At the end of the nineteenth century, the zenith of its imperial chauvinism and jingoistic fervor, Britain’s empire was bolstered by a surprising new ideal of manliness, one that seemed less English than foreign, less concerned with moral development than perpetual competition, less civilized than savage. This study examines the revision of manly ideals in relation to an ideological upheaval whereby the liberal imperialism of Gladstone was eclipsed by the New Imperialism of Disraeli and his successors. Analyzing such popular genres as lost-world novels, school stories, and early science fiction, it charts the decline of mid-century ideals of manly self-control and the rise of new dreams of gamesmanship and frank brutality. It reveals, moreover, the dependence of imperial masculinity on real and imagined exchanges between men of different nations and races, so that visions of hybrid masculinities and honorable rivalries energized Britain’s sense of its New Imperialist destiny.

Bradley Deane is Associate Professor of English and Morse-Alumni Distinguished University Teaching Professor at the University of Minnesota, Morris. He is author of The Making of the Victorian Novelist (2003). Work for this book was supported by a grant from the National Endowment of the Humanities.
Nineteenth-century British literature and culture have been rich fields for interdisciplinary studies. Since the turn of the twentieth century, scholars and critics have tracked the intersections and tensions between Victorian literature and the visual arts, politics, social organization, economic life, technical innovations, scientific thought – in short, culture in its broadest sense. In recent years, theoretical challenges and historiographical shifts have unsettled the assumptions of previous scholarly synthesis and called into question the terms of older debates. Whereas the tendency in much past literary critical interpretation was to use the metaphor of culture as ‘background’, feminist, Foucauldian, and other analyses have employed more dynamic models that raise questions of power and of circulation. Such developments have reanimated the field. This series aims to accommodate and promote the most interesting work being undertaken on the frontiers of the field of nineteenth-century literary studies: work which intersects fruitfully with other fields of study such as history, or literary theory, or the history of science. Comparative as well as interdisciplinary approaches are welcomed.

A complete list of titles published will be found at the end of the book.
MASCULINITY AND THE NEW IMPERIALISM

Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870–1914

BRADLEY DEANE
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of illustrations</th>
<th>page vi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Introduction: better men 1

1 Gunga Din and other better men: the burden of imperial manhood in Kipling’s verse 19

2 Cultural cross-dressing and the politics of masculine performance 51

3 Piracy, play, and the boys who wouldn’t grow up 85

4 *In statu pupillari*: schoolboys, savages, and colonial authority 115

5 Barbarism and the lost worlds of masculinity 147

6 Mummies, marriage, and the occupation of Egypt 171

7 Fitter men: H. G. Wells and the impossible future of masculinity 200

Notes 232

Bibliography 255

Index 270
Illustrations

2. Illustration of Robert Baden-Powell from *Illustrated London News*. Mafeking Supplement (19 May 1900): 1
3. Illustration from G. A. Henty’s *The Dash for Khartoum* (London: Blackie & Son, 1892), 356
4. “New Crowns for Old Ones!” *Punch* 70 (15 April 1876): 147
5. Illustration from Rudyard Kipling’s *Soldier Stories* (New York and London: Macmillan, 1896), 187
6. “A Lesson.” *Punch* 76 (1 March 1879): 91
8. “Turk the Sublime!” *Punch* 110 (7 March 1896): 110
9. “Cleopatra before Caesar.” *Punch* 83 (7 October 1882): 163
10. Illustration from Rider Haggard’s “Smith and the Pharaohs.” *Strand Magazine* 45 (February 1913): 122
11. Illustration from Rider Haggard’s *She* (Longman’s, Green and Co., 1888), 152
12. Illustration from Rider Haggard’s *She* (Longman’s, Green and Co., 1888), 276
13. Illustration from A. C. Doyle’s “Lot No. 249.” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 85 (September 1892): 541

All these images are reproduced from the holdings of the University of Minnesota, except Figure 5 (from the holdings of Concordia College) and Figures 11 and 12 (from the holdings of the University of South Dakota).
This book is indebted to more institutions, colleagues, and friends than I can ever repay. They include the National Endowment for the Humanities, whose summer stipend came at a particularly welcome moment, and the University of Minnesota – both the statewide system and our own liberal arts campus at Morris – for generously funding research travel and providing time to write. Morris has also offered a wonderfully collegial and interdisciplinary atmosphere in which to develop this book’s arguments. I want to thank my current and former colleagues who were especially helpful and encouraging: Dan Demetriou, Roland Guyotte, Rich Heyman, Michael Lackey, Brook Miller, Gretchen Murphy, and Dwight Purdy. The book has also benefited from a long series of conversations with Morris’s smart and earnest undergraduates (especially Jake Grussing, who helped research Chapter 5), and from the assistance of our dedicated library staff (especially Sandy Kill’s help with inter-library loans). I am also deeply grateful for the scholarly advice and friendly support of many Victorianists who have read early drafts of this work and discussed it with me at conferences, especially James Eli Adams, Nicholas Daly, Andrew Elfenbein, Christopher Herbert, Jen Hill, Neil Hultgren, Deanna Kreisel, John Kucich, Jules Law, Muireann O’Cinneide, and Dan Novak.

Earlier versions of parts of this book have appeared before in Victorian Studies (Chapter 3), Victorian Literature and Culture (Chapter 5), and English Literature in Transition (Chapter 6); all have since been revised and expanded. Thanks are due to the readers and editors of those journals, and to Cambridge University Press for the invaluable assistance provided by both its anonymous readers and its wonderfully helpful editors, Linda Bree and Anna Bond.

Above all, I wish to thank my family for their limitless patience and unflagging support. In particular I thank my daughters, Lucy and Tess,
Acknowledgments

for putting up with my schedule so graciously, and my father-in-law, Ivan Cole, for enlightening and provocative chats about Conrad and Stevenson. Most of all, I am grateful to Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane, always my first editor, sharpest reader, and best friend. This book would not exist without her, and I dedicate it to her with affection and admiration.