MASCULINITY: MEN DEFINING MEN AND GENTLEMEN, 1560-1918

Part 1: 1600-1800, Sources from the Bodleian Library, Oxford

Publisher's Note - Part 1

Prescriptive literature for women has been used in the classroom and for research, to explore the changing role of women from the medieval period through to the modern day. With the broadening of Gender Studies, we are pleased to offer a collection of rare advice books, manuals and literary texts relating to masculinity between 1560-1918.

Men have often been regarded as the constant against which women's evolution has been charted. In particular, the model of patriarchal society has found an established, but not unchallenged, position in the literature. There is now a growing debate concerning the roles of men, masculinity and sexual politics and the complexities and contradictions of these concepts. The materials presented here will help to fuel the debate and will enable scholars to analyse such stereotypes as the cad, the weakling, the sadist, the cross-dresser, the Lothario, the lady's man, the brute and the gentleman.

Part 1 comprises 61core texts from the collections of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It features: Descriptions of the chivalric ideal in texts such as Castiliogne's The Courtyer (1561), Primaudaye's The French academie (1589) and broadsides like The Noble Gallant (c.1670).

Early advice books including A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman leaving the University, concerning his behaviour in the World (1671), The father's legacy: or Counsels to his children (1678), William Darrell's A Gentleman Instructed in the Conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life (1704), The Gentleman's library, containing rules for conduct in all parts of life (1715), Defoe's The Compleat Gentleman (c.1728), John Andrews's Letters to a Young Gentleman setting out for France (1784) and Kenelm Digby's The Broad Stone of Honour, or Rules for the Gentlemen of England (1822).

The power of education to shape gender roles is shown in Gilbert Burnet's Thoughts on Education (1668), John Clarke's An Essay on the Education of Youth in Grammar Schools (1720), Thomas Sheridan's A Plan for the Education of the Young Nobility and Gentry (1769), George Chapman's A Treatise on Education (1773).

Caricatures and Essential Types are explored in the Douce Ballads, Volume 3 whilst Masculinity and Effeminacy are shown through R Hitchcock's comic play The Macaroni (1773).

Other concepts explored and documented include: Heroes & Role Models, 'Manly' Sports, Trade & the Professions, Clubs & Societies, Courting, Man as Husband & Father, and Health & Appearance.

There are also useful comparisons between masculinity in Britain and France making this a project which comprehensively explores the role of men in differing situations, and in a varied range of social and professional settings. This microfilm collection is an essential publication for any library which wishes to provide the means to explore the role of gender within an ever-evolving society.

MASCULINITY: MEN DEFINING MEN AND GENTLEMEN, 1560-1918

Part 1: 1600-1800, Sources from the Bodleian Library, Oxford

Editorial Introduction - Michèle Cohen, American International University in London

A historical study of masculinity is a relatively new topic, as Michael Roper and John Tosh pointed out in Manful Assertions.(1) Drawing on feminist and women's historians' insights into the social and historical construction of gender and sexuality, they called for a gendered history of men. Though much of the research into the historical construction of masculinities as one aspect of gender initially focused on the nineteenth century, work on the eighteenth century has been expanding.(2)

The study of eighteenth-century masculinity is particularly interesting because while the concern over manliness is evident in the conduct, advice and educational literature represented in this set of microfilms, it was interwoven with another concern, anxiety over effeminacy. Why was a concept signifying problematic gender boundaries for men a pervasive cultural metaphor throughout the century?

One explanation relates to the discourse of politeness. Politeness, a 'complete system of manners and conduct based on the arts of conversation', was at the heart of the sociability that developed in the social and cultural spaces of the new urban culture of early eighteenth-century England.(3) Politeness was central to fashioning of the gentleman, and required that men soften their manners and refine their conversation. Periodical, conduct and advice literature - including the advice fathers such as Colonel James Forrester and Lord Chesterfield wrote for their sons - all agreed that this refinement was best achieved in the company of women. The mixed conversation of the sexes was considered by many as the ideal social arrangement and so improving of both sexes that by the end of the century, the 'free communication between the sexes' had

come to be an index of the polish and civilisation of a nation.(4) However, while the presence of women was indispensable for shaping the gentleman, it was also, paradoxically, the site for a deep anxiety about effeminacy. The dilemma of politeness is encapsulated in this remark by a contemporary, that while the company and conversation of women was necessary to refine men's manners, too much of it was apt to effeminate them. Polishing men out of rude nature did not necessarily make them more manly. The tensions of politeness were compounded by the necessity for men to emulate the French, held to be the best models of polite conversation, but disparaged at the same time for their effeminating social practices. It was to acquire French polish, manners and language that aristocratic youths spent years and vast sums in France, on their way to Italy on the grand tour, the final 'finish' of their education. However, though by going abroad young men were expected to be polished out of their 'rusticity' and return 'compleat' and accomplished, they could equally well develop, some feared, 'an effeminate and unmanly foppery'.(5)

Could men be at once polite and manly? This vexing issue remained a preoccupation for most of the eighteenth century, and was embodied in the 'predominant eighteenth-century image of unmanliness', the fop.(6) The fop was effeminate because he spent so much time in the company of women that he tended to behave like them, and because he had become Frenchified in his manners and language. As such he had forfeited his identity both as English and as a man. The fop was both a parody and a warning of the dangers of showing an excessive devotion to the ideals of politeness. To avoid becoming a fop, a young man had to exercise self-control. This is at the heart of Chesterfield's advice to his son. Politeness may have been about ease and sociability, but it required constant vigilance and discipline of body and tongue.

For the second half of the century, however, politeness and the practices for fashioning the gentleman were the object of increasing criticism and censure. Richard Hurd's Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel is a critical text, because it explicitly opposes both travel abroad and politeness not just as frivolous, but as alien to the masculine English character. By the 1780s, the shifts announced in Hurd's text were taking place: not only did Vicesimus Knox, Headmaster of Tonbridge School, declare that he wished travel abroad were not a required part of a gentleman's education, but, John Andrews asserted, thought of the English might 'gain in delicacy and refinement' by associating with women like the French did, this advantage was outweighed by the threat to 'manliness of behaviour and liberty of discourse, the two pillars on which the edifice of our national character is principally supported'.(7) By the end of the century, politeness had become feminised and a new conception of the gentleman was emerging, one defined no longer by his politeness and his conversation, but by the strength of his masculine English character.

Footnotes:

- (1) M Roper and J Tosh (eds), Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800, London, Routledge, 1991.
- (2) Recent studies include Philip Carter, 'Men about town: representations of foppery and masculinity in early eighteenth century urban society', in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (eds), Gender in Eighteenth-Century England, Longman, 1997; Elizabeth Foyster, Manhood in Early Modern England, Longman, 1999; Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (eds), English Masculinites 1666-1800, Longman, 1999; Michèle Cohen, Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century, Routledge, 1996.
- (3) John Brewer, The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century, Harper Collins, 1997.
- (4) John Millar, the Origin of the Distinction of Ranks, London 1779.
- (5) Richard Hurd, Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel Considered as a Part of an English Gentleman's Education: Between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr Locke, London, 1764.
- (6) Carter, 'Men about town'.
- (7) John Andrews, A Comparative View of the French and English Nations in their Manners, Politics, and Literature, London, 1785.

Michèle Cohen, 2000

MASCULINITY: MEN DEFINING MEN AND GENTLEMEN, 1560-1918

Part 1: 1600-1800, Sources from the Bodleian Library, Oxford

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The Father's Wholesome Admonition ... [a ballad] London, 1690 (?) Firth b.19 (10)

An Essay in Praise of Knavery. 3rd ed, The Knaves Creed. and A Knave's Last Will and Testament. London, 1723. Douce VV158 (4)

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Daniel Defoe – The Compleat English Gentlemen. (c. 1728), K.D. Bulbring, (ed.), London, 1890. 247125. d. 1 J.L. Costeker – The Fine Gentleman or the Compleat Education of a Young Nobleman, London 1732. Vet A4. e.1618 [Lt. Col. James Forrester (ed)] Lord Chesterfield's Advice to His Son and The Polite Philosopher, 1774 (revised) London, 1907. 26520. e. 231

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David Fordyce – Dialogues Concerning Education, or a plan laid down on that subject in several conversations of some philosophical gentleman, and for training up the youth of both sexes in learning and virtue, (2 vols) London, 1745. Vet A4. e.2651

James Burgh - The Dignity of Human Nature, London, 1754. G G 73 Art

Gilbert Burnet - Thoughts on Education (1668), J. Clarke, (ed.). London, 1761. G Pamph 2706 (1)

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Richard Hurd – Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel Considered as a Part of an English Gentleman's Education: Between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Locke, London, 1764. Vet A5. e.3668

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John Moore - A View of Society and Manners in Italy (2 vols), Dublin, 1781. 8° F 141, 142 BS

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Thomas Day – The History of Sandford and Merton (vol 1) 4th ed. London, 1787. Vet A5. e.620

Thomas Day - The History of Sandford and Merton (vol 2), London, 1786. Vet A5. f.108

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REEL 13

Mary Evelyn – Mundus Muliebris: or, The Ladies Dressing Room Unlock'd and her Toilette Spread, London, 1690. Douce E 238 (1)

Samuel Foote - The Englishman in Paris. A comedy in two acts London, 1753. M. adds. 108. e.82 (3)

Samuel Foote – The Englishman return'd from Paris. A farce in two acts, London, 1756. M. adds. 108. e.82 (4)

John Brown - An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times (Vol.1) London, 1757. G Pamph 100 (1)

G Pamph 103 (1) John Brown - An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times (Vol.2) London, 1758

R. Hitchcock - The Macaroni, a comedy, York, 1773. Mal. B. 27 (1)

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James Puckle - The Club: or, a Dialogue Between Father and Son London, 1711. Douce P 761

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John Harris - A Treatise upon the Modes: or, a Farewell to French Kicks, London, 1715. Douce H 301

Advice to a Son, Directing him How to demean himself in The Most Important Passage of Life (4th edn), London, 1716. Vet A4 f .1406

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Advice to a Soldier, in two Letters, written to an Officer in the English Army, London, 1744. GG 124 Art

The Gentleman's Library; containing Rule for Conduct in all parts of Life. (4th edn) London, 1744. Hope 8° 424

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Manners: the manners of men, both as they really are, and as they ought to be." 2nd edn, London, 1752. Hope 8° 609 Henry Venn – The Complete Duty of Man, (new edition), 1763. 41.735

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John Andrews – An Account of the Character and Manners of the French; With occasional Observations on the English (2 vols), London, 1770. Vet A5. e.5237

John Andrews - Letters to a Young Gentleman, On his Setting out for France, London, 1784. Vet A5. e.2362

REEL 18

Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield – Letters to his son Philip Stanhope, Esq., (2 vols) London, 1774. GG 98, 99 Art REEL 19

Thomas Gisborne – An Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher and Middle Classes of Society in Great Britain (2nd edn) (2 vols) London, 1795. Vet A5. e.6205

REEL 20

B de Muralt – Letters describing the Characters and Customs the English and French Nations. Translated, London, 1726. Vet A4 e.2249

Batista Angeloni - Letters on the English Nation (see John Shebbeare), London, 1755. 226 j. 264, 265

MASCULINITY, 1560-1918: MEN DEFINING MEN AND GENTLEMEN

Part 2: 1800-1918, Sources from the Bodleian Library, Oxford

Publisher's Note

Notions of Empire are tied up with masculinity and men - many of the Victorian and Edwardian heroes of Empire are male, from Kitchener to Rhodes, Livingstone to Speke, Gordon to Havelock. Masculinity: Men Defining Men, 1560-1918 facilitates study into whether it was men that shaped Victoria's Empire or Empire that shaped Victoria's men.

A new scholarship is emerging to explore these concepts that, in turn, tell us a great deal about gender relations, the control of power and society as a whole. This project makes available a body of rich source material from the Bodleian Library to facilitate the examination of these questions. How did the Victorian patriarchal model of society, strictly hierarchical with a father at the head of every household, emerge? How was this reconciled with the fact that a woman, Queen Victoria, was the head of the Royal Household? Why did Queen Victoria, newly proclaimed Empress of India, reinforce the patriarchal ideology with her pronouncement: 'Let woman be what God intended, a helpmeet for man, but with totally different duties and vocations'. How did the growth of Empire affect notions of masculinity? What role did religion play in defining gender roles?

This material shows how concepts of masculinity changed over time. It shows how French and Italian models of behaviour influenced English attitudes. It shows how concepts of masculinity were created, policed and maintained by men.

Part 2 of this project provides a wide range of rare printed sources with which to examine changes in attitudes towards manliness during the late Hanoverian, Victorian and Edwardian periods. The literature of education is particularly revealing and exhibits breathtaking certainty concerning man's position in society and the white man's position in the running of the world. Scriptural authority was proclaimed and men were educated to lead. Public School education taught patriotism and rigour, fashioning emotionally austere, self-controlled and verbally reticent sons of empire. Yet against this picture of taciturn English maleness was a contrasting world of homosexual relations, loneliness and increasing sympathy for the rights of women. Works such as G N Banks's A Day of my Life; or, Every-day experiences at Eton (1877) and An Eton boy's letters (1901) help to show the reality of school life in contrast to the prescribed life.

Business and Industry also had a profound impact on masculinity during this period. The sons of aristocracy found themselves at school with sons of business. Works such as The Manners of the aristocracy, by one of themselves (1881) define a different type of man from that found in Household truths for working men (1857), or Golden rules for success in life, business, health ... (1906). Although by reading works such as How to Shine in Society, 1860, sons of business hoped to pass without unfavourable notice in polite society, men also had to function in a new business environment. There was an increase in factories and offices away from the home and a growth of a new literature with titles such as The Man of Business Considered (1864), How to Excel in Business (1876) and the Guide to the Government, Civil Service, East India Service, and the Leading Professions (1857).

As a counterpoint to the cut and thrust of business there emerged the comfortable world of Victorian domesticity, a safe place of retreat for the man to a companionate marriage with obedient children. This world is pictured in Rules for the Behaviour of children (1840), How to choose a wife (1855), and George Bainton's the Wife as Lover and Friend (1895).

Towards the end of this period there is also much promotion of adventure and advocacy of emigration and imperial service. Childhood aspirations are defined by books of heroes such as Men and Deeds (1910), Men of the Moment (1915) and Baden Powell: the hero of Mafeking (1907). Was this to escape from the crisis of masculinity at home, brought about by changes in divorce laws, child protection and the gradual encroachment of women upon previously masculine areas of control?

These texts will enable students and scholars to explore the social and historical construction of gender and sexuality and to create a new gendered history of men. They will be used by literary scholars, sociologists and social historians and form an invaluable complement to our existing series on Women Advising Women and Women and Victorian Values.

MASCULINITY, 1560-1918: MEN DEFINING MEN AND GENTLEMEN

Part 2: 1800-1918, Sources from the Bodleian Library, Oxford

Editorial Introduction - John Tosh, University of Surrey, Roehampton

In recent scholarship it has become commonplace to treat masculinity as a key component of the cultural history of earlier centuries. Yet the term only entered the English language during the twentieth century, and it denotes a set of concerns to which no previous term corresponds. 'Masculinity' is the nearest we have to a word which embraces all the things which distinguish men from women: it includes both physical and psychological attributes, both appearance and behaviour, both interiority and performance. Masculinity is certainly valued as a social currency which may earn the individual esteem or disparagement. But we take it for granted that these external traits express an inner, largely unconscious state, and it is this internal condition which determines whether an individual is 'secure' or 'insecure' in his masculinity. This holistic approach was much less in evidence during the nineteenth century. Men and women spoke and wrote, not about masculinity, but about 'manliness'. Manliness denoted those attributes - both moral and physical - that men were happy to own, which they had often acquired by great effort and self-discipline, and whose absence in other men they deplored. Manliness was largely

an ascribed status, determined by the reactions of others. It required inner resources to sustain – hence the crucial emphasis on 'character' - but was not generally regarded as an inner state. Manliness, in short, was the idiom in which men defined men during the long nineteenth century.

The overwhelming impression left by the voluminous Victorian and Edwardian didactic literature is that manliness was above all a moral attribute, requiring adherence to a stringent ethical code. It encapsulated the virtues of industry, self-reliance, sobriety, chastity and family affection.1 To place this code in perspective, however, it is important to realize that the authors of these texts were struggling to prevail over an older and more popular tradition of manliness in which physical assertiveness and independence were the critical markers – as in 'manly vigour', 'manly force' and 'manly exercises'. 'Sturdy manliness' was what enabled a man to place his stamp on those around him, if necessary by imposing on them or compelling them. That kind of behaviour could be taken as a sure sign of 'independence'. The word had two meanings. In its older sense it referred to autonomy of social status: an independent man was someone who did not owe his position to patronage and who needed to show no undue deference - a requirement which was often more convincingly met by the rising middle class than by the aristocracy. By the Victorian period 'independence' was used as much to refer to how an individual carried himself as to his social relationships. The 'independent' man was able to stand on his own two feet, to voice his opinions and to court unpopularity if need be - the kind of personal resilience which was most likely to be instilled through peer-group relations in school. If common manliness easily spilled over into aggression, so too it condoned and even encouraged a predatory attitude towards sex. Manliness had long been associated with virility, and this was measured not only in the married man's quiverful of children but also in the sowing of wild oats by the young. In the eyes of one's peers, at least, sexual exploits with prostitutes and serving girls were a rite de passage to manhood.

In fact the constant insistence by religious writers on moral manliness reflects the conviction among Evangelical clergymen that they were challenging one of the most resilient aspects of a largely secular – if not downright irreligious - popular culture. Yet in seeking to moralise on manliness, didactic writers were not making bricks without straw. Popular manliness prescribed moral qualities which could be adapted or re-interpreted to express a wider moral vision – notably courage, resolution, straightforwardness and self-discipline. These terms constantly recur in the texts on manliness reproduced here. Courage is generalized to apply to any morally sound action which courts unpopularity or sacrifices a material interest, and it also includes the fortitude shown in facing death or bereavement. Resolution was the quality needed to hold to any course through difficulty and danger. Straightforwardness could readily be glossed as honesty in every word and deed. Self-discipline is invoked as a moral resource in many different contexts, but above all in submitting to a code of sexual restraint.

All these qualities were subsumed in the key Victorian virtue of character. It denoted the inner moral resources of a person as manifest in demeanour and conduct towards others. Despite the appearance of gender neutrality, the term nearly always referred to manly character. Three meanings crop up again and again. First, sincerity: the manly man was someone who paid more attention to the promptings of his inner self than the requirements of reputation. He was frank and truthful – even blunt – in speech. Secondly, character was shown in how a man bridled his baser desires: both reason and concern for others should check his anger and prevent him from becoming a drunkard or libertine. Thirdly, and most important of all to the Victorians, the man of character was able to practise the self-discipline and self-denial needed to see any great purpose through to its end. Strenuous perseverance and courage in the face of adversity were implied in that characteristic phrase, 'steadiness of character'. Character should determine circumstances, not the other way round.2

One should not make the mistake of assuming that the generality of men reflected the code of manliness as set out by these religious writers. Indeed the constant repetition of the same homilies suggests rather that the message often fell on stony ground and that traditional notions of manliness retained their appeal in many quarters. On the other hand moral manliness clearly made its mark, not only because it appealed to the man of religious conviction, but because it dignified the more secular values of self-help.

In terms of cultural discourse the opposite of moral manliness was the social code of etiquette and fashion.3 Although ostensibly offering the key to polite society, books about fashion only reflected one dimension of life in the upper classes. The Evangelicals had set as much store by reforming the aristocracy as by disciplining the lower orders, and they encountered considerable success. Throughout the nineteenth century there was a vigorous debate about the meaning of the term 'gentleman', and the criteria for gentlemanly status more and more conformed to the tenets of moral manliness. While Victorian readers of fiction (from Anne Brontë to Anthony Trollope) continued to enjoy the stereotype of the dissolute and hedonistic aristocrat, the reality was usually more earnest and restrained.4

Education played a key role here. At the top end of society, the public schools were radically reformed according to morally explicit aims, and their number was hugely increased in the course of the century. That the gentry gave unwavering support to these schools in their new incarnation indicates a preoccupation with moral appearances at the very least. More significant perhaps, the moralized public school was able to attract the sons of the professional – and increasingly business – classes in large numbers. For parents of this background the public schools not only offered the benefits of sound education and enhanced social status; they also offered a way out of a worrying area of tension in the prevailing code of manliness. On the one hand, men were expected to be different from women – perhaps more insistently than ever before if contemporary theories of sexual difference are to be believed. On the other hand, the emphasis which writers on manliness placed on domesticity was based on a recognition that boys needed the wholesome and loving care of their mothers. Whereas for an earlier generation the ceremony of breeching, followed by instruction under a tutor or at a day school, had seemed an adequate transition to manhood, middle-class Victorian fathers increasingly resorted to the public school as a crash course in manliness for their sons. Far from the soft allurements of a feminised home, boys would learn manliness in a bracing

competitive atmosphere. Given the gender insecurity instilled in childhood, is it to be wondered at that Victorian men lost no opportunity to assert their manliness? Men who had subscribed to the cult of domesticity needed this barrage of gender affirmation to guell their inner doubts and to convince others that they were really men.5

Such concerns did not of course apply to the working class. Indeed it was at the bottom of the social ladder that traditional secular notions of manliness were strongest. For the 'rough' working class the core of manliness was sheer physical strength and endurance needed for heavy labour. Enduring these conditions - indeed survival itself - was an affirmation of masculinity. Given the living conditions of the poor, 'the comforts of home' was an empty phrase, and domesticity counted for little. Heavy drinking was regarded as a replenishment of depleted energy and a lubricant of men-only leisure. Manliness was strongly imbued with physical force in both the work-place and the neighbourhood.6 But the manliness of the upper reaches of the working class was not so different from their bourgeois superiors, except that 'skill' rather than 'occupation' was the focus of the artisan's masculine identity. Skill was acquired through an arduous and long drawn out apprenticeship; it was the ticket of entry to shared homosocial leisure, embodying common values of craft pride; it gave the worker dignity and status vis-à-vis his employer; and it defined men over and against women, since 'skill' was a male preserve from which women were jealously debarred. The proper wages due to a skilled man (i.e. the 'family wage') were supposed to enable him to support his dependants unaided, without relying on his wife's efforts or on charity. First articulated by the moderate ('moral force') wing of the Chartist movement in the 1830s, these sentiments were commonplace among members of the skilled crafts by the mid-Victorian era.7

During the late Victorian and Edwardian era the components of manliness, while including nothing new, were configured in a different way, with different emphases. The attack on the sexual licence of young men was taken up with much greater vigour by the Evangelicals in the 1880s, partly due to the feminist campaigning against the Contagious Diseases Acts, and partly due to fears about moral corruption at the heart of the Empire.8 The new Puritanism also made much greater play of the threat posed by homosexuality – both the male prostitution of the cities and the schoolboy relationships which were such a common feature of boarding school life. The Labouchère Amendment to the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 strengthened the hand of the moralists, and after the trials of Oscar Wilde ten years later vigilance was intensified. Manliness was increasingly seen to be incompatible not only with homosexual relations, but with intimate friendship between men.9

But imperial consciousness amounted to more than a moral panic around same-sex relations. The late Victorian period saw a renewed emphasis on the physical elements of manliness – this time treated as the ideological basis for the state of fitness and alertness needed to defend the empire and to extend its boundaries. Once the French Wars had ended in 1815, there was comparatively little interest in the masculine prerequisites of military readiness. The tide began to turn with the invasion scare of 1859 (again featuring the French), and by the 1860s proponents of manliness were divided between those who wholeheartedly welcomed the rise of athletics and those who believed it undermined both moral and intellectual values. The public schools strongly endorsed the former position, justifying the obsession with games on the grounds of physical fitness, endurance, loyalty and obedience.10

The years before the Great War were a high point in the cultural projection of military heroes. In colonial warfare military reputation was purchased more cheaply than in large-scale European conflicts, and in particular it offered plenty of opportunities for the kind of resourceful irregular operations which were the stuff of adventure yarns. For this reason it was maverick figures like Gordon and Baden-Powell who best caught the national mood, rather than more conventional soldiers like Roberts or Kitchener. In his brilliantly promoted Boy Scouts, Baden-Powell established a romanticized idea of 'the frontier' at the heart of the British masculine imagination: physical toughness, resourcefulness, obedience and – a point often overlooked – a partial separation from the feminine atmosphere of home.11

At one level the First World War vindicated the militarized forms of manliness which had been so culturally prominent during the preceding generation. The need to prove oneself with reference to the prevailing norms of masculinity was clearly one factor in accounting for the astonishing scale of voluntary enlistment in the armed forces in 1914. The problem was that military masculinity was associated with an image of war which was completely at variance with the reality about to be faced. Instead of a war of movement and individual initiative, in which the enemy could readily be outwitted or outgunned, the soldiers of 1914 had to come to terms with a static war of attrition, in which the individual usually counted for little – in his life or in the manner of his death. It is small wonder that the First World War spelled the end of manliness as a hegemonic masculine ideal. It survived into the inter-war period only in schools and in boys' organizations.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 See for example J A Mangan & James Walvin (eds), Manliness and Morality:
- Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, Manchester, 1987.
- 2 On character, see M Morgan, Manners, morals and class in England, 1774-1858, London, 1994; Stefan Collini, 'The idea of 'character' in Victorian political thought', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 35 (1985), pp 29-50.
- 3 Michael Curtin, Propriety and Position: a Study of Victorian Manners, New York, 1987.
- 4 Robin Gilmour, The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel, London, 1981.
- 5 John Tosh, A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England, London, 1999, Ch 5.
- 6 Andrew Davies, 'Youth gangs, masculinity and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford', Journal of Social History, 32 (1998), pp 349-69.
- 7 Anna Clark, 'The rhetoric of Chartist domesticity', Journal of British Studies 31 (1992), pp 62-88;
- Sonya Rose, Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-century England, London, 1992.
- 8 Sue Morgan, A Passion for Purity: Ellice Hopkins and the Politics of Gender in the Late-Victorian Church, Bristol, 1999.

9 Alan Sinfield, The Wilde Century, London, 1994.

10 J A Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School, Cambridge, 1981.

11 Tim Jeal, Baden-Powell, London, 1989; Robert H MacDonald, Sons of the Empire: the Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918, Toronto, 1993.

John Tosh, 2002

MASCULINITY, 1560-1918: MEN DEFINING MEN AND GENTLEMEN

Part 2: 1800-1918, Sources from the Bodleian Library, Oxford

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Thomas Carlyle: Past and present (Book 3, chapters 11-12), 1843. 43.128

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H H Almond: 'Sermons by a lay head-master', The idler no Christian (pp 149-164), Edinburgh, 1886. 100 e.267a

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Harvey Newcomb: Youth and its duties: a book for young gentlemen, containing useful hints on the formation of character,

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Robert Philip: Manly piety: a book for young men, 1879. 141 m.722

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G E Sargent: Home Education, 1854. 260 g.215

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A father's advice to a son: a letter, n.d. 1419 f.1901(17)

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The man of the period: a companion to the 'girl of the period', 1868. 250 k.17(18)

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Manners and tone of good society: or, solecisms to be avoided, by a member of the aristocracy, 1879. 268 c.538

How to behave: or, etiquette of society, 1879. 247895 g.9

The manners of the aristocracy, by one of themselves, 1881. 268 b.260

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Manners and rules of good society: or, solecisms to be avoided, by a member of the aristocracy, 1910 (32nd edn). 247895 e.25

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Advice to a young gentleman on entering society, 1839, 2nd edn. 39.2

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James Fitzjames Stephen, 'Gentlemen', Cornhill Magazine (vol 5, 1862, pp 327-42), 1862. Per.2705 d.213

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James H Friswell: The gentle life: essays in aid of the formation of character, 1864. 270 g.64 J R Vernon, 'The grand old name of gentleman', Contemporary Review (vol II, 1869, pp 561-80), 1869. Per.3977 d.58 William Davies: A fine old English gentleman, exemplified in the life and character of Lord Collingwood, 1875. 210 k.387 A Smythe-Palmer: The ideal of a gentleman ... , 1908. 26520 e.247

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Man's duty to his neighbours, in a series of eleven prize essays, 1859. 270 c.105

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Social science: being selections from John Cassell's prize essays by working men and women, 1861. 250 b.226

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John H Kellogg: Social purity: an address, 1891. 26521 e.13(8)

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Edward Lyttelton: Training of the young in laws of sex, 1900. 26236 e.14

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Pierce Egan: Boxiana: sketches of ancient and modern pugilism (vols 1 & 2), 1824. 34867 e.300

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Pierce Egan: Boxiana: sketches of ancient and modern pugilism (vol 3), 1824. 34867 e.300

The boy's book of sports and games ... by Uncle Charles, 1850. Vet A6 f.323

The laws of football as played at Rugby School, Rugby, 1862. 38457 f.20(17)

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Every boy's book: a complete encyclopaedia of sports and amusements. Edited by Edmund Routledge, 1868. 268 b.46 'Athletics', Saturday Review (vol 27, 27 March, 1869 pp 413-4), 1869, N.2288 c.8

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Rugby rhymes, rough and ready: with Mr Jingle, Cupar, 1893. 280 f.663(12)

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Heroic and Military Manliness

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Major R Compton Noake: The British army: A challenge to the War Office Actuaries: exposing the misstatements made to induce parliament to pass the Short Service Enlistment Act of 1870, the reasons why there are so many desertions and the army so unpopular, from the soldier's own point of view, 1875. 200 h.118(27)

Francis Paget: A word to soldiers about Christianity and manliness, 1889. 1419 g.111(22)

Geoffrey Drage: Eton and the Empire, Eton, 1890. G A Bucks 8° 46

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Boys of the Empire: a magazine for British boys all over the world, 1901-02. Per 2533 c.5

REEL 42

Boys of the Empire: a magazine for British boys all over the world, 1902-03. Per $2533 \ c.5$

'B-P': The hero of Mafeking. Tit-bits monster penny books, 1907. 2288 e.488(2)

How to become a naval officer (revised edition, introduction by Sir E R Fremantle), 1909. 26325 e.24

Herbert B Gray: The Public Schools and the Empire, 1913. 2624 e.56

Sir Robert Baden-Powell: The young knights of the Empire, their code and further scout yarns, 1916. 38483 e.42

Henry Newbolt: The book of the happy warrior 'Chivalry of today' (pp 272-84), 1917. 2221 e.39
The scouts' book of heroes: a record of scouts' work in the Great War. Foreword Chief Scout Sir Robert Baden-Powell, 1919. 22281e.1070

MASCULINITY, 1560-1918: MEN DEFINING MEN AND GENTLEMEN

Part 3: 1800-1918, Sources from the Bodleian Library, Oxford

Publisher's Note

Concepts of masculinity are complex and contradictory. Shaped by society, they are influenced by class and race, gender relationships, and the control of power within society. Part 1 of our series on masculinity focuses on the period 1600-1800 with conduct, advice and educational literature, including works of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of chivalric and courtly behaviour,

and a selection of scurrilous ballads of archetypes, such as the cuckold, the fop and the knave. While texts from the eighteenth century chart the discourse of politeness and refinement of manners required to fashion the gentleman. Part 2 provides a wide range of printed sources from which to assess changing attitudes of manliness during the Hanoverian, Victorian and Edwardian periods, including literature on education, the roles of the public school, the impact of business and industry, Victorian domesticity, and the adventure of emigration.

Part 3 of our series 'Masculinity' looks at the emergence of the popular boys' magazines from c.1850 to 1920, which played a major role in shaping ideas of masculinity in the youth of the period. The boys' story papers enjoyed a huge readership, and is thought to have provided the central core of young male reading from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. The magazines were 'cheap, easily purchased, traded, abandoned, lost', and were an important leisure activity for boys. Written in a non-didactic style, the papers were 'informative, uplifting and entertaining'. They contained adventure tales from home, and from exotic colonies abroad, exciting accounts relating the brave deeds of Boer War heroes, like General Gordon and Baden-Powell, as well as informative articles on sports and hobbies, and history. These papers were both fun and educational.

In our publication, to illustrate a broad overview of boy's magazines published during this period, we have used incomplete runs, which will allow for contrast and comparison between the competing papers. We include:

Every Boy's Stories Boy's Own Journal and Youth's Miscellany Boy's Own Magazine Every Boy's Magazine Empire Annual for Boys Boy's Own Paper

We also include two publications for both boys and girls to assess any differences in tone, style or content to those papers specifically published for boys. These are: Young England, and Chatterbox. In addition, a selection of miscellaneous youth periodicals further illustrates the variety and scope of papers available during this period, and their influence in shaping ideas of manliness.

The Boy's Own Magazine was the first gender-specific periodical published in 1855 by Samuel O Beeton, who had a vision for his magazine as 'moulder of empire builders'. Priced at 2d monthly it was aimed at the youth of the middle classes, it was not intended for the working class. With an editorial team including Mayne Reid, W B Rands, Tom Hood and James Greenwood it was a successful and popular magazine with a circulation of 40,000. Non-fiction was its largest element, and skilfully written articles provided exciting and imaginative reading for its youth readership. In its first publication items included:

The Printer's Boy, the story of Benjamin Franklin from the series 'Poor Boys Who Have Become Great Men' - a short, instructive biography for boys to aspire to.

Catching a Caymen in the Philippine Islands – a natural history adventure about crocodiles, from a far-off place.

The Tools of War – weapons from around the world used throughout history.

The Thousand and Second Tale – a story by Edgar Allan Poe

Famous Places – a travel series, featuring Naples and Vesuvius.

By contrast, Empire Annual for Boys, first published in 1909 with splendid colour illustrations both on the bound cover and inside, contained lots of adventure tales, sports heroes, as well as some more serious articles, such as Why I became a Missionary by Revd G T Manley. In the foreword J E K Studd (Captain of the Cambridge Eleven, 1884) tells his young male readers, 'never lose heart ... it is the man who can keep a stiff upper lip and an even temper when things go wrong that has the true spirit of the first-class man.'

Tales of adventure, with 'recognisable' heroes can be found in stories like, A Gallop for Life – The story of a Texas Ranger by Captain Edwin Flack. 'When the Republic of Texas was annexed to the US, powerful and warlike Indian tribes – Comanches, Apaches, and Lipans – roamed the country, harrying the settlers. Regular troopers were ineffectual against them, but the Texas Rangers, raised locally, proved more than a match for the men'. These were the heroes of Edwardian fiction, men from a lower social scale, and while physical bravery was still important, personal sacrifice was now seen as an important moral virtue.

In the early years of the First World War boy's magazines featured articles relating to the current political situation in Europe, for example:

How Airmen Learn to Fly War pigeons. All about the wonderful 'mile-a-minute feathered Marconigram' War notes and pictures - a regular feature
On Dangerous Service. A Story of Blockade Running - an adventure story.

However, such articles ceased to appear when the reality of the horrors of the war became known, and did not reappear until c.1918 in items like Great Players Fallen in the War. War fiction did not re-emerge until the 1930s.

From this broad selection of boys' magazines the ideals of masculinity can be explored. Why did the image of the hero change from the Victorian elite aristocrat to the Edwardian hero, democratised and broadened to include school teachers and factory lads? What were the attitudes and ideas towards race, and the treatment of colonised peoples? How were women and girls portrayed – as the female heroine capable of looking after herself, or as the girl heroine who acquiesced gracefully to being rescued? How were significant and important events written about in the magazines, for example Queen Victoria's Jubilee, 1887, or the construction of the Suez Canal, 1869? How did editors shape their magazines in this highly competitive market – were they driven by the youth readership? These magazines offer an insight into the period which will enable research into the complex and contradictory concepts of masculinity.

Students will be able to use this material in conjunction with Women Advising Women, 1450-1837 and Women and Victorian Values, c.1837-1910 to compare the type of literature and advice being offered to boys and girls, and men and women.

I have found Kelly Boyd's Manliness and the Boy's Story Paper in Britain: a cultural history, 1855-1940 (Palgrave, 2003) particularly helpful in preparing this publisher's note.

MASCULINITY, 1560-1918: MEN DEFINING MEN AND GENTLEMEN

Part 3: 1800-1918, Sources from the Bodleian Library, Oxford

Editorial Introduction - John Tosh, University of Surrey, Roehampton

In recent scholarship it has become commonplace to treat masculinity as a key component of the cultural history of earlier centuries. Yet the term only entered the English language during the twentieth century, and it denotes a set of concerns to which no previous term corresponds. 'Masculinity' is the nearest we have to a word which embraces all the things which distinguish men from women: it includes both physical and psychological attributes, both appearance and behaviour, both interiority and performance. Masculinity is certainly valued as a social currency which may earn the individual esteem or disparagement. But we take it for granted that these external traits express an inner, largely unconscious state, and it is this internal condition which determines whether an individual is 'secure' or 'insecure' in his masculinity. This holistic approach was much less in evidence during the nineteenth century. Men and women spoke and wrote, not about masculinity, but about 'manliness'. Manliness denoted those attributes - both moral and physical - that men were happy to own, which they had often acquired by great effort and self-discipline, and whose absence in other men they deplored. Manliness was largely an ascribed status, determined by the reactions of others. It required inner resources to sustain - hence the crucial emphasis on 'character' - but was not generally regarded as an inner state. Manliness, in short, was the idiom in which men defined men during the long nineteenth century.

The overwhelming impression left by the voluminous Victorian and Edwardian didactic literature is that manliness was above all a moral attribute, requiring adherence to a stringent ethical code. It encapsulated the virtues of industry, self-reliance, sobriety, chastity and family affection. 1 To place this code in perspective, however, it is important to realize that the authors of these texts were struggling to prevail over an older and more popular tradition of manliness in which physical assertiveness and independence were the critical markers - as in 'manly vigour', 'manly force' and 'manly exercises'. 'Sturdy manliness' was what enabled a man to place his stamp on those around him, if necessary by imposing on them or compelling them. That kind of behaviour could be taken as a sure sign of 'independence'. The word had two meanings. In its older sense it referred to autonomy of social status: an independent man was someone who did not owe his position to patronage and who needed to show no undue deference - a requirement which was often more convincingly met by the rising middle class than by the aristocracy. By the Victorian period 'independence' was used as much to refer to how an individual carried himself as to his social relationships. The 'independent' man was able to stand on his own two feet, to voice his opinions and to court unpopularity if need be - the kind of personal resilience which was most likely to be instilled through peer-group relations in school. If common manliness easily spilled over into aggression, so too it condoned and even encouraged a predatory attitude towards sex. Manliness had long been associated with virility, and this was measured not only in the married man's quiverful of children but also in the sowing of wild oats by the young. In the eyes of one's peers, at least, sexual exploits with prostitutes and serving girls were a rite de passage to manhood.

In fact the constant insistence by religious writers on moral manliness reflects the conviction among Evangelical clergymen that they were challenging one of the most resilient aspects of a largely secular – if not downright irreligious - popular culture. Yet in seeking to moralise on manliness, didactic writers were not making bricks without straw. Popular manliness

prescribed moral qualities which could be adapted or re-interpreted to express a wider moral vision – notably courage, resolution, straightforwardness and self-discipline. These terms constantly recur in the texts on manliness reproduced here. Courage is generalized to apply to any morally sound action which courts unpopularity or sacrifices a material interest, and it also includes the fortitude shown in facing death or bereavement. Resolution was the quality needed to hold to any course through difficulty and danger. Straightforwardness could readily be glossed as honesty in every word and deed. Self-discipline is invoked as a moral resource in many different contexts, but above all in submitting to a code of sexual restraint.

All these qualities were subsumed in the key Victorian virtue of character. It denoted the inner moral resources of a person as manifest in demeanour and conduct towards others. Despite the appearance of gender neutrality, the term nearly always referred to manly character. Three meanings crop up again and again. First, sincerity: the manly man was someone who paid more attention to the promptings of his inner self than the requirements of reputation. He was frank and truthful – even blunt – in speech. Secondly, character was shown in how a man bridled his baser desires: both reason and concern for others should check his anger and prevent him from becoming a drunkard or libertine. Thirdly, and most important of all to the Victorians, the man of character was able to practise the self-discipline and self-denial needed to see any great purpose through to its end. Strenuous perseverance and courage in the face of adversity were implied in that characteristic phrase, 'steadiness of character'. Character should determine circumstances, not the other way round.2

One should not make the mistake of assuming that the generality of men reflected the code of manliness as set out by these religious writers. Indeed the constant repetition of the same homilies suggests rather that the message often fell on stony ground and that traditional notions of manliness retained their appeal in many quarters. On the other hand moral manliness clearly made its mark, not only because it appealed to the man of religious conviction, but because it dignified the more secular values of self-help.

In terms of cultural discourse the opposite of moral manliness was the social code of etiquette and fashion.3 Although ostensibly offering the key to polite society, books about fashion only reflected one dimension of life in the upper classes. The Evangelicals had set as much store by reforming the aristocracy as by disciplining the lower orders, and they encountered considerable success. Throughout the nineteenth century there was a vigorous debate about the meaning of the term 'gentleman', and the criteria for gentlemanly status more and more conformed to the tenets of moral manliness. While Victorian readers of fiction (from Anne Brontë to Anthony Trollope) continued to enjoy the stereotype of the dissolute and hedonistic aristocrat, the reality was usually more earnest and restrained.4

Education played a key role here. At the top end of society, the public schools were radically reformed according to morally explicit aims, and their number was hugely increased in the course of the century. That the gentry gave unwavering support to these schools in their new incarnation indicates a preoccupation with moral appearances at the very least. More significant perhaps, the moralized public school was able to attract the sons of the professional – and increasingly business – classes in large numbers. For parents of this background the public schools not only offered the benefits of sound education and enhanced social status; they also offered a way out of a worrying area of tension in the prevailing code of manliness. On the one hand, men were expected to be different from women – perhaps more insistently than ever before if contemporary theories of sexual difference are to be believed. On the other hand, the emphasis which writers on manliness placed on domesticity was based on a recognition that boys needed the wholesome and loving care of their mothers. Whereas for an earlier generation the ceremony of breeching, followed by instruction under a tutor or at a day school, had seemed an adequate transition to manhood, middle-class Victorian fathers increasingly resorted to the public school as a crash course in manliness for their sons. Far from the soft allurements of a feminised home, boys would learn manliness in a bracing competitive atmosphere. Given the gender insecurity instilled in childhood, is it to be wondered at that Victorian men lost no opportunity to assert their manliness? Men who had subscribed to the cult of domesticity needed this barrage of gender affirmation to quell their inner doubts and to convince others that they were really men.5

Such concerns did not of course apply to the working class. Indeed it was at the bottom of the social ladder that traditional secular notions of manliness were strongest. For the 'rough' working class the core of manliness was sheer physical strength and endurance needed for heavy labour. Enduring these conditions - indeed survival itself - was an affirmation of masculinity. Given the living conditions of the poor, 'the comforts of home' was an empty phrase, and domesticity counted for little. Heavy drinking was regarded as a replenishment of depleted energy and a lubricant of men-only leisure. Manliness was strongly imbued with physical force in both the work-place and the neighbourhood.6 But the manliness of the upper reaches of the working class was not so different from their bourgeois superiors, except that 'skill' rather than 'occupation' was the focus of the artisan's masculine identity. Skill was acquired through an arduous and long drawn out apprenticeship; it was the ticket of entry to shared homosocial leisure, embodying common values of craft pride; it gave the worker dignity and status vis-à-vis his employer; and it defined men over and against women, since 'skill' was a male preserve from which women were jealously debarred. The proper wages due to a skilled man (i.e. the 'family wage') were supposed to enable him to support his dependants unaided, without relying on his wife's efforts or on charity. First articulated by the moderate ('moral force') wing of the Chartist movement in the 1830s, these sentiments were commonplace among members of the skilled crafts by the mid-Victorian era.7

During the late Victorian and Edwardian era the components of manliness, while including nothing new, were configured in a different way, with different emphases. The attack on the sexual licence of young men was taken up with much greater vigour by the Evangelicals in the 1880s, partly due to the feminist campaigning against the Contagious Diseases Acts, and partly due to fears about moral corruption at the heart of the Empire.8 The new Puritanism also made much greater play of the threat posed by homosexuality – both the male prostitution of the cities and the schoolboy relationships which were such a common feature of boarding school life. The Labouchère Amendment to the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885

strengthened the hand of the moralists, and after the trials of Oscar Wilde ten years later vigilance was intensified. Manliness was increasingly seen to be incompatible not only with homosexual relations, but with intimate friendship between men.9

But imperial consciousness amounted to more than a moral panic around same-sex relations. The late Victorian period saw a renewed emphasis on the physical elements of manliness – this time treated as the ideological basis for the state of fitness and alertness needed to defend the empire and to extend its boundaries. Once the French Wars had ended in 1815, there was comparatively little interest in the masculine prerequisites of military readiness. The tide began to turn with the invasion scare of 1859 (again featuring the French), and by the 1860s proponents of manliness were divided between those who wholeheartedly welcomed the rise of athletics and those who believed it undermined both moral and intellectual values. The public schools strongly endorsed the former position, justifying the obsession with games on the grounds of physical fitness, endurance, loyalty and obedience.10

The years before the Great War were a high point in the cultural projection of military heroes. In colonial warfare military reputation was purchased more cheaply than in large-scale European conflicts, and in particular it offered plenty of opportunities for the kind of resourceful irregular operations which were the stuff of adventure yarns. For this reason it was maverick figures like Gordon and Baden-Powell who best caught the national mood, rather than more conventional soldiers like Roberts or Kitchener. In his brilliantly promoted Boy Scouts, Baden-Powell established a romanticized idea of 'the frontier' at the heart of the British masculine imagination: physical toughness, resourcefulness, obedience and – a point often overlooked – a partial separation from the feminine atmosphere of home.11

At one level the First World War vindicated the militarized forms of manliness which had been so culturally prominent during the preceding generation. The need to prove oneself with reference to the prevailing norms of masculinity was clearly one factor in accounting for the astonishing scale of voluntary enlistment in the armed forces in 1914. The problem was that military masculinity was associated with an image of war which was completely at variance with the reality about to be faced. Instead of a war of movement and individual initiative, in which the enemy could readily be outwitted or outgunned, the soldiers of 1914 had to come to terms with a static war of attrition, in which the individual usually counted for little – in his life or in the manner of his death. It is small wonder that the First World War spelled the end of manliness as a hegemonic masculine ideal. It survived into the inter-war period only in schools and in boys' organizations.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 See for example J A Mangan & James Walvin (eds), Manliness and Morality:
- Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940, Manchester, 1987.
- 2 On character, see M Morgan, Manners, morals and class in England, 1774-1858, London, 1994; Stefan Collini, 'The idea of 'character' in Victorian political thought', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 35 (1985), pp 29-50.
- 3 Michael Curtin, Propriety and Position: a Study of Victorian Manners, New York, 1987.
- 4 Robin Gilmour, The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel, London, 1981.
- 5 John Tosh, A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England, London, 1999, Ch 5.
- 6 Andrew Davies, 'Youth gangs, masculinity and violence in late Victorian Manchester and Salford', Journal of Social History, 32 (1998), pp 349-69.
- 7 Anna Clark, 'The rhetoric of Chartist domesticity', Journal of British Studies 31 (1992), pp 62-88;
- Sonya Rose, Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-century England, London, 1992.
- 8 Sue Morgan, A Passion for Purity: Ellice Hopkins and the Politics of Gender in the Late-Victorian Church, Bristol, 1999.
- 9 Alan Sinfield, The Wilde Century, London, 1994.
- 10 J A Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School, Cambridge, 1981.
- 11 Tim Jeal, Baden-Powell, London, 1989; Robert H MacDonald, Sons of the Empire: the Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918, Toronto, 1993.

John Tosh, 2002

MASCULINITY, 1560-1918: MEN DEFINING MEN AND GENTLEMEN

Part 3: 1800-1918, Sources from the Bodleian Library, Oxford

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