Editor's Note

Joseph Gelfer

It is with great pleasure that I introduce to you the inaugural issue of *Journal of Men, Masculinities and Spirituality* (JMMS). When I first speak to people about my research, a common question I'm asked is, "the whole history of religion and spirituality has been about and by men, so why does it need a separate treatment?" I can sympathize with this question, as history has indeed been a sad story of masculine domination; but to critique this one needs to engage with the study of men and masculinities. And of course, there are those manifestations of masculinity that do not conspire with domination.

I think some people worry that the study of men and masculinities, especially within a religious context, is somehow code for "reasserting masculine domination," aligning it with unsavory manifestations of "the men's movement" or "men's rights" activists. The reality is quite different. The vast majority of those who study men and masculinities, far from engaging in a backlash against feminisms, are themselves feminist. Nearly all theory employed in the study of men and masculinities is feminist and/or queer. Exactly how the study of men and masculinities intersects with other disciplines such as women's studies is a complex issue, but suffice to say over the past 20 years its study has gained significant momentum, complementing women's studies in a fully-fledged gender studies, and allowing for hitherto unknown criticisms and celebrations of men's lives.

The study of men and masculinities is divided by some scholars into two approaches: "critical studies of men" and "men's studies." The general perception is that the former is explicitly feminist, while the latter is rather politically ambiguous. I use these distinctions myself, and my natural tendency is towards critical studies of men, but I am not wholly convinced the two are mutually exclusive and feel there are lessons to be learnt from both approaches. JMMS welcomes all researchers and readers who seek a better understanding of men and masculinities.

Other than JMMS, two international journals currently serve the discipline: *Men and Masculinities* and *Journal of Men's Studies*. Both are excellent in providing a general venue, but their generality make it difficult to fully explore any one area of specialty. There are many thousands of academic journals in the world, but not one that explores two of the most significant variables on the planet: men and religion. Hence the need for and birth of JMMS.

JMMS seeks to be as inclusive as possible in its area of enquiry. Papers address the full spectrum of masculinities and sexualities, particularly those which are seldom heard. Similarly, JMMS addresses not only monotheistic religions and spiritualities but also Eastern, indigenous, new religious movements and other spiritualities which resist

categorization. JMMS papers address historical and contemporary phenomena as well as speculative essays about future spiritualities.

This diversity is suggested by the contents of this first issue. Yvonne Maria Werner and Anna Prestjan introduce a large research project focused on constructions of Christian manliness in Northern Europe between 1850 and 1940. Frank A. Salamone shows how the Hausa people of Nigeria define ideal masculinity. Roland Boer employs Freud and Lacan to chart the intersection of God, circumcision and the built male body. David Shneer argues that queer Jews are at the forefront of Jewish Culture. Juan M. Marin discusses how a medieval Jesuit mystic's melancholia was perceived as "feminine." Rini Bhattacharya Mehta identifies the role of masculinity and spirituality in the early life of Sri Aurobindo. An equally diverse range of papers is being gathered for the second issue, and a further special edition focused on youth masculinities and spirituality is being prepared. These papers establish what I hope will be a long and fruitful journey, enabling both new scholarly insights and perhaps even (at the risk of grandiosity) contributing towards more peaceful ways of being.

The creation of JMMS has only been possible with the help of numerous people. Chiefly I want to thank the editorial board for responding so positively to my requests for help in launching JMMS. In particular, Philip Culbertson has been repeatedly available with advice: his wise counsel is most appreciated. Thanks to Björn Krondorfer for taking on the book review section. Thanks to John Banister for donating the JMMS URL, web-space and many hours of website development. Thanks to the various people who have acted as anonymous peer reviewers, and also those who have assisted with editorial support. Thanks to Red James for providing the JMMS logo, the meaning of which has been the source of numerous interesting conversations.

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Manliness and Catholic Mission in the Nordic Countries

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An introduction to a research project based at Lund University, Christian Manliness, a Paradox of Modernity: Men and Religion in a Northern-European Context, 1840 to 1940. *The author presents some initial findings regarding constructions of manliness in Catholic missions in the Nordic countries.*

In a letter from July 1884 to a fellow religious in Rome, the Barnabite Father Paolo Fumagalli stated the importance of demonstrating "*la supériorité en tout du prêtre catholique sur le ministre protestant*" through "*le prestige de notre savoir*," the superiority of the Catholic priest and his knowledge. Fumagalli, who was working as a missionary in the small Swedish town of Gävle together with two other Italian Barnabites, was traveling in central Sweden, giving lectures on Catholic faith and culture. He describes missionary work as a trial of strength between Catholic and Protestant culture, and in his view, the clergy was the keeper of this culture. In his letter, he also draws a picture of the ideal Catholic priest, who he describes as a man of prayer, a moral example, and as a learned, cultivated and energetic preacher of the Catholic faith. These priests were needed to dispel Protestant prejudices against Catholicism and to pave the way for their conversion to the Catholic Church.[1]

Fumagalli was one of many foreign Catholic priests working as a missionary in Scandinavia. The breakthrough of the Ultramontane movement from the 1830s onwards led to an upswing of Catholic missionary work across the world. Catholic ecclesiology of the time laid great emphasis on the Catholic Church's claim to be the only true church. Consequently, non-Catholic as well as non-Christian countries were regarded as mission fields and fell under the authority of the Roman Congregation of Mission, Propaganda Fide (K. J. Rivinius, 1994, pp. 251-265; J. Gadille & J.-F. Zorn, 1997, pp. 133-155, 162ff).[2] Hence, Catholic missionary activities were also aimed at the Nordic countries where, protected by the liberal religious laws passed in this period, they could build up a network of parishes and missions with schools, hospitals, and other social institutions. But these Catholic missionary activities faced a strong opposition in Nordic society, and for many Northerners, Catholicism appeared as an outright menace to their own culture and national integrity (Y. M. Werner, 2005, pp. 143-363).

Up to the Second Vatican Council, regulated religious life was an integral part of the comprehensive Catholic ideology that appeared in opposition against, and as an alternative to, the liberal social and political order that developed during the nineteenth century. Catholicism thus developed into a counterculture with obvious anti-modern traits. The religious were at the forefront of this Catholic system, and regulated religious

life was regarded as the most consummate expression of Catholic piety. It represented the Catholic counterculture in its most radical form, which explains why the harsh conflicts (Kulturkampf) between church and state that occurred in many countries at that time chiefly affected religious orders.[3] In Protestant countries such as the Nordic, Catholicism appeared as a counterculture in a double sense. It not only represented an alternative worldview but also an unfamiliar belief system that many regarded as a threat to their Protestant-influenced national culture. Catholic religious orders and congregations were considered as particularly dangerous (Werner, 2002; E.-B. Nilsen, 2001).

Most of the Catholic missionaries working in Scandinavia were women religious, belonging to different orders and congregations. The clergy consisted partly of secular priests, most of them trained at the *Collegium Urbanum*, the priest seminary of Propaganda Fide, and partly by members of male religious institutes. The leading women religious and almost all the priests continuously sent letters and reports to Propaganda Fide, respectively to their superiors or fellow religious. This correspondence deals foremost with the missionary work, but it also gives a good picture of missionary strategies, feelings and opinions, and thus, in the same way as Fumagalli's letter quoted above, reflects ideals, visions and identities.[4] I use this kind of correspondence to study the construction of manliness and male ideals within Nordic Catholicism between 1850 and 1940. My study is part of the interdisciplinary project *Christian Manliness – a Paradox of Modernity*, which by focusing on Northern European conditions, intends to illuminate the link between Christianity and the construction of manliness in the period.[5] I pay special attention to the relationship between Nordic and foreign Catholicism and Protestantism, and how these categorizations were loaded with manliness and womanliness respectively. So, what were these "Catholic" ideals of manliness? How were they related to ideas about manliness, evident within the established Nordic churches? I start out from the hypothesis that the ideological elements, clerical ideals, and liturgical aesthetics of Catholicism were important keystones in these "Catholic" constructions of manliness.

Many of the Catholic priests at work in the Nordic area were members of religious orders or congregations. In my project, I focus on three male religious orders working in Scandinavia: the Barnabites, the Jesuits, and the Dominicans. Italian Barnabites established themselves in Stockholm and in the Norwegian capital Christiania (Oslo) in the 1860s and were important in the initial phase of the Nordic Catholic mission.[6] In the wake of the "cultural war" (Kulturkampf) in Germany in the 1870s, German Jesuits, who were the prime representatives of Ultramontane confessionalism, settled down in Copenhagen and Stockholm, and later in other Swedish and Danish cities. From a Nordic perspective, the Jesuits were by tradition viewed as the ultimate representatives of the "Catholic peril" and of all the evil that was customarily associated with Catholicism. It is therefore interesting to note that it was the self-same Jesuits who attracted most converts, and that the Jesuit boys' school outside Copenhagen was attended by a large number of Protestant pupils (Werner, 2005, pp. 106-110, 139-141, 187-189).[7]

The Dominicans, who established themselves in the Nordic countries during the 1920s, embodied an ascetic and learned tradition, while at the same time representing the French culture so cherished by the Scandinavian upper classes. In studying how clerical

manliness was construed, I analyze the correspondence between Catholic missionaries and their leadership in the Nordic area and Propaganda Fide. I pay particular attention to the underlying conflicts revealed in the correspondents' complaints, and their defense of their actions, principally in reports where the parties argue their cases, while attacking their opponents. Here we see "types" and "counter-types" of clerical manliness and the pattern of the power relations between male and female missionaries.[8]

A starting point for my study are the two presumptions that the period in question is to be seen as a "second confessional age," marked by church consolidation and conflicts between Christian denominations, and that religion played an important role for the construction of manliness. In liberal-bourgeois circles, religion was seen as a private matter connected to the home and the female sphere (I. Götz von Olenhusen, 1995).[9] Middle class liberalism, however, accounted for only a minority of the population, while traditional Christianity in its different denominational forms, despite dwindling observance in many areas, continued to serve as the normative basis of society. Across Europe, religious revivals sprang up that contributed to the revitalization of Christianity. In Protestant countries, these revivals often originated in pietistic and low church movements, while the Ultramontane revival in the Catholic world drew its inspiration from Counter-Reformation confessionalism. This Catholic neo-confessionalism served as a basis for a religiously determined worldview, which stood in sharp contrast to the liberal ideology serving as the basis for the constitutional development of the modern state. Catholicism thus took the shape of a counterculture in modern society, characterized by its strict hierarchical order, broad popular footing and triumphalistic appearance (U. Altermatt, 1995, pp. 33-50; O. Blaschke, 2000, pp. 38-75 and 2002, pp. 13-70).[10]

Another source of inspiration for my analysis is the gender theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Robert Connell. According to these two theoretical models, it is primarily in the relationship between men and groups of men that manliness is constructed, while women play a passive role. Male dominance over women is asserted, as Bourdieu has formulated it, through a "symbolic violence" that is embedded in the social order, and that appears most clearly in the church sphere and in traditional forms of marriage (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 47-67; Connell, 1995; W. Schmale, 2003, pp.153-154, 227-230). Here it is important to note the differences between Catholic and Protestant traditions in this field. In the Catholic tradition, celibacy and monastic life was seen as superior to marriage, while in the Protestant tradition the fecund marriage was regarded as the norm for Christian life. Prior to the reforms of Vatican II, it was common to speak of an "estate of perfection" and the monastic lifestyle served as a model also for lay piety. The normative position of celibate ideals within the Catholic Church also emerges in the liturgical structure, with its disciplinary regulations fixated on gender and purity in the meaning of sexual abstinence (M. Dortel-Claudot, 1994, pp. 654-706).

Here, I will present some first results of my work. In the first part of my article, I analyze the conflict around the so-called Arctic Apostolic Prefecture erected in the 1850s from a gender perspective, in the second the Nordic mission of the Italian Barnabites.

The North Pole Mission and the Ideals of Missionary Manliness

In the middle of the 1850s there were discussions in Rome regarding plans for a reorganization of Scandinavian mission. Sweden and Norway constituted a joint Apostolic Vicariate under the supervision of the Swiss-born Bishop Laurentius Studach, who was at the same time serving as *aumônier* for the Catholic Queen Josephine. Denmark was connected with the North-German missions under the supervision of the bishop of Osnabrück. In 1854 an Arctic Apostolic Prefecture was founded. The leadership of this transatlantic polar mission was given to the Russian Catholic convert and former Jesuit count Stephan Djunkowsky, who founded a missionary centre in the north of Norway, and his aim was to create a priestly fraternity, especially trained for this task. Priests of various nationalities, who were all of the same age as the prefect (in their thirties) joined this arctic mission. At the beginning, this missionary project was quite successful, especially in North Norway, where it succeeded in winning the sympathies of the inhabitants by connecting to medieval traditions and prevalent nationalistic feelings. However, when Djunkowsky tried to expand his jurisdiction to encompass the rest of Norway as well as Denmark, and to place the centre of the mission in Copenhagen, he was met with resistance from other missionaries in the area.[11] The correspondence on this matter, that aimed to win the support of the Roman ecclesiastical authorities, gives information about what qualities and what kind of behavior was seen as appropriate for a priest and what was considered improper or dishonorable. In other words, here we may find reflected the discursive construction of priestly manliness as well as male missionary ideals.

In these letters and reports, the parties often level heavy criticism against each other by emphasizing behaviors, actions or rules of conduct, which in different ways conflicted with the ecclesiastical standards or on other grounds could be considered improper. At the same time, they tried to describe their own conduct as favorably as possible. In this way, Studach accused Djunkowsky of lack of judgment and indiscretion. He also blamed him for having harmed the good name of the Catholic Church in Sweden and Norway through his provocative conduct and heated polemics against Protestantism. Anton Bernhard, the Catholic vicar in Stockholm, characterized Djunkowsky as a rogue, living lavishly on the money of the faithful. He was also an alcoholic, and this bad habit had given him the nickname "Père Cognac."[12] The priests in Copenhagen and Christiania admitted that Djunkowsky had achieved a lot as a missionary. But his boastfulness, alcoholism and unclerical way of living had, as they saw it, caused offence and harmed the work of other missionaries, produced under so many bitter sacrifices. According to them, he was an adventurer and a swindler who lived well on the charity of the faithful and who brought dishonor on the Catholic clergy by his drinking habits.[13]

But Djunkowsky and his priests knew how to meet these accusations. In their numerous and often very lengthy reports, the North Pole missionaries describe in detail their adventurous and often dangerous mission travels in the polar region. These stories have many similarities with the masculinized rhetoric of contemporary Anglo-Saxon discourse, where missionaries are compared to explorers who brave all dangers and surmount all hindrances in their way. In his correspondence Djunkowsky brought into light "classical" missionary qualities, such as audacity, courage and endurance. He also called

attention to his own energy in raising money and organizing the extensive mission travels in the polar region. He also emphasized the strong feeling of community, which characterized the North Pole missionaries: they were reliable men and therefore could be given a great degree of freedom of action.[14]

Another distinctive feature in Djunkowsky's reports is that he describes himself as a guardian of law and order and a reliable Ultramontane who stood up for the rights of the Church, defended the Pope and safe-guarded the regulations of canon law. He repudiated the criticism from the priests in Copenhagen as groundless. According to Djunkowsky, these priests were inspired by nationalistic considerations and wanted to reserve the Danish mission for German missionaries. He refuted the accusation that he was wasteful with money by explaining how very tough and lonely missionary work was in remote regions, making necessary periods of recreation and communion with fellow priests in more pleasant parts of the world. To be a lonely priest on the fringes of civilization was exceedingly strenuous. He further stated that he was drinking alcohol upon the advice of his doctor, and never immoderately. According to Djunkowsky, the criticism from the other Catholic priests in the region, not least from vicar Bernhard, was to be seen as an expression of envy and deficiency. In letter after letter he accused Bernhard of trying to destroy his arctic missionary project by intriguing and spreading false accusations.[15]

Until 1861 it appears that Propaganda Fide did not take much notice of all the complaints and negative opinions brought forward against Djunkowsky. The Roman curia even considered complying with Djunkowsky's wish to extend the North Pole mission southwards, making Copenhagen its main quarter and raising himself to the rank of bishop (H. Tüchle, 1976, p. 146.) In that situation the other missionaries intensified their efforts to make the Roman curia dissociate from Djunkowsky. Most interesting here is the argumentation used by the bishop of Osnabrück, Paulus Melchers, in a report to Pope Pius IX, enumerating good and bad priestly qualities in a contradictory way. The good qualities were represented by the newly appointed vicar of Copenhagen, Hermann Grüder, whose reports and judgments the bishop referred to in his letters. Grüder was described as a very pious, intelligent and eager priest, with a sensitive conscience and an unusually sound judgment. Lies and defamatory words were very far from this conscientious priest. Djunkowsky, on the other hand, was characterized as an undiscerning and vain priest lacking sound judgment, delicacy, self-control and priestly dignity.[16] Studach expressed a similar opinion and added that it would harm the reputation of the Holy See if Djunkowsky was allowed to continue his activity in Norway.[17]

Djunkowsky left his position as prefect for the North Pole mission in October 1861. However, the reason for his resignation was not the criticism made by the other missionaries in the area. It was, instead, the fact that he married a young British lady. The wedding ceremony took place in Hamburg and was conducted by an Anglican priest, in the presence of the town's British community. The news regarding Djunkowsky's "fall" rapidly spread, and for his adversaries this was a definitive confirmation that he was a wretched person and that they had been right in their criticism.[18] But in Rome the reaction was not at all as severe as could have been expected. Djunkowsky disclaimed his action, explaining it as a case of momentary mental disorder and turned in contrition to Pius IX, asking to be

released from the excommunication placed on him due to the irregular marriage. The pope, who had followed Djunkowsky's foolhardy missionary project with interest, not only revoked the excommunication but also returned to him his priestly authorization, and invited him to come to Rome in order to talk matters over. But he was not, however, reinstated as prefect of the North Pole mission and was also forced to subject himself to a period of strict penance.[19] It is interesting to note that Djunkowsky, in a pro memorial addressed to Pius IX in 1853, had presented a proposal for a church reform, suggesting that obligatory priestly celibacy should be abolished so that priests could marry (A. Palmqvist, 1958, p. 121). After his rehabilitation, Djunkowsky settled in South Germany, where he devoted himself to missiological studies. Economical problems made him return to the Russian Orthodox Church in 1866, thereby recuperating his estates in Russia. By that time, however, he was a broken and sick man, and he died four years later at the age of 49 (B. I. Eidsvig, 1993, p. 185).[20]

The North Pole mission was abolished in 1869. Denmark and Norway were made Apostolic Prefectures with Grüder and the Frenchman Bernard Bernard (the former co-operator and successor of Djunkowsky), as apostolic prefects (J. Metzler, 1919, pp. 245-254). This new order was preceded by a power struggle between Bernhard and Grüder, documented in an extensive correspondence. Here arguments concerning missionary strategies dominate, and none of the involved priests questioned each other's honor, dignity or priestly virtues. The bishop of Osnabrück supported Grüder, whereas Bernard, who for some years resided in Copenhagen, received support from the Belgian bishops. Both were testified to be eminent linguists, intelligent and appreciated by their priestly colleagues. They represented, although in different ways, the Catholic priestly ideal of the time, with its emphasis on asceticism, spirit of self-sacrifice and hierarchical subordination. But at the same time, they were representative of two very different priestly types.[21] Grüder had received his education at the *Collegium Urbanum* in Rome, but to the very last hoped to get a post in a Catholic region in his home country, Germany. He stayed in Denmark out of obedience and his opposition to the plans of Bernhard to incorporate the whole of Norway and Denmark into the North Pole mission. His reports and letters give us an image of a reserved, sensitive and ascetic man, with aesthetic interests, striving to live up to the Tridentine priestly ideals by which he had been educated (Werner, 2005, pp. 84-86). Bernard, on the other hand, who according to Studach had "*une extérieure imposante*," was the born missionary, not taken aback by hardships and physical challenge. He had chosen to be a missionary. For him, the reorganization of the Nordic missions meant a real setback.[22]

However, it was not a matter of course that Rome should arrive at this solution. On many occasions there had been discussions concerning the possibility of delegating the responsibility of the Swedish-Norwegian mission to the Barnabites, who had established themselves there at the beginning of the 1860s. These plans were never realized, but the large correspondence around this question and the power struggle it reflects illustrate the construction of clerical ideals of manliness and their counterparts.

The Barnabite order or *Congregatio Clericorum Regularium S. Pauli* was a mission-oriented priestly fraternity founded in the 1530s. The order settled in the convent of San Barnaba, from where the name Barnabites was taken. At the time here concerned, the Barnabite order comprised around 200 members, distributed on three provinces. The motherhouse was, and is, in Rome.[23] In summer 1864, Barnabite priests established themselves in Stockholm and Christiania. Johan Daniel Stub, who was born in Norway, took over the post as Catholic vicar in Christiania, and Carlo Giovanni Moro and Cesare Tondini de Quarenghi were sent to Stockholm. A number of other Barnabites were active in Sweden and Norway, among them Gregorio Almerici, who replaced Studach as *aumônier* of Queen Dowager Josephine. Moro also occupied this post for a while. The Barnabites established themselves in Gävle with Moro as vicar and Fumagalli as chaplain. In spring 1885, Fumagalli held a position as lecturer in French and Italian at Uppsala University, where Moro was also lecturing. But due to opposition from the Jesuits, who had recently taken over the pastoral responsibility for the Catholics in Stockholm with surroundings, they were forced to give up this academic apostolate. Also, the plans for a Barnabite mission in South Sweden had to be dropped, and in 1887 the Barnabites definitively left the Scandinavian mission.[24]

The Barnabites' ability to gain a toehold in the Swedish-Norwegian Mission was for a great part due to the engagement of the St. Joseph Sisters, a French congregation with its motherhouse in Chambéry in the Savoy that had been working in Scandinavia since 1862. The Superior General, Marie-Félicité, pushed for the Barnabites to take responsibility both for the entire Swedish-Norwegian mission and for a co-operation between the congregations in the Nordic mission. The Barnabite general had similar aspirations.[25] These two congregations came into conflict with the above-mentioned Catholic vicar of Stockholm, Bernhard, who for many years had administered the mission in all but name in place of the sickly Bishop Studach. If, however, we are to believe the Barnabites and the Sisters of St. Joseph, the real power lay with Bernhard's housekeeper, the Spanish-born Caroline de Bogen. True, she had taken vows, and for a while had belonged to a religious congregation, but she and the vicar lived openly together in the vicarage as if they were married, which the Barnabites and the sisters naturally seized upon in their attacks. It was a scandal, they fumed, that a woman was allowed to exercise power in that manner, or as Tondini put it, "*cosa humiliante per la dignità della nostra santa Religione*," that it was humiliating for their holy religion. In fact, Bogen in many respects held a position similar to that of a clergyman's wife, which Moro also alludes to in some of his reports by calling her "La Pastorinna" (clergyman's wife).[26]

The accounts of these conflicts shed an interesting light on gender relations, which at first glance seem to confirm the thesis of the feminization of religion. The women religious held a strong position in the mission and by appealing to Rome could protect their independence from the local hierarchy. For the clergy, particularly for the older generation, this was a challenge. On a transcript of Propaganda Fide's regarding the prolongation of Moro's faculties as *aûmonier* of the St. Joseph Sisters in Stockholm, Studach scribbled "*Weiber-Regierung*." He was referring to the fact that the Chambéry

congregation had defied him by ensuring that Moro would continue to serve as a priest in the Swedish capital.[27] However, if we look more closely, it transpires that the sisters did not have as independent a position as at first appears. If Caroline de Bogen wielded her influence by virtue of her position as Bernhard's trusted housekeeper, it was by exploiting their network of male contacts within the upper echelons of the church hierarchy that the Sisters of St. Joseph managed to maintain their position in the Nordic mission.

The conflicts within the Catholic mission in Stockholm for a great part circled around Moro and his activities. Moro soon became very popular, both as a preacher and as a spiritual director, and he was a welcomed guest in the elegant parlors of the capital. When in 1868, and then in 1877, he was removed from Stockholm, this gave rise to a storm of protests, both among Catholics and Protestants. At the later occasion, a letter of protest with more than 250 signatures was sent to Propaganda Fide.[28] The majority of the signers were Protestants. Queen Dowager Josephine also engaged in the debate. In a personal letter to Pope Pius IX she pointed out that Moro with his brilliant sermons, his high education and good example, more than anyone else had contributed to a more positive opinion of the Catholic Church in the country.[29]

The secular priests, who for the greater part came from Germany, argued that the Barnabites were not fit to be missionaries in the Nordic countries, as their Mediterranean mentality was too foreign in a Nordic context. They admitted that the Barnabites' refined and elegant manners were very much appreciated in the upper ranks of society, but in their eyes, this "parlor apostolate" was more harmful than useful for the Catholic mission.[30] The Barnabites on their part, proud as they were of their "*solido spirito di romanità*" (solid Roman piety) and intellectual refinement, considered themselves as representing a superior kind of priestly manliness. In their letters they also emphasize the importance of the high dignity and sacral status of Catholic priesthood, demonstrating the cultural superiority of Catholicism.[31] It should also be mentioned that they were highly influenced by the Italian philosopher and theologian Antonio Rosmini-Serbati, who advocated a more liberal form of Ultramontane Catholicism.[32]

How were the good and the bad types of clerical manliness depicted in the reports regarding the Barnabite Mission in Scandinavia? When commending someone, both the Sisters of St. Joseph and the Barnabites refer to ideals such as simplicity, decency, piety (*pieté*), patience, and charity (*tendre charité*). In proposing Moro as apostolic vicar after Studach, his fellow religious stressed qualities such as humility and self-sacrificing obedience; they emphasized, in other words, the kind of "passive" virtues that within the liberal-bourgeois discourse were usually associated with women.[33] Studach and Bernhard, for their part, accused Moro of a lax practice as confessor, lack of orthodoxy, intrigue, and defamation, as well as of a dissipated social life under the cover of mission. He avoided simple pastoral tasks such as teaching children catechism, but instead gathered a whole "battalion" of admiring, young Catholic women around him. These women refused to accept any other priest than Moro as their spiritual director and confessor.[34]

For Moro these agonizing conflicts were a great suffering and he several times requested to be called back to Italy. He was deeply distressed by being ignored and by the unjust attacks to which he was subjected.[35] During 1866 the situation was especially critical, and Moro declared that he could not continue with his work to "*salvare le anime*

altrui" (save others' soul) when risking to *"perdere la sua propria*" (lose his own).[36] Such outbursts of feeling are very common in Moro's correspondence with his superiors. Another characteristic feature is his emphasis on sacrifice, prayer and obedience. In a letter from spring 1867 he characterized the subordination under the will of his superiors as "*la mia regula*," the commands of the general superior were for him equal to God's will. Prayer was an instrument in the battle against willfulness.[37] We find a similar way of thinking in Tondini's correspondence with his superiors. The Roman decisions were for him a manifestation of God's will and obedience was an "*esercizio di fede.*"[38] The Barnabite general Alessandro Teppa underlined in a letter to Moro that religious sent out as missionaries were exempted from bodily asceticism and therefore had to take great pains in sacrificing their own will and patiently suffering the afflictions which God had in preparation for them. A life as missionary was a "*vita di sacrifizio*," a life full of sacrifices.[39]

This obedience discourse was typical for regulated Catholic religious life at this time, but in the reports and letters from Barnabites working in Scandinavia, obedience is articulated not only as a self-evident virtue, but also as an existential problem. Moro sometimes described his situation as a "*via cruces,"* and Tondini compared his stay in Christiania as a visit to purgatory. Almerici considered that the effort to give up self-will in obedience (*le sacrifice de moi-même*) must have its limits. In his case, the matter at stake was the plan to send him to the small Norwegian town of Bergen. This would, he argued, mean that he was deprived of fraternal community life and at the same time forced to have contacts with the "world" (*il mondo*) he had renounced through his vows.[40] The picture of the ideal man religious, of which we see a glimpse here, in many ways opposes the contemporary bourgeois manly ideal that strongly emphasized the fight for independence and autonomy, whereas virtues such as humility, self-sacrifice and subordination were associated with women. However, also within Protestantism these ideals were honored as Christian, gender-crossing virtues. But here obedience and subordination were associated with the worldly sphere – with military life, the household and the position as a soldier in relation to authority – and that the exercise of these virtues was not, as in the Catholic discourse, seen as a merit in a religious sense (C. Walter, 1984, pp. 148-157).

A common trait of the Barnabites' Scandinavian mission project is that the religious sent to the Nordic countries would rather have refrained from this assignment. Fumagalli wrote in a letter to a fellow religious that he had accepted being sent to Sweden "*sans aucun enthousiasme, obéissant presque machinalement au désir des Superieurs*," only as an act of obedience. Tondini, however, was enthusiastic at the beginning, but this was due to the fact that he saw the Nordic activity as a preparation for a future apostolate in Russia. As with the others, he accepted obedience, or as he put it: "*paratus sum sine voluntate*" (I am ready without wanting).[41] One reason for this discomfort was the scarce success and conflicts with the secular priests in the region. But the principal reason seems to have been the difficulty of founding real communities. In the letters from the Barnabites in Scandinavia, there are constant complaints about the lack of brotherhood and regulated religious community life. Religious community life also included lay brothers who did all the practical work. In lacking this support, the Barnabites in the Nordic countries had to either ask the female congregation to help, or to employ maids. What

this could lead to is revealed in a letter from Almerici from his time in Christiania. The maid that had been employed was such a poor cook that Moro had to take over the task. Almerici lifts out this fact as an inconvenience, not because cooking was considered something for women, but because housekeeping in a male community had to be done by lay brothers.[42] The Barnabites were used to living in homosocial manly communities, where manliness was constructed within the framework of a hierarchical order in relation to other men.

In the conflict regarding the Barnabites' Nordic mission, which coincided with the First Vatican Council and the fall of the Papal States, the Roman curia was quite manifestly on the side of the Barnabites. The Barnabite general superior had close contacts with the prefect of Propaganda Fide, Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò, who on many occasions inquired about the possibility of the Barnabites taking responsibility for the Swedish-Norwegian mission. However, in a decisive moment, the Barnabite general and his staff declined this offer, arguing that the order lacked sufficient personal and economical resources to fulfill this mission (S. Declercq, 1937, pp. 157-161). The fact that the Italian Barnabites evidently had difficulties in acclimatizing themselves in Scandinavia may also have played a role.

The Barnabites' Nordic missionary project was in many ways a product of women's ambitions and strivings. The extensive correspondence here analyzed often deals with women and their roles in the conflicts at stake. It is interesting to note the manner in which women were used in the argumentation. A common feature is that they were mostly mentioned in negative terms in connection with discussions about power and influence. In their letters, the Barnabites describe the influence of the vicar's housekeeper Caroline de Bogen and the Daughters of Mary on the missionary work as an expression of decay and disorder. These women, Moro stated in a letter from spring 1865, did not strive for wisdom or sanctity but for power.[43] Feminine power is here put in contradiction to sanctity. Studach and Bernhard expressed a similar view. In order to belittle the Catholic protests against Moros' transfer to Christiania, they described it as an action organized by his female admirers. In a long report to Propaganda Fide, Bernhard expressed his indignation that Rome gave so much credit to the reports and complaints of women religious. According to him, the problems in the Swedish mission were mainly due to the female congregation's strong influence in Rome. [44]

This could be interpreted as contempt for women's ability and competence, but at a closer look the issue at stake was the exercising of power without possessing formal authority. Similar accusations were also directed to men; the struggle over the North Pole mission gives many examples of this. Both Djunkowsky and his successor Bernard were accused of meddling in the affairs of the Swedish and Norwegian Danish missions. But there is also another important factor. The women who were accused of an unduly exercise of power were all women religious or, as in the case of Bogen, secular women living under vows. At this time women religious were more and more considered as the priests' assistants, and as belonging to the clergy in a wider sense (J. A. K. McNamara, 1996, pp. 600-627; E. Sastre Santos, 1997, pp. 860-875). This is also reflected in the material here analyzed. Bernhard considered Bogen as his trusted co-operator. The Barnabites were prepared to work together with the St Joseph Sisters as equal partners,

and there is no evidence in the material that they regarded the women religious as subordinate to male religious. The belonging to religious orders, the "estate of perfection," transcended the socially constructed gender differences. But this did not mean that these male religious accepted woman's political emancipation. In one of his articles in the newspaper *Gefle-Posten*, Moro renounced the idea of equal *political* rights for men and women, arguing that this would threaten the moral standards of society. According to him, women's vocation was to spread love and charity. In this sense women could and should exercise power in society (Moro, 1887, pp. 23-25).

After 1880, the influence of the woman religious waned considerably. The Barnabites left Scandinavia, abandoning the field to other male orders, particularly the Jesuits. With the establishment of the German Jesuits in Denmark and Sweden, no women religious were involved, and there was no question of a co-operation of the kind that had existed between the Barnabites and the St. Joseph Sisters. The Jesuits even hesitated to engage themselves with women, as they were troublesome "*Nonnen-Seelensorge*."[45] The conflicts that the Jesuits were drawn into centered on limiting competence in relation to the secular clergy. The reports on these issues as well as the correspondence dealing with internal problems reflect the discursive struggle regarding clerical manliness. The Jesuits' letters are more temperate and to the point than the Barnabites'; pious expressions of emotion are less in evidence, and qualities such as discipline, asceticism, industry, and, last but not least, obedience were accorded great importance. Here, the more active parts of the Tridentine clerical ideals are brought to the fore. The more passive virtues, such as humility, are principally mentioned in connection with disciplinary measures against religious who had offended the Rules.[46] But in the Jesuits' private correspondence, the tone is rather different. An example is the correspondence between the Superior of the Jesuits in Stockholm, Friedrich Lieber, and his brother Ernst, the famous leader of the Catholic "Zentrum" party. In their letters, they let religious sentiment flow more freely, and there is much talk of prayer and confident trust in God.[47]

With the arrival of the French Dominicans, who launched their mission to the Nordic area in the 1920s, a new situation arose. Alongside the fathers, female Dominican communities were established, first in Oslo, later in Stockholm and Lund. The Dominican fathers served as chaplains in the sisters' convents, and there was a close cooperation between the two branches. Like the Barnabites before them, the Dominicans cultivated an intellectual mission, and their chapels soon evolved into intellectual centers.

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Notes

[1] Fumagalli to Giuseppe Grannniello 4 March 1885: ASBR. Cf. Lindqvist (2000, pp. 407ff).

[2] The Nordic countries remained under the Congregation of Propaganda Fide until 1977, when the Nordic Catholic dioceses received the full status of local Churches.

[3] For example, see D. Moulinet (2004, pp. 218-230), J. Schmiedl (2004, pp. 255-261), A. Colombo (2004, pp. 263-276) and F. Metzger (2004, pp. 316-330).

[4] The source material consists of official and private correspondence in Nordic Catholic diocesan archives, the archives of Propaganda Fide and of the Barnabites, the Jesuits and the Dominicans in Rome, the German Jesuits' archives in Munich, and the archives of the Dominicans in Paris.

[5] In all, fourteen researchers and two advisers (the historians Hugh McLeod of Birmingham, and Callum Brown of Dundee) are engaged in this research project, which is sponsored by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. We have also contact with research groups in the Netherlands and Belgium dealing with similar projects. See http://www.hist.lu.se/hist/forskning/kristen_manlighet.php.

[6] For further details of the Barnabite mission in Scandinavia see S. Declercq (1935, 1936 & 1937 and 1938) and B. Lindqvist (1981, 1983 & 2000).

[7] Cf. Werner (1996, pp. 128-146, 275-285), P. Hampton Frosell (1995) and S. Olden-Jørgensen (1998).

[8] There is no broader scholarly work published on the Dominican Fathers missionary work in Scandinavia.

[9] Cf. P. Markkola (2000), J. Tosh (1999), A. Bradstock (2000) and C. G. Brown (2001).

[10] Cf. K.-E. Lönne (2000, pp. 29-170), H. McLeod (2000), L. Hölscher (2005) and A. Jarlert (2003, pp. 87-94).

[11] This conflict is described by Eidsvig (1993, pp. 169-187) and Palmqvist (1958, pp. 121-124).

[12] Letters to Barnabò from Studach 26 Oct. & 2 Dec. 1856, 30 March 1857 & 13 Nov. 1861, and from Bernhard 14 July 1859: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF.

[13] Letters to Barnabò from Grüder 31 Aug. 1858, 13 Oct. 1859, 4 Oct. 1861, and from Lichtlé 12 May 1861: Germania, vol. 22, ASPF.

[14] Letters to Barnabò from Djunkowsky 21 Sept 21 Nov. 1856, 29 Aug., 8 Dec. and 16 Oct. 1857, 5 March & 11 April 1859, 15 Oct. 1860, 22 April, 27 May, 9 Oct. 1861; from L. Mussa 26 Oct. 1857, and from Bauer 20 July 1858: Germania vol. 21 & 22, ASPF.

[15] Letters to Barnabò from Djunkowsky 6 Oct. & 21 Nov. 1856, 29 Aug., 16 Oct. 1857, 12 April 1858, 19 Dec. 1859, 15 Oct. 1860, 22 April, 27 May & 9 Oct.1861: Germania, vol. 21 & 22, ASPF.

[16] Melchers to Pius IX 11 Oct. 1861: Germania, vol. 23, ASPF. Cf. Metzler (1919, p. 234).

[17] Studach to Barnabò 13 Nov. 1861: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF.

[18] E. Maubel to Barnabò 17 Jan. 1862: Germania, vol. 21, ASPF. Bernhard to G. Simeoni, Secretary at the Propaganda Fide, 12 March 1874: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF. Cf. B. I. Eidsvig (1993, p. 185).

[19] Djunkowsky to Barnabò 24 Dec. 1861, 27 Jan., 20 March & 9 May 1862, and to Pius IX 18 Jan. 1862, 22 Dec. 1864: Germania, vol. 21, ASPF.

[20] Together with M. Lacroix, Djunkowsky published *Dictionnaire des Missions Catholiques. Encyclopédie théologique publiée par Migne,* Paris 1864*.* The history of the North Pole mission is described in vol. II, pp. 1320-1334.

[21] Grüder to Barnabò 14 July, from Melchers 28 July 1865, and from Bernard 18 May 1866 & 28 Oct. 1868. Bernard to Pius IX 3 May 1861 & 12 March 1864: Germania, vol. 22 & 23.

[22] Studach to Barnabò 29 June 1868: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF. Bernard to Barnabò 28 Nov. 1868: Germania, vol. 23, ASPF. Cf. Metzler (1919, pp. 246-248).

[23] For further details about the Barnabites, see A. M. Gentili (1967).

[24] For an overview, see S. Declercq.

[25] Marie-Félicité to Caccia 9 March & 4 July 1864: ASPF. Marie-Félicité to Barnabò 14 Feb. & 25 July 1864: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF. Cf. Werner (2002, pp. 63-65).

[26] Tondini to Caccia 19 May & 10 June 1864: Epist. Gen. ASBR. In the later report, Tondini calls Bogen "padrona nella parochial." Moro to General A. Teppa 6 March, 10 May & 18 June 1867: Epist. Gen., ASBR. Marie-Félicité to Barnabò 28 July 1864: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF.

[27] Barnabò to Studach 11 May 1867. Cf. Palmqvist (1958, p. 148).

[28] Anne de Jésus to Caccia 13 March 1867. Moro to Teppa 18 June & 14 Sept. 1867: Epist. Gen., ASBR. Cf. Declercq (1936, pp. 40-47, 146-155) and Werner (2002, p. 70).

[29] Josephine to Pius IX 22 Oct. 1868: In B. Lindqvist (2000, pp. 151ff).

[30] Bernhard to Barnabò 12 Sept. 1867, 12 Feb. 1868, 28 July 1869 and to Franchi 12 March 1874. Studach to Barnabò 29 June 1868 & 4 Jan. 1868. Letters to Franchi from Huber 11 and from R. Kiesler 19 Oct. 1875: Svezia, vol. 4 & 5, ASPF.

[31] Almerici to Teppa 1 & 4 Oct. 1868. Stub & Moro to Teppa 1 May 1868. Fumagalli to Grannniello 4 Mach 1885: Epist. Gen., ASBR. Cf. Lindqvist (2000, p. 407ff).

[32] G. Scalese (1991, pp. 55-84). The "Rosminians" were later accused of being modernists, and in 1877 several statements by Rosmini were put on the index.

[33] Letters to Caccia from Marie-Félicité 9 March, 5 & 21 July 1864, and from Anne de Jésus 13 March and 26 Sept. 1865 and from Tondini 10 June: Epist. Gen., ASBR. Marie-Félicité to Barnabò 4 July 1864: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF.

[34] Bernhard to Barnabò 12 Feb. 1868 & 29 June 1869: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF. In a report to Teppa from 23 Oct. 1867 Moro is quoting a letter from Bernhard, where the latter had

called him "diavolo incatenato." Cf. Declercq (1936, pp. 146ff). Studach to Barnabò 29 Juni 1868 & 4 Jan. 1869: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF.

[35] Moro to Caccia 15 & 16 Aug., 8 & 24 Oct. 1864, 30 Jan., 30 June, 15 & 16 Aug. & 21 November 1865, and to Teppa 16 Jan., 19 May, 7 Oct. 1866, 14 Sept &, 23 Oct. 1867: Epist. Gen., ASBR. Cf. Declercq (1935, pp. 225-227; 1936, pp. 40-42). In the letter from 19 May 1866 he described the conflicts as a "guerra dissimulata e accanita" (terrible war).

[36] Moro to Teppa 8 March 1866: Epist. Gen., ASBR.

[37] Moro to Teppa 13 April 1867. More examples are found in letters from Moro to Teppa 7 Oct. 1866, 4 & 29 Aug. 1868: Epist. Gen., ASBR. Moro to Studach (copy) 2 April 1868: Svezia vol. 4, ASPF. This kind of terminology is present also in the letters of the other Barnabites, as in a letter from Stub to Caccia 18 Feb. 1865: Epist. Gen., ASBR.

[38] Tondini to Caccia 3 Oct. 1865: Epist. Gen., ASBR; Tondini to Almerici 2 Oct. & 25 Nov. 1865: Carte Almerici: ASBR.

[39] Caccia to Moro 3 Mach 1869: Epistolario Caccia, ASBR.

[40] Letters to Teppa from Moro 15 & 29 June and from Americi 4 Nov. 1868: Epist. Gen., ASBR. In a letter from 4 Oct. the same year, Almerici openly criticized Teppa for having accepted Moros' replacement to Christiania. Tondini to Almerici 14 Nov. 1864: Carte Almerici, ASBR.

[41] Fumagalli to Giuseppe Grannniello 4 March 1885: quoted in Lindqvist (2000, pp. 407ff). Tondini to Caccia 27 Feb. 1864: Epist. Gen., ASBR.

[42] Almerici to Teppa 4 Nov. 1868: Epist. Gen., ASBR.

[43] Moro to Caccia 30 Jan. 1865: Epist. Gen., ASBR.

[44] Reports to Barnabò from Studach 4 Jan. 1869 and from Bernhard 28 July 1869: Svezia, vol. 4, ASPF. Bernhard to Bishop Sträss in Strasbourg (draft) 1869: Collection of the Eugenia Parish, Archives of the Catholic Bishops Office (EFA, KBA).

[45] There are a lot of letters about this from the 1870s and 1880s in Dania V 65, Archivum Provinciae Germaniae Septentrionalis (APGS) in Munich.

[46] We find many examples of this in the APGS as well as in the Archivum Romanum (ARSI) in Rome.

[47] Ernst Lieber, Briefwechsel mit seinem Bruder Friedrich Lieber 1862–1898: Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Wiesbaden, Abt. 1172, Nr. 99.

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Christian Social Reform Work as Christian Masculinization? A Swedish Example

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"Our intention is not to discuss and theorize, but to march and take action." These were the words of the Swedish Protestant pastor Eric E:son Hammar, characterizing the work of the Christian social reform project of which he was the leader and driving force, in the periodical Ny Mark *(*New Land*) in 1909. In this article, I will present the results of a study of* Ny Mark *and its presentation of different masculinities. A hypothesis is that Eric E:son Hammar and his colonization project was a part of a Swedish project promoting "muscular" Christian manliness.*

"Our intention is not to discuss and theorize, but to march and take action." These were the words of the Swedish protestant pastor Eric E:son Hammar, characterizing the work of the Christian social reform project of which he was the leader and driving force, in the periodical *Ny Mark* (*New Land*) in 1909. The quotation summarizes Hammar's idea of Christian social reform work: personal, practical action and resourcefulness before cautiousness and indirect contributions.

In this article, I will present the results of a study of *Ny Mark*, which was published between 1908 and 1926, and which was the official publication of a Christian social reform project led by Hammar. The article will start from the idea that Hammar and his colonization project can be seen as part of a contemporary Christian reaction to a presumed change in the societal position of Christianity and the Church. By way of introduction, I will discuss a connection between the construction of masculinity, Christendom and social reform work: that Christian social reform work can be seen as part of a Christian mobilization against what was understood as demasculinization and devitalization of the Church and Christianity. The question is: can Hammar's Christian social reform project be related to Anglo-Saxon ideas of so-called Christian manliness?

Christian Manliness, Muscular Christianity and Social Christianity

What, then, is understood by Christian Manliness? The most well-known manifestation is the phenomenon of *Muscular Christianity*, which originated as a literary movement in England in the 1850s. The phrase Muscular Christianity first appeared in a review of the British parson and writer Charles Kingsley's (1819-1875) novel *Two Years Ago* in 1857. Later,

it was also used to describe the novel *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1856) by Kingsley's friend Thomas Hughes (1822-1896). According to Clifford Putney (2001), Muscular Christianity soon became the general label of not only Kingsley's and Hughes' writings, but of a whole genre of adventure novels about "manly Christian heroes" who combined high moral principles with recognition – and promotion – of the physical body. Kingsley and Hughes' writings are to be seen in the light of their social criticism, and especially their criticism of the Anglican Church, which they found weakened and effeminate. In short, Muscular Christianity can be seen as a "campaign for more health and manliness in religion."

In America, the ideas of Muscular Christianity did not establish a grip on society until after the Civil War. Then it found a breeding ground in a general occupation with manliness and health that was part of the critique of modernization and urbanization. Among American men who felt their manhood, health and social status threatened by impairing city life, weakening office jobs and "feminized" Protestantism, Muscular Christianity was embraced as "a strenuous religion for the strenuous life." Muscular Christianity had its heyday in America from around 1880 to 1920. Movements such as the YMCA and the Men and Religion Forward Movement sought to make religion more manly and attractive to men. Muscular Christian ideals, however, lost their force after World War I (Putney, 2001).

The phenomena of Muscular Christianity has been studied by several scholars in the US and Great Britain (Vance, 1985; Hall, 1994; Robertson, 1994; Ladd and Mathisen, 1999; Bradstock, 2000; Putney, 2001). Their definitions are fairly uniform. Muscular Christianity was formulated in the 1850s and originated from changes in Victorian and, later, American society. The two central and intertwining motives were to counteract the separation of spiritual life from secular life on all levels, and to handle the synthesis of masculinity and Christianity. The feminization of religion, religiosity and church life had to be eliminated. Religiosity had to be changed into something more attractive to men by infusing it with notions of manliness. The churches had to be more relevant to society and worldlier in character and activity. To raise oneself above one's own masculinity was not requisite in order to serve God, and Muscular Christianity advocates wished to promote an image of masculinity that embraced piety and chivalry as well as recognition of the male body with its needs, desires and possibilities. The true Christian man should not only be his own master, but the master of society that he could change for the better.

Scholars also connect the ideas of Muscular Christianity to the issue of *Social Christianity*, expressed through the Progressive movement (USA), the Christian Socialist movement (England) and the Social Gospel movement (USA), and to the more general ideologies of imperialism and nationalism. Putney (2001) traces the origins of American Muscular Christianity to the so-called Progressive movement at the end of the 1800s. The movement rose as a reaction to what was perceived as over-civilization and devitalization of society. It focused on the cult of the strenuous life, bodily vigor, action before reflection, experience before book learning and pragmatism before sentimentality. In this context, the church, as well as many other aspects of society, had demands on it to be more "masculine" and vigorous (Putney, 2001).

The Christian Socialist movement was started in London in 1848. Among the attendants at the first meeting were, not surprisingly, Kingsley and Hughes. The lead issue

of the movement was how the church should handle the grievances of the working-class in order to prevent revolution. For the Christian Socialists, religion and politics were inseparable, which echoes Muscular Christian thought that the spiritual and the worldly should not be alienated from each other, in society or the individual. The church, the Christian Socialists claimed, should be engaged in social questions. The first active period of the movement lasted only a few years, until 1854 when disagreement among members ended its activities. In the 1880s, the movement saw a revival and new Christian Socialist groups were formed.[1]

The Social Gospel movement of the USA had its heyday at the end of twentieth century and was, according to Putney (2001), a true Muscular Christianity movement. The movement's main interests were to make the Protestant churches of America more contemporary and relevant to society, and to embrace a manly Christianity in contrast to religious "sentimentality" and "femininity." The Social Gospellers performed practical social actions in urban societies, but, as Putney (2001) writes, they also were moralists who wished to spread Protestant virtues among the urban working-class (and to Catholic immigrants). The church as effeminate and the unmanliness of religion were of central concern to the Social Gospel movement. The solution to this problem was to bring more men into church by "having the churches coming to grips with physical reality." This meant the solving of social problems, but it also meant active interest in the body. The church had to accept sports and physical exercise. This was not, however, only a strategy to attract young men to the church; there was also the connection between a good body and health in service of higher purposes and the good of society (Putney, 2001, p. 39-44).

Muscular Christianity cannot be called a "movement," as there was no organization or uniform program, but rather a current or collection of ideas. However, as we have seen, Muscular Christianity had connections with the more organized Social Christianity movements such as the Christian Socialist movement, and inspired and influenced later movements such as the Social Gospel. In this text, I will apply the phrase *Christian Manliness* to ideas held together by the problem of combining Christianity with what was seen as manliness – manifested in more diffuse complexes of ideas such as the Muscular Christianity tradition, or in more organized concepts of Social Christianity.[2]

Church and Christianity Devitalized and Demasculinized?

To the Anglo-Saxon Christian Manliness advocates, the solution to problems such as the demasculinization of Christianity and the alienation of the Church from the secular world was to reconnect Christianity to manliness. In Sweden, criticism of Church and Christianity has not been analyzed from such a gender perspective, but concern about the same secularizing problems can be traced.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lutheran Swedish State Church was criticized in a way that earlier had been unthinkable. The criticism was aimed at the Church as "official religious interpreter," but also more generally as "religious institution" (Bexell, 2003, pp. 166-77). During the radicalism of the 1880s, critical voices increased from the intellectual-cultural elite, which dissociated itself from dogmatic religion and from the Church as institution, but embraced science as the principle of social order (Bexell, 2003, pp. 168-170; Rosenberg, 1948, pp. 87-144). Partially intertwined with this

cultural-intellectual denigration was also a socialist criticism. The socialists saw the Church and State as allied, and criticism of the upper-classes and the State therefore also meant criticism of the State Church. The Church, on its side, interpreted socialism as concentrated only on the material, with no respect for the spiritual. Christianity, on the other hand, was said to be the true uniting force of society through its "ethics, outlook on mankind, faith and order of things." This opposition of Church and socialism has been taken as the explanation of the Church and clergy's general indifference to social questions in Sweden (Bexell, 2003, pp. 170-172; Rosenberg, 1948, pp. 87-142, Christiansson, 2006, pp. 110-112). Irrespective of origin, the turn-of-the-century criticism of Church and Christianity in Sweden united in the view of Church and Christianity as *alienated from secular society*. The Church, it was asserted, was unworldly and therefore unwilling and insignificant in the struggle for a better society (Bexell, 2003, pp. 172-74).

Accordingly, by the turn of the century, the Church and religion in general were undergoing increasing pressure and questioning; their hegemonic social position wavered. Church and Christianity were confronted with the threat of *devitalization*, that is, decreasing power and strength in a social and cultural context. In the light of separation of the spiritual world from the secular, the Church from society, and religion from politics, this devitalization had connections to a supposed separation of Christendom from masculinity – a *demasculinization*. The connection between a demasculinization of Christendom and secularization emanates from an understanding of "secularization" as religion's decreasing importance in public society, in the light of the bourgeois gendered division of society to private "feminine" and public "masculine" spheres. Separation of Church from State meant that religion increasingly came to be seen as a private matter with feminine connotations. The formal religious practice of men decreased while women's engagement and participation increased, and this supported the opinion of religion as women's concern.[3]

How, then, did the clergy handle this situation? Church historians have emphasized how the Church, in Sweden as well as in other countries, did not remain passive facing the changes in religion's position. From the nineteenth century, there has been a noteworthy mobilization of "religious defense," aiming at strengthening the positions of Church and Christianity (Jalert, 2003; Blaschke, 2000 and 2002; McLeod 2000a). This defense movement can, from a gender perspective, be interpreted as Christian *men*'s attempt to counteract the demasculinization. This is also the main hypothesis of the ongoing Swedish research project *Christian Manliness – A Paradox of Modernity*, of which the study of pastor Eric E:son Hammar and his Christian social reform project is a part.[4] The hypothesis is, as we have seen, supported by Anglo-Saxon research on ideas and movements round the concepts of Christian manliness and Christian social activism in these countries at the turn of the century.

Eric E:son Hammar and The Floda Colonies

In 1906, the Swedish protestant pastor Eric E:son Hammar published a booklet, in which he presented an idea: he wanted to start a colonization project and help the less fortunate members of society to a better life. Sweden should be relieved from costs of welfare, and at the same time gain from the increase in cultivated land areas. The project was a social

reform project with its starting point in the raising up of the individual. The alcoholic and ex-convict should be raised to be a farmer, a good man and citizen: self-sufficient, hard-working, head of a family with both physical and mental strength. The end product of the colonization project was to be the happy, self-sufficient agricultural family.[5]

Hammar was ordained in 1901 in a diocese in northern Sweden (Norrland). Originally from the southern part of Sweden, Hammar was inspired by a contemporary romantic idealization of Norrland.[6] In 1902-1916 he held a post as a parish pastor in the sparsely populated parish of Vemdalen, an isolated location surrounded by forests and mountains. The population was about 1000, the majority living in the church village of Vemdalen and the rest spread among smaller settlements. The main industries of the parish were agriculture and forestry. This brought about a lifestyle that was very unfamiliar to Hammar: in wintertime, the men lived separated from their families during weekdays, working in the forests. In summertime, many women left their homes to live with the cattle in the pasture fields (fäbodar). In addition, during autumn and winter, the area was invaded by hundreds of vagrant woodsmen, and on weekends these men visited the village to drink and enjoy the company of local youth.

During his last years as a student, Hammar became interested in social problems. In Vemdalen, he became concerned by drinking, immorality, and the non-observance of the Sabbath. The so-often separated families resulted in there being no parental authority over the young, he wrote in his official reports, and this in combination with the influence from the woodsmen was devastating. Hammar's efforts to manage the problems were not very successful. The local customs were tenacious. But Hammar's social ambitions were firm, and he soon found another way to channel them: the colonization project at the Floda moor.

Hammar took the initiative to an organization, *Sällskapet för Kristen Social Nykterhetsverksamhet,* later *Föreningen Floda Kolonier* (*The Christian Social Temperance Society*, later *The Floda Colonies Society*, FCS). His colonization ideas were realized in 1908, when he personally set to work at the bog land that was bought for the purpose. FCS, at the most, had about 3000 supporting members, although there were only a handful of active members. The society's Christian character was clear, and not just because it was started by a pastor and most of the influential board members were also pastors. The society's purpose was to carry on "Christian humanitarian work" and to "foster a Christian basis." The meaning of the latter is unclear – in practice, the "fostering" of the alcoholic men was not aiming for conversion or religious revival, but soberness and usefulness. The colonists had to join daily prayers, but that was the only active religious element. More clearly, FCS wanted to highlight the project as a Christian social activity. In *Ny Mark* and other texts by Hammar, he is constantly emphasizing the Christian's duty to be merciful and compassionate in a practical and active way, to "march and take action."

FCS started three colonies in different parts of Sweden in 1908, 1914 and 1916. The Vemdalen colony (Floda I) was the only colony in a literal sense, while the functions of Floda II and Floda III were more like farm collectives from which suitable men with good future prospects of succeeding in becoming a sober, hard-working farmer, could be chosen for the Floda I colony. The man first had to prove himself capable and worthy, then he would be allowed to bring his family, if he had any, to Floda I, and eventually take

possession of a "colonate," a cottage and a plot. As a settler, the man was supposed to earn his own living and provide for his family.

Hammar's vision was a network of tens of thousands of supporting members, a self-sufficient organization and a self-renewing body of educated employees. This vision never became reality. Due to economic reasons, FCS was forced to seek the state's help and involvement, and Hammar had to see his lifetime achievement slip from his hands and be integrated in the developing state system of alcoholism treatment. In 1925, the original colony in Vemdalen was the last part of the project to be terminated.

What happened to Hammar? In 1916, Hammar left his official position as a pastor in the Swedish State Church. His time had for several years been shared between his duties as a parish pastor and the colonization project. His wishes were to have the bishop's approval and blessing to perform his social reform work as part of his official position. But as the parish work was neglected (Hammar always tended to give priority to the colonization work) the bishop gave him an ultimatum: fulfill the parish duties as regulated or leave the post. So Hammar left, and he left Vemdalen as well.

Between 1916 and 1921, Hammar worked with alcoholism treatment and colonization, employed first by FCS and later as preacher and superintendent at the state's first alcoholism treatment institution. In 1921, Hammar returned as Swedish State Church official and held a post as curate for two years until he eventually became a vicar in Säter in 1923. The work within the FCS continued until 1925. Hammar died in June 1943, shortly after having hoisted the flag in his garden.

Masculinities in Ny Mark

While the issue of this study is not the colonization project as such, but its "man-making" functions, a few things have to be said about it. The colonization project was the first of its kind in Sweden, but it can easily be connected to the critique of modernization in contemporary Sweden. Within the framework of this critical movement grew concern about secularization and gender issues, the idea of the natural and healthy countryside in contrast to the dangerous and devastating city, as well as the ideal of domesticity. There was also a growing interest in social problems and their solutions through scientific knowledge and rationalism, all reflected in Hammar's Christian-social project (Sörlin, 1988; Edling, 1996; Hedin, 2002; Stolare, 2003). The project was also an expression for Hammar's personal conviction that practical social work was a true task for the church and clergy. On a higher level it reflects his opinion of how, on one hand, activism and physical strength and, on the other, confidence in God and love of one's neighbor could and should be combined in Man, with strong character the glue between them. Hammar's direct inspiration was the working colonies for vagrant and alcoholic men in Germany, Netherlands and England, and especially the work of the German pastor von Bodelschwing, who opened his first working colony in the 1880s.[7]

This study has focused upon the question of how masculinity was constructed in the Christian context of the colonization project. The colonization project was not a "man-making" project, and the texts of *Ny Mark* are not characterized by explicit statements about manliness and un-manliness. The goal of the colonization activities were, though, explicitly to change people from non-desirable to desirable, *to foster them into men*.[8] My

supposition is that there is an Ideal Man rising from the text, while the men who were to be transformed represent other types of masculinities, subordinated to the Ideal. But what were the characteristics of this Ideal Man, and what qualities distinguished the men who were to be transformed? Another question is if, and how, the Ideal Man was constructed in relation not only to other men, but also to women? Had woman a role in the re-birth of man?

Before presenting the study and its results, there are some things to be said about the material, *Ny Mark*. The periodical was published for the first time in 1908. It was planned to be a quarterly report, but in reality it was irregularly published. Some years, such as 1919, there was only one issue; other years, such as 1910, there were six issues. Altogether there were about 40 issues between 1908 and 1927.

Ny Mark was published by FCS's constant secretary and "managing director," Eric E:son Hammar himself, who was also the main writer and editor. The periodical was intended mainly for supporting members of the organization, but also for the general public. Its purpose was to provide information about and reports from the colonization work and to request support for the organization. The most common themes are, beside reports from the colonization activities: the dangerous city, domesticity and the family, and the importance of combining Christian love of one's neighbor with practical work for social reform.

For this study, the periodical has been studied chronologically with focus on statements on men, women and family. The results of the study will be presented under the headings *The Masculinities of Ny Mark*, *A Woman's Task*, *Home, Household and Family*, and discussed under the article's last heading.[9]

The Masculinities of Ny Mark

As said before, the men who were to be changed through colonization should be "fostered into men." Implicitly, those men were not real men, or maybe not men at all? They are most often referred to as "individuals," "persons," "human material" or "elements" – clearly differentiated from the category of *men*. What was it, then, that made these men unmanly or even non-manly?[10]

The activities of SFC were first and foremost intended for alcoholic, ex-convict and vagrant "individuals" – a category obviously regarded as problematic and, according to SFC, not noticed enough by the social welfare movement in Sweden.[11] This may have been true. When SFC started their practice in 1908, there were in Sweden only two private, non-repressive institutions designed to treat alcoholics. None of these two "homes" had fulfilled their original ambition to receive clients from the lower classes. The clientele at the Floda colonies, however, differed noticeably from the clientele at the earlier homes. More than 50% of the registered men belonged to the category of "skilled or unskilled workers," almost 70% of them had a history at different kinds of supporting or repressive institutions, and more than 40% were pre-convicts. Moreover, the majority of the pre-convicts were recidivists.[12]

Among the colonists was another problematic type of man, maybe not vagrant or criminal, but still alcoholic and living under irregular conditions. These were the "mummy's boys" – weaklings, spoiled and strangers to "real" work.[13] In likelihood, this

category ran predominately together with the middle- and upper-class part of the clientele. In *Ny Mark*, though, the class aspect is not conspicuous in the categorizing of the problematic "types." If not a social problem of the same dignity, the weakling was as problematic *as a man* as the ruffian. The problem with both groups, and so what characterized the man who was no man, was that he did not work, had no "real" home or family and was not a real citizen (had no civil rights or did not fulfill his civil duties by working for his own living and for the profit of society). Another common characteristic was the loss of strength in one form or another – physical, mental or both. The lack of mental strength meant idleness, being without a will of one's own and moral weakness. The physical weakness showed in illness or frailness – book-reading men with pale hands were among the men who were to be transformed.[14]

The hope was that the fostering activities at the colony should result in a healthy, strong man who was able to, and wanted to, work for his own living and support a family in a home of his own. *Competence* was the watchword, together with *worthy* and *respected member of society*, a *citizen*.[15] The picture of the Ideal Man stands out in two poems published in *Ny Mark* 1910:

> My song for those,
> Who wear the weight and heat on harvest day,
> Who can handle the scythe with strength
> And swing it quickly with long, sweeping strokes
> ...
> My song for those,
> Who dig the ditches and break ground,
> He is a man and first among men
> Who fights the wasteland, brave and strong. (*My Song for Those*, Karl-Erik Forsslund)[16]

> If you break new ground, you break steel,
> You iron-marrowed boy!
> To clear new land is your goal, isn't it?
> Won't your hand stand firm in encounter?
> The arm is sinewy, if the ground is stony,
> You powerful son of the mountains. (*The Youth Song*, Viktor Myrén)[17]

The two poems point out the qualities of the Ideal Man: he is strong and sinewy, he sweats, he works hard and he enjoys it. The study of *Ny Mark* shows that the Ideal Man was physically strong, competent, strenuous, strong in character, a resident and a family provider. This stereotype of masculinity was superior in relation to two countertypes: the uncontrolled, irresponsible, vagrant man who was a burden to society, and the weak, frail, feeble and spoiled man. Bodily strength and competence is accentuated in a way that places the former man superior to the latter. A combination, as in the Ideal Man, was

preferable, of course, but to break ground and clear new land, muscles and endurance were more important than any inner quality.

A Woman's Task

George L. Mosse (1996) and Claes Ekenstam (1998) claim that qualities ascribed to "woman" are qualities that "man" is supposed to have less of or to be without, or, if they existed in a man were effeminate. According to this, what is said about woman in *Ny Mark* certainly says something about man as well, which is why focusing on women in a study on men is both interesting and necessary.

So, how is the woman pictured in *Ny Mark*? Did she take part in the man-making of the colonization project? Woman is pictured in two ways. First, as the Ideal Woman, with specific qualities and tasks that differ from the Ideal Man. Second, woman is pictured out of her role in the transformation of the man.

Woman was important in the colonization project. She constituted a central part of the family, whose reunion was a goal for FCS, and had a central role in the home that was to be the family's fundament. The woman/wife should keep the home clean, neat, nice and happy. In fact, the woman is described as the leading character of the colonist home, and her competence was decisive for the final results of the project.[18]

That the woman had to be, or was to be, *competent*, is a constantly recurring theme. Around the years of 1913 and 1914, the writings about woman intensified. Hammar by this time formulated an idea of a woman's home, where the male colonists' wives or proposed wives should get their necessary education in the art of homecare and childcare. This education should, according to Hammar, be completed before man and woman could be allowed to join as a couple in a colonist home. He claimed that a man could be made sober and competent, but if he rejoined an incompetent woman, his transformation would be wasted:

> As woman is the soul of the home, it is of great importance, to make sure, that she is made qualified for her calling. To send a restored man to an incompetent wife … and to a home, that is neglected and in decay, is to make him a recidivist and to have wasted work and money. And to reunite the man with such a wife at the colony is to lay the burden of a proletarian family on the FCS and to make the colony a poor house.[19]

The competent woman was to be able to do all the daily chores in a small farm home: prepare cheap and nourishing meals, take care of children, look after pig and cow, keep the home neat and clean, sew and repair clothes and so on. Her tasks were not only practical, though. The competent woman should be the soul of the home, responsible for its comfort, financial strength and moral worth: this was her calling.[20]

What is said about the woman in *Ny Mark* reflects the view that the Ideal Man, on his own, was not expected to be able to keep up domesticity. On the contrary, the good home, created and managed by the competent woman, was *a requirement* for the Ideal Man's manliness. The tasks within the four walls of the home, the care and upbringing of

the children, were not duties of the Ideal Man. His duties were to work and support the family. Important, though, is that without a family, the Ideal Man's mission in life could not be fulfilled.

Home, Household and Family

> The true relation between parents and children, the good home, is a vital necessity for all people, that wish to remain free, happy, strong.[21]

The final goal for the colonization activities was not only the self-supporting, hard-working man, but man as part of the family and rooted in the home. The man as a family provider is constantly stressed in *Ny Mark*. Through training as a colonist, the man was to be made capable of assembling his scattered family around him, bringing them from the dangerous city to the safe countryside, and then to support them. The family was to be not only a unit, but one capable of surviving, that could serve Swedish society instead of relying upon it. The unmarried man could approach the ideal as well, even if the Ideal Man was married. In *Ny Mark* there is a story about a colonist that had been found sufficiently competent to get possession of a colonate: the man was keeping up good work and order *in spite of* his lack of a wife.[22]

The ideals of the family, the work in the household and the relations between man and woman, as expressed in *Ny Mark*, can be summarized as a wish to defend the family as the fundamental unit of society. Man and woman should unite, or re-unite, in a *family* that should constitute a *household* in a *home*. The idealization of the good home was neither new nor unique, but an integral part of a more general contemporary idealization of the agrarian "home of one's own" in the Swedish countryside. In turn, this "home-ideology" was part of the growing interest in social problems in combination with critique of modernization, civilization and the city (Sörlin, 1988; Edling, 1996; Stolare, 2003). In the context of Hammar's colonization project, however, the home and the family had a direct function in the rehabilitation of man, and also constituted a unit of advantage to society and a base for good citizens.

What about the distribution of work within the household, as expressed in *Ny Mark*? As said above, the woman had her special tasks, separated from the man's. She was not supposed to work outside the home. The woman's bonding to the domestic sphere was strong, and there her position was strong as well. The woman was to be responsible – for the children, for the economy, for the good order, for the morality, for the food and for the animals – in short, she was responsible in all areas where the man was not supposed to be responsible. The man's work was to be performed outside the household and apart from the home. According to *Ny Mark*, he had no domestic undertakings.

Conclusion

Several scholars of gender and masculinity have agreed upon the notion that there are not one, but many different representations of masculinity (for example Connell, 1995; Mosse,

1996; Tjeder, 2003). This was not obvious in early gender studies, when for example the categories "woman" and "man" for a long time were discussed as if homogeneous. Other agreements among scholars are that masculinity is not constructed only in relation to the other sex, but also in relation to other men, and that the relationships between different representations of masculinity, or masculine "types" can be described in terms of dominance, subordination, power and control (see for example Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1996; Mosse 1996). So, the Ideal Man is defined against the womanly, the unmanly and the non-manly.

The study of *Ny Mark* has resulted in knowledge of the conception of an Ideal Man, expressed by the pastor Eric E:son Hammar as a spokesperson for the Christian *Floda Colonies Society* between 1908 and 1926. It has been found that this Ideal Man was constructed in relation to other men, or more precisely the male clients of the colonization project, who were to be transformed. These men, as well as the types of men they represent were, not surprisingly, subordinated to the Ideal Man – in fact, they were not even spoken about as "men," but as "elements," "human materiel," individuals" and "persons."

The foundation of the colonization project was the combination of Christian virtues and practical action. This combination was central in the Ideal Man of *Ny Mark*. He was physically strong, competent, strenuous, strong of character, a resident and family provider. In *Ny Mark*, the importance of physical strength, action and usefulness is emphasized – but at the same time, there are connections with other, more gentle masculine ideals such the Ideal Man's role as a family man and the promotion of contentment and high morals.

This stereotype of masculinity was formed in contrast to two countertypes, represented among the alcoholic clientele that the colonization project was intended for: the uncontrolled, irresponsible, vagrant man who was a burden to society, and the weak, frail, feeble and spoiled man. The Ideal Man was, of course, superior to the unmanly or non-manly countertypes, but interestingly there was an order of precedence even among the countertypes. Even if a combination of inner and outer strength was the ideal, the outer strength is admired and accentuated in *Ny Mark* in a way that makes clear that the physically strong man was always seen as superior to the weak. So, the strong and solid, though immoral and of weak character, was valued higher or of equal value to the weak man, just or not.

Hammar and SFC attached great importance to physical strength and gave it equal value to inner strength. A presupposition is that this kind of "muscularity" in a pronounced *Christian* reform project was unconventional to parts of contemporary society, or to the common sense of religious ideals. "Our intention is not to discuss and theorize, but to march and take action," Hammar declares in an early issue of *Ny Mark*.[23] In this remark lies the implicit critique of the Christians who dissociate themselves from worldly matters. As with the Christian Manliness advocates in England and America, it seems the relationship between spiritual and worldly, on a societal as well as individual level, was of great concern to Hammar.

The idealization of the home and the family stands out as a main thread in *Ny Mark*. The home was the base for the good citizen as well as for masculinity, and the

woman's domain. *Ny Mark* advocates a classic division of labor, where the man was supposed to work outside the home as family provider. But in the unit of the home and family, the complementary nature of man and woman was central and requisite. Even if the man was expected to provide for his family, the family seems more important to the man than he to the family. Central aspects of the Ideal Man's masculinity were his relation to, and function in, the family and the household. The Ideal Man should be part of a family of which he should be the provider. The statements about the woman in *Ny Mark* are partly about womanly ideals, and partly about her functions in the metamorphosis of the man. As the things said about the Ideal Woman's qualities and functions are so distinct and explicit, these statements reversed also say things about the Ideal Man. *Ny Mark* makes clear what is demanded of the Ideal Woman: domestic skills. The children, the cooking, the clothes, the household economy and the animals were her responsibilities, in short, the home-making. The Ideal Man wasn't expected to run a home. As the Ideal Man, in contrast to woman, had no innate or natural domestic mission – he had instead to be *domesticated*. The Ideal Woman, as the requirement for the cohesion of the family and the good home, was by those means very important to the man's transformation from irresponsible, ruffian or weakling, into the Ideal Man, and later, as a guarantor for the maintenance of the man's new and better self. In short, woman had responsibility for the man's masculinity.

The idealization of the home and the family can be connected to the Christian Manliness ideas as a branch of a more general critique of modernization, civilization and urban lifestyle. Hammar's critique of the city and city life has not yet been examined, even if this study of the masculinities of *Ny Mark* shows that Hammar found city life devastating to a robust, vigorous, strenuous and true manliness. Scholars have also claimed that the family might have been the key in the formulation of a new Christian masculinity – this was the place where the separate ideals of the gentleman and the manly-man could both be justified (see for example Morgan, 2000; Jalert, 2003).

The SFC definitions of the Ideal man and the Ideal Woman are neither new nor unique, but it shows that in Sweden, as well as in the Anglo-Saxon countries, there was concern about Christianity and manliness. There were no formal connections between Eric E:son Hammar and the Anglo-Saxon manifestations striving for Christian Manliness. Yet, I would like to argue that the colonization project of Hammar and SFC did represent a Swedish counterpart: a Social Christianity project, led by pastors of the Swedish State Church, with an obvious commitment to masculinization and upholding the masculine ideal.

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Notes

[1] http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/REkingsley.htm accessed 20 April 2006.

[2] This, in a way, poses a risk for confusion. For example, Norman Vance uses the term Christian Manliness to describe Muscular Christianity, as he finds the latter a trivializing term that draws attention to muscles rather than to the issue of Christianity. Christian Manliness, he writes, also was the term more commonly accepted among contemporary

clergy (Vance, 1985, p. 2). On the other hand, Donald E. Hall (1994) and his fellow writers chose to use the term Muscular Christianity, as they are of the opinion that "manliness" to the creators of the genre and its ideas was synonymous with strength and power, both physical and moral (Hall, 1994, p. 9). In any case, Muscular Christianity was a man-making project. Putney (2001) defines it as Christian commitment to health and manliness.

[3] This change, demasculinization, has in Swedish as in Anglo-Saxon research, mostly been spoken of in terms of *feminization*. See for example McLeod (2000a, 2000b), Blückert (2000), Gunneriusson Karlström (2004), Gill (2000), Lauer (2000) and Putney (2001).

[4] Unpublished project plan *Christian Manliness - A Paradox of Modernity? Men and Religion in A Northern European Context, 1840 to 1940*: http://www.hist.lu.se/hist/forskning/kristen_manlighet.php.

[5] The information of the biographic part of this article derives from Montan (1950, pp. 25-36), Hammar's unpublished memoirs (Stiftsbiblioteket, Västerås stadsbibliotek) and official reports for 1902, 1904, 1908, 1911 and 1915 (Landsarkivet Östersund, Vemdalens kyrkoarkiv). The information about the Floda colonies derives from the Floda archives (Stiftsbiblioteket, Västerås stadsbibliotek). My PhD thesis (Prestjan, 2004), examined the Floda colonies as a part of the early Swedish private system for alcoholism treatment.

[6] The idealization of Norrland was part of the contemporary Swedish critique of modern society and civilization. Several Swedish scholars have written about this, see for example Sörlin (1988).

[7] In the research *project Christian Manliness - A Paradox of Modernity? Men and Religion in a Northern-European Context, 1840 to 1940*, I carry out a wider study with Hammar in focus. The information about Hammar referred to here are the results from this ongoing study. The Swedish social reformer G. H. von Koch reported upon von Bodelschwing's (and others') activities in the booklet *Hem och anstalter för lösdrifvare*, 1907.

[8] *Ny Mark* 1910:2c, p. 18.

[9] The issues 1908:1, 1908:1b, 1909:2, 1909:2b are not included in the study.

[10] The "unmanly man" is not-so-manly or less manly, while the "non-manly" is not a man at all.

[11] For example *Ny Mark* 1910:1, p. 2.

[12] *Ny Mark* 1912:1, pp. 6-7, 1913:1, pp. 1-2, 9-11, 1914:1-2, pp. 4-7; The Floda Archives: *Statistics 1908-1918*. The supporting and repressive institutions referred to are alcoholism treatment institutions, workhouses, poorhouses, prisons, reformatories and hospitals.

[13] For example *Ny Mark* 1911:2-3, p. 7, 1918:1-2, p. 32.

[14] For example *Ny Mark* 1910:1, p. 3, 1910:1d, p. 7, 1910:2c, p.23, 1911:2-3, p. 6, 1921:3-4, p. 4. In *Ny Mark,* the not accepted types of masculinities, or the men who were not men but "elements" or "individuals," are described in many ways. In the issue 1921:3-4, p. 4, are some real cases from the Floda colony I described as unmarried, vagrants, mentally inferior, morally indolent, without character, useless for society and spoiled. In another issue, 1910:3, pp. 18-20, is a critical comment on a group of harbor workers. The message is that this special group of workers was close to vagrancy, criminality and alcoholism and a good example of how a man should not be. The harbor workers lived apart from home

and family, their work was irregular, they led a vagrant life, they drank and gambled and could not save their income.

[15] For example *Ny Mark* 1909:3, p. 12, 1910:1, p. 3, 1910:2c, pp. 18, 23, 1914:3-4, p.6, 1915:4, p.4, 1919:1-4, pp. 5, 52.

[16] *Ny Mark* 1910:2, p. 28. My translation.

[17] *Ny Mark* 1910:4, p. 2. My translation.

[18] *Ny Mark* 1909-1927.

[19] *Ny Mark* 1916:4, pp. 4-5. See also *Ny Mark* 1915:4, p. 7, 1919:1-4, pp. 9, 52.

[20] For example *Ny Mark* 1913:3-4, p. 20, 1914:1-2, p. 23, 1915:4, p. 12, 1916:4, p. 4, 1917:3-4, p. 25.

[21] *Ny Mark* 1909:3, p. 14.

[22] *Ny Mark* 1913:3-4, pp. 14-15.

[23] *Ny Mark* 1909:2, p. 7.

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Skin Gods: Circumcising the Built Male Body

Roland Boer

*Is the body of the male bodybuilder a substitution for his penis, that one part he cannot enhance through weights? Conventional wisdom would have us believe that it is, but I am not so sure. In search of an answer I slide from body, then to penis, to foreskin and back again. On that search I make use of both Lacan and Freud. Lacan gives me a theoretical key with his idea of the 'little object a' (*objet petit a*), the item that simultaneously is excluded from the system in question and what keeps that whole system together. It would seem that the body-builder's penis is precisely this* objet petit a*. However, Freud suggests to me that* objet petit a *is not so much the penis as the foreskin that is cut away in circumcision. The catch is that circumcision, the mark of the religion of Moses, also points to nothing less than the absence of God's body. From that point I return to the built body to argue that the ideal body is in fact a circumcised body, but one that is ultimately as unattainable as God's body.*

A personal story, if I may. Writing and pumping, even preparing to write by pumping, I was sweating it out in the tiny corner in which I write. In my amateurish way I work through a regular routine with my collection of dumbbells and barbells, having heeded Arnold Schwarzenegger's advice that all he ever worked with were free weights. As I labored away at the various pull-ups, rows, presses and curls, a recurrent pain in my left elbow asserted itself. The pain persisted, so I went to the doctor. An X-Ray ensued and a small protrusion on my radius that rubbed the tendon near my elbow showed up, causing an inflammation. The prescription: rest or a steroid injection…

My particular, somewhat self-indulgent reflection is on the male body in body-building, but I am going to play around with that body through the five sets of my argument, each time adding another few kilograms to either end of my barbell. I begin, then, with those big, round, and all too feminine built male bodies, only to move on to the next set of repetitions where I focus on what sticks out, or rather doesn't, the penis. After considering the penis of the male builder I find that those who have thought about such things fall short, and so I turn, in my third set, to Lacan's notion of *objet petit a* in order to make sense of that little thing that sticks out from the body-builder, his penis. But Lacan can only get me so far. For the next set I ask Freud to add a few more weights, and as he does so he mentions the idea of circumcision. It is not so much the penis that is the key, it seems to me, but the foreskin that is cut away. Yet, Freud also points out that circumcision signals the absent body of God, and this takes me to the final set where I return to the

built body. That ideal body turns out to be a circumcised body, as unreal and as unattainable as God's own body.

I am accustomed to reading with the help of Jacques Lacan and Sigmund Freud, although I must admit I like to play with both rather than follow one or another orthodoxy (and there are plenty of those in scholarship on Freud and Lacan). Freud certainly loved his jokes, and collected them with zeal, telling them whenever he could. Lacan too was often given to playfulness, punning, teasing, laughing. Rather than engage in what we might call Lacanian or Freudian hagiography, I prefer to engage their more playful spirits.

Posing

> Let me just say one thing, guys, it was as good as an erection. There I was, on stage in my posing oils and black trunks, and the crowd really loved me. I mean I *moved* 'em with my posing exhibition. It was just my fuckin' time. ('Vinnie' cited in Fussell, 1991, p. 135)

Nothing is more masculine than the built male body, all muscle and power and heterosexual aggression. Or is it? Is not that built body more like the female pin-up or the beauty pageant? Are not male bodybuilders there to be looked at, gazed upon and admired, especially by men. These bodies demand the gaze, for is not the whole purpose of body-building, with its posing routines and competitions, finally to have other men look at and assess the bodies on display? The skin – rippled, stripped and cling-wrap tight – is nothing but a screen upon which the bodybuilder is projected and looked at. This skin/screen is therefore an object of passivity: the beefcake has everything done to him. All he does is flex and pose. Yet, in order to be looked at and assessed, a jock sweats it out for two, four, six hours a day: an intense program of eating, vomiting, pumping and imbibing 'the juice' so that, in the end, he may be gazed upon by other men. And then in the posing routine itself, it is not so much the best body that wins, but the one who succeeds in best producing the emotive fantasy of muscle, power, grace and poise, especially in the final 'pose down.'

Yet, if his being looked upon, his passivity, codes him as conventionally female, so also does the body shape. For bodybuilders seek immensely rounded body shapes. The curving shoulders, rippling backs, bulking upper and forearms, shapely thighs and watermelon calves – all of these give off a series of contradictory messages in relation to dominant conventions regarding body shape. For the rounded and curved shapes of male bodybuilders evoke the now older Western expectations of the curved female, with large breasts, rounded belly, fuller arms and thighs, and a small waist.[1] Indeed, the desire for silicon implants in male pectorals mirrors the use of such implants in female breasts. To complicate matters a little further, in female body-building, but also in male gay body-building, the desire is not so much for rounded bulk, but for definition, for the 'cut' body, in which the angles are sharper and the lines more angular – older conventions for heterosexual males are now appropriated for women and gay men.

What then of the aggressive masculinity of these bodies, of the action figures dressed in combat fatigues, of Stallone as Rambo, of Schwarzenegger as Terminator,

Commando or Conan? Anyone who has been to a muscle show will attest to the overt heterosexuality that is obsessively foregrounded. Yet, I suggest that what lies beneath this chest-beating is a practice that is coded as feminine in Western culture – the presentation of curvaceous bodies to absorb a penetrating male gaze – and queer – the enjoyment of watching and desiring male bodies, and of being watched.[2] Bodybuilders may then be said to protest too much: the overkill, in more than one sense, of aggressive masculinity nervously attempts to efface the underlying queerness of body-building. It is as though these men think that if they shout their heterosexuality loud enough, then the other codes will be effaced, forgetting that such efforts merely foreground the deviance of male body-building. They are heroes and sissies all at once.

Penis

> You looked like a human fucking penis! Veins were poppin' every which way! ('Vinnie' in Fussell, 1991, p. 235)
>
> A good pump is better than coming, ... the best feeling you can have. (Arnold Schwarzenegger in Gaines, 1977, p. 48)

What, then, of the penis? Is that not supposed to be the anomaly, that which sticks out and abruptly halts the feminine slide of male bodybuilders? Concern with the builder's penis comes rippling through Kenneth Dutton's *The Perfectible Body* (1995), in which much space is given over to the question of the penis, from the small appendages on Greek statues and paintings, to its strategic covering in early beefcake shots to current discussions in psychoanalysis. The irony for the male builder is that it is precisely the penis that cannot be strengthened, enlarged or built up by lifting weights or working out on a machine. What happens, argues Dutton, is that the body replaces the penis: in being able to build its strength and potency, and thereby being able to exhibit masculinity, the body becomes a huge penis, as it were, the location of sexual power and exhibition. What the built body represents, then, is the builder's penis, or at least the ideal penis the builder would like to have but cannot have.

For Rosalind Miles, the body, especially those of actors like Arnold Schwarzenegger,

> becomes a public phallus, huge, rock-hard, gleaming and veined with blood. And as the phallus first stirred and came to life in the primeval swamps of the male imagination, so males above all are uniquely alert to its siren call and baleful power. Becoming an athlete, bodybuilder or 'jock' is therefore a clear and overt statement of manhood and male potency, and the clearest possible message to other men. (Miles, 1991, p. 111)

The usual sequence for such an argument begins with the suggestion that the penis is a symbol of male power. However, the inability to enlarge it through body-building creates a problem which is solved by displacing the penis with the whole body, which then becomes the site of displaced prowess and power. The particular penis makes way for a

universally suggestive phallic body, which is a much more appropriate signifier of universal power and potency. And here body-building comes into its own: the larger the body, the greater the power. Through its displaced representation of the penis, a male body is able to accrue power directly in proportion to body size. So in the end, all that a bulking body represents is its own penis.

The Little Object

> Those who have seen professional bodybuilders naked will attest, not only to the unfoundedness of this assumption [the apparent tininess of the male organ hidden beneath the posing trunks], but also to the remarkable adaptability of the male sexual organs and compressive powers of Lycra. (Dutton, 1995, p. 308)

> One of the striking characteristics about symbols is the discrepancy between the symbols and what penises are actually like. Male genitals are fragile, squashy, delicate things; even when erect, the penis is spongy, seldom straight, and rounded at the tip, while testicles are imperfect spheres, always vulnerable, never still. (Dyer, 1993, p. 112)

It is not as simple as it appears, not so directly correlative. The built male body does not represent the penis so purely and simply, and this is where arguments like those put forward by Dutton and Miles lack stamina. Rather, the penis is but a little thing that holds the whole regime of body-building together. In order to make that argument, I turn to Jacques Lacan, for it seems to me that body-building for males is a very Lacanian activity. In my local gym, dog-eared copies of Lacan lie on the small table near the door, there for the occasional jocks to peruse in between sets.

The key term is one that Lacan himself insisted should not be translated, namely *objet petit a*. He notoriously refuses to define it, letting the sense emerge from his continual references to it. But that is precisely what *objet petit a* is: it is 'lost object' (Lacan, 1994, p. 180) that one can never quite locate. In order to get a sense of it, let me use an example Lacan borrows from Freud, the famous *fort-da* game of Freud's grandson (see Lacan, 1994, 239).[3] Freud noticed that whenever his mother was away, he would throw objects away and cry a drawn-out 'o-o-o-o', which he interpreted as *fort*, 'away.' One day he did this with a cotton-reel out of his curtained cot, except that this time he pulled it back and said with great satisfaction '*da*', 'here' (Freud, 2001, vol XVIII, pp. 14-15). Freud interprets the game as a compensation for the absence of his grandson's mother, as revenge for her absence and as a desire to be an adult – all things that are out of the child's reach. For Lacan, this little cotton reel is an excellent instance of *objet petit a*, that item that is expelled and excluded, and yet precisely because it is excluded, *objet petit a* is crucial for the system as a whole.

Objet petit a is, then, that which 'sticks out,' the item (thought, detail of a picture, word in a text) that cannot be incorporated within the whole picture, that cannot be explained in the usual way, and thereby becomes the focus of anxiety and repression. Yet

this thing that 'sticks out,' the inconsequential and unnecessary item, is in fact crucial for the structure of the whole (text, picture, pattern of thought etc.).

Let me give two examples of *objet petit a*: picture a well-heeled lawyer, for whom 14 hour days are traded off for some of the best accommodation in town, an expensive car, well-cut clothes from designer boutiques, and a sharp mind that enables her to rise quickly through the ranks of legal professionals. At the same time, she is a heroin addict, easily able to afford the cost yet unable to break the habit. In fact, her addiction threatens her whole career, and the few who know about it tell her so. If only she could break the habit, then that threat would disappear. However, another perspective – the one I follow here – suggests that it is precisely this heroin habit that holds her life together. It is the linchpin: without it everything would collapse – high life, sustained concentration, long work days, and so on. Or take the case of a mundane, suburban middle-class man, with a spouse, three children, home mortgage, two cars and a middle management job with the local branch of a multinational company. Each weekday he works regular hours, while on the weekends he watches his children play sport, mows the lawns, washes the cars and reads the newspapers. An ordinary, thoroughly boring and unexciting middle-class life, except that he has a liking for S/M, both as a personal experience and as an item of pornography. So he searches the Internet late at night, slips away for the occasional Sunday afternoon or weekend 'conference.' A foible that threatens to undo his calm life? Not so: rather, the very unexceptionality of his life is based upon his S/M; the bondage and discipline he so much enjoys ensure that he can maintain his boring, normal, life. These examples flip the usual perception around, suggesting that what is excluded is actually central and crucial; after that it is possible to notice the influence of what is excluded on everything else – the lawyer's habit and the middle-class man's foible.

So it is with body-building, which turns out to be a classic example of Lacan's arguments concerning *objet petit a*. It is an inverse relationship: the more the body is built in order to compensate for the inability to build up the penis, the more the penis stays outside the body-building regime. The more the voluntary muscles of the rest of the body can be pumped with blood, the tighter the skin and more clearly defined the striated muscles and veins, the less the penis itself becomes.[4] (Eugene Sandow, who seems to have set the agenda in so many ways for contemporary body-building, including the use of classical postures like those of Michelangelo's *David*, used to pose for photographs with a fig leaf strategically placed over his genitals.) The phallic body is that which is hard, erect and firm, while the penis is squashed into ever smaller posing trunks, drawing ever nearer to that dreaded medical condition, micropenis (Gad et al., 1997).

Yet as it shrinks before the bulk of the built body, as it is compressed into the tightest Lycra, the more crucial the penis becomes. Without it the body-builder would not undergo all the pain, discipline and devotion to build his body in the first place. Like Freud's grandson who desperately wanted to recover that little reel, so also the body-builder wants desperately to recover a potent penis. Indeed, most, if not all, men imagine that their penises are inadequate in some sense – too short, too narrow, too bent, and so on. So, they imagine some ideal penis that they would like to have – long, thick, straight and with an immense stamina, able to come all the time and satisfy the imaginary man or

woman or… What happens here is that their real penises, soft, impotent, short, thin and struggling to come, are wished away in favor of an ideal other.

So all the attitude, the anger required to lift and press massive weights, the posturing and modeling on other builders, the shouting and screaming at the weights, 'the Walk,'[5] the aggression and 'roid rages' – the desire, in short, to be gods – turn out to be futile efforts to recover that little object, the penis, even in the gym to which builders escape to run through their sets.

Foreskin

> I feared that complete exposure might reveal a lagging body part to the judges. (Fussell, 1991, p. 143)

Yet, I have a lingering doubt about all of this. Is the penis really *objet petit a*? Or rather, is it the only version of this little object that forever eludes the body-builder? I suspect not. Thus far I have slid down from the rounded, bulging, rock-hard body of the builder to that small, squashed object that cannot be built up, no matter what spam emails might promise. There is, however, one further slip to make, and that is to what is at the end of the penis, or rather, what *was* at the end of the penis: the foreskin.

The foreskin is that little flap that can be, and often is, sliced away. Is this not the proper *objet petit a*? Let me pick up a small hint from Lacan (in an untranslated seminar from 1963 called *l'Angoisse*) and then pick up Freud. Lacan suggests that circumcision is an excellent rendering of the work of *objet petit a*.[6] Let me playfully suggest that what Lacan means is that the foreskin is really that little object. Yet, for a deeper sense of what this means, I need to let Freud come forward, especially his astonishing discussion of circumcision in *Moses and Monotheism*.

Moses intrigues Freud: circumcision is, he suggests, the clear mark of Moses' monotheism, and yet it also indicates the nature of that belief. Circumcision is the sign of a religion that forbids representing God in any way. No image, statue, or any other representation of God may be made. In other words, circumcision marks the absent body, especially the absent body of God. Or, as I will rephrase it, the foreskin cut away in circumcision represents the absent body of God. That is why Moses' God commands that it be cut away and discarded.

Let us take a moment to see how Freud gets to this point. For Freud circumcision is the direct link to the monotheism that the Egyptian Moses brought to the Israelites. It is, as he points out in *Moses and Monotheism*, the 'key-fossil' (Freud, 2001, vol 23, p. 39) that allows him to unlock his own hypothesis about Moses (that he was an Egyptian, that the Israelites killed him and elevated him to divine status, that he gave the Israelites a variation on the monotheism of Akhenaten although this did not emerge properly until later).[7] Circumcision was a distinctly Egyptian practice that Moses bequeathed to the Israelites in their journey from Egypt into the wilderness. It is circumcision that links Moses to Egypt: practiced by the Levites, the core group from Egypt who first adopted the practice at Moses' instigation, it was passed on to other groups that joined their ranks later.[8]

The religion of Moses brought a 'far grander conception of God, or, as we might put it more modestly, the conception of a grander God' (Freud, 2001, vol 23, p. 112). Moses did this by banning any images of God. The ban on seeing, hearing or touching this God is crucial for Freud, for 'it meant that a sensory perception was given to second place to what may be called an abstract idea – a triumph of intellectuality over sensuality or, strictly speaking, an instinctual renunciation, with all its necessary psychological consequences' (Freud, 2001, vol 23, p. 113). Abstract and intellectual, such a notion of God led to a far higher feeling of self-worth, but it also checked 'the brutality and tendency to violence which are apt to appear where the development of *muscular strength is the popular ideal*' (Freud, 2001, vol 23, p. 115, italics mine).

Who is this God of whom no images are allowed? It is none other than Moses himself. Freud's own myth is that in a rage of rebellious jealousy the Israelites killed Moses, and then, in order to assuage their guilt, elevated him to divine status. The sons kill the father and then make him a god. This father-god is then the one who may not be represented in any way; he is the one whose body is absent in order to overcome brutality, violence and orgiastic celebrations of the body. And the sign of the absent body of that father-god is none other than circumcision – a rite ordered by the father-god as a sign of holiness. God has no body, in fact cannot have one, and circumcision marks its removal. Cut away the flap of skin, discard it, and you throw away the possibility of representing God's/Moses' body.

Body

> Thanks to my diet, my skin was thinner than airmail paper. And with my varnish, I was browner than a buried pharaoh. (Fussell, 1991, p. 197)
>
> What is the useless piece of skin at the end of a penis? A man. (Anonymous)

I have slipped all the way, from built body, down into the posing trunks to search for the penis, and then out to the tip in a vain search for the foreskin that Freud's Moses has already sliced off and discarded. And I have gone searching for that little object, *objet petit a*, the one that is excluded in some fashion only to be crucial. Thus, as the one muscle that cannot be built up, the penis looked for all the world like that little thing. Lagging behind, it refused to join the crown. But then, with a little help from Freud, it seems as though the foreskin might just be that *objet petit a*, for it really is outside the system. (Perhaps the ultimate foreskin outside the system is that of Christ, for it would not have been resurrected with him. That Christological anomaly has sent more than one person searching for his holy foreskin, albeit to no avail (see Shell, 1997).) Yet, Freud has delivered me an unexpected twist: he has taken me all the way back to the body, to God's body. Or is that Moses' body? Or…

So, as a final step, we need to return to the strapping body of the builder. One might be forgiven for thinking that the ultimate aim of body-building is indeed to circumcise the body itself. For body-builders do all they can to minimize the skin. To begin with, the male bodies of builders are completely hairless, although it is a topic not openly

discussed in the magazines. Depilation is, after all, still largely a female affair, but what it does is remove a distinctive feature of the skin – its hair. Even more, before a posing session, bodybuilders will seek to produce a 'shrink-wrap' effect, reducing as far as possible subcutaneous fat and water so that the skin will cling as closely as possible to the muscles and veins that stand out on the muscle surface. This involves starvation dieting, avoiding sodium and calories in the weeks leading up to an event, and then, a little over a week before, loading up with protein before switching to a high carbohydrate load in the last few days. It also requires the reduction, if not complete stoppage, of steroid intake to avoid water retention. The desired result of such a carefully balanced program is 'elasticized, parchment paper for skin' (Fussell, 1991, p. 186). Further, in order to highlight under the harsh lights of competition the curves, dips, crevices and mounds of muscle beneath the skin, the tan is crucial, gained in tanning beds and with a host of specialty tanning products, clogging up the skin and staining everything the builder touches. The posing oil finishes off the effect, sealing the tan in place and making every bump and gully glisten.

Then there is the unending attention to the alteration of the shape and the size of the muscles 'beneath' the skin. (In fact, it is only the voluntary and striated muscles, not the smooth and involuntary muscles, that seem to be of interest.) The talk is always of muscle size and definition, and in body-building circles there is much interest in muscle anatomy – the lats and pecs and traps and so on. Whatever can be done by the bodybuilder will be done to make the muscles look how they should – steroids and endless chemicals, food cramming, muscle tearing, rectal bleeding, vomiting, ammonia fumes, inflammatories, extraordinary diets, tanning agents, oil and so on. Indeed, I would argue that the skin is pared down to the point where it marks its own absence. Tanned, paper thin, the body-builder desperately tries to circumcise himself.

Yet, there is one final question: for all the efforts to circumcise the built body, is this not a present body, in contrast to God's absent body that circumcision signals? The answer is disarmingly simple. The *ideal built body is ultimately unattainable*. No matter how hard they train, how much they torture themselves, no matter how much pain, there is no gaining that ideal. In the same way that circumcision of the penis signals the absent body of God, so also the circumcision of the built body shows that it is always beyond reach, that it too, is a version of *objet petit a*. And what is that ideal body? If you happen to peruse muscle manuals in your vain search for the ideal body, then you will find, usually in the last pages in an appendix, a series of pictures of the muscles without skin, or rather whole human bodies with the skin cut away (e.g. Laura & Dutton, 1991, pp. 222-38). Of course, they are meant to show the muscles underneath, the ones that you should build up, the ones to which you should devote specific routines. But what we have is a grotesque, unattainable body, for it is a circumcised body, a 'cut' body. This would mean that the perfect, divine and unattainable body is skinless. And the perfect posing routine would have a group of men on stage, with only bare, bulging and bleeding striated muscle for us to gaze upon.

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Notes

[1] 'He had achieved the look gained only by the most advanced builders. While my body was a mess of straight edges and right angles, his, so preposterously muscled, was a mass of curves, fleshy ellipses and ovals' (Fussell, 1991, p. 50).

[2] In the two versions of this paper presented at different conferences, my oral delivery is part of a larger performance piece, in which I strip down to gym jocks or G-string, throw a set of classic poses and juxtapose them with slides of vast bodybuilders in the same poses.

The audience is then asked to judge which bodies they prefer. Apart from the sheer narcissism of such an act, there is an immense pleasure in being watched and ogled.

[3] See further on *objet petit a* Lacan's *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis* (1994), especially pp. 263-76. He also discusses it in the almost impenetrable Seminar XX, *On Feminine Sexuality* (1998).

[4] So I worry about another of my great loves – long distance cycling – where 'bicycler's penis' is a risk. In that crucial zone of the perineum, compression and damage to the nerves may lead to impotence (Andersen & Bovim, 1997; York, 1990).

[5] 'They swept their arms out to the side, as if the sheer massivity of their lat wings necessitated it. They burrowed their heads slightly into their shoulders to make their necks appear larger. They looked bowlegged, absurdly stiff, and infinitely menacing' (Fussell, 1991, p. 55).

[6] I am thankful to an anonymous reviewer of this essay for this point.

[7] Elsewhere Freud speaks of circumcision as a symbol of castration (Freud, 2001, vol 23, p. 91).It is an act with other parallels such as knocking out a front tooth (Freud, 2001, vol 15, p. 165) or blinding (Freud, 2001, vol 23, p. 190). Alternatively, it is a 'recognizable relic' of the primeval castration visited by a jealous father on growing boys (Freud, 2001, vol 22, p. 86-7). He interprets it as a sign of submission to the father's will – the one who carries out the symbolic castration. This is reinforced by the observation that in many primal societies circumcision takes place at puberty as a rite of initiation (Freud, 2001, vol 13, p 153).

[8] This is also a distinctly masculine holiness. Rashkow, for instance, argues that circumcision, as that which asserts the possible threat of castration and its denial, allows the son to emulate the father while being dependent on the deity's power. Circumcision ensures the chain of male connection, yet it also is a feminizing process, threatening to make the Israelite male female through bleeding and castration (Rashkow, 1993, p. 91-5).

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Hausa Concepts of Masculinity and the *'Yan Daudu*

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The Hausa category of 'yan daudu *offers a challenge to the simple dichotomy of male-female gender identities. These men are categorized as neither male nor female but as an ambiguous middle category. As such they challenge the rigid divisions of Hausa ideal culture between males and females. Examination offers insight into the categories of male-female and provides incentive for further research.*

There has long been an argument between advocates of nature and nurture regarding the function each has shaping human behavior. Recently, sociobiologists like Napoleon Chagnon (1997, 1988), Edward O. Wilson (1975), and Robin Fox (1997) have had particular influence in shaping the argument regarding the inherent, or biological nature of masculinity. The significance of the cultural construction of masculinity and femininity and of gender roles in general has been relatively neglected in the elevation of biological theories in the social sciences and their employment to explain cultural issues. I am not denying the importance of biology, simply stressing the manner in which culture gives meaning to it in its social landscape. (For relevant works on sociobiology see Jerome H. Barkow, et. al., 1992 and Robert Boyd & Peter Richerson, 1994.)

Specifically, this article examines the manner in which the Hausa people of Nigeria define ideal masculinity. That definition has a role to play within the complex ethnic sociocultural framework of West Africa in which the Hausa operate. Much of what it is to be a Hausa, and, therefore the shape of Hausa interaction with their neighbors is inextricably bound within the Hausa concept of masculinity. Challenges to that concept, and reinforcements of it, come from men and "men who talk like women," the '*yan daudu*.

Ideal masculine behavior and challenges to that behavior flow from a cultural definition of masculinity shaped to permit the Hausa to gain success as rulers and traders within their cultural landscape. Maintenance of ethnic identity toward other groups is essential in structuring daily interaction in the West African landscape. This maintenance of ethnic identity is particularly crucial at the borders of the area, where groups can and do switch ethnic identities to gain favorable positions. Therefore, although the Hausa are concerned with guarding their concept of masculinity throughout their territory, they are exceptionally careful in safeguarding their concept of the ideal masculine role at the borders, where new recruits to the Hausa identity are made.

The Hausa in the Context of West Africa

There are about 50 million Hausa speakers in West Africa, primarily in Northern Nigeria and Southern Niger. A common language masks immense variation from community to community, a variation made greater by the process of "becoming Hausa" in which minority groups change their ethnic identities to gain various privileges reserved to the ruling class.

The "Hausa" consist of the Hausa-speaking population of Northern Nigeria and those areas of Niger in which Hausa is spoken, plus those Hausa who have emigrated for trade or other purposes to other countries of West Africa, such as Ghana, Mali, Burkina Faso. Additionally, in West Africa, people apply the label 'Hausa' to any stranger who speaks Hausa and practices Islam. This is a departure from the original use of the name to denote the Habe people's language. The Habe established seven independent but related states in the area: Biram, Daura, Kano, Katsina, Gobir, Rano, and Zazzau or Zaria.

The Fulani conquered these states in the early 19th century, waging a jihad against them for not being Muslim enough. Under Shehu Usman dan Fodio they established the Sokoto Caliphate, incorporating 15 states headed by Fulani Emirs. The Habe set up states at Abuja and Maradi, successors to those of Zaria and Katsina. They also established a new state at Argunga. These states have preserved Habe customs, largely independent of Fulani ones.

At the same time the Fulani rulers of the conquered Hausa states increasingly incorporated the Habe customs of their conquered people, blending them with the Islamic Fulani customs they had brought with them. Intermarriage further complicated the picture, mixing peoples and customs. Thus "Hausa" now refers to the original Habe population and the mixed Hausa-Fulani population of rulers. Moreover, it is often extended to other people like the Kanuri, Taureg and other West African people who have assumed Hausa language and culture to gain some kind of political or economic advantage in their interactions with members of other ethnic groups.

The term Hausa is applied to pagan Hausa speakers scattered in the middle of the Hausa area. People in Nigeria call them Maguzawa (magicians) but also consider them to be part of the Hausa ethnic group. Many of the '*yan daudu* and shamanic practices that challenge Islamic hegemony and Hausa masculine concepts are rooted in Maguzawa religious practices.

The coming of British colonialism offered a further set of challenges to the ever-evolving mix of gender and political concepts. The relative gender equality of the Maguzawa and Habe was challenged by the more rigid male dominance of the Fulani and their eventual partners, the British. Christianity and Islam agreed on the appropriateness of male dominance, for the good of the weak female. Men had to shelter and protect women, while women tempted men from their duties. No matter what the orthodoxy, the older virtues kept emerging from the margins of society in the form of the alliance of women and '*yan daudu* with parishioners of the older religion, one more in tune with gender equality and options.

Hausa within the Context of West African History: Ethnicity and Gender

Gender relationships and concepts of masculinity must be understood within the context of Hausa history and ethnic relationships. The Hausa have been in the process of expansion for many centuries. Much of that expansion has been peaceful, based on their skill at statecraft and commerce, a great deal of which is built upon family relationships and negotiations. Patrilineal family ties are the strands that tie the web of relationships together.

Business is conducted with handshakes and one's word. The system of markets, traders, and families binds together the various parts of the state and subsequently the state itself is bound to outside units. For example, village markets in rural areas meet periodically, on three- or four-day cycles. These markets are tied to those in larger settlements that have daily markets. In turn, the larger markets are bound to a still larger central market in the regional capital. Officials tied similarly to the central authority govern each of these markets.

Similarly, all Muslim Hausa social organization is stratified. Occupation, wealth, and patron-client relationships play a part in the system, but birth is at its root. Family is a key factor in the hierarchical ladder. Sons are expected to follow their father's occupation and his wishes. Society, in theory, is held together by filial loyalty. The patron-client relationship is patterned on the father-son relationship and loyalty to the Sultan and emirs, indeed to all officials, is that of family members to one's father.

Although less complex in social organization than Muslim Hausa, the Maguzawa are also organized along patrilineal lines. Their villages are composed of exogamous patrilineal kin. Both Muslim and "pagan" Hausa form their organizations around male figures. The Maguzawa, however, retain greater privileges for women who are freer to go out in public, usually exposing their breasts with no reproach. The Maguzawa do not hold to wife-seclusion in any circumstance. For the Muslim Hausa wife-seclusion is an ideal and put into practice by those who can afford it. It helps distinguish them from their neighbors and serves as an ethnic boundary marker. Moreover, patrilateral kinship provides the fulcrum on which marriage alliances are formed, with men generally seeking marriage with their patrilateral parallel cousins, further emphasizing the male tie.

Men serve as household heads and are responsible for agriculture, collecting activities, marketing, sewing, laundry, building repairs, and transportation. Women are responsible for cooking, house cleaning, childcare, and also follow craft specialties and carry on trade, often through young daughters. Women are expected to be modest and to stay within the household unless accompanied by male family members or older post-menopausal women.

Historically, the Hausa and Hausa-Fulani ruled over local tribes, appointing village heads. These local communities were held as fiefs to feudal lords. Again, this system emphasized male rule and a particular image of masculinity in which calmness and male solidarity were essential. The subject tribes often were not Muslim and their women were allowed greater freedoms. Therefore, control of Hausa women was essential in structuring ethnic relations and maintaining ethnic boundaries. Position within the social structure and the cultural landscape determined gender relationships and cultural definitions.

British colonial rule, beginning in the early 20th century, changed the system. In general, however, the British system of indirect rule simply strengthened the central authority while pretending to rule through local rulers. The British relied heavily on their Hausa-Fulani allies to maintain control of Northern Nigeria. In Niger, the French made no pretext of indirect rule and simply centralized the system openly. The result was a greater emphasis on male rule as personified in the dual mandate of colonial and native authorities.

Finally, the Hausa became more identified with Islam under colonial rule. The British found it necessary to strengthen Muslim leaders who were their allies against "pagans" who sought to resist the imposition of colonial rule or Hausa hegemony. The British perpetrated the fiction that Northern Nigeria was mainly Islamic. The truth was different in 1900. Allegiance to the West African Fulani Islamic ethos of male dominance helped unite Hausa and distinguish them from surrounding "pagan" peoples such as the Gungawa, Kamberi, and others (Michael Smith, 1955; Salamone, 1998).

Hausa Islamic Practices

Given the landscape in which the Hausa exist, the Islam of many Hausa groups is syncretic. Ralph Faulkingham (1975) notes that the Muslim and "pagan" Hausa in the southern Niger village he studied believed in the same spirits and in the same origin myth for these spirits as well. According to the myth, Allah called Adama ("the woman") and Adamu ("the man") to Him and bade them to bring all their children. They hid some of their children. Allah asked them where their children were. They said that they had brought all their children to Him. He then told them that the hidden children would belong to the spirit world.

The Hausa, therefore, share in the common Nigerian practice of maintaining systems of belief with ancient roots in the area alongside the universal religions of Islam or Christianity. These beliefs combine family spirits with relations to the primordial spirits of a particular site, providing supernatural sanction to the relationship between claims on resources. Indigenous theology links dead ancestors to the spirits of place in a union that protects claims and relationships to the land. Spirits of place include trees, rock outcroppings, a river, snakes, and other animals and objects. Rituals and prayers dedicated to the spirits of family and place reinforce loyalty to communal virtues and the authority of the elders in defending ancient beliefs and practices. In return, the spirits offer protection from misfortune, adjudication, and divination through seers, or shamans. Evil is appropriately punished, for shamans or diviners work with the spirits to ensure good and counteract evil.

The continuation of traditional religious rituals and beliefs among the Hausa is not incompatible with counting oneself as a Muslim, for among the Hausa, individual participation in Islam varies according to a number of variables, including wealth and power. The more wealth and power one has, the greater the strict adherence to Islam. Furthermore, traditional Hausa religion, which the Maguzawa ("pagan" or "traditional Hausa," who are considered "people of magic") continue to practice, attracts a number of Muslim Hausa at one time or another.

This religion is spirit-centered. Following Islamic Hausa hierarchical principles, the spirits form hierarchies of good and evil. Sacrificial offerings and spirit possession are

prominent characteristics of the worship. This family-centered religion has a number of diviners who serve as curers. Moreover, the majority of Muslim Hausa, who participate in the spirit possession cult, or Bori cult, are women and members of the lower classes.

Jacqueline Monfouga-Nicolas (1967) states that most members of the spirit possession cult are women and prostitutes. In other words, they are socially marginal people. Michael Onwuejeogwu (1969) argues that Bori cults have a homogeneity of organization and meaning throughout Hausaland. Moreover, they are, in his opinion, vestiges of Habe religion. Faulkingham (1975) disagrees with these findings, noting that there is more diversity in Hausaland than Monfouga-Nicolas and Onwuejeogwu grant. Muslims and *arna* (pagan) believe in the same spirits, but Muslims claim that they do not need to perform rituals to these spirits. However, many do perform them, depending on the occasion, and additionally they consult the Bori doctor for aid.

One finds the '*yan daudu* in these marginal areas of religion. In this system, men who are more or less exclusive homosexuals (not always, but often transvestite or at least effeminate males) have sexual relationships with men not culturally distinguished from other men. These "men who talk like women" form a link between the old non-Muslim Hausa and the Muslim Hausa, indicating where stress lines still exist between the old and new Hausa identities, for the coming of Islam to West African societies necessitated a rethinking of numerous cultural and social arrangements, not least of which were the relationship between men and women and the organization of family life.

Muslim Hausa social organization is highly stratified. Not only is stratification based on occupation, wealth, birth, and patron-client ties, it is also based on seniority and gender, even within the family. The system is one also marked by patronage. Wealth and power confer great prestige on men, who form patron-client ties. The stress on power and dominance permeates society, except in its marginal area. One's status is also determined by the status of one's family, and within the family, males, at least theoretically, are dominant.

Both traditional and Muslim Hausa form patrilineal ties. The Muslim Hausa build their ties on a patrilocal extended family that occupies a compound. The head is a male who directs cooperative activities, and compound members cooperate in agriculture and share in its products. Occupational specialties are pursued on a more individual basis. There is a great deal of formal respect and prescribed avoidance behavior among Hausa. The *mai gida* (compound head) expects great deference. Women generally are secluded whenever finances allow.

The participation of women in the Bori cult among the Muslim Hausa, however, is not necessarily a sign of their lack of power. Zainab Kabir (1985) states that the status of women in early Hausa society was high. In his words, they were "not confined." They interacted freely with men, marrying at a later age than is now common among the Muslim Hausa. They were able to own their own farms. They were also important members of the Bori cult. Furthermore, they had a significant role in domestic and clan religious rituals. Interestingly, some Hausa groups had matrilineal inheritance, and it was not uncommon for elite women to be queens or titleholders. The famous warrior queen Amina was but one of many famous Hausa queens. The Hausa even had a title for women in charge of the Bori, *Bori Magadjiya*.

Diviners, or shamans, foretell the future and deal with personal problems. They fit into the scheme of religious specialists, one that includes priests and magicians. The boundary among the categories is a shifting one at best. Diviners continue to play an important part in determining the causes of luck, both good and bad fortune. This includes the nature and cause of disease. Among the Hausa it is necessary to point out that many of the Muslim holy men are themselves types of diviners who make amulets, which include decoctions of the ink in which pious texts have been written. They also manipulate sand patterns or use the stars to tell the future.

Significantly, there is some discussion of males who attend Bori rituals as being homosexuals. The Bori rituals among the Hausa appear to be rituals of inversion, and among the Hausa homosexuality is considered an inversion of appropriate male heterosexuality. The Bori cult is widely understood as being a refuge from the strongly patriarchal ideal of Hausa Islam. Thus both women and effeminate males find some respite there. Although ranked low in official Hausa hierarchies, Hausa males are not only strongly attached to their mothers and sisters, they also have a fear of the mysterious power of women, a fear found in many male-dominated societies.

Although the Bori cult may be a "survival" from pre-Islamic Hausa religion, it differs among the Muslim Hausa from that practiced among related peoples, such as the Gungawa, or among non-Muslim Hausa, such as the Maguzawa. It has a different meaning for these Hausa. Thus, when Fremont E. Besmer (1983) states that the spirit rides the possessed and that this is somehow a symbol of homosexuality, it does not mean that it has the same meaning for the Maguzawa, Gungawa, or other non-Muslim groups who have the Bori cult. Among the Muslim Hausa homosexual transvestites, or '*yan daudu*, play a prominent role. *Daudu*, a praise name for any Malidoma, or ranked title, here specifically refers to the Prince, a Bori spirit who is a handsome young man.

These '*yan daudu* sell various foods at ceremonies, mainly luxury foods such as fried chicken, and serve as pimps for prostitutes. Women who attend Hausa Bori rituals are deemed to be prostitutes. Renée Pittin (1983) lists three activities for '*yan daudu*: procuring, cooking, and prostitution. She argues that there is a close tie between prostitutes and '*yan daudu*. Moreover, in combining male and female roles, the '*yan daudu* mediate between men and women, occupying an ambiguous category. Living among the prostitutes further provides a disguise for men seeking homosexual activity. Protection and discretion are provided through this arrangement. The Bori cult provides a niche for marginal people of all kinds, not simply women or homosexuals. Butchers, night-soil workers, musicians, and poor farmers are welcome there. Mentally disturbed people of all classes similarly seek refuge among the Bori devotees.

Muslim Hausa Concepts of Masculinity and Gender Relations

Muslim envoys, originally merchants and wandering teachers (*mallamai*), and later government sponsored and trained teachers, believe that Islam is the proper religion for men. Islam, they teach, is compatible with the nature of man. It does not ask the impossible of converts. Human nature needs guidance, but it is not depraved.

Man by nature is concupiscent. Instead of condemning this concupiscence, Islamic teachers among the Hausa have stressed the wisdom of allowing four wives and as many

concubines as one can afford. In Nigeria, wife seclusion is an Islamic ideal but one not found except among the wealthy Hausa. Its idealization, however, as a goal, is an indication of the sex role specificity that Hausa Muslims cherish.

There is a cultural ideal of masculine superiority in which the *maigida* (household head) is the complete master of his home. Reinforcing this ideal is the cultural emphasis on wife-seclusion. Any type of seclusion, even the milder forms practiced among most Muslim Hausa, conflict with pre-Islamic custom and practice. Therefore, Barkow (1971, p. 60) argues that Hausa Muslim women frequently turn to courtesanship to escape the confines of married life, seeking to return to the more carefree period of their adolescence.

Hausa Muslim men look with disdain on the practice of other ethnic groups, which permit the relatively free mixing of men and women in public. They do not like to have women near men even when women have withdrawn to a nearby area to carry on their own activities. There is a great fear of being polluted by the too-close presence of women. Moreover, there is a fear that women will betray their husbands, given the opportunity. Since Hausa men expect to betray their wives, it is not difficult to see the origin of their concerns.

Hausa Muslim men have a strong double standard regarding non-marital sexual intercourse. It is legally impossible for a married man to commit adultery with an unmarried women. If his wife catches him, he expects her to condemn and attack him, but she cannot divorce him. Indeed, she cannot divorce him if he has sexual relations with a married woman. On the other hand, a woman may have sexual relations only with her husband, but if she is still nursing a baby, she may not even have sexual relations with him.

A married man has the obligation to treat each of his wives equally. That restriction requires that he have sex with each of his wives in turn and in providing them with children. Only when a woman has a child is she fully an adult, and only when she has a grown son is she fully secure and protected. Thus, the pressure on men to perform sexually is great. It becomes even greater when one realizes that only wealthy men can have four wives and that wealth generally comes to a select few who tend to be advanced in years. These men tend to fear that their wives are liable to commit adultery if they do not satisfy them sexually and also provide a child, preferably a son, to them.

Thus, there is tremendous pressure on Hausa males to play a difficult masculine role, one that puts a great deal of pressure on them to provide quiet, calm, leadership while proving their sexual prowess daily. Their failures are “taken to the public” by their wives who harangue them in the loudest possible manner, throwing their sexual shortcoming in their faces for public amusement. Similarly, failure to provide a wife with a child can lead to further insults and public humiliation. It is a pressure from which many Hausa males seek escape in various ways.

Conclusion

Ayesha Iman (1994) has written that there is no single Islamic view of sexuality. She offers a cross-cultural view of Muslim practices over place and time. She writes that the “honor-shame” complex is rare in sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, in Hausaland 'honor' killings

are unknown, even as a bad joke. Men marry prostitutes eagerly and women may be known to be prostitutes by their families. It is not a favored profession, but women are not killed for it either, much less for suspicions of non- or extra-marital affairs (Imam, 1994).

She also notes that cliterodectomy is not found in all Islamic countries. It varies according to the customs of the area and the interpretation of Islam given in the region. Thus, although found in a number of areas, female genital mutilation in other countries with Muslim communities (e.g. Algeria, Tunisia, Pakistan, Singapore) is unknown or (as in Northern Nigeria) not common among Muslims and considered to be a pagan practice (Esther Dorkenoo & S. Ellsworthy, 1992). By contrast, in Northern Nigeria a baby girl may be made to undergo hymenectomy to ensure she can be easily penetrated, although this is apparently a disappearing practice (Mairo Mandara, 1995).

Muslim discourses of sexuality vary not only by community, but also over time. For example, Northern Nigeria has been dominantly Muslim at least since the 18th century, some argue the 14th century. But, even in the last 60 or 70 years there have been changes in the discourse of sexuality such that *tsarance* (institutionalized premarital lovemaking or sexual play that stops short of actual penetration), which used to be a common and unremarkable practice up to the 1940s and 1950s (Mary F. Smith, 1981), is now considered to be un-Islamic and "rural." At the other extreme, girls are frequently now not being allowed even to dance at the *kalangu* (drumming and dancing held each market day – Imam, 1994).

There is thus some legitimate dispute about what constitutes legitimate Islamic practice as opposed to local Muslim interpretation. Even in Nigeria among the Hausa Muslims there is a continual change in response to colonialism, outside fundamentalist pressure, and modernization. The pressures of Muslim Hausa masculinity, therefore, are increased by the confusion that change generates. There is a marginal area of doubt and old traditions. The '*yan daudu* occupy that marginal zone between old and new definitions of Hausa and male and female relations. They form a liminal category that subverts general views of Hausa masculinity and gender relationships. As Rudolf Gaudio (1994; 1995) notes, study of the *'yan daudu* sheds light on the manner in which masculine and feminine identity are constructed in Hausa society, and the ways people use language both to reproduce and to challenge those constructions. Susan O' Brien's "Pilgrimage, Power, and Identity: The Role of the Hajj in the Lives of Nigerian Hausa Bori Adepts" (1999) suggests the position the '*yan daudu* inhabit is a category betwixt and between and therefore sacred. She notes "host populations have consistently attributed to them otherworldly powers that have marked them as different from the local Muslim populace" (p. 1). Bori practitioners, including the '*yan daudu*, have played a great part in promoting these otherworldly powers, emphasizing their sacred and dangerous position on the margins of Hausa society.

Given the Hausa position as a category on the margins, and since it unites so many disparate peoples and ideologies, it is to be expected that those in power seek to control its meaning. New recruits to the Hausa must prove their adherence to the identity. Within the landscape of West Africa in which the Hausa operate, the Hausa occupy a unique niche. Males must be able to predict what other males will do. Family determines

position, and men provide the means for identifying with family. Gender behavior is rigidly defined for the Hausa Muslim. Women and men who act like women, the '*yan daudu*, threaten the operation of the system and provide a source for instability.

The presence of the '*yan daudu*, neither men nor women, offers glimpses into possibilities of alternate realities, as anomalous categories are meant to do. Moreover, the '*yan daudu* have sexual relations not only with homosexuals but also with otherwise heterosexual men, offering a possibility for at least a temporary escape from the rigid demands of Hausa Muslim masculinity. Their presence, protected by traditional religion, offers a comment on the arbitrary nature of cultural definitions and the mutability of even rigid definitions.

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