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 to the screen in chronological order, are a decorative paean to British manliness (Figure 0.1).[2] Posed in fighting stance, stripped to the waist and wearing boxing breeches and silk stockings, the pugilists' images 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,

0.1   Lord Byron's screen, after conservation by Britton & Storey Art Conservation, and before hinging, pugilists' side shown.

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.

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* – which included an illustration of Byron's screen – in 1937, 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; secrecy was 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.[19] 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.[20] 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.[21] 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'.[22] This book 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.[23] 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.[24] Such idealised bodies 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 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.[25] 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.[26] It 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.[27] Their representations of idealised working men – fair of face, strong, and brave – offered didactic lessons for the working classes, blending instruction, guidance, and discipline.[28] 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.[29] As such, depictions of working-class men offer insights into the production of middle-class men's identities, since the former served both as a 'brute' form of manliness to avoid when visualised as degenerate, violent, or malformed, or to aspire to when imagined as a 'natural', purer, physically perfect version.[30]

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 theorising to show how historicised emotions help us understand praxis.[31]

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.[32] Next, it describes the primary sources used to develop 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.[33] 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.[34] 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.[35] 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.[36]

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.[37] 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 identity.[38] Work on new photographic technologies and later nineteenth-century scientific disciplines investigate 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.[39]

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 these endeavours, carried out through discipline, physical training, and education.[40] 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.[41] Finally, historians of entertainment, recreation, and sport

map the changing aesthetics of the male body and the market for 'bodily spectacle'.[42]

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.[43] 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.[44] 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'.[45]

The evidence assembled here shows that there was no increase over time in the significance the male body lent to masculine identity.[46] The evaluation of men's classed and raced bodies in performing and representing manliness was just as critical in the eighteenth century.[47] 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, racialised, and sexualised bodies. It thus 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.[48] Like her study, this book addresses class and reflects on 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 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.[49] 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.[50] Similarly, failure to conform to abstract ideal manly characteristics, like bravery and strength, led to men being

deemed cowards, weak, or effeminate.[51] 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.[52] 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.[53] 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.[54]

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 emotion demonstrates that religion 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.[55] Passions were thus the enemy of virtue, a positive force, which for men indicated strength and power; indeed, this force 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.[56] 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'.[57]

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.[58] 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.[59] 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.[60] 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.[61] It was also demanded by feminist-led moral reform movements, which attacked male vice and the sexual double standard.[62] 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 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.[63] 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.[64] 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'.[65] This had implications for masculine privileges. As Ellen Bayuk Rosenman comments in her account of the Victorian spermatorrhea (excessive discharge of semen) panic, 'man and body are not perfectly aligned in an attitude of domination; in fact, what needed to be dominated was the body itself'.[66]

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 well-being in the present and afterlife 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.[67] In addition to the church, home, school, workplace, and print culture were all spaces in which men were informed of the necessity to exercise self-control and disciplined when unsuccessful, while also demonstrating that failure of will denied individuals the privileges of masculinity.[68] Increasingly, Victorian men operated within broader disciplinary processes at the level of state and institutions, which sought to cultivate the 'mastered self'.[69] 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.[70] 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 Jack Tar (a popular name for a sailor), who combined carousing with comradeship and sexual prowess with bravery.[71] Soldiers were also considered to turn women's heads and resort 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 *Boy's 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.[72]

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 masculinity 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.[73] It escalated from the mid-century with the development of mass entertainment, mass media, and popular militarism.[74] 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.[75] By the turn of the century, a more brutal, jingoistic, less romantic version of the warrior emerged.[76] Throughout the long nineteenth century, war could be perceived either as causing a crisis in national masculinity or reinvigorating it.[77] In the post-Waterloo era, men who experienced combat were increasingly considered to be different from civilians;[78] 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.[79] Similarly, 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.[80] Crucially, military language and metaphors, practices, and models not only shaped soldiers' and sailors' experiences of the army and the navy, but shaped civilian men's identities and self-representations too.[81]

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.[82] People were persuaded to purchase consumables by advertising featuring soldiers and sailors.[83] They also encountered martial themes through the performance of military battles in theatres, circuses, and pageants.[84] The army and navy offered spectacle in the form of reviews, parades, and drills, processions, music, and the military accoutrements of flags and trophies.[85] People also took trips to see new warships, dubbed 'naval gazing'.[86] Yet the ways in which valorised martial values entered the popular psyche have still not been 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.[87]

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.[88] 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 legitimate war as a humanitarian effort.[89] 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 thus: 'Captain Murchison was a man of pluck and backbone, possessing great self-control and endurance, a man of iron will and fortitude.'[90] 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 – not just courage and fortitude, but the mutually constitutive mix of self-sacrifice, longing and loss, nostalgia, and patriotism – needs the further investigation 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 *Boy's Own Magazine* author mentioned 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.'[91] This book therefore traces the significance of the domestic sphere and its material culture in projecting martial values and manliness into the civilian sphere.[92]

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.[93] 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 fetishised in Victorian Britain as a symbol of morality within which masculine identity was increasingly monitored.[94] 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.[95] Furthermore, historians reveal that masculine identity was evaluated in the long nineteenth century through men's care, nurture, and affection for their children.[96] 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.[97]

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.[98] 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. Nevertheless, 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 afterwards.[99] Nonetheless, it became more acute during 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.[100] 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.[101]

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.[102] Similarly, when present, such fathers were tactile, playful, and caring, all factors which boosted their masculine identity.[103] 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.[104]

The workplace 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.[105] 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.[106] 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.[107] 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 institutionalised attempts in the later nineteenth century to salvage the 'degenerate' physicality of the British working man.[108]

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 labourers, particularly navvies, harvesters, blacksmiths, and colonial craftsmen, to construct gender, class, national,

and imperial identities.[109] Urban labouring men in art emphasised that Britain was a modern, technologically advanced industrial and imperial nation.[110] Agricultural labourers' depiction in art served many cultural functions over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[111] By the Victorian period, such men were often represented as downtrodden or working in teams. This contrasted with portrayals, both in paint and photography, of seafaring men who were deemed independent and resilient and, therefore, less intimidating than the urban worker.[112] 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 other acts of bravery.

Descriptions of this new hero's strength and character in a print culture intended for a popular readership served several purposes.[113] As exemplars and aspirational models of behaviour for the lower classes they were intended to secure social compliance.[114] 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.[115] Radical socialists also saw working men's bodies as exemplars for their own visions of a socialist utopia: in some cases homoerotic desire was envisioned to bridge class divisions.[116] This book examines more broadly the middle-class fascination and desire for working-class men's labouring bodies to scrutinise the latter's 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.[117] Material culture is also assessed through a variety of objects, including trade union, friendly societies, and temperance ephemera, such as certificates, banners, quilts, and aprons, as

well as pottery figures. Martial material culture like 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.[118] Its influence was deepened by its moral content.[119] 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.[120] 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.[121] 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'.[122] Such 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.[123]

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 the 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.[124] This desire could have many facets, whether erotic and sexual, or simply gratifying and pleasurable. The homo- and heteroerotic gaze was thus evoked in the service of gender and class constructions, since the male bodies objectified were frequently working class.[125] 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 as disrupting homes, especially through marital violence, for instance, the motifs of melodrama are easily detected.[126] 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.[127] Given the class and racial structures in which these systems of feeling operated in the nineteenth century, it was often working-class men and those defined as racial and ethnic 'others' whose bodies were thus imagined.
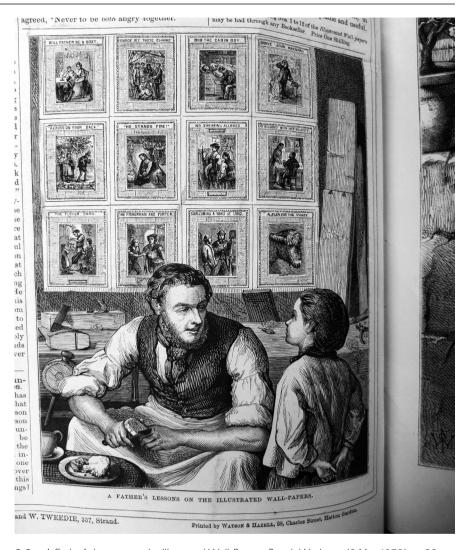
It was the nexus of bodies, emotions, and objects that embedded ideas about manliness in people's minds and influenced corporeal behaviour and actions: a phenomenon that is, to date, little recognised.[128] There are numerous conceptual frameworks for analysing bodies in the past. Roger Cooter's survey 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.[129] Next is the new cultural history's 'body': a culturally constructed entity that is historicised in its 'representational regime'.[130] 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.[131] Karen Harvey's attempt to 'study the lived, embodied experience of gender' is driven by this agenda.[132] She advocates drawing on one's 'own material experiences', combined with documentary evidence, to investigate the physical experience of labour skills in the past.[133] 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.[134] 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.[135]

As its starting point, this book is perhaps most influenced by the 'representational regime' outlined, in that it focuses on textual, visual, and material culture representations of gendered male bodies to historicise their meaning.[136] 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 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.[137] 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 them.

The central tenet of this book's argument is that it was the intermateriality of text, image, object and their conjunction with bodies and emotions that facilitated the conveying, reproducing, and fixing of manly values.[138] 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 repurposed into an object – their form and location extending the reach of their messages.[139] The theoretical concept that is deployed throughout to underpin this argument is cultural theorist 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.[140] 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 'wallpaper', posters of the beautiful illustrations that it published each month intended to inculcate temperance through moral lessons. Their purpose was itself depicted in a 1870 wall-paper entitled 'A Father's Lessons on the Illustrated Wall-Papers'. It shows a working father sitting in front of a wall displaying several wall-papers (Figure 0.2), simultaneously labouring and using the illustrations to teach his daughter, who has brought him his lunch. Like this image, the wall-paper not only offered moral instruction and good behaviour, but modelled the performance of manliness. Such intermateriality meant that meanings travelled, often transcending or complicating their original intentions. When different audiences met these meanings, 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 objects that 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

0.2   *A Father's Lessons on the Illustrated Wall-Papers, British Workman* (2 May 1870), p. 20.

into consideration when investigating cultural import and trends. Thus, considering the intersection of emotions and gender reshapes our understandings of power and its exercise by moving away from more simplistic, often heteronormative, binary models such as domination and subordination, or ideals and reality.[141]

Intermateriality 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.[142] As Ahmed argues, contact with imagined and material objects generates feeling.[143] This burgeoning area of research demonstrates that objects stimulate feelings and maintain and

spread values and ideas. There is evidence that contemporaries recog-nised this capacity of material culture and deployed it to shape and moni-tor their own behaviours and beliefs.[144] 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.[145]

As this neatly demonstrates, emotions are more likely to be stimulated through sensorial encounters with three-dimensional objects. The juxta-position of multiple forms in one object that could be handled, viewed, possessed, gifted, bequeathed, and treasured made emotional artefacts so powerful that they acted as agents in influencing people's actions, behaviours, and views.[146]

Manliness in Britain unfolds its arguments through these conjunctions of emotions and materiality. Chapter 1, '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 in manly ideal bodies over time, it contextualises them in the fac-tors 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.[147] 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 characteristics of manliness, making this concept 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.[148] 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.[149] Its nudity caused consternation, especially since it was funded by public female subscription; thus a fig leaf was added.[150] 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).[151] 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.'[152] Such male bodies appealed to men as well as women, it is argued, rendering the gender qualities associated with them desirable too.[153]

Their antitheses: revulsion and ugliness constructed notions of unmanliness too, as Chapter 2, '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.[154] 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, 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.[155] To borrow Ellen Bayuk Rosenman's account of spermatorrhea, diseases were 'imagined into existence to embody historically specific anxieties'.[156] 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 1. Even so, all these men were deemed compromised and less manly as a result.

In Chapter 3, 'Hearts of oak: martial manliness and material culture', 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.[157] 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, battlefield objects, medals, and regimental colours functioned in print culture as entry points into wider imaginings of military men's admirable characters and qualities.[158] 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 battlefront and home, military and civilian life.[159] 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, in the form of remains of military men's bodies and military colours, were treated as 'relics' and devotional artefacts. In the end, this chapter shows that objects are not merely symbolic but material agents in constructing gender.

Chapter 4, '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, there 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.[160] It then analyses the parallel consequences of men's presence in the home. Men could create 'happy' homes through their economic provision, frugality, kindness, and, crucially, displays of love and affection. Or their disruptive unmanly behaviours could result 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 businessmen striving at work before returning to their home refuges, so central to the concept of domesticity and the formation of middle-class identity.[161] Other absences from home, however, were marked as unmanly. A story in the 1883 *Illustrated London News*, 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.[162] Nonetheless, the chapter addresses representations of working-class men because middle-class imaginations so often situated them in relation to home, scrutinising their emotional and sexual performances in that sphere since the home 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.[163]

'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 employees, 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 recognisable working dress that could be romanticised, such as miners, mariners, and blacksmiths. Several bore the symbol of the archetypical unskilled and skilled labourer: sleeves rolled up to show muscular forearms. 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.[164] 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. [165] 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.[166] 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'.[167] The banners and ephemera used in processions 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 a working man's sense of self and his classed position in the world, his body 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.

Notes

1. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (Fri, 8 February 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 Bryon's fencing instructor. Pierce Egan, *Boxiana, or Sketches of Modern Pugilism from the Championship of Cribb to the Present Time*, 2 vols (London, vol. 2), 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 (accessed 2 February 2019). In 1885, it was claimed it had been bought for £15, two years before, at 'Angelo's School of Arms', but was worth far more. *Edinburgh Evening News* (Fri, 6 February 1885).
6. *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (Fri, 8 February 1907).
7. *The Globe* (Wed, 17 October 1906), p. 10.
8. *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.
9. For example, panel 3.
10. Egan, *Boxiana*, pp. 26–8.
11. Kasia Boddy, *Boxing: A Cultural History* (London: Reaktion Books, 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*, chs 2 and 3.
14. Byron preferred youths over mature men, Fiona McCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend* (London: Faber & 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 Byron was a radical, sympathetic to their plight.

19 Desire for the male body, and its relationship with race, class, and power is discussed in Anthea Callen, *Looking at Men: Anatomy, Masculinity and the Modern Male Body* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 19–21.

20 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), 102–21.

21 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: Ashgate, 2014); Simon Goldhill, *A Very Queer Family Indeed: Sex, Religion and the Bensons in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: 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), 68–89 ; 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, PA: 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).

22 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*.

23 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: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

24 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 with exploring 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*.

25 For the different meanings of desire over time, see Anna Clark, *Desire: A History of European Sexuality* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2008). For legitimate spaces for the homo-erotic gaze, see Anthea Callen, *Looking at Men: Anatomy,*

Masculinity and the Modern Male Body (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 22–3.

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

27 'Good to think with' is French structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss's phrase. For its origin and problems see Marjorie Garber, *Loaded Words* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), pp. 96–7. The middle classes scrutinised working-class marital violence when constructing their views on marriage and violence: Lisa Surridge, *Bleak Houses: Marital Violence in Victorian Fiction* (Athens: Ohio University Press, *c*.2005); 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 and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2017).

28 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 Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830–1864* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 116–18.

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

30 Poovey, *Making a Social Body*, pp. 124–5.

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

32 For the performance of manliness in the Irish justice system see *ibid*.

33 For overviews of this literature, see Joanne Begiato, 'Between poise and power: embodied manliness in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British culture', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26:2 (2016), 125–47; Roberta Park, 'Muscles, symmetry and action: "Do you measure up". Defining masculinity in Britain and America from the 1860s to the early 1900s', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 22:3 (2007), 366–7. For the classic account of the changing role of men's bodies in relation to shifting economic, political, cultural, industrial, and martial conditions, see Michael Anton Budd, *The Sculpture Machine: Physical Culture and Body Politics in the Age of Empire* (Basingstoke and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997). For the historiography of the body more broadly see Roger Cooter, 'The turn of the body: history and the politics of the corporeal', *Arbor, Clencia, Pensamiento y Cultura* 186:743 (2010), 393–405.

34 Budd sees Britain's participation in war as one of the key factors determining idealisations and fears about men's physical state, Budd, *Sculpture Machine*, passim. See also Michael Brown, 'Cold steel, weak flesh: mechanism, masculinity and the anxieties of late Victorian empire', *Cultural and Social History* 14:2 (2017), 155–81; Michael Brown and Chris Lawrence, 'Quintessentially modern heroes: surgeons, explorers, and empire, *c*. 1840–1914', *Journal of Social History* 50:1 (2016), 148–78; McCormack, *Embodying the Militia*, ch. 4; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); R. A. Nye, 'Review essay: Western masculinities in war and peace', *American Historical Review* 112:2 (2007), 417–38.

35 Elspeth H. Brown, 'Racialising the virile body: Eadweard Muybridge's locomotion studies 1883–1887', *Gender & History* 17:3 (2005), 627–56; Cynthia S. Hamilton, 'Hercules subdued: the visual rhetoric of the kneeling slave', *Slavery & Abolition* 34:4 (2013), 631–52; Moore, *I Fight for a Living*; Jonathan Saha, 'Whiteness, masculinity and the ambivalent embodiment of "British justice" in colonial Burma', *Cultural and Social History* 14:4 (2017), 527–42.

36 Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Arthur McIvor and R. Johnston, 'Dangerous work, hard men and broken bodies: masculinity in the Clydeside heavy industries', *Labour History Review* 69 (2004), 135–52; David M. Turner, *Disability in*

Eighteenth-Century England: Imagining Physical Impairment (New York: Routledge, 2012).

37 Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); for an overview of work on bodies and sex see Sarah Toulalan and Kate Fisher, *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body: 1500 to the Present* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013) and in an imperial context see Richard C. Sha, 'Othering sexual perversity: England, empire, race, and sexual science', in Michael Sappol and Stephen P. Rice (eds), *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Age of Empire* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), pp. 87–105; Ellen Bayuk Rosenman, *Unauthorized Pleasures: Accounts of Victorian Erotic Experience* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

38 Rob Boddice, 'The manly mind? Revisiting the Victorian "sex in brain" debate', *Gender & History* 23:2 (2011), 321–3, 325; Brown, 'Racialising the virile body', 627–56; Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Allan Sekula, 'The body and the archive', in Richard Bolton (ed.), *The Context of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), pp. 347–9; Kathryn Woods, '"Facing" identity in a "faceless" society: physiognomy, facial appearance and identity perception in eighteenth-century London', *Cultural and Social History* 14:2 (2017), 137–53.

39 Brown, 'Racialising the virile body', 632 and passim; Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Dammed: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Photography* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2001), passim; Stephen P. Rice, 'Picturing bodies in the nineteenth century', in Sappol and Rice (eds), *A Cultural History of the Human Body*, passim; Sekula, 'The body and the archive', pp. 349, 371.

40 Budd, *Sculpture Machine*, ch. 1; Michael Hau, 'The normal, the ideal, and the beautiful: perfect bodies during the age of empire', in Sappol and Rice (eds), *A Cultural History of the Human Body*, p. 158; Newman, *Embodied History*, passim.

41 Matt Houlbrook, 'Queer things: men and make-up between the wars', in Grieg, Hamlett, and Hannan (eds), *Gender and Material Culture in Britain*, pp. 120–37; D. Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men: The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016); Beverly Lemire, 'A question of trousers: seafarers, masculinity and empire in the shaping of British male dress, c. 1600–1800', *Cultural and Social History* 13:1 (2016), 1–22.

42 This phrase is Budd's, *Sculpture Machine*, p. 56, also pp. 1, 7; Park, 'Muscles, symmetry and action', 365–95; Roberta Park, 'Biological thought, athletics and the formation of a "man of character": 1830–1900', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 24 (2007), 154–69.

43 James Mangan and James Walvin, 'Introduction', in J. Mangan and J. Walvin (eds), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 3; Ava Baron, 'Masculinity, the embodied male worker, and the historian's gaze', *International Labor and Working-Class History* 69 (2006), 146–7.

44 Joane Nagel, 'Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21:2 (1998), 242–69; Park, 'Biological thought', passim.

45 Brown, 'Racialising the virile body', 637. For a similar focus see Pamela Gilbert, 'Popular beliefs and the body: "a nation of good animals"', in Sappol and Rice (eds), *A Cultural History of the Human Body*, pp. 144–5.

46 Scholars have come to delineate the differences between the Christian socialist version of muscular Christianity and the hyper-masculine muscular masculinity of

the imperial age, see John J. MacAloon, 'Introduction: muscular Christianity after 150 years', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 23:5 (2006), 687–700.

47 Rice, 'Picturing bodies in the nineteenth century', p. 230. Budd shows that the impulse to improve, regulate, and male control bodies was long-standing, *Sculpture Machine*, intro. and passim.

48 Barclay, *Men on Trial*, passim.

49 Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

50 Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England 1660–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Bernard Capp, 'The double standard revisited: plebeian women and male sexual reputation in early modern England', *Past & Present* 162:1 (1999), 70–100; Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital Violence: An English Family History, 1660–1857* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Mark Rothery and Henry French (eds), *Making Men: The Formation of Elite Male Identities in England c. 1660–1900: Sourcebook* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); David Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

51 For consideration of various periods see articles in Karen Harvey and Alex Shepard (eds), 'Special Feature on Masculinities', *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (2005).

52 Saha, 'Whiteness, masculinity', passim.

53 Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 2.

54 Thomas Dixon, *Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Elizabeth Foyster, 'Boys will be boys? Manhood and aggression, 1660–1800', in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (eds), *English Masculinities, 1660–1800* (Harlow: Addison Wesley, 1999), pp. 151–77; Michael Roper, 'Between manliness and masculinity: the "war generation" and the psychology of fear in Britain, 1914–1950', *Journal of British Studies* 44:2 (2005), 343–62; Peter N. Stearns, 'Men, boys and anger in American society, 1860–1940', in Mangan and Walvin (eds), *Manliness and Morality*, pp. 74–88.

55 Thomas Dixon, '"Emotion": the history of a keyword in crisis', *Emotion Review* 4:4 (2012), 341; David Thorley, 'Towards a history of emotion 1562–1660', *The Seventeenth Century* 28:1 (2013), 5.

56 Christopher E. Forth, '"Manhood incorporated": diet and the embodiment of "civilised" masculinity', *Men and Masculinities* 11:5 (2009), 588, 590; John Tosh, 'The old Adam and the new man: emerging themes in the history of English masculinities, 1750–1850', in John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2004), pp. 73–5.

57 Poovey, *Making a Social Body*, p. 106; Lauren Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2003).

58 Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State*, passim.

59 Tosh, 'The old Adam and the new man', p. 75.

60 Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830* (London: Routledge, 2nd edn, 2000), pp. 67–77, 81–117.

61 Lesley Hall, 'Forbidden by God, despised by men: masturbation, medical warnings, moral panic, and manhood in Great Britain, 1850–1950', *Journal of the History of Sexuality in Modern Europe* 2:3 (1992), 371–2; Diane Mason, *Secret Vice: Masturbation in Victorian Fiction and Medical Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 17–18.

62 Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: English Feminism and Sexual Morality, 1885–1914* (London: Penguin, 1st pb edn, 1995), p. 245; Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*,

pp. 81–117; Susan Kingsley-Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain 1860–1914 (*London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 5, 9, 177.

63   Hau, 'The normal, the ideal, and the beautiful', p. 158.

64   For the manipulation of men's bodies in war, see Emma Newlands, *Civilians into Soldiers: War, the Body and British Army Recruits 1939–45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

65   Hau, 'The normal, the ideal, and the beautiful', p. 158.

66   Ellen Bayuk Rosenman, 'Body doubles: the spermatorrhea panic', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12:3 (2003), 371.

67   David Nash and Anne-Marie Kilday, *Cultures of Shame: Exploring Crime and Morality in Britain 1600–1900* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); David Nash and Anne-Marie Kilday, *Shame and Modernity in Britain, 1890 to the Present* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

68   Stephanie Olsen*, Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen*, *1880–1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 3 and passim; Rothery and French, *Making Men*, p. 17.

69   Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State*, p. 43. For a Foucauldian reading of Victorian masculinity as the regulation of the self, especially for the bourgeois man, see Herbert Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 10–11.

70   There were criticisms of the armed forces and their personnel, but cultural representations were generally positive. For the ambivalences, see Catriona Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars: Military and Civilian Experience in Britain and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 37–8; Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850–2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000), pp. 30–1.

71   Joanne Begiato, 'Tears and the manly sailor in England, c.1760–1860', *Journal for Maritime Research* 17:2 (2015), 117–33.

72   *Boy's Own Magazine: An Illustrated Journal of Fact, Fiction, History, and Adventure* 2 (1863), p. 311.

73   Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994); Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, pp. 9, 171–8 and passim; Paris, *Warrior Nation*, pp. 11–12.

74   Paris, *Warrior Nation*, p. 8.

75   Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870–1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 1–19.

76   Paris, *Warrior Nation*, pp. 28, 54, 58, 69; Heather Streets-Salter, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

77   For example: McCormack, *Embodying the Militia*, ch. 1; Holly Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch, and Masculinity in the Crimean War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 4–5.

78   Yuval Noah Harari, *Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450–2000* (New York: Palgrave, 2008).

79   Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, pp. 19, 194–6 and ch. 2; Neil Ramsay, '"A real English soldier": suffering, manliness and class in the mid-nineteenth century soldiers' tale', in Catriona Kennedy and Matthew McCormack (eds), *Soldiering in Britain, and Ireland, 1750–1850: Men of Arms* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 136–55.

80   Begiato, 'Tears and the manly sailor'; Mary Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack: Representing Naval Manhood in the British Empire, 1870–1918* (Manchester:

Manchester University Press, 2009); Paul Gilje, *To Swear Like a Sailor: Maritime Culture in America 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 3–4, 7; Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism and the British Sailor, 1750–1850* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Lemire, 'Question of trousers', 6–8, 13.

81 Michael Brown, '"Like a devoted army": medicine, heroic masculinity, and the military paradigm in Victorian Britain', *Journal of British Studies* 49:3 (2010), 592–622; McCormack, *Embodying the Militia*, pp. 13–32, 99–102.

82 Paris, *Warrior Nation*, pp. 8, 9, 42.

83 *Ibid*., pp. 46–7.

84 *Ibid*., p. 19. Scott Hughes Myerly, *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), pp. 144–50.

85 Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, passim.

86 Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, pp. 172–3.

87 Thomas West, London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum Colney Hatch, Case Book for Male Patients: H12/CH/B13/004 (1854).

88 Philip Shaw, 'Wars of seeing: suffering and sentiments in Joseph Wright's "The Dead Soldier"', in Kennedy and McCormack (eds), *Soldiering in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 76–95.

89 Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling*, pp. 16–24.

90 'Only two months more!', *Hearth and Home* (15 February 1894), p. 52.

91 *Boy's Own Magazine* 2 (1863), p. 316.

92 Holly Furneaux has explored the 'stuff of war' from the soldiers' perspective, considering the parcels they received from home, trench art, and the sketches and objects that they sent home. *Military Men of Feeling*, ch. 5.

93 Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England, 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity, and Generation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

94 For an examination of this in literary culture, see Karen Chase and Michael Levenson, *The Spectacle of Intimacy: A Public Life for the Victorian Family* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

95 Tosh, *A Man's Place*. For an example in colonial Australia see Stephen Garton, 'The scales of suffering: love, death and Victorian masculinity', *Social History* 27:1 (2002), 40–58.

96 Bailey, *Parenting in England*; Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers, *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Julie-Marie Strange, *Fatherhood and the British Working Class* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

97 Broughton and Rogers, *Gender and Fatherhood*, intro.; Julie-Marie Strange, 'Fathers at home: life writing and late-Victorian and Edwardian plebeian domestic masculinities', *Gender & History* 27:3 (2015), 703–5.

98 John Tosh, 'Home and away: the flight from domesticity in late-nineteenth-century England re-visited', *Gender and History* 3 (2015), 561–75.

99 Karen Downing, *Restless Men: Masculinity and Robinson Crusoe 1788–1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 3, 5 and passim.

100 Joanne Begiato, 'Selfhood and "nostalgia": sensory and material memories of the childhood home in late Georgian Britain', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 42:2 (2019), 229–46.

101 Melissa Bellanta, '"Poor Gordon": what the Australian cult of Adam Lindsay Gordon tells us about turn-of-the-twentieth-century masculine sentimentality', *Gender & History* 28:2 (2016), 401–21.

102 Strange, *Fatherhood and the British Working Class*, passim.

103 Strange, 'Fathers at home', 703; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, ch. 4.

104 This develops Broughton and Rogers' reading of Frederick Harvey's *The Volunteer*, 1860: 'Introduction: the empire of the father', in Broughton and Rogers, *Gender and Fatherhood*, pp. 2–5. For this phenomenon in its broader and global perspective see K. H. Adler and Carrie Hamilton (eds), *Homes and Homecomings: Gendered Histories of Domesticity and Return* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

105 Janet Oppenheim, *Shattered Nerves: Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), ch. 5.

106 For the role of the worker in conceptualisations of national character and the differences between the mid-nineteenth century and last quarter of that century, see Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 103–4, 107.

107 Michael Brown, 'Making sense of modernity's maladies: health and disease in the Industrial Revolution', *Endeavour* 30:3 (2006), 108–12; Chris Hamlin, *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick: Britain, 1800–1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 116 n55; Sara Horrell, David Meredith, and Deborah Oxley, 'Measuring misery: body mass among Victorian London's poor', *Explorations in Economic History* 46 (2009), 93–119; Sara Horrell and Deborah Oxley, 'Bringing home the bacon? Regional nutrition, stature and gender in the industrial revolution', *Economic History Review* 65:4 (2012), 1354–79.

108 Budd, *Sculpture Machine*, pp. 18, 25. For similar fears of degeneration in France, Germany, and the USA see Hau, 'The normal, the ideal, and the beautiful', pp. 15–19.

109 Michael Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, CT, London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 1–2, 14–16.

110 Robert Dare, 'History, progress and industry: William Bell Scott's *Iron and Coal*', *Word & Image* 12:3 (1996), 275–6.

111 John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730 – 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Christiana Payne, *Toil and Plenty: Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England 1780–1890* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

112 For contemporary photographs of seafaring communities, see Colin Ford, *An Early Victorian Album: The Photographic Masterpieces (1843–1847) of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 155–91. Also, Christiana Payne, *Where the Sea Meets the Land: Artists on the Coast in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Bristol: Sansom & Co. Ltd, 2007), pp. 157–63.

113 Simon Wendt (ed.), *Extraordinary Ordinariness: Everyday Heroism in the United States, Germany, and Britain, 1800–2015* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2016).

114 Craig Barclay, '"Our heroes of to-day": the Royal Humane Society and the creation of heroes in Victorian Britain', in Wendt (ed.), *Extraordinary Ordinariness*, pp. 25–52; Christiane Hadamitzky and Barbara Korte, 'Everyday heroism for the Victorian industrial classes: the British workman and the British workwoman, 1855–1880', in Wendt (ed.), *Extraordinary Ordinariness*, pp. 53–78.

115 Barringer, *Men at Work*, pp. 76–81.

116 Michael Hatt, 'Near and far: Hamo Thornycroft's mower and the homoerotics of labour', *Art History* 26:1 (2003), 26–55.

117 Men's case notes were sampled from Colney Hatch Lunatic Asylum. LMA, Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum, Colney Hatch, Case Books for Male Patients: H12/CH/B13/001–004 (1851–54), H12/CH/B13/020 (1872), and H12/CH/B13/035 (1886).

118 The similarities between the two movements are increasingly recognised. Rebecca

Bedell, *Moved to Tears: Rethinking the Art of the Sentimental in the United States* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), p. 66.

119 For an introduction to sentimental genre painting's focus on family relationships see James Kilroy, *The Nineteenth-Century English Novel: Family Ideology and Narrative Form* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 2–5.

120 Nicola Bown, 'Tender beauty: Victorian painting and the problem of sentimentality', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16:2 (2011), 215.

121 Bedell, *Moved to Tears*, pp. 4, 7, 8, 11.

122 S. Solicari, 'Selling sentiment: the commodification of emotion in Victorian visual culture', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 4 (2007).

123 Carolyn Burdett, 'New agenda sentimentalities: introduction', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 16:2 (2011), 187–94. For an excellent commentary on sentimentality and its continued cultural valence into the twentieth century see Bellanta, '"Poor Gordon"', 402–3, 405.

124 The male body was positioned as an object of erotic desire for the female and male gaze in pornography. Sarah Toulalan, *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 66, 68, 70–1, 173–4.

125 For different gazes and their relationship with the male body see Anthea Callen, *Looking at Men: Anatomy, Masculinity and the Modern Male Body* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018), pp. 15–16, 22–3.

126 Juliet John, 'Melodrama and its criticism: an essay in memory of Sally Ledger', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 8 (2008).

127 Bridget Walsh, *Domestic Murder in Nineteenth-Century England: Literary and Cultural Representations* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), pp. 8, 24; Surridge, *Bleak Houses*, ch. 1; John, 'Melodrama and its criticism', 3.

128 George Mosse's ground-breaking work on men's idealised bodies and male beauty in Germany was in the vanguard, and this study is inspired by its focus on the male body as a public symbol. Mosse, *The Image of Man*, passim. Katie Barclay is unusual in identifying how reading emotions were understood as performed through bodies and manifesting character. For example, see Katie Barclay, `Performing emotions and reading the male body in the Irish court, c. 1800–1845', *Journal of Social History* 51:2 (2017) 293–312.

129 Cooter, 'The turn of the body', 395–6. An example is Newman, *Embodied History*, passim.

130 Cooter, 'The turn of the body', 396–7.

131 *Ibid*., 397–8.

132 Harvey, 'Men of parts'.

133 Harvey, 'Craftsmen in common', p. 83.

134 Cooter, 'The turn of the body', 399–401.

135 *Ibid*., 401–2.

136 For an insightful example of this approach see Matthew McCormack, 'Boots, material culture and Georgian masculinities', *Social History* 42:4 (2017), 461–79.

137 Gerben Van Kleef, 'How emotions regulate social life: the emotions as social information (EASI) model', *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 18:3 (2009), 184, 186.

138 Many Staffordshire portrait figures were inspired by paintings and prints. P. D. Gordon Pugh, *Staffordshire Portrait Figures and Allied Subjects of the Victorian Era* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), pp. 24–84.

139 Material culture history is another expanding field and this introduction therefore can only touch on the diverse ways to practise it and the innumerable objects and spaces that can be investigated. For two introductions to the field see: Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009) and Leonie Hannan and Sarah Longair, *History*

through Material Culture (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017). For an overview of methodologies see Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds), *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

140 Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York and London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), pp. 89–92.

141 For the impact of emotions on binary models see Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household, 1200–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); for the decentring of heteronormativity as a way to rethink expectations and experiences of gender, sexuality, and their consequent impact on social structures, see de Freitas Boe and Coyendall, *Heteronormativity in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture*, pp. 6–9 and passim.

142 For an introduction to the concept and examples of its use, see Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles (eds), *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

143 Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*.

144 Downes, Holloway, and Randles (eds), *Feeling Things*, pp. 11–13.

145 Cited in Hamilton, 'Hercules subdued', 646.

146 Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles, 'A feeling for things, past and present', in Downes, Holloway, and Randles (eds), *Feeling Things*, pp. 8–23.

147 Mosse, *The Image of Man*, passim.

148 For the male body as a potentially erotic object, see Janes, *Oscar Wilde Prefigured*. On the tensions between naked human bodies as subjects of scientific knowledge and objects of desire see, Rice, 'Picturing bodies in the nineteenth century', pp. 232–3.

149 Janes, *Oscar Wilde Prefigured*, pp. 18–19. For a rich analysis of this statue see Henk de Smaele, 'Achilles or Adonis: controversies surrounding the male body as national symbol in Georgian England', *Gender & History* 28:1 (2016), 77–101.

150 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 258.

151 British Museum, no. 1868,0808.8555, George Cruikshank, 'Making decent – !! –' (1822), www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_obj ect_details.aspx?objectId=1599943&partId=1&images=true; British Museum, no. 1865,1111.2120, George Cruikshank, 'Backside & front view of the ladies fancy-man, Paddy Carey' (1822), www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection _online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1650556&partId=1&people=1255 96&peoA=125596–2–70&page=1 (accessed 30 March 2019).

152 Paddy Carey was the protagonist of a song about a good-looking Irish man who was appealing to women, and the phrasing echoes the song's lyrics. Other attractive men were compared to Paddy Carey, see Barclay, 'Performing emotions and reading the male body', 301–2.

153 Budd, *Sculpture Machine*, p. 44.

154 Olsen, *Juvenile Nation*, passim.

155 Dixon, '"Emotion": the history of a keyword', 341.

156 Rosenman, 'Body doubles', 366.

157 Brown, 'Cold steel, weak flesh', 155–81; Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, passim.

158 Myerly was one of the first to consider the role of military material culture in this way, *British Military Spectacle*, p. 8, passim.

159 Holly Furneaux and Sue Prichard, 'Contested objects: curating soldier art', *Museum & Society* 13:4 (2015), 453. For another examination of the lack of hard distinctions between home and war see Kennedy, *Narratives of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, pp. 14–16.

160 For a longer history of returning artisans, see Brian Maidment, 'Coming through the cottage door: work, leisure, family, and gender in artisan interiors', in Brian

Maidment, *Reading Popular Prints 1790–1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 101–37.

161 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.

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

163 Tosh, 'Home and away', 561.

164 Linda A. Pollock, 'The practice of kindness in early modern elite society', *Past & Present* 211:1 (2011), 121–58.

165 Begiato, 'Between poise and power', 125–47.

166 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' (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.

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