# Contents

*List of Illustrations*  ix  
*Acknowledgements*  x  
*Notes on Contributors*  xi  

**Introduction: Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Post-Christian Britain**  
*Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan*  

1 Buddhist Psychologies and Masculinity in Early Twentieth-Century Britain  
*Alison Falby*  

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

3 ‘To Their Credit as Jews and Englishmen’: Services for Youth and the Shaping of Jewish Masculinity in Britain, 1890s–1930s  
*Susan L. Tananbaum*  

4 ‘Be Strong and Play the Man’: Anglican Masculinities in the Twentieth Century  
*Lucy Delap*  

5 The Emergence of a British Hindu Identity between 1936 and 1937  
*Sumita Mukherjee*  

6 ‘Iron Strength and Infinite Tenderness’: Herbert Gray and the Making of Christian Masculinities at War and at Home, 1900–40  
*Sue Morgan*  

7 Moral Welfare and Social Well-Being: The Church of England and the Emergence of Modern Homosexuality  
*Timothy W. Jones*
8 Why Examine Men, Masculinities and Religion in Northern Ireland? 218
   Sean Brady
9 British Pakistani Masculinities: Longing and Belonging 252
   Amanullah De Sondy
10 ‘Laboratories’ of Gender? Masculinities, Spirituality and New Religious Movements in Late Twentieth-Century Britain 279
   Stephen Hunt
11 Men Losing Faith: The Making of Modern No Religionism in the UK, 1939–2010 301
   Callum G. Brown

Select Bibliography 326

Index 327
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.
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, 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. 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. 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.

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. 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’. The linear, teleological narrative of the ‘secularisation thesis’ is thus steadily being replaced by an understanding of twentieth-century Christianity as a ‘liquid religion’ – 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. 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.
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. 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’. 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 Sondy 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.\(^\text{14}\)

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’.\(^\text{15}\)

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.\(^\text{16}\) 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’.\(^\text{17}\)

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.\(^\text{18}\) The chapters by Falby, De Sondy, 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. 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.

---

*Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan*
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. 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 Sondy 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. 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.

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. 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. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{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. Nonetheless, he suggested that by the late nineteenth century men were pursuing a certain ‘flight from domesticity’, turning increasingly towards more homosocial, adventuring 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.

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’. 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’ 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. 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’, 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 Sondy’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. 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. 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. 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. 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’. Despite the ‘longing for return’, noted by De Sondy 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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. 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.’ 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. 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. 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 ‘slammed 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.\(^5\)

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.\(^5\) 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
Introduction

Couples, for example, due to the strength of Catholic and Protestant sectarian feeling, whereas Hunt suggests that, for new religious movements such as Raelianism 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 Sondy 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.\textsuperscript{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 comradeliness 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

\textit{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.

\textit{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’,\textsuperscript{55} we locate these diverse masculinities performed within and against religion in the irrespective 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


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).


21. See, for example, D. Erdozain (2010) *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer) and
Introduction


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.


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.


46. Bakke, The Unemployed Man, p. 211.

47. Erdozain, The Problem of Pleasure.
28 Introduction


Further reading

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
Bessant, 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 Disarmourment 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
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
Index 329


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

Claussen, 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 Zoyza, 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
Gaudiyā Vaishnava Sampradāya 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
Index 331

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
Jamʿat Islami 259, 268
Muslim masculinity 254
Moslem women 253
Mosques 266–7
political Islam 260
Sufi 258–9
Suni 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
Krondorfer, 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
Index

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
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
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
Siri Hindi 259
Smith, Sally 102
Snap, 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
Szreter, 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>publication</th>
<th>page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ulster Volunteer Force</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unification Church</td>
<td>283–5, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of Catholic Mothers, The</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom Islamic Mission</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upanishads</td>
<td>147, 152, 158–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valente, Joseph</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van der Veer, Peter</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vatican, The</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casti Connubii</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanae Vitae</td>
<td>22, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Vatican Council</td>
<td>10, 54, 73, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria Club for Working Lads</td>
<td>100, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vijaya-Tunga, J.</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vir, Krishna</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vorilhon, Claude</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>135, 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker, Garthine</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallis, Roy</td>
<td>282, 287, 288, 290, 292, 297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waters, Chris</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watts, G.F.</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weatherhead, Leslie</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeks, Jeffrey</td>
<td>198, 207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wienbren, Daniel</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wells, H.G.</td>
<td>189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Werner, Yvonne</td>
<td>3, 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Central Jewish Girls’ club</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Central Jewish Lads’ Club</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Cross League (Army)</td>
<td>200–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Threshold of Marriage (1932)</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Problems in Wartime (1940)</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white slave trade</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitehorn, Katharine</td>
<td>170, 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitman, Walt</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcox, Melissa</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilde, Oscar</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkins, Charles</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Sarah</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnington-Ingram, Arthur</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter, Thomas</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolfenden Committee</td>
<td>199, 205–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wolfenden Report</td>
<td>207–10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodhead, Linda</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workplaces</td>
<td>121, 135–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Congress of Faiths</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Fellowship of Faiths</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Parliament of Religions</td>
<td>34, 151, 156, 161, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World religions</td>
<td>280, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World War I/Great War</td>
<td>1, 10, 12, 30, 21, 92, 93, 101, 103, 128, 131, 168, 169, 172–80, 181, 184, 202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World War II</td>
<td>10, 107, 129, 146, 147, 152, 189, 202, 204, 313–14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright, Frank</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wright, Helena</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sex Factor in Marriage (1930)</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeats, William Butler</td>
<td>152, 158–60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yeats-Brown, Francis</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish, use of</td>
<td>93, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish men</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiddish Newspapers</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young, Hilary</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Men’s Buddhist Association</td>
<td>35, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Muslims UK</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younghusband, Sir Francis</td>
<td>156, 157, 161, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yukteswar, Sri</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zavos, John</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zionism</td>
<td>95–6, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zweiniger-Bargielowska, Ina</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>