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ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITY?

CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN SCANDINAVIA

YVONNE MARIA WERNER

In a report from July 1935, the superior of the Jesuit residence in Stockholm, Ansgar Meyer, reflected on the role of Catholic priests as leaders and counsellors of the faithful in Scandinavia. Using the terminology current at the time, he stressed the need to have ‘*Priesterführer*’, mentally strong, intelligent, and experienced men who could represent the authority and splendour of the Catholic Church in the Northern countries in a way that was worthy of the church. This was especially important in Scandinavia, where the church was more or less synonymous with its priesthood.¹ Fifty years earlier, in April 1884, another Catholic priest, the Barnabite Paolo Fumagalli, wrote in a similar tone to a fellow religious in Rome, describing missionary work as a trial of strength between Catholic and Protestant culture, and how in his view the clergy were the keepers of this culture. In his letter he draws a picture of the ideal Catholic priest, whom he describes as a man of prayer, a moral example, and a learned, cultivated, and energetic preacher of the Catholic faith. These were the priests needed to dispel the Protestants’ prejudices against Catholicism and to pave the way for their conversion to the Catholic Church.²

Meyer’s and Fumagalli’s reports reflect the then standard view on priesthood and priestly manliness amongst Catholic missionaries in the Nordic countries. This is the main focus in the present chapter, in which I present some results of my research on Catholic masculinity and mission in Scandinavia in the nineteenth and twentieth century. According to the Tridentine clerical ideals, revitalised by ultramontanism,

¹ Rome, Archivum Romanum Societas Iesus (hereafter ARSI), Epistolae praepositorum generalium ad Provinciae Germaniae (hereafter Epist. Praep. Gen. Germ.) 1027: Meyer to the Jesuit general, Vlodimir Lédochowski, 17 April 1935.

² Rome, Archivio Storico dei Barnabiti (hereafter ASBR): Fumagalli to Nicola Nàsica, 19 July 1884. See Lindqvist, “Padre Paolo Fumagalli”.

a Catholic priest was not only a dispenser of the sacraments, a teacher, and a leader of the faithful, but was also expected to be a model of Christian virtues, piety, and asceticism. This '*habitus clericalis*' differed both from the ideals of the liberal-bourgeois middle class, and from the specifically male characteristics of the time. In the nineteenth century, the Catholic clerical identity assumed a markedly anti-bourgeois character.³

What then of the Catholic Church's missionary work in the Nordic countries? The breakthrough of the ultramontane revivalist movement in the 1830s led to an upswing for Catholic missionary work across the world, and Scandinavia was no exception. Catholic ecclesiology laid great emphasis on the Catholic Church's claim to be the only true church, and in consequence officially Christian but non-Catholic countries were regarded as mission fields, and stood under the authority of the Roman Congregation of Mission, the Propaganda Fide.⁴ Catholic missionary activities were thus extended to the Nordic countries, which were organised as so-called Apostolic Prefectures or Vicariates. With the liberalisation of religious legislation in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church could build up a network of parishes and missions, with schools, hospitals, and other social institutions. Predictably, all these Catholic missionary activities met with strong opposition, for the heritage of the Reformation, with its negative attitude towards the Catholic Church, was regarded an obvious and important part of various Nordic national identities. To many Northerners, Catholicism appeared as an outright menace to their culture and national integrity.⁵

Until the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, which led to a theological reorientation within the Catholic Church, Catholicism was not only a religion, it was also a worldview with clearly political aims. Catholic ideology stood in sharp contrast to the liberal ideology on which modern constitutional developments were founded. Catholicism thus evolved into a counter-culture with clearly anti-modern traits, characterised by a strict hierarchical order, a broad popular footing, and triumphalism.⁶ The religious were very much to the fore, and regulated religious life was regarded as the most accomplished expression of Catholic piety. This was one of the reasons why the *Kulturkampf* between the Catholic Church and the state so evident in many countries chiefly affected religious orders.⁷ In Protestant areas such as the Nordic countries, Catholicism appeared as a counter-culture in a double sense, for it not only

³ Gadille and Zorn, "Der neue Missionseifer", 118-128, 188 ff. See Blaschke, "Priester als Milieumanager und die Kanäle klerikaler Kuratel".

⁴ Rivinius, "Die Entwicklung des Missionsgedankens"; Gadille and Zorn, "Der neue Missionseifer", 133-155, 162-164. The Nordic countries remained under the Congregation of Propaganda Fide until 1977, when the Nordic Catholic dioceses were accorded full status as local churches.

⁵ Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 7-176; Eidsvig, "Den katolske kirke vender tilbage".

⁶ Altermatt, "Katholizismus". For an overview over this huge field, see Lönne, "Katholizismusforschung"; Altermatt and Metzger, "Religion und Kultur".

⁷ De Maeyer, Leplace and Joachim Schmiedl, eds, *Religious Institutes in Western Europe*, especially Moulinet, "La législation relative aux congrégations religieuses en France", 218-230; Schmiedl, "The Social, Cultural and Legal Conditions", 255-261; Colombo, "The Laws of Suppression in Italy"; and Metzger, "The Legal Situation of Religious Institutes".

represented an alternative worldview, but also an unfamiliar belief system that many regarded as a threat to their Protestant-influenced national culture. Catholic religious orders and congregations were considered particularly dangerous.⁸

Most of the Catholic priests who worked in the Nordic area were members of religious institutes. They had thus professed to live according to the evangelical counsels of chastity, poverty, and obedience, which meant that they lived in a religious community, subject to a specific rule, and their relationship to their superiors was couched in the language of religious obedience.⁹ In my chapter I will concentrate on two male religious orders: the Barnabites and the Jesuits. Italian Barnabites established themselves in Stockholm and the Norwegian capital Christiania (Oslo) in the 1860s, and were important in the initial phase of the Nordic Catholic mission in Scandinavia. Some of the Barnabite fathers were active at the University of Uppsala for a time, and for several years one of them served as court chaplain to the Swedish queen dowager Josephine, who was a Catholic.¹⁰ In the wake of the 'culture war' in the 1870s, the Jesuits were expelled from Germany, and their seminaries and training institutes were moved to the Netherlands and Britain.¹¹ Jesuits from the North German Jesuit province settled down in Copenhagen and Stockholm, and later on also in other Swedish and Danish cities.¹²

The Jesuit order, or *Societas Iesu* as it is more properly known, was acknowledged to be the most fervent defender of papal authority and Catholic confession-alism. They contributed to the spread and popularisation of typically ultramontane devotions such as the cult of Mary, the Eucharist, and the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Through their educational institutions, pastoral activities, and ministry as spiritual directors, the Jesuits exercised immense influence on the life of the Catholic Church and its general development.¹³ In a Nordic perspective, the Jesuits were by tradition viewed as the ultimate representatives of the 'Catholic peril', and all the evils that were customarily associated with Catholicism.¹⁴ It is therefore interesting to note that it was the self-same Jesuits who attracted most converts, and that the Jesuit boys'

⁸ Nilsen, *Nonner i storm og stille*; Werner, *Kvinnlig motkultur och katolsk mission*; Id., ed., *Nuns and Sisters in the Nordic Countries*.

⁹ See Sastre Santos, *La vita religiosa*.

¹⁰ The main work about the Barnabites still is the articles by Silvestro Declercq from the 1930s: *Pagina di cultura*; "La Rinascita cattolica in Norvegia"; and "Gli ultimi anni dei Barnabiti in Norvegia". See also Lindqvist, "Från Genua till Gävle"; Carboni, "Cecare Tondini".

¹¹ Murphy, *Der Wiederaufbau der Gesellschaft Jesu in Deutschland*, 361-375. Colleges were founded at Exaten, Blyenbeck, Wijnandsrade, and Valkenburg in the southern Netherlands, and Ditton Hall and Portico near Liverpool.

¹² For the Jesuits in Scandinavia, see *Jesu Hjerter Kirk 1895-1945*; Wehner, *S:ta Eugenia kyrka*; Hampton Frosell, *Omkring 'Jesu-Hjerter'*; Werner, *Världsvind*, 128-160, 275-286; Olden-Jørgensen, *Sankt Andreas Kirke*; Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 106-110, 134-143.

¹³ For overviews over the development of the Jesuit order in this period, see Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 436-440; Fischer, *Der heilige Kampf*; and Hartmann, *Die Jesuiten*, 91-101. For ultramontane spirituality, see Busch, *Katholische Frömmigkeit und Moderne*.

¹⁴ Piltz, "Ändamålet helgar medlen", 208-212.

school, Sankt Andreas Kollegium (St Andrew's College), in Ordrup outside Copenhagen, was attended by a large number of Protestant pupils.¹⁵

One starting point in my research is the concept of the feminisation of religion in modern Western society, discussed in the introduction to this book. This concept is based on studies of liberal-bourgeois milieus, where a belief in science and social progress gradually replaced Christianity as a normative guideline. Religion was regarded as a private matter pertaining to women and therefore of no or little relevance to men. It should be noted that the discursive feminisation of Christianity proceeded in step with the division into the private and public spheres that characterised the emerging liberal-bourgeois society.¹⁶ The concept of the feminisation of religion is also used to explain the secularisation of society. Christianity in all its shades ceased to be the foundation of society, and was replaced by political ideologies. Liberal demands that religion should be a private matter served to undermine the former political and social order, while the growing urbanisation and industrialisation of European society led to a loosening of traditional Christian culture. In many regions, not least in Protestant Scandinavia, there was a drastic reduction in church attendance, particularly amongst the men. At the same time, women's importance for church life increased, and this reinforced the image of church-going and worship as being essentially female affairs.¹⁷

This process did, however, not go unchallenged. Across Europe, religious revivals sprang up and contributed to the revitalisation of Christianity in which Christian men played an important role as preacher, organisers, and politicians. In Protestant countries, these revivals often originated in pietistic and Low Church movements, while the ultramontane revival in the Catholic world drew its inspiration from Counter-Reformation confessionalism. Although the nation-state was officially neutral on religious matters, confessional identity still was an important factor in the construction of nineteenth-century national identities. Several historians have noted that this fusion of confession and nation was characterised to a certain extent by a desire to strengthen masculine identity. This was especially evident amongst Protestants. By adhering to the nationalistic discourse of the day, they attempted to give Lutheranism a significantly manly profile, while religious observance in a more immediate sense was relegated to the female sphere.¹⁸ As Michael Gross and Manuel Borutta have recently shown, a central role was given to combating Catholicism, which was depicted as unpatriotic and unmanly. From the point of view of liberal Protestants, Catholicism was a female religion.¹⁹

¹⁵ Olden-Jørgensen, *Sankt Andreas Kirke*, 22-31. For anti-Jesuit currents, see Werner, *Världsvärd*, 128-132.

¹⁶ McLeod, "Weibliche Frömmigkeit - männlicher Unglaube"; Götz von Olenhusen, "Die Feminisierung der Religion und Kirche", 69-88; Tosh, *A Man's Place*; Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*; Schneider, "Feminisierung der Religion"; Van Osselaer and Buerman, "Feminization Thesis".

¹⁷ McLeod, *Secularisation in Western Europe*, 52-67, 147-158, 184-202.

¹⁸ Ibid., 217-247; Blücker, *The Church as Nation*, 148-203, 313-320; Blaschke, "Das 19. Jahrhundert. Ein zweites konfessionelles Zeitalter?"; Altermatt and Metzger, eds, *Religion und Nation*; Van Osselaer and Buerman, "Feminization Thesis", 534-543.

¹⁹ Borutta, "Antikatholizismus, Männlichkeit und Moderne", 58-70; Id., *Antikatholizismus*; Gross, *The War against Catholics*. See also Blücker, *The Church as Nation*, 180-257.

Catholicism itself took a different route. The popes' strong repudiation of liberal ideology also extended to the 'nationalistic heresy', and the prevalent Catholic social doctrine advocated the idea of a Catholic society, built on the eternal principles of God-given natural law, guarded and interpreted by the Church. Certainly, nationalistic tendencies were also current in the Catholic world, but they were not permitted to find the same open expression as they did in Protestantism.²⁰ Another important difference between the two confessions was the strong position in Catholicism of the ideals of celibacy and ascetic monasticism, whereas in the Protestant tradition it was marriage, reproduction, and family life that were regarded as the norm for a Christian life. True, marriage is a Catholic sacrament, but the celibate, regulated religious life is nonetheless thought superior. Prior to the reforms of the Second Vatican Council this superiority was even more accentuated than it is today. The religious were regarded as an 'estate of perfection', and the monastic lifestyle served as a model for lay piety. The normative position of celibate ideals within the Catholic Church was apparent also in the pre-Conciliar liturgy, with its disciplinary regulations fixated on gender and purity - in the sense of sexual abstinence.²¹

In studying how clerical masculinity was construed, I have analysed the correspondence between Catholic missionaries at work in Scandinavia and their local superiors and the Propaganda Fide. This correspondence deals primarily with missionary activities, problems, and strategies, but it also provides a useful account of expected virtues, patterns of behaviour, feelings, and opinions, and thus in much the same way as Fumagalli's and Meyer's letters, quoted above, reflects ideals, visions, and identities.²² Crucially, it permits a focus on the ideals and anti-ideals or, to borrow from George Mosse, types and countertypes²³ of Catholic masculinity. What then were these 'Catholic' ideals of manliness? How were they related to ideas about Christian manliness that were evident in Nordic Protestantism? And in what way did they differ from middle-class, liberal constructions of masculinity?

²⁰ Altermatt, "Katholizismus und Nation". In his mission encyclical *Maximum illud* of 1919, Benedict XV condemned all forms of nationalism; Rivinius, "Die Entwicklung des Missionsgedankens", 256-262.

²¹ Dortel-Claudot, "Vie consacrée"; Dander, "Berufung zum Priester und Ordensstand", 284 ff.

²² The source material consists of official and private correspondence held in the archives of Propaganda Fide (ASPF), and the Roman archives of the Barnabites (ASBR) and the Jesuits ARSI), as well as the archives of the German Jesuits in Munich (APGS).

²³ Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 56-76. According to Mosse, the countertypes reveal the ideals of manliness.

THE BARNABITES' ITALIAN MASCULINITY

The Barnabite order, or *Congregatio Clericorum Regularium Sancti Pauli*, is a mission-oriented priestly fraternity founded in the 1530s and headquartered at the convent of San Barnaba, from which it took its name. In the late nineteenth century, the Barnabite order comprised around 200 members, distributed between three provinces. The motherhouse was, and is, in Rome.²⁴ In the summer of 1864, Barnabite priests began work in Christiania and Stockholm: Johan Daniel Stub, who was born in Norway, took over as Catholic vicar in Christiania; and Carlo Giovanni Moro and Cesare Tondini de Quarenghi were sent to Stockholm. For varying periods a number of other Barnabites were active in Norway and Sweden, amongst them Gregorio Almerici, who replaced the apostolic vicar, Bishop Laurentius Studach, as court chaplain to queen dowager Josephine, a post that Moro would also occupy. Later the Barnabites settled down in Gävle, with Moro as vicar and Fumagalli as chaplain. In the spring of 1885, Fumagalli was appointed lecturer in French and Italian at the University of Uppsala, where Moro was already lecturing, but because of opposition from the Jesuits, who had recently taken over pastoral responsibility for the Catholics in Stockholm and its environs, they were forced to give up this academic apostolate. Similarly, the plans for a Barnabite mission in southern Sweden had to be dropped. In 1887, the Barnabites abandoned what was left of their Scandinavian mission.²⁵

The Barnabites had originally managed to gain a toehold in the Swedish-Norwegian mission largely thanks to the St Joseph Sisters, a French congregation with its motherhouse in Chambéry in Savoy that had been active in Scandinavia since 1856. The Superior General, Marie-Félicité, pushed for the Barnabites to take responsibility both for the entire Swedish-Norwegian mission and the collaboration between the two congregations in the Scandinavian mission; the Barnabite general Francesco Caccia had similar aspirations.²⁶ The two congregations came into conflict with the Catholic vicar of the parish St Eugenia in Stockholm, the German Anton Bernhard, who for many years had administered the mission in all but name in place of the sickly Studach. If we are to believe the Barnabites and the St Joseph Sisters, however, the real power lay with Bernhard's housekeeper, the Spanish-born Caroline de Bogen. True, she had taken vows, and for a while had belonged to a religious congregation, but she and Bernhard lived openly together in the vicarage as if they were married, which the Barnabites and the Sisters naturally seized upon in their attacks. It was a scandal, they fumed, that a woman was allowed to exercise power in that manner, or as Tondini put it, "cosa umiliante per la dignità della nostra santa Religione", it was humiliating for their holy religion. In fact, Bogen in many respects held a position

²⁴ Gentili, *I Barnabiti*. The Barnabite order received Papal confirmation in 1579.

²⁵ For an overview of the Barnabite mission, see the articles by Declercq.

²⁶ ASBR, Epistolario Generalizio (hereafter Epist. Gen.): Marie-Félicité to Caccia, 9 March and 4 July 1864; Rome, Archivio Storico della Congregazione per l' Evangelizzazione dei Popoli o 'de Propaganda Fide' (hereafter ASPF), Svezia vol. 4: Marie-Félicité to Barnabò, 14 February and 25 July 1864. See Werner, *Kvinnlig motkultur och katolsk mission*, 63-65.

similar to that of a clergyman's wife, which Moro also alludes to in some of his reports by calling her 'La Pastorinna'.²⁷

The details of these conflicts shed an interesting light on gender relations, and at first glance seem to confirm the thesis of the feminisation of religion. The women religious held a strong position in the mission, and by appealing to Rome could protect their independence from the local hierarchy. For the clergy, particularly of the older generation, this was a challenge. In a Propaganda Fide transcript regarding the prolongation of Moro's post as almoner of the St Joseph Sisters in Stockholm, Studach scribbled "Weiber-Regierung" in the margin. He was referring to the fact that the Chambéry congregation had defied him by ensuring that Moro would continue to serve as a priest in the Swedish capital.²⁸ However, if we look more closely, it transpires that the sisters did not have as independent a position as at first appears. If Caroline de Bogen wielded her influence by virtue of her position as Bernhard's trusted housekeeper, it was by exploiting their network of male contacts within the upper echelons of the church hierarchy that the Sisters of St Joseph managed to maintain their position in the Nordic mission.

The conflicts within the Catholic parish in Stockholm largely centred on Moro and his activities. Moro soon became very popular, both as a preacher and as spiritual director, and he was a welcome guest in the elegant parlours of the capital. When in 1868 and again in 1877 he was removed from Stockholm, this gave rise to a storm of protests, both from Catholics and Protestants. On the latter occasion, a letter of protest with more than 250 signatures was sent to Propaganda Fide.²⁹ The majority of the signatories were Protestants. Even queen dowager Josephine weighed in. In a personal letter to Pope Pius IX she pointed out that Moro, with his brilliant sermons, high education, and good example, more than anyone else had contributed to a more positive opinion of the Catholic Church in the country.³⁰

The secular priests, who for the most part came from Germany, argued that the Barnabites were not fit to be missionaries in the Nordic countries, as their Mediterranean mentality was too foreign there. They admitted that the Barnabites' refined and elegant manners were very much appreciated in the upper ranks of society, but in their eyes, this 'parlour apostolate' did more harm than good for the Catholic mission.³¹ For their part, the Barnabites, proud as they were of their "solido spirito di romanità" (solid Roman piety) and intellectual refinement, considered themselves to represent a superior kind of priestly manhood. In their letters they also emphasise the

²⁷ ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Tondini to Caccia, 19 May and 10 June 1864 (in the later report, Tondini calls Bogen "padrona nella parochia") and Moro to the newly elected Barnabite general Teppa, 6 March, 10 May and 18 June 1867; ASPF, Svezia vol. 4: Marie-Félicité to Barnabò, 28 July 1864.

²⁸ Barnabò to Studach 11 May 1867. See Palmqvist, *Die Römisch-katholische Kirche in Schweden*, II, 148.

²⁹ Declercq, "La Rinascita cattolica", 40-47, 146-155; Werner, *Världsvið*, 119 ff.

³⁰ Josephine to Pius IX, 22 October 1868, quoted in Werner, "Kunglig missionär", 120-122.

³¹ ASPF, Svezia vol. 4-5: Bernhard to Barnabò, 12 September 1867, 12 February 1868, 28 July 1869 and to Barnabò's successor, Alessandro Franchi, 12 March 1874; Studach to Barnabò, 29 June 1868 and 4 January 1868; letters to Franchi from Studach's successor, the apostolic vicar Johann Georg Huber, 11 October and from Rudolf Kiesler, 19 October 1875.

importance of demonstrating the high dignity and sacral status of the Catholic priesthood and the cultural superiority of Catholicism.³² It was not for nothing that they were strongly influenced by the Italian philosopher and theologian Antonio Rosmini-Serbati (d. 1855), who advocated a more liberal form of ultramontane Catholicism.³³

How were the good and bad kinds of clerical manliness depicted in the reports from the Barnabite mission in Scandinavia? When commending someone, both the St Joseph Sisters and the Barnabites refer to ideals such as simplicity, decency, *piété* (piety), patience, and *tendre charité* (charity). In proposing Moro as Studach's successor as apostolic vicar, his fellow religious stressed qualities such as humility and self-sacrificing obedience; they emphasised, in other words, the kinds of 'passive' virtues that in the liberal-bourgeois discourse were usually associated with women.³⁴ Studach and Bernhard, for their part, accused Moro of lax practices as a confessor, a lack of orthodoxy, and of intriguing and defamation, as well as leading a dissipated life under the cover of the mission. He was said to avoid simple pastoral tasks such as teaching children their catechism, and instead gathered a whole 'battalion' of admiring, young Catholic women around him. These women refused to accept any other priest than Moro as their spiritual director and confessor.³⁵

For Moro these conflicts were sources of great suffering, and he several times requested to be called back to Italy. He was deeply distressed at being passed over and what he saw as the unjust attacks to which he was subjected.³⁶ In 1866, the situation was especially critical, to the degree that Moro wrote saying that he could not continue with his work to "salvare le anime altrui" (save the souls of others) when in doing so there was a risk he would "perdere la sua propria" (lose his own).³⁷ Such outbursts of feeling are very common in Moro's correspondence with his superiors, in which the general tone is one of sacrifice, prayer, and obedience. In a letter of the spring of 1867 he characterised subordination to the will of his superiors as "la mia regola"; the commands of the general superior were for him equal to God's will.

³² ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Almerici to Teppa, 1 and 4 October 1868; Stub and Moro to Teppa, 1 May 1868; Fumagalli to Nicola Nàsica, 19 July 1884.

³³ Scalese, "Il Rosminianesimo nell'Ordine dei Barnabiti". The 'Rosminians' were later accused of being modernists, and in 1877 several statements by Rosmini were put on the Index.

³⁴ ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Letters to Caccia from Marie-Félicité, 9 March, 5 and 21 July 1864, from Anne de Jésus, 13 March and 26 September 1865, and from Tondini, 10 June 1864; ASPF, Svezia vol. 4: Marie-Félicité to Barnabò, 4 July 1864.

³⁵ ASPF, Svezia vol. 4: Bernhard to Barnabò, 12 February 1868 and 29 June 1869; Studach to Barnabò, 29 June 1868 and 4 January 1869. In a report to Teppa of 23 October 1867 Moro quotes a letter from Bernhard in which the latter had called him "diavolo incatenato" (Declercq, "La Rinascita cattolica", 146 ff).

³⁶ ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Letters from Moro to Caccia, 15 and 16 August, 8 and 24 October 1864, 30 January, 30 June, 15 and 16 August and 21 November 1865, and from Moro to Teppa, 16 January, 19 May, 7 October 1866, 14 September and 23 October 1867. Declercq, *Pagina di cultura*, 225-227; and Id., "La Rinascita cattolica", 40-42. In the letter of 19 May 1866, Moro described the conflicts as a "guerra dissimulata e accanita" (terrible war).

³⁷ ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Moro to Teppa, 8 March 1866.

Prayer was an instrument in the battle against wilfulness.³⁸ We find a similar way of thinking in Tondini's correspondence with his superiors: for him, Roman decisions were a manifestation of God's will, and obedience was "esercizio di fede", an exercise of faith.³⁹ In a letter to Moro, the Barnabite general Alessandro Teppa underscored the point that religious sent out as missionaries were exempt from bodily asceticism, and therefore had to take great pains in sacrificing their own will and patiently suffering the afflictions which God had in store for them. Life as missionary was a "vita di sacrificio", a life full of sacrifices.⁴⁰

This Catholic discourse of obedience was typical of the religious at this time, but in the reports and letters from Barnabites working in Scandinavia, obedience was articulated not only as a self-evident virtue, but also as an existential problem. Moro sometimes described his situation as a "via crucis"; Tondini compared his stay in Christiania to a sojourn in purgatory. Meanwhile, Almerici was certain that the effort to subsume self-will into obedience ("le sacrifice de moi-même") must have its limits - in his case, these limits were reached with the plan to send him to the small Norwegian town of Bergen, which, he argued, would deprive him of fraternal community life and at the same time force him to have contact with the world ("il mondo") that he had renounced in his vows.⁴¹ The picture of the ideal male religious that we see a glimpse here in many ways opposes the contemporary bourgeois manly ideal, which emphasised the fight for independence and autonomy, whereas virtues such as humility, self-sacrifice, and subordination were associated with woman. And while even in Protestantism these ideals were honoured as Christian and gender-crossing virtues, obedience and subordination were associated with the worldly sphere - with military life, the household, and the dutiful soldier - and, unlike the Catholic discourse, the exercise of these virtues was not seen as a merit in a religious sense.⁴²

Another characteristic trait is that the religious sent north as part of the Barnabites' Scandinavian mission were doubtful about their postings. Fumagalli wrote to a fellow religious that he had accepted being sent to Sweden "sans aucun enthousiasme, obéissant presque machinalement au désir des Supérieurs", only as an act of obedience. Tondini had been enthusiastic at the beginning, but this was because he saw the activities in Scandinavia as a preparation for a future apostolate in Russia. Like the others, he accepted in obedience, or as he put it "paratus sum sine voluntate" (I am prepared without wanting it).⁴³ One reason for their unease was the lack

³⁸ ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Moro to Teppa, 13 April 1867, with more examples in letters from Moro to Teppa, 7 October 1866, 4 and 29 August 1868; ASPF, Svezia vol. 4: Moro to Studach (copy), 2 April 1868; this kind of terminology is also present in the letters of the other Barnabites, hence ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Stub to Caccia, 18 February 1865.

³⁹ ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Tondini to Caccia, 3 October 1865; ASBR, Carte Almerici: Tondini to Almerici, 2 October and 25 November 1865. See Carboni, "Cecare Tondini", 153-156.

⁴⁰ ASBR, Epistolario Caccia: Caccia to Moro, 3 March 1869.

⁴¹ ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Letters to Teppa from Moro, 15 and 29 June, and from Almerici, 4 November 1868. In a letter of 4 October the same year, Almerici openly criticised Teppa for having accepted Moro's move to Christiania (ASBR, Carte Almerici: Tondini to Almerici, 14 November 1864).

⁴² Walter, "Gehorsam".

⁴³ Fumagalli to Giuseppe Granniello, 4 March 1885, in Lindqvist, "Padre Paolo Fumgalli", 407 ff.; ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Tondini to Caccia, 27 February 1864.

of success, compounded by the conflicts with the secular priests in the region, but the principal reason seems to have been the impossibility of founding real communities. The Barnabites in Scandinavia wrote with constant complaints of the lack of brotherhood and regulated religious community life. Religious life normally included lay brothers who did all the practical work. In lacking this support, the Barnabites in Scandinavia either had to ask the female congregations for help, or to employ maids. What this could lead to is revealed in a letter from Almerici when he was in Christiania: their maid was such a terrible cook that Moro was forced to take over in the kitchen. Almerici mentions this as an inconvenience, not because cooking was considered something for women, but because housekeeping in a male community should be left to lay brothers.⁴⁴ The Barnabites were used to living in homosocial, manly communities, in which masculinity was constructed within the framework of a hierarchical order relative to other men.

In the conflicts over the Barnabites' Scandinavian mission, which coincided with the preparations for the First Vatican Council and the end of the Papal States, the Roman Curia manifestly took the side of the Barnabites. The Barnabite general superior had close contacts with the prefect of Propaganda Fide, Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò, and the latter on many occasions inquired about the possibility of letting the Barnabites take over responsibility for the Swedish-Norwegian mission. However, at the decisive moment the Barnabite general and his staff declined this offer, arguing that the order lacked sufficient personnel and economical resources to fulfil this mission.⁴⁵ The fact that the Italian Barnabites evidently had difficulty acclimatising to Scandinavia may also have played a role.

The Barnabites Scandinavian missionary project was in many ways a product of women's efforts. The extensive correspondence considered here often deals with women and their role in the issues at stake, but invariably in uncomplimentary terms whenever their power and influence are mentioned. The Barnabites refer to the influence over the work of the mission wielded by Caroline de Bogen, the vicar's housekeeper, and the Daughters of Mary, a French congregation that had been active in Sweden since the 1850s, as an expression of a wider decay and disorder. These women, Moro stated in a letter of spring 1865, did not strive for wisdom or sanctity, but for power.⁴⁶ Feminine power is here viewed as the antithesis of sanctity. Studach and Bernhard expressed similar views. In order to belittle Catholic protests over Moro's transfer to Christiania, they described the outcry as having been organised by his female admirers. In a long report to Propaganda Fide, Bernhard expressed his indignation that Rome gave so much credit to the reports - and complaints - by women religious. It was his view that the problems in the Swedish mission were mainly due to the strong influence this female congregation had in Rome.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Almerici to Teppa, 4 November 1868.

⁴⁵ Declercq, "La Rinascita cattolica", 157-161; an account of these negotiations is given in ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Teppa to Stub, 17 June 1869.

⁴⁶ ASBR, Epist. Gen.: Moro to Caccia, 30 January 1865.

⁴⁷ ASPF, Svezia vol. 4: Reports to Barnabò from Studach, 4 January 1869, and from Bernhard, 28 July 1869.

This could be interpreted as contempt for women's ability and competence. Yet a closer look reveals that the issue turned on the exercise of power in the absence of formal authority. The women who were accused of exercising undue power were all women religious or, as in Bogen's case, secular women living under vows. In this period women religious were increasingly considered to be priests' assistants, belonging to the clergy in a wider sense.⁴⁸ This is reflected also in the correspondence that I have analysed: Bernhard considered Bogen to be his trusted collaborator; the Barnabites were prepared to work with the St Joseph Sisters as equal partners, and there is no evidence that they regarded the women religious as subordinate to male religious. The belonging to religious orders, the 'estate of perfection', transcended socially constructed gender differences. However, this did not mean that the male religious accepted women's political emancipation. In one of his articles in the newspaper *Gefle-Posten*, Moro denounced the idea of equal political rights for men and women, arguing that it would threaten the moral standards of society. To his mind, it was women's vocation to spread love and charity - it was in this sense that women could and should exercise power in society.⁴⁹

THE JESUITS' ULTRAMONTANE MASCULINITY

After 1880, the influence of the woman religious waned. The Barnabites left Scandinavia, abandoning the field to the other male orders, and the Jesuits in particular. No women religious were involved in the establishment of the German Jesuits in Denmark and Sweden in the 1870s, and there was no question of collaboration of the kind that had existed between the Barnabites and the St Joseph Sisters. The Jesuits even hesitated to engage themselves in the troublesome "Nonnen-Seelensorge" (pastoral care of the nuns), as one of them put it.⁵⁰ Unlike most other religious institutes, the Society of Jesus has no female branch. According to the constitutions in force in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Jesuit apostolate was particularly directed towards men, a principle that the generals constantly repeated in their instructions.⁵¹ Yet in reality they were very much concerned with women. The majority of the Scandinavian converts instructed by the Jesuits were women, and women were the most fervent participants at the religious devotions and the spiritual exercises organised by the Jesuits.⁵²

The ministry of the Jesuits in Scandinavia was concentrated in Copenhagen, Ordrup, and Århus in Denmark, and in Stockholm and Gothenburg in Sweden. Until the closure of the Jesuit college in Ordrup in 1920, as a consequence of repeal of the

⁴⁸ McNamara, *Sister in Arms*, 600-627; Sastre Santos, *La vita religiosa*, 860-875.

⁴⁹ Moro, "Gif akt", 23-25.

⁵⁰ Munich, Archivum Provinciae Germaniae Septentrionalis (hereafter APGS), Dania V 65.

⁵¹ In a letter of 12 September 1922 to the superior in Stockholm, Wessel, the general Ledóchowski thus points out: "curam virorum feminarum curae praeferere debemus" (the pastoral care of men should be preferred to that of women) (ARSI, Provincia Germaniae Inferioris (hereafter Germ. Inf.) 1020). Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon*, 1020-1022.

⁵² Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 171, 187.

anti-Jesuit legislation and the re-establishment of the order in Germany, more than 200 Jesuits had worked for varying lengths of time at the college.⁵³ The Jesuit Sacred Heart church in Copenhagen was the centre of a flourishing parish, and since it was extra territorial, the Jesuits had no administrative work and could thus concentrate on pastoral care, conversions, writing, and liturgy; it was here the most magnificent religious services were performed.⁵⁴ In Sweden, the Jesuits took over the pastoral care of the St Eugenia's parish in Stockholm, and later of the Catholics in Gothenburg. According to their contract, the Jesuits in Stockholm planned to erect a college and a large church dedicated to St Bridget in the capital, but the plans were never realised because of incessant conflict with the apostolic vicar, Bishop Albert Bitter. Furthermore, in both Sweden and Denmark the Jesuits clashed with sections of the secular clergy, who were critical of the order's privileged position in the Scandinavian mission.⁵⁵

The Jesuits' constitutions, with its typically military metaphors, have a decidedly manly character. At the head of the order stands a general, who serves for life. The order is characterised as a group of warriors for Jesus Christ, and the apostolate is described as a holy combat; redemption as a war goal; and the vow of obedience is depicted in military terms. Severe demands are made of each individual Jesuit. He must excel in intellectual ability, have a firm character, show self-control, and be quick in taking the initiative. The principle of hierarchy is strongly emphasised, and obedience, not humility, is regarded as the chief virtue. Except during the initial period, there is no common recitation of the divine office, and asceticism and the need to observe the vow of poverty are entirely subordinate to the demands of the apostolate. This fact, as well as the military and rational spirit that permeates the rule of the order, means that the Jesuit ideals of manhood have a great deal in common with the hegemonic masculinity discourses of emerging bourgeois societies.⁵⁶ The order's constitutions and regulations are intended to guarantee uniformity and discipline, and the maintenance of a mutual spirit in the provinces and communities worldwide. On a normative level we can therefore speak of a Jesuit construction of masculinity in the singular. Yet it remains to be seen what expression this Jesuit idea of manliness took in the Protestant context of the Scandinavian mission.

In practical life, the Jesuits were mainly active as teachers at the order's colleges, and as writers or as preachers and confessors at the great 'popular missions' (*Volksmissionen*) that were established one after another. The first generation of Jesuits who came to Scandinavia had all been trained for an apostolate in a German-speaking Catholic milieu, or as missionaries in a non-Christian region - not for missionary work in 'foreign' Protestant countries, and even less for the task as assistant priests or vicars in missionary parishes. Moreover, the constitutions of the order specifically prohibited Jesuits from engaging in ordinary pastoral care. The reports from the first decade of the order's Scandinavian mission illustrate the huge prob-

⁵³ Ibid., 108 ff., 141 ff.; Olden-Jørgensen, *Sankt Andreas Kirke*, 22-30.

⁵⁴ Hampton Frosell, *Omkring 'Jesu-Hjerte'*, 16-75; Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 106-110, 134-143.

⁵⁵ Werner, *Världsvi*d, 201-211; Id., *Nordisk katolicism*, 289 ff.

⁵⁶ For the Jesuits' constitutions, see de Chastonay, *Die Satzungen des Jesuitenordens*; Fischer, *Der heilige Kampf*, 70-98; Hartmann, *Die Jesuiten*, 19-29.

lems the Jesuits faced in the encounter between ideals and practice in this new and in many ways strange cultural environment. Certainly, in Scandinavia the Jesuits were spared the kind of harassment they had experienced at the hands of the authorities in the wake of German *Kulturkampf*. Yet interest in the Catholic activities was limited, and for several years the Jesuit fathers had to work under demanding circumstances, with their problems compounded by their primitive accommodation. During the development phase they had to live in ordinary block of flats in what one of the fathers described as unworthy conditions, with ‘noisy women’ on the staircases and in the kitchen. This was considered a danger, not least for the lay brothers. In such humble circumstances, it was not easy to maintain the discipline and hierarchical order prescribed in the rules of the order, and the reports give evidence of constant conflicts and discord in the Jesuit residences.⁵⁷

In their instructions, the Jesuit generals constantly repeat the importance of following the order’s rules and regulations to the letter, with strict attention to spiritual lives and to ensuring that the “*unione fraterna*” (brotherly unity) in the communities never failed.⁵⁸ The reports to Rome from the Jesuit residences in Scandinavia usually begin with a statement saying that these demands were largely met, followed by an account of edifying examples and measures taken to cope with deviations from the order’s norms.⁵⁹ Failings in obedience and hierarchical subordination are a recurrent subject in the reports: hence a report from 1921, in which the headmaster of the Jesuit college in Copenhagen, Friedrich Küpferle, accused two younger Jesuit scholastics recently sent there for training of following their own ideas and neglecting the obligation of obedience to their superiors (“*dependentiam a superioribus suis neglexit*”).⁶⁰

The correspondence about disciplinary offences provides illustrations of the counter-images, or - to quote Mosse - ‘counter-types’ of the ideal Jesuit. Accounts of faults and deficiencies are at times quite detailed. This is reminiscent of the ‘lapidation’ during Jesuit training, when all scholastics were asked to write down the faults and deficiencies they observed in their peers, whereupon they all received an account of their own faults.⁶¹ However, the reports also contain praise of Jesuit fathers whose good characters are described as models. By contrasting these positive examples with their negative counterparts, we can arrive at a picture of the ideal Jesuit and the corresponding ideals of masculinity. Serious offences of a sexual nature were very rare in

⁵⁷ There are several reports of such conflicts from Ordrup and Copenhagen to the provincial in the 1870s, and from Stockholm in the 1880s (APGS, Dania V 65 and OV 64 Suecia).

⁵⁸ For example, ARSI, *Epistolae praepositorum generalium ad Provinciae Germaniae* (hereafter *Epist. Praep. Gen. Germ.*) IV-VI: Letters to Hermann Zurstrassen (Ordrup), 24 April 1873 and 30 November 1874, and to Lieber (Stockholm), 25 March and 30 June 1893, 1 December 1894, and 31 May 1902.

⁵⁹ This is usually formulated as “*De bona nostrorum spiritu generatim et disciplinae custodia et regularum observantia constat*”, as, for example, in the reports from Thomas Brühl (Ordrup) to the general Anton Maria Anderledy, 11 July and 2 October 1887 (ARSI, *Provinciae Germaniae Particulares* (hereafter *Germ. Part.*) 1010-XX).

⁶⁰ ARSI, *Germ. Inf.* 1019-V: Küpferle to Ledóchowski, 26 October 1921.

⁶¹ von Hoensbroech, *14 Jahre Jesuit*, II, 163 ff. This method is mentioned by the provincial Thill in a report to Ledóchowski, 19 March 1918 (ARSI, *Germ. Part.* 1015-XV).

the Scandinavian Jesuit communities, but at the beginning of the twentieth century there were two notable exceptions. The first concerned a lay brother at Ordrup who was found to have molested children. This crime was naturally judged to be extremely grave, and if it had come to the knowledge of the Danish public, it would have led to the immediate closure of the Jesuit College. The lay brother was sent to Exaten to do penance, and was later expelled from the Jesuit order. The second case concerned a prominent man in the Danish Jesuit mission, the former headmaster of the Jesuit secondary grammar school in Copenhagen, Clemens Bannwart, who was discovered having an affair with a woman. He was also obliged to leave the Jesuit order, and returned to his home country Switzerland.⁶²

A common ploy to avoid conflict was to transfer Jesuits between various districts and leading positions. This strategy was frequently used in Denmark: Johannes Lohmann was at first headmaster in Ordrup, then superior of the German province, and later a variety of posts ranging from being a priest in Århus to his reappointment as headmaster in Ordrup.⁶³ The fact that he had been superior of the German Jesuit province for a time thus gave him no particular advantage in his career; on the contrary, a great deal of inconvenience. The superior of the community in Århus, Ludwig Schmitt, was anything but happy to have the former provincial as a colleague in the parish. In his reports he accused Lohmann of trying to take command and of not respecting his own authority.⁶⁴ According to the rule, a Jesuit had to accept the function he was assigned by his superiors. This acquiescence was an important point in the Jesuit obedience discourse, and a central element in the Jesuit construction of masculinity. For certain Jesuits, this involved constant transfers; for others, remaining at the same post for long periods, sometimes even the main part of their lives. However, it was not always the case that Jesuit fathers accepted the posts chosen for them by their superiors, a problem that certainly exercised the provincial Ernest Thill in his report to the Jesuit general in the autumn of 1907. Sometimes it was the priest in question who raised objections, but more often it was the superior or other fathers at the residence about to receive the newcomer who opposed the decision.⁶⁵ It seems that this kind of resistance was often accepted, but protests from individual fathers were not.

Two cases from the Scandinavian mission may serve as examples of the Jesuit leadership's thinking. One concerns Albert Ammann, who after two years in Sweden returned to Germany at his own request in 1926; the other, August Brunner, who despite repeated, almost desperate, letters of complaint to the provincial, was only allowed to return to his homeland after having a mental breakdown. The reason why the Bavarian-born Ammann was sent to Sweden was that he had a Swedish mother,

⁶² ARSI, Germ. Part. 1011-XXI, 1012-XVII and Germ. Inf. 1019: Lohmann to Martin, 6 and 17 October 1898, Küpferle to Bley, 17 October 1922; ASPF, Nuova Serie 1920/105: Jacob Olrik to Arnold Diepen, 9 January 1921.

⁶³ ARSI: *Summarium vitae* P. Ioannes Bapt. Lohmann SJ.

⁶⁴ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1010-XI: Schmitt to Anderledy, 19 January 1889, in which Schmitt complains that Lohmann wants to show his superiority and govern ("suam in omnibus super nos superioritatem vult ostendere").

⁶⁵ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1013-I: Thill to Wernz, 10 October 1907.

spoke fluent Swedish, and had had personal experience of Sweden from his visits to his grandmother in Stockholm in his childhood. Moreover the Ammann family was acquainted with the newly appointed Catholic bishop of Sweden, the Bavarian Johannes Müller.⁶⁶ Intellectually talented but weak and sensitive, Albert Ammann had barely been accepted to become a Jesuit. The decisive factors were the good will he had shown and his eagerness to obey and correct himself. Similar considerations contributed to the provincial Bernhard Bley's decision to agree to Ammann's humble request to be recalled to Germany and placed in a larger community.⁶⁷ In a letter to Bishop Müller, who had expressed his dissatisfaction at Ammann's relocation, Bley explained that not everyone, however well-intentioned, could cope with the hard conditions of the Swedish mission.⁶⁸ Judging from the correspondence between Bley and the Jesuit general, the problem in this case was not that a Jesuit was discontent with his post, but how to motivate his replacement to the bishop. The wish to respect Amman's demand was thus given priority.

With Brunner it was quite another matter. The question of how to handle his wish to be replaced turned into involved dispute over how to interpret the spirit of the Jesuit order, and by extension the ideals of clerical manliness associated with it. Brunner, who was still a scholastic and thus had not yet taken his final vows, was considered intellectually gifted. During his training at the Jesuit College in Valkenburg he had been offered a post as Jesuit professor in exegesis once his studies were successfully complete. He declined the offer, explaining that his heart was more set on philosophy. Yet his wish to qualify as a teacher of philosophy was refused by his superiors, who judged him to be far too 'subjectively' oriented to be entrusted with a professorship in this discipline.⁶⁹ His request to become an editor of the prestigious Jesuit magazine *Stimmen der Zeit* was refused for the same reason. Instead he was sent to the Jesuit community in Stockholm, charged with carrying on a scientific apostolate and engaging in religious and cultural political debate. Above all, it was intended that he should begin a theological exchange with Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, whose church-political programme became highly topical following the ecumenical meeting in Stockholm in 1925. Representatives from Protestant and Orthodox churches had taken part in the meeting, but the Catholic hierarchy condemned the whole idea of ecumenism, and regarded conversion to the Catholic Church as the only way to establish church unity.⁷⁰ Brunner, however, was ill at ease in Stockholm,

⁶⁶ Albert Ammann's mother Ellen, who was a member of the Bavarian parliament and head of the Bavarian Catholic women's association, had been a moving force behind the decision that the Jesuits should stay in Stockholm and Müller's appointment as apostolic vicar after Bishop Bitter (Werner, *Världsvi*d, 230 ff., 253 ff.).

⁶⁷ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1014-II: N. Prümm to Wernz, 17 March 1913; ARSI, Germ. Inf. 1021: Bley to Ledóchowski, 29 October 1927.

⁶⁸ ARSI, Germ. Inf. 1021: Müller to Bley, 19 October 1927 (copy), Bley to Ledóchowski, 29 October 1927; ARSI: Historia Domus Holmiensis 1927-28. Ammann was sent to the college in Frankfurt am Main.

⁶⁹ ARSI, Germ. Inf. 1022: Bley to Ledóchowski, 29 October 1927. Brunner was interested in philosophy and he was strongly influenced by the ideas of Max Scheler.

⁷⁰ For the Stockholm conference, see Sundkler, *Nathan Söderblom*, 330-382.

especially as he considered his stationing there as a kind of demotion: his journalistic activity in Sweden was negligible, apart from some articles in the newly founded Catholic magazine *Credo*. In letters to his provincial and fellow Jesuits in Germany, which through the system of censorship came to the knowledge of the provincial leadership, he complained of his situation. In his private letters he was sharply critical of Bley, while seeking support from the provincial of the South German province, Augustin Bea.⁷¹

This obvious violation of the order's discipline made it far more difficult to let him return to Germany, especially as the Jesuits in both Stockholm and Copenhagen were strongly opposed to him being recalled. Bea, meanwhile, thought that Brunner had been treated too harshly, and that since his involuntary stay in Stockholm would lead to a mental breakdown it was thus essential to have him recalled to Germany. Bea also argued for letting him edit *Stimmen der Zeit*, where he could deal with philosophical and historical questions, naturally under the control of the censors.⁷² Johannes Lauer, who had just replaced Bley as superior of the North German province, was of a different opinion. In a report to Rome and in his letters to Bea in spring 1928, he gives a detailed account of Brunner's case. With a swipe at Bea, who had said that Brunner's talents could not do themselves justice in Sweden, Lauer pointed out that the post in Stockholm was "eine ehrenvolle Bestimmung", an honourable assignment. If Brunner had only been more assiduous, he could have found a much more fruitful field for his activities in Sweden than he ever could in Germany. According to Lauer, Brunner's failure could in part be explained by his nervous temperament, but the main reason was his desire ("Sucht") to play a leading role in the German cultural debate. Lauer interpreted this as evidence of Brunner's ambition and pride, qualities that stood in glaring contrast to the virtuous ideals of the Jesuit order. He was also critical of the way Bea and others talked of 'unused talents', which he considered to be erroneous, and evidence of a deficient understanding of the Jesuit spirit. Indeed, Lauer doubted whether Brunner had any future in the Jesuit order.⁷³

The Jesuit general Vlodimir Ledóchowski had repeatedly stressed the need to apply harder selection criteria when choosing candidates for the order, to safeguard the obedience and the spirit of asceticism of the order. However, in this case he let mercy season justice. In the summer 1928, Brunner returned to Germany as a broken man, where he was placed at the Jesuit College in Münster. In a letter to Lauer some months before his departure, Brunner, alluding to the consequences of his sojourn in Sweden for his health, described himself as "das Opfer der übertriebenen Pläne des Kardinal van Rossums und unseres Bischofs". He thus considered himself a victim of what he felt was an unrealistic programme of re-Catholicisation pursued by the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, van Rossum, and Bishop Müller. At the same time he

⁷¹ ARSI, Germ. Inf. 1023: Lauer to Ledóchowski, 17 March 1928. Brunner was called "der wissenschaftliche Kopf der Mission".

⁷² Ibid.: Bea to Lauer (copy), 18 January 1928.

⁷³ ARSI, Germ. Inf. 1023: Lauer to Ledóchowski, 17 March and to Bea (copy), 25 January 1928; Bea to Lauer (copy), 18 January 1928. In the letter to Bea, Lauer stressed that "Christus lässt auf die Dauer seine Sache nicht benutzen zur Befriedigung des Stolzes und der Ehrsucht" (personal ambition should not be the prime mover in the battle for the Christian cause).

expressed distress at his failure in Stockholm, saying that he was willing to make a new attempt if this was considered necessary.⁷⁴ It was perhaps this expression of submission that gave Brunner a new chance to show that he was suitable for the order. Two years later he took the eternal vows, and he was later assigned a post as a teacher of philosophy at the College of Valkenburg, thus finally obtaining the chair in philosophy that he had hoped for so long. After the Second World War he also appointed editor at *Stimmen der Zeit*.⁷⁵

The training period amounted to a process of 'sifting', and young Jesuit candidates who did not live up to expectations had to leave the order. There are several examples of this in reports from the Scandinavian Jesuit communities, and several Northerners were amongst those who had to leave the order.⁷⁶ The Danish convert Peter Schindler, who spent one year at the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum in Rome, recounts in his letters and autobiography some of the difficulties a young man brought up in a Protestant cultural environment faced in adapting to the Jesuit's rigid system of 'formation'. He admits that he had learned a great deal during his time at the college, not least self-discipline and study technique. However, all his life Schindler detested the Jesuit ideals of perfection, and more specifically the asceticism and the intellectual uniformity that in his view characterised the ultramontane Catholicism of which they were an expression.⁷⁷ The same holds for the Swede Niklas Bergius, who was excluded from the Jesuit order in 1908 because of his refusal to accept the decree of Pius X against theological and philosophical modernism. After his expulsion, Bergius left the Catholic Church, although he subsequently returned ten years later.⁷⁸ Others fared better. Amongst them were the Dane Ludvig Günther and the Swede Carl Brandt, who both were appointed as teachers at Sankt Andreas Kollegium in Ordrup. After the closure of the college in 1920, Günther became parish priest in Ordrup.⁷⁹

In reports from the Scandinavian Jesuit missions, lack of obedience and unwillingness to submit are seen as the greatest failings. Those who admitted their guilt were forgiven following their punishment. This was the case with the Icelander Jón Sveinsson or Svensson, later better known as the famous children's author 'Nonni'. In the 1890s, when he worked as a teacher at Sankt Andreas Kollegium he had come into conflict with his superiors and behaved in such a way that he was threatened with dismissal, and compulsorily transferred to Exaten for two years of penance. After twelve years at Exaten, where according to the provincial, Joye, he was not guilty of any new trespasses, he asked for permission to return to Ordrup, a request

⁷⁴ ARSI, Germ. Inf. 1023: Ledóchowski to Lauer, April 1928 and Brunner to Lauer, 7 March 1928 (copy). In a report (*litterae consultatoris*) to Ledóchowski, 30 January 1928 (ARSI, Germ. Inf. 1023), Brunner describes the bishop as ardent but imprudent ("ardens zelo pro conversione animarum ... prudentia caret").

⁷⁵ "August Brunner", 729.

⁷⁶ APGS, OV 64 Suecia: Lieber to Lohmann, 18 December 1887. See Hallberg, "Svenskfödda jesuiter", 36-39.

⁷⁷ Schindler, *Tilbage til Rom*, II, 36-60.

⁷⁸ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1013-II: Thill to Wernz, 18 and 20 February 1908; Hallberg, "Svenskfödda jesuiter", 40.

⁷⁹ Hallberg, "Svenskfödda jesuiter", 36-38; Olden-Jørgensen, *Sankt Andreas Kirke*, 31 ff., 36.

that was refused by the headmaster Joseph Droste. Yet, Svensson was allowed to devote himself to his writing, and at his own demand stationed in a Jesuit residence in Hungary. The Jesuit general gave permission for this on condition that Svensson should not be allowed to pursue any public activities and that the superior of the residence was informed of his earlier offences.⁸⁰

What then are the positive qualities and patterns of behaviour to be found in the Jesuits' correspondence? Apart from obedience, above all piety and prayer - the second of the two pillars on which the Catholic religious built their lives - were accentuated as ideals of virtue, but also qualities such as creativity, organisational skills, and an ability to act. This much is evident from the generals' instructions.⁸¹ It was mainly in conjunction with appointments and transfers that individuals' good qualities were mentioned. One of the Jesuit fathers working in Scandinavia who had especially good testimonials was the above mentioned K pferle, who had done his practical training as a scholastic in Ordrup. After the closing of the college in 1920, he was made director of studies and later headmaster of St Knud's school in Copenhagen. Apart from his pedagogical and intellectual capacity ("firme capite"), demonstrated by his excellent certificate of studies, his piety and humility were given a special emphasis. In a report from 1927, he is described as "vir maxima meriti et eximia virtutis", a man with the best merits and excellent virtues, who set a good example to others. His only fault was that he was occasionally too lenient towards pupils and scholastics.⁸² In other reports the exemplary qualities of the lay brothers are mentioned: hence in 1889 the superior in  rhus praised the community's three lay brothers for their prudence, loyalty, and exemplary obedience. In the same way, Friedrich Lieber, who for many years was superior at the Jesuit residence in Stockholm, on many occasions mentions the diligence and industriousness of the lay brothers.⁸³ That said, the ideals in operation for the lay brothers differed somewhat from what was expected of the priests, and for the most part lay brothers were only brought up in reports in connection with problems of various kinds.⁸⁴

Edward Wessel was a Jesuit priest who, like K pferle, was described in the reports as model of virtue. He was for many years responsible for the church music at St Eugenia's parish in Stockholm. Lieber, otherwise so critical, praised him for his zeal and ardour, and for the fact that he never complained in front of a third party.⁸⁵ The provincials also noticed Wessel's good qualities. When in 1913 the question arose

⁸⁰ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1014-I & II and Epist. Praep. Gen. Germ. IX: Joye to Wernz, 28 November 1912 and 9 March 1914; Wernz to Joye, 13 March 1914.

⁸¹ ARSI, Epist. Praep. Gen. Germ. 1020/21: Led chowski to Bley, 6 May 1922 and 5 September 1925. In the first letter the German province is praised for its excellently organised apostolate and its ambition "die Ordensdisziplin  ber all aufrechtzuerhalten".

⁸² ARSI, Germ. Part. 1013-XI & 1015-VIII and Germ. Inf. 1018 & 1022: Hausmann to Wernz, 13 August 1909, and reports to Led chowski from Droste, 27 December 1915, from M. Back, 4 January 1920, and from Josef Wolfsberg, 5 January 1927.

⁸³ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1010-XI & XVIII: Schmitt, the superior in  rhus, to Anderledy, 19 January 1889; APGS, OV 64 Suecia: Lieber to Lohmann, 3 April 1887.

⁸⁴ APGS, Dania V 65: Straeter to Meschler, 16 April 1884; ARSI, Germ. Part. 1011-XVIII & 1012-XIV: Schmid to Martin, 25 January 1897 and Lieber to Wernz, 5 March 1904.

⁸⁵ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1010-XVIII: Lieber to Anderledy, 31 July 1889.

of a suitable Jesuit priest to be headmaster of the Collegium Germanicum in Rome, the order's leadership considered entrusting this important post to Wessel, who by then had been the superior in Stockholm for a year. They were impressed by his skilful management of the difficult situation in Stockholm in the wake of the conflict with Bishop Bitter and the controversial decision to abandon the Jesuit mission in Sweden, and noticed that he was in possession of "aussergewöhnliche Tugend" (exceptional virtue) and "zu jedem Opfer bereit" (ready to make any sacrifice). Even the Jesuit general, Franz Xavier Wernz, who had known Wessel since his studies in Rome, recommended his candidature. Yet the appointment did not materialise. The Jesuit order was obliged to keep on the parish of St Eugenia, and it was thus considered best that Wessel stayed at his post as superior in the Swedish capital.⁸⁶

There is good reason to dwell on the idiom of the reports to the Jesuit general and the provincial. In the letters to the general, which are usually in Latin and often start by intoning that the community in question is imbued with a good religious spirit and discipline, the tone is often pious, subservient, and humble. The writer formulates his wishes in terms of a humble prayer ("humilitate precor"), expresses his confidence in God's grace and mercy ("Divini enim Salvatoris bonitati e miserationi"), and proclaims his own insignificance.⁸⁷ Thus in December 1890 the headmaster of Sankt Andreas Kollegium, Benedikt Fels, pointed out in a report that he had feared ("timebam") not being able to represent the Jesuit order in a worthy manner, but the general's tender admonitions ("vota et monita caritas plena") had given him new courage.⁸⁸ His predecessor, Paulus Wehrhahn, voiced even stronger doubts about his own abilities in a report just after being appointed headmaster in 1883. He emphasised his unsuitability for the task, referring to his lack of prayerfulness and devotion to God ("spiritus orationis et fidei et coniunctionis cum Deo"), and of the prudence and quick judgement prescribed in the order's rule.⁸⁹ In a letter to the general in October 1921, K  pferle expressed himself in similar terms when he describes his reactions to his appointment as headmaster of the Jesuit lyceum in Copenhagen, stating that he had received the news in tears ("cum lacrimis") because of his lack of the necessary experience and virtues for the task.⁹⁰ Yet both Fels and Wehrhahn accepted their appointments. The order's rule strictly forbade the 'climber spirit', but at the same time the Jesuit discourse of obedience required that all religious accept the positions assigned them.

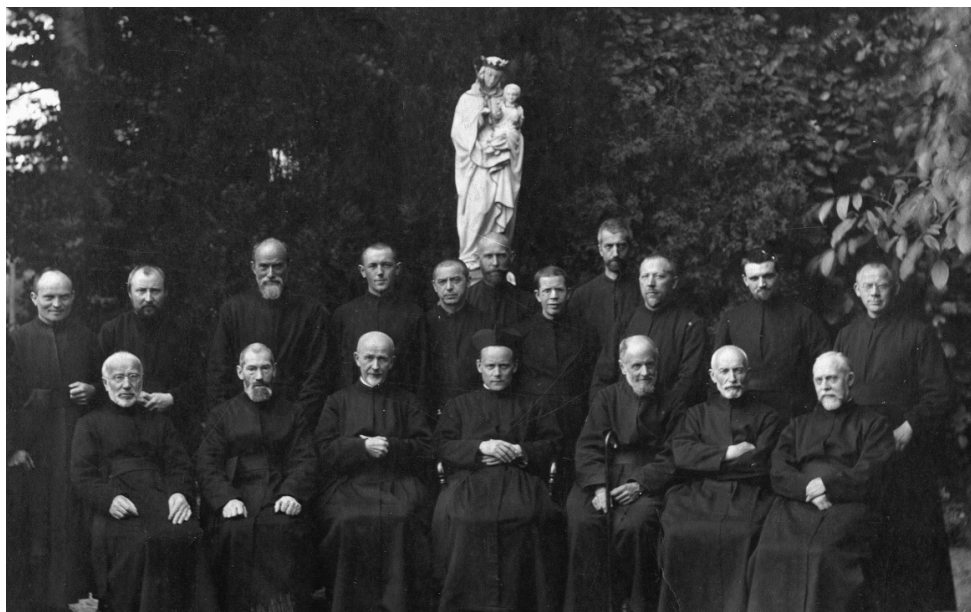
⁸⁶ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1014-II & XVIII: Report to Wernz from Wessel, 22 November 1911, and from Joye, 7 August 1913; ARSI, Epist. Praep. Gen. Germ. IX: Wernz to Joye, 14 August 1913. Wernz had been Wessel's examiner both when he passed his first exam and when he took his doctoral degree in Rome.

⁸⁷ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1010-XX and Germ. Inf. 1022: Br  hl to Anderledy, 2 October 1887 and Wolfsberg to Led  chowski, 4 July 1927. Br  hl noted that "spiritus Societatis et unione fraterna et observantia regularum et disciplina domestica", whereas Wolfsberg stated that "spiritus et disciplina religiosa in nostra collegio florent".

⁸⁸ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1010-XX: Fels to Anderledy, 21 December 1890.

⁸⁹ ARSI, Germ. Part. 1009-XVI: Wehrhahn to Hoevel, 3 February 1883.

⁹⁰ ARSI, Germ. Inf. 1019: K  pferle to Led  chowski, 26 October 1921.



Jesuits at the college in Ordrup
[Catholic Historical Archives, Copenhagen]

The tone is very different in the letters to the provincial, which are written in German. Formulaic expressions of piety or subordination are seldom found. Instead, their accounts of actual situations are matter-of-fact, and conflicts and difficulties as well as visions for the future and of strategies are described in a manner more straightforward than in the reports to the general. The style is sometimes downright familiar, not to say laddish. In one of Lieber's reports to the provincial he cheerfully mentioned that "Erzbischoflichen Gnaden Julius" (His Grace the Archbishop Julius), as he called one of the Jesuits in Gothenburg, had visited the residence in Stockholm and that it was "urgemütlich" (very cosy). Their church was "gesteckt voll" (full to bursting), he wrote in another. Anton Bernhard, vicar of the St Eugenia parish, is described as "Haudegen" (old campaigner), whose confessional fighting spirit is contrasted with Bishop Bitter's fear of offending the Swedish establishment. The superior Hermann Zurstrassen notes in his account of the Lent sermons in Copenhagen in 1879 that the Catholics had "den Protestanten auf die Hosen gegeben" (given it to the Protestants good and proper).⁹¹ In discussing disciplinary problems and offences against the vows of obedience the reports come straight to the point, without invoking God's mercy and help as they would have done if addressing Rome. The reports from the provincials to Rome, as Thill's above related writings illustrate, are characterised by the same frankness as the reports from the superiors to the provincial leadership, although humorous formulations are notable by their absence.

⁹¹ APGS, OV 64 Suecia: Lieber to Lohmann, 14 October 1885 and 24 November 1887, and to Rathgeb, 19 December 1890; APGS, Dania V 65: Zurstrassen to Hoevel, 14 June 1879.

In these reports the Jesuit order appears both as a homosocial male community, with latitude for humour and comradeship, and as a tightly organised, religious fighting organisation marked by strict obedience and a powerful sense of duty. Religious practice was equally subject to this ethic, which found expression not only in the prescribed spiritual exercises but also on a discursive level. The deluge of emotions that we find in the Barnabites' correspondence is hardly to be found in Jesuits' official letters and reports. Here the tone is either dry and matter-of-fact or boyishly humorous; the religious expressions used are more restrained and often seem formulaic. In the Latin yearly reports (*litterae annuae*), which were distributed to all the order's colleges, residences, and houses, the language is far more apologetic and the religious dimension more noticeable. Yet there is still no question of expressing personal religious feeling but rather carefully phrased stories of religious conversions, miraculous cures from serious illnesses, and other expressions of God's mercy.⁹² The tone is humble, the stories designed to express a strong confidence in God's will that all will be for the best. Similar perspectives are evident in *Jesu-Hjertes-Budbringer*, the magazine edited by the Jesuits in Denmark, although admittedly the focus here was primarily on religious conversion to a purer, more pious and moral life.⁹³ In both cases, the importance of the religious virtues associated with worship, attending mass, and taking the sacraments is much emphasised. Female saints and witnesses of the faith are described as equally courageous and heroic as the male ones - and inversely the male saints are described as being as pious and eager to live up to the religious virtues as the female ones.⁹⁴

In a work on the metamorphosis of Jesuit identity in the twentieth century, Peter McDonough uses examples from the American Jesuits to show the decisive role played by the idea of male superiority for the construction of Jesuit manliness and priestly identity up to the Second Vatican Council. The man represented *logos*, a higher principle of reason, whereas the woman was earthbound and in need of male leadership.⁹⁵ This same view is reflected in *Jesu-Hjertes-Budbringer*, in which male primacy is all, and woman's subordination is regarded as a natural obligation, and a prerequisite for man's ability to realise his full manhood. Looking to the theology of the Creation for its justification, this gender order also served as a fundament for the Catholic concept of priesthood; according to Catholic doctrine, priestly ordination is reserved to men. A catechism from 1928, edited by the previously mentioned Ansgar Meyer, underlines the connection between priesthood and masculinity. He describes the priestly ministry as oriented towards fatherhood and leadership, which by nature belonged to the man, while leadership in turn calls for manly qualities such as combativeness, courage, and firmness. Further, he compares the role of the father

⁹² There are several accounts of this type also in the *litterae annuae* (ARSI). See Werner, *Nordisk katolicism*, 137 ff.

⁹³ An example is the account of the strapping farmer who when stricken by serious illness promised God to be a more fervent Catholic and receive the communion often if his health was restored (*Jesu-Hjertes-Budbringer*, 1921).

⁹⁴ Very illustrating in this respect are articles about two modern saints, Contardo Ferrini (1859-1902) and Gemma Galgani (1878-1903), in *Jesu-Hjertes-Budbringer*, 1923. See Maurits and Van Osselaer in this volume; Van Osselaer, *The Pious Sex*, III.

⁹⁵ McDonough, "Metamorphoses of the Jesuits".

within the family with the role of the priest in the parish.⁹⁶ In *Jesu-Hjertes-Budbringer*, priestly celibacy is universally praised. It is said to be the Church's will that chaste hands administer the sacrifice of the mass, and that a chaste mouth proclaims the word of God and pronounces the absolution on his behalf.⁹⁷ The purpose of articles of this kind was to insist on the holiness, high dignity, and exclusively male character of Catholic priesthood.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

The manliness that is the ideal in the correspondence analysed is humble, pious, obedient, strong-willed, and self-sacrificing. Virtues such as piety, humility, patience, self-abnegation, and obedience are to the fore, whereas characteristics such as independence, self-assertion, and fame-seeking were regarded as negative. In the Barnabites' letters these types and counter-types of ideal priestly masculinity are articulated in a very emotional way, whereas the Jesuits' reports are often more temperate and to the point. From the viewpoint of contemporary, middle-class liberals these virtues were feminine, proper for women but not for men, to which should be added the fact that Catholic priests and the religious lived in celibacy, a way of life that to Protestants appeared both unethical and unmanly. Yet by the same token, for the male religious the celibate way of life and the order's discipline were important parts in the making of manliness.

In her book *Protestant och katolik* ('Protestant and Catholic') of 1919, the Swedish writer Emilia Fogelklou sharply criticises what might best be called the Protestant counterpart to the liberal gender ideology, with different ideals of virtue for men and women. For her, the active 'Protestant' virtues independence, truthfulness, and self-determination only concerned men and were considered as bad if applied to women, whereas the passive 'Catholic' virtues patience, quietness, obedience, and mildness were considered suitable for women. In Fogelklou's view, Protestantism, especially in its Lutheran form, was a typically manly religion, whereas Catholicism with its cult of Mary and its numerous woman saints emphasised the feminine side of the Christian religion.⁹⁸ Yet in a Catholic perspective the question was not about male and female ideals, but about Christian ideals and their opposite.

Yet it should be noted that also in Protestantism, as several articles in this anthology show, the ideals described by Fogelklou as Catholic and womanly were praised as virtues shared by all Christians. In sermons, pastoral letters, and obituaries these virtues are claimed as the special guiding principles for Christian life. In Evangelical circles, men as well as women confessed their sins and pronounced solemn promises to live pure and holy lives. Yet here these virtues were associated with the vocation of everyday life, and not, as was the case in Catholicism, with a consecrated life or pious exercises, neither were they ascribed any merit in a theological or religious sense. Perhaps the Catholic doctrine of grace, emphasising the importance of good deeds

⁹⁶ Meyer, *Troslära*, III, 84-96.

⁹⁷ "Palmer omkring örkenkilden", *Jesu-Hjertes-Budbringer*, 1919, 21-30, 41-50.

⁹⁸ Fogelklou, *Protestant och katolik*, 28-30.

to redemption, to a certain extent offered protection against the discursive feminisation of these Christian virtues. This would explain the difference between Catholic and Protestant strategies for re-masculinisation noted in this book by Olaf Blaschke, Anna Prestjan, and David Tjeder. While the Catholic promoters of re-masculinisation described piety, attendance at religious services, and taking communion as genuinely manly, Protestant men seem to have experienced a certain contradiction between traditional Christian values and modern masculinity.⁹⁹ Admittedly, Catholic writings display similar ambitions to re-code the Christian virtues as masculine ones, but in their case the superiority of the religious discourse is unquestioned. As Tine Van Osselaer has shown in her analysis of Catholic gender discourses in Belgium, Christian virtues and masculinity could easily be combined, and no clear-cut distinctions were made between pious femininity and irreligious masculinity.¹⁰⁰

According to the gender theories of Pierre Bourdieu and R. W. Connell discussed in the introduction to this book, it is primarily in the relationship between men and groups of men that manhood is constructed and realised, while women play a passive role.¹⁰¹ This seems to be contradicted by the results of my study, for in the establishment of the Barnabites in the Nordic countries, women religious played an important role. However, the question is whether the conflicts analysed here truly reflected the construction of masculinity, or whether they instead showed men's reactions to challenges of various kinds that evinced a habitus pattern developed in a completely different context. Viewed more closely, the conflicts reveal a discursive struggle between men in a patriarchal system in which, although women undoubtedly had a great influence, only men held power and were in a position to generate norms. Within this hierarchy, nuns exercised influence through men, and not by virtue of their own authority; by acting in this way, they merely bolstered the prevailing norm and its gender order.

The conflicts into which the Jesuits were drawn were ultimately a matter of demarcating competence in relation to the secular clergy. Their reports on these issues as well as their correspondence dealing with internal problems reflect the discursive difficulties over clerical manhood. In the Jesuits' correspondence, pious expressions of emotion were less in evidence, and qualities such as self-discipline, organisational skills, energy, and creativity were accorded great importance. Jesuit ideals thus in broad outline conformed with prevailing secular constructions of masculinity, and the military vocabulary that characterised the Jesuit order's rule in many ways accorded with the tendencies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, in the Jesuit discourse the more 'passive' virtues of humility, piety, self-abnegation, and above all obedience were thought far superior, and thus the ideal expression of Jesuit identity and manhood.

⁹⁹ Kirkley, "Is it Manly to be A Christian?"; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortune*, 107-113.

¹⁰⁰ Van Osselaer, *The Pious Sex*, 277 ff.

¹⁰¹ Bourdieu, *La domination masculine*; Connell, *Masculinities*.