



## Manning the British Empire: Gender, Identity and Emotions in Early Twentieth Century Britain

Mark Rothery

**To cite this article:** Mark Rothery (2022) Manning the British Empire: Gender, Identity and Emotions in Early Twentieth Century Britain, Family & Community History, 25:3, 234-252, DOI: 10.1080/14631180.2022.2179225

**To link to this article:** <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631180.2022.2179225>



© 2023 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 24 Mar 2023.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 171



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

# MANNING THE BRITISH EMPIRE: GENDER, IDENTITY AND EMOTIONS IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY BRITAIN

BY MARK ROTHERY

*This article analyses the thought processes of Ralph Furse, a senior civil servant tasked with selecting and training senior colonial officials during the early twentieth century. It makes use of his desk diaries between 1910 and 1914, which he used to record his impressions of candidates for the colonial service, and his autobiography, published after his retirement in the 1960s. Furse based his assessments on masculine qualities of the candidates, as he saw them, and on their emotional styles. Those who projected authority as men, were physically imposing and could manage their emotions effectively were generally deemed suitable, whilst the more gregarious candidates lacking these masculine qualities were rejected. Furse was a gatekeeper to elite male status and his job helped shape his own sense of identity as a landed gentry man.*

KEYWORDS: *gender; masculinity; identity; emotions; gentry; elite*

On 26 October 1910 a young civil servant, Ralph Furse (1887–1973), interviewed a candidate for the Colonial Service in the Colonial Office, in London. Immediately after the appointment he recorded his impressions of the candidate in his desk-diary:

...L. Wilkinson somewhat Oriental in his costume and manner, the former was a London check suit, the latter took the form of intense and consequently amusing exaggeration ... something of a swashbuckler I thought, stepping forth from the pages of Dumas. I hardly think he is the type we want ...<sup>1</sup>

This was one of the regular entries Furse made in his desk-diaries during his time as the Assistant Private Secretary (Appointments) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (1910-24). The notes he made were reference points for the selection of candidates in the Colonial Service. Furse chose whether to send the application form, 'Patronage 1', to candidates based on these interviews, his assessments of the candidates including their emotions and his own emotional reactions, as well as the candidates' curriculum vitae. This role was to be the beginning of a long career at the Colonial Office, which Furse reflected on after his retirement in his autobiography. Both of these documents form the basis for this article.

Furse was the eldest son of John Henry Monsell Furse, a gentry landowner at Halsdon, north Devon. He was schooled at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, and went on to have a distinguished career at the Colonial Office, with the interruption of military service during the First World War as a Major with the King Edward's Horse Guards.<sup>2</sup> He owned a London residence, was the head of his family with several servants, and was a member of the Saville Club, in St. James'. He inherited the family estates one year after retiring, in 1951.

Scholars of masculinity argue that landed men, such as Furse, declined in gender status during the nineteenth century. They became the 'gentry predecessor' to the new 'bourgeois code' of manliness, which placed a premium on individualism, earnest religious seriousness, hard work, thriftiness, sobriety, self-control and a private family life.<sup>3</sup> This mode of life contrasted with the kin-orientated, lavish, leisured, violent, and profligate behaviour of the aristocracy and gentry, aspects of which had more social purchase during the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Aristocratic masculinity gradually became a 'complicit' or 'subordinate' form of male identity within a social and gender hegemony dominated by the middle classes.<sup>5</sup>

The concept of 'hegemonic' masculinities has been the subject of several modifications. Demetriou questioned the emphasis that R. W. Connell laid on the internal cohesion of hegemonic groups and ideologies, underestimating the important involvement of 'subordinate groups'.<sup>6</sup> Gramsci's original theory allowed for greater negotiation in hegemonic dominance through the alliance of 'leading groups' to create 'historic' hegemonic 'blocs'. These groups were not subordinate to each other but 'essentially constitutive' of hegemonic ideology. Demetriou specifically questioned the idea that the landed gentry became a subordinate group within a bourgeois hegemony.<sup>7</sup> As John Tosh argued, hegemonic masculinities 'is most often cited by historians without elaboration ...'<sup>8</sup>

Wider questions have been asked of the kinds of major historical shifts in hegemonic codes of manliness that underpin Connell's theory and increasingly more emphasis has been placed on continuity.<sup>9</sup> Part of this revisionist approach has involved a re-focus on new types of source materials, other than published advice literature and fiction, and on social groups beyond the middle classes, who were the focus of so much of the early work on masculinities.<sup>10</sup> As John Tosh made clear some time ago, in the sense that the cultural turn subordinates practice to representation gaps have appeared in our understanding of lived masculinities.<sup>11</sup> These research trajectories are supported by the wider history of landed elites. Many of the existing studies on landed social groups suggest that they proved highly adaptive to social, cultural and economic developments in the period of modernity and developed close links with the upper middle classes.<sup>12</sup>

Histories of landed society have rarely considered the gendering of men and masculinity.<sup>13</sup> These historians generally assigned primacy to class identity and status. In these perspectives landed power and identity were 'natural' outcomes of manliness, which, it has been assumed, was straightforward, unproblematic and unchanging. There is little recognition of the 'inchoate interdependence' of

class and gender, that they are inseparable and mutually constitutive elements in social identity.<sup>14</sup> Neither have these scholars acknowledged that ‘... gender is a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated’.<sup>15</sup> So with few exceptions the history of landed elite men has been misunderstood or ignored.<sup>16</sup>

Some of the answers to these problems lie in a closer focus on social identities. Richard Jenkins argues that identity is not an individual construction but reflects important links between the individual and the collective. It is formed through a process of structuration in which individual agency intersects with ideologies and institutions.<sup>17</sup> The catalyst for this structuration is the dialectic relationship of internal identity (self-identity) and vexternal identification (the definition of oneself offered by others). He suggests that identity is a verb rather than a noun; It is constructed through interaction rather than being defined by social structure. Jenkins distinguishes between ‘nominal’ identities, which are the received identities provided for individuals, and ‘virtual identities’, which reflect what the individual has made of their nominal stereotype and is open to significant negotiation.<sup>18</sup> Interactions at ‘the boundaries’ of social acceptability are of greatest importance in the formation and maintenance of both individual and collective identities.<sup>19</sup> Seen in this light Furse’s diaries reveal his self-identity as a process forged during social interaction, as a dynamic link between his nominal identity as ‘landed gentry’ and his virtual (broader) identity as a ‘gentleman’. His ‘type’ remained relevant because they evolved their identities in the social context they were active within.

Emotions are also a new and rapidly growing area of masculinity studies. The history of emotions is now a firmly established historical field with a swathe of literature on a broad range of themes including gender and masculinity.<sup>20</sup> The central propositions of the field are that emotions have changed over time, they are socially and culturally variable and have a history and have altered with the context in which they have been felt, but also that they have been forces in historical change themselves, as important as the material conditions of human life. It is well known that feelings and emotions vary according to factors such as gender, age and social status.<sup>21</sup> It has long been argued that the home and domestic environment could be an emotional refuge for men.<sup>22</sup> Masculinity in particular has been studied through the prism of anxieties surrounding status, the body, sexuality and as parents.<sup>23</sup> The male use of anger has also formed a substantial focus for discussions.<sup>24</sup> Many of these themes emerge in this analysis of Furse’s worldview but most significant are references to the importance of emotional control. A number of historians have emphasised the importance of ‘emotion management’ in a range of different contexts.<sup>25</sup> The authority of reason over emotions was a way that manhood could be shaped and learnt.<sup>26</sup> A ‘socially desirable society’ depended on this emotional control, which was a particular preoccupation of socially dominant groups.<sup>27</sup> ‘Emotional regimes’ were articulated by these socially and politically dominant groups. They provided the rules or codes by which emotions could be expressed and by so doing they shaped discourse. Furse was one of those implementing and

enforcing an emotional regime in his role as a gatekeeper to the Colonial Service, distributing emotional liberty to his candidates according to his values and the cultural norms of the historical context.<sup>28</sup> He was instrumental in creating a group of what he saw as 'fit to govern' colonial leaders by selecting from a community of men he held in his perceptions by referring to a matrix of qualities and ideals.

This article will provide a detailed analysis of the identity of Ralph Furse, who had an important role in making assessments of the manliness of others. It examines the way his gender identity was 'structured in specific historical formations'.<sup>29</sup> Ralph Furse was a gatekeeper to elite masculine status through his prime position as a recruitment expert for the Colonial Office. His office was one of the 'masculine spaces' in Whitehall within which ideologies, power and authority were constructed.<sup>30</sup> His position is all the more significant given that during this period of crisis in the empire the supply of manpower and the '... supply of men of a certain type – practical, resourceful and self-reliant...' was particularly significant.<sup>31</sup> Furse both reflected and helped influence wider gendered mentalities in the Colonial Service from his position at the centre of an 'imperial power matrix'.<sup>32</sup> The interviews he recorded in his notes were a repetitive reinforcement and construction of his own masculinity as a young man finding his manly identity as well as a means of finding manliness in others.<sup>33</sup> We then also see his masculinity as it had developed into his later life and as he reflected on it, after he retired from the colonial service, through his autobiography.

The paper offers a number of arguments. Firstly, both sets of material remind us that 'hegemonic masculinities', if interpreted in a certain way, can reify subjective individual experiences and identities. Furse exhibits none of the assumed features of a 'redundant gentleman', arrogant though he certainly was. His ideal man for the job was broad and inclusive stretching to a diverse set of social groups, with whom, according to his autobiography, he seems to have felt an affinity. But secondly, this ideal referenced a matrix of masculine qualities considered desirable in the successful candidates he interviewed. This matrix included a sober and quiet character trained through 'good schooling', emotional self-control that was also exhibited in plain dress, an imposing and large bodily stature, preferable within a white body rather than a colonial one, a skilled or professional man that possessed harder masculine qualities, rather than the 'softer' assets of manhood. Overall, this matrix confirms the type of 'imperial hero' identified by John Tosh. It also confirms his broader argument that in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century a premium came to be placed on 'tougher' and 'stoical' men as an antidote to challenges to masculinity at home and to Britain's imperial power overseas.<sup>34</sup> But, thirdly, emotions played a role here too. Just as Furse sought out men who could control their own emotions and exhibited quite restrained emotional styles, he expected to experience a flat or muted emotional response to his favoured candidates.<sup>35</sup> He reserved more emotive language for the candidates he dismissed as unsuitable. Furse's identity was embedded within this broad status group of 'manly gentlemen'. He felt a

sense of belonging and inclusion, of social comfort rather than subordination, anxiety or frustration.<sup>36</sup> His experience is a case study in the way that individual landed gentry men adapted their masculine identities and emotional styles to a changing world and offsets far more general overviews of the 'decline' of landed society.

Cultures of empire were constitutive elements in the construction of his Furse's identity. Furse's desk diaries, written as a young man before he had travelled in the empire, and his autobiography, constructed after many trips overseas, illustrate the way that various 'axes' of power, including gender, class, ethnicity and empire, interacted in the thought processes of elite men during this period.<sup>37</sup> Empire was a medium through which Furse could adapt to change and find a purpose. Though we have more general perspectives on the role of empire in sustaining traditional elites, this material provides a closer range and more everyday perspective.<sup>38</sup> Finally, Furse shows both how empire could be a platform for constructing dominant hegemonic masculinities across different social groups in this period. His comments and decisions had real impacts on the men interviewed but they also reflected wider thinking in Britain at this time. He illustrates the way male power could be wielded and deployed both in perceptions of 'other' British men and in constructing racist stereotypes of colonial others.

Sections two and three draw on Furse's, autobiography published in 1962. This illustrates his retrospective view on his life, a narrative in which his role at the Colonial Office played a central part. The first section explores Furse's definition of the 'ideal man for the job' through the comments he made in his desk-diaries during interviews with candidates between 1910 and 1912. These decisions reveal Furse's perceptions of normative masculinity and his identification with a 'type' of male.

## *I*

A series of qualitative assessments of the masculinity of other men were embedded in the comments Furse made in his desk diaries and they are a revealing record of his immediate and instinctive reactions to the candidates that appeared in his office. At one level the contents of Furse's diaries are conventional and unsurprising. The prejudice towards sporty Oxbridge educated elite men in colonial recruitment is well known. However, the diaries reveal a cartography of gender and social boundaries that formed Furse's attitudes to other men and broader world-view. Rather than simply moving applicants on a conveyor belt from their undergraduate days at Oxbridge to colonial service, he used gender to translate elite masculine status into elite imperial leadership and emotions, both his own and those he identified in his candidates, were one of the important filters for these assessments. His task was to identify 'us' and 'them' as a means of allocating status and opportunity, a process that had real consequences for his own identity as a landed gentry man as well as for the careers of the men he met.

Furse's social boundaries in terms of suitability for service in the colonies were located between what he defined as the gentlemanly middle classes and the lower middle classes, which was frequently, but not always, defined by occupation and family background. It was beyond that boundary that the 'non-gentlemen' could be located, men not suitable for colonial service. He generally made negative decisions when interviewing clerks and skilled working-class candidates for posts in administration, for example. In 1910 he overlooked J. E. Smith because he was a '...son of a farmer'<sup>39</sup> and E. R. Bridwell was '...discouraged quite hard...' because he was an '...ordinary type of junior clerk...'<sup>40</sup> Furse did not necessarily favour wealthy landowners. Those engaged in 'patrician culture' such as hunting received few favours. Although he was given a '...decidedly good personal impression...' by Eric Venn, in 1910, he went on to write that '...I don't think he would care for life in West Africa. A gregarious huntsman rather than an administrator'.<sup>41</sup> Mr Williams was rejected for a game-rangership due to the impression he gave Furse of a 'swashbuckling hunter', which was compounded by his lack of 'scientific attainments'.<sup>42</sup> In both of these cases the expansive nature of the candidates' emotions implied by their 'gregarious' and 'swashbuckling' natures marked them out for rejection.

Men from landed families that were successful were not, generally, judged purely on their family name and were not always appointed to senior administrative positions. Furse's comments on Lieutenant Harry Bellew illustrate this:

...gave P1, seemed a very useful type of card for police or administration but preferably the former. Blundell's, Engineering, 3 yrs Devon Royal Militia, 18 months ASC, he is a champion Ju-Jitsuist, very powerful build, a nice quiet manner, comes of a family with a long military record. Has a company of 300 recruits at the Aldershot depot, has experience of reforming would-be criminals.<sup>43</sup>

Bellew was successful in his application because of a blend of qualities, mainly unrelated to his birth. Landed gentlemen were, like Furse himself, one type of elite man embedded within a manly gentlemanly milieu, defined according to both class and gender. These successful types of candidates tended to carefully control their own emotions and to generate a flat emotional response from Furse.

Captain S. A. Thomson was one of many of these candidates that gave Furse a '...very good impression for ad. [administration] or police'.<sup>44</sup> Furse considered quite a broad range of other 'gentlemanly professions', beyond the military, to be suitable. Many successful candidates were doctors, such as Dr Price,<sup>45</sup> or solicitors, such as Reginald Newton.<sup>46</sup> Others were bankers, such as Mr McLuick, who had recently '...returned from serving in the bank of West Africa...' and had '...previously worked for seventeen years in a bank in Banbury'.<sup>47</sup> In 1912, Furse thought an engineer working for the London and North West Railway, who had been to Cheltenham school and played in the cricket team, would suit a higher administration position.<sup>48</sup> He also 'liked the look of' F. P. Corshaw who 'seemed businesslike', again suggesting a 'straightforward' and emotionally neutral approach to social interaction.<sup>49</sup> It was the schooling and education of these

gentlemen as indicative of 'character' that drew them together into a coherent group of men, in Furse's mind.

Academic achievements were low on Furse's list of priorities, in keeping with wider critiques of the university system at this time.<sup>50</sup> Sporting activities at school and university were far more important, a common perception during this period that filtered into ideas about the ideal colonial and civil service official.<sup>51</sup> A. S. Hamilton was judged to be suitable for a legal post as he played '... soccer XI for John's [St. John's College]...' and was in the athletics team.<sup>52</sup> V. W. Abbot '...improved on acquaintance...' partly due to having '...played rugby for school ...'<sup>53</sup>

Candidates were also judged according to their gendered bodies, appearance and behaviour as well as their ethnicity. Physical stature and appearance were undoubtedly the most significant elements in Furse's decision making. He often connected dubious social or occupational status with the physical manliness (or lack thereof) of his candidates, particularly commenting on stature and confidence. He commented that one applicant for administration, Percie Palliser, was a '...horrible little clerk...' and that another, F. Wombwell, was '...a rather timid (rabbit like) clerk'.<sup>54</sup> The 'timidity' of Wombwell referred to his withdrawn emotional state during their conversation but equally both candidates generated strong and negative emotions in Furse. Despite the fact he was '...in college soccer and hockey XI...' it was thought that a journalist with an unsuitable appearance '...hardly looks[ed] an administrator'.<sup>55</sup> One of the main reasons that the candidate R. M. Williams failed to secure a post was due to him having been '...personally smallish...' even though he had '...played soccer and cricket for college 2nds'.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, J. R. Trotter was rejected due to having been '...very peak faced...' with a 'small manner'.<sup>57</sup> Rejected candidates were generally considered '...weak and apologetic with red cheeks...' or 'smallish' as Furse noted of the candidates 'Daly' and 'Williams'.<sup>58</sup>

Conversely, many of the well-favoured candidates for senior administrative posts were, like A. G. Hooper, 'tall and well built'.<sup>59</sup> He noted that the public-school master J. P. Over, who he had singled out for preferment as an ideal candidate, was '...big square faced and shoulders, a fine looking strong man...'.<sup>60</sup> Furse's gaze on the candidates in his office rendered them visible and invisible as men in the way described by Heholt and Parsons, either allocating status or stripping them of power according to his discretion.<sup>61</sup> And in just the way that they describe, it was a racist view, as Kirk-Green and Cell note more widely of recruitment to the colonial service.<sup>62</sup>

Furse noted that he had been 'very discouraging' to W. P. Corneliaa, 'a barrister' who 'looked like [a] Eurasian',<sup>63</sup> and was affronted by A. M. Shaw who was an 'unpleasant looking Indian'.<sup>64</sup> Although Dr. Batra of the Punjab was more agreeable and described as 'pleasant', perhaps indicating changes in the way white and non-white manliness was juxtaposed in this period, Furse informed him that he had '...practically no chance...' and, since the doctor had already obtained an



application form, Furse noted to himself that the Office sidetrack his application when it arrived, or as he said 'P6 him'.<sup>65</sup> Dr Christie, a white New Zealander was a far more suitable doctor of non-English origins and a 'nice man'.<sup>66</sup>

By making these distinctions between 'primitive indigenous people' and white settlers, Furse drew on wider stereotypes about the British Empire.<sup>67</sup> These attitudes provided a framework for the official approach to colonial administration and governance.<sup>68</sup> The association between Wilkinson's 'oriental' appearance and his tendency to exaggerate, noted in the introduction, implied that he lacked self-control: a reflection of the view that non-white men were effeminate and 'unmanly' or 'less than men'.<sup>69</sup> Wilkinson's emotions were unmanaged and 'unregulated', marking him out as inferior due to his inability to manage his emotions.<sup>70</sup> The identification of difference in ethnic terms was crucial to the construction of British masculinity during this period.<sup>71</sup> Furse's concepts of ethnicity are indicative of the way his decisions were framed by a congruence of contemporary ideologies relating to gender, class, the nation and race. The centrality of mastery and honour to his perceptions of masculinity as ethnicity should be no surprise, given their significance in other studies of this intersection.<sup>72</sup>

The candidate's behaviour during the interview was another major consideration and quite often Furse, once again, related such characteristics to class and gender. Furse decided against a candidate because he noted that 'Linley, looked capable and downright' but that his '...very broad Lancashire accent...' ruled him out for any kind of senior post. Furse stated that he '...should not think he was very highly educated'.<sup>73</sup> He considered Mr Darne to be 'too prosy' in his conversation and that W. Alton Smith had 'timid manners'. He consigned B. H. Meyer to a junior post because he used '...too much sir...' in conversation<sup>74</sup> and told Mr Hawley he had '...practically no chance...' later noting his '...slight and very pussy cat manner'.<sup>75</sup> For Furse, candidates who were self-possessed and self-regulated such as Mr Lane-Inkpen or Mr Vyvyan, were the ideal.<sup>76</sup> Emotional control was the key.

There are situational reasons for Furse's comments, of course. The specific context of the Colonial Office in which the interviews took place was an important influence on his judgements. To an extent Furse was following an 'office tradition' with regards to the correct kind of candidate and methods of recruitment.<sup>77</sup> Equally, Furse was responding to certain demands on colonial recruitment at this specific moment in the history of the Empire, demands reflected in his constant reference to the suitability of candidates for West Africa.<sup>78</sup> During the period of 'New Imperialism' Africa produced the most demand for colonial civil servants. West Africa was particularly important. Following the Berlin Conference (1884-5) a series of Protectorates had been created in the Niger Delta (1885), Gambia (1893) and Sierra Leone (1895). Large parts of West Africa had been incorporated within indirect Colonial Office administration in 1900, whereas East and Central Africa were controlled by the Foreign Office. This had involved the Colonial Office taking responsibility for administration from Chartered companies, such as

the Royal Niger Company in West Africa.<sup>79</sup> By 1914 sixty-four percent of colonial administrators in British Tropical Africa were serving in West Africa (Gambia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone).<sup>80</sup>

There was also a demand for a specific type of man seen as suited to these specific locations. In line with more general thinking in the Colonial Office, Furse thought that the climate in West Africa demanded men with physically sturdy and healthy constitutions. Equally, it was thought that West Africans were more likely to defer to men with these types of appearance, particularly the 'martial cultures' such as the Muslim northerners in Nigeria.<sup>81</sup> This explains some of Furse's focus on the stature and build of his candidates. The accentuated importance of masculinity in Furse's comments should also be set in the context of the Colonial Office, part of the all-male and highly masculinised corridors of Whitehall.<sup>82</sup>

However, institutions are products of society and social interaction; they are constructed through social ideals and values as much as they are the progenitors of them.<sup>83</sup> The thinking that went on in the Colonial Office with regards to recruitment was a refraction of wider dominant ideals of class and gender. The focus on the physical stature of candidates for West Africa denoted an anxiety about governing in that area of the world and perhaps a wider unease around the supposed superior qualities of western European white masculinity.<sup>84</sup> The power of personal patronage in Furse's possession and the lack of intervention from senior staff underline the personal input that he made, the patriarchal dividends he distributed and the broader influences that worked on his thinking.<sup>85</sup>

In repetitively categorising other men as a central function of his job Furse dwelt on his own social identity and, in the process, fashioned his masculine self. He drew boundaries around 'the gentleman' in relation to factors of similarity and difference between himself and the candidates as well as wider templates of stereotypical white imperial men. More evidence of this can be found in his autobiography in which he more squarely focused on his position within these hierarchies. By the time he wrote his autobiography at Halsdon House, in 1962, Furse was seventy-five years of age.<sup>86</sup> In this period of decolonisation Furse had witnessed a half-century of change in ideals of masculinity, the power of the gentry and in attitudes to elites and Empire. All this separated the narrative in his autobiography from the comments he made on his candidates between 1910 and 1912 and it is these later reflections that form the focus of the next section.

## II

Furse was conscious of the profound changes he had witnessed between the writing of his desk diaries in the Edwardian period and his autobiography in the 1960s. He made several references to these changes, again, through the vectors of identity, status, class and gender. He observed that at the time of writing his book he was living in '... the age of the little man - and being governed by such'.<sup>87</sup> He defended his use of the terms 'colonial', 'empire' and 'native' since he did '... not

believe in using misleading labels for fear of offending someone'.<sup>88</sup> Although he never explicitly stated this, the tone of the narrative as a whole amounted to a defence against contemporary criticisms of Empire, colonialism and patronage.

The autobiography is useful in understanding Furse's perception of his social identity as a process rather than as a moment, which is how we perceive it in the desk diaries. There is a good deal of continuity between his comments in the Edwardian desk-diaries on other men and his personal narrative written in the early 1960s, even if he felt that his status in the post-war period had been marginalised. His personal identity was constituted of complex layers of family, gender, class and ethnicity. This identity had been formed through the cyclical process of structuration as a means of adapting to the 'modern world', as Furse saw it, and it is this he reflects on in the narrative of his life.

Furse dwelt on his sense of being an 'outsider'. He expressed his landed patrician masculinity in an embodied form as a young civil servant. For instance, he noted how he had arrived at the Colonial Office for the first time, in 1910, wearing a '...brown herring-bone tweed, well cut and of that old-fashioned West of England cloth...'.<sup>89</sup> This kind of suit was unconventional for Edwardian Civil Servants, the norm being a plain suit, grey or black in colour.<sup>90</sup>

This was reinforced with Furse's descriptions of his 'heroic' prowess at field sports, which he suggested derived from his childhood experiences of family, the countryside and landed gentry life. His grandfather, John Dolignon, had been a 'noted game shot' in Norfolk during the early nineteenth century.<sup>91</sup> He described how, on one occasion, he had 'gone for the treble' and attempted to kill a fox, catch a salmon and shoot a pheasant during one day of sport. He wrote that 'time being short, I merely took off my spurs and went down to the river in my hunting boots... I 'foul hooked' a 15 lb. salmon through the tail and he took charge, racing away out of sight round a bend... then, inch by inch, I got him in and beached him on the shingle after a fight of an hour and fifty minutes'.<sup>92</sup>

Furse portrayed himself as a traditional 'gentleman courtier' with privileged access to the centres of state and government. He described his office in the ante-room to the Secretary of State as '... that nearest modern equivalent of a Tudor Court'<sup>93</sup> and recollected that:

...If I left it [the door] open I could command both entrances to the Secretary of State's room and could see everyone who came to visit him... I often left that door open. Idle curiosity, perhaps, but I am glad I indulged it. For it is an education to see great men at close quarters.<sup>94</sup>

Furse's career in the Colonial Office and the tasks that he carried out once appointed created a niche within which he could integrate and maintain this 'gentleman courtier' identity, whilst also identifying with a wider group of elite men. By his own admission he left Oxford, in 1910, with an 'indifferent degree' in Classics and would have been '... too stupid, or too idle...' to have entered the civil service by competitive examination.<sup>95</sup> Instead he was appointed through his

friendship with his friend, the previous Assistant Private Secretary, Charles Clay.<sup>96</sup> Once in the job, the power of patronage at Furse's reinforced his personal identity as appropriate and relevant to the institutional group he belonged to. Even by more general civil service standards, the colonial office was an enclave of unreformed practices where men like Furse could survive and flourish.<sup>97</sup>

Furse had not been devoted or committed to his civil service career. Rather, he saw himself as '...an amateur: an irregular soldier, a highly irregular civil servant'.<sup>98</sup> His real ambition was to be a cavalry officer since his '...heart had always been with the army...'.<sup>99</sup> This ambition was 'barred' to him by 'incipient deafness'.<sup>100</sup> Furse's heroic yearnings were satisfied during the First World War when he served with the King Edward's Horse Guards. He '...had dreamed of a great cavalry pursuit...' but by 1918 '...the long-awaited chance had vanished: the Armistice had dashed the cup from our lips'.<sup>101</sup> Furse's enthusiasm for war and heroism was pregnant with a belief in the 'chivalrous gentleman' and leant on familiar narratives of military heroism.<sup>102</sup> With reference to the approaching war in 1914 and his future wife, Cecilia, he noted that whilst he was 'on edge' about the war, he could not '...cause her [Cecilia] anxiety by a hint of what was in my mind'.<sup>103</sup> Furse's identity was complex and layered with experience and group identification. These were partly derived from the legacy of landownership and family lineage but also his experiences of education and work and so it's worth considering his wider background and life experiences, which is the purpose of the next section.

### III

Furse's feeling of belonging with a wider group of elite men was based on his masculine identity generated through his career at the Colonial Office. He considered himself to be the perfect man for the selection of other ideal gentlemen. He once described his job as a 'fascinating art'.<sup>104</sup> In his autobiography he made note of '...the net which, by a process of trial and error, I and a few hand-picked colleagues [chosen by him] had woven to a mesh delicately and unobtrusively adapted to catching the type of man that [the] Service needed'.<sup>105</sup> Furse was certainly arrogant but he derived his confidence as an 'insider' from the breadth and range of his formative childhood and adult experiences.

Although the majority of the Furse estate in north Devon remained in the hands of the family across this period, it had been let by his father, John Furse, for much of the Furse's early life.<sup>106</sup> As a result he had spent his childhood in London, mainly at his grandfather's house. His family were part of a cosmopolitan social circle in the Metropole. He recalled having been '...brought up amongst artists, writers, sportsmen, and men of action' and the mainstay of his early experience was of Metropolitan society.<sup>107</sup>

By 1910, at the beginning of his career at the Colonial Service, Furse was lodging in a two-room apartment at Eaton Terrace. After marrying, in 1914, Furse

and his wife, Cecilia, moved into a house in Hanover square and continued the cosmopolitan life of his childhood. Furse emphasised that '... Cecilia and I were country people by taste and instinct...' but also noted they were more like '... the cats who liked to go through the wet wild woods...'.<sup>108</sup> Halsdon became a 'cheap holiday retreat' where he and his family rented a farm, rather than a home.<sup>109</sup>

Furse's upbringing took place in a series of institutions that shared similar values, including his family. It was through these institutions that cultures of empire were filtered to him. Furse recollected that it had been his sense of having access to '... the front seat at the 'Empire' which had turned the scale...' in his early decisions on a career.<sup>110</sup> He recalled that his father had '... led me on from tales of Isandwhana and Rorke's Drift to Seeley's *Expansion of England*, and Cromer, and *England in Egypt* [his italics]'.<sup>111</sup> As a child and before ever having travelled out of Britain, Furse began to imagine and construct images of the empire and his place in it as a white elite man.

School and University were equally significant. He won the Empire League's essay competition in his final year at Eton. At Oxford Furse '... took the trouble to make friends with a number of Rhodes scholars'. These friends encouraged him to enlist with King Edward's Horse Guards Yeomanry regiment, itself a formative stage in his ideas about Empire, gender and ethnicity. He recalled that in his regiment '... the Empire came alive to me in human form, for men from every part of it were serving in the regiment'.<sup>112</sup> Furse himself acknowledged the unitary power of ideas such as empire. noted '... nothing so potently fuses together men of different backgrounds and antecedents as setting them to row in one boat'.<sup>113</sup>

Heroic-patriotic masculinity was a persistent reference point for Furse throughout his life, prominent in his narrative on the First World War, which formed a focus for his masculinity as it did for so many other men of the wartime generation.<sup>114</sup> He recounted how he '... was never absent from duty for a single day through sickness during the three and a half years I [he] was on active service in France'. He put his bravery and physical endurance down to having 'hardened' himself for war. He '... refused to go into billets with the rest but built myself a bivouac of waterproof sheets in an orchard and slept out all winter, taking a clod bath each morning-under the flap of my bivouac...'. He emphasised his eagerness to fight, noting that he '... knew that if I [he] once got into the clutches of a medical board I [he] should in all possibility be graded unfit for service... so I [he] avoided doctors like poison'.<sup>115</sup> The 'adventurous hero' also played an important part in shaping Furse's vision of the empire and his place within it. On one occasion Furse 'played truant' from a conference in Canada and hunted for a Virginia Buck in America. He described how he made himself 'a bed of spruce boughs' whilst sleeping in the forest and recalled an encounter with a black bear.<sup>116</sup>

Furse expressed his sense of group belonging, with Eton, with Oxford and with the Colonial Office, as matters of pride. He felt that these separate experiences were an enclosed social world (or series of), and he often drew analogies between

his working environment and school life. He compared the Colonial Office to a 'school' and he and his colleagues regularly played impromptu cricket matches in the Secretary of State's office. When describing the Imperial Conference in London, in 1911, Furse stated that he would '...never forget Asquith in the chair...'. The other delegates, Furse recalled, '...all sat there quiet and subdued like a clever sixth form under the eye of a great headmaster'.<sup>117</sup>

Furse's family background and class helped to inform his perceptions of the social world and his place within it. He often remarked on the affinity he felt towards foreigners of high rank. He befriended a Moroccan Arab he had met due to the man's aristocratic manners.<sup>118</sup> Similarly, he noted that '...there is not such a vast amount of difference after all between an African chief and a sporting English squire'.<sup>119</sup> However, Furse's need for heroic adventure and his general fascination with colonial societies as 'the other' drew on broader cultures of masculinity current in British society at this time, as did many of his other comments.<sup>120</sup>

Furse suffered from some level of anxiety about his masculinity. Problems with his hearing, which had barred his entry into the Army, were one source of frustration, as was his father's disability. His 'super-heroic' account of the war was, no doubt, a reaction to these insecurities. Overall, Ralph Furse successfully integrated into elite masculine society during much of his life and, more importantly, felt that he had done so. It is only with a comprehension of the full range and complexity of Furse's life experiences that his attitudes and behaviour as a civil servant in the Edwardian period and, later, an elderly landowner, can be understood on a meaningful level.

#### IV

In conclusion, it is worth returning to Furse's matrix of masculine qualities, this time through his autobiography of 1962. He made some very revealing comments on Sidney Webb (Lord Passfield), the Secretary of State for the Colonies under the second Labour government between 1929 and 1931. He expressed a profound dislike for Lord Passfield. As a 'Tory squire' serving under a Labour minister this is hardly surprising. However, his rationale for this distaste illustrates some broader themes of social and gender identities discussed in this article.

He noted with some disgust that Lord Passfield had been '...a lower division clerk in the War Office...' who had transferred to the Colonial Office ten years later as a 'junior'. The greatest insult, in Furse's mind, came with Webb's insistence that the London School of Economics was the '...only true university in England...' whereas Oxford and Cambridge were '...only glorified high schools...' which Furse considered to be an 'astounding statement'.<sup>121</sup> Furse connected Webb's lowly social status with his boyish and underdeveloped masculine body. '...As he sat in his chair' Furse noted 'his feet would not touch the floor without a conscious effort'.<sup>122</sup>

These comments intersected with the notes Furse made on the candidates he met earlier in his life. The prejudice against junior clerks shown in his desk-diaries is clearly apparent in his later assessment of Webb's class and social status. His distaste for Webb's educational background and his opinion of elite educational institutions also reflected Furse's own prioritisation of public schools and the Oxbridge educated. Furse linked together what he saw as dubious embodied, social and gender qualities in Webb, as he had done with Wilkinson and many other candidates. It was mainly these characteristics in Webb, rather than his family origins as the son of an accountant, his arriviste title and lack of a landed estate, which marked him out as an upstart in Furse's mind.

All of Furse's experiences, as well as a broad range of other ideas current during the period, informed his view of the world and constructed his individual and group identity. Due to his early experiences of landownership, Eton, Oxford and the Colonial Office, Furse confidently asserted his gentlemanly status. His subjective experiences as an adult man compounded the confidence he derived from his background. He eagerly invested in many of the contemporary ideals of masculinity and interpreted these ideals through his class origins and family experiences. An assessment of his social position must, therefore, take into account the agency and the subjective input that Furse made into becoming 'a man'.

Not all gentry men would have been men in exactly the same way as Furse. Some may have had more difficulty in balancing their experiences of family life with the norms and values they were expected to conform to in adult life. There is evidence for substantial levels of anxiety among the gentry and aristocracy, particularly marginalised members such as younger sons.<sup>123</sup> Not all gentry men attended public schools and universities or took a profession afterwards. In her analysis of George Wyndham in this period, for instance, Ellenberger stresses his lack of boarding public-school education as a major factor in his frustrations with the role expected of him as an 'unadjusted aristocrat' in adult life.<sup>124</sup> Hegemonic masculinities are inherently unstable and we might interpret Furse's position within the hegemonic order as a normal and expected anomaly.<sup>125</sup> But the evidence presented here suggests that he was a central part of the hegemonic order and part of the 'politically dominant class'.<sup>126</sup> His hybrid identity as a member of the gentry and as a government bureaucrat gave him privileged access to the power of masculinity and provided his identity with a certain 'stickiness' through a period of general decline in landed power.

This article has emphasised the subjective nature of masculine identities and the power of individual agency to interpret social ideals. However, it is argued that specific as Furse's experiences were, they were relatively representative of significant sections of the English landed gentry. Furse was the end-product of a century of adjustments in landed life and many other 'country squires' of this period inherited a similar cultural heritage from their relations. Their adaptation to changing gender norms was another element in their persistence and adaptation as a ruling class.

Subjective experiences, such as Furse's, show that gender, empire and ethnicity formed a cohesive force in elite masculinities for men of different classes. Whilst class and family were filters for such ideologies, they were not a principal predictor of identity and status. Rather they were one part of complex and multi-layered subjective processes of identification. Furse was secure in his status, rather than marginalised in a changing landscape of gender norms, class power and imperial hegemony.

### *Disclosure statement*

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

### *Notes*

<sup>1</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MSS.Britemp.r21, The Desk Diaries of the Assistant Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 15 Volumes 1899-1915 (hereafter Britemp.r21), Wednesday 26 October 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Kirk-Greene, A. H. M., 'Furse, Sir Ralph Dolignon (1887-1973)', *Oxford History of National Biography* (2004).

<sup>3</sup> The term 'gentry predecessor' is from Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, 2014), 4. On self-control and 'regulation' in particular see Joanne Begiato, 'Punishing the Unregulated Manly Body and Emotions in Early Victorian England' (in) Ruth Heholt and Joanna Ella Parsons, *The Victorian Male Body* (Edinburgh, 2018), 1-22.

<sup>4</sup> R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Sydney, 1995) and R. W. Connell, 'The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History', *Theory and Society*, 22 (1993), 597-623; J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London, 1999), 4; J. Tosh, 'Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12, 6th series (2002), 455-72; J. Tosh, 'Masculinities in an Industrialising Society: Britain, 1800-1914' *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), 330-41; L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Classes 1780-1950* (London, 2002), 17; G. L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford, 1996), 7; R. Shoemaker, 'Male Honour and the Decline of Public Violence in Eighteenth Century London', *Social History*, 26 (2001), 190-209; Holly Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch, and Masculinity in the Crimean War* (Oxford, 2016), 6-8.

<sup>5</sup> R., Macdonald, 'Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24 (1989), 519-31; K. Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History* (Basingstoke, 2003), 9-11. Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Indian, 2005), 7; Roper, 'Between Manliness and Masculinity'; A. Light, *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars* (London, 1991), 71-5; P. J. Hugill, 'Imperialism and Manliness in Edwardian Boys' Novels' *Ecumene*, 6 (1999), 318-41; R. Macdonald, 'Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy'; A. M. Windolz, 'An Emigrant and a Gentleman: Imperial Masculinity, British Magazines and the Colony that got away', *Victorian Studies*, 42 (2000), 631-58.

<sup>6</sup> D. Z. Demetriou, 'Connell's Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity', *Theory and Society*, 3 (2001), 337-61.

<sup>7</sup> Demetriou, 'Connell's Concept.'

<sup>8</sup> John Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender,' in eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagermann and John Tosh, *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester, 2004), 41-61.

<sup>9</sup> Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed gentry Masculinities 1660-1900* (Oxford, 2012); Francis, 'The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth and Twentieth Century British Masculinity', *Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), 637-53; M. Collins, 'The Fall of the English Gentleman: The National Character in Decline, c. 1918-1970', *Historical Research*, 75 (2002), 90-111; J. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, 1996), 15-9; A. Milne-Smith, 'A Flight to Domesticity?: Making a Home in the Gentlemen's Clubs of London, 1880-1914', *Journal of British*



- Studies*, 45 (2006), 796–818; W. Stafford, 'Gentlemanly Masculinities as Represented by the Late Georgian *Gentleman's Magazine*', *History*, 93 (2008), 47–68.
- <sup>10</sup> K. Harvey and A. Sheperd, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), 274–81 and M. Roper and J. Tosh, 'Historians and the Politics of Masculinity' in ed. Roper and Tosh, *Manful Assertions*, 1–25; L. A. Hall, *Hidden Anxieties: Male Sexuality, 1900–50* (Oxford, 1991), 2.; A. J. Hammerton, 'Pooterism or Partnership? Marriage and Masculine Identity in the Lower Middle Classes, 1870–1920', *Journal of British Studies*, 38 (1999), 291–321; Francis, 'The Domestication of the Male.'
- <sup>11</sup> Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity'.
- <sup>12</sup> Thompson, *English Landed Society*; D. Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain* (Harmondsworth, 1995); D. Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords: The Aristocracy and the Towns 1774–1967* (Leicester, 1980); D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London, 1990); F. M. L. Thompson, *Gentrification and the Enterprise Culture: Britain 1780–1980* (Oxford, 2001); D. Spring, 'Aristocracy, Social Structure and Religion in the Early Victorian Period', *Victorian Studies*, 6 (1963), 263–80; I. Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians* (London, 1976), 34–40 and 152–4; Shoemaker, 'Male Honour'; M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (Yale, 1978); T. H. Hollingsworth, 'The Demography of the British Peerage', *Population Studies* (Supplement), 18 (1964), 1–108; J. Gerard, *Country House Life: Family and Servants, 1815–1914* (Oxford, 1994), 25–6; M. Rothery, 'The Reproductive Behaviour of the English Landed Gentry, 1800–1939', *Journal of British Studies*, 48:3 (2009), 674–94.
- <sup>13</sup> The major exception to this is A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London, 1998).
- <sup>14</sup> P. Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Companion Series: Gender and Empire* (Oxford, 2007), 1–14. In this sense scholars of landed society have lagged behind those of the middle classes. See discussions of the literature in two books edited by A. Kidd and D. Nicholls, *The Making of the British Middle Class? Studies of Regional and Cultural Diversity since the Eighteenth Century*, (Stroud, 1998), 20–4, and *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle Class Identity in Britain, 1800–1940*, (Manchester, 1999), 5–6.
- <sup>15</sup> J. W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 1053–75.
- <sup>16</sup> The major exception to this is Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed gentry Masculinities 1660–1900* (Oxford, 2012).
- <sup>17</sup> The 'structure-action' debate is broad and extensive. Jenkins provides a useful synopsis in *Identity*, 23–5. For the original theory see A. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (California, 1986). Also see J. Parker, *Structuration*, (Birmingham, 2000).
- <sup>18</sup> Jenkins, *Identity*, 76–8.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 and 94–107.
- <sup>20</sup> For a good general introduction to this area see Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2017) and for a very good recent sourcebook on the subject look no further than Katie Barclay and Francois Soyer, ed., *Emotions in Europe 1517–1914* (London, 2021).
- <sup>21</sup> Ute Frevert, 'Defining Emotions: Concepts and Debates over Three Centuries,' in eds. Ute Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000* (Oxford, 2014), 1–32; Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills, 'Towards Histories of Emotions,' in eds. Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills, *Representing Emotions: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music, and Medicine* (Farnham, 2005), 15–35.
- <sup>22</sup> Rafaella Sarti, 'Men at Home: Domesticities, Authority, Emotions and Work', *Gender and History*, 27:3 (November, 2015), 521–58.
- <sup>23</sup> For instance, see Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1996); Henry French and Mark Rothery, 'Male Anxiety Among Younger Sons of the English Landed Gentry 1700–1900', *The Historical Journal*, 62/4 (2018), 967–95; Alan Hunt, 'Anxiety and Social Explanation: Some Anxieties about Anxiety', *Journal of Social History*, 32/3 (1999), 509–28; Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760–1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford, 2012).
- <sup>24</sup> Linda Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 47/3 (2004), 567–90.

- <sup>25</sup> For instance, see Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford, 2012), 71.
- <sup>26</sup> Plamper, *Emotions*, 15.
- <sup>27</sup> Gouk and Hills, 'Towards Histories of Emotions.'
- <sup>28</sup> William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), 114.
- <sup>29</sup> Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity'.
- <sup>30</sup> For the link between the masculine space of Whitehall and the gendering of colonial policy see P. Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?', in *Oxford History of the British Empire, Companion Series, Gender and Empire* (Oxford, 2007), 1-14.
- <sup>31</sup> John Tosh, 'Manliness, Masculinities and the New Imperialism, 1880-1900,' in ed. J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow, 2005), 192-215.
- <sup>32</sup> M. B. Formes, 'Beyond Complicity Versus Resistance: Recent Work on Gender and European Imperialism', *Journal of Social History*, 28 (1995), 629-41.
- <sup>33</sup> Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilisation and the Body* (Basingstoke, 2008), 2.
- <sup>34</sup> John Tosh, 'Manliness, Masculinities and the New Imperialism, 1880-1900,' in ed. J. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow, 2005), 192-215.
- <sup>35</sup> On emotional styles see Benno Gamerl, 'Emotional Styles – Concepts and Challenges', *Rethinking History*, 16/2 (2012), 161-75.
- <sup>36</sup> On 'social comfort', although in a different context, see Jon Stobart, *Comfort in the Eighteenth-Century Country House* (Forthcoming: New York and Abingdon, Routledge, 2022), 19, 21.
- <sup>37</sup> On the distribution of power through the 'axes' of class, race and gender as well as the construction of subjective identities through the differentiation of others see Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category.'
- <sup>38</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (London, 2002).
- <sup>39</sup> BRITEMP/R21, Monday 18 April 1910. From this point onwards only the date of the entry will be noted.
- <sup>40</sup> 7 November 1910.
- <sup>41</sup> 22 July 1910.
- <sup>42</sup> 7 March 1910.
- <sup>43</sup> 29 June 1911. Blundells is a public school in Tiverton, Devon.
- <sup>44</sup> 8 January 1912.
- <sup>45</sup> 6 April 1912.
- <sup>46</sup> 4 February 1910.
- <sup>47</sup> 30 April 1912.
- <sup>48</sup> 16 May 1912.
- <sup>49</sup> 14 March 1910.
- <sup>50</sup> Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Indiana, 2005), 2.
- <sup>51</sup> Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, pp. 164-76; Vance, 'Ideal of Manliness'; J. A. Mangan, 'Social Darwinism and Upper-Class Education in Late Victorian and Edwardian England,' in eds. J. A. Mangan and R. Walvin, *Manliness and Morality* (Manchester, 1987), 135-59; P. Mason, *The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal* (London, 1982), 168-75; R. C. Snelling and T.J. Baron, 'The Colonial Office and its Permanent Officials 1801-1914,' in ed. G. Sutherland, *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government*, (London, 1972), 139-67; A. Kirk-Greene, 'Scholastic Attainment and Scholarly Achievement in Britain's Imperial Civil Services: The Case of the African Governors', *Oxford Review of Education*, 7 (1981), 11-22; A. Kirk-Greene, 'The Sudan Political Service: A Profile in the Sociology of Imperialism', *International Journal of African Studies*, 15 (1982), 21-48; J. A. Mangan, 'The Education of an Elite Imperial Administration: The Sudan Political Service and the British Public School System', *International Journal of African Studies*, 15 (1982), 671-99.
- <sup>52</sup> 3 January 1912.
- <sup>53</sup> 29 January 1912.
- <sup>54</sup> 23 November 1910 and 26 July 1910.
- <sup>55</sup> 15 March 1912.

- <sup>56</sup> 10 January 1910
- <sup>57</sup> 13 September 1910.
- <sup>58</sup> 15 July 1910, 10 January 1912.
- <sup>59</sup> 15 April 1910.
- <sup>60</sup> 30 December 1910.
- <sup>61</sup> Ruth Heholt and Joanna Ella Parsons, 'Introduction: Visible and Invisible Bodies' (in) Ruth Heholt and Joanna Ella Parsons, *The Victorian Male Body* (Edinburgh, 2018), 1-22.
- <sup>62</sup> Kirk-Greene, "'Not Quite a Gentleman.'"; J. W. Cell, 'Colonial Rule', in eds. J. M. Brown and W. R. Louis, *The Oxford History of the British Empire Vol. IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 232-54.
- <sup>63</sup> 12 February 1910.
- <sup>64</sup> 31 January 1912.
- <sup>65</sup> 29 March 1912. On the new focus on 'better men' and nuanced perspectives on non-white masculinity in a colonial setting see Deane, *Masculinity*, esp. 3-4.
- <sup>66</sup> 21 December 1910.
- <sup>67</sup> C. Hall, 'Introduction: Thinking the Postcolonial, Thinking the Empire' in ed. C. Hall, *Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, (Manchester, 2000), 1-33; O'Hanlon, 'Gender and the British Empire', in eds. J. M. Brown and W. R. Louis, *The Oxford History of the British Empire Vol. IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 379-98.
- <sup>68</sup> Cell, 'Colonial Rule.'
- <sup>69</sup> S. Kapila, 'Masculinity and Madness: Princely Personhood and Colonial Sciences of the Mind in Western India, 1871-1940', *Past and Present*, 187 (2005), 121-57.
- <sup>70</sup> Begiato, 'Punishing.'
- <sup>71</sup> O'Hanlon, 'Gender.'
- <sup>72</sup> Paul Deslandes, 'Manly Poses: Identities, Politics and Lived Experience in the History of Masculinity', *Journal of Women's History*, 23:2 (2011), 187-199.
- <sup>73</sup> 19 October 1910.
- <sup>74</sup> 16 February 1912.
- <sup>75</sup> 16 February 1912.
- <sup>76</sup> 29 December 1910.
- <sup>77</sup> See Jeffries, *Colonial Office*, 14-16, for a discussion of the 'office tradition.'
- <sup>78</sup> P. Burroughs, 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of the Empire' in ed. R. Porter, *The Oxford History of the British Empire Vol. III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 170-97; M. Kitchen, 'The Empire 1900-39,' in ed. C. Wrigley, *A Companion to Early Twentieth Century Britain*, (Oxford, 2003), 182-97.
- <sup>79</sup> A. Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service: A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Services, 1837-1997*, (London, 1999), 11.
- <sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.
- <sup>81</sup> J. W. Cell, 'Colonial Rule,' in eds. J. M. Brown and W. M. Roger Louis, *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume IV: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 2001), 232-54.
- <sup>82</sup> P. Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?', in *Oxford History of the British Empire, Companion Series, Gender and Empire* (Oxford, 2007), 1-14.
- <sup>83</sup> Jenkins, *Identity*, 132-60.
- <sup>84</sup> Forth, *Masculinity*, 15; Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men*, 6.
- <sup>85</sup> Furse, *Aucuparius: Reflections of a Recruiting Officer*, (London, 1962), 17; Kirk-Greene, "'Not Quite a Gentleman.'"
- <sup>86</sup> Furse, *Aucuparius*.
- <sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.
- <sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.
- <sup>90</sup> I. Brooke and J. Laver, *English Costume of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1929).
- <sup>91</sup> Furse, *Aucuparius*, 40.
- <sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 176-7.
- <sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.
- <sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.
- <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

- <sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>97</sup> Snelling and Baron, 'The Colonial Office.'
- <sup>98</sup> Furse, *Aucuparius*, 4.
- <sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, XIIIV.
- <sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- <sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.
- <sup>102</sup> For example, see Holly Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch and Masculinity in the Crimean War* (Oxford, 2016), 1.
- <sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- <sup>104</sup> Furse, *Aucuparius*, 4 and 17 respectively.
- <sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.
- <sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 41–2.
- <sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.
- <sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 177–82.
- <sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.
- <sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.
- <sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 10–1.
- <sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.
- <sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.
- <sup>114</sup> Jessica Meyer, *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke, 2009).
- <sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.
- <sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 118–9.
- <sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 37–9.
- <sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.
- <sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 254–5.
- <sup>120</sup> J. M. Mackenzie, 'The Popular Culture of Empire in Britain', in eds. J. M. Brown and W. M. Roger Louis, *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV, The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 212–32; Hall, *Cultures of Empire*; J. M. Mackenzie, 'The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian Times,' in eds. Mangan and Walvin, *Manliness and Morality*. 176–98; P. J. Hugill, 'Imperialism and Manliness'; R. H. Macdonald, 'Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy'; C. Hall, 'Going a Trolloping.'
- <sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.
- <sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 235.
- <sup>123</sup> Henry French and Mark Rothery, 'Male Anxiety among younger sons of the English Landed Gentry c.1700–1900', *The Historical Journal*, 62/4 (2019), 967–95.
- <sup>124</sup> N. Ellenberger, 'Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-de-Siècle England', *Journal of British Studies*, 39 (2000), 487–517.
- <sup>125</sup> Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinities.'
- <sup>126</sup> Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinities.'

### *Biographical Note*

Mark Rothery is Associate Professor of History at the University of Northampton. Email: [Mark.Rothery@northampton.ac.uk](mailto:Mark.Rothery@northampton.ac.uk)