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The Man in the Clergyman

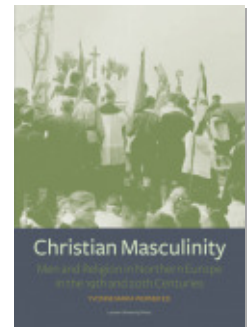
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THE MAN IN THE CLERGYMAN

SWEDISH PRIEST OBITUARIES, 1905-1937

ANNA PRESTJAN

MAN AND CHRISTIAN

A priest is the personification of a Christian man, or at least in Sweden he was until 1958, when female ordination was introduced to the Church of Sweden, and women were allowed to serve God and his flock in the same way as men.¹ Yet in the first decades of the twentieth century, Christian manliness was seen as subordinate to other masculinities, which makes it an ideal starting point for the work presented in this chapter. Changes in conceptions of masculinity and concurrent changes in the position, role, and function of church and religion in Swedish society conspired to make the combination of Christianity and modern masculinity difficult. The Christian man risked appearing less manly than other men.

The complex of problems regarding manliness and Christianity has been linked to changes at different levels of society at the turn of the twentieth century. The relation between ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ underwent a fundamental shift, as did the position of the churches and religion in society, and these changes influenced conceptions of masculinity. Several historians have pointed out that what were thought of as Christian values and qualities no longer corresponded with notions of what was manly. According to the British Church historian Jeremy Gregory, the incidence of religious life guides for men in the eighteenth century indicates that religiosity was an important element of British manliness before the 1830s, but that this changed in the nineteenth century, when the religious overtones disappeared from this kind of literature.²

¹ For women priests in the Church of Sweden, see Sandahl, *Kyrklig splittring*.

² Gregory, “Homo Religiosus”, 85-90, 109.

Which qualities are generally thought ‘Christian’, and which ‘manly’? In his monograph on Christian manliness, the British linguist and literary historian Norman Vance discusses the differences between what can be characterised as secular masculinity and the Christian character. An active, physical, strong, robust, heroic, militant, and tough man, with the power to act and the ability to determine his own fortune represents secular masculinity. This secular masculine ideal was in glaring contrast to what Vance describes as Christian virtues - patience, self-denial, confidence, restraint, and, especially for priests, the disavowal of worldly pleasures and enjoyments.³ The Australian historian Anne O’Brien has studied how the British clergy in the Australian colonies handled nineteenth-century ideas of the religious man as feminised, and how different strategies were used to make Australian men interested in the church and religion. She shows that the traditional, Australian male type, the Lone Hand, was a macho cliché, glorifying independence, physical strength, practical knowledge, and frankness, and uninhibited when it came to women, gambling, and alcohol. This ‘masculinism’, to use O’Brien’s term, stands in contrast to the manliness of the priest, who was expected to be all the things that the Lone Hand was not.⁴ According to the American theologian Evelyn Kirkley, manliness in the US at much the same time was associated with strength, vitality, virility, and mental freedom. This, Kirkley continues, was difficult to combine with a religiosity connected to femininity, weakness, sentimentality, irrationality, and ‘mental castration’.⁵ The British historians Laura Lauer and Sean Gill have come to similar conclusions. Lauer identifies physical strength and homosociality as distinguishing late nineteenth-century masculinity, while spirituality, domesticity, and the repudiation of violence were not seen as masculine.⁶ Gill points out that the Christian ideals of gentleness, lovingness, and humility could not be combined with a middle-class man’s place in modern, secular society: to be rational, determined, and bent on profit.⁷ The project on Christian manliness that resulted in the present volume partly confirms this opposition of Christianity and manliness.

It is hard to miss the stereotypes: virile, secular manliness, distinguished for its autonomy, corporality, activity, and pragmatism, in contrast to Christian manliness, characterised by confidence, passivity, piety, sensitivity, gentleness, and weakness. It has to be pointed out that the difference between secular and Christian masculinity presented here is a cumulative picture based on existing research in which it is generally accepted that ideas of masculinity changed in the nineteenth century, which by the end of that century gave rise to problems in combining masculinity with Christianity. Christian virtues were seen as passive, while tenderness and compassion were linked to sentimentality, in contrast to rationality and sense. Mildness and humility were distinguished from supposedly manly characteristics such as aggressiveness,

³ Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit*, “Introduction” and 10-17. Self-control as a quality is not solely a Christian ideal, of course.

⁴ O’Brien, “A Church Full of Men”. The adjective macho is defined as “ostentatiously or notably manly or virile; assertively masculine or tough; producing an impression of manliness or toughness” (*Oxford English Dictionary*, <http://dictionary.oed.com/>, s.v. ‘macho’, accessed 29 April 2010).

⁵ Kirkley, “Is It Manly to Be Christian?”.

⁶ Lauer, “Soul-saving Partnerships and Pacifist Soldiers”, esp. 198, 205.

⁷ Gill, “Ecce Homo”, 166, 170.

drive, and high-handedness; when it came to commitment and interest in ordinary life, Christian spirituality, understood as an indifference to worldly matters, acquired negative connotations. Christian values, then, could be understood as the opposite to modern masculinity.

BODY OR SOUL? STRATEGIES FOR MASCULINISATION

Christian manliness is a concept that necessarily comprises 'Christian' and 'manly'. The complex of problems surrounding Christian manliness is that since the nineteenth century, these two attributes have been thought incompatible. The focal point of this discussion is that the modern, secular concept of manhood has been associated with the public sphere, and to politics, social activities, rationality, and self-determination, while Christian values have on the contrary been associated with the home, the household, and things private, passive, and emotional - that is, the feminine. In the context of the central hypothesis of the project presented here - that the feminisation of religion led to strivings for (re)masculinisation - masculinisation should be understood as a goal, a striving to engage men for the sake of the Church, to re-establish the Christian faith as a central factor in society, and to restore the questioned masculinity of the Christian faith and lifestyle.

In my study, I have analysed masculinising strategies amongst priests in the Church of Sweden, who ran the risk of being seen as less manly than other men. How did they cope with this, given that as priests they were Christian men personified? Previous research on Christian manliness has mainly been concerned with so-called muscular Christianity, whose advocates tried to combine physical activity and Christian faith. Here masculinisation appears as what Tjeder has called 'musculinisation'⁸, that is, an attempt to combine Christian faith and values with the new, more physical ideals of manliness. The British-American phenomenon of muscular Christianity is in many ways the archetype.⁹ Yet as is shown elsewhere in this volume, there were other ways to construct Christian manliness that did not find physical, or even worldly, expression.

I see clear a distinction between two types of strategy for Christian manliness. The first calls for the qualities and values thought masculine to be *added* to the Christian character - 'a Christian, but what is more, a man'. This Christian man is very much a Christian, but despite that he is also a muscular sportsman, a keen hunter, or a veritable Esau with a firm handshake. This strategy involves admitting that the connection between manliness and Christianity is problematic, and not readily resolved; indeed, the very ambition to combine them confirms that the two are conceived of as essentially distinct. The second type of strategy seeks to *unit* the prevailing ideals of masculinity and Christian virtues, while the latter are masculinised and described as truly manly virtues. Christian qualities, ideals, and values are, as Olaf Blaschke puts

⁸ Tjeder, "Det manliggörandet tvivlet", 100.

⁹ Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit*, 3; Kimmel, "The Contemporary 'Crisis' of Masculinity", passim; see also Prestjān, "Christian Social Reform Work"; and Id., "En korsfäst främling på jorden?".

it, 'decoded' to correspond with secular masculinity,¹⁰ and are interpreted as manly according to the device 'a Christian, and *therefore* a man'. In this way, confidence can be decoded from unmanly passivity into manly endurance; prayer and love can be decoded from unmanly sentimentality and weakness into the manly courage to stand up for the Christian faith and defend the church's position in society. It becomes an expression of manly bravery to dare to be a Christian at a time when the Christian faith is associated with feminine sentimentality, passivity, and humbleness.¹¹

Perhaps the differences between the two types of strategy can be explained in a more simple way. To turn manly virtues into Christian ones by applying them to a Christian man or to Christian attitudes is, as I see it, different from transforming Christian virtues into manly ones by claiming that they represent true manliness. Be that as it may, in both cases the prevailing norms for masculinity and femininity are accepted and adopted, firmly linked to certain values, characteristics, and activities.

CLERICAL MANLINESS, 1903-1937

In broadening my research on clerical manliness in the Church of Sweden in the early twentieth century, my choice fell on the clergy as men, and on their supposed specific masculinity; hence the use of the term 'clerical manliness'. The key figure studied was Erik E:son Hammar (1871-1943), a parish priest in northern Sweden, whose beliefs, and in particular his efforts in the field of alcoholism treatment, are speaking examples of a possible way to Christian manliness. He was the instigator of an ambitious project designed to help alcoholic men and their families by resettling them in 'colonies' that were also intended to serve as springboards for more extensive social reforms based on Christian principles.¹² Hammar's notions of how to be both a priest and a man at one and the same time were clearly affected by contemporary ideas of manliness. In his unpublished memories, he describes himself as a man of action, a strenuous man who is not satisfied with discussions, theories, and statements of principle; a man who dares to face contemporary social problems, and tries to solve them in his own way. Physical strength, competence, and courage are crucial qualities for Hammar's notion of the state of man, as both his social programme for alcoholics and his own way of life bore out.

In the event, this was to prove difficult to combine with his clerical duties, not to mention the problems he had reconciling his views with the prevalent ideas in the Church of Sweden. Not that commitment to social reforms was unacceptable in the Church of Sweden; far from it. The stumbling-block was instead the general ambivalence about the extent to which social commitment should be realised in the individual clergyman's actions. A very old idea that a priest, being a man of God, had to distance himself from the lifestyle of ordinary men still held good. There was

¹⁰ See Olaf Blaschke's chapter in this volume; see also Blaschke, "Fältmarskalk Jesus Kristus", 23, 44, 50.

¹¹ See, for example, Alexander Maurits's study of the masculinity ideals of the Swedish bishop Wilhelm Flensburg (1819-1897), "Treståndsläran och den lutherske prästmannen".

¹² Prestjan, "Christian Social Reform Work", 22-30; Id., *Att bota en drinkare*.

also the question of time. Indeed, Hammar himself had difficulties sharing his time between his duties as a priest and his social work, even if he tried to live up to an ideal of Christian masculinity that combined Christian virtues with contemporary, more ‘muscular’ ideals of manhood. In many ways he personified the first of the two strategies presented above, for he wanted to bridge the gaps between the spiritual and the worldly, and to combine piety with physical activity and a willingness to act.

By relating Hammar’s views and actions to contemporary understandings of clerical manliness, the idea of priesthood in the Church of Sweden is brought into focus, along with the different approaches to handling the problem of Christian manliness. One fruitful approach is to look at obituaries of clergymen who served in the same dioceses and the same time as Hammar. I have thus analysed these tributes in order to establish the qualities, virtues, and characters that were most common when contemporaries described Hammar’s peers. These short texts amount to short biographies, written by fellow clergymen on behalf of the bishop;¹³ they are thus written by clergymen for other clergymen (and for the late clergyman’s family). Even though masculinity is not an explicit theme, they lend themselves to a gendered interpretation, for whatever is written about the priest is at the same time said of the man. Although these obituaries can be said to reflect the views and opinions of individuals, the genre was bound by strong traditions, and the contents thus are broadly determined more by prevalent traditions than by the personal views of the authors. The obituaries are built upon serious and ambitious research, and demonstrate a keen awareness of the pitfalls of biographical writing: truth and reverence must be weighed against each other, as one writer put it in 1933.¹⁴ The texts analysed for this study all share a spoken ambition to draw a careful, multifaceted, and authentic picture of the deceased, both as an individual and as an official. In her thesis on the medical ethos, the Swedish historian Motzi Eklöf has used physicians’ obituaries as ‘explicit testimonies of what is seen as honourable and ideal in the medical profession’. Only a few were honoured in this way - the ones who were thought the most prominent and worthy. Eklöf uses the texts to pin down current ideals of the physician.¹⁵ However, when it comes to the clergy, obituaries were written for all priests in a diocese who had died since the last diocesan council, held each sixth year, so it was not only the exemplary or well-known priests who were memorialised. However, although the biographies thus cannot be said to depict ideal clerical manliness in the same, unambiguous way, the material still says something about what was seen as important when characterising clergymen in the early twentieth century.

I have analysed 220 texts, written by seven authors between 1905 and 1937¹⁶, focussing on the interior and exterior characteristics that are specified in the texts.

¹³ Bexell, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, VII, 33.

¹⁴ Löfvenmark, *De hädangångna*, 3-4; Montån, *Vittnen och ordets tjänare*, 4.

¹⁵ Eklöf, *Läkarens ethos*, 269-270.

¹⁶ Boström, “Minnestal öfver hädangångne ämbetsbröder”; Arbman, “Minnesord öfver hädangångna ämbetsbröder”; Åkerberg, “Minnestal öfver hädangångna ämbetsbröder”; Palmquist, “Minnestal öfver hädangångna ämbetsbröder”, 97-104; Löfvenmark, *De hädangångna*; Garpe, *In memoriam. Ord om de hemgångna vid Västerås stifts prästmöte 1925, 1931 & 1937*; Montån, *Vittnen och ordets tjänare*.

The information offered about the priests is both extensive and varied. The descriptive terms or adjectives were sorted into groups, defined as either 'Christian' or 'manly' in line with the findings discussed in the literature.¹⁷ There are a number of objections to this method, of course. The main obstacle is that the bulk of the literature refers to the Anglo-American context, which, while it has been confirmed for a Swedish milieu, does not necessarily make for direct parallels with the Swedish experience. Second, the division of the various synonyms according to attribute is my own, and like all categorisations of this kind can be said to be arbitrary. Third, working with types is always open to discussion. It should be noted that this is only one of a number of possible ways of handling the material, and the purpose is not to define and fix what constituted 'clerical manliness', but instead to establish the broad contours of Christian manliness in this period.

MANLY QUALITIES

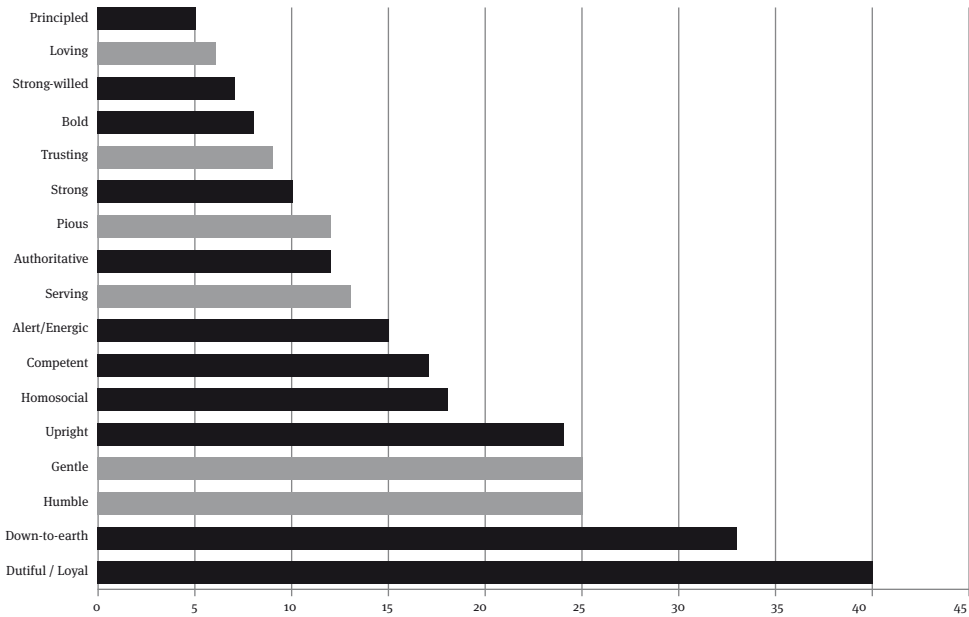
- dutiful and loyal (strenuous, orderly, punctual, careful, zealous, diligent, untiring, serious)
- down-to-earth (natural, undisguised, popular, frank, humorous, playful)
- upright and honest (honourable, reliable, confidence-inspiring, faithful, solid)
- (homo)social (hospitable, winning, pleasant, well-liked, charming, friendly)
- competent (practical, dynamic, resourceful, enterprising, energetic)
- authoritative (practical, dynamic, resourceful, enterprising, energetic)
- alert and energetic (witty, direct, lively, cheerful)
- strong (sturdy)
- strong-willed (obstinate, goal-oriented, convinced, determined, resolute, persistent, persevering)
- bold (fearless, intrepid)
- principled and strong in character

CHRISTIAN QUALITIES

- humble (simple, modest, unaffected)
- gentle (calm, quiet, delightful, harmonious, reserved, considerate)
- serving (helpful, unselfish, generous, accommodating, obliging)
- pious (piousness, devoutness)
- trusting (self-possessed, patient, enduring, contented, convinced, composed)
- loving (tender, charitable, benign)

With this data, it becomes possible to compare the frequency with which specific qualities characterised in earlier research as 'manly' or 'Christian' occur in the descriptions of the priests commemorated in obituaries.

¹⁷ Some qualities used to describe the priests' personalities defy definition as 'Christian' or 'manly'. These 'neutral' adjectives, such as 'intelligent', 'happy', and 'noble', have here been passed over in silence.



Occurrence of 'manly' and 'Christian' qualities in % in 220 remembrance texts, 1905-1937

■ Christian
■ Manly

Evidently the virtues traditionally described as 'Christian', and thus generally expected of a clergyman (humble, gentle, serving, pious, trusting, loving) are *not* the qualities predominantly used to characterise the priests in the obituaries, whereas virtues supposed to be 'manly' (dutiful, upright, homosocial, competent) are both more numerous and more frequently used. By contrast, some of the expected priestly virtues, such as piety and love, are *seldom* used in the characterisations of the deceased clergymen, to the extent that the qualities associated with the contemporary image of manliness are emphasised at the expense of Christian virtues. This may show that it was felt important to highlight the fact that the priest was first of all a man.¹⁸ Another way to stress the priests' inner, original masculinity is to describe with all its contradictions the manly struggle with unbefitting, negative manliness - that is, the idea of the undesirable features of original and natural masculinity that should be in evidence, but must be disciplined and controlled: "... not even this man, as harmonious as he appeared, could escape serious battles with his own nature. Inside he housed a thunderstorm, a violent temper, which someone unaware of the nurturing grace of God never should have thought of him."¹⁹

¹⁸ It can be argued that some of these qualities were seen as so obvious, that there was no need in pointing them out, except when they were particularly prominent. This is contradicted by the fact that it is sometimes mentioned that a clergyman is more or less religious.

¹⁹ Arbman, "Minnesord", 135. All obituaries quoted in my translation.

One priest showed a propensity to be a pompous bully, too fond of correcting others, and possessed of an almost crushing sense of self-worth. With utmost self-control and the help of God's disciplining grace, his temperament was moderated, and his persistent error could be conquered.²⁰ Sometimes, attention is called to a priest's masculinity by contrasting a harsh exterior to weakness, tenderness, and kindness inside: "He was a man of rapturous, almost brutal force ... he looked as if he was teeming with violence ... But this strong nature had both a manly openness, so that everyone could feel secure with him, and a sensitive weakness."²¹ "... sharp harshness and suppressed force. ... he was the first in blunt candour, but this found its match in the open goodness of his heart."²² The effect is the same. The priests' true and original masculinity is spelled out, which successfully control leads to specifically Christian manliness, or to its combination with virtues more appropriate for a priest.

These findings are borne out by the ideas of Ernst Lönegren (1862-1973), who was bishop of Härnösand in the period in question. In his writing, Lönegren characterises the ideal clergyman as a man engaged in worldly matters, but not without safeguarding his specific identity as a priest. Lönegren, who was chairman of the board of the Swedish Deaconess' Association, was himself very engaged in Christian social work, mainly expressed in his deep commitment to Christian social service.²³ He opposed the dualism that sought to separate the worldly from the spiritual, which he argued was contrary to the Lutheran ethos and could only limit pastoral work.²⁴ In a pastoral letter to the priests of his diocese in 1909, he advocated the widening of their priestly duties to include a more applied Christianity. Referring to the criticism of the Church of Sweden for ignoring the social issues of the day, he stressed the importance of priestly commitment to social reform work.²⁵ Lönegren's message to the clergy of his diocese was that a priest's calling could no longer be restricted to the spiritual sphere - even if he never failed to point out that the traditional priestly duties were still to be given priority. In 1923, he even warned of the dangers following the growing social commitment of the church, which added to the priests' workload and might lead to "concessions to a pushy worldly spirit". Lönegren stressed the importance of *balance*: "It appears to us that the type of priest most appealing and harmonious, and closest to the ideal [of a good priest], is he who stands safe above worldly concerns and who is strong in faith, with the roots of his soul and spirit in the Gospel, and thus, marked by the cross, a stranger on earth, but at the same time possessed of the wonderful, holy power that gives life and spirit to everything that comes near to it."²⁶ The ideal clergyman, according to Lönegren, should thus be firmly rooted in the Christian faith and spiritual life, wary of "infatuated sentimentality" and admiration, but still striving to be spiritually superior both relative to his parish and to the profane world as a whole. It was the duty of the clergyman to commit to both a spiritual and a worldly

²⁰ Boström, "Minnestal", 116.

²¹ Arbman, "Minnesord", 115-116.

²² Garpe, *In memoriam 1937*, 43.

²³ "Ernst Lönegren", 171-172.

²⁴ Lönegren, *Mot målet*, 5-6; Id., "Centralt och periferiskt".

²⁵ Id., *Till Härnösands stifts prästerskap!*, 66.

²⁶ Id., "Centralt och periferiskt", 55-56.

life, while “the carrying out the pastoral duties of his office as a priest should never be subordinated to tasks of secondary importance”.²⁷

Much like Lönegren’s pastoral letters, the obituaries discussed here strive to show the priests striking a *balance* between spiritual and worldly concerns, however much more attention is paid to their worldly qualities than their spiritual virtues. The ambition here seems to be to show that the priests were not alienated from worldly realities, but were firmly anchored in the society of their time. Another obvious feature of these descriptions is the many references to gender; it is clearly pointed out that the clergyman in question was really a man. In considering masculinity, the Swedish historian Anna Hilborn has remarked on the importance of the fact that after the Reformation a priest was commonly assumed to be married, and thus could be defined as a man amongst men because of his relationship to the other sex.²⁸ Under these circumstances, the best way to make a point of a priest’s manliness would be to emphasise his role as a husband and father, and unsurprisingly this kind of information is given in about a third of the texts. Similarly, there are comments on the priests’ physique and appearance in a third of the texts, with an emphasis on bodily, masculine features accentuated in a positive way: tall, vigorous, big, fit, healthy, with sharp and noble features, and great attention to hair, be it bushy hair or eyebrows or an impressive moustache or beard. Another way to describe him as a man is point to his down-to-earth character and the ordinariness of his worldly pursuits: hunting, fishing, music, sports, botany, agriculture, and enjoying good company. A third of the priest are depicted in positive tones as popular, natural, approachable, open-minded, and affably humorous, whereas it is counted a shortcoming to be stiff, strict, insensitive, and distant. Several of the priests are also explicitly mentioned as *manly*, distinguished for their ‘manly openness’, ‘manly nature’, ‘manly beauty and power’, or ‘manly spirit’.²⁹

The physical strength, authority, power and the like ascribed to these clergymen are characteristics that coincide with the hegemonic ideals of masculinity in contemporary society. Yet to be a man is not enough. Christian manliness, unavoidably, is composed of both Christian and manly features, in accordance with the *balance* bishop Lönegren was at pains to establish. Thus the obituaries have ways not only of stressing manliness, but *Christian* manliness. David Tjeder points out elsewhere in this volume just how often Christian men are surprisingly explicit and almost ostentatious about their religious crises, and suggests that this is a way to turn men’s Christian faith into something masculine; by showing how these serious crises of faith were overcome, and how in the end they won the fight to keep the faith, Christian men could demonstrate their manly characters, and Christian faith could thus be a manly victory. The fight for faith can also take other forms, as the Swedish church historian Alexander Maurits has established by examining the writings of the Swedish bishop Wilhelm Flensburg: Flensburg exhorted his clergy to demonstrate manly courage and strength in openly confessing the Christian faith at a time when the church and reli-

²⁷ Ibid., 55, 57, 62 (quote from 57).

²⁸ Hilborn, “Prästerskap och manlighet”.

²⁹ Arbman, “Minnesord”, 115-117, 123, 130; Palmquist, “Minnestal”, 118.

gion were being called in question.³⁰ However, the variations on the idea of fighting for their faith is not a prominent theme in the obituaries, in which the focus is on a very different kind of fight: the calm enduring of difficulties and sufferings in everyday life by priests who with their 'quiet and kindly trust in God' bore their crosses bravely through physical suffering, misfortune, poverty, and grief. There is the priest who patiently suffered the loss of his wife and seven children without complaining over God's will; the priest whose life was 'a long and strenuous road of suffering' and was said to have battled on 'bravely and persistently' without complaint, in spite of poverty, lack of promotion, constant sickness, the early loss of a young wife, and the tragedy of having to leave his new-born son to be fostered; the priest, a father of ten, who endured total paralysis for the last ten years of his life without murmur, in the 'patience, hope and trust in the Father'; and the priest who died something of a martyr's death, for travelling under arrest to his court martial for refusing to do military service in 1914, he caught the pneumonia that would kill him shortly after his almost immediate release. This kind of humble trust and patience is a reoccurring theme in the obituaries, yet shows not the slightest link with the hegemonic construction of middle-class masculinity of the day. What it does relate to, however, is bishop Lönegren's opening lecture to a meeting of Nordic bishops in 1930, in which he specifically addressed to priests-to-be, praising what he describes as Evangelical asceticism as a means to achieve soundness, depth, and stringency by combining 'childish trust and manly determination to fight'. Too often, Lönegren says, physical training is accorded too much importance, while ascetic privation is seen as unwarranted constraint. Instead, in the sacrifice of social habits, other people's approval, and one's own affections Lönegren sees the privation, self-sacrificing, and endurance of a manly fight against the weaknesses of the day: moral erosion, feebleness, selfishness, spiritual convenience, pleasure-seeking, self-assertion, individualism, worldliness, and fragility. Lönegren's arguments in favour of privation, described as keen fight calling for force and a steady hand, are that it leads to realism, practical experience, and clear-sightedness.³¹

Certainly it is the case that the image of clerical manliness in the obituaries is conjured up by manly virtues such as strength, power, and courage, and these kinds of characteristics are more common than the expected, traditional Christian virtues such as trust and love. Yet what is the meaning of 'courage' and 'strength'? Very often they are used to depict a kind of inner strength that goes beyond common, masculine self-discipline, founded in the Christian faith rather than in a 'manly' strong character, in the fight to keep the Christian faith despite all the odds, a struggle fought with steadfast trust as the only weapon. In doing so, the traditionally Christian virtues of trust and humility, which in the middle-class discourse had been ascribed to women, were re-coded as manly characteristics, as was the case when Lönegren tries to reframe unmanly asceticism as manly toughness.

³⁰ Maurits, "Treståndsläran och den lutherske prästmannen", 71-73, 78, 81-82.

³¹ Lönegren, "Evangelisk askes". According to Lönegren, privation is 'spiritual training' (Ibid., 19). The *Swedish Nationalencyklopedin* defines privation in the same way, as different kinds of mental training and "harsh physical restraint to win inner concentration" (<http://www.ne.se>, accessed 1 June 2006). Central to both is the idea of a connection between body and soul, where the body is an obstacle to spiritual life, but at the same time can be a means to reach a higher spiritual level.

CONCLUSIONS

Is there any agreement on what good clerical manliness might be to be found in the obituaries discussed here? If so, what distinguished it from other contemporary masculinities? Even if the obituaries vary according to the author, they share a characterisation of clergymen not only as priests and officials but also as individuals. Clearly it was of great importance to call attention to the fact that the clergyman had worldly interests and commitments over and above his spiritual life and duties. In the obituaries, it is not the expected Christian virtues that are the most common, but rather contemporary, general masculine ideals such as vigour, loyalty, decency, and ability. Similarly, the obituarists were eager to describe their subjects as down-to-earth, with all that means in terms of being popular, easy-going, humorous, and natural, underscoring the point that a clergyman should not shun worldly matters, but should have his feet on the ground, a man amongst other men.

The obituaries show that clerical manliness was constructed in a way that echoes contemporary, secular masculine ideals. The priest was a priest, but he was also a man, with a bushy moustache, worldly interests, the acceptance of his fellow men in homosocial comradeship, and busy about perhaps his most important manly duties: to be industrious and capable. A humble and mild clergyman could be masculine as well if he demonstrated physical strength or a hot temper, duly curbed; a passive virtue such as trust could be balanced by more active qualities such as initiative and rationality. In order to separate specifically priestly manliness from other masculinities, common manly qualities and traditional Christian values had to be carefully mixed - witness Bishop Lönegren's description of the ideal balance between the spiritual and the profane. In Lönegren's writings, we find yet another strategy to mark clerical manliness, for he re-codes supposedly manly virtues as Christian virtues so that Christian ascetics, privation, and self-sacrifice are described as manly vigour, hardiness, and fight. Elsewhere in this volume Olaf Blaschke describes the same strategy employed by the church authorities in Germany, and much used by the Jesuits in their efforts to demonstrate the masculine character of the Christian virtues; David Tjeder has come to a similar conclusion in his analysis of 'man-making crises of faith'; while Alexander Maurits shows how it was said to be brave to risk standing up for one's Christian faith. In the obituaries, crises of faith are rare, but instead we find another kind of struggle - the silent, inner fight to withstand the trials and tribulations of life, armed only with steadfastness and trust.

Taking my lead from Blaschke's findings, I identify two distinct strategies for Christian manliness. The first is to bring what are seen as manly virtues to the Christian man; to *combine* the manly with the Christian. The second is to *unite* the Christian and the manly by defining Christian virtues as truly manly one, and vice versa. The obituaries generally display the first type of strategy, for they set out to apply manliness to the clergyman and by doing so fashion a Christian manliness - 'a Christian, but what is more, a man'. Yet equally the obituaries clearly wish to decode Christian virtues as masculine ones, and hence Christian virtues such as trust and patience are accentuated in relation to physical and emotional suffering, but this quietly borne suffering is decoded as heroism, strength, and nerve. They also offer examples of another kind of manly strength of character, the somewhat paradoxical struggle to

overcome an inner, eruptive, original manliness - under the cassock is a hairy chest - epitomising the return to the first strategy, and a surrender to a contemporary, hegemonic masculinity that is, in a way, final.

To conclude, clerical manliness was characterised by a combination of contemporary, hegemonic, masculine ideals and specific Christian values and principles. In the material analysed the uniformity of the ideal of priestly manliness stretches no further than a balanced mixture of brawny powerhouse and peaceful clergyman, where manly strength and power was first and foremost demonstrated by the courage to appear as a Christian man, expressing qualities that in the eyes of many contemporaries were seen as unmanly.