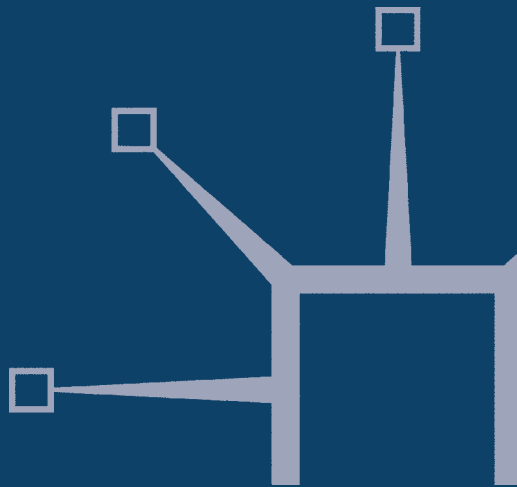


palgrave
macmillan

Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain

Edited by
Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan



Genders and Sexualities in History

Series Editors: **John H. Arnold, Joanna Bourke and Sean Brady**

Palgrave Macmillan's series, 'Genders and Sexualities in History', aims to accommodate and foster new approaches to historical research in the fields of genders and sexualities. The series promotes world-class scholarship that concentrates upon the interconnected themes of genders, sexualities, religions/religiosity, civil society, class formations, politics and war.

Historical studies of gender and sexuality have often been treated as disconnected fields, while in recent years historical analyses in these two areas have synthesised, creating new departures in historiography. By linking genders and sexualities with questions of religion, civil society, politics and the contexts of war and conflict, this series will reflect recent developments in scholarship, moving away from the previously dominant and narrow histories of science, scientific thought and legal processes. The result brings together scholarship from contemporary, modern, early modern, medieval, classical and non-Western history to provide a diachronic forum for scholarship that incorporates new approaches to genders and sexualities in history.

In *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain*, Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan have compiled 11 original essays exploring the relationship between religion and masculinity in late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain. Their scope is wide: there are explorations of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist religious groups, as well as investigations into men belonging to new religious movements and those who claim to adhere to 'no religion'. Each essay seeks to illuminate new ways of interpreting religious practices and beliefs in increasingly pluralistic religious and secular contexts. The exploration of religious masculinities sheds new light on modern Britain. In common with all the volumes in the 'Gender and Sexualities in History' series, the collection incorporates new scholarship in innovative ways.

Titles include:

John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (*editors*)

WHAT IS MASCULINITY?

Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World

Heike Bauer and Matthew Cook (*editors*)

QUEER 1950s

Rethinking Sexuality in the Postwar Years

Cordelia Beattie and Kirsten A. Fenton (*editors*)

INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER, RELIGION AND ETHNICITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Chiara Beccalossi

FEMALE SEXUAL INVERSION

Same-Sex Desires in Italian and British Sexology, c. 1870–1920

Raphaëlle Branche and Fabrice Virgili (*editors*)

RAPE IN WARTIME

Peter Cryle and Alison Moore

FRIGIDITY

An Intellectual History

Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan

MEN, MASCULINITIES AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY BRITAIN

Jennifer V. Evans

LIFE AMONG THE RUINS

Cityscape and Sexuality in Cold War Berlin

Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan (*editors*)

BODIES, SEX AND DESIRE FROM THE RENAISSANCE TO THE PRESENT

Christopher E. Forth and Elinor Accampo (*editors*)
CONFRONTING MODERNITY IN FIN-DE-SIÈCLE FRANCE
Bodies, Minds and Gender

Rebecca Fraser
GENDER, RACE AND FAMILY IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICA
From Northern Woman to Plantation Mistress

Dagmar Herzog (*editor*)
BRUTALITY AND DESIRE
War and Sexuality in Europe's Twentieth Century

Robert Hogg
MEN AND MANLINESS ON THE FRONTIER
Queensland and British Columbia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Julia Laite
COMMON PROSTITUTES AND ORDINARY CITIZENS
Commercial Sex in London, 1885–1960

Andrea Mansker
SEX, HONOR AND CITIZENSHIP IN EARLY THIRD REPUBLIC FRANCE

Jessica Meyer
MEN OF WAR
Masculinity and the First World War in Britain
Pregnant Embodiment, Baby Bumps and Body Image

Jennifer D. Thibodeaux (*editor*)
NEGOTIATING CLERICAL IDENTITIES
Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages

Hester Vaizey
SURVIVING HITLER'S WAR
Family Life in Germany, 1939–48

Clayton J. Whisnant
MALE HOMOSEXUALITY IN WEST GERMANY
Between Persecution and Freedom, 1945–69

Forthcoming titles:

Matthew Cook
QUEER DOMESTICITIES
Homosexuality and Home Life in Twentieth-Century London

Melissa Hollander
SEX IN TWO CITIES
The Negotiation of Sexual Relationships in Early Modern England and Scotland

Genders and Sexualities in History Series
Series Standing Order 978-0-230-55185-5 Hardback
978-0-230-55186-2 Paperback
(*outside North America only*)

You can receive future titles in this series as they are published by placing a standing order. Please contact your bookseller or, in case of difficulty, write to us at the address below with your name and address, the title of the series and the ISBN quoted above.

Customer Services Department, Macmillan Distribution Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke,
Hampshire RG21 6XS, England

Also by Lucy Delap

ANTI-FEMINISM IN EDWARDIAN LITERATURE (*co-edited with Ann Heilmann*)

FEMINISM AND THE PERIODICAL PRESS 1900–1918 (*co-edited with Leila Ryan and Maria DiCenzo*)

FEMINIST MEDIA HISTORY

Suffrage, Periodicals and the Public Sphere
(*jointly authored with Maria DiCenzo and Leila Ryan*)

KNOWING THEIR PLACE

Domestic Service in Twentieth-Century Britain

THE FEMINIST AVANT-GARDE

Transatlantic Encounters of the Early Twentieth Century

THE POLITICS OF DOMESTIC AUTHORITY IN BRITAIN SINCE 1800 (*co-edited with Ben Griffin and Abi Wills*)

VICTORIAN AND EDWARDIAN ANTI-FEMINISM

The Periodical and Pamphlet Press
(*co-edited with Valerie Sanders*)

Also by Sue Morgan

MASCULINITY AND SPIRITUALITY IN VICTORIAN CULTURE (*co-edited with Andrew Bradstock, Sean Gill and Ann Hogan*)

WOMEN, RELIGION AND FEMINISM IN BRITAIN, 1750–1900

THE FEMINIST HISTORY READER

MANIFESTOS FOR HISTORY (*co-edited with Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow*)

WOMEN, GENDER AND RELIGIOUS CULTURES

Britain, 1800–1940
(*co-edited with Jacqueline de Vries*)

This page intentionally left blank

Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain

Edited by

Lucy Delap

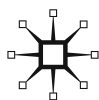
Reader in Twentieth Century British History, King's College London

and

Sue Morgan

Professor of Women's and Gender History, University of Chichester

palgrave
macmillan



Editorial matter, selection and introduction © Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan 2013
All remaining chapters © their respective authors 2013
Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2013 978-1-137-28174-6

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 2013 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-44828-9 ISBN 978-1-137-28175-3 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9781137281753

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by MPS Limited, Chennai, India.

Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	x
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	xi
Introduction: Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Post-Christian Britain <i>Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan</i>	1
1 Buddhist Psychologies and Masculinity in Early Twentieth-Century Britain <i>Alison Falby</i>	30
2 ‘The People of God Dressed for Dinner and Dancing’? English Catholic Masculinity, Religious Sociability and the Catenian Association <i>Alana Harris</i>	54
3 ‘To Their Credit as Jews and Englishmen’: Services for Youth and the Shaping of Jewish Masculinity in Britain, 1890s–1930s <i>Susan L. Tananbaum</i>	90
4 ‘Be Strong and Play the Man’: Anglican Masculinities in the Twentieth Century <i>Lucy Delap</i>	119
5 The Emergence of a British Hindu Identity between 1936 and 1937 <i>Sumita Mukherjee</i>	146
6 ‘Iron Strength and Infinite Tenderness’: Herbert Gray and the Making of Christian Masculinities at War and at Home, 1900–40 <i>Sue Morgan</i>	168
7 Moral Welfare and Social Well-Being: The Church of England and the Emergence of Modern Homosexuality <i>Timothy W. Jones</i>	197

8	Why Examine Men, Masculinities and Religion in Northern Ireland? <i>Sean Brady</i>	218
9	British Pakistani Masculinities: Longing and Belonging <i>Amanullah De Soudy</i>	252
10	'Laboratories' of Gender? Masculinities, Spirituality and New Religious Movements in Late Twentieth-Century Britain <i>Stephen Hunt</i>	279
11	Men Losing Faith: The Making of Modern No Religionism in the UK, 1939–2010 <i>Callum G. Brown</i>	301
	<i>Select Bibliography</i>	326
	<i>Index</i>	327

List of Illustrations

2.1	Catenian personalities from the Weybridge Circle wining, dining (and smoking). <i>Catena</i> , April 1963, p. 97	64
2.2	“‘Obos”, Op and Tramps’ Supper’ (1959), Brighton Regency Circle (No. 166). <i>Catena</i> , March 1958, p. 61	65
2.3	Catenian Christmas Card. <i>Catena</i> , January 1956, p. 16	70
4.1	Front cover of CEMS’s <i>Men’s Magazine</i> , reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library	126
6.1	A. Herbert Gray, c.1915. Printed with permission from The Museum of the Royal Highland Fusiliers	172
9.1	Omar and Johnny in <i>My Beautiful Launderette</i> (1985)	272

Acknowledgements

This book, whose range spans such a variety of religious faiths and no-faith, has only been made possible through the support and advice of many people. We would like to thank in particular Bjorn Krondorfer, Ben Griffin, David Feldman, Sean Brady and Dominic Erdozain. Clare Mence at Palgrave Macmillan has been enormously helpful in the drawing together of the collection. We would also like to thank all of the participants at the symposium held at St Catharine's College, Cambridge in April 2012 where contributors to this book were able to present versions of their chapters and receive useful feedback. We are extremely grateful to the Lightfoot and Trevelyan Funds, History Faculty, Cambridge University, and the Cambridge University Centre for Gender Studies, for their support for this symposium. In addition, the Lightfoot Fund also generously contributed to the publication of images in this collection.

Notes on Contributors

Sean Brady is Lecturer in Modern British and Irish History at Birkbeck College, University of London, UK. His research interests focus on gender, sexuality, politics and religion in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain and Ireland. His publications include *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain, 1861–1913* (Palgrave Macmillan 2005 & 2009), *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, co-edited with John H. Arnold (Palgrave Macmillan 2011) and *John Addington Symonds (1840–1893) and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources* (Palgrave Macmillan 2012). He is convening editor for the Palgrave Macmillan's series *Genders and Sexualities in History*.

Callum G. Brown is Professor of Late Modern European History at the University of Glasgow, after previously holding chairs at the universities of Dundee and Strathclyde. He is a social and cultural historian, interested in secularisation, religious ritual, humanism and popular culture. His most recent book is *Religion and the Demographic Revolution: Women and Secularisation in Canada, Ireland, UK and USA since the 1960s* (Boydell 2012).

Lucy Delap is Reader in Twentieth-Century British History at King's College London, and directs History and Policy. Her book *The Feminist Avant-Garde: Transatlantic Encounters of the Early Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press 2007) won the 2008 Women's History Network Prize. *Knowing Their Place: Domestic Service in Twentieth Century Britain* was published by Oxford University Press in 2011. She also won the Pilkington Teaching Prize at the University of Cambridge in 2011. She is currently working on masculinities, gender activism and religion in twentieth-century Britain, and is undertaking oral history research into 'male feminists' of the late twentieth century.

Amanullah De Sondy is Assistant Professor of Islamic Studies in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Miami, Florida, USA. Born and raised in Scotland to Pakistani parents, he holds a PhD in theology and religious studies from the University of Glasgow, Scotland, and his main academic interest is concentrated on gender and sexuality in classical/modern Islam, specifically Islamic masculinities. Aman has

studied Arabic and Islamic Studies in France, Jordan and Syria, and is also proficient in the Urdu and Punjabi languages.

Alison Falby received her DPhil at the University of Oxford and is now a scholar-priest in the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, Canada. During her doctoral work, she developed an interest in religious change as an intersection of religious ideas and scientific language. She has published articles on this intersection in Eastern religious movements and group therapy, and a book on Gerald Heard, the twentieth-century popular scientist and mystic (*Between the Pigeonholes: Gerald Heard, 1889–1971*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing 2008). Her current research focuses on the interdenominational Guildhouse church, co-founded in the 1920s by Maude Royden, a leading advocate for women's ordination.

Alana Harris is the Darby Fellow in History at Lincoln College, University of Oxford. Her research interests span the history of religion, gender and migration, encompassing material cultures, oral history and the study of ritual and pilgrimage. She has recently commenced a five-year project exploring religious faith, space and diasporic communities in East London during the twentieth century under the auspices of the Oxford Leverhulme Diasporas Programme. Her publications include *Faith in the Family: A Lived Religious History of English Catholicism Before and After Vatican II* (MUP 2013), 'Wounding and Healing: Christian Narratives of Migrant Women in East London', 22(2) (2013) *Women's History Review* (with Jane Garnett) and a forthcoming co-edited volume, *Rescripting Religion in the City: Migration, Modernity and Religious Identity in the Modern Metropolis* (Ashgate 2013).

Stephen Hunt is Associate Professor in the Sociology of Religion based at the University of the West of England, Bristol, UK. His specialised research interest lies in contemporary Christianity, Pentecostal and charismatic movements, new religious movements, religious political mobilisation, and religion and sexuality. He has published widely in all these areas. His publications include *A History of the Charismatic Movement in Britain and the United States of America: The Pentecostal Transformation of Christianity* (2 vols) (Edwin Mellen 2009); *Religion in Everyday Life* (Routledge 2006); *Alternative Religion: A Sociological Introduction* (Ashgate 2003); the edited volume *Contemporary Christianity and LGBT Sexualities* (Ashgate 2009); the five edited and compiled volumes of *The Ashgate Library of Essays on Sexuality and Religion* (5 vols) (Ashgate 2010) and *The Ashgate Research Companion to Contemporary Religion and Sexuality* (edited with Andrew Yip, Ashgate 2012).

Timothy W. Jones is Lecturer in History and co-director of the Centre for Gender Studies in Wales at the University of Glamorgan, and Australian Research Council DECRA research fellow at La Trobe University. He is currently working on a biography of D. Sherwin Bailey, and the project 'Whose Family Values? The Christian Right and Sexual Politics in Postsecular Australia'. He is the author of *Sexual Politics in the Church of England, 1857–1957* (Oxford University Press 2013).

Sue Morgan is Professor of Women's and Gender History at the University of Chichester, UK. She writes on the history of religion, feminism and gender in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain. She is the editor of *Women, Religion and Feminism in Britain, 1750–1900* (Palgrave Macmillan 2002), *The Feminist History Reader* (Routledge 2006), *Manifestos for History* (co-edited with Keith Jenkins and Alun Munslow, Routledge 2007) and *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures: Britain, 1800–1940* (co-edited with Jacqueline de Vries, Routledge 2010). She is currently working on a history of religious discourses of love, sexuality and gender between 1880 and 1940.

Sumita Mukherjee is Lecturer in Economic and Social History at the University of Glasgow. She works on the social history of South Asian people in Britain and in the Indian subcontinent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Her current research interests include British perceptions of Indian religious leaders during the Empire and the global networks of Indian suffragettes. She is the author of *Nationalism, Education and Migrant Identities: The England-Returned* (Routledge 2010) and is co-editor, with Rehana Ahmed, of *South Asian Resistances in Britain, 1858–1947* (Continuum 2012).

Susan L. Tananbaum is Associate Professor of History at Bowdoin College in Maine, USA. Her publications focus on philanthropy, public health and the acculturation of women and children in London's Jewish immigrant community. Her book *Jewish Immigrants in London, 1880–1939* is forthcoming with Pickering and Chatto. She is currently working on the religiously sponsored care of Christian and Jewish orphans in Britain. She has been the recipient of grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Harvard University and Bowdoin College; the Littauer Foundation, the University of Southampton; and was Visiting Scholar at the Kaplan Centre in the University of Cape Town, South Africa in 2008.

Introduction: Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Post-Christian Britain

Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan

Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain investigates the influence of religion on the formation of men as gendered and sexual beings. It surveys a geographical and historical period – twentieth-century Britain – which has witnessed profound changes in both religious cultures and the gender order. This is a century which has generally been understood as secularising – or indeed, for men, largely secular – a process often represented historically as a loss. Male piety has been largely invisible, not least due to the scholarly emphasis upon women as the main inheritors and shapers of Britain’s heterogeneous religious cultures. Observant or faithful men, where they have been addressed by historians, have been understood as paradoxical or unrepresentative of broader social, political and cultural trends. Powerfully influenced by the intellectual criticism of Christianity in the later nineteenth century as well as by the irreligion of popular culture in the same period, men have been more likely to see religious morality and devotional practices as out of keeping with dominant worldly, financially competitive, physically aggressive or sexually promiscuous scripts for modern masculinity. According to one army chaplain in the World War I, British soldiers regarded the ‘modern business world and the practice of real discipleship’¹ as irreconcilably antagonistic. And as a labourer at a London paint factory told an investigator in 1933, ‘You get put through the hoops proper at the shop if it is known that you are religious. ... Lots of fellows go under in that kind of treatment and stop thinking and call themselves atheists’.² Such sources epitomise the historiographical consensus concerning the incompatibility of masculinity and religion in twentieth-century Britain. As a result, male irreligion, a quintessentially Victorian concept, has retained a striking explanatory power.

2 Introduction

This collection interrogates and disrupts this clichéd historical construction through an exploration of the differing formations of modern masculinity expressed within and across various religious traditions in an increasingly pluralist British context. It also challenges the notion of any single hegemonic religious ideal of masculinity (such as the influential but controversial and imprecise nineteenth-century concept 'muscular Christianity'). Instead, contributors emphasise the heterogeneous and interactive discourses of different faiths and no religionism that borrowed from, refashioned and rejected dominant gender constructions. Through diverse accounts of the performances and practices that men, individually and collectively, deployed in the pursuit of their beliefs, including their inner worlds of faith, doubt and no religionism, this book offers new ways of understanding the purchase and endurance of certain religious discourses as well as the instability or insufficiency of others. The essays that follow suggest that religious belief (or for some, a self-conscious absence of belief), helped men attend to their intellectual well-being as well as to their bodies and sexualities, to imagine the divine, to engage with their families and workplaces, to pursue certain leisure pastimes and to negotiate their relationship with public bodies or diasporic movements.

In addition to its commitment to religious heterogeneity, this collection also evidences a diverse range of methodologies. It draws mainly upon the history of religion and masculinity studies, but incorporates cross-disciplinary influences from theology, anthropology, cultural theory, psychology and sociology. The sources used are similarly wide-ranging, including oral histories, novels, autobiographies, public inquiries, televisual productions, art, literature, parish and community records, periodicals and memoirs. The expansion of debates on Christianity to histories of multi-faith Britain offers important methodological advantages in allowing for interfaith dialogue. It is clear that religious traditions cannot be understood in isolation from each other, and *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change* is premised on the interactive nature not only of different faiths but also between the presence and loss of faith. We might reflect on the ways in which Hindu concepts of exercise, meditation and moderation, for example, influenced early twentieth-century concepts of the healthy male body in Britain,³ or, as Susan Tananbaum explores in this volume, how Christian physical culture influenced the self-identity of Jewish men.

Each of the following chapters assumes a mutually constitutive relationship between gender, masculinity and religion. As Jeremy Gregory and others have argued, religion has historically sanctioned

certain constructions of gender with particular degrees of purchase: the chaste woman, the devoted wife, the authoritative husband and father. Conversely, the metaphorical and symbolic gendering of different religious denominations or faiths has been an important vehicle for establishing patterns of gender more widely.⁴ The feminisation or sexual dissidence associated with the Roman Catholic Church in the nineteenth century, for example, gave anti-Popery a particular force and, as Alana Harris's chapter in this collection suggests, shaped Catholic masculinities well into the twentieth century. The frequently patriarchal character of religions has also been widely asserted, but not always fully historicised. As a recent study of Mormon masculinity in the United States suggested, historians have only just begun to investigate the complex and diverse ways in which many belief systems offer men particular roles and modes of being that establish gendered hierarchies and power structures and locate women in secondary or inferior roles.⁵ Evoking manliness has proved a successful means of establishing or contesting authority within religious organisations, of intervening in ritual or theology and resisting marginalisation, often at the expense of women's individual and institutional experiences of faith. Yet the cultural assumption, particularly within Christianity, that women and femininities are the traditional repositories of piety has held strong in British and European analyses. This collection augments and develops the work of scholars such as Harry Brod, Yvonne Werner and Bjorn Krondorfer in demonstrating that femininity is neither universally nor solely the bearer of modern religious identity; masculinities, too, can be sites of religious struggle and performance.⁶

Religion, modernity and the secularisation narrative

In recent years a significant and now well-established revisionist school has effectively challenged the dominant empiricist, sociologically influenced secularisation (or, more accurately, de-Christianisation) narrative of twentieth-century Britain. Such historiographical developments have taken place in conjunction with more critical readings of the nature of modernity itself, conventionally understood as the formation of a particular cultural sensibility that, among other things, privileged scientific rather than religious accounts of the world and humanity's place within it. Against the secularisation orthodoxy of the 1960s which viewed the decline of church affiliation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as an inevitable by-product of the modern industrial world, we now have many accounts of the continuing significance of Christian

discourses and institutions in the interwar and immediate postwar years as well as in 'post-imperial' Britain.⁷ As Lynda Nead has argued, rather than some inexorable, monolithic process, modernity is better understood as a configuration of diverse, multifaceted and unresolved historical formations. This is not to abandon the concept altogether, she observes, but rather to prioritise its local applications and 'the tensions and irregularities that create modernity's conditions of existence'.⁸ The linear, teleological narrative of the 'secularisation thesis' is thus steadily being replaced by an understanding of twentieth-century Christianity as a 'liquid religion'⁹ – a workable, adaptable set of beliefs, institutions and practices operating in profoundly gendered ways. Little historical consensus has yet emerged over the timing and degrees of influence, or the chronologies of change in these debates, but Christianity and other faith traditions in Britain are now more widely understood as integrated with, or productive of, a wide variety of twentieth-century political projects and social discourses. Timothy Jones's chapter in this collection, for example, illustrates the way in which the Church of England contributed to a progressive redefinition of homosexuality in the late 1950s through the production of key texts for the Wolfenden Committee.

Curiously, despite the strong gender dimensions of the de-Christianisation controversies, British historians of religion have yet to make any significant exploration of the normative ideals of manliness and masculinity.¹⁰ The analytical potential of gender or sexuality as categories through which to interrogate religion's 'liquid' qualities is a challenge yet to be fully undertaken as part of wider debates on secularisation; Callum Brown's *The Death of Christian Britain* (2001) stands alone for its central treatment of gender in positing the simultaneous demise of pious femininity and institutional religion in the 1960s. Conversely, historians of gender and sexuality have persisted with more conventional late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century timeframes of secular modernity, enabling them to dismiss the cultural influence of institutional religion post-1918 as something of a spent force. Throughout these animated debates the critical historical paradox around men and religion has persisted. As leaders of most faith traditions, men were and remain institutionally central to religion, yet they have invariably been represented historically as spiritually peripheral. The 'heathen', doubting, worldly male as against the pious, faithful, morally superior woman has proved a defining nineteenth-century binary casting a long shadow. But, as Joy Dixon has argued, we need to interrogate such narrative fictions rather than simply naturalise them.¹¹

Late imperial Britain, world religions and post-Christian transformations

There has been little attempt to expand the debates on secularisation and modernity in conjunction with non-Christian religions. Overcoming this neglect is a major aim of this collection, the focus of which spans many of the major religious traditions in Britain, both Christian and non-Christian. The following chapters interrogate the twentieth-century purchase of Christian versions of masculinity and juxtapose them to non-Christian masculinities: the Jewish political radical, the gay Pagan shaman, inter-generational tensions between Muslim fathers and sons, and the non-believing rationalist. Some emerge as cultural clichés, others as empowering sites of agency; all were unstable and capable of diverse interpretation. Moving beyond Christianity reminds us of the parochialism of some of the debates on secularisation and sets the practices and ideas influencing the gendering of religion within a wider context of empire and migration. We chart the move away from observant forms of religion for some faiths in Britain, and set this alongside shifts towards observance for others. As John Zavos has argued, there has been a neglect of the religious element to the experiences and identities of immigrant groups who have frequently been read as shaped centrally by their class and ethnicity, with religion often understood as something of a stand-in for ethnicity.¹² Only towards the end of the twentieth century has religion been foregrounded as a significant component of migrant or Black British identities, and even then sometimes in a pejorative fashion.

The multi-faith, pluralist nature of twentieth-century Britain can perhaps be better understood by foregrounding a periodisation of British history that sees this century as 'late imperial'.¹³ Modern British society has undergone a profound historical adjustment to the erosion and loss of its empire, variously gradual or abrupt in pace, and accompanied by different degrees of violence. A 'late imperial' periodisation lends itself to looking beyond national boundaries to assess global or transnational influences which are of particular significance when considering immigrant religious communities. Zavos points, for example, to the significance of events beyond metropolitan Britain such as political violence in the Indian subcontinent in determining the self-identities of British Hindus; in this volume, Amanullah De Soudy recognises similar patterns in his account of Pakistani migrant men and their longing for home, Alison Falby explores the cross-cultural collaborations between South Asian and British Buddhists in debates over the meaning of the self, while

Susan L. Tananbaum notes the influence of Zionist nationalist movements on Jewish men and masculinities in Britain.¹⁴

A thriving literature on colonial gender history has pointed to the power of gender contrasts between both men and women and between coloniser and colonised in negotiating and establishing power. The designation of certain 'races' or 'castes' as virile and others as effeminate served to rework precolonial divisions, or invent them, and in doing so destabilised colonised societies and made colonial rule appear 'natural'.¹⁵ Religion was central to how this was accomplished; Heather Streets-Salter's work on martial masculinities describes how the British idealised the perceived valour and loyalty of Gurkhas, Sikhs, Rajputs, Highland Scots and Pathans.¹⁶ Many of these designations were understood both as 'races' and as religious groupings with little conceptual clarity about the nature of such identifiers, which were deployed imaginatively and strategically. Religious affiliation might also distinguish different styles of colonist. Peter van der Veer describes the limited appeal that adventuring imperial masculinities had for Free churchmen, for example, who found missionary masculinity a more workable identity than that of colonial public servant and tended to see their imperial mission as one of spreading the Gospel. 'Symbols of masculinity and femininity were crucial to the development of imperial attitudes both in the metropole and the colony', argues van der Veer, while reminding us that these need to be 'embedded in new concepts of religiosity and secularity'.¹⁷

Imperial rule creatively exploited gender norms, and in turn, prompted contestation and innovation from the nationalist movements. Those resisting empire were deeply aware of the need to reassert their dignity and identity through establishing workable gender norms, usually premised on muscular, disciplined or self-consciously modern modes of masculinity and frequently developed with reference to religion. Nationalist gender practices and prescriptions proved effective points around which to organise anticolonial resistance and counter stereotypes of passive, nervous or excessively scholarly colonial masculinities. As Joseph Alter's study of the sport of 'Indian Clubs' suggests, these identities were also mobile across national boundaries and might be resignified by translation to a metropolitan context, sometimes losing their colonial overtones and becoming reframed as Christian or secular practices.¹⁸ The chapters by Falby, De Soudy, Tananbaum and Sumita Mukherjee in this collection illustrate the ways in which migrants to Britain found their identities powerfully shaped by the gendered traditions of indigenous beliefs, imperial rule, and the potent myths of

nationalist or postcolonial discourse. Nationalism, however, should not be read as solely the product of empire and migration. As Sean Brady's discussion of Unionism in Northern Ireland demonstrates later, it has also been a central force in British politics and a powerful generator of distinctive religious masculinities in metropolitan Britain.

While 'late imperial' seems a useful corrective to the parochialism of British history, late twentieth-century Britain arguably took on both a 'post-imperial' and 'post-Christian' character. This was reflected in part through the increasing acceptance of a multi-faith nation including the expansion of New Religious Movements which, as Stephen Hunt's chapter in this collection highlights, witnessed men's continued spiritual experimentation in multiform and religiously syncretic ways. Alongside these developments, however, Britain has been subject to the paradoxical, rapid acceleration of 'de-Christianisation' whereby, since the 1960s, growing numbers of men and women have affirmed a loss of religious (Christian) identity. As Brown's essay here indicates, this new social formation comprises a diverse group demographic embracing humanists, agnostics, atheists and those defining themselves as spiritual rather than religious. While recognising the tenacity and creativity of religious beliefs and traditions to reinvent or 'modernise' themselves, this collection therefore suggests that any future attempt to reperiodise modern British religious history will need to incorporate not only the increasing cultural and ethnic diversification of late twentieth-century faith but also its simultaneous demise – that is, both post-imperial and post-Christian transformations.

Despite the rising numbers of no religionists, the latter decades of the twentieth century have witnessed an increasingly politicised as well as a pluralist prominence attached to religion. The shift away from what Matthew Grimley has identified as norms of reticence for public debate about religion became evident with the more overtly religious nature of politics under Tony Blair.¹⁹ *The Satanic Verses* controversy in 1988–9 was a particularly formative moment in the politicisation of faith, which not only pointed to a tendency to demonise Islam as intolerant and authoritarian but also represented a public declaration of presence and endurance by British Muslims many of whom were, by now, actively substituting 'Muslim' in place of the more widely denigrated identity of Pakistani. Gurharpal Singh has noted the breakdown in the 1990s of coalitions built around anti-racist and multicultural politics that had thrived in the 1970s and 1980s. Instead, after 1989, many minority ethnic groups became newly understood as divided or characterised by an enhanced religious identity. It was both a moment of conflict and a coming of age.²⁰

While frames such as 'late imperial', metropole and colony are important correctives to insular versions of British history, they can also risk homogenising the very distinct nature of how different individuals, groups and religions experienced empire and its aftermath. Religious history in particular demands attentiveness to micro, denominational and sect-based distinctions. This approach has proved influential within the history of Christianity, particularly in relation to the importance of denomination and membership of factions or tendencies such as evangelical or Anglo-Catholic.²¹ The increasing specificity of religious historiography is welcome but poses challenges to a multi-faith perspective. While this collection cannot do justice to the complexity of divisions within particular religions, we remain aware of the need to disaggregate different factions of non-Christian faiths and to be sceptical of aggregative versions. The Islamic community, as De Sony reminds us, consists of many different perspectives, even within the more familiar subgroups of Sunni, Shia and Sufi. Furthermore, while Pakistani migrants have become the largest national representatives of Muslims, Britain also hosted substantial communities of Yemeni and Sylhetti Muslims, whose traditions and identities should be seen as distinct.²² Similarly, Judaism must be divided into reform and orthodox traditions with cross-cutting ethno-religious Ashkenazi and Sephardi identities; Sikhs may be divided by sects, and may also identify as Hindus. Indeed, the British Sikh community offers important insights into how masculinity rather than femininity has proved the transgressive and religiously prominent site of encounter. As the following discussion illustrates, the migration of Sikhs to Britain did little to challenge the imaginative dominance of the martial Sikh established in twentieth-century Britain through colonial adventure narratives.²³

Early to mid-twentieth-century Britons mostly encountered Sikhs through literature or the cinema, and even these cultural realms were limited. The 1956 screen version of John Master's *Bhowani Junction* included a British actor, Francis Matthews, who 'blacked up' to play a Sikh character; London Weekend Television's *Mind Your Language* continued to use 'blacked up' actors to present South Asians in the mid-1970s. The notion of Sikh culture as vigorous and manly was reinforced from the 1960s onwards through the spread of Sikh wrestling and the game Kabaddi throughout the Midlands. It was also during this period that conflicts over uniform rules, and later, safety legislation, sparked well-publicised controversies over Sikh masculinity. Gurharpal Singh has documented the 'turban campaigns' of the late 1950s and 1960s in Manchester and Wolverhampton in which the local authorities'

intransigence over the wearing of turbans by Sikhs employed in transport led to public demonstrations and mobilisation by Sikh men – and even threats of self-immolation.²⁴ The context of Enoch Powell's polemics against immigration made the late 1960s a particularly febrile time, and Sikh men's preferences for beards and turbans marked them, as Harleen Singh has argued, as excessive and threatening, with overtones of virility that could be figured as homosexual.²⁵ In the decade that followed, controversies over exemptions from wearing motorcycle and construction helmets, and the right to wear ceremonial knives (*kirpans*), continued to mobilise Sikh activists and set them against local government and the legal establishment. For British Sikhs, then, a hyper-masculine religious identity proved controversial, as likely to promote stereotyping and exclusion as the more feminised colonial discourses of effeminate Hindus, or as talk of the scholarly Jew.

As argued previously, British society has been deeply influenced by its imperial and post-imperial contexts: *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change* contributes to the broader project of asking how acknowledgement of empire and migration changes the narratives and periodisation of British history through a particular focus on religious diversity. While specificity and diversity within different faiths remain important to historical interpretation, this volume demonstrates the feasibility of a wider perspective that challenges the hegemony of the Christian tradition in modern religious history in two important ways: firstly, through historicising the multi-faith character of 'late imperial' Britain and its ramifications for gender and masculinity and, secondly, through recognising the powerful 'post-Christian' conditions of existence for increasing numbers of men and women who have declared themselves as having 'no religion' as an equally significant transformative moment in the history of British religion.

Masculinities, femininities and chronologies of change

In examining over a century of male religious representation and experience, this book raises important questions concerning the complex relationship between gender and religious formations, historical agency and the process of change. The extent to which gender is constitutive of, or merely reflective of, historical change and its success as an analytical category in generating new periodisations of the past has proved something of a moot point. According to Alex Shepard and Garthine Walker, cultural historians' preference for synchronic readings of the multiple identities and meanings of masculinity or femininity at any given

historical moment has prohibited the progress of alternative diachronic analyses of gender's role as a catalyst for new chronologies of change over time.²⁶ To date, attempts to plot a linear trajectory in the history of modern masculinity have led to the evocation of persistent points of male crisis whether in response to industrialisation and the loss of artisan skills between 1850 and 1880, homosexuality and concerns over racial degeneration in the 1890s to the 1910s, the mass slaughter of World War I, unemployment during the interwar economic depressions, the perceived loss of working-class community after World War II, or the challenges of divorce, permissiveness and feminism in the final third of the twentieth century. What Alex Shepard and Karen Harvey have described as tidal or cyclical patterns within a delimited range of dominant masculine performances has also been in evidence.²⁷

Religious historians have similarly emphasised cyclical processes of revival, consolidation and decline among various denominations, with conflict and accommodation diverging sharply between different confessional traditions. Whereas Catholicism and other faith traditions saw the deep influence of the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, for example, Protestants tended towards anti-permissive politics.²⁸ While Catholics experienced continuing controversy around birth control, other Christian and non-Christian denominations achieved consensus on this issue much earlier. The expansion of interwar and postwar Catholic associations can also be juxtaposed to the reduction and narrowing of similar Anglican and Jewish societies, and the founding of Sikh, Muslim and Hindu representative bodies.

The historiography of modern masculinity has tended to focus on fairly large-scale social changes including warfare, the end of empire, industrialisation and changing labour markets, changing family structures and sexual cultures, new leisure opportunities and a more interventionist and domestically oriented state as the significant factors giving rise to shifting or recurrent modes of British masculinity. There has been little attention to religion as an important site of gender fashioning in such narratives. To date, the most established periodisation of modern British masculinity has been premised upon the recurrent juxtaposition between adventuring and domestic forms of manhood – from the mid-Victorian *paterfamilias* to the imperialist, martial masculinities of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods; from the violent carnage of the World War I to the reassertion of a postwar, redomesticated, suburban masculinity which was re-invoked during the World War II and reached its zenith in the 1940s and 1950s. John Tosh's *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*

(1999) was a seminal identification of domestic masculinities among the middle class, non-conformist men of the mid-nineteenth century. Drawing upon R. W. Connell's influential construction of a plurality of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities, Tosh reconceptualised the operations of 'public' and 'private' with new attentiveness to the historic possibilities for men to take active roles in fathering or exercising broad emotional repertoires.²⁹ Nonetheless, he suggested that by the late nineteenth century men were pursuing a certain 'flight from domesticity', turning increasingly towards more homosocial, adventurous masculine scripts. Graham Dawson's account of *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (1994) had already foregrounded martial masculinity as a well-established resource for British men which continued to have resonance well past World War II. Twentieth-century masculinities have nonetheless been understood at various points as open to 'little man', moderate or domestically inclined manliness, exemplified by Michael Roper's work on traumatised, emotionally inhibited reactions to World War I; Sonya Rose's work on the 'temperate heroes' of World War II; and Martin Francis's identification of the post-World War II family man.³⁰

Francis insists that this postwar normative masculinity was experienced as a site of constant restlessness accompanied by new visibility for homosexual men and a continuing place for homosociality. Men's self-identification with their material domestic lives and their imaginary escapist fantasies, he observes, were considerably more ambivalent and contradictory than previously supposed. Men, he argued, might 'travel back and forth across the frontier of domesticity'.³¹ Harris's and Lucy Delap's accounts of Christian laymen in this volume resonate with Francis's position whereby postwar married, heterosexual men valued deeply the male comradeship and 'armchair adventuring' of missionary slideshows found in their men-only Christian institutions. Francis's proposed revisionist framework for more nuanced histories of British masculinity attending more closely to class-based, national, ethnic and racial differences neglects religion, despite its significance in enabling men to achieve such physical and imaginary mobility. This collection investigates the ways in which differing religious traditions invoked and problematised both aggressive and domesticated masculinities, therefore, and delineates any regional, denominational, ethnic and class-based distinctions accordingly.

Alongside the dominant 'domestication, reaction and re-domestication' thesis of modern masculinity, a decline narrative of male religiosity has emerged whereby the Arnoldian mid-nineteenth-century Christian

manliness of the British public school (coined in the phrase 'godliness and good learning') and its coterminous ideal, muscular Christianity, become superseded by the early twentieth-century secular cult of athleticism with its 'obsessive love of games'³² and the inculcation of emotional reticence and physical robustness. Both 'Christian manliness' and 'muscular Christianity' are problematised and reworked as concepts in several chapters in this collection, as is this conventional chronology. The extent to which the Western Front led to a reassessment or abandonment of longstanding components of Victorian and Edwardian masculinity such as chivalry or heroism and the way in which traditional notions of manliness were accommodated in both Christian and Jewish postwar accounts is considered in the essays by Tananbaum, Delap and Sue Morgan. In her account of the shaping of Jewish boys and young men, Tananbaum illustrates the way in which leaders of the established Anglo-Jewish community sought to acculturate a younger generation of migrants through the muscular values and pursuits of the public school including fencing, cricket, football and boxing which persisted well into the interwar years. Delap and Morgan argue similarly for a continuity of chivalric and heroic readings of postwar Christian manhood coexisting alongside modern psychological constructions of the self.

An overarching transition within this complex pattern of classed and ethnically marked masculinities has been the tracing of a twentieth-century shift from a loose set of characteristics and conduct termed 'manliness' to a far more binary account of gender based on ideas of a masculinity firmly counterposed to femininity. This shift in nomenclature was neglected by early gender historians as indicating no significant changes in meaning. More recently, however, 'manliness' and 'masculinity' have been more clearly distinguished with a prolonged transition between the two occurring roughly in the early twentieth century. The Carlylean, heroic, manly role seemed transmuted at this point into a less glorious, less confident, anxious masculinity, more defined by biology than morality. 'Manliness' appeared to lend itself more easily to religious framings than masculinity, and its declining salience might be linked to the rise of a no-faith identity among men. Michael Roper has argued that the growing influence of psychological, interior understandings of selfhood and subjectivity, alongside the fears associated with World War I combat, led to a long-drawn out transition to 'masculinity', itself an unstable and reflexive mode of understanding gender.³³ Roper is rightly suspicious of any clear-cut shifts, but there have been surprisingly few attempts to explore this important idea

further. An important contribution of this collection is its engagement with this debate, delineating the longevity and continued significance of the concept of 'manliness' in British society (the term was still in use among religious communities into the late twentieth century), as well as identifying the plasticity of 'masculinity' itself. Far from merely indicating a binary opposition to femininity, contributors explore how masculinity has operated in the diverse religious, spiritual, humanist and late-imperial environments of the twentieth century, and point increasingly to its plurality of meaning.

While masculinities are not only opposed to femininity, a focus on masculinities and men does not mean the exclusion of femininities and women. Contributors remain alert throughout to the ways in which, as Daniel Boyarin reminds us, 'male self-fashioning has consequences for women',³⁴ and thus view gender as a fundamentally relational construct, operative across the unstable boundaries of the sexes. Men's reactions to feminism and women's changing relationships to mothering, sexuality, paid employment and community in twentieth-century Britain is an ongoing theme that spans the contributions to this volume. As Bjorn Krondorfer has suggested, there is a need to focus critically on the 'privileged performances of masculinity' within religious settings and the consequences these have for women or bearers of non-hegemonic masculinities. Brady's essay in this volume explores the way in which the violently sectarian competing Protestant and Catholic masculine hegemonies in Northern Ireland shared deeply conservative attitudes towards women's roles and dissident sexualities. Conversely, Jones's chapter suggests that religious conviction and (homo)sexual liberation were not at all incommensurable in 1950s and 1960s Britain; instead, the languages of Christianity and sexuality were engaged in a dynamic and productive dialogue. It is clear that synagogues, gurdwaras, churches, temples and mosques have sometimes been supportive of the aspirations and activism of women and homosexuals, but they have often also been sites of reaction and opposition. We ask how progressive masculinities might be enacted within religious settings and, conversely, how masculinities which developed through (or against) faith were sometimes sites for homophobia and sexism, and what the consequences were for women and gay men.

Historiographies of both modern masculinity and religion have become increasingly sceptical about recurrent 'moments of crisis' as an insufficiently precise schema to capture the richness of the historical landscape of religious and social change in twentieth-century Britain. This multi-faith, multi-disciplinary volume provides an opportune

moment, therefore, for considering how such periodisations might be reimagined, suggesting more localised, plural, open-ended approaches to the history of masculinities and a rethinking of the narrative turning points in modern British religious history.

Dynamics of generation, place and class

Masculinities are generally enacted with reference to femininities and women, although the proliferation of the historiography of masculinities has begun to explore the many lines of differentiation and boundary that supplement the gender divide. The concept of generation has emerged as a particularly important means of delineating different masculinities, with child, youth, adult and mature statuses potentially conveying various gender norms. Jessica Meyer's work on masculinities during World War I has highlighted this as a historical period where generational difference was deeply felt.³⁵ Delap's chapter in this volume suggests that generation was similarly foregrounded during World War II and in the fraught controversies of the later twentieth century. De Soudy's work on the misunderstandings between fathers and sons among immigrant Pakistani communities also suggests the importance of generation alongside gender in structuring migrant identities. Brown similarly argues that defection from religion was strongly generational – a disavowal of the religious rites of parents. A focus on religious masculinities thus poses important questions in relation to generation:

- At what points during the twentieth century was a faith-based or non-religious identity shaped around a particular demographic or marital status?
- Were there masculinities that appealed across age groups?
- Did particular generations identify with relatively stable religious and gender norms, or did ageing bring about a transformation of attitudes and approach?

It is also clear that the timing and pace of gender change has been quite distinct within different class communities. *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change* addresses the ways in which, as Thomas Winter has argued, making men is always also a means of making class.³⁶ Class was always conjured within the performances or ideals of religious faith or no-faith, and contributors to this volume recognise the variable but persistent co-presence of class and gender. Indeed, the class-specific nature of modern, late or post-imperial British religion and masculinities is notable.

The connotations of class are, of course, historically fluid, but there remain persistent sets of characteristics which working and middle-class identities have been organised around. Important work on working-class masculinities has identified its historically variable cultures of risk-taking, and the interweaving of workplace masculinities with homosocial leisure culture within pubs and working men's clubs.³⁷ Much of this work has also been oriented to place. Pat Ayers notes the trends within Liverpool, for example, where postwar consumerism and affluence was slow to emerge, and where traditional workplace masculinities enacted by dockers shaped family dynamics. Hilary Young notes the low impact that unemployment and de-industrialisation had on patriarchal family forms and leisure habits in Scotland, and the delay in experiments with 'new masculinities' which were not widely debated or enacted until the 1980s.³⁸ Regional differences within Britain have also been emphasised by the varying components of state or legislative intervention. Influenced by their respective religious establishments, Scotland and Northern Ireland, for example, experienced the decriminalisation of male homosexuality, respectively, 13 and 15 years after England and Wales, and this led to fewer public resources for rethinking masculinities.³⁹ *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change* encourages attention to these religious dimensions of place. Brady's chapter, for example, asserts that class was subsumed within the intense sectarianism of Northern Irish society leading to class crossing variants of 'suffering' and sporting Catholic masculinity and militarised Protestant masculinities – bridged by a shared homophobia. Gender historians have yet to fully explore the manner in which sectarian divides of locations as varied as Liverpool and Scotland have contributed to their distinctive gender order.

British gender historians have, however, begun to acknowledge a wider range of class identities through examination of the divergent mores associated with upper-class masculinity. Nancy Ellenberg has described an aristocratic 'dandy' culture of boyishness and sexual licence around the turn of the twentieth century, often accompanied by anti-Semitism and Frank Mort has reminded us of the long-running influence of aristocratic mores on British society with the Profumo Affair of 1963 suggesting a continuing social power for libertine masculinities.⁴⁰ These classed versions of masculinity are significant in that they counteract the historiographical tendency to focus upon middle-class masculinities, particularly those of the largely white, suburban, domesticated or 'new' men. The chapters which follow point to the complex interactions between class, place, gender and religion.

Immigrant communities have shared the susceptibility to class hierarchies which marks British society more generally, though this has not always been perceptible to outsiders. Sometimes class is assumed to be displaced by ethnicity; on other occasions, a working-class identity has been projected upon migrants without reference to any particular socio-economic status. There are broad elements of masculinity which are common to migrants and communities of class alike; the breadwinning masculine norm, for example, is shared across classes and ethnic groups but is cashed out in different ways according to factors including demography, workplace and religion and was further complicated by the need to support wider families in the countries of origin for migrants.

The influx of migrants into post-World War II Britain was initially that of predominantly single men for whom pressing material concerns and the desire to support family members in their home countries made establishing religious spaces impractical. Philip Lewis' study of Muslims in Bradford notes that while some were religiously observant (mostly in relation to halal meat), others enjoyed the relative freedom migrant status gave them in relation to religious duties which might be delegated to 'back home'.⁴¹ Despite the 'longing for return', noted by De Sony in this volume, many migrants began to accept that raising a family in Britain was possible and even desirable, a view held particularly among South Asian migrants as larger numbers of women arrived from there in the 1960s. This demographic change was also accompanied by the development of *imams*, *ulama*, clergy and preachers within migrant communities with a subsequent investment in creating temples, mosques and gurdwaras. By the 1980s this process of religious institution-building had led to greater representation of religious minorities within local government. Previous hostility towards non-Christian religions among provincial local government, epitomised in the controversies over Sikh modifications of public uniforms, gave way to an embracing of multicultural politics often as a deliberate foil to the perceived intolerance of Thatcher's governments.

Ernest Cashmore's study of the development of an English Rastafarian Movement offers a further example of how class experiences have shaped immigrant masculinities, resulting in the purchase of specific religious identities. Rastafarianism has arguably proved appealing when men have found certain other kinds of masculine self-validation difficult to achieve. In Britain, labour market discriminatory practices for African-Caribbean or Black men, and the relative educational success of Black women, has led to a tradition of Black female-headed households. According to Cashmore, the lack of breadwinner or *paterfamilias*

identities for Black men made Rastafarian calls to establish powerful patriarchal masculinities attractive, calls often associated with a denunciation of feminism and gay liberation.⁴²

As Harris demonstrates in this volume, ethnicity interacted with class not only for Black and Asian migrants but also for Catholic laymen concerned to delineate a middle-class masculinity that diverged from the models of the 'pick-and-shovel cast' – Irish, working-class Catholicism, described here in strongly gendered terms.⁴³ Her chapter describes professional Catholic laymen's determination to acquire the status symbols of middle-class, mid-twentieth century masculinity – cars, foreign holidays, dining (though not drinking) – within settings of homosocial comradeship. Closely related to class, ethnicity emerges as a significant element within masculinities, though rarely linked to religious identity, and with a far less well-developed literature. A few interventions have looked at Black or Asian British masculinities but there has yet to be much corresponding work on whiteness as an aspect of British (gender) identity.⁴⁴

The new periodisations of twentieth-century Britain that inform this collection are alert to ethnicity, migration and diversity of faith. They suggest significant innovations in understanding change and continuity in religion and gender, and finally move beyond the parameters of the secularisation debate. Nonetheless, the well-established concerns of British social history – place, class, and generation – continue to be salient, alongside others that are specific to religious history and which represent important new aspects of gender history.

Lay and clerical masculinities, reason and charisma

The essays in *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change* not only explore the intersectional nature of identities through attention to age, ethnicity, class and place, but also foreground some that are less well known. Most distinctively in religious contexts, the divide between lay and ordained or clerical masculinities emerges strongly in this volume. Christian commentators were powerfully aware of the need to counteract the projection of insufficient manliness that accompanied male piety found in popular opinion and culture, particularly during World War I but also throughout the twentieth century. As Morgan's account of Herbert Gray's work demonstrates, there was much talk of cultivating labouring, muscular, heroic and youthful masculinities. Pious men attempted to set qualities such as love, compassion and meekness alongside talk of virile, breadwinning and reasoning roles for men.

The incompatibility of these qualities were widely perceived and, as Brown's account of shifts to no religion among men makes clear, the perceived dysfunctionality of religion remained closely tied to its apparently dogmatic, weak or unfulfilled representatives among the clergy.

There were also deep equivocations, or even outright hostility, to ordained men within twentieth-century Christian denominations, which witnessed the rise of assertive lay people. Churches often responded with defensiveness or hostility to claims for lay leadership.⁴⁵ Beyond the active interventions of laypeople within religious institutions, there was also a broader questioning of the gender norms and identity of clerics. World War I prompted some highly critical accounts of clerical masculinity – as well as popular indifference – as Delap and Morgan explore in their chapters. Criticisms of clerical masculinities sometimes shaded into homophobia, with Anglo-Catholic ritualism being particularly associated with sexual dissidence.

Other elements of the lay/clerical conflict are best understood in class terms; there was widespread hostility towards the clergy among British working-class people, perceived as representatives of class snobbery. As one labouring man put it in London in the 1930s: '[T]his parson down here at St. X., he drew his coat aside one day when I came in the tram and sat down by him. I got no use for him.'⁴⁶ Such hostility was often expressed in terms of insufficient masculinities – clerical masculinity (understood as upper or middle class) might be regarded as deficient in the qualities idealised for and by working-class men such as physical and practical competence, earning a wage sufficient to support a family, risk-taking and under some circumstances, aggressive and homosocially oriented 'mateship' and bandinage. In turn, Christian clergy sometimes perceived a dissonance between key values of Christian masculinity such as self-superintendence and the imagined excesses of working-class manhood.⁴⁷ It is no surprise that competing gender prescriptions should form ammunition for the unresolved conflicts over sexuality, class and religious leadership between laymen and clerics.

The divide between laity and cleric are less clear in non Judaeo-Christian religions or the New Religious Movements described by Hunt in this volume, which may lack established priesthoods. Mukherjee's chapter on Hindu Swamis and 'monks' suggests, for example, that malleable and lightly institutionalised identities might be workable – and less associated with denigrated masculinities – within this relatively unestablished religion in early twentieth-century Britain. The ambiguous status of Margaret Noble, 'Sister Nivedita', is indicative of how this fluidity might also give women authority and voice.

The relative fluidity in the personnel of twentieth-century religion can be linked to a transformation of religious space in Britain. The 'post-Christian' urban landscape witnessed an expansion of non-Christian religious spaces alongside the reworking of traditional Christian spaces and sites. From the 1960s a powerful current within the Christian Churches had emphasised the constraint of working within the safe spaces of parish churches; many argued for the need to carry religion out into workplaces and streets, actively reaching out beyond the already converted.⁴⁸ This call for a more positive, evangelising and charismatic approach was framed by a less welcome sense that the deteriorating material fabric of Christian churches had begun to impose an impossible financial strain on congregations, absorbing much organisational energy. Christian clergy found declining opportunities for spiritual leadership as they veered towards supplicant fundraisers or administrative bureaucrats, compounding their problems in establishing a viable clerical masculinity.

What kind of clerical or religious qualities could be made compatible with masculinities? The chapters of this collection dwell repeatedly on the significance of reason and intellect for religious masculinities. According to Falby's chapter, interwar British Buddhist societies emphasised rational self-help and science in order to create a masculine religious culture as distinct from the more feminised religious spaces occupied by evangelical Christianity or the British Theosophical Society. Harris's discussion of tensions between Catholic laymen and clergy notes the significance of laymen's claims to be educated and active, and their resentment at the discourtesy or indifference they found among clerical hierarchies. Hindu men, similarly, seeking to establish themselves as authorities against the grain of 'orientalist' European knowledge about Hinduism, presented themselves as scholars in order to gain cultural capital for Hinduism as a philosophical tradition. Hindu ritual and worship were frequently displaced in favour of more 'masculine' intellectual elements, as Mukherjee argues in her chapter. These strategies did not always work. Delap's discussion of Anglican laymen points to conflicts over educated status, as laymen sought to appropriate intellectual forms of masculinity and refused to acknowledge the intellectual authority of clergy. Tananbaum's chapter reminds us of the problematic nature of the perceived excess of reason and scholarship among Jewish men. And finally, Brown's account of the pre-eminent role of reason in the loss of religion among men also suggests its capacity to dispel rather than support a religious identity.

Reason or intellect, important though they were to identities of manliness, frequently seemed insufficient to establish a workable masculine

religious identity. Mukherjee's chapter suggests ways in which reason might need to be accompanied by other qualities, even those that might seem fundamentally incompatible with it. Figures such as Swami Yogananda presented themselves as *mystical* as well as intellectual figures of authority. They offered a charismatic form of masculinity that appeared at odds with the more intellectual approach embraced by others, basing its appeal on magnetic personality, a sense of mission and the ability to interpret esoteric sources of wisdom. For some this may have also been based on an implicit sexual charge. Indian men who deployed mystical or charismatic forms of masculinity risked the marginalisation of being read as an exotic or charming figure rather than a serious interpreter of religion. Nonetheless, this was a strategy that was not just limited to colonial subjects, and Christian figures such as Herbert Gray, Patrick Peyton or Dick Sheppard were also clearly able to gain authority (despite their clerical masculinities) through charisma. Indeed, the strong connotations of leadership, mission and transformation associated with charisma made it a viable vehicle for (clerical) masculinity.⁴⁹

Sexuality, material culture and the male body

Despite an increasing healthy scepticism about catch-all categories such as 'muscular Christianity', the centrality of the body in its visual, material or sexual forms to men's religious experiences and identities is one of the dominant themes of this collection. Through religious iconography and devotional images, worshippers' depictions of their spiritual leaders have frequently revealed idealised, quasi-eroticised imaginations of masculinity, as in Delap's exploration of the ongoing appeal for Anglican laymen of William Holman Hunt's painting 'The Shadow of Death' (1870–3) and its portrayal of the muscular artisan Christ. The growth of a more anthropological awareness among historians and sociologists has also led to a new focus on the importance of material culture in religious self-fashioning and identity formation; Sarah Williams's innovative work on twentieth-century working-class folklore through a study of domestic artefacts such as good luck charms, family bibles or decorative amulets is a noteworthy example here.⁵⁰ The controversies around Sikh turbans and *kirpans* during the mid- to late twentieth century centred on the presentation of the self through hair styling and material artefacts, and facial hair was similarly controversial for both late Victorian Christian men and for Muslim men in the late twentieth century.⁵¹

It is clear that masculinities more generally, and religious masculinities in particular, were deeply invested in rituals and clothing as a performative expression of faith and gender. Clerical dress remains the most obvious and elaborate manifestation of the distinction between lay and ordained masculinities, a visible sign of the difference between and, on occasions, the deficiency of the clergy as 'real men'. Some of these dress codes had a declining salience in the later twentieth century as Harris's discussion of the highly decorative regalia of ribbon sashes and neck-chains worn by Catholic lay associations, where members sported black tie and tuxedos or 'slummed it' as tramps at balls and fancy dress suppers, indicates. But, among other groups, distinctive 'uniforms' and rituals continued to influence how faith was performed within specific geographic locations. In this volume, for example, Brady's account of the parades, marching bands and dress codes of Orange Ulstermen, or the bright pink and orange silk robes of Hindu Swamis described by Mukherjee, all point to the ways in which clothes might 'make the man'. The male body has emerged as a high-profile site wherein masculinity is performed; attention to religion is clearly the key to understanding the significance of dress codes, hair and physical deportment.⁵²

Twentieth-century Britain has witnessed a steady although uneven liberalisation of attitudes towards, among other things, sex education and sexual pleasure, homosexuality, marriage, divorce, pornography, abortion and contraception. Early characterisations of religion by historians of sexuality as overwhelmingly prurient or censorious, and a corresponding reliance upon new scientific discourses as paradigmatic of sexual progressiveness, have slowly been replaced in the last decade by a greater sensitivity to the complexity of relations between religion and sexuality in modern culture.⁵³ This is not to disavow the still powerful capacity of religious institutions to reinforce, in the main, heteronormative identities and effectively censor alternative, dissident forms of male and female sexuality. Indeed, it is precisely because of this problematic legacy of power that the sexual modus operandi of British religions, with all their inherent contradictions and instabilities, demands greater attention. Several chapters in this collection allude to the way in which religion continued to influence men's sexual choices throughout the twentieth century and how new readings of male spirituality and sexual desire were renegotiated by various individuals, denominations and campaigns with contradictory results. Brady notes the power of the Northern Ireland churches to enforce not just monogamy but religious endogamy for both heterosexual and gay or lesbian

couples, for example, due to the strength of Catholic and Protestant sectarian feeling, whereas Hunt suggests that, for new religious movements such as Raëlianism and the Radical Faeries, sexual experimentation and dissidence was perceived as critical to spiritual growth. Morgan interrogates the simultaneously progressive and prescriptive dynamics of new interwar sexual theologies around marriage guidance, and Jones explores the neglected role of the Church of England's Moral Welfare Council in the movement for gay law reform during the 1950s and 1960s. The deeply imbricated nature of religion and sexuality as significant cultural formations in twentieth-century Britain is increasingly evident. Unlike Morgan and Jones, however, whose work seeks to recover the vitality of religious discourses on sexuality throughout the twentieth century, Brown's *The Death of Christian Britain*, an important intervention in the historiography to date, has argued that the sexual revolution of the 1960s (most significantly the radical break between sex and marriage heralded by the contraceptive pill) signalled not the reconstruction of new religious possibilities but the final death knell of Christianity's dwindling cultural authority, as women left the churches in droves.

Religion's abiding and well-earned reputation for intransigence in sexual matters, a follower rather than a pioneer of sexual change or moral innovation, renders this a vibrant and important area of historical research particularly when considered in relation to differences of denomination, ethnicity and class. In 1930 the papal encyclical *Casti Connubii* condemned contraception outright, while the Church of England Lambeth Conference reluctantly, but momentously, accepted its use in limited circumstances. In 1968, Pope Paul VI again rejected birth control and abortion in *Humanae Vitae*, and reasserted the importance of marriage and reproductive heterosexuality. The importance of sexual politics to the acculturation of immigrant communities is made clear by Tananbaum's discussion in this book of the inculcation of conventional Victorian sexual morality by pre and postwar Jewish philanthropists, and De Sonty notes the disavowal of sexual dissidence by the British Muslim community, despite the availability of challenging literary and filmic explorations of Muslim sexualities.

Anna Clark has argued that the most profound shift in twentieth-century British and European sexuality has been the defeat of sexual utopianism – in which both religious and radical secular discourses have envisaged sexual harmony and pleasure as part of wider ethical, cultural and political transformations – by sexual consumerism, where individuals are now able to select from a surfeit of sexual choices

and entertainment, most prominently on the Internet. In its virtual, cybersex form, sexual consumerism not only implies the separation of the body from the sexual self, observes Clark, but also the loss of an understanding of the sexual act as somehow 'sacred' – a sentiment that most twentieth-century British religious traditions would agree with.⁵⁴ Nonetheless, these two options can be used in reductive ways, and this collection foregrounds the significance of relatively fluid evocations of 'beautiful brotherly love' and homosocial fellowship which resist overt eroticisation or categorisation. Christian love, for example, was a key quality that might be integrated with married love and heterosexuality, with fellowship and comradeship of male homosocial settings such as the Catholic Catenians discussed by Harris; and, as Jones's chapter here makes clear, love was tentatively linked to homosexual desire and sociality in the therapeutic discourses of postwar Britain. A historicisation of such sentiments must avoid the projection of over-definite or anachronistic sexual categories, and accept the diversity of celibate, fluid or unnameable, yet often intensely meaningful relationships within religious contexts.

Conclusions

Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain charts the growing religious pluralism of British society, and investigates the different forms of masculinity within and across specific religions, regions, class and immigrant communities. Building on existing work which emphasises shifting masculinities, religious and secular, over the twentieth century, we offer no singular, linear narrative of change but instead underscore the overlapping and multiple models of being a man. As this introduction has argued, religious institutions largely failed to impose a single script upon its male (and female) adherents. Many acts of worship or observance were idiosyncratic and took place well beyond the auspices of any church, mosque or temple. As the contributors to this collection illustrate, sites as varied as the sports field, the workplace, the cinema, the military, the family, the theatre, the state and the law courts as well as conventional sacred spaces, all contributed to the making of religious masculinities. Through the perspective of diverse religious cultures this volume offers new insights into the transformations of these locations in the twentieth century.

Men, Masculinities and Religious Change asks how compatible with religious devotion or an absence of faith these various ways of presenting the self as masculine were, and how, in practice, various men enacted

or disrupted this self-fashioning. Following Joy Dixon's suggestion of a more dynamic epistemological framework for thinking about religion and modernity that emphasises 'fluidity, contingency, rewriting and dialogue',⁵⁵ we locate these diverse masculinities performed within and against religion in their respective cultural, political and socio-economic contexts, thus relating changes in masculinity to broader historical shifts. Patterns of migration and multiculturalism, changes in family forms and the demographic structure, fluctuations in political movements and protest cultures; the mobilisation of society during two 'total wars', the decline of single-sex associational settings; theological shifts and the changing fortunes of sects, the varying visibility of queer and homosexual cultures, the shifting boundaries and collapsing distinctions between clergy and laypeople – these incompatible and incomplete formations represent the divergent conditions of modernity over and against which the correspondingly diverse formations of gender and modern selfhood are articulated. Such highly individualised, localised and multifarious readings would appear to negate any easy assumptions as to the intrinsically or uniformly secular character of modern religious cultures or their attendant constructions of masculinity. Religious masculinities may well be contradictory and paradoxical, yet they continue to be persistently and innovatively reworked and performed.

Notes

1. A. Herbert Gray (1918) *As Tommy Sees Us: A Book for Church Folk* (London: Edward Arnold), p. 51.
2. E. W. Bakke (1933) *The Unemployed Man: A Social Study* (London: Nisbet & Co.), p. 210.
3. The influence of the Hindu Swami Vivekananda and hatha yoga on the influential British vegetarian athlete Eustace Miles and physical culture entrepreneur Eugene Sandow is explored in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010) *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health and Fitness in Britain, 1880s–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
4. J. Gregory (1998) 'Gender and the Clerical Profession, 1660–1850', in R. N. Swanson (ed.) *Gender and Christian Religion: Studies in Church History*, Vol. 34 (London: Boydell and Brewer), pp. 235–72.
5. A. Hoyt and S. M. Patterson (2011) 'Mormon Masculinity: Changing Gender Expectations in the Era of Transition from Polygamy to Monogamy, 1890–1920', *Gender & History*, 23(1), 72–91.
6. H. Brod (1988) *A Mensch among Men: Explorations in Jewish Masculinity* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press); Y. Werner (ed.) (2011) *Christian Masculinity. Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press); B. Krondorfer (2009) *Men and Masculinities in Christianity and Judaism: A Critical Reader* (London: SCM Press).

7. See, for example, C. G. Brown (2001) *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000* (London: Routledge); J. Morris (2003) 'The Strange Death of Christian Britain: Another Look at the Secularization Debate', *The Historical Journal*, 46(4), 963–76; M. Grimley (2004) *Citizenship, Community and the Church of England: Liberal Anglican Theories of the State between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); and J. Garnett, M. Grimley, A. Harris, W. Whyte and S. Williams (eds) (2006) *Redefining Christian Britain: Post-1945 Perspectives* (London: SCM Press).
8. L. Nead (2000) *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London* (New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 5.
9. See Garnett et al., *Redefining Christian Britain*, p. 291 for this term.
10. Bjorn Krondorfer's work offers a welcome exception to this and has begun to delineate global trends in this field. See Krondorfer, *Men and Masculinities in Christianity and Judaism*; B. Krondorfer and S. Hunt (eds) (2012) 'Masculinities and Religion: Continuities and Change', *Religion and Gender*, 2(2), 190–237 which contains several pieces on Africa and Islam, and B. Krondorfer (ed.) (2011) 'Embattled Masculinities in the Religious Traditions', *CrossCurrents*, 426–573 which represents every major world religion.
11. J. Dixon (2010) 'Modernity, Heterodoxy and the Transformation of Religious Cultures', in S. Morgan and J. de Vries (eds) *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800–1940* (London: Routledge), pp. 211–30.
12. J. Zavos (2009) 'Negotiating Multiculturalism: The Organisation of Hindu Identity in Contemporary Britain', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(6), 881–900.
13. This form of periodisation has been helpfully developed by Laura Tabili and others. Its reference is fluid, loosely referring to between 1918 and the late 1970s, but is potentially also applicable to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. L. Tabili (1994) *We Ask for British Justice: Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press).
14. Zavos, 'Negotiating Multiculturalism'.
15. See M. Sinha (1995) *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
16. H. Streets-Salter (2004) *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
17. P. van der Veer (2001) *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton, NJ; Oxford: Princeton University Press).
18. J. S. Alter (2004) 'Indian Clubs and Colonialism: Hindu Masculinity and Muscular Christianity', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 46(3), 497–534.
19. M. Grimley (2012) 'Thatcherism, Morality and Religion', in B. Jackson and R. Saunders (eds) *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 78–94.
20. G. Singh (2005) 'British Multiculturalism and Sikhs', *Sikh Formations*, 1(2), 157–73.
21. See, for example, D. Erdozain (2010) *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer) and

- S. J. D. Green (2011) *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change, c. 1920–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
22. See C. Adams (1987) *Across Seven Seas and Thirteen Rivers: Life Stories of Pioneer Sylhetti Settlers in Britain* (London: THAP) and also F. Halliday (1992) *Arabs in Exile: Yemeni Migrants in Urban Britain* (London: I. B.Tauris).
 23. Streets-Salter, *Martial Races*.
 24. Singh, 'British Multiculturalism and Sikhs'.
 25. H. Singh (2006) 'Tur(banned) Masculinities: Terrorists, Sikhs, and Trauma in Indian Cinema', *Sikh Formations*, 2(2), 115–24.
 26. A. Shepard and G. Walker (eds) (2008) 'Gender, Change and Periodisation', *Gender and History*, 20(3), 453–62.
 27. K. Harvey and A. Shepard (2005) 'What have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44(2), 274–80.
 28. L. Black (2010) *Redefining British Politics: Culture, Consumerism and Participation, 1954–70* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
 29. See J. Tosh (1999) *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press) and R. W. Connell (1995) *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press; Berkeley: University of California).
 30. M. Roper (2009) *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); S. O. Rose (2004) 'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain', in S. Dudink, K. Hagemann and J. Tosh (eds) *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 177–98; M. Francis (2007) 'A Flight from Commitment? Domesticity, Adventure and the Masculine Imaginary in Britain after the Second World War', *Gender and History*, 19(1), 163–85.
 31. M. Francis (2002) 'The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity', *The Historical Journal*, 45(3), 637–52, p. 641.
 32. N. Vance (1985) *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 4. See also J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds) (1987) *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinities in Britain and America, 1800–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press) for an early discussion of the narrative of religious decline in hegemonic constructions of masculinity.
 33. M. Roper (2005) 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44(2), 343–62.
 34. D. Boyarin (1997) *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press).
 35. J. Meyer (2009) *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
 36. T. Winter (2002) *Making Men, Making Class: The YMCA and Workingmen, 1877–1920* (Chicago, IL; London: University of Chicago Press). Winter's study of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America uncovers definitions of masculinity oriented to religious mission and social purpose, explicitly aiming to

- provide alternatives to the radicalism of the American labour movement and revolutionary politics. Justin Pettegrew, who has also investigated the YMCA, suggests that the masculinities its Chicago branches idealised were initially evangelical and oriented to respectable business culture. For white Americans, masculine norms shifted in the late nineteenth century towards a less evangelical, more physically enacted and homosocial version, and finally in the twentieth century, towards a vision of cooperation and religious service among men, and an acceptance of heterosociality.
- J. H. Pettegrew (2006) 'Onward Christian Soldiers: The Transformation of Religion, Masculinity, and Class in the Chicago YMCA, 1857–1933', PhD Thesis, History, Chicago, Loyola University.
37. B. Beaven (2005) *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
 38. P. Ayers (2004) 'Work, Culture and Gender: The Making of Masculinities in Post-War Liverpool', *Labour History Review*, 69(2), 153–68; H. Young (2010) 'Being a Man: Everyday Masculinities', in L. Abrams and C. Brown (eds) *A History of Everyday Life in Twentieth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 131–52.
 39. See R. Davison and G. Davis (2012) *The Sexual State: Sexuality and Scottish Governance 1950–1980* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) and S. Brady (forthcoming) "'Save Ulster from Sodomy!'" Northern Ireland and Homosexuality after 1967'.
 40. N. W. Ellenberger (2000) 'Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-De-Siecle England', *Journal of British Studies*, 39(4), 487–517; Frank Mort (2010) *Capital Affairs: London and the Making of the Permissive Society* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press).
 41. P. Lewis (2002) *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims* (London: I. B. Tauris).
 42. E. Cashmore (1979) *Rastaman: The Rastafarian Movement in England* (London: Allen & Unwin). A sociologically informed snapshot of a religion or sect tends to be inattentive to change over time, and Cashmore's work does little to trace the plural nature of this religious community. Practices such as the Rastafarian exclusion of women from leadership roles had varying levels of resonance and acceptability at different historical moments or within diverse contexts. On women's responses and challenges to Rastafarian gender norms, see N. Murrell (2010) *Afro-Caribbean Religions: An Introduction to Their Historical, Cultural, and Sacred Traditions* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press) is p. 59.
 43. Cited by Alana Harris in p. 59 of this volume. On Irish Catholicism, see S. Fielding (1993) *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880–1939* (Buckingham: Open University Press).
 44. M. Collins (2001) 'Pride and Prejudice: West Indian Men in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 40(3), 391–418; T. G. Ashplant (2005) 'Dis/Connecting Whiteness: Biographical Perspectives on Race, Class, Masculinity and Sexuality in Britain c. 1850–1930', *L'Homme: Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft*, 16(2), 68–85.
 45. T. Jones (2012) *The Local Church and Generational Change in Birmingham, 1945–2000* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer).
 46. Bakke, *The Unemployed Man*, p. 211.
 47. Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*.

48. H. McLeod (2007) *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 90.
49. E. Berenson and E. Giloi (2010) *Constructing Charisma: Celebrity, Fame, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Berghahn).
50. S. Williams (2010) "'Is there a Bible in the House?'" Gender, Religion and Family Culture', in Morgan and de Vries (eds) *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures*, pp. 11–31.
51. See S. Walton (2008) 'From Squalid Impropiety to Manly Respectability: The Revival of Beards, Moustaches and Martial Values in the 1850s in England', *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, 30(3), 229–45; and Y. Moll (2007) 'Beyond Beards, Scarves and Halal Meat: Mediated Constructions of British Muslim Identity', *Journal of Religion and Popular Culture*, 15, 1–32.
52. E. Burns Coleman and K. White (2009) *Medicine, Religion and the Body* (Leiden: Brill).
53. See, for example, T. W. Jones (2013) *Sexual Politics in the Church of England, 1857–1957* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); A. Clark (2008) *Desire: A History of European Sexuality* (London: Routledge); D. Herzog (2009) 'Syncopated Sex: Transforming European Sexual Cultures', *The American Historical Review*, 114(5), 1287–308; H. G. Cocks (2006) 'Religion and Spirituality', in H. G. Cocks and M. Houlbrook (eds) *The Modern History of Sexuality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 157–79; and S. Morgan (2010) "'The Word Made Flesh": Women, Religion and Sexual Cultures', in Morgan and de Vries (eds) *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain*, pp. 159–87.
54. See Clark, *Desire*, pp. 219–21 and M. Houlbrook (2006) 'Cities', in Cocks and Houlbrook (eds) *The Modern History of Sexuality*, pp. 149–53.
55. Dixon, 'Modernity, Heterodoxy and the Transformation of Religious Cultures', p. 212.

Further reading

- Arnold, J. H. and S. Brady (eds) (2011) *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Brod, H. (1988) *A Mensch among Men: Explorations in Jewish Masculinity* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press).
- Brown, C. G. (2001) *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000* (London: Routledge).
- Cocks, H. G. (2006) 'Religion and Spirituality', in H. G. Cocks and Matt Houlbrook (eds) *The Modern History of Sexuality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 157–79.
- Cashmore, E. (1979) *Rastaman: The Rastafarian Movement in England* (London: Allen and Unwin).
- Fielding, S. (1993) *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England, 1880–1939* (Buckinghamshire: Open University Press).
- Green, S. J. D. (2011) *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change, c. 1920–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Grimley, M. (2012) 'Thatcherism, Morality and Religion', in B. Jackson and R. Saunders (eds) *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 78–94.

- Krondorfer, B. (2009) *Men and Masculinities in Christianity and Judaism: A Critical Reader* (London: SCM Press).
- Lewis, P. (2002) *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims* (London: I. B. Tauris).
- McLeod, H. (2007) *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Singh, G. (2005) 'British Multiculturalism and Sikhs', *Sikh Formations*, 1(2), 157–73.
- Panayi, P. (2010) *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1980* (Harlow: Longman).
- van der Veer, P. (2001) *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Werner, Y. (ed.) (2011) *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press).
- Woodhead, L. and R. Catto (eds) (2012) *Religion and Change in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge).
- Young, H. (2010) 'Being a Man: Everyday Masculinities', in L. Abrams and C. Brown (eds) *A History of Everyday Life in Twentieth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 131–52.
- Zavos, J. (2009) 'Negotiating Multiculturalism: The Organisation of Hindu Identity in Contemporary Britain', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(6), 881–900.

1

Buddhist Psychologies and Masculinity in Early Twentieth-Century Britain¹

Alison Falby

In March 1934, the London playwright Clifford Bax asked the Irish nationalist poet George William Russell ('A.E.') to dinner 'to find out what he really believes about reincarnation and post-mortem states and the Anattā doctrine'.² *Anattā* is a traditional Buddhist doctrine that denies the existence of self, soul and ego. It may seem ironic, then, that many British men became interested in Buddhism as a form of self-help in the interwar years. As they debated interpretations of *anattā* and the existence of selfhood, British Buddhists struggled with issues of religion and identity and, through their intellectual conflict, contributed to modern Buddhism's representation as a rational, practical religion of self-help. In the early decades of the twentieth century, British Buddhism was a diverse and contested ground with adherents engaged in the process of spiritual development and doctrinal formation.³ Two principal Buddhist associations competed for religious authority by offering different doctrines of *anattā*, each of which signified different types of non-Christian masculinity. The Mahabodhi Society (established 1926) offered a nationalist masculinity predicated upon South Asian ethnicity and the non-existence of a permanent self. It equated self-help with a traditional understanding of the doctrine and knowing that any sense of self is illusory. The Buddhist Lodge (established 1924), in contrast, offered a Western intellectual masculinity predicated on a degree of sexual equality and an evolving self or soul. For Lodge members, *anattā* generally referred to the absence of a permanent, unchanging ego or individual soul, and self-control came from understanding that the self forms part of a larger, permanent whole or 'Cosmic Principle'.⁴

These competing views of *anatta* and selfhood both drew on and fed into larger gender and religious conflicts of the interwar period. Buddhism provided testing grounds for conflicts triggered by occultism, psychology,

the Great War, the established Church and colonialism with elements that appealed, for various reasons, to each of these disparate group interests. Both occultism and psychology, for example, shared British Buddhists' ambivalence about the existence or nature of the self,⁵ conventionally characterised in modern metanarratives as autonomous and individual. Traditional Buddhist pacifism attracted those disappointed by the churches' support for the Great War. And in terms of its provision for a more masculine religiosity, the modern Buddhist emphasis on reason and science appealed to those seeking an alternative to the feminine religious spaces occupied by both evangelical Christianity⁶ and the British Theosophical Society in the early twentieth century.⁷

Interwar Britain's Buddhist communities included people of English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Sinhala, Thai, Burmese and other nationalities. While some may find 'British Buddhists' an inaccurate, generalised description, its intended reference to multiple ethnicities underscores the constantly shifting definition of what it meant, and still means, to be British. Although ethnic Buddhists (those born into cultures with Buddhist traditions)⁸ likely numbered in the hundreds and only a minority of native-born Britons formally converted, a great number became what the religious historian Thomas Tweed describes as 'sympathizers',⁹ and wrote and spoke about Buddhism's psychological aspects and attractions. This chapter draws mainly on memoirs by British Buddhists and sympathisers, on interwar scholarship about Buddhism and on selected publications by several major Buddhist associations. The first section outlines the nineteenth-century background to Buddhist self-help and explores by way of contextualisation the Protestant Buddhism of colonial Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), the theosophy movement and Edwin Arnold's enormously popular poem about the Buddha, *The Light of Asia*.¹⁰ The second section describes the masculine intellectual spaces of interwar Buddhist societies, the gendered debates over *anattā* and the rival assertions of masculine religious authority expressed therein. The third and final section details the self-help rhetoric that emerged from these assertions in order to demonstrate that British Buddhism's alternative religious and psychological spaces enabled men to construct their identities in ways that resisted imperial and Christian hegemonies.

The nineteenth-century background: Competition and collaboration in modern Buddhist discourse

The cultural pluralism of Buddhism has been relatively well documented. A number of scholars have shown how modern Buddhism's rational

scientific discourse was ‘cocreate[d] by Asians, Europeans, and Americans’, as David L. McMahan puts it.¹¹ Jeffrey Franklin describes British literature’s nineteenth-century encounter with Buddhism as both ‘discovery’ and ‘counter-invasion’; Sandra Bell documents the ‘active collaboration between Britons and South Asians’ in introducing Buddhist institutions and practices to twentieth-century Britain;¹² and Bell, McMahan and others have noted how psychology became part of modern Buddhism’s discourse.¹³ In both Britain and Sri Lanka, Bell notes almost offhandedly, ‘Buddhism came to be seen as a religion of self-help’¹⁴ – a kind of practical psychology. Influenced by occult movements like theosophy, modern Buddhism helped shift the focus of male self-help from its Victorian dimensions of physical and emotional discipline to more modern notions of mental control.

The precise trajectory of that particular shift has yet to be traced, but its roots lie in nineteenth-century Asian-British collaboration. Colonial and leisure travel to India, Burma and other Asian environs helped shape scholarship and popular literature about Buddhism enormously. In the late nineteenth century, Ceylon became a particularly key intersection for cross-cultural dialogue and experience due to its Buddhist revival and the incursion of theosophy, both of which helped shape the ‘Protestant Buddhism’ of both colonisers and colonised. Gananath Obeyesekere and Richard Gombrich first proposed the term ‘Protestant Buddhism’ to capture ‘the influence of Protestant missionaries and the Sinhalese experience of modernization’.¹⁵ It was rooted in the Theravāda or Southern school, which stressed the Pāli scriptures¹⁶ and emphasised lay authority,¹⁷ rationalist polemicism, a fundamentalist concern for original texts, Buddhism’s philosophical rather than religious nature and ‘depende[nce] on English-language concepts’. As a result, Protestant Buddhism successfully ‘privatized and internalized’ religion, so that ‘the truly significant is not what takes place at a public celebration or ritual, but what happens inside one’s own mind or soul’.¹⁸

Nineteenth-century Protestant Buddhism also intertwined with theosophy and Western scholarship on Buddhism, both of which highlighted the religion’s rationalism and the primacy of original texts.¹⁹ The Theosophical Society (TS), co-founded by Helena Blavatsky (1831–91) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907) in New York in 1875, initially propounded a spiritualist doctrine that sought to reconcile religion and science. It established lodges all over the world, including Ceylon, which the co-founders visited in 1880. By this time, they were using increasingly Buddhist and Hindu ideas and language.²⁰ Olcott took Buddhist vows, read works on Buddhism by Western scholars like

T. W. Rhys Davids (1843–1922) and studied with the high-ranking bhikkhu (monk or mendicant) Hikkaduve Sumangala, who assisted Olcott as he prepared his *Buddhist Catechism* (1881). Used throughout Ceylon in both schools and homes, the catechism is a seminal text in Protestant Buddhism.

Stephen Prothero characterises Olcott's Buddhism as a kind of 'creolization', blending Buddhist language and Protestant grammar.²¹ Like Western scholars²² and Theravāda Buddhists, Olcott emphasised the Pāli scriptures. His *Catechism* underlined Buddhism's distinction from other religions in teaching 'redemption by oneself as the Redeemer' and in its 'lessons in manly self-reliance', but it did not precisely define the self,²³ thereby skirting the *anattā* issue. Olcott recognised the potential confusion in Buddhism's emphasis on self-help on the one hand and its denial of the self's existence on the other.²⁴ Whereas the *Catechism's* first edition repudiated 'individuality', in the second edition, Olcott replaced 'individuality' with 'permanent personality'.²⁵ He altered the wording, he explained to readers, to convey his belief that while 'a certain being' appears on earth through 'a succession of personalities', these personalities contain 'an individual vital undulation'.²⁶ This 'individual vital undulation' could also be termed 'character' or 'doing', wrote Olcott, quoting the Pāli scholar T. W. Rhys Davids out of context.²⁷ Individual character, Olcott wrote, 'is not a mere metaphysical abstraction, but the sum of one's mental qualities and moral propensities'.²⁸ In other words, a permanent individual mind manifested itself in a succession of transitory personalities or lifetimes.

Olcott's conception of individuality ultimately amounted to the idea of a soul, even if he didn't say so explicitly.²⁹ As Elizabeth Harris notes, other male British Buddhist scholars and sympathisers also had trouble discarding the idea of the soul, even if they couldn't explain it in the rational terms with which they sought to construct their faith.³⁰ According to Prothero, when Olcott revised his *Catechism*, he reneged on an earlier agreement made with the monk Sumangala, who had authorised the publication on one condition: that the book repudiate personal immortality.³¹ This continued belief in a universal soul, among other things, ultimately distanced theosophists from many Sinhala (Sri Lankan) Buddhists,³² turning their collaborative relationship into a competitive one with some interesting ramifications for the ways in which masculine nature and spirituality was conceived of and expressed.

In these years, Olcott also cultivated a protégé who subsequently became a competitor in the construction of modern Buddhism. Don David

Hēvāvitaranat (1864–1933), a Sinhala Buddhist who joined the TS in Colombo, changed his name to Anagārika Dharmapāla ('homeless defender of the Buddhist doctrine')³³ to reflect his ideals. Dharmapāla made his charismatic presence known at Chicago's World's Parliament of Religions in 1893. There he realised that he could drum up support for Sinhala nationalism by shaping Buddhist discourse in the West. This realisation would propel his future mission to Britain and his construction of ethnic Buddhism as masculine.

Protestant Buddhism received a significant popular boost from the British poet Edwin Arnold (1832–1904), whose biographical poem about the Buddha, *The Light of Asia*, appeared in 1879 and, as Harris notes, 'captivate[d] both the West and Asia'.³⁴ Jeffrey Franklin describes Arnold's depiction of the Buddha as 'a genuinely hybrid figure': somewhat Christianised, but still sympathetic and appealing, and thereby able to both identify with and challenge the self-image of its Victorian reader.³⁵ The poem reflects the discursive influences of Western Buddhist and comparative religious scholarship, evolutionism,³⁶ the King James Bible and the *Book of Common Prayer* as well as self-help. The accentuation of self-help, notes Christopher Clausen, appealed especially to Victorians.³⁷ Buddhist self-help lay in accepting karma, which held that one's actions in one life determined the shape (though not the content) of one's subsequent life. Accepting karma meant accepting a system in which 'one is freely responsible for one's own actions'.³⁸ The poem suggested that men who endure their suffering, returning good for evil, would be rewarded with *nirvana*: the end of both life and death, and union with something greater: 'He is one with Life / Yet lives not. He is blest, ceasing to be. / Om Mani Padme Om! the Dewdrop slips / Into the shining sea.'³⁹ Arnold's Buddha outlined the Four Noble Precepts and other practical steps to *nirvana*, while occasionally echoing the Ten Commandments.⁴⁰ By following these prescriptions, the Buddha noted, 'the householder / Purgeth himself of self and helps the world'.⁴¹

The Light of Asia left its readers with something of a vague idea of *nirvana*, which may be what its author intended. As Jeffrey Franklin and others have pointed out, Victorian scholars were divided on the meaning of 'nirvana'; whether it entailed annihilation of being, 'the merging of individual consciousness into the godhead or the universe, Brahm or the Oversoul', or 'an enlightened state that one can attain while still living on earth'.⁴² Arnold presented *nirvana* more as a state of absorption into a larger whole,⁴³ a reading which shaped the interpretation of *anattā* and selfhood among Buddhist converts and sympathisers. Both the Buddhist Lodge and the Mahabodhi Society recommended *The Light*

of *Asia* as essential reading⁴⁴ and the Philharmonic Hall screened an Indian film version of it in 1926 which was criticised by *The Times* for its overemphasis on 'action' and underemphasis on 'contemplative and philosophic' aspects.⁴⁵ In the 1920s and 1930s, numerous converts and sympathisers credited the poem with stimulating their interest in Buddhism around the turn of the century.⁴⁶ The Buddhist convert monk Ananda Metteya (born Allan Bennett, 1872–1923) was one of several Britons inspired to travel to South Asia and convert to Buddhism, for example, after reading Arnold's poem.⁴⁷ In a 1931 piece for *The British Buddhist*, R. J. Jackson similarly recalled his exposure to Buddhism and *The Light of Asia* through a discussion circle in Regent's Park around 1904. '[S]tudy of [the poem] produced an alteration in my mental career,' he wrote, and prompted him to found the first Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland in London in 1907.⁴⁸

Interwar British Buddhism: Competition and collaboration in the development of alternative masculine spiritual spaces

Although Jackson's Buddhist Society declined during wartime and never regained its momentum,⁴⁹ general interest in Buddhism revived in the interwar years. Memoirs published during and after the middle decades of the twentieth century allude to the war's existential impact, to disillusionment with the Churches or with the TS following their support for the war,⁵⁰ to the attractiveness of the Buddhist doctrine of reincarnation after the death of loved ones or as an explanation for personal misfortunes,⁵¹ and to the desire for individual and world peace.⁵² In postwar Britain, Buddhist doctrine supplied rational answers to emotional issues, and Buddhist missionaries from overseas were eager to share it.⁵³

By 1929, London hosted four official Buddhist organisations: the Buddhist Lodge, the Mahabodhi Society, the Students' Buddhist Association and the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA). Although the Buddhist Lodge and the Mahabodhi Society had just around 70 members each by 1929,⁵⁴ their membership rolls were not representative of their influence: many seekers passed through their doors in the 1920s without formally joining.⁵⁵ Furthermore, both the Lodge and the Society strenuously sought to influence the wider world through international subscriptions.⁵⁶ Representatives of both groups wrote for leading periodicals,⁵⁷ gave public talks around the UK⁵⁸ and published inexpensive pamphlets. In 1929, for example, the Mahabodhi Society published 7000 booklets on its particular

mission and Buddhist doctrines.⁵⁹ Several organisations and journals sympathetic to Buddhism also existed such as the quarterly journal *Calamus* (1929–33), edited by the social reformist and Unitarian minister Will Hayes and published by the Threefold Movement. Comprising the League of Neighbours, the Union of East and West and the Fellowship of Faiths, the Threefold Movement sought to promote international brotherhood through interfaith understanding.

The period's other Buddhist organisations were reflective of Asian-British collaboration, and used British associations as their models. Student fraternity was a major dimension of this collaboration and the development of British Buddhism. They provided religious spaces for male international students as South Asian migration increased due to colonial educational needs.⁶⁰ Several students, such as the scholar and nationalist A. P. De Zoysa (1890–1968), went on to prominent political careers when they returned home.⁶¹ De Zoysa established the Students' Buddhist Association in 1928. It had 50 initial members and served a primarily South Asian constituency in London.⁶² The YMBA of Great Britain and Ireland, established in 1929 as part of a larger international network of YMBAs engaged with social and political issues, similarly catered to South Asian students and promoted friendship between Buddhists and non-Buddhists.⁶³ London also hosted several associations with mainly Buddhist members, such as the Burma Club, the Japanese Club and the China Society,⁶⁴ which similarly comprised mostly male overseas students. Meanwhile, students established Buddhist societies at Cambridge and Oxford in 1932 and 1933, respectively.⁶⁵

In this same period, several Sinhala Buddhists adapted Protestant Christian missionising for their own purposes and journeyed to England. Anagārika (meaning a mendicant who is not a monk) Dharmapāla, Henry Steel Olcott's protégé in Ceylon, had come to England earlier in the 1890s as a guest of Edwin Arnold. He travelled to London in 1925 and established a branch of his Calcutta-based Mahabodhi Society in London the following year. Dharmapāla described the Society, somewhat disingenuously, as the original Buddhist Society's successor,⁶⁶ and presented it as an arbiter of authentic Buddhism because of its leaders' knowledge of the original Pāli scriptures. He established *The British Buddhist*, published monthly, to disseminate the Society's ideas and activities, and though he left Britain in December 1927, he remained an ongoing presence through regular publications in the magazine.

Through such missions, Dharmapāla and other Sinhala Buddhists sought to assert a nationalist masculinity to counter British imperial administrators, who had based their authority on a masculinity that

was 'a matrix of racial, ethnic, religious, and class identities'.⁶⁷ As Steven Kemper notes, 'Dharmapāla thought that Sinhala needed to missionize their religion among non-Buddhists for the sake of reforming themselves ... for saving the Sinhala people from deracination.'⁶⁸ Where their ethnicity had been derided as effeminate by the British in Ceylon,⁶⁹ they and their supporters reconstructed it as a source of spiritual authority in Britain. When the first bhikkhus arrived at the Mahabodhi Society in 1928, Francis J. Payne welcomed them with a speech in which he praised them as 'the only competent persons to teach the glorious Dhamma [teachings] of the Buddha' because 'the Sinhalese [had] preserved it for twenty-five centuries against formidable forces of schism'.⁷⁰ Because their origins had exposed them to indigenous Buddhist traditions and language, Sinhala Buddhists could represent themselves as 'pure' sources of a masculine experiential knowledge. And because most of them, Dharmapāla included, had received English educations in mission schools, they could subvert Christian missionary discourse to good effect upon their listeners.⁷¹

The Mahabodhi Society maintained close ties with Buddhists in Burma, Ceylon, India, Siam and other South Asian countries through the society's worldwide federation. Partly because of this, the Society's British branch attracted more South Asian members than its rival Buddhist Lodge, although it also had members and sympathisers among British women and working-class men.⁷² The women tended not to stay, however, probably because of a chauvinistic atmosphere generated by Dharmapāla who perceived women as 'sources of temptation'.⁷³ By 1933 Society member A. P. De Zoysa was trying to recruit more female members by speaking in Regent Park on Sundays.⁷⁴ The *Catholic Times* reported in March 1928 that

there are now several hundred 'converts to Buddhism' in England. These are not the crank religionists who have accepted as their guide the so-called 'esoteric Buddhism' and theosophy invented by Madame Blavatsky in Victorian days, and which now has Mrs. Besant for its prophetess. It is the Buddhism of the East, which has been making converts among English people in India and at home.⁷⁵

The report, fascinatingly from a Catholic paper, reflects British Buddhism's increasing respectability. While it correctly highlights Buddhism's increasing appeal due to its perceived rationality, it incorrectly suggests that English Buddhists differed from theosophy's 'crank religionists', even if the Buddhist Lodge began as a TS offshoot in 1924.

Although the TS had initially provided a space for 'gentlemen' seeking a rational, scientific spirituality, as Joy Dixon shows in *Divine Feminine* (2001), the Society became increasingly feminised in the early twentieth century, and placed 'a new emphasis on emotion and devotion rather than study, on personal relationships rather than abstract principles'.⁷⁶ Amid complaints 'that theosophy had lost its virility', many men abandoned the TS for Buddhism, which they regarded as offering a more 'manly, rationalist' religion and manifest in the Buddhist Lodge's 'air of an august intellectual club'.⁷⁷ Buddhism, wrote Marr Murray in 1928, 'is a religion of man for men, the religion of knowledge and logic relying solely upon its own inherent reasonableness and not upon terror or the blindness of faith'.⁷⁸ Although the Lodge severed formal relations with the TS in 1926, it continued to proclaim theosophical tenets such as personal immortality and a universal soul, echo the theosophists' distinction between men's rational occultism and women's emotional mysticism,⁷⁹ and align itself with occultism.

Both the Buddhist Lodge and the Mahabodhi Society claimed to offer women greater equality than other religions did,⁸⁰ but neither entirely practised what it preached. Although both organisations had many female financial supporters and visitors,⁸¹ women's voices were largely absent from their publications and leadership structures. The Lodge offered women more equality than the Mahabodhi Society did, however. It published articles by Caroline Rhys Davids and Alexandra David-Neel, among others, and appointed a woman editor for *Buddhism in England* in 1938.⁸²

Both associations published anonymous conversion narratives. Where men's conversion narratives headlined their occupations, as in 'Buddhism in Everyday Life. By a Sailor',⁸³ women's rare testimonials usually headlined their gender, as in 'Why I Became a Buddhist. By a Woman'.⁸⁴ In an address for a 1933 Women's Day celebration at the Mahabodhi Society Mission, 'Mrs A. G. Grant' explained Buddhist women's invisibility in traditional gendered terms, citing their work behind the scenes as 'simple women' nurturing the manners and religion of their husbands and children.⁸⁵

Mrs Grant's explanation belies the desire of some Buddhist men to escape traditional relationships altogether, as the bhikkhus did through celibacy. Conversions in Asia, such as those of Ananda Metteyya (Allan Bennett) and J. F. McKechnie (Silacara), involved becoming a bhikkhu, whereas European conversions involved promising to follow the five Buddhist precepts, defined by the Buddhist Lodge as 'vows to abstain from killing, stealing, sensuality, slander and intoxicating liquors and

drugs'.⁸⁶ Although the Lodge viewed celibacy as an absolute only for bhikkhus, it still advocated sublimation, or channelling sexual energy into a 'higher' or creative activity.⁸⁷ There also existed a middle role, that of the *anagārika* which had been created by Dharmapāla. This role, as Michael Roberts notes, enabled others 'to take up several ascetic, meditative, and devotional practices without becoming *brahmachāryas* [celibates]'.⁸⁸

The *anattā* doctrine also provided a way around traditional mores. In pinpointing the self as its own source of control, British Buddhists and sympathisers offered an alternative source for masculine identities from those of Western Christianity and British imperialism. The *anattā* doctrine offered men the option of a self-conception beyond both the domestic and the professional spheres, whether that self formed part of a larger whole or was simply an illusion. Instead of defining themselves in relation to marriage and household, Buddhists and their sympathisers could define themselves in relation to themselves, in relation to a larger whole or in relation to nothing at all.

Competition as well as cultural collaboration was present between South Asian and Western Buddhists in the interwar period. This was expressed most clearly in the debates over the interpretations of sacred Buddhist texts. For example, A. P. De Zoysa, the co-founder of the Students' Buddhist Association, suggested that Western authors had largely failed as scholars, translators and exponents of Buddhism due to insufficient study time with 'those who know [Buddhist scriptures and philosophy]', by which he meant Asian-born bhikkhus, who were the arbiters of spiritual authority for Mahabodhi Society members.⁸⁹ 'Most of the translations are literal and the spirit of the scripture is missed,'⁹⁰ he wrote in *The British Buddhist's* January 1927 issue. The Mahabodhi Society campaigned particularly vigorously against women who presumed to speak authoritatively on Buddhism. The Pāli scholar Caroline Rhys Davids (1857–1942), T. W.'s widow, became the Society's scapegoat for Western misinterpretations of Buddhism for several years. One Society member, writing anonymously as a 'Western Easterner' in *The British Buddhist* in 1927, for example, criticised Rhys Davids for an article in which she referred to the Buddha as 'the man Gotama'. 'Gotama was not a man as other men are', wrote the columnist, 'he was not a man, but a super-man. His whole career shows that ... Why then does Mrs. Rhys Davids injure the feelings of followers of that Super-man by calling him in this belittling way, "the man Gotama"?'⁹¹ The author also criticised her for emphasising the bhikkhus' role in Buddhism's foundation, claiming the emphasis undermined Gotama's

own role, and that such ‘flights of fancy’ were both unscholarly and not ‘lady-like’.⁹²

Caroline Rhys Davids, a pioneering female scholar of Buddhism ‘both independently and in collaboration’ with her husband, had begun revising her interpretation of Buddhism following his death in 1922.⁹³ In a series of pamphlets and articles eventually published as *Buddhism, Its Birth and Dispersal* (1934),⁹⁴ she argued that the early bhikkhus had corrupted the original spirit of Buddhism and that these corruptions had been passed down through the Pāli scriptures.⁹⁵ These corruptions included the definition of *anattā* as no-self, a definition that Rhys Davids did not find ‘under the Pali palimpsests’.⁹⁶ As an example, she cited a text detailing the Buddha’s advice to a Brahmin youth. ‘There is no denial of the “man,” the self (*anattā*) in such discourses to lay-disciples as that to Sigāla,’ she noted in a 1927 article titled ‘Buddhism and the Negative’.⁹⁷ She listed several other exemplary discourses and suggested that *anattā* is really a doctrine for ‘the cloistered academician’:

No such sophistication existed for the layman. He was indeed reminded that things are transient, and that ills are the common lot. But the third monkish slogan, *Anattā* – a word at first concerned with only anti-brahmanic [anti-Hindu] protest – was not brought into his gospel, to worry and undermine his conviction that there was really and truly a man, who worked karma of thought, word, and deed, and who reaped the harvest thereof *here and hereafter*.⁹⁸

After decades of study and searching for ‘religious truth’ while believing in ‘the essential nature of human beings’, Rhys Davids reinterpreted *anattā* to allow for the existence of an evolving soul, which she saw reflected in the Buddha’s own life and experienced through spiritualism.⁹⁹

Although many contemporary critics objected to Rhys Davids’ ideas,¹⁰⁰ Buddhist Lodge members took her seriously, and in 1927 and 1928 they began debating the *anattā* doctrine among themselves. They published the results of their discussions in *Buddhism in England and What is Buddhism?* (1929). The Lodge initially defined *anattā* in 1929 as a ‘Universal Principle’, or an unchanging self, and then as ‘the doctrine of non-ego’ in 1931.¹⁰¹ By the mid-1930s, individual Lodge members were propounding competing interpretations of mind, self and soul. As noted earlier, religious scholars’ disagreement about the nature of *nirvana* opened the door to redefinitions of *anattā*. Although most Buddhist Lodge members generally characterised the mind as collective

and eternal, and the self as individual, illusory and transitory,¹⁰² they could not agree on the relationship between the two, or if indeed they were two. One member distinguished between three different selves: 'daily life', 'universal consciousness' and 'the Inconceivable'.¹⁰³ In stark opposition to the Mahabodhi Society, the Lodge settled on Rhys Davids' interpretation of *anattā* as its official doctrine, such as it was. In *What is Buddhism?* (1928) the Lodge asserted that while its members '[did] not accept the permanent, immortal soul', they accepted 'the soul of man as something "capable of growth, as of deterioration, changing according to the nature of its deeds for better or worse"'.¹⁰⁴ It may seem ironic that the Lodge based a central doctrine of its 'manly, rationalist' religion around a woman's interpretation. At the same time, the doctrine can be viewed as an atavism, as Rhys Davids' ideas echoed the 'feminine' theosophy on which the Lodge was initially founded.¹⁰⁵

Immortal or not, the word 'soul' set off alarm bells for the Mahabodhi Society. The Lodge's *Concentration and Meditation* manual was harshly reviewed in *The British Buddhist's* successor *The Wheel*, and the severest criticisms pertained to the manual's translation of *anattā* as 'Not-self'. The reviewer suggested that 'Non-self' is the closest English equivalent,¹⁰⁶ and claimed the Lodge's error led to a further error of allowing for a transcendental self or soul.¹⁰⁷ A visiting Sinhala bhikkhu, Narada, equated belief in a soul to a denial of scientific facts, which, in the context of the time, amounted to unmanliness. 'A few decades ago it was believed by the scientists that there exists an indivisible atom,' he wrote in 1936. 'But now it is proved that the so-called atom is divisible and that "it consists of magnetic forces, electrons, corpuscles and ions in incessant movement, a balance of action and reaction no longer considered indestructible."' He continued, 'The Buddha propounded these facts some 2500 years ago while He was sojourning in the valley of the Ganges.'¹⁰⁸

The Mahabodhi Society reserved its harshest criticisms for Caroline Rhys-Davids; Anagārika Dharmapāla could not countenance the reinterpretation of Buddhist doctrine by a Western woman. Writing in response to Rhys Davids' 1927 article, Dharmapāla noted, 'Since the death of her husband, her former sympathy for the Buddha Dhamma has undergone change' and now, he continued, 'we find in her the most inveterate foe born since the disappearance of another woman foe of the Lord Buddha'.¹⁰⁹ Dharmapāla suggested Rhys Davids could not understand Buddhism because '[s]he has not had the blessed fortune to converse with learned righteous Bhikkhus'.¹¹⁰ For her scholarly efforts to interpret Buddhism for Westerners, Dharmapāla judged Rhys Davids

to be 'committing a great sin in misleading ignorant people', and the 'evil-minded'.¹¹¹

Ironically, Dharmapāla himself had opposed the bhikkhus' authority in Ceylon. Where he and his fellow reformers once tried to wrest power from the bhikkhus in the periphery, however, they now realised the bhikkhus' significance for the reassertion of Sinhala masculinity in the British metropole, as physical embodiments of the spiritual superiority of South Asian men. Dharmapāla used modern Buddhism's rationalist discourse to argue for the value of South Asian empirical, experiential knowledge. By presenting male bhikkhus as the chief mediators of texts and practice, he and the Mahabodhi Society highlighted Sinhala spiritual authority and its intrinsically masculine form. Dharmapāla and his colleagues brought three bhikkhus from Colombo's Vidodaya (Pāli) College, which had played a leading role in Ceylon's Buddhist revival, to live in London at the Mahabodhi Society headquarters on Gloucester Road in 1928 in order to learn English, lead religious meetings, give public lectures and provide classes in Pāli language and texts.¹¹²

The Mahabodhi Society also campaigned against what it perceived as the unmanly behaviour and spiritual attitudes of the Buddhist Lodge. A 1927 letter from 'a friend' stated in *The British Buddhist*, 'The Buddhist Lodge still clings tenaciously to Theosophy more than to the Dharma. To certain members of the Buddhist Lodge it seems that Madame Blavatsky is greater than the Buddha.'¹¹³ A 1936 letter to the Lodge's journal labelled its Buddhism 'an "escapist philosophy" in so far as it has become effeminized by Vedanta-ism'.¹¹⁴ As the major organ of the Mahabodhi Society, *The British Buddhist* usually reviewed Lodge publications negatively, accusing the society of practising theosophy or 'Pseudo-Buddhism', as the Scotsman J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara) put it, for upholding the notion of an 'immortal Self'.¹¹⁵

The Sinhala Buddhists made some headway with the British public during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1931, Horace Thorogood wrote about a Mahabodhi Society bhikkhu in the *Evening Standard*. 'There was nothing either of the fanatic or the ascetic about this middle-aged man of comfortable habit whose loose and ample robe gave him an appearance of plumpness,' he noted approvingly. 'But for his complexion and his eyes he might have been a European.'¹¹⁶ Thorogood's description tallied unwittingly with Dharmapāla's goal of reclaiming the masculine dignity of Sinhala attire.¹¹⁷ In August 1932, the bhikkhus' regular Sunday evening meetings attracted attention from *The Times*, which reprinted remarks made by Dharmapāla about the London mission in *The British Buddhist's* inaugural issue, noting that '[i]t is claimed that the religion

is taught in its original form and that this is best suited to rational and critical British minds'.¹¹⁸ The Venerable Ananda Kausalyāyana (1905–88), one of the bhikkhus brought over by Dharmapāla, was particularly active: he held meetings at the Society headquarters twice weekly for the study of Buddhist teaching, and lectured to the Society and a variety of other organisations, such as Oxford University's India Group.¹¹⁹ His lecture on 'The Essentials of Buddhism' in 1933 so inspired members of the India Group that some of them quickly founded the Oxford University Society for Buddhist Studies.¹²⁰

The Buddhist Lodge contested the Mahabodhi Society's assertions of masculine religious authority by questioning its leader's ability to preach to Englishmen and upholding the validity of its own members' experiences. A 1927 *Buddhism in England* editorial suggested that 'the Anagarika is seriously misinterpreting the psychology and needs of the English Buddhists'.¹²¹ The Lodge prioritised Western psychology, experiential knowledge and texts such as Caroline Rhys Davids' over Eastern experiential knowledge, traditional Buddhist texts and bhikkhu authority. The Lodge's *Concentration and Meditation* manual stated in its preface, 'The materials for this production are drawn partly from the works mentioned in the Bibliography attached hereto, and partly from the actual experience of members of the Lodge.'¹²² The bibliography is revealing: it contains only one Buddhist scripture, the *Dhammapada*, which it lists not as a 'textbook' but as a book 'containing material for meditation'.¹²³ For Lodge members, their individual experience of Buddhist scriptures was more important than the content.¹²⁴ The recommended texts include several occult and theosophical works, such as Alice Bailey's *Letters on Occult Meditation* (1922) and Annie Besant's *Thought Power* (1903). Predictably, these female-authored theosophical sources drew disparagement from the Mahabodhi Society.

In claiming the legitimacy of their own knowledge, Lodge members indicated they did not need bhikkhus. They made that indication explicit by publicly equating the desire for bhikkhus with a pernicious attachment to ritualism, which they viewed as particularly risky in light of 'the ingrained Christian habit of looking for salvation from without'¹²⁵: a non-self-reliant, implicitly unmanly habit. Buddhist converts, often from Protestant or Anglican backgrounds, denigrated the bhikkhus as a corrupt, priestly class.¹²⁶

The *anattā* debates reflect how gender shaped British Buddhists' struggles for religious authority. The debates' gendered undertones suggest that the *anattā* doctrine may have functioned as a signifier of different types of Buddhist masculinity. The traditional definition of *anattā* as

no-self signified a masculinity based on an ethnic experiential knowledge and South Asian authority, while the definition of *anattā* as a collective, evolving self signified a Western masculinity that emphasised individual experience. In an intellectual history of the *anattā* doctrine in Theravada Buddhism, Steven Collins notes that the doctrine has functioned as ‘a social, intellectual, and soteriological strategy’ to highlight Buddhism’s difference from the Hindu tradition.¹²⁷ The Mahabodhi Society’s insistence on the traditional interpretation of *anattā* can be similarly viewed as a symbolic expression of opposition to the ‘social attitudes and behaviour’ of its competitor: in this case, as an expression of opposition to Western tradition and its reification of the self.¹²⁸ Even while they debated the definition of *anattā*, however, British Buddhists disseminated the idea of Buddhism as a rational, scientific religion whose doctrines resonated with human experience. This dissemination helped to make the emerging science of psychology part of modern Buddhist discourse, and modern Buddhism into a religion of self-help.

British Buddhist self-help

As psychology gained in prominence in the early twentieth century, British Buddhists and sympathisers argued that their religion provided a perfectly rational, psychological antidote to the West’s ills.¹²⁹ Their notion of religion as a rational subject with verifiable, experiential truths was indebted to the pragmatic psychology of the Harvard philosopher/psychologist William James (1842–1910), whose 1903 class had been visited by Dharmapāla.¹³⁰ In his influential 1902 book, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, James had argued that ‘healthy’ religious experience could overcome psychological maladies and cited a Buddhist convert as one example.¹³¹ James’ psychologisation of religion enabled Dharmapāla to claim that Buddhism ‘is a religion of analysis’ and ‘in harmony with science and psychology’.¹³² In *The British Buddhist’s* inaugural October 1926 issue, he suggested that ‘Englishmen’ and Buddhism suited one another. ‘Englishmen are practical men and desire above all what is practical; and Buddhism is a practical religion,’ he wrote. ‘Men to-day are asking ... for something rational to believe in the way of religion; and they do not get it in the official religion of their country’¹³³ Christmas Humphreys similarly opined in *Buddhism in England’s* inaugural editorial that ‘the scientific bias of the Western mind should make it eminently open to that scientific Faith we know as Buddhism’.¹³⁴

Virtually all convert, sympathiser and ethnic Buddhists described practicality as one of the religion’s principal attractions. Sinhala

Buddhist A. P. De Zoysa, for example, described Buddhism as ‘a method by which we may steer through life’, and as ‘the religion of self-control, self-culture and independence’.¹³⁵ Unlike ‘other religions’, noted the Buddhist Students’ Association co-founder in an October 1927 article targeted against Caroline Rhys Davids, ‘Buddhist “salvation” is an achievement by ceaseless effort and practice.’¹³⁶

Convert testimonials, mostly by men and published regularly in *Buddhism in England* and *The British Buddhist*, exhibit narrative structures, themes and language similar to those of Arnold’s *Light of Asia*. Where Arnold’s Siddhartha (the young Buddha) becomes disillusioned with the God-like Brahm after witnessing human suffering, Buddhist converts become similarly disillusioned with God after experiencing personal suffering.¹³⁷ For both Siddhartha and the converts, disillusionment is followed by exploration, where they might read, converse or travel widely.¹³⁸ Exploration gives way to a gradual initiation into Buddhism, often by way of theosophy, which exposed its followers to Buddhist ideas.¹³⁹ Converts describe their attraction to the ideas of *karma* and reincarnation, finding in *karma* a universal law of causation and in reincarnation a cosmic justice system.¹⁴⁰ And like American readers of *The Light of Asia*, British converts discovered an optimistic message within the poem. They wrote not about meekly enduring suffering, but about controlling their responses to suffering in a rational manner. They presented Buddhism as a practical, rational, fact-based guide to peace of mind; a kind of esoteric self-help that echoed early theosophy and the masculine discourse of evangelical self-help.

Where Victorians had associated manliness with physical and emotional self-discipline, however, British Buddhists associated it with disciplining the interior self, whether they understood that self as the delusion of personality or ego, or as part of a larger whole. This discipline usually took the form of mental training or, to put it in consummately modern terms, self-reflexivity. One convert, an anonymous ‘Scientist’ writing for the Mahabodhi Society in 1929, took the *anattā* doctrine as proof that ‘self-seeking is a mistake, a huge mistake since it is action based upon the hypothesis of the existence of something that has no existence’.¹⁴¹ In a speech to the Buddhist Lodge in 1933, Ernest V. Hayes similarly connected an ‘ethical outlook’ and ‘right conduct’ to understanding the ‘delusion of the Personal Self’, an understanding arrived at ‘through the light of Buddhist teaching through Buddhist discipline of the mind’.¹⁴² In contrast, an anonymous author in *Buddhism in England* described the male self in 1936 as ‘threefold’, comprising the personality, soul and Universal Mind, though he upheld the necessity

of 'training' the soul in daily life so that it may become 'the super-self or Universal Mind'.¹⁴³

Rival Buddhist associations described self-control in ways that reflected their interpretations of *anattā*. Buddhist Lodge members highlighted 'self-dependence', 'self-reliance', 'self-readjustment' and 'self-perfection'¹⁴⁴ – all terms that allow for the existence of some kind of self. Mahabodhi Society members spoke instead of 'self-conquest', 'individualistic self-discipline' and 'discipline of the ego'.¹⁴⁵ The phrase 'individualistic self-discipline' captures the modern self-reflexivity at the heart of both interpretations: the self can only be disciplined by the self: the empirical self, in Humean terms. As a 'Policeman' put it in an anonymous testimonial in 1928, 'another thing I have learned from Buddhism [is] that I have got to keep a watch on myself all the time.'¹⁴⁶

Conclusion

Modern Buddhism's rational, self-help discourse offered British men alternative sources of religiosity and identity. In an era when religiosity, particularly Christian religiosity, was associated with supposedly feminine qualities like meekness, and feminised further through its predominantly female membership, Buddhism offered self-control as a more manly response to suffering. Influenced by Protestant Buddhism and Arnold's *Light of Asia*, this emphasis on self-control built on a pre-existing nineteenth-century masculine rhetoric of self-help while transferring men's focus from their bodies and emotions to their variously defined selves or lack thereof. This transfer enabled Buddhist men and sympathisers to shift their primary identifications away from the household.

Buddhist struggles for spiritual authority in the interwar period point to the inextricability of colonial and gender influences in twentieth-century religious change. Modern Buddhism's emphasis on experiential knowledge enabled both Sinhala Buddhists and native-born Britons to claim masculine religious authority. While their claims contested one another at times, as with the *anattā* doctrine, they nonetheless helped make British Buddhism into a popular religion of self-help for men.

Notes

1. Thanks to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for research funding, Christine McLaughlin for research assistance, Nicholas Buxton for reading an early draft and Anthony Easton for reading a later

- draft, the University of Oxford's 'Themes in Religious History' seminar in 2009, and the University of Cambridge's 'Men, Masculinity, and Religious Change' symposium in 2011, in particular Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan.
2. C. Bax (1936) *Ideas and People* (London: Lovat Dickson Limited), pp. 237–8.
 3. Joy Dixon has remarked on the 'complex' gender dynamics of Buddhism's assimilation into British culture. See J. Dixon (2010) 'Modernity, Heterodoxy and the Transformation of Religious Cultures', in S. Morgan and J. de Vries (eds) *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800–1940* (London: Routledge), p. 220.
 4. The Buddhist Lodge (1929) *What is Buddhism?* (London: The Buddhist Lodge), pp. 74–6. See also R. H. Robinson, W. L. Johnson and Thanissaro Bhikkhu (G. DeGraff) (2005) *Buddhist Religions* (Belmont: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning), p. 297.
 5. M. Thomson (2006) *Psychological Subjects* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 76–96.
 6. C. G. Brown (2001) *The Death of Christian Britain* (London: Routledge), p. 91.
 7. J. Dixon (2001) *Divine Feminine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), p. 41.
 8. Because many Buddhist associations filled cultural and religious functions for South Asians in this period, the term 'ethnic Buddhist' is appropriate here. For a summary of the controversies surrounding this term and others, see P. D. Numrich (2006) 'Two Buddhisms Further Considered', in D. Keown (ed.) *Buddhist Studies from India to America* (London: Routledge), pp. 207–33.
 9. T. A. Tweed (2002) 'Night-Stand Buddhists and Other Creatures', in C. S. Prebish and M. Baumann (eds) *Westward Dharma* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 17.
 10. E. Arnold (1879) *The Light of Asia* (London: Trübner and Company).
 11. D. L. McMahan (2008) *The Making of Buddhist Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 6.
 12. J. J. Franklin (2008) *The Lotus and the Lion* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), p. 9; S. Bell (1991) 'Buddhism in Britain', PhD Thesis (University of Durham), p. 11; and S. Bell (2000) 'Being Creative with Tradition', *Journal of Global Buddhism*, 1, 1–23.
 13. McMahan, *Making of Buddhist Modernism*, pp. 15, 208–9; J. J. Clarke (1997) *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter Between Asian and Western Thought* (London: Routledge), p. 158.
 14. S. Bell (2000) 'A Survey of Engaged Buddhism in Britain', in C. S. Queen (ed.) *Engaged Buddhism in the West* (Boston: Wisdom Publications), p. 399.
 15. R. Gombrich and G. Obeyesekere (1989) *Buddhism Transformed* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press), p. 203. The term was coined by Obeyesekere (1970) 'Religious Symbolism and Political Change in Ceylon', *Modern Ceylon Studies*, 1, 46–7.
 16. R. F. Gombrich (1988) *Theravāda Buddhism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), p. 3.
 17. Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism*, p. 174. This point is also made by K. Malaloda (1976) *Buddhism in Sinhala Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press), p. 246.

18. Gombrich and Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed*, pp. 218, 216.
19. McMahan, *Making of Buddhist Modernism*, pp. 97–101.
20. E. Harris (2006) *Theravāda Buddhism and the British Encounter* (London: Taylor and Francis), p. 140.
21. S. Prothero (1996) *The White Buddhist* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), p. 9.
22. Prothero, *White Buddhist*, p. 105.
23. H. S. Olcott (1915) *Buddhist Catechism*, 44th edition (London: Theosophical Publishing Society), p. 42; Prothero, *White Buddhist*, p. 45.
24. Olcott, *Buddhist Catechism*, pp. 37, 58, 52.
25. Olcott, *Buddhist Catechism*, p. 52, f.2.
26. Olcott, *Buddhist Catechism*, pp. 52–3, f.2.
27. Olcott, *Buddhist Catechism*, pp. 52–3, f.2. Rhys Davids actually repudiated Protestant Buddhism and held that ‘the struggle necessary to maintain individuality’ was ‘the essence of sorrow’. Quoted in S. T. Dean (1998) ‘Decadence, Evolution, and Will’, in J. Melnyk (ed.) *Women’s Theology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc.), p. 219.
28. Olcott, *Buddhist Catechism*, p. 53, f.2.
29. Harris, *Theravāda Buddhism and the British Encounter*, p. 145.
30. Harris, *Theravāda Buddhism and the British Encounter*, pp. 165–6.
31. Prothero, *White Buddhist*, p. 101.
32. M. Roberts (1997) ‘For Humanity’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 56(4), 1006–32, p. 1015.
33. Gombrich and Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed*, p. 205.
34. Harris, *Theravāda Buddhism and the British Encounter*, p. 95. See also Jeffrey Franklin’s discussion of the poem’s appeal in Chapter 1 of *The Lotus and the Lion*, pp. 25–49.
35. Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p. 49.
36. Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, pp. 34–40.
37. C. Clausen (1975) ‘Victorian Buddhism and the Origins of Comparative Religion’, *Religion*, 5(1), 1–15, p. 5.
38. Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p. 42.
39. Arnold, *Light of Asia*, pp. 220–1.
40. Arnold, *Light of Asia*, p. 232.
41. Arnold, *Light of Asia*, p. 233.
42. Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p. 44.
43. Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p. 44.
44. Mahabodhi Society (1926) ‘Books on Buddhism’, *BB*, 1(3), p. 8.
45. Mahabodhi Society (1926) ‘Editorial’, *BB*, 1(1), 5; ‘Philharmonic Hall – The Light of Asia’, *Times*, 29, p. 12.
46. For example, E. E. Wood (1936) *Is This Theosophy?* (London: Rider and Co.), p. 70; ‘A Railway Man’ (1927) ‘Buddhism in Everyday Life’, *Buddhism in England (BE)*, 2(2), p. 30.
47. I. P. Oliver (1979) *Buddhism in Britain* (London: Rider and Company), p. 43. Another early convert and bhikkhu, the Venerable Prajnananda (Major Frederick Carl Fletcher), travelled to Ceylon after reading Arnold’s poem. M. A. Maung (1936) ‘The Rangoon English Buddhist Monk’, Translated by Daya Hewavitarne, *The Wheel*, 2(2), 14–15, p. 14.

48. Oliver, *Buddhism in Britain*, p. 49; R. J. Jackson (1931) 'Buddhism and Indian Philosophy', *BB*, 6(1), 2–6, p. 2.
49. Oliver, *Buddhism in Britain*, p. 50.
50. H. E. Boedeker (1966) *Thus Have I Proved* (Oakley: Robin Olney), p. 44; C 4.83 [sic] (1932) 'The Christian in War Time (Two Armistice Sermons by a War-time Pacifist)', *Calamus*, 6(1), 14–15.
51. R. Landau (1935) *God is My Adventure* (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson), p. 31; 'Students' Buddhist Association of Great Britain and Ireland', *BB*, 3(5), 6–10, p. 9.
52. W. O'Sullivan Molony (1937) *Victims Victorious* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd), p. 153; R. Ince (1932) *Shadow-Show* (London: Eric Partridge), p. 186; P. Redfern (1946) *Journey to Understanding* (London: George Allen and Unwin Limited), pp. 43, 197.
53. For example, the Venerable Abbot Tai-Hsu (1929) 'Universal Buddhism', *Calamus*, 1(1), p. 21.
54. Buddhist Lodge (1929) 'The Mahabodhi Society', *BE*, 4(6), p. 121.
55. [N. V. Dagg] (1937) 'Our Point of View', *The Modern Mystic*, 1(9), p. 4.
56. See Mahabodhi Society (1928) 'News and Notes', *BB*, 2(8), p. 41; See Buddhist Lodge (1928) Untitled, *BE*, 3(1), p. 7.
57. See, for example, J. F. McKechnie (1929) 'Buddhism Defined', *Calamus*, 1(2), 65–8; A. W. Watts (1937) 'Zen', *The Modern Mystic*, 1(1), 20–1.
58. At Essex Hall on 14 January 1930, Bhikkhu D. Pannasara and Francis J. Payne spoke to over 100 people on 'Buddhism, the Religion of Reason and Compassion'. 'Lectures and Meetings', *Times*, 10 January 1930, 10.
59. Mahabodhi Society (1929) 'Annual General Meeting of the British Mahabodhi Society', *BB*, 3(12), 14–16, p. 15.
60. S. Lahiri (2000) *Indians in Britain* (London: Frank Cass), p. 29.
61. K. Jayawardena (2012) *A. P. de Zoysa: Combative Social Democrat and Buddhist Reformer in Twentieth Century Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Sanjiva Books).
62. Mahabodhi Society (1929) 'Students Buddhist Association of Great Britain and Ireland', *BB*, 3(5), 6–10, p. 9; Mahabodhi Society (1928) 'Students Buddhist Association of Great Britain and Ireland', *BB*, 3(1), p. 12.
63. Bell, 'Buddhism in Britain', p. 24; Buddhist Lodge (1929) 'Young Men's Buddhist Association of Great Britain and Ireland', *BE*, 4(5), p. 119.
64. Buddhist Lodge (1928) 'Wesak in London', *BE*, 3(2), p. 31.
65. Mahabodhi Society (1932) 'At Cambridge', *BB*, 6(1), p. 9; Mahabodhi Society (1933) 'Oxford University Society for Buddhist Studies', *BB*, 7(6), p. 207.
66. London Buddhist Vihāra (2006) *The 2550 Buddha Jayanti* (London: Anagārika Dharmapāla Trust), p. 169.
67. J. H. Warren (2004) 'Contesting Colonial Masculinity', *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 6(2), 39–62, p. 45.
68. S. Kemper (2005) 'Dharmapāla's *Dharmaduta* and the Buddhist Ethnoscapes', in L. Learman (ed.) *Buddhist Missionaries in the Era of Globalization* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), pp. 28–9.
69. Harris, *Theravāda Buddhism and the British Encounter*, p. 39; Roberts, 'For Humanity', p. 1008.
70. 'Dharmachakka Festival and Welcome to the Venerable Bikkhus' (1928) *BB*, 2(11), 12–13, p. 13.

71. Obeyesekere, 'Religious Symbolism and Political Change in Ceylon', p. 54.
72. 'Buddhist Missionaries in England', *Times*, 26 August 1932, p. 7; F. Mellor (1937) 'The Buddhist Movement in Europe', *The Maha Bodhi*, 51, 243–7, quoted in R. Webb (2004) *London Buddhist Vihara* (London: Linh-So'n Buddhist Association), p. 32.
73. Roberts, 'For Humanity', pp. 1016, 1019.
74. Mahabodhi Society (1933) 'Notes and News – Women and Buddhism', *BB*, 7(5), 163–5, p. 165.
75. Buddhist Lodge (1928) 'Correspondence (3)', *BE*, 3(3), p. 69.
76. Dixon, *Divine Feminine*, pp. 91, 164.
77. Dixon, *Divine Feminine*, pp. 91, 164; Bell, 'Buddhism in Britain', p. 3.
78. M. Murray (1928–9) 'The Possibilities of Buddhism in the West', *BB*, 3(3–4), 14–16, p. 15.
79. Buddhist Lodge (1935) *Concentration and Meditation* (London: the Buddhist Lodge), p. 271.
80. Mahabodhi Society (1927) 'Debt to Women', *BB*, 2(1), p. 12; Buddhist Lodge, *What is Buddhism*, pp. 192–4.
81. See Mahabodhi Society (1928) 'London Vihara Fund – Acknowledgement of Donations Received', *BB*, 2(5), p. 10.
82. B. Graham (1984) *Clare Cameron: A Human and Spiritual Journey* (London: Werner Shaw Ltd), p. 45.
83. 'A Sailor' (1927) 'Buddhism in Everyday Life', *BE*, 2(1), 7–8.
84. 'A Woman' (1928) 'Why I Became a Buddhist', *BB*, 2(4), 4–5, p. 4.
85. Mrs A. G. Grant (1933) 'Women's Day Address', *BB*, 7(5), p. 172.
86. Buddhist Lodge, *What is Buddhism*, p. 109.
87. Buddhist Lodge, *What is Buddhism*, pp. 114–15; Buddhist Lodge, *Concentration and Meditation*, pp. 56, 192.
88. Roberts, 'For Humanity', p. 1022.
89. A. P. De Zoysa, (1927) 'Buddhist Scriptures and Western Scholars', *BB*, 1(4), p. 3.
90. De Zoysa, 'Buddhist Scriptures', p. 3.
91. Western Easterner (1927) 'Mrs. Rhys Davids and Buddhism', *BB*, 1(12), 4–5.
92. Western Easterner, 'Mrs. Rhys Davids and Buddhism', p. 4.
93. Dean, 'Decadence, Evolution, and Will', pp. 214, 221.
94. C. A. F. Rhys Davids (1934) *Buddhism* (London: Thornton Butterworth Limited).
95. Dean, 'Decadence, Evolution, and Will', p. 221.
96. Quoted in Dean, 'Decadence, Evolution, and Will', p. 221.
97. C. A. F. Rhys Davids (1924–7), 'Buddhism and the Negative', *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 237–50, p. 241.
98. Rhys Davids, 'Buddhism and the Negative', pp. 241–2.
99. Dean, 'Decadence, Evolution, and Will', pp. 210, 222; T. R. Havens (1964) 'Mrs. Rhys Davids' Dialogue with Psychology (1893–1924)', *Philosophy East and West*, 14(1), 51–8, p. 52.
100. Dean, 'Decadence, Evolution, and Will', p. 223.
101. Buddhist Lodge, *What is Buddhism*, p. 42; Buddhist Lodge (1931) *A Brief Glossary of Buddhist Terms* (London: The Buddhist Lodge), p. 2.
102. For example, see A. Metteyya (1927) 'Buddhist Psychology', *BB*, 2(3), 1–3, p. 3.

103. Anonymous (1936) "'I Believe" – I', *BE*, 11(1), 4–5, p. 4.
104. Buddhist Lodge, *What is Buddhism*, pp. 42–3.
105. Christmas Humphreys expressed his continuing belief in the 'Ancient Wisdom-Religion' of theosophy in the 1960s. C. Humphreys (1968) *Sixty Years of Buddhism in England* (London: The Buddhist Society), p. 18.
106. Ariya Dhamma (1935) 'Concentration and Meditation: A Review', *The Wheel*, 1(8), 12–14, p. 12.
107. Ariya Dhamma, 'Concentration and Meditation', pp. 12–13.
108. Bhikkhu Narada (1935) 'Anatta or Soul-lessness', *The Wheel*, 1(1), 9–11, p. 9.
109. Anagārika Dharmapāla (1927) 'Muddleheadedness', *BB*, 1(12), 7–8, p. 7.
110. Dharmapāla, 'Muddleheadedness', p. 7.
111. Dharmapāla, 'Muddleheadedness', p. 8.
112. Mahabodhi Society (1928) 'News and Notes', *BB*, 3(2), p. 11.
113. Mahabodhi Society (1927) Untitled, *BB*, 1(5), p. 3.
114. 'Our Forum' (1936) *BE*, 10(6), 192–3, p. 192.
115. J. F. McKechnie (1930) 'Buddhism and Pseudo-Buddhism', *BB*, 4(6), 87–8.
116. H. Thorogood, 'There is No Need for Suffering – Say Buddha's Followers, Who Believe Man Can Become Perfect', *Evening Standard*, 17 March 1931, p. 10.
117. M. De Alwis (1999) "'Respectability," "Modernity," and the Policing of "Culture" in Colonial Ceylon', in A. Burton (ed.) *Gender, Sexuality, and Colonial Modernities* (London: Routledge), p. 180.
118. 'Buddhist Missionaries in England', p. 7.
119. Mahabodhi Society (1932) 'Pāli Translations', *BB*, 7(1), 4–5, p. 5; Mahabodhi Society (1933) 'Oxford University Society for Buddhist Studies', *BB*, 7(6), p. 207; Mahabodhi Society (1933) 'Notes and News: At Oxford', *BB*, 7(5), 162–3, p. 163.
120. Mahabodhi Society, 'Notes and News: At Oxford', p. 163; Mahabodhi Society, 'Oxford University Society for Buddhist Studies', p. 207.
121. Buddhist Lodge (1927) 'The Anagārika Dharmapāla', *BE*, 1(7), p. 151.
122. Buddhist Lodge, *Concentration and Meditation*, p. vii.
123. Buddhist Lodge, *Concentration and Meditation*, p. 301.
124. This conception of text and experience exemplifies a larger trend in modern Buddhism. See R. H. Sharf (1995) 'Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience', *Numen*, 42(3), 228–83.
125. A. C. March (1929) 'Comment on Ananda Metteya's Article', *BE*, 4(6), p. 130.
126. Molony, *Victims Victorious*, p. 165.
127. S. Collins (1982) *Selfless Persons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 68, 78.
128. Collins, *Selfless Persons*, p. 77.
129. Anagārika Dharmapāla (1928) 'A New Year's Message to the Buddhists of the British Empire', *BB*, 2(4), 2–3, p. 2; Murray, 'The Possibilities of Buddhism in the West', p. 14; Buddhist Lodge (1934) 'Reviews: Books: Notices. Christmas Humphreys, 'Yoga and Western Psychology. A Comparison. Geraldine Coster', *BE*, 9(2), 65–6, p. 65.
130. Anagārika Dharmapāla (1927) 'Memories of an Interpreter of Buddhism to the Present-Day World', in A. Gurunge (ed., 1991) *Return to Righteousness*

- (Colombo: Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Integration), pp. 681–96. Originally published in *Asia*, September 1927.
131. Dixon, 'The Transformation of Religious Cultures', p. 223; W. James (1982) *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (London: Penguin Classics), p. 181.
 132. Anagārika Dharmapāla (1926) 'Editorial', *BB*, 1(1), 1–8, p. 2.
 133. Dharmapāla, 'Editorial', p. 2.
 134. C. Humphreys (1926) 'Editorial', *BE*, 1(1), p. 1.
 135. A. P. De Zoysa (1927) 'Buddhism and the Positive', *BB*, 2(1), 11–12, p. 11.
 136. De Zoysa, 'Buddhism and the Positive', p. 11.
 137. For example, J. F. McKechnie (1927) 'Buddhism as a World Religion II. Why I am a Buddhist', *BE*, 1(9), 2–3; 'A Schoolmaster' (1928) 'Buddhism in Everyday Life', *BB*, 2(8), 175–7, p. 175; 'A Sailor', 'Buddhism in Everyday Life', p. 7.
 138. For example, 'A Railway Man', 'Buddhism in Everyday Life', p. 30.
 139. For example, F. R. M. (1932) 'The Message of Buddhism to Me. By an Actor', *BE*, 7(2), pp. 49, 52.
 140. For example, 'A Lawyer' (1927) 'Buddhism in Everyday Life', *BB*, 2(6), 123–5, p. 123.
 141. 'A Scientist', (1929) 'How I Became a Buddhist', *BB*, 2(6), 5–6, p. 5.
 142. 'The Eighth Birthday Anniversary of the Buddhist Lodge, London', *BE*, January–February 1933, 7(5), 147–52, p. 151.
 143. 'I Believe. I', *BE*, May–June 1936, 11(1), 4–5, p. 4.
 144. F. Blanning-Pooley (1928) 'Buddhism in Everyday Life. A Religion for the Western Householder', *BE*, 2(7), 150–2, p. 151; 'A Schoolmaster' (1928) 'Buddhism in Everyday Life', *BE*, 2(8), 175–7, p. 175; 'Christian Criticism', *BE*, January–February 1932, 6(7–8), 158–9, p. 159.
 145. *BB*, 1(1) (October 1926), p. 2; Murray, 'The Possibilities of Buddhism in the West', p. 14.
 146. 'A Policeman' (1928) 'How I Became a Buddhist', *BB*, 2(5), 4–5, p. 4.

Further reading

- Almond, P. C. (1988) *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Bell, S. (1991) 'Buddhism in Britain: Development and Adaptation', PhD Thesis (University of Durham).
- Bluck, R. (2006) *British Buddhism: Teachings, Practice and Development* (London: Routledge).
- Dean, S. T. (1998) 'Decadence, Evolution, and Will: Caroline Rhys Davids' "Original" Buddhism', in J. Melnyk (ed.) *Women's Theology in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Transforming the Faith of Their Fathers* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc.), pp. 209–27.
- Dixon, J. (2010) 'Modernity, Heterodoxy and the Transformation of Religious Cultures', in S. Morgan and J. de Vries (eds) *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800–1940* (London: Routledge), pp. 211–30.
- Franklin, J. J. (2008) *The Lotus and the Lion: Buddhism and the British Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

- Humphreys, C. (1968) *Sixty Years of Buddhism in England (1907–1967): A History and a Survey* (London: The Buddhist Society).
- Key, D. N. (2004) *Tibetan and Zen Buddhism in Britain: Transplantation, Development and Adaptation* (London: Routledge).
- McMahan, D. L. (2008) *The Making of Buddhist Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Oliver, I. P. (1979) *Buddhism in Britain* (London: Rider and Company).

2

‘The People of God Dressed for Dinner and Dancing’? English Catholic Masculinity, Religious Sociability and the Catenian Association

Alana Harris

In an after-dinner speech at the 1966 AGM of the Catenian Association, guest speaker and newly appointed Bishop Cashman of Arundel and Brighton light-heartedly urged this nearly 60-year-old sodality to re-examine its aims and objectives in the post-Vatican II era:

The image of the Catenians as a section of the People of God dressed for dinner and dancing is not enough.¹

The Bishop’s intentionally provocative questioning of the role of this lay-led Association for Catholic men came at a time of profound institutional change within the Catholic church and a re-appreciation of the place of the laity as ‘active participants’ in the liturgy and a ‘pilgrim people of God’, with their own ordained, priestly role.² Unsurprisingly, it elicited irritated reactions from the wider membership of the Association when reprinted in *Catena*, the Catenians’ long-running monthly journal. Letters from members responded by outlining the various Catholic activities in which they individually participated, and rebuked the Catenian leadership for ‘improperly briefing the Bishop’.³ Finally, and most tellingly during a period of wider questioning of tradition and the authority of the Catholic Church itself and its Papal and Episcopal leadership, another correspondent was simultaneously progressive in his anti-authoritarianism yet ‘old fashioned’ in his insistence on the rules of gentlemanly hospitality when accusing the Bishop of a breach of propriety in ‘taking improper advantage of his position as our guest’.⁴

As this opening vignette suggests, this chapter seeks to examine the nature of this Association which, throughout its history, has evinced a reluctance to become overly political, has consistently resisted clerical control, and has self-reflexively asserted the social *and* spiritual benefits of its self-identity as a forum for (predominantly) male Catholic friendship and class-based sociability. Following a very brief outline of the foundation of this little-studied Association and contextualization of its role as a forum for male socialization and self-sufficiency in the tradition of 'friendly societies', the chapter will sketch the social activities of this national (and increasingly transnational) fraternity across the twentieth century and contrast their 'wining and dining' with other activities broadly conceived as 'praying and paying'. Through examining a distinctly *middle-class* 'association of Catholic men', a more nuanced picture of English Catholicism beyond ubiquitous working-class and Irish-migrant characterizations is delineated,⁵ and a lens of 'religious sociability' (analogous to, but distinct, from Callum Brown's interwar 'plebeian male religiosity') emerges.⁶

As such, the study of this Association is particularly appropriate for a focused exploration of the transformations in twentieth-century Catholic masculinity and the appeal of a manly yet family-focused spirituality.⁷ It offers a contrasting case study to a literature dominated by the so-called (but increasingly critiqued) feminization of religion thesis from the nineteenth century onwards,⁸ or the imprecise (and mostly unhelpful) concept of 'muscular Christianity',⁹ while building upon and supplementing newly emerging studies of European Catholic masculinity.¹⁰ It illustrates the complicated relationship and continuing dialogue between concepts of religious manliness and hegemonic masculinity,¹¹ explored elsewhere in this volume, well into the latter half of the twentieth century. It also examines the ways in which the prioritization of a homosocial, work-based culture could simultaneously reinforce the valorisation of a conservative male domesticity.¹² As the Bishop of Salford, George Andrew Beck observed at a banquet to celebrate the golden jubilee of the Association in 1958, as a body of 'laymen ... standing together and living for the principles they professed ... being good Catenians meant being good in the society in which they found themselves and in the professions to which they belonged' as well as 'show[ing] themselves good men'.¹³ This chapter unpacks the ways in which being 'good [Catholic] men' has changed over the twentieth century, through employment and breadwinning provision, forms of leisure and entertainment, prayer life, familial responsibilities and active citizenship. As the study of this Association

also illustrates, for much of the twentieth century a religiously inflected sociability provided an attractive and useful forum for middle-class Catholic men. Such fraternity sustained, implicitly and unobtrusively, what the layman editor of *The Tablet*, Douglas Woodruff, described at this same banquet as a sociable and ‘sound faith’, outside (if also alongside) church membership¹⁴ in which ‘eating and drinking were auxiliaries to talking’¹⁵ and praying.

A friendly society? The origins of the Catenians and middle-class mutuality

Established in May 1908 in Manchester as the brainchild of two founders of the politically orientated and controversial Salford Catholic Federation (which cut its teeth in opposing the 1906 Education Bill and the perceived threat to voluntary schools),¹⁶ the body initially named the ‘Chums Benevolent Association’ was conceived as a way for a select group of middle-class Catholics to meet socially, to foster occupational interests and to create a mutual benevolence system. With the blessing of the urbane, cosmopolitan and intelligent Bishop Casartelli of Salford,¹⁷ its first meeting was held at Ingham’s Hotel, Chorlton Street, under the Presidency of John O’Donnell – a mill worker in a velvet factory, who through self-education moved into the office and then on to stockbroking. Also present was his friend Thomas Locan (in construction), three men from the textile industry; and John Whittle, who wrote the Constitution and developed the quasi-Masonic (and over time, increasingly sacramental) rituals of signs, regalia and motto: ‘each for all and all for each’.¹⁸ From these humble, aspirationally middle-class beginnings, the Manchester membership roll reached 50 by the end of 1908 and would include prominent Catholics such as Alderman Thompson (Mayor of Eccles) and Daniel McCabe (Mayor of Manchester in 1914).¹⁹ A second ‘Circle’ was opened in London in December 1909 by Edward Hogan of Barnett and he, with four other members, met at the Old Gaiety Club, before enlisting 21 more ‘Brothers’ within a year, including Sir John Knill, Lord Mayor of London.²⁰ On the insistence of these London members, who tended to be professionals in contrast to the commercial/business orientation of their Northern counterparts, there was a desire to ‘discard what appeared to be a working-class and socially immature title and adopt one more appropriate to an organization of aspiring and ambitious Catholic men’.²¹ This resulted in a name change in 1910 to the ‘The Catenian Association’ (from the Latin for

chain) and an annual subscription set at 21 shillings – around a month’s pay for a working-class man if calibrated against the newly introduced (but measly) provisions within the Old Age Pension Act 1908.²² To these subscription costs were added dining charges and outlays for membership regalia, which in a report dated around 1917 from the Bradford Circle were estimated to cost the princely sum of £7.²³ Unique among Catholic societies in not allowing ordained priests or male religious to become members, nor even permitting the appointment of a clerical chaplain, from 1910 the Association’s ‘benign influence’ quickly spread to urban centres in which there were critical concentrations of Catholics. Early Circles were established in Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle, Blackburn, Hull, Sheffield, Birmingham and Glasgow. By the start of the Great War, there were 27 Circles and 1593 brothers, and by the war’s conclusion the Catenians could boast within their ranks at least four Conservative MPs (including the highly influential Yorkshire grandee and Middle East diplomatic advisor, Sir Mark Sykes).²⁴ In a context in which the middle class generally represented a small proportion of the British population²⁵ – for example, there were a mere 168,000 civil servants in 1914²⁶ – the growth, scale and distribution of the Catenians (in mostly urban, but also rural areas if there was a viable Catholic membership available) was impressive.

Alongside its aim to ‘foster brotherly love among the members’ (in the words of Richard Brosch – longstanding Birmingham Circle President and *Catena* editor for nearly three decades), through ‘consolidating the Catholic laity into a united body for effective action on matters of the moment’,²⁷ other founding members such as W. T. O’Brien thought that the ‘sole reason for the existence of our society ... [was] as a purely Catholics [sic] *Commercial* undertaking’.²⁸ It is clear that economic and intensely hierarchical class considerations were an initial impetus to membership, perhaps as a counter to the highly influential Masonic business networks from which Catholics were precluded.²⁹ As West Brook Perceval, writing for the Salford Diocesan magazine *The Harvest* in 1929, put it:

[I]t is well known that the social and material advantages attaching to membership of some religious denominations are no small factor in their well-being, and bodies such as Freemasons and others make a special feature not only of extending charity to their suffering brethren, but also of exerting influence for the material advantage of their members.³⁰

Very early on in the Association's life, a business directory was developed and the first issues in 1917 of the monthly magazine, *Catena*, included advertisements for the 'favour of your orders', an exhortation to drink 'Treasure Trove whiskey' (supplied by Scora and Oliveri, Wine and Spirit Merchants of Birmingham).³¹ By 1958 *Catena* showcased for its readership the unequivocally upper middle-class status symbols of a Ford consul (from Tate of Leeds)³² and foreign holidays organized by Lep Travel.³³

Despite the vast changes to the organization across the decades which are explored later, the economic benefits of membership undeniably remained an attraction for some members in changed economic circumstances. In 1963, the *Catena* ran an article on the 'misuse of the Directory', reminding all readers that the personal details of fellow Catenians were not to be used 'for the compiling of mailing lists, whether for commercial purposes or for sending out (charitable) appeals'.³⁴ A year later the Bolton Circle investigated 'a brother from Horwich who had the Catenian emblem on his lorries' though 'it was decided that nothing could be done about it'.³⁵ In times of increased occupational hardship and professional redundancies from 1968 onwards, the Catenian network was valued by some men as an essential network for sourcing replacement employment and, well into the 1970s, many Circles had dedicated 'redundancy officers'.³⁶

In many respects, it is tempting to map the origins of the Catenian Association within the broader history of the proliferation of 'friendly societies' over the eighteenth century, culminating with the apex of their influence in the Edwardian period.³⁷ Such an approach would draw a parallel between Catenian and friendly societies' lodge structures, promotion of financial interdependency, collective insurance initiatives and convivial settings.³⁸ Such friendly societies of working-class origin were modelled on Freemasonry and developed highly elaborate ritual activities and regalia,³⁹ centred on male solidarity and a structured sociability with a strong link to locality. As Daniel Weinbren has explored, utilizing material culture sources from the People's History Museum in Manchester and in terms which might be equally applicable to the Catenians, such associations offered the opportunity to be part of a 'divinely approved, well-established, financially secure network which provided social support, employment opportunities ... and the prospect of self-improvement'.⁴⁰ Parallels may also be found in the function of these friendly societies as collectivist alternatives to the trade union movement, often taking up the task of benevolent 'social surveillance' in the promotion of health and

the regulation of morality (particularly in respect of sexual conduct and temperance).⁴¹

There are crucial differences, however, as unlike the friendly societies (which despite their aspirations to cross-class divisions remained predominantly working-class and workplace based), the national Catenian Association was confined to Catholic laymen who were members of professions or engaged in lucrative commercial pursuits. In his early history of the Association published in 1929, West Brook Perceval triumphantly celebrated the expansion of the Catenians throughout London and the Home Counties, following the extension of the railways, new housing and the movement of middle-class Catholics into commuter suburbs, concluding that ‘only a generation back, the Catholic middle class in this country was almost a negligible quantity, whereas now it is growing very rapidly and in the near future should be a most powerful agency in Catholic life’.⁴² As one of the Association’s member-historians rightly observed in his 1982 commemorative publication, the rapid initial growth of the Catenians and the transformation of its membership across the decades may be viewed as ‘a microcosm of the development of the Catholic middle class’.⁴³ Early members, such as Mancunian Brother William O’Dea, seemed to agree. In his *Retrospective and Prospective* (1919) and with evident self-satisfaction, O’Dea glibly concluded that ‘there is nothing in the [Catholic] stock that condemns them to a pick-and-shovel cast or dooms them to serve forever at the tail end of a wheelbarrow’.⁴⁴ Alongside these celebrations of an (implicitly migrant, Irish-Catholic) entrepreneurialism and hard-working enterprise, strains of middle-class Catenian rhetoric also revelled in the strategic recollections of penal suppression,⁴⁵ for example celebrating ‘the blood of the martyrs in two members’ from Accrington.⁴⁶ By the middle of the twentieth century, through appeal to the recusant past of former Grand Presidents,⁴⁷ and the strategic use of some venues with (pre-Reformation) histories and connotations,⁴⁸ some within the Association were also keen to highlight the indigenous longevity and aristocratic legitimacy of English Catholicism. The Catenians had become more confident in asserting the place of Catholicism within the elements of the British establishment.

By the late 1950s there were 171 Circles and over 7300 members,⁴⁹ and while growth in England slowed in the 1960s and 1970s, it was counteracted by rapid expansion throughout the Commonwealth and former Empire, most markedly in Australia.⁵⁰ At the turn of the twenty-first century, the Association has over 11,000 members and 334 Circles throughout the world,⁵¹ outlasting more traditionally constituted

friendly societies whose purposes were usurped by the development of modern, centralized and publically organized social welfare and radical changes in working-class culture.⁵² Aside from such class-based differentials, it is also important to recognize the aspirations of the Catenian Association beyond material advancement and a narrow, homosocial conviviality. The second stated aim of the Association was to 'strengthen family life through friendship and faith'.⁵³ Within the induction ceremony for newly approved members, aspirants pledged their adherence to the exhortation (written by founding Mancunian member, Thomas Locan):

In your domestic relationships we look to find you, if husband, affectionate and trustful; if father, regardful of the moral and material well-being of your children and dependents; if son, dutiful and exemplary; as a friend, steadfast and true. These qualities will dignify our Association and extend its benign influence.⁵⁴

The ideal Catenian was a reliable breadwinner of good material prospects and a man exhibiting cordiality and moral stability, but also a good Catholic father, husband and friend. The role of his faith in supporting and sustaining these social, relational and spiritual demands upon the Catenian should not be underestimated and, while a Christian foundation was implicit within many of the Victorian friendly societies, within the Association (as will be explored further) middle-class and Catholic-inflected social and cultural mores were paramount.

Catholic men – Wining, dining and at leisure

From this brief overview, it is clear that one of the enduring attractions of membership of the Catenian Association has been the opportunity it provided for an unabashedly male and respectable sociability. Reviewing the terms of the formal 'Initiation Ceremony' used in 1953, for example, prospective Catenian 'Brothers' were advised:

We are united not only for the wise purpose of helping each other commercially as far as we possibly can and to assist those who require our aid, but for moderate enjoyment, friendly intercourse and temperate interchange of social feeling.⁵⁵

The stress on 'moderate enjoyment' was a feature right from its foundation – Charles Holt (the fifth enrolled member) identified a

disciplined temperance as the chief objective of the Association with members restricted to two drinks per meeting.⁵⁶ This prescription was later reduced to one,⁵⁷ in spite of the standard location of most Catenian Circle meetings, then and now, in the public house – a space traditionally associated with often-excessive working-class male leisure activities.⁵⁸ Early monthly Circle meetings consisted of Association business, light entertainment, and concluded with a discussion or lecture. Reports in *Catena*, which included monthly summaries of Circle activities, gave details of whist drives, musical evenings (often self-generated), dinners and picnics, as well as lectures (usually with an adult education flavour) by eminent speakers such as Hilaire Belloc.⁵⁹ Speakers were not always prominent Catholic intellectuals, but their subjects were usually highly topical, such as the presentation on psychoanalysis given to the Bolton Circle in 1926 by the Headmaster of Thornleigh Salesian College, Father Walsh.⁶⁰

Across the decades, forms of leisure expanded to include charabanc trips (an annual event for the Wigan Circle between 1922 and 1932),⁶¹ wireless evenings in Waterloo and Glasgow,⁶² and the creation of sporting societies in the tradition of ‘muscular Christianity’ but with the more recent social imprimatur of a disciplined, scientific ‘management of the body’.⁶³ Inter-Catenian cricket and golf matches were started after World War I and the inaugural national cricket tournament began in 1929. Musical theatre also remained a favourite collective outing for many Catenian Circles, illustrating the strong interest in amateur dramatics that crossed classes in the first half of the twentieth century,⁶⁴ and epitomized by Bolton Circle’s regular patronage of St Edmund’s Operatic Society for performances of *Iolanthe* (1947), the *Mikado* (1949) and *HMS Pinafore* in 1950. Local innovations in leisure activities also emerged, such as the annual St Helen’s ‘Catenians versus Masons’ bowling match from 1930 onwards⁶⁵ and the motor-car treasure hunt from 1959⁶⁶ which continued in many Circles well into the 1990s.⁶⁷

Throughout the Association’s long history, most of its varying core leisure-based activities have been confined to an exclusively and unabashedly homosocial arena. The founding Manchester Circle held its first ‘Ladies Evening’ in 1910,⁶⁸ but in many places it was not until the late 1920s that Catenian wives were routinely invited to annual dinners or permitted to accompany Brothers on occasional outings.⁶⁹ After World War II, in a context that prioritized the reconstruction of family life, optional family-orientated activities became more common, such as the ‘Caravanning Fellowship’ established in 1969 by Brother Phil Scott of the Birmingham Circle which began with a collective Catenian outing

to Alton Towers!⁷⁰ These were, however, mostly tangential occasions to the main meetings and social calendar of Association. In line with the continuance of other longstanding and gender-exclusive religious associations (like the Union of Catholic Mothers),⁷¹ the Association has not yet felt compelled to justify explicitly its position that mutually supportive activity, a tailored male spirituality and, indeed, gendered socialization, is best attained in a single-sex setting. A limited critique of the male-only character of the Catenians was voiced in March 1977 when John O'Callaghan of the Southport Circle wrote a letter to urge the formation of 'Catenian women's councils'. He said:

I suggest the setting up of a completely separate ladies' council ... This would bring together Catenian women with a common bond, where the social and moral affairs of the day, as they affect them and their families, could be discussed at some length. There is here a powerful and untapped Catenian linked source of moral rearmament.⁷²

This limited proposal for segregated cooperation was not greeted warmly at the time, and while there have been some local initiatives which proceeded independently of this call – with wives of members of Doncaster Circle holding monthly meetings since 1950 and a 'Catenian Ladies Association' founded in Bournemouth in 1965⁷³ – there has surprisingly been little impetus or external pressure to incorporate women within the organization itself. The discussions that have ensued have mostly centred on the question of helping the wives of deceased brothers, with an appeal by the President in 1981 for the establishment of a separate organization for Catenian widows.⁷⁴ At the present time, nearly all Circles have economic and social support mechanisms for Catenian widows and continue to invite those women bereaved to functions intended for Brothers and spouses.⁷⁵ Despite these concessions, in the most recent survey of members' views (2002) there was unabated general agreement for continuation of the principle that women should not be allowed to join the Association in their own right, although a number of Circles suggested a periodic review of such sentiments in future years.⁷⁶

In some respects, male-orientated Catenian activities did not vary tremendously from many other religious associations⁷⁷ or, indeed, 'secular' working-class leisure groups from the Edwardian period into the post-World War II years. The Catholic Federation, for example, also offered male members debating opportunities, a rambling club, a library and organized visits to London, as well as pilgrimages to Lourdes and

Oberammergau.⁷⁸ Catenian Circles tended to differentiate themselves, however, in the scale and formality of many of their social occasions, epitomized by an annual round of extravagant dinners and balls in black tie (such as those which Bishop Cashman castigated in 1966). Luncheon clubs in Liverpool and London were established very early on in the Association's history to cater for weekday sociability and a break from the office.⁷⁹ The annual New Year dinner of the Burnley and Accrington Circles in 1957, at which the Bishop of Salford was lavishly entertained, made the pages of the *Accrington Observer and Times* newspaper. The reporter took evident pleasure in describing 'a groaning board surmounted by a boar's head, varieties of fish and meats, sandwiches and a large cake decorated with the emblem of the Organisation'.⁸⁰ In a similar vein (but with a national invitation list), the diamond jubilee of the Association was celebrated by all Catenians with finery and much feasting at the exclusive Guild Hall venue in London.⁸¹ Reflecting in 1958 on the outlay required in fulfilment 'of his financial and social obligations to his Circle, not forgetting the ladies' [functions]', Brother F. L. Lofthouse from Manchester estimated a price of £100 per annum and linked this 'costly membership' to the loss of good potential members – chiefly young men with family obligations, for whom this considerable figure prohibited membership.⁸² Others were less critical, using humour and gentle self-parody to reflect on the temperament and generational profile attracted by this emphasis on wining and dining. Brother Bill Wright's illustrated 'Impressions of Personalities at the Weybridge Circle's Annual Dinner and Dance on St Valentine's Night', reproduced in the April 1963 edition of *Catena* (Illustration 2.1), featured not a few striking personalities sporting moustaches and smoking cigars.⁸³ The year following, he commemorated the visit of Weybridge Brothers to the Kingston Circle with another pen drawing,⁸⁴ illustrating archetypal exemplars of the middle-class men who comprised member Circles in suburban London and commuter Surrey.

'Dressing up' and elaborate, highly ritualized forms of entertainment did not, however, always involve the wearing of a tuxedo – in a highly performative, self-conscious fashion, Brother Catenians sometimes 'slummed it' (and 'had a brew' as an alternative to quaffing fine wine or champagne). Hosting the annual "'Obos", Op and Tramps' Supper' in 1959, at which 'collars and ties precluded the wearers from admission', the President B. J. Rayment and Vice-President E. E. Maltby of the Brighton Regency Circle (No. 166) suggestively illustrated that an occasional (and highly controlled) subversion of Catenian norms of dress code could have its attractions (Illustration 2.2).⁸⁵



Illustration 2.1 Catenian personalities from the Weybridge Circle wining, dining (and smoking). *Catena*, April 1963, p. 97

More often than not, however, the fascination of regimented and collectively distinctive ‘dressing up’ was channelled through elaborate and hierarchically distinctive Catenian regalia and rituals established from the foundation of the Association. In the same issue of *Catena* which celebrated the Brighton ‘Hobos’, previous pages featured an article on ‘The “Holy Land” of Walsingham’, with photos of be-suited Catenian men with their sashes⁸⁶ and other distinguishing regalia carrying a replica of the famous medieval Marian statue in a reinvented pre-Reformation procession through this tiny Norfolk village.⁸⁷

In the early years of its foundation it was taken for granted that an Association like the Catenians – like most friendly societies with their banners and rituals – would adopt a ‘uniform’, use distinctive titles for office bearers and utilize initiation signs (such as the ritual ‘salute’ – which was made by placing the index finger under the lapel, with the clenched fist over one’s heart – or the crossing of arms to form a ‘chain of Brotherhood’ as a sign of peace). Details of regalia, on which there was considerable expenditure, are sparse within the literature. Such insignia and invented (often militaristic) traditions, especially for male associations or boys clubs such as the Scouts, were not novel or problematic in Edwardian Britain.⁸⁸ By the 1960s there was a greater openness about such regalia – alongside longstanding use of ribbon sashes and the



Illustration 2.2 “‘Obos’, Op and Tramps’ Supper’ (1959), Brighton Regency Circle (No. 166). *Catena*, March 1958, p. 61

neck-chains of Office, the Association commissioned ‘blue or maroon’ Catenian striped bow ties from ‘Harrington’s Gentleman’s Outfitters’⁸⁹ and bespoke lapel badges that cost a guinea. In a letter to *Catena* in 1964, Brother Fred Bentley, from a Circle in Lancashire, lamented that such lapel badges were worn only by a minority, exclaiming: ‘Rotarians proudly tell the world of their membership of the association, as do the Buffs, the Foresters and the “Ban the Bomb” supporters – but not us.’⁹⁰ Within this eclectic survey of diverse forms of associational culture is an implicit insecurity about the relevance of old-style hierarchies (and the Catenian cause itself) in the socially progressive milieu of 1960s Britain.

From the late 1950s, questions were increasingly being asked about the utility and continuing attractiveness of these ceremonials, particularly to a younger (and more numerous) generation of Catholic men who might be eligible for admission in contrast to their more

working-class fathers. Extended commentary in *Catena* examined misgiving that the salute was 'childish' but dismissed the critique, voiced in some quarters, that 'to conduct meetings in ceremonial form and to clothe the ceremony in solemn and dignified language' was no longer appropriate.⁹¹ This stimulated a lively correspondence, such as a letter from Brother Leonard Ross in Shrewsbury titled 'Ritual: Criticism without Disloyalty', which took up an editorial paralleling Catenian ritual with the liturgy of the Church. He concluded: 'We must regard our ritual with respect, yes: but not with awe. Even the liturgy of the Church can be altered by the Church and there have been big changes in recent years'.⁹² These 'winds of change', following on from the 1957 revision of the Catenian Manual's opening prayers for the sick and deceased to strip out 'Edwardian extravagances',⁹³ were an anticipation of a wholesale critique of Catenian ritual and regalia in the early 1960s. Indeed such self-examination and renewal paralleled the broader transformations of liturgical form and devotional practice within the Catholic Church associated by many with the Second Vatican Council.⁹⁴ Taking up the gauntlet of those who contended that Catenian protocols left them 'ill-at-ease and embarrassed', Bernard Cuming of South London (Circle 10) damned Catenian ritual as 'vastly overdone ... [with] a faint odour of Freemasonry' and continued:

Is it really necessary for a number of gentlemen, often middle-aged and frequently (as I am) on the portly side, to link hands across their chests and form a chain with, alas, in so many cases, bulging eyes and indrawn breath? Does it add anything to our dignity that our officers wear beautiful variegated scarfs? In particular, can we not get rid, once and for all, of that sort of Boy Scout salute? ... Please do not let us adhere to our present ritual merely because we dare not break with a tradition which was launched in the formal days of the early twentieth century.⁹⁵

Even correspondents like David J. Bannon from North Manchester, who urged 'let us hold fast to our ritual, but let it be carried out properly and with dignity', acknowledged that the salute should be abolished as 'meaningless'.⁹⁶ Popular sentiment seemed to be in favour of change, with Brother Bernard Daly moving a motion at the AGM in Torquay in 1964 for 'a simplification of ritual and regalia, the abolition of the Salute and a possible reduction in the number of Circle officers'.⁹⁷ A national questionnaire confirmed these demands; the salute was abandoned in 1965 and more informal procedures for Circle meetings incorporated into the 1968 *Manual of Procedure*.⁹⁸

Speaking at the Golden Jubilee Banquet in 1958, the editor of the influential Catholic weekly *The Tablet* drily prodded the Catenians assembled to reflect on their wining, dining and socialising to ensure the continuing cultivation of 'a high idea of the importance of meeting, conversation and talk' as 'there was scriptural authority; "let your conversation be in heaven"'.⁹⁹ Reflecting on the abatement of the anti-Catholic sentiment that had prompted, in part, the Association's foundation in 1908, he exhorted Catenians to reflect on

another and subtler danger that Catholics would be swamped by secular influences playing upon them by press and books and radio and television ... The Association in its second 50 years would have more to do in counteracting that, keeping Catholics together and keeping public opinion inside the Church.¹⁰⁰

This prognosis of the challenges facing Catholics in the second half of the twentieth-century, and the ways in which the Catenian Association would need to adapt to address the challenges to family life and faith, are explored in the next section. It led to much soul searching and experimentation within the Association in terms of its *raison d'être*, including a re-examination of the restrictions in its early days on 'Catholic Action' or 'political activity' as well as its spiritual function as a society of Catholic men. By the late 1970s, not all Catholic commentators were convinced that their remained a role for a denominationally exclusive, male-only, class-based and invitation-only Association chiefly orientated to 'dressing up' and epicurean leisure. As an acerbic and highly critical commentator wrote in the Liverpool-based *Catholic Pictorial* in 1978, which opened with the suggestion of donating all monies spent on regalia to the Catholic international aid agency founded in 1960, CAFOD:

It would be cheap and nasty to suggest that old snide – a Catenian was a failed Freemason ... But then I am cheap and nasty. ... The Catenians are outdated. Their society – with cash and social position as a prerequisite – was always one of the Church's less savoury limbs. Today the Society is a total anachronism.

Let the Catenians take a leaf from the good Knights – the Knights of St Columba.¹⁰¹

Long ago now, or so it seems, they had the good sense to abandon the frolics of secrecy and enter into the work of the Church ... Perhaps the Catenians could wrest themselves away from solid

dinners with solid folk and give something of themselves instead of their cash. It would stop scandal. And think of the warm glow. As costly as any after-dinner Havana taken under the benevolent eye of a chaplain imported to add dignity to a right old binge.¹⁰²

Three decades later in the *Project 2008* report – an initiative of the Catenian Grand Council to reflect on the centenary of the organization and its aims and objectives for the future – subject groups were set up and ordinary members democratically invited to make formal submissions on a variety of issues. Over 25 per cent of the total membership responded¹⁰³ with one of the most controversial aspects centred on populist, grass-roots resistance to the proposed change of the ‘crossing of arms’ ritual to a simple handshake.¹⁰⁴ While there was a majority consensus that Catenian Circles should have more low-cost functions aimed at the young (and non-Catenians), regular speakers after Circle meetings to enliven proceedings¹⁰⁵ and greater numbers of family-orientated activities, the report also elicited strong agreement that unabashedly male-only social functions remained an ‘important part of Catenian fellowship’.¹⁰⁶ Well into its second century, the Association retains a sense that a ‘religious sociability’ centred on homosocial meetings, talking and male friendship lie at the core of its self-identity and lay mission within the Church.

Praying and paying: Male religiosity and the lay apostleship

It used to be disparagingly said of the laity in the pre-conciliar Catholic Church that their chief religious obligations could be reduced to ‘praying and paying’. Yet this description, without the associated pejorative overtones, does seem an apt description of another facet of the Catenian life across the organization’s history. While there is no express mention of religious activity within the Constitution (as rewritten over the years), implicit within the Association’s aims and objectives is an underlying commitment to the development and strengthening of members’ Catholic identities.¹⁰⁷ Men from the London Circle first articulated this awareness when introducing opening prayers to the Holy Ghost before their meeting business, and the Southampton Circle was the first to add the *De Profundis* (Psalm 130), increasingly associated with World War I remembrance.¹⁰⁸ These prayers were nationally mandated for all Circles in 1923, with controls for subsequent additions to the ‘printed prayer cards’ in the years following.¹⁰⁹ From 1921, *Catena* began to report on

Rosary Sundays, retreats and Annual Communion Masses (with large turn outs in Birmingham and Surrey).¹¹⁰ An unnamed parish priest wrote to the magazine to commend as 'a striking act of faith and devotion', the 'edifying sight' for priest and congregation of Catenians going 'in a body to the altar rails on Low Sunday'.¹¹¹ Services for deceased brothers were held in 1920 in Westminster Cathedral (and continue today),¹¹² and in 1927 Saints Peter and Paul were adopted as patrons, with an annual Mass during their Octave for Circle Presidents commencing their term of office.¹¹³ In the context of this more explicit religious activity across a number of Catenian Circles throughout England W. B. Perceval, in his short historical survey of the Association in 1929, restated that the Catenians were 'neither a religious nor a charitable confraternity, and apart from the admission test of being a practising Catholic, no special religious duties are demanded from members'.¹¹⁴ Concerned to keep membership as wide and attractive as possible to the majority of men within a growing Catholic middle class, Perceval's underplaying of the role of religion within the pages of the Diocesan magazine itself was self-interested and somewhat disingenuous.

Increasingly towards the middle of the twentieth century, glancing references to the religious lives of ordinary members can be gleaned from the official record. This is perhaps best exemplified by Brother Gordon Smith and others from the Norwich Circle, who insisted on reviving the first ever national pilgrimage to Walsingham (against some internal Catenian opposition) in 1934.¹¹⁵ The pilgrimage became an annual event (with the exception of the war years), and in 1958 an illustrated souvenir programme was distributed to the 650 pilgrims who had gifted expensive red vestments to the shrine to celebrate the Jubilee pilgrimage.¹¹⁶ That same year *Catena* reproduced an image of 'Our Lady of Walsingham' which Brother Dave O'Connell had been commissioned to paint for the Martyrs' church in Eltham.¹¹⁷ Other Catenians, such as the sculptor Brother Lindsey-Clark, combined a commitment to Catholic sociability with a deep spirituality as a Carmelite tertiary and sought to express his faith in material form. Drawing upon his training at the Royal Academy and an artistic reputation established through sculpting a variety of World War I memorials, Lindsey-Clarke acquired numerous ecclesiastical commissions in later life including at Aylesford Priory, his sculptural rendering of St George in the Chapel of St George and the English Martyrs (in Westminster Cathedral), and, as a *Catena* photograph featured, a statue of St. Bernadette for a church in Scunthorpe when nearly 70.¹¹⁸ Devotion to St George as a 'manly', chivalric and 'patriotic' saint was urged upon all *Catena* readers in



Illustration 2.3 Catenian Christmas Card. *Catena*, January 1956, p. 16

a 1959 Editorial which encouraged local Circles to tackle ‘religious indifference’ and ‘national apathy’ by doing honour to this military martyr on a scale similar to the Irish and Scots ‘who celebrate their saint’s days with unaffected gusto the world over’.¹¹⁹ Other hints of a Catenian-inspired spirituality (and wry sense of humour) included a 1956 anonymously illustrated Christmas card by an ‘artist of repute, Brother X’ in which the fraternal objectives of the Association (and the season of ‘love and understanding’) were subjected to realistic critique with Catenian insignia given central place in the tussle between sin and sanctity (Illustration 2.3).¹²⁰

More practically in the postwar years, the Shrewsbury Circle undertook numerous ‘poor parish visits’ to isolated rural priests and parishioners who welcomed the bolstering company of co-religionists,¹²¹ and Province 11 (encompassing a cluster of Circles in the South of England) introduced collective retreats from 1948¹²² as well as the inaugural ‘Catholic People’s Week’ at which Catenian members, wives and families gathered for prayer, discussion and social activity in Ramsgate.¹²³ As other scholars of Catholic manliness in the pre-Vatican II period have observed in different national contexts, male spirituality was often expressed with reference to public Marian devotions (and displays of paternal protection and strength, such as the carriage of large crosses or statues in procession),¹²⁴ as well as male forms of sanctity (often with military connotations). However, as this brief survey suggestively sketches, from

the period after World War II these emphases were displaced by a more family-orientated, domestically located spirituality and men's place outside *and* within the home as parental role models.¹²⁵

Alongside this developing postwar religiosity there was a strong Catholic, family-focused charitable ethos built into the work of the Catenian Association from the outset. A benevolent fund for Catenian wives and children was established in 1910 and one of the first grants of £5 from the Manchester general funds was given to the 'widow and family of Brother Callaghan' (London Circle) 'left in very straitened circumstances'.¹²⁶ Such a financial safety net proved invaluable after the Great War and into the Depression, when the Association procured a "'good Catholic home" for the son of a deceased Brother so that he could complete his apprenticeship'¹²⁷ or paid £250 in increments to a 'wife and three children without means' to ensure their education.¹²⁸ The potential extension of benefits to the wife and children of a Catenian brother fallen upon hard times or suffering unemployment (alongside instances of grave illness or death), which served as a vicarious, fraternal substitution for breadwinner provision, differentiated the Association from most other friendly societies.¹²⁹ These benevolent activities of the organization towards its membership and their families have continued unabated throughout its more than one hundred years,¹³⁰ yet from the 1950s there was a concern to ensure that its considerable financial resources were also utilized outside Catenian Circles. Catholic education, in a variety of guises (as explored later) became a key focal point for such initiatives, but extensive funds were also made available over the years for pilgrimage to Lourdes, with the Bolton Circle providing £6.16.0 in 1964 to help sick parishioners to go to France,¹³¹ and the combined efforts of Accrington, Burnley, Blackburn, Chorley and Broughton-in-Craven Circles in 1976 sponsoring a new luxury and adapted coach/ambulance – the 'Mark II Jumblance' – for pilgrimage purposes.¹³²

Nevertheless, from the late 1950s, it is possible to discern an increasingly restless questioning within the Association of whether such gentle encouragements of Catholic faith and contributions to selected charitable causes remained sufficient inducements for membership, as 'Catenianism makes few demands on its members except that they should carry out their obligations and practice the Christian virtues'.¹³³ A letter of G. A. Booth of Maidstone in 1958 seemed to articulate this growing sense that something additional to an 'indirect apostolate' was needed, and under the title 'Catenians in Action' he argued that 'in these days something more than a monthly social gathering is needed, to use

to the full the great but dormant potential of the Association to do even more for Catholicism'.¹³⁴ This self-critique marked, in many ways, the reanimation of old (and formerly settled) questions about the relationship of the Association to 'Catholic Action' (CA) – defined by Pope Pius XI in 1922 as the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy when undertaking work on the direction or mandate of a bishop in fields of dogma, morals, education and charity.¹³⁵ In an English Catholic context, organizations such as the Young Christian Workers,¹³⁶ the Catholic Social Guild¹³⁷ and the Catholic Evidence Guild,¹³⁸ all founded at the beginning of the twentieth century, explicitly promoted such initiatives and combined Catholicism (usually in a male, working-class guise) with forms of social and political action. In its early decades, the stance of the Association in respect of 'Catholic Action' was marked by profound ambivalence, considerable anxiety and seeming contradictions. Members were not prohibited from concurrent membership of such CA societies, or indeed from activity in the wider political arena in an individual capacity, but in 1937 the Association reaffirmed its self-understanding as a 'Catholic fraternity in its fullest sense', which might be a 'force in the nation's middle class life'.¹³⁹ Nevertheless, as this statement continued: 'in this filtration [members] are carrying the banner of Catholic Action boldly in front of them, not as Catenians but as Catholic laymen' whose 'consciousness of their ability to do so has been clarified and strengthened by their Catenianism'.¹⁴⁰ Such strained distinctions were often blurred in practice, particularly in the area of Catenian cooperation in Catholic education initiatives which were a focus of local Circle activities from their inception. From its Catholic Federation precursors through to the extensive emphasis on school fees and scholarship provision for members' families from the 'The Children's Fund',¹⁴¹ Catenians were at the forefront of championing (and funding) rapidly expanding Catholic secondary provision in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁴²

Symptomatic of changing attitudes to the 'Association in action' from the middle of the century was the stance taken by prominent Catenians such as John Finian, W. E. Critchley and C. H. Sheill (of the North-West London Circle and the driving force behind the Catholic Parents' and Teachers' Association), who mobilized every Catenian Circle in 1943 to write in protest to Rab Butler about proposed changes to grant aid and mandated non-denominational acts of worship within all British schools.¹⁴³ In the years following World War II, increasing Catholic educational mobility through the grammar system prompted a reoriented focus on tertiary education and, interestingly, some overlap with the Catholic Social Guild (despite its more leftist politics).

This took the form of the provision of a scholarship (from 1950 onwards) at the Catholic Workers' College, an adult educational establishment in Oxford modelled on Ruskin College offering further education with an emphasis on Catholic social teaching, to those who had missed out on tertiary educational opportunities.¹⁴⁴ By 1962 there were 11 funded male graduates, and continuing impetus for the donation of £2 and 2 shillings from each Circle to subsidize a bursary annually.¹⁴⁵

The questions posed with increasing urgency in *Catena* from 1959 onwards, exemplified by E. Cullen of Leeds' observation that 'we do not make sufficient appeal to individuals to join us in a worthwhile cause [so] as a body let us do something more than eat and drink together',¹⁴⁶ erupted on the magazine's pages in early 1962 – a mere few months before the opening session of the Second Vatican Council. This was prompted by an address at a Catenian banquet in Brighton at which the Bishop of Menevia characterized the issue of University Chaplaincies and their funding as 'a national problem [which] would never be satisfactorily settled unless some influential body took it in hand'.¹⁴⁷ Over the next two years the Association self-reflexively intertwined emerging Conciliar thinking on an enhanced role for the laity (beyond liturgical passivity and undue deference for clerical hierarchies)¹⁴⁸ with the practical question of spiritual provision at the Universities in Liverpool, Manchester,¹⁴⁹ Leeds, Sussex and Oxford (where Catenians J. R. R. Tolkein and Frank Pakenham, later Earl of Longford were prominent members).¹⁵⁰

Passionate commentary and correspondence in *Catena* identified Chaplaincy funding as our 'new cause, a new *raison d'être*',¹⁵¹ and an 'ambitious scheme ... [tapping] true Catenian spirit' in providing for 'the spiritual needs of the rising undergraduate generation'.¹⁵² Elsewhere, more conservative-minded Catenians advocated this unprecedented public activity and considerable expenditure as a way to 'prevent sexual immorality among students' and to address the 'dangers of leakage from the church'.¹⁵³ An editorial in *Catena* in 1964 celebrated this movement away from a pre-war "'cosy" Catenianism' to a 'rather different brand ... with the emphasis on informality and on doing things rather than just sitting back and enjoying fraternal contacts'.¹⁵⁴ A scheme negotiated by the Catenian Association's ruling body and all Bishops of England and Wales emerged in 1964, committing both parties to raising £1–2 million towards a nationally coordinated Chaplaincy initiative under Trust deed.¹⁵⁵ The membership body, with some caution,¹⁵⁶ endorsed the scheme in early 1965 in a vote in which only 54 per cent of the total membership participated, but 76 per cent of ballots endorsed the scheme.¹⁵⁷

The last-minute and unexpected decision of the Bishops to pull out of the scheme and revert to differentiated diocesan arrangements in June 1965 was greeted with disbelieving derision in a *Catena* editorial, which spoke of members' 'grievous disappointment' but the need to 'swallow any resentments they may feel at the dashing of their hopes'.¹⁵⁸ In an accompanying report Grand Secretary Laurie Tanner spoke of his 'personal distress' at this 'shattering news', but identified the 'greatest tragedy ... [as] the lost opportunity for the first time in this country of the laity and the Hierarchy tackling a great problem in a true and trustful partnership'.¹⁵⁹ Correspondence in the months following denounced Episcopal 'discourtesy' and distrust of 'an active, educated laity': '[W]e are deemed to be just a bunch of laymen of no particular importance: our only significance ... is to pay up in the matter prescribed' but '[we] get above ourselves when we express ideas on such problems as the spiritual and moral well-being of Catholic undergraduates and graduates'.¹⁶⁰

In the decades following, the consequences of this episode were an unconscious retreat into more localized, Catenian-focused charitable initiatives, falling membership and an insular, Circle-focused sociability. However, from the late 1970s onwards, a new phase in the Association's history (and wider changes in British society) have led to a re-emphasis upon the responsibilities that Catenians articulated in their initiation ceremonies as (Catholic) fathers and family men. In a differentiated rhetoric from that fashionable in the 1950s, but nevertheless with some marked continuities, the Association is again increasingly promoting a family-based, domesticated male spirituality and paternity in the context of wider societal interrogations of marriage, sexuality and the place of religion in British society.

Men in the mould of Thomas More: Catenian domesticity and the 'spiritual dimension'

The foundational expectation, articulated in the initiation exhortation that Catenians should be 'affectionate and trustful' husbands and mindful of the 'moral and material well-being' of their children and dependents, has always played a key role in the Association's self-understanding, charitable exertions and family-orientated social initiatives. However, from the 1950s this pledge to exemplary 'domestic relationships' began to take more explicit and concrete form in the work of Major G. J. Graham-Green (of the Wimbledon Circle),¹⁶¹ who set up the lay-run Catholic Marriage Advisory Council (CMAC), with financial support from fellow Catenians and offices provided by a Jewish friend.

Echoing (and indeed influencing) other societal initiatives in postwar reconstruction centred on family life and a revived Christianity¹⁶² such as the much better-known National Marriage Guidance movement under the auspices of churchmen Herbert Gray and David Mace,¹⁶³ Catenians were often crucial volunteers within the CMAC. For example, at an important centre in Birmingham (the third established after the London and Manchester-based offices) during the initial years all voluntary male counsellors were Catenians.¹⁶⁴ The same could be observed nationally – Brother Alan Rebello of the Accrington Circle was awarded a papal Benemerenti medal for his services to the CMAC, before being made a Knight of the Order of St Gregory the Great in recognition of his efforts over decades as a voluntary medical practitioner on the annual Diocesan pilgrimages to Lourdes.¹⁶⁵

Stable married life, and ‘control of fertility’ within it, moved to the centre of Catenian preoccupations – as those of most English Catholics – in the mid-1960s with the expectation of a shift in doctrinal teaching on contraceptive methods alongside the modernization of the Church accompanying the Second Vatican Council. *Catena* included book reviews of influential tomes such as *Handbook for the Catholic Nurse*, and Monsignor George Kelly’s *Birth Control and Catholics*,¹⁶⁶ and Laurie Tanner’s mostly welcoming but provocative opinion piece ‘Freedom and Authority – The Wasted Years’ which included a forthright condemnation of the church’s stance on birth control as vested in an ‘inaccurate analysis of the purpose of marriage and even of the sexual act itself’.¹⁶⁷ He pointed out:

Once it is appreciated that the primary purpose of marriage is not the biological function but the fostering of mutual love, and when it is seen that the act of intercourse is quite separate and distinct from the act of conception ... a deeper knowledge of sexuality in man will lead in time to a fundamental relaxation in the condemnation of artificial birth control. But in the meantime, in virtue of the rightful magisterium, we must conform with any disciplines they lay on us.¹⁶⁸

Many Catenians, like many English Catholics generally, were therefore profoundly disturbed by the promulgation of Pope Paul VI’s 1968 encyclical *Humanae Vitae*,¹⁶⁹ and a *Catena* editorial headed ‘Crisis of Conscience’ wrote of the ‘agony of mind’ for Catholic married couples who:

Not versed in the finer points of theology ... [confront] problems of an intimate nature, problems they have to grapple with in their

daily lives about which the encyclical, though couched in terms of compassion, offers advice which seems to demand the exercise of heroic virtue.¹⁷⁰

The article concluded that the columns of the magazine would not be opened to correspondence on this issue, implicitly out of deference to the Archbishop of Westminster who called upon Catholic agencies to contain the issue but also recognizing the heated diversity of opinions (inflected through differences of generation and the priority given to conscience) held by Catenian members, as most ordinary parishioners. As the editorial concluded, 'Catholics in Britain are divided as never before since the Reformation' and a confusion of voices in these pages 'would inevitably put strain on brotherly love which is the basis of our Association'.¹⁷¹

After a brief hiatus, tensions in the area of a stable married life and its relationship to Catenian membership re-emerged in the late 1980s, attributable to the rising divorce rates of the previous decade. Acrimonious debates about the 'practising Catholic' criterion for membership and whether such a definition should be determined by an 'objective/legalistic' or 'subjective' test led to the resignation of some divorced Catenians and the denial of membership to others in cases of 'irregular relationships' – explicitly defined as divorced¹⁷² but implicitly including the partnerships of gay Catholics. Recent Catenian publications have continued to stress the degree to which 'Catenianism can help [heteronormative, married] family life, and how families should figure more in our membership',¹⁷³ with a correlative in financial provision for Catholic youth. This support frequently takes the form of funding for 'Lourdes youth pilgrimages', World Youth Day, schools and football clubs – 'where fathers are often involved'.¹⁷⁴

Alongside these tensions within the Association – reflective of changes within wider British society itself around shifting expectations of marriage, the place of sexuality within it and strains on an idealized nuclear family¹⁷⁵ – both the Catenian leadership and the wider membership have reanimated long dormant rhetoric from the early days about the marginalization of members from positions of influence and an embattled Catholicism which should insulate itself from corrupting, secularizing societal values. In a speech at the AGM in Torquay in 1986 titled 'The Challenge Ahead', the Grand President John Tominey underlined the importance of male solidarity 'to pursue lives of greater integrity according to the principles of our Catholic faith', to address the contemporary 'social malaise' and to aid the socialization of children within a Christian framework as 'we must show by our example,

particularly within our own homes, that the living care of good Christian parents is essential for young people and their welfare'.¹⁷⁶ As he concluded in this address: 'We must support fervently the sanctity of marriage and the protection of family life in all its aspects. I believe that such witness is a distinguishing mark of a Catenian.'¹⁷⁷ An expressly spiritual strain, annexed to an emphasis on 'Catholic fatherhood' and parenting,¹⁷⁸ has become more explicit and emphatic within the Association since the late 1970s and has gently modulated 'Christian mutualism' models to take account of women's changing role in the home and the workplace.¹⁷⁹ Initiatives in this vein have included the addition of prayers to Mary within Circle meetings,¹⁸⁰ prayers for Catenian families (on the model of the Holy Family of Nazareth),¹⁸¹ and the adoption of Saint Thomas More as the third patron saint of the Association in 1991, given that he was 'the epitome of a Catholic family and professional man'.¹⁸² Catenians were therefore, unsurprisingly, key representatives and organizational volunteers within the National Pastoral Congress (an unprecedented and unrepeated post-Vatican II synod-like gathering of over 2000 Catholic delegates) in Liverpool in 1980,¹⁸³ and provided an impetus to the Catholic Renewal (or Charismatic) Movement in Britain, fostered through *Catena* advertisements for groups in Newport, Basingstoke and Southern England generally.¹⁸⁴

While more explicitly (and arguably defensively) 'Catholic', the stress on a relaxed 'religious sociability' has remained – in the 1980s and 1990s Catenian and Conservative MP for Hyndburn, Ken Hargreaves, inaugurated annual Masses in the crypt chapel of St Stephen at Westminster (drawing upon a pre-Reformation tradition). Bolton Circle Catenian wives were involved as the lay readers within these liturgies and added incentives to participation were familiar from the dining and fellowship traditions of yesteryear, with lunch afterwards provided at the House of Commons, followed a West End show.¹⁸⁵ This foregrounding and increased emphasis on Catholic formation, catechism and prayer has continued until the present. Within the *Project 2008* report, reviewing the Association's future priorities and vitality, a lengthy section based on over 1300 survey responses was devoted to 'The Spiritual Dimension'. The overarching conclusion of this democratic sounding of members' views was that 'there is strong support for the idea that Catenianism increased our responsibilities towards the faith'.¹⁸⁶ Nearly half of those participating advocated an increasing Associational emphasis upon religiously orientated activities (retreats, pilgrimages, daily Mass) and there was near unanimity in advocating refocused Circle prayers on 'our obligations to the faith, especially in regard to children' and their religious socialization.¹⁸⁷ In their individual capacities as laymen with

parishes, rather than undertaking these tasks as 'known Catenians', virtually all current members self-reported stalwart membership within their local church communities, serving as Holy Communion 'Special Ministers', lay readers or volunteers on various parish committees.¹⁸⁸

Drawing upon the metaphorical (and mixed) legacy of St Thomas More as the newly elevated patron saint of the Association, and the Catenian soul-searching of the second half of the twentieth century, there are various forms of Catholic masculinity proffered to present-day Catenians. Within More's hagiographical legacy centred on monastically influenced spirituality and his martyrdom, strains of an English Catholic reformation history and an emphasis on the courage of adherence to conscience can offer resources from a recusant past to those concerned to tackle a seemingly secular present. In another vein, reading through More's embrace of marriage over the religious life and his middle-class respectability as a lawyer, there is a confirmation of long-standing Catenian self-understandings upon a lay spirituality – distinct from priesthood and celibacy – centred upon professional respectability and breadwinner capabilities. For other members still, More's historical representation as an enlightened patriarch (engaged with his children and educating his daughters in humanist teachings) and as a prominent statesman may resonate with the desires of some Catenians for more family-orientated activities. Particularly through the 1960s, some members sought a more active, publically visible, influential and even political Catholicism. Recollecting the abortive University Chaplaincy initiatives of the 1960s, it is interesting that Catenians now part-finance the National Vocations Initiative. In their economic collaboration with the Bishops of England and Wales in a scheme to encourage clerical vocations (and the cultivation of candidates for the priesthood within the family), the religious socialization of Catholic boys is prioritized with ambiguous, potentially contradictory outcomes. In the continuing existence of this male-only organization, despite the erosion of most homosocial associations within wider British society (and widespread interrogation of traditional, male-only roles within the church), questions remain about the continuing viability of the Association and its relevance to a younger generation of boys and men seeking support in exploring their identities, relationships and faith.

Conclusion

Existing studies of Catholic organizations and the men (including clergy) involved in their success have tended to focus on politically

orientated and working-class 'Catholic Action' initiatives through the lens of institutional church history or an implicit narrative about Catholic 'lay docility'. Moreover, these are often inherently contrasted to an idealized, virile and progressive continental Catholicism expressed in Christian Democratic parties,¹⁸⁹ and Catholic socialism or syndicalism.¹⁹⁰ In contrast, a focus on the Catenian Association can cast new light on the ways in which a substantial and little-studied group of men have negotiated their understandings of Catholic masculinities and their shifting responsibilities as Catholic husbands, fathers, friends and co-religionists across the century. This relatively 'ordinary', grass-roots constituency has, to date, eluded sustained scholarly analysis; these middle-class men (mostly cradle Catholics, and some from immigrant backgrounds) did not move in the elevated circles of Belloc, Chesterton or other Distributists,¹⁹¹ nor socialize with the convert intellectuals writing novels or erudite commentaries.¹⁹² A study of this Association, with its religious dimensions (increasingly stressed in the later years of the twentieth century), but with a predominant emphasis on being 'Catholics at rest', allows for an acknowledgement of male faith (and its expressions) beyond Mass attendance figures and a rigid Weberian/Durkheimian demarcation of the economic and enchanted, the sacred and profane. In the gender-normative assessment of Richard Brosch in 1935, writing as editor of *Catena*, this was a 'practical Catholicism', not of pulpits and platforms but present 'in clubs and cafes, in trams and trains, in offices and workshops' to 'induce a cultured and well informed spirit'.¹⁹³ Two decades later in 1956, Cardinal Griffin (Archbishop of Westminster) would remind Catenians that

yours is something more than a mere Catholic dining club ... and the Catenian Association cover[ed] that part of a man's life which was given to recreation ... not as an end in itself but as a means to strengthening the bond between the members.¹⁹⁴

Through the post-World War II years, and particularly in the period surrounding the Second Vatican Council, English Catholics generally (and Catenians too) felt compelled to look for new solutions to the social, moral and religious problems of the day. The Association took to heart the jeers of detractors that they were a 'mere body of pleasant drinking companions'.¹⁹⁵ The Catenians survived the rocky post-conciliar period and the organization has now stabilized in its mission and membership, helped in considerable part by its expansion and growth beyond English shores (especially now in Goa). Today it is seeking newer

forms of expression, with an emphasis on the ‘spiritual dimension’ and an increasing role for its members as ‘Catholic fathers’ with enhanced parental responsibilities for their children’s (and grandchildren’s) religious socialization, as well as broader Catholic youth initiatives. At root, these are attempts consistent with, but extending, the Association’s original aims – the fostering of ‘brotherly love ... [and] develop[ment of] social bonds among the members and their families’.¹⁹⁶ Within this volume’s broader historical interrogation of men, masculinity and religious change, the present survey has sought to illustrate varying English Catholic masculinities, inflected by considerations of class, ethnicity and political orientation, which the Catenian Association has articulated and sustained. In its nurture and expression of an ‘everyday’ male, lay Catholicism, the history of this comradely Association presents a case study of the mainstreaming and social mobility of English Catholicism. Yet also it also illustrates its distinctiveness, and the diverse forms of spirituality, sociability and rhetorical constructions of Catholic masculinities, family life and fatherhood that the Association continues to inculcate.

Notes

The author would like to thank Jim Quinn, Grand Secretary of the Catenian Association and members of the Association’s Grand Council for permission to undertake this research. Particular thanks are given to Dr James Hagerty (Archivist of the Catenian Association/ACA) for reading a draft of this chapter and for his expert assistance and encouragement throughout. Thanks also to Rev. Dr David Lannon (Archivist of the Diocese of Salford/SDA) for his help in the location and reproduction of the local Catenian histories utilized in this research.

1. P. Lane (1982) *The Catenian Association 1908–1983: A Microcosm of the Development of the Catholic Middle Class* (London: Catenian Association), p. 188.
2. For example Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*), 21 November 1964, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html, accessed 12 November 2012.
3. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 188.
4. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 188.
5. For example, J. Pereiro (1999) ‘Who are the Laity?’ in V. A. McClelland and M. Hodgetts (eds) *From without the Flaminian Gate: 150 Years of Roman Catholicism in England and Wales 1850–2000* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd), pp. 167–91; K. Aspden (2002) *Fortress Church: the English Roman Catholic Bishops and Politics, 1903–1963* (Leominster: Gracewing); P. Doyle (2005) *Mitres and Missions in Lancashire: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Liverpool, 1850–2000* (Liverpool: Blue Coat Press); and S. Fielding (1993) *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880–1939* (Buckingham: Open University Press).

6. C. Brown (2006) *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Pearson Education), p. 125.
7. See also A. Harris (2009) "'A Paradise on Earth, a Foretaste of Heaven": English Catholic Understandings of Domesticity and Marriage, 1945–65', in L. Delap, A. Wills and B. Griffin (eds) *The Politics of Domestic Authority since 1800* (London: Palgrave), pp. 155–81.
8. For a wide-ranging theoretical discussion of the thesis and its limitations, see T. Van Osselaer and T. Buerman (2008) 'Feminization Thesis: A Survey of International Historiography and a Probing of the Belgian Grounds', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 103(2), 1–31.
9. For an extended discussion of this concept and its limitations, see the chapter by Lucy Delap in this volume.
10. See Y. M. Werner (ed.) (2011) *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press) and P. Pasture, J. Art and T. Buerman (eds) (2012) *Gender and Christianity in Modern Europe: Beyond the Feminization Thesis* (Leuven: Leuven University Press).
11. For example, A. Light (1991) *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism Between the Wars* (London: Routledge); M. Roper (2005) 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The 'War Generation' and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1970', *Journal of British Studies*, 44(2), 343–63; and A. Bingham (2004) "'An Era of Domesticity"? Histories of Women and Gender in Interwar Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 1(2), 225–33.
12. M. Francis (2002) 'The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Masculinity', *Historical Journal*, 45(3), 637–52.
13. 'In this Jubilee Year', *Catena*, June 1958, p. 159.
14. In contrast to other Christian denominations, English Catholic mass attendance remained quite high well into the late twentieth century (over 70 per cent), and has been noted as 'exceptional' in its retention of vast numbers of working-class (and male) parishioners. Numerical decline commenced from the late 1960s. See G. Parsons (1988) 'Emotion and Piety: Revivalism and Ritualism in Victorian Christianity', in G. Parsons (ed.) *Religion in Victorian Britain: Traditions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 213–34; and on mass attendance decline to the present, see T. Horwood (2006) *The Future of the Catholic Church in England* (London: Laicos Press).
15. 'In this Jubilee Year', p. 162.
16. P. Doyle (1986) 'The Catholic Federation 1906–1929', in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds) *Voluntary Religion (Studies in Church History, Volume 23)* (Worcester: Blackwell), pp. 461–76.
17. See M. J. Broadley (2006) *Louis Charles Casartelli: A Bishop in War and Peace* (Knoxville, TN: Koinonia Books).
18. There are two institutional histories of the Catenian Association: see Lane, *Catenian*; and J. Hagerty (2007) *The Catenian Association: A Centenary History 1908–2008* (Evesham: John F. Neale).
19. Hagerty, *Catenian*, pp. 12, 75.
20. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 13.
21. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 1.
22. I. Gazeley (2003) *Poverty in Britain 1900–1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan) p. 14.

23. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 46.
24. Others included Major Patrick Malone (Conservative MP for South Tottenham); Augustine Hailwood (Conservative MP for Ardwick) and Sir Nicholas Grattan-Doyle (Conservative MP for Newcastle North until 1940): Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 75. This may be contrasted with another association founded in 1909 in Manchester, the Catholic Social Guild, with a sympathetic attitude to the Labour Party and socialism: see J. Keating (1994) 'The Making of a Catholic Labour Activist: The Catholic Social Guild and the Catholic Workers' College 1909–39', *Labour History Review*, 59(3), 44–56.
25. On the difficulties of defining 'class', but a discussion of various indices which tend towards the view that the working class were around three quarters of the population until the latter half of the twentieth century, see J. Bourke (1994) *Working Class Cultures in Britain 1890–1960: Gender, Class and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge), pp. 2–22.
26. F. Prochaska (2008) *Christianity and Social Service in Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 66.
27. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 41.
28. Original italics and spelling, *Catena* 1926, in Lane, *Catenian*, p. 19.
29. J. G. Ridley (2008) *A Brief History of the Freemasons* (London (new ed.): Robinson), pp. 50, 112, 235.
30. W. B. Perceval (1929) 'The Catenian Association: Each for All and All for Each', *The Harvest*, XII(491), p. 289 (SDA).
31. *Catena*, July 1917, p. 39.
32. *Catena*, February 1958, p. 44.
33. *Catena*, October 1962, p. 260.
34. *Catena*, January 1963, p. 17.
35. J. H. Lomax (1994) *The Catenian Association: Bolton Circle No 22, History of the Circle 1914–1994* (SDA Pamphlet 328), n.p.
36. Lomax, *Catenian*, n.p.
37. S. Cordery (2003) *British Friendly Societies 1750–1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan); M. Heller (2008) 'The National Insurance Acts 1911–1947, the Approved Societies and the Prudential Assurance Company', *Twentieth Century British History*, 19(1), 1–28.
38. D. Weinbren (2006) 'Beneath the All-Seeing Eye: Fraternal Order and Friendly Societies' Banners in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 3, 167–91.
39. Weinbren, 'Beneath', p. 168.
40. Weinbren, 'Beneath', p. 169.
41. Weinbren, 'Beneath', p. 175.
42. Perceval, 'Catenian Association', p. 290.
43. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 24.
44. *A Catholic Retrospective and Prospect*, Manchester Circle, 1919, cited in Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 60.
45. For example, the speech of Sir Mark Sykes MP in 1914 invoked the 'shadow of the past' and the role of the Catenian Association in providing for 'Catholic young men a social atmosphere which would tend to remove that social isolation and bind [him] more closely to his Catholic faith', in Lane, *Catenian*, p. 40.

46. A. W. Snape (2010) *The Catenian Association: Accrington Circle (80): A Circle History 1924–2010* (Preston: T. Snape and Co.), p. 23 (SDA Pamphlet 2069).
47. *Catena*, 'Eminent Catenians: Thomas Halliwell Kevill', August 1958, p. 183; Canon C. L. Waring, 'Chorley's Catholic Past: Burgh Hall and Weldback', *Catena*, September 1958, pp. 218–19 and BJK, 'The Carus Family through the Centuries: A Link with Pre-Reformation Days', *Catena*, November 1958, pp. 260–1.
48. Snape, *Catenian*, p. 13.
49. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 2.
50. Emigrant Catenians in Australia requested the establishment of a Circle as early as 1919, but it was not until 1971 (for internal reasons, but also concerns of competition with an existing Australian organization 'The Knights of the Southern Cross') that a Circle in New South Wales was established. For a fuller discussion of expansion throughout Southern and Eastern Africa, Singapore, Ireland and Malta, see Hagerty, *Catenian*, Chapter 10 (Overseas Expansion) and p. 145.
51. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 2.
52. Heller, 'The National Insurance Acts', p. 27.
53. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. xii.
54. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 21
55. *The Catenian Compendium*, October 1953, p. 32 – Archives of the Catenian Association (hereafter ACA), Coventry.
56. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 12.
57. At the suggestion of Charles Holt. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 19.
58. J. Nicholls (2011) *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); cf. C. Langhamer (2003) "'A Public House is for All Classes, Men and Women Alike': Women, Leisure and Drink in Second World War England', *Women's History Review*, 12(3), 423–43.
59. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 12.
60. Lomax, *Catenian*, n.p.
61. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 68.
62. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 67.
63. I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010) *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health and Fitness in Britain, 1880–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
64. J. Lowerson (2005) *Amateur Operatics: A Social and Cultural History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p. 40 and A. Harris (2013), 'Building the Docklands Settlement: Gender, Gentility and the Gentry in East London, 1894–1939', *Material Religion: Journal of Objects, Art and Belief*, 9(1), 60–85.
65. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 68.
66. *Catena*, October 1959, p. 218.
67. For example, Bolton – see Lomax, *Catenian*, n.p.
68. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 217.
69. For example, the Swansea Circle invited wives to the Annual Dinner from 1925, whereas the Edinburgh Circle resisted pressure for wives to attend their Annual Dinner until 1937. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 217.
70. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 218.
71. For an brief explanation of the history of the Union of Catholic Mothers, and its reanimation in Britain over the last decade, see A. Harris (2012) 'Devout East Enders: Catholicism in the East End of London', in David

- Goodhew (ed.) *Church Growth in Britain, 1980–2010* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 41–58.
72. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 217.
 73. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 218.
 74. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 218.
 75. Catenian Association Grand Council (CACG) (2002) *Project 2008: The Report*, 18 May, p. 23 (unpublished ACA miscellaneous).
 76. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
 77. See Lucy Delap's chapter on the Church of England Men's Society in this volume.
 78. Doyle, 'Catholic Federation', p. 467.
 79. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 68.
 80. Snape, *Catenian*, p. 12 citing *The Accrington Observer and Times*, Saturday, 26 January 1957, p. 8.
 81. Snape, *Catenian*, p. 13.
 82. *Catena*, December 1958, p. 291.
 83. *Catena*, April 1963, p. 97.
 84. *Catena*, August 1964, p. 231.
 85. *Catena*, March 1958, p. 61.
 86. *Catena*, March 1958, pp. 54–5. See also See *Catena*, April 1958, p. 84 and *Catena*, May 1958, pp. 111–12.
 87. On Walsingham generally (and its connections with male religiosity and contestations around homosexuality in Anglo-Catholic use of the pilgrimage site), see G. Waller and D. Janes (eds) (2010) *Walsingham in Literature and Culture from the Middle Ages to Modernity* (Farnham: Ashgate) and S. Coleman (2005) 'Pilgrimage to "England's Nazareth": Landscapes of Myth and Memory at Walsingham', in E. Badone and S. Roseman (eds) *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), pp. 52–67.
 88. M. Tebbutt (2012) *Being Boys: Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 70–2, and on interwar instability and shifting sartorial fashions, see pp. 113–26.
 89. *Catena*, March 1963, p. 69.
 90. *Catena*, October 1964, p. 275. Aside from the well-known Rotary Association, the Buffs are a military regiment, the Foresters a Victorian Friendly Society (formed in Rochdale) and the 'Ban the Bomb' badges were often worn by those (many of whom were Christians) who supported the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.
 91. *Catena*, February 1958, p. 25.
 92. *Catena*, April 1959, p. 84.
 93. *Catena*, October 1964, pp. 297–9.
 94. For an extended discussion, see A. Harris (2013) *Faith in the Family: A Lived Religious History of English Catholicism, 1945–1982* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), Chapter 3.
 95. *Catena*, August 1963, pp. 210–11.
 96. *Catena*, August 1963, p. 210.
 97. *Catena*, September 1964, p. 238.
 98. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 126.
 99. *Catena*, June 1958, p. 163.

100. *Catena*, June 1958, p. 163.
101. The Knights of St Columba are a fraternal association founded in Glasgow in 1919 (by an Irish migrant on the model of a nineteenth-century US-based organization) as a mutual benefit society with similar aspirations to the Catenians. Both associations have around the same number of members and retain male-only admission policies, but the profession/class-based membership criteria and (arguably) more distended relationships with clergy (for example, 'Knights' may be admitted to membership within a Mass) tend to have differentiated the Catenians from the latter. See <http://www.ksc.org.uk>, accessed 6 January 2013.
102. Cited in Lane, *Catenian*, p. 123.
103. CAGC, *Project 2008*, p. 6.
104. CAGC, *Project 2008*, p. 8.
105. CAGC, *Project 2008*, p. 14.
106. CAGC, *Project 2008*, p. 14.
107. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 130.
108. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 63.
109. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 90 and 1945 Prayer Card (unpublished, ACA miscellaneous).
110. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 71.
111. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 68. For similar initiatives through male sodalities like the Holy Name, see A. O'Brien (1993) "'A Church Full of Men': Masculinism and the Church in Australian History', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25(100), 437–57.
112. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 67.
113. *Catena*, November 1955, p. 10.
114. Perceval, 'Catenian Association', p. 289.
115. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 100.
116. *Catena*, April 1958, p. 84.
117. *Catena*, May 1958, p. 111.
118. *Catena*, August 1958, p. 190.
119. *Catena*, July 1959, p. 150.
120. *Catena*, January 1956, p. 16.
121. 'Light from Under a Bushel', *Catena*, January 1957, p. 5.
122. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 176.
123. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 176.
124. See, for example, K. Massam (1994) 'The Spirituality of Catholic Action in Australia: Religion and Real Men', in M. Hutchinson and E. Campion (eds) *Long Patient Struggle: Studies in the Role of Women in Australian Christianity* (Sydney: UNSW Press), pp. 139–49; K. Massam (1991) 'The Blue Army and the Cold War: Anti-Communist Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in Australia', *Australian Historical Studies*, 24(96), 420–8; and L. Gemzöe (2009) 'Caring for Others: Mary, Death and the Feminization of Religion in Portugal', in A. Hermkens, W. Jansen and C. Notermans (eds) *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 149–64.
125. I have explored these themes in an extensive discussion of the reanimation of the cult of St Joseph and an attempted revival of male-led rosary prayers. See Harris, 'Paradise on Earth', pp. 167–73 and A. Harris

- and M. Spence (2007) "'Disturbing the Complacency of Religion"?: The Evangelical Crusades of Dr Billy Graham and Father Patrick Peyton in England, 1951–54', *Twentieth Century British History*, 18(4), 481–513. In a similar vein outside of a religious setting, see L. King (2012) 'Hidden Fathers: The Significance of Fatherhood in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Contemporary British History*, 26(1), 25–46.
126. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 107.
 127. Catenian Association Annual Report (1923), cited in Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 67.
 128. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 115 (in 1933).
 129. Weinbren, 'Beneath', p. 178.
 130. For example, Francis Boyle (Oldham 140), 'Can More Be Done For Widows and Children?' *Catena*, October 1964, pp. 274–5.
 131. Lomax, *Catenian*, n.p.
 132. Snape, *Catenian*, p. 14.
 133. Editorial, 'Misplaced Zeal', *Catena*, September 1959, pp. 189–90.
 134. *Catena*, July 1958, p. 151.
 135. See http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_23121922_ubi-arcano-dei-consilio_en.html, accessed 12 November 2012.
 136. S. Collins and M. P. Hornsby-Smith (2002) 'The Rise and Fall of the YCW in England', *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 71(1), 87–100 and C. Walker (1994) *Worker Apostles: The YCW Movement in Britain* (London: Catholic Truth Society).
 137. J. M. Cleary (1961) *Catholic Social Action in Britain 1909–1959: A History of the Catholic Social Guild* (Oxford: Catholic Social Guild) and P. Doyle (1993) 'Charles Plater SJ and the Origins of the Catholic Social Guild', *Recusant History*, 21, 401–17.
 138. D. Campbell (1989) 'The Catholic Evidence Guild: Towards a History of the Laity', *Heythrop Journal*, 30(3), 306–24.
 139. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 77. See also the debate in the pages of *Catena*, 'Are Catenians Indifferent to Church Affairs?' *Catena*, June 1937, p. 11.
 140. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 77.
 141. Hagerty, *Catenian*, pp. 112–15.
 142. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 78.
 143. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 155. For further discussion, see J. Davies (1994) "'L'Art du Possible": The Board of Education, the Catholic Church and Negotiations over the White Paper and the Education Bill 1943–44', *Recusant History*, 22(2), 231–50 and K. Elliott (2006) 'A Very Pushy Kind of Folk: Educational Reform 1944 and the Catholic Laity of England and Wales', *History of Education*, 25, 91–119.
 144. *Catena*, September 1962, pp. 194–5 and Lomax, *Catenian*, n.p. recount donations from the Bolton Circle to the CSG over the years, as well as a voluntary subscription to the CWC from 1949 to 1952. Cf. Keating, 'Making of a Catholic Labour Activist', p. 50 who characterizes the relationship of the Association with the College as solely critical due to the election of graduate Pat Bartley as Labour MP for Chester-le-Street in 1950.
 145. *Catena*, July 1962, p. 159.
 146. *Catena*, June 1959, p. 138.

147. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 177.
148. For example, 'The Role of the Laity', *Catena*, May 1964, pp. 113–15.
149. See *Catena*, July 1962, p. 160 in which R. L. Nairn reported that the Manchester City Circle (No. 47) had raised £100,000 to build and maintain suitable chaplaincy accommodation at the University.
150. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 133.
151. Letter from W. B. Whalley (Liverpool 4), *Catena*, May 1962, pp. 116–17.
152. Editorial, *Catena*, December 1964, pp. 319–20.
153. See the complaint of R. E. Irvine (Hastings Circle 66), *Catena*, March 1965, p. 72 about the 'aide memoire' about the issue in *Catena*, January 1965, p. 9.
154. *Catena*, September 1964, p. 237.
155. Supplement, *Catena*, December 1964.
156. 'Northern Caution', *Catena*, January 1965, p. 5 and correspondence from Robert W. Browne (London 2), *Catena*, March 1965, p. 71.
157. *Catena*, April 1965, pp. 87–8.
158. 'Putting Back the Clock', *Catena*, July 1976, pp. 171–2.
159. *Catena*, July 1965, pp. 177.
160. See correspondence from D. W. C. McCarthy, *Catena*, September 1965, p. 255.
161. G. J. Graham-Green (1967) 'The CMAC Comes of Age', *CMAC Bulletin*, 7(4), 11–15 and A. Harris (2014) 'Love Divine and Love Sublime: The Catholic Marriage Advisory Council, the Marriage Guidance Movement and the State', in A. Harris and T. Jones (eds) *Love and Romance in Britain, 1918–1970* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), Chapter 8.
162. See, for example, M. Grimley (2007) 'The Religion of Englishness: Puritanism, Providentialism and "National Character", 1918–45', *Journal of British Studies*, 46, 884–906.
163. See J. Lewis, D. Clark and D. J. J. Morgan (1992) *'Whom God hath Joined Together': The Work of Marriage Guidance* (London: Routledge) and Sue Morgan's chapter in this volume.
164. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 163.
165. Snape, *Catenian*, p. 23.
166. *Catena*, December 1964, pp. 323–5.
167. *Catena*, November 1965, pp. 308–9.
168. *Catena*, November 1965, p. 309.
169. For further discussion, see Harris, *Faith in the Family*, Chapter 4.
170. *Catena*, September 1968, pp. 203–4.
171. *Catena*, September 1968, pp. 203–4. However, see 'Catenian views on Britain's Moral Climate: Statement to the Hierarchy', *Catena*, October 1970, pp. 243–5 which requests an 'honest explanation of the Christian attitude to sexuality and sexual sin', on masturbation and 'clear guidance' on artificial contraceptives.
172. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 145. See also 'Help for Divorced Catholics', *Catena*, June 1987, p. 128. In its most recent definition, 'practising Catholic' was defined as attending Mass regularly and receiving the sacraments frequently, and the provision of individual's personal assent to such criteria was deemed sufficient. Clear examples of 'loss of good character' revoking membership eligibility were divorce, adultery and conviction of a crime or tax evasion. See CAGC, *Project 2008*, pp. 36–9, 41.

173. CAGC, *Project 2008*, p. 25.
174. CAGC, *Project 2008*, pp. 32–3.
175. C. Langhamer (2012) 'Love, Selfhood and Authenticity in Post-War Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 9(2), 277–97.
176. 'The Challenge Ahead', *Catena*, June 1985, p. 126.
177. *Catena*, June 1985, p. 126.
178. On changing understandings of masculinity, and a new emphasis on 'fatherhood' after World War II, see M. Francis (2002) 'Tears, Tantrums and Bared Teeth: The Emotional Economy of Three Conservative Prime Ministers, 1951–63', *Journal of British Studies*, 41(3), 354–87; M. Francis (2007) 'A Flight from Commitment? Domesticity, Adventure and the Masculine Imaginary in Britain after the Second World War', *Gender and History*, 19(1), 163–85 and J. Brannen and A. Nilsen (2006) 'From Fatherhood to Fathering: Transmission and Change among British Fathers in Four-Generation Families', *Sociology*, 40(2), 335–52.
179. See M. Collins (2003) *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic Books). For example, Editorial, 'Women's Status', *Catena*, March 1968, p. 46.
180. See Prayer Card c.1964 (unpublished ACA miscellaneous).
181. See *Catenian Manual of Procedure* 1990 (unpublished ACA miscellaneous).
182. Proposed by Phil Roberts (Ormskirk Circle) – see Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 147.
183. For example, Frank Quigley (Droitwich Circle), *Catena*, July 1980, p. 149. One of the subgroups was chaired by Michael Sampson (South Liverpool) and other delegates included Jack Molyneau, Hugh O'Rourke, Jack Cooper, John Mercer, Raymond Ahern and Terry Moorhead. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 214.
184. Lane, *Catenian*, p. 213.
185. Snape, *Catenian*, p. 16.
186. CAGC, *Project 2008*, p. 25.
187. CAGC, *Project 2008*, p. 24.
188. CAGC, *Project 2008*, p. 23.
189. J. Keating (1994) 'The British Experience: Christian Democracy without a Party 1910–60', in D. Hanley (ed.) *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective* (London: Pinter), pp. 168–81.
190. For example, E. Gerard and P. Wynants (1994) *Histoire du mouvement ouvrier chrétien en Belgique* (Leuven: Leuven University Press) and P. Pasture (1994) *Christian Trade Unionism in Europe since 1968: Tensions between Identity and Practice* (Aldershot: Avebury).
191. A. Hastings (ed.) (1977) *Bishops and Writers: Aspects of the Evolution of Modern English Catholicism* (Wheathamstead: Anthony Clarke Books) and J. Pearce (1999) *Literary Converts: Spiritual Inspiration in an Age of Unbelief* (London: HarperCollins).
192. J. Lothian (2009) *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910–1950* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press).
193. *Catena*, September 1935, p. 4.
194. *Catena*, November 1956, p. 5.
195. Hagerty, *Catenian*, p. 135.
196. *Rules of the Catenian Association* (1961), p. 9 (unpublished ACA miscellaneous).

Further reading

- Doyle, P. (1986) 'The Catholic Federation 1906–1929', in W. J. Sheils and Dianna Wood (eds) *Voluntary Religion (Studies in Church History, Volume 23)* (Worcester: Blackwell), pp. 461–76.
- Fielding, S. (1993) *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England 1880–1939* (Buckingham: Open University Press).
- Hagerty, J. (2007) *The Catenian Association: A Centenary History 1908–2008* (Evesham: John F. Neale).
- Harris, A. (2013) *Faith in the Family: A Lived Religious History of English Catholicism, 1945–1982* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Hastings, A. (ed.) (1977) *Bishops and Writers: Aspects of the Evolution of Modern English Catholicism* (Wheatthamstead: Anthony Clarke Books).
- Keating, J. (1994) 'The Making of a Catholic Labour Activist: The Catholic Social Guild and the Catholic Workers' College 1909–39', *Labour History Review*, 59(3), 44–56.
- Lane, P. (1982) *The Catenian Association 1908–1983: A Microcosm of the Development of the Catholic Middle Class* (London: Catenian Association).
- Lothian, J. (2009) *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910–1950* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press).
- Pasture, P., Art J. and T. Buerman (eds) (2012) *Gender and Christianity in Modern Europe: Beyond the Feminization Thesis* (Leuven: Leuven University Press).
- Pearce, J. (1999) *Literary Converts: Spiritual Inspiration in an Age of Unbelief* (London: HarperCollins).
- Pereiro, J. (1999) 'Who are the Laity?' in V. A. McClelland and M. Hodgetts (eds) *From without the Flaminian Gate: 150 Years of Roman Catholicism in England and Wales 1850–2000* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd), pp. 167–91.
- Walker, C. (1994) *Worker Apostles: The YCW Movement in Britain* (London: Catholic Truth Society).

3

'To Their Credit as Jews and Englishmen'¹: Services for Youth and the Shaping of Jewish Masculinity in Britain, 1890s–1930s

Susan L. Tananbaum

Studies on the construction of masculinity have been something of a growth industry of late, and Jewish historians have also found this approach a fruitful one. Until recently, much historical writing has treated men as 'entirely ungendered persons' which, as John Tosh suggests, is 'myopic'.² As the field developed, much of the early scholarship emphasised muscular Christianity, identifying 'a shift in the meaning of manliness from spiritual morality to muscular morality' that occurred midway through the nineteenth century.³ Likewise, a version of muscular Judaism has also received significant attention. Jews and Gentiles alike came to emphasise 'character' – morality, athleticism, pluck and a commitment to fair play – as essential to masculinity. This ideal was especially prevalent among middle- and upper-class British Jews during the late Victorian period. Muscular Judaism, 'a call for corporeal and spiritual regeneration', shared much with the Christian form.⁴ At the turn of the century, many Jews had internalised the value of physicality and athletic manliness, concepts much less integral to traditional Judaism than to the nineteenth-century European world in which adherents of muscular Judaism lived.⁵ With few exceptions, such as the response to the British Union of Fascists (BUF) in the 1930s and 1940s, only the 'rougher' working classes continued to see violence and physical defence as honourable.⁶ There were also important differences between Jewish and Christian muscularity. As historian George Eisen notes, 'muscular Judaism' in contrast with 'muscular Christianity' was largely a move 'away from religious Judaism toward secularism'.⁷

More recently, scholars have also noted that less religious forms of muscularity existed alongside explicitly Christian forms, something one

finds particularly among second- and third-generation British East End Jews.⁸ Nonetheless, while studies now tend to speak of ‘masculinities’, recognising multiple constructions of masculinity, there remains a longstanding tradition that privileges muscular manhood.⁹ This variety becomes even more evident when we consider the oft-missing voices of women and working-class men.¹⁰ Not surprisingly, immigrants and peoples of colour remain relatively invisible in the literature of masculinity.¹¹ Nevertheless, recent research on racial ‘otherness’ and examinations of masculine stereotypes of Irish, Indian and Jewish men have, for example, resulted in more nuanced histories that help us understand gendered behaviour and class expectations, and highlighted the mechanisms that moulded boys into men.¹²

During the period that Britain’s Jewish community experienced large-scale Eastern European immigration (between 1880 and 1914), the established Jewish community absorbed many of the values of their Christian peers.¹³ Their minority status, however, added a dimension of both anxious self-consciousness and ethnic solidarity in their efforts to shape Jewish manhood. British-born Jews were well aware of ‘nativist anxieties’ and accusations that immigrants would dilute ‘English racial identity’. Such pejorative views, which some Jews internalised, made them concerned that critics would see even those Jews with deeply established roots in Britain as sharing ‘the unsavory qualities of immigrants’.¹⁴ Increasing ‘anti-alien’ sentiment, which led to the passage of the 1905 Aliens Act, left Britain’s Jews apprehensive; they felt caught between protecting their own reputation and defending the rights and character of Eastern European Jews. The resulting attention to foreign religious and cultural practices helps to explain the range of behaviours, values and relationships anglicised Jews encouraged among immigrant boys. While a large percentage of first generation immigrants practiced traditional Orthodox Judaism, many of their children shunned such levels of religious observance while retaining ties to the Jewish community, and developing a strong ethnic identity. In addition, many leaders of the established community had embraced the virile masculinity of their British compatriots, which they then hoped to instil in the rising generation of newcomers.

Historical context

To understand the nature of Jewish masculinity in the closing years of the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century, it is helpful to consider both the development of Britain’s Jewish community and

to understand widespread stereotypes and self-images associated with Jewish men.¹⁵ The modern history of British Jews began in the mid-seventeenth century when a small number of Jews resettled in Britain, most of whom were Sephardim (Jews of Spanish descent). Jews from Central Europe became numerically dominant early in the eighteenth century, but power remained in the hands of the ‘more respectable’ and acculturated Sephardim. For a brief period, in 1753, Jews gained the right to be naturalised. They did not obtain permanent rights of citizenship until the mid-nineteenth century when the 1858 Jewish Relief Act gave each house of Parliament power to determine its oath, finally enabling Lionel de Rothschild to be sworn in to Parliament as the first Jewish MP.¹⁶

Initially, most Jews lived in the City of London; after 1820, some began moving north and west and important Jewish centres developed in provincial towns and cities such as Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds. A number of prominent families emerged as leaders in business and philanthropic and cultural institutions.¹⁷ Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, British Jews created a wide range of communal institutions including synagogues; the Jewish Board of Guardians (founded in 1859 to systematise Jewish charitable activities); the Board of Deputies (founded in 1760 as the main representative organisation of British Jews and generally seen as the official voice of British Jewry); various cultural organisations; secular and religious schools; an orphanage and newspapers. By the end of the nineteenth century, an influential Jewish middle and upper class had emerged, along with large numbers of Jews who supported themselves as small-scale traders and shopkeepers, and as manual labourers.¹⁸

Significant changes to this community began in 1880 with the arrival of poor Eastern European Jews immigrants from Russia, Poland and Galicia. Between 1880 and 1939, despite the passage of the 1905 Aliens Act, a combination of push (poverty, significant population increases and anti-Semitism) and pull (Britain’s traditions of liberalism and political asylum) factors, led to an increase in the size of the British Jewish community from about 60,000 to between 350,000 and 370,000.¹⁹ Largely a family migration, few expected to return given the challenges of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Arriving Jews had distinctive characteristics. Large numbers, for example, had urban roots, were semi-skilled labourers, and upon arriving entered the garment and furniture trades. They lived in overcrowded and inadequate housing and, in the years prior to World War I, faced considerable challenges of poverty as they sought to make a new life in Britain.

Established Jews feared that newcomers would undermine their somewhat precarious status and increase popular anti-Semitism, which indeed intensified in the years leading up to the 1905 Aliens Act and again with the outbreak of World War I.²⁰ The immigrants' distinctive appearance, strict religious orthodoxy, use of Yiddish and tendency to create separate institutions for religious worship and education, generated widespread resentment. Many religiously observant immigrants preferred stricter interpretations of Jewish law than did established anglicised Jews. Rather than joining synagogues associated with the United Synagogue, with its more 'sedate and decorous' services, they formed smaller, more traditional places of worship known as 'chevrot'.²¹ In response, and in keeping with Jewish tradition, the established Jewish community developed an extensive charitable network. Not only had they internalised British philanthropic practice, they also feared the public resentment that might materialise if immigrants drew on state-sponsored relief. Such work particularly attracted middle- and upper-class Jewish women who, like their Victorian and Edwardian sisters, became increasingly involved in philanthropy and education, and offered a range of services not only to help the acculturation of recent immigrants but also to ameliorate many Jewish families' dire poverty.

Over time, then, the community shifted gears from simply absorbing larger numbers of newcomers to encouraging their anglicisation via schools and clubs, particularly focusing on the young. Philanthropic endeavours by native-born Jews promoted English language and culture, improved standards of sanitation, physical exercise, self-discipline and the appropriate use of leisure. Many in the community believed it important to maintain a low profile – a common response of Jews to hostile surroundings – in order to minimise the social impact of newcomers' perceived alienness. In many cases, the writings of self-appointed mentors or critics – both Jewish and Christian – provided a key historical lens through which we now view immigrants and their children, as the discussions that follow demonstrate. We are fortunate to have access to East End voices through Jewish biographies, oral histories and a wide range of Yiddish newspapers.

Negative depictions of Jewish men, still common in British culture on the eve of the twentieth century, remained an uncomfortable reminder of Jews' qualified acceptance. As David Englander and others have observed, Jews, while generally perceived as law abiding, had also acquired a reputation for involvement in the white slave trade, gambling and political subversion. These associations emphasised the alien and untrustworthy

nature of Jews – especially Jewish men ‘who threatened the moral and racial health of the nation’.²² Further, involvement in gambling reinforced negative stereotypes of Jews as calculating and physically weak, which in turn generated increasing interest in Jews’ physical and moral regeneration.²³ While the Jewish community rarely saw sexual or moral vice in eugenic terms, they regarded even limited involvement in such activities as immoral, unmanly and a source of embarrassment.²⁴

Late nineteenth-century popular images had characterised Jewish men as unnaturally cerebral or intellectual.²⁵ Their participation in ‘the world of abstractions and speculations’ was also perceived as being responsible for a poor physique and tendency to disease, and meant many believed ‘Jews could never become good soldiers’.²⁶ By the twentieth century, East End Jews’ reluctance to enlist was a source of consternation. Immigrants drew negative attention as cowardly shirkers – men who were prepared to leave the defence of the nation to others during a period when participation in the military ‘reaffirm[ed] one’s membership in the national community’.²⁷ After all, military service enabled ‘young men ... [to] demonstrate their masculinity and their possession of manly virtues’.²⁸ Such expressions of loyalty and manliness were especially important for those families who had only recently arrived in England.²⁹

The established Jewish community simultaneously encouraged military participation while they defended the community against charges of shirking. Yet, despite encouragement from a number of leaders from Jewish youth clubs and promises such as of job protection from the Jews’ Free School for teachers who enlisted, East End Jews, invariably recent immigrants, evinced little enthusiasm for joining up. In contrast, established Jews tended to be more responsive to military service and ‘eager to prove their patriotism’.³⁰ Their East End co-religionists frequently expressed principled objections to compulsory service and ‘openly contested local government officials – military and civilian – in their definitions of both “Britishness” and “manly duty”’.³¹ Having escaped Russia to avoid the horrors of conscription and forced conversions of the Tsar’s armies, many East End Jews recoiled at the thought of serving.³² The older Jewish community made certain to highlight Jewish patriotism wherever they could, noting, for example, that many officers of the Jewish Lads’ Brigade enlisted in the military. In addition, the major London-based communal newspaper, the *Jewish Chronicle* (*JC*), regularly published the names of Jewish soldiers killed or wounded in action.³³

As well as aiming to redress the perceived inadequacy of Jewish men as soldiers, wherever possible, Anglo-Jewish leaders sought to alter

the perception – and the reality – of Jewish manhood more generally, but especially among immigrant and working-class Jews. Such goals emerged out of broader discussions about the place of Jews in the modern world. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jews sought social acceptance – whether in the cities of Europe or in the Jewish homeland – and challenged anti-Semitic stereotypes. Influential thinkers such as Max Nordau (1849–1923), the Zionist leader, physician and author of *Degeneration* (1892), and his call in 1898 for a ‘muscular Judaism’ were not just about a physical ideal ‘but rather the Jew’s struggle to achieve a full-fledged masculine identity in Europe’.³⁴ According to Nordau, the realisation of Zionist goals required a new, more physical Jew. As a nineteenth-century political and nationalist movement, Zionism promoted the restoration of an independent political and cultural existence for Jews. It drew most of its support from Eastern Europeans (including some interest from Jewish immigrant communities in the West).³⁵ Nordau’s ‘new Jew’ mirrored an ideal of manliness that ‘was in every detail the reverse of the body which the Jew possessed as an outsider’.³⁶ Zionist ideology, and its vision for life in Palestine, envisioned a new, courageous, hypermasculinised Jewish man who was connected to nature and who gloried in physical labour.³⁷ Zionist masculinity was the antithesis of the passive, scholarly Jew or even the sickly Jew, so often regarded as the typical immigrant.³⁸ Daniel Boyarin has suggested that ‘the Zionists’ fight against popular anti-Semitic characterisations included an aggressive heterosexualising agenda that sought to sever the alleged ties between Jewishness, effeminacy, and, ultimately, homosexuality by tying together Jewish national and sexual normalization’.³⁹ In essence, Boyarin sees ‘straighten[ing] out Jewish men as central to Zionism.’⁴⁰ More typically, supporters and commentators believed the movement could normalise the Jewish people in a far wider cultural sense than just male sexual behaviour, and remake Jewish men according to the standards of European masculinity. The Zionist movement was less popular among more acculturated Jews, many of whom had little interest in creating a new homeland; instead they worried about charges of dual political loyalty and being seen as un-English and saw Zionism as ‘contradict[ing] the prevailing confidence in universalist, liberal ideals’.⁴¹

Although many British Jews remained unenthusiastic about Zionism, and certainly the community expressed pride in its doctors, artists, politicians and male intellectuals, including the 1908 Cambridge Senior Wrangler, Selig Brodetsky, the figure of an upstanding, physically fit, independent Jew, no longer subjected to the restrictions and indignities

of anti-Semitism, gained traction.⁴² Further, this image meshed well with more muscular versions of Christian manliness, which were part of elite Jewish families' cultural milieu. A number of responses emerged that valorised and reified more muscular, athletic and independent forms of masculinity and the following discussion explores the efforts made to inculcate these ideals among immigrant Jews.

Acculturation and the making of Jewish masculinity: Apprenticeships

Alongside school and clubs, vocational training was a particularly important aspect of shaping young Jewish men. In an effort to prepare boys for good jobs, the Industrial Committee of the Jewish Board of Guardians (JBG), British Jews' most prominent philanthropic organisation, arranged for apprenticeships for boys, most of whom left school at 14. The Committee sought out promising trades and avoided crowded occupations. Apprenticeships generally lasted seven years and, to begin with, the Industrial Committee helped young men become draughtsmen, furniture makers, plumbers, carpenters and electrical engineers.⁴³ While the JBG Committee preferred local, East End apprenticeships, over time they also identified many skilled trades in the West End requiring boys as apprentices.⁴⁴ In addition to finding placements and advancing fees, the Committee looked for suitable men (often volunteers from one of the boys' clubs or settlements) to serve as mentors.⁴⁵

The Industrial Committee of the JBG debated at length on the type of boy who would best benefit from such valuable financial support. Some committee members believed they should only assist successful young men from respectable families. The Committee also wrestled over whether or not to assist boys who had been sent to industrial schools and were invariably from the poorest backgrounds. Some feared that apprenticing such lads would 'starve' more 'deserving', respectable young men of the limited training opportunities available and set the wrong kind of precedent. Others defended industrial schoolboys against unwarranted charges of criminality and urged that the Committee assist them wherever possible.⁴⁶ Overall, the JBG helped thousands of young working-class Jews obtain training that enabled them to find skilled employment outside of 'immigrant trades' and promoted independence, honest and self-disciplined manhood through cross-class interactions.

Those involved in such apprenticeship schemes believed employment training was an effective means of moving Jewish boys and

men into more dependable, higher-skilled jobs that would ultimately change the immigrant community's occupational structure.⁴⁷ Unlike other apprenticeship schemes, the JBG discouraged 'pauperisation' by requiring the apprentice to repay, in small amounts, the fees provided.⁴⁸ The Committee also encouraged young men to supplement their training through attending technical classes where practical and, especially theoretical, training not only prepared young men to be good mechanics but also enabled them to aspire to become foremen.⁴⁹ While many apprentices took advantage of the training, a significant number disappointed the Industrial Committee owing to their poor work habits, inability to get along with their master and, occasionally, disreputable behaviour. At times, the JBG had to cancel indentures, as in 1895, when they ended the apprenticeship of a young man serving a three-month prison term for theft; he had also been fined for gambling and had attended the East London Industrial School.⁵⁰ The Industrial Committee continued to report on such challenges into the twentieth century and expressed dissatisfaction with cancelled indentures. Some committee members suggested the need for greater care in selecting trades; others suggested that boys were just 'restless'.⁵¹

The apprenticeship programme highlights tensions not only within the Committee but also more broadly within the Jewish community. Finding appropriate placements remained a constant challenge, owing to differing expectations over Jewish observance, and related notions of Jewish identity. In January 1899, the JBG's Industrial Committee discussed Sabbath observance and concluded that most of their apprentices worked on the Sabbath.⁵² While the Board reluctantly accepted this situation, they had definite views about promoting old-world Jewish culture. The JBG did not want the Industrial Committee to create a pamphlet in 'Judisch', and accepted the use of Yiddish in exceptional cases only.⁵³

The JBG remained sensitive throughout about the community's reputation. The Industrial Committee reacted swiftly upon learning of one former apprentice who was hawking music on the street after sustaining an injury during his apprenticeship that had left him unfit for handicraft and 'promptly helped him to establish himself in a more reputable business'.⁵⁴ Committee members, like many of their peers, believed that personal influence was very helpful and that a decent system of visiting guardians might decrease problems, although finding adequate numbers was always a challenge.⁵⁵ The Committee felt certain that mentors could resolve small disputes between workers and their employers, and offer advice or support for boys as they transitioned from school to

wage-earning or faced unemployment. By 1911, however, the Industrial Committee concluded that the morality of boys and girls in the East End was worsening. Almost every week cases of theft or petty pilfering arose among newer immigrants.⁵⁶ Despite such difficulties with apprenticeships, the Industrial Committee remained committed to this form of job training, redoubling their efforts during the interwar years.⁵⁷

Some young men, who understood the value of apprenticeships, could not afford them.⁵⁸ Charles Poulsen, a Jewish East Ender who left school in 1924, a few months shy of 14, described his situation.⁵⁹ His father was unemployed and the family needed any money he could earn. An apprenticeship would train him for a skilled craft, with the eventual promise of decent wages and the ability to be a 'good provider'. Poulsen's family, however, could not afford the fees. After a number of unskilled and poorly paid jobs, he found work in the fur trade but from 1928 experienced repeated periodic unemployment until becoming a cab driver in 1935.⁶⁰ As only a minority of young men entered apprenticeships, most, like Poulsen, accepted work that was 'low-paid, exploitative and led nowhere, rarely offering a pathway to skilled manly work'.⁶¹ The established community, concerned over the financial implications of such commonly experienced forms of unemployment and underemployment worried additionally about the unproductive ways young men might pass their leisure time. As the following discussion illustrates, boys' clubs were a key strategy to structuring and managing the adolescent activities of Jewish youth.

Acculturation and the making of Jewish masculinity: Boys' clubs⁶²

Many philanthropic Jews who volunteered in schools and clubs, or served as mentors for young apprentices were products of the English public school system and attempted to imbue their charges with similar values and ideals. Such interactions involved a conscious effort to create a respectable, self-supporting working class who absorbed the best of British character.⁶³ Boys' clubs, consciously athletic from the start, endorsed a form of muscular Judaism, which advocated self-restraint, opposed gambling and encouraged patriotism.⁶⁴ Social reformers regarded keeping boys busy as especially important between the ages of 14 and 18, in order to counteract the end of school discipline and the onset of a problematic independence. Clubs and settlements sought to attract boys and young men, Jewish and non-Jewish, to 'supervised settings'.⁶⁵ They offered a wide range of programmes with a particular

emphasis on sport, reflecting the late nineteenth century expansion of the leisure industry and organised athletics.⁶⁶

Middle- and upper-class Jewish volunteers, anxious to provide facilities and suitable role models, established boys' clubs in neighbourhoods where there were large numbers of immigrants and working-class Jews. Additionally, in 1895, Colonel Albert Edward Goldsmid founded the Jewish Lads' Brigade, a quasi-military organisation modelled after the Anglican Church Lads' Brigade.⁶⁷ Thus, Jewish boys' clubs in London and in a number of provincial communities brought anglicised native-born Jewish volunteers into contact with immigrants and their children, serving thousands of boys and young men. Extensive coverage in the Jewish press suggests such institutions were highly popular and influential. Although precise membership numbers are elusive and vary tremendously, communal records suggest that nearly half of boys aged 14 to 18 were members of boys' clubs in 1914. One leader familiar with clubs, however, believed that in 1924, some 18 boys' and girls' clubs drew a membership of little more than 4000.⁶⁸ David Dee's research indicates a larger membership. The Association for Jewish Youth (founded in 1927), an umbrella organisation of Jewish youth societies, had 51 affiliated clubs and schools in 1914; by 1927, the organisation reported a membership of 26,000.⁶⁹

Those philanthropists who helped found and finance these Jewish boys' clubs aimed, above all, to prepare boys for a manhood of which their community would be proud. Claude Montefiore (1858–1938), a founder of Liberal Judaism, reminded his readers that the West Central Club in London, for example, 'endeavoured not only to be a bright spot in the district'. He also hoped it would 'strengthen the lads against the temptations and evil' surrounding them.⁷⁰ Pubs, gambling and prostitution were readily available forms of entertainment promoting very different masculinities.⁷¹ Montefiore admitted that some nominally Jewish men were responsible for 'some of the disgraceful attractions'.⁷² Clubs served as an effective antidote and Montefiore cautioned members that their behaviour inside and outside the clubs really mattered. Montefiore hoped that members would use the club 'to their credit as Jews and Englishmen' and reminded the boys that 'every good act they did would help to raise the name of Jews as a body and every bad act they committed did harm to Jews all over the world'.⁷³

There was considerable public optimism that the influence of boys' clubs could extend well beyond the few hours boys spent 'on the premises'. In describing the West Central Jewish Lads' Club, for example, an article from the *Jewish Chronicle* in 1900 contended that the boys

could 'entirely hold their own in manly exercise. Next to the conditions under which we live in this happy country we have to thank the many institutions in our midst for the fact that what has been styled "the Ghetto bend" is fast being ironed out of our youth'.⁷⁴ Clubs enabled Jews to become 'proficient in manly sports', which challenged the 'critics who say we train our minds to get the better of our neighbour'. Once 'given the opportunity', declared the *Jewish World*, 'our lads take to sports which elevate and clarify, and so fit themselves to take their places as citizens, physically and mentally equipped for the battle of life, bearing themselves with credit and with honour to all who share their religion'.⁷⁵

Training boys' minds, bodies and characters, however, could prove challenging. The Victoria Club for Working Lads, which opened on 21 April 1901 in Whitechapel, typically distinguished between 'worthy' and 'unworthy' young men and did not admit 'boys known to be of bad character'. Most boys spent their time in the gym, while one chose to spend his evening reading according to the Club's log in the first year of opening.⁷⁶ Club minutes described members' cleanliness as less than ideal and recorded several complaints about their hair and skin diseases and they suspended one boy for lying and another for fooling around on the bagatelle table.⁷⁷ The boys' conduct did not always satisfy Club leaders either, who, in 1913, discussed thefts at the club and the bad behaviour of boys in parks and elsewhere.⁷⁸ Club leaders, who wanted to keep the boys off the street and away from the gambling of the billiard saloons, went so far as to contact Scotland Yard with their concerns.⁷⁹

Shaping the boys into good British men was an ongoing process. The managers complained that fencers hit each other too hard, noting '[d]exterity they do not seem able to understand'.⁸⁰ In a telling description of cricket, the 1901 logbook reported that the elevens beat Deal Street Old Boys by six wickets. While the boys demonstrated good behaviour on the field, they tended to challenge the umpire's decisions.⁸¹ The log also recorded that visitors were 'very agreeably surprised at finding such suitable premises. The boys seem to be very clubable and orderly'.⁸² In addition to cricket, running and camping, a number of Jewish clubs offered boxing, an activity popular for its ability to improve members' physiques, and to challenge negative stereotypes of weak and unmanly Jews. In 1914, the Victoria Boys' Club hired a boxing instructor and a ring.⁸³ Boxing was a popular working-class activity and the Jewish community celebrated – and sometimes boasted about – a significant history of successful boxers, beginning with Daniel Mendoza

in the late eighteenth century.⁸⁴ Mendoza was a hero within the Jewish community because he 'proved that Jews could be manly and courageous'.⁸⁵ During World War I and the interwar years, Ted 'Kid' Lewis and Jack 'Kid' Berg (both anglicised names) were prize-winning Jewish boxers, though the connections of boxing with criminality complicated their appeal as role models.⁸⁶ Boxing was the first professional sport in which Jewish youth became involved, a surprise both to Jews and non-Jews alike, many of whom, according to Steven Riess, had 'accepted the conventional stereotypes about Jewish manliness'.⁸⁷

Boys' clubs during World War I and the interwar years

The experiences and attitudes of Basil Henriques, a volunteer social worker from a prominent Jewish family, speak about the attitudes and priorities of Britain's established Jewish community in early twentieth century Britain. Henriques attended Harrow and the University of Oxford. As an undergraduate, he volunteered at the Oxford and Bermondsey Mission and spent a year at Toynbee Hall after graduating. Typical of their class, affluent Jews such as Henriques believed their wealth and Jewish charitable obligations (*tzedakah*) entailed certain social responsibilities. Henriques oversaw the development of a multifaceted Jewish settlement house (the Bernhard Baron Settlement), beginning with Oxford and St George's boys' club. Between the 1920s and 1950s, he served on numerous committees and was also a magistrate, work that brought him into close contact with Jewish families and institutions. In 1913, the foreignness of the East End had astounded him. Given what he described as 'the weird ghetto scenes' on Petticoat Lane, Henriques found it hard to believe 'that one was in London proper, & not in ... some foreign city'. As a member of the Fairclough Street School Care Committee, Henriques visited homes in the East End, during which he witnessed the circumstances of people's lives and declared himself 'horrified at it all'.⁸⁸ These encounters convinced him of the need for a boys' club to offset negative 'home influence' and the lack of an alternative to wandering in the streets.⁸⁹

In 1914, Henriques established the Oxford and St George's Club. His diary suggests the values he hoped to instil – fitness, clubbability, respect and some level of independence of spirit. His frequent and detailed descriptions of club members were instructive. He described one member as 'One of the finest boys. As officer, as captain of football & of cricket, no praise can be too high. A thorough sportsman in every way ... At times his high spirits run away with him and he is too cheeky

for some managers.⁹⁰ Of another, he wrote, he has 'rather uncouth manners'. But, added Henriques, 'he is a thinker. With care he should turn into a fine fellow.' A third member was making 'very unsatisfactory progress'. He was 'untruthful and unmanly' and took 'very little trouble to be a credit to the Club'.⁹¹ Always concerned about disreputable behaviour, the managers of the St George's Jewish Boys' Club used their influence to shape their members. Anxious about the moral proclivities of young men, they offered sex education, a still quite innovative act, and arranged talks on 'the temptations of sexual vice'.⁹² At a May 1915 Officers' Meeting of the Club, they discussed the general tone of the club in relation to gambling and swearing.⁹³ Overall, the boys had made 'remarkable' improvements, especially in the gym classes; they were, observed Henriques, 'tremendously keen & very pluck'.⁹⁴

Competition for the boys' leisure interests was immense during this period, however, with increasing access to music and dance halls. In addition, slum and workshop life affected 'the way that the sexes viewed each other'.⁹⁵ While historians have done little to assess changing sexual behaviour and attitudes among Jewish youth during the 1920s and 1930s, it is clear that Anglo-Jewry 'use[d] youth clubs to mould and control young people and their sexual identity'.⁹⁶ By this period, many young Jews had accepted the sexual double standard that young men in the community might gain stature from sexual experience that would ruin a young women's reputation. Sexual knowledge, recalled memoirist and Jewish East Ender Morris Beckman, was a matter of 'trial and error and the thrill of discovery'. Most girls, he recalled, remained virgins until they married and sex with an unmarried Jewish girl left most young men feeling quite guilty owing to their upbringing.⁹⁷ According to historian Sally Smith, leaders such as Basil Henriques understood sexual experimentation to be more common within Zionist, socialist and communist youth movements, another strike against organisations whose politics found little support among established British Jews.⁹⁸

Youth leaders believed that easy access to the cinema and the booming commercialised leisure industry was physically detrimental to and had a degrading cultural impact on young men. Henriques described the Premierland Picture Palace as 'a den of vice'. While the films themselves were 'harmless', he decried 'the general tone, the language, the filthy talk [and] the unabashed behaviour of the audience' who spent 45 minutes together in the dark. He was disturbed to find 'several club boys there, & all the worst types of Jewish hooligans' and reflected that it was 'marvelous' his club members were 'as good as they are'.⁹⁹ Visits to Jewish institutions also led to disturbing revelations. Henriques was

especially distressed to see boys at the Norwood Jewish Orphanage playing cards. Rose, his wife, recalled that he had a horror of 'compulsive gambling' and 'games of chance', which he viewed as responsible for many impoverished homes.¹⁰⁰ Henriques was also distraught by what he saw at Jung's school, probably a small private religious school, run by a traditional Orthodox Jewish teacher. He decried the bad sanitation and closed windows, and complained that 'these withered boys who don't work on Saturday are forced to work on Sunday & consequently get no exercise or open air sport in the week at all'. The teaching day from 9:00 am to 7:30 pm was too long and 'worst of all', he wrote, 'they have as teachers vulgar Yiddish men, who can't even talk back in English'.¹⁰¹ As with many established anglicised Jews, Henriques wanted to rid the East End of such vestiges of immigrant run – and poorly regarded – religious education, which was directly at odds with the East End's far more acceptable Board and Jewish voluntary schools.

During World War I, boys' clubs faced new challenges. The Victoria Club, for example, discussed whether or not to encourage enlistment, deciding they would interview those eligible to serve.¹⁰² During the war, Club leaders focused greater attention on the importance of creating facilities 'for the constructive use of leisure time'¹⁰³ and aided Belgian refugees where they could. Nearly all programmes – recreational and educational – experienced shortages of staff and resources and the darkened streets and zeppelin raids inevitably led to decreased participation.¹⁰⁴ But, in many respects, the years immediately after the war, when British society was slowly returning to normal, were even more challenging. While pubs did not have a reputation for attracting Jews, young men did respond to other popular entertainment forms in the East End and beyond. Basil and Rose Henriques saw the increase of billiards halls, 'dance halls of a rather low tone', and the unsavoury characters they attracted, as a complete menace, a constant temptation to bored and unemployed youngsters with 'nothing to do all day'.¹⁰⁵ The interwar years found the Victoria Club facing dire financial circumstances, yet they feared shutting their doors because of the anticipated consequences for members who 'would develop criminal propensities if left to take their pleasure in the roadways of Whitechapel'.¹⁰⁶

The interwar years were pivotal for immigrants and their children, and a rich period for assessing the competing visions of masculinity available to young Jewish men. Athletics remained a central focus of many clubs. Leaders celebrated the transition from the early days when East End boys were unfamiliar with football and cricket to the interwar years, when thousands of boys played football through the

Jewish Athletic Association and boxing remained popular.¹⁰⁷ Through the 1920s and 1930s, many East End Jews looked forward to camping ‘under canvas’. Descriptions of these club summer holidays emphasised healthy and plentiful food, bathing in the sea, friendships between volunteer leaders and the sharing of camp duties. Athletics remained popular but some leaders reminded members to take advantage of ‘other spheres of club activity’.¹⁰⁸ At the reopening of the Brady Club, the treasurer noted approvingly that no activity was more popular than Scouting.¹⁰⁹

Literary and religious pursuits were among the less muscular aspects of boys’ organisations. Clubs, especially those connected to the now expanded St George’s Jewish Settlement, gave renewed attention to Jewish observance. Around 1920, for example, Basil Henriques arranged ‘modern’ Sabbath services with mixed seating, commencing after work on Friday evenings. He saw these as providing a future for Judaism.¹¹⁰ The Settlement noted that many social problems – overcrowding, delinquency, ill health and under/unemployment – were typical of all denominations. Some challenges, however, remained specific to Jews, particularly the generational one. Often the outlook of Orthodox parents differed from that of their children and freedom after centuries of persecution created challenges. Training for British citizenship became even more pressing. St George’s Jewish Settlement stressed that all its work had ‘a religious foundation’ and while promoting ‘the ideals of English chivalry, sportsmanship, and manliness’, sought ‘to realize them through the influence of Judaism’.¹¹¹ But, while Jewish ideals seemingly motivated many clubs and settlement house leaders, few clubs had more than a passing relationship with Jewish observance. Henriques was in the minority in promoting a religious atmosphere in youth clubs. At a conference of the Association for Jewish Youth, he argued that leaders should bring God into their clubs, teach Jewish history and serve as a ‘personal example’. In response, another speaker noted that club members ‘did not want religion thrust down their throats’ and to do so would divide workers and drive away members.¹¹² For the most part, clubs did not promote religious observance, but instead fostered a sort of ethnic solidarity, encouraged acculturation among their members and provided opportunities for respectable leisure.¹¹³

By the interwar period, club members, now increasingly anglicised, were increasingly comfortable venturing beyond the East End and Jewish-sponsored activities. Youth leaders revisited such thorny issues as class relations and the benefits, or otherwise, of single-sex organisations. At their second annual conference, the Association for Jewish Youth noted

that class differences still divided leaders from the membership. While some supported mixed clubs, Lily Montagu, warden of London's West Central Jewish Girls' Club, thought that single-sex clubs best trained the sexes for cooperation.¹¹⁴ Improving facilities and programmes occupied most of Basil and Rose Henriques' time. The Oxford and St George's settlement opened a new building in June 1930. In welcoming the Duke of Gloucester to the celebration, Henriques remarked that a club was not merely a place to keep young people from temptations.

We aim here at the glorious ideal of fitness – of physical fitness, mental fitness and moral fitness, and we set out to make our members fit to become worthy citizens of this great Empire.

In his response, the Duke observed that the Settlement symbolised

that which is most precious to the heart of every Englishman – the spirit of happiness and unselfishness, of friendship, of sportsmanship and of fair play. Here, people of all ages can develop their intellect, whilst there are facilities for every kind of athletics, physical training and games.¹¹⁵

The Settlement, noted the Duke, was a real tribute to the men of the West London and Liberal Jewish Synagogues and members of Clubs who had made supreme sacrifice during war. He noted that the Settlement catered to men and women from cradle to grave.¹¹⁶ It would be hard to find a fuller recognition of the success of the movement's goals of acculturation.

The impact of acculturation

As the second generation came of age, the impact of acculturation became increasingly visible. Morris Beckman reflected, for example, on the irreconcilable chasms of the 1930s that emerged between many immigrant fathers and sons. Younger Jews, born in Britain, who had significant contact with non-Jewish friends and colleagues, were generally more trusting and confident about their environment.¹¹⁷ Judaism was the primary identity of most first-generation immigrants – and increasing anti-Semitism in Britain and the rise of the Nazis were all too reminiscent of the lives they left behind in Eastern Europe, where protest would have been inconceivable. Their sons, however, favoured a more assertive British Jewish masculinity. Educated in British schools,

familiar with the surrounding culture, and more fully identified as Britons than their parents, young Jewish men were far readier to defend themselves and their rights, rejecting the more cautious stance of their elders and social betters.

In the 1930s, when Mosley's fascist gangs began targeting the East End, a number of East End residents willingly defended their streets, seeing them as an extension of their homes.¹¹⁸ Fascist thugs reminded some born in Eastern Europe of anti-Semitic agitators in the old country and contributed to the political maturation of East End Jewry, especially of the younger generation.¹¹⁹ J. Monnickendam, of the famed Jewish catering family, had entered the family business after being expelled from the City of London School. In response to anti-Semitic taunts, Monnickendam hit a classmate with his rifle during an Officers Training Corps parade and cracked his skull. During the 1930s, Monnickendam continued to protest against fascism and participated in efforts to break up East End meetings of the Blackshirts. He and other young men, he recalled, would go to meetings 'with bricks in our pockets'. The police would intervene and the meetings ended quickly. Monnickendam described such exchanges as one's duty. Not only was it a night out, 'a bit of fun', which might result in a black eye, the Blackshirts 'were our enemies – they really were'.¹²⁰ For some young men, political activism such as this replaced other forms of leisure activity. According to historian Stephen Cullen, many young Jews in Manchester and various parts of the East End combined membership in the Jewish Lads' Brigade and the Young Communist League.¹²¹ The leadership of the Association for Jewish Youth, however, opposed participation in anti-fascists groups as 'unEnglish behaviour'.¹²² Yet second- and third-generation Jews 'born into a free and tolerant society' were unwilling to stand on the sidelines; the quiescence of the community leadership angered them.

Some Jews felt a growing kinship with other East End residents, especially those who joined the Communist Party (CP) and campaigned against right-wing groups, such as Oswald Mosley and the BUF.¹²³ While territorialism and discrete ethnic and religious identities remained intact, participation in the CP and anti-fascist activism, helped create a new East End local identity. According to Benjamin Lammers, 'Jews and non-Jews were now allies, if not friends'.¹²⁴ A more aggressive, physical and muscular Jewish masculinity inevitably resulted from such cultural shifts and generational developments. The famed Battle of Cable Street (1936) attracted more than 100,000 protesters, many of them Jews, against fewer than 2000 Blackshirts.¹²⁵ A number of scholars have noted that a disproportionate number of Jews became communists¹²⁶ because

CP membership was 'a way of being English, a bridge by which the children of the ghetto entered the national culture'.¹²⁷ Some young men succumbed to parental pressure to end their political involvement. As writer Cyril Spector noted, his parents prohibited him from bringing home communist literature and from seeing his 'political friends'. To his regret, he complied. He described his parents as 'visitors', chastened by what they saw in Germany and convinced that in order to remain in England, it was essential 'to keep quiet'. But, by the 1930s, young Jews – many of whom still lived in the East End – were far more acculturated than their parents were. Their attitudes, activities and sense of masculine self, the product of British schooling and Jewish communal programmes, led to greater acceptance from and comfort with the society in which they worked and played. An awareness of difference, both ethnic and religious, continued to play a role in the lives of many. The East End was home to a vibrant mix of deeply religious, traditional orthodox Jews, immigrants influenced by the Russian revolutionary milieu from which they fled, and the children of immigrants, some of whom shared the intellectual and political ideals of British-born communists.

Conclusions on the making of Jewish masculinity

It is hard to measure the precise impact of clubs, schools and apprenticeship programmes upon the formation of a distinctive Jewish masculinity. Memoirs and oral histories suggest that during the inter-war years large numbers of young Jewish men (and women) shared in the activities of their non-Jewish peers. They attended the cinema at the penny bioscope, saved up for an evening of music and coffee at Lyons Corner House in the West End, or enjoyed performances of such famed singers and actors as Marie Lloyd.¹²⁸ Leaders of the Jewish community such as Henriques and others often disapproved of these new forms of leisure, evidence of competing visions of proper behaviour for young men. Jewish participation in the range of activities – some sanctioned, others not – suggest young men's growing sense of place as young Britons, and not merely as a philanthropic project for wealthier, anglicised Jews.

Jewish men had travelled a long distance from the period of mass migration to the eve of World War II and their male identities had developed accordingly. For the first generation, religion, community and providing for their children dominated their lives. The Jewish community's investment in clubs, philanthropy, apprenticeships and loans

were deeply influential in the lives of immigrants and their children. All such programmes sought to shape boys into ‘proper’ British Jewish men. Clearly, boys and young men took advantage of leisure and employment training, and many absorbed the values of self-reliance, fair play and love of sport promoted by men such as Basil Henriques. From the late 1920s onwards, however, there was growing contestation over the behaviours and attitudes young men exhibited. The younger generation adopted the mores of their class and demonstrated more confidence in asserting their rights as Britons. In so doing, they created their own version of Anglo-Jewish masculinity.

Notes

The author would like to acknowledge helpful feedback from Lucy Delap, Joseph Frazer and especially Sue Morgan. She is grateful for research support from Bowdoin College and the Lucius Littauer Foundation. She dedicates this chapter to the memory of Trude Levi, Holocaust survivor, archivist and dear friend.

1. Quotation in chapter title from *The Jewish World*, 12 October 1900.
2. According to John Tosh ‘historians of masculinity tend to work in a compartmentalized fashion, focusing on family, work, or the public sphere rather than attempting an overview’ and he encourages historians to undertake a more integrated approach. J. Tosh (April 2005) ‘Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914’, *Journal of British Studies*, 44(2), 330–42, pp. 330–1. See also J. Tosh (1994) ‘What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain’, *History Workshop Journal*, 19, 179–202. K. Harvey and A. Shepard (April 2005) ‘What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500–1950’, *Journal of British Studies*, 44(2), 274–80. For a brief discussion of the ‘otherness’ of Jews resulting in a perception of Jewish men as ‘less than a man’, see M. S. Kimmel (1995) ‘Judaism, Masculinity, and Feminism’, in M. S. Kimmel and M. A. Messner (eds) *Men’s Lives*, 3rd edn (Boston: Allyn and Bacon), pp. 41–4.
3. J. A. Mangan suggests that David Newsome was among the first scholars to see this change in attitude. D. Newsome (1961) *Godliness and Good Learning* (London: John Murray), p. 195 as cited by J. A. Mangan (2010) ‘Muscular, Militaristic and Manly: The Middle-Class Hero as Moral Messenger’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27(1–2), 150–68, p. 151.
4. T. S. Presner (2007) *Muscular Judaism: The Jewish Body and the Politics of Regeneration* (Abingdon: Routledge), p. 1.
5. Nordau’s notion of muscular Judaism emphasised ‘discipline, agility, and strength’ that would result in a ‘regenerated’ Jewish race. Presner, *Muscular Judaism*, p. 2.
6. Tosh, ‘Masculinities in an Industrializing Society’, pp. 331–4.
7. George Eisen notes that the religious nature of ‘muscular Christianity’, in part a response to a nineteenth-century ‘crisis of masculinity’, was less problematic for Jews who did not equate ‘masculinity with physicality’. G. Eisen

- (1998) 'Jewish History and the Ideology of Modern Sport: Approaches and Interpretations', *Journal of Sport History*, 25(3), 482–531, p. 493. While not all 'muscular Christianity' emphasised religion, many forms did emphasise an ideal of masculinity that combined Christian faith with physical and moral strength. Presner, *Muscular Judaism*, pp. 115, 116.
8. See, for example, T. Hughes (1879) *The Manliness of Christ* (London: Macmillan), pp. 21–2, 24–5 as cited by B. Hilton (1989) 'Manliness, Masculinity and the Mid-Victorian Temperament', in L. Goldman (ed.) *The Blind Victorian: Henry Fawcett and British Liberalism* (Cambridge: CUP), p. 68. Mangan, 'Muscular, Militaristic and Manly', p. 153.
 9. R. J. Park (2007) 'Muscles, Symmetry and Action: "Do You Measure Up?" Defining Masculinity in Britain and America from the 1860s to the Early 1900s', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 24(12), 1604–36, p. 1606.
 10. According to Lucy Delap, a number of scholars contend that chivalry, a form of masculinity, reached the high water mark in 1912; its demise followed the horrors of World War I. Delap, however, argues that the code 'did not act as a coherent "normative centre" for Victorian and Edwardian social conduct', nor was it as homogenous as many suggest. L. Delap (2006) "'Thus Does Man Prove His Fitness to Be the Master of Things': Shipwrecks, Chivalry and Masculinities in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Britain', *Culture and Social History*, 3(1), 45–74, pp. 46–7. Tosh, 'Masculinities in an Industrializing Society', pp. 335, 336.
 11. M. Francis (2002) 'The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity', *The Historical Journal*, 45(3), 637–52, pp. 638, 650–1.
 12. P. McDevitt (1997) 'Muscular Catholicism: Nationalism, Masculinity and Gaelic Team Sports, 1884–1916', *Gender and History*, 9(2), 262–84; S. Gannon (2011) 'Exclusion as Language and the Language of Exclusion: Tracing Regimes of Gender through Linguistic Representations of the "Eunuch"', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 20(1), 1–27.
 13. When the wave of immigrant Jews began settling in Britain, they joined a community of about 60,000 Jews, the majority of whom resided in London. That established community, often referred to as the Anglo-Jewish or British Jewish community, tended to occupy leadership roles in religious and charitable institutions.
 14. N. Roemer (2009) 'London and the East End as Spectacles of Urban Tourism', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 99(3), 416–34, pp. 418, 419. See also S. L. Tananbaum (1997) 'Philanthropy and Identity: Gender and Ethnicity in London', *Journal of Social History*, 30(4), 937–61, pp. 949–50.
 15. Among the many works that have considered the Jewish experience, see D. Cesarani (1987) 'Anti-Alienism in England after the First World War', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 6(1), 5–29; D. Feldman (1994) *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840–1914* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press); B. Gainer (1972) *The Alien Invasion* (New York: Crane, Russak, and Co. Inc.); L. Gartner (1960) *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd); C. Holmes (1979) *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876–1939* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.).

16. Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, pp. 28–47.
17. See C. Bermant (1971) *The Cousinhood* (New York: Macmillan Co.).
18. I. Finestein (1993) 'The Anglo-Jewish Revolt of 1853', *Jewish Society in Victorian England* (London: Vallentine Mitchell), p. 114.
19. Economic privation and anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and perceived opportunity in the West, meant England, like America, became a favoured destination for Jews fleeing Russia and Russian Poland. See L. Gartner (1960) 'Notes on the Statistics of Jewish Immigration to England, 1870–1914', *Jewish Social Studies*, 22(2), 97–102.
20. J. Bush (1980) 'East London Jews and the First World War', *London Journal*, 6(2), 147–61, pp. 147, 151.
21. B. Homa (1969) *Orthodoxy in Anglo-Jewry, 1880–1940* (London: The Jewish Historical Society of England), pp. 11, 15. S. Sharot (1974) 'Native Jewry and the Religious Anglicization of Immigrants in London, 1870–1905', *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 16(1), 39–56, pp. 41–2.
22. David Englander (2010) 'Policing the Ghetto: Jewish East London, 1880–1920', *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies*, 14(1), 25–50, pp. 36–7.
23. S. Smith (2007) 'Sex, Leisure and Jewish Youth Clubs in Inter-War London', *Jewish Culture and History*, 9(1), 1–26, p. 9.
24. P. Knepper (2007) "'Jewish Trafficking" and London Jews in the Age of Migration', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 6(3), 239–56, p. 240. See also S. L. Tananbaum (2003) "'More Sinned against than Sinning": Wayward Youth in the Jewish Communities of Britain and America, 1880–1939', in M. Berkowitz, S. L. Tananbaum and S. Bloom (eds) *Forging Modern Jewish Identities: Public Faces and Private Struggles* (London: Vallentine Mitchell), pp. 115–39 and S. L. Tananbaum (1999) 'Jewish Feminist Organizations in Britain and Germany at the Turn of the Century', in M. Brenner, R. Liedtke and D. Rechter (eds) *Two Nations: British and German Jews in Comparative Perspective* (Tuebingen: LBI with Mohr Siebeck Publishers), pp. 371–92.
25. Eisen, 'Jewish History and the Ideology of Modern Sport', p. 504.
26. T. Presner (2006) 'Muscle Jews and Airplanes: Modernist Mythologies, the Great War, and the Politics of Regeneration', *Modernism/Modernity*, 13(4), 701–28, p. 701.
27. S. Auerbach (2007) 'Negotiating Nationalism: Jewish Conscription and Russian Repatriation in London's East End, 1916–1918', *Journal of British Studies*, 46(3), 594–620, p. 598.
28. Auerbach, 'Negotiating Nationalism', p. 598.
29. A significant percentage of Britain's Jews were either unfit or unwilling to serve. See Englander, 'Policing the Ghetto', p. 44. Military service aroused conflicting attitudes among Jews. Historically, Jews had few opportunities for military advancement and many Russian Jews left Eastern Europe to avoid conscription in the Tsarist army. Some Jews obtained conscientious objector status, but a large number sought to avoid conscription. Some hid for the duration of the war, others were medically unfit; still others claimed non-existent medical conditions. Sharman Kadish notes that despite the 'militant hostility' of East End Jews to conscription, there was 'a marked tendency to exaggerate' the number of 'friendly alien' shirkers. S. Kadish (Summer 1988–Autumn 1993) 'Bolsheviks and British Jews: The Anglo-Jewish Community,

- Britain and the Russian Revolution', *Jewish Social Studies*, 50(3–4), 239–52, p. 249. See also S. Kadish (1995) 'A Good Jew and a Good Englishman': *The Jewish Lads' and Girls' Brigade, 1895–1995* (London: Vallentine Mitchell), pp. 55–61, 62; E. Wilcock (1987–8) 'The Revd. John Harris: Issues in Anglo-Jewish Pacifism, 1914–1918', *Jewish Historical Studies*, 30, 163–77; M. Levene (2003) "'Going against the Grain": Two Jewish Memoirs of War and Anti-War (1914–1918)', in Berkowitz, Tananbaum and Bloom (eds) *Forging Modern Jewish Identities*, pp. 86, 88, 97, 93, 104–6; Auerbach, 'Negotiating Nationalism', pp. 598–9, 606–7; A. Lloyd (2010) 'Between Integration and Separation: Jews in Military Service in World War I Britain', *Jewish Culture and History*, 12(1–2), 41–60, pp. 41–2.
30. Lloyd, 'Between Integration and Separation', pp. 45–6.
 31. Auerbach, 'Negotiating Nationalism', p. 598.
 32. Bush, 'East London Jews', p. 151. Kadish, *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman*, p. 57.
 33. *JC*, 21 May 1915, 18 June 1915.
 34. Nordau, like Theodor Herzl, the 'father of Zionism', promoted the regeneration of Jews though his 1898 speech predated his exploration of 'the political implications of his initial call for a "muscle Jewry"'. See T. S. Presner (2003) "'Clear Heads, Solid Stomachs, and Hard Muscles": Max Nordau and the Aesthetics of Jewish Regeneration', *Modernism/Modernity*, 10(2), 269–96, pp. 269–70. According to George Mosse, Nordau associated degeneracy with Eastern European Jews and wanted to see the rise of a new kind of Jew who could symbolise 'the regeneration of the Jewish people'. G. L. Mosse (1992) 'Max Nordau, Liberalism and the New Jew', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 27(4), 565–81, p. 567. For a discussion of 'degeneration' and 'normalisation', see D. Biale (1986) *Power and Powerlessness in Jewish History* (New York: Schocken Books), pp. 130–41 and D. Biale (1992) 'Zionism as an Erotic Revolution', *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America* (New York: Basic Books), pp. 176–7.
 35. S. Cohen (1982) *English Zionists and British Jews* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 9.
 36. Mosse, 'Max Nordau, Liberalism and the New Jew', p. 570.
 37. M. Berkowitz (1993, repr. 1996) *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press), pp. 105–9, 145–7.
 38. See Y. Peleg (2006) 'Heroic Conduct: Homoeroticism and the Creation of Modern, Jewish Masculinities', *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, 13(1), 31–58 for a discussion and critique of Daniel Boyarin's thesis on Zionism's aggressive heterosexualising of Jewish men.
 39. Peleg, 'Heroic Conduct', p. 31.
 40. Peleg explores the question of the extent of homoeroticism in the Jewish national movement – and the creation of the 'new Jewish man' and suggests it was less prevalent than in other European national movements. Some limited homoerotic imagery appears in Hebrew literature, however, and Peleg contends that this challenges 'Boyarin's stipulation that Zionism's very raison d'être was the transcendence of the male Jew's queer stigma'. Peleg, 'Heroic Conduct', p. 34.
 41. In 1917, a small number of Jews went as far as to create the anti-Zionist League of British Jews to protect the status of British Jewish subjects.

- The League backed off their anti-Zionism when it became clear that much anti-Zionism was ‘a screen for right-wing Judeophobia’. R. S. Wistrich (1998) ‘Zionism and its Jewish “Assimilationist” Critics (1897–1948)’, *Jewish Social Studies*, 4(2), 59–111, pp. 61, 84. See also, Cohen, *English Zionists*, pp. 47–51.
42. ‘Cambridge’, http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0004_0_03874.html, accessed 17 April 2012. The Senior Wrangler, viewed by many as the greatest intellectual of his day, was the male Cambridge mathematics student who earned the highest marks on the annual honours examination.
 43. *JC*, 16 December 1887.
 44. *JC*, 28 December 1928.
 45. In 1894, the Maccabaeans, founded in 1891, appointed a sub-committee for physical recreation for boys and extended their purview to apprentices. University of Southampton, Archives of Jewish Care, MS 173, 1/6/1, Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 1894–1963, 31 October 1894.
 46. Archives of Jewish Care – Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 31 October 1894. See also M. Moore (2008) ‘Social Control or Protection of the Child? The Debates on the Industrial Schools Acts, 1857–1894’, *Journal of Family History*, 33(4), 359–87 and J. A. Stack (1994) ‘Reformatory and Industrial Schools and the Decline of Child Imprisonment in Mid-Victorian England and Wales’, *History of Education*, 23(1), 59–73.
 47. Archives of Jewish Care, Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 26 July 1894 and 25 July 1895.
 48. *JC*, 16 December 1887.
 49. *JC*, 16 July 1909.
 50. Archives of Jewish Care, Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 25 July 1895.
 51. Annual Conference of Visiting Guardians, Archives Jewish Care, Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 16 May 1912.
 52. Archives of Jewish Care, Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 4 January 1899.
 53. Archives of Jewish Care, Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 1 February 1900.
 54. Archives of Jewish Care, Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 2 July 1903.
 55. Archives of Jewish Care, Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 4 November 1897, 27 April 1898, 11 April 1907, 9 May 1907, 4 March 1909.
 56. Archives of Jewish Care, Minute Book, Industrial Committee, 6 April 1911. Such behaviours continued well into the interwar years. In 1924, the Chairman of Stepney Jewish Lads’ Club ‘reported that several Club members attended undesirable Clubs which encouraged gambling’. ‘He and the Hon Secretary had communicated with the police who confessed that under the law as it existed, they were unable to take any action’. Basil Henriques, also concerned about such conduct, ‘had written to Mr. Clarke Hall, a Metropolitan Magistrate, asking his assistance in remedying the evil’. University of Southampton Library, AJ/250/1, Stepney Jewish Lads’ Club, MS 172 – Box 1, Stepney Jewish Lads’ Club, Minute Book No. 4, Meeting – January 17, 1924.
 57. In 1924, the JBG reported apprenticing 123 boys. *JC*, 14 March 1924.
 58. *JC*, 25 December 1908.

59. Poulsen, a self-taught man, worked in the garment trades and as a cabbie. He joined the Young Communist League in 1930, began writing in 1946. In the 1960s, he taught popular courses and led tours focusing on London. Charles Poulsen, 'Obituary', *The Guardian*, Thursday, 13 December 2001.
60. Charles Poulsen (1988) *Scenes from a Stepney Youth* (London: THAP Books Ltd), pp. 51, 81–7.
61. E. J. Yeo (2004) "'The Boy is the Father of the Man": Moral Panic over Working-Class Youth, 1850 to the Present', *Labour History Review*, 69(2), 185–99, p. 191.
62. Both the names and locations of boys' clubs changed over time. As clubs expanded their offerings, several developed into more comprehensive settlement houses. Clubs renovated or moved to larger facilities to accommodate the new offerings, and eventually in response to Jewish migration patterns out of the East End, many relocated to North London.
63. The mission of numerous organisations such as the Boy Scout movement, founded in 1908 by Baden-Powell; the Lads' Brigades; and University Settlement Houses included character formation. See T. Proctor (2002) *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume 92, Part 2. Sharman Kadish's study of the Jewish Lads' Brigades (JLB) chronicles efforts to create physically fit and anglicised Jews. Her study explores the misgivings that some in the Jewish community, especially among immigrant families, had about the Brigade's militarism. Kadish traces the strains between the looser religious practices of much of the leadership of the JLB and the more Orthodox practice among families of the recruits and underscores the growing secularisation that came to characterise the early years of the Brigade. Kadish, *A Good Jew and a Good Englishman*, see esp. Chapter 4, pp. 95–136. See also R. A. Voeltz (1988) "'A Good Jew and a Good Englishman": The Jewish Lads' Brigade, 1894–1922', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 23(1), 119–27. Similarly, YMCA benefactors believed they 'saved young clerks from indolence, selfishness, gambling drink, and impurity' by directing young men away from temptations to manly pursuits. Much of the literature assumes that the YMCA turned to sport as part of its commitment to muscular Christianity. Christopher Hosgood questions whether or not the YMCA's sporting programme was a straightforward case of the benefactors imposing their agenda on grateful members. According to Hosgood, members 'did not automatically accept late-Victorian ideas of Christian manliness' and asserted their own priorities in an effort to influence reforms at the Leicester YMCA. C. P. Hosgood (2002) 'Negotiating Lower-Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain: The Leicester Young Men's Christian Association, 1870–1914', *Canadian Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes d'histoire*, XXXVII, 253–73, pp. 254–5, 256, 257, 258–60.
64. Jews and Gentiles perceived gambling as a particular Jewish vice. Beatrice Potter apparently learned more about gambling than tailoring during a visit to the Amalgamated Tailors' Club. Passfield, VII, I, 5.3–54 as cited by R. O'Day and D. Englander (1993) *Mr. Charles Booth's Inquiry: Life and Labour of the People in London Reconsidered* (London: Hambledon Press), pp. 77–8.
65. According to Eileen Yeo, 'social settlement houses and boys' clubs offered professional men the opportunity to act as putative fathers, providing the proper role models, on whom the development of the boys and the fate of

- the nation (and empire) depended'. Yeo, 'The Boy is the Father of the Man', p. 193.
66. P. Bailey (1978) *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830–1885* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul), p. 124.
 67. Voeltz, 'A Good Jew and a Good Englishman', pp. 119–20.
 68. *JC*, 29 April 1924.
 69. If accurate, approximately 10 per cent of the Jewish community were members of such organisations. S. Bunt (1975) *Jewish Youth Work in Britain: Past, Present and Future* (London: Council of Social Service), p. 168. *JC*, 9 January 1914. *Jewish World*, 10 February 1927 as cited by D. Dee (2011) 'Jews and British Sport: Integration, Ethnicity and Anti-Semitism, c1880–c1960', PhD Thesis (De Montfort University), p. 98.
 70. *The Jewish World*, 12 October 1900.
 71. See, for example, Finn, *Time Remembered* and R. L. Finn (1985) *Grief Forgotten* (London: Futura Publications).
 72. *The Jewish World*, 12 October 1900.
 73. *The Jewish World*, 12 October 1900.
 74. The Jewish community did not limit its concerns over appropriate behaviour to the immigrant East End. They also emphasised the need for guidance in the more established and affluent West End. The West Central Jewish Lads' Club, established in 1898, showed the need for a club for 'Jewish lads' living 'west of Temple Bar'. While better off than those living in the 'East End of the Metropolis ... they are none the less dependent on the suitable recreations of a well-managed club. They may need them even more, for the West End of London with its thousands and one amusements is more alive with temptations against which growing lads have to be guarded than the far East, where the conditions of life are harder and more serious'. University of Southampton, AJ 136, 'Jewish Working Lads at Play', *JC*, 9 February 1900.
 75. *The Jewish World*, 7 December 1900.
 76. Greater London Record Office, The Victoria Club for Working Lads, Log Book, 1901, 21 April 1901, 25 April 1901.
 77. The Victoria Boys' Club instituted a rule requiring boys with dirty hands to wash them before being allowed to read a book. The Victoria Club for Working Lads, Log Book, 1901, 23 April 1901, 24 April 1901, 29 April 1901, 22 June 1901.
 78. See, for example, Greater London Record Office, Victoria Boys' Club, Minutes General Committee, 1913–25, 10 September 1913, 2 December 1913.
 79. Victoria Boys' Club, Minutes General Committee, 1913–25, 8 April 1914.
 80. The Victoria Club, Log Book, 1901, 6 May 1901.
 81. The Victoria Club, Log Book, 1901, 26 May 1901.
 82. The Victoria Club, Log Book, 1901, 19 May 1901.
 83. Victoria Boys' Club, Minutes General Committee, 1913–25, March 1914. In 1901, shortly after the club opened, a visitor noted that the boys did not know the elementary rules of boxing. The Victoria Club, Log Book, 1901, 27 April 1901. Sam Clarke, a cabinetmaker and memoirist, mentioned that boxing was very popular in years before World War I and that many of best boxers were Jewish. K. Laurie (ed.) (1982) *Sam, an East End Cabinet Maker: The Pocket-book Memoir of Sam Clarke, 1907–1979* (London: Inner

- London Education Authority), p. 13. In 1924, the Committee of Managers at Stepney Jewish Lads' Club also decided to add boxing and gymnastic competitions in the club and to hire a gymnastics instructor. They had received a challenge from North London Jewish Club to meet for indoor and outdoor activities. AJ/250/1, Stepney Jewish Lads' Club, MS 172 – Box 1, Stepney Jewish Lads' Club Minute Book No. 4, Meeting, 17 January 1924.
84. Victoria Boys' Club, Minutes General Committee, 1913–25, 2 December 1913, 2 May 1914. As a side note, Leicester's YMCA barred boxing, a striking decision as the emphasis on 'physical culture', tended to reinforce 'the link between manliness, physical fitness and patriotism in interwar Britain'. While Leicester's YMCA members valued the spiritual side of the organisation's work, they also pressed the organisation to provide informal options for recreation. Despite the fact that the YMCA was resistant to change, and that members had other options in Leicester, they saw club membership as a way of attesting to their respectability. Hosgood, 'Negotiating Lower-Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain', pp. 261, 263, 262. I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2006) 'Building a British Superman: Physical Culture in Interwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 41(4), 595–610, pp. 595–6.
 85. S. Riess (1985) 'A Fighting Chance: The Jewish American Boxing Experience, 1890–1940', *American Jewish History*, 74(3), 223–53, p. 223.
 86. M. Berkowitz and R. Ungar (2007) *Fighting Back? Jewish and Black Boxers in Britain* (London: The Jewish Museum, London, and University College London), pp. 69–70.
 87. Riess 'A Fighting Chance', p. 223. While some scholars suggest boxing helped undermine anti-Semitic stereotypes, Jewish boxers did not always find acceptance, which reinforced anti-Semitism. Dee, 'Jews and British Sport', p. 14.
 88. University of Southampton, AJ 220/1/2, Diary of Basil Henriques, 5 October 1913.
 89. AJ 220/1/2, Diary of Basil Henriques, 10 October 1913.
 90. University of Southampton AJ220/1/3, Diary of Basil Henriques, 20 February 1915.
 91. AJ220/1/3, Diary of Basil Henriques, 24 January 1915.
 92. AJ220/1/3, Diary of Basil Henriques, 6 August 1915. Unsurprisingly, clubs returned to concerns over 'sexual hygiene'. The West Central Boys clubs considered the topic about the same time as St George's. Twenty years later, one of their leaders, Mr Amstell encouraged the Committee to provide advice on 'personal Hygiene and sexual matters' given the members' need for 'guidance and advice'. Around 1917, a Mr Rose gave an address and then advised boys individually when needed; he was willing to do so again. AJ/250/1, Stepney Jewish Lads' Club, MS 172, Box 1, Stepney Jewish Lads' Club, Minute Book No. 4, Managers' Meeting, 8 December 1927.
 93. AJ220/1/3, Diary of Basil Henriques, 1 May 1915.
 94. AJ220/1/3, Diary of Basil Henriques, 20 February 1915.
 95. Smith, 'Sex, Leisure and Jewish Youth', p. 3.
 96. Smith, 'Sex, Leisure and Jewish Youth', p. 1.
 97. M. Beckman (1996) *The Hackney Crucible* (London: Vallentine Mitchell), pp. 150, 152–3.
 98. Smith, 'Sex, Leisure and Jewish Youth', p. 13.

99. AJ220/1/3, Diary of Basil Henriques, 14 February 1915.
100. University of Southampton, AJ195/3/21, Rose Henriques, 'Typescript of Basil Henriques' Life', 17 September 1930.
101. AJ 220/1/2, Diary of Basil Henriques, 28 November 1913.
102. Victoria Boys' Club Minutes General Committee, 1913–25, 1 September 1914.
103. Gerson papers (n.d.) *Guide to Jewish Social Work in Great Britain* (London: The Committee for Training Jewish Social Workers), p. 5.
104. Jewish Religious Education Board (1916) *Annual Report*, p. 13. Jewish Religious Education Board (1918) *Annual Report*, p. 13.
105. AJ 195/3/11, Rose Loewe, Typescript of life of Basil Henriques, 1919.
106. GLRO, Minutes General Committee, 1913–25, Draft Annual Report Victoria Club, 1922–3.
107. *JC*, 16 April 1920, 30 May 1930.
108. *JC*, 8 August 1924, 4 October 1929.
109. *JC*, 24 February 1928.
110. St George's Jewish Settlement, *4th Annual Report*, 1922–3.
111. St George's Jewish Settlement, *5th Annual Report*, 1923–4.
112. *The Jewish Graphic*, 13 April 1928. Lily Montagu of the West Central Settlement and a leader of Liberal Judaism also introduced religion and spirituality to her clubs.
113. Smith, 'Sex, Leisure and Jewish Youth', p. 6. See also S. L. Tananbaum (2004) 'Ironing Out the Ghetto Bend': Sports, Character and Acculturation among Jewish Immigrants in Britain', *Journal of Sport History*, 31(1), 53–75.
114. *JC*, 12 April 1929.
115. AJ195/3/21, Rose Henriques, 'Typescript of Basil Henriques' Life', 30 June 1930.
116. AJ195/3/21, Rose Henriques, 'Typescript of Basil Henriques' Life', 30 June 1930.
117. Beckman, *The Hackney Crucible*, p. 145.
118. According to Mick Mindel, a leader of the United Ladies Tailors Trade Union, 'we used to run around the streets and visit other territories in groups. Sometimes end up in fights or quarrels.' Mick Mindel, interview with Jerry White, 22 March 1976, transcript, p. 26, Tower Hamlets Local History Library, as cited by B. J. Lammers (2005) 'The Birth of the East Ender: Neighborhood and Local Identity in Interwar East London', *Journal of Social History*, 39(2), 331–44, p. 334. Bill Belmont described tense relations between Jewish and non-Jewish in Spitalfields, and described the street as 'an absolute extension of the house one lived in' and fights between Jewish and Christian residents were quite common. B. Belmont (1989) *Echoes of the East End*, edited by V. Murray (London: Viking), p. 174 as cited by Lammers, 'The Birth of the East Ender', p. 336.
119. M. Beckman (1992) *The 43 Group* (London: Centerprise Publications), pp. 8, 9. T. Kushner and N. Valman (eds) (2000) *Remembering Cable Street: Fascism and Anti-Fascism in British Society* (London: Vallentine Mitchell), pp. 19, 197.
120. British Library Sound Archive, C535/37/01, London Museum of Jewish Life Oral History Interviews, Mr J. Monnickendam, interviewed by J. Duff, 19 March 1986.

121. S. M. Cullen (2012) "Jewish Communists" or "Communist Jews"? The Communist Party of Great Britain and British Jews in the 1930s', p. 15. [http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/4468/1/WRAP_Cullen__0481824-cedar-241011-sh_fascism_cullen_checked_\(2\).pdf](http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/4468/1/WRAP_Cullen__0481824-cedar-241011-sh_fascism_cullen_checked_(2).pdf), accessed 14 September 2012. Also, S. M. Cullen (2012) "Jewish Communists" or "Communist Jews"? The Communist Party of Great Britain and British Jews in the 1930s', *Socialist History*, 12(40), article forthcoming. Bunt, *Jewish Youth Work*, pp. 20–3 as cited by Dee, 'Jews and British Sport', fn. 214, p. 338. At the outset of Jewish immigration to Britain, there was a small number of Jews involved in socialism and anarchism. The movement, according to Stephen Sharot declined in the 1890s. Sharot, 'Native Jewry and the Religious Anglicization', p. 43.
122. Bunt, *Jewish Youth Work*, pp. 20–3 as cited by Dee, 'Jews and British Sport', fn. 214, p. 338.
123. For Jewish ties to the Communist movement and political activism during World War II, see H. Srebrnik (1989) 'The British Community Party's National Jewish Committee and the Fight against Anti-Semitism during the Second World War', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 8(1–2), 82–96.
124. Lammers, 'The Birth of the East Ender', pp. 339–40. Stephen Cullen questions the extent of an East End identity, noting that Jewish and Christian territorialism and strong 'ethno-political loyalty' also existed. Cullen, "Jewish Communists" or "Communist Jews"?' pp. 13–15.
125. N. Copsy and T. Daniel (2009) 'Uniting a Divided Community? Re-appraising Jewish Responses to British Fascist Antisemitism, 1932–39', *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*, 15(1–2), 163–87, p. 163.
126. Historians have suggested that about 7 per cent of the Communist Party of Great Britain's full-time activists were Jewish. J. Heppell (2000) 'A Question of "Jewish Politics"?' The Jewish Section of the Communist Party of Great Britain, 1936–45', in C. Collette and S. Bird (eds) *Jews, Labour and the Left, 1918–48* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing), p. 95 as cited by Cullen, "Jewish Communists" or "Communist Jews"?' p. 1, fn. 1.
127. R. Samuel (1985) 'The Lost World of British Communism', *New Left Review*, 154, 3–53, p. 53 as cited by Lammers, 'The Birth of the East Ender', p. 339.
128. British Library Sound Archive, Interview, Mr J. Monnickendam.

Further reading

- Black, E. C. (1988) *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry, 1880–1920* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).
- Bermant, C. (1971) *The Cousinhood* (New York: Macmillan Co.).
- Bristow, E. (1983) *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight against White Slavery, 1870–1939* (New York: Schocken Books).
- Cesarani, D. (1998) 'A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Suburbs: Social Change in Anglo-Jewry between the Wars, 1914–1945', *Jewish Culture and History*, 1(1), 5–26.
- Dee, D. (forthcoming) *Sport and British Jewry: Integration, Ethnicity and Anti-Semitism, 1890–1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

- Endelman, T. M. (2002) *The Jews of Britain, 1656 to 2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Gartner, L. (1960) *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870–1914* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.).
- Feldman, D. (1994) *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840–1914* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).
- Kadish, S. (1995) 'A Good Jew and a Good Englishman': *The Jewish Lads' and Girls' Brigade, 1895–1995* (London: Vallentine Mitchell).
- Knepper, P. (2007) "Jewish Trafficking" and London Jews in the Age of Migration', *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, 6(3), 239–56.

4

‘Be Strong and Play the Man’: Anglican Masculinities in the Twentieth Century

Lucy Delap

In February 1957, the St James’ branch of the Church of England Men’s Society (CEMS) met in Bolton to discuss what one member described as ‘the great picture by Holman Hunt “THE SHADOW OF DEATH”’.¹ Hunt had depicted Jesus as a muscular craftsman in the early 1870s, and nearly a century later his image was still resonating with this body of provincial Anglican laymen. The history of masculinities and Christian religion might perhaps lead us to think that this is not particularly surprising. Male piety has long been a conundrum; Callum Brown perceived an ‘overarching opposition between the conceptions of piety and masculinity’, which made Christian manliness ‘difficult and perhaps impossible’ to represent and enact.² Where historians have attempted to explore male religiosity, ‘muscular Christianity’ has been the dominant historical optic. Physically robust versions of masculinity, synthesised with Christian values of the defence of the weak, stoicism, fair play and so on, featured in Anglo-American Christian evangelical literature from the 1850s, and slowly spread to influence youth movements, schools, secular fiction and generalised discourses of gender. Revivals in muscular Christianity have been traced at various moments across the twentieth century, and a ‘renewed significance and even a certain hidden dependency on muscular Christian ideology’ has been perceived in twenty-first-century Britain.³ Yet muscular Christianity has been historically imprecise, lumping together quite different traditions and periods, and often barely linked to religious traditions. Its nineteenth-century proponents were well aware of its paradoxical combination of physical power with Christian virtues such as humility and forgiveness.⁴ Some preferred to talk of ‘Christian manliness’ and found the apparent contradictions of Christian scripts of masculinity productive of innate, yet creative, tension. But a less nuanced, more ‘muscular’ version has

become a historical shorthand, offering a nebulous sense of idealised masculine qualities, frequently premised on prescriptive texts rather than practice. Both the purchase of muscular Christianity in the nineteenth century,⁵ and its appeal in the twentieth,⁶ have been questioned. Its historiographical predominance has now been replaced by new approaches informed by a broad ranging acknowledgement of the constitutively complex influence of religious sensibility on gender identity and practices.

This chapter traces the complex co-presence of a variety of scripts of Anglican masculinity, cashed out in associational, devotional, political and intellectual life. I focus on the attempts by laymen and clerics to reconcile ideas of Christian love and service with robust, active forms of masculinity, and the changing styles of masculinity that were envisaged for Anglican churchmen across the twentieth century. The continuing resonance of a chivalric, physically powerful idealised masculinity in twentieth-century England is assessed and supplemented by a focus on the localised gender norms at play within wings of the Church (high church, evangelical and broad), as well as the influence of class, ordained status and place. I relate Christian-inflected masculinities to broader changes in the twentieth-century gender order, and place religion more centrally in charting the fashioning of twentieth-century masculinities.

In assessing the various ways in which masculinity was 'at play' among twentieth-century English Anglicans, this chapter will examine the formation of men's fellowships, guilds and societies among Church of England congregations. Of these, the CEMS was the most persistent and best known. Formed at the very end of the nineteenth century by the amalgamation of a number of Church of England societies, CEMS survived until 1985 with a mostly lay national membership in Britain ranging from 130,000 in the early decades to around 10,000 in the later twentieth century. It also sustained branches internationally in a similar fashion to its far larger counterpart, the Mother's Union.⁷ Some parishes organised men in similar ways, but preferred independent, non-aligned groups, mostly termed 'Men's Guilds' or 'Fellowships'. Members of such organisations were required to be observant, committed churchmen, who sought to meet 'the great and immediate need for the Church to face the problem of how best to make her work effective among men of all ages and classes'. CEMS and other fellowships aimed to strengthen prayer and attendance at Holy Communion among men, '[t]o bond men, and specifically young men, together in a common effort to promote the Glory of God'.⁸ Men's groups combined prayer and study, fellowship and leisure, church maintenance, political activism and

debate. Their debates focused upon historical, theological and topical issues, with particular focus upon what were perceived as men's concerns: trades unions, workplaces, gambling and drinking, war, prisons and offenders. They experimented with 'Men's Hours' and men's services, visiting prisons and hospitals, playing cricket and billiards, and undertaking intellectual study. CEMS leaders strongly maintained that, as Bishop Winnington Ingram put it in 1921, 'To be manly you must be religious ... man is a praying animal.'⁹

The periodicals, minute books, committees and correspondences of these bodies provide an astonishingly rich source of insight into the dilemmas posed by gender for laymen – mostly lower middle-class, white, provincial men – who attended men's groups. They were men who saw a role for homosociality in their lives, but who mostly did not inhabit the thoroughly homosocial and privileged worlds of public schools, Oxbridge colleges or settlement houses. This gives us a chance to look at their relationships with women in parishes and congregations, and at their leisure cultures as well as their faith. John Tosh and Martin Francis have proposed that British men experienced a shift towards homosociality, or a 'flight from domesticity', at various points in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such trends were not always apparent in the lives of these mostly married men, and prompts us to ask more generally how well the historiography of masculinities reflects the everyday experiences of men.¹⁰

Historiographies of crisis and co-presence

The historical narrative of masculinities in the twentieth century has stressed the abandonment of Victorian models of emotional, earnest and domestically oriented forms of manliness, in favour of the fantasised adventure, homosocial and 'muscular' emphases of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹ This has been widely understood as prompted by a 'crisis in masculinity', variously located between the 1870s and World War I, and particularly associated with middle-class masculinities. Relatively affluent men, it is argued, became uncertain as to what constituted a workable gender identity, and felt usurped by women's broader entry into labour markets and urban leisure spaces. The 'crisis' arguably led to the adoption of 'manly' tokens such as beards, and an adventuring bachelor lifestyle around the turn of the twentieth century.¹² In religious discourse, this amounted to a focus on 'virile' and martial biblical figures such as David, arguably eclipsing the gentler Christ as a manly role model.¹³

The idea of a 'crisis' in masculinity has also been held to influence the rise of the unassuming 'little man' focused on domestic companionship and the quiet life, identified with the interwar years. This has also been perceived as a period in which masculinity was secularised, as piety became definitively feminised. However, historians have more recently become critical of the 'crisis' framework and the clear-cut transitions it seems to point to. 'Crisis' has little analytic precision in the context of gender norms.¹⁴ Men predominantly emerge as historically routinely privileged, whatever their anxieties. Social and economic change and experiences of war and feminism have arguably problematised normative forms of manliness, but have failed to establish clear alternatives. Recent historiography has encouraged us to see complex, classed and ethnically marked forms of masculinity, governed by experiences, norms and fantasies, in which adventuring, aggressive *and* domestic forms of manliness have been co-present across the twentieth century.¹⁵ We might usefully foreground this co-presence of enduring components of masculinities – of commitment to family and home, of action and adventure, of risk-taking and competitiveness, of breadwinning and maturity, and assess its 'useability' for subgroups of men.¹⁶ Historicising masculinities in the twentieth century requires tracing which discourses were foregrounded at different times, within individual lives or in historical phases. Frequently, the 'cycling' of diverse options is perceptible within norms of masculinity.

Recent historiography has also drawn attention not only to the stark counterposing of masculinity against the 'other' of femininity, but to the ways in which masculinities are formed through other distinctions, including age, 'race', marital status, class and denomination or religion. R. W. Connell's attention to hegemonic and subordinate masculinities and the resulting play of power among men has stimulated a wide variety of historical work.¹⁷ John Tosh has suggested that these multiple axes of status were particularly prominent in those premodern or early modern societies who spoke of 'manliness'. He interprets the twentieth-century shift to 'masculinity' as a move towards a clearer emphasis on gender as opposed to other aspects of hierarchy and status. As masculinity replaced earlier talk of manliness, it is argued that gender was reduced down to an exclusive relationship between masculinity and femininity, creating a starker, less rich discourse of gender.¹⁸ Michael Roper, in contrast, sees masculinity as a more nuanced concept than manliness, compatible with more emotional complexity. He has proposed a slow transition, initiated after World War I, when experiences of fear and disability led to more reflection on the

meaning of 'being a man'. The availability of psychology aided the shift to a more reflexive and more secular version of gender identity over the next four decades, though arguably without any particular stability.¹⁹ In exploring Anglican masculinities, I will investigate the purchase of ideas of crisis, and of a transition to more binary forms of 'masculine' rather than 'manly' gender identity in a religious context.

Christian piety and Anglican men's groups

Members of Anglican men's groups were required to be observant, committed churchmen; they cannot be seen as typical of the wider population. Nonetheless, the membership was conventional and unpretentious, often autodidacts whose minute-writing frequently reveals an uncertain grasp of grammar and spelling. The advertisements for the Pelman Institute in CEMS monthly *Men's Magazine*, which promised to help readers 'become the self you ought to be', suggest a desire for self-betterment. They were the bell-ringing, darts-playing, lawn-mowing, politically conservative men, who also had strong interests in local and church history, in current affairs and theology. They mostly lived in small towns or suburban parishes. Before World War I, at the height of membership of the Anglican men's movement, working- and middle-class men were represented. After the war, it became a smaller, mostly lower middle-class movement.

Many branches failed to attract any members of non-white ethnicity and clearly viewed 'racial others' as profoundly alien. A mid-1930s debate on 'the Church in the Caribbean' at a Bristol CEMS branch was minuted with naive enthusiasm as 'bringing us into almost real contact with the colour question and what seemed at first immoral practices of the natives'.²⁰ A more cosmopolitan London branch talked in 1957 of getting to know 'half a dozen West Indian brothers who have attended our Church'. But though some of these men had attended a single CEMS meeting, they did not return. The branch secretary asked plaintively, 'Can it be that we lack something which instils in a man the desire to come again?'²¹ It is clear that for much of the twentieth century, the scripts and performances of masculinity in Britain were deeply marked by ethnicity. West Indian and African men were often more committed churchgoers than their white counterparts, but seem not to have seen themselves as the sorts of men who might, as the CEMS motto exhorted, 'Be strong and play the man'.²²

Anglican masculinities could potentially have drawn on the longstanding stereotypes of Catholic men as effeminate or Non-conformists as

unlettered, locating themselves as vigorous, educated and steady. But the Anglican men's movement proved surprisingly ecumenical. Men's societies and guilds looked across the confessional divide, to admire Catholic movements such as *Vivre Ensemble*, the Knights of Columba and Catholic Action.²³ Similarly, the Baptist Men's Movement and the Methodist Home Mission Dept were both admired as successful in getting men involved in their churches. In the later twentieth century, Anglican men's groups cooperated with Baptist, Methodist and Roman Catholic men, and Non-conformists were formally allowed to become CEMS members in 1979. One CEMS branch was even willing to look beyond Christian faith, arguing in 1954 that men sought in religion 'a disciplined mysticism ... If we can get this, it will not greatly matter whether the idiom the mystics use be Christian, Jewish, Hindu, or modern post-Christian.'²⁴ CEMS men were sometimes disinvested in the Church, or even Christianity, to a surprising degree.

St Oswald's men

Anglican men's ecumenicism may have been motivated by CEMS members' despair over the 'empty pews' where they felt men should be in churches. While historical debates have been dominated by questions of secularisation, this was a secondary matter to many Anglican men; instead, it was the gender balance that concerned them. It was felt that men were being failed by the Church, which was seen as predominantly ministering to female concerns and female-dominated congregations. Many men's groups believed that men needed a distinct form of spiritual and social bonding. They mostly avoided the activism of social visiting which their female counterparts took up, or were sometimes directed away from this role by clergy. CEMS members in a Cambridge branch were told disparagingly by their minister that there was no role for them in the 1916 National Mission because 'as far as visiting etc. were concerned this was rather a work for ladies of the Parish'.²⁵ Visiting or philanthropy in any case did not seem to be to the taste of most men's groups; when this Cambridge branch was asked to visit men in the Cherry Hinton Road Military Hospital during World War I, the minutes noted bluntly that the 'suggestion was not well received and the matter was dropped'.²⁶ Most branches instead sought a convivial style of meeting, in pursuit of their intangible and often restated goal of fellowship between men, and were willing to put aside philanthropic or devotional activity if this threatened their camaraderie.

The Fenland village of Littleport hosted a branch which started its monthly meetings with an hour of physical games, and then proceeded to refreshments and a debate. The debates were impromptu, covering topics such as 'Ought Christians to visit theatre? Can a man be happy though married? What is a gentleman?'²⁷ The branch proudly enumerated each year the work of its 'brothers' who acted as bell ringers, choirmen, sidesmen and teachers for the Church. They also organised shorthand and bookkeeping lectures for members. However, a 1910 venture into men's meetings for bible study and prayer was unsuccessful. This was clearly a less intellectual and observant branch than many others, but nonetheless representative of rural associational life in which secular, political and religious elements might be intertwined. The branch was also uninvested in social purity, and temperance was given short shrift. The minutes reported that when in 1915 the Archbishop of Canterbury appealed to CEMS members to abstain from alcohol for the duration of World War I, the Littleport branch decided that 'it was unnecessary to put the question before our members'.²⁸ This then was a jovial, practical, fraternal mode of masculinity, attracting over 50 members in 1914. Workable, sociable forms of masculinity were taken for granted, without any apparent sense of 'crisis'.

In contrast to the jovial Fens, High Church branches of men's groups or CEMS were wary of the more physical and games-oriented versions of manliness. Though some parishes organised 'Sportsman's services' for men, other groups were critical. 'It is a dangerous thing to put our worldly hobbies, however useful & healthy, before Godliness,' commented the chaplain in charge of a men-only guild in Anglo-Catholic Brighton. His homilies to the young men in his Guild stressed their need to develop 'manly grit', but this was mainly to be achieved through prayer and devotion.²⁹ Though 'gritty' rhetoric may sound in keeping with more hearty versions of masculinity, the practical enactment was physically reserved. Another High Church branch in Bristol also stressed the need for men to cultivate prayer and silence, in quiet afternoons and daily witness. This, the branch secretary declared, created 'beautiful brotherly feeling' among his members. This group was clearly reactive to the hearty masculinity of some men's groups, and stressed instead intense men's friendships. There are resonances here with the comradely, artistic, observant masculinity that David Hilliard has described within Anglo-Catholic churches.³⁰ There was talk of 'earnestness & reverent control' to be established among the 'lads' of High Church men's groups, which were often led by clerics. The increasing popularity of Anglo-Catholicism in the early to mid-twentieth century suggests

MEN'S MAGAZINE.



APRIL, 1905.

Published by the Church of England Men's Society,
Church House, Westminster,
London, S.W.

No. 11.

C. E. M. S. ABROAD (see page 44).

Illustration 4.1 Front cover of CEMS's *Men's Magazine*, reproduced by permission of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library

diversity in Anglican gender norms rather than any linear shift or 'crisis' in response to social change.

However attractive it might have been to High Church men's groups, 'beautiful brotherly feeling' and retreats went against the grain of talk emanating from the central committees and publications of CEMS of the urgent need to establish virile, chivalric manly men. In keeping with the 'crisis' historiography, this suggests a significant sense of anxiety over Anglican manliness in the early twentieth century, at least among the liberal and evangelical wings of the church. This led to the promotion of a self-consciously nostalgic, firmly heterosexual ideal of Anglican manliness. Chivalry helped convey a viable Anglican manliness well into the twentieth century; referencing this, CEMS deployed neo-medieval imagery in its publications. A woodcut of St Oswald, King of Northumbria, drawn by Heywood Sumner, featured on the front cover of the CEMS's *Men's Magazine* from 1902 until 1954, with the motto 'Be Strong and Play the Man'.

Chivalrous masculinity was to be controlled, chaste and attentive to the weak, while also nobly and forcefully overcoming obstacles. A 1949 commentary on CEMS noted that St Oswald was 'one of the makers of England, strong, fearless, and yet tender, because he was Christ's own, – a man worth copying'.³¹ The formation of a St Oswald Men's Fellowship was discussed in Council in 1939, alongside an 'Order of Chivalry' and 'Order of Knight in Armour'.³² As Ben Griffin has argued, chivalry was a flexible language which allowed men of very different political persuasions to present themselves as embodying the normative ideals of masculinity; its relevance continued well into the twentieth century.³³ Despite the varying persuasions of the branches, traditions of fellowship and service, powerfully linked to middle-class ideals, were still at the heart of how the central committees of CEMS framed their appeal to men through the interwar years through CEMS periodicals, annual reports and addresses to branches. Nonetheless, branches had a large measure of autonomy, and the London-based Central Council and Executive could do little to unite the Church around a single vision of Anglican masculinity.

Love, service and war

Both the chivalric and 'devotional' versions of masculinity led to talk of the 'spiritual atmosphere of love' in their homosocial meetings, and the work of 'carrying God's work of love to all members'.³⁴ But love had connotations of feminine virtues or homoeroticism, and it was

not clear how members of an organisation dedicated to appealing to 'manly' or 'virile' churchmen might also be emissaries of Christian love. In 1923, Charles D'Arcy, the Archbishop of Armagh, contributed a long discussion of how Christian men might balance the twin imperatives of love and righteousness in an article in the *Men's Magazine*. He sought to outline a morality acceptable to most men, based upon ideas of 'fair play' and 'giving the other fellow a chance' – again, chivalrous ideals which clearly spoke to discourses both of gender and nationality. He acknowledged that '[i]n much recent [Christian] teaching ... it will be found that there is a tendency to emphasise the side of Love at the expense of Righteousness'. The incarnational emphasis on the life of Jesus as a model did not, however, imply a manliness that 'turned the other cheek'. The Bishop argued that in Jesus Christ 'love was no enervating emotion. He was always touched with compassion at the sight of human need and sorrow; but He judged men with inflexible righteousness. There is often in Him a severity which terrifies'.³⁵ Jesus as a role model was to be a compassionate but severe figure. Anglican men negotiated gender norms that were hard to combine – virility and obedience, fearlessness and forgiveness, love and righteousness, and this led to significant instabilities in attempts to describe a single model of manliness.

Some branches found talk of love perplexing, and preferred more martial ways of cashing out the 'severe' Christian ideal. There was widespread talk in CEMS of the military as a model for Anglican manhood. In 1916, the Archbishop of York named CEMS 'the Expeditionary Force of the Church'.³⁶ During the war, greater stress was placed on the need for men to have single-sex spaces and opportunities for manly fellowship. A CEMS group in Hove, Sussex, discussed joining their local rifle club shortly after the close of World War I.³⁷ There were many appeals for decisive action: 'We are so terribly polite and proper', bemoaned the Dean of Chichester in the *Men's Magazine* of April 1921. A 1922 magazine article celebrated CEMS men as 'picked men, well officered, and bound to self-sacrifice', in terms that seemed unchanged by the losses and experiences of war.³⁸ World War I has been understood as causing a broad shift in British gender norms, eventually promoting a less aggressive gender role for men who had been traumatised both physically and psychologically by their wartime experiences.³⁹ Chivalry has been thought unable to represent or contain the paradoxes of men's wartime experiences. Nonetheless, it clearly continued to have relevance for some Anglican men, perhaps because there were few other languages of masculinity which could potentially be squared with Christian commitments to love, compassion and service.

Appeals to chivalry, love and service may, however, have been increasingly out of touch with the times. The interwar period saw CEMS membership decline, from 60,000 in 1918 to around 20,000 in 1939. 'Junior Branches' were experimented with unsuccessfully. This does not mean that men left the Church wholesale. Many parishes simply preferred 'open' Men's Groups, which did not demand communicant status, membership fees or high levels of commitment. Some had clearly lost patience with the nostalgic evocations of St Oswald and chivalry evoked in CEMS publications. The Bristol Federation had declared in frustration in 1936 that CEMS 'is now in a state almost of stagnation and is to all practical purposes utterly ignored' by the Church and its lay members.⁴⁰ But, perhaps against all predictions, CEMS was not wound up, and still continued to host a variety of hearty, reserved or chivalric invitations to 'play the man'.

World War II introduced new elements into Anglican masculinity, through its foregrounding of conflicts between generations of men. Many men's groups continued during the war, since their members were largely too old for active service. While military masculinity might be unavailable, risk-taking and indifference to danger were clearly attractive to some older men. A branch on Teeside recorded meeting throughout the air raids of 1940 and 1941, while its members nonchalantly continued to play darts or billiards. Many others worked as air raid wardens.⁴¹ The war has been argued to have led to hostility towards older men, and a sense of lack for those who could not wear a uniform; these changes do indeed show up in the minutes and publications of men's groups.⁴² The cricketer Elton Ede was a CEMS member, and challenged the organisation to greater activism during the war – he feared that British men might otherwise feel 'rather like the men of Vichy'. Another member suggested that the 'old men' of CEMS step aside to allow 'young, active men' to take over after the war's end.⁴³ But, more commonly, it was not older men but the clergy who were held to be the problem. A Captain Coates, for example, described in the *Men's Magazine* in 1942 his vision of Jesus: He was no 'weak-kneed, flabby-hand, Man of Sorrows', but was 'essentially a man's man, physically fit, a craftsman, a leader, who has no hesitation in calling his disciples fools ... and can hold his own with the cleverest priests and lawyers of his day'. Captain Coates associated this image with a layman's way of life, and unfavourably contrasted Jesus as a workman with 'the average parson'.⁴⁴ Ede similarly argued that '[m]any of the clergy do not care for the layman to become anything more than lance corporal, and so the men who gather round them are somehow slightly flabby'. He argued

that men of war who had faced death, in contrast, felt brotherly love in a deep fashion, and quietly represented noble, decent forms of Anglican manhood.⁴⁵ Through a Christian frame, it was possible for non-serving men to reconcile the faith and fellowship of men's groups to the temperate, quietly courageous masculine norms that Sonya Rose has associated with the World War II period. Older Anglican laymen deflected gendered criticism onto the clergy, and were positive about their capacity to serve.

The evidence from parish and national sources suggests that there was a diversity of models of manliness available to Anglican men in the early to mid-twentieth century, depending on the socio-economic and theological context. Elements of continuity can be seen across both World Wars, and within this Anglican milieu there was no clear shift from 'manliness' to more reflexive, psychologically nuanced identities of masculinity. Martial and chivalric versions of manliness persisted. Many men's groups at the parish level continued to welcome homosocial fellowship, to feel validated within traditions of active, courageous service, and showed little signs of the retreat to gardening and the home that has widely characterised the historical literature on interwar masculinities.

Clerical, lay and educated masculinities

A Bolton CEMS branch in 1931 recorded their regular prayer, which concluded, 'Let us pray for bold leadership, the will to be led, and real comradeship in serving.'⁴⁶ It was not always easy to reconcile these ideals. A particular bone of contention in leading and being led proved to be the authority that might be exercised respectively by clerics and laymen, between whom there were clear tensions. Horfield branch in Bristol were deeply disappointed that at a nearby mission, where members had been taking services, 'the new vicar wanted to stop our work'. This branch had been addressed by a speaker in 1924 who, the minutes recorded blandly, had warned CEMS members and lay readers that they 'should be careful not to overestimate their power and privileges in the Church'.⁴⁷ A central CEMS committee discussed the hostility and apathy of clergy and bishops in 1937, and concluded 'the clergy were the stumbling block'. It was unclear what authority a layperson could exercise within the Church. But from the perspective of laymen, the problem went beyond this to a deeper level of gender dissonance.⁴⁸

There had long been a sense that clerics did not follow the gender norms of most men, and this was not only evident in World War II but

also in earlier conflicts. A collection of essays by serving chaplains in 1917, *The Church in the Furnace*, repeatedly suggested a gulf between different variants of manhood. One serving chaplain noted that '[t]he officer is a man. The private is a man. The padre is, officially, not quite a man or perhaps a little more than a man, at all events, something else, a priest.'⁴⁹ Others criticised the 'affected parsonic manner', the high-pitched voice, the restlessness or unnatural gloom of clergy, which hindered the giving of 'straight-forward manly addresses of the kind men love to listen to'.⁵⁰ Anglican laymen clearly found the clerical model of masculinity uninspiring, or even sexually deviant, and positioned the layman as an alternative. In 1917 an official history of CEMS declared that St Oswald 'was chosen as the patron of our men's society because he was a layman, and a pattern to laymen. We too are called to be Saints.'⁵¹

One way in which this was articulated at the parish level was through a powerful projection of laymen as having insight into the world of work or industry in ways that clerics could not. This perhaps explains the many discussions of work, trade unionism, industry and commerce in Anglican Men's Groups. CEMS branches frequently invited men such as general practitioners, engineers, businessmen, policemen and probation officers to address their meetings and describe their daily round. The Haverhill branch in 1956, for example, heard from a member who gave 'an outline of banking and allied commercial transactions that take place in the City of London'.⁵² The many similar talks seem to have staked a claim to a form of worldliness and practical ability to make a living which members were keen to foreground as part of their gender and class status as laymen.

The breadwinning man was clearly a longstanding component of respectable, middle-class British masculinity.⁵³ The shorthand and book-keeping classes which Edwardian branches had laid on for their members had given way to an active presentation of Anglican laymen as established professionals and businessmen, corresponding to a narrowing in class terms of men's groups.⁵⁴ Indeed, the institutional tone of CEMS committees was judgemental and patronising towards working-class men. A CEMS commission appointed in 1931 to enquire into gambling and sweepstakes asked revealingly: 'Is it socially desirable that barmen and girl typists and people without education or strength of character should suddenly come into possession of enormous fortunes?'⁵⁵ There was little sense that working-class masculinities might be valued.

The 'breadwinner' was not the only masculine identity that emerged in the Anglican men's movement, and worldly knowledge was not

the only claim for status. There were also contests over status as intellectual or educated men. The Guild of St Leonard in Brighton claimed unequivocally: 'We are educated Catholics'; the anxiety members displayed to proclaim themselves educated suggested that they may have lacked formal qualifications. There was also a gendering of religiosity at play, as David Tjeder has argued in a Swedish context, with masculine faith being founded on intellectual study, as opposed to the 'natural faith' of women.⁵⁶ Anglican men's groups followed study programmes; some branches referred to their programme in autodidact terms as their 'syllabus'. Most clearly sought intellectual stimulation for its own sake, but also to delineate their class status, and their association with a particular wing of the church. CEMS members largely adopted a broad or high-church affiliation, and its branches showed a distinct lack of interest in the evangelical revivals of the 1950s. Billy Graham and other fundamentalists were denounced in a Bolton branch as 'happy in their simple beliefs' in contrast to 'really intelligent people'.⁵⁷

The claim to intelligence might be deployed as a liberal Anglican critique of the biblical literalism of evangelicals but also served to shore up a particular script of lay Anglican masculinity. Perhaps most fundamentally, educated status was a means of asserting laymen's standing against that of clerics, who were frequently intellectually patronising to their congregations. The St Luke's CEMS branch in Brislington, Bristol recorded in their minute book a meeting with their Bishop in 1957 during which 'he gave the unfortunate impression that he was talking down to those present regarding them as uneducated laymen ... [W]hen the meeting with the Bishop was closed the Sub-committee felt annoyed and frustrated'. Their sensitivity to patronising treatment was still evident when in 1962 their branch made suggestions about the revision of the baptism service to their diocese. The minutes recorded that 'the laymen's awareness of the service had, the Vicar said, been a surprise to the Dean'.⁵⁸

Many ministers clearly preferred CEMS men to help with maintenance tasks as an expression of their faith, oriented to practical service. This tension came into the open in the St James's branch in Bolton, when in 1959, a new vicar attempted to rethink the branch. This was a particularly active group which had discussed theological issues, current affairs and had focused on a better understanding of Judaism through visiting synagogues and inviting Jewish speakers. The new vicar was clearly troubled, and proposed that the branch instead 'be built up into a vigorous Christian fellowship which would assist physically in the many problems of the church'. He proposed a model of 'Christian

Stewardship' among the men of his parish, which seemed mainly to focus on DIY skills.⁵⁹ This tension between practical assistance with mowing grass or changing light bulbs versus serious study as the main aim of men's groups was evident throughout the twentieth century, and suggests the dilemmas middle-class men faced in establishing workable masculinities, and preserving class status.

Within Anglican men's groups, a sense of the insufficiency of Christian clerical manliness prompted a foregrounding of other models that dignified the contributions of laymen. The worldly breadwinning man and the intellectual emerge most strongly from the sources, given a specific Christian form in relation to reasoned approaches to faith associated with masculinity. The practical DIY steward and the devoted manly friend were also viable, though less prominent, figures.

Anglican men's groups and postwar challenges

These models were not imagined with working-class or non-white men in mind, but some did lend themselves more readily to the involvement of women. Though men's groups were wary of femininised religion, they did not shun women. Some branches opted to make women regular invitees, through their awareness that the 'young men, already much occupied ... by night classes and other educational work, found ... that they had no time left for other meetings to which they cannot bring their girls'.⁶⁰ Men's groups held joint suppers and talks with Mother's Unions, Ladies' Fellowships and Girls Friendly Societies. This is in keeping with the post-1918 turn towards 'mutualism' and heterosociality that Marcus Collins has suggested.⁶¹ It is notable, however, that women (or 'girls') were usually involved in fairly subordinate ways. Branches Minutes thank 'the ladies' for their efforts in catering and washing up for CEMS meetings. Few showed any inclination to debate the place of women in the church, though women's suffrage had been debated, and welcomed, in the jovial Littleport branch. The Haverhill Men's Fellowship had spawned a 'Men's Fellowship Wives' Group' during the 1960s, though there is no evidence that they were expected to contribute anything more than cakes and tea; there is noticeably little change in patterns of Anglican associational life in provincial 1960s England. Nonetheless, the changing place of women in society, alongside the Cold War changes in warfare, were increasingly acknowledged around this time, and came to problematise the status and stability of martial, worldly and intellectual forms of masculinity.

Martial Christian masculinities seemed less workable and desirable in the decades immediately after World War II. One speaker at a Manchester Men's Fellowship meeting recalled his attempts to bear Christian witness in the Barrack Room while serving in the war, but he acknowledged that this was 'difficult and unpleasant'.⁶² St Oswald and his sword disappeared from the front cover of the *Men's Magazine*. If Anglican men participated in the fantasies of adventuring manliness that Martin Francis and Graham Dawson have identified among post-war British men, it was only through their enthusiasm for travel slide shows and talks about missionary work abroad. Overall, they seemed not adventuring but anxious about modern lives, and deeply uneasy about communism, the Cold War and the threat of the atom bomb. Indeed, the exposure to fear that has been associated with the World War I trenches seems much more prominently exposed by the fear of atomic war and its challenge to meaningful martial masculinity.

Men's groups in the 1950s and 1960s had been readier to discuss men's domestic roles, stressing the moral importance of their fathering. *For Men*, for example, summarised in 1963 the discussion of a Lancashire branch on fathering: '[A] child cannot understand the meaning of a Heavenly Father if he does not know the real meaning of an early father ... The rising tide of divorce and juvenile delinquency can be countered to a great extent by the practice of more Christian fellowship in the home.'⁶³ This pro-fathering rhetoric was motivated less by the 'new man' norms being debated more widely in Britain, and rather by concern over the permissive social changes of these decades, and later the rise of feminism. At the central level, CEMS began to adopt a more political agenda, perhaps influenced by the rise of the Christianity-influenced moral agenda on the Right.⁶⁴ One member claimed: 'We cannot leave it to the Mary Whitehouses! ... We as men must organise ourselves and say "stop"; from here we fight, fight fight ... Don't let us just sing "fight the good fight".'⁶⁵ The 1970s and early 1980s saw much sharper expressions of anger, homophobia and misogyny within CEMS publications. The CEMS magazine had been renamed *Quest*, perhaps intending to convey journeys of spiritual discovery, but also harking back to knightly, martial forms of masculinity. *Quest* readers commented on 'the removal of men as undisputed head of the house, and women going out to work, earning money and demanding a say in the home [which] causes considerable stresses. Though many men accept this new role, many do not.'⁶⁶ Echoing Thatcher's comments on immigration, there was talk of the 'swamping' of men by women. A pamphlet from this period talked of the need for what it perhaps unfortunately

termed 'parochial apartheid', and defended separate meetings: 'Man communing with man can extend to more intimate conversation; that is, fellowship in depth. Men are gregarious, and prefer to train with men and to work with men.'⁶⁷ The worldly breadwinning masculinity that had been so central to earlier middle-class laymen identities shifted towards more entrepreneurial, active, risk-taking forms of workplace masculinity – as one member noted in 1978, 'the need of men for the thrill of risk and the joy of profit'.⁶⁸

This was in keeping with a new focus on how the lay leadership of CEMS felt that men should work for the church – they were to stand out from normal parochial business, to be peripheral, to take risks and return to a more aggressive form of masculinity. There seemed to be a departure from a religious inspiration in all this, and even from Christian morals. 'Man must be allowed to bring his challenging aggressiveness, his manhood, into church, just as much as to the pub', wrote one cleric.⁶⁹ Another cleric writing in *Quest*, on prisons, noted that if CEMS 'is to survive the 80s, we could learn from some of these lads in prison'.⁷⁰ The CEMS national conference in 1980 had as a principle speaker the head of CID in South Wales, Viv Brook, who spelled out his values: 'A policeman isn't allowed to turn the other cheek. We have to take a hard line.' He acknowledged that such behaviour was 'quite hard to reconcile ... with Christian principles', but concluded, 'my conscience is clear'.⁷¹ Evidence such as the continuing Christian elements to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, or the critical 1985 report, *Faith in the City*, has associated the Church of England with critiques of the acquisitive, individualistic values of Thatcherism. Nonetheless, the predominantly provincial and lay (though with significant clerical participation) CEMS suggests resonance for some men between Anglican faith and Thatcherite social values.⁷²

Curiously, there were very few direct references to the ongoing agitation around women's ordination. A few men noted that this was another area where women sought to oust men, and worried about the 'aggressive maleness' they perceived among church feminists. But it was still predominantly the cleric rather than the feminist who represented the 'other' within these assertions of masculinity. Accusations that the clergy had a 'female-oriented' ministry became more pointed and common in this later twentieth-century period. One particularly outspoken CEMS member, Colin Williamson, stated: 'It is rare to find a clergyman in parish life for whom *men* have any real respect – too many of the clergy are like "Rev. Noote".'⁷³ The reference was to a character from the BBC situation comedy 'All Gas and Gaiters', in which Derek Nimmo

played a stuttering, ineffectual chaplain. The Executive Committee of CEMS agreed that clerical leadership would put off the 'men of independence and initiative that the Church needs'. The undertones of sexual deviance that had characterised earlier criticisms of the clergy became clearer: 'The Church welcomes "female" men', declared one member with horror. Letters printed in *Quest* in the late 1970s were openly homophobic, railing at homosexual priests and paedophiles.⁷⁴ There was talk of CEMS undertaking an 'aggressive mission to men', becoming a lay order, or forming industrial branches.⁷⁵

At the local level meanwhile, men continued to organise themselves into men's groups without acknowledging national affiliations. Unaligned men's groups undertook voluntary work in their parishes, and their minutes suggest a divergence from the more political and bombastic rhetoric at the centre. The Lavenham Deanery Men's Group, which attracted around 70 members in the 1960s, talked of 'compassion as a winning factor in drawing men to Christ'.⁷⁶ St Luke's CEMS in Brislington also talked about compassion and care in the early 1970s. Their meetings were open to 'ladies', and they seemed uninvested in aggressive modes of masculinity.⁷⁷ As Hugh McLeod has argued, we should not take Whitehouse and her moral campaigns as representative of Christian or Anglican opinion, which was diverse and mobile.⁷⁸ Anglican men's groups also suggest that pluralism rather than dogmatism marked these decades.

Even at the bombastic centre, CEMS men had to engage with a new figure who had not previously been identified – the professional woman. CEMS publications repeatedly made scornful comments on the 'low intellectual level' of women's bodies such as the Mothers' Union and stressed the intellectual role that men needed. But in debates about extending the Church's outreach to workplaces, men were forced to acknowledge that late twentieth-century women inhabited workplaces and might also feel alienated from the apparent clerical bias towards families and domesticity. One *Quest* writer conceded that 'what I say also applies to working women. I would personally have no objection to them joining us ... provided the few men we do have are not swamped by feminine numbers again'.⁷⁹ It proved difficult to sustain a focus on men once the workplace and breadwinning components of male identity had become clearly shared by women, and CEMS publications failed to resolve this tension. Some branches noted attendance by what they called 'career women'. But this did not prevent blustering talk of the need for 'more manly churchmen'.

The late twentieth-century rhetoric, however, was not all bombast and bluster. The talk of aggression and risk-taking was curiously harnessed

to a sense of male failure and despair; one writer on the future of CEMS saw it offering 'embrocation' for men who were 'bruised by failure'.⁸⁰ The published literature of the movement became disparate, with its calls for aggression alongside the recognition of failure and marginalisation among men. Members increasingly recognised that they only spoke for retired men, and noted their lack of comprehension of the needs of younger men. Their ability to cast themselves as vigorous, worldly men was eroded, and Christian spirituality or faith did not seem to provide any distinctive sustenance. I suspect that CEMS had ceased to speak for many Anglican men, and while parish-level organising of separate men's groups continued, the national body ceased to exist in 1985.

Conclusions

'Muscular Christianity' has provided an inadequate historical shorthand for thinking about the gendered norms Christian men encountered or idealised. Nonetheless, religious rituals, institutions, theology and morality clearly contribute to the making of gendered selves, operating at a lay and grass-roots level rather than simply among elites within the Church. Anglican men's group members represent a conventional middle ground of laymen, living lives embedded in heterosocial communities, marriages and families. Histories of 'boundary cases' and radicals have proved a rich vein within gender history, but need to be supplemented by this more conventional world of 'everyday' discourses of gender.

The men's groups I've surveyed suggest a transformation of the purity and fellowship concerns of nineteenth-century Anglican manliness into a more inward-looking and, at times, insecure twentieth-century version, but not one that can usefully be termed as 'in crisis'. To focus our debates on 'crisis' unhelpfully obscures the continuities within masculinities (chivalric, martial, intellectual, jovial), and their workability. CEMS and other men's fellowships sought to realign faith with stable gender identities. This largely involved an assertion of gender hierarchy along conservative lines, based on the heterosexual family and male breadwinner. Despite tensions – the potentially transgressive nature of homosocial or even homoerotic talk of brotherly love, for example – these proved workable and enduring identities. The breadwinner was also a classed identity, as was that of the educated, intelligent Anglican man. These dominant modes of middle-class masculinity coexisted with less visible and less clearly classed modes of risk-taking, adventurous masculinities, often expressed in martial terms. World

War II in particular was a moment when more martial masculinities were performed, though largely in nostalgic ways by older men, rather than by younger men who had seen active service. At other times the adventurer was mainly an armchair fantasy, and war evoked fear rather than pride. Towards the end of the twentieth century, we can perceive an unravelling of what already in the nineteenth century had been a precarious aligning of masculinity with socio-spiritual privilege. There was a resurgence of earlier talk of virile, martial and aggressive forms of masculinity, and evidence of destabilising anxiety.

Some of this late twentieth-century rhetoric conjured ideas of a crisis in masculinity, but we should be wary of taking this at face value. First, the strongest polemics emerging in CEMS in the 1970s and 1980s (homophobia, individualism, anxiety about permissiveness) were reflected in the tone of the Conservative Party in opposition and later in government; these were not voices of the powerless. The talk of risk-taking, the renewal of Christian values and aggressive action against the decline of the heterosexual family and conservative values was thoroughly in keeping with the politically hegemonic Thatcherite project from 1979. It would seem paradoxical to argue that Anglican men were suffering an existential crisis in a decade where much political rhetoric supported their world view. Second, we need to be cautious about how much weight we attribute to these strident individuals. There is little evidence that their views were widely shared; indeed, this kind of rhetoric may have contributed to the end of a formal national Church of England men's movement in 1985. In sum, throughout the century, few moments of gender crisis are perceptible among these men. The most we can perhaps concede is that the making of masculinities is an anxious process, never gaining much stability or closure. In determining which models were adopted by individuals or branches, contests over hierarchies and authority within particular parishes or church institutions seem more influential than broader social changes such as war and economic depression. Gender is formed at micro-contexts of specific institutions and conjunctures, a provincialised and flexible identity.

To what extent were Anglican masculinities organised around a twentieth-century transition from ideas and categories of manliness to masculinity? Talk of manliness extended into the late twentieth century, at least in some Anglican circles. There was no very clear-cut transition between 'manliness' and 'masculinity', and twentieth-century Anglican men's groups deployed both concepts. Examining their 'gender work' suggests that even where 'masculinity' had become a familiar discourse, it was constructed in complex ways, nuanced by class, age and other

distinctions, and not simply through distinction from femininities. Whether the language is of masculinity or manliness, a deep-rooted sense that gender is not simply about men and women emerges. Indeed, women were surprisingly absent from much of the talk of masculinity. If they are mentioned, they are sometimes classed with men, as actual or potential members of these men-only groups. The masculinities of some Anglican men's groups developed in antagonism towards women and feminists within the church, particularly in the late twentieth century. However, the majority were invested in reconciling masculinity with qualities of love, compassion and service, which often led to reciprocity with femininities. Instead, the most stable binary delineating Anglican masculinities was the lay/clerical division. Laymen continually feared that clerical masculinities and pastoral practices undermined the appeal of Anglicanism to men and problematised their performances of gender. John Tosh's work on manliness has enabled a broadening of what kinds of distinctions are at play in establishing gender, and this must be extended into the later twentieth century and discourses of masculinity.

How influential was the amorphous idea of muscular Christianity, which has been so important in explaining late nineteenth-century religious and gender identities, into the twentieth century? Arguably, muscular Christianity remained available, in the talk of virile, vigorous manliness, and the ongoing fascination with the muscular carpenter Christ. A term such as 'muscular Christianity' is so loosely defined that in truth it can be applied to all modes of Anglican masculinity, and we need a finer-grained means of distinguishing masculinities within groupings of faith, class and lay status. It seems unlikely that a single term can capture the nuances of the way in which chivalry, appeals to St Oswald or talk of manly grit, might be conjured at different historical moments, and in diverse wings of the Church. We might perhaps characterise Anglican laymen as 'worldly men of faith', while recognising the many possible performances that this might mandate. Indeed, rather than 'crisis', a sense of tentative, experimental performance emerges here, adjusted to different audiences and always being rescripted. The CEMS slogan 'Be Strong and Play the Man', read against the grain, captures something of the character of Christian masculinities. It seemed on first reading to reference sporting, public-school visions of manliness, summed up in Newbolt's 1892 line, 'Play up! Play up! And play the game'.⁸¹ But having spent more time immersed in the sources, the idea of 'playing' the man came to seem more tentative, suggestive of a lack of conviction that inner and outer realms will correspond. Anglican

manliness emerges as a 'part' that can be assumed, but for which the script is always evolving and only tenuously known.

Notes

I'm grateful to the Newton Trust at the University of Cambridge whose research grant funded the archival work on which this chapter is based. I would also like to thank Anna Bull for her invaluable research assistance; Sue Morgan and the participants of the Modern British History Seminar at the University of Cambridge for their helpful comments on this chapter; and the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library for permission to cite from their manuscripts collection and reproduce an image.

1. 11 February 1957, minutes, Breightmet, Bolton, L84, Manchester Archives.
2. C. G. Brown (2009) *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000* (London: Taylor and Francis).
3. J. J. MacAloon (2008) *Muscular Christianity and the Colonial and Post-Colonial Worlds* (London: Routledge).
4. Critical explorations of muscular Christianity include N. Vance (1985) *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); D. E. Hall (1994) *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); S. Gill (1998) 'How Muscular was Victorian Christianity?' in R. N. Swanson (ed.) *Gender and Christian Religion*, Vol. 34 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press); 421–430 N. J. Watson, S. Weir and S. Friend (2005) 'The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain and Beyond', *Journal of Religion and Society*, 7, 1–21; and J. J. MacAloon (2008) *Muscular Christianity and the Colonial and Post-Colonial Worlds* (London: Routledge).
5. Boyd Hilton's work on the mid-Victorian transition from evangelical to incarnational Christian doctrines points to deep commitments to selfless, gentle, observant masculinity idealised by Thomas Hughes. Hughes' 'Christian manliness' eulogised self-control rather than physical prowess. Ben Griffin also charts the spread of companionate masculinities towards the close of the nineteenth century, partly through the influence of incarnational theology, and has been critical of the extent to which such masculinities can be read through the lens of 'muscular Christianity'. B. Hilton (1989) 'Manliness, Masculinity and the Mid-Victorian Temperament', in L. Goldman (ed.) *The Blind Victorian: Henry Fawcett and British Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 60–70; B. Griffin (2012) *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). In a sign of the lack of analytic precision of muscular Christianity, the incarnational stress on the physical human form taken by Jesus could also validate more hearty versions of manliness, with idealised fit bodies being heralded as suitable 'temples' of the Holy Spirit.
6. Dominic Erdozain has argued that Christian athleticism became a secularised, but still powerful, tradition among British evangelicals of the late nineteenth century. D. Erdozain (2010) *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).

- Others have traced the persistent influence of muscular Christianity, in secular or evangelical forms, in the United States or the British Empire. T. Ladd and J. A. Mathisen (1999) *Muscular Christianity: Evangelical Protestants and the Development of American Sport* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books). The growing popularity of Anglo-Catholicism from the 1890s might suggest the eclipse of muscular Christianity in preference for more aesthetic, reserved, spiritual manliness. But some have argued for a persistent infusion of 'muscular' values within apparently competing Anglican traditions. James Eli Adams, for example, has termed the late nineteenth-century ritualistic Anglicanism of Walter Pater 'muscular aestheticism'. J. E. Adams (1994) 'Pater's Muscular Aestheticism', in D. E. Hall (ed.) *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 215–38.
7. C. Moyses (2009) *A History of the Mothers' Union: Women, Anglicanism and Globalisation, 1876–2008* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press). While my research has focused on English locations, there is considerable scope for extending this to a British, imperial or Commonwealth study, as Cordelia Moyses has usefully done in her study of the Mothers' Union.
 8. Report of Council of CEMS held 9 May 1900, CEMS minutes, MS 3364, Lambeth Palace Library, Manuscripts, henceforth LPL.
 9. Bishop W. Ingram (1921) *The Men that CEMS Wants*, 8th edn (London: CEMS), p. 1, LPL H5013.c45.
 10. J. Tosh (1999) *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press). M. Francis (2007) 'A Flight from Commitment? Domesticity, Adventure and the Masculine Imaginary in Britain after the Second World War', *Gender and History*, 19(1), 163–85.
 11. Tosh, *A Man's Place*; N. W. Ellenberger (2000) 'Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-De-Siecle England', *Journal of British Studies*, 39(4), 87–517.
 12. Tosh, *A Man's Place*. C. Oldstone-Moore (2005) 'The Beard Movement in Victorian Britain', *Victorian Studies*, 48(1), 7–34.
 13. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*.
 14. M. S. Kimmel (1987) 'The "Crisis" in Masculinity in Historical Perspective', in H. Brod (ed.) *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men's Studies* (Boston: Allen and Unwin), pp. 121–53; J. A. Allen (2002) 'Men Interminably in Crisis? Historians on Masculinity, Sexual Boundaries, and Manhood', *Radical History Review*, 82, 191–207.
 15. G. Dawson (1994) *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge); Francis, 'A Flight from Commitment?'
 16. See, for example, R. Johnston and A. McIvor (2004) 'Dangerous Work, Hard Men and Broken Bodies: Masculinity in the Clydeside Heavy Industries, C. 1930–1970s', *Labour History Review*, 69, 135–51, A. Wills (2005) 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950–1970', *Past & Present*, 187, 157–85.
 17. A. Shepard (2003) *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); R. W. Connell (2005) *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press); H. Ellis (2011) "'Boys, Semi-Men and Bearded Scholars": Maturity and Manliness in Early Nineteenth-Century Oxford',

- in J. H. Arnold and S. Brady (eds) *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 263–84.
18. J. Tosh (2005) *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longman).
 19. M. Roper (2005) 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44(2), 343–62.
 20. 4 November 1935 meeting of Horfield CEMS, Bristol Record Office.
 21. Branch Report 1957 CEMS St Stephen's and St Luke's Branch, West Ealing W13, Minute book, DRO/148/06/013, London Metropolitan Archives.
 22. Despite surveying more than 25 English Anglican men's groups in the research for this chapter, this was the only record of men of non-white ethnicity attending. On the racial scripts influencing perceptions of black masculinity, see M. Collins (2001) 'Pride and Prejudice: West Indian Men in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 40(3), 391–418.
 23. See, for example, 'The Structure and Role of "Vivre Ensemble l'Évangile Aujourd'hui" in the Church of France, and Some Thoughts about the Future Role of CEMS in the Church of England', Piers Nash-Williams, 2 March 1978; Barry Dawson, 'A Comparison with the Baptist Men's Movement and CEMS', undated, Ms 3384, LPL.
 24. CEMS St Stephen's and St Luke's Branch, West Ealing, Minute book, 29 May 1954, DRO/148/06/013, London Metropolitan Archives.
 25. Report of the 1915 Annual General Meeting, St Andrew's the Great CEMS branch, Minute Book, Cambs Records Office.
 26. Minutes, 24 October 1916, St Andrew's the Great CEMS, Cambs Records Office.
 27. Minutes of meetings, 2 April and 4 May 1910, Littleport CEMS branch, Cambs Records Office.
 28. 19 January 1915 Minutes Littleport CEMS branch, Cambs Records Office.
 29. Walter F. Jameson, Guild of St Leonard's, 1909, PAR470/26/1, East Sussex Records Office.
 30. D. Hilliard (1982) 'Unenglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality', *Victorian Studies*, 25(2), 181–210.
 31. C. Kelway (1949) *The Church of England Men's Society: Past and Present 1899–1949* (London: CEMS), underline in original.
 32. CEMS Council minutes, 26 January 1939, MSS 3364–70, LPL.
 33. B. Griffin (2012) *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
 34. Horfield CEMS Minute Book, 10 January 1928, Bristol Record Office.
 35. Archbishop of Armagh, 'The Spiritual Foundations of Life', *Men's Magazine*, October 1922, pp. 9–10.
 36. Quoted in Kelway, *The Church of England Men's Society*.
 37. Church of England Men's Society, Aldrington Branch, minutes 27 January 1919, PAR 228/26/2 East Sussex Records Office.
 38. ASB, 'Taking up the Gauntlet', *Men's Magazine*, October 1922, p. 12.
 39. J. Bourke (1996) *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books). Roper, 'Between Manliness and Masculinity'.

40. This may have been a party political comment. Bristol branches veered towards Anglo-Catholicism than many others, and sought to remodel CEMS along more 'Roman' lines. Bristol Federation, 26 June 1936, cited in the Report of the Executive Committee of the Council on CEMS Methods of Organisation, October 1936, MSS 3367, LPL.
41. 28 October 1940, minutes, St Luke's CEMS, Thornaby on Tees, Teesside Archives.
42. S. O. Rose (2004) 'Temperate Heroes: Concepts of Masculinity in Second World War Britain', in S. Dudink, K. Hagemann and J. Tosh (eds) *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 177–98.
43. E. Ede, 'Do We Mean Business?' *Men's Magazine*, April 1942, p. 131; 'Preparation for Peace', *Men's Magazine*, January 1943, pp. 159–60.
44. W. G. Coates, 'A Layman's Reflections on the Art of "Fishing for Men"', *Men's Magazine* April 1942, p. 136.
45. E. Ede, 'What Can They Do For Us?' *Men's Magazine*, April 1945, p. 271.
46. Bolton All Souls CEMS, undated [1931–2], letter to 'George' from W. Pierpoint, L117, Manchester Archives.
47. Horfield CEMS branch, Annual report, 1930–1; minute book, entry for 1 April 1924, Bristol Record Office.
48. CEMS Council Minutes, Discussion of Executive Committee Report on Methods of Organisation, 14 May 1937, MSS 3367, LPL. On similar laymen fears of clerical effeminacy, see A. O'Brien (1993) "'A Church Full of Men": Masculinism and the Church in Australian History', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25(100), 437–57.
49. Rev. Canon James O. Hannay, 'Man to Man', in F. B. Macnutt (1917) *The Church in the Furnace: Essays by Seventeen Temporary Church of England Chaplains on Active Service in France and Flanders* (London: Macmillan & Co.), p. 335.
50. Rev. G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, 'The Religious Difficulties of the Private Soldier', Rev. Kenneth E. Kirk, 'When the Priests Come Home', in *ibid.*, pp. 430, 415.
51. Kelway, *The Church of England Men's Society*.
52. Mr Coby, 'Money Matters', 13 March 1956, Haverhill CEMS, FL578/3/32, Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmund's Branch.
53. S. Horrell and J. Humphries (1997) 'The Origins and Expansion of the Male Breadwinner Family: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Britain', *International Review of Social History, Supplement*, 5, 25–64.
54. It was clearly felt that CEMS was losing its ability to appeal to working-class men after World War I. Its Central Council argued ponderously that 'it is desirable to have two or three working men wage-earners ... on the Council ... in order to keep in touch with the ideals of the working classes in their deliberations.' CEMS 19th Annual Report, 1918–19, p. 2, MS 3366, LPL.
55. Addington Committee, 4 June 1931, MS 3383, LPL.
56. Guild of St Leonards, 1919 Annual Report, no page number, PAR470/26/1, East Sussex Records Office. D. Tjeder (2011) 'Crises of Faith and the Making of Christian Masculinities at the Turn of the Twentieth Century', in Y. Werner (ed.) *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press), pp. 127–46.

57. C. Norburn, speaking to the Brieghtmet CEMS, Bolton, 30 September 1954, L84, Manchester Archives.
58. Minutes, St Luke's Brislington CEMS, 11 July 1957 and December 1962, Bristol Record Office.
59. St James' CEMS, Breighmet, Bolton, 30 November 1959, L84, Manchester Archives.
60. CEMS Junior Sections Committee, 9 July 1931, MSS 3382, LPL.
61. M. Collins (2003) *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic Books).
62. Rev. D. R. Westcott: 'How I Entered the Ministry', talk to St Thomas Church, Ardwick, Men's Fellowship, 5 May 1958, M273/5/3, Manchester Archives.
63. 'The Real Family Man', *For Men*, April 1963.
64. On the rise of the National Viewers and Listeners Association and the Clean Up TV campaign of the 1960s, see L. Black (2010) *Redefining British Politics: Culture, Consumerism and Participation, 1954-70* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). Black suggests that the Mother's Union shared some of the NVALA concerns, but rejected their calls for action over dislike for NVALA 'intemperate language' and aggression (p. 121). CEMS branches clearly shared both sets of concerns.
65. E. Claridge, letter to *Quest*, Winter 1978, p. 7.
66. *Quest*, Raymond Bird, 'What are the needs of men that the Church should be addressing?' CEMS Development Commission, c. 1978, Ms 3384, LPL.
67. Parochial Apartheid, CEMS pamphlet, undated, LPL.
68. C. Williamson, 'Written Work', 26 January 1978, MS 3384, LPL.
69. Father M. West, 'Need for Manly Churchmen', *Quest*, Summer 1980, p. 12.
70. Rev. N. Proctor, 'Our Work in Prisons', *Quest*, Autumn 1980, p. 9.
71. V. Brook, reported in *Quest*, Autumn 1980.
72. Church of England. Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas (1985) *Faith in the City: A Call for Action by Church and Nation* (London: Christian Action). Matthew Grimley's 'Thatcherism, Morality and Religion' similarly suggests a coherence between Christianity and Thatcher's legislation, in B. Jackson and R. Saunders (eds) (2012) *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
73. C. Williamson, 'Written Work: What are My Needs?' 26 January 1978, presented to the CEMS Executive Committee, MS 3384, LPL.
74. C. Williamson, 'Men', 1 March 1978, E. Claridge, *Quest*, Winter 1978-9, p. 7; Anon., *Quest*, Summer 1979, p. 11.
75. C. Williamson, 'Written Work: What are My Needs?' 26 January 1978; 6 February 1978 Executive Committee minutes; Development Commission Draft Report, 1978, MS 3384, LPL.
76. Rev. A. Reed address to the Lavenham Deanery Men's Society, 27 February 1968, Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmund's Branch.
77. AGM minutes, St Luke's CEMS, Brislington, January 1973, Bristol Record Office.
78. H. McLeod (2007) *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
79. General Secretary, Rev. B. Dawson from 1976, 'Where Do We Go From Here?' *Quest*, Summer 1980, p. 2. See also 'Justification for a Men's Society', Development Commission Draft Report, 1978, MSS 3384, LPL.

80. Williamson, 'What are My Needs?'; J. Twigg, Development Commission Background Paper, 15 February 1978, MS 3384, LPL.
81. 'Vitai Lampada', H. Newbolt (2007) *Collected Poems 1897–1907* (Teddington: Echo Library).

Further reading

- Erdozain, D. (2010) *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press).
- Green, S. J. D. (2011) *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change, c.1920–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Griffin, B. (2012) *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain: Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Grimley, M. (2004) *Citizenship, Community and the Church of England. Liberal Anglican Theories of the State Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Harris, A. J. Garnett and M. Grimley (2006) *Redefining Christian Britain: Post-1945 Perspectives* (London: SCM Press).
- Heeney, B. (1988) *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon).
- Hilliard, D. (1982) 'Unenglish and Unmanly: Anglo-Catholicism and Homosexuality', *Victorian Studies*, 25(2), 181–210.
- Jones, T. (2012) *Sexual Politics in the Church of England, 1857–1957* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- (2012) 'Unduly Conscious of Her Sex: Priesthood, Female Bodies and Sacred Space in the Church of England', *Women's History Review*, 21(4), 639–55.
- Matthews-Jones, L. (2011) 'St Francis of Assisi and the Making of Settlement Masculinity, 1883-1914', in S. Brady and J. H. Arnold (eds) *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 285–302.
- O'Brien, A. (1993) "'A Church Full of Men": Masculinity and the Church in Australian History', *Australian Historical Studies*, 25(100), 437–57.
- Robbins, K. (2008) 'Political Anglicanism: Church and State in the Twentieth Century', in N. Yates (ed.) *Anglicanism: Essays in History, Belief and Practice* (Lampeter: Trivium), pp. 89–104.

5

The Emergence of a British Hindu Identity between 1936 and 1937

Sumita Mukherjee

The size and influence of Hindu communities in Britain noticeably grew and developed after World War II. In particular, the 1948 Nationality Act which gave Commonwealth citizens the right to settle in Britain, and then the enforced exodus of South Asians from oppressive regimes in Kenya and Uganda in the 1960s and 1970s, saw a large increase in Hindus of Indian origin arrive in Britain. These relatively contemporary British Hindu communities have been discussed by sociologists, political scientists and other analysts in terms of their large temple-building projects in Neasden, Leicester and elsewhere; their status as Non-Resident Indians (NRIs); and their financial links to the Hindu Right and their political arm the Bharatiya Janata Party in India.¹ Decades earlier, in the 1930s, when there were merely a few thousand Hindu residents in Britain, Indian immigrants faced and discussed similar concerns about their links to the Hindu Right, the shaping of Indian identities, and the question of whether building temples would cement the public presence of Hindus in Britain. Yet, they also faced other broader political concerns about their roles as British subjects within the empire, the interplay of various international and imperial networks, and the ways in which Hinduism should be projected internationally in a world where Western cultures dominated public discourse. This chapter, therefore, is interested in the migration of Hindu Indians before World War II and the ways in which they began to form a diasporic Hindu community in Britain before the larger-scale community-building projects of the late twentieth century. It will look at how Indian men controlled the public representation of Hinduism and the ways in which a masculine Hindu identity was developing in Britain at a time when identities were also in flux in India. By considering developments that took place over the space of 12 months, between 1936 and 1937, this chapter will provide a particular snapshot

into these burgeoning concerns, in order to emphasise the remarkable and unremarkable at a time when international and national politics were building towards a crescendo that would be marked by both World War II and Indian independence within a decade.

By concentrating on years during the British 'Raj' when the British Empire was at its height in India and Africa, this essay situates itself as part of the 'new imperial histories' that consider the effect the 'Empire' had on Britain as much as the effect of imperialism on the colonies, and which are interested in the social and cultural histories of empire as much as the political aspect of imperialism. In particular, it derives inspiration from Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose's collection *At Home with the Empire* (2006) which considers how Britain's empire was lived through the everyday practices at 'home', including the impact of colonial migrants on this lived experience. As Hall and Rose explain, the 'geographical gap between metropole and colony' was destabilised by the arrival of large numbers of Afro-Caribbean and South Asian men and women, and they question whether 'constructions of masculinity in Britain and in other parts of the Empire [were] connected and if so, how?'² This essay, therefore, considers the ways in which Hindus from India came to Britain, the imperial 'motherland', to forge new communities and group identities. In Britain, Indians were reacting to and relating to British ideas of religion and masculinity, and to a society that was at once familiar to them but also one that ideologically suppressed and controlled them. British and European imperialists and Orientalists had controlled and shaped knowledge of Hinduism from the eighteenth century with their translations of Hindu texts. Charles Wilkins' English translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, published in 1785, and Anquetil Duperron's Latin translation of the *Upanishads*, published in 1801, were used as the basis of study by various European scholars and philosophers. Such works presented Hinduism in a philosophical, textual, incarnation that used terms familiar to Christianity and could be understood in comparison to Western morals and philosophies. By removing the Hindu tradition from the everyday practice of worship and by emphasising the textual scriptures rather than oral traditions, Orientalists had been able to construct Hinduism in terms that they understood and for Western audiences. Indian Hindus in Britain, therefore, wished to assert their own authority over the construction of their religious identities, while operating in a discourse about religion, masculinity, gender and power that was closely linked to imperial attitudes. Would they merely operate within these imposed definitions, or could they forge new ideas of what it meant to be a male Hindu

in the twentieth century in an international world, with an eye to a postcolonial future?

Public representations of Hinduism in the early twentieth century featured female iconography heavily. From the pantheon of Hindu deities, of which there were many popular male and female icons, a great deal of focus was directed towards the various incarnations of the Goddess Durga from whom Hindu nationalists were inspired to draw parallels between the Mother Goddess and the Motherland.³ Fertility, agriculture and the notion of consecrated land were closely allied to female characters. Motherhood, in particular, was praised and worshipped. In India there were many cults around goddesses, such as the Shakti cult, or the Thuggee cult in which a fraternity of men worshipped the goddess Kali and justified banditry and violence in her name. These female idols represent strong, warrior-like women and emphasise the varying notions of femininity, from the maternal to the violent, in Hinduism. Historical studies on gender and religion in India in the early twentieth century have also tended to concentrate on the plight of women and their burgeoning social and political roles within colonial society conscious of the need to excavate female voices from a patriarchal imperial historiography.⁴

In contrast, Hindu men were often portrayed as weak and effeminate, particularly by British colonialists.⁵ Debates about Hindu social reform clearly identified the household as the preserve of women, who were responsible for family worship. Yet, the masculinised and patriarchal dominance of Hinduism was also evident in the caste system, which included a masculine martial caste and a Brahmin caste of male priests. These male priests controlled the literary projection of their religious philosophies, particularly in dealing with Western orientalist scholars, although knowledge ultimately remained under the control of Western imperialists. Though women were deified they were also subjugated in many ways: be it through examples such as the practice of *devadasis*, female temple dancers; or the ways in which Hindu wives were often encouraged to immolate themselves following their husband's death (*sati*) or forbidden from remarrying, despite various colonial interventions.⁶ The 'thugs' who worshipped female deities also lived by a masculine, martial code of honour which could be traced back to the ideal of the 'traditional warrior'.⁷ With the growing popularity of a right-wing religious nationalism in the twentieth century, Hindu men took an increasingly dominant leadership role in the political, public arena and discourse about their religion.⁸ Hinduism, therefore, was a religion that had roles for men and women, that considered notions

of masculinity and femininity in its theology and in its practice, but it was also one in which these gender roles could be fluid, changing and interpreted differently in various circumstances depending on the local and the particular.

The overt religious practices of Hinduism, as opposed to the cultural and social features of the movement, were closely tied to the physical geographical space of the Indian subcontinent.⁹ These ties became more important as they fed into the Indian nationalist imagination from the late nineteenth century. Conversion was not particularly encouraged as membership was thought to be based upon birth and caste. Temples were largely located on consecrated ground and rivers held huge religious significance, as did the highlands. With a religious culture so closely identified with one particular ethnic group and land space, how would a Hindu community adapt and project itself on land which was not sacred?

Migration by Hindus to Britain had been taking place since at least the early nineteenth century. Indians of other faiths had been travelling since the seventeenth century when the seas were opened up by the trading routes of the East India Company. High-caste Hindus, however, faced barriers to overseas travel constrained by the fear that crossing the black seas (*kala pani*) would cause them to lose caste. The journey of the Hindu reformer Raja Ram Mohun Roy to Britain in the 1830s, and his subsequent death in Bristol in 1833 where he was laid to rest, marked the beginning of a relaxation in fears of crossing the 'black waters'. However, these concerns remained prominent up until the early twentieth century, with some Hindus forced to undergo purification ceremonies upon their return to India. A famous example is that of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who studied law in London in the 1880s, and faced caste exclusion when he returned to his community in Gujarat.¹⁰ Hinduism and Hindu scholars, though, were open to cultural and theological exchange. Ram Mohun Roy had found much common ground with Unitarians during his time in Britain, and other Hindu reformers and scholars such as Keshub Chunder Sen and Friedrich Max Müller, often emphasised the similarities and common language between Hinduism and Protestantism.¹¹ Often described as an 'umbrella' movement, Hinduism was not only a polytheistic religion with a pantheon of deities and festivals, it incorporated widely diverse regional and vernacular customs from vegetarian pacifists to meat-eating warriors, and was also open to dialogue and inspiration from other religious customs present in the Indian subcontinent. The idea and projection of Hindu identities, therefore, could be very fluid in

India, susceptible to diverse influences from British society, Christianity and other imperial forces.

The migration of Hindus to Britain from the late nineteenth century onwards was dominated by relatively liberal, educated and wealthy men. They either travelled to Britain to further their studies and gain professional qualifications, to practice their professions, or they were men on various lecturing or travelling tours. Indians in Britain enjoyed status as citizens of the British Empire, protected by the India Office and the Secretary of State, and did not need rigorous passport or visa checks. By the twentieth century, the South Asian migrant community in Britain was more diverse, dominated by former seamen (lascars) who had pursued other working-class trades mostly around British port cities, although they tended not to be of Hindu faith.¹² If they were Hindus, they were not included in the community-making projects dominated by middle-class Indians described in this chapter. First and foremost the Indian community in Britain identified itself as 'Indian' or as British subjects as the notion of 'national' identity dominated the public discourse at this time. But by the 1930s the growth of migration allowed them to assert difference as well as unity and the increased assertion of a Hindu, as distinct to Indian, community in Britain was more apparent. Hindus in Britain were generally middle-class, male and often alone, some bringing their wives and children over only if they had long-term intentions to settle in the country. As they did begin to settle with their families, Hindus had needed to consider how to recreate a sense of community. As a minority, the ways in which they practised and projected their religious faith differed greatly from the public and political face of Hinduism in the Indian subcontinent.

Many British families had lived and worked in India, either in government, army, missionary or business circles. Britons had a general sense of India's importance and were familiar with certain images of the subcontinent, proliferated through various imperial exhibitions or advertisements.¹³ Those with an interest in Hindu religion and philosophy also had various avenues through which to learn more. The Theosophical Society (TS), founded in 1875, which drew inspiration from Buddhism and Hinduism, had a strong British presence and had familiarised many British liberals with 'Eastern' philosophy. However, despite an Indian headquarter in Adyar (near Madras) and various prominent Indian members, the TS had been founded and led by Europeans and so was clearly a European construction of Indian religions, one that favoured a particularly Aryan and elite notion of Hinduism. The TS was also dominated by European female participants from the late

nineteenth century onwards and so was particularly representative of feminine and feminised notions of religion and religious participation.¹⁴ The 1893 World Parliament of Religions, which took place in Chicago, had similarly provided wider intellectual access to Indian religions. In particular Swami Vivekananda's addresses on Hinduism had opened up the religion to a world audience outside of the natural boundaries of Hindu India. By the early twentieth century, the British public had thus been exposed to various interpretations of Hinduism.

By 1936, the Hindu right wing had become a highly important faction, influencing the political agenda in India, as evidenced by the growing strength of the Hindu Mahasabha Party and various offshoot groups. Religious nationalism and 'communal' divisions had been apparent in India since the nineteenth century, but the introduction of political representation for Indians following the 1919 Government of India Act had allowed right-wing sentiments to enter mainstream politics. In Europe, the forces of fascism, socialism and nationalism were at odds with the onset of the Spanish Civil War and the growing strength of the National Socialist German Workers' Party in Germany under the direction of their Chancellor, Adolf Hitler. Communist groups continued to develop in Britain and in India. Britain had also just been through the upheaval of the abdication crisis. Through all this turmoil, India's independence still seemed a long way off. Continuing negotiations between the British government and Indian nationalists offered various options for self-rule such as dominion status or federal independence, all of which envisaged close ties with Britain in the future. By 1936, then, the political and social environment in Britain was one that had become increasingly familiarised with Indians more generally, while facing various political upheavals domestically and internationally. During these 12 months of flux, we see Hindu men presenting themselves and their religious beliefs in a more organised fashion to the British public, either through community groups or as individual proselytisers, as they came to terms with a changing political environment and a more 'globalised' world where audiences were more receptive to and had greater access to new ideas and new religions.

Over 1936 and 1937, a series of events and individuals were working in parallel in Britain to further educate the public about Hinduism and strengthen a British Hindu. The Hindu Association of Europe, for example, was established in 1935 and coming into its stride a year later; All Souls College, Oxford, appointed Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics in 1936; Swami Yogananda delivered addresses and yoga classes to over-subscribed audiences in

Westminster Town Hall in September 1936; and another Hindu ‘guru’, Shri Purohit Swami, completed, with the Irish poet William Butler Yeats, an English translation of *The Ten Principal Upanishads* in 1936, which was published by Faber and Faber in 1937. In these four examples, we can observe the ways in which Hindu men were engaging with mainstream British society. We will see how Hindu men sought to assert their authority over other men through asserting themselves as more spiritually powerful, negating the common idea that only women could be religiously pious. In their corporeality and imposition of order, these Hindus established distinctly masculine and patriarchal Hindu community groups in Britain. Over the course of a year, therefore, this chapter charts the emergence of an idea of Hinduism in Britain that was propagated by its practitioners as they tried to distance themselves from Orientalist and Imperialist control and produce a heterogeneous British Hindu community well before World War II.

The Hindu Association of Europe

The Hindu Association of Europe was formed on 3 December 1935 in Belsize Park, North London, by a group of Hindu men. Four of the nine-strong executive committee were doctors. The group met regularly from 1936 and their first order of concern was regarding their affiliation with the Hindu Mahasabha in India. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the right-wing Hindu nationalist party, was founded in 1915 in North India but had experienced a particular resurgence at the time of the 1926 General Elections in India.¹⁵ The previous year in 1925, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a militant right-wing Hindu group was founded and Hinduism took on an increasingly militant, aggressive and masculinised political identity in India.¹⁶ The female counterpart of the RSS, the Rashtra Sevika Samiti, was founded in 1936 and also had a militarised dimension.¹⁷ British Hindu men were not only concerned about affiliation with such a right-wing Hindu group but also more generally as to whether they should adopt a political stance at all. The Hindu Association was already being watched closely by Scotland Yard, although probably unbeknown to its members.

Inspired by the work of the left-wing politician Shapurji Saklatvala and the Parsi Association of Europe, the new organisation was aware of existing social provisions for Indian Muslims and Parsis in Britain, and was ‘anxious to create a Hindu cultural background for their children lest they should cut off all contact with Hindu culture’. Concerned, therefore, about the longevity and future of their religious culture,

displaced as it was from its traditional homeland, the Hindu Association sought to build up a library on Hinduism.¹⁸ They were uninterested in bringing in new converts to Hinduism but instead wished to consolidate their community and spread knowledge of the faith. The Hindu Association of Europe was not the first Hindu society in Britain. The Central Hindu Society (CHS) seen as an offshoot of the Hindu Mahasabha, already existed, but was in decline. The CHS had had similar aims and activities to the new Hindu Association. In 1933, it had held an 'At Home' at the Waldorf Hotel in London with the Maharaja of Alwar and Indian nationalists present, claiming that the Society aimed to explain 'Hindu culture and philosophy to British fellow subjects with a view to effecting a better understanding and also placing the Hindu point of view on politics before the British public'.¹⁹ It is noteworthy that the Society did not describe Hinduism as a religion, but rather as a cultural identity. Conscious of Hindu-Muslim communal friction and violence in India, the CHS presided over a number of events in 1935, asserting Hindu-Muslim unity over issues such as marriage and inviting Muslims to participate in the Hindu festival of Dasara (a ten-day celebration of the victory of the Hindu God Ram over the demon Ravana), again at the Waldorf Hotel.²⁰ The last reported activity of the CHS was their annual non-denominational celebration of Dasara in November 1936, after which it appears that the Hindu Association of Europe took on the mantle of representing Hindu affairs in London.²¹

According to Scotland Yard reports, the inaugural president of the Hindu Association of Europe, Dr K. M. Pardhy, was the brother-in-law of Dr Moonji, one of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha in India, and was keen to affiliate formally with the Indian party. The Association was also conscious of the need for financial support, which was possibly forthcoming from the Mahasabha. As the new organisation considered its political affiliations, and certain members insisted that they remain apolitical, regional rivalries came to the fore between Punjabis, Bengalis and Maharashtrians, all striving to gain control.²² The Association's first public lecture took place in March 1936. Delivered by Dr S. Das, the title was 'The Social Structure of Hinduism'.²³ With the start of their lecture series, concerns over the political nature of the Association appeared to decline, even though Pardhy remained president. Instead, the Association registered itself as a limited company, intending to 'spread knowledge of Hindu culture and civilisation and promote friendly feeling among the followers of different faiths'.²⁴

In April 1937, the Hindu Association of Europe moved its registered offices to Bermondsey in South East London where Dr Kasorgad

Somanath Bhat, its secretary, had his surgery. There were now seven other doctors in the 12-strong executive team, and one identified barrister. With the advent of the coronation of King George VI in May 1937, the Association pooled together money from its members to 'show Indian visitors to the coronation that it is the only organisation serving the Hindu religious needs in this country'.²⁵ What these religious needs were is unclear, as they did not appear to provide a place of worship although they had procured the services of a Hindu priest to attend families if needed.²⁶ Further, the treasurer Thakurdas Fatechand, previously the Mayor of Karachi, intended to go to India following the coronation to raise more money for the Association.²⁷ Keen to secure financial support from Indian princes, the Association was aware that it had to present an apolitical identity; members passed a resolution in July 1937 to amend their constitution to clarify that they were strictly non-political in nature.²⁸ In August 1937, they launched an appeal for funds to help build a Hindu Centre in Central London. Not a temple, as it would not contain images of any deities or provide space for daily worship, this hall would contain a library and large meeting area for special lectures and social gatherings. The Association hoped to raise £25,000 from Indian princes and other wealthy Hindus to fund this project, although these plans were not quite realised at the time. The Hindu community had to wait until the 1960s for the Hindu Centre to be built in London.²⁹

The Hindu Association of Europe was run by professional Hindu men keen to 'promote social, cultural, religious and other interests and welfare of Hindus resident in or visiting Europe', but was firmly a London-focused Association.³⁰ It was also decidedly middle-class in its approach and appeal, as evident in its intended audience and the professional membership of the executive. At their annual Dasara dinner in a restaurant in Regent Street in October 1938, approximately 180 Hindu Indians were in attendance.³¹ Since its inception the Association had organised public lectures on Hindu theology and practice, and wished to be a public face of Hinduism in Britain for those within the faith and those without. Neither successful temple-building initiatives were undertaken at this stage, nor provisions for daily worship; it was only from 1945 that the Association began to provide Sunday afternoon classes on Hindu religion to children. Instead, those wishing to celebrate Hindu religious festivals did so independently of the Association, such as the August 1936 celebration of the Janmashtami festival, which celebrated the birth of the God Krishna. This was held in the grounds of Mr Krishna Vir's house, an Indian restaurant owner,

in London and attended by over 200 people, where R. S. Nehra, from the CHS, spoke.³²

The Hindu Association of Europe and the CHS were groups of educated, professional, middle-class Hindu men intent on intellectualising their religion and disseminating information about it more widely in order to make the presence of a Hindu community more visible in Britain, without focusing particularly on either public worship or proselytisation. Despite their claims to be apolitical, the Hindu Association remained politically inclined. Indeed, the family-based household worship, traditionally regarded as part of the domain of women, was hardly discussed or encouraged in the projection of Hinduism as a primarily intellectual, public religion. The family role of Hindu men, therefore, was obfuscated in this discourse and their masculinities within domestic settings hardly raised. Instead, despite community-building projects, the emphasis focused on the masculine individual, as a reasonable, cerebral and public figure.

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

If Hinduism was increasingly projected as an 'intellectual' religion and situated within the public sphere, then the appointment of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan as the Spalding Professor in Eastern Religions and Ethics at the University of Oxford at the beginning of 1936 was a further demonstration of the academic, masculine image of Hinduism in Britain. Not only was this a prestigious post because it was a newly created Chair, it was also based in All Souls College, a college that does not admit undergraduates but only Research Fellows of the highest calibre. Radhakrishnan was the first Indian to be appointed a Professor at the University of Oxford, and the first Indian member of All Souls College. Born in 1888 and Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University at the time of his Oxford appointment, Radhakrishnan had already written four books on theology and philosophy, namely *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy* (1920), *The Hindu View of Life* (1927), *Indian Philosophy* (1929) and *An Idealist View of Life* (1932). He had also already visited Oxford and delivered the Hibbert Lectures at Manchester College in 1929.

Radhakrishnan's inaugural lecture at Oxford took place on 20 October 1936 on 'The World's Unborn Soul'. This was a wide-ranging lecture that began with the Ancient Greeks and went on to cover the Roman Empire and Medieval Christianity before introducing ideas from Hindu thought. Aware that Hinduism was generally well respected as

a religion by Britons but also regarded as distant and high-minded, Radhakrishnan expressed the hope that his appointment might ‘lift Eastern thought from its sheltered remoteness and indicate its enduring value as a living force in shaping the soul of the modern man’.³³ He was obliged to deliver weekly lectures on Wednesday afternoons in All Souls College on Indian philosophy. These were not particularly well attended, with between ten and 15 undergraduates, a few Indian students and some interested members of the public present.³⁴ Indian students in London invited Radhakrishnan as their chief guest at the Indian Students’ Union and Hostel’s annual dinner in December of that year. Perhaps indicative of his political interests and his future role as President of India, Radhakrishnan did not talk about philosophy or religion but instead gave a toast on the topic of democracy.³⁵ He also met with the Hindu Association of Europe and was their chief guest at an ‘At Home’ held at Caxton Hall, London in May 1937.

Radhakrishnan was invited to deliver lectures on Hinduism at other venues throughout Britain which appear to have been better attended than his Oxford ones. He had already delivered a lecture on ‘The Supreme Spiritual Ideal: The Hindu View’ at the World Congress of Faiths at Queen’s Hall, London on 6 July 1936. The World Congress of Faiths had been organised by the Tibetan explorer Sir Francis Younghusband and modelled upon the World Parliament of Religions which had taken place in Chicago in 1893. Originally intending to invite Sri Aurobindo, the ascetic Hindu from Pondicherry to the conference, Younghusband instead was happy to invite the ‘brilliant lecturer’ Radhakrishnan, who did not live the life of seclusion that Hindu monks did and, though an academic, also represented the ‘spirituality’ of India.³⁶ At a conference that included representatives and experts on a range of faiths including Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity, Radhakrishnan was one of the most notable and valued speakers, according to Younghusband:

He exactly filled the part, an aristocrat of aristocrats among the intellectually spiritual Hindus, tall, thin, ascetic-looking, and giving the impression of being deep and penetrating rather than broad and all-embracing, though in actual fact his depth gave him breadth and his sensitive nature made him exceedingly receptive to everything of value.³⁷

In his account of the Congress, published a year later, Younghusband wrote effusively about the strengths of Radhakrishnan, impressed as he

was by his erudite intellectualism. Yet his remarks also revealed the ways in which Hinduism was exoticised in British minds: 'If he is a mystic he can also reason. And if he can reason he has also the mystic outlook.'³⁸ Younghusband was impressed with Radhakrishnan's perfect English and his confidence in speaking as well as the content of his addresses in which he emphasised the importance of the dogmas, rites and practical observances of Hinduism as much as the philosophical and theological aspects of his expertise. It was in this way that Radhakrishnan was portrayed as not merely an independent academic but also part of, and within, the Hindu faith and thus representative of Hinduism to many Britons.³⁹

On 30 April 1937, Radhakrishnan delivered the Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture to the Royal Society of Arts in London on the topic of 'Mysticism and Ethics in Hindu Thought'. In his vote of thanks at the end of the lecture, the chairman Sir Herbert Samuel congratulated Radhakrishnan for conveying Hinduism's underlying ideas to the audience and for his role in increasing their mutual understanding of various religions in the spirit of fellowship.⁴⁰ In the previous year, on 6 October 1936, Radhakrishnan had delivered a lecture on 'The Future of Religion: The Contribution of the East' to an audience at Besant Hall in London. These common themes of fellowship and unity, which Younghusband himself had also striven for, and had been an underpinning idea of the TS, inaugurated more than 60 years before, characterised much of British interest and contact with Hindu thought and Hindu peoples. With Radhakrishnan's presence and regular lectures on Hinduism in Britain during 1936 and 1937, the notion of Hinduism as a philosophical, universalist and broad religion, with many similarities with Christianity and Western moral philosophies was successfully disseminated. Yet there continued to be a lack of discursive interaction with the daily, common, ordinary aspects and social consequences of the practice of this Eastern creed. Similarly, with the primary emphasis on doctrine and texts, there was little space for women or feminine imagery in Radhakrishnan's lectures at this point.

Shri Purohit Swami

Whereas Radhakrishnan was a representative of academic Hindu thought and had the backing of qualifications and experience behind him, many Britons turned to other representatives of Hinduism for their information about this religion at the time. Radhakrishnan may have occupied the privileged place of the sedate and 'dreaming spires'

of Oxford, but many looked to more accessible, and attractive, men – swamis or yogis – whose dress, demeanour and exhortations appealed to an Orientalist sense of Hindu practice. One such example at this time was Shri Purohit Swami, who travelled to Britain in 1930 and built up a friendship and literary collaboration with the poet William Butler Yeats. Swami was born on 12 October 1882 in Badnera in the Central Provinces in India. A disciple of Shri Bhagwan Hamsa, a Hindu ascetic monk who was not known beyond his immediate circle of influence, Swami travelled to Britain in order to write and publish his own poems, an autobiography and a biography of Hamsa. Once in Britain, he introduced himself to a variety of literary figures, including Yeats, who had a strong interest in Hinduism developed from an early age through his involvement with the Dublin Theosophical Society. Yeats immediately agreed to work with Swami on his autobiography titled *An Indian Monk: His Life and Adventures*, published by Macmillan in 1932. Yeats provided the introduction, comparing the work to Rabindranath Tagore's 1912 book of poems, *Gitanjali*, which he had also introduced. Purohit Swami then worked on his biography of Hamsa, published by Faber and Faber in September 1934, under the title *The Holy Mountain*, once again introduced by Yeats. In the meantime, Purohit Swami lived in lodgings in Lancaster Gate in London and gave a series of public lectures on Hinduism to small groups.⁴¹

The next project for Purohit Swami and Yeats was the translation of the first ten *Upanishads*, the Hindu sacred texts. It is worth noting that the sexologist and radical philosopher Edward Carpenter published his two lectures on the *Upanishads* in 1920 with Allen and Unwin.⁴² In 1935, Yeats agreed to work on the translations of the *Upanishads* with the Swami, but doctors had advised that he spend the winter in a warm climate, so they went to Majorca together. As Yeats's health worsened, they moved to a hillside villa and with the translations complete, Purohit Swami returned to India by steamer in May 1936. *The Ten Principal Upanishads* was published by Faber and Faber in April 1937, for which Yeats also provided a preface.

The book elicited a number of reviews in British periodicals, mainly engaging with Yeats's preface as the *Upanishads* themselves were philosophical verses with little explanation provided in the text.⁴³ Yeats was the dominant name in the partnership and naturally attracted more attention, although some reviewers did discuss Purohit Swami's role as well. Francis Yeats-Brown, a former British Indian army officer, assistant editor of *The Spectator*, and author of *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1930) and *Yoga Explained* (1937), praised the translation highly and hoped for more from the partnership. He did not appear to be particularly well

acquainted with Purohit Swami, but assumed, as so many others had, that he was an appropriate medium between East and West: 'Moreover, whatever the Swami's qualifications may be as an interpreter of the high and secret teachings of his forefathers – and doubtless they are considerable – Mr Yeats is assured of respect and reverence wherever our language is spoken.'⁴⁴ The poet Robert Nichols also praised Yeats and the Swami for adding a further classic to the body of English literature. Nichols was critical of those individuals attracted to the 'Wisdom of the East' who had turned to 'sandals, bangles, dirty finger-nails, shapeless garments, floppy hair, windy food, windier arguments, and a general atmosphere of metaphysic, erotic, and financial shiftiness', but he was appreciative of this new translation if not in wholehearted agreement with the philosophy.⁴⁵

Basil de Selincourt, a regular critic for the *Manchester Guardian* and author of critical studies on William Blake and Walt Whitman, provided a feature-length book review for the *Observer* in which he credited Purohit Swami, 'both scholar and mystic', for the 'inspired idea' of enlisting the help of Yeats in presenting the ten Upanishads in an 'English dress'. De Selincourt had been aware of the Upanishads for many years but had been unable to engage with them, for want of a clear translation.⁴⁶ From an alternative perspective, the classicist W. H. D. Rouse reviewed the verses for the *Manchester Guardian* by reading them alongside the Sanskrit version. Critical of some of the omissions in the text, which were interpretations rather than exact word-for-word translations to make the Upanishads more accessible to English readers, Rouse was charmed by the imagery and style of the work.⁴⁷

Yet, these were still Hindu texts and the Sri Lankan writer J. Vijaya-Tunga in the London journal *Time and Tide* praised the new translation for drawing attention to the 'profundity and clarity of the "primitive" thinking of India'.⁴⁸ A reviewer for the *Church Times* while noting some of the similarities between the Old Testament and the Upanishads, observed that the 'first thing that must strike an English reader of the Upanishads is the mystical quality of the Eastern mind'. Yet, the importance of a text and textual tradition to elevate Eastern religions on a par with Western minds was apparent:

The materialistic vogue which followed the days of Darwin and Huxley has had its day; and a reaction has set in when the great religions of the East, for whom matter never meant very much, are likely to be exploited. It is largely for this reason that the quiet and scholarly work of Shree Purohit Swami and Mr. W. B. Yeats should do so much to restore a sense of proportion.⁴⁹

These Hindu texts, therefore, were created and viewed as translations designed for Western audiences, and so appeared to be removed from their Indian cultural origins. The Swami may have become invisible, but the projection of Hinduism was one of a ‘mystic’, ‘Eastern’ religion with little consideration of the physical presence of Hindus and the growth of a Hindu community in Britain.

Despite his friendship and collaboration with an extremely prominent literary figure, Purohit Swami did not appear to penetrate the public consciousness as much as other Hindu figures. However, there were ways in which he perpetuated British stereotypes of Hindus, particularly through his clothing. He always wore a turban, which covered a lump on his forehead, which Yeats believed was a ‘third eye’.⁵⁰ He also always wore a pink or orange robe. When the Swami and Yeats travelled by sea to Majorca together in 1935, Yeats wrote to his wife about their voyage and described the reappearance of the Swami after having suffered from seasickness as ‘very magnificent in his pink clothes and turban’.⁵¹ Oliver St John Gogarty described Purohit Swami in Majorca as such: ‘The Yogi, dressed in bright pink and looking like a bright carnation, sat with his hands folded on his ample paunch’.⁵² The robe and turban, therefore, symbolised his authenticity as a Hindu preacher, and attracted a great deal of female admiration. Close emotional relationships with women including Gwyneth Foden, Olivia Shakespear, Elizabeth Pelham and Margot Collis, all of whom Purohit Swami encountered through Yeats, soon made his position in Britain precarious and formed part of the reason why he returned to India after the Majorca trip in 1936.⁵³ These women were attracted to Purohit Swami because of his religion and the guidance they believed he could offer them; their subservience to an Indian man in Britain illustrates the way in which imperial relations could be subverted in the metropole. Arguably, it was in his roles as teacher and preacher that Swami was able to assert his own masculinity, and the masculinity of all Hindu Indians who had been previously feminised in imperial ideology. Though he wore a robe, he was not depicted as effeminate in accounts by observers. And yet, his ability to dominate British women had only been possible through his connections to a more dominant (Irish) man; colonial masculine hierarchies, it seems, remained in place.

Swami Yogananda

Shri Purohit Swami was not the only Hindu monk who visited Britain in the early twentieth century. A notable example was Swami Vivekenanda

who came to Britain a number of times after the 1893 Chicago World Parliament of Religions, as did a number of lesser-known Hindu priests from the Ramakrishna Mission, who toured Britain and America. One of the most famous Hindus of the interwar period was Swami Yogananda, who was mainly based in the United States. Paramhansa Yogananda was born Mukunda Lal Ghosh in Gorakhpur in the United Provinces in India on 5 January 1893. In July 1914 he joined the 'Swami Order' of Hindu monks and took up the name Yogananda, meaning bliss (*ananda*) through divine union (*yoga*).⁵⁴ His master, Sri Yukteswar, persuaded Yogananda to travel to America and Europe to disseminate yoga, and teach the 'universal methods by which the West will be able to base its religious beliefs on the unshakeable foundations of yogic science'.⁵⁵ Yogananda was also persuaded by a vision of 'Babaji', an avatar of the saint Mahavatar Babaji, who encouraged him to go to America and spread the message of *Kriya Yoga*.⁵⁶ In August 1920, Yogananda sailed for America, having received an invitation to Boston to address the International Congress of Religious Liberals. He delivered a lecture there titled 'The Science of Religion' on 6 October.⁵⁷ In January 1927, Yogananda visited Washington, DC to give a series of public lectures and was soon advising the US President Calvin Coolidge to follow a vegetarian diet.⁵⁸ After this, Yogananda spent most of his career in America touring and lecturing on the practice of *Kriya Yoga*, a meditative practice which enabled communion with God, and attempting to establish the Self-Realization Fellowship.

Having established himself in the US with a relative degree of public recognition, Swami Yogananda embarked on a return tour to India in 1935. He visited Europe on his journey in the summer, and addressed an audience at Caxton Hall in London to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Union of East and West, a group promoting Indian art and philosophy in Britain. He was introduced by Sir Francis Younghusband.⁵⁹ In September 1936, on his return from India, Yogananda delivered further addresses and yoga classes at the same location. The journal *Inner Culture*, published from Yogananda's centre in Los Angeles, described these as the 'largest classes in London ever given by an Oriental teacher'. He also received positive reports from London newspapers such as the *London Star* and *Sunday Graphic*.⁶⁰ The audience, which included many 'middle-aged women', was so large that not everyone could fit into the hall, and so Yogananda (in his 'peach-coloured silk robe') had to address overflow meetings afterwards in Windsor House.⁶¹ The London correspondent for *The Times of India* heralded Yogananda's second arrival in London by describing him as a 'remarkable sage' who travelled with two American secretaries and a

large motor car.⁶² He also addressed a meeting of the British Council of the World Fellowship of Faiths, organised once again by Younghusband, at Whitefield's Congregational Church.⁶³ Swami Yogananda, then, successfully popularised Hinduism and, in particular, the practice of yoga, to a wider British audience.⁶⁴

As mentioned, Swami Yogananda was one in a long line of Hindu men who moved to Europe and America in the early twentieth century to publicise Hinduism and amass followers, following the success of Swami Vivekananda's addresses to the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, 1893. These Hindu monks were usually seen (especially in public) in saffron-coloured robes. Some of them also wore turbans. Their followers were generally European and American women from liberal backgrounds. Vivekananda built up a close relationship with the Irish woman Margaret Noble, known as Sister Nivedita, who did much to disseminate information about his work. Yet, although women from Western countries were allowed to rise to high ranks in the service of such Swamis, their authority lay only in that derived from the Indian Hindu. The idea of spiritual authenticity was rooted in ethnicity and birth, a result of the caste system (although Vivekananda himself was not born into the highest priestly caste). Thus despite attempts by Hindus to project their religion on universalist and international terms, it remained rather insular and exclusive. The Indian swamis of the early twentieth century were teachers and leaders, physical embodiments of Hinduism who presented an image of a meditative, philosophical religion. Portrayed as living saints, often in comparison to Christian saints, they projected Hinduism as an other-worldly mystical faith. They may have been feminised by their clothing and their female audiences, but they were simultaneously masculinised by their agency, their god-like status and their authority, especially their mastery over women who formed part of the imperial establishment.

Concluding remarks

It is evident that by 1937, many Hindus were migrating to and settling in Britain. Hindu men dominated in terms of numbers and leadership over these nascent communities. Although British women admired and converted to Hinduism, it is difficult to find any representations or discussion of Hindu women in Britain. Nor were the strong female goddesses and feminine imagery that typified the image of Hinduism in India ever brought to the fore. As a colonised religion expressing itself in the imperial motherland, the discourse surrounding Hindu identities was

effectively masculinised because men dominated the agenda by asserting their citizenship, charismatic presence and authority. It is in their attempts to assert such authority – whether in terms of leadership, translation of texts, scholarly knowledge or spiritual guidance – that these men challenged suppositions about the masculinity of Hindus. Operating, as they were, within imperial, patriarchal structures, the only way to effectively challenge Hindu stereotypes was to subvert them. However, muscular athleticism or martial identities were not apparent in their projections of Hinduism in Britain. Even those who would be traditionally described as effeminate because of their clothing choices were able to assert their manliness in Britain.

Hindu men operated as individuals and through institutions in twentieth-century Britain. The growing strength of the Hindu Association of Europe marked a new avenue for Indian migrants as they moved away from individual networks based upon Orientalist assumptions and reliant on British interlocutors, and began instead to set up their own independent groups. Small in number, the diversity in Hindu sects and practice was not yet apparent as those originating from across India came together in Britain to consolidate their presence. These men were independent of female relations and family ties and their extensive use of contacts demonstrates that it was not just women who relied on social networks. Unfortunately their masculine domination was also evident in the way that Hindu women were marginalised in Britain and their voices unheard. Instead, Hindu men turned away from the domestic and familial towards national, international and global stages and concerns – towards a religion dominated and controlled by Indian Hindu men themselves. There appeared to be little attention devoted to household worship, or other domestic spaces traditionally managed by women. In negotiating new identities as migrants, therefore, these Hindu men reworked or obscured domestic and public norms in order to present a normative masculinity of reasoned intellect and scholarship, shot through with a patriarchal mysticism.

The history of the Hindu community in the imperial metropole was closely linked to events and activities in the colony. Imperial expansion and the British presence in India have been credited with developing ideas of British masculinity and muscular Christianity. Meanwhile in India, nationalists were constructing ideas of muscular Hinduism centred around scout movements, gymkhanas and notions of 'duty' and 'honour'.⁶⁵ In Britain, these colonised subjects were less invested in 'muscular' forms of religion, and found other ways to assert their authority in opposition to imperial forces of control. This relied mainly

on control over the philosophy, knowledge and dissemination of their religion and culture, rather than martial identities, active conversion or the growth of the religious community. Male Hindu Indians asserted their own control over the projections of their religion within the realms of the academy, politics, literature and popular culture. The 12 months between the middle of 1936 to 1937 typify interwar representations of Hinduism, witnessing a convergence and reinforcement of these projections during a period of great political and social change around the world. Increasingly the Hindu identity was drawing away from the Indian subcontinent, no longer synonymous with Indian geography or ethnicity. By 1937, Indian men had laid the foundations for a new multilayered identity based upon new ideas of national belonging, gender and religion – the emergence of a British Hindu masculine identity.

Notes

1. There are numerous works on this topic. Useful starting points include R. Burghart (ed.) (1987) *Hinduism in Great Britain* (London: Tavistock); R. Ballard and M. Banks (eds) (1994) *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain* (London: Hurst); and J. M. Brown (2006) *Global South Asians: Introducing the Modern Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
2. C. Hall and S. Rose (2006) 'Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire', in C. Hall and S. Rose (eds) *At Home with the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 1–31 at p. 18.
3. For example, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novella *Anandamath* (1882) from where the nationalist anthem 'Vande Mataram' ('I bow to thee Mother') became popular, was instrumental in identifying the link between Hindu nationalism, worship of female deities and the 'Motherland'.
4. A useful review essay is D. Ghosh (2004) 'Gender and Colonialism: Expansion or Marginalization?' *Historical Journal*, 47(3), 737–55.
5. See M. Sinha (1995) *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
6. Sati was officially abolished in 1829; the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act was introduced in 1856 and the Age of Consent Act in 1891.
7. See K. A. Wagner (2007) 'Thuggee and Social Banditry Reconsidered', *Historical Journal*, 50(2), 353–76.
8. See S. Banerjee (2005) *Make Me a Man! Masculinity, Hinduism, and Nationalism in India* (Albany: SUNY Press).
9. See D. L. Eck (2012) *India: A Sacred Geography* (New York: Harmony Books) for both a historical and contemporary view of India's link to sacred geographical features.
10. See L. Carroll (1979) 'The Seavoyage Controversy and the Kayastha of North India, 1901–1909', *Modern Asian Studies*, 13(2), 265–99; and S. Mukherjee

- (2010) *Nationalism, Education and Migrant Identities: The England-Returned* (London: Routledge), pp. 31–3.
11. See, for example, C. Midgley (2011) 'Transoceanic Commemoration and Connections between Bengali Brahmos and British and American Unitarians', *Historical Journal*, 54(3), 773–96; and L. Zastoupil (2010) *Rammohun Roy and the Making of Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
 12. For more on South Asian migration to Britain, see R. Visram (2002) *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History* (London: Pluto Press).
 13. See, for example, S. Mukherjee (2012) 'The Representation and Display of South Asians in Britain, 1870–1950', in R. Ranasinha (ed.) *South Asians and the Shaping of Britain, 1870–1950: A Sourcebook* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 207–58; A. Ramamurthy (2003) *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); and J. de Groot (2006) 'Metropolitan Desires and Colonial Connections: Reflections on Consumption and Empire', in Hall and Rose, *At Home with the Empire*, pp. 166–90.
 14. See J. Dixon (2001) *Divine Feminine: Theosophy and Feminism in England* (London: John Hopkins University Press), p. 131.
 15. R. Gordon (1975) 'The Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian National Congress, 1915 to 1926', *Modern Asian Studies*, 9(2), 145–203, p. 148.
 16. C. Jaffrelot (1996) *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s* (London: C. Hurst and Co.), pp. 33–4.
 17. Jaffrelot, *Hindu Nationalist Movement*, p. 123.
 18. 'Hindu Settlers in England', *The Times of India*, 24 April 1936, p. 12.
 19. 'Hindu Society of Britain', *The Times of India*, 28 July 1933, p. 10.
 20. 'Indian Affairs in London', *The Times of India*, 8 August 1935, p. 12; 'Indian Affairs in London', *The Times of India*, 12 October 1935, p. 19.
 21. 'Central Hindu Society of Great Britain', *The Times of India*, 11 November 1936, p. 16.
 22. British Library, L/PJ/12/497, Incorporated Hindu Association of Europe Ltd, Scotland Yard report, 18 December 1935, 26 February 1936.
 23. L/PJ/12/497, 11 March 1936.
 24. L/PJ/12/497, 21 April 1937.
 25. L/PJ/12/497, 5 May 1937.
 26. See 'Indian Affairs in London', *The Times of India*, 3 January 1936, p. 17.
 27. L/PJ/12/497, 5 May 1937.
 28. L/PJ/12/497, 14 July 1937.
 29. 'Hindu Centre in London', *The Times of India*, 3 August 1937, p. 16.
 30. L/PJ/12/497, 21 April 1937.
 31. L/PJ/12/497, 19 October 1938.
 32. "'Janmashtami" in London', *The Times of India*, 20 August 1936, p. 6.
 33. S. Radhakrishnan (1939) *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 20.
 34. K. S. Murty and A. Vohra (1990) *Radhakrishnan: His Life and Ideas* (Albany: SUNY Press), p. 85.
 35. 'Indian Affairs in London', *The Times of India*, 31 December 1936, p. 12.
 36. F. Younghusband (1937) *A Venture of Faith: Being a Description of the World Congress of Faiths Held in London 1936* (London: Michael Joseph), pp. 47–8.
 37. Younghusband, *Venture of Faith*, p. 59.

38. Younghusband, *Venture of Faith*, p. 122.
39. Younghusband, *Venture of Faith*, pp. 125, 246–7.
40. 'Proceedings of the Society', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 2 July 1937, p. 783.
41. British Library, Add MS 45732, flyer and Purohit Swami to Mrs Moore, 19 April 1931.
42. E. Carpenter (1920) *The Teachings of the Upanishads, Being the Substance of Two Lectures to Popular Audiences* (London: Allen and Unwin).
43. See A. F. Clutton-Brock, 'Myths for the Poets', *Times Literary Supplement*, 22 May 1937, p. 393; 'The Upanishads', *John O'London's Weekly*, 30 April 1937; E. J. Thomas, 'Old Light from the East', *Cambridge Review*, 29 October 1937 in Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi, Purohit Swami Press Clippings.
44. F. Yeats-Brown, 'At the Feet of the Masters', *Listener*, 28 April 1937 in *ibid.*
45. R. Nichols, 'Upanishads for Everyman', *London Mercury*, XXXVI (May 1937), pp. 76–7.
46. B. De Selincourt, 'Interior Heaven', *Observer*, 25 April 1937, p. 5.
47. W. H. D. Rouse, 'Indian Classics', *Manchester Guardian*, 23 April 1937, p. 7.
48. J. Vijaya-Tunga, 'Poet and Pundit', *Time and Tide*, 22 May 1937, p. 699.
49. 'Poetry of Ancient India', *Church Times*, 16 April 1937, p. 472.
50. Yeats in P. Swami (2004) *The Autobiography of an Indian Monk*, first published 1932 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers), p. xxvi.
51. Yeats to G. Yeats, 5 December 1935 in A. Saddlemyer (2011) *W. B. Yeats and George Yeats: The Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 403.
52. R. McHugh (ed.) (1970) *Ah, Sweet Dancer: W. B. Yeats, Margot Ruddock* (London: Macmillan), p. 11.
53. See J. Harwood (1989) *Olivia Shakespear and W. B. Yeats: After Long Silence* (Basingstoke: Macmillan) for more on Purohit Swami's relationships with women.
54. P. Yogananda (1946) *Autobiography of a Yogi* (New York: The Philosophical Library), p. 217.
55. Yogananda, *Autobiography*, p. 326.
56. S. L. Ghosh (1980) 'Mejda': *The Family and Early Life of Paramahansa Yogananda* (Los Angeles: Self-Realization Fellowship), pp. 195–6.
57. D. R. Chandler (2001) 'Paradigm Shifts: The New Religions', *Asia Journal of Theology*, 15, 375–406, p. 395.
58. 'Meatless Coolidge Meals Prescribed by Yogananda', *The Washington Post*, 15 January 1927, p. 8. See also 'Swami Yogananda Received by USA President', *Hindustan Times*, 27 January 1927.
59. Yogananda, *Autobiography*, p. 352.
60. 'Swamiji's London Classes', *Inner Culture*, March 1937, <http://www.mystical-portal.net/9-5.html>, accessed 1 September 2012.
61. 'Removing Fatigue with Laughter', *The Times of India*, 8 October 1936, p. 14; 'Indian Affairs in London', *The Times of India*, 10 October 1936, p. 16.
62. 'Indian Affairs in London', *The Times of India*, 30 September 1936, p. 6.
63. Yogananda, *Autobiography*, p. 455.
64. For more on the popularisation of the practice of yoga in Britain, see S. Newcombe (2008) 'A Social History of Yoga and Ayurveda in Britain, 1950–1995', PhD thesis (University of Cambridge) and M. Singleton (2010)

Yoga Body: The Origins of Modern Posture Practice (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

65. See P. van der Veer (2001) *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Chapter 4.

Further reading

- Banerjee, S. (2005) *Make Me a Man! Masculinity, Hinduism, and Nationalism in India* (Albany: SUNY Press).
- Burghart, R. (ed.) (1987) *Hinduism in Great Britain* (London: Tavistock).
- Hall, C. and S. Rose (eds) (2006) *At Home with the Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Radhakrishnan, S. (1939) *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Ranasinha, R. (ed.) (2012) *South Asians and the Shaping of Britain, 1870–1950: A Sourcebook* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Swami, P. (1932) *The Autobiography of an Indian Monk* (London: Macmillan).
- van der Veer, P. (2001) *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Visram, R. (2002) *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History* (London: Pluto Press).
- Yogananda, P. (1946) *Autobiography of a Yogi* (New York: The Philosophical Library).
- Younghusband, F. (1937) *A Venture of Faith: Being a Description of the World Congress of Faiths Held in London 1936* (London: Michael Joseph).
- Zastoupil, L. (2010) *Rammohun Roy and the Making of Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

6

'Iron Strength and Infinite Tenderness': Herbert Gray and the Making of Christian Masculinities at War and at Home, 1900–40

Sue Morgan

In December 1949, the outgoing honorary chairman of the National Marriage Guidance Council (NMGC), the Rev. A. Herbert Gray, wrote to thank his colleagues for their presentation of 'a first class lawn-mower'.¹ The gift was a fitting metaphor for a man whose numerous publications on interwar Christian family life seemed to epitomise Alison Light's renowned depiction of the anti-heroic 'suburban husband pottering in his herbaceous borders'.² For in stark contrast to most churchmen's reluctance to discuss the dilemmas of modern marriage, Herbert Gray, a Free Church Scottish Presbyterian minister with unusually liberal views, pioneered an influential pastoral theology of married love during the 1920s and 1930s and, with it, a strikingly affective, sexualised construction of modern Christian masculinity. As this chapter will argue, his harrowing experiences as an army chaplain in World War I did much to inspire this important later work. Authoring over 30 books and essays on the socio-political relevance of modern religion, of which more than half were devoted to sex education and relationship counselling, Gray successfully anticipated governmental concerns over the perceived breakdown of family life and established himself as the venerated prophet of the marriage guidance movement: 'To say that I admired and honoured him would not be enough ... I truly loved him',³ observed his friend and NMGC co-founder David Mace in 1948. Endorsed by the Denning Report in 1947 as the nation's foremost marital counselling service, the NMGC received state funding in 1949 and continued to grow rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s.⁴ Yet, apart from the existence of the Herbert Gray Hall in Rugby, the sometime headquarters of Relate (successor to the NMGC from 1988 onwards), and one or two scholarly references, Gray's contribution to the reconfiguration of twentieth-century

religious discourses of masculinity, sexuality and family life has all but disappeared from view.⁵

This chapter provides the first sustained study of the writings of this neglected Scottish cleric whose own life (which spanned almost nine decades between 1868 and 1956) witnessed the shift in religious and sexual attitudes from Victorian to modern. As Yvonne Werner has noted, the nineteenth-century feminisation of religion has proved something of 'a master narrative'⁶ in the history of gender and religion, rendering the modern 'religious man' something of an oxymoron. As a clergyman Gray literally embodied that cultural contradiction which simultaneously located men as institutionally central to religion and also as spiritually peripheral – the supposedly 'heathen' or doubting sex. The exploration of a single churchman's reflections on religious masculinity, therefore, provides us with an important insight into how such apparent incompatibilities were reconciled. The chapter is structured around two defining periods for Gray – first, World War I, represented by his book, *As Tommy Sees Us: A Book for Church Folk* (1917) and second, the interwar years, as explored through *Men, Women and God: A Discussion of Sex Questions from the Christian Point of View* (1923). These neglected texts illustrate contrasting perspectives not only in terms of their subject matter – men at war and men in love – but also in their differing homosocial and heterosocial approaches to men's religious and emotional self-realisation.

As gender historians have ably demonstrated, the period between 1900 and 1939 witnessed profound tensions in the making of hegemonic British masculinity, characterised by the intensely homosocial culture of the Western Front on the one hand and the heterosocial world of married love and domestic life on the other. These two worlds were deeply interconnected, as Joanna Bourke, Michael Roper, Nicoletta Gullace, Jessica Meyer and others have shown – imaginings of home, for example, remained a touchstone of emotional survival for combatant soldiers.⁷ This chapter is located at the nexus of debates concerning the limitations of conventional chronologies of modern masculinity. It contributes to this scholarship by exploring, inter alia, the impact of religious discourses upon the histories of masculinity, sexuality and the emotions; the continuation or otherwise of Victorian and Edwardian scripts of Christian manliness beyond World War I; the 'peripheral' suspect masculinity of the clergy themselves; and, finally, the extent to which hegemonic masculinity, those gender norms that most men subscribed to whether or not they ever fully enacted them, had become an entirely secular standard by the middle decades of the twentieth century.

I begin with a brief contextualisation of Gray's theological formation before examining first the impact of war, and second the impact of domesticity upon his constructions of masculinity and male sexuality.

Herbert Gray was born in Edinburgh in 1868 and undertook his theological education at the Free Church University and New College, Edinburgh in the early 1890s. He was ordained at Grosvenor Square Presbyterian Church, Manchester, on 29 July 1897, and ministered there for 12 years. In 1909 he returned to Scotland with his wife Mary (known as Mamie), joining Glasgow's affluent Kelvingrove United Free (UF) Church where he assisted Rev. Dr George Reith (father of Lord John Reith, first Director-General of the *BBC*). According to his granddaughter, the renowned journalist Katharine Whitehorn, the Grays were 'a large poor family that valued plain living and high thinking'⁸ and 'Scottish to the core'.⁹ Gray's ministry and theology exemplified that fascinating but complex late-Victorian Scottish Presbyterian combination of evangelicalism, liberalism and Christian socialism. After the major Presbyterian schisms of the 1840s (resulting in three main branches – the established Church of Scotland, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church), the evangelicalism of the latter two seceding groups had achieved unprecedented influence in Scottish public affairs, social policy and charitable activity. In addition, from the 1880s onwards, the liberalising impact of biblical criticism and evolutionary theory within the Free Church and United Presbyterian theological colleges had weakened Presbyterianism's older Calvinist dimensions significantly. Gray's own religious formation was inevitably shaped by such social and intellectual upheavals, not least by his father-in-law's influence, the Scottish biblical critic Marcus Dods, who had been called before the Glasgow presbytery for questioning biblical verbal inspiration in 1877 but who, by the early 1890s when Gray was a student, was Professor of New Testament studies at New College, Edinburgh.¹⁰

Gray's theological unorthodoxy expressed itself not only in his aversion to many features of professional church life, including liturgical and ceremonial ritual, esoteric doctrines and ordination itself, but also in a commitment to controversial social and political campaigns. There was definitely something of the charismatic 'muscular Christian' about Gray. According to David Mace, he was a 'tall, handsome man' with a 'cultivated Scottish accent' who 'wasted no time on idle chatter'.¹¹ The leading Non-conformist journal, *The British Weekly*, similarly remarked on his 'boldly cut features and stately bearing'.¹² Gray's self-confessed heroes were men (and women) of action and compassion, including those archetypal muscular Christians Charles

Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, as well as leading social reformers such as Lord Shaftesbury, Octavia Hill and Arnold Toynbee. At this time, Glasgow was one of several Scottish urban centres propounding a new Christian social theology which sought to moderate the primacy of individual conversion in favour of the realisation of God's kingdom on earth through community solidarity. According to *The Presbyterian Messenger*, Gray had established a reputation for 'fearless conviction and a strong social conscience'¹³ working in both Manchester and Glasgow with representatives of organised labour, local MPs and town councillors to expose the socio-economic injustices of capitalism and initiate various municipal and social reforms.¹⁴ He was 'one of the leading personalities of the United Free Church of Scotland', according to *The British Weekly*, and never concealed 'his Socialistic sympathies'.¹⁵ Typically, in 1913 he left the wealthy Glasgow congregation of Kelvingrove UF Church for White Memorial Church in the impoverished Paisley Road district. 'To be out of direct relations to the problems of the poorer parts of the city would be for me to be out of my proper calling,' he explained. 'I am sure that the Kingdom of God cannot be built in Scotland so long as Christ's followers are content to have an easy time.'¹⁶ In 1920 he was awarded a Doctor of Divinity from the University of Glasgow in recognition of his achievements for the city.

Despite the increasing political and religious conservatism of Scottish Presbyterianism during the interwar period, Gray maintained a lifelong commitment to a liberal, progressive Christian Socialist gospel by which he understood human life 'lived under the constraint of two great truths – the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man'.¹⁷ All men made in the image of God, he argued, should 'revolt against a system that denies them the opportunity of a full human life'.¹⁸ His fervent belief in 'kingdom Christianity' – the Presbyterian notion of the creation of a godly commonwealth on earth – recognised no disjuncture between religious faith and political action. While ministering at Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church in North London between 1924 and 1932, he was a staunch advocate of women's greater representation in politics and the church and continued to campaign for industrial, housing and educational reforms. His wartime experiences on the Western Front were particularly formative not only leading to a growing interest in pacifism and involvement with Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge Union in 1936, but also prompting a sustained consideration of working-class male religiosity. It is to this phase of his life – men at war – that I now turn.

As Tommy Sees Us: Masculinity, religion and war

Herbert Gray's earliest reflections on masculinity were shaped by the trauma of the Great War and his encounters with the ordinary British 'Tommy' while serving as a temporary army chaplain on the Western Front between November 1915 and December 1916. Two of his essays, *The War Spirit in Our National Life* (1914) and *The Only Alternative to War*, (1915) dealt briefly with the ethics of war. But it was in *As Tommy Sees Us* written after his return from France, that he reflected at length on the need for a modern muscular Christianity that might revitalise national



Illustration 6.1 A. Herbert Gray, c.1915. Printed with permission from The Museum of the Royal Highland Fusiliers

faith and so honour the memory of a fallen generation of Scottish and British men. In the following discussion I explore the impact of war upon the paradoxical masculinity of the chaplain as opposed to the archetypal soldier hero and explore Gray's solution to the problem of the irreligious Tommy.

The quasi-militaristic youth culture of the Edwardian churches (the combined membership of the Boys' Brigade and Church Lads' Brigade was approximately 100,000 by 1900) meant that religious support for the war was virtually unanimous.¹⁹ Along with their Church of England counterparts, of whom the bellicose Bishop of London, Arthur Winnington-Ingram was, perhaps, best known, Scottish clergy played a prominent role in promoting voluntary enlistment from the pulpit. As Stewart Brown has shown, despite close historical theological and cultural ties with Protestant Germany, at the outbreak of war Scottish Presbyterians identified themselves completely with the British cause and the defence of international justice 'rather than on a distinctive Scottish identity'.²⁰ There had never been a war, declared the Church of Scotland magazine *Life and Work*, 'on which the British nation entered with a clearer conscience'.²¹ Gray was more circumspect. In *The War Spirit* he reminded British readers that 'Kaiserism' (defined as organised aggression) was alive and well not only in Germany but also at home amidst the social and industrial tensions of class and gender exploitation. (It was a vexatious paradox for Gray that the women's movement, which he hoped would introduce a more humane spirit into public and political life, should have so readily endorsed the war instinct).²² Yet he too acknowledged that the war was ultimately being fought in an honourable cause. 'A great question is at issue', he wrote from France in 1916, 'and having begun the task ... we must just go through with it [and] ... hold on until it is made certain that after the fury is over, the waste done with, power shall ... be left in the hands of the nations that believe in honour, in mercy, in liberty, and in morality.'²³

The martial qualities of courage, duty and self-sacrifice were, of course, powerfully ingrained ideals of upper middle-class Victorian and Edwardian masculinities which, in the wartime imagination, according to Nicoletta Gullace, became universal authoritative markers of male virtue. It was not, after all, the elite public schoolboy but his antithesis, Tommy Atkins, the ordinary working man who, in 1914, became 'emulated for his cheer, grit, bravery and patriotism' as Britain's 'archetypal warrior'.²⁴ Gray himself eulogised the physical, manly qualities inculcated through military training, whereby ordinary lads once possessed of 'pasty faces, shifty eyes, and a shambling gait' were

transformed into 'clear-eyed, clear-skinned, morally and physically braced'²⁵ men. Amidst such intense moral pressure to enlist, the clergy's ambiguous status as military propagandists and non-combatants was an uncomfortable one, exemplified by the problematic role and reputation of the army chaplain. As Michael Snape has argued, the history of army chaplaincy remains 'burdened with myth, misrepresentation and misunderstanding',²⁶ in large part due to the Great War's literary legacy. The anticlerical invective and postwar disenchantment exhibited by memoirs such as Robert Graves's bestselling *Goodbye to All That* (1929) established a dominant reading of regimental Anglican chaplains as ineffectual cowards who 'were remarkably out of touch with their troops'²⁷ and who commanded little respect from their battalions due to their invisibility on the frontline. Although Roman Catholic padres appear to have largely escaped such negative polemic while Presbyterians have simply been ignored, the army chaplain has, until recently, proved an 'embarrassing aberration'²⁸ in church history while constituting, in gendered terms, something of an inferior, peripheral masculinity. The important revisionist work of Michael Snape, Edward Madigan and others has shown that although their technically non-combatant status and relatively brief periods of active service undoubtedly distinguished the chaplain's wartime experience from that of the regular soldier in significant ways, padres of all denominations were often crucial in maintaining military morale.²⁹ The nature of their role remained ill-defined throughout the war but after 1916, in addition to conducting religious services, burying the dead and providing men with extra comforts such as food or cigarettes, chaplains were given greater access to the frontline and encouraged to accompany attacking battalions, helping at aid posts with the wounded and dying.³⁰ With over 170 chaplain fatalities by 1918 and more than 400 decorations for gallantry or meritorious service, including Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy ('Woodbine Willie') who was awarded the Military Cross in 1917 and Rev. Neville Talbot (Assistant Chaplain-General and co-founder of the international soldier's club, Toc H), the courage of the army padre has been vastly underrated, their anti-heroic reputation remaining, as Snape has rightly remarked, one of Graves's 'grosser calumnies'.³¹

In the huge expansion of the Army Chaplains' Department (ACD) that took place between 1914 and 1918, the Scottish churches acquitted themselves with efficiency, receiving a surfeit of applications for the available temporary commissions and mobilising their clergy with speed.³² Between October 1914 and November 1916 serving Presbyterian chaplains had more than doubled from 50 to 115.³³ Already an experienced

chaplain at home with the Territorial Forces, Gray was appointed temporary chaplain in June 1915 to the 16th and 17th battalions of the Highland Light Infantry (HLI) regiment. Raised as part of Kitchener's vast 'new army', the 16th battalion was drawn from members and ex-members of the Boys' Brigade, a Glasgow organisation familiar to Gray. After several months training in Scotland, Shropshire and Yorkshire, he arrived in France with the HLI in November 1915. The regiment served with distinction on the Western Front, though tragically sustaining huge casualties at the Battle of the Somme in August 1916.³⁴

Class antagonism and the soldiers' antipathy towards institutional religion combined to render the padre's role an extremely challenging one. Aged 47, Gray would have been among the oldest serving chaplains, possibly providing a fatherly shoulder for younger men to lean on. An article in the 17th HLI Battalion's magazine, *The Outpost*, in May 1916 referred to the great popularity of their chaplain especially his ability to meet the troops on 'common ground', appealing to them 'as men and sportsmen' rather than 'preach[ing] down to his hearers'.³⁵ For most socially privileged and well-educated clergy, however, ministering at such close proximity to working-class men (that section of the British population least likely to attend church), and in such harsh conditions, was profoundly demanding. As Gray noted in *As Tommy Sees Us*, those 'of the "pale young curate" type must have been sadly shocked at the amount of horseplay and rude speech they witnessed'³⁶ among soldiers. Officer-man relations were often more informal in the Territorial Forces and the New Army than in the regular army, and early volunteers were more likely to come from religious backgrounds. Yet the transference of powerful Edwardian class distinctions onto the battlefield still inhibited effective communication between chaplains (granted the temporary officer rank of captain) and the military rank and file.³⁷

Although historians have drawn attention to the way in which wartime male bonding – an 'intimate, emotional interaction between men'³⁸ forged within a homosocial environment of intense trauma – was fractured along multiple faultlines of class, ethnicity or regional variation, religious differences are rarely considered in such discussions. Debates over the 'lapsed masses' had enveloped Scotland as well as England by the early 1900s such that, for Gray, the army was metonymic of the general religious apathy of British masculinity. In an unguarded reiteration of the secular male/spiritual female binary, it was men not women, he declared, who posed the major problem. '[O]n the whole', he wrote, 'the average male Britisher of to-day has not much respect for the church. He does not like or admire the church. He does

not belong to it, and does not want to. It is not among the national institutions that stir his pride.³⁹ Gray found such spiritual indifference a chastening and humiliating experience. In order to try and improve relations between padres and their regimental units, he was actively involved in cross-denominational training for chaplains under the leadership of the Assistant Chaplain-General, Harry Blackburne, organising an interdenominational service in Bethune in August 1916 attended by over 4000 troops and lecturing to 70 chaplains at a two-day instruction course in Aire two months later on 'The Religion of a Soldier'.⁴⁰

The churches' failure to connect with 'the mass of British male humanity' formed the overarching theme of Gray's *As Tommy Sees Us* written on his return to Glasgow. Although the war had initially filled the Scottish Presbyterian churches with confidence as to the prospect of a national spiritual revival, by 1917 such optimism had faded dramatically.⁴¹ Numerous church inquiries seeking to ascertain the impact of war upon the soldier's spiritual condition and that of men generally were undertaken, including *The Army and Religion* (1919), a report compiled and edited by Gray's fellow UFC minister and leading Scottish theologian, David Cairns, which drew on extensive written and oral evidence from chaplains and army officers.⁴² But as Snape has argued, a heterogeneous form of 'diffusive Christianity'⁴³ in fact played a far larger role in soldiers' lives than is often acknowledged. What was dismissed at the time as 'emergency' or 'trench religion' included prayers said under extreme duress or before 'going over the top', fortune-telling, carrying lucky mascots or amulets and the existence of a near universal fatalism. While common to soldiers of all denominations and faiths, fatalism in particular may have had greater resonance for Presbyterians as it was not entirely unconnected with their denomination's Calvinist origins. Such diverse means of coping with the daily presence of death may well have been temporary. Many chaplains at the time regarded 'trench spirituality' as unrelated to longer-term Christian commitment and Gray himself acknowledged that in circumstances of constant terror the question 'are you saved?' had little immediate relevance. But he also believed, as did Cairns, that the ordinary soldier hero possessed and exhibited precisely those innate qualities associated with 'elemental Christianity', including courage, endurance, good fellowship and selflessness. The ordinary Tommy was far closer to Christ than he realised, Gray explained to his Scottish church readers, and that he was a man who resisted God yet displayed 'splendid virtues' of charity, love and mercy and who was 'heroically patient under horrible hardships'. They 'swear at each other like troopers, and yet treat each other with

the gentleness of women when suffering comes',⁴⁴ he wrote: '[M]any of them would make splendid Christians tomorrow if they but knew the real Christ.'⁴⁵ Cairns similarly believed that praying before going 'over the parapet' or advancing 'in the face of machine guns' was 'at best a very elementary form of religion and ... usually evanescent enough', yet it was still spiritually significant: 'It means that in the presence of the most terrific display of material force that human history has ever seen', he wrote, 'men believe that there is an Unseen Power, inaccessible to the senses, which is mightier yet than high explosives.'⁴⁶ That faith, reflected Gray in *The Outpost*, meant that even in a seemingly godless world, soldiers received daily glimpses of the divine presence 'through the songs of birds whom even the guns could not silence – through the poppies that would grow even among blood-stained trenches ... the sigh of cooling winds ... calm splendour of the stars – and through hundreds of homely deeds of kindness ... inspired by the godlike goodness of ordinary man'.⁴⁷

In his presentation of the ordinary, understated hero as paradigmatic of British masculinity, Gray's critique of the churches' failure to attract the likeable Tommy (the central theme of the book) was striking in its ferocity. The freedom, spontaneity and warmth of Christ the man, he declared, was inversely proportionate to the dogmatic rigidity and conservatism of the churches. Christ showed no interest in organisational structures or rituals, preferring instead to seek out the company of 'outcasts, publicans and sinners'. 'Into a custom-ridden and timid church in which life is repressed', he warned, 'Tommy will not go.'⁴⁸ Sermons needed 'drastic reformation' including the excision of Old Testament passages, 'imaginative pulpit confections, and poetical essays on "fancy texts"'.⁴⁹ In addition, internal divisions, censorious attitudes and the 'dull, narrow, and colourless' lives of congregations meant that decent, ordinary men rarely felt 'there [was] room for their robust manhood within the church'.⁵⁰ This situation, according to Gray, was further compounded by the perceived unattractiveness of the clergyman himself. As Hugh McLeod has shown in his typology of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century anticlericalism, alongside plebeian, liberal and anti-puritan critiques which depicted churchmen as snobs opposed to reason and averse to pleasure, a masculinist anticlerical rhetoric, directed mainly at the more flamboyant Anglo-Catholic clergy, incorporated a general critique of the professional clergy as *faux* men or, in the words of George Eliot, a third 'clerical sex'.⁵¹ Gray's observations bore this out: 'It is an extraordinary thing how the average man dislikes ministers',⁵² he remarked. Hostile public stereotypes of the clergy

as men with ‘a soft job and a good salary’ or as ‘a sexless being who associates chiefly with women and old folks’, were exacerbated by ministers’ own failure to exude an identifiable and attractive form of masculinity, he declared, not least the frequent tendency to slip into a ‘peculiar clerical lingo which is stilted ... ponderous and peculiarly irritating to the natural man’.⁵³

Like those mid-Victorian ‘manly’ Christians Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes before him, Gray believed that the only way to reanimate British religion was to re-masculinise it through the re-presentation of Christ’s own manhood. Heroism was a crucial attribute of this project. ‘The faculty through which the love of God will come into the lives of most young men is the faculty of hero-worship’,⁵⁴ he asserted, saying, ‘We must so show Christ ... as the embodiment of those great qualities which the young man does already admire.’ Gray’s recourse to his own personal heroes – his fellow Scotsmen David Livingstone and Henry Drummond (Free Church evangelist, lecturer in natural science and keen promoter of the Boys’ Brigade) as well as Kingsley and Hughes – illustrates how compelling he found older nineteenth-century models of Christian manliness in the modern, postwar world. His reconfiguration of Christ in *As Tommy Sees Us*, for example, closely resembled Thomas Hughes’ radical yet much-neglected work *The Manliness of Christ* (1879) in terms of its central rehabilitation of Christ’s muscular, working-class heroism. Centuries of medieval art and sentimental hymnology had wrongly depicted Christ as effeminate and ethereal, Gray complained, suggesting ‘something less than human – certainly something less than male’.⁵⁵ For Christ the Galilean peasant ‘had no kinship with the pale and sickly types of sainthood’ but rather ‘belonged to the happy sons of the open air. He was of those whom labour has made dignified’.⁵⁶ ‘[M]uscular, high-spirited, noisy youth, and communion with the living Christ’ were not commonly associated theologically, he observed, but ‘they were young, hot-blooded, impetuous, muscular youths whom Christ chose as His disciples, and His heart must yearn for such still’.⁵⁷ In his later works *The Christian Adventure* (1920) and *With Christ as Guide: An Apprehension of Christianity* (1927), Gray (as with Thomas Hughes before him), tackled the problematic notion for ordinary working men of Christ’s ‘meekness’, reconfiguring it not as a weak or feminine quality but as the perfection of male humility and self-denial: ‘To save Himself he would not lift a finger. Therein lay His meekness. But for the cause of God, and the children of God whom He loved, He could be like a warrior’.⁵⁸ In Christ, he explained, ‘iron strength and infinite tenderness were met together’.⁵⁹

The continued appeal of Gray's largely pre-war model of quiet, self-effacing but still muscular Christian heroism is difficult to assess. In presenting self-sacrifice, duty, vitality and nobility as masculine attributes earned by actions rather than by birth or inheritance, his rhetoric sought to cross class barriers. Historians such as Michael Roper, Joanna Bourke and Jessica Meyer have powerfully evoked the emotional trauma sustained by men in the Great War, however, trapped as they were between the heroic ideals of Victorian and Edwardian masculinity and the reality of prolonged exposure to life-threatening danger.⁶⁰ Roper has shown that men's emotional survival was largely dependent upon one's fellow soldiers, letters from home, or through drawing on the psychological resources of concealment, repression and even humour to contain one's fear. Yet such accounts rarely give credence to the army padre as a source of moral support or make use of chaplain's narratives to describe the graphic horrors of combat. On the first day of the Somme, and under new Divisional orders, Gray was attached to the 92nd Field Ambulance dressing station, waiting with medical staff for the motor ambulances to arrive.⁶¹ The 17th HLI had received heavy casualties before being relieved and in his account published in *The Outpost* in August 1916, Gray wrote movingly of the courage, vulnerability and 'Britishness' of the numerous young men he saw wounded and dying around him. 'I felt I had learned enough for a lifetime, both of the blood-red horror and devilry of war, and of the sublime capacities of mankind for suffering and for service',⁶² he declared, adding, 'I would to God that all men who still glorify war ... could have been compelled to watch all that went on in these tents and dressing sheds during those days.'⁶³ He was filled, he admitted, with a 'new and thrilling admiration' for those men who lay in agony while being operated on, 'clenching their teeth, and *still refusing* to cry out'.⁶⁴ Gray's emotive testimony to the heroism of the wounded contrasted with the profound sense of his own ineffectualness, dismissing his role as 'a kind of odd jobber – giving drink, or food and cigarettes, or taking a hand anywhere where a hand seemed needed'. His one great regret, he wrote, was that the battle's intensity had prevented him from ministering to the dying and dead in the field, and pronouncing 'those everlasting promises ... in the strength of which a man may face death undismayed'.⁶⁵

Having served an average temporary commission of a little over 12 months, in December 1916 Gray returned home to relieve the by now critical clergy shortfall among Scottish Presbyterian churches. War had proved a deeply formative experience for him. 'Of all that the men of the Battalion have taught me I cannot speak now', he wrote in *The Outpost*,

'My life in the army has been the most valuable part of my whole education. I hope my ministry in the future will be richer in consequence.'⁶⁶ The martyred bodies and spirits of young soldiers had forged a shield behind which the British nation might live in peace and security, he declared in *As Tommy Sees Us*. Having bought our liberty, he concluded, 'there is no question of such holy moment for us as the question of how we shall discharge the debt under which they have laid us'.⁶⁷ Gray's first articulations on masculinity were constructed almost entirely in the absence of women, but the homosocial arena of war was not where men might achieve their most complete self-realisation or 'discharge the debt' of male sacrifice – marriage and family life was.

Men, Women and God: From the heroic to the domestic?

The imaginative purchase of Christian masculinity in the interwar years was deeply contradictory. As Callum Brown has observed, men remained alienated from churchgoing throughout the period, comprising less than one third of congregations overall, while simultaneously embracing alternative forms of 'plebeian male religiosity'⁶⁸ through the burgeoning, often homosocial culture of remembrance rituals, service welfare organisations such as the British Legion and hymn-singing at football matches. These new forms of 'intermediate male relationship to organised Christianity'⁶⁹ arguably provided an innovative, non-institutional focus for the public expression of male faith. However, Gray's solution to the postwar crisis in masculine identity, particularly male irreligiosity, was to emphasise not the public but the private dimensions of men's inner emotional selves, specifically the interconnectedness between married love, sexual pleasure and spiritual fulfilment. After all, what better way to rehabilitate the British Tommy after the brutalising trauma of war than through the emotional security of domestic life?

The way in which new formations of gender, sexuality and married life were mobilised after 1918 in order to re-establish a national and social equilibrium has been extensively debated by historians. Some, such as Susan Kingsley Kent, have suggested that the shattered nerves of emasculated, resentful, war-weary men, so poignantly articulated by writers such as Siegfried Sassoon, D. H. Lawrence and others, triggered a conservative, sometimes misogynistic backlash against women's expanded roles and status. Others, such as Adrian Bingham, have argued for a more ambivalent narrative of the reconfiguration of interwar gender roles.⁷⁰ Whatever the longer-term trajectories, the

vast majority of servicemen returned gratefully to their wives and families, bolstered by political and cultural agencies which regarded the restoration of domestic emotional ties as critical to the stable, fully mature masculine personality.⁷¹ As one of those cultural agencies, religion's role in the lionising of interwar domestic manhood has been largely ignored, unlike its nineteenth-century counterpart, where the scholarship of Leonore Davidoff, Catherine Hall, John Tosh and others has amply demonstrated the significance of Evangelical ideology to middle-class Victorian men's deep attachment to the home.⁷² The innate fragility of male domesticity, however, has proved fundamental to the consensus narrative of modern British masculinity. What Martin Francis has described as the 'domestication, reaction and ultimate re-domestication' thesis⁷³ has mapped the emergence of an imperial, militaristic hypermasculinity between 1870 and 1914 that eschewed mid-Victorian domesticity only to be dealt a fatal blow itself in the mass slaughter of the Great War. The ensuing demise of a romantic language of chivalrous, heroic manhood meant that a 'newly domesticated male, who preferred dominoes and home improvement ... became a paradigm, not merely of normative masculinity, but of interwar national identity'.⁷⁴ For Francis, this entire schema is fraught with difficulty due to its over-simplified, class-constrained account of what was, in fact, a perpetually unstable, fluid relationship. Men, he argues, 'constantly travelled back and forward across the frontiers of domesticity, if only in the realm of imagination',⁷⁵ through adventure fiction or films. More nuanced analytical models of modern British masculinity are required, therefore, that reflect such contradictory negotiations. Francis's account is incisive, but its differentiation between the categories of 'domestic' and 'heroic' (albeit in the male imaginary) maintains a distinction not present in Gray's vision; instead, his reconfiguration of interwar masculinity collapsed the heroic/domestic binary. Writing mainly for a Christian middlebrow readership, he propounded a form of domestic heroism whereby godly men were engaged in another battle, this time for sexual self-discipline outside of marriage and self-expression within it.

As a clergyman often working from home, Gray's experience of the domestic realm was inevitably more complex than that of many professional men whose careers took them away from the family for long hours at a time.⁷⁶ Despite self-effacing references to his own inadequacies as a husband and father, Gray was happily married for nearly 60 years. He dedicated his bestselling book *Men, Women and God* to his wife, Mamie, describing her as his 'chief teacher' and interpreter of God. *Men, Women and God* was written at the request of the Student Christian Movement

(SCM), which for he worked between 1921 and 1924, lecturing at British universities and colleges as well as in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Canada and the US. Although a generation older than most of his audience, he commanded widespread admiration. 'He spoke in the language men use in common life', observed SCM General Secretary, Tissington Tatlow, saying, 'what he had to say was invariably about Christ and he was usually brief. He made religion attractive to men.'⁷⁷

As part of the new genre of postwar marital literature launched by Marie Stopes's blockbuster *Married Love* (1918), *Men, Women and God* offered a popular Christian perspective on the rise of the companionate marriage and the emergent sexual landscape of mutual compatibility and erotic pleasure. Chapters dealing with sex education, comradeship, love, prostitution, the importance of male sexual continence and 'the art of being married' were complemented by an appendix of 'physiological facts' provided by his brother, the physician Dr Charles Gray. Written for men and women, the book sold over 150,000 copies, was translated into several languages and went through 21 editions and three revisions between 1923 and 1957. It is interesting to note that despite Gray's continued commitment to improving the social and employment conditions of the working classes, his marriage advice literature was, in all probability, consumed by a largely educated, middlebrow readership. According to Mace, after *Men, Women and God* was published, Gray became 'the confident [sic] of a steady stream of students, for whom a minister who talked openly and realistically about sex was indeed a rare phenomenon'.⁷⁸ In 1924, as the newly appointed minister of Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church in North London, Gray established an 'informal spiritual and moral clinic',⁷⁹ drawing on the anonymised confidential evidence gained from these sessions to inform his ideas on sex, spirituality and the human emotions. It is a historical commonplace that nineteenth-century codes of manliness, with their emphasis upon external attributes of conduct and character, underwent a significant shift in the early twentieth century whereupon masculinity became defined over and against an increasing focus on the private, interior sense of the self.⁸⁰ Gray's writings reflected this development while retaining aspects of both approaches. Men's character and action in the world was critical to the fullest development of their inner humanity, he insisted, just as sexual knowledge and marital happiness were the foundation for social, political and international harmony. The reconstruction of industry and commerce and the revolutionising of political relations were central in the building of a new postwar Christian Britain but, he argued in *With Christ as Guide*, 'in a word, what ... build[s]

the kingdom of heaven is love'.⁸¹ Because human love found its greatest expression in Christ's mandate of 'the oneness of flesh' between husband and wife, it was marital relations and the domestic heroic aspect of men's lives that he primarily focused his writings upon after the war.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Gray collaborated with a broad range of religious and scientific thinkers through his active membership of organisations such as the British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC), successor to the social purity-oriented National Council for Combating Venereal Diseases, and the Eugenics Society. Eugenic notions of male sexual purity as a duty to the nation through 'the power of clean parentage'⁸² remained an influential dimension of his writing, as did the wider social impact of sexual harmony. In April 1924 he and his brother Charles were members of the Commission for 'The Relation of the Sexes' at the ecumenical Christian Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship (COPEC) in Birmingham. The brainchild of Bishop William Temple, COPEC was a postwar attempt to initiate a new era of Christian social theological action. Among other Commissions which dealt with areas such as war, education, the home, crime and industry, COPEC articulated a number of relatively advanced ideas on marriage, sexuality, divorce and birth control, endorsing what Marcus Collins has defined as 'Christian mutualism'.⁸³ Accompanied by rising affluence and women's increasing independence, mutualism was an influential strand of postwar sexual ideology which manifested itself among the British interwar middle classes through the attenuation of gender antagonism, advocacy of shared domestic roles and centrality of sexual pleasure. Christian mutualists included influential men and women such as Gray, his two NMGC colleagues David Mace and the psychotherapist Edward Griffiths, the Methodist minister Leslie Weatherhead, social hygienist Alison Neilans, feminist Anglican preacher Maude Royden, and the pioneering gynaecologist and sex therapist Helena Wright who was instrumental in persuading the Anglican bishops to grant moderate approval of birth control at the Lambeth Conference of 1930. Wright was also a family acquaintance, having helped Gray's daughter Edith with a 'technical difficulty'⁸⁴ in the early days of her marriage. Her influential book *The Sex Factor in Marriage* (1930) was introduced and recommended by Gray. In mapping a more moderate approach to interwar marriage reform than sex radicals (who included Bertrand and Dora Russell, Stella Browne, Norman Haire and other members of the small but vociferous British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology, many of whom advocated free unions, homosexuality

and even abortion), Christian mutualists 'exercised a virtual monopoly over marriage and sex manuals in the half century following the First World War'.⁸⁵ Much of this success was due to their persuasive combination of moral and medical arguments which meshed religion with new sexological and psychological theories to redefine marital sex not as sinful but as integral to the full spiritual and emotional development of the human personality. The 'life to which Jesus called men was the very negation of asceticism', declared Gray, 'His ideal for us was positive self-expression, and not mere repression'.⁸⁶ Drawing upon the Bible and the work of his fellow Scot, the psychotherapist and founder of the Tavistock Clinic, Hugh Crichton-Miller, Gray defined sex as sacramental in *Men, Women and God* – the physical and spiritual manifestation of married love – but also as the central expression of one's personality and 'nervous stability'.⁸⁷

Mutualist sexual theologies articulated a number of new expectations around male sexuality and domestic masculinity. Most importantly of these, perhaps, was men's duty in ensuring both partners derived mutual sexual enjoyment. As Lesley Hall has argued, the growing emphasis on women's right to erotic pleasure and wider cultural expectations of enhanced sexual performance laid the responsibility squarely with men on 'getting it right' (in itself a rather conventional reiteration of men as sexual initiators). As a result, a husband may well have been subject to 'intense performance anxiety'⁸⁸ such was the challenge posed to his virility, not to mention the central emotional relationship of his life. Gray was not unsympathetic to such pressures. Unlike his Victorian predecessors whose position as 'lord and master' was socially undisputed, he wrote in *Successful Marriage* (1941) 'his grandsons are ... very much troubled'.⁸⁹ 'Marriages on the old rough-and-ready terms will not satisfy the women who have been awakened by the new status of women in the world ... [T]his means that for men marriage is a more complex, delicate, and difficult undertaking than it used to be.'⁹⁰ Male sexual prowess had been parodied for decades by sexologists, psychiatrists and sex reformers alike as selfish, blundering and impetuous – 'a bull in a china shop' as Edward Griffiths described it in *Modern Marriage and Birth Control* (1935).⁹¹ Gray similarly believed that British husbands were invariably 'unskilful lovers – crude, hurried, and without delicacy'⁹² who prioritised career prospects or male friendships over the sexual satisfaction of their wives. That women could also be reluctant or fearful to exhibit sexual passion as somehow inconsistent with religious ideals was 'an irreverent as well as a fatal misconception'.⁹³ Nevertheless, it was men's responsibility to become more understanding lovers so that

'these very same women, having been duly wooed and cherished, will within a few days, or ... even within a few hours, find themselves vibrantly eager and expectant'.⁹⁴ Often an initial process of 'mutual adjustment' was necessary, and in the first stumbling days, 'love [was] often a torture as well as a delight', Gray admitted in *Men, Women and God*. 'But when two souls do really discover each other, then at once a new life begins, so radiant, beautiful, stimulating, and mysterious, that even the poets have failed to find sufficient words for it'.⁹⁵

The extent to which this elevated spiritual vision of marital sex manifested itself in the material lives of British couples is debatable. Simon Szreter and Kate Fisher have pointed out that the new emphasis upon mutual pleasure could create 'considerable tensions as many couples continued to find sex difficult, hampered by continued contraceptive problems, sexual reticence anxiety and poor technique'.⁹⁶ In Gray's own marriage, an interesting anecdotal contradiction was pointed out by his granddaughter, Katharine Whitehorn, who recalled her mother Edith being advised by her grandmother (Gray's wife Mamie): 'You won't enjoy it but you must never say no.' Yet, Whitehorn continued, 'my grandmother was a profoundly happy woman and assumed her daughters would have the same sort of life'.⁹⁷

By the early 1930s Herbert Gray was clearly distinguishing between procreation and the independent value of the sexual act: 'I am compelled to take my stand with those who believe that sexual intimacy is right and good in itself as an expression of affection', he declared in *Successful Marriage*; 'It ... is beneficial to a woman's physical system, and it brings to men a general balance and repose of being'.⁹⁸ Nor was there any need for misplaced religious guilt. 'It is often said that conception-control involves interference with Nature. So does shaving, and so does the use of false teeth ... [T]he attempt to suspend the love-life of men and women involves ... a far more serious interference with Nature, and with the conditions of health and happiness'.⁹⁹ Humour notwithstanding, the issue of birth control had split the BSHC just three years earlier in 1938. As Jane Lewis, David Clark and David Morgan have explained, the BSHC was heavily compromised due its funding from the Roman Catholic Church. A separate subcommittee on marriage chaired by Gray, which publicly acknowledged the benefits of contraception in a leaflet addressed 'To Those About To Marry', broke away from the BSHC. Having disbanded briefly at the beginning of the war, it was re-formed in 1942 as the Marriage Guidance Council (MGC) and began practising at premises in Duke Street, London in 1943.¹⁰⁰

The MGC was funded by a grant from the Eugenics Society who supported birth control on 'racial health' grounds. Gray's long-term commitment to eugenic principles produced some problematic ideas around premarital medical examinations, the birth of 'defective' children and inter-racial marriages (which he was theoretically in favour of but thought modern culture ill-equipped to deal with). His interest in such theories had originated with wartime anxieties over British racial degeneration resulting from the mass slaughter of young soldiers. Indeed, although *Men, Women and God* was his best-known work on sex, it was not his first. In 1916 and 1919, two of his essays on male sexual purity expressed eugenic concerns over the moral and national dangers of venereal disease for the British military and men's constant need for vigilance over their bodies against the perils of masturbation and extramarital sex.¹⁰¹ Despite changing medical opinion, Gray remained convinced of the harmfulness and abnormality of masturbation (which he regarded as a dangerous prelude to the 'sexual perversion' of homosexuality) throughout his career. In *Men, Women and God* he argued that masturbation was the antithesis of 'robust male sentiment'.¹⁰² And in 1930, in *Sex Teaching*, published by the National Sunday School Union, he protested that masturbation was detrimental to men's enthusiasm for marital sex and to their 'physical and nervous vigour'¹⁰³ due to semen loss. The use of prostitutes or 'sowing one's wild oats' before marriage was also physically debilitating for men and an infamous act of violence against women, not least the pretence of love where none was meant. A more animalistic, less heroic way to behave, Gray wrote, was hard to imagine: 'There is no ideal worth fighting for but one', he declared in *Purity* (1916), 'namely, absolute continence or chastity up to marriage, and absolute faithfulness after.'¹⁰⁴ As Kent has argued, concerns over 'khaki fever', war babies, prostitution and venereal disease meant that war anxieties were frequently expressed in sexual terms.¹⁰⁵ Like the late-Victorian social purity rhetoric of the 1880s and 1890s, Gray depicted the battle for male sexual purity in a highly militaristic language of self-discipline and stoic endurance. Clearly, the physicality of nineteenth-century models of 'muscular Christianity' retained considerable traction in his thinking. Greek aesthetic ideals were not exclusively paradigmatic of the perfect male physique, he declared. Through the incarnate Christ, a man 'of fine physical proportions', Christianity also celebrated the 'splendour and the beauty of the human body'.¹⁰⁶ Only a bracing, hard-working life full of 'wholesome and varied activities'¹⁰⁷ that included fresh air, daily exercise, regular cold baths and temperance, might bring a man 'to clean and reverent living, and to mastery over his body'.¹⁰⁸

Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska has argued that the rhetoric of disciplined sexuality formed part of wider early twentieth-century discourses over the healthy male body as central to national virtue and racial regeneration. The popular physical culture movement of the interwar years with its health and fitness leagues and new gymnasia (in many ways a continuation of late-Victorian and Edwardian scripts of sporting, military and imperial masculinities) provided an important site for the alignment of hegemonic masculinity with physical fitness, racial strength and patriotism.¹⁰⁹ According to Zweiniger-Bargielowska, this robust, often homosocial masculine ideal presented an important interwar alternative to Alison Light's 'influential portrayal of a feminized, domesticated masculinity'.¹¹⁰ Gray's description of the battle for sexual purity before and during marriage in his chapter on a 'A Man's Struggle' similarly demonstrated the presence of this alternative postwar physical masculine ideal but this time within the home – a husband in full control of his sexuality and emotions yet able to express them fully with his wife and family. Domesticity was not the antithesis of robust manhood but its completion.

Despite the newly elevated status of marital sex and focus upon mutuality, the reconstruction of gender roles was somewhat ambiguous during the interwar years. As Lucy Delap has argued, the sexual double standard may well have been in retreat but sexual difference, with its largely conservative understandings of masculine and feminine roles, remained the norm. Feminists and anti-feminists alike argued in 'virtually indistinguishable terms that women and men brought something different to spiritual or public life'.¹¹¹ God had made men and women 'gloriously different', insisted Gray, bringing 'new and different vital forces to bear on the conduct of affairs'¹¹² in private and public life. Yet, the modern gospel of heterosexual complementarity was no reiteration of the separate Victorian spheres. Hegemonic masculinity was no longer construed in terms of gender hierarchies and homosocial lifestyles but as fundamentally heterosocial and reciprocal. Practically, advised Gray, there were many tasks – 'setting fires, cleaning grates, carrying coals, making beds, washing dishes, cooking, scrubbing floors, cleaning brass and silver' – which the average man could do 'quite as well as the average woman'.¹¹³ Not only was a husband's leisure time best spent at home in the company of his wife, but an increase in 'free and wholesome fellowship'¹¹⁴ between the sexes from childhood onwards would ensure that men and women might 'not merely play together but ... also think together'.¹¹⁵ Such new ideals of male domestic heterosociability may have had limited practical application, but they nonetheless challenged traditional gender roles through the metaphors of friendship, partnership

and mutual respect, exemplified for Gray by Christ's revolutionary treatment of women as personalities and not playthings. 'What a man needs in marriage is a mate', he declared, 'and not merely a woman the very sight of whom sets his pulses hammering.'¹¹⁶

The 'iron strength and infinite tenderness' of Christ-like masculinity was, for Gray, best expressed in men's parental role. In a theologically radical sermon titled 'Motherhood in the Godhead', reprinted in *The Christian World Pulpit* in 1928, he argued that fatherhood was the crown of men's life and that Christianity's reification of God the Father, gendered exclusively male, had prohibited alternative, more inclusive and egalitarian readings of divine and human parenthood. God had 'all the qualities of the perfect father and of the perfect mother', he declared. By imagining God primarily as 'a great magnified man', therefore, humanity had neglected some of the most significant aspects of divine love most commonly associated with the feminine. Humanity was crying out for 'a confidant and a comforter in hours of weariness and failure – for a source of tenderness and understanding'. We need 'to know the mother-heart that is in God, if we are to find for ourselves that He is really the perfect Redeemer',¹¹⁷ he argued. In the same way the modern father should demonstrate domestic involvement, compassion and sensitivity as well as the conventional masculine attributes of strength, discipline and authority. '[N]o man will ever know what a crowded and terrific thing life can be till he has been left at home alone for a whole evening to look after two or three,' Gray had remarked some years earlier in *Men, Women and God*. 'When he has undergone that searching experience he will forthwith respect his wife with a new sincerity'.¹¹⁸

Concluding reflections

War had laid bare the vulnerability of late-Victorian and Edwardian Christian constructions of manhood through the potentially peripheral masculinity of the chaplain/clergyman and the religious indifference of the ordinary soldier hero. In the attempt to re-masculinise Christianity, Gray reconfigured Christ as the perfect hero who exhibited both 'iron strength and infinite tenderness'. In so doing, he stressed the ongoing vitality of 'Victorian' masculine ideals such as courage, sacrifice, character and muscularity for modern British men. This chapter's focus on the circulating normative codes of Christian masculinity produced by a single writer renders it vulnerable to the challenge posed by many historians concerning the disconnect between proscriptive meanings attributed to sexual behaviour and gender roles and the myriad,

everyday emotional experiences and self-perceptions of individual men and women. It is interesting to note, therefore, that Gray consistently defended his particular construction of Christian marriage and gender roles throughout the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s as grounded in the material realities of the lives of those who came to him for advice. Aware that modern critics quoting H. G. Wells and others would doubtless accuse him of drawing 'a hopelessly idealized picture of married love', he insisted in *Men, Women and God* that many years of 'intimate contact with ordinary people have taught me ... [t]he kind of life I have pictured is going on in uncounted small and unknown homes all over the country'.¹¹⁹ 'Happy married people make a "silent column"', he remarked, and we hear little of them. 'But it is a large column.'¹²⁰

Throughout his professional clergy career, Gray wrote and worked with G. F. Watts's captivating painting of 'Love and Death' (1885–7) on his study wall, in which the young and vulnerable figure of love attempts to block the path of the majestic, irresistibly powerful figure of death. His construction of modern religious masculinity was shaped by the same two emotional polarities of war (representing death) and love. But it was love – in all its homosocial, heterosocial, spousal and social forms, most perfectly incarnate in the male figure of Christ – that would triumph. When reflecting upon Watts's image in his book *Love: The One Solution* (1938) written on the eve of World War II, Gray observed that

those who live in the world of love, live in a region beyond the reach of death. The physical body dissolves. Our knowledge may vanish away. Our language may cease. But love abides.¹²¹

Inspired by the wartime sacrifice of a generation of young men he believed the nation's debt was best discharged by a renewed vision of love for God, for one another and, above all, for one's family. The domestically oriented family man has rarely been regarded as either heroic or muscular by historians of masculinity or British interwar culture, but it was in precisely these terms that Herbert Gray threw down the challenge which he considered to be the greatest battle of all.

Notes

My thanks go to David Blake, Curator of the Museum of Army Chaplaincy, Ampert House, for his invaluable help with the war section of this chapter; Robin Courtney Bennett; Helen Weller and Margaret Thompson at Westminster College, Cambridge for their help in accessing the Gray archives; and to The

Museum of the Royal Highland Fusiliers, Glasgow for their kind permission to use Gray's photograph as an army chaplain. Thanks also to Lucy Delap, Susan Tananbaum and Alana Harris for their insightful comments on an earlier draft of the chapter and to Keith Jenkins for his eagle-eyed proofreading.

1. A. Herbert Gray (December 1949) 'Looking Backwards', *Marriage Guidance*, 3(6), 1–2, p. 1.
2. A. Light (1991) *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars* (London: Routledge), p. 8.
3. D. R. Mace (1987) 'The Man, the Book and the Message', New Introduction to A. Herbert Gray, *Men, Women and God: A Discussion of Sex Questions from the Christian Point of View* (Worthing: Churchman Publishing Ltd.), p. 11.
4. See J. Lewis, D. Clark and D. Morgan (1992) *Whom God Hath Joined Together: The Work of Marriage Guidance* (London: Routledge).
5. See, for example, the insightful contributions by A. Harris, 'Gray, Arthur Herbert (1868–1956)', www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/102454, accessed 5 November 2012; J. Lewis (1990) 'Public Institution and Private Relationship: Marriage and Marriage Guidance, 1920–1968', *Twentieth Century British History*, 1(3), 233–63; and Lewis, Clark and Morgan, *Whom God Hath Joined Together*.
6. Y. M. Werner (2011) 'Studying Christian Masculinity: An Introduction', in Y. M. Werner (ed.) *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press), p. 8. See also C. Brown (2009) *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800–2000*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge) for an influential discussion of the feminisation of religion and the construction of the 'heathen', disbelieving male.
7. See J. Bourke (1996) *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion); M. Roper (2009) *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); N. Gullace (2002) *The Blood of Our Sons: Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan); J. Meyer (2009) *Men of War: Masculinity and the First World War in Britain* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
8. K. Whitehorn (2007) *Selective Memory* (London: Virago), p. 3.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
10. In 1900 the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church combined to form the United Free Church. See J. Stewart (2002) "'Christ's Kingdom in Scotland": Scottish Presbyterianism, Social Reform, and the Edwardian Crisis', *Twentieth Century British History*, 2(1), 1–22; C. Brown (1987) *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London and New York: Methuen); and C. Brown (1997) *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press) for useful discussions on the development of modern Scottish Presbyterianism.
11. Mace, 'The Man, the Book and the Message', p. 11.
12. 'Dr Herbert Gray with St John's Wood Presbyterians', *The British Weekly*, 19 October 1922, no page number, Westminster College, Cambridge, United Reformed Church History Society (URCHS) Archives, Fasti Series, Rev. A. Herbert Gray DD (Glasg) File, henceforth referred to as WC, URCHS Archives, Gray File.

13. 'Obituary', No 1265, *The Presbyterian Messenger*, April 1956, p. 10, WC, URCHS Archives, Gray File.
14. See Stewart, 'Christ's Kingdom in Scotland'.
15. 'Dr Herbert Gray with St John's Wood Presbyterians'. See also S. J. Brown (1999) 'The Christian Socialist Movement in Scotland, c.1850–1930', *Political Theology: The Journal of the Christian Socialist Movement*, (1), 59–84 and S. J. Brown (1991) 'Reform, Reconstruction, Reaction: The Social Vision of Scottish Presbyterianism, c.1830–c.1930', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 44, 489–517.
16. Handwritten note by W. B. Shaw, First Secretary of the Presbyterian Historical Society, WC, URCHS Archives, Gray File.
17. A. H. Gray (1922) *The Christian Adventure* (London: SCM Press), p. 22.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
19. Apart from the Quakers who had become clearly associated with pacifism by 1910 very few churchmen opposed the war. See C. Brown (2006) *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Pearson Education), pp. 89–92; A. Wilkinson (1996) *The Church of England and the First World War*, 2nd edn (London: SCM); M. Snape (2005) *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge) and E. Madigan (2011) *Faith under Fire: Anglican Army Chaplains and the Great War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan). For the Scottish churches' response, see C. Brown (1992) 'Piety, Gender and War in Scotland in the 1910s', in C. MacDonald and E. W. McFarland (eds) *Scotland and the Great War* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press), pp. 173–91 and S. J. Brown (1994) "'A Solemn Purification by Fire": Responses to the Great War in the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, 1914–19', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45(1), 1–23.
20. Brown, 'A Solemn Purification by Fire', p. 90.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
22. A. H. Gray (1914) 'The War Spirit' in *Papers for War-Time*, No. 7 (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 16. The women's movement, of course, did not express unanimous support for the war which caused a serious schism in the National Union of Women's Suffrage Society.
23. A. H. Gray (September 1916) 'Meditations in a Ruined Town', *The Outpost*, III(6), 163–4, p. 164.
24. Gullace, *The Blood of Our Sons*, pp. 36–7. See also N. W. Ellenberger (2000) 'Constructing George Wyndham: Narratives of Aristocratic Masculinity in Fin-de-Siecle England', *Journal of British Studies*, 39(4), 487–517 for an insightful analysis of late-Victorian elite masculinities. Thanks to Lucy Delap for this reference.
25. A. H. Gray (1915) 'The Only Alternative to War' in *Papers for War-Time*, No. 27 (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 4.
26. M. Snape (April 2011) 'Church of England Army Chaplains in the First World War: Goodbye to "Goodbye to All That"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62(2), 318–45, p. 318.
27. R. Graves (1929) *Goodbye to All That* (London: Cassell, 1957 edition), p. 159. Graves noted further:

For Anglican regimental chaplains we had little respect. If they had shown one-tenth the courage, endurance, and other human qualities

that the regimental doctors showed ... the British Expeditionary Force might well have started a religious revival. But they had not, being under orders to avoid getting mixed up with the fighting and to stay behind with the transport. Soldiers could hardly respect a chaplain who obeyed these orders, and yet not one in fifty seemed sorry to obey them. Occasionally, on a quiet day in a quiet sector, the chaplain would make a daring afternoon visit to the support line and distribute a few cigarettes, before hurrying back. But he was always much to the fore in rest-billets.

Goodbye to All That, p. 158.

28. Snape, 'Church of England Army Chaplains', p. 85.
29. See, for example, M. Snape (2002) 'British Catholicism and the British Army in the First World War', *Recusant History*, 26, 314–58; Snape, *God and the British Soldier*; and Snape (2008) *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department, 1796–1953: Clergy under Fire* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer). See also Madigan, *Faith under Fire*.
30. See Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, pp. 204–35.
31. Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, p. 103. For discussions of chaplaincy fatalities and decorations, see also Snape, 'Church of England Army Chaplains'; Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, pp. 224–5; and, for Anglican army chaplains, Madigan, *Faith under Fire*, pp. 139–48.
32. Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, p. 192.
33. Thanks to David Blake, Museum of Army Chaplaincy, Amport House for providing me with this information.
34. The 16th and 17th Battalions were adopted by the War Office on 1 July 1915. They were stationed at Gales Camp, near Troon between September 1914 and May 1915, moved to Prees Heath, Shropshire in May 1915, onto Wensleydale in June 1915 and finally to Codford in August, 1915. They landed at Boulogne on 23 November 1915. On the first day of the Battle of the Somme, the 16th HLI lost 19 officers and 492 rank and file soldiers (two thirds of its strength) within hours. See T. Chalmers (1930) *History of the 16th Battalion of the Highland Light Infantry (City of Glasgow Regiment)* (Glasgow: John McCallum and Co.) and J. W. Arthur and I. S. Munro (1920) *The Seventeenth Highland Light Infantry (Glasgow Chamber of Commerce Battalion)* (Glasgow: D. J. Clark).
35. M. A. W. D. (May 1916) 'Church Parade in the Field', *The Outpost*, III(2), p. 41.
36. Rev. A. H. Gray (1918) *As Tommy Sees Us: A Book for Church Folk* (London: Edward Arnold), p. 15.
37. See Madigan, *Faith under Fire* for an insightful discussion of class tensions between the troops and chaplains, and the disadvantages of the temporary officer status of padres.
38. Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, p. 127.
39. Gray, *As Tommy Sees Us*, p. 6.
40. See H. W. Blackburne (1932) *This Also Happened on the Western Front: The Padre's Story* (London: Hodder and Stoughton), pp. 94–5 and 99–100. See also Snape, *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, p. 231.
41. See Brown, 'A Solemn Purification by Fire'.

42. D. S. Cairns (1919) *The Army and Religion: An Enquiry and its Bearing upon the Religious Life of the Nation* (London: Macmillan).
43. Snape, *God and the British Soldier*, pp. 19–58.
44. Gray, *As Tommy Sees Us*, p. 16.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
46. Cairns, *The Army and Religion*, pp. 7–8.
47. A. H. Gray (May 1916) Untitled, *The Outpost*, III(2), p. 76.
48. Gray, *As Tommy Sees Us*, p. 23.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
51. G. Eliot (1858) *Scenes from Clerical Life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973 edition), p. 275. See D. H. McLeod (2001) ‘“Varieties of Anticlericalism in Later Victorian and Edwardian England’’, in N. Aston and M. Cragoe (eds) *Anticlericalism in Britain, c.1500–1914* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing), pp. 198–220.
52. Gray, *As Tommy Sees Us*, p. 32.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
58. A. H. Gray (1927) *With Christ as Guide: An Apprehension of Christianity* (London: Williams and Norgate), p. 9.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
60. See Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*; Roper, *The Secret Battle*; and Meyer, *Men of War*.
61. See AHG (August 1916) ‘The Push’ – As Seen from the Field Ambulance’, *The Outpost*, 111(5), 133–4. In an offensive action, one of a division’s three brigade field ambulances would be designated the main dressing station, remaining further behind the line, with the other two positioned closer to the fighting. Gray notes his location as ‘the hospital in W—’, which was possibly Warloy, about eight kilometres from the front. Thanks to David Blake for this information.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
66. A. H. Gray (December 1916) Letter to the Editor, *The Outpost*, IV(1), p. 77.
67. Gray, *As Tommy Sees Us*, p. 89.
68. Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain*, p. 125.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
70. See S. K. Kent (1993) *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press); S. K. Kent (1999) *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640–1990* (London: Routledge) and S. Gilbert (Spring 1983) ‘Soldier’s Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War’, *Signs*, 8, 422–50. For an alternative viewpoint, see A. Bingham (2004) ‘“An Era of Domesticity”?: Histories of Women and Gender in Interwar Britain’, *Cultural and Social History*, 1(2), 225–33.

71. See Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*, pp. 153–70 for discussions of the limitations of male wartime bonding and the reiteration of postwar male–female relationships.
72. See L. Davidoff and C. Hall (2002) *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge) and J. Tosh (1999) *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
73. M. Francis (2002) 'The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity', *The Historical Journal*, 45(3), 637–52, p. 641.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 641.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 643.
76. For a pioneering study of the complexities of clerical masculinity and domestic life, see J. Tosh (1991) 'Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class: The Family of Edward White Benson', in M. Roper and J. Tosh (eds) *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London: Routledge), pp. 44–73.
77. T. Tatlow (1933) *The Student Christian Movement* (London: SCM Press), p. 741.
78. Mace, 'The Man, the Book and the Message', p. 10.
79. A. H. Gray (1934) *About People: A Book for Parents, Teachers, Ministers and the People Themselves* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), p. 13.
80. See M. Roper (2005) 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44(2), 343–62.
81. Gray, *With Christ as Guide*, p. 66.
82. Rev. A. H. Gray (1919) 'Specimen Lecture IV', in B. W. Allen, A. H. Gray, J. Walleth and J. C. Gibson (eds) *A Corner-Stone of Reconstruction: A Book on Working for Social Purity among Men*, by four Chaplains to the Forces (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), p. 100.
83. See M. Collins (2003) *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic Books). See also COPEC (1924) *The Relation of the Sexes' Report* (London: Longmans, Green and Co.). See also S. Morgan (2010) "'The Word Made Flesh": Women, Religion and Sexual Cultures', in S. Morgan and J. de Vries (eds) *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800–1940* (London: Routledge), pp. 159–87 for interwar Christian discourses on sexuality and mutualism.
84. Whitehorn, *Selective Memory*, p. 13.
85. Collins, *Modern Love*, p. 90. See also L. Hall (1995) "'Disinterested Enthusiasm for Sexual Misconduct": The British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 30(4), 665–86.
86. Gray, *With Christ as Guide*, p. 3.
87. Gray, *Men, Women and God*, p. xii.
88. L. Hall (1991) *Hidden Anxieties: Male Sexuality, 1900–1950* (London: Polity Press), p. 75.
89. A. H. Gray (1941) *Successful Marriage* (London: Rich & Cowan), p. 6.
90. Gray, *About People*, p. 120.
91. E. Griffiths (1935) *Modern Marriage and Birth Control* (London: Gollancz), p. 194, cited in Hall, *Hidden Anxieties*, p. 70.

92. Gray, *About People*, p. 116.
93. Gray, *Men, Women and God*, p. 148.
94. Gray, *Successful Marriage*, p. 52.
95. Gray, *Men, Women and God*, p. 32.
96. S. Szeleter and K. Fisher (2010) *Sex before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England, 1918–1963* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 43.
97. Whitehorn, *Selective Memory*, p. 13.
98. Gray, *Men, Women and God*, p. 153.
99. Gray, *Successful Marriage*, p. 96.
100. See Lewis, Clark and Morgan, *Whom God Hath Joined Together*, pp. 44–88.
101. See A. H. Gray (1916) *Purity* (No. 3 in Marriage and Morality Series) (London: Longmans, Green and Co.) and Gray, 'Specimen Lecture IV', in Allen, Gray, Wallett and Gibson, *A Corner-Stone of Reconstruction*.
102. Gray, *Men, Women and God*, p. 58.
103. A. H. Gray (1930) *Sex Teaching* (London: The National Sunday School Union), p. 54.
104. Gray, *Purity*, p. 4.
105. See Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain*.
106. Gray, *Purity*, p. 14.
107. Gray, *Men, Women and God*, p. 75.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
109. See I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010) *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health and Fitness in Britain, 1880–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
110. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
111. L. Delap (2012) 'Conservative Values, Anglicans and the Gender Order in Inter-War Britain', in L. Beers and G. Thomas (eds) *Brave New World: Imperial and Democratic Nation-Building in Britain between the Wars* (London: IHR, University of London Press), pp. 149–68.
112. Gray, *Men, Women and God*, p. 19.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
116. A. H. Gray (1938) *Love: The One Solution* (London: Rich & Cowan Ltd), p. 150.
117. A. H. Gray, 'Motherhood in the Godhead' (John XX.17), *The Christian World Pulpit*, 5 April 1928, pp. 158–9.
118. Gray, *Men, Women and God*, p. 141.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
120. Gray, *Successful Marriage*, p. 4.
121. Gray, *Love*, p. 225.

Further reading

- Brown, C. (1997) *Religion and Society in Scotland Since 1707* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Collins, M. (2003) *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic Books).

- Francis, M. (2002) 'The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity', *The Historical Journal*, 45(3), 637–52.
- Lewis, J., D. Clark and D. Morgan (1992) *Whom God Hath Joined Together: The Work of Marriage Guidance* (London: Routledge).
- Light, A. (1991) *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars* (London: Routledge).
- Madigan, E. (2011) *Faith Under Fire: Anglican Army Chaplains and the Great War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Morgan, S. (2010) "'The Word Made Flesh": Women, Religion and Sexual Cultures', in S. Morgan and J. de Vries (eds) *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800–1940* (London: Routledge), pp. 159–87.
- Roper, M. (2005) 'Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950', *Journal of British Studies*, 44(2), 343–62.
- Snape, M. (2005) *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London: Routledge).
- (2011) 'Church of England Army Chaplains in the First World War: Goodbye to "Goodbye to All That"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62(2), 318–45.
- Zweiniger-Bargielowska, I. (2010) *Managing the Body: Beauty, Health and Fitness in Britain, 1880–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

7

Moral Welfare and Social Well-Being: The Church of England and the Emergence of Modern Homosexuality

Timothy W. Jones

Introduction: Religion, secularisation and sexual liberation

In his retirement, former Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey attained a certain notoriety for his support for the so-called gay-conversion therapy. He twice publicly intervened in cases where Christian psychotherapists were disciplined for their treatment (or non-treatment) of homosexual clients. In April 2010 he provided a witness statement for Gary McFarlane, a counsellor who was suspended for refusing to provide relationship counselling to gay couples on the grounds that he would not 'encourage sin'. In January 2012 he published an appeal against the British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy's suspension of Lesley Pilkington. She was found guilty of malpractice and suspended after being found to be providing 'reparative' therapy to gay clients. Carey's intervention in these cases came in the context of the established Church's continued opposition to gay marriage, the failure of Christian churches globally to deal appropriately with systemic sexual abuse by male clergy in church institutions, and the trauma caused by a failure to navigate peacefully the growing acceptance of homosexuality within the churches. Carey argued, without apparent irony, that in these cases involving homosexuality British courts have 'consistently applied equality law to discriminate against Christians'.¹ These recent scandals and controversies appear to confirm the implicit and sometimes explicit assumption in the history of homosexuality that religion is a sexually repressive force, that religious liberty and sexual liberation are incommensurable.

The place of religion in the historiography of homosexuality is actually highly contested. Some scholars, such as Vern Bullough and Louis

Crompton, do view Christianity as having had an overwhelmingly negative relationship to homosexuality.² Crompton claimed that Judeo-Christian religion was uniquely hostile to homosexuality. John Boswell famously challenged this position, arguing that in previous periods homosexual relationships were tolerated and even celebrated in the Christian West.³ Mark Jordan built on Boswell's work, demonstrating how religious opposition to homosexuality was a product of twelfth-century religious power struggles in Europe.⁴ Regarding the modern era, Jeffrey Weeks suggested that other frameworks for the understanding of sexuality superseded Christianity over the course of the twentieth century. While Christianity doubtless provided the moral language with which homosexuality was discussed, he argued that nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sexologists overemphasised the role of Christian tradition in British sexual culture.⁵ Michel Foucault, on the other hand, placed Christianity at the centre of the history of sexuality. He posited that the practice of Christian confession began the transformation of sex into discourse, a process continued by modern secular institutions. Rejecting what he called the 'repressive hypothesis', Foucault claimed that both Christian and secular attempts to control and repress sex merely functioned as a continual 'incitement to discourse' about sex. Most scholarship about homosexuality in Britain has followed Weeks in attributing Christianity a marginal place in the development of modern understandings of homosexuality. The resultant focus on the emergence in the nineteenth century of new scientific constructions of homosexuality – medical, sexological and scientific – has implicitly perpetuated the repressive hypothesis. As Harry Cocks has noted, 'histories of sexuality have tended to recapitulate existing stories of modernity', histories still dominated by an increasingly discredited secularisation thesis.⁶

The persistence of religion in producing, shaping and giving meaning to homosexual desire and identity in the twentieth century, however, is beginning to be more apparent in some recent historical scholarship.⁷ Religious influence can be seen through the actions of religious individuals, groups and institutions, as well as through what Charles Taylor has described as the submerged architecture of our apparently secular age, an architecture deriving from and shaped by particular religious frameworks.⁸ Scholars such as Sue Morgan, Marcus Collins and Joy Dixon, for example, have shown that Christian writers were at least as influential as sex radicals in developing a philosophy of sexual mutuality and companionate marriage in the early twentieth century.⁹ At key moments in the emergence of twentieth-century sexual culture,

the language of religion was used to describe the deepest sexual self, just as the language of sex was used to describe the deepest spiritual self. A growing acknowledgement of the persistent relationship between the spiritual and the sexual in the twentieth century is thus eroding the secularist assumptions undergirding British sexual historiography.

In this chapter I explore ways in which Christianity shaped knowledge of male homosexuality in twentieth-century Britain. I look particularly at the influence of the Church of England Moral Welfare Council (MWC) from the 1930s to the 1970s. Through its privileged role as a Council of the established Church, I will show how the MWC had a formative influence in two key stages in the production of knowledge about homosexual men and homosexual masculinity. Firstly, the MWC mediated new scientific theories of sexuality to popular audiences through its social welfare programmes, public policy work and pastoral publications. Secondly, it played a leading role in the transformation of homosexual men's legal identity, influencing the Wolfenden Committee and subsequent movement for gay law reform. These two moments demonstrate a hitherto unacknowledged dynamic and dialogic relationship between institutional Christianity and developing understandings of homosexuality in twentieth-century Britain.

Sexology, moral welfare and the regulation of homosexuality

Histories of homosexuality have championed the role of the new discipline of sexology, and its allies – psychoanalysis, psychiatry and psychology – in the transformation of knowledge about homosexuality. Sexology emerged in Britain in the 1880s and 1890s. It was a relatively small movement, characterised by Lesley Hall as a handful of individuals endeavouring to apply ‘rational analysis to the phenomena of sex’.¹⁰ Sexologists such as Havelock Ellis, John Addington Symonds and the more popular writer Edward Carpenter coined a new language to describe sexual identity and desire. They rejected the moral taxonomy that categorised sex according to good and bad acts, and gave it a central role in the production of human identity. Through this process, *committing* sodomy, for example, gave way to *being* homosexual.¹¹ As Hall has shown, the traditional history of sexology places it in a Whiggish, and heroically masculine, model of sexual enlightenment. This history has ignored the concurrent impact of feminist activism on sexuality. In fact, the feminist social purity movement and the new sexologists worked in tandem to transform Victorian understandings of sexuality.

The social purity movement emerged in response to the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s. These Acts aimed to curb the spread of venereal disease in the armed forces by authorising the arrest and forced venereal inspection of women suspected of engaging in prostitution in designated naval and garrison towns. They were the grossest embodiment of the Victorian double standard of morality, which held women to a higher standard of sexual morality than men. The manifest injustice of the Acts – forcibly inspecting and treating women while tolerating male sexual excess – spurred a mass movement against ‘classic’ Victorian sexual morality.¹² In contrast to depictions of the social purity campaigners as either morally conservative ‘prudes’ or proto-radical feminists, there was a close, mutually informing interrelation between social purity and sexology. They had a common enemy in asymmetric Victorian sexual morality, and shared common goals, promoting sex education, sexual health and sexual welfare. However, while the sexologists were a relatively small group of scientists whose publications reached only a limited readership (much of their work was not even able to be published in Britain, though it was clearly read and distributed there), social purity was a mass movement and its literature far reaching.¹³

While it is often pointed out that the social purity movement was feminist, it is important in this context to remember that it was also largely Christian. The leading figures in social purity were almost all prominent religious figures, and social purity organisations all had links to churches. Sue Morgan has shown how feminists in the social purity movement brought about a substantial transformation in clerical attitudes towards sexuality.¹⁴ They successfully exerted pressure on the hierarchies of the churches to engage in explicit, public debates about sexuality and the body. The Church of England was no exception. Its members were at the forefront of the social purity movement, and gradually embedded social purity attitudes and activities within its administrative structures. The Church of England Purity Society was founded in 1883 to campaign against the use of contraception and prostitution and to promote personal sexual purity. In 1891 it merged with Ellice Hopkins’ White Cross Army and became the White Cross League. In the 1920s the various other Church of England ‘prevention and rescue’ organisations dealing with ‘fallen women’ and sex workers were united under the Archbishops’ Advisory Board for Spiritual and Moral Work. In 1939 the White Cross League amalgamated with the Archbishops’ Advisory Board to form the MWC. In 1952 it formally became a Council of the Church Assembly, and in 1961 was renamed the Council for Social Work. By the middle of the twentieth century,

then, the ideological legacy of the social purity movement had been absorbed by and incorporated into the programme of the established Church.

The regulation of homosexual sex was an integral but largely unremarked aspect of the social purity movement. Feminist historians have rightly noted that the primary aims of the social purity movement were the 'prevention and rescue work' among women engaged in sex work or 'at risk' of entering the sex industry, and promoting chastity among men. The 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act was one of the social purity movement's signal successes. It resulted in the raised age of consent for girls and increased regulation of the sex industry. It also included the notorious Labouchere Amendment which banned acts of 'gross indecency' between men in public or private. This amendment has often been seen as a peculiar and unrelated addendum to the Act. F. B. Smith argued that Henry Labouchere, liberal MP for Northampton, introduced the clause in an attempt to embarrass the government and social purity campaigners, and obstruct the passage of the Bill.¹⁵ If that was his intention, he was unsuccessful. The amendment was included without debate and the Bill passed into law. The lower burden of proof and lesser punishment introduced with the Labouchere Amendment greatly increased the scope for the prosecution of homosexual offences, becoming the so-called blackmailers charter under which Oscar Wilde and thousands of other men were convicted. Far from being unrelated to social purity concerns, the inclusion of the Labouchere Amendment can be read as revealing the different frame through which homosexual sex was viewed in the late nineteenth century. Sex between men was seen as yet another example of the problem of male sexuality. It was an example of exactly the sort of male sexual licence and sexual excess that was at the heart of the double standard of morality.

Social purity campaigners also engaged with homosexual sex in their other activities. In addition to its work among female sex workers, the White Cross League and other Church welfare organisations also engaged in 'prevention and rescue work' among rent boys. This area of work has been almost entirely erased from the history of the social purity movement. The Diocese of London supported an organisation specifically for work among men and boys working in the sex industry, advertising its work through the White Cross League.¹⁶ In 1911 the League conducted an investigation into 'particular phases of vice' among boys. Their report recommended the establishment of a rescue home and refuge worker for them, the strengthening of relevant legislation and increased police inspections of public urinals. In 1912 they appointed an ex-police

constable, a Mr Pritchard, as a rescue officer, and established a shelter home on Clapham Common for male prostitutes. Pritchard visited areas in London where male sex workers plied their trade. He attempted to find them alternative employment, put them in touch with their families and made the shelter home available to them. Pritchard worked in cooperation with the police and a Roman Catholic home engaged in similar work. Like work among female sex workers, it was informed by the conviction that by providing shelter, employment and religious instruction, boys could be encouraged to leave the sex industry.¹⁷ The Clapham Common home fell out of use and into disrepair during World War I, but the League continued to conduct and support 'rescue' work among male sex workers throughout the interwar period in a variety of forums. On the eve of World War II, the MWC and its antecedent organisations had been engaged in social and educational work with men having sex with men for almost 80 years.

Through its social purity activism the Church was thus contributing to a wider transformation of British sexual culture. Opposition to the double standard of morality joined with potentially more radical agendas interested in promoting positive attitudes towards sexual pleasure and especially more equal expectations of pleasure between men and women. A wealth of sex education and marriage guidance literature emerged that embodied these new expectations. The most famous of these, Marie Stopes's 1918 booklet, *Married Love*, became an international best-seller overnight. Marriage guidance literature provided by the churches similarly embodied these new expectations. The White Cross League produced a pamphlet in 1932, *The Threshold of Marriage*, which promoted companionate marriage and mutual pleasure in the marriage bed. It stressed that 'it is most essential that the act should be really mutual. The impulse, the expectation and the fulfilment should be shared by both'.¹⁸ By the 1950s it had sold over 600,000 copies. Some elements of this emergent sexual philosophy were troubling to the Church, however. The rising acceptance of family planning and birth control, separating sex from reproduction, challenged the sexual understandings of many in the Church. Well into the 1920s, many Anglicans regarded contraception as 'dangerous, demoralising and sinful'.¹⁹ In a remarkable turnaround, the 1930 Lambeth Conference gave cautious approval to birth control.²⁰ The separation of sex and reproduction implicit in the acceptance of birth control opened the way to the reorganisation of the relationship between marriage, sex and pleasure. Conservative ideologues were aware that an acceptance of sexual pleasure as a good in itself, divorced

from reproduction, substantially undermined traditional ideological arguments against homosexual sex.²¹

Following the 1930 Lambeth Conference, there was an increasing feeling in the broader church that a more thorough theological understanding of the nature of marriage, sex and pleasure was needed. A theological commission – coined the Fulham Group after its meeting place in the official residence of the Bishop of London, Fulham Palace – was formed to report to the next Lambeth Conference. It authored a report on homosexuality that was privately circulated to a committee of Bishops at the Lambeth Conference in 1948.²² The report was not formally published and it has not survived in central Church archives. Neither did that Conference make any formal resolutions on homosexuality. We are able to surmise its contents, however, from another report produced at the same time by the British Council of Churches: Standing Committee on Sex, Marriage and the Family, composed from the same pool of theologians. This report included sections on the nature of man, sex, marriage, the family, and on problems of personal and social morality. The section on problems of personal morality, including homosexuality, was written by MWC lecturer Kenneth Lambert.²³ He argued that Christians should

reorient their ethical approach to homosexual acts by emphasising the moral necessity to seek treatment on the part of somebody who discovers himself or herself to be fundamentally homosexual and incapable of heterosexual interest. In this case both the homosexual condition and the homosexual act represent an illness, but that illness is not dealt with adequately by moral condemnation. It requires instead an emphasis on the healing processes available.

Lambert declared that the Church needed to actively engage with homosexual people. He recommended that a homosexual should not proceed with ordination to the Christian ministry until he had ‘made a conscious adjustment to his homosexuality’ or received treatment ‘resulting in a re-orientation of his sexual life’.²⁴ Homosexuals and bisexuals should not look to marriage as a cure, for ‘such a course is nearly always disastrous’.²⁵ The editors of the report regarded Lambert’s sections as rather too scholarly for their primary audience: undergraduate social science students.²⁶ As it happened, this report also seems not to have been published, although it is likely that its findings were presented at the World Council of Churches Bossey Ecumenical Institute.²⁷

War provided an incitement for Church agencies to talk more publicly about homosexuality. The MWC produced a range of resources to

support clergy, chaplains, doctors and welfare workers during World War II. In 1940 Gilbert Russell, a priest and medical doctor who worked as education secretary of the MWC, published a short text, *Sex Problems in Wartime*, to guide chaplains and others giving advice to men and women in the armed forces.²⁸ It dealt with sex outside marriage, prophylaxis against venereal disease, homosexuality, masturbation, and the question of sexual continence and health. Homosexuality is described as having either physiological or psychological causes. Physiological or congenital homosexuality was understood as ‘an integral part of the hereditary endowment, as unalterable as the colour of the eyes’.²⁹ Psychological or conditioned homosexuality, however, was potentially learnt and also perhaps unlearned. Wartime produced conditions in which ‘men seek relief from sex-starvation through the only physical means that are available – masturbation and homosexual relations’.³⁰ Russell warned that the ‘abnormal conditions of camp and barracks provide the true homosexual with unusual opportunities’. ‘It would be foolish’, he wrote, ‘to minimize the danger that men and boys who learn to enjoy sexual experiences with other men, may continue to seek them even when they are restored to a normal social environment.’³¹ Russell recommended that homosexual men should seek to understand and come to terms with their condition and sublimate their sexual desires into socially useful ends, such as social work among boys. For men not physiologically homosexual, he recommended continence, but conceded that masturbation might perhaps be permissible ‘if used to ward off more serious sin’.³² This pastoral guide presents a remarkably frank and relatively non-judgemental treatment of homosexuality in which modern psychological knowledge is being put to the service of Christian moral standards. As Russell wrote, simply to tell ‘a man who is nearly crazy because of homosexual desires which bewilder and terrify him to “go on praying about it” or to “come more often to communion” will often make things worse. It is not devotions but therapeutics that are wanted.’³³ Significantly, in texts like this the MWC was both mobilising psychology in the service of religious moral standards and distributing contemporary medical and psychological theories of sexuality through national networks in a digested form.

As we have seen, the Church’s engagement with new understandings of homosexuality remained largely private in the first half of the twentieth century. Outside of the context of pastoral advice manuals there was little or no sustained public discussion of homosexuality. The various attempts to produce a more thorough theological understanding of homosexuality were not published, circulated only within limited

Church circles. The private nature of the Church's engagement with theories of homosexuality was typical of the period. Even Havelock Ellis's sexological texts were unpublished in Britain, and became available only in limited circulation.³⁴ Nonetheless, social purity and moral welfare work from the later nineteenth century until the 1940s included a sustained and practical engagement with men who were having sex with men. Pastoral manuals and unpublished archival records reveal that they were operating with what was, for the time, a remarkably sophisticated understanding of homosexuality. This understanding drew from feminist opposition to male sexual excess, the burgeoning scientific study of sex and longer-standing Christian moral traditions. Their work and pastoral literature understood homosexuality as a problem of masculinity and male sexuality. In line with scientific studies, the Church's reports did not view homosexuality as a unitary phenomenon but rather a complex field of same-sex desires, behaviours and identities. Leaning most heavily on sexological rather than psychoanalytic models, they saw the 'fundamental' homosexual, or 'invert', as having a deficient masculinity, while men engaging in casual or opportunistic sex with other men were depicted as lacking self-control, overcome by sexual excess. This understanding of the relationship between homosexuality and masculinity drew on, transformed, and broadcast ideas developed in sexological literature. And, while this did not disrupt heteronormative moral traditions, it does reveal an almost complete shift from punitive to therapeutic responses to homosexual men.

Wolfenden and the Church legislating the homosexual

In the early 1950s the Church broke its public silence on homosexuality and called for an inquiry into the laws around homosexuality. In 1954 the Home Office established the Departmental Committee into Homosexual Offences and Prostitution (commonly known after its chairman as the Wolfenden Committee). The MWC produced a number of key texts as evidence for the Committee in which they advocated for the decriminalisation of sex between men in private. The Committee recommended decriminalisation in 1957 and their recommendation came into law in 1967. The Wolfenden moment is significant not only because of its role in the legal transformation of homosexuality, but it also played a significant role in the definition of the homosexual. Indeed, the literature and public statements produced in relation to the law reform process can be read as a search to determine what exactly 'a homosexual' was. In these documents, as in pre-war sexual politics, we

see homosexuality rendered as a psychological condition. Yet alongside this now hegemonic psychiatric discourse of homosexuality, a new discourse can also be discerned. The legal and sociological descriptions of homosexuality in the Wolfenden material constituted homosexuality as a social problem. This recognised homosexuality as more than an individual psychological condition: as a social subculture in Britain. As Chris Waters has argued, the emergence of the homosexual as a social being in the postwar era was a key step in the making of the modern homosexual.³⁵

The Church of England's public support for gay law reform began in 1952. Theological student Graham Dowell wrote to the influential Anglican journal, *Theology*, questioning the justice and expediency of treating homosexuality through the criminal law and raising the possibility of religiously sanctioned homosexual relationships.³⁶ The editor of *Theology*, Alec Vidler, commissioned MWC lecturer Rev. Dr D. Sherwin Bailey, to write a reply. His article is among the first sustained intellectual work published on homosexuality from the established Church – and arguably any Christian group.³⁷ Spurred on by responses to the article, Bailey established a study group in the MWC into the matter. The group, whose membership included doctors, lawyers and clergy, produced an interim report *The Problem of Homosexuality*, which was widely circulated.³⁸ It recommended that homosexual sex, though still sinful, should not be criminal. The Council lobbied for a government inquiry into homosexual law reform. When the Wolfenden Committee was established in 1954 the MWC submitted an expanded report arguing for decriminalisation.³⁹ The findings of the Wolfenden Committee on homosexuality, published in 1957, largely mirrored the Church's recommendations.⁴⁰ Bailey was the principal author of the interim and final reports. He submitted as private evidence to the committee a copy of his monograph *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* and was constantly in consultation with the committee behind the scenes and in correspondence with the secretary throughout the life of the committee.⁴¹ Through these publications and active involvement in the parliamentary process, Bailey and the MWC contributed to the legal transformation of male homosexuality.

The extent of the Church's involvement in and influence on the Wolfenden Committee and subsequent gay law reform movement has not been widely acknowledged.⁴² The MWC put pressure on the Home Secretary to establish the Committee, writing to the Home Office and publishing its support in *The Times*.⁴³ The MWC interim report *The Problem of Homosexuality* was printed and made available on request.

The entire run of 6000 copies was sold and over 1500 readers wrote back to the MWC with comments. These were used in the drafting of the Church's submission to the Wolfenden Committee.⁴⁴ The MWC worked hard to ensure that the report was approved by the Church Assembly, the Church's parliamentary body, thus adding the weight of the institutional Church to its findings. When the departmental committee of enquiry was announced, the report was distributed to every member of the House of Commons and every active member of the House of Lords before the debate. Many speeches in the debates lifted whole passages from the MWC document.⁴⁵ Furthermore, special efforts were made to persuade bishops of the merits of the Council's position and to arrange for bishops to speak in debates in the Lords. The interim report received favourable reviews in the press (including in *The Spectator*, *New Statesman*, *The Practitioner*, *The Lancet* and *The Church of England Newspaper*) and internationally.⁴⁶ Alfred Kinsey wrote to the council commending the report. He differed on the aetiology of homosexuality, but requested 20 copies of the report for his institute. Correspondence in council archives is particularly enthusiastic about the response to the report received from homosexual men and women. It was reported in committee that

[a] large number of inverts have either written or visited the office to express their thanks for the realistic way the Report has tried to understand their problems. Two have written to say that the Report brought so much encouragement to them in their distress that they have begun going to their parish churches again.⁴⁷

After the publication of the Wolfenden Report, the MWC decided it was not necessary to produce further publications on the subject, as their aim – the establishment of a departmental committee – had been achieved. A muted investigation into female homosexuality was postponed (and to the best of my knowledge, never pursued).

Matthew Grimley has argued that the separation of crime and sin recommended by the Wolfenden Committee was 'an important aspect both of the process of secularisation, and of the creation of a "permissive society" in post-war Britain'.⁴⁸ It is my contention that such a focus on secularisation and sexual liberation obscures a deeper significance of religious support for homosexual law reform: the role of Christianity in the construction of the modern homosexual. Jeffrey Weeks argued that the Wolfenden recommendations made homosexual sex in private a matter of individual choice separate from matters of public order and

the criminal law. In doing so, 'Wolfenden conjured into being for the first time in British law the notion of the distinct homosexual personage'.⁴⁹ If Wolfenden 'invented' the homosexual as a legal being, it did so with the cooperation of, and to an extent even at the instigation of, the Church. When the Wolfenden Report's recommendations came into law in the 1967 Sexual Offences Act, the legal offence of sodomy disappeared and in its place the private homosexual citizen emerged. In this paradigmatic moment in the emergence of modern homosexuality, the Church was working with the State and with medical professionals in the mediation of a new discourse of sexual identity.

The MWC, and in particular Sherwin Bailey, performed much of the cultural and intellectual work of this transition. The 'unnatural' nature of homosexual acts and, in particular, a marked abhorrence at the sinful act of sodomy (in this context understood to mean anal sex) featured prominently in opposition to homosexual law reform. The MWC interim report, its submission to the Wolfenden Committee and Bailey's private evidence to the Committee directly rebutted understandings of homosexual desires as unnatural and abhorrent. Reiterating the earlier reconciliation of sexological and theological categories of identity in the work of Gilbert Russell and Kenneth Lambert, MWC publications on homosexuality in the 1950s firmly stated that for the genuine homosexual, or 'invert', homoerotic desires were in their nature. The interim report stressed that 'homosexuality is not in any sense a kind of conduct. It is a term used to denote a condition.'⁵⁰ Because 'inverts' had no choice in determining the orientation of their erotic desires, the report repeatedly insisted that homosexuality 'is itself morally neutral'.⁵¹ This was not, however, an unqualified redemption of homosexuality. They argued that while individuals should not be held responsible for desires over which they had no control, if their desires found 'expression in various homosexual acts ... a moral judgement must be passed'.⁵² But even this moral judgement was tempered. Bailey and Archbishop Fisher both suggested that homosexual sex was less morally reprehensible than illicit heterosexual sex.⁵³ Nonetheless, the 'homosexual' that emerges in the MWC reports is a tragic figure endowed with desires on which he must not act. For the MWC, the tragic nature of his condition meant that a pastoral rather than a criminal approach was needed.⁵⁴

Significantly, the MWC evidence did not merely propound a sexological restatement of Christian moral law. It also engineered a pivotal theological revision of the sin of sodomy itself. In *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition*, Sherwin Bailey reviewed all the texts in the Bible used to condemn homosexual sex and pioneered revisionist

readings to demonstrate that the condemnations in both the Old and New Testaments did not apply to the modern homosexual. He argued that the Old Testament holiness code was not applicable in the modern era and that the wilful perversions described by St Paul were phenomena distinct from the congenital, psychological condition of the modern invert. Moreover, Bailey argued that the sin of Sodom, the most potent icon of religious opposition to homosexual sex, was not primarily a sexual offence. Genesis 18 and 19 describe God's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah because of the cities' inhabitants' 'grievous sin'. In the biblical account, Abraham pleaded with God to spare the city, but God conceded only to send his angels to rescue Abraham's nephew Lot who was resident in Sodom. When the angels entered the city, the men of Sodom surrounded Lot's house, demanding to 'know' the angels. Lot refused to give them the angels and offered the men his daughters in their place. They rejected this exchange, and Lot only escaped Sodom with his family by the angels' supernatural intervention. Moments later the city was destroyed by fire. Bailey argued that the Hebrew word for 'know' used in Genesis 19 was ambiguous, and did not necessarily imply sexual knowledge.⁵⁵ He argued that the sin of Sodom was not anal sex but a sin of hospitality – that is, the sin of assaulting guests. Therefore, 'the Sodom story [had] no direct bearing whatever upon the problem of homosexuality'.⁵⁶ While subsequent scholars have been sceptical of Bailey's Hebrew exegesis, the substance of his critique has been confirmed. Mark Jordan has shown that sodomy, in Christian tradition, did not take on the specific connotation of homosexual sin until the second millennium.⁵⁷ Bailey was the first person to question the meaning of sodomy in Christian history and theology. His pioneering revision of its meaning to a sin of hospitality, rather than of 'unnatural sex', cleared the space for a theological recognition of the homosexual. Thus theological discourses of sexuality were not displaced by psychiatric and legal discourses but were transformed alongside them.

The theological revaluation of the term sodomy and notions of 'natural' sexuality pioneered by Bailey and the MWC was not universally accepted. Even in MWC materials there were slippages between old and new discourses. And while the MWC managed to get the Church hierarchy and the democratic governmental bodies of the Church to authorise their reports, there were substantial continuities in the usage of sodomy in its previous sexual sense. In debates about the reception of the Wolfenden Report in the Church Assembly in 1957, for example, Bishops and lay members insisted on the particular moral iniquity of anal sex. The Bishop of Plymouth, Norman Clarke, claimed

that the 'heart of a homosexual offence ... was a sin against the whole nature of man and against natural law'.⁵⁸ Major General Fisher 'thought that most of them, on the question of homosexual behaviour, adhered to a particular preconception going back to the Cities of the Plain'.⁵⁹ Introducing the motion, the Bishop of Exeter, Robert Mortimer, also emphasised the moral status of homosexual sex. He stated that 'the Committee regarded homosexual practices as being a disgusting and immoral incontinence by a person's own responsibility'.⁶⁰ Yet 'there was not very much that the law could do to regulate sexual behaviour. The balanced and easy control of the sexual impulses in men and women came from the virtue of chastity and the law could not make people chaste'.⁶¹ In his closing address Archbishop Fisher similarly argued that the law could not enforce morality and that to single out homosexual sins for criminal punishment was manifestly unjust. He stated that he worried about

the violent injustice of keeping the homosexual as guilty of a criminal offence when he indulged his natural instincts – for whatever might be natural or unnatural, some of them had natural homosexual instincts – and punishing him for criminality, while the man who broke up a home by adultery or habitually sought his own indulgence by fornication was still a respectable member of society guilty of no offence.⁶²

In the end Mortimer and Fisher's arguments about justice carried the day and the Assembly passed a motion approving the recommendations of the Wolfenden Report on the law related to homosexual offences. While Bailey's revision of 'sodomy' and acceptance of sexological theories of sexual identity were not widely endorsed within the Assembly, their debates showed that what was 'natural' about sex, and what was in an individual's sexual 'nature', could no longer be assumed.

In deconstructing sodomy as a sexual offence and promoting a pastoral rather than punitive approach to homosexuality, the Church framed homosexuals as a distinct social group with particular needs. In the reports prepared for Wolfenden and in committee discussions following decriminalisation, a dual approach was developed to meet both the social and psychological needs of homosexual Christians. Central to the MWC reports was the recommendation that the Church needed to support 'inverts' socially so that they had a welcoming social alternative to the 'homosexual underworld'. The principal mechanism through which these reports envisaged the Church integrating homosexuals into its

social order was through Christian service. Church leaders were advised to help homosexuals 'face their condition and sublimate or transmute their homosexual drives through prayer and imagination into creative and socially acceptable service' and in this manner find 'personal fulfilment'.⁶³ In their evidence to Wolfenden, the MWC suggested that 'two inverters who are congenial may find their salvation in an enterprise of "home-making" – and it is arguable that society should encourage them, and should not impute to them the basest of motives'.⁶⁴ This was clearly not a suggestion that gays should marry, or that homosexual sex should become acceptable. It was, however, a recognition that homosexuality formed a social, not simply a psychological, problem, and thus required a social solution.

Conclusion: Christianity, homosexuality and masculinity

Two important themes emerge in the material that has been brought together in this chapter. Firstly, the Church's welfare work among men having sex with men in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the Church's promotion in the 1950s and 1960s of the decriminalisation of sex between men, soundly rebut the recurrent assumption in the history of sexuality that religion is inevitably sexually repressive. Religious liberty and sexual liberalisation are plainly not incommensurable. Secondly, the process through which modern understandings of homosexuality emerged was not necessarily a secularising process. Sexological and legal understandings of homosexuality did not displace religious understandings of sodomy. Rather, theological understandings of same-sex acts and identities were transformed alongside medical and legal understandings. Religious dimensions of sexual knowledge in this period could be as dynamic as knowledge derived from medicine and the law. Furthermore, religious individuals and institutions played key roles in the digestion and promulgation of sexological models of sexual identity, and in the legal transformation of the 'homosexual'. This integration of changes in religious understandings of homosexuality with changes in the other elite discourses contributes to an alteration of both the chronology and character of the history of the emergence of modern homosexuality. It reasserts the importance of both the legal and the theological components of emergent homosexual subjectivities in the 1950s.

Several scholars have already begun to critique the singular emphasis on late nineteenth-century sexology in histories of homosexuality in

Britain. They emphasise a slower and later emergence of the homosexual. Sean Brady argues powerfully that the medico-legal analyses of British homosexual historiography have frequently been 'problematic and ahistorical'.⁶⁵ He seeks to deconstruct studies that posit the medical and legal construction of the homosexual as a pathological and legal subject in the late nineteenth century. Brady argues that these historical processes of homosexual identity formation simply did not occur in Britain. In contrast to a continental 'will to knowledge' that classified, named and legislated a new homosexual 'species', in Britain 'the responses to the matter of sex between men was, increasingly, silence'.⁶⁶ British law refrained from mentioning sex between men and did not tolerate the publication and dissemination of inversion sexology. In consequence, as Harry Cocks has argued, homosexual men in Britain developed self-understandings in relation to a cultural silence concerning homosexuality; they knew themselves through an epistemology of the closet.⁶⁷ In addition, as Chris Brickell has shown, even those few men and women who did manage to obtain banned continental works on sexology would not have discovered a new, coherent homosexual ontology.⁶⁸ On the contrary, 'the expert creators of sexual knowledge offered up not a homo/hetero binary but something much more complex and unruly'.⁶⁹ Brickell suggests that in both the sexological literature and in the lives of same-sex desiring men, sexual identity remained fluid, and elements of fluidity persisted even as discrete homosexual and heterosexual identities were slowly becoming hegemonic through the twentieth century.⁷⁰

Challenging the pre-eminence of sexological explanations of the emergence of homosexuality, a number of works have begun to emphasise the importance of gender and the social. Brady argues that the imperatives of male sociability and the patriarchal family precluded open discussions of homosexuality. For 'British society, probably more than any other in the Western world, regarded independent, uxorious masculine social status as its bedrock and the benchmark of social inclusion'.⁷¹ Similarly, Hera Cook argues that it was only when heterosexual gender relations began to substantially shift in the 1950s that homosexuality began to become more acceptable. Cook contends that the rise of companionate marriage, valuing mutual sexual pleasure between men and women, and the relaxation of attitudes towards sex before, within and without marriage 'led to a relaxation of legal and social penalties on homosexuals, making same-sex physical sexual expression carry less weight also'.⁷² Indeed, as we have seen, it was primarily through the regulation of gender rather than sexuality that the MWC understood

homosexuality. The Church's moral welfare activities revealed an understanding of homosexual activity as grounded either in male sexual excess or inverted masculine desire. And it is no coincidence that the promotion of homosexual law reform and revision of the theology of sodomy took place in the context of an organisation whose primary activity was the care of single mothers and the production of literature for sex education and marriage guidance. The revision of understandings of homosexuality was in the context of the maintenance and promotion of ideal gender relations.

Reminding us of the Church's role in homosexual history does not serve to rehabilitate an institution that now so often functions as a bulwark to homophobia. Its integration into homosexual history does, however, disrupt our assumptions about the relationship between 'conservative' and 'radical' sexual culture and sexual change. However, the politics of the Church of England and its Moral Welfare Council are characterised, it is clear the Church was formatively involved at pivotal moments in the emergence of modern homosexuality. At these moments, religious categories of sexual behaviour were not displaced by secular categories of sexual identity. On the contrary, religious knowledge about same-sex desires, sex and identity were transformed alongside medical and legal knowledge. This episode in sexual history illustrates how British culture and society remained religious well into the twentieth century and that British religion was not static or separated from social and cultural developments. It also reminds us that sexual reform is often more conservative in nature than what might be assumed. As Matt Houlbrook has argued, in the Wolfenden moment 'the "homosexual" was constituted through and within broader matrices of sexual difference, defined through his distance from places, practices, and people repudiated as abject, immoral, and dangerous'.⁷³ The Church of England played an active part in this definitional process, making a substantial contribution to the emergence of the 'modern homosexual'.

Notes

I would like to thank Sianan Healy, Sue Morgan and the anonymous readers for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this chapter.

1. J. Bingham, 'Britain's Christians are being Vilified, Warns Lord Carey', *The Telegraph*, 13 April 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/9203953/Britains-Christians-are-being-vilified-warns-Lord-Carey.html>, accessed 11 September 2012.

2. V. Bullough (1979) *Homosexuality: A History: From Ancient Greece to Gay Liberation* (New York: New American Library); L. Crompton (2003) *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).
3. J. Boswell (1980) *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) and J. Boswell (1994) *Same Sex Unions in Pre-Modern Europe* (New York: Villard Books).
4. M. Jordan (1997) *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
5. J. Weeks (1981/1989) *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800* (London: Longman), p. 22.
6. H. G. Cocks (2006) 'Religion and Spirituality', in H. G. Cocks and M. Houlbrook (eds) *The Modern History of Sexuality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 157. See also R. Warner (2010) *Secularization and its Discontents* (London: Continuum).
7. S. Morgan and J. de Vries (eds) (2010) *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800–1940* (London: Routledge).
8. C. Taylor (2007) *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
9. M. Collins (2003) *Modern Love: Personal Relationships in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Newark: University of Delaware Press); J. Dixon (2012) "'Out of Your Clinging Kisses ... I Create a New World": Sexuality and Spirituality in the Work of Edward Carpenter', in T. Kontou and S. Wilburn (eds) *The Ashgate Research Companion to Victorian Spiritualism and the Occult* (London: Ashgate), pp. 143–64; S. Morgan (1999) *A Passion for Purity: Ellice Hopkins and the Politics of Gender in the Late-Victorian Church* (Bristol: CCSRG Monograph Series 2).
10. L. Hall (2004) 'Hauling Down the Double Standard: Feminism, Social Purity and Sexual Science in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Gender and History*, 16(1), 36–56, p. 37.
11. J. N. Katz (2005) *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
12. M. Mason (1996) *The Making of Victorian Sexual Attitudes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 49–63.
13. Anne Summers gives a sense of the extent of Ellis's readership in early twentieth-century Britain in A. Summers (1991) 'The Correspondents of Havelock Ellis', *History Workshop Journal*, (32), 167–83.
14. S. Morgan (2007) "'Wild Oats or Acorns?'" Social Purity, Sexual Politics and the Response of the Late-Victorian Church', *Journal of Religious History*, 31(2), 151–68.
15. F. B. Smith (1976) 'Labouchere's Amendment to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill', *Historical Studies*, 17(6), 165–75, p. 169.
16. Peter Coleman lists this as being advertised in 1866, but this date is surely incorrect. The League only formed in 1891. P. Coleman (1980) *Christian Attitudes to Homosexuality* (London: SPCK), p. 154.
17. Coleman, *Christian Attitudes to Homosexuality*, pp. 155–7.
18. Committee of the White Cross League (1932) *The Threshold of Marriage* (London: White Cross League), p. 19.
19. English Bishops' Meeting (1905) *The Misuse of Marriage*. In Randall Davidson Papers, Lambeth Palace Library [hereafter LPL], London, 422:2.

20. T. Jones (2013) *Sexual Politics in the Church of England, 1857–1957* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 131–61.
21. T. Jones (2011) 'The Stained Glass Closet: Celibacy and Homosexuality in the Church of England to 1955', *The Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 20(1), 132–52, p. 151.
22. Board for Social Responsibility Papers [hereafter BSR], Church of England Record Centre [hereafter CERC], London, MWC/REP/2, 1948, 7.
23. British Council of Churches: Standing Conference on Sex, Marriage and the Family [hereafter COSMAF], CERC, London, BCC/SRD/7/4/1/3.
24. COSMAF, CERC, London, BCC/SRD/7/4/1/16.
25. COSMAF, CERC, London, BCC/SRD/7/4/1/16.
26. COSMAF, CERC, London, BCC/SRD/7/4/1/3. Legge to Cleal, 22/5/50.
27. COSMAF, CERC, London, BCC/SRD/7/4/1/3.
28. G. L. Russell (1940) *Sex Problems in Wartime* (London: SCM Press).
29. Russell, *Sex Problems in Wartime*, p. 51.
30. Russell, *Sex Problems in Wartime*, p. 53.
31. Russell, *Sex Problems in Wartime*, p. 53.
32. Russell, *Sex Problems in Wartime*, Chapter 4.
33. Russell, *Sex Problems in Wartime*, p. 5.
34. S. Brady (2009) *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain, 1861–1913* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 221.
35. C. Waters (2012) 'The Homosexual as a Social Being in Britain, 1945–1968', *Journal of British Studies*, 51(3), 685–710.
36. *Theology*, January 1952.
37. D. S. Bailey (1952) 'The Problem of Sexual Inversion', *Theology*, 55, 47–52.
38. Church of England Moral Welfare Council (1954) *The Problem of Homosexuality: An Interim Report* (Oxford: Church Information Board).
39. Moral Welfare Council (1956) *Sexual Offenders and Social Punishment: Being the Evidence Submitted on Behalf of the Church of England Moral Welfare Council to the Departmental Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, with Other Materials Relating Thereto* (London: Church Information Board). Interestingly, the Roman Catholic Church and the Baptist Union also supported decriminalisation. See COSMAF, CERC, London, BCC/SRD/7/4/1/12.
40. The Report took a contrary view to the MWC on the treatment of prostitution.
41. D. S. Bailey (1955) *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London: Longmans, Green & Co.). Oral testimony recorded in Coleman, *Christian Attitudes to Homosexuality*, p. 178.
42. Two articles have so far outlined the church's involvement in Wolfenden. See G. Willett (2009) 'The Church of England and the Origins of Homosexual Law Reform', *Journal of Religious History*, 33(4), 418–34 and M. Grimley (2009) 'Law, Morality and Secularisation: The Church of England and the Wolfenden Report', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60(4), 725–41. It is also briefly discussed in M. Jordan (2011) *Recruiting Young Love: How Christians Talk about Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 50–67.
43. MWC to Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, Home Secretary, 30/10/53; Letter to *The Sunday Times*, dated 4 November 1953, printed 8 November 1953. In BSR, CERC, London, MWC/HOM/1/5, 'Correspondence 1953'.

44. MWC Annual Report, 1954, 4.
45. See, for example, speeches by Desmond Donnelly, the Earl of Winterton, Lord Brabazon of Tara, Lord Jowitt, the Lord Chancellor and the Bishop of Southwell. In Coleman, *Christian Attitudes to Homosexuality*, pp. 163–7.
46. Reported in inversion working group files. BSR, CERC, London, MWC/HOM/8.
47. BSR, CERC, London, MWC/HOM/8.
48. Grimley, 'Law, Morality and Secularisation', p. 741.
49. J. Weeks (2007) 'Wolfenden and Beyond: The Remaking of Homosexual History', *History and Policy*, February, <http://www.historyandpolicy.org/papers/policy-paper-51.html>. See also K. Gleeson (2007) 'Discipline, Punishment and the Homosexual in Law', *Liverpool Law Review*, 28(3), 327–47 and M. Houlbrook (2005) *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), pp. 242–43.
50. MWC, *The Problem of Homosexuality*.
51. MWC, *The Problem of Homosexuality*.
52. MWC, *The Problem of Homosexuality*.
53. 14 November 1957. Church Assembly (1957) *Report of Proceedings* 38, 477.
54. See, similarly, Maude Royden's pastoral attitude to homosexuality, which developed along the same lines between 1921 and 1947, as discussed in S. Morgan (2013) 'Sex and Common-Sense: Maude Royden, Religion, and Modern Sexuality', *Journal of British Studies*, 52(1), 153–78.
55. Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition*, pp. 2–6.
56. Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition*, p. 28.
57. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology*.
58. 14 November 1957. Church Assembly, *Report of Proceedings* 38, 457.
59. Church Assembly, *Report of Proceedings* 38, 469.
60. Church Assembly *Report of Proceedings* 38, 445.
61. Church Assembly *Report of Proceedings* 38, 447.
62. Church Assembly *Report of Proceedings* 38, 477.
63. MWC, *The Problem of Homosexuality*, pp. 14, 15.
64. MWC, *Sexual Offenders and Social Punishment*, p. 35.
65. Brady, *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality*, p. 210.
66. Brady, *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality*, p. 211.
67. H. Cocks (2003) *Nameless Offences: Homosexual Desire in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Taurus).
68. C. Brickell (2006) 'Sexology, the Homo/Hetero Binary, and the Complexities of Male Sexual History', *Sexuality*, 9(4), 423–47.
69. Brickell, 'Sexology', p. 439.
70. Jeffrey Weeks addressed these debates about the chronology of the emergence of the modern homosexual in a recent essay. While maintaining the importance of innovations in medical discourses, he acknowledged the partial and slow adoption of these discourses in the first half of the twentieth century. See J. Weeks (2012) 'Queer(y)ing the "Modern Homosexual"', *Journal of British Studies*, 51(3), 523–39.
71. Brady, *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality*, p. 221.
72. H. Cook (2004) *The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex and Contraception, 1800–1975* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 339.
73. For more detailed analysis of the conservative implications of the Wolfenden Report, see Houlbrook, *Queer London*, p. 243.

Further reading

- Bailey, D. S. (1955) *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London: Longmans, Green & Co.).
- Brady, S. (2009) *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain, 1861–1913* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Brickell, C. (2006) 'Sexology, the Homo/Hetero Binary, and the Complexities of Male Sexual History', *Sexuality*, 9(4), 423–47.
- Cocks, H. G. (2006) 'Religion and Spirituality', in H. G. Cocks and M. Houlbrook (eds) *The Modern History of Sexuality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 157–79.
- Houlbrook, M. (2005) *Queer London: Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis, 1918–1957* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Jones, T. (2013) *Sexual Politics in the Church of England, 1857–1957* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Jordan, M. (2011) *Recruiting Young Love: How Christians Talk about Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Waters, C. (2012) 'The Homosexual as a Social Being in Britain, 1945–1968', *Journal of British Studies*, 51(3), 685–710.
- Weeks, J. (2012) 'Queer(y)ing the "Modern Homosexual"', *Journal of British Studies* 51(3), 523–39.

8

Why Examine Men, Masculinities and Religion in Northern Ireland?

Sean Brady

Northern Ireland's history, and especially that of The Troubles of 1968–98 has received considerable, though far from exhaustive scholarly attention in recent decades. Nonetheless, in much of the scholarship, the centrality of religion and religious differences are elided with emphasis placed on other factors such as economics and class. Much of this scholarship, while gaining some credibility in the academy outside Northern Ireland at the time, has recently been criticised as ahistorical and decontextualised analysis. In this chapter, the tensions and connections between religion, politics and gender formations in Northern Ireland's history are examined, as is some of the interdisciplinary problems in extant scholarship. Particular emphasis is placed upon religious sectarianism, the centrality of religion in politics and life in the new Northern Ireland state after 1921, and the ways in which these shaped and were shaped by masculinities in Northern Ireland society.

In what respects would an analysis that takes account of gender in relation to religion and politics offer any greater insights into the history of Northern Ireland? In part, the answer resides in the fact that questions of gender and masculinities barely exist in the historiography of Ireland, and of Northern Ireland in particular. Instead, the vast majority of the historiography of Northern Ireland, and of Ireland in general, has tended to be that of political narrative in a highly empirical methodological tradition.

Historical and critical analyses that take account of gender have witnessed something of a discursive explosion within the academy in Britain. Indeed, in historical studies of gender, and in particular masculinities, historians of Britain in Britain have been pioneers – Joanna Bourke, Catherine Hall and John Tosh to name but a few – and their scholarship has been influential far beyond the historiography of Britain or

the academy in Britain.¹ But practically none of these developments, or developments in the historical and contemporary critical study of gender more broadly, have affected or penetrated the historiography of Northern Ireland. This is all the more remarkable as the province is firmly part of the United Kingdom (indeed, never more so than since the Belfast Peace Agreement), and its universities an integral part of the United Kingdom's Higher Education funding sector.² Yet Northern Ireland is rarely included in historical studies of twentieth-century Britain, notwithstanding the enormous impact of The Troubles, and the avowed 'Britishness' of Ulster's Protestant communities since the creation of the state in 1921. Masculine dominance, and constructions in masculinity and gender remain, therefore, the 'great unquestioned' in the scholarship on Northern Ireland. In a society dominated profoundly by men and religion, social conservatism, sectarianism and male-dominated violent conflict, this is indeed remarkable.

According to the sociologist and criminologist Fidelma Ashe, the frameworks employed by mainstream scholarly analyses of 'deeply divided ethnonationalist societies' such as Northern Ireland's have typically ignored its gendered dimensions. Thus men's dominance in the politics and society of the Province 'has been framed as normal and natural' with the actual process of conflict resolution prioritising 'inequalities relating to ethnonationalist identities and marginalized other identities'.³ The emphasis upon 'solving' ethnonationalist antagonisms in the sociology and political theory on Northern Ireland, and the dominance of this approach in social historiography, has marginalised gender research in social science 'even further than is usual'. Critical approaches to men and masculinities as sites of scholarly analysis tend to happen in contexts where feminist scholarship is well developed.⁴ Feminism in Northern Ireland is 'vibrant', argues Ashe, but fragmented into small networks of community groups and a few academics. In such a political and intellectual environment, 'prioritizing issues relating to women has been feminism's most urgent task'; as a result, questions and issues concerning masculinities have been neglected. Ashe goes even further, criticising more reflexive scholars such as John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary for regarding masculinities as 'irrelevant to processes of conflict transformation'.⁵

The interdisciplinary problems of a gendered historical analysis are also highlighted – and indeed compounded – by the recent emphases among literary and critical theorists that do consider contemporary Irish masculinities, including to some extent those in Northern Ireland. In the groundbreaking collection *Irish Masculinities: Reflections on*

Literature and Culture, the authors attempt to question the production and maintenance of hegemonic masculinity in Irish literature and culture.⁶ But because of the 'absence of this kind of analysis, particularly in history and sociology, "hegemonic masculinity"' is presented throughout as an ill-defined and vague monolith. As Jane McGaughey's work demonstrates, there is no 'single, overarching definition of masculinity that crosses cultures and time periods. Rather, masculinities are plural, fluid and historically informed by ideologies specific to time, place and social context'.⁸ The potential for new insights through taking account of masculinities in Northern Ireland is considerable. This chapter surveys these potentials, analysing power and gender relations through the lens of the most salient and deeply embedded features of Northern Ireland society: religion and sectarianism. The chapter concentrates on the 1920s and 1930s, allowing discussion of the formation of society in the new state and the conditions in which religious sectarianism and concomitant masculine hegemonies were fostered. Examination of the interwar period is crucial, as the conditions created after 1921 resonate throughout the history of the state to the present day. The existing historiography is analysed here 'against the grain', that is, against its complete absence of gender, despite reference to political and religious cultures that were overwhelmingly male-dominated. In what is otherwise meticulously researched empirical scholarship on the political problems of the new state, Protestant politics are particularly well researched. Less well explored are Catholic politics in the period, hence this chapter not only examines new evidence but also the historiography of Catholic politics. Through this synthesis and critical approach, an analysis of 'hegemonic masculinity' in the Northern Irish context is explored which provides a basis for further research and discussion of the religiously orientated and competing masculine hegemonies that developed in Northern Ireland after 1921.

Gender as a site of historical analysis poses considerable cross-disciplinary problems in this field of study. Where gendered studies on Northern Ireland exist at all, the label 'gender' is somewhat misleading, invariably focusing upon women and tending to resist or ignore recent developments in gender scholarship elsewhere. An excellent recent article by the geographer Sara McDowell, for example, examines the impact of sectarian wall murals and paramilitary memorials upon gender.⁹ McDowell's research brings to bear some wonderful oral testimony, but despite taking account of broader gendered scholarship on the built environment, it focuses exclusively upon women. The study of women in the Northern Ireland Troubles is indispensable, of course, not least

as the Derry Peace Women in 1972,¹⁰ and later the non-sectarian Peace People, brought women's protests against the conflict to the world stage, with the Peace People being awarded a Nobel Prize in 1976. Yet McDowell's article leaves the masculinist, militarised and overwhelmingly male cultures that wrought the murals and death memorials more or less untouched, except through the experiences of the women interviewed. Paramilitarism was an overwhelmingly male preserve in Northern Ireland whereas the number of women actively involved with the paramilitaries, on both sides of the religious divide, was very small. Those women who were involved were generally ignored, had their own allied organisations that were rarely listened to by paramilitary councils, and were forbidden from paramilitary operations especially in the earlier period of The Troubles.¹¹

Recent developments by historians of Ireland, however, have begun to revise the historiography through approaches that do take account of gender and masculinity. Joseph Valente's book *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture, 1880–1922* (2011)¹² is a literary critical analysis of the literature and culture of the Gaelic Revival centred in Dublin, and its influence in constructing a specifically Irish nationalist notion of manliness and masculinity. Jane McGaughey's article 'Arming the Men: Ulster Unionist Masculinities and the Home Rule Crisis' (2010) and her recent book *Ulster's Men: Protestant Unionist Masculinities and Militarization in the North of Ireland, 1912–1923* (2012) analyse Protestant militarisation before and during World War I, and its legacy in the conditions of the creation of Northern Ireland. Valente and McGaughey indicate the considerable possibilities in analysing what had 'been assumed, but never defined',¹³ namely masculinities in both Irish nationalist and Unionist cultures, concomitant militarisation, militarism and paramilitarism in the period before partition, and the creation of the Northern Ireland state in 1921. This chapter builds on this work, exploring both masculinities and religion in the political and social conditions of the new society. A gendered approach, cognisant of masculinities, has the potential to bring women's political and social agency into much sharper critical focus than hitherto has been the case. Similarly, approaches that take account of men, masculinities and religion have the potential to analyse and historicise sexualities. Current approaches to the history of sexualities tend to privilege secularity and the development of medicalised disciplines such as sex psychology and psychoanalysis in their historicisation of modern sexualities.¹⁴ The absence of this medicalised discourse in the history of Northern Ireland not only problematises a Foucauldian approach to historicising sexualities in the Province, but

has also resulted in sexualities barely being investigated by scholars in this context. Analysis of sexualities through the prisms of masculinities and religion has the potential to historicise the sexual being and self-fashioning, particularly that of sexual minorities, in ways that are meaningful, resonant and culturally specific to life and conditions in the Province.

Methodological innovation when examining Northern Ireland has a fraught, and highly politicised history all of its own. The violence and political conflagration of The Troubles from 1968 to 1998¹⁵ attracted, at their height, a veritable army of sociologists and political theorists. The results were at best ambivalent, however, and, more often than not, profoundly unhelpful. Until relatively recently, most specifically the research of political theorists Duncan Morrow¹⁶ and Dominic Murray,¹⁷ and sociologists including Clare Mitchell,¹⁸ John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary¹⁹ have approached the Northern Ireland conflict through the prisms of race, ethnicity, class and economics. Religion, in these predominantly Marxist and marxisant studies, was not a site of analysis, and the conflict was blamed upon everything from economic deprivation to analogies with race relations and white supremacist ideology in the deep south of the United States, and of South Africa.²⁰ By making religion a second-order analytical feature, scholars revealed either a profound misunderstanding of the geopolitical landscape of Northern Ireland or, more likely, a wilful methodological or ideological blindness to one of its most obvious features.²¹ As McGarry and O'Leary argued, if religion is indeed a central aspect of the conflict, then 'socio-economic inequalities, cultural or national differences, inter-state relations ... must be of secondary or no importance ... We will argue that those who think the conflict is based on religion are wrong.'²² Scholars such as Frank Wright²³ and Steve Bruce²⁴ have provided excellent studies on the centrality of religion in the history of conflict in the province. But as Mitchell argues, though conflicting religion in Northern Ireland 'is a popular stereotype', links between theology and politics are 'not widely argued for in the literature'. And, where the connections have been emphasised, the focus tends to be upon evangelical Protestants.²⁵

Mitchell and others amply demonstrate the centrality of religion in the maintenance and persistence of the communal boundary in Northern Ireland today, and the troubling prospect of this not dissipating in the foreseeable future. The 'habitus' of religion and sectarianism in Northern Ireland is deeply ingrained among even those who are religiously non-practising.²⁶ Unlike Britain, the non-religious cannot be labelled 'secularists', as religiously based sectarianism figures social being

for practically everyone. Northern Ireland is by far the most religiously observant part of the United Kingdom today. In some respects, it is a more helpful analogy to think of politics in Northern Ireland in a similar light to the syncretism between fundamentalist religion and Republican Party politics in the United States in the last three decades.²⁷ The contemporary rise in conservative evangelicalism and fundamentalism in some sections of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland, particularly among younger Protestants, exacerbates the sectarian divide. The inherently Premillennialist (and vehemently anti-Roman Catholic) theology and rhetoric in Ulster Protestant fundamentalism tends to evaluate political conflict, and the woes and necessary defence of Protestant Ulster, through biblical discourse.²⁸ F. Boal argues that younger age groups in Northern Ireland today are, if anything, more doctrinally conservative and scripturally literate than their parents.²⁹ The history of religion, and of sectarianism in the province is thus one of continuity more than change. And the centrality of religion and sectarianism has specific implications for concepts of gender in the history of the state.

Rather than viewing Northern Ireland's society in unhelpful and misleading racial, economic or colonial terms, it is more useful to regard the Province's historical social dystopia as one of competing and religiously orientated masculine hegemonies. A near-total religious endogamy – the so-called mixed marriages are extremely rare – was, and is, a feature in common to both communities. In the first (and only) scholarly geographical study of sexual minorities in Northern Ireland, this pattern is replicated, remarkably, in gay and lesbian coupling in the province.³⁰ Additionally, gay men were regarded by the paramilitaries as 'natural betrayers' during The Troubles, the assumption being that their 'vulnerability' made them obvious informers. For gay men and lesbians, the only way to lead normal, 'out' lives has been to leave Northern Ireland.³¹ Sport, a common masculine meeting place was, and is, divided along the lines of the all-Ireland Gaelic games for Catholics, or British sports for Protestants. Both communities have been influenced in every aspect of political, private and social life, therefore, by deeply socially conservative and male-dominated religious organisations, inimical to each other in outlook across the divide, but similar in social and cultural consequence.

The case for analysing Northern Ireland's men, religion and history through the lens of gender is irrefragable. But what do masculinities mean in this context? Where are the sites for analysis and discernment of masculinities and their effects? John Tosh argues that the previous sense that historians of masculinities 'were sniping from the boundaries'

in their critical approaches 'has entirely disappeared'.³² Instead, the history of masculinity is now characterised by plural, often conflicting, approaches and lively debate due to two generations of rich scholarly effort. In the context of scholarly approaches to Northern Ireland, the work entirely remains to be done. Those few scholars pushing the boundaries of these discussions today are still left with the sense that they are 'sniping from the boundaries' of an indifferent, disinterested and occasionally hostile mainstream scholarship. So where does the scholar begin? Cultural historians have, in the last 20 years, privileged 'representation over experience, the dissolution of the integrated subject, and the abstraction of power relations'.³³ Cultural representations of religiously orientated masculinity abound in the history of Northern Ireland – the parades and marching bands of the male-only Orange Lodges is just one example. But, as Tosh states, taking Clifford Geertz's lead, the recent emphasis upon the 'cultural turn' risks losing touch with 'the hard surfaces of life',³⁴ in other words, with political, economic and physical realities. It is hoped here that the examination of lacunae in the scholarship, and a revisiting of the political, cultural and social realities in the province's history, will therefore provide a resonant starting point for scholarly enquiry that is as multivalent and critically discursive as other sites of British historical study. The fact that politics and society were and are male-dominated may seem 'obvious' to mainstream scholars of Northern Ireland. But this dismissive attitude is telling of the 'naturalising' of male dominance and power that gender analysis seeks always to deconstruct.

As Tosh has argued in his work on nineteenth-century Britain, masculinity 'had its own pecking order which [was] ultimately to do with the upholding of patriarchal power rather than a particular class order'. This analysis is especially resonant in Northern Ireland's society after 1921, where adult men were organised primarily along religious sectarian lines. All other concerns, including those of class interests, were subsumed in maintaining a particular notion of religiously orientated masculinity that in turn shaped and represented itself over and against its perceived 'other'.³⁵ It is argued here that the partition of Ireland and sectarianism in the new Northern Ireland created powerful and conflicting hegemonic masculinities, both Protestant and Catholic. In Northern Ireland, Catholic masculinity exhibited both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic qualities. Men who did not fulfil the social and cultural expectations of masculinity, such as those who married across the religious divide, risked being marginalised, ostracised and regarded as not fully masculine by their respective communities.³⁶

At its creation in 1921, Northern Ireland was the state that nobody wanted, especially by Protestants in Ulster. Partition of Ireland into the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland was the bitter outcome of the British government's wrangling with the militancy of Ulster Unionism with regard to Irish Home Rule. The Ulster Unionists were vehemently opposed to a self-governing, Catholic-dominated Ireland and were 'willing to sacrifice territory, partners and principles in order to protect their own loyalist Arcadia'.³⁷ Faced with the inevitability of Home Rule, Ulster Unionists jettisoned Unionists in the remaining three counties of Ulster and the rest of Ireland. Fearful that the slender Protestant and Unionist majority in historic Ulster might become a minority over time, Ulster Unionists demanded the 'exclusion of the largest possible area of Ulster compatible with a safe Unionist majority'.³⁸ The threats of armed insurrection to achieve this were real. The Roman Catholic nationalist population, the demographic majority in the island, wanted either constitutional Home Rule (meaning devolved independence under the Crown) or an Irish Republic. At the time of partition these distinct strands in Irish independence nationalism were represented politically in the north by the Irish Party for the constitutionalists and Sinn Féin for the republicans. The British government wanted full constitutional Home Rule for the whole of Ireland which had been the Liberal Party policy since 1885. The Government of Ireland Act of 1914 finally achieved Home Rule and dominion status for Ireland with a new parliament established in Dublin. But the outbreak of World War I – and the militant belligerence of Northern Unionists against Home Rule – meant that its implementation was suspended for the duration of the war.³⁹

The Home Rule Crisis of 1912 to 1914 was 'more than a political struggle'. These years 'redefined notions of masculine identity in Ulster', as Ulster Protestant men unified to a remarkable extent around defending the Union and defeating Home Rule.⁴⁰ Bew, Gibbon and Patterson argue that a more unified 'Unionist bloc' was created during these years.⁴¹ The development of a distinctly Ulster Unionism, exemplified by the rapid expansion of the orthodox Orange Order in the north and the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) in 1913, unified all classes of Protestant men in Ulster around a militaristic version of Unionism and loyalism. (Loyalism is the highly culturally specific concept of loyalty to the Protestant bearer of the British crown, but not the government of the crown, institutionalised through the Orange Order.)⁴² As a result, all Protestant working-class men and their trade unions subsumed their class allegiances to those of loyalism and upholding Protestant

hegemony, a pattern which would dominate working-class politics and action throughout the history of the state.

The signing of the Ulster Solemn League and Covenant on 28 September 1912 was an iconic moment in a number of respects for Ulster Unionism. One rarely mentioned issue was the gendered aspects of the Covenant. The language, rhetoric and participation in the Covenant signing were all gendered male. As *The Morning Post* boasted, 'Ulstermen Banded Together as One Man'.⁴³ In the era before women's enfranchisement in the United Kingdom, of course, most public political rhetoric and actions throughout Britain, Ireland and Europe assumed the public sphere as masculine. The Covenant is remarkable in that sense, for there was a supporting Women's Declaration signed by more women than the number of men who had signed the Covenant itself. Women were crucial in popularising Unionism in Ulster.⁴⁴ Their political activities were reserved exclusively, however, to supporting the main loyalist and Unionist male-only organisations in which women had no voice. The subsumption of Irish feminist aspirations to the constitutional and nationalist question is well documented by feminist historians of Ireland.⁴⁵ In Unionist politics especially, women's activities were confined to the deeply socially conservative auxiliary women's organisations such as the Ulster Women's Unionist Council (UWUC), founded in 1911 and still in existence, or the Women's Orange Association of Ireland, reinstated in 1911 'due to concerns regarding the incidences of mixed marriages'.⁴⁶

As the most vociferous opponents of Irish Home Rule, Ulster Unionists agitated exclusively to continue to be governed directly from Westminster. As Buckland argues, it was especially ironic that in 1921 they should be given a form of Home Rule.⁴⁷ The British government, headed by David Lloyd George, wanted a settlement to the Irish question once and for all. The Unionists' embrace of their own parliament was, in the end, for reasons of self-preservation, and offered better guarantee against rule by Dublin than being ruled by Westminster.⁴⁸ As Captain Charles Craig, brother of Sir James Craig, said in 1920:

We would much prefer to remain part and parcel of the United Kingdom ... [But] we believe that so long as we were without a parliament of our own constant attacks would be made upon us, and constant attempts would be made ... to draw us into a Dublin parliament ... We profoundly distrust the Labour Party ... We see our safety, therefore, in having a parliament of our own ... [W]e would then be in a position of absolute security.⁴⁹

Charles Craig's comment, 'a parliament of our own', is highly revealing. The new parliament in Northern Ireland was most emphatically to be a parliament that upheld Unionist and Protestant interests to the exclusion of the Nationalist and Catholic minority. In accordance with the Government of Ireland Act (1920), Ireland was partitioned on 8 May 1921 and Northern Ireland was created.

At its outset, Northern Ireland had the potential to avoid political dominance along religious lines built into its systems of governance. In addition, the beginnings of political representation by and for women built into its structures suggested an arrangement that was modern in outlook and which might provide the conditions for a culture of progressive reform of the deep-seated religious, gender and social inequalities in the new province. Proportional representation (PR) had been introduced in 1919 through the Local Government (Ireland) Act, and was central to the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 as a measure to protect religious minorities north and south of the border. Added to the safeguards to representation in Northern Ireland was the context provided by the Representation of the People Act of 1918, namely that of near-universal suffrage in parliamentary elections for men over the age of 21, and for women over the age of 30 that satisfied the property qualification. Northern Ireland started its political life, therefore, with a template for unprecedented levels of representation within the United Kingdom. The Ulster Unionists had raised no objection to the limited women's suffrage in the 1918 Act, or its renewed implementation in the Northern Ireland state; the men of Ulster Unionism had little to fear with regard to women Unionists. The Women's Declaration of 1912 had 'left reasoned argument to the male covenanters', for example, and was a declaration of support for the men of Ulster in their opposition to Home Rule.⁵⁰ The UWUC decided in 1921 not to nominate women for the devolved parliament, and argued that 'the essential thing in the first Parliament was to preserve the safety of the Unionist cause ... for which perhaps women had not the necessary experience'.⁵¹ Thus, in terms of furthering women's suffrage and a political landscape that might appeal to 'women's interests' such as the Conservative Party's cross-class courtship of women's votes in Britain in the interwar period, women's suffrage in Northern Ireland was a virtually meaningless development.

In parliamentary elections in the early 1920s, the majority of eligible male and female voters were Protestant and Unionist in sympathy. The Northern Ireland general election of May 1921, conducted using PR, had a staggering turnout of 89 per cent of the electorate. All 40 Unionist candidates secured election. The nationalist return was split evenly,

with Sinn Féin and the Irish Party each winning six seats.⁵² PR had returned a resounding Unionist bloc, exacerbated by the refusal of the Irish Party and Sinn Féin MPs to take their seats. The entire early history of the state is remarkable for the extent to which many Catholics, and the Catholic Church, refused to participate in the politics of the state, aiding and abetting their own marginalisation. Nevertheless, almost the first act of the Unionist government was to set about dismantling PR in local government elections. O'Brien demonstrates that that the decision in 1922 to abolish PR in local government elections 'was taken solely in the interests of Unionism while also serving to alienate the nationalist minority'.⁵³

Northern Ireland had a dual system of local government. The county boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry each had a Corporation, exerting 'great influence and power over their own region'. The rest of the province had a two-tier system: a top tier of six county councils and a lower tier of urban and district councils.⁵⁴ The division of electoral divisions in the Local Government (Ireland) Act of 1919 had ensured that each division returned one councillor for the county council and two councillors for the rural councils, with the urban councils and boroughs retaining wards. The abolition of PR necessitated a revision of the constituency boundaries.

The Method of Voting and Redistribution of Seats Act (Northern Ireland) of 1922 had as its main aims the abolition of PR, reversion to the pre-1919 system of local elections and the imposition of a declaration of allegiance on all officials of local bodies. All measures were designed to alienate Catholic and nationalist voters. Some historians claim that part of Craig's ambition in dismantling PR in the 1920s was to reduce the representation of the Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP) and independent Unionists, fearing that Protestants might be 'seduced' into voting for parties that undermined Northern Ireland's position in the United Kingdom and, in the case of the NILP, might coalesce with nationalists in taking power in the province.⁵⁵ This notwithstanding, the abolition of PR commanded widespread grass-roots Unionist and Orange Lodge support which argued that because 'Unionists paid the majority of the rates, they should automatically receive the majority of representation'. Nationalist-held councils additionally had refused to recognise the existence of the Northern Ireland state, resulting in Unionist demands being met by the executive.⁵⁶ Section 14(5) of the Government of Ireland Act permitted the parliament of Northern Ireland to adjust the constituencies, and the Method of Voting and Redistribution of Seats Act (Northern Ireland) achieved royal assent in September 1922, in

spite of protests from the government of the Irish Free State and from within Britain. The result of the Act was widespread gerrymandering: Fermanagh County and District Council elections, for example, returned 63 nationalist members and 47 Unionist members under PR, reflecting the property qualification as well as the demographic distribution. After 1922, changes to the property qualification and in the electoral divisions resulted in widespread disenfranchisement of the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. In Co. Fermanagh, this meant that Unionist representation was 72 councillors with only 43 Catholic and nationalist councillors. In a county with a Catholic electoral majority before 1922, only 37 per cent Catholic representation was obtained.⁵⁷

Northern Ireland in this period is remarkable for the overwhelming lack of women returned as councillors, especially when compared with Britain and the Irish Free State. Before 1940, 53 per cent of rural district councils and 72 per cent of the more powerful urban district councils had no female representatives at all. Overall, only 1 per cent of local government councillors were women, and even by 1940 there were only five female county and two female borough councillors in the entire province.⁵⁸ The virtually male-only Unionist councillor bloc, supported by the male-only Orange Lodges in the county (all Unionist councillors were required to be members of the Orange Order) effectively removed representation from the Catholic population whom, as will be seen, withdrew increasingly from the workings of the Northern Ireland state during this period. In Fermanagh, throughout the period of devolved government until 1972, Unionist politicians and loyalist men had exclusive control of local decision-making in a border county with a Catholic population that was not only in the majority in 1922, but also continued to increase in size. This pattern of gerrymandering was replicated throughout the province west of the River Bann in order to uphold a Unionist bloc in power; east of the Bann returned comfortable Unionist majorities. The Unionists in Northern Ireland completed the dismantling of PR in the state with its removal from Parliamentary elections in 1929, and the redrawing of Parliamentary constituency boundaries. By 1930, Unionist and loyalist grip on power and representation was near total. A Protestant state for a Protestant people had been created.

To ensure the workings and perpetuation of this religiously orientated voting bloc, the Protestant state relied heavily upon male-only organisational reinforcement; namely the auxiliary volunteer police force, the 'B-Specials' and that of the Orange Order. The violent disturbances of 1920–3 provided the catalyst for the formation of extraordinary coercive powers exercised by the Northern Ireland executive and maintained for

the whole existence of devolved government until 1972. In 1922, the Northern Ireland parliament passed into law the Civil Authority (Special Powers) Act, Northern Ireland. In this remarkable move, the executive had equipped itself with 'frankly despotic powers similar to those held by the British' during the Anglo-Irish war.⁵⁹ The Special Powers Act transferred many of the powers for preserving peace and maintaining law and order from the judiciary to the executive. The powers were extremely wide-ranging and at times actively coercive. The Act allowed the executive to set up a 'special court of summary jurisdiction' that could, for example, impose the death penalty for throwing bombs. It awarded the executive, in the person of the Minister of Home Affairs, wide discretionary powers in maintaining order, as well as the power to delegate 'all or any of his powers' to his under-secretary or any officer of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC).^{60, 61}

The Ulster Special Constabulary, which included the notorious 'B-Specials', constituted a permanent and potentially armed male volunteer force in the province. Buckland argues that there were early attempts to avoid identifying 'the Specials' with Orangeism, and that the Grand Lodge of the Orange Order was criticised by ordinary Lodge members for not exhorting Orangemen to join the new force. Nonetheless, the force developed into a Protestant, largely Orange and, most importantly, uniformed and potentially armed male volunteer force at the disposal of a state with extraordinary powers of coercion in peacetime. In 1922, the state had at its disposal 'one policeman for every six families' in the province.⁶² 'The Specials' remained 'unrepentantly and even triumphantly Protestant' in the interwar period and throughout the history of devolved government. There were attempts in the 1920s to disband the force 'on grounds of economy and wider policy in view of its controversial nature'.⁶³ But the force, especially the part-time B-Specials, had become an important political entity in its own right.

The Northern Ireland parliament had renewed the Special Powers Act annually until 1928; the Act was then renewed for five years until 1933 and subsequently made permanent. It is highly doubtful that either the Special Powers Act or the 'B-Specials' was necessary to maintain law and order in the province after the violence of the early 1920s had subsided. Nonetheless, the Northern Ireland state had co-opted huge sections of the male Protestant population into paramilitary volunteer reserve forces that served as much to keep hothead loyalist men and youths in check, as it did in keeping Catholic men unarmed and under a permanent state of suspicion. Although not specifically targeted at Catholics, the Act 'continued to be applied against Catholics and

nationalists rather than Protestants and Unionists'.⁶⁴ The permanence of the Act gave certain legitimacy to the Orange Order's efforts in keeping Catholics out of employment or involvement with the operations of the state until 1972. In effect, Protestant men in Northern Ireland were, through a variety of legitimated agencies and with the support of women's political associations, permanently mobilised to maintain hegemonic masculine control, by force if deemed necessary, over all aspects of political and social life and the upholding of the constitutional question in the province.

The organisation, rhetoric, political reach and cultural symbolism of Orangeism in Northern Ireland gave Ulster Unionism and the 'Specials' their unique and culturally specific forms of dominance, including that over women. Orangeism existed outside of Northern Ireland, as did quasi-militarised political power blocs in this period. But only in the context of the new state did this political and religious amalgam succeed as a distinct and tenacious masculine hegemony. The Orange Order, founded in 1795, is situated 'at the heart of Protestant Ulster society'.⁶⁵ From its outset, it was dedicated to upholding the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland and 'evinced strong anti-Catholic feeling', forming a 'potent instrument of social control' especially in the north of Ireland.⁶⁶ Northern Ireland is remarkable to this day for the 'high degree of involvement by Protestant clerics in political institutions and parties'. The key to the relationship between Unionist politics and the Protestant churches is, and has always been, the Orange Order. Orangeism in Northern Ireland fuses religion and politics into a unique brand of evangelicalism, promotion of 'scriptural truth', virulent anti-Catholicism, and upholding of the Union and loyalty to the Protestant bearer of the Britannic crown. Considerable denominational differences and oppositions exist, of course, between the Protestant churches in Northern Ireland – the Presbyterian Church, Anglican Church of Ireland, the Methodist Church and, more recently, the Free Presbyterian Church, to name just the main denominations. Partition and the creation of the Northern Ireland state had the effect of 'increasing the importance of Presbyterianism in Irish Protestantism' as this was the majority Reformed tradition in the new state.⁶⁷ Irish Anglicanism, particularly in the north, was demonstrably 'low-church' in ritual, especially when compared to its English counterpart. Nonetheless, the diverse and often historically opposed Reformed traditions formed a strong fusion that was certainly political, but also religious through the medium of evangelicalism which 'coalesced around an Ulster Protestant identity'.⁶⁸ Evangelical cooperation lay at the heart of the multi-denominational cooperation within

the Orange Order. The foundation of the Northern Ireland state was 'a time of considerable Protestant unity'. Church of Ireland communities in the north were already 'well organised into a working alliance with the Presbyterians through the Orange Order and the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)'.⁶⁹ It is significant that the fundamentalist religious revival of the early to mid-1920s in Northern Ireland was spearheaded by a Presbyterian pastor, William P. Nicholson, sponsored by 'clergymen of all the major Protestant denominations', and was hugely popular with the urban working class as well as rural Protestants.⁷⁰

The Orange Order has been intimately linked to the UUP since its foundation; Orangemen were not required to be party members, but party members were required to be Orangemen, and the Orange Order always has had members in the variety of unionist political parties in the history of the Northern Ireland state.⁷¹ It is hard to overestimate the influence of the male-only Orange Lodges on politics and culture in the history of Northern Ireland. As Hickey demonstrates, the Order is 'Protestant society ... in microcosm'. Membership links all classes; indeed, in the interwar period and up to the 1980s, there were 1500 Orange Lodges in the province commanding membership of up to 130,000 Protestant adult men. The senior hierarchical structures of the Order – such as the Grand Black Chapter/Royal Black Preceptory – included and rewarded only those Orange members who had 'attained the highest ritual degree' in the tenets of the Order.⁷² Class was generally unimportant, but dogmatic adherence to the particular religious outlook of the Order pervaded for members of the Black. Participation in the Order has enabled 'humbler members ... to feel very much part of a power structure which has [had] great say in the way things are run in Northern Ireland'.⁷³ This meant that at all levels of society and in all aspects of political and social life, the Orange Order had direct and intimate influence, ensuring that politicians upheld Protestant domination. Government files from the era of devolved government up to 1972 are bursting with correspondence from the various strands of the Orange Order and, most significantly, painstaking memoranda and correspondence between and from government ministers to ensure their complaints and criticisms were at least accommodated and appeased; bearing in mind that all government ministers also were members of the Order.

The Orange Order domination has been most palpably expressed culturally in the 'marching band season' centred on the annual Battle of the Boyne commemorations of the Twelfth of July. The dress of the all-male marchers and bands of the Orange Order – bowler hats and orange

sashes – was, and is, a highly distinctive feature of the presentation of Ulster Protestant masculinity. The marches unified Ulster Protestant manhood symbolically and culturally – all Unionists participated in ‘The Twelfth’, certainly in the era of devolved government to 1972 – and loyalist marches remain a serious bone of contention for Catholics in the state today. If anything, the phenomena of loyalist marching bands have become even more expansive and virulently anti-Catholic since the mid-1980s. With the relative decline in formal Orangeism since the mid-1980s – such as participation in its quasi-Masonic formal rituals, meetings, lectures – the dedicated musicianship of the Orange bands has come to be superseded by the ‘cruder instrumentalism of the ... “Kick the Pope” bands [which] play a narrower repertoire of music focused more intently on Protestant solidarity’.⁷⁴ In the last 25 years loyalist parades have increased significantly in number, attracting many young Protestant men to independent marching-band activity. It appears that the increase in this culturally specific expression and presentation of Protestant masculinity reflects and represents the decline in the extent to which Protestant masculinity commanded the politics of the state – and indeed that of the recent electoral decline of the UUP itself.

In the era of devolved government up to 1972, the Orange Order commanded and focused the political and religious unity of disparate Reformed traditions around the defence of a distinctly Protestant masculinity in the Province. In spite of the already powerful cross-class amalgam of men united in religious dominance, the UUP formed the Ulster Unionist Labour Association (UULA) in the interwar years to ensure the adherence of working-class Protestant men to the cause of Unionism and employment for them wherever possible.⁷⁵ This proved an effective counter to the possibility of success among Protestant working-class voters of the NILP which attempted to appeal across the sectarian divide. Independent Unionists also suffered as a consequence of PR, though if anything, the Independents tended in the main to be the most uncompromising hard line Orangemen.⁷⁶ It would be incorrect to characterise the Unionist bloc as a monolith of opinion and oppression. The very nature of Protestantism in Northern Ireland produces fractures and dissonances, and critics of the Unionist hegemony and shades of more liberal opinion have emerged from within the Protestant community throughout the history of the state. Also, the focus on masculinities here runs the risk of representing the constructs of masculinities among Protestant political and religious groupings to reductionist and monolithic essentialism. The salient point about

the culture of political and Protestant masculinities in Unionism and loyalism is that upholding Protestant, masculine dominance became the benchmark by which Protestants, and Protestant men in particular, became judged by the majority.

The creation of the Northern Ireland state and the embedding of its Protestant order coincided almost precisely, and coincidentally, with the decline of its industrial economy and its main industries – linen production and shipbuilding. Economic distress and unemployment were at their most acute in Northern Ireland during the interwar period, with rates of employment and income per capita the lowest in the United Kingdom.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, a workforce of working-class Protestant men in the traditional industries was almost absolute. Northern Ireland also enjoyed peaceful industrial relations in this period.⁷⁸ The Orange Lodges made it their business to ensure Protestant employment where possible in their locale and used their influence directly with its members in power to facilitate widespread Protestant employment. This gave Protestant working-class men a tangible sense of superiority over their Catholic counterparts. Not only could skilled workers command the male breadwinner wage more readily and maintain masculine independence and domestic patriarchy more effectively, but also at the same time Orange and loyalist cultural forms reiterated symbolically, and provocatively, their social dominance over Catholic men of all classes. Tosh argues that politics has a specific role in creating ‘exclusionary practices’ in formations of masculinity.⁷⁹ Protestant loyalism, in its many political and cultural forms, gave Protestant men, irrespective of class, a construct of masculinity to inhabit that served to exclude Catholics and women from the business of mainstream political participation; it also created a benchmark by which to judge other Protestant men in terms of their loyalty to the cause of the Protestant ascendancy and its concomitant religious and social conservatism in the province.

So what of the Catholics in this hostile milieu? It was not simply a matter of the Protestant majority oppressing the downtrodden Catholic minority. The Roman Catholic Church, refusing to recognise the border, operated a virtual state within a state in Northern Ireland. Joseph Devlin and the handful of Irish Party members finally took their seats in the Parliament of Northern Ireland after 1925.⁸⁰ But Catholics were, by and large, near-absent from the political life of the new state. Instead the Roman Catholic Church and community created its own systems of education and social services. The political role of the Roman Catholic Church in Northern Ireland was, and is, much more ambivalent in political terms than that of its Protestant counterparts – for example,

there are no incidences of Catholic clerical politicians, unlike the unique phenomena of Protestant ministers of religion in mainstream politics and in each of the many Orange Lodges.⁸¹ But the position of the Catholic Church at the heart of the political nationalist mainstream in Northern Ireland, combined with its new and explicitly political and constitutional role in the Irish Free State in the interwar period, meant that its position in Northern Ireland indubitably was political. Harris argues that the Catholic bishops and priests were central in 'directing the course of Catholic politics and in providing an interpretation of the relationship between the Catholic community and the Northern Irish government, and of the Catholic condition in general in Northern Ireland'.⁸² This peculiar set of circumstances gave the Catholic hierarchy a unique and unifying position and an unprecedented influence in the lives of the alienated Catholic minority in the north. As time went on, this distinctly political role within Northern Ireland embedded, not least with the development of a *de facto* 26-county nationalism in the Irish Free State. Rhetorically, and eventually constitutionally, the Irish Free State laid territorial claim to the whole of Ireland. But in reality, although sympathetic to northern Catholics, there was little Dublin could or would do to help their plight. Catholics in the south focused on the needs of their new state. Indeed, the distinct historical juxtaposition of Ulster Catholics to Ulster Unionists and loyalists resulted in a Catholic politics that was uniquely northern in its outlook, and in its divisions among themselves.⁸³

The Catholic Church, like the Anglican Church of Ireland, maintained the traditional Episcopalian hierarchy in Ireland which took no account of the new political border. The chief episcopate for Ireland continued to be located in Armagh – which of course was in Northern Ireland after 1921. Michael Cardinal Logue, Roman Catholic Primate of All Ireland and Archbishop of Armagh, was born in 1840 and had been associated with the politics of Home Rule and the nationalist Gaelic Revival in Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Logue not only fostered a withdrawal from the new state in the north, but also imbued Catholic clergy and the laity with a deeply conservative view of gender and society, which they, in turn, abided by to an extraordinary extent. He believed that a woman's sole function was 'to pass on the faith to her children'. During the Civil War in the Irish Free State, he singled out women's involvement in the violence in the South for special condemnation.⁸⁴ He was also vehemently opposed to co-education. This condemnation extended even to circumstances where nuns were teaching boys over the age of eight. Logue's concerns were

based as much on the dangers to the chastity of the women religious, as his moral imperative for boys to be taught by men. His solution to this problem was the promotion of the now-notorious Christian Brothers for the education of Catholic boys in Northern Ireland.⁸⁵

In spite of attempts to remain aloof from the new state, events in Northern Ireland meant that the Cardinal and the northern bishops were thrust into a position of condemnation of Protestant violence against Catholics in the north between 1920 and 1922. Always sectarian throughout its history, Belfast's sectarian divide intensified to horrific proportions in this era, and the violence between 1920 and 1922 was the worst in the history of the city compared even to that during The Troubles of 1968–98: 463 people were killed, 1100 were injured and 650 private houses and shops were destroyed. The violence, aimed at Catholics and exacerbated by Catholic retaliations, succeeded in ejecting Catholics from 'mixed areas'. It is significant that the violence resulted not in an ejection of Catholics from the city or from Northern Ireland, but an intense religious homogenisation of areas within the already-divided city.⁸⁶ The violence in Belfast in this period has since been characterised as a 'pogrom' by historians and by nationalist newspapers including *The Irish News and Belfast Morning News*, which in 1921 in its intense coverage of the violence ran articles such as 'FRESH POGROMS. Cowardly Outrages by Orange Mob at Cregagh'.⁸⁷ Lynch argues that the 'Belfast Pogrom' was less a pogrom in that, although savage, the Protestant outrages were not generalised but highly targeted. Rather than indiscriminate killing, 80 per cent of the Catholics killed were men between the ages of 20 and 50. The Irish Republican Army (IRA), though present in Belfast, is seen to have failed the Catholic population in this conflagration. No identifiable members of the IRA were among the dead in this period of violence. Indeed, much of the reportage in the nationalist newspapers highlighted the respectability of the victims. One article in *The Irish News and Belfast Morning News* reported that the 'mobsters', under the shadowy soubriquet 'the Belfast Watch Committee' (which had no official existence), were 'harassing shopkeepers' in a 'new excuse for singling out Catholics for attack'. The 'Belfast Watch Committee'⁸⁸ had large posters printed in red ink billed on Catholic premises proclaiming: 'This shop is owned by a Catholic and Sinn Feiner', and shop owners warned of impending attacks to induce them to vacate their premises.⁸⁹ Although forcibly relocated from 'mixed' areas, the Catholic population in Belfast actually grew in this period by 2 per cent. The 'Belfast Pogrom' was 'wholly unique in the context of revolutionary Ireland,'⁹⁰ in that it was highly

targeted and heavily localised violence which was explicitly religiously orientated in purpose and intent. Wilson argues that loyalist sectarian violence exhibited ritualised and routinised patterns and rhetoric. This is demonstrated by the particular shock value of the McMahon murders in March 1922 when 'five men dressed in police uniforms' shot dead four male members of the Catholic McMahon family, and a male employee of the publican Owen McMahon. Wilson states that 'confronted by the McMahon murders, the standard unionist paradigm that explained loyalist violence as a highly regrettable (but ultimately understandable) response to intolerable provocation temporarily broke down'.⁹¹ Significantly, routinised violence was perpetrated by Protestant men towards civilian Catholic men and their property, in order to ghettoise them and their families.

In 1921, the nationalist *Irish News* expressed intense concern about 'Catholic Boys' Future' in the city. The article stated:

[T]he future of the present-day generation of Catholic boys in Belfast is a matter occasioning grave anxiety and of serious and far-reaching consequences ... Hundreds of Catholic boys in the city who prior to the savage pogrom a year ago had been serving apprenticeships ... now found themselves ostracised and unable to get completing their time. These boys were, many of them, glad to accept any kind of labouring work to sustain themselves and their families.

The article went on to argue that 'the future held very little promise – as far as Belfast was concerned – for the Catholic manhood of tomorrow ... Belfast Catholics were to be made "hewers of wood and drawers of water"'.⁹² In the new Northern Ireland state, a distinctly Catholic concept of masculinity was being created, in the face of what it perceived to be 'the most merciless ascendancy gang that ever existed in any corner of the world – Ulster Unionism'.⁹³ A strong sense of victimhood, characterised by discrimination and stunted opportunities to develop masculine independence through respectable, skilled male employment, pervaded Catholic constructs of masculinity in the new state. The UUP never condoned the violence in Belfast. But in Catholic nationalist circles, the Unionists and the 'Orangemen' were perceived as creating a new pecking order with Catholic men, wherever possible, excluded from the possibility of respectability, skills and betterment, and kept permanently on the bottom rung of society. In such a context, with the IRA perceived to have failed the Catholic population, and the Catholic vote split between the Irish Party – whose MPs refused to take

their seats in the Northern Ireland parliament until 1925 – and Sinn Féin, whose MPs refused to take their seats throughout the history of devolved government, it is little wonder that Catholics in the new state turned to the Church as the only organ that could represent Catholic political unity in Northern Ireland.

For the Catholic hierarchy, the oath of allegiance that became central to the Local Government Act of 1922 proved to be the catalyst for the beginning of the Church's tense involvement with the Northern Ireland state. In a direct sense, the oath of allegiance proved a sticking point as it required local government officers, including chaplains, to take the oath. The Church had chaplains in 'twenty four workhouses, six lunatic asylums and two military barracks, as well as various district hospitals'.⁹⁴ At first nearly all Catholic chaplains refused to sign. But by 1924, the dogged refusal of the state to maintain chaplains that refused to sign the oath meant that many chaplains had no choice but to capitulate and signed the declaration. The consequence of this was to bring the clergy's dissatisfaction with the state firmly out into the open.⁹⁵ In a statement in the *Irish Catholic Directory* of 1924, Logue and the bishops of the North East lambasted the state on 'the treatment of Catholics in the North East by the Six-County Parliament'. In key areas of public life such as representation and education, the hierarchy condemned what it saw as the systematic wrong being inflicted upon the Catholic population by the laws of the Parliament of Northern Ireland.⁹⁶ Logue died in 1924, and his successor, Patrick Cardinal O'Donnell, a staunch activist for social justice, intensified the politicisation of the Church's relationship with the state. But it was the succession of Joseph Cardinal MacRory to the Primacy in 1928 that cemented the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and state as explicitly political and antagonistic. Unlike his predecessors, MacRory was born in what had become Northern Ireland, and his former see, Down and Connor, included urbanised areas, especially parts of South Belfast. MacRory knew intimately the conditions of Catholics within the province, and in his long Primacy, which lasted until his death in 1945, embedded a specifically northern dimension to the operation of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

MacRory had been the most vocal mouthpiece for the northern hierarchy during the Primacies of Logue and O'Donnell. He had been intimately involved with the hierarchy's protests over the Education Act of 1923, and his staunch and deeply socially conservative attitudes to education persisted throughout his Primacy. MacRory was also a vehement critic of the 'B-Specials', which he characterised

as the incarnation of 'legalised, but lawless barbarity'.⁹⁷ Before 1920, sectarianism in education in the six counties had been endemic, with Protestants attending state schools and Catholics attending voluntary schools that were Roman Catholic in denomination and maintained by state grants. The hierarchy and clergy were 'vehement and consistent' in opposition to any proposed change to this system. The Education Act of 1923, crafted as a consequence of Lloyd George's Government of Ireland Act, was religiously neutral, and represented an attempt at the wholesale reconstruction of education in the province along non-denominational lines, and fostered gender co-educational teaching. The Act antagonised Protestants and the Orange Order, every bit as much as it did the Catholic hierarchy. The main bones of contention were management of schools, religious instruction and the appointment of teachers. As O'Brien states, the irony of the Act was that it united Protestants and Catholics in their fears that elementary education would become secular – a fear that was not far off the mark. The greatest fear held by both sides was that 'their children might receive their education from an individual from another religious faith'.⁹⁸ The Catholic hierarchy refused to allow any of their schools to be transferred to the new local educational authorities that had been set up as a consequence of the Act. Equally, a 'forceful' campaign by the Orange Order and the Protestant Churches ensured that the religious neutrality of the Act was dismantled, and that religious instruction be given in school hours and that this be Protestant in outlook, and included Bible instruction by lay teachers. In Catholic terms, this meant that no Catholic child could attend state schools, and the state sector became, in effect, a Protestant monopoly. MacRory maintained an entrenched position throughout his Primacy in regard to education: '[F]or the appropriate and adequate education of Catholic children we require Catholic schools, staffed with Catholic teachers under Catholic management.' For MacRory, Catholic management meant the manager of the school being the parish priest, with the 'right to govern the school, to appoint or remove the teacher, to visit the school, and to determine and control the religious instruction and training of ... Catholic children'.⁹⁹ By 1930, under the Education Act of that year, Protestant leaders had been given all their demands in regard to religious instruction, appointment of teachers in state schools and the management of these schools. This move paradoxically gave Catholics their demands too. In order to not appear discriminatory, the government reinstated direct grants to Roman Catholic schools. Sectarian education was established by the executive and legislature, and remains the norm in Northern Ireland to this day.¹⁰⁰

The Roman Catholic hierarchy, and every parish priest, had control of the management of schools, and the religious instruction and religious 'habitus' of every child that went through them in Northern Ireland, in a Catholic education system that was for the most part gender-segregated throughout. It must not be forgotten in this context that MacRory was also a regular point of contact throughout this period for the government of the Irish Free State. In an extraordinary letter from the 'Department of the President' in 1931, MacRory was asked to intervene, *in camera*, with the pronouncements by bishops in the Free State against the appointment of non-Catholic medical doctors: as the civil servant stated,

[I]t would clearly be impossible for us, having regard to the fundamental principles upon which the state is based, and which are enunciated in the Treaty, to discriminate by way of religious test in these appointments either against non-Catholics as such, or against graduates of Trinity College, or the Queen's University, Belfast.¹⁰¹

Although MacRory represented the interests of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland, at one point endorsing a Catholic Party in politics,¹⁰² he was the Primate of All Ireland at a time when, in 1937, the Irish Free State's Prime Minister Éamon De Valera's 'Constitution of Ireland' not only laid territorial claim to the whole island of Ireland¹⁰³ but also gave the Roman Catholic Church a 'special place' within that territory. Indeed, MacRory was a key participant in the drafting of this constitution. Although historians have rightly emphasised the role of Fr. John McQuaid, Dean of Blackrock College, Dublin (and Archbishop of Dublin after 1940) as De Valera's co-architect and the probable author of the 1937 constitution,¹⁰⁴ it is evident that MacRory was, in May and June 1937, involved in the proceedings. MacRory attempted to moderate the use of the term 'the Church of Ireland' in the draft of the constitution, which of course referred to the Roman Catholic Church rather than the Protestant Church of Ireland, fearful this would create unnecessary antagonism towards the Church of Ireland.¹⁰⁵

Roman Catholicism in Northern Ireland became the single most enduring political and social focal point for Catholics in the province. The Catholic hierarchy involved itself in every aspect of community and family life. MacRory was a keen promoter of what he saw as a distinctly Irish and Catholic culture in the new state, with a special and spiritual emphasis upon sacrifice in the face of suffering. This had specific implications for Catholic concepts of masculinity. Sacrifice might seem at

face value to be a form of capitulation to, and acceptance of, suffering, not exactly what might usually be identified as a trait of masculinity. But Valente's examination of Irish masculinity in the writings of Patrick Pearse, one of the leaders of the Easter Rising of 1916, reveals a culturally specific synthesis between 'blood sacrifice' and Catholic concepts of masculinity in Irish militant nationalism. Pearse held up the image of the crucified Christ as the exemplar of 'the inward manliness the act [of sacrifice] required', and equated this explicitly with the 'blood sacrifice' necessary to vindicate Irish manhood. Rather than equating Irish masculinity with the 'imposition of masculine will', national deliverance would be achieved through 'the exposition of manly character'.¹⁰⁶ Pearse stated, in a highly symbolic and spiritual language, that 'one man can free a people as one Man redeemed the world ... I will go into battle with bare hands. I will stand up before the Gall as Christ hung naked before men on the Tree'.¹⁰⁷ MacRory never advocated violent insurrection in Northern Ireland or conceptualised 'sacrifice' in the terms espoused by Pearse, of course. But the self-restraining, self-conquering manly virtue of Christ-like sacrifice promoted by the Catholic hierarchy, that emphasised dignity and a route to salvation, was a spiritual emphasis often deployed in representations of Catholic masculinity and its sufferings in Northern Ireland after 1921. Also, it was an imagery that was readily and frequently manipulated by militant, physical force nationalism.

The Church, instinctively socially conservative, always had a deeply uneasy relationship with radical violent republican groups such as the IRA. But it is no coincidence that in periods of sectarian violence and political internments in Northern Ireland from the early 1920s, right up to the hunger strikes by political prisoners in the 1980s, an explicitly Catholic imagery of sacrifice, martyrdom and victimhood characterised popular representations and notions of Catholic masculinity. The reporting in 1921 of the funeral of a young man 'fouly murdered by the Orange gunmen on Newtonards Road' exemplifies this synthesis:

This popular Ballymacarrett youth, of just 23 years of age, died for his faith, and upwards of 15,000 of his fellow-Catholics of the city saw him being laid to rest in the glorious sunshine ... The coffin, which was draped with the Sinn Fein [sic] colours, was carried ... by deceased's colleagues ... The members of St. Matthew's Confraternity of the Holy Family, of which he was a faithful member, assembled ... The St. Malachy's Pipers' Band proceeded in front of the hearse and rendered appropriate airs.¹⁰⁸

The article was titled 'One of the Victims', and conveyed other impressive details such as a 'total of 4,000 men marched four deep behind the remains'.¹⁰⁹ This kind of Catholic masculine imagery from the 1920s persisted tenaciously in militant nationalist representations of The Troubles decades later, which in turn served to galvanise popular Catholic support for armed struggle against the loyalist hegemony, and after 1972 the British rule in Northern Ireland.¹¹⁰

MacRory did much more than emphasise Christological sacrifice in the development of a construct of Catholic masculinity in the new state. As we have seen, he allowed himself to be represented frequently as a vocal and articulate critic in the public sphere of Northern Ireland's political landscape. In addition, he regarded the sports of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) as serving a key function in galvanising a distinctly Catholic masculinity and promotion of a healthy, physically robust Catholic manhood around the pursuit of Gaelic sport in Northern Ireland. The GAA had the additional benefit for the hierarchy of being organised at a parish level, with the priest as chaplain. In fact, the creation of Northern Ireland coincided with considerable expansion in participation of the GAA in the province. In the GAA minute book for Ulster Province for 1924 (held by the Cardinal Tomás O'Fiaich Library, Armagh's Archdiocesan archive), the secretary recorded that 'a great GAA revival is very noticeable in the six-county area and some of our best "gates" this year have been obtained there'. The secretary emphasised the increase in participation – and earnings – for the GAA in the new Northern Ireland state, over and above its popularity even in the three counties of Ulster that were in the Irish Free State after partition. It was of prime importance to the secretary, who was himself a resident of County Cavan in the Irish Free State, that the popularity of these distinctly Irish Catholic sports were not only on the increase, but especially so in Northern Ireland:

The enthusiasm and earnestness of the Gaels in that area are very heartening and I anticipate that in a short time the six counties will be the greatest stronghold of the GAA in Ireland. Indeed, I feel that I might, with a good deal of truth, assert that as already an accomplished fact.¹¹¹

This all indicates that although Catholic men and boys in the new state had little hope to overturn or reverse the status quo of dominant loyalism in Northern Ireland, by inhabiting a distinctly Irish Catholic social and cultural world, Catholic men in the new state could develop

their own masculine hegemony, which would compete with loyalism in distinctive ways. For example, the GAA's insistence of holding Gaelic football matches after mass on Sundays, and in particular annual GAA sporting galas, replete with pipe bands, held on Sundays, elicited the regular ire of loyalist organisations and Protestant commentary.

The loyalists, in particular Sabbatarian Presbyterians, wished to preserve the self-imposed ban on sport on Sundays maintained by all Protestants in the Province. Indeed, the playing of Gaelic sport on the Sabbath was deliberate Irish Catholic male provocation of the loyalist community. An example of loyalist reactions to this is exemplified by the stance of The Knights of the Bann Royal Black Preceptory, chapter no. 37, Colerane, who wrote in threatening tones to the Minister of Home Affairs at Stormont, stating that they wished to 'protest most emphatically against the holding of Sunday sports by the Roman Catholic authorities', adding darkly that the government should

act quickly in this matter ... as we the members of the Orange and Black institutions are determined that no matter what the outcome of our protest may be this year, to take steps to see that never again will the R. C. Church hold sports on a Sunday in our town.¹¹²

Government ministers did not take action against the GAA, particularly if issues of licensing of alcohol sales were not involved. But it is clear that Stormont was sensitive to the protests, which persisted throughout the history of the state. In an internal memorandum of 1954, a minister stated that '[t]here is clearly ... a strong General Assembly [of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland] feeling that the Continental Sunday is drawing closer and closer upon us'.¹¹³ The term 'Continental Sunday' is an explicit reference to Roman Catholicism, and the Ulster Protestant spectre of 'Rome Rule'. Indeed many years later, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) had in its 1985 election manifesto the Sabbatarian aim of smashing what the party perceived as 'the promotion of the Continental and Republican Sunday in Northern Ireland.'¹¹⁴ In the 1950s, government ministers acknowledged the strong demand 'that something should be done in particular to stop Gaelic Football ... on Sunday'.¹¹⁵

Historians of Northern Ireland tend to concur that one of the most remarkable features of the province is that violence and conflict did not erupt to any serious or prolonged extent until the late 1960s, given the deeply sectarian and oppositional nature of its politics, culture and society. After the violence of 1920–3, society in Northern Ireland was

remarkably quiescent in the Protestant order that had been created. The Roman Catholic Church, which enjoyed near-absolute participation and adherence of Catholics in Northern Ireland, maintained a 'historically balanced tightrope between nationalist groups' and the state. The Church fostered a specifically Catholic and Irish masculinity within Northern Ireland, that emphasised male sacrifice in the face of adversity and suffering. This mirrored, particularly after 1937, the intensely gender conservative society fostered in the Irish Free State and eventual Irish Republic, with a deeply traditional Catholicism that was dominant and at the centre of political, social and cultural life.

In a political context where nationalist political representation was divided and marked by political abstentions, and deliberately gerrymandered so that it could have little or no impact in the political or social life of the province, the Catholic Church provided an alternative focus and leadership for Catholic political and social life. In the male-dominated and sectarian world the Church and the Catholic community created for itself within Northern Ireland, a Catholic masculine culture and hegemony that emphasised sacrifice, solidarity and its own cultural forms in the face of suffering pervaded. These notions of victimhood were so deeply embedded that the men of the IRA, though inimical to the Roman Catholic theological thought in a variety of respects, were able to exploit notions of a Catholic hegemony. The IRA kept Catholic men out of the police service in the early days of the state through threat of violence, and co-opted some Catholic men to armed violence and counter-hegemonic masculinities in The Troubles after 1972. Catholic hegemonic masculinity fostered a gender conservatism that subsumed women's political agency to the cause of Catholic life and nationalist aspirations throughout the history of the province. Though deeply distrustful of each other, the Church and the IRA shared a deeply conservative view of the place of Catholic men, and the place of Catholic women, within their respective organisations.

Men throughout the new Northern Ireland state had considerable incentives to abide by their respective religiously orientated masculine hegemonies – financial and that of loyalist ascendancy social status in the case of Protestants, but also coercive and theological, in the case of both communities. Always and everywhere in the history of Northern Ireland, religiously orientated sectarianism and violence brims just below the surface. The political structures externally imposed on the new state in 1921 were created in order to subsume the religious differences in the province, affording the new society with unprecedented conditions for a gender and socially progressive franchise. This was purposefully

dismantled in the interwar period. This process was aided and abetted by the Roman Catholic Church, which sought to create an alternate and competing masculine hegemony within the new political entity. The loyalist community, with its hypermasculinist and religiously orientated organisations and paramilitary associations, was mirrored by a republican tradition of violence and punishment of men in the Catholic ghettos. Republican violence was perpetrated among a Catholic community utterly reliant on male clerical celibates for the provision of its educational and social services for its boys, and for its political focus and leadership for most of the history of the state. This volatile cultural amalgam poses the question forcibly of why men, masculinities and religion should be an integral part of the analysis of Northern Ireland's history, society and culture.

This chapter has concentrated on the conditions in the interwar period in the creation of Northern Ireland's state and society. It has mapped out some areas that require much deeper empirical research, analysis and revision by historians. The conditions created before World War II have dominated society and the state up to the present day. Questioning men, masculinities and religion provides a basis for revisiting areas such as World War II in Northern Ireland, the history of The Troubles, the conditions for women and for sexual minorities in the postwar era, in new, incisive and relational ways. But even in this survey, the possibilities of questions of masculinity as an approach to its history make Northern Ireland a fascinating and compelling site of gendered analysis. Masculinities in Northern Ireland are distinctive and exclusive to Northern Ireland. This reminds scholars of the need to localise masculinities and trace their distinctive historical trajectories within the contexts of the politics and religions of the locale. Examination of Northern Ireland also reminds scholars that masculinities are not always, or even largely, a contrast to femininities in this context. Certainly, considerations of gender are key contributors and analytical tools to a greater understanding of men, violence, religion and the persistence of sectarianism in its society.

Notes

1. See especially J. Bourke (1993) *Working-Class Cultures in Britain 1890–1960: Gender, Class, and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge) and J. Bourke (1996) *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (London and Chicago: Reaktion Books); L. Davidoff and C. Hall (1987) *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Hutchinson); C. Hall (2000) *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination*

- 1830–1860 (Cambridge: CUP); J. Tosh (1994) 'What should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 38(1), 179–202; J. Tosh (1999) *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press); J. Tosh (2004) 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender', in S. Dudink, K. Hagemann and J. Tosh (eds) *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), pp. 41–58; J. Tosh (2011) 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?' in J. H. Arnold and S. Brady (eds) *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 17–34.
2. The institutional focus for Northern Ireland historiography tends to be the Ulster Society for Irish Historical Studies, based at Queen's University, Belfast, and is associated with the Irish Historical Society in amalgamation through its journal, *Irish Historical Studies*, produced by the Ulster Historical Foundation, Belfast.
 3. F. Ashe (2012) 'Gendering War and Peace: Militarized Masculinities in Northern Ireland', *Men and Masculinities*, 15(3), 230–48, pp. 231–2.
 4. Ashe, 'Gendering War and Peace', p. 232.
 5. Ashe, 'Gendering War and Peace', pp. 232–3.
 6. See C. Magennis and R. Mullen (eds) (2011) *Irish Masculinities: Reflections on Literature and Culture* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press), pp. 3–4.
 7. S. Brady (2012) 'Review of C. Magennis and R. Mullen (eds) *Irish Masculinities: Reflections on Literature and Culture*', *Journal of Men, Masculinities and Spirituality*, 6(2), 109–11.
 8. J. McGaughey (2010) 'Arming the Men: Ulster Unionist Masculinities and the Home Rule Crisis', in B. Griffin and E. McWilliams (eds) *Irish Studies in Britain: New Perspectives on History and Literature* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Press), p. 61.
 9. S. McDowell (2008) 'Commemorating Dead "Men": Gendering the Past and Present in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland', *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 15(4), 335–54.
 10. Similarly, Marie Hammond examines women exclusively, in spite of the claim to a gendered analysis in her article (2002) 'Surveying the Politics of Peace, Gender, Conflict and Identity in Northern Ireland: The Case of the Derry Peace Women in 1972', *Women Studies International Forum*, 25(1), 33–49. This emphasis is replicated by historians such as in Margaret Ward's article (2002) 'Gender: Gendering the Irish Revolution', in J. Augusteijn (ed.) *The Irish Revolution 1913–1923* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 168–86. Even in the groundbreaking recent historiographical collection, *Palgrave Advances in Irish History*, Mary Macauliffe's chapter, 'Irish Histories: Gender, Women and Sexualities', is a review of the advances in women's history exclusively, and questions of gender and sexualities are elided in spite of the claim inherent in the essay's title. See M. Macauliffe, K. O'Donnell and L. Lane (eds) (2002) *Palgrave Advances in Irish History* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 199–212.
 11. McDowell, 'Commemorating Dead "Men"', pp. 339–40.
 12. J. Valente (2011) *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture, 1880–1922* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).

13. McGaughey, 'Arming the Men', pp. 60–71; J. McGaughey (2012) *Ulster's Men: Protestant Unionist Masculinities and Militarization in the North of Ireland 1912–1923* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press). Similarly, Jim MacPherson's forthcoming (2013) book, *Women and the Irish Nation: Femininity, Associational Life, and Irish Identity, 1890–1914* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), adopts a gendered, relational analysis in its focus on ethnic associationalism. See also M. Gialanella Valius (2011) 'The Politics of Gender in the Irish Free State, 1922–1937', *Women's History Review*, 20(4), 569–78.
14. For discussion of the problems in applicability of this set of historical assumptions also to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain, see S. Brady (2005) *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain 1861–1913* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
15. Although the paramilitary ceasefires happened in 1994, the Belfast Peace Agreement of 1998 is used here in the periodisation of The Troubles.
16. See D. Morrow (1995) 'Church and Religion in the Ulster Crisis', in S. Dunn (ed.) *Facets of the Conflict in Northern Ireland* (Basingstoke: Macmillan and New York: St Martin's Press), pp. 151–68.
17. See D. Murray (1995) 'Culture, Religion and Violence in Northern Ireland', in Dunn, *Facets of the Conflict*, pp. 215–30 and D. Murray (2010) 'Education in a Divided Society', in A. Parkinson and E. Phoenix (eds) *Conflicts in the North of Ireland, 1900–2000: Flashpoints and Fracture Zones* (Dublin: Four Courts), pp. 189–201.
18. C. Mitchell (2006) *Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland: Boundaries of Belonging and Belief* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
19. J. McGarry and B. O'Leary (1995) *Explaining Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Blackwell).
20. See R. Hickey (1984) *Religion and the Northern Ireland Problem* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan) and Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics*, for full discussion of the inherent pitfalls in this scholarship.
21. Examples of these are P. Farrell (1976/1980) *Northern Ireland: The Orange State* (London: Pluto) and P. Bew, P. Gibbon and H. Patterson (1979) *The State in Northern Ireland 1921–72: Political Forces and Social Classes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press). The latter book was radically revised methodologically by the authors in 1995, published as *Northern Ireland 1921–1994: Political Forces and Social Classes* (London: Serif). See also the collection edited by R. Jenkins (1989) *Northern Ireland: Studies in Social and Economic Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate); D. Smith and G. Chambers (1991) *Inequality in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon); J. T. L. Thompson (1989) 'Deprivation and Political Violence in Northern Ireland, 1922–1985: A Time-Series Analysis', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 33(4), 676–99; F. O'Dochartaigh (1994) *Ulster's White Negroes* (Edinburgh and San Francisco: A. K. Press); P. Hillyard, B. Rolson and M. Tomlinson (2005) *Poverty and Conflict in Ireland: An International Perspective* (Dublin: IPA and Combat Poverty Agency).
22. McGarry and O' Leary, *Explaining Northern Ireland*, pp. 171–2.
23. F. Wright (1973) 'Protestant Ideology and Politics in Ulster', *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, 14(2), 213–80.
24. S. Bruce (1986) *God Save Ulster! The Religion and Politics of Paisleyism* (Oxford: Clarendon).

25. Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics*, pp. 8–9. See Bruce, *God Save Ulster!*; and Gladys Ganiel's excellent study (2008) *Evangelicalism and Conflict in Northern Ireland* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
26. Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics*, p. 3. Mitchell adapts Philippe Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' or culturally specific ways of thinking about the world and acting within it. P. Bourdieu (1990) *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: CUP).
27. Bruce, *God Save Ulster!*, p. 151 and Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics*, p. 28. Protestant evangelising in Ulster receives significant funding from fundamentalist Christian organisations in the United States. But politicised religious groups in Ulster, such as the Free Presbyterians, differ sharply from their American counterparts in that they will not work with conservative Catholics or conservative Jews in pursuit of their political objectives.
28. See Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics*, especially Chapters 6 and 7, 'Religious Ideology and Politics' and 'Theology and Politics'; also P. Mitchell (2003) *Evangelicalism and National Identity in Ulster 1921–1998* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
29. F. Boal, M. Keane and D. Livingstone (1997) *Them and Us? Attitudinal Variations among Churchgoers in Belfast* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University Belfast), cited in Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics*, p. 27.
30. R. Kitchin and K. Lysaght (2004) 'Sexual Citizenship in Belfast, Northern Ireland', *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 11(1), 83–103, p. 93.
31. See Kitchin and Lysaght, 'Sexual Citizenship in Belfast', p. 92.
32. J. Tosh (2011) 'The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?' in Arnold and Brady, *What is Masculinity?*, p. 18.
33. Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity', p. 23.
34. C. Geertz (1975) *The Interpretations of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books), cited in Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity', p. 24.
35. Tosh, 'What should Historians', pp. 179–202; and H. Ellis and J. Meyer (2009) 'Introduction', *Masculinity and the Other: Historical Perspectives* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press).
36. Brady, *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain*, Chapter 2, 'Masculinity', pp. 25–50. I adapt the analysis here on hegemonic masculinity and the creation of 'out-groups' of men in Britain, to the context of Northern Ireland.
37. A. Jackson (1999) *Ireland 1798–1998: Politics and War* (Oxford: Blackwell), p. 243.
38. P. Buckland (1973) *Irish Unionism: Two. Ulster Unionism and the Origins of Northern Ireland 1886–1922* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press), p. 94.
39. See especially P. Buckland (1981) *A History of Northern Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan) and Bew, Gibbon and Patterson, 1995, for full discussion on the creation of Northern Ireland.
40. McGaughey, 'Arming the Men' p. 60.
41. P. Bew, P. Gibbon and H. Patterson (2002) *Northern Ireland 1921–2001: Political Forces and Social Classes* (London: Serif), p. 23.
42. See Chapter 5, 'The World of Orangeism: The World Marching Backwards', in Mitchel, *Evangelicalism*, pp. 133–70.
43. McGaughey, 'Arming the Men', p. 64, citing from 'Signing of the Covenant: London Press Opinions', *Belfast News Letter*, 19 September 1912.

44. McGaughey, 'Arming the Men', pp. 64–5. 218,000 men signed the Covenant in Ulster and 234,000 women signed the Women's Declaration.
45. See especially M. Luddy (1995) *Women in Ireland 1800–1918: A Documentary History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); L. Ryan (1997) 'A Question of Loyalty: War, Nation and Feminism in Early Twentieth-Century Ireland', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20(1), 21–32.
46. R. Ward (2006) *Women, Unionism and Loyalism in Northern Ireland: From 'Tea-Makers' to Political Actors* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press), p. 169. See also D. Urquhart (2000) *Women in Ulster Politics 1890–1940: A History Not Yet Told* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
47. Buckland, *A History*, p. 19.
48. See A. Jackson (2011) *The Two Unions: Ireland, Scotland and the Survival of the United Kingdom* (Oxford: OUP) for the most recent discussion of Ulster Unionism and its significance within the United Kingdom.
49. Parl. Deb. (House of Commons), ser. 5, cxxvii, 29 March 1920, cols 989–90, cited in Buckland, *Irish Unionism: Two*, pp. 116–17.
50. D. Fitzpatrick (1998) *The Two Irelands 1912–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 36.
51. Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, citing the Minute Book of the Executive Committee, UWCU, 25 January 1921, in Public record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), D 1098/1/2.
52. T. Hennessey (1997) *A History of Northern Ireland* (New York: St Martin's Press), p. 18.
53. J. O'Brien (2010) *Discrimination in Northern Ireland, 1920–1939: Myth or Reality?* (Newcastle, England: Cambridge Scholars Press), p. 9.
54. O'Brien, *Discrimination*, p. 8.
55. Hennessey, *A History of Northern Ireland*, p. 44.
56. O'Brien, *Discrimination*, p. 9.
57. Hennessey, *A History of Northern Ireland*, p. 45.
58. Urquhart, *Women in Ulster Politics*, pp. 155–8.
59. Buckland, *Irish Unionism: Two*, p. 158.
60. Buckland, *Irish Unionism: Two*, p. 158.
61. O. Dudley Edwards (1970) *The Sins of Our Fathers: Roots of the Conflict in Northern Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), p. 105.
62. Buckland, *Irish Unionism: Two*, p. 168.
63. Buckland, *A History*, p. 67.
64. Buckland, *A History*, p. 68.
65. P. Mitchell (2006) 'Unionism and the Eschatological "fate of Ulster", 1921–2005', in C. Gribben and A. Holmes (eds) *Protestant Millennialism, Evangelicalism, and Irish Society, 1790–2005* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 203.
66. Buckland, *Irish Unionism: Two*, p. xxii.
67. Bruce, *God Save Ulster!*, p. 15.
68. Mitchell, 'Unionism and the Eschatological', p. 204.
69. Bruce, *God Save Ulster!*, p. 15.
70. Bruce, *God Save Ulster!*, p. 16.
71. Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics*, pp. 48–9.
72. E. Kauffman (2007) *The Orange Order: A Contemporary Northern Irish History* (Oxford: OUP), p. 41.

73. Hickey, *Religion*, p. 65. See also Kauffman, *The Orange Order*.
74. Kauffman, *The Orange Order*, pp. 150–1.
75. Buckland, *A History*, p. 61.
76. Buckland, *A History*, pp. 67–8.
77. Buckland, *A History*, pp. 71–2, 75–6. After 1929, unemployment in Northern Ireland was 29.9 per cent, in comparison to 12.8 per cent for Britain as a whole. By 1939, average income per capita in Northern Ireland was 58.3 per cent of the United Kingdom average.
78. Buckland, *A History*, *ibid*.
79. See Tosh, 'Hegemonic Masculinity'.
80. See A. C. Hepburn (1996) *A Past Apart: Studies in the History of Catholic Belfast 1850–1950* (Dublin: Ulster Historical Foundation).
81. Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics*, p. 41.
82. M. Harris (1993) *The Catholic Church and the Foundation of the Northern Irish State* (Cork: Cork University Press), p. 145.
83. Jackson, *Ireland 1798–1998*, p. 345.
84. A. Walsh (2005) 'Michael Cardinal Logue, 1840–1924', *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 20(2), 245–92, p. 267.
85. Walsh, 'Michael Cardinal Logue', p. 268.
86. R. Lynch (2008) 'The People's Protectors? The Irish Republican Army and the "Belfast Pogrom", 1920–1922', *Journal of British Studies*, 47(2), 375–91, p. 378.
87. *The Irish News and Belfast Morning News*, 28 September 1921, p. 5, col. C.
88. Although this entity did not exist, it seems likely that the Ulster Protestant Association (UPA) was the real source for these anti-Catholic posters. Public record office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), T2558/1, report by R. W. Spears on the UPA, 7 February 1923.
89. *The Irish News and Belfast Morning News*, 28 September 1921, p. 4, col. B.
90. Lynch, 'The People's Protectors?', citing P. Hart (2002) *The IRA at War, 1916–1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 251.
91. T. Wilson (2010) "'The Most Terrible Assassination that has Yet Stained the Name of Belfast": The McMahon Murders in Context', *Irish Historical Studies*, 37(145), 83–106, p. 85.
92. *Irish News*, 11 July 1921, p. 3, col. B.
93. *Irish News*, 11 July 1921, p. 3, col. B.
94. Harris, *The Catholic Church*, p. 146.
95. Harris, *The Catholic Church*, p. 147.
96. *Irish Catholic Directory*, 1924, pp. 605–8, cited in Harris, *The Catholic Church*, p. 154.
97. *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 February 1923.
98. O'Brien, *Discrimination*, p. 24.
99. Joseph Cardinal MacRory, 1930 (undated pastoral letter, but is about the Education Act amendments of 1930), Arch. 11/3/2/3 f.13, Curia Armachana, Cardinal Tomás O'Fiaich Library, Armagh, Northern Ireland.
100. O'Brien, *Discrimination*, p. 29.
101. 28 March 1931, signature illegible, 'Department of the President, Baile Átha Cliath', to MacRory.
102. Harris, *The Catholic Church*, p. 176.
103. Fitzpatrick, *The Two Irelands*, p. 142.

104. See D. Keogh and A. McCarthy (2005) 'The Catholic Church and the of the 1937 Constitution', *History Ireland*, 13(3), 36–41.
105. De Valera to MacRory, 29 May 1937, and Fr. P. Gannon to MacRory, 9 June 1937, Arch./11/3/f.8, Curia Armachana, Cardinal Tomás O'Fiaich Library, Armagh, Northern Ireland.
106. Valente, *The Myth of Manliness*, p. 104.
107. Patrick Pearse, *The Singer*, cited in Valente, *The Myth of Manliness*, p. 104.
108. *The Irish News and Belfast Morning News*, 28 September 1921, p. 4, col B to p. 6, col C.
109. *The Irish News and Belfast Morning News*, 28 September 1921, p. 6, col C.
110. Mitchell, *Religion, Identity and Politics*, pp. 51, 106–8.
111. GAA Minute Book, Ulster Province, Secretary's Report, B. Fay (Cavan), 1925–6, no call number, Cardinal Tomás O'Fiaich Library, Armagh, Northern Ireland.
112. PRONI, HA/8/231/MS.1791, Knights of the Bann R. B. P. no. 37, 18 July 1949.
113. PRONI, HA/8/31/MS. 373, W. McGaughey to A. Robinson, 2 July 1954.
114. Bruce, *God Save Ulster!*, pp. 148–9.
115. PRONI, HA/8/31/MS. 373, W. McGaughey to A. Robinson, 2 July 1954.

Further reading

- Arnold, J. H. and S. Brady (eds) (2011) *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Ashe, F. (2012) 'Gendering War and Peace: Militarized Masculinities in Northern Ireland', *Men and Masculinities*, 15(3), 230–48.
- Brady, S. (2005) *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain 1861–1913* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Bruce, S. (1986) *God Save Ulster! The Religion and Politics of Paisleyism* (Oxford: Clarendon).
- Gialanella Valius, M. (2011) 'The Politics of Gender in the Irish Free State, 1922–1937', *Women's History Review*, 20(4), 569–78.
- Harris, M. (1993) *The Catholic Church and the Foundation of the Northern Irish State* (Cork: Cork University Press).
- Kauffman, E. (2007) *The Orange Order: A Contemporary Northern Irish History* (Oxford: OUP).
- Magennis, C. and R. Mullen (eds) (2011) *Irish Masculinities: Reflections on Literature and Culture* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- McGaughey, J. (2012) *Ulster's Men: Protestant Unionist Masculinities and Militarization in the North of Ireland 1912–1923* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press).
- Mitchell, C. (2006) *Religion, Identity and Politics in Northern Ireland: Boundaries of Belonging and Belief* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Valente, J. (2011) *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture, 1880–1922* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press).
- Ward, R. (2006) *Women, Unionism and Loyalism in Northern Ireland: From 'Tea-Makers' to Political Actors* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).

9

British Pakistani Masculinities: Longing and Belonging¹

Amanullah De Soudy

Introduction

The focus of this anthology on men, masculinities and religious change in twentieth-century Britain inevitably leads to the examination of connections between gender, race, ethnicity and religion with a particular focus on masculinity. Conversations in this field have already begun.² A major change to occur in twentieth-century Britain was the influx of Pakistani immigrants. It was extremely unsettling for some to see 'white Britain' changing which led, in its most extreme objection, to the Conservative MP for Wolverhampton South West, Enoch Powell, making his famous Birmingham 'rivers of blood speech'.³ Change of any sort can be simultaneously unsettling for some and welcomed by others. But dismissing the existence of the 'other' does not necessarily mean that they do not exist. Accepting or rejecting immigrants is never simply a goodwill gesture but always invokes a nation's social, cultural, political and economic gains and losses. Thus current debates on the success and failure of multiculturalism frequently focused on the problems associated with Muslim integration and assimilation, in Britain in particular and Europe more generally, have led many to discuss the current situation without considering the gendered 'baggage' the immigrant communities brought to Britain. The absence of gender highlights the deep complexity of 'multiculturalism' when trying to understand twentieth-century Britain and religion. Numerous discussions and debates with fellow scholars and students has led me to conclude that trying to separating religion and culture is an extremely difficult (and in many ways unhelpful) task, while exploring their many interwoven layers is both fascinating and richly rewarding.

Tariq Modood has argued that issues of multicultural Britain raise not only issues of racial identity but also of religious identity.⁴ To this, one must also include issues of gender, particularly masculinities. Through the process of migration, British constructions of masculinities interacted with Pakistani masculinities/gender norms and, whereas the former were not necessarily strongly connected to a particular religion, the latter was historically shaped by a process of re-strengthening its connection to religion through the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan from the late 1940s. Unravelling these complexities in order to understand the relationship between Pakistani men and women and British men and women push one to consider the way in which issues of national identity were inextricably bound up with the performance and enactment of masculinities. This chapter traces the evolution of Pakistani migration to Britain in the late twentieth century, its interconnectedness to Islamic masculinity and the formative factors influencing Pakistani immigrant men and the women who accompanied or joined them. The experiences of these migrants were as much shaped by the lived realities which they left behind as the new cultural experiences they encountered in Britain. As this chapter will show, therefore, gender is always shaped by multiple forces of interaction including those of religious traditions, and Islam, in particular, merits further exploration given its influential impact upon twentieth-century British religious culture more generally.

General discussions surrounding Islam and Muslims have invariably centred on the roles and position of women. This is primarily based on the most extreme negative stereotype associated with Islam, 'the way Islam treats its women'. Muslim women are challenging their own Muslim communities on these issues and have prompted a wider discussion on Muslim men. But the necessity of exploring Muslim masculinities has only recently begun to gain strength.⁵ I focus primarily on Pakistani immigrant constructions of gender as it has evolved diasporically; while this group cannot stand in for all varieties of Muslim experience, they made up the largest ethnic group among Muslim immigrants to Britain during the late twentieth century.⁶ I will present general and specific examples of Pakistani men in Britain from the mainstream to the margins, and explore their relationship to women. Pakistani men and masculinities are significant due to the formative role that men played prior to, during and after the partition of India. Masculinity is thus inextricably bound up with issues of religion, state and identity.

As historians have shown, there has been a Muslim presence in Britain since the eighth century with immigrants staying for various

periods of time.⁷ Neither Islam nor Muslims are monolithic, although differentiating between these different communities is beyond the space limitations of this chapter. Pakistanis, in general, may have been the most successful ethnic group of Muslims to make Britain their home, specifically in terms of their numbers and their impact on British society and politics. Masculinities studies suggest that we must now appreciate that there are no two men who are alike, just as there are no two Muslims alike, so claiming a chapter on Pakistani men may well be a misnomer too. Yet we find that diaspora communities show interesting patterns and trends that have shaped a particular type of British Muslim identity. These nuances and individual representations can be more clearly perceived through an exploration of the general patterns and identity politics of Muslim men who arrived in Britain.

This chapter will explore the construction of British Muslim masculinities by analysing three distinct layers of their identity formation. Firstly, the views, sources and influences that Pakistani Muslim men brought to Britain as first-generation immigrants are explored. Secondly, I turn to the prevalent conditions of Britain and construction of British masculinity in general that they interacted with, and thirdly, the effect that this had on the shaping of their own masculinities and the subsequent new generation of British Muslim men is examined. The connection between masculinity and the construction of a diaspora Islam become particularly evident within the third layer, which also addresses the gender significance of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan's emergence as a newly independent state. I will argue that immigrant Pakistanis, particularly the large majority who arrived from the poor rural areas of Pakistan, notably from the Punjab region, expressed a continual longing and yearning for an Islamic utopia which played a fundamental role in shaping the specific masculinities of Pakistani Muslim immigrants. This utopian vision was connected with an ideal Islamic state and an ideal Islamic masculinity. This was established and strengthened through a negative reaction to the vision of the 'West' as colonisers. This is not to say that the British did not have an extremely negative view of the Pakistani immigrants who were, after all, coming to take up menial jobs. The legacy of colonial anger and stereotyping created deep tensions for immigrants to the UK (on both sides), and played a significant role in shaping a new Islamic masculinity among immigrant Pakistani men and their families.

This argument will be presented through literary and televisual sources that allow us to read between the silences. Many of the histories written about British Muslims are focused on integrating Muslims

within Britain as a united body of individuals. This has often overlooked issues of gender and sexuality among immigrant Muslims to the UK, most likely due to the highly taboo nature of the subject within Muslim communities and to an extent within wider British society. By exploring issues of masculinity, albeit through a limited geographical focus on Punjabi Pakistani men to the UK, this chapter hopes to begin to explore differentiated and diverse images of Muslims in Britain. To this end, literary and televisual narratives help us to identify some of these alternative histories that disrupt neat and monolithic understandings of 'Muslims' and 'Islam'. And, possibly more controversially, I also suggest that immigrant Pakistani men and women had no intention of either integrating or assimilating within 'British society' – although no matter how much resistance came from Pakistanis and the British, the two ultimately shaped each other and their respective cultures. For, after all, the legacy of this interaction has a long history in itself.

One does not readily find traditional historical memoirs from Pakistani Punjabi immigrants to Britain as few Pakistani men and women were highly educated and came from a cultural context where such issues were not expressed. One must also be reminded that these Pakistani immigrants did not arrive in order to write their memoirs but to earn money. Their first and last focus was on providing for their family in the UK and also for those in Pakistan. Yet, even in extremely conservative and closed Muslim communities and societies, literature and the arts have been far more productive channels for voicing dissenting views, especially on gender and sexuality, though this has often come at great personal cost. Hanif Kureshi, for example, a prolific Pakistani author in Britain, is said to have deeply offended his own sister who accused him of exploiting his family affairs in public and starting his own writing career as a pornography writer under the pseudonym of Antonio Francis. Pakistani immigrant communities have not found it easy to exercise a voice given their complex constraints. Nonetheless, literary and filmic sources do begin to uncover the gender norms and troubles of this community. Pakistani masculine subjectivity is infused with questions about the role of religion in the life of a man. Pakistani men and women's gendered and bodily experiences are interwoven with their histories and their interactions which, in turn, are bound to Islamic texts and traditions. It is for this reason that the study of men and masculinities is so bound up with our historical and contemporary understandings of religion, society and politics.

The Pakistan that immigrants left soon after its independence was profoundly patriarchal. South Asian culture is deeply imbued in concepts

such as *izzat* (honour) that extends to virtually all family matters. Infused in both longstanding cultural and religious traditions, Pakistani society upheld very clear and distinctive roles for men and women; men were the breadwinners and women the homemakers. It was for this reason that men who found it difficult to earn enough to provide for their families decided to leave their homeland. The vast majority of Pakistani men who came to Britain were all united in the ultimate reason for their migration – money.⁸ Immigrant Pakistani men were expected to work and financially support their immediate family, and their kin back in Pakistan. This masculine duty was steeped not just in specific gender roles but also in national identity of Pakistan as a poor nation. Crucially, this was also a nation that was aspiring to be Islamic, which inevitably linked religion, gender, sex and sexuality in its national discourses.

From Mughal India to Islamic Pakistan

Pakistan emerged in the cultural and political context of Mughal India and British colonialism, and was thus caught between two very different empires. Both of these empires declined in power, yet the impact of Mughal India and British colonialist cultures has exerted a persistent effect on society in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. Even though societal conditions changed throughout these varying historical contexts, Pakistan culture remained largely patriarchal; the experiences of resisting such empires also empowered a very ‘muscular’ form of religion and culture.

Mughal India was marked by relatively high levels of sexual fluidity. It was not uncommon during Mughal Muslim rule to find a Muslim man married with a wife at home, frequenting courtesans and also having liaisons with boys.⁹ Sexual fluidity may well have been the case for men but the reality for many Mughal Muslim women was a life still heavily constrained by patriarchal conventions.¹⁰ Mughal Indian history was never without turmoil and wars, particularly between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, but the onslaught of British colonial rule had a much greater impact on what united and divided Muslim, Hindu and Sikh identities. Religious differences were subordinated in favour of shared ethnic and racial traditions when confronting the external British enemy. The differences between Indian religions were sometimes elided when they united on the grounds of shared Indic culture. Such idealised notions of religion very quickly became a vehicle to support South Asian masculinity in opposition to the coloniser, but these could lead to rigidity and conservatism when it came to gender and sexuality. Nonetheless,

historians have perceived complex economies of desire between local Indian men and women in relation to the white British colonists.¹¹ The power of political interaction between the 'West' and 'East' thus shaped the way that religion was to become a part of state and society. The context in which Pakistan emerged is significant in understanding the way in which British colonisation impacted upon south Asian religion as later brought to Britain by economic migrants.

For established and emerging Muslim countries, the twentieth century was a period of rapid change, especially in terms of the global impact of the formation of self-consciously modern states, and the decline of colonialism. The Muslim world's final Islamic state in the form of the Ottomans fell under the iron fist of Kemal Attaturk¹² while on the other side, much later, the Shah's Iran was thrown aside by Ayatollah Khomeini.¹³ In the mid-twentieth century, India was in turmoil as the ensuing partition of countries created havoc and dismay among its citizens. It was also a time for religious renewal as both India and Pakistan drew upon religion as a basis through which to establish new states. Broad changes in the geopolitical context, namely the demise of Islamic power and the rise of mercantilism, led to a crisis in determining the role of Islam in the lives of Muslims globally. Between the poles of a secular state that was seen to be emulating 'the West', to regimes that sought a return to a past Islam, very different forms of Muslim masculinity emerged. Charismatic Muslim men were seen as the vanguards of Islam and in order to carry out this process clearly defined and fixed roles were required as opposed to the gender and sexual fluidity that was the Mughal legacy.

In Pakistan's founding days, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the London-based barrister who led the independence movement, may well have had visions of a secularised Islamic state, yet within the communities he sought to represent, religious divisions were engulfing the masses. Jinnah's inclusive vision for Pakistan was seen as weak, impotent and un-Islamic. In the face of profound insecurity and change, Muslim men and women needed to be the ambassadors of a clearly defined Islam and hence uphold rigid forms and roles in society and at home. Anti-colonial sentiment was based on the affirmation that Islam was fixed and unwavering. In contrast, it was argued that the British worked with a model of ruptures and dysfunction, witnessed in the many Christian denominations and the upheavals of the enlightenment. Where Jinnah wanted to combine Islamic ideals with strands of enlightened and creative thinking, Pakistani Islamists had decided that only those ideals from the early Islamic period were necessary in an Islamic republic.

This was not just a theological point of view, but would inevitably effect the way in which Pakistani men and women lived their lives. Its result would be a form of social control and policing of particular forms of Islamic masculinity in Pakistan.

The political scientist Richard H. Dekmijian has outlined the characteristics of late twentieth-century political Islamist movements:

A movement back to Islamic roots led by charismatic individuals. Some of these leaders would assume the role of *mujaddid* (renewer of the faith), while others would seek to effect a radical sociopolitical transformation through militant messianic movements as *mahdi* (a saviour sent by God). In their ideological formulations and political actions, these leaders would legitimise themselves by invoking Qur'ān, the Prophet's traditions (*Sunnah*), and historical precedents reaching back to the early Islamic community.¹⁴

It is hard to disassociate the whole political Islamist agenda from 'strong man' versions of masculinity. These were not just the ideals of political Islamist movements; they had powerful social effects on every Pakistani, especially men. Islam was being understood in the particular context of interacting with a perceived white Christian West; Muslim men paid particular attention to addressing this 'other' in a manly way. As a result, colonialism and the social movements that arose to resist it gave rise to a specifically masculine fervour of upholding Islam through politics, culture and society.

The major Islamic trends and Pakistan

In Pakistan, four main groups emerged that played a role in constructing trends within the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.¹⁵ The bastions of these trends were men who used religion to legitimise their superior position in Pakistani society. These groups reflected a very specific, muscular and patriarchal form of Islamic masculinity. The groups were the Barelwis, the Deobandis, the Tablighi Jama'at and Jam'at Islami.¹⁶ The Barelwis were led by Ahmad Raza Khan in Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh. The movement was heavily influenced by Sufi thought and was known to invoke the powers of holy men believed to have supernatural powers and also known as *pirs*.

Sufism is often associated with a more mystical, less legalist path to Allah, yet these often idealised and romanticised notions of Sufism were considered far too 'woolly' or feminine for organised political

movements. It was for this reason that key figures such as Ahmed Sirhindi (1564–1624) accepted the path of Sufism yet declared that followers must adhere strictly to the Islamic legal codes and orders.

In reaction to the Barelwis, deemed dubious by many due to their acceptance of Sufism, the Deobandis were heavily influenced by the sweeping power of the Wahhabi movement, an ultra conservative, literalist Sunni Islam movement that demanded strict adherence to Islamic law. Their seminaries, known as *daru 'l-ulum* upheld a ban on students wearing clothes of the 'West' and only allowed traditional Islamic clothing.¹⁷ The Tablighi Jama'at emerged under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ilyas Kandhlawi in 1926 who studied at the Deobandi *daru 'l-ulum*. He believed that a more radical approach needed to be taken in order to bring lost Muslims back to the authentic path of Islam. He did not differ that greatly from the Deobandi tradition, therefore, but adopted different methods of applying the teachings. The Jam'at Islami (Islamic Society), founded in 1941, was led by Maulana Mawdudi who also believed that Islam should be transformed by strict observance of the Qur'an and Hadith (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad). Most of Mawdudi's teachings were based on an anti-West platform that was heavily mixed with a political streak.

Despite centuries of political disagreement and religious conflict, the Barelwis, the Deobandis, the Tablighi Jama'at and Jam'at Islami – all struggling to exercise religious influence during the establishment of an Islamic republic in Pakistan in the late 1940s – held largely similar views on gender and sexuality. These were characterised by a monolithic understanding of what it meant to be a man and a women, with a strict breadwinner/homemaker division. These attitudes were not just drawn from classical understandings of Islam but by way of reaction to Western models of gender and sexuality seen as flawed due to their 'lack of religion'. Philip Lewis has argued that these Islamic trends grew out of the colonial encounter and remained strong in the city of Bradford, for example, where so many Pakistanis settled in the 1950s.¹⁸ Even with a long legacy of mystical approaches to Islam (Sufism) in the Indian subcontinent then, legalist and political Islamic influences developed among Pakistani diaspora masculinity in a powerful fashion.

It is important to note that mainstream Muslim trends are often mistakenly seen as the 'voices of Islam' in Britain. There are, in fact, a number of different denominations that should be acknowledged within twentieth-century Britain providing alternatives to the mainly

Sunni-based teaching of Islam in religious education at schools.¹⁹ Our awareness of Muslim diversity has become more sophisticated in recent times, but those writing on British Muslim history have often marginalised other denominations. As Humayun Ansari states,

[L]ittle attention has been paid to the settlement histories of those Muslim communities in Britain which subscribe to non-Sunni traditions. This is due largely to the 'public face' of Islam in Britain having remained almost exclusively associated with South Asian Sunni-dominated Islam, with the result that a wider understanding of how groups of Muslims have settled and institutionalised in British society is lacking.²⁰

Pakistani men leaving the land of the pure

The role of religion in politics and society was far from the minds of immigrant Pakistani men, more concerned as they were in finding employment to support their family. Income in the average middle/lower-class family in Pakistan was minimal which led to the poorer classes seeking work abroad.²¹ Even where Pakistani men were gifted students, the expectation to provide for the family required that they abandon their studies and take up paid employment instead. They shared the responsibility with their fathers of caring for their siblings, particularly their sisters until the women found suitable, hard-working men to marry. Women from middle/lower-class Pakistani families were similarly expected to care for their fathers and brothers by performing household duties and domestic chores. Those from the higher social classes had sufficient financial stability to pursue education at home or abroad with no need to leave Pakistan in order to take up menial jobs in Britain.

Britain has seen a sizeable influx of Muslim men from a variety of Islamic locations during the early twentieth century.²² Many Muslim men worked as seaman and hence a number of communities were established at seaports around Britain. As Ansari has observed, prior to the 1940s, Muslims living in Britain were able to 'sustain at least the essential features of their faith and cultural life, whereas political commitment to the institutionalisation of Islam was almost entirely lacking'.²³ As a result, Islamic identity was more easily absorbed within British culture. But this was short lived and after the 1940s the growth of political Islam became more widespread.

During the 1950s and 1960s, a growing influx of South Asian men arrived in Britain, keen to respond to the postwar demand for manual workers and the comparatively advantageous wages to be found in the British labour market. It was a constant guiding thought of these immigrants that they would return to Pakistan after earning their 'bag of gold', a conviction termed by the sociologist Muhammad Anwar as 'the myth of return'.²⁴ Pakistani men felt compelled to live up to the ideals of the muscular nation that its founding fathers, Jinnah aside, had established. Such gender ideals were central to the way in which Pakistani men left their home country for Britain in order to build and strengthen not just their families but also the Islamic nation as a whole.

If providing for the family as the male breadwinner strengthened dominant constructions of Islamic masculinity, then Pakistan was not the ideal place for this either during or immediately after partition for the poorer classes. The vast majority of male migrants arrived on their own initially, leaving their family behind. The significance of marriage and family cannot be underestimated in South Asian cultures and its importance increased after their departure from 'home'. Many Pakistani parents felt it necessary to marry their boys before they left, for example, in order to safeguard them from 'alien' Western women and culture. Pakistani working-class men established communities in London, Leicester, Leeds, Bradford, Oldham, Greater Manchester and Birmingham. On a much smaller scale, communities were also established in Cardiff, Belfast and Glasgow. Pakistani men worked in a variety of jobs from street-peddling everyday household goods to more skilled manual labour work, but invariably experiencing low wages and long working hours.²⁵

From the outset, as noted previously, Pakistani male immigrants experienced a deeply divided mentality, retaining strong religious and affective connections with their homeland, while at the same time struggling to resist the very different comforts and associational culture of Britain. One of these was the widespread British recreational use of alcohol. Always a contentious issue in Muslim societies, many Pakistani immigrant families' disgust at alcohol was both religious and cultural. They identified alcohol as a Western social practice responsible for all sorts of social ills. But life within a more secular society allowed Pakistani men to live out their own form of Islam, as they deemed fit. Indeed, many Pakistani men found relief in Britain from the strict adherence to Muslim traditions materialising in Pakistan. It was often the case, therefore, that Pakistani immigrants would believe one thing and yet do something else. It was not uncommon to see many Pakistani

men selling alcohol in their corner stores or at restaurants in order to earn a living, for example, yet be unequivocally against alcohol as non-Islamic. Male migrants might have cherished the idea that the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was upheld by Islam, but their own lives illustrated the difficulty in living according to the letter of its texts, laws and traditions.

In a similar vein, many married Pakistani men also established liaisons with local white girls. An interesting exploration of this occurred in a short story written by Hanif Kureishi, published in the *New Yorker* in 2004, titled 'My Son The Fanatic'.²⁶ While many admired Kureishi's writing, the Pakistani community was largely silent by way of response, trained culturally to keep such issues hidden and private from non-Pakistani communities. Kureishi's aim to bring greater visibility to Pakistani culture made many Pakistanis anxious. The story centres on Parvez, a first-generation immigrant who enjoys alcohol and his friendship with a prostitute named Bettina and has difficulty in communicating his life to his wife. His son, Ali, embraces a more extreme path of Islam and begins to follow the guidance of the local religious man, the *maulvi*, above that of his own father. (Pakistani patriarchal family norms assert that the father (and husband) must lead the family.) Within Islamic traditions there are exceptions whereby individuals may move beyond their parents' authority to seek 'the straight path of Islam'. Many Pakistani men who arrived in Britain during this time would have identified with Parvez's predicament as he sought to live a life in two separate worlds, the difference being that the vast majority of Pakistani men left their white partners to return home to their wives. Pakistani men would arguably have blamed this complex cultural divide for the son's waywardness, as Parvez tries to deal with the external blame for not neutralising the threat of radical Islam. The constant theme throughout the story of Pakistan's achievement of an Islamic republic is manifested through a son and father who, through longing and yearning for a balance between Pakistan and Britain, appear to inhabit two very different masculine worlds. Kureishi's work clearly illustrates the usefulness of literature to illustrate the individual, religious, gendered and social struggles and complexities arising from the conflicting encounters between two cultures and two generations.

The arrival of the Pakistani wife

Shortly after arriving in Britain, Pakistani men, particularly from the rural areas of the Punjab, began to send for their spouses, and many

Pakistani women arrived in the late 1960s as their husbands became more settled in Britain. Their arrival dramatically changed the way in which Pakistani men had lived their lives previously. The initial imperative of providing for the family financially shifted to the concerns of more practical day-to-day living. This was not an easy movement for either group. Many Pakistani men were now looking to set up their own businesses in order to provide not just for the family in Britain but also for the family 'back home'. The strain of this double commitment was exacerbated by the economic downturn of the 1960s in the British labour market. Pakistani men, acclimatising to Western British ways, were brought back to more traditional Pakistani understandings by their wives not just of family life but what was expected of a Muslim man. As Humayun Ansari has argued,

When wives eventually arrived, their presence strengthened both family ties, with joint families and kin at home, and religious observance. It reinforced South Asian Muslim culture by carrying the traditions and taboos of the joint family over into small nuclear households typical of Britain.²⁷

Not only did the arrival of wives reinforce clearly defined domestic gender roles, it also strengthened men's religious and cultural commitment, at least superficially, to Pakistan.

South Asian culture and religious experience has always been strengthened through patriarchal familial organisation, upholding strong and solid households. In many religions, such as Hinduism and Sikhism, the dominant role of the man intertwines religion with culture. Pakistani men had moved to an unknown territory, leaving behind everything. The anxiety produced in seeking the courage to leave Pakistan combined with what was essentially the male privilege of migration was experienced in very different ways by their spouses. Immigrant women were still moving to a relatively unknown society, of course, but knew that their husbands would take care of them there. The Pakistani man, empowered at home as the head of the household, went out to work in a society full of *goray* (translated as 'white folk') associated with the colonisation of Islamic nations. This dual conflict of domestic empowerment and public disempowerment proved a major personal and psychological struggle. Pakistani men had to compete for their position as working men and family men among white male colleagues. While both groups worked with similar gender scripts concerning the dominant role men played in family life, Pakistani men were often,

additionally and separately, the target of racist gibes and taunts. The derogatory term 'Paki' has long been associated with connotations of a lack of masculinity and weakness. Due to the fact that many of these Pakistani men came from extremely impoverished backgrounds, their poor English played a critical role in the way in which they interacted with local British men, who frequently mocked their language skills. If the language skills of immigrant Pakistani men were poor, then language was an even greater barrier for women, leading to their increased isolation at home.²⁸

Clothing and dress

Dress codes in Islamic societies and cultures are not just part of religious debates but also bound to issues of race, ethnicity, politics and gender. In deeply patriarchal Islamic societies women have become an important vehicle of upholding strict gender codes, particularly through dress. When Pakistani women arrived in Britain, their religious and cultural obligations were strong. They wanted to identify, proudly, as Pakistani women through wearing the traditional form of clothing, the *shalwar* and *kameez* – a long, loose tunic with equally loose trousers. It is interesting to note at this point that the tightly fasted headscarf was never, in fact, a part of South Asian Islamic custom. Instead, many immigrant Pakistani women wore a loose head covering that showed parts of the hair. As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of Pakistani women who came to Britain knew little or no English. Some were trained by their husbands to memorise the answers to a series of questions that would be asked at the airport by immigration officials. Often there were no official birth documents in Pakistan and rough estimates were given as to the birthday of these Pakistani wives. Thus their contact with British officials was clearly a daunting experience for many Pakistani women.²⁹ Once successfully settled, they were relatively content with allowing their husbands full responsibility for everything that needed to be done outside of the home and created their own friendship and female networks within their neighbourhood in order to continue their own traditions from back home.

In the 1960s when immigrant numbers had nearly doubled, businesses to cater for the needs of Pakistani women's clothing were on the rise and Pakistani women began to set up their own tailoring business. Women's dress was clearly identified by Islamic commentators wanting to ascertain and establish the identity and culture of Pakistani society. Islamic traditions that advocated strict head and body covering among

Muslim women were stipulated by many Pakistani political Islamic trends. This would become a specific identifying feature for diaspora Pakistani communities in British society. By contrast, Pakistani immigrant men were not expected to adhere to any formal dress codes. Islamic traditions have generally included the covering of a man's body from the naval to the knee which did not problematise 'Western' male dress for Muslim men. Pakistan's founding fathers Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sir Muhammad Iqbal both wore the national dress alongside 'Western' styles of clothing that included dress ties and bow-ties. Interestingly, many Pakistani men continued to wear traditional *shalwar kameez* when going to the mosque or on special religious holidays. Pakistani Imams who arrived much later when mosque culture was beginning to spread in Britain, advocated strict adherence to Pakistani dress codes within Pakistan, yet this was also being heard and adhered to by many immigrant Pakistanis as part of the attempt to extend Pakistani culture and practice in Britain.

Pakistani and British Muslims – The new generation

Pakistani fathers were adamant about continuing the cultural legacy that held the family structure as paramount. This usually meant an arranged marriage to a member of the same class and caste in the hope that they would have several children and strengthen connections with both sides of the family. Arranging a child's marriage has often been categorised as a cultural rather than religious phenomenon, but it is often difficult to disconnect the two. This is not surprising given that Islamic texts and traditions uphold marriage as a way of containing and regulating sexuality, no different, in fact, from the Mughal culture discussed earlier in this chapter. The first generation of Pakistani men and women immigrants understood Islam through the experiences and realities of Pakistani society, culture and politics. After realising around the late 1970s and early 1980s that the myth of returning to Pakistan was precisely that, a myth, British Pakistanis resigned themselves to the reality that Britain was now 'home'. The arrival of children helped to diminish the 'longing to return', and was also probably the pivotal moment of religious change. It was also a moment when fear of assimilation and loss of a Pakistani (or Islamic) identity became more sharply felt. Pakistan, in its most ideal understanding set forth by the religious elite, was the Islam that they wanted to instil in the lives of their children. The past was not forgotten. The bitter battles against the British Raj were still raw and a clear separation needed to be made between

British men and Pakistani men. The question which went through the minds of many parents during this time was: how do we nurture the ideal Pakistani Muslim man in a British culture?

Many British Pakistani parents had not been able to pursue advanced education, thus they were constantly concerned for the education of their children. But they also wanted their sons and daughters to be aware of what it meant to be Pakistani and Muslim.³⁰ Pakistani parents focused on ways to educate their children about the ideals of Islam.³¹ Firstly, this led to a growth of mosque education throughout Britain. Mosques did exist before the 1970s and 1980s but they were never the focal point of Pakistani communities. A variety of different mosques were subsequently established according to the different Islamic trends that helped establish Pakistan. Pakistani parents hoped that their sons and daughters would learn to critique the practices they encountered in Western societies and reinforce their commitment to Islam through their participation in mosques. The mosque became key, therefore, to 'educating' the new generation in accepting what was being taught at British schools but returning to the mosque to delineate what was contradictory to specific understandings of being Pakistani. The mosque was also led by men and in keeping with the general Pakistani mosque culture, men and women were separated. Mosque education was diverse according to the various religious sub-denominations present within the Muslim community. Nonetheless, a general narrative emerged in terms of gender and sexuality for two reasons. Firstly, the many diverse communities of Pakistanis were all united in their struggle to find employment and earn a living, and secondly, all the Islamic trends that were established in Pakistan were united in their critical reaction to 'Western' and British mores.

Immigrant parents sent their children to after-school classes to read the Qur'an. This was not necessarily to understand or even deliberate over the Qur'an but to acquaint them with Arabic reading which Muslims believe brings them God's blessing. After a day of schooling in 'secular' education, the vast majority of Pakistani parents felt that the evening Qur'an classes provided an important balance. Interestingly, the British education system includes a compulsory component of religious education (at times including words such as moral and philosophical, too) but this was still not regarded as religious enough for Pakistani parents. This was also a gendered experience; mosques were expected to instil a sense of Islamic, gendered duty. Even with the emergence of different mosques from varying Islamic trends, they were all quite similar in what they expected of the young British Muslims as men and

women.³² Indeed, gender conventions spanned the varying divisions of immigrant Pakistanis.

Pakistani parents led successful campaigns in establishing state-funded Muslim schools at the end of the twentieth century. S. Gilliat-Ray presents data which shows that there were 20 such schools in 1990 and 46 in 1996.³³ Presented as 'Islamic schools', they were, by and large, Pakistani schools and taught a culturally specific form of the religion. The reasoning was quite simple according to Gilliat-Ray:

Among the motivating factors underpinning parental preference for a distinctively Islamic school is the fact that teaching and learning about Islam from a committed perspective is embedded into the curriculum, as are other subjects which support religious learning, such as Arabic language classes.³⁴

It was indeed this 'committed' and 'religious' perspective that was inextricably bound up with the trends of Islam emerging in postcolonial Pakistan and other parts of the Muslim world. The learning and teaching of Arabic was another way to unite diverse Muslim immigrants to the UK. The language of the Qur'an, the word of God, was a uniting point and the rationale was intertwined with the political Islamist agenda, especially concerning issues of gender and sexuality. Mosques and schools were the central educating institution of Islamic ideals of masculinity and femininity. Where immigrant Pakistani men and women could locate their yearning and longing of Islamic ideals of gender rooted back to Pakistan, they needed to establish institutions that would be present in the lives of the new generation of British Muslims, regardless of their ethnic, racial or cultural background.

British Pakistanis and their Islamic organisations

Pakistani parents established a number of different national organisations under the rubric of 'Islamic organisations' in the early 1960s. Just as mosques were established and then frequently split to create new ones, Islamic organisations moved in a similar direction. Pakistani parents and mosque leaders supported the establishment of religious organisations that would help shape British Muslim men and women. These were often social, political, philanthropic and educational in their aims, with the addition of 'Islamic' in title. One of the most prominent organisations was the United Kingdom Islamic Mission (UKIM) which was established in 1962 with the vision of educating the West

about Islam. It followed the Islamic trend of the Pakistani Jam'at Islami, discussed earlier. Organisations at national and local levels began to emerge rapidly. This included Islamic societies at university campuses that attracted Muslim membership from any background. Nearly every university campus up and down the country set up an Islamic society, leading to the establishment of the Federation of Student Islamic Societies (FOSIS) in 1963. It was to be an umbrella organisation made up of a council which included representatives from Islamic Societies up and down the country. The most prominent organisations were clearly more inclined to the views held by political Islamists who were advocating strictly segregating men and women and that Muslim youth should marry and have a family as soon as they were able to do so.

The rise of student Islamic societies did not, however, satisfy the need for separate representation for young Muslims. In the 1970s UKIM decided to set up an Islamic Youth Movement (IYM) in Bradford. Young British Muslim men were clearly uneasy with the understanding of Islam that their parents had brought back from Pakistan.³⁵ IYM was short-lived and had disappeared by the end of the 1970s, but the identity of the 'young Muslim' persisted.³⁶ In 1984 an organisation was set up called Young Muslims UK (YMUK) based in Bradford. YMUK was largely influenced by the pan-Islamist movement that was sweeping the Muslim world with the central idea that Muslims needed to return to 'pure' Islamic principles. This vision was to dissolve all heritage and origins into a Muslim brotherhood, and a motto often associated with YMUK was '*la shariqiya, la gharbiya, Islamiyya, Islamiyya* – no west or east, Islam only Islam'. YMUK's vision was to 'provide a vehicle for committed young British Muslims, from all backgrounds, to combine their knowledge, skills and efforts for the benefit of one another and British society as a whole'.³⁷ YMUK upheld many of the Islamic traditions that immigrant Pakistani parents, and parents from other Muslim countries, expected of them. There was a strict segregation of the sexes at events and annual camps and it was customary for Muslim men and women to address each other as 'brothers' and 'sisters'. The vast majority of Muslim women within the organisation wore a headscarf; the 'Ameer' or president of YMUK was always male; and although there was an appointed women's 'Ameerah', it was the Ameer who was largely in control of the entire organisation. In these institutional settings, something of a generational crisis of identity continued between the understanding of Islam associated by Pakistani parents with their homeland and the complex social realities experienced by parents and children alike. The way in which masculinity was strengthened at home through

immigrant Pakistani fathers was now taking shape in their son's lives where first-generation boys were socially and religiously trained within specific models of what it meant to be Muslim and male.

Institutionalising British Islam during the twentieth century came through the establishment of different 'Islamic' organisations that would essentially unite Muslims from all backgrounds and nationalities. Extensions of the Islamic trends had taken shape 'back home'; these groups were deeply patriarchal in structure with fixed gender roles for men and women. Religious organisations, therefore, were used to help establish and stabilise rigid, monolithic forms of masculinity and femininity strong enough to deal with the significant challenges posed from the 'West' and 'Britain'.

The Salman Rushdie affair

In the late 1980s, Sir Ahmed Salman Rushdie caused the biggest storm not only among the Pakistani communities in Britain but also among all Muslims of every nationality.³⁸ His publication of *The Satanic Verses* in 1988 was arguably the most significant event to catalyse Muslims in Britain to unite as a single voice and community. This was an explosive novel, based on magical realism, which focused on the Prophet Muhammad and some of the most controversial passages of the Qur'an and that inflamed Muslims globally. For British Muslims the book was regarded as inflammatory because they believed Rushdie was mocking not just the divine text of God, but also God's beloved final prophet. *The Satanic Verses* received widespread condemnation, even though many Muslims did not bother to read it. The simple fact that the novel alluded to disrespect for God and the Prophet was sufficient for the Shi'a Iranian government, under Ayatollah Khomeini, to declare a death sentence on Rushdie, with Rushdie being offered round-the-clock police protection as a result.

Rushdie was born in 1947 in Bombay, India into a Muslim family. He has since renounced his Islamic faith, and now identifies himself as an atheist. A man once regarded as an insider was now critiquing Islam from the outside in a language associated with colonialism. This alarmed many Pakistani parents who, afraid of losing their sons and daughters to 'the West', saw freedom of expression as conveyed through the arts, literature or on screen as a threat to the Muslim values they wanted to instil, especially against a political context of Margaret Thatcher's moral nostalgia which appeared to hark back to the Empire. The majority of Muslims held the firm belief that 'freedom of speech' must be curtailed

when it came to dealing with the Prophet Muhammad. Immigrant Pakistanis used the Rushdie affair to establish a more united front for Muslims from different nations based on Islamic interpretations that were highly politicised and, by the late 1980s, were growing around the Muslim world in opposition to 'the West'.

The book-burning protests that took place in 1989 were shown on television screens across Britain and represented a turning point in shifting racial intolerances from Pakistanis specifically to Muslims in general. The protesters demanded limitations be placed upon the 'freedom of speech' but at the heart of the protest was the offence caused by the ultimate challenge and critique of the Prophet Muhammad. Some Pakistani parents, especially men, were clearly worried at the religious change that might take place in their children through the influence of literature and texts promoting critical thinking and creativity. The vision of an angry Muslim man (stereotypically capturing Pakistani men wearing traditional *shalwar kameez* with long beards and hats) burning a book became widespread. By critiquing the Prophet Muhammad, Rushdie was denigrating Islamic masculinity, it was argued. Even though the majority of Muslims believe that the Prophet is not divine, with his masculinity never in question – he is, essentially, understood in popular piety as 'the perfect man'. Thus in depicting the Prophet in a fictional form that allowed Muslim and non-Muslim readers to critique him through a 'magical' world was deplorable. Taking part in angry, virile protests represented for some participants a declaration of masculine war in defence of a positive affirmation of Islamic identity. Pakistani parents, especially fathers, expressed their rage based not only on the insult to Islam itself, but also out of a fear that their children might defy parental authority and Muslim boundaries as a result.

The biggest challenge for Pakistani parents and their children was how to be a Muslim in a changing world of modernity. Criticising the Prophet Muhammad was the foremost example of this cutting across the geographical diversity and theological trends among Muslims globally. Rushdie's work was a step too far, especially given the fragility of Muslim identity through the diaspora. Rushdie's critique and reimagining of the Prophet Muhammad challenged directly the way in which Pakistani men, and Muslim men in general, understood Islamic masculinity. The message, that the Prophet's masculinity must be protected among and by the new British Muslim men was loud and clear. Rushdie's work was therefore inextricably bound up with questions of gender and sexuality (given that he has also written on issues of homosexuality) that went to the very core of the Islamic faith.

Issues of male and female sexuality

It is surprising, perhaps, that the foremost writers on British Muslims make little or no mention of issues of homosexuality among first-generation Pakistani immigrants to Britain. However, as Kecia Ali has argued, the concept of 'don't ask, don't tell' is typically Islamic.³⁹ Same-sex love and attraction has always existed in Muslim/Islamic societies, yet has always been hidden. Muslim men have been expected to get married and have children – everything else is either overlooked or kept hidden. This has also been the case for immigrant Pakistani Muslim men and women who arrived in Britain.

Out of sight, however, never really meant out of mind. Subtle references have always alluded to the fact that Pakistani gay men and women did exist. Fear of openly expressing sexualities that do not conform to the highly heteronormative tendencies of Islamic traditions have persisted, but marginalised forms of sexuality in Islamic cultures and societies have slowly begun to mount a challenge to patriarchal forms of Muslim masculinity. Literature and cultural production have proved the most promising sites for making visible these excluded identities. The year before 'My Son The Fanatic' appeared, Hanif Kureishi published an explosive screenplay, *My Beautiful Laundrette*, which became a successful film in 1985. Set in Thatcher's Britain in the 1980s, the story is about a British-born Pakistani, Omar Ali, whose father, Hussein, is a Pakistani journalist. Hussein is disgruntled with British culture and more interested in alcohol. Kureishi develops interesting links between race and sexuality when Omar is beaten up by a group of right-wing white supremacists, only to be saved by a young man named Johnny with whom he begins a romantic relationship. Omar and Johnny work together successfully to re-establish a rundown laundrette. In one scene they are having sex while his uncle is dancing with his mistress at the front of the laundrette. This scene captures much of the reality of material deprivation and lack of cultural acceptance in which early British gay Pakistanis lived their lives, yet imagined, yearned for and expected something very different. Under family pressure, Omar proposes to his uncle's daughter, Tania, while drunk one night. The story ends with a race-related fight in which Johnny is embroiled due to his support of the Pakistani community, only to be saved by Omar. The final scene shows Omar and Johnny shirtless as they splash water on each other.

Another important film highlighting key issues related to late twentieth-century British Pakistanis was *East is East*, released in 1999.⁴⁰ *East is East* was set around a dual heritage family. Zahir (George) Khan,



Illustration 9.1 Omar and Johnny in *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985)

a Pakistani man is married to Ella, a Roman Catholic of Irish descent. They have seven children and run a 'fish'n'chips' shop. The film opens with their eldest son, Nazir, running away from an arranged marriage. Nazir moves to Eccles, near Manchester, to live with his boyfriend and the film's main plot follows a series of events in which both the parents and children attempt to negotiate Khan's Pakistani ideals and those of wider British society. From arranged marriages to Islamic customs of circumcision, the film foregrounds many of the taboo issues British Pakistanis have found difficult to discuss openly. Khan's understanding of what it meant to be a good Pakistani/Muslim is based on strengthening the family structure, yet his attempts to do this seem destined to fail. Despite the anomaly of having married a white Catholic woman, Khan still tries to bring his children up according to the religious and cultural standards that he associates with Pakistan.

Films such as *East is East* and *My Beautiful Laundrette* elicited little response from the British Pakistani community; complex issues of sexuality and intergenerational tensions had been dealt with within families, but more broadly by silence. If gay Muslim love was taboo, then lesbian love is an even greater anathema, and it is worth considering why there is such an absence of lesbian Muslim characters in

these films. Interestingly, Ismat Chughtai, a twentieth-century Indian Muslim author, wrote an Urdu novel titled *Lihaaf*⁴¹ (*The Quilt*) as early as 1942 which was centred around a high-society couple leading very separate lives. In this novel the wife had a longstanding affair with her maid under the quilt while her husband entertained himself through the affection of boys. It was, predictably, greeted with absolute outrage among Indian Muslims.

Marriage and family life has been a central way in which Pakistani parents have attempted to maintain social control of their children and induct them into a specific form of Islamic masculinity and femininity. Marrying British-born Muslim children to spouses 'back home' has been a key strategy here. The vast majority of these marriages have been arranged, usually within the immediate family where it was not uncommon for eldest sons and daughters to marry their first cousins. This was regarded as beneficial for many reasons including cementing emotional and familial connections, and providing an additional way to help the family back in Pakistan. It was also believed that being married to a Pakistani-born spouse would help children remain committed to Pakistani culture and religious traditions. British Pakistani children often found that if they rebelled or spoke out against such practices they risked rejection or ostracism not only from their parents but also from the Pakistani community. The extent to which a Pakistani-oriented world at home and a British life outside it has resulted in serious crises of self-identity cannot be underestimated, yet still parents, especially fathers, wanted children to return to being Pakistani as they had known and lived it. As Shaw has argued,

These processes will ... be affected by the extent to which young adults raised in Britain, particularly those with higher education and economic independence, continue to think of their futures in terms of meeting obligations to parents and other relatives, and in terms of maintaining links to Pakistan through marriage. There are indeed signs of change in these processes, but it is likely that arranged marriages and marriages to relatives will be a feature of the Pakistani presence in Britain for some time to come.⁴²

Immigrant Pakistani parents have expected their children to accept the way in which they were raised back home, obedient to the will and wish of their parents' authority of arranging their own marriage. The confluence of Pakistani and British culture on family values has created considerable tension in the homes of many British Pakistanis.

Many British Pakistanis have extremely successful arranged marriages to Pakistani spouses but with no real resolution to the question of what it meant to be a Pakistani, British, Muslim man or women. The effect on daughters has inevitably proven harsher than for sons, as family cultures remained male-centric and Pakistani-British men felt obliged to adhere to patriarchal masculinity at home.

A recent 2004 Ken Loach-directed film titled *Ae Fond Kiss* is named after a poem written by the Scottish Bard, Robert Burns, who is said to have written this as homage to a love that he never attained. The film is centred on a second-generation Pakistani man born and raised in Glasgow, Scotland. His hardworking father runs a local grocery store and wants him to marry his first cousin in Pakistan. But Casim has bigger plans of running a nightclub and falls in love with the local Catholic secondary school teacher, Roisin. The intersection of race, ethnicity and gender in Pakistani identity explodes when Roisin accuses Casim's father of being a bigot. Roisin is told firmly by Casim that she does not understand the situation because she is 'white' and has never experienced racism. His father was born a twin, only to lose his brother during the India and Pakistan separation, explains Casim. The film, therefore, stresses the way that the harsh realities experienced by Casim's father in Pakistan were now impacting upon his expectations for his children. Casim's two sisters are also indicative of various cultural and religious clashes. Rucksana, the eldest, is happy to have her marriage arranged and remain obedient to her parents, but the younger sister, Tahara, is a feisty Scot wishing to merge her Pakistani heritage and Scottish upbringing. Told that she must reject a place at Edinburgh University to study journalism because it is not proper for a woman, Tahara explains to her parents that although she respects and loves them, she is going to Edinburgh. This film leaves the viewer with the same conundrum as to whether the complexities involved in an immigrant Pakistani father's background set alongside the reality of contemporary Scottish life can ever be reconciled sufficiently to bring peace and love to his children's relationships. As with the films described previously, there seems no easy resolution to the tensions surrounding Islamic masculinity for either sons or fathers.

Conclusions

Our contemporary gaze on British Muslims seems to have lost its ethnic component in recent years, with a tendency instead to focus on a pan-Islamic identity. One aim of this chapter has been to restore the

ethnic and national specificity of the Pakistani Muslim community, and historicise their experiences. The later twentieth century can be understood as an embryonic stage when Pakistani men were moving to Britain within the context of an emerging Pakistani model of the 'Islamic state' that led to strengthening a 'yearning and longing' for an Islamic utopia accompanied by rigid forms of masculinity and femininity. The difficulties faced by Pakistani men in Britain were inextricably bound to the state politics of an independent Pakistan and its attempts to uphold an idealised and traditionally gendered version of Islam. The normative Islamic state was the result of colonial rule and the way in which religion was understood and lived in 'the West'.

The growing presence of immigrant Pakistani men and their children in Britain resulted in extremely anxious understandings of masculinity and femininity. The social, economic and political contrasts between Pakistan and Britain led to particular forms of Islamic trends and socially acceptable roles for men and women. Pakistani parents brought a particular set of ideals to Britain developed out of the specific historical experiences of decolonisation and partition, as well as being influenced by social traditions inherited from the British colonisers and the older Mughal order. Pakistani men were expected to uphold these values. Hierarchically sorted roles of father, mother, son and daughter were held on to strongly because they appeared to many Pakistani immigrants to be under threat in Britain during the late twentieth century. This became the case when the myth of returning to the homeland was eroded and Pakistani parents needed to find ways of living in Britain yet holding strong to Pakistan. Pakistani parents held Islam very dear to their hearts because it was ideas and notions associated with Islam that allowed them to achieve independence from colonialism and achieve a better world.

When Pakistani parents moved to Britain, they enjoyed British culture and the benefits it provided, but always with a degree of scepticism. The harsh reality of the past was not easily erased from their minds. This reluctance to accept Britain as a new home was further strengthened through the growth of Islamic trends that were highly politicised in Pakistan and became so particularly in Britain after 1989. Saying one thing and doing another was a strategy that immigrant Pakistani men deployed to reconcile their surroundings with the ideals of Islam that constantly called for a return to something more pure, more sacred in their mind – just like the Pakistan they longed for.

The children of first-generation Pakistani immigrants were given guidance through mosques, Islamic schooling and organisations as to what

was expected of them as Muslim boys and girls. This education was not particular to Pakistanis, and also encompassed Muslims who arrived from other parts of the world, and who were also expected to follow particular stipulations on being a man or a woman. Pakistani fathers and mothers married their children back home in an attempt to strengthen such norms. Despite the cultural pluralism of filmic and literary depictions of British Muslim family life and dilemmas, the Rushdie affair reinforced a monolithic view of Islamic masculinity. Critics of Rushdie were understood as displaying unwavering strength, or doctrinaire bigotry against any attack on the Prophet Muhammad's masculinity. These events displayed fascinating complexities that left Pakistani immigrants and their children neither British nor Pakistani, but instead yearning and longing for something pure, something ideally masculine and yet always unstable and subject to external threat.

Notes

1. This chapter is dedicated to the memory of my late father, Inayat Ullah (1935–2010) who arrived in Britain during the 1950s from Sialkot, Pakistan. The basis of this chapter has come from a lecture I often present on Muslims in Britain. I am indebted to Professor Kecia Ali from Boston University who encouraged me to consider writing up this lecture after I presented to her class a few years ago.
2. See L. Woodhead and R. Catto (eds) (2012) *Religion and Change in Modern Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge).
3. P. Brook (2007) 'India, Post-Imperialism and the Origins of Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood Speech"', *The Historical Journal*, 50(3), 669–87. C. Schofield (2011) 'Enoch Powell against Empire: The New Commonwealth, the Kenyan Asian Crisis, and the Burdens of the Past', *Historical Studies*, XXVI.
4. T. Modood (2005) *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain. Contradictions of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
5. L. Ouzgane (ed.) (2006) *Islamic Masculinities* (London: Zed Books); M. Ghoussoub and E. Sinclair (eds) (2006) *Imagined Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East* (London: Saqi Books); and M. Inhorn (2012) *The New Arab Man: Emergent Masculinities, Technologies, and Islam in the Middle East* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).
6. Z. Ansari (2004) *The Infidel Within: Muslims in Britain Since 1800* (London: Hurst and Company), p. 168.
7. S. Gilliat-Ray (2010) *Muslims in Britain: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 6.
8. P. Werbner (1980) 'Rich Man Poor Man – Or a Community of Suffering: Heroic Motifs in Manchester Pakistani Life Histories', *Oral History*, 8(1), 43–8.
9. R. Vanita (2001) 'Preface', in R. Vanita and S. Kidwai (eds) *Same-Sex Love in India: Readings from Literature and History* (New York: Palgrave Publishing), p. xx.

10. R. O'Hanlon (1999) 'Manliness and Imperial Service in Mughal North India', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 42(1), pp. 47–93.
11. W. Dalrymple (2004) *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (London: Penguin).
12. One of the founding fathers of Pakistan, Muhammad Iqbal, connected the plight of an Islamic republic with Turkey, see F. Rahman (1984) 'Muhammad Iqbal and Atatürk's Reforms', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 43(2), pp. 157–62.
13. The genealogy of 'liberation' from the Shah to Khomeini is detailed in H. E. Chehabi (1990) *Iranian Politics and Religious Modernisms: The Liberation Movement of Iran Under the Shah and Khomeini* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
14. R. H. Dekmijian (1995) *Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab World* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press), p. 11.
15. I am specific about the use of the word 'trend' because it was and is not uncommon for Pakistanis to waver between the trends as they select and reject different understandings that are appropriate for their own personal piety and belief.
16. See U. Sanyal (1996) *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmed Riza Khan Bareilly and His Movement, 1870–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); Y. Sikand (2011) 'Deobandi Patriarchy: A Partial Explanation', *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVI(19), 35–41; Y. Sikand (2002) *Origins and Development of the Tablighi-Jama'at (1920–2000): A Cross-Country Comparative Study* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman); and I. Ahmed (2009) *Islamism and Democracy in India: The Transformation of Jammāt-e-Islāmī* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press).
17. Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain*, p. 86.
18. P. Lewis (2002) *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims* (London: I. B. Tauris), p. 36.
19. F. Panjwani (2005) 'Agreed Syllabi and Un-Agreed Values: Religious Education and Missed Opportunities For Fostering Social Cohesion', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 53(3), 375–93.
20. Ansari, *The Infidel Within*, p. 380.
21. See M. Anwar (1983) *The Myth of Return: Pakistanis in Britain* (London: Heinemann Educational Books).
22. F. Halliday (2010) *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community* (London: I. B. Tauris).
23. Ansari, *The Infidel Within*, p. 143.
24. Anwar, *Myth of Return*.
25. Ansari, *The Infidel Within*, p. 191.
26. B. King (1999) 'My Son The Fanatic', *World Literature Today*, 73(1), p. 151.
27. Ansari, *The Infidel Within*, p. 254.
28. See A. Shaw (2000) *Kinship and Continuity: Pakistani Families in Britain* (Oxford: Routledge).
29. See F. Ahmad (2001) 'Migration and Cultural Adaptation First and Second Generation Pakistani Women Migrants to Britain in 1954–1999', Unpublished PhD Thesis, SOAS, University of London.
30. S. Shah and M. Iqbal (2011) 'Pakistani Diaspora in Britain: Intersections of Multi-Locationality and Girls' Education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 32(5), 763–83.

31. J. Nielsen (1981) 'Muslim Education at Home and Abroad', *British Journal of Religious Education*, 3(3), 94–9.
32. T. Abbas (2003) 'The Impact of Religio-Cultural Norms and Values on the Education of Young South Asian Women', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24(4), 411–28.
33. Gilliat-Ray, *Muslims in Britain*, p. 151.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
35. Ansari, *The Infidel Within*, p. 371.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 371.
37. www.ymuk.net, accessed on 28 September 2012.
38. K. Malik (2009) *From Fatwa to Jihad: The Rushdie Affair and Its Aftermath* (New York: Melville House Publishing).
39. K. Ali (2006) *Sexual Ethics and Islam: Feminist Reflections on Qur'an, Hadith, and Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications).
40. The film was written by Ayub Khan-Din and directed by Damien O'Donnell.
41. I. Chughtai (1994) *The Quilt and Other Stories*, translated by T. Naqvi and S. Hameed (New York: The Sheep Meadow Press).
42. A. Shaw (2001) 'Kinship, Cultural Preference and Immigration: Consanguineous Marriage among British Pakistanis', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 7(2), 315–34, p. 332.

Further reading

- Ansari, Z. (2004) *The Infidel Within: Muslims in Britain Since 1800* (London: Hurst and Company).
- Anwar, M. (1983) *The Myth of Return: Pakistanis in Britain* (London: Heinemann Educational Books).
- Gilliat-Ray, S. (2010) *Muslims in Britain: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Halliday, F. (2010) *Britain's First Muslims: Portrait of an Arab Community* (London: I. B. Tauris).
- Lewis, P. (2002) *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims* (London: I. B. Tauris).
- Modood, T. (2005) *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain—Contradictions of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).
- Shaw, A. (2000) *Kinship and Continuity: Pakistani Families in Britain* (Oxford: Routledge).
- Woodhead, L. and Catto, R. (eds) (2012) *Religion and Change in Modern Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge).

10

'Laboratories' of Gender? Masculinities, Spirituality and New Religious Movements in Late Twentieth-Century Britain

Stephen Hunt

This chapter brings into relief aspects of masculinity and spirituality as articulated through the so-called New Religious Movements (NRMs) which arose during the latter decades of twentieth-century Britain. The subject matter is particularly pertinent given common conjecture surrounding the decline of culturally dominant Christianity during this period. The extent to which NRMs heralded the emergence of fresh and frequently unconventional forms of religiosity, therefore in addition to differing models of masculinity, forms the central focus of this chapter.

From the outset, however, caution needs to be heeded around the true impact of the NRMs. While a fair few of these new religions constituted 'movements' embracing sizable numbers of worldwide adherents, their influence in Britain was always rather muted as evidenced by the 2001 Census of England and Wales which indicated that their collective membership amounted to merely several thousand.¹ Moreover, the late twentieth century may well prove to have been a short-lived era in which a particular type of 'alternative' religion (or religions) emerged, briefly proliferated and fairly rapidly declined or at the very least in some instances underwent considerable transmogrification. The limited impact of NRMs is not, however, to devalue the contribution of the socio-historical gaze over some of their most significant expressions in exploring the vast variety of masculine constructs they forged and spiritual idioms expressed. In generating such a perusal this chapter will bring a degree of comparative analysis of a variety of NRMs. This comparative dimension will include some historical parallels, thereby acknowledging that there was nothing particularly 'new' about the NRMs which arose in the second half of the twentieth century.²

The enterprise of surveying the NRMs during the late twentieth century in general is not without pitfalls and this includes designating which religious groups were 'in' or 'out' of the category of 'new religions'.³ Partly, this difficulty arose from the extraordinary range of belief systems they displayed. Indeed, frameworks of belief have habitually provided a common resource for categorising NRMs with such taxologies as that developed by Robert Ellwood and Harry Partin in the 1980s which identified those founded on (i) Theosophy, Rosicrucianism and Gnosticism; (ii) New Thought; (iii) Spiritualist/UFO groups; (iv) Occult/Initiatory groups, Neo-Paganism (and its affiliates); (v) Eastern Religions (sub-divided into Indian, East Asian and Islamic) and; (vi) Christian beliefs.⁴ Given the methodological and conceptual significance of beliefs systems – particularly the binary division between NRMs derived from established 'World Religions' (while recognising that this is a contested term) and those derived from more eclectic, innovating, experimental spiritualities – this will form the principal if not only the axis of this chapter by which to understand attitudes towards masculinity and spirituality in a number of representative NRMs.

Sociological paradigms of religion and gender

In considering this binary division and further aspects of the link between masculinity and NRM spirituality, a number of gaps in the literature emerge. Firstly, few extant academic accounts have focused systematically on gender and even fewer on NRM masculinities, particularly within the British context. Moreover, little documentation of the spiritual experiences, aspirations, performances and practices collectively engaged in by men exists, rendering them somewhat 'invisible' in the study of new religions. The most discernible reason for this neglect is that women have constituted the greater number of adherents in the majority of NRMs, so attracting greater scholarly curiosity as a result. In addition, gendered analyses have tended to constitute mere by-products of the more central study of 'cult formation' processes in which sociologists of religion have assessed NRMs as a curious and unanticipated apparition that seemingly kicked against the prevailing secularisation thesis – how they developed and grew, for example, the means by which individuals joined and why. When male NRM adherents have been considered their gender has constituted something of a footnote to themes such as leadership roles and internal structures, reflecting the preoccupation in the study of religion more generally with the nature and dynamics of

spiritual authority and obscuring the experiences of rank and file male adherents.

A further difficulty related to the literature on masculinities in NRMs is that according to Susan Palmer most sociological treatments of gender have embraced a feminist perspective, either emphasising NRMs as mirroring the patriarchal patterns of authority found in mainstream religions and focusing on the systematic abuse of female adherents by charismatic male leaders or, alternatively, emphasising female empowerment within certain NRMs, marking them as a positive response to the constraining nature of conventional religiosities.⁵ Palmer asserts that this theoretical polarisation has not only tended to obscure the diverse range of experiences of females within the NRMs but also, by implication, has created unhelpful generalisations around the constructions of masculinities. This chapter, therefore, seeks to unpack the hitherto neglected diversity of masculinities and male roles within a selected range of NRMs. As argued later, those NRMs of a more eclectic and experimental nature somewhat predictably displayed a fascinating array of masculinities and spiritualities, yet those derived from more established religions and predisposed to embracing patriarchal motives could also prove quite capable of taking unanticipated trajectories.

The great majority of sociological commentaries during the 1980s and 1990s designated the emergence of NRMs as a primary example of the 'religion of the gaps'. This approach was typified by the influential work of Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge who identified the primary characteristic of the NRMs (they preferred the contentious term 'cult') as its adaptivity to a developing spiritual marketplace.⁶ Within this broad theoretical framework a number of inter-related perspectives engaged with the significance of late twentieth century socio-cultural transformation. Some scholars suggested such movements provided an alternative source of 'belonging' in a largely rootless culture, appealing to the 1960s' countercultural, experimental, collective lifestyles embraced by the baby-boom generation. These distinct forms of NRMs advanced moralities articulated through spiritual idioms and utopian visions which, among other considerations, reconfigured prevailing gender constructs and sexual mores.⁷ In this respect there were interesting counterpoints with a number of innovating and often syncretic new forms of religion in the nineteenth century which embraced an experimental ethos around gender, although such radicalising and subversive movements remained relatively small when compared to their counterparts of the late twentieth century.⁸ An alternative approach was to depict NRMs as sectarian forms of religiosity, providing a firm moral

anchorage and regulation during a time of profound social change in Western societies.⁹

Although few, if any, of these overarching theoretical frameworks systematically addressed gender roles and representations within NRMs, the common theme of both the 'countercultural' and the 'moral hiatus' approaches was that the new religions provided a site of innovation. Palmer, for example, argued that NRMs were 'laboratories' of gender or 'cocoon' for exploring sexed roles, status and orientations in a period of general moral ambiguity and gender confusion.¹⁰ These ranged from strict gendered divisions on the one hand to more egalitarian structures and the blurring of gender categories on the other which, in turn, generated a greater fluidity around matters of sexuality. Whether seeking to return to imaginary past pristine gender configurations, endorsing contemporary socio-cultural norms or radically departing from them, the integration of men's spirituality and masculinity invariably reflected the ethos and organisation of any given particular new religion. Thus the diverse ways in which masculinities were imagined and formulated was not just a matter of *responding* to social change but in fact constituted a series of varied and contrasting *orientations* to external culture which in turn reciprocally shaped the internal structure and beliefs of NRMs with significant implications for the way masculinities and spiritualities were perceived.

The most influential theoretical framework differentiating NRMs in terms of their orientation to external cultures is arguably Roy Wallis's three-fold typology of 'world-rejecting', 'world-accommodating' and 'world-affirming' NRMs.¹¹ World-rejecting NRMs were identified by their critique of mainstream society and demand for total commitment from members, normally requiring a radical change in lifestyle. World-affirming NRMs, by contrast, claimed to allow individuals to achieve their full potential in mainstream society, requiring less commitment to changes in behaviour. And finally, world-accommodating NRMs were defined by Wallis as an intermediate category which neither fully accepted nor fully rejected mainstream values, and often stemmed from traditional religious systems which they sought to revive through spiritual reinvigoration. Wallis virtually ignored the issue of gender, but in the discussions below I argue that each of these three orientations had important ramifications for the way in which masculinity and male spirituality were articulated and experienced within this taxonomy of NRMs. The remainder of this chapter, therefore, integrates the significance of the selected NRM's orientation towards the surrounding culture with its internal belief systems and gender formations. I examine several

representative movements, namely, the Unification Church, Krishna Consciousness, the Jesus Fellowship, Subud, Scientology, Raëlism and the Radical Faeries.

In order to differentiate between these NRMs I have opted to classify them further under two major operating categories – ‘restorative’ and ‘experimental or liberative’ – that have generated different orientations to the outside world with important ramifications for their understanding of masculinity and male spirituality. The former group are based on pre-existing ‘world religions’, excavating beliefs and motifs that have existed for centuries around gender constructs. By contrast, the latter ‘experimental or liberative’ NRMs have proved to be more innovative in their gendered beliefs and practices.

Restorative NRMs

Within the ‘restorative’ category I have included discussions of the Unification Church, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) and the Jesus Fellowship, movements that were all inclined to generate strong codes of moral regulation in accordance with Wallis’s ‘world-rejecting’ taxonomy. Such NRMs attempted to draw up strong sectarian boundaries against the prevailing culture which was perceived by them as a deviant perversion of the divine plan evidenced through sexual immorality and crass materialism. The strongly millenarian tendencies of the movements also anticipated an eventual new world order once sufficient adherents were gained. They invariably demanded high levels of commitment from members around lives of asceticism and self-denial, and were frequently associated with devotion to a particular spiritual leader or Truth (typified by the Divine Light Mission and Nichiren Shoshu)¹² along with a stringent ‘corporateness’ or participation ‘in a shared and collective life’.¹³ As a result, tightly proscribed prohibitions around sexuality and strict gender divisions within these movements produced highly conventional and narrow definitions of male spirituality.

The Unification Church

The Unification Church (UC) was founded in South Korea in 1945 by the late Sun Myung Moon whose teachings dominated the movement. Although world membership grew to between five and seven million, in the 1990s the British UC had declined to just a few hundred members.¹⁴ Moon’s unquestioned authority meant that the UC exerted a high level of disciplined control over and unquestionable commitment

from its members including separation from the outside world, celibacy before marriage, and abstinence from tobacco and alcohol. The decline of the movement in Britain in recent decades can possibly be attributed to similar reasons that saw the demise of world-rejecting movements in general – the weakening attraction of NRMs that demanded the total dedication of individual members to a form of religiosity that demanded high levels of personal commitment and adherence to an authoritarian style of membership. The UC was also damaged by negative media coverage that accused the organisation of ‘brainwashing’ members and corruption, alongside condemnation of Moon’s system of arranged marriages and mass wedding ceremonies.

Through its globally instilled syncretic teachings based on Christianity, Buddhism and Taoism, the UC constructed a monotheistic system which perceived of a God who possessed perfect intellect and emotion and who merged the distinct binaries of masculinity and femininity into a gender harmony (God the Father with male characteristics, the Holy Spirit female). Because the human race and the universe were seen to reflect the divine personality and nature, an ideal of masculinity was suggested which integrated spiritual elements and mirrored this binary of divine characteristics.

As with Christianity, sin was seen by Moon to have disrupted the harmony of human relationships with God and between men and women. Such transgressions would only be overcome through restorative measures such as initiating proper moral standards and practices, uniting all peoples and races, and overcoming economic, ethnic, political and educational injustices. ‘Restoration’, then, pertained to both the spiritual and physical realms.

As the self-designated new messiah, Moon taught that after the ‘fall’ God wished to re-establish the original family structure where both men and women grew to spiritual perfection and harmony according to their gender, producing sinless children of God and thereby establishing a male-headed, sinless family within a loving dominion of reciprocal male–female relationships.¹⁵ Moon’s own family was envisaged as the epitome of the perfected human family. The UC’s controversial ‘mass’ wedding ceremony blessed by Moon (including the wedding blessing of 300,000 couples at the Seoul Olympic Stadium in 1992), paired suitable couples in order to produce protégés who would follow Moon’s vision. Writing in one of his major publications *Divine Principle*, Moon explained how God exists because of a reciprocal relationship between the dual characteristics of positivity and negativity: ‘We call the positivity and negativity of God “masculinity” and “femininity”

respectively.¹⁶ The masculine element was frequently said by the UC to be exemplified in the spiritual authority and charisma of Moon himself, and this understanding of masculinity served as model for male spiritual headship of male followers within the movement in the context of heterosexual marriage and family life that was highly conventional. Here there was no room for premarital sex, gender variation or 'dirty dung-eating dogs' – Moon's term for homosexuals – and where 'gays would be eliminated' through divine purges.¹⁷

ISKCON

According to sociologist Colin Campbell, the 'Easternisation' of Western culture which began in the colonial context of late nineteenth-century Britain has continued throughout the twentieth century.¹⁸ The expression and forms of such movements have, however, varied radically. Some, such as Soka Gakki, adapted Buddhism to an undemanding formula tailored to Western lifestyles, amounting to a practical philosophy of personal empowerment and 'inner' transformation. By contrast, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) was established in 1966 by the charismatic figure of Srila Prabhupada, growing to a global membership of approximately 10,000 with a sizeable presence in many of the UK's largest cities. Prabhupada regarded Western culture as materialistic, decadent and immoral. He challenged such failings through the propagation of the ancient text *Gaudiya Vaishnavism*, a largely unmediated strand of conservative Hinduism. ISKCON was 'restorational' in terms of its origins in *bhakti* traditions and their beliefs based on the Bhagavad Gita – the spiritual teachings of Krishna who was the Supreme Personality of Godhead and eighth and 'complete' *avatar* (incarnation) of Vishnu – the preserver god in the Hindu trinity.

As part of its critique of Western culture and typical of world-rejecting NRMs, ISKCON established firm external boundaries from what it perceived as wider society's lust for temporal, sensual and material pleasures rather than devotion to Krishna as the core of spiritual life. This included strict vegetarianism, the avoidance of gambling, alcohol, caffeine, tobacco and drugs, and sexual immorality. Full-time members were expected to withdraw from the world, donate their assets to local temples and, in ISKCON's early presence in Britain, live communally to demonstrate their total commitment. Ascetic rules applied equally to men and women. These included purification of the body and the mind and the 'effort to restrain and control the senses and conquer the influence of desire and anger'¹⁹ through following the conduits of *Dhama*: mercy

(*Daya*), self-control and austerity (*Tapas*), truthfulness (*Satyam*) and cleanliness (*Saucam*).

From one perspective ISKCON's teaching on gender seemed ambivalent as a result of its complex spiritual pathways. Elizabeth Puttick notes, for example, that the movement's philosophy entailed transcending male or female binaries with the ever-changing body perceived as merely a material casing for the immortal migrating soul, and that its teaching also encouraged 'a feminine approach to spirituality' expressed through 'surrender and service to others'.²⁰ However, Puttick points out further that these ideas were supplemented by Prabhupada affording a higher status to men with teachings derived from a conservative Vedic-based *Gaudiya Vaishnava Sampradaya* that emphasised female inferiority and helped forge a powerful masculine spirituality. In advancing traditional Bengali notions of gender in this way, ISKCON thus displayed a strict patriarchal and hierarchical separation of men and women disembodied from its localised context of north-east India. Prabhupada taught that men should dictate the spiritual merit of their wives and assume a protective role over spouses and daughters. Women, in turn, were to serve their husbands through domestic duties (according to the texts and rituals of *Vaishnavism*), and producing good progeny – a responsibility which then enhanced a harmonious social order. Women's deferral to male authority through gurus and other male devotees meant that only men held leadership positions such as that of temple president or were permitted to join *sannyasi* orders (celibate monastic leaders) in keeping with Bengali social expectations.

Male spirituality was also defined by devotion to Krishna who provided a divine masculine role model. Krishna's nature, attributes and exploits are recounted across a broad spectrum of Hindu philosophical and theological traditions: as a god-child, a prankster, an ideal lover, a divine hero, as the Supreme Being – eternal, all-knowing, all-powerful, omnipresent – and the seed-providing father of all living creation. Service to Krishna was recognised through celibacy (mandatory for single devotees), while sexual activity for monogamous married couples was acknowledged only for procreative purposes. Except for his wife, the male disciple ideally regarded every woman as his mother, exhibiting a mutual respect with no room for promiscuity. If men and women mixed too freely, their relationship was likely to degenerate into immorality and mutual exploitation, it was argued, typified by Western moral decadence. Traditional views of masculinity necessarily negated positive attitudes towards sexual variation, a disposition in ISKCON that was highlighted by the gay glam rock personality Boy George who took

more than a passing interest in the movement until he became aware of the movement's condemnatory stance towards homosexuality.²¹

The Jesus Fellowship

Neo-Pentecostalism was categorised by Wallis as a 'world-accommodating' NRM identified by its laxer control of members, the attempt to communicate directly with spiritual powers (for neo-Pentecostalism this took the form of the Holy Spirit), and the cultivation of the individual's interior spiritual life. However, some of its derivatives displayed sect-like qualities evidently more 'world-rejecting' and 'restorationist'. In Britain this included the Jesus Fellowship (JF) which was also a distinct variant of the house church movement (more correctly designated as a restoration movement). The JF was established by the late Noel Stanton, a minister at the Baptist Church in Northampton in 1969. By the early 1990s a network of independent churches with some 2000 members and some international branches had developed.

The JF embraced a utopian post-millenarian vision that entailed seeking actively to establish the Kingdom of Heaven on earth before the return of Jesus Christ. The Jesus Army was its evangelical wing and the emphasis on evangelism among the poor, marginalised and young meant that the JF frequently compared itself to the nineteenth-century street missions of the Salvation Army. It sought to emulate the early Christian Church community and provided a British version of the Californian Jesus People movement. The notion of 'Restoration' within the JF led to creating a 'holy society' typified by living out a 'Spartan existence' and 'simple lifestyle'.²² Once again, JF members were discouraged from a love of materialism and were urged instead to display a 'servant heart' following Christ's commands to renounce all possessions. In its separation from the world the JF taught a 'Radical Christianity' with younger members (the 'Jesus Generation') pledging to live a life devoid of the temptations of permissive sex, drugs and alcohol. Marriage was accepted within the JF in its patriarchal formula with the husband as the spiritual head of his wife and children, but celibacy was seen as a higher calling as married life (for both males and females) brought commitments other than devotion to God. Celibacy followed a probationary period, followed by a lifetime vow.

The practical concerns of community life ensured a separation of men and women in just about every aspect of activity. Residents of communal houses were ideally to live as one large 'family' often with separate male and female quarters. Within its internal structure, again in seeking to emulate the first-century Church, the JF taught that men and women

were spiritually equal but had different social roles and responsibilities. Both sexes were to dress modestly: members were advised not to wear unisex clothes or hairstyles (women ideally had long hair, men had short hair). Separation also extended to self-sufficient 'Kingdom Businesses' which included vehicle repair services and health food outlets. While males worked in these enterprises, females were allotted domestic duties or agricultural activities on farms owned by the JF where they were largely isolated from male spheres of work.

The JF followed what it regarded as the biblical mandate that women should not have authority over men. This preference for a male hierarchy founded on the principle of spiritual maturity thus shaped an austere construction of masculinity. Senior leaders constituted a male headship, while community houses were led by leadership teams of either men or women, in turn deferring to male pastors. The JF was also subdivided into 'cell groups' as part of a tightly knit movement and comprised three to 12 individuals, again usually either male or female, and collectively constituted house groups that formed local congregations. The JF also practiced discipleship whereby adherents were assigned 'shepherds' based on engendered spiritual sensibilities to whom they were encouraged to turn for guidance and advice. Nevertheless, members were tutored to practice confession of faults before others ideally of the same gender in order to reach towards spiritual perfection.

Subud

Subud, while derived from a world religion, namely, Islam, and thus included within this 'restorative' group, is actually closer to Wallis's 'world-accommodating' classification and so provides an interesting counterpoint in terms of its orientation to the surrounding culture. Subud has tended to display weaker sectarian characteristics – less dogmatic in its teachings, permitting greater choices in lifestyle preferences, and concerned principally with offering techniques that provided openings to liberating spiritual experiences. The movement began in Indonesia in the 1920s, founded by Muhammad Subuh Sumohadiwidjojo ('Bapak' or 'father') and spread rapidly from the 1950s with representative groups in over 80 countries and a membership of approximately 10,000, including an early presence in Britain. The basis of Subud was the exercise *latihan kejiwaan* ('training of the spirit') where practitioners might experience involuntary physical and emotional release, perhaps gain answers to personal problems and feel 'at peace', 'energised' or purified of the negative associations of their own lives or those of their ancestors.

Subud taught that God communicated historically with humans through messengers and prophets such as Jesus and Mohammed but that through sending Subud had interceded more directly by the surrendering of individual self-will. For that reason, relatively little teaching or dogma existed, and while a formal organisation did, Subud's unity was regarded as essentially through interior and spiritual rather than external forms. Membership of Subud was fully inclusive and permitted considerable autonomy in the personal lives of adherents, although gender differences were a distinct exception to this and reflected the cultural roots of its leadership. Until the late twentieth century, for example, married women required their husband's written consent before joining the movement and had to be 'opened' to the *latihan* by female 'helpers'. Thus Subud typically subscribed to traditional gender roles and ideals around male headship of the family, reflecting the movement's Islamic origins. In addition the insistence that men and women differed in 'essence' led to many of the movement's activities entailing the physical and social separation of the sexes.

For Subud, marriage was regarded as the ideal condition. The sexual consummation of marriage was regarded as having cosmic significance since it involved an exchange of psychic essences. Sexual union was regarded as a sacred act, not merely to satisfy human passion but to channel the power of God and thus constituted a form of divine worship that transcended male and female binaries. In addition, marital sexual intercourse was believed to purify certain spiritual impurities, possibly inherited from adherents' parents, which lay within the deeper self. Extramarital sex was disapproved of, being regarded as tapping into sub-human and malevolent forces. The consequences of sexual promiscuity with 'degenerate' partners were deemed far graver for women than for men (whose hereditary qualities may more rapidly be extinguished) and these impurities (along with those of her male partner) were believed to be finally expelled through the wife via menstruation.

Finally, Subud taught that it was the man's responsibility to regulate the relationship of *djiwas* (love and affection), so that the woman's heart would be awakened to love him. Only then could he realise his true masculinity and spirituality. Thus, from the man's perspective, a woman's love could influence his spiritual ascent or degeneration more than any other single factor; for the female, man could bring about her consciousness of higher realms (providing the male was sufficiently spiritually mature). For those men who could not resist sexual urges in the absence of marriage, a regular mistress (treated as a wife) was preferable to turning to prostitutes. Celibacy was no solution to

lust, since sexual integration required the interchange of psychic forces between man and woman.

Experimental or liberative NRMs

At first glance a number of 'experimental or liberative' NRMs also appeared to be 'world-rejecting' since they too emerged from the 1960s counterculture and marked the search of a frequently younger generation for alternative lifestyles to the increasingly materialistic and individualistic idiom of dominant Western culture.²³ Nonetheless, several proved to be closer to Wallis's 'world-affirming' category in that they embraced more liberative attitudes towards gender and sexuality which permitted high levels of experimentation around masculinities and femininities, thus reflecting the so-called permissiveness of the age.

Moreover, the trajectories many of such NRMs displayed endorsed flexible boundaries with the outside world and looser forms of internal organisation. They also followed the contours of the period's growing therapeutic culture with its emphasis on human potential and worldly self-improvement. In contrast to 'restorative' NRMs, therefore, those of an 'experimental' or 'liberative' ethos such as Raëlism and the Radical Faeries were inclined to eschew notions of a divinely imposed morality. Rather they rejected the asceticism and self-denial associated with the search of a 'lost truth' in favour of a radically new utopian vision that would release innovative possibilities around constructions of sexuality and gender, contrasting drastically with restorationist NRMs. Scientology, however, which emerged in the 1950s, dealt with 'liberation' within the context of spiritualised human potential (a theme not entirely missing from the Radical Faeries and Raëlism). It employed relatively innovative teaching around masculinity and spirituality which, if at times rather ambiguous, 'affirmed' the world in the sense of echoing shifting dominant cultural views of manliness. In the case of all three NRMs therefore, despite orientations towards the world being inclined to be more affirmative in terms of 'open' structures and more liberal attitudes towards forging personalised masculinities and spiritualities, there were important differences *between* these more experimental and liberative NRMs.

Scientology

Wallis designated Scientology as a world-affirming NRM in that it followed the broader cultural contours of self-reflexive improvement found in Western culture and claimed to be able to help individuals

unlock their 'hidden potential' (spiritual or mental) without needing to withdraw from the world while dealing with many of the spiritual problems and dilemmas generated by modern living. Scientology (meaning 'knowing how to know') operated through approximately 8000 churches in over 150 countries including Britain. There were no formal acts of worship and the precise spiritual path undertaken was left to members' individual choice. Scientology propounded the existence of a Supreme Being only discoverable through total spiritual enlightenment. Its founder, L. Ronald Hubbard, called the physical world MEST (Matter, Energy, Space and Time) within which the inner spiritual 'thetan' resided temporarily and would ultimately transcend and overcome. Each individual thus experienced in their next lifetime the world they had helped to create, generating a strong sense of moral responsibility in forging a better world for the future. Under the direction of a counsellor ('auditor') the aim was to release the 'thetan' from the mind's more negative subconscious thoughts by re-experiencing past traumatic events in order to expunge their limiting effects. Once the individual was able to live spiritually free ('Clear'), full discovery of one's true nature and complete spiritual awareness and freedom would take place.

The archaic non-gender inclusive language of Hubbard's early writings apart, Scientology's teachings were surprisingly free of gender bias and purported a philosophy of 'different but equal' which nonetheless ascribed a measure of differentiated gender role and status. Both men and women (found at all role levels and leadership) grew up with the same reactive mind and experienced the same spiritual processes to become 'Clear' and an Operating Thetan. Scientology's approach to issues of gender and sexuality were subordinated to this primary objective, although in practice men and women were seen as embodying different potentials. Despite the emphasis on individualism, Scientology privileged family life as conducive to spiritual enlightenment, establishing support programmes to help members create contented, well-functioning nuclear families. The need to express one's desire through sexuality and the creation of a family was regarded by Hubbard as the second of eight 'dynamics' of life with marriage at its centre. Marriage entailed the unity of two spiritual beings which as male and female approached life differently according to their inherent natures. Couples were free to decide the size of their families on the basis of determining the greatest good across the eight dynamics. Despite its dedication to the conventional nuclear family, however, Scientology reflected wider cultural shifts in gender roles and their greater fluidity within marriage. Increasingly the

organisation advanced notions of shared domestic responsibilities if such an arrangement was the preference of both spouses and enhanced their spiritual development.

Hubbard wrote very little about sexuality but accepted conventional views of monogamous heterosexual male–female relationships, stating that the sex act was a significant ‘communication system’ and ‘an interchange of condensed admiration particles’. In the 1950s he wrote of ‘sexual perversions’, by which he meant homosexuality, reflecting the beliefs of most of the psychological community until the 1960s. On Hubbard’s ‘tone scale’, which classified human behaviour running from –3 to +4, he rated gay and lesbian behaviour (promiscuity, perversion, sadism and ‘irregular practices’) at a 1.1, in other words, between the negative ratings of ‘fear’ (1.0) and ‘anger’ (1.5). He initially advocated institutionalisation for homosexuals to prevent ‘moral contagion’ and the destruction of the social order. However, by 1967 he had begun to change his views and argued instead that although homosexuality might contribute to dysfunctionality and thus hinder development ascending the ‘Bridge’ to ‘total freedom’, certain forms of heterosexuality might also prove problematic. This gradual change in attitudes towards sexuality exemplified how Scientology, over a protracted period of time, was able to hold in tension understandings of masculinity and spirituality that largely reflected transformation in wider cultural attitudes towards both sexuality and gender.

Raëlianism

Under his ‘world-accommodating’ rubric, Wallis also included the Aetherius Society, a ‘UFO religion’ in which belief in extraterrestrial life forms was central. Such NRMs, which arose in a number of industrialised countries marked by advanced technological developments, were also characterised by the attempt to communicate (which, in the case of UFO religions, included telepathy and astral projection) with such alien spiritual forms. Raëlianism was founded in 1974 by Claude Vorilhon (who renamed himself Raël) and by the 1990s had reached just over 2000 members around the world. Raël taught that life on earth was scientifically created by an alien species (Elohim) who, on visiting earth, was often mistaken for angels or gods. The Elohim had sent messengers or prophets such as Buddha and Jesus to educate humans in particular eras but would send their final messenger, namely Raël, during the apocalypse. The movement’s millenarian vision was of a world enlightened about Elohim: that the future arrival or rediscovery of alien civilisations, technologies and spirituality would enable humans

to overcome their current ecological, social and spiritual dilemmas. Once humans had embraced a peaceful way of life, direct contact with Raëlians would be achieved and eternal life attained through cloning.

Raëlians did not believe that an ethereal soul existed free of physical confinement and hence physically embodied forms of sexuality were core to its beliefs. The movement forged multiple discourses around masculinities which endorsed sexual variation and experimentation as conducive to spiritual growth. Humans, for example, were understood in Raëlian writings to be created as a result of a sexual union between a human woman and Elohim. While Raëlianism had a quasi-clerical structure of seven levels (including 'Bishops' and 'priests'), it protested (sometimes involving topless female members in public rallies) against organised religion as spirituality impotent, warmongering and morally censorious. From the 1980s in particular, when the movement became truly global, adherents of the Raëlian Church toured civic settings advocating masturbation, condoms and birth control.

Like other world-accommodating NRMs, Raëlianism employed few systematic instructions for how life should be lived, but according to Raël's *Maitreya* (2003), sexual variety and experimentation was critical in order to break down negative taboos, deconstruct conventional gender ideologies, prevent war and stop injustice in the world. Unlike the asexual attitudes (including male castration) of the ill-fated Heaven's Gate UFO cult, the conviction that sex was a normal, natural and healthy part of life, and that individuals should be encouraged to be true to their natural desires, was an important part of Raëlian spirituality. Homosexuality, bisexuality, pansexuality (attraction to all forms of sexuality), naturalism and any legal, safe and consensual adult sexual activity were advocated for healthy lives. Raëlians maintained that sexuality was ultimately a gift of pleasure to humanity from the Elohim. The Raëlian book *Let's Welcome Our Fathers from Space*, for example, stated that new advanced extraterrestrial civilisations would ultimately practice a 'religion of the infinite' involving ubiquitous practice of Sensual Meditation or, as Raël defined it in 1980, work 'playing fields' where 'radical self-reconstruction', 'new forms of authority' and 'new modes of self-relating' were encouraged. The programme of sensual meditation included complex instructions on self-physical arousing and for developing the sense of touch including the touching of one's erogenous zones and those of sexual partners. It was such innovating explorations of sexuality which added to the attraction of the Raëlians at a time when wider culture, at least in the Western setting, was becoming

increasingly 'sexualised' and hitherto taboo subjects increasingly open to public gaze.

Radical Faeries

The Radical Faeries represented the first NRM where gay and queerness was central to its formation rather than an addition to a pre-existing spiritual tradition, and subsequently many LGBT people have founded their own Faerie circles. Certainly, as with other world-affirming NRMs, the Faeries attempted to overcome the problems and dilemmas generated by modernity through challenging patriarchy and homophobia and rebelling against the heteronormative ideal. They viewed the world critically, encouraging queer people to reject conventional religion and Judeo-Christian views of sexuality and, in doing so, were in keeping with the hippie and eco-feminist trends of the late twentieth century which also fused with experimental spirituality.

The Faeries' origins are traceable to the 1979 Spiritual Conference for Radical Faeries in Benson, Arizona, organised by Harry Hay, a leading gay activist. The Faeries became a loosely affiliated, worldwide network (with no official membership, thus making the number of adherents impossible to discern) including British subscribers, who sought to reject heteronormativity and redefine queer identity through a new spirituality, hence the term 'Radical'. The Faeries lacked most standard features of conventional religion, eschewing any formal doctrinal or organisational structure. In fact, Hay referred to it as a 'not-movement', considering the Faeries to be a 'way of life' for gays while simultaneously snubbing the assimilation politics of many active gays and lesbians.

The Faeries' gatherings were held out-of-doors in natural settings and distinct communities. 'Sanctuaries' provided queer-specific subcultures with celebratory, fantasy-oriented free spaces often in the form of rural land or urban buildings. They embraced the theme of a return to nature (Faerie sanctuaries adapted rural living and environmental sustainable concepts to modern technologies) as part of creative expression. The term 'Faerie' denoted both the animistic spirits of European folklore and 'fairy' as a pejorative vernacular term for homosexuality. Into the mix was interwoven New Age motifs such as shamanism, indigenous, native and traditional spiritualities, pagan constructs and rituals, the mythopoetic men's movement (a men's movement aimed to liberate men from the constraints of the modern world preventing men being in touch with their true masculine nature), anarchism and radical individualism – all coupled with a camp sensibility and drag. Followers were able to pick and choose from a number of religions, therefore, and

interpret in their own way what it meant to be a Faerie. The movement can be seen as a henotheistic (belief in a single god while accepting the possible existence of other deities) system alluding to one specific force or deity from which all others are derived – a God usually associated with Cernunos, Pan or another horned phallic male deity; a Goddess celebrated as a Divine Mother; a gender-variant male; or a warrior or Kali-like destroyer. Such gendered fluidity of worship and practice was regarded as reflecting both sides of the human psyche and allowed male adherents to explore deeper layers of spirituality.

The Faeries also embraced the contemporary therapeutic culture of self-fulfilment and self-actualisation which conflated the sexual and spiritual. In her study, Margot Adler noted that the Faeries placed a great emphasis on the ‘transformative power of play’,²⁴ believing playful behaviour, very often around sexuality and sexual variants, had a role within ritual that could lead to an altered state of consciousness. Here we can see an interesting parallel in the late nineteenth century, namely the small cultist group inspired by the poetry of Walt Whitman and the early gay activism of the socialist philosopher Edward Carpenter, where quasi-homosexual attachments and gender bending within the group marked an attempt to create an ‘alternative-self’ as part of search for the spiritual.²⁵

Constancies and change

In briefly surveying a representative sample of NRMs in late twentieth-century Britain, this chapter has attempted to excavate the extraordinary complexity of the acutely under-researched area of masculinity and spiritualities. Although it is evident that this relationship has been cut across by numerous variables, some initial broad generalisations can be made. First, in those NRMs based on ‘world religions’ (even syncretic versions of this such as the UC) which claimed to represent the most advanced form of revealed ‘truth’, through an almost exclusively male charismatic leadership, they invariably demanded not only total allegiance but also highly regulated, gendered roles and behaviour. For male adherents this typically included more conventional and patriarchal forms of masculinity that fused with a ‘lost’ spirituality. But truth claims did not always lead to traditional male idealisations. Although the more experimental NRMs, such as Raëlianism, made similar claims to a rediscovered revelatory ‘truth’; they did so in such a way as to critique the patriarchal and homophobic attitudes of conventional religions.

Second, the constructions and ideals of masculinity such as those found in ISKCON, the JF and Subud were based on reimagined pristine gender relations in which the 'restored' elements of masculinity were in many respects radically different from those of the surrounding cultural environment – in this sense gender may be argued to constitute an important mode of distinction for these particular NRMs. That said, those that departed from the 'world faiths' and those, such as the Radical Faeries, which vehemently rejected them, still appropriated ancient forms of religiosity albeit for militant or experimental purposes and liberating constructions of masculine spirituality. There is a sense, then, in which many of these NRMs, whether restorative or experimental, could be said to be 'innovating' through providing a fusion of sources and ideas that advocated digression from established masculine norms. Yet others, such as Scientology, with its spiritualised expression of human potential, imitated changing cultural views of masculinity in the wider milieu as an important part of its spiritual trajectory.

This chapter has written about NRMs in the past tense if only to emphasise that their emergence as a religious phenomena must be historicised – in other words viewed through the specificities of historical context, time and place. But a number of them are still in existence. Some continue to grow, but many are in terminal decline. None, according to Eileen Barker, are likely to become a major world religion.²⁶ The global influence of the various NRMs discussed here has differed drastically. Although many made particular inroads in North America, their impact in Britain was more muted. Nonetheless, many responded to the unique cultural configurations of the Western world in the late twentieth century, not least the emergence of the so-called Permissive Society which witnessed rapid transformations in terms of social attitudes towards masculinities. In encountering the increasing 'gender confusion' and more liberal attitudes towards sexuality of the late twentieth century, NRMs displayed varying attitudes to such cultural shifts ranging from rejection, to accommodation, to conformity.

Socio-cultural transformations during the period under consideration, of course, also impacted upon the NRMs. As David Martin has noted, the speed of spiritual and organisational transitions within a number of them increased, providing a marker of the pace of wider cultural change.²⁷ One of the main implications for the NRMs, claimed Martin, was the weakening control of their members. Many, even those sectarian in nature, began to permit optional levels of interaction and accommodation with the outside world – between the religious universe and the secular sphere. The JF, for example, came to establish various levels of membership

which did not necessarily demand community commitment, recognising that such a lifestyle was less attractive in a world that had become increasingly individualised and privatised.

Roy Wallis arrived at similar conclusions.²⁸ In forging his threefold typology of the new religions, he predicted that world-affirming NRMs would eventually become the dominant form since they engaged with what he referred to as 'epistemological individualism' and dovetailed most closely with the ethos of contemporary culture. If such a hypothesis is correct, then there may well be implications for the conduits traversed by males in exploring the interface between spirituality, masculinity and gender variation. In her innovative work on queer women and religious individualism, Melissa Wilcox suggested that this was increasingly the case among such women who created their own bricolage of spirituality through various religious sources.²⁹ Wilcox's unique study may provide some support for a future direction for men, both heterosexual and otherwise, in the pursuit of their spirituality and the exploration of a range of masculinities.

The attraction of world-affirming NRMs for Wallis was that they demanded little by way of commitment from their adherents, employed little by way of doctrine, and rarely claimed access to divine or supernatural powers. Typically they offered spiritualised aspects of human potential and holistic philosophies of personal improvement. In such an environment it was difficult to see how 'restorative' world-rejecting movements could flourish. The pressures for change sometimes derived from the memberships of the NRMs themselves. Some such as ISKCON have, largely through the demands of its female members, altered their attitudes towards gender so as to reflect the more egalitarian views of Western culture which, in turn, have challenged views of masculinities and patriarchal attitudes within the movement. Others, like the UC, have had to deal with the cognitive dissonance that invariably arises when the predicted millennium fails to arrive. Those, such as the UC, have become more open to dialogue with other religions – more ecumenical. We can perhaps infer, then, that such exposure to alternative belief systems has permitted a more open negotiation of masculinity by NRM male adherents in forging their spiritual pathways. The death of the charismatic and authoritarian male leader, such as the death of Sun Myung Moon in 2012, may well enhance this possibility.

While many NRMs have declined in membership, something of a spiritual revolution in the last decades of the twentieth century (variously called the New Age, alternative or holistic spirituality, or 'inner-life' spirituality) has taken place.³⁰ The so-designated New Spirituality is

identified by 'subjective-life forms of the sacred, which emphasise inner sources of significance and the cultivation or sacralisation of unique subjective-lives'.³¹ To what extent the 'New Spirituality' is a meaningful widespread development or not is beyond the scope of the discussion here. Either way, there are important future implications for examining masculinity and spirituality. For this, new spirituality contrasts with more conventional religious concepts including those embraced by many of the NRMs in the 1960s such as a transcendent external source of divine significance and authority to which the individual is called to submit his or herself to. 'Subjective-life forms of the sacred' are now generating what Linda Woodhead has called a 'turn to life'³² – expressions of spirituality which advance a holistic personal experience. Arguably this trend means that spirituality may not be the prism through which masculinities are forged but quite possibly the reverse: masculinity and sexuality, as perhaps the Radical Faeries themselves suggested, opening up fresh and experimental pathways to the spiritual instead. This remains an ongoing possibility and just one option for exploring the relationships between spirituality, masculinity and sexuality in men's everyday lives in the ever-expanding and changing spiritual marketplace of the twenty-first century.

Notes

1. See S. Bruce (2011) *Secularization: In Defence of an Unfashionable Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 101–2.
2. G. Melton (1987) 'How New is New? The Flowering of the "New" Religious Consciousness Since 1965', in D. Bromley and O. Hammond (eds) *The Future of New Religious Movements* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press), pp. 46–58.
3. E. Barker (1999) 'New Religious Movements: Their Incidence and Significance', in B. Wilson and J. Cresswell (eds) *New Religious Movements: Challenge and Response* (London: Routledge), p. 16. Barker points out that her extensive INFORM (Information Network Focus on Religious Movements based at the London School of Economics) data estimated around 2600 new religions existed worldwide in the mid-1990s.
4. R. Ellwood and H. Partin (1988) *Religious and Spiritual Groups in Modern America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall).
5. S. Palmer (1993) 'Women's "Cocoon Work" in New Religious Movements: Sexual Experimentation and Feminine Rites of Passage', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 32(4), 59–60.
6. R. Stark and W. Bainbridge (1980) 'Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation', *Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religion*, 4, 85–119.
7. M. Gordon (1974) *Assimilation in American Life: Race, Religion and National Origins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); J. Marx and D. Ellison (1975)

- 'Sensitivity Training and Communes: Contemporary Quests for Community', *Pacific Sociological Review*, 18(4), 442–62.
8. See, for example, C. Gutierrez (2003) 'Sex in the City of God: Free Love and the American Millennium', *Religion and American Culture*, 15(2), 187–208.
 9. D. Anthony and A. Robbins (1982) 'Spiritual Innovation and the Crisis of American Civic Religion', in D. Anthony and A. Robbins (eds) *In New Gods We Trust* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers), pp. 229–58; D. Bromley and A. Shupe (1981) *Strange Gods: The Great American Cult Scare* (Boston: Beacon Press). Again, there are pertinent parallels in the late nineteenth century where the Holiness, Nazarene and Pentecostal movements and other forms of Christian revivalism, many of considerable size, marked a response to a measure of social transformation and moral relativism generated by the advance of science and increasing liberalisation of the established Christian churches by offering certainty, meaning, moral directives and a fresh source of collectivity. See W. McLoughlin (1980) *Revivals Awakenings and Reform* (Chicago: Chicago University Press).
 10. Palmer, 'Women's "Cocoon Work" in New Religious Movements'.
 11. R. Wallis (1984) *The Elementary Forms of the New Religious Life* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul).
 12. F. Bird (1978) 'Charisma and Ritual in New Religious Movements', in J. Needleman and G. Baker (eds) *Understanding the New Religions* (New York: Seabury), pp. 182–3.
 13. J. Lofland and J. Richardson (1984) 'Religious Movement Organizations: Elementary Forms and Dynamics', in L. Kriesberg (ed.) *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press), p. 29.
 14. P. McGrandle, 'Cult Explosion Threatens to Bury Christianity', *The Independent* (London), 8 June 1997, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/cult-explosion-threatens-to-bury-christianity-1254757.html>, accessed 27 May 2012.
 15. J. Grace (1985) *Sex and Marriage in the Unification Church* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press).
 16. S. M. Moon (1973) *Divine Principle* (New York: HSA-UWC), p. 24.
 17. B. Robinson (2005) 'The Unification Church and Homosexuality', Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance, http://www.religioustolerance.org/hom_uni.htm, accessed 4 June 2012.
 18. C. Campbell (1999) 'The Easternization of the West', in B. Wilson and J. Cresswell (eds) *New Religious Movements: Challenge and Response* (New York and London: Sage), pp. 35–48.
 19. *Bhagavad Gita*, Bhagavad-Gita Trust 1998–2009, USA, p. 305.
 20. E. Puttick (1999) 'Women in New Religious Movements', in B. Wilson and J. Cresswell (eds) *New Religious Movements: Challenge and Response* (London: Routledge), p. 146.
 21. Boy George (1995) *Take it Like a Man* (New York: HarperCollins).
 22. S. Hunt (Spring 1998) 'The Radical Kingdom of the Jesus Fellowship', *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies*, 20(1), 21–41.
 23. See, for example, R. Bellah (1976) 'New Religious Consciousness and the Crisis of Modernity', in C. Glock and R. Bellah (eds) *The New Religious Consciousness* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), pp. 335–52; R. Wuthnow (1976) *Experimentation in American World Religion* (Berkeley, CA: University California Press).

24. M. Adler (2006) *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers and Other Pagans in America* (London: Penguin), p. 362.
25. H. Cocks (2001) 'Calamus in Bolton: Spirituality and Homosexual Desires in Late Victorian England', *Gender and Religion*, 13(2), 191–208.
26. Barker, 'New Religious Movements', p. 15.
27. D. Martin (1991) 'The Secularization Issue: Prospects and Retrospect', *British Journal of Sociology*, 42(3), 465–74.
28. Wallis, *The Elementary Forms of the New Religious Life*.
29. M. Wilcox (2009) *Queer Women and Religious Individualism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
30. P. Heelas (2008) *Spiritualities of Life: New Age Romanticism and Consumptive Capitalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing).
31. P. Heelas and L. Woodhead (2005) *The Spiritual Revolution: Why Religion is Giving Way to Spirituality* (Oxford: Blackwell), p. 6.
32. L. Woodhead (2001) 'The Turn to Life in Contemporary Religion and Spirituality', in U. King (ed.) *Spirituality and Society in the New Millennium* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press), pp. 110–21.

Further reading

- Arweck, E. and P. Clarke (1997) *New Religious Movements in Western Europe: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport and London: Greenwood Press).
- Barker, E. and M. Warburg (eds) (1998) *New Religions and New Religiosity* (Aarhus, Denmark: Aargus University Press).
- Beckford, J. (ed.) (1986) *New Religious Movements and Rapid Social Change* (Paris: UNESCO; London, Beverly Hills and New Delhi: Sage Publications).
- Boeri, M. (2002) 'Women after the Utopia: The Gendered Lives of Former Cult Members', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 31(3), 323–60.
- Chryssides, G. (2001) *Exploring New Religions: Issues in Contemporary Religion* (London and New York, Continuum International Publishing Group).
- Culpepper, E. (1978) 'The Spiritual Movement in Radical Feminist Consciousness', in J. Needleman and G. Baker (eds) *Understanding the New Religions* (New York: Seabury Press).
- Jacobs, J. (1991) 'Gender and Power in New Religious Movements: A Feminist Discourse on the Scientific Study of Religion', *Religion*, 21(4), 345–56.
- Hexham, I. and P. Karla (1997) *New Religions as Global Cultures* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press).
- Needleman, J. and G. Baker (eds) (1981) *Understanding the New Religions* (New York: Seabury Press).
- Palmer, S. (1994) *Moon Sisters, Krishna Mothers, Rajneesh Lovers: Women's Roles in New Religions* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press).

11

Men Losing Faith: The Making of Modern No Religionism in the UK, 1939–2010

Callum G. Brown

Losing religion has become a very important phenomenon of our times. The people of no religion have been growing very rapidly in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. They represented less than 2 per cent of the population of most Western nations in 1960, but numbers started to rise in the late 1960s and continued to do so. At the 2001 census, 14.6 per cent of English people, 18.5 per cent of the Welsh, 27.6 of the Scots but only 1 per cent of those in Northern Ireland ticked 'no religion'. By the 2011 census, the figures had risen sharply to 24.7 per cent for England and to 32.1 for Wales.¹ Over less than a century, a very large number of people have signalled that they have lost religion. How that 'loss' is to be construed is the subject of extensive scholarly disagreement.² Notwithstanding this, the scale of the change has led a leading religious statistician to comment that 'defection or disaffiliation of Christians since 2001 is a probable major cause of the decline of Christian allegiance over the decade. Even though it is not the complete answer (after all, the net decline in Christians constitutes no more than 64.1% of the net growth of "nones"), it should undoubtedly be a primary focus of research effort.'³ With a history of only seven decades, the process of mass demographic loss of religious identity is comparatively recent to human experience.

The present chapter tackles the loss of religion as part of the formation of a new social and ethical environment in which no religionism is widespread, reflecting a cultural condition in which holding to no religion may be a positive moral attitude and position of personal commitment. In the scholarship on this subject, approaching the mass decline of religion as a positive phenomenon is rare. Even among scholarship on the history of freethinking and atheism, the emphasis has for some time been upon the social and intellectual deviancy, criminality

or heroism of a very small minority, often presented in sensational terms.⁴ More specific historical research into the characteristics of the process of the individual's loss of religion has inclined to be rather rudimentary, and dominated by Christian researchers who tend to anticipate a significant return to faith for those previously lost, writing often with the intention of better informing religious agencies on how to accomplish this.⁵ There is also a propensity for Christian scholars to seemingly accept that having a faith is normative as well as desirable, and losing it as a development which may be seen as regrettable and deviant.⁶ The trend is strongest among Christian researchers who use life story or oral history research. In this there can be explicit acceptance of the normativity of religious adherence, the teleology of rescue of the 'lapsed', and a seeming incomprehension at the failure of individuals to accept the Christian message.⁷ There is also a widespread, and apparently growing, phenomenon of Christian scholarship rejecting the idea of religious decline or statistically *secular* secularisation (long-term) in modern Western society. The permanent decline of religion is now being observed variously by Christian historians and sociologists as the transformation of religions into new formations, personal religion moving from conventional denominations or parishes into various new forms of religious organisation, and the move from collective to privatised expressions of religiosity.⁸

Despite this, interest is growing in a positive story of having no religion. Scholars from sociology, anthropology and religious studies are developing the concept of being without religious identity or belonging, which generates inter alia a range of terminology: the unaffiliated, nones, apostates, leavers, lapsed, de-converted and no religionists. 'No religion' may be qualified by a variety of concepts like 'fuzzy fidelity', 'seekers', and divisions between the 'seculars' and the 'liminals', to suggest overlaps with 'religious' categories.⁹ The complex nature of being of 'no religion' is rightly an object of study, and there is much to be debated about the diversity of this group; it will include those who are spiritual but not religious (where to be 'spiritual' ranges from the secularist to something close to a conventional religionist), those who are apathetic, and those who are atheists, speculative agnostics and/or humanists.¹⁰ There is ever-improving detail in statistical enumeration, though there remains profound disagreement as to the scale of permanent loss of religion.¹¹ However, it is clear beyond peradventure that the proportion of the population who self-describe as being of a religion has been diminishing sharply since the 1960s; the vast bulk

of these have been self-describing as of 'no religion' and the remainder either refusing to answer or responding as 'not stated'.¹² This means that the growth of people without religious identity is numerically very significant, and, on the basis of present evidence, without remission of the trend. Moreover, it is leading to declining religious practice and belief. Insofar as secularisation may be taken to be an evidence-based discernible tendency, then it has been happening with speed from the 1960s to the present.

Using gender as a category of analysis is an important starting point in understanding this change. There is good cause to believe that the ways in which men and women lose religion are subject to differences. At least four reasons inform this. First, there is ample evidence that the ways in which men and women experience religion, including conversion, differ;¹³ it is plausible, therefore, that there should be concomitant differences as to the manner of loss of religion. Second, we already know that people of no religion were until the 1950s overwhelmingly men; the pressures imposed upon women in public discourse made it extremely difficult for them to contemplate the loss of respectability that would come from disclaiming faith.¹⁴ This was nowhere more evident than in the 1955 case of Margaret Knight, the psychology lecturer from Aberdeen, who advocated atheism in two talks on *BBC Radio* and, as a result, suffered extreme vilification.¹⁵ Third, while men were proportionately much more common among the people of no religion in the first 60 years of the twentieth century, this difference diminished from the 1960s to the 2000s, becoming by the 2010s almost equal.¹⁶ In this regard, then, more women than men have abandoned faith since the 1960s. This is the first piece of evidence that there has been something different applying to the mechanisms of religious loss by men and women. Moreover, it is clear from the use of autobiography that there have been distinctive factors playing on the female experience of religious loss.¹⁷ Meanwhile, there is evidence for distinctive masculine elements to British secularisation in the twentieth century. One significant facet of this has been the decreasing role of male clergy in the Protestant churches; in the Church of England, the male constituent of ordination fell from 100 per cent in 1992 to 79 per cent in 1995, 72 per cent in 2000, 60 per cent in 2005 and 62 per cent in 2010.¹⁸ Fourth and last, I have argued for many years for the instrumentality of women in instigating the rapid secularisation that commenced in Britain (and elsewhere) since the 1960s.¹⁹ How might the male loss of religion fit into my model?

Approaches to masculinity and the loss of religion

Exploration of the linkage between loss of religion and masculinity is novel. Admittedly, Victorian clergy were obsessed with the alienation of men from religious practice, but men's permanent desertion of Christianity has rarely been studied.²⁰ Approaches to masculinity focus on qualities, characters or emotions which, as we shall see, influence how men narrate their move from religiosity to no religionism. Leading among these are the places of reason and rationality, accompanied by science, reading and education, which collectively constitute a common (and close to universal) feature in the causes of religion loss which men talk about. Psychological studies of masculinity have argued that its fragility in Western culture has been signalled by a 'breakdown in rationality' – a process brought on by rising male willingness to express emotions, resulting in a blending of emotional and rational selves. This trend in psychology seems to reveal an outlook that regards a man's embrace of rationality as a necessary bulwark to masculinity.²¹ There appears to be a dominant association in British (perhaps Western) culture, shared by academics analysing both contemporary and historical contexts, between men, reason and rationality. This is reflected upon by scholars from various backgrounds who have argued that the relationship between rationality and masculinity is implicit in academic study, and too little explored as a wider gendered approach to reason.²² In relation to historical studies, the relationship between masculinity, rationality and religion has rarely been subject to systematic scrutiny.²³ Connell has postulated that the equation of masculinity with rationality is not always a 'given' in modern society, but that it comes under challenge in the workplace and other locations; he notes among other things the differences between working- and middle-class conceptions of rationality in social situations, and how rationalisation and masculinity are conceived around opposing forms of 'command masculinity' and 'technical knowledge masculinity'.²⁴ But there seems to have been little development of this theme of cultural construction, and certainly not in relation to the collapse of religious faith. There remains a gap in academic conceptualisation of the linkage between the loss of religion and gendered forms of rationality.²⁵

Life-story analysis is a key method available to the historian to examine the manner of development of no religionism in the late twentieth century. This chapter explores some of the nuts and bolts of the growth of no religionism among men, with a particular focus on its gendered nature. It uses testimony from 21 British-raised or British-based men – 19

through oral-history interviews conducted by the author between 2009 and 2012, and the remaining two in written testimony. These British male interviewees are part of a larger project of, to date, 65 interviews of both men and women in North America and Europe, and occasional reference will be made to gender differences. The UK men were recruited either because they were members of humanist or atheist organisations (16 respondents), or had had a humanist wedding (3 respondents); one respondent wrote me with testimony as a result of chain recruitment. Fifteen spent most of their lives in UK (and were interviewed there) and one immigrated to UK in adulthood, while four emigrated and were interviewed overseas (in Canada and France). Recruitment took place through advertising in journals and online bulletin boards of, or after public speaking to, the Humanist Society of Scotland; regional branches of the British Humanist Association in Birmingham, Bristol and Preston; and Humanist organisations in Vancouver, Victoria and Toronto; one man in France was recruited through personal contact. In addition, one published and one unpublished testimony sent to me have been included.

Those interviewed may appear on the surface to be exceptional for a level of commitment not shared by the vast majority of ‘losers of religion’, who are widely characterised as indifferent and apathetic. But methodologically, the latter are a difficult group for the researcher to approach; their apathy may be compromised, or even regarded as negated, if they respond to interview appeals. In any event, in many cases as we shall see, the interviewees instigated their departure from religion through indifference and only later – in many cases several decades later – came in older age to atheistic, secularist or humanistic commitment. This makes them a cohort which is still revealing of the wider processes of loss of proclaimed religious identity.

Childhood, adolescence and religious disaffection

The starting point for the study of no religionism must be an acknowledgement of the ‘chain of memory’ of no religionism within families.²⁶ There is good evidence that those brought up by atheist parents tend to develop as atheists too.²⁷ The professional baritone Anders Östberg, born in 1979, grew up in Sweden in what he describes as ‘a very strongly atheist family’ of professional people who had been atheists over several generations. Sweden was a society by the second half of the twentieth century in which religiosity was so weak (arguably the weakest in the free world) that people who were frequent churchgoers were considered,

in Anders' words, to be 'slightly weird'. Ironically, citizens of Sweden were automatically enrolled in the state Lutheran Church (in most cases in order to secure wedding and funeral rights). The individual had to make the decision to leave, which Anders did when he was 16. He recalls with clarity that he refused to be confirmed at 13, which he says lots of children did 'for the presents really, because you get nice gifts at the end'; he refused, believing it was the wrong thing to do. So by 16 he regarded himself as an atheist. Coming to UK in the early 2000s, first to study music and then to live, he became a professional baritone, and while he had no issue with engagements for singing religious songs at weddings and other church events, Anders became a campaigning atheist and humanist, and a board member of the Humanist Society of Scotland, as well as active in the Skeptics in the Pub movement.²⁸ Yet it is important to be clear that neither such a chain of memory within a family nor the in-migration of atheists can be explanations for the *growth* of no religionism in modern Britain. In the context of Western nations undergoing the late twentieth-century transition to ultra-low fertility, rapid secularisation of religious identity can only be explained, broadly speaking, by the defection of people from the religious rites of their parents.

The process of childhood leaving of religion was widespread among the interviewees, but required decisive change to tradition. Boys growing up in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century were habitually intimate with organised religion. Ron McLaren, born in Dundee in 1940, typifies the way in which the local church was a resource for leisure and an expectation of all children: 'I was persuaded as my brothers were to attend Sunday school, so we went through the route of acquaintance with the church rather than any serious involvement. Being taken along to the church on occasions like Christmas and stuff like that when I was very small, but then gravitated to what you might call Sunday school because that's what you did. You went to Sunday school on a Sunday and ... moving from there onto Bible class, then onto the Good Boy Scout Troop, so joined that, learned all my knots.'²⁹ For many children, religion was 'learned' as routine and duty, akin to attending day school. At an English public boarding school, Peter Barton found the obligatory morning and evening Anglican services, and the confirmation classes followed by confirmation, as 'no more than a boring compulsory routine, and put up with it'. There was no alternative for him, even after rejecting 'the atmosphere of Jesus and good clean fun' at the Christian Union.³⁰ Ken Matthews from Glasgow attended a spectrum of church

organisations typical of the period, what he calls 'the usual stuff': Sunday school and then Bible class on Sundays, while he attended Boy's Brigade (BBs) and the Life Boys. The BBs he described as 'more a boys' club, your mates went there and, although, as you say right, so I was religious. We went to church parades and that was basically it ... you know, you went for the vaulting and the football.'³¹ Alistair McBay was brought up in the 1950s and early 1960s in Dunfermline, and reported that 'I went to Sunday School and was duly drilled, but then fell away from it gradually from the age of 11 onwards.'³² There were positions of honour for boys in certain churches. Church of England boys were often in the choir, while in the Roman Catholic Church, boys held an esteemed place as altar boys. Dennis Duncan grew up in Edinburgh and Fife, and experienced what he describes as 'bad tempered nasty young Irish priests'. On one occasion, while training aged eight to be a junior altar boy, he had to substitute for an older boy who failed to turn up, hurriedly putting on an oversized cassock and carrying the host to the priest, but then tripping and falling down, and the contents spilling all over the chapel. He got 'thrown off the altar in great rage and some lady [had] to come and say the rest of the mass, and this incident did great disgrace; really stuck in my mind, quite a traumatic experience'.³³

Religion was also a serious matter in Northern Ireland. Wilson Dillon, born in a rural area in 1931, had a strict Presbyterian upbringing marked by sabbatarianism: 'We couldn't polish our shoes for instance; we had had them polished on Saturday night, but in the afternoon we had to go and count the cattle and look up the sheep; we could do, that work had to go on of course, that was for the animals.' His mother a teacher, his father a hay and flax farmer, they worked very hard to encourage the children to see education as a route to improvement. 'We went to church and they sent us to Sunday school, and I think a cousin of my father was the school teacher, and she was a huge lady with red face and she would stand over the pew, you know, and scared the hell out of us young people.' His parents sent him and his siblings also to 'the missions', when evangelicals operating out of tents toured the neighbourhoods with six-week evangelising campaigns to which most of the Protestant children of the neighbourhood were sent. 'I remember on one occasion that we had a brethren [meeting]; they put up a tin hut, next to one of our out-farm properties, and they would preach. We were sent there and this guy would, you know, [talk about] hell, damnation, and we were determined we would not go up to the front you know, and be saved. And I remember sitting holding the seat so I wouldn't

get up, and that was more out of embarrassment, shyness, but also [a] message that we didn't agree with this stuff.³⁴

This small-scale childhood resistance to organised religion was the starting point for several respondents. Alistair McBay recalled being in Sunday school at a very young age, listening to what was being preached at him, and thinking: 'I don't believe this, this doesn't sound right to me.' He went on: 'I remember one episode where we were being told that God had sacrificed his son because of the sins of others and had a cruel death visited on him and blah blah blah, and I remember thinking, "Gosh! I better behave when I go back in case my dad does that to me." This is what goes through childish minds, but I still thought at the time that this seems odd to me. This all happened thousands of years ago; why [are] they telling me this?'³⁵ At the other end of the country, David Lord, born in south-west London in 1942, felt his first inklings of alienation from religion at the age of 13. It started very mundanely, and moved swiftly to a matter of principle:

I became more aware of, sort of, what do you say, about the church service was very boring. It was in the Church of England church, and fairly, to me, elderly minister there, and I cannot remember one word that he said and it was boring and we sat there just waiting for the thing to finish, so we would get up and kind of march back, if the weather was nice. I mean it was kind of pleasant and [they] played the bugle and always played the drums, and that was it. But the one thing I do always remember from that time was when it came to the Creed, and I was told later on that it was a fairly high Church of England church so there was a Creed, and when it came to 'I believe in God the Father' and so on, I didn't say that because I had been taught not to lie. And to me that was a lie because I was saying something, I believe in this and the words didn't mean anything. So I didn't say it. That was my first, if you like, awareness, and I can recall that, and being, you know, most definite about that, and in fact later on I've remembered that.³⁶

Here was childhood principle evolving to begin what was seen by respondents in later life as a reasoned journey from religion. Paul Bulmer, born in 1957 in Halifax, is fairly typical in this regard, recalling being 'subject to the usual indoctrination throughout school right up to the age of eighteen', including compulsory Christian services. At home, though his working-class mother and father were from Catholic

and Anglican backgrounds respectively and he was made to say prayers kneeling beside his bed, he felt unpressured in religion. It was later in his life when married and with children that he was angered by the impact on his daughter of a born-again Christian teacher at a fee-paying school who sang songs which the children sang after they came home. David Lord recalled the failure of school religious education (RE) to either educate about religions or to inspire:

It was a non-event if you like. Religion, it was a non-event. The religious lessons were fairly boring at school and by the time [we] got to the sort of fifth–sixth forms, we saw that the master taking that lesson wasn't himself particularly religious. ... I would say I was never taught religion, or even taught about religions; it was fairly mechanistic – 'I believe and I only believe that' – because, you know, nothing stuck. So it really was a non-event as far as I was concerned. It wasn't something that I was against; it was more that it never came to the surface.³⁷

This retrospective critique of school RE lessons was quite common among the respondents. In Robin Wood's case, they feature centrally in his explanation of his turn from religion. Brought up in Worthing in Sussex, by the age of 15 Robin was constantly asking the RE teacher questions about faith. 'And I remember one occasion we had the local vicar come along and he pontificate in his usual way, and he said, "Are there any questions?" And I said, "Yes: how do you know that Jesus Christ was the son of God?" And the headmaster [who] was taking the lesson, he said, "We don't ask questions like that Wood, sit down." And I thought oh well, you see, I thought, well, he can't answer it 'cause he doesn't know, so---'.³⁸ This intense application of reason in early teenage years was also shared among female respondents, though not so fervently. Quite why there should be an overpowering reasoning in middle childhood which instigated the beginnings of loss of religion in so many respondents is unclear, and remains suitable for further research.

The advance of reason-led challenge to religion often interacted in the mid-teens with the rising sexual desires of teenagers. Girls were clearly 'more religious' than the boys, or so it seemed. David Lord lost two early girlfriends when the father of each died and the girls turned to Catholicism.³⁹ While he couldn't follow the girls to their newfound religion, other boys tried to. When he was 15–16 years of age in around 1956–7, Robin Wood tried out the services of various denominations:

of the Church of England, the Baptists and the Methodists: ‘And I even went to a Catholic one once cause I knew a girl who was a Catholic and I thought I’d just go along [to] see what all that’s about. And I thought, “Oh this is a load of hokum you know, this is just—.” By that time I’d decided no, no, no, this is silly.’ And that was how Robin narrated his breach with organised religion and faith.⁴⁰

What was perceived as the unfairness, excesses, hypocrisies and sheer bloody-mindedness of Christian church people upset many men who lost religion. In Northern Ireland, Wilson Dillon was influenced as a younger child by two episodes: having a nightmare after being told about hell, and ‘the second one was discovering about Santa Claus which I believed fully in, and then being caught and telling some lies about it, that of seeing Santa Claus’. Then a third episode came in Belfast in his mid-teens in the 1950s, when, as a result of being quite ill, an evangelical minister was called and tried to convert him while he was unwell – to bring him to a second or rebirth by preaching at him. He reported that ‘that really turned me. That was, that was one of the things that influenced my thinking, you know when you are the most vulnerable, you come in for the prey.’⁴¹ The unfair tactics of Christian clergy and evangelists towards vulnerable children is a repeated feature in the accounts of respondents; unreasonableness is seen to be the product of unreason, and the rationalist’s reason is grasped as the antidote.

Childhood and adolescence as the period of life for the commencement of religious alienation features in well over a third of respondents. A key moment is the age range of seven to 12, among both boys and girls, in which reasoning, rationality and recoil from unfairness are recalled as instrumental sensations. A narrative of unreason and unreasonableness is established when young. From this evolved a journey to a comprehensive rejection of religion.

Intellectualism

For men losing religion, there is a common, virtually uniformly claimed, intellectual driver to their journey. At the heart of men’s narrative of moving from merely being hostile to the churches and apathetic to religion, to being more committed in their critique, were science and logic-based rationality. Paul Bulmer recalls his transition developing in middle age through reading A. C. Grayling’s column in *The Guardian* newspaper: ‘Every time I read it, I just thought that guy is speaking with, you know, with my mind.’ This drew him into buying a collection

of Grayling's essays on faith and morality, and this 'kind of opened the door to thinking hard about where we come from and where we're going and so on'. Discussing these issues with a mate at work, he felt able to react to 'contradictions and hypocrisy' and 'illogical statements' in the Old Testament, and he went on a voracious reading quest: Bertrand Russell, Richard Dawkins, Christopher Hitchens and Sam Harris.⁴² These authors are cited by a majority of male respondents and, significantly, by a greater proportion than women. They find the reading exhilarating, full of a certainty that gives explanation for their own positions. They also find some of the reading very difficult. One respondent, Ken Matthews, found Steve Jones hard, commenting: 'Well, God's sake, that is so complex!'⁴³ There appears to be a need for some men to encounter intellectual struggle in their loss of religion, but an encounter from which they emerge convinced of the rightness of their journey.

Peter Barton described with vigour and detail his intensive and long-term religious 'seeking' through wide-ranging reading. He left boarding school an atheist (and endured the anger of his father in the mid-1930s for proclaiming his position), but on return from war service in India and Burma married a woman whose parents were strongly committed Theosophists. As a first-year medical student, he felt both intimidated and intrigued, and embarked on ten years of serious research into 'whether there *could* be a GOD as the creator of the universe, who was also as claimed (at least by the Anglican Church) to be a *loving* God'. This search led him in the 1950s through encounters with his local Baptist Church, and a succession of Eastern 'gurus' – in order, Gurdjieff, Muhammad Subuh Sumohadiwidjojo (the Subud movement), Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and Sant Thakar Singh. This ended with reading philosophical literature, starting with Socrates and Plato, and resulted in him emerging at the age of 40 years 'a convinced atheist, on the grounds that no believers or cults could provide any *evidence* in support of their claims'. From there to the age of 88 years he remained interested in scientific explanations as to why humans invent religions, but dismayed at 'apparently otherwise, intelligent people' converting to religion: 'In this respect I count myself to be placebo deficient!'⁴⁴

Reading features almost uniformly in the account of men losing religion whereas this is far less universal among female respondents. Reading is reported often as instrumental in developing the move from religion – often by offering an intellectual articulation of an existing doubt or feeling concerning. Coming to atheist views was sometimes

seen by others before the parties themselves were aware of where their scepticism might be heading. In the mid-twentieth century, the available readings for rationalists were considerably less accessible and numerous than they became with New Atheism in the early twenty-first century. Apart from the philosophers (Russell and A. J. Ayer were the most well known) and the less well-known works of some humanists (such as Margaret Knight), the most famous work was that of Joseph McCabe (1867–1955), an Englishman who left the Catholic priesthood at 29 and became the most prolific publicist for rationalism, writing hundreds of books.⁴⁵ In the mid-1960s in his early teens, Alistair McBay recalled that the minister who took RE classes at his school found it difficult to handle the questions from the class and became quite upset. One day ‘I got a call at the school and [he] said, “McBay come here, I’ve got something for you”, and it was a little blue book by a man called Joseph McCabe. And he said, “You might—with your attitude”, or “With your leanings, or something you might enjoy this,” and I’ve still got, not that original copy but I’ve got some of McCabe’s stuff now, and I thought looking back at that now, that was quite interesting that he did that.’ Though it was to take some years before Alistair became a controversialist for the National Secular Society, he said that ‘once I started reading McCabe and then getting into some other things, then the die was cast’.⁴⁶

Reading invariably led some men to joining organisations. Ken Matthews, for example, described how once he had taken to reading Dawkins, Hitchens and others he joined the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow (RPSG) ‘where I really became, I then became an atheist. I just did: I [asked] why am I hanging on to this? Because it is a fear.’ Meetings at the RPSG opened up a series of philosophical and scientific affirmations of a world without a god. This brought his agnosticism and atheism into stark relief:

The agnostic part of it is nice to have if my mother dies, my father dies, any of my kids die, they are away to a nice wee farm somewhere and all nice sunshine and playing music and they are all wealthy. It’s a lovely way — it’s *marvellous* to have that in your head. But if you are really going to study Darwinism, if you are really going to look at what life is all about and look at wee places in heaven and floating about, you realise you are kidding yourself on.

In this way, science and philosophical education intensified and guided Ken’s affirmation of the loss of religion.

Reason and emotion

Ken Matthews's case is important for exposing the conjunction of reason and emotion in loss of religion. His epiphanic moment came while attending a literary event in Glasgow when a prominent Scots humanist, Christopher Brookmeyer, was speaking. The chair of the event, broadcaster Kirsty Wark, opened proceedings, as Ken narrates: 'And she actually said, "Before we start this meeting, people who believe in God put their hands up."' It was only about six, and this was in the main library reading room, there must have been around four–five hundred at it, and only six put their hands up.' This was for Ken a turning point: 'And, you know, at that point there and then I suddenly felt I am in church. I was in a, I was in a church for atheists, and I suddenly felt as if I wasn't the only one ... So I got this realisation in this hall at that point.'⁴⁷ In Ken Matthews's narrative, there is a sense that the individual intellectual endeavour craves the associational life built up around a community of non-believers; it is this emotional need that makes the rational rejection of religion compelling.

The emotional and the rational seem closely entwined in religion loss. This was nowhere more apparent than in Nigel Bruce's experience of transition from a strong liberal Christianity at the start of World War II to his conversion to humanism on the battlefield of Caen after the Normandy landing in June 1944. There he was overcome with the unreason of the war:

And then of course came the attack, when we attacked from Normandy to Caen with pretty disastrous results really, and a number of my friends were killed and I saw, the padre came into action you know, and blessed them all. This was a terrible time and, this made me feel that there wasn't a God, there couldn't be a God, this was absolutely ridiculous and here we God lovers being killed by other God lovers, it made no sense at all. So I think it was in the midst of the battle that I said, 'Oh fuck you God!' (Laughs) Quite angry, quite angry. The other impressive thing at that time was when night time came, one officer was left on guard beneath the night sky, while the others took their rest, and when there were clear skies the effect of the stars above on this sleeping battle field was somehow very, very moving, and I developed a feeling that the universe was something that should influence one's life, that one should see oneself as a mere animal living under this, this gorgeous universe. So I had quite a sort of emotional feeling towards human life as animal life at that time.

In the midst of this it was the emotion of war bereavement as well as an aesthetic connection with the natural world that thrust the logic forcefully to his mind:

I mean there happened to be wonderful skies that time and I think several of us, it was always the junior officers that were left on at night, the senior officers went to their beds, but several of my friends were very, very moved by this experience.⁴⁸

Men of the cloth who lost religion showed the most intense yet strange mixture of emotion and reason. Terry Martin, born in 1941 in North London, started priestly training in his early teens in the 1950s, and was swept along on a strong emotional charge to faith:

I would argue that my Catholic upbringing was a deeply psychological influence, one that pushed me in the unintended (for the Church) direction of non-belief. 1956. Summer. I went to a Labour Party youth meeting [and] I encountered a charismatic lad, a Trotskyist, and from that moment my life changed. The Suez War was in full swing and the Russians were invading Hungary. What a baptism for me! Demonstrations, selling Trotskyist papers, meetings every night. This was a religious conversion to Marxist materialism and atheism that turned upside down all my former faith. I became a priest, a zealot, for the Revolution.⁴⁹

Another man interviewed in the United States who joined and then left the priesthood had an equally marked moment of decision, characterised by an emotional charge from a faith he wondered, in retrospect, why he had developed; in particular, he could recall no sincere belief in God.⁵⁰ For one of the British men, John Kay, giving up the Catholic priesthood involved reaction to sexual repression. 'Something wasn't right,' he recalls, coming to realise that he was 'lonely, unhappy and very sexually frustrated'. He looked for women to fall in love with, and after 'thirty-nine years of religious and Roman Catholic slavery' he took off the dog collar. As he 'left the Catholic Church for the last time, my faith in it and in God evaporated in a flash'.⁵¹

By contrast, Tim Unsworth (born 1954) from Bolton in Lancashire and educated at a boarding school in Carlisle, had a very deep faith for the first three decades of his life, though he only briefly considered entering the priesthood. 'I would say I had a relationship with God; I spoke to God, yes. It was, it was something that really I didn't question.'

He lived in a Catholic hall of residence at the University of Manchester, and, looking back, saw himself as highly institutionalised, both at university and when he moved to London where he went to Mass seven days a week. God intruded into his every decision in life: in opening an envelope which might tell him of gaining a new job, he felt, “‘Thy will be done, Lord.’” I remember this feeling as I opened this envelope you know, “‘Thy will be done.’” Yeah, very, very religious. A true believer.’ The beginning of hints of religious change came for Tim during preparation for his marriage at 29, but he remained a Catholic in marriage, with two children. But it was on the eve of the baptism of his second child, when large numbers of his family were travelling long distances to attend, that he had a crisis of faith as he came face to face with just how far doubt had taken command of his intellect. After that he moved gradually but decisively to become ‘obsessively’ and ‘intensely’ atheistic. He recalls only one further major turning point – when a conversation with a religious friend led him to drop the idea of angels and the devil. ‘So I think my approach to atheism was the realisation of the implausibility of spirits, I think. So I still had the idea of God the creator, I couldn’t give up that, but I eventually got rid of that.’ Tim became strongly atheist and an organiser of a humanist group in south-west England.

Being an atheist can also have its gloomy side. One respondent who left the Jehovah’s Witnesses, and who wished to remain anonymous, reported the Watchtower Society’s practice of ‘shunning’ those labelled as ‘apostates’, wherein relatives and friends are expected to avoid contact; this the respondent found to be cruel and almost vindictive, leaving deep hurt within families. At a less dramatic level, Ken Matthews explained near the end of his interview with me:

I was an agnostic for a long time. I was agnostic, and, by the way, I can understand agnostic, and I would like to be agnostic again, how is that for a silly statement? Because it’s nice to have a dream. I think it is. I am sometimes very jealous of people that have a dream in their own life that they can believe in and hang on to when things get really shitty, which they do in everybody’s life, and it’s nice to have that belief and hang on to that, and that’s when you give up your agnostic part and you enter atheism. Life becomes purely, very, very dark, very dark indeed.⁵²

Whether exiting from a broad Christian or cultish background, there are emotional consequences for ‘losers’ of religion, ranging from wistful

remembrance to psychological pain (that may require therapeutic assistance in which, of course, oral history may be a form or element in the process).⁵³

Social dysfunctionality of religion

Part of the narrative of the unreason of religion usually involves reference to its social dysfunctionality. Ivan Middleton, born in 1942, was brought up in Northern Ireland. After the death of his father when he was 11 he was raised by his grandmother and his mother, whom he described as

the culture carrier that meant that I was off to Sunday School in the morning, and as far as I can remember then at church service immediately following it, and then 7 o'clock in the evening ... I used to be mildly appalled when I listened to my mother and sister afterwards; ... all they seemed to want to do is talk about the hideous hats some other woman was wearing or the coat she had on and could think that she could have put on something better than that. I remember thinking, you know, what is all this about?

His grandmother sought to 'protect' him in his mid-teens when he started to date a Catholic girl, giving him a warning: 'She told me that you had to be very, very careful of Catholics because once they have got their hot breath on your neck, they would get their nails into you, and you would never lose them, they would hang on to you, because obviously as a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant you were such a big prize.'⁵⁴ This set Ivan on a route to questioning the validity and social reason behind religion, which came to a head after social work training when he won a promoted post in a social work department. He recalled of his new boss: 'He had me in his office and closed the door, and said, "That's great," he said, "You are a Protestant." Ivan and his wife 'were sick and tired of all this' and took the first opportunity the next year to migrate to Scotland.⁵⁵ This is not to forget Scotland's sectarian heritage, which even in eastern Scotland was vibrant in the 1950s and 1960s. Alistair McBay recalled his alarm at the discovery of sectarian animosity in Dunfermline when he went at age 11 to a secondary school where some pupils from a Catholic school joined them:

I didn't know what Catholics were, and I discovered from these pupils that came in that there were people we were supposed to hate, and

that these characters, because their school had been on the opposite end of effectively the same road in Dunfermline, it was a regular thing every night, particularly Friday nights, to meet up with the crowd, you know, and beat the nine bells out of each other. I just find this puzzling and shocking, but I'd never heard of Catholics before.⁵⁶

Nigel Bruce came face to face with the social dysfunctionality of religion between 1945 and 1960 as a British diplomat in the Middle East and as an itinerant diplomat around Africa. After losing his faith on the battlefield of Normandy, Nigel had his atheism confirmed and found very strong impulses for his humanism:

That period of my life gave me a very broad view of the various types of religious worship, the various sects within religions, the various tensions within religions, the huge historical background in the Middle East and the awareness that this was run by Jerusalem, this is where perhaps it all started. This was the place that God had come to create mayhem. This was a tremendous experience of how divisive religion has been and can be and will be and is. The divisive effect in Africa was of course more tribal, and Christianity tried to bring the tribes together, and in that way was perhaps being quite useful.

Service in the Middle East confirmed his atheism. Seeing Lebanon so divided, he commented:

It was just a jigsaw effect and it made one feel that, you know, you couldn't support one against the other. They were all, they were all worshipping, seemed to be different Gods, and some of them said it was all the same God, and it just confirmed one's realisation that religion made absolutely no sense at all in that kind of setting.⁵⁷

Radicalism and human rights

An important context for the loss of religion for many brought up in the 1960s and 1970s was new forms of radicalism. For some this meant no more than the spirit of the times. Alistair McBay, born in 1954, felt the winds of change as his religiosity drifted away during his teens:

It was something gradual, it faded into the background, and yes ... the sixties Zeitgeist was in part responsible. I mean I was a young teenager. I suspect I always thought but it would have been nicer to

be born five or six years earlier, you know to take full advantage of the upswing. But yes I guess there was, it was certainly a sea change in attitudes, certainly there was a great step forward in liberalism, although quite a few things took time to take shape and fall into place. I couldn't put my finger on any one thing, but if I were to describe myself at the time then, probably just swept along without being conscious of being swept along, and without being conscious that, without trying to sound like John Lennon, we were riding the crest of some wave – new discovery or something.⁵⁸

As how Terry Martin mentioned before, the radical politics of the 1950s–60s demanded atheism, though it was when the Marxism faded that the atheism became more strongly articulated. For others the loss of religion was wrapped up in the development of commitment to human rights. Ron McLaren was an engineer, worked in the USA during the 1960s and became involved in the civil rights movement in an organisation that gave help to young people.⁵⁹

Nearly all those interviewed were ardent supporters of human rights. Many were active supporters of Amnesty International, and most referred to feminism and opposition to racism as profound influences in their lives; Peter Barton, in his late 80s, spoke of being 'strongly pro-feminist' and supporting pro-racial equality. Nearly all were also strongly in favour of assisted suicide and euthanasia, and some helped in political campaigning in favour of this. Men far more than woman seemed inclined to develop a campaigning role against religion. Once religion is left, one significant characteristic of male atheists is a transition to a stridency of view. Most of those interviewed did not develop a structured atheism or humanism until beyond middle age, passing through decades of indifference and neutrality about religion. Paul Bulmer lost interest in church in his early teens and was alienated from Christianity by the persistent indoctrination in school. Asked about any developing anti-religious views thereafter, Paul expresses surprise:

It's amazing, Callum. It's quite hard to kind of think back really to my state of mind. I mean I feel quite strongly now. I feel quite anti-religion at the moment and I can't believe I was kind of neutral about it, but I think genuinely it was just something that I didn't really, didn't really think about.⁶⁰

Once developed, the forcefulness of anti-religionism could be very great. Tim Unsworth commented that he had not really wanted to hold

discussions about atheism with other atheists because there was little to talk about and it did not interest him – certainly not in a philosophical sense. But what did interest him was being anti-religious. He observed:

Anti-religion is I think the core agenda of atheists; it's not ... [that] atheists have a subject to talk about, the agenda actually is anti-religion, and it's my agenda, my agenda, I am anti-religion, I am particularly anti-Christian, and particularly anti-Catholic, I am opposed to [the] Catholic Church.

Men were more willing to describe themselves as 'militant' atheists', wanting to attack religion and notably the churches that they had left. The vigour of this outlook among men was matched among a small number of the women I interviewed, mostly those who had been abused physically or sexually by clergy or others in positions of authority in churches.⁶¹ For men, the emergence of anti-religious sentiments appears to have led them to pursuing secularist policies in the British state (whether at central, devolved government, or local-authority levels); attacking church (especially Roman Catholic) positions on abortion, birth control and assisted dying; rebutting church claims to authority and privileged positions (as in broadcasting at the BBC); or supporting atheist or agnostic philosophical positions on the existence of a god. A general attitude of antagonism was quite evident, originating as many observed in the churches' postures of manipulation and control. As Tim Unsworth said: 'The only way you can get people to believe nonsense is to dominate them, to make them feel small, and to assert power over them, to make them see this.'⁶² Male atheists, secularists and humanists are often dedicated to righting this perceived wrong.

Gendered activism

For the majority of my female respondents, such anti-religious activism was much more muted. Though there is no clear research on this, my encounters as a speaker, interviewer and a guest in atheist, humanist, rationalist and freethinking groups demonstrated that far more men than women are active organisers; this applied to my encounters in Canada and USA as well as in Britain.⁶³ This is borne out by comparing two pieces of data: the 2001 census showed no religionists in Britain to be almost 52–5 per cent male, while membership of the largest activist group, the British Humanist Association, is 69 per cent male.⁶⁴ Humanist and atheist groups have been and often still are organised along quite

patriarchal lines. Not only do men outnumber women (often by two to one or even more) but the conduct and planning of meetings, the type of meetings (invariably the visiting-speaker model, focussed on campaigning or philosophical issues) and the conduct of committee and business issues are dominated by men and a masculine conception of the atheist struggle against religions. Many of the women are spouses of male members, and appear to be far less active in the conduct of the groups. Debate over plans and campaigns is vigorous and disputes common, and these are invariably dominated by male members.

This turns attention to reflection upon the thorny issue of male versus female agency in secularisation. In everything I write, I prioritise the key role of women in the process of religious decline and, where it occurs, the rising alienation from church and religious belief. It is still clear to me that all sorts of evidence – discourse change, demographic statistics and personal testimony – support this contention. This does not mean, however, that men have been merely observers or camp-followers. But the transitions from faith for men and for women are of distinct orders. Women who have lost religious connection talk with great intensity of the interaction between their selfhood and the way in which their position in society is predicated upon negotiating tricky expectations concerning their femininity; when femininity change is contemplated, as it was for many in the 1960s and 1970s, they speak of the challenging circumstances they had to negotiate in order to find acceptability to themselves of being ‘not religious’. For example, they will speak of their shift away from religious ritual and its impact upon their womanhood – from being part of a religious marriage to civil marriage or cohabitation; they will speak of despair with the conventional expectations of pursuing marriage and motherhood; they will recall their gritty determination to overturn family and societal expectation that a woman would limit her career ambitions in favour of husband and child-rearing; a sizeable minority will speak of sexual abuse which they link to a religion; and many will recall their revolt at churchmen’s preaching of God’s purpose in a women’s subjugation to domesticity. The result is that women’s religious transformation has involved a wider demographic change – in family formation, educational and career destiny – and one that had put them at variance with longstanding family and societal expectations of a woman’s role.

By contrast, men of no religion invariably talk of their loss of religion as the result of intellectual challenge – a battle with religion using reason and knowledge. This is not a new formation. What men describe is almost precisely the same as that described by male philosophers and

intellectuals in nineteenth-century and earlier narratives of loss of faith. The story told by most of the men I interviewed is identical to that told by Bertrand Russell of the 1880s when he became an atheist.⁶⁵ Though male 'losers' may go on from their intellectual transformation to being activists for secularist or humanistic causes, men's religious loss has always been one forged internally and, by and large, not one which has transformed society; the identity of a man undergoing loss of religion does not generally experience a transformation of sexual and family identity in the way that a female 'loser' often has done, certainly in the 1960s and 1970s. It has not been a major problem to adhere to normative codes of masculinity and at the same time hold, or emerge into, a no-religion stance. Indeed, male 'losers' change remarkably little compared to female ones. However, they may not feel that this is true. Indeed, one prominent senior ex-clergyman who underwent a major change in his attitude to God was rather indignant when I made this observation to him; his religious transformation was very deeply felt.

Conclusion

Personal testimony offers compelling evidence that gender shapes loss of religion quite extensively. Through men's embrace of reason and science as the foundation of disaffiliation from religion, their orientation towards later campaigning and anti-religious sentiment, the limited demographic consequences compared to female disaffiliation, and the more constrained emotional consequences (marked by fewer incidents of trauma) – the masculine route to no religion is given distinctiveness. Moreover, the sense emerging from these personal testimonies is that the nature of male loss of religion may not have changed that much over a very long period of time. There seems a continuity in the reasons and circumstances of loss of men's religion stretching back at least to the Victorian crisis of faith and very likely to the underlying links between atheism and radicalism in the late eighteenth century. The major change has been the massive growth in the phenomenon since the middle of the twentieth century.

Some aspects of loss of religion are less gendered: the age range of religious loss seems similar for men and women, and there is a common reaction against religion-led sexual repression (of both heterosexual and homosexual activities that contravene religious conventions). Yet, there is an important paradox to be faced. Until the later twentieth century, to be without a religion was overwhelmingly a man's prerogative; all the data from Britain, Ireland, Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand

supports the argument that no religionists were mainly men. Women's ability to lose religion was constrained by cultural and personal expectations so profound that the female self was, for all intents and purposes, inconceivable without religion. That has changed since the 1960s and continues to change, as holding no religionism approaches gender equality in numbers. Notwithstanding, with the differing emotional literacy of men and women especially, gendered difference in the *character* of no religionism endures.

Notes

1. C. G. Brown (2012) *Religion and the Demographic Revolution: Women and Secularisation in Canada, Ireland, UK and USA since the 1960s* (London: Boydell), pp. 114, 105–23; ONS, Census 2011, Table KS209EW Religion, local authorities in England and Wales, at <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/index.html>, accessed 30 December 2012. Figures for Scotland and Northern Ireland were not published at the time of writing.
2. Brown, *Religion and the Demographic Revolution*, pp. 25–8, 60–70, 266–7; C. G. Brown (2011) 'The People of No Religion: The Demographics of Secularisation in the English-Speaking World since c.1900', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 51, 37–61, pp. 41–7.
3. Clive Field, '2011 Census – Searching for Explanations', <http://www.brin.ac.uk/news/2012/2011-census-searching-for-explanations/>, accessed 30 December 2012.
4. E. Royle (1974) *Victorian Infidels: The Origins of the British Secularist Movement 1791–1866* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); idem (1980) *Radicals, Secularists and Republicans: Popular Freethought in Britain 1866–1915* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); D. Nash (1999) *Blasphemy in Modern Britain 1789 to the Present* (Aldershot: Ashgate); P. Zuckerman (2008) *Society Without God* (New York: New York University Press); B. F. Le Beau (2003) *The Atheist: Madalyn Murray O'Hair* (New York: New York University Press).
5. See, for example, P. Richter and L. J. Francis (1998) *Gone But Not Forgotten: Church Leaving and Returning* (London: Darton Longman Todd) and B. B. Taylor (2007) *Leaving Church: A Memoir of Faith* (New York: HarperOne).
6. This is evident in a wide range of literature. For three examples from different nations, see J. Garnett, M. Grimley, A. Harris, W. Whyte and S. Williams (eds) (2006) *Redefining Christian Britain: Post 1945 Perspectives* (London: SCM Press); R. Wuthnow (1999) *Growing Up Religious: Christians and Jews and Their Journeys of Faith* (Boston: Beacon Press); R. W. Bibby (1993) *Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart).
7. For example, see C. Smith (2005) *Soul Searching: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
8. See Garnett et al., *Redefining Christian Britain*; J. Morris (2012) 'Secularization and Religious Experience: Arguments in the Historiography of Modern British Religion', *Historical Journal*, 55, 195–219; J. C. D. Clark (2012) 'Secularization

- and Modernization: The Failure of a “Grand Narrative”, *Historical Journal*, 55, 161–94.
9. D. Voas (2009) ‘The Rise and Fall of Fuzzy Fidelity in Europe’, *European Sociological Review*, 25(2), 155–68; W. C. Roof (1993) *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation* (San Francisco: Harper); C. Lim, C. A. MacGregor and R. D. Putnam (2010) ‘Secular and Liminal: Discovering Heterogeneity among Religious Nones’, *Journal for the Social Scientific Study of Religion*, 49(4), 596–618.
 10. Brown, ‘People of No Religion’.
 11. See the discussion in Brown, *Religion and the Demographic Revolution*, Chapters 2 and 3.
 12. The data are graphed for Canada, USA, Britain, Australia and New Zealand in Brown, ‘People of No Religion’.
 13. For example, T. C. Smout (1982) ‘Born Again at Cambuslang: New Evidence on Popular Religion and Literacy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, *Past and Present*, (97), 114–27; C. Field (1993) ‘Adam and Eve: Gender in the English Free Church Constituency’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44(1), 63–79.
 14. Brown, *Religion and the Demographic Revolution*, pp. 120–1.
 15. C. G. Brown (2012) ‘“The Unholy Mrs Knight” and the BBC: Secular Humanism and the Threat to the Christian Nation, c.1945–1960’, *English Historical Review*, 127, 345–76.
 16. Brown, *Religion and the Demographic Revolution*, p. 121.
 17. For which see C. G. Brown (2010) ‘Gendering Secularisation: Locating Women in the Transformation of British Christianity in the 1960s’, in I. Katznelson and G. Stedman Jones (eds) *Religion and the Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 275–94 and idem (2010) ‘Women and Religion in Britain: The Autobiographical View of the Fifties and Sixties’, in C. Brown and M. Snape (eds) *Secularisation in the Christian World c.1750–c.2000* (Farnham: Ashgate), pp. 159–73.
 18. Calculated from data in *Church Statistics 2009/10*, p. 50, <http://www.churchofengland.org/media/1333106/2009churchstatistics.pdf>, accessed 30 November 2012.
 19. See especially C. G. Brown (2009) *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge).
 20. For a study of impermanent desertion, see T. Larson (2006) *Crisis of Doubt: Honest Faith in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
 21. See S. Frosh (1997) ‘Screaming Under the Bridge: Masculinity, Rationality and Psychotherapy’, in J. Ussher (ed.) *Body Talk: the Material and Discursive Regulation of Sexuality, Madness and Reproduction* (London: Routledge), pp. 70–84.
 22. For example, two scholars refer to ‘the embeddedness of the relationship between the concepts rationality and masculinity’ in Western philosophical and sociological thought, and in management and organisation theory; A. Ross-Smith and M. Kornberger (2004) ‘Gendered Rationality? A Genealogical Exploration of the Philosophical and Sociological Conceptions of Rationality, Masculinity and Organization’, *Gender, Work & Organization*, 11(3), 280–305, p. 296.
 23. Norman Vance noted how ‘intuitive reason’ rather than evidence led to belief in God during the conjunction of Victorian concepts of ‘muscular Christianity’ and ‘rational religion’. N. Vance (1985) *Sinews of the Spirit: The*

- Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 47.
24. R. W. Connell (2005) *Masculinities*, 2nd edn (Berkeley: University of California Press), pp. 164–82.
 25. For instance, in his studies of Scandinavia and USA, Zuckerman does not raise such a series of connections; Zuckerman, *Society Without God*; and idem (2012) *Faith No More: Why People Reject Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
 26. The concept has hitherto been applied to the passing of Christian faith between generations; D. Hervieu-Leger (2000) *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (Cambridge: Polity Press); G. Davie (2000) *Religion in Modern Europe: A Memory Mutates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
 27. This point is made for America in M. B. Brinkerhoff and M. M. Mackie (1993) 'Casting Off the Bonds of Organized Religion: A Religious–Careers Approach to the Study of Apostasy', *Review of Religious Research*, 34(3), 235–58. See also J. O. Baker and B. G. Smith (2009) 'The Nones: Social Characteristics of the Religiously Unaffiliated', *Social Forces*, 87(3), 1251–63 and J. O. Baker and B. G. Smith (2009) 'None Too Simple: Examining Issues of Religious Nonbelief and Nonbelonging in the United States', *Journal for the Social Scientific Study of Religion*, 48(4), 719–33.
 28. Anders Östberg (born 1979, Växjö, Sweden), pp. 1–6. All the interviews were conducted by the author between 2009 and 2012; the transcripts and recordings will be deposited in an archive at the project's end.
 29. Ron McLaren (born 1940, Dundee), pp. 1–2.
 30. Peter R. Barton (born 1921, North London), written testimony, p. 1.
 31. Ken Matthews (born 1947, Glasgow), p. 2.
 32. Alistair McBay (born 1954, Dunfermline), p. 1.
 33. Dennis Duncan (born 1929, Edinburgh), p. 2.
 34. Wilson Dillon (born 1931, Northern Ireland), p. 2.
 35. Alistair McBay, p. 2.
 36. David Lord (born 1942, Colliers Wood, London), p. 2.
 37. David Lord, p. 2.
 38. Robin Wood (born 1941, Worthing, Sussex), p. 3.
 39. David Lord, p. 4.
 40. Robin Wood, p. 3.
 41. Wilson Dillon, p. 3.
 42. Paul Bulmer (born 1957, Halifax, Yorkshire) p. 8.
 43. Ken Matthews, p. 12.
 44. Peter Barton, written testimony, original emphasis, pp. 2–3.
 45. Nicolas Walter, 'McCabe, Joseph Martin (1867–1955)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, October 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34674>, accessed 16 October 2012.
 46. Alistair McBay, p. 3.
 47. Ken Matthews, p. 13.
 48. Nigel Bruce (born 1921, London), pp. 3–4.
 49. Terry Martin (born 1941, London), supplementary written testimony, p. 2.
 50. See the testimony of Dick Hewetson quoted in C. G. Brown (2013) 'Atheism in the Twentieth Century', in S. Bullivant and M. Ruse (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Atheism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

51. J. Kay (Winter 2006/7) 'Why I'm a Humanist', *Humanism Scotland*, 4(4), 8–9.
52. Ken Matthews, p. 11.
53. Some of the interviews I have conducted have involved the revisiting of trauma during the loss of religion. This will be the subject of more intense study in a future publication, where the role of oral history in a therapeutic process will be considered.
54. Ivan Middleton (born 1942, Hollywood, County Down, Northern Ireland), p. 2.
55. Ivan Middleton, pp. 4–5.
56. Alistair McBay, p. 2.
57. Nigel Bruce, pp. 6–9.
58. Alistair McBay, p. 4.
59. Ron McLaren, pp. 4–5.
60. Paul Bulmer, p. 6.
61. I interviewed two women – one born in Devon, the other resident in Scotland though born in Switzerland – who reported being sexually abused by priests; they had both set about campaigning against the power of the Catholic Church.
62. Tim Unsworth (born 1954, Bolton, Lancashire), p. 12.
63. Before the 1990s, Barbara Smoker (born 1923), inter alia president of the National Secular Society 1971–96, is one of the exceptions.
64. Data from Brown, 'People of No Religion', p. 58; and private communication from Matthew Engelke, Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics, 25 May 2012.
65. B. Russell (1975) *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell* (London: Unwin), p. 35.

Further reading

- Brown, C. G. (2011) 'The People of No Religion: The Demographics of Secularisation in the English-Speaking World since c.1900', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 51, 37–61.
- (2013) 'Atheism in the Twentieth Century', in S. Bullivant and M. Ruse (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Atheism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Engelke, M. 'An Ethnography of the British Humanist Association', various outputs available at <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/my-esrc/grants/RES-000-22-4157/read>, accessed 1 February 2013.
- Nash, D. (1999) *Blasphemy in Modern Britain 1789 to the Present* (Aldershot: Ashgate).
- Voas, D. (2009) 'The Rise and Fall of Fuzzy Fidelity in Europe', *European Sociological Review*, 25(2), 155–68.
- Zuckerman, P. (2008) *Society Without God* (New York: New York University Press).
- (2012) *Faith No More: Why People Reject Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Select Bibliography

- Arnold, J. H. and S. Brady (eds) (2011) *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Brod, H. (1988) *A Mensch among Men: Explorations in Jewish Masculinity* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press).
- Brown, C. G. (2001) *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800–2000* (London: Routledge).
- Cocks, H. G. (2006) 'Religion and Spirituality', in H. G. Cocks and Matt Houlbrook (eds) *The Modern History of Sexuality* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 157–179.
- Cashmore, E. (1979) *Rastaman: The Rastafarian Movement in England* (London: Allen and Unwin).
- Fielding, S. (1993) *Class and Ethnicity: Irish Catholics in England, 1880–1939* (Buckinghamshire: Open University Press).
- Green, S. J. D. (2011) *The Passing of Protestant England: Secularisation and Social Change, c. 1920–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Grimley, M. (2012) 'Thatcherism, Morality and Religion', in B. Jackson and R. Saunders (eds) *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 78–94.
- Krondorfer, B. (2009) *Men and Masculinities in Christianity and Judaism: A Critical Reader* (London: SCM Press).
- Lewis, P. (2002) *Islamic Britain: Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims* (London: I. B. Tauris).
- McLeod, H. (2007) *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Singh, G. (2005) 'British Multiculturalism and Sikhs', *Sikh Formations*, 1(2), 157–73.
- Panayi, P. (2010) *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1980* (Harlow: Longman).
- van der Veer, P. (2001) *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Werner, Y. (ed.) (2011) *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Leuven: Leuven University Press).

Index

- Adler, Margot 295
Aetherius Society 292
Age *see* Generation
Ali, Kecia 271
Aliens Act, 1905 91, 92, 93
Amnesty International 318
Anattā 30, 31, 33, 34, 40, 43–6
 Anattā doctrine 39, 43–6
Anglicanism 119–21, 123–4, 127–9,
 131–2, 135, 137–40, 202, 206,
 306
 Anglo-Catholicism 18, 125–6
 Irish Anglicanism 231–2
 Liberal Anglicanism 132
Anglican Church Lads' Brigade 99
Ansari, Humayun 260
Alter, Joseph 6
Anticlericalism 174, 177
Anti-racist politics 7, 318
Anti-Semitism 15, 92, 93, 96,
 105–6
 anti-Semitic stereotypes 95
Apprenticeship schemes 96–8
Archbishops' Advisory Board for
 Spiritual and Moral Work 200
Army chaplains 174, 179, 204
 Anglican chaplains 174
 Army Chaplains' Department 174
 Presbyterian chaplains 174
 Roman Catholic padres 174
Arnold, Edwin 31, 34–6, 45–6
 The Light of Asia 31, 34–5,
 45–6
Ashe, Fidelma 219
Association for Jewish Youth 99,
 104, 106
Atheism 301–2, 305, 306, 311–12,
 313, 315, 318
Attaturk, Kemal 257
Ayer, A. J. 312
Ayers, Pat 15
Bailey, D. Sherwin 206–10
 *Homosexuality and the Western
 Christian Tradition*
 (1955) 206, 208
Bainbridge, William 281
Barker, Eileen 296
Bax, Clifford 30
Beck, George Andrew, Bishop of
 Salford 55
Beckman, Morris 102, 105
Belfast Peace Agreement 219
Bell, Sandra 32
Belloc, Hilaire 61
Bernhard Baron Settlement 101
Besant, Annie 37, 43
 Bhagavad Gita 147, 285
Bhagwan Hamsa, Shri 158
Bharatiya Janata Party 146
Bhat, Dr. Kasorgad Somanath 154
bhikkhu 33, 37–9, 40–3
Bingham, Adrian 180
Birth control 10, 22, 75, 183, 185–6,
 202, 293, 319
Blackburne, Harry 176
Blavatsky, Helena 32, 37, 42
Boal, F. 223
Boswell, John 198
Bourke, Joanna 169, 179, 218
Boy George 286
Boyarin, Daniel 13, 95
Boys' Brigade 173, 175, 178, 307
Brady, Sean 212
brahmacharyas 39
Brahmin caste 148
Brickell, Chris 212
Britishness 94, 179, 219
British Association for Counselling
 and Psychotherapy 197
British Council of Churches: Standing
 Committee on Sex, Marriage
 and the Family 203

- British Humanist Association 319
 British Social Hygiene Council 183, 185
 British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology 183
 Brod, Harry 3
 Brodetsky, Selig 95
 Brookmeyer, Christopher 313
 Brown, Callum 4, 180
 Brown, Stewart 173
 Browne, Stella 183
 Bruce, Steve 222
 Buddhism 30–46, 150, 156, 284, 285
 Buddha 31, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42
 Buddhism, British 30–1, 36, 37, 39, 44–5
 Buddhism, its Birth and Dispersal (1934) 40
 Buddhism, Protestant 31–4, 46
 Buddhism, Sinhala 33–4, 36–7, 42, 44, 46
 Buddhism, Theravada 32, 33, 44
 Buddhist Catechism (1881) 33
 Buddhist converts 34, 45
 Buddhist Lodge 30, 34–5, 37–43, 45–6
 Buddhism in England 38, 40, 43–5
 Buddhist missionaries 35
 Buddhist pacifism 31
 Buddhist revival 42
 Buddhist self-help 31, 34, 44
 Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland 35, 36
 Buddhist Students' Association 45
 Buddhist vows 32
 Bullough, Vern 197
 Cairns, David 176, 177
 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament 135
 Campbell, Colin 285
 Carey, George 197
 Carpenter, Edward 158, 199, 295
 Casartelli, Louis Charles, Bishop of Salford 55
 Cashman, David, Bishop of Arundel and Brighton 54
 Cashmore, Ernest 16
 Catholicism *see* Roman Catholicism
 Catenian Association 55–80
 Catena 54, 57, 58, 79
 Project 2008 68
 regalia 64–6
 Central Hindu Society 153, 155
 Chivalry 12, 69, 104, 120, 127–9, 130, 139, 181
 Christian Conference on Politics, Economics and Citizenship 183
 Christianity 124, 147, 157, 176, 279, 284
 Christian clerics 18–9
 Christian laymen 19, 130–1
 Christian manliness 96, 169, 178
 Christian masculinity 180, 188
 Christian mutualism 183
 Christian Socialist gospel 171
 Christian women 133
 diffusive Christianity 176
 Evangelicalism 19, 31, 119, 132, 170, 181, 222, 223, 231, 287, 307
 Free Church 6, 168, 170, 178
 Jesus 119, 121, 128, 129, 177–8, 188–9, 241
 Missionaries 6, 134
 Muscular Christianity *see separate entry*
 Scottish Presbyterianism 171, 173, 179
 St. George 69
 St. Oswald 126, 127, 134
 St Thomas More 78
 Unitarians 36, 149
 United Free Church 171, 176
 United Presbyterian Church 170
 Church Lads' Brigade 173
 Church of England 173, 200, 206, 308
 Church of England Purity Society 200
 Church of England Men's Society 120–1, 123–7, 129–35, 137
 Clergy 303
 Mothers' Union 120, 133, 136

- Church of England Moral Welfare Council 22, 199–200, 202–13
The Problem of Homosexuality: An Interim Report (1954) 206
- Church of Scotland 170, 173
- Clark, Anna 22–3
- Clark, David 185
- Clarke, Norman 209
- Class 14–15, 131–2, 133, 137, 179, 224, 260, 304
 Working 15, 18, 131, 143 n. 54, 175, 225–6, 232, 234, 261
 Middle 55, 72, 121, 131, 137, 150, 154
 Upper 15, 18
- Clausen, Christopher 34
- Clothing 21, 63–4, 160, 163, 232–3, 259, 264, 268, 288
 Clerical 21
- Cocks, Harry 198, 212
- Collins, Marcus 133, 183, 198
- Collins, Steven 44
- Communist party 106–7
 Communist youth movements 102
 Young Communist League 106
- Confucianism 156
- Connell, R. W. 11, 121, 304
- Conservative Party 57, 138, 227
- Contagious Diseases Acts 200
- Cook, Hera 212
- Coolidge, Calvin 161
- Crichton-Miller, Hugh 184
- Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885 201
- Crompton, Louis 197
- Crouch Hill Presbyterian Church 171, 182
- Cullen, Stephen 106
- D’Arcy, Charles, Archbishop of Armagh 128
- David-Neel, Alexandra 38
- Davidoff, Leonore 181
- Davids, Caroline Rhys 38–41, 43, 45
- Davids, T.W. Rhys 33
- Dawkins, Richard 311, 312
- Dawson, Graham 134
- de Rothschild, Lionel 92
- De Selincourt, Basil 159
- De Zoysa, A.P. 36, 37, 39, 45
- Dee, David 99
- Dekmijian, Richard H. 258
- Delap, Lucy 187
- Democratic Unionist Party 243
- De Valera, Éamon 240
- Devlin, Joseph 234
- Dharmapāla, Anagārika 34, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44
- Divorce 76
- Dixon, Joy 4, 24, 38, 198
- Dods, Marcus 170
- Dowell, Graham 206
- Drummond, Henry 178
- Duperron, Anquetil 147
- East India Company 149
East is East (1999) 271–2
- Eisen, George 90
- Eliot, George 177
- Ellenberg, Nancy 14
- Ellis, Havelock 199, 205
- Ellwood, Robert 280
- Empire, British 256, 265
 late imperial 5–6
- England 37, 59, 69, 70, 94, 107, 120, 127, 133, 175, 301
- Englander, David 93
- Ethnicity 5, 123, 222
 Black 16–17
 White 17, 121, 258, 263
- Eugenics Society 183, 186
- Fascism 106
 Anti-fascist activism 106
 British Union of Fascists 90, 106
- Fatechand, Thakurdas 154
- Fathering 60, 76, 77, 80, 134, 188, 262, 274
- feminisation of religion 3, 169
- Feminism 10, 13, 122, 134, 135, 183, 187, 199, 200, 205, 219, 226, 281, 294, 318
- Fisher, Geoffrey, Archbishop of Canterbury 210
- Fisher, Kate 185
- Fisher, Major General 210

- Foucault, Michel 198
 repressive hypothesis 198
- Francis, Martin 11, 121, 181
- Franklin, Jeffrey 32, 34
- Freemasons 57, 58, 67, 233
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand 149
- Gaudiya Vaishnava Sampradaya* 286
- gay-conversion therapy 197
- Generational divisions 14, 129, 262
- George, David Lloyd 226
- Grimley, Matthew 7
- Gnosticism 280
- Goldsmid, Colonel Edward Albert 99
- Gombrich, Richard 32
- Government of India Act, 1919 151
- Graham, Billy 132
- Grant, Mrs A. G. 38
- Graves, Robert 174
Goodbye to All That (1929) 174
- Gray, A. Herbert 20, 75, 168
As Tommy Sees Us: A Book For Church Folk (1917) 169, 172–80
Men, Women and God: A discussion of Sex Questions from the Christian Point of View (1923) 169, 180–8
Successful Marriage (1941) 184, 185
The War Spirit in Our National Life (1914) 172, 173
With Christ as Guide: An Apprehension of Christianity (1927) 178, 182
- Gray, Dr. Charles 182
- Gray, Edith 185
- Gray, Mary (Mamie) 170, 181, 185
- Grayling, A. C. 310–11
- Gregory, Jeremy 2
- Griffin, Ben 127
- Griffin, Bernard, Archbishop of Westminster 79
- Griffiths, Edward 183, 184
Modern Marriage and Birth Control (1935) 184
- Grimley, Matthew 207
- Gullace, Nicoletta 169, 173
- Gurdjieff, George 311
- Haire, Norman 183
- Hall, Catherine 147, 181, 218
- Hall, Lesley 184, 199
- Harris, Elizabeth 33–4
- Harris, Sam 311
- Harvey, Karen 10
- Hay, Harry 294
- Hayes, Ernest V. 45
- Hayes, Will 36
- Henriques, Basil 101–5, 107–8
- Henriques, Rose 103
- Highland Light Infantry, 16th and 17th battalions 175, 179
- Hill, Octavia 171
- Hinduism 2, 146–64, 285
 High-caste Hindus 149
 Hindu Association of Europe 151, 152–5, 156, 163
 Hindu Centre, London 154
 Hindu community 146, 149, 152, 154, 160, 163
 Hindu deities 148
 Hindu monks 18, 21, 162
 Hindu nationalists 148
 Hindu philosophy 286
 Hindu religious festivals 154
 Hindu Right 146, 151
 Hindu scholars 149
 Hindu theology 154
 Hindu women 162, 163
 Hindu-Muslim unity 153
 Muscular Hinduism 163
- Hitchins, Christopher 311, 312
- Homosexuality 4, 13, 76, 95, 197–213, 223, 271–3, 287
 history of 197, 198, 211–13
 homophobia 13, 15, 18, 134, 136, 285
 homosexual desire 198, 271
 homosexual historiography 197, 212
 homosexual law reform 207
 lesbianism 223, 272–3
- Hopkins, Ellice 200
- Houlbrook, Matt 213
- House church movement 287
- Hubbard, L. Ronald 291, 292
- Hughes, Thomas 171, 178
The Manliness of Christ (1879) 178

- Humanism 7, 13, 78, 302, 305, 306, 312, 313–19, 321, 317
- Humanist Society of Scotland 305, 306
- Hunt, William Holman 20, 119
- Immigration 5, 16, 252
 Eastern European 91
 Eastern European Jews 91, 92
 immigrant and working-class
 Jews 95–6, 99
 Irish 59
 Pakistani 7, 8, 252–4, 260–5, 270, 273–4
 Punjabi 255
- Indian independence 147
- Indian nationalists 151
- International Society for Krishna
 Consciousness (ISKCON) 283, 285–7, 296, 297
- Iqbal, Sir Muhammad 265
- Ireland 17, 225–7, 235
 Easter Rising 241
 Gaelic Revival 221, 235, 242
 Home Rule 225
 Northern Ireland 13, 21–2, 218–45, 301, 307, 310, 316
 The Troubles 220–1, 236, 242, 244
- Irish Party 225, 228, 234, 237
- Irish Republican Army 236
- Islam 7, 16, 156, 253–4, 258, 275–6, 288
 Deobandi 259
Imams 16, 265
 Islamic schools 267
 Jam'at Islami 259, 268
 Muslim masculinity 254
 Moslem women 253
 Mosques 266–7
 political Islam 260
 Sufi 258–9
 Sunni 259, 260
 Wahhabi 259
- Islamic Youth Movement 268
- Jackson, R.J. 35
- James, William 44
- The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902) 44
- Jehovah's Witnesses 315
- Jesus Fellowship 283, 287–8, 296
 Jesus Army 287
- Jesus People movement 287
- Jinnah, Muhammad Ali 257, 265
- Jordan, Mark 198, 209
- Judaism 90–108, 156
 Anti-Semitism – *see separate entry*
 East End Jews 91, 94, 104
 Jewish Athletic Association 104
 Jewish biographies 93
 Jewish Board of Guardians 92, 96–8
 Jewish boxers 101
 Jewish Boys' Clubs 98
Jewish Chronicle 94, 99
 Jewish Community 91, 92, 94, 97, 101, 107
 Jewish Lads Brigade 94, 99, 106
 Jewish Relief Act, 1858 92
 Jewish Women 93
Jewish World 100
 Liberal Judaism 99
 Muscular Judaism 90, 95, 98
 Orthodox Judaism 91
 Sephardim Jews 92
- Kausalyāyana, Ananda 43
- Kemper, Steven 37
- Kennedy, Rev. G.A. Studdert (Woodbine Willie) 174
- Kent, Susan Kingsley 180, 186
- Khomeini, Ayatolla 257
- Kingsley, Charles 170, 178
- Kinsey, Alfred 207
- Knight, Margaret 303, 312
- Kriya Yoga* 161
- Krondorer, Bjorn 3, 13
- Kureshi, Hanif 255, 262, 271
My Beautiful Laundrette (1985) 271
- Labouchere Amendment 201
- Labour Party, the 314
- Lambert, Kenneth 203, 208
- Lambeth Conference, 1930 202, 203
- Lambeth Conference, 1948 203

- Lammers, Benjamin 106
 Lawrence, D.H. 180
 Lewis, Jane 185
 Lewis, Philip 16, 259
 LGBT 294
 Light, Alison 168, 187
 Livingstone, David 178
 Lloyd, Marie 107
 Loach, Ken 274
 Ae Fond Kiss (2004) 274
 Louge, Michael, Archbishop of
 Armagh 235
- Mace, David 75, 168, 170, 182
 MacRory, Joseph, Primate of All
 Ireland 238–41
 Madigan, Edward 174
 Mahabodhi Society 30, 34–9, 41–6
 Mahasabha Party 151, 152, 153
 Maharishi Mahesh Yogi 311
 Marriage 75–6, 78, 181, 183–5, 189,
 202, 223, 226, 261, 273, 287,
 289, 291, 320
 arranged 265, 273–4, 284
 companionate marriage 182, 198,
 202, 212
 gay marriage, opposition to 197
 inter-racial marriage 186
 See also National Marriage Guidance
 Council
 Martin, David 296
 Masculinities 10–11
 Athletic 12, 90, 96, 98–9, 103–4,
 140 n. 6, 242
 Breadwinning 16, 60, 131, 135,
 256
 Clerical 17–18, 129, 130–3
 crisis in 13–4, 108 n. 7, 121–2,
 125, 127, 137–8, 180
 ‘dandy’ 15
 domestic 55, 71, 74–5, 181–9
 homosocial 61, 68, 121, 124,
 129, 137
 martial 6, 128, 134, 137, 148
 manliness 12–3, 138–9
 McCabe, Joseph 312
 McDowell, Sara 220
 McFarlane, Gary 197
 McGarry, John 219, 222
 McGaughey, Jane 220, 221
 McKechnie, J.F. 38, 42
 McLeod, Hugh 136, 177
 McMahan, David L. 32
 McQuaid, John, Archbishop of
 Dublin 240
 Mendoza, Daniel 100
 Metteya, Ananda Allan Bennett
 35, 38
 Meyer, Jessica 14, 169, 179
 Mitchell, Clare 222
 Modood, Tariq 253
 Monnickendam, J. 106
 Montagu, Lily 105
 Montefiore, Claude 99
 Moon, Sun Myung 283–5, 297
 Divine Principle (1973) 284
 Morgan, David 185
 Morgan, Sue 198, 200
 Mormonism 3
 Morrow, Duncan 222
 Mort, Frank 14
 Mortimer, Robert, Bishop of
 Exeter 210
 Mosley, Oswald 106
 Blackshirts 106
 Mughal India 256
 Muhammad Subuh
 Sumohadiwidjojo 288
 Murray, Dominic 222
 Murray, Marr 38
 Muscular Christianity 2, 12, 20, 54,
 61, 90, 119–20, 137–8, 163,
 170, 172, 179, 186
- National Council for Combating
 Venereal Diseases 183
 National Marriage Guidance
 Council 75, 168
 Marriage Guidance Council 185–6
 marriage guidance 213
 National Secular Society 312
 Nationalism 6–7
 Nationality Act, 1948 146
 Nead, Lynda 4
 Nehra, R.S. 155
 Neilans, Alison 183
 Neo-Paganism 280
 Neo-Pentecostalism 287

- New Age 294, 297
- New Religious Movements (NRMs) 279–98
- Experimental or liberative NRMs 290–2, 296
 - World-accommodating NRMs 282, 287, 288, 292
 - World-affirming NRMs 282, 290, 297
 - World-rejecting NRMs 282, 290, 297
- New Spirituality 297, 298
- New Thought 280
- Nichols, Robert 159
- Noble, Margaret/Sister Nivedita 18, 162
- Nordau, Max 95
- Degeneration* (1892) 95
- No-religionism 7, 301
- Northern Ireland – *see entry under* Ireland
- Northern Ireland Labour Party 228, 233
- Obeyesekere, Gananath 32
- Occultism 31
- occult movement 32
 - Occult/Initiatory Groups 280
- Olcott, Henry Steel 32, 33, 36
- O'Brien, J.
- O'Leary, Brendan 219, 222
- Orange Orders 224–5, 229, 231–4, 239
- Women's Orange Association of Ireland 226
- Orientalists 147, 148, 152, 158, 163
- Oxford and Bermondsey Mission 101
- Oxford and St George's (Jewish) Settlement 105
- Oxford University India Group 43
- Oxford University Society for Buddhist Studies 43
- Pakistan 253–8, 275
- Pāli scriptures 32, 33, 36, 40
- Palmer, Susan 281, 282
- Pardhy, Dr K. M. 153
- Partin, Harry 280
- Payne, Francis J. 37
- Peace Pledge Union 171
- Pearse, Patrick 241
- Peyton, Patrick 20
- Pilgrimage 62–3, 69, 71, 77
- Pilkington, Lesley 197
- Post-Christianity 7, 9, 19, 124
- Poulsen, Charles 98
- Powell, Enoch 9, 252
- Prabhupada, Srila 285, 286
- Prayer 68, 77, 120–1, 125, 130, 176, 211, 309
- Prostitution 99, 186, 200, 262, 289
- male prostitutes 202
- Protestantism 10, 149, 173, 221, 223, 225, 231–4, 239, 316
- Prothero, Stephen 33
- Psychology 31, 31, 44, 199, 204
- Purohit Swami, Shri 152, 157–60
- An Indian Monk: His life and Adventures* (1932) 158
- Puttick, Elizabeth 286
- Race – *see ethnicity*
- Racism 264, 274
- Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli 151, 155–7
- Radical Faeries 22, 283, 290, 294–5, 296, 298
- Raelianism (Raelism) 22, 283, 290, 292–4, 295
- Ram Mohun Roy, Raja 149
- Rashtra Sevika Samiti 152
- Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh 152
- Rastafarianism 16, 17
- Reith, Lord John 170
- Reith, Rev. Dr. George 170
- Riess, Steve 101
- Roberts, Michael 39
- Roman Catholicism 10, 55, 229, 234–8, 241–5, 307
- anti-Catholicism 67, 223, 231, 233, 236–7, 316–17
 - Catholic Action 72
 - Catholic laymen 17, 59, 73
 - Catholic Marriage Advisory Council 74–5
 - Catholic Renewal Movement 77
 - Catholic Workers' College 73

- Roman Catholicism – *continued*
 Knights of St Columba 67, 124
 National Pastoral Congress 77
 Pope Paul VI 75
 Pope Pius XI 72
 Priests 78, 314–15
Tablet, The 56, 67
- Roper, Michael 11, 169, 179
 Rose, Sonya 11, 147
 Rosicrucianism 280
 Rouse, W. H. D. 159
 Royal Philosophical Society of
 Glasgow 312
 Royal Ulster Constabulary 230
 Royden, Maude 183
 Rushdie, Salman 269–70, 276
Satanic Verses, The 7, 269–70
 Russell, Bertrand and Dora 183, 311
 Russell, Gilbert 204, 208
- Saklatvala, Shapurji 152
 Salvation Army 287
 Sassoon, Siegfried 180
 Scientology 283, 290–2, 296
 Scotland 15, 175, 301, 316
 Scotland Yard 100, 152, 153
 secularisation thesis 3, 198, 280, 302
 sex education 182, 202, 213
 sexology 199, 211–12
 sexological literature 205
 sexologists 184, 200
 Sexual Offences Act, 1967 208
 Sexuality 21–3, 221–2, 255–6, 271
 Shaftesbury, Lord 171
 Shakti cult 148
 Shepard, Alexandra 9, 10
 Sheppard, Dick 20, 171
 Sikhism 8–9, 16
 turbans 20
 Singh, Gurharpal 7, 8
 Singh, Harleen 8
 Singh, Sant Thakar 311
 Sinn Féin 225, 228, 236, 238, 241
 Sirhindi, Ahmed 259
 Smith, Sally 102
 Snape, Michael 174, 176
 social purity movement 200
 Soka Gakki 285
 Spector, Cyril 107
- Sports 12, 61, 223, 242
 Spiritualist/UFO Groups 280
 St George's Jewish Boys' Club 102
 Stanton, Noel 287
 Stark, Rodney 281
 Stopes, Marie 182, 202
Married Love (1918) 182, 202
 Streets-Salter, Heather 6
 Student Christian Movement 181–2
 Students' Buddhist Association 35,
 36, 39, 45
 Subud 283, 288–90, 296, 311
 Sumangala, Hikkaduve 33
 Swami Vivekananda 151, 160, 162
 Swami Yogananda 20, 151, 160–2
 Symonds, John Addington 199
 Szeleter, Simon 185
- Talbot, Rev. Neville 174
 Taoism 284
 Tatlow, Tissington 182
 Tavistock Clinic 184
 Taylor, Charles 198
 Temple, William 183
 Thatcherism 16, 135, 138, 269, 271
The Army and Religion 176
The British Buddhist 35–6, 39, 41–2,
 44–5
The British Weekly 170, 171
The Outpost 175, 177, 179
 Theosophy 19, 31–2, 37–8, 41–2, 45,
 280, 311
 Theosophical Society 19, 31–2,
 34–5, 37, 38, 150, 157, 158
 Thorogood, Horace 42
 Threefold Movement 36
 Thuggee cult 148
 Tosh, John 10–11, 90, 121, 138, 181,
 218, 223–4, 234
 Toynbee, Arnold 171
 trench religion 176
 Tweed, Thomas 31
- Ulster Special Constabulary 230–1
 Ulster Unionists 225–7, 229, 237
 Ulster Women's Unionist
 Council 226–7
 Ulster Unionist Labour
 Association 233

- Ulster Volunteer Force 225
 Unification Church 283–5, 297
 Union of Catholic Mothers, The 62
 United Kingdom Islamic Mission 267
Upanishads 147, 152, 158–9
 Valente, Joseph 221
 Van der Veer, Peter 6
 Vatican, The
 Casti Connubii 22
 Humanae Vitae 22, 75
 Second Vatican Council 10, 54, 73, 75
 Victoria Club for Working Lads 100, 103
 Vijaya-Tunga, J. 159
 Vir, Krishna 154
 Vorilhon, Claude 292
 Wales 135, 301
 Walker, Garthine 9
 Wallis, Roy 282, 287, 288, 290, 292, 297
 Waters, Chris 206
 Watts, G.F. 189
 Weatherhead, Leslie 183
 Weeks, Jeffrey 198, 207
 Wienbren, Daniel 58
 Wells, H.G. 189
 Werner, Yvonne 3, 169
 West Central Jewish Girls' club 105
 West Central Jewish Lads' Club 99
 White Cross League (Army) 200–2
 The Threshold of Marriage (1932) 202
 Sex Problems in Wartime (1940) 204
 white slave trade 93
 Whitehorn, Katharine 170, 185
 Whitman, Walt 295
 Wilcox, Melissa 297
 Wilde, Oscar 201
 Wilkins, Charles 147
 Williams, Sarah 20
 Winnington-Ingram, Arthur 173
 Winter, Thomas 14
 Wolfenden Committee 199, 205–11
 Wolfenden Report 207–10
 Woodhead, Linda 298
 Workplaces 121, 135–6
 World Congress of Faiths 156
 World Fellowship of Faiths 162
 World Parliament of Religions 34, 151, 156, 161, 162
 World religions 280, 283
 World War I/Great War 1, 10, 12, 30, 21, 92, 93, 101, 103, 128, 131, 168, 169, 172–80, 181, 184, 202
 World War II 10, 107, 129, 146, 147, 152, 189, 202, 204, 313–14
 Wright, Frank 222
 Wright, Helena 183
 The Sex Factor in Marriage (1930) 183
 Yeats, William Butler 152, 158–60
 Yeats-Brown, Francis 158
 Yiddish, use of 93, 97
 Yiddish men 103
 Yiddish Newspapers 93
 Young, Hilary 15
 Young Men's Buddhist Association 35, 36
 Young Muslims UK 268
 Younghusband, Sir Francis 156, 157, 161, 162
 Yukteswar, Sri 161
 Zavos, John 5
 Zionism 95–6, 102
 Zweiniger-Bargielowska, Ina 187