the 'boxing subculture was one of the rare arenas where one could celebrate the male body ... and depictions that foster aesthetic responses have been known to foster erotic ones as well, whether deliberately or inadvertently.'¹² As such, Byron's screen is a three-dimensional object that materialised working-class manliness and the desire and emotions that it stimulated.¹³

Desire dominates the decoupage. For Byron, who enjoyed sex with men and women, the boxers' bodies were homoerotically charged.¹⁴ As Dyer shows, the Fancy's slang of 'flash' facilitated Byron's coded communication of his same-sex desires with his friends; a secrecy essential when anal sex was a felony.¹⁵ The allure of the pugilists' bodies extended further than sexual desire however. In their muscularity, athleticism, and agility they, perhaps, reminded Byron of his own bodily aspirations and shortcomings. He was obsessed by his body throughout life; born with a club foot, which caused pain and lameness, he also persistently fought a tendency to corpulence.¹⁶ Moreover, once Byron attained celebrity status, reactions to his body were ambiguous and complex. Though commentators were beguiled by his beauty, they also noticed his foot and gait, intrigued that for all his handsomeness, his body did not conform to notions of health, vigour, and shapeliness.¹⁷ As such, this screen was an emotional object onto which he may have projected anxieties about his own body, his desire for the perfect, anatomically 'correct,' male figure, and the values associated with it: in other words, his desire for manliness itself.

Although Byron cannot be assumed to be representative of all men, he was a model of masculinity that some men admired, including those of lower social status, as labouring-class

poetic responses to him reveal.¹⁸ Furthermore, other men shared his admiration and desire for men's idealised and emotionalised bodies, and the capacity to use them in material form as a prompt for manly virtue and to evaluate their own manly performances. This book focuses on these features of gender construction to argue that manliness in Britain was produced, maintained, and disseminated in the long nineteenth century through men's bodies, very often working-class ones, and the emotions and material culture with which they were associated. In so doing, it disrupts the received picture of nineteenth-century masculinity. Its account of manliness is more corporeal and material, more emotional, more cross-class, and less heteronormative than many other studies.¹⁹ It therefore contributes to recent advances in scholarship which seek to disrupt heteronormative accounts of gender and sex and to flesh out masculine identities by attending to emotions and material culture.²⁰ It offers several innovations.

First, it seeks to queer the history of masculinity, to 'view it sceptically, to pull apart its constitutive pieces and analyse them from a variety of perspectives, taking nothing for granted'.²¹ It is not a history of same-sex activities and makes no assumptions about sexual identities, though it sees men's sexuality as intrinsic to ideas about manliness and their transmission.²² In so doing, it challenges the heteronormativity of older histories of masculinity wherein desire, sex, intimacy, and kinship are assumed to be heterosexual, itself a self-explanatory, ubiquitous category, by recognising that male and female desire for idealised male bodies was integral to the success of manliness.²³ They aroused erotic feelings in some who encountered them, which rendered the associated gender qualities they possessed appealing beyond any immediate sexual gratification. For others, the enchantment of a manly body might be non-sexual or not genitally-based but was still charged with desire for the gender attributes it embodied; their yearning was to become him, to possess him, to display him, to be admired or saved by him.²⁴ Correspondingly, those whose behaviour did

not conform to these ideals were depicted in ways that prompted disgust, deploying aversion to steer men away from unmanliness.

Secondly, in challenging conventional accounts of masculine identity, *Manliness in Britain* breaks with conventional chronologies, stretching from the ages of feeling, revolution, and reform to those of militarism, imperialism, representative democracy, and mass media.²⁵ This deliberately spans periods often dealt with discretely by historians of masculinity, to focus on what contemporaries saw as the most important measure of masculinity: manliness.

Thirdly, the book reveals the centrality of the imagined working-class man and his materiality to ideas of manliness and unmanliness. For the middle-classes, the working classes were ‘good to think with,’ in terms of class, national, racial, and gender identities.²⁶ Their representations of idealised working men, fair of face, strong, and brave, offered didactic lessons for the working classes, blending instruction, guidance, and discipline.²⁷ In a time of change, upheaval, and crisis this endeavour also rendered the labouring ranks ‘safer’ for both the middle and working classes, by modelling a patriotic, well-behaved, hard-working, trustworthy citizen. Literature and court records show that the idealised, eroticised young working man was desired by some elite men as a lover; for others, it will be argued, he was desirable because his physical and emotional allure displayed ideal manliness.²⁸ As such, depictions of working-class men offer insights into the production of middle-class men’s identities, since they served both as a ‘brute’ form of manliness to avoid when visualised as degenerate, violent, or malformed, or to aspire when imagined as a ‘natural,’ purer, physically perfect version.²⁹

The book’s fourth innovative feature is that it moves beyond families, education, employment, recreation, and print culture as sites of gender formation, to argue that manliness was made manifest through emotionalised bodies and material culture, where

materiality and emotions combined to fix qualities of manliness in people from childhood through adulthood. One of the deliberate intentions of this book, therefore, is to put emotions history into practice, offering a way to move beyond theorizing to show how historicised emotions help us understand praxis.³⁰

As this indicates, *Manliness in Britain* lies at the intersection of several key historiographical areas: masculinities, emotions, bodies, and material culture. All of these are relatively recent, are growing exponentially, and have been extensively summarised elsewhere. Thus, this introduction explores only the aspects of historiography most relevant to the book's overarching thesis of emotionalised bodies and material culture. It offers an overview of histories relating to 'being' a man in the long nineteenth century, focusing on the embodied qualities of manliness and on self-control, the primary means by which men were supposed to achieve idealised manly behaviour. It then assesses the scholarship relating to three domains in which manliness was understood to be performed and tested: war, home, and work.³¹ Next, it describes the primary sources used to develop the claims about manliness and their cultural forms, which deployed emotions as their *modus operandi*. This leads into an explanation of the concept of emotionalised bodies and material culture, followed by the chapter findings.

Being manly

The history of British masculinities has settled into a periodisation of successive 'masculine typologies' from the urban refined gentleman, via the man of feeling to the muscular Christian. Change over time is presented by proposed shifts from the inner to the outer man, or soft to hard, and back again, as cultural trends such as politeness and sensibility gave way to cosy domestic quietude, till overturned by adventurous muscularity and stiff-upper lips. However, these 'types' of masculinity, which are often associated with white, literate middle-class and genteel men, and are derived largely from literary terms, only go part of the way to

capture masculinities as perceived and experienced by a broad range of men. Their capacity to encompass masculine identity in all its forms and over time becomes especially inadequate when different social classes, races, ethnicities and their intersections are explored, over a longer period, along with more extensive domains for the performance of masculinity. One way to tackle this afresh is to explore masculine identities through another term that was widely used throughout the long nineteenth century: manliness, a primary evaluator of masculine identity and behaviour. Manly values did not map onto existing typologies, although they shared qualities, since the broader cultural and social trends of sensibility, romanticism, domesticity, realism, imperialism, and athleticism underpinned and informed them. Where manliness differs is that it was a set of attributes that combined both corporeality and emotionality.

There is no shortage of research on men's bodies from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, since human bodies are vessels for abstract cultural values and can be read as sites for cultural meaning and social practice.³² Cultural histories of war explore how states shaped men's bodies in recruiting and fighting wars, bodies that themselves were deployed to represent abstract notions such as nation, empire, and modernity. They also delineate the ways in which military shortcomings were interpreted as signs of national, physical, and gender decline.³³ Historians of race, colonialism, and empire deconstruct whiteness to expose how it was constructed against racialised 'others,' with bodies as one of the means by which this was achieved.³⁴ Analysis of the damaged male body, also confirms the significance of physicality to masculine identity, since maimed or incapacitated men were unmanned in their own, and society's, eyes.³⁵

Histories of sex and the print culture of erotica provide insights into changing medical understandings of bodies and the cultural force of the eroticised male body.³⁶ Studies charting the relationship between science and gender expose the changing notions underpinning

scientific knowledge of masculine minds and bodies, and analyses of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century physiognomy, the scientific study of faces, show how appearances were read for character and identities.³⁷ Work on new photographic technologies and later nineteenth-century scientific disciplines investigates how anthropometric methodologies measured men's bodies to construct and naturalise racial typologies and hierarchies, with white middle-class men's bodies at the apex and men of colour's at the base.³⁸

Research into nineteenth-century judicial, health, and medical initiatives to control and reform unruly poor bodies also reveals the centrality of male bodily reform to their endeavours, carried out through discipline, physical training, and education.³⁹ Scholars of consumption and fashion identify men's bodies as sites of anxieties about luxury and effeminacy and external markers of race, sex, virility, maturity, civility, and cosmopolitanism.⁴⁰ Finally, historians of entertainment, recreation, and sport map the changing aesthetics of the male body and the market for 'bodily spectacle.'⁴¹

For all its range, and, increasingly, attention to imperial and racial imperatives and ideologies, this scholarship does not easily illuminate gender constructions, since it is attuned to different research questions and focuses on specific eras of interest. Indeed, the belief that the later Victorian and Edwardian periods were distinctively embodied persists.⁴² In this view, several factors collided in the last decade of the nineteenth century to create a new emphasis on men's bodies, located in the notion of muscular Christianity (c. 1850s-1914). These included fears of emasculation through the rise of sedentary jobs and racial degeneracy due to the strains of modern urban lifestyles and industrialisation, and society's responses in the form of 'new athleticism' and race science.⁴³ Elspeth Brown, for example, who convincingly demonstrates how race defined 'an emerging model for a new embodied masculinity,' still positions this as part of a shift from 'older notions of "manhood", characterised by inner virtues and adult responsibilities to emerging ideas of modern

“masculinity,” where self-control became legible through the muscled body.’⁴⁴

The evidence assembled here shows that there was no increase over time in the significance of the male body to masculine identity.⁴⁵ The evaluation of men’s classed and raced bodies in performing and representing manliness was just as critical in the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ Thus, this book shows that Georgian and Victorian British manliness was not a composite of cerebral and bloodless values and behaviours, but was conveyed through men’s classed, racialized, and sexualised bodies. In this, it shares the concerns of Katie Barclay’s work on Irish masculinity in the first half of the nineteenth century, which uses emotions and embodiment to explore masculinity in the performative space of the Irish courtroom.⁴⁷ Like her study, it addresses class and reflects the recent emotional and material-culture ‘turns,’ though it focuses instead on Britain and considers a broader range of social and institutional domains in which manliness was constructed and deployed.

Although the scholarship on masculinities tends to survey ideals, with the features that threatened it left implicit, it also offers glimpses into what undermined masculine identities across time. Since the early modern period, the inability to achieve occupational, economic, and marital markers that denoted full manhood undermined men’s gender identities. Men who were thus excluded might adopt anti-patriarchal masculinities such as drinking, womanising, and fighting, qualities that by the nineteenth century came to be associated with working-class men as a whole.⁴⁸ Scholarship on social practices and reforming initiatives in the long nineteenth century shows that this constellation of vices was understood to render men brutalised, desensitised, and bestial.⁴⁹ Similarly, failure to conform to abstract ideal manly characteristics, like bravery and strength, led to men being deemed cowards, weak, or effeminate.⁵⁰ This was both classed and raced, as research on imperial and colonial masculinities reveals, with British [white] manliness constructed in contrast to the imagined qualities of the racialised ‘other,’ a phenomenon that helped justify colonial rule.⁵¹

As Mrinalini Sinha observes, late nineteenth-century ‘middle-class Bengali Hindus, became the quintessential referents for a category designated as odious, the ‘effeminate *babus*,’ whose unmanliness was rooted in their supposed weak bodies, sexual deviancy, and lack of self-control.⁵² Studies of emotions also reveal that men needed to control and channel specific feelings because the excessive display of tears, rage, fear, or love, betokened, amongst other things, irrationality, mental inadequacy, and ill-health.⁵³

The connecting strand throughout this scholarship is that masculinity was compromised by men’s inability to resist temptation and excess. Self-control was thus held up as the only answer to deterring unmanliness. Scholarship on religion and emotions demonstrates that it had long been formulated around the governance of passions, imagined as a force which encompassed selfishness and unregulated feelings and bodily actions that led to vice.⁵⁴ Passions were thus the enemy of virtue, a positive force, which for men indicated strength and power; indeed, it was so intimately bound up with masculine identity that its Latin root, *virtus*, meant manliness. Early nineteenth-century evangelicals redefined manliness to be less about outer reputation and more about inner character, requiring a more severe form of self-repression expressed through moderation and self-denial.⁵⁵ Self-control took on even greater significance in the ‘disciplinary individualism’ of Victorian Britain, wherein the conventions of governmentality sought ‘a universal and voluntary surrender of self to the larger whole’.⁵⁶

From the 1860s, the ‘self-help’ movement, under the umbrella of Victorian Liberalism, raised self-control to a cult, harnessing piety, morals, character, and bodies in a mythology of self-improvement.⁵⁷ The male Victorian character was thus forged in independence and self-discipline; a panacea held out to working- as well as middle-class men for advancement, to be cultivated through abstinence, hard work, and a pious mind and heart.⁵⁸ By the 1880s, in the aftermath of the campaigns to repeal the Contagious Diseases

Acts and to pass the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, it was harnessed to a rhetoric of cleanliness and purity, which equated physical hygiene with moral purity and sought to reform male sexuality.⁵⁹ This model of purity was disseminated to youths through the romantic fashion for chivalric ideals and within Social Purity movements, especially via the virtuous and appealing forms of St George and Sir Galahad.⁶⁰ It was also demanded by feminist-led moral reform movements, which attacked male vice and the sexual double-standard.⁶¹ A mainstream version was commercialised to sell products, and by the turn of the nineteenth century, possessing a strong, clean, regulated, chaste body and mind was conceived as the primary means by which men could withstand the passions.

Embodied manliness thus became ever more important in the context of modernity, which was seen to cause mental dysfunction and physical degeneracy in men.⁶² Indeed, the era saw the responsibility for gender failure devolve upon the individual. In some ways, therefore, deviation from conformity to the ideal male body was less tolerated and more disciplined.⁶³ In the early eighteenth century, for example, obese bodies indicated health and comfort and some degree of prosperity. A century later they denoted lack of virility, self-control, and will-power, although, simultaneously, puny men were considered weak; both fell short of 'more physically heroic and martial forms of masculinity.'⁶⁴ This had implications for masculine privileges. As Ellen Bayuk Rosenman comments in her account of the Victorian spermatorrhea panic, 'man and body are not perfectly aligned in an attitude of domination; in fact, what needed to be dominated was the body itself'.⁶⁵

Men were instructed how to dominate their bodies and selves directly and by implication. The most explicit and intimate mechanism for inculcating self-control was religion. Men who attended church were warned that their spiritual wellbeing in the present and after-life was predicated upon learning to master their desires to avoid sin. Shame and guilt were the emotions deployed to persuade them of the need to exert enough will to avoid

sinful acts.⁶⁶ In addition to the church, home, school, work-place, and print culture were all spaces in which men were informed of the necessity to exercise self-control and disciplined when unsuccessful, as well as demonstrating that failure of will denied individuals the privileges of masculinity.⁶⁷ Increasingly, Victorian men operated within broader disciplinary processes at the level of state and institutions, which sought to cultivate the ‘mastered self’.⁶⁸ Much of the scholarly attention paid to the role of training, discipline, and punishment in constructing and reinforcing manliness, however, focuses on boys and youths, rather than men. What remains to be investigated is the role of emotions, bodies, and material culture in sustaining and inculcating self-control in adult men. Moreover, there is more to be said on the ambivalences of unmanly behaviours for men, since male bodies were understood to differ due to factors like age, illness, and disability.

Martial manliness, for example, could be ambiguous.⁶⁹ It combined the physique, valour, and self-control of the manly ideal; at the same time, it was linked with behaviours deemed problematic in other men, such as fighting, drinking, and sexual liberty. Such behaviour might be excused or tolerated, as with the Jack Tar (a popular name for a sailor), who combined carousing with comradeship, and sexual prowess with bravery.⁷⁰ Soldiers were also considered to turn women’s heads and turn to drink when bored, yet they were not always castigated in the same way as other working men in popular culture for succumbing to temptation. Ironically, men may well have found martial manliness appealing because it united these components of masculine identity. Military men were therefore useful role-models because they battled with and overcame the challenges of self-mastery, often in extreme situations. In 1863 an author in *The Boys’ Own Magazine* told his youthful readers about a sergeant of the Guards at the Battle of Alma, who had been able to ‘vanquish’ swearing and other evil habits, and ‘for many years had been looked up to by his comrades as a man of exemplary character.’ Yet when he failed to rally his company after suffering losses

and being forced to retreat, he was overpowered with shame and rage, succumbing ‘to a sort of madness.’ His fearful oaths shocked his company and he spent the night of the battle in prayer and sobbing like a child. There was a lesson in his outburst, his manliness was tested in battle, and, if he temporarily lost self-control, he mastered it once more, to emerge as the middle-classes’ ideal respectable working-class man: ‘more humble, kind and considerate in his bearing towards’ his men than before.⁷¹

Performing and testing manliness

The three key spaces in which manliness was performed and tested in this period were war, home, and work. All have been subjected to considerable research and thus this introduction offers the briefest of overviews for each in so far as they align with the book’s focus on manly bodies, emotions, and material culture.

War is profoundly associated with masculinities and in this period martial manliness shaped civilian masculinities in numerous ways. The aftermath of Waterloo ushered in what Graham Dawson has termed the ‘pleasure culture of war,’ wherein war became normalised and romanticised, and those who fought in it glamorised and lionised.⁷² It escalated from the mid-century with the development of mass entertainment, mass media, and popular militarism.⁷³ Scientific racism and New Imperialism in the final quarter of the century instilled the idea that war was the way for the fittest, warlike races to succeed, generating a hyper-aggressive competitive masculinity.⁷⁴ By the turn of the century, a more brutal, jingoistic, less romantic version of the warrior emerged.⁷⁵ Throughout the long nineteenth century, war could be perceived either as causing a crisis in national masculinity or reinvigorating it.⁷⁶ In the post-Waterloo era, men who experienced combat were increasingly considered to be different from civilians;⁷⁷ some used this to fashion distinctive self-identities in published narratives of serving and fighting, a new genre that in turn helped reconfigure the ordinary soldier into a hero.⁷⁸ Similarly, the Jack Tar held enormous cultural appeal,

imagined as stalwart defender of sweethearts, comrades, and nation; member of a 'cosmopolitan cohort' who moved goods around the globe and enforced imperial policies.⁷⁹ Crucially, military language and metaphors, practices, and models not only shaped men's experience of the army, they shaped civilian men's identities and self-representations too.⁸⁰

One of the concerns of this scholarship is to show the variety of ways in which martial values were disseminated into civilian life. War as entertainment saturated print culture aimed at youths.⁸¹ People were persuaded to purchase consumables by advertising featuring soldiers and sailors.⁸² They also encountered martial themes through the performance of military battles in theatres, circuses, and pageants.⁸³ The army and navy offered spectacle in the form of reviews, parades, and drills, processions, music, and the military accoutrements of flags and trophies.⁸⁴ People also took trips to see new warships, dubbed 'naval gazing.'⁸⁵ Yet, the ways in which valorised martial values entered the popular psyche is still not fully enumerated. This is worth pursuing, since war even shaped male psychoses, as Thomas West's admission to Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum Colney Hatch on 23 May 1854 indicates. Ill during the Crimean War, this twenty-one-year-old single man, dissenter, and railway engine cleaner, suffered delusions that manifested in the belief that he was driving a locomotive to fight the Russians.⁸⁶

Recently, scholars have turned to the role of emotions in representations of military men. Sensibility saturated accounts of soldiers and sailors in the romantic era and depictions of their suffering encouraged sympathy in viewers.⁸⁷ The notion of 'military men of feeling,' who could combine gentleness and caring with combat, was still powerful in the Crimean era. This was not inimical to bellicosity; the gentle soldier ameliorated the shame of the spectator by allowing him to empathise with the combatant, and legitimated war as a humanitarian effort.⁸⁸ Racially-inflected imperial ideas of military men changed the nature of warrior feelings by the end of the century. A short story in *Hearth and Home*, 1894, describes its

protagonist: ‘Captain Murchison was a man of pluck and back-bone, possessing great self-control and endurance, a man of iron will and fortitude’.⁸⁹ Even though, by now, hard physicality was not merged with ready tears of sensibility, the military man could still shed a tear when in extremity. For Murchison it was when facing total blindness. The impact on civilian manliness of the range of emotions associated with military men needs further investigation, not just courage and fortitude, but the mutually constitutive mix of self-sacrifice, longing and loss, nostalgia, and patriotism, all feelings explored in *Manliness in Britain*.

The significance of these feelings is clear from their depiction in print, visual, and material cultures, consumed both on battle and home fronts. Indeed, the scholarship on the close relationship between these two domains has grown rapidly since the start of the twenty-first century. *The Boys’ Own Magazine* author above was a reverend and he told his young audience that when he attended wounded and dying soldiers in the Crimea, they feared they had ‘led a bad life,’ and asked him: ‘can there be any hope for us now?’ In his view, they ‘may have been bad men, but they are always truthful: they never try to make themselves out to be better than they really are. Their last thought is generally of home.’⁹⁰ This book therefore traces the significance of the domestic sphere and its material culture in projecting martial values and manliness into the civilian sphere.⁹¹

Home, family relationships, and the concept of domesticity have been identified as central to masculine identity from early modern through to modern periods for most social classes.⁹² Collectively, these studies show that men gained authority and advertised their manhood through their mastery over dependents, and the sexual control of female members in their households; moreover, their status was threatened when this was not achieved. The home was fetishized in Victorian Britain, a symbol of morality within which masculine identity was increasingly monitored.⁹³ John Tosh shows that from the 1830s to 1880s,

domesticity, as an emotional and psychological category, added a further dimension to these markers of status for middle-class men, who derived from it a profound sense of self.⁹⁴ Furthermore, historians reveal that masculine identity was evaluated in the long nineteenth century through men's care, nurture, and affection for their children.⁹⁵ This applied beyond the middle classes. Recent studies of working-class men as fathers, rescue them from the contempt of posterity and nineteenth-century social investigators, who regularly cast them as neglectfully absent from the home, and, when present, a disruptive force.⁹⁶

The place of 'home' remained significant for manliness even in the period that John Tosh has identified as the 'flight from domesticity,' from the 1880s onwards.⁹⁷ In recent years this 'flight' has been revised and it is now considered to be an era when domesticity was projected beyond the home and family; merely displaced or postponed while men endeavoured to make their living, rather than rejected outright. As the shifts in tone of fictional representations of manliness to more adventurous, harder styles indicate, the 'flight' was primarily a feature of men's imaginative lives, rather than a social practice. Still, there was a tension between work and home, as this book demonstrates. This was not new. As Karen Downing's neat concept of 'restlessness' demonstrates, it can be traced in print to the plot of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and retained its popularity for over a century after.⁹⁸ Nonetheless, it became more acute across the long nineteenth century as attachment to home came to be seen as a marker of inadequacy and individuals were praised for launching themselves into the unknown of an imperial world where migration was normalised and sought after.⁹⁹ Even so, this was still a world in which tender feelings about and by men were encouraged, so long as those men also conformed to dominant notions of rugged, hardy manliness.¹⁰⁰ Thus the home, and the emotions it generated, were significant to manliness throughout the century, since men were no more alienated from the home at its end

than they had been before, although their reason for being absent might be imagined differently.

Collectively, this scholarship challenges any supposition that men were peripheral to the home, demonstrating that public and domestic spheres were neither separate nor rigidly gendered. While acknowledging difference and complexity, it shows that many men were frequently absent from the home because they were working to provide for the domestic economy and were considered by their families to perform affection, nurture, and devotion through this labour.¹⁰¹ Similarly, when present, such fathers were tactile, playful, and caring, all factors which boosted their masculine identity.¹⁰² This body of work is valuable and important, and its findings are not questioned here. However, this book takes a different tack, which is to explore why cultural representations of men frequently imagined them as physically absent from home, though never peripheral to it; and how this sense of them as a centripetal or centrifugal force within the home and family unit shaped their manliness.¹⁰³

The work place was one of the acceptable locations where men were expected to be when away from home. Employment, after all, enabled men to provide for their dependents and kept them busy and out of trouble. As such, work was a primary marker of masculine identity, whether in terms of middle-class professional identity or working-class skilled and unskilled labour. The relationship between work and men's bodies was a matter of contemporary concern. The increasingly sedentary nature of middle-class men's work was understood to undermine their bodies and minds, making the former flaccid and weak, the latter subject to neurasthenia, a psychological condition of modern life and its stresses.¹⁰⁴ Working-men's bodies were subjected to greater scrutiny than elite men's, since state and society utilised them for industrial and economical success and national and imperial defence.¹⁰⁵ At any one time they were, thus, objects of both concern and emulation. As such, a variety of scholarly works address Victorian working-class men's corporeality. Social

historians explore mid-century ‘condition of England’ fears that industrialisation stunted industrial workers, while economic and demographic historians reconstruct the working population’s diets and stature.¹⁰⁶ Social Darwinism and urban industrialisation raised the spectre of a generation of physically deficient working-class men, and, thus, historical scholarship alludes to the working-man’s body when exploring institutionalized attempts in the later nineteenth century to salvage the ‘degenerate’ physicality of the British working man.¹⁰⁷

Art historical scholarship shows the ways in which working-class men’s bodies were also celebrated and appropriated by elite audiences. Artists used representations of men’s labour, particularly navvies, harvesters, blacksmiths, and colonial craftsmen, to construct gender, class, national, and imperial identities.¹⁰⁸ Urban labouring men in art emphasised that Britain was a modern, technologically advanced industrial and imperial nation.¹⁰⁹ Agricultural labourers’ depiction in art served many cultural functions over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹¹⁰ By the Victorian period, they were often represented as downtrodden, or working in teams. This contrasted with portrayals, both in paint and photography, of sea-faring men who were deemed independent and resilient and, therefore, less intimidating than the urban worker.¹¹¹ Indeed, one way to render the urban working classes more reassuring in an era of expanding democracy and working-class political demands was to ascribe heroism to them. Working-class men’s physicality is, therefore, also considered in scholarship on the democratisation of heroism in the nineteenth century, when civilians of lower social status were honoured for saving lives and acts of bravery.

Descriptions of this new hero’s strength and character in print culture intended for a popular readership served several purposes.¹¹² As exemplars and aspirational models of behaviour for the lower classes they were intended to secure social compliance.¹¹³ The ways in which depictions of working men shaped middle-class men’s masculine identities has been

less fully considered. There are useful insights to build on. Middle-class artists, for example, explored their own labour through such art.¹¹⁴ Radical socialists also saw working men's bodies as exemplars for their own visions of a socialist utopia, in some cases where homoerotic desire was envisioned to bridge class divisions.¹¹⁵ This book examines more broadly the middle-class fascination and desire for working-class men's labouring bodies to scrutinise its relationship with ideals of manliness. It also addresses working-class accounts and representations of men at work to show how far they shared and contrasted with elite versions.

Sources, methodology, and concepts

In order to identify the meanings of manliness, a wide range of diverse sources that are not conventionally analysed together are surveyed in *Manliness in Britain*. These include print culture, such as advice literature, popular health guides, works of history and literature, sermons, friendly society regulations, periodicals and magazines, especially the popular *British Workman* temperance publication, as well as commercial advertisements. It also encompasses fiction, poetry, and songs, along with life-writings. Visual images of idealised men in engravings and genre paintings are considered, together with photographs and lithographs. Insane asylum case notes are deployed to trace the relationship between men's bodies and the language of manliness.¹¹⁶ Material culture is also assessed through a variety of objects, including trades union, friendly societies, and temperance ephemera, such as certificates, banners, quilts, and aprons, as well as pottery figures. Martial material culture such as toys, textiles, and colours are assessed, as well as domestic objects such as plates, jugs, mugs, and hand-sewn furnishings.

The intention to elicit emotions unites much of the visual, material, and print culture that is examined here. This is partly because the decades studied were shaped by sensibility and the sentimental, two phases of the same urge to shape the world and encourage people's

actions by stimulating feelings.¹¹⁷ Its influence was deepened by its moral content.¹¹⁸ Nicola Bown observes that sentimentality did not just ‘sweeten ideological messages,’ it had aesthetic qualities that invited tears and feelings that were predicated on a shared humanity.¹¹⁹ In this way, as Rebecca Bedell shows, the cultures of feeling that animated the long nineteenth century sought to forge human connectedness and thus achieve social transformation. She points out that sentiment was ‘politically multivalent’. In some hands it aimed at reform, in others it sought to control, and even those people typically excluded from power might deploy its rhetoric to effect more radical change.¹²⁰ This worked because people shared the tools to interpret its meanings. Readers and viewers responded similarly to sentimental works, shaped by their familiarity with social codes, signs, and symbols; sentiment was, thus ‘predicated on a mutual understanding of the cogs of homogenised emotion’.¹²¹ Their motifs had affective power throughout the long nineteenth century, which they carried with them wherever they were encountered, whether in art, material culture, poetry, or advertising.¹²²

This study therefore argues that feeling is central to the formation of gender identities. As it demonstrates, many of the positive representations of idealised manliness were deployed through sensibility and sentiment, cultivating feelings of admiration, love, pride, and patriotism in those who encountered them. Powerful in themselves, these emotions were more potent because they were repeatedly linked to exemplary manly bodies. The attractive male forms, figures, and faces which embodied manly values and elicited these emotional responses, it is proposed, also stimulated desire in their male and female spectators.¹²³ This desire could have many facets, whether erotic and sexual, or simply gratifying and pleasurable. The homo- and hetero-erotic gaze was thus evoked in the service of gender and class constructions since the male bodies objectified were frequently working class. Negative accounts of men deemed unmanly also intentionally provoked feelings to strengthen their

message, though these were not the tender emotions of the sentimental, but raw visceral feelings like disgust, revulsion, fear, and hate, the very antitheses of pleasurable desire. These representations of unmanliness, intended to warn men against excess in all its forms, deployed sensationalism and melodrama. When men were shown disrupting home, especially through marital violence, for instance, the motifs of melodrama are easily detected.¹²⁴ This cultural movement typically attached emotions to bodies too. Good and evil characters were written onto bodies, respectively beautiful or ugly, externalising what might otherwise be hidden.¹²⁵ Given the class and racial structures in which these systems of feeling operated in the nineteenth century, it was often working-class men's bodies and those of racial and ethnic 'others' that were imagined in these ways.

It was the nexus of bodies, emotions, and objects that embedded ideas about manliness in people's minds and influenced corporeal behaviour and actions; a phenomenon that is to date little recognised.¹²⁶ There are numerous conceptual frameworks for analysing bodies in the past. Roger Cooter's survey of the 'somatic turn' in history arranges these into four broad categories. First, the Foucauldian concept of biopower, which exposes the regulatory techniques that use the body to control populations, and the systems that encourage self-actualisation through the personal shaping of the corporeal.¹²⁷ Next, is the New Cultural History's 'body:' a culturally constructed entity that is historicised in its 'representational regime'.¹²⁸ The 'lived-experience' body is a reaction to this discursive emphasis, whose proponents argue that a representational approach risks de-essentialising the reality of flesh. Instead they seek to understand embodiment.¹²⁹ Karen Harvey's attempt to 'study the lived, embodied experience of gender' is driven by this agenda.¹³⁰ She advocates drawing on one's 'own material experiences,' combined with documentary evidence, to investigate the physical experience of labour skills in the past.¹³¹ Cooter goes on to critique what he sees as the return of 'biological essentialism' in other disciplines in the first decade

of the twenty-first century. Some of these scholars adopt neuroscience to understand bodies, others implement ‘presentationalism,’ that is the ontological quest for presence and authenticity in history.¹³² Cooter completes his survey with Nikolas Rose’s ‘politics of life,’ in which the ‘entanglements of power constituted in and through body/knowledge’ are foregrounded.¹³³

As its starting point, this book is perhaps most influenced by the ‘representational regime’ outlined above in that it focuses on textual, visual, and material culture representations of gendered male bodies to historicise their meaning.¹³⁴ Its source base is not, therefore, equipped to evoke men’s embodied experience, which in any case would appear to be illusory; how, after all, can historians divest themselves of their own somatic sense, their own social and cultural context, their own sex and gender, to imagine themselves into a historical actor’s very different body and mentality? By recognising the emotional moods created by these accounts of the manly body, nonetheless, this analysis seeks to do more than identify the meanings of manliness that were projected onto the body, through their association with feelings. It proposes that these emotions were forms of communication and that emotional expressions provide information about gender. In doing so, it adapts the social-psychologist Gerben Van Cleef’s ‘Emotion as Social Information’ model, which contends that ‘emotional expressions provide information to observers, which may influence their behaviour’, through inferential processes and eliciting affective reactions.¹³⁵ It is proposed that this melding of approved manly bodies with particular emotions created ‘emotionalised bodies’, akin to emotional objects, which created and communicated what was deemed to be acceptable or unacceptable manliness (through inferences related to other knowledge about masculine identity) and elicited feelings in people that helped them find these qualities appealing and respond positively or be repulsed by and reject.

The central tenet of this book’s argument is that it was the inter-materiality of text,

image, object and their conjunction with bodies and emotions that facilitated the conveying, reproducing, and fixing of manly values.¹³⁶ An expansive definition of material culture is adopted for this reason, since text and images from print culture were frequently reproduced upon an object or re-purposed into an object, their form and location extending the reach of their messages.¹³⁷ The theoretical concept that is deployed throughout to underpin this argument is the cultural theorist's Sara Ahmed's notion of 'stickiness'. She shows that objects, signs, and bodies become sticky with meaning. This meaning – in her application disgust – is transferred through a process of substitution from one object to another. The objects are not inherently disgusting but become sticky with such affect. For her this process is an 'effect of the histories of contact between bodies, objects, and signs'. Repetition makes the meanings intrinsic and has a binding effect.¹³⁸ This book proposes that positive as well as negative emotions are projected onto and transferred between bodies and objects, which carry and transmit messages about gender to those who encounter them and their signs.

Contemporaries were aware of the potential of such material culture. The *British Workman*, for instance, sold packs of illustrated 'wallpapers,' posters of the beautiful illustrations that it published each month intended to inculcate temperance through moral lessons. Their purpose was itself depicted in a wallpaper entitled, 'A father's lesson on the illustrated wall-papers', in 1870. It shows a working father sitting in front of a wall displaying several wallpapers (figure 2), simultaneously labouring and using the illustrations to teach his daughter, who has brought him his lunch. Like this image, the wallpapers not only offered moral instruction and good behaviour, they modelled the performance of manliness. Such inter-materiality meant that meanings travelled, often transcending or complicating their original intentions. When different audiences met them, they had the potential to break free from the wealth, class, or gender constraints imposed by more conventional print culture. This is very apparent in the objects which brought political,

national, and imperial values into the home (such as textiles, ceramics and figurines). Indeed, location and use could directly impact upon meaning and need to be taken into consideration when investigating cultural import and trends. Thus, considering the intersection of emotions and gender reshapes our understandings of power and its exercise, moving away from more simplistic, often heteronormative, binary models such as domination and subordination, or ideals and reality.¹³⁹

[INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE: not available in this manuscript]

Inter-materiality also deepened the role of objects as emotional artefacts, a concept that takes us beyond text to addresses the intersections of bodies, emotions, and material culture.¹⁴⁰ As Ahmed argues, contact with imagined and material objects generates feeling.¹⁴¹ This burgeoning area of research demonstrates that objects stimulate feelings and maintain and spread values and ideas. There is evidence that contemporaries recognised this capacity of material culture and deployed it to shape and monitor their own behaviours and beliefs.¹⁴² The abolitionist iconography of the kneeling slave, for example, was a powerful tool in the campaign to abolish the slave trade. In 1834, William Lloyd Garrison introduced his ‘Sonnet’ inspired by Wedgwood’s medallion of the kneeling slave, explaining:

In order to keep my sympathies from flagging ... and to nourish my detestation of slavery by a tangible though imperfect representation of it, I have placed on my mantel-piece the figure of a slave (made of plaster) kneeling in a supplicant position and chained by the ankles and wrists.¹⁴³

As this neatly demonstrates, emotions are more likely to be stimulated through sensorial encounters with three-dimensional objects. The juxtaposition of multiple forms in one object that could be handled, viewed, possessed, gifted, bequeathed, and treasured make emotional artefacts so powerful that they acted as agents in influencing people’s actions, behaviours, and views.¹⁴⁴

Manliness in Britain unfolds its arguments through these conjunctions of emotions and materiality. Chapter one, 'Figures, faces, and desire: male bodies and manliness,' queers our received knowledge of the transmission of gender by asking different questions about the part played by men's idealised figures, forms, and faces in the process. Setting out the general trends over time in manly ideal bodies, it contextualises them in the factors triggering discussions of manhood, which were frequently expressed through concerns over men's bodies, appearance, and function, and driven by fears about modernity. It follows in the footsteps of George Mosse's work on manliness in Germany and other parts of Europe, which places the beautiful male body at its heart.¹⁴⁵ What makes this approach novel, however, is that the chapter charts the various feelings and states of mind promoted by these attractive bodies and their consequences, including romantic and parental love, grief, cheerfulness, resolve, and security. All promoted the characteristics of manliness, making it appealing and easy to recognise, feel, and to share. It contends that desire was the most fundamental factor in this process, since idealised male bodies had erotic potential for women and men, and were objects of the gaze in ways similar to feminine, sexualised bodies.¹⁴⁶ An explicit example of this is the furore over Richard Westmacott's eighteen-foot high statue, Achilles, intended to commemorate the nation's gratitude to the Duke of Wellington, cast from French cannon captured during the Napoleonic Wars and erected in 1822.¹⁴⁷ Its nudity caused consternation, especially since it was funded by public female subscription; thus a fig leaf was added.¹⁴⁸ Originally intended to be titled 'The Ladies' Trophy', it was humorously titled 'the ladies' fancy'. George Cruikshank satirised it in *Making Decent!!* and *Backside and Front View of the Ladies Fancy-Man, Paddy Carey* (both 1822).¹⁴⁹ Replete with phallic innuendo, the latter centres on female viewers' fascination with the larger than life naked muscular male form. As the drapery banner declares: 'His Brawny Shoulders 4 ft Square/His Cheeks like thumping Kidney tatees/His legs would make a Chairman Stare/And Pat was

loved by all the Ladies “The Ladies Joy &c &c” Paddy Carey.’¹⁵⁰ Such male bodies appealed to men as well as women, it is argued, rendering the gender qualities associated with them desirable too.¹⁵¹

Their antitheses: revulsion and ugliness constructed notions of unmanliness too, as chapter two, ‘Appetites, passions, and disgust: the penalties and paradoxes of unmanliness,’ demonstrates. It builds on Stephanie Olsen’s work on the emotional education of juveniles from 1880 to 1914, which deployed both positive and negative feelings.¹⁵² It shows that adult men were instructed on how to avoid unmanliness through emotionalised bodies: failing, uncontrolled, unattractive bodies created by unchecked appetites and bad habits, which prompted disgust, fear, and shame. Men were thus taught that the inability to master one’s self caused literal physical, mental, and moral disintegration, and attracted society’s contempt. The chapter shows that lack of self-restraint became more dangerous in the nineteenth century as excessive passions, bodily appetites, and feelings were increasingly pathologised as causes of disease.¹⁵³ To borrow Ellen Bayuk Rosenman’s account of spermatorrhea (excessive discharge of semen), diseases were ‘imagined into existence to embody historically specific anxieties.’¹⁵⁴ The same unregulated bodies and emotions were also increasingly seen to lead to insanity. Throughout the nineteenth century insanity was attributed to and located in disordered nervous systems. Nonetheless, it retained moral associations, with its hereditary explanations and causal factors of poverty, stress, bodily appetites, and emotional problems often moralised. In these understandings, responsibility was placed upon the male individual for failing to exert sufficient moral control to avoid his illness. Not all unregulated, non-normative male bodies were read as disgusting, however. Youths, old men, disabled and ill men, for example, were partially exempted from conforming to the rigid rules set by the beautiful emotionalised bodies of chapter one. Even so, all these men were deemed compromised and less manly as a result.

In 'Hearts of Oak: Martial Manliness and Material Culture,' the next chapter, bodies and emotions are brought together with objects through the most desirable idealised man of all: the military man. Fictional and real martial men were imagined through emotionalised bodies, with material culture often acting as the point of entry for the cultural work they performed in producing and disseminating manliness. This included the romanticised 'stuff' of martial glory or, later in the century, the new technology of annihilation, or, across the period, the everyday domestic artefacts decorated with martial themes.¹⁵⁵ This martial material culture was emotionally-dense and played a vital part in constructing manliness for civilians as much as soldiers and sailors. Uniforms, weaponry, battle-field-objects, medals, and regimental colours functioned in print culture as entry points into wider imaginings of military men's admirable characters and qualities.¹⁵⁶ In their domestic lives, people frequently interacted with objects which resonated with martial manliness, those decorated with, or in the form of, sailors, soldiers, and military events, including military themed toys, ceramic ornaments, and textiles, some of which were made by military men. Domestic in nature and scale, these objects also strengthen recent findings that there was no hard separation between the spheres of battlefield and home, military and civilian life.¹⁵⁷ What makes them even more significant for the book's argument, is that when objects imbued with martial masculinities were encountered in other spaces and times they continued to carry and convey these associations to a broader audience. This is evident in the impact of 'celebrity' military men in material culture, and this chapter therefore analyses two men from lower social origins who were feted in material culture, in performance, and later through funded memorials. The objects analysed acted as vessels for emotions, helping to 'fix' manly ideals in people's minds and sense of selves. Indeed, some were treated as 'relics' and devotional artefacts, in the form of remains of military men's bodies and military colours. In the end,

this chapter shows that objects are not merely symbolic, but material agents in constructing gender too.

Chapter four, 'Homeward Bound: Manliness and the Home,' develops the analysis of materiality further by considering the relationship between the space of home and manliness. At marriage, men announced their sexual maturity and achieved their masculine privileges. As this chapter shows, however, at its heart was a tension between a masculine identity that was conceptualised as rooted in the emotional sphere and physical space of the domestic, but only achieved by men being outside it, toiling to earn a living. As such, it addresses men's absence from home through the popular motifs of men leaving and returning home, dreaming of home, and their absent presence; that is material reminders of men obliged to be away from home for long periods.¹⁵⁸ It then analyses the parallel consequences of men's presence in the home. Men could produce 'happy' homes through their economic provision, frugality, kindness, and, crucially, displays of love and affection. Or their disruptive unmanly behaviours resulted in 'unhappy' homes. The chapter focuses on working-class men, though, of course, cultural representations of absent middle-class men were not at all unusual. Some were positive, including men who were away from home carrying out duties in empire or war, or industrious business men striving at work before returning to their domestic refuges, so central to the concept of domesticity and the formation of middle-class identity.¹⁵⁹ Other absences from home, however, were marked as unmanly. A story in the *Illustrated London News*, 1883, for example, established that John Adair was a bad husband and father through his failure to return home after work to support his wife when his child was ill.¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the chapter addresses representations of working-class man because middle-class imaginations so often situated them in relation to home, scrutinising their emotional and sexual performances in that sphere since it was deemed central to a successful society and

nation. It also functioned to remind middle-class men what they should aspire to and avoid being. As such, it further disrupts the notion of a flight from domesticity from the 1870s.¹⁶¹

‘Brawn and Bravery: Glorifying the Working Body’ draws together emotionalised bodies, spaces, and objects in the final chapter by examining the performance of manliness in work. The representations of working men analysed in this chapter were especially amendable to a middle-class gaze and agenda. Their glorified emotionalised bodies conveyed respectability and reliability, constructing a safe type of manliness that drew on traditional motifs to counter anxieties about working-class men as a politically or socially disruptive force. These were ‘heroic’ forms of working-class masculine employment, either because their labour was deemed aesthetically and morally ‘heroic,’ symbolised by their muscular forms, or because they risked their lives to save others as part of their profession. Some wore uniform, such as the firemen and railway guards; others had a distinctive and recognizable working dress that could be romanticised, such as miners, mariners, and blacksmiths. Several bore the symbol of the archetypical unskilled and skilled labourer: sleeve rolled-up above a muscular forearm. A further common feature was that kindness was attributed to both brawn and brave stereotypes. This emotional ‘cluster’ of goodwill, moral responsibility, and benevolence tamed the muscular and reckless body.¹⁶² This was not the only function of these manly workers for a middle-class audience, since the same combination of alluring physical and emotional qualities embodied in the male working-class body also rendered it desirable as a manly ideal.¹⁶³ Yet, working bodies should not be read solely in terms of condescension, passivity, and subordination, nor through erotic desire and projection.

The final section of the chapter therefore explores working-men’s agency in constructing gendered identities through emotionalised bodies and material culture, evident in working-class artists’ depiction of labouring men on images and objects intended for a working-class audience and consumer.¹⁶⁴ As Simon Newman’s work on ‘seafaring bodies’

demonstrates, the agency of early Philadelphia sailors can be traced in their bodies: their distinctive gait, their injuries, and their tattoos, which were ‘emblems of trade, experience, and proficiency’.¹⁶⁵ The banners and ephemera processed by workers in nineteenth-century Britain, often decorated with proud images of idealised working men did similar work. Of course, given the dependence of the working classes on their labouring bodies, this also emphasises the precarity and vulnerability of working men’s sense of selves and their classed position in the world, their bodies undermined by poverty, dangerous working conditions, and ill-health. Thus, while the cultural alignment of emotionalised bodies and objects strengthened the power of manliness for society, it simultaneously underwrote its vulnerabilities and instabilities.

The book’s epilogue brings emotionalised bodies and material culture up to date to show how men’s bodies and their associated emotions continue to be exploited for a variety of ends, some of which, in a world that appears to be rejecting progressive liberal values, are remarkably dangerous. In this way, it foregrounds the importance of bodies, emotions, and material culture for our understanding of masculinity and all of its social, cultural, and political implications.

14,754 words with footnotes

¹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (Fri 8 Feb, 1907).

² The other side of the panel has a theatrical theme of actors and productions.

³ John Jackson is the only one of the large figures of boxers to be depicted fully clothed.

⁴ The main boxers on the top-two thirds of the panels are: Jack Broughton; George Stevenson; Tom Cribb and Tom Molineaux; John Jackson. Pugilists depicted or described around the main figures include James Figg, Ben Brian, Thomas Johnson, Jack Slack, Isaac Perrins, Tom Johnson, Jem Belcher, Caleb Stephen, George Moore, Bill Richmond, and Bob Gregson.

⁵ Henry Angelo was Byron's fencing instructor. Pierce Egan, *Boxiana, or Sketches of Modern Pugilism from the Championship of Cribb to the Present Time*, two vols, vol. 2, London, 1824, p. 502. The screen is listed in Byron's Sale Catalogue of 1816, lot 382, 'A Screen six feet high, covered with NUMEROUS PORTRAITS OF ACTORS, Scene Prints, Portraits of Pugilists, and Representations of Boxing Matches'. From Peter Cochran's transcription of the three catalogues: https://petercochran.files.wordpress.com/2009/03/byrons_library.pdf. In 1885, it was claimed to have been bought for £15, two years before, at 'Angelo's School of Arms' but was worth far more. *Edinburgh Evening News* (Fri 6 Feb 1885).

⁶ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (Fri 8 Feb 1907).

⁷ *The Globe* (Wed, 17 Oct 1906), p. 10.

⁸ *The Worthing Herald* (Sat 12 June 1937); for an illustration of Murray's drawing room, which housed the screen, see *Pall Mall Gazette* (6 March 1913), p. 9. This belief is still held, see a news report about Newstead Abbey, <https://www.chad.co.uk/news/newstead-abbey-to-feature-on-antiques-roadshow-1-5536622> Accessed 18/12/18.

⁹ For example, panel 3.

¹⁰ Pierce Egan, *Boxiana; or, Sketches of ancient and modern pugilism, by one of the fancy* (London, 1824), pp. 26-28.

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- 11 Kasia Boddy, *Boxing: A Cultural History* (London, Reaktion Books Ltd, 2008), pp. 52-3.
- Gary Dyer, 'Thieves, Boxers, Sodomites, Poets: Being flash to Byron's Don Juan,' *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 116:3 (2001), 564.
- 12 Dyer, 'Thieves, Boxers, Sodomites, Poets', 570.
- 13 For an overview of boxing in this period see Boddy, *Boxing*, chapters 2 and 3.
- 14 Byron preferred youths over mature men, Fiona McCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend* (London: Faber and Faber, 2003), passim.
- 15 Dyer, 'Thieves, Boxers, Sodomites, Poets', 563, 567-70.
- 16 McCarthy, *Byron*, pp. 3-4, 25-6, 30-1, 479.
- 17 Deigo Saglia, 'Touching Byron: masculinity and the celebrity body in the Romantic period', in Rainer Emig and Antony Rowland (eds), *Performing Masculinity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), pp. 14, 15.
- 18 Examples from the Database of British and Irish Labouring-Class Poets and Poetry 1700-1900 (March 2019) include: Alexander Anderson, James Bird, Jem Blackaby, John Clare, Richard Herd, and Robert Millhouse. The poor also knew he was radical, sympathetic to their plight.
- 19 For the roles of elite urban men and lower-ranking Highland men in the formation of Highland martial masculinity see Rosalind Carr, 'The Gentleman and the Soldier: Patriotic Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 28:2 (2008) 102-121.
- 20 Katie Barclay, *Men on Trial: Performing Emotion, Embodiment and Identity in Ireland, 1800-1845* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Katie Barclay, 'Performing Emotion and Reading the Male Body in the Irish Court, c. 1800-1845', *Journal of Social History* 51:2 (2017) 293-312; Ana De Freitas Boe and Abby Coyendall (eds), *Heteronormativity in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate,

2014); Simon Goldhill, *A Very Queer Family Indeed: Sex, Religion and the Bensons in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016); Karen Harvey, 'Craftsmen in common: objects, skills and masculinity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', in Hannah Grieg, Jane Hamlett and Leonie Hannan (eds), *Gender and Material Culture in Britain since 1600* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Karen Harvey, 'Men of parts: Masculine embodiment and the male leg in eighteenth-century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 54:4 (2015), 797-821; Dominic Janes, *Oscar Wilde Prefigured: Queer Fashioning and British Caricature, 1750-1900* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Declan Kavanagh, *Effeminate Years: Literature, Politics, and Aesthetics in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2017); Matthew McCormack, *Embodying the Militia in Georgian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Simon Newman, *Embodied History: The Lives of the Poor in Early Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

²¹ Jennifer Evans, 'Introduction Why Queer German History?' *German History* 34:3 (2016) 371. For examples in eighteenth-century studies see the contributions to de Freitas Boe and Coyendall, *Heteronormativity in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture*.

²² There are some important works on same-sex desire that establish the lack of fixed binaries of categories of heterosexuality and homosexuality, including: Harry Cocks, *Nameless offences: Homosexual Desire in the 19th Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003); Matt Cook, *London and the Culture of Homosexuality, 1885-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Matt Houlbrook, *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918-1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Helen Smith, *Masculinity, Class and Same-Sex Desire in Industrial England, 1895-1957* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015).

23 George Mosse recognises the centrality of idealised male beauty to notions of manliness in Germany and other parts of Europe, though he is less concerned to explore desire beyond same-sex activities. George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). For desire see de Freitas Boe and Coyendall, *Heteronormativity in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture*, pp 3, 6-15. For the homoerotic appeal of the male body see Janes, *Oscar Wilde Prefigured*.

24 For the different meanings of desire over time, see Anna Clark, *Desire: A History of European Sexuality* (New York and Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008).

25 Again, it follows the lead of George Mosse's work which extended from the eighteenth century to the twentieth centuries. Mosse, *The Image of Man*.

26 "good to think with" is the French structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss's phrase. For its origin and problems see Marjorie Garber, *Loaded Words* (New York: Fordham University, 2012) pp. 96-7. The middle classes scrutinised working-class marital violence in constructing their views on marriage and violence, Lisa Surrridge, *Bleak Houses: Marital Violence in Victorian Fiction* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, c2005); men constructed masculinities through classed and racialised bodies, Louis Moore, *I fight for a Living: Boxing and the Battle for Black Manhood. 1880-1915* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois, 2017).

27 The middle-classes positioned the working-class home as a politicised construct, which carried with it moralizing and regulative dimensions: Mary Poovey, "Domesticity and Class Formation: Chadwick's 1842 *Sanitary Report*" in idem, *Making A Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1995, pp. 116-8.

28 Smith, *Masculinity, Class and Same-Sex Desire*, pp. 18-19.

29 Poovey, *Making A Social Body*, pp. 124-5.

30 An excellent example of this is Barclay, *Men on Trial*.

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their consequent impact on social structures, see de Freitas Boe and Coyendall,

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¹⁴⁸ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (Yale University Press, 1992), p. 258.

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https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1599943&partId=1&images=true; The British Museum, George Cruikshank,

'Backside & front view of the ladies fancy-man, Paddy Carey' (1822), Museum number

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153 Dixon. 'Emotion': The History of a Keyword', 341.

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158 For a longer history of returning artisans, see Brian Maidment, 'Coming through the cottage door: work, leisure, family, and gender in artisan interiors' in *Reading Popular Prints 1790-1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996, 2001 edition).

159 Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987); Tosh, *A Man's Place*, *passim*.

¹⁶⁰ *Illustrated London News*, 27 Oct 1863, p. 19. Also see *Funny Folks*, 'A Safe Cure' 1 Oct 1892, p. 317; see also 'Look Before you Leap-Year', *idem*, 31 Dec 1887, pp. 436-7 in which a 'Lady Special gets her Husband home early for once'.

¹⁶¹ John Tosh, 'Home and Away: The Flight from Domesticity in Late-Nineteenth-Century England Re-visited' *Gender and History*, 27:3 (2015), 561.

¹⁶² Linda A. Pollock, 'The Practice of Kindness in Early Modern Elite Society', *Past & Present*, 211:1 (2011), 121–158.

¹⁶³ Begiato, 'Between Poise and Power', 125-147.

¹⁶⁴ The place of the body in forming working men's subjectivity is explored by Stuart James Hogarth, 'Reluctant patients: health, sickness and the embodiment of plebeian masculinity in nineteenth-century Britain. Evidence from working men's autobiographies' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Metropolitan University of London, 2010); Ying Lee, *Masculinity and the English Working Class: Studies in Victorian Autobiography and Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 15, 19, 20.

¹⁶⁵ Newman, *Embodied History*, p. 122.