THE POWER OF CHARACTER
THE POWER OF CHARACTER:
MIDDLE-CLASS MASCULINITIES,
1800-1900
David Tjeder
ABSTRACT


This is a study of continuity and change in middle-class conceptions of ideal manhood. My theoretical cues are the notions of the male as an unproblematised and genderless norm, masculinity as homosocial, and George L. Mosse’s use of countertypes.

Notions of passions, youth, and character were important throughout the century. If young men could learn to master the dangerous passions especially in the precarious period of youth, they would develop character. If men instead gave in to the passions, they would fall and become countertypes. Meanwhile, young men lived according to another notion, that young men should have their fling.

The meaning of manhood also changed over time. In the decades around 1800, manhood meant to lead a life which would be beneficial to society as a whole. Another ideal, that of the man of the world, was founded on urban manners as a tactic to further one’s career. By mid-century, the ideal of the self-made man came to the fore. The homosocial world of business was now seen as a good way to mould manly characters. In the last decades of the century, moralists criticized the sexual double standard and male sexuality. To remain chaste until marriage became a central mark of manhood. Autobiographers, however, reveal that to many men, Don Juan was a hero rather than a villain.

The notion that men were genderless and that masculinity was not a subject of discussion cannot be sustained. Masculinity was indeed the subject of intense discussions. Meanwhile, neither moralists nor autobiographers shed critical light on married, adult men. The problem was how young men should best be guided into an adult position of legitimate power; that position of power in itself was not problematised. While most masculinities were homosocial, this was not exclusively so. Countertypes were more complex than what Mosse allows for. Men who had taken ideal manhood too far could be countertypes, and at times men endorsed ideals which meant unmanliness to moralists.

Keywords: Masculinity, masculinities, gender, power, middle class, passions, character, self-made man, sexuality, prostitution, homosocial, male norm, George L. Mosse, advice manuals, autobiographies, alcohol, gambling.

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CONTENTS

Abbreviations used in footnotes 11
Preface 13

1. Setting the scene 17
Introduction 17 • The male norm 17 • Masculinity as homosocial 21 • Countertypes 21 •
Timespan 23 • Sources and method 24 • Advice manuals 24 • Autobiographies 27 • Illustrations
29 • The middle class 30 • Earlier research 32 • Manliness and masculinity 33 • Structure of the present study 34

Part I: Continuity

2. The making of men: Passions, youth, and character, c. 1800–c.1900 39
Introduction 39 • The threat of passions 39 • The fragility and dangers of youth 44 • Youth and passions 46 • Youth and the making of men 47 • Youth and the moment of choice 50 • Character and the middle class 56 • Character and masculinity 57 • Character as essence and artifice 60 • Character, youth, and education to domination 61 • Conclusion 62

3. The threat and lure of countertypes: When passions rule the man, c.1800–c.1900 65
Introduction 65 • The history of the fallen man 66 • From drinking and gambling to the drinker and the gambler 73 • When passions rule the man 75 • Countertypes and class 79 • The lure of countertypes 85 • countertypes and masculine domesticity 90 • Conclusion 92

4. Youth and having one’s fling: Student culture and masculinity, c.1800–c.1900 97
Introduction 97 • Youth revisited 99 • The young man’s entry into university: Newly won freedom 101 • Student culture and alcohol 104 • The brother’s toast 112 • The passion of violence 116 • Pranks and the philistine 122 • Wit and education to domination 124 • Conclusion 125
Part II: Variations and transformations

5. Servants of the public good: Masculinities in the decades around 1800

Introduction 133 • Nationalism and the ‘crisis’ of masculinity 135 • Christianity and the ideal of perseverance 138 • Countertypes and the problem of self-interest 140 • The disciplined return of the Viking: göticism 143 • Romanticism and the poet as hero: The example of Atterbom 147 • Persistence of the ideal of usefulness 148 • Usefulness and autobiography 150 • Conclusion 157

6. The art of pleasing: The man of the world and the spectre of effeminacy, c. 1790–c.1860

Introduction 159 • The dandy 165 • The man of the world and charismatic power 167 • The spectre of effeminacy 169 • Manhood in crisis 173 • The waning of the man of the world after mid-century 178 • The man of the world and autobiography 180 • Conclusion 196

7. When character became capital: Manhood and economic success, c.1850–c.1900

Introduction 199 • Business as a way to mould men 201 • Success as a means to power and independence 203 • Self-making as homosocial 206 • Changing standards of unmanliness 208 • Early proponents of self-making 209 • The need to discipline the will to riches 211 • The criticism of self-making 213 • The self-made man and Swedish society 218 • The self-made man and autobiography: businessmen’s testimony 220 • Self-making in autobiographies by the Bildungsbürgertum 225 • Conclusion 230

8. Don Juan’s problematic masculinity: Male sexuality, prostitution, and the seducer, c.1870–c.1900

Introduction 233 • The seducer, prostitution, and the double standard 235 • Moralists’ attack on the double standard 237 • Don Juan before the 1880s 244 • Don Juan as a manly model 248 • Don Juan and erotica 251 • 1. The reduction of masculinity to the search for sexual enjoyment 252 • 2. Female passivity as erotic 252 • 3. The military metaphors of seduction 253 • 4. An explicit and emphatic misogyny 256 • Don Juan and autobiography 258 • Conclusion 268

9. Conclusions 271

Introduction 271 • The male norm 272 • Masculinity as homosocial 281 • Countertypes 283 • The intricacies of men’s lives 286 • Conclusion: The constant crisis of masculinity 286

Summary 289

References 293

Index of names 315
**LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS**

Cover illustration
Anders Zorn's painting ‘A Toast in the Idun Society’ (1892). Oil on canvas. Harald Wiselgren gives a speech, a glowing cigar and a glass of alcohol in his hands. The men in the background are librarian Hans Hildebrand, the physician Axel Key, the politician C. F. Wern, and A. E. Nordenskiöld, the polar scientist. Wiselgren himself was a librarian with rather excessive alcohol habits – he jokingly claimed to aid the temperance movement by limiting its supply through his own consumption – even while his father Peter was one of the pioneers of the strivings for sobriety in Sweden. The painting reveals the homosocial club of the late-nineteenth-century Bildungsburgerum. The National Museum NM 3374; photography by Erik Cornelius.


P. 52. Drawing from the cover of Nathanael Beskow, *Till de unga*, 1904. KB.

P. 54. Wood engraving from Bengt Carl Rodhe, *Första Läset*, 1889, p. [2]; not paginated. UUB.

P. 55. ‘Den breda och smala Wägen’. Lithograph, 1856. From the collection of lithographs at UUB, the Department of maps and illustrations, vol. 2, number F k 058.

P. 71. Fredrik Boye, engraving from an original lithograph by Jules David, from *Den Dygdiges och Den Lastfulles Vandel och Öden*, 1838, not paginated. UUB.

P. 71. Fredrik Boye, engraving from an original lithograph by Jules David, from *Den Dygdiges och Den Lastfulles Vandel och Öden*, 1838, not paginated. UUB.

P. 78. ‘Om det är sannt jag pröfvar då jag har druckit ut, Att ångrens hundar skälla vid njutningarnes slut.’ Lithograph, possibly by C. F. M. Darell, late 1830s. From the collection of lithographs at KB; currently being re-catalogued.
P. 83. Reinhold Callmander, untitled lithograph from *Kommiska stentryck*, vol. 2: *Scener ur Stadslivet*, 1861, not paginated. KB.

P. 93. Wood engraving from *Swenska Nykterhets-Sällskapets Meddelanden* 1868:10, p. 271. KB.

P. 106. Conny Burman, ‘Studentprofvet’, lithographed drawing from *Kvarrikatyrer*, 1890, not paginated. KB.


Pp. 120-121. Four engravings by C. G. V. Carleman, from Anders Johan Afzelius, *En Students Missöden*, 1845, not paginated; plates 5, 8, 11 and 12. KB.

P. 137. Engraving, possibly by Olof Årre, from the cover of Johan Fischerström, *Tal Om de Medel och Utvägar genom hvilka Styrka, Mannlighet och Härdighet kunna hos Svenska Folket befrämjas*, 1794. UUB.


P. 148. J. G. Sandberg, portrait of P. D. A. Arterbom, 1810s. Oil on canvas. Original at Gripsholm castle; here from *Svenska folket genom tiderna*, vol. 8, p. 197.

P. 177. Lithograph from the cover of Gottfrid Imanuel Wenzel, *Den äkta gentlemanen*, 1845. KB.

P. 179. Hand-coloured lithograph from *Stockholms Mode-Journal: Tidskrift för den eleganta verlden*, vol. 5 (1847:1), not paginated. KB.

P. 183. Olof Johan Södermark, painting of Carl Wilhelm Böttiger in Rome in the 1830s. Oil on canvas. Original at Gripsholm castle. Here from Carl Wilhelm Böttiger, *Sjelfbiografiska anteckningar och bref* (1881), not paginated. UUB.


P. 193. Lithograph of Louis De Geer, aged 19, thus probably 1837. From his son Louis De Geer’s autobiography *Strödda minnen från åren 1854–1924*, not paginated. UUB.

P. 193. Louis De Geer, photograph from the early 1860s. From Axel Joachim Erdmann's album, the Department of maps and illustrations, UUB.

P. 215. Fredrik Boye, engraving from an original lithograph by Jules David, from Den Dygdiges och Den Lastfulles Vandel och Öden, 1838, not paginated. UUB.


P. 222. Undated photography of L. O. Smith. From L. O. Smith, Memoarer, 1913, not paginated. KB.

P. 246. 'Resan till evighetens.' Etching, probably by Fredrik Boye, from a lithograph by Grandville. From Fredrik Boye’s Magasin för Konst, Nyheter och Moder (1831:11), plate 11. KB.

P. 253. Wood engraving from the cover of Ungkarlskalender: Intressanta och pikanta skildringar om kvinnornas små svagheter, vol. 1 (1890). KB.

P. 255. Wood engraving from the review Don Juan, 1891:7, p. 8. KB.

P. 257. 'Det var en annan sak.' Wood engraving in the review Don Juan, 1892:5, p. 40. KB.


P. 275. 'En ungarlspromenad.' Wood engraving from Svenska Illustrerade Familj-Journalen, 1887:6, p. 48. KB.
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

ADB  Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie
Bygdén  Bygdén, Leonard, Svenskt anonym- och pseudonymlexikon
(1898–1915; 1974)
DAB  Dictionary of American Biography
DBE  Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie
DBF  Dictionnaire de Biographie Française
DBL  Dansk Biografisk Leksikon, 3 ed.
DNB  Dictionary of National Biography
HoL  Hågkomster och Livsintryck
KB  Kungliga Biblioteket
NBG  Nouvelle Biographie Générale
NCAB  The National Cyclopedia of American Biography
NE  Nationalencyklopedin
NF  Nordisk Familjebok, 2 ed.
NUC  The National Union Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints
REP  Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy
SAOB  Svenska Akademiens Ordbok, vol. 1–
SBL  Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon, ny följd
SMK  Svenska Män och Kvinnor
SPG  Svenskt Porträttdiariet
SU  Svensk Uppslagsbok, 2 ed.
TMA  Tekniska Musées arkiv
ULK  Under Lundagårds Kronor
UUB  Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek
I have two major character flaws: I talk too much and listen too little. This means that I have left a large portion of the advice colleagues have given me unheeded throughout the writing of this book. Despite my stubborn tendency to do what I intended in the first place anyway, several scholars have succeeded in making contributions to this book.

My tutor as a Ph. D. student, Arne Jarrick, has read the entire manuscript including several articles, innumerable drafts, worried notes and e-mails throughout these years. His keen awareness to contradictions in my argumentation as well as an impressive amount of sheer curiosity in my subject has removed several flaws in my work. I would not have begun this doctoral thesis, had it not been for his enthusiasm and support.

My assistant tutor, Yvonne Hirdman, has also read several drafts and articles, and has pointed to blind spots in my thinking. Her capacity to dig up what I have left undiscussed, taken for granted, or failed to analyse has been highly rewarding. Jarrick and Hirdman have shared their acumen and a genuine will to assist me in thinking about the subject of the present study. Their contribution to this book is great indeed.

Claes Ekenstam has read many of the drafts for this book, including my published articles. We have had an ongoing discussion about masculinities in history, a discussion which has been of great help – and consolation – to me. Throughout, this continuous exchange of ideas has been very important for this book. When natural scientist Gustaf Retzius had started working on craniometry in the early 1860s, his father’s friend Gustaf von Düben one day simply decided to take over this field, and forbade the younger Retzius to continue with his research – a truly mean exercise of power. When my own intentions collided with Ekenstam’s research project just in the beginning of my work, Claes did quite the opposite. He simply stated that I did what he had intended to do – and then moved on to other issues. For this, too, I am most grateful.
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This book started off as part of a larger project on the history of conceptions of man, led by Arne Jarrick. In the framework of this cooperation, I would like to especially thank Susanna Hedenborg, Yvonne Svanström, and Johan Söderberg.

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Others have contributed by pointing out important books and articles for me. Still others have lent their ear to an open discussion about my work, and have come with interesting and important remarks about this or that. For these informal talks and the helpfulness I have encountered, I would like to thank Marie-Jo Bonnet, Arlette Farge, John Gillis, Gro Hagemann, Jeff Hearn, Gabrielle Houbre, André Rauch, and Paul-André Rosental.

Almost all of the research for this book was conducted at the Royal Library in
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The staff at the Royal Library has always been helpful to me. This is especially so of my mother Ylva Tjeder, who has patiently dug up texts, answered innumerable questions on the collections of the library and techniques for cataloguing throughout these years. Östen Hedin pointed me to some sources and articles, and Johan Mannerheim generously shared his extensive knowledge of printing techniques. At Uppsala University Library, the staff at the Department of Maps and Illustrations allowed me to ramble through their collections of lithographs outside their opening hours.

Donald Lavery took the time to proofread my English, found several flaws in my arguments, and came with much-needed solutions to language problems. Jesper Weithz spent his energies to see to it that this book does look like a book. Jeroen Wolfers has helped me with computer problems throughout these years, and also helped to make the illustrations what they are.

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Nineteenth-century historian Anders Fryxell expressed gratitude that his daughters had taken care of his ill wife throughout his work, so that he could concentrate on what was his greatest consolation in the world: to live in the past. This is very far from true of me. Life, to me, is at its best at some safe distance from libraries and the workplace. Therefore, my gratitude goes out to friends with whom I have not discussed middle-class masculinities in the nineteenth century: Jeroen and Mathias, above all, but also Leif, Lotta, Nathalie, Nick, Nina, Marinella, Mia, Sanna, Tor, and others. What would life be without you? And how will I survive another three years of your stubborn decision to remain in Copenhagen, Mathias? Also, the tiny six-person gastronomic society jokingly labelled Friends of da Stomach – Magens Vänner – needs to be brought to the public’s attention. After all, good food, wine, and a few laughs are what it’s all about.

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only has she continued to read drafts of chapters with a never-ending patience; with-
out her and her immense energies, life would simply be so much less fun, so much
more boring. Lotta made us aware that we sing in the morning. Let us keep doing so
for another sixty years or so!

And, finally, there is little Otto, whose charm has helped me to not work, to focus
instead on more important things: changing diapers, feeding, carrying, laughing,
having conversations like ‘Ooooodiaee’ followed by ‘Bzzzzzzzluuuu’ or the joyful
‘A!’ my personal favourite. Life is at its best when his laughter resounds through our
apartment.
1. SETTING THE SCENE
Theory, method, sources

A new great epoch will begin on the day when the male begins to discover himself as a subject of discussion.
—Klara Johanson, 1928

INTRODUCTION

This is a book about masculinities and men. I describe and explain how the meanings of manhood changed over the course of the nineteenth century, and to what extent there was little or no change. I do this through a reading above all of advice manuals intended largely for a middle-class audience, and autobiographies by middle-class men.

Theories are used heuristically throughout this book. I have used three different theoretical approaches to construct questions, which have been openly posed to the material. The theories are thus intertwined with method, with how I have read the texts which are under scrutiny.

The three theories are the notion of the male as norm, the interpretation of masculinity as a largely homosocial construction, and George L. Mosse’s concept of countertypes. I shall briefly discuss all three in turn.

THE MALE NORM

Several scholars have theorized around the male norm. Here, I will derive questions which will be discussed throughout this book from three interpretations of the male norm. First, scholars have argued that men have been associated with human, more than masculine qualities. Indeed, in Swedish the expression ‘the sex’ at least until recently meant women or woman. It is a telling example of how men have been constructed as human beings, rather than as men.

2. Note that throughout, I take the biological distinction between men and women as given. Although historians often do so, others argue that this distinction is difficult to uphold, and that feminism must fight to deconstruct it. I disagree. See David Tjeder, ‘Är könet en konstruktion?’ Ett inlägg i den aktuella debatten’, lambda nordica 6 (2000:1), pp. 6-21.
3. SAOB column K3800.
The attribution of genderlessness to men is fundamentally based on power. As several scholars have shown, it is the privilege of those in power to be blind about their own position of power. The luxury of being neuter, of having neither sex, sexuality, class, age or ethnicity befalls the white, middle-class, heterosexual male. Men of a certain group have been an invisible norm against which all other human beings have been measured. This can be exemplified in language: the French speak of l’homme and the English of man for signifying both men and humanity. Swedish is an exception to this rule: the Swedish language has människa and männlighet for human being and humanity, but man for man, a word which cannot signify mankind. Indeed, the gender bias of människa runs in the other direction: its gender is feminine. The male norm is instead shown in the word for ‘one’ and ‘you’, as in ‘One should not drink too much’ or ‘You cannot drink a bottle of wine and not be drunk’. Swedish uses the word man – the same word that is used to designate the male sex – for these generalized and supposedly genderless statements.

At least earlier research implies that men, a group which has been and still is in power in all known societies, have tended to cast their critical gaze upon others, not themselves. Thus, subjects of discourse have tended to be all-but-men. It is no coincidence that middle-class men in the nineteenth century produced a host of Others through discourse. These discourses have been studied in some detail. Above all, men have written about Woman, capitalized and in the singular. Other groups who have been excluded from power have also been the focus of much discourse. Suffice it here to mention for example non-white ethnic groups, the insane, the criminal, the working class, parts of the aristocracy, masturbators, drinkers, non-Christians, and homosexuals. Several scholars have analysed the construction of these and several other stereotypes. They reveal the extent to which men have tended to project their worries about the world onto Others: those who lacked power, those who should lack power.

It is not surprising that we find these others crying out over men’s unwillingness to problematise their own gendered position. Simone de Beauvoir’s assertion in The Sec-

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For a long period of time the male has been the norm, the lenses through which all things have been viewed. For that reason manliness, masculinity and masculine identity have been self-evident, something which has not been a subject of discussion. Completely without conscious reflection, the male has for a long period of time been taken for granted.17

Men, these scholars argue, have not discussed themselves as men. Because men have been a norm, their focus has ever been on other groups.

Angus McLaren only partially endorses this interpretation. He has recently shown the extent to which masculinity was the subject of intense discussion around the turn of the century 1900. Waivering between an idea of a discussed masculinity and the idea of the male norm, he writes both that ‘The very concept of what it was to be a “man” was open to question’, and that ‘what it meant to be a man was rarely problematized; maleness was rendered almost invisible’.18 This later assertion is indeed confusing, since the very research McLaren has carried out demonstrates the extent to which maleness was not rendered invisible.

With the exceptions of McLaren and Ekman, the scholars mentioned above have turned their attention to men’s ideas about women. This book turns instead to men’s discourse on men. Advice manuals, a genre of literature I will present in greater detail below, is the perfect source for this investigation. Here, the question of how men should be men is explicitly posed. This is a discourse which those quoted above appear to claim never existed: a discourse in which men indeed do discuss men as men, and not as human beings.

Now, if earlier scholars claim that men have not problematised masculinity, I have read advice manuals bearing in mind these questions: what did writers find problematic about men and masculinity? How have men have discussed how men should or should not be?

But the question needs to be taken one step further. A third possible interpretation of the male norm would be to ask what ideals were exempted from criticism. The notion that there has been a male norm should prompt us to beware of what lay beyond the borders of discourse, and beyond the explicit intentions of authors. This means that our attention will also be devoted to what masculinities were not criticized, but were either left beyond the confines of discourse, or were the subjects of praise. It is here, in what men either took so much for granted that it did not need to be said out loud and in the ideals they hailed but never criticized, that we can glimpse a male norm. This means a shift from postulating the male norm, to a more open question if there might have been a male norm.

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17. Daniel Ekman, ‘Perspektiv på mannen’, unpublished BSc-thesis, Department of Education, Stockholm University, 1992, p. 5: ‘Länge har mannen varit normen, de glasögon med vilka alla företeelser har betraktats igenom. Av den anledningen har manlighet, maskulinitet och manlig identitet varit något själklart, något som inte ansetts som något diskussionsämne. Helt orreflekterat har männens självtagits för given.’ Emphasis added. See also pp. 15-17, 44-45. 17. Yvonne Hirdman loosely hypothesises that men only started asking the question ‘what is a man?’ (i.e. the gendered Swedish man) rather than ‘what is a human being?’ in the decades around 1800; Hirdman, Gender, p. 36; cf. also p. 121.

**MALENESS AS HOMOSOCIAL**

Those who have theorized around gender emphasize that gender is relational; it is neither about women nor about men in isolation. Gender revolves around the relations between the sexes, how ideas about and practices among men and women perpetuate hierarchies of power.19 Scholars who have focused on men and masculinities have diverged slightly from this view. They have pointed to the extent to which men have tended to define and discuss masculinity in relation to other men. This is, again, grounded in power. To educate young men into adult men is to educate them into a position of domination. Given women’s subordination as a universal fact, it is perhaps not so surprising that men compare themselves with other men, since they compete for power mainly with other men, not the subordinated group. When men have probed their gendered selves or given equally gendered advice to other men, this discussion has been overwhelmingly homosocial.20 Masculinity, according to Michael Kimmel, ‘is largely a homosocial enactment’.21

In this study, I have chosen not to presuppose that masculinity was homosocial. Rather, the question of homosociality versus heterosociality in the construction of masculinities is openly posed to the material.22 The questions, then, are: to what extent were women and ideas about femininity relevant in the discourse about men? To what extent can masculinity be said to have been a homosocial construction?

**COUNTERTYPES**

In The Image of Man: the Creation of Modern Masculinity (1996), George L. Mosse argues that what he calls the masculine stereotype was created as a bulwark against several stereotypes that lacked masculinity. Mosse labels these (stereo)types, mainly Jews and homosexuals, as ‘countertypes’.23 This concept will be used throughout this study. A focus on countertypes brings the history of effeminacy and unmanliness to the fore in any investigation of ideal masculinity. Mosse points to how the ideal was intertwined with the countertypes. The countertypes, in Mosse’s theorizing, were needed as others to strengthen the normative ideal of manhood:

> The line between modern masculinity and its enemies had to be sharply drawn in order that manliness as the symbol of a healthy society might gain strength from this contrast.24

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22. The concept heterosocial has not been theorized, but is used to describe loosely conceptions of masculinity which include ideas about women; cf. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, ‘Introduction’, in Hitchcock and Cohen (eds.), English Masculinities 1660–1800 (1999), p. 11.
Countertypes were excluded from power, their masculinity was called into question, and the distinction between ideal manhood and countertypes worked to legitimise and strengthen normative masculinity.\textsuperscript{25} The countertypes were all men – women were either dangerous temptresses or the benign helpers of men, not the countertypes of normative masculinity.\textsuperscript{26} Taking my cue from Mosse, I will be devoting almost as much attention to countertypes as to how ideals developed. Mosse is not alone in pointing to how ideal masculinity has been constructed in relation to more or less invented ‘others’.\textsuperscript{27} Nor is he alone in writing the history of masculinity largely or in part as the history of unmanliness or effeminacy.\textsuperscript{28} However, Mosse’s concept ‘countertype’ perfectly underscores the extent to which these types are precisely that: types.

Mosse’s work has been criticized – and for good reason. His account of the masculine stereotype is too simplistic. Other ideals, or men who were critical of the masculine stereotype, are not mentioned. His interpretation of nineteenth-century Germany becomes uniform and clear-cut, and largely ignores even the possibility that the stereotype may have changed over time. It is significant that Mosse writes about masculinity, not masculinities. This exclusive focus on one ideal severely hampers his account, which becomes too schematic.\textsuperscript{29} However, here it is not his account of the masculine stereotype but his concept countertype that I intend to follow.

The questions which I pose in relation to Mosse’s interpretations, then, are the following: what men were decried as lacking true manhood? What were their characteristics? And, crucially: how did these countertypes inform the normative ideals? Did they strengthen normative masculinity, as Mosse claims, or were they more problematic?

These three theories have a common ground. They all revolve around issues of power. The male norm legitimised women’s subordination and men’s domination; the homosocial construction of masculinity points to how masculinities have been used to delineate power hierarchies among men; and Mosse’s countertypes point to how delineations between groups of men legitimised power inequalities between
them. All three theories discuss, in different ways, how power hierarchies were legitimised, and how distinctions between groups were grounded in power. Taken together, these theories lead me to pose the important question: how were power hierarchies between men and women and between men legitimised? Power, then as today, was unevenly distributed. How did middle-class men legitimise why should some men have more power than other men?

**TIMESPAN**

Several scholars have identified the decades around 1800 and the fin-de-siècle around 1900 as important periods in the history of masculinity. Largely independently of each other, scholars have marked the period around 1800 as a period when older aristocratic models of masculinity were confronted with an upcoming middle class, who shared a different, new conception of how men should be. The ideas of the Enlightenment was used in a critique of older, aristocratic ideals. On the basis of these general findings, I have decided to begin my investigation in the decades around 1800. I have also read secondary works and a few advice manuals on the time before 1800, to minimize the risk that I take for granted that any given ideal is new simply because it surfaces within the timespan covered in this book.

My decision to end around 1900 is likewise grounded in international scholarship on gender, which has emphasized this period as a time of troubles, sometimes even crisis, in middle-class masculinity. The growth of feminism, women’s entry into the workforce and the labour movement were but a few of the constituents of the troubles for middle-class masculinity at the fin-de-siècle.

Several of the scholars who have written about the years at the beginning or the end of the nineteenth century have claimed that these were times of particular gender turmoil, or that masculinity was in a state of crisis. Through this approach, we risk looking only at the turns of centuries, and conclude that gender turmoil ruled, even while simply positing that stability reigned between these points of supposed crises. E. Anthony Rotundo and George L. Mosse both claim that modern masculinity was created around 1800, and was beset by crisis or at least turmoil one hundred years later. One gets the impression that masculine ideals were uniform, clear-cut and monolithic, with sudden rapid transformations taking place, preferably when centuries end. Other scholars have had a tendency to perceive the period they are
THE POWER OF CHARACTER

studying as particularly complex and confused, and at the same time to presume that a stable, ‘traditional’ masculinity prevailed in the period which preceded (or, more rarely, ensued) their own.32 To avoid this pitfall, the many decades which bind the turns of centuries together need also to be scrutinized. Therefore, this study encompasses the entirety of the nineteenth century, if not what has come to be known as the ‘long nineteenth century’ (1789–1914).

SOURCES AND METHOD

Throughout this book, I have relied mainly on two types of sources: advice manuals and autobiographies. These have been used by several scholars, both separately and in combination. Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren used both in their book on late-nineteenth-century middle-class culture, The Culture Builders (1979); they have also been used by Philip Carter and John Tosh, among others.34 It is not primarily in the choice of sources, then, that this study attempts to break new ground, although advice manuals for men have not been studied as systematically as is the case in this book. Two other types of sources are also used. The first, erotica, is only used briefly in chapter 8. A second source, used throughout this book, is illustrations. The main focus remains, however, on advice manuals and autobiographies.

ADVICE MANUALS

Throughout the nineteenth century, a whole host of authors produced texts of advice mainly intended for the middle classes.35 While some scholars have looked at these books and pamphlets, it has not yet received any detailed examination. Authors no longer focussed on rules of etiquette, as had been the case in the sixteenth and (to a lesser extent) seventeenth centuries. The questions that authors now dealt with were moral. They focussed more on how men should be than on how they should behave. In accordance with earlier scholars, authors of advice manuals will be denoted as ‘moralists’ throughout this study.36

mation around 1800; ch. 11, esp. pp. 250, 253, 256, 265, 281 for the later change; also Ekenstam, ‘Manlighetens kriser & kransar’, pp. 57-58, 75-77, who nuances himself but only partially on pp. 94-96.
32. James Eli Adams, Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity (1995), e.g. pp. 5-6, 9, 24, 84; Jacques Le Rider, ‘Misères de la virilité de la Belle Époque’, pp. 129-130; André Rauch, Le premier sexe, pp. 8, 17 all presume that a rather stable, ‘traditional masculinity’ existed in the period before they start their investigation, whether in the late eighteenth century (Rauch, who does not use the expression ‘traditional masculinity’), the early nineteenth century (Adams) or around 1900 (Le Rider). Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen instead write about the eighteenth century, and presume that masculinity was much more stable and less problematic in the nineteenth, although they naturally do not label this masculinity ‘traditional’; Hitchcock and Cohen, ‘Introduction’, in Hitchcock and Cohen (eds.), English Masculinities 1660–1800 (1999), pp. 21-22.
35. Peter Gay even suggests that because of the massive outpouring of advice manuals, the era between 1815 and 1914 deserves to be named ‘the Age of Advice’. Gay, The Cultivation of Hatred (1995), p. 491.
36. Cf. Stefan Collini, Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1830–1910 (1991); Anthony Levi, French Moralists: The theory of the Passions, 1581 to 1649 (1964). Indeed, the term is so well-ingrained that Gay, The Cultivation of Hatred, p. 495 and Rotundo, Americans Manhood, p. 176 use it commonsensically. (Note that the English word does not carry the pejorative connotation that the Swedish word ‘moralist’ does.)
Advice manuals contained several subgenres. The pamphlets and books studied in this book constitute only a part of the whole literature. I have by and large discarded three subgenres which were prolific in the period: advice written for women, texts concentrating on sexuality, and marriage manuals. This since it is these genres which have attracted the attention of earlier scholars. I focus instead on books and pamphlets which concentrated on men. These included advice to men on how to build a manly character; tracts on how to win success; pamphlets focussing on the passage from youth to adulthood; or merely complaints about the terrible state of Swedish youth.

Advice manuals were the middle class’s attempt at self-definition, as I will argue further down. But why should the genre be read in the light of the middle class? There are two obvious reasons. First, it was above all middle-class men who wrote these books and pamphlets on masculinity. While some were clergy, the vast majority were typically middle-class: academics, businessmen, editors of newspapers, men of letters, journalists, novelists, owners of publishing firms, physicians, politicians, teachers; a majority of them had University degrees. Second, the contents of these book clearly show that the intended readers were middle-class. Moralists tended to disassociate both themselves and the intended reader from the upper as well as lower classes. They also often took for granted that servants were present in the household, and advice about which professions to choose reveal that moralists wrote for the middle class.

As several historians have amply shown, moralists who wrote advice manuals for women strove to reproduce women’s subordination. Moralists explained to women that their true femininity could only be found by a husband’s side, in the private sphere, and without laying claims to power. Moralists played a crucial role both in shaping and legitimising middle-class conceptions of gender, not least that women should belong to the private sphere. In books written for young women, men figured prominently in the discourse, and women were told to remain dependent on, and subordinate to, men. The discourse explicitly legitimised and strove to reproduce, even strengthen, power inequalities and a hierarchy of the sexes. The discourse on power was heterosexual (i.e., involving both men and women), and explicit.
A similar case can be made for moralists who wrote for men. These strove to perpetuate men’s domination over women, as well as some men’s domination over other men. It is in this discourse, then, that we find the middle class both shaping and legitimising its gender order and its conceptions of gender. We already know what these books said of women. The question is, what did they say of men?

Throughout this book, advice manuals are not read as instructions about behaviour, but to understand ideals. As several scholars have argued, the connection between given advice and actual behaviour is, if anything, tenacious.41 I treat the genre as an expression of middle-class ideology, not as a guide to how middle-class men led their lives.

The Swedish discussion about masculinity was not all that Swedish. A majority of advice manuals were translated from English, French or German. The Swedish flow of pamphlets formed part of an international European or Western discussion. This should not surprise us. The middle class were an international lot, sharing a common outlook on life. Their culture as well as their ideals were international.42 While this book has its empirical focus on Sweden, the ideals which will be analysed in the following were not primarily Swedish. They were middle-class.

The fact that several advice manuals were originally written in other languages does not mean, then, that they should be discarded as evidence. Texts do not emerge in a cultural vacuum. If they were issued in Swedish, this was because they were first read, found interesting, translated, and then published.43 International works were often translated only after they had gone through several editions in other countries. This meant that both publishing firms and translators took into account the economic feasibility of translating and publishing a foreign work. What’s more, publishers were not obliged to pay royalties to authors of foreign texts. To publishing houses, it was less expensive to have someone translate a foreign best-seller than it was to commission and publish a new Swedish text.44

Henrik Meinander has criticized Claes Ekenstam for disregarding that ‘popular handbooks have their own rhetorical tradition. Their objective has usually been to convince the reader by bold and coercive arguments, not to interpret a heterogeneous collective mentality.’45 I disagree. Moralists were not a marginalised group of ageing men.


42. Cf. McLaren, *The Trials of Masculinity*, p. 3, who legitimises his own geographic eclecticism with similar arguments; Peter Gay has a very broad geographical base throughout his discussion of the nineteenth-century middle-classes in his five-volume *The Bourgeois Experience* precisely because middle-class culture ‘crossed borders with little impediment’, as he argues in vol. IV, *Pleasure Wars* (1998), pp. 22-23, quote from p. 22; see also e.g. ibid., pp. 42-43, and vol. I, *Education of the Senses*, pp. 17-44.

43. Cf. the arguments in Sten Torgerson, **Oversättningar till svenska av skönlitterära prosa** (1983), p. 23.


men, out of key with their age. They were both reproducing and shaping the middle class’s world view, and were thus very much interpreting a heterogeneous collective mentality. They wrote their texts, just as publishing houses translated and published them, either because the genre was popular enough to make money on, or as an outlet for deeply felt anxieties.

Earlier scholarship has not taken moralists’ discourse on men, unlike their discourse on women, into serious consideration. Scholars have tended to study a scant number of texts, without asking whether different texts were representative of a larger normative discourse or not. Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren only use seven advice manuals for their far-reaching interpretations in The Culture Builders.\(^46\) Those who have used a larger number of texts tend to give individual examples from different advice manuals, without making comparisons between texts. We are often left wondering just how many moralists believed in the ideals which are under scrutiny.\(^47\)

There are several ways to determine how representative a text is. One obvious indicator is the number of editions any given text went through. The more editions, the more readers, the more representative it can be said to be. I have chosen the more cumbersome method of reading a significant, if still arbitrary, number of texts. This study is based on about two hundred and fifty texts, which I estimate to be about two thirds of all advice manuals printed for a largely male audience, on masculinity, in the nineteenth century.\(^48\) This method provides both a richer understanding of the variety of ideals and discloses whether texts are representative or not. What has been described as a rather uniform phenomenon can thus be studied in greater complexity. To paraphrase Henrik Höjer: it is the wood and not the trees which are at the centre of attention in this study.\(^49\)

**AUTOBIOGRAPHIES**

Throughout this book, I have also relied on middle-class men’s autobiographies. Scholars usually treat autobiographies with caution, not least because they may contain flaws in memory or, worse, they are the subjective, often enhanced, portrait that a person wants to paint of himself. These problems are not of relevance to my own approach. Indeed, the greatest strength of autobiography as a source for understanding masculinity is precisely that it is not a direct report about lived reality. As Georges Gusdorf argues in a seminal essay on autobiography, an autobiography ‘does not show us the person in his inner privacy, not as he was, not as he is [at the time of writing], but as he believes and wishes himself to be and to have been’.\(^50\) If we add gender awareness to this, autobiographies can be read as men’s attempts to portray them-

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\(^{47}\) This is true e.g. of Peter Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred* (1993), pp. 491-506; Gabrielle Houbre, *La Discipline de l’amour: l’éducation sentimentale des filles et des garçons à l’âge du romantisme* (1997) and John Tosh, *A Man’s Place*.
\(^{48}\) This is a rough estimate after the systematic catalogue of books, 1700–1955, at KB; most texts have been found under the heading Svenska samlingen Undervisning Umgänge.
selves as men. The autobiography is an exercise in self-definition, an exercise which is deeply gendered. What men choose to write of themselves depends on their conceptions about proper manly behaviour. Although we shall devote some attention to silences, it is often in the very choice of focus that autobiographers reveal their conceptions of masculinity.

If the autobiographer shows himself both ‘as he believes and wishes himself to be and to have been’, this also means that the autobiographer actively constructs his life in writing in what is most often old age. It is an image of the self created a posteriori rather than how the autobiographer experienced a particular situation when it occurred. Now, if masculinities change over time, it is possible that the writer renegotiates his own gendered position, whether consciously or no, at the end of his life as he sees that cultural standards for acceptable masculine behaviour have been displaced. This argument demands, however, that the autobiographer keeps a keen and open eye to these transformations, which was far from always or even often the case. A man born in 1800, writing his autobiography in 1870, was more often than not immersed in the attitudes which were current in his formative years, as a study of autobiographies by ageing romanticists in France shows.

The number of available autobiographies by Swedish men born in the nineteenth and late eighteenth century is immense. In my choice of texts, I have read autobiographies by those Swedish moralists whose texts I had read who wrote an autobiography. I also made particular efforts to find autobiographies by businessmen, since these were less prone than other middle-class men to write autobiographies. Other strata which are included are academics, authors, civil servants, journalists, men of letters, physicians, and politicians. My study of autobiographies, then, focuses on the higher, educated strata of the middle class, what is usually referred to as the Bildungsbürgertum. For these strata, my choice of texts is pragmatic; they are evenly distributed over the century, and amount to a little less than ten per decade. I could easily have added another two hundred autobiographies by men from these strata, but it is doubtful whether such a study would reveal completely novel meanings of

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51. This does not mean that the autobiography does not also include elements of ‘unintentional self-betrayal’, although this aspect of autobiographers’ texts will not be at centre stage in the present work. See Jerome Hamilton Buckley, The Turning Key: Autobiography and the Subjective Impulse since 1800 (1984), pp. 41-42, quote from p. 42; for a study of middle-class autobiographies which focuses on the unspoken, indeed the unconscious of autobiographers, see Peter Gay, The Naked Heart (1995), esp. pp. 203-150.


53. See the massive empirical proof brought forward in Anne Martin-Fugier, Les Romantiques: Figures de l’artiste 1820–1848 (1998), e.g. pp. 9-16, 18-20, 18, 60, 63-65, 79-85, 123-124, 139, 141, 143 (but see two quotes on p. 8). Although Martin-Fugier does not argue around method, it emerges that these men apparently had no problem in presenting themselves as Bohemian romantics, even while romanticism was if not dead then no longer a strong current at the time they were writing. For a nuanced argument about how the re-remembering in writing is informed by later experience and the role played by masculinity in the writing of autobiography, see Michael Roper, ‘Re-remembering the Soldier Hero’, History Workshop Journal 50 (2000: Autumn), pp. 181-204; Roper wisely emphasises how personal experience informed men’s writing, not the transformed standards of masculinity.

54. Since reminiscences of one’s student years soon proved to be of much value in the analysis of masculinities and since collections of memories from student years were more likely to include men born in the 1840s, this generation is slightly over-represented in my sample.
middle-class masculinity.

In my choice of autobiographies, I took my cue from a dissatisfaction with the empirical base found in earlier research. Philip Carter briefly examines three men in relation to the ideals he studies.55 John Tosh studied the correspondence and autobiographies of sixty families; only seven families were however integrated in his book.56 Other scholars have written about the masculinities of individual men.57 While there is no exact quantity of just how many autobiographies are needed to solve the problem of representativity, these studies were clearly based on too small a material. While we gain considerable insights about how gender worked in the individual lives of men, we are left wondering just how representative those men were. My own study includes autobiographic texts by seventy-six men born between 1783 (the man of letters, professor and politician Erik Gustaf Geijer) and 1884 (the master of engineering Frithiof Holmgren).

In auto/biography studies, a distinction is often made between the memoir, mainly containing anecdotes about other persons, and the more highly held autobiography, which focusses on the inner, psychic development of the writer.58 This distinction is not used in the present study. I use ‘autobiography’ and ‘memoir’ interchangeably.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Throughout this book, I have also made use of lithographs, engravings, drawings and paintings. I have here searched for representations of masculinity which corresponded with or diverged from the masculinities I first studied in advice manuals. This investigation has been conducted more systematically than what may first appear to be the case. The selection of illustrations has been made from a substantial empirical examination. I have systematically gone through the collection of Swedish lithographs at Uppsala University Library.59 All books published between the late eighteenth century and 1900 which mainly contained illustrations have been examined.60 I have also searched through the extensive work The Swedish people through the ages, which includes countless illustrations by major and minor Swedish artists.61 Several other possible sources for illustrations have had to be discarded for practical reasons. This is especially true of the myriad of illustrations printed in novels and weekly or monthly magazines.62

55. Carter, Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, ch. 5.
56. John Tosh, A Man’s Place, p. 199.
58. E.g. Buckley, The Turning Key, pp. 38, 40, 52.
59. These are located at the Department of maps and illustrations, UUB.
60. These books have been found in the Royal Library’s systematic catalogue, under the heading Svenska Samlingen Skön konst planschverk.
62. Lena Johannesson, Den massproducerade bilden (1978) shows the prolific production of illustrations in the nineteenth century and the absolute vastness of possible sources.
THE MIDDLE CLASS

Moralists were apparently writing for an educated audience of middle-class men. And yet, what this class really was remains elusive to pinpoint exactly. It is, Jürgen Kocka argues, easier to say what the middle class was not, than what it was. It was a class of persons defining themselves largely in relation both to the older élite, the nobility, and the lower classes. To a greater extent than the ruling élites of previous centuries, it defined itself against a wide group of others in trying to form its identity. Kocka argues that as the middle class’s position of power became more secure in the nineteenth century, the nobility, which gradually imposed less of a threat, was replaced by the lower classes as the more important pendant against which the middle class defined itself.

In the present study, the term ‘middle class’ is understood loosely as those groups who were neither dependent on manual labour nor lived on the interests of their capital. It was a small, emerging but immensely vociferous group which did not fit neatly into any of the four estates (nobility, priesthood, burghers and peasantry). Statistics referred to them as ‘non-noble persons of standing’. They included such strata as academics, authors, businessmen, journalists, newspaper editors, men of letters, pharmacists, physicians, teachers, and (further down in the hierarchy) civil servants.

These by and large formed their identity from disassociating themselves both from the working class and the nobility. The main focus of the present study is on the Bildungsburgtum, not on businessmen. It was above all this group who embodied middle-class values, and who extolled these values in society. This also means that the term here applies to a very tiny segment of the population, but a segment which would come to hold power in society. These groups were the self-appointed heroes of their time. My use of middle class is thus quite exclusive, and does not include groups as for example bakers, shop-keepers, or artisans.

The nineteenth century meant, in Sweden as elsewhere, the ascendancy of this class to power. Sten Carlsson has convincingly shown how merit instead of birth was slowly becoming a ruling principle in Sweden; a development which meant a slow but deeply felt drainage of power of the aristocracy in favour of the middle class. The nobility’s

63. Peter Gay has spent five volumes and more than two thousand pages on the subject; Gay, The Bourgeois Experience, 5 vols. (1984–1998); for the difficulty of delineating the precise meaning of the terms middle-class, bourgeois, Bürgertum etc, see esp. the long discussion in vol. I, Education of the Senses, pp. 17–44.


65. ‘Non-noble person of standing’ is Sten Carlsson’s translation of ‘ofrälse ståndsperson’; Sten Carlsson, Ståndssamhälle och ståndspersoner 1700–1865: Studier rörande det svenska ståndssamhällets upplösning, rev. ed. (1973), e.g. table t. p. 42. For the enumeration of professional groups in this strata, see ibid., p. 25. It is significant that the earliest evidence of the use of the term ‘ofrälse ståndsperson’ should come from 1792, a period in which the middle classes were emerging. Ibid., p. 19.


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monopoly on higher offices disappeared, while their numbers significantly increased among lower offices; simultaneously, their lost much of their tenure of land.\footnote{Carlsson, Ständessamhälle och ståndspersoner 1700–1865, esp. pp. 44-54, 50-51, table on pp. 54-58 and table 11 on p. 64, pp. 67-69, 71-72, 74, 81, 163, 166-167, table 36 on p. 177, pp. 180, 193, 197-198.}

Even so, some strata of the aristocracy were firmly grounded in middle-class values. Many of the most prominent advocates of middle-class principles were themselves aristocrats. A minority of the aristocracy apparently cherished middle-class values, and fought against the principle of privilege, as Torbjörn Nilsson has shown.\footnote{Torbjörn Nilsson, ‘Elit med många ansikten: om 1800-talets adliga liberaler och dynamiska ämbetsmän’, Historisk Tidskrift 117 (1997:4), pp. 623-650; idem, Elitens svängrum: Första kammaren, staten och moderniseringen 1867–1886 (1994).} This is also why some noblemen, with Lars Johan Hierta and Louis De Geer being the most famous examples, are included in this study. It would be absurd to discard them because they were noblemen; both were instrumental in strengthening and furthering middle-class ideology in nineteenth-century Sweden.

Jürgen Kocka has pointed out that in difference to the earlier ruling élite, the Bürgertum had its ideology expand beyond the confines of its own class. Therefore, it is difficult to assess exactly what groups were middle-class, since its values became the values of the entire society, even while the Bürgertum consciously strove to be exclusive.\footnote{Kocka, ‘The European Pattern and the German Case’, pp. 8-9.}

And logically, by the early twentieth century we find the working class using middle-class values in their quest for respectability and political reforms. Workers endorsed middle-class ideals of sobriety, thrift and diligence, and dressed as respectable middle-class men; a testimony as good as any that society itself was now ruled by middle-class principles.\footnote{See Ronny Ambjörnsson, Den nötabemme arbetaren: Idéer och ideal i ett norrländskt sågverksamhälle 1880–1930, 3 ed. (1988), esp. pp. 71, 88-89, 95, 112; cf. also Roger Qvarsell, Kulturmiljö och idéspridning (1988), p. 20.}

There is another difference between the middle class and the earlier élite. To a much greater extent than the aristocracy, the middle class posed itself the crucial question: ‘who are we?’ If the middle class produced much discourse on Others, they also turned their critical gaze inwards. The intense preoccupation with masculinities which moralists reveal, indeed the very prolific publishing of advice manuals, needs to be seen in the light of the growth of the middle class and its interest in, even obsession with, its own identity. Michel Foucault has cogently argued that while the aristocracy’s identity was grounded in blood, in heritage, the middle class instead used sexuality as the foundation for their identity. The middle-class preoccupation with sexuality was not directed against others, but onto themselves; it became an integral part of the class’s self-definition.\footnote{Michel Foucault, Histoire de la sexualité, vol. 1: La volonté de savoir (1976), pp. 158-161, 164-165.}

Later scholars added the ideal of respectability to this perspective. The middle class defined itself from what they were, from their greater capacity for moderation, rather than from their actions.\footnote{E.g. Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality, c.g. pp. 4-7, 13, 18-19.}
and Catherine Hall further widened the perspective and showed convincingly that it was not only in sexuality and respectability but in gender in the widest sense of the word that the middle class construed itself as different from, and superior to, the nobility. By ideologically separating the spheres, by construing men’s duties as bread-winning in the public sphere and defining womanhood as dependency and motherhood in the private sphere, the middle class showed in their very life-style that they were more modern, and more moral, than the earlier elite. It is in this light we must understand moralists’ discourse; it was in itself an expression of middle-class ideology and its deeply felt preoccupation with gender. While many scholars have shown how middle-class perceptions of ideal femininity rewrote society and defined the middle class as moral and modern, we know much less about their obsession with masculinity. The discourse was the middle class’s attempt at self-definition. In this, they diverged from the nobility, who had never felt the same need to define who they were and why they were what they were.

EARLIER RESEARCH

Instead of writing about earlier research here, I have chosen to keep an ongoing discussion with and of earlier research throughout this book. However, two books need special mention, not least because it may seem that I do precisely what these scholars have already done. Michael Kimmel and E. Anthony Rotundo have each written a history of middle-class masculinities, starting at the end of the eighteenth century and through to our own period (in Kimmel’s case; Rotundo ends before World War I). This book is not an attempt to write a new Kimmel or Rotundo. The main reason for this limitation is that both Kimmel and Rotundo trace changes in middle-class ideals which tend to become just as schematic as Mosse’s account of continuity. Transformations appear to be clear-cut, even while alternative voices are rarely if ever quoted. Their accounts appear, simply, a bit too neat. By looking in greater detail on moralists’ discourse and men’s self-portraits, this book will instead focus more closely on a more narrow range of sources. The analysis focusses more on men’s ideas about men, rather than on the entire history of middle-class manhood. It is in part Kimmel’s and Rotundo’s will to chart that history which renders their accounts too schematic.

My discussions have also been governed by a will to fill what one could call historiographic holes in earlier research. For example, where many scholars have already

73. This is shown throughout Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class 1780–1850 (1987); cf. already the approach in Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the middle class: the family in Onedia County, New York, 1790–1865 (1981). For a good, brief analysis of this, see Robert L. Griswold, Divorce and the Legal Redefinition of Victorian Manhood’, in Carnes and Griffen (eds.), Meanings for Manhood (1990), p. 97; for a model which integrates the formation of the middle class and gender, see Birgitta Jordansson, Den goda män- niskan från Göteborg: Genus och fattigvårdspolitik i det borgerliga samhällets framväxt (1998), pp. 21-74.
76. Kimmel, Manhood in America; Rotundo, American Manhood.
probed the ideal of self-control, the centrality of passions, absolutely ubiquitous in the nineteenth century, has not been discussed. And while many scholars have discussed the details of the movement for social purity, none have pointed to the crucial role played by the seducer in these discussions. If it is the idea of the problematic male which has governed me in studying the sources, the holes that I have found in earlier scholarship have prompted me to keep an ongoing discussion with earlier research.

**MANLINESS AND MASCULINITY**

Several scholars have distinguished between masculinity and manliness. This has historical reasons: in the United States, the focal point of the discourse on men shifted from ‘manliness’ to a newly created concept – ‘masculinity’ – around 1890. The ideal of manliness included what we usually think of as middle-class ideals: an ethic of work, an orderly life-style, and the celebration of the home and of married life. ‘Masculinity’ instead connoted what men were: the concept was descriptive rather than prescriptive. However, ‘masculinity’ soon came to be associated with Social Darwinism; it came to stand for a rough, competitive, and aggressive ideal. This change in ideals and its relation to African-American masculinities (or, rather, how white middle-class men imagined these masculinities) has been analysed by Gail Bederman, who makes much of the distinction between manliness and masculinity.\(^7^7\)

There was no similar historical conceptual transition from manliness to masculinity in Sweden. Not once in all the material I have studied have I found the Swedish equivalent to masculinity, *maskulinitet*, in my sources. Carl G. Laurin, a free writer of the middle class, mainly known as a prolific writer of art history, was the first to use the word in Swedish, as late as 1915 – and then only in passing.\(^7^8\) Thus, there is no historical reason to differentiate between masculinity and manliness, for the Swedish nineteenth century.

Others have instead made a theoretical distinction between manliness and masculinity, where one stands for ideals and the other for men’s practices.\(^7^9\) However, it is difficult to uphold this distinction, especially as my focus is mainly on ideals even when I discuss how men acted in practice. Therefore, I shall not distinguish between manliness and masculinity, and will use both terms together with manhood as synonymous. Throughout, these concepts are used to describe both desired traits in men and what men were thought to be.


\(^7^8\) Carl G. Laurin, *Folklynnen* (1915), p. 270. Laurin wrote of ‘the masculinity of the ruling race’ (‘den härskande rasens maskulinitet’) in China just after 1900. This is the first Swedish usage of ‘maskulinitet’ according to SAOB, column M423. Information on Laurin (1868–1940) from SBL 22, pp. 391-394; SMK 4, pp. 496-497.

STRUCTURE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The structure of this book is not different from that of a kaleidoscope. Chapters continually nuance earlier interpretations and bring out novel meanings of manhood, as the perspective is shifted. Part I, ‘Continuity’, comprising chapters 2, 3 and 4, is thematic. In chapter 2, I discuss continuity in moralists’ ideas about manhood. This chapter lays out a foundation, the basic pattern of our kaleidoscope; all ensuing chapters should be read in light of this interpretation of continuity. This continuity lay in perceptions of passions as dangerous threatening forces in (at times, external to) men. Because passions were thought to be especially strong in youth, the discourse on masculinity focussed to a great extent on that fragile period in life. If passions could be restrained in youth, men would develop character, the most important ingredient of ideal manhood throughout the century.

In chapter 3, this continuity is discussed instead from the perspective of counter-types. The chapter is something of a mirror-image to chapter 2. When men did not succeed in developing character, they risked becoming countertypes. I here discuss two of the century’s preferred countertypes, the gambler and the drinker. These were unmanly because they were unable to restrain their passions. At the same time, gambling and drinking were thought by many young men to be manly activities. While moralists explained that these men were countertypes, many men shared other ideals. In chapter 4, our kaleidoscope is given a serious rattle. The chapter nuances and partially disrupts the ideas analysed in chapter 2, by examining student culture at the Universities of Lund and Uppsala. In contrast to moralists’ discourse, men tended to give their passions freer rein in youth. Thus their actual behaviour and the way they chose to present their behaviour in memoirs indicates that men held attitudes quite contrary to those present among moralists. In men’s self-portraits, youth was not a dangerous and fragile passage into adulthood which demanded mastery over the passions, but a period of fun, a period in which young men should have their fling.

Part II, ‘Variations and Transformations’, consisting of chapters 5 to 8, focus shifts from continuity to change. This part of the book continues to disrupt and complicate the interpretation of manhood, as it appeared above all in chapters 2 and 3. With each chapter, our kaleidoscope will reveal new patterns and contradictions in middle-class masculinities. This part of the study is organized chronologically. Chapter 5 takes up the decades around 1800 when the strongest ideal was that of the useful citizen, which required men to see above all to what was beneficial for society. The ideal was founded on a conception of society as a hierarchy, in which men had to succumb to the demands of loyalty to society, rather than see to their own benefit. Chapter 6 analyses the complex relationship between the ideals of the emerging middle class and those held by the aristocracy in the first half of the century. The middle classes used an aristocratic model of manhood, that of the man of the world, in an emulation of aristocratic standards of masculinity. Chapter 7 discusses the ideal of the self-made man, which came to the fore around mid-century. The ideal meant that character and manhood became more or less synonymous with individual success. Finally, chapter 8 discusses conflicting perceptions of male sexuality in the century’s last two decades.
Men’s sexual morality emerged as a prominent topic in the discussion of masculinity, and the seducer came to represent a problematic form of masculinity.

These four chronological chapters on change also contain several arguments about continuity. If ideals changed, transformations were never complete or clear-cut. Masculinities remained both discussed, and confused, throughout the century.

A final chapter draws out the larger conclusions of the study.
Part I
CONTINUITY
2. THE MAKING OF MEN
Passions, youth, and character, c. 1800–c.1900

If you do not withstand the eruption of the passions in youth, you shall never during your whole life be able to control them.
—Friedrich Reiche, 1844

INTRODUCTION
Throughout the nineteenth century, three concepts remained central to moralists’ perceptions of manhood: passions, youth, and character. All three were used pervasively by moralists. Scholars have tended either to ignore them, take them for granted, or misunderstand them. This is especially true of the passions and of youth, and a little less so of character. The extent to which the three were intertwined has not been fully grasped. If passions were a danger, they were especially dangerous in youth, and if men could learn to withstand and master their passions, they would develop a manly character. Nothing less than the reproduction of men’s domination over women and other men was at stake in these discussions.

This chapter will analyse, then, how notions about passions, youth and character were intertwined in the creation of real manhood. Moralists’ worries over passions, youth and character remained more or less unchanged throughout the century. The present focus on continuity means that moralists who will be shown to argue for different masculinities in subsequent chapters are treated together. This is also why pamphlets published throughout the century appear side by side in the footnotes and in the ongoing discussion. We shall begin with the ever-present concept of passion.

THE THREAT OF PASSIONS
No concept was used more often by moralists than ‘passion’. To disregard the passions, then, is to misunderstand the period. Today, we tend to associate ‘passion’ with either sexual desire or an intense emotion of love. This modern usage of the term was

The power of character

a minority view in the nineteenth century.2 When the man of letters Erik Gustaf Geijer openly boasted that he had had ‘a dozen passions’, he certainly meant sexual experiences or at the very least love affairs.3 To be sure, love was at times described as a passion – but more often than not as but one of many.4 In the lexicographer Anders Fredrik Dalin’s Dictionary of the Swedish language (1850–1853), ‘passion’ was defined as suffering (as in Christ’s passion), as ‘Desires, which transgress the limits of reason’, as ‘Intense love’, ‘Vivid inclination’, ‘The object of this [vivid inclination]’ and ‘Ardour, vehemence’.5 The second meaning of the term, with a non-sexual understanding of ‘desires’, was by far the most usual among moralists.

Passions were understood as impersonal, threatening forces residing within both men and women.6 The eighteenth-century poet, dramatist and publisher Robert Dodslcy, widely translated into Swedish especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, counted hope, fear, joy, grief, anger, compassion, desire and love as passions.7 The German moralist and compiler of others’ advice Joachim Heinrich Campe listed the passions of vanity, ambition, debauchery and voluptuousness.8 A Swedish moralist added revenge to this common list of passions in 1809.9 In this way, lists of passions will include most of the above, with individual additions such as egotism and pride,10 self-love and conceit, extravagance,11 et cetera.12

2. I have only seen two examples of this usage: Kvensen icke allenast att förvärvva sig hvarje flickas karlek, utan ofver att vinna en rik och dygdig maka (1873), pp. 5, 12, 18, 29; Josephine Butler, Fatkna grinnor: En rist i öken (1876), p. 20.
4. The examples I have found are [Bengt Törneblad], Critik öfver Skådespelet Don Juan (1814), p. 11; Campe, Till Den Gjifvena Ungdomen Några Ord (1819), p. 23; Kärleks- eller Jungfrufåföre: den Kännets och Botemedel (1823), pp. 5, 9; on p. 24 passions are used in the plural, implying that love / sexuality is just one of many passions; Stockholms Ungfåder och Stockholms Gift Män: Sattre (1828), p. 19; Roos, Den Heliga Srifts atom den unåttade ansvarning till alla dygders utßiffrung (1829), pp. 57–60; En Kusin till Lovelace [pseud.], Åktenskap-grännmattiska (1844) pp. 3, 10; [Karl Adolph Levisson], Ordbok för älskande: eller bebytelsen af alla i kärleksförklaringar förekommande ord (1843), p. 11; though see p. 35, where the passion of love is seen as one of many passions; [iden], Merchants; 1844 års Ancestor-Kalender för Ungkarlar (1844), pp. 11, 27 (where love is counted as one of many passions); [Johan Wilhelm Sundberg], Rudarens Carl Brunnbjelma och Fröken Ansvarre Tjurskat (1843), p. 14; Also [Karl Johan Ekbeck Gustafsson], Göken: Opuestas utmattafgel eller Samlings af sken on Vers och Prouit, vol. 1 (1845), pp. 14, 16; [K. E. V. Hookenberg], Taylor ur Lefrart (1853), not paginated; [Otto] G[å]bergh], En glädjeflickas memoarer (1866), p. 7; J. B. Liebesheim, Tjumphaliga unåttning och råd för giftaslystna unga män (1878), p. 29; love can be turned into passion. Cf. also already Jonas Magnus Strimstolpe’s novel Wilhelm (1865), quoted in Nils Sylvan, Svensk realistisk roman 1794–1870 (1943), p. 114.
6. Although much of the doctrine of passions had bearing on both sexes, I will focus here on its importance in the discourse on men and masculinities.
9. Johan Fredric Hjorth, Lefnads-Reglor, samlade och omgiffte (1809), p. 21; he here used the stronger word ‘begäre’, perhaps to be translated as ‘desires’, though not in a sexual sense.
12. See also e.g. [Carl Zehmen], Carl Lens, Ungkarls-Läkaren (1837), pp. 54–65; [Nils Wilhelm Lundequist],
Gambling was a particularly threatening passion. While some writers believed gambling to be a passion, others regarded it as something which awakened passions, or that it would become a passion if turned into a habit. This shows how unclear discussions of the nature of passions were; moralists used the amorphous concept in various ways to warn young men of dangers. The same was true of alcohol: drinking was often said to be passion, but at times it was claimed to be the agent unloosing dangerous passions.

If passions were dangerous, then what should a manly man do with them? In brief, a true man should be able to withstand, discipline, and control the passions. The moral discourse on how to reach masculinity was to a significant extent a discourse on how to master the passions. Uncontrolled outbursts of what we today think of as emotions – anger, fear, tears, joy – or excessive indulgence in what we think of as habits – drinking, gambling, sex – were, to moralists, expressions of the inability to master one’s passions. Exhortations to control one’s passions were legion in advice manuals. The seventeenth-century moralist and merchant Phillipe Sylvestre Du Four, still translated into Swedish in 1810, used military metaphors and thereby strengthened the gendered aspect of control over the passions: ‘Know, that the subduing of one single passion is a more honourable and happier victory, than if you stormed the greatest fortress. In a similar vein, another moralist wrote that there was no greater victory for the virtuous male than when he could tell himself that he had won against the ‘passions [which] so often set themselves against his better self’. The moralist Johan Fredric Hjorth warned men to make decisions ‘as long as your soul burns with any passion’, and urged them to ‘wait until your blood has cooled of and reason is back in command’. John T. Dale deplored men who gave vent to their anger and oppressed others and claimed that this was a sign of weakness, since ‘his passions [...] rule him and he who obeys under them is weak’.

**Ungängeskunst, eller Hemligheten att göra sig älskad och värderad (1847), p. 115; Samuel Smiles, Människans egna krafi (1867), p. 297.**

13. E.g. Några reflexioner angående spel (1815), p. 4 (gambling awakens passions); Wilmisen, Verldens Ton och Verldens Seder (1828), p. 92 (gambling is a passion); [Israel Tollin?], Läring för spelare, och Demon, som icke villja bliffa död (1811), p. 11 (connects the passion of gambling to other passions), but see pp. 16-17, where it is claimed that gambling also enhances control over passions; E. S. Häglsperger, För Tynglningar och Jungfrufr på Landet (1833), pp. 21-22 (gambling is a passion which if turned into a habit is very dangerous); Reiche, Familje-Värmen (1845) p. 202 (gambler’s faces contain the traces of several passions); Josephine Butler, Fallna grumur (1876), p. 11 (mentions the gambling passion); Några ord om Vita minner (1892), p. 7 (gambling is developed into a passion); Odman, Vill du bli fru en man? (1890), p. 11 (playing cards awakens especially the passions of greed and the desire for profits); [K. Olhammer], Brit till vär kare son (1897), p. 22 (gambling is a passion).

14. Campe, Till Den Giftruxna Ungdomen Några Ord (1870), p. 84; Arthur Engel, Kärleksens hemligheter (1872), p. 39. The question of alcohol as passion will be given more space in the next chapter.


16. [Carl Johan Söderström], Stredad Tanblar efter änskigen lifwers förhållanden, samlande af en fader for ett afskaid barn (1844), p. 5, ‘de sig hans bätre jag så ofta motsätande passionerna’, see also e.g. pp. 10, 42.


In short, a real man had to be able to master his passions. Almost any nineteenth-century text on masculinity would concur with Dale that men who were ruled by their passions were unmanly. The manly struggle to discipline the passions was also grounded in power. Control over the passions meant not only power over the baser impulses of the self, but also power over others. The Danish schoolteacher Christian Nielsen, who believed that manhood was severely threatened, indeed in a state of crisis, is a case in point. In 1869, he explained that ‘A man is he, who is master over himself, over all his desires and forces. And he who can command himself and others completely is the best man.’ Control over the passions was thus part of the moral advice given to men to create, secure and maintain power hierarchies especially in relation to other men. Indeed, the ability or inability to master the passions delineated real men from countertypes. It was in the relation to the passions that men could prove themselves as men, and it was men’s varying successfulness in mastering their passions which legitimized why some men should have power, and others not.

The more usual rhetoric was to connect the inability to master one’s passions to a lack of power over others. An anonymous moralist said in 1807 that a male who was unable to master his passions was ‘in the violence of every cunning rogue and bold trickster.’ Another warned that the man ‘who has no command over himself, stands below others.’ The preacher August Petersson claimed that men who lacked the ability to control their passions were turned into slaves, i.e. men lacking power.

Moralists had argued that a proper upbringing of women would lead to their subordinated position of power. A proper upbringing of a young man would instead lead to his having a position of power both over other men and over women. This was the largely implicit gift which shone through in the moral warnings about detrimental passions throughout the century.

However, confidence that middle-class men were capable of controlling their pas-
sions was not very strong. Indeed, if middle-class men had been trusted to govern their passions, moralists would not have used such considerable energies to warning men of following their passions. Middle-class men could aspire to control their passions. Yet, the threat of passions always lurked or loomed heavy even in the foreground of worries over middle-class manhood.

When moralists wrote about the threatening passions, they were echoing old doctrines. Ideas about passions are very old indeed. From the Ancients to Immanuel Kant, different conceptions of passions played a crucial role in the intellectual exchange about human nature. When nineteenth-century moralists wrote about passions, they were continuing old doctrines, although they rarely used the same caution or detail in their discussions as the philosophers from whom they were, consciously or no, taking their cue.

Scholars who have written about the passions tend to discuss Antiquity or the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Historians have described the role passions played in thinkers and writers as different as Horace, Aristotle, Descartes, and Shakespeare. None have, however, explored how conceptions of passions continued to be of absolutely crucial in the nineteenth century. George L. Mosse is typical in that he briefly mentions passions here and there, but he either assumes that the reader knows what is meant or is uninterested in explicating of the term. A common mistake is to take for granted that passions and emotions were one and the same. An even more common misreading is to simply presume that ‘passion’ was used first and foremost in the modern, sexualised sense of the word. Peter Gay briefly identifies passions as equivalent of the more modern concept of energy what has much more positive connotations. But the passions were, as we have seen, much more complex than energy.

Furthermore, historians have neglected the role of passions in discussing other topics. When John Dunkley writes about the French discussion about gambling in the eighteenth century, he certainly mentions gambling as a passion. However, when discussing the passion of gambling, he fails to notice that gambling was but one of

25. To cite but a few examples, Lily B. Campbell, Shakespeare’s Tragic Heroes: Slaves of Passion (1930); Albert O. Hirschman, The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph (1977; 1997); Anthony Levi, French Moralists: The theory of the Passions, 1585 to 1649 (1964).
26. Mosse, The Image of Man, e.g. pp. 59, 70. Mark E. Kann, A Republic of Men: The American Founders, Gendered Language, and Patriarchal Politics (1998), writes at length about how men were told to discipline their passions, but never pauses to ask what was meant by ‘passion’; see e.g. pp. 85, 96, 98, 120, 105, 119, 123, 131, 141, 153, 154, 155, 158, 159, 160, 162, 174. Agnès Thiercé mentions passions here and there, but he either assumes that the reader knows what is meant or is uninterested in explicating of the term. 26 A common mistake is to take for granted that passions and emotions were one and the same. An even more common misreading is to simply presume that ‘passion’ was used first and foremost in the modern, sexualised sense of the word. 28 Peter Gay briefly identifies passions as equivalent of the more modern concept of energy what has much more positive connotations. 29 But the passions were, as we have seen, much more complex than energy.

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many passions, which were expected to be restrained in similar ways. 30 A similar neglect of the doctrine of passions is evident in Elizabeth Foyster’s reading of normative literature on aggression. Foyster argues that the passion of anger was under increasing attack in the eighteenth century, but does not seem to note that anger was but one of a whole host of dangerous passions. Also, Foyster takes violence in passions as being intrinsically a sign of violence or of aggression. 31 But according to the theory of the passions, a gambler at a gambling table or a drunken man sitting peacefully in a tavern were both terribly violent in their passions—without being violent in the physical sense of the word. Thus, even scholars who discuss the importance of passions fail to acknowledge prevalent conceptions about the passions as such.

To nineteenth-century moralists, passions were the very nucleus of the problematic male. And at no point in the life cycle were passions more dangerous than in that precarious period of life between childhood and adulthood: youth.

THE FRAGILITY AND DANGERS OF YOUTH

Moralists’ normative discourse centred on youth. Moralists continually addressed men who were no longer children, but not yet adults. Exhortations about proper manhood were ever issued by adult moralists to youths. 32 The discourse on masculinity was to a significant extent a discourse on how young men should acquire proper, adult masculinity. Moralists perceived youth, not childhood, as the foundation for the development of real manhood; it was the difficulties, misconceptions and misuses of this specific period in life which moralists discussed throughout the century. The discourse on masculinity was almost exclusively a discourse on the masculinity of young men in a state of transition. Why this was so is the subject of the next few pages.

Historians of youth have focussed less on ideas and more on young men and women. The history of youth has by and large been written as the history of young people, not as the construction of an idea. 33 This chapter does not deal with young men but moralists’ ideas about young men. Whether these actually behaved as moralists wanted them to behave is a question I leave to chapter 4.

Youth was a moral concept which was almost never precisely defined. 34 Moralists...
only rarely defined when youth was thought to begin and end. When they did, youth was roughly thought of as the age between the early teens and the late twenties. Moralists focussed on the dangers of youth, not on the exact age at which these dangers were current.

A slim minority of moralists either blurred the dividing line between youth and childhood or chose to focus on childhood. Petrus Roos, in his time one of the most well-known vicars in southern Sweden, penned this confusing exhortation in 1817: ‘Flee the lusts of youth, and learn to bend your will to that which is good from your childhood years onward’. Others, like the statistician Carl Edvard Ljungberg and the headmaster and social purist Ernst Olbers, chose to focus on how to educate children, rather than youth. The economist Johan Fischerström claimed that the education of youth was to start in childhood. In his worried appeal for manlier Swedes in 1794, Fischerström even added a few pages on how to produce manlier men through a somewhat harsher care of them as children. However, the usual approach was to consider childhood as something quite distinct from youth and ignore childhood, even though the beginning of ‘youth’ remained vague.

In France, moralists continually used the distinction between youth and adolescence, between jeuness and adolescence. In Swedish moral discourse, the concept of adolescence was never used, and is very rarely used even today. The concept is significantly absent from the first volume of Swedish Academy’s Dictionary, printed in 1898, which is usually reliable in having dug up even the most uncommon of Swedish words. Throughout the century, moralists used the vague notion ungdom, youth.

The concept itself was gendered: youth more or less exclusively meant male youth. Agnès Thiercé has shown that the nineteenth-century French usage of adolescence had both a gender and class bias until the very end of the century: it applied to young men of the middle class. In Sweden, the same was true of the concept of youth in moral-

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35. See Eustache Le Noble, En Faders Underwissing Till sin Son (1727), pp. 15-16; Salig Gubbens Testamente till sin käre Son (1816), p. 7; H. T. B. Rodhe, Tvangen förhörsder mannen. Det värsta nullet vinner yger (1891), p. 5; En moders förmanning till sin son (1894), p. 6; S. Petersson, Tankar öfver ungdomsåren (1899), pp. 1-14; cf. also Wilhem Erik Svedelius [b. 1816], Anteckningar om mitt forflutna liv (1889), p. 156.

36. SMK 6, p. 116.


38. Ernst Olbers, Sedlighetens fråga närmast en fråga för föräldrar och uppförare (1880), pp. 3-4; [Carl Edvard Ljungberg], Om det felaktiga uti barnauppfostringen i Sverige (1868).

39. Johan Fischerström, Tal Om de Medel och Utvägar, genom hvilka Styrka, Manlighet och Härdighet kunna hos Svenska Folket befrämjas (1794), pp. 6, 23, 26-28. See also Smiles, Karmets välar (1872), pp. 3-12; 36-37 (but see p. 72).

40. Göte Klingberg’s bibliography over literature for children and youth significantly includes only very few titles which blurred the distinction between children and youth; Klingberg, Ekonometrisk bibliografi öfver barn- och ungdomslitteratur utgivna i Sverige 1700-1900 (1967), bibliographic numbers 1702 or 1703 (unclear year of publishing), 1754; 1801-12; 1825-1; 1845-1 and 1851-1.


42. SAOB lacks an entry for ‘adolescents’; this volume of the dictionary was printed in 1898, with the first part which should have included the concept printed already in 1899. See, however, Ingrid Holmqvist, Salongs värld, p. 215, who quotes the famous salon hostess Malla Säilverstolpe’s autobiography; Malla used ‘adolescence’ (‘adolescens’) to describe her youth in her autobiography. This is, however, the only example I have seen that the word ‘adolescents’ was used.

ists’ discourse throughout the nineteenth century.

What, then, did the moralists under scrutiny here mean by youth? The most crucial concept for understanding youth seems to be transition. No longer a child but not yet a man, the youngster had struck up the path towards adult independence and authority, although he had not yet attained the qualities of the adult. This transitional period in life was marked by several perils. It was to these particular perils that the moralists turned their attention.

**YOUTH AND PASSIONS**

Two of these perils were associated with the passions. First, the passions were believed to be especially violent in youth—a notion expressed only at times but often implied behind the lines. It was in youth that ‘the passions are most lively’, as a moralist had it in 1824. Petrus Roos elaborated the theme: ‘Bacchus and Venus compete for mastery and precedence [in youth]. Passions dominate, and can, if a Christian resistance is not used, destroy both health and character.’

The conception that passions were particularly strong in youth was echoed by several other moralists. This conception was widespread in France, where moralists, authors and dictionaries explained that youth meant ‘the birth of new passions’, ‘the awakening of passions’ and ‘the first attacks of the passions’. The idea that passions were especially dangerous in youth was, incidentally, not new. Moralists frequently expressed the idea even in the early eighteenth century.

Secondly, a youth had not yet acquired the ability of the adult to withstand these passions. Passions were stronger than earlier, even while the young man risked over-

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48. See [Archibald Campbell], *Underwinning För En Ung Herr* (1700), p. 78; Le Noble, *En Faders Underwinning Til sin Son* (1727), p. 16; [Abraham Sahlish], *Bref Til Min Son* (1776), p. 4, wrote of the dangers of passions and was writing for youth; Campe, *Theophrast* (1794), p. 18 spoke loosely of ‘the young man’s young, impenetrable mind’ (*Tynglingen unga, häftiga sinne*); 1730s quotes from the newspaper *Argus* in David Löfberg, *Det nationalekonomiska motivet i svensk pedagogik under 1700-talet* (1949), pp. 115-116; Elizabeth Fowsey, ‘Boys will be Boys’, p. 114. (The author Campbell identified by Göte Klingberg, *Svensk barn- och ungdomslitteratur 1590-1830*, pp. 50-51, the copy at KB is catalogued as anonymous.)
estimating his ability to withstand them. Controlling one's passions at the time of youth, then, was an especially difficult and important endeavour. This shows, once again, that moralists' faith in (young) men's ability to gain mastery over their passions was weak.

Moralists thus connected youth firmly to the theory of the human passions. Or, which is to say the same thing, the moralists for whom the passions posed serious dangers tended to devote their attention to the period of youth. But the passions were not the sole reason why moralists wrote about youth.

**YOUTH AND THE MAKING OF MEN**

Youth was considered as the crucial period in the making of a man. It would appear, with all the middle class's obsession with the making of gendered identities in men and women, that relatively little importance was given to childhood. Maja Larsson has shown that in medical advice literature, the sexual organs were believed to be dormant in boys' and girls' bodies until puberty. Before puberty, boys and girls were 'unsexed', as one physician put it in 1856. It was only with puberty that the awakening of sexuality separated boys from girls.

This does not mean that childhood was free of gender. For England and the U.S., John Tosh and E. Anthony Rotundo have demonstrated that up until the very end of the nineteenth century little boys and girls wore identical clothes. Their findings are anecdotaly substantiated by Swedish evidence from autobiographies. If infancy was relatively ungendered, this was not true of childhood. Girls and boys were definitely not treated similarly. Rotundo has shown how boys in nineteenth-century America from the age of around six had their own 'boy culture': a largely unsupervised life of almost unlimited freedom, where aggression, fighting, assertiveness, competition, courage and endurance were valued traits. Again, Rotundo's interpretations are corroborated by Swedish autobiographies, where it emerges that boys were often left without adult supervision to create their own sphere of rather wild adventures. Childhood, after infancy, was a deeply gendered experience. Even while

this can be read from autobiographies, neither moralists, medical men, nor autobiographers themselves lay their emphasis on the construction of male gender identity in childhood. Given these relatively gender-free perceptions of childhood, youth instead stood out as the crucial period of gender formation of the male. This is something which has been missed by Susanna Hedenborg, in her study of conceptions of children and childhood in eighteenth-century Sweden. Although Hedenborg mentions differences between children and adults and discusses the concept of youth, she never seriously takes the role that youth played into account. When moralists wrote about adult behaviour in texts Hedenborg reads as if they were written for children, she interprets this as non-existing lines of demarcation drawn between children and adults. However, the advice about drinking, gambling and business were not directed at children. They were explicitly directed at youth.54

Behaviour and moral principles in youth were believed to determine how the adult male would be. This notion was expressed throughout the nineteenth century. At mid-century, the priest A. J. Bergenström advised young men to work hard and be diligent, ‘and you will be a real man in time, this is the greatest and only goal for a young man’s striving’.55 Just after the turn of the century, the schoolteacher and fighter for sobriety Teodor Holmberg similarly explained that the adult ‘model of masculinity’ was the young man’s ‘great target in life’.56 That is, youth was a difficult period because it should create responsible, adult men. In another text, Holmberg called youth the ‘period of foundation’, and moralists generally held the same attitude.57 As the fifteen-year old schoolboy August Strindberg wrote, ‘youth has its great temptations, and our whole subsequent life depends on overcoming them’.58 Actions, moral principles, and the extent to which passions were held in check in youth decided how the adult would be. How the young man lead his life would mark his character for the rest of his days.59 Hence the importance to control the passions, which would otherwise take the

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55. [A. J. Bergenström], *Eklöfs-bladen* (1852), pp. 7-12; quote on p. 9: ‘och du skall blifva en bra karl med tiden, det är det största och enda målet för en ungdoms sträfvande’. Emphasis added. See also p. 51, where marriage was perceived as ‘the reward for a youth well used’ (‘belöningen för en väl använd ungdomsålder’).


57. Holmberg, *Från skolalen*, vol. 2 (1897), p. 45: ‘grundläggandets tid’ (emphasis in the original); also e.g. idem, *Fölkhögskola och folkkuppfyllning* (1881), p. 16; idem, *Hemgamlärmningen* (1895), p. 3; Nielsen, *Huvudels ynglingar blir man* (1869) p. 24; S. Petersson, Tänk och liv efter ungdomsåren (1899), p. 10; Ett Ord till unge man i en viktig ungdomsålder (1898), pp. 3-4.


59. E. g. in Hvasser, *Mannens ynglingaålder* (1846), pp. vii, 5, 13-14; James, *Ynglingen borta från hemnuten* (1867),
upper hand of the adult man. As John T. Dale explained to young men in 1890:

> the habits, the principles, the desires which you allow to become ruling, while you are young, will follow you into your adult age, and decide what kind of human being [sic] you shall be.60

This notion was expressed throughout the century, but more often in the century’s latter half. The moralist and preacher William Guest explained in 1872 that ‘the man becomes what the youth was’, and was echoed by several moralists.61 Thus, it is hardly surprising that so much of the worries were placed on the upbringing on young men; they were both expected to and believed to be incapable of creating adult masculinity.62 And building that adult masculinity in youth was founded on controlling the dangerous passions.

Exceptions to this attitude were very only very rarely expressed, notably by quack doctors, whose market depended on the possibility that young men who had indulged in sexual excesses believed that they could be saved via different strange drugs or electric belts.63 Also, Petrus Roos once explained that by repenting, it was always possible to receive absolution for youthful loss of control over one’s passions through Jesus.64 In his other teachings, however, Roos generally reiterated the idea that youth was a dangerous age, and that a young man’s actions would determine his character as an adult.65

The period of youth was thus believed to be absolutely determining to the formation of men and adult masculinity. This meant that the young man had to make an irreversible choice between the paths of vice and virtue. It is to this theme we now turn.

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62. See also Pehr Kölmark, Tankar om Allmänna Upfostrans Verkan På Samhällen i Äldre och Nyare Tider (1791), pp. 61, 81; Campe, Thesaurus (1794), p. 41 [Jonas Johan Lagergren], Ohyggliga Tankar om Trolofningar och andra Åkensköpsförbindelser (1811), p. 10; Haglèpserge, För Tugfåglarn och Jungfrun på Landet (1815), pp. 190, 20, 17-19; Betraktelser öfver Menskliga lifvets frestelser (1840), pp. 4-6, 12; James, Tugfåglernas harta fördom (1867), pp. 6-6.

63. E.g. [Zehmen], Ungkarls-Läkaren (1837), passim, e.g. pp. 1, 10; Nyupptäckt Method att i grund tillintetgöra följderna af Sjelfbefläckelse och Nattliga Pollutioner, samt i allmänhet förbiföra forhindrag manligt förnämat (1846); Rydbergs befrringskrig eller Pilar mot en van ‘medlighet’ (1880); A. T. Sanden, Sterha och Mandom (1902).

64. Petrus Roos, Oförgripliga Tankar om Trolofningar och andra Åkensköpsförbindelser (1811), pp. 65, 85; Campe, Thesaurus (1794), p. 41 [Jonas Johan Lagergren], Ohyggliga Tankar om Trolofningar och andra Åkensköpsförbindelser (1811), p. 10; Haglèpserge, För Tugfåglarn och Jungfrun på Landet (1815), pp. 190, 20, 17-19; Betraktelser öfver Menskliga lifvets frestelser (1840), pp. 4-6, 12; James, Tugfåglernas harta fördom (1867), pp. 6-6.

In 1813, a text by the immensely popular and influential German author Jean Paul was translated into Swedish. In this text, an old man regrets his sinful and wasted life, and in particular that he took the wrong path in his youth, when his father had placed him at ‘the parting of the ways of life’ between ‘the bright path of virtue’ and ‘the mole paths of vice’. He wishes he could be placed again ‘at the parting of the ways’ to ‘make a different choice’. But the vision of the wasted life turns out to be a dream, and the young man stands in fact at the moment of choice, now firmly decided to refrain from his ‘aberrations’ and choose the path of virtue. Jean Paul’s brief admonitions to youth reproduced a widely shared conception, that young men had to make an irreversible choice, a choice that would determine the young man’s entire life. In youth, a young man faced the choice of either taking the path of virtue, which would make of him the manliest of men, or choosing the path of vice, which would lead him to loss of or incapacity to reach ideal manhood, since passions were here given free rein.

Jean Paul’s text apparently appealed to at least some moralists. It was copied, without attribution, by the German moralist and compiler Friedrich Reiche in 1844 and by schoolteacher Valdus Bengtsson in 1900. And they were hardly alone in describing the period of youth as a period of irreversible choice. The idea was expressed by a whole group of moralists.

This notion was far from novel. Already in Antiquity, several men, Xenophon being the most well-known, had discussed the choice young men had to make between the paths of vice and virtue. The figure of Hercules in particular was used to this end. A theory was developed in late Antiquity concerning the letter γ, where the straight line was childhood, broken into the path of vice (to the left, a line which soon turns downwards) and that of virtue (the line showing the steep and difficult choice, but leading upwards). The theme of Hercules’s choice was revived and pervasively used by humanists in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A new translation of


68. Friedrich Reiche, Rådsföra för ungdomen, på vandringen genom livvet (1844), pp. 68-71; Valdus Bengtsson, Ungdomens saliga kamp (1900), pp. 79-82.

69. See e.g. Camp, Theophran (1794), pp. 7-9; Salig Gubbens Testamente till sin käre Son (1816), p. 14; Reiche, Rådsföra för ungdomen, på vandringen genom livvet (1844), pp. iii-iv; William Guest, Den unge mannen vid hans inträde i livvet (1872), pp. 2, 5, 10; G. Fredengren, O nghìnan människa (1886), pp. 4-5; G. A. Gustafsson, I Livets värld till ungdomens skärgård, in Den svenska Litteraturen, vol. 1 (1999), p. 414; (who wrote of three paths, not two); Mary Allen, Fröns bön till ungling (1902), pp. 5-8; and Sanfrid Welin, Våna plikter mot vårt fosterland (1903), p. 52. For a Catholic version of the theme, see Alban Stolz, Ungdomens vägvisare (1887), esp. pp. 4-5, 26-27. An idealistic twist which concerned the young university student’s choice to live according to idealistic principles was extolled by Schiller, Fichte, and Fichte’s Swedish translator, the philosopher Benjamin Heijer, see Nils Rumeby, Dygd och vetande (1999), pp. 34-35.
Xenophon’s work significantly appeared in Swedish just before 1600. Hercules standing at the parting of the ways became a much used theme in works of art.70 In Sweden, Georg Stiernhielm made the theme well-known with his poem *Herkules* (1658).

The very moment of Hercules’s choice was also reproduced twice even in the late nineteenth century, by moralists who explained that the Herculean moment of choice must be made in youth, and was irreversible.71 By then, several important transformations had taken place. While Stiernhielm was (or rather, became) a nobleman who wrote for the nobility, the later moralists were men of the middle class who wrote for the middle and lower classes.72 While Stiernhielm discussed the importance of virtues, later moralists discussed at greater length the need for a reformation of the young man’s entire self, what was by then known as his ‘character’.

Since youth was a period of choice and the period which determined adult masculinity, responsibility for the attainment of ideal manhood was placed firmly on the shoulders of the individual young man. It was he, not society or his friends or parents, who was responsible for what kind of man he would become. As a moralist intoned in 1890 after having explained the dangers of the passions: ‘the young traveler must decide by his own free choice who shall be his companion: vice or virtue’.73 The English independent minister John Angell James was even clearer on this issue. He wrote about the ‘depths’ and ‘heights’ to which the young man could either ‘sink’ or ‘rise’, given the choice he made.74 He further elaborated:

> You are indeed in a critical situation! On the one hand you have the possibility and the ability to lift yourself to such excellence, on the other the possibility to sink down in such a deep perdition and such an immense misery. Deliberate. Oh, that you were wise, that you understood this, that you would consider your future!75

The very idea of the choice placed responsibility for making the choice on the young man. Moralists who did not use the theme of irreversible choice were also crystal clear

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70. Axel Friberg, *Den svenske Herkules: Studier i Stiernhielms diktning* (1945), pp. 84-100; 141-144 on the continued popularity of the allegorical letter ‘Y’, derived from Pythagorean philosophy. For reproductions of Hercules at the parting of the ways in works of art, see ibid., p. 84 (a plate which Otto Stiernhielm’s copperplate follows, as Friberg points out on p. 211, footnote 5) and *Den svenske litteraturen*, vol. 1, pp. 193, 196. In Otto Stiernhielm’s copperplate of Hercules at the parting of the ways, the two paths form together the (Roman rather than Greek) letter ‘Y’, as Friberg points out on p. 120note. Xenophon lived between c.427 to 355 or 350 BC.


72. Friberg, *Den svenske Herkules*, p. 16 (though Friberg downplays the aristocratic side to Stiernhielm’s arguments; see ibid., pp. 120, 161, 202-203, 209).


75. Ibid., pp. 48-51, 64, quote from p. 51: ‘I hvilken kritisk ställning befinner du dig icke! Å ena sidan har du möjligheten och förmågan att lyfta dig till så mycken förträfflighet, å den andra att sjunka ned i ett så djupt förderf och ett så ofantligt elände. Öfverväg. O, att du vore vis, att du förstode detta, att du ville betänka din ändalykt!’ See also Petrus Roos, *Människans förrätt och Livsligheten* (1831), p. 17; idem, *Den fallna Människans Upprättelse och Livsligheten* (1832), p. 27; *En man: Fru berättningar efter ‘The White Cross’* (1904). p. 8. Had it not been for William G. Craven, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* (1981), pp. 12-35, I would have argued that this common nineteenth-century perception found its first expression in Pico della Mirandola’s *Oratio de dignitate hominis* (1466, though it did not receive this title until 1557; ibid., p. 21); Craven convincingly argues that the idea that human nature was changeable was not what Pico meant.
Hercules at the parting of the ways. To the right, Virtue in simple dress points to the narrow and thorn-ridden path of virtue. To the left, the low-cut and sumptuously dressed Lust sits enticingly at the broad and seemingly simple path of vice, in which Bacchus, Cupid, a violin and a gambling table loom large. The two paths form together the letter Y, a symbol of the parting of the ways. Copperplate to Georg Stiernhielm’s Herkules, by the poet’s son Otto, 1658.

The parting of the ways in youth. Here, a road sign shows the parting of the ways. While the side-path, obviously that of vice, leads into dark woodlands, the straight path of virtue leads straight into the bright future. Drawing from the cover of Nathanael Beskow, Till de unga (For the young), 1904.
that the young man was completely responsible for his actions.\textsuperscript{76} Teodor Holmberg, who constantly worried about the development of young men, used highly masculine metaphors in 1903 to explain this responsibility. The sledgehammer is one’s will, life the anvil and character the metal, Holmberg explained – ‘now make sure you know, how you strike!’\textsuperscript{77} A widespread illustration by an anonymous artist depicts this mentality in clear detail. It was the first illustration encountered in the very first textbook in elementary school, and was thus intended mainly for the lower classes. It exemplifies the extension of middle-class ideology onto the lower classes. Edited for the first time in 1889, this textbook had been printed in a remarkable 450,000 copies by 1899, and a staggering million copies by 1917.\textsuperscript{78} This artist portrayed a child rather than a young man standing confronted with a choice between the worlds of ‘school’ and ‘the street’. His choice will decide not only his adult masculinity, but also carries specific class dimensions. While the right choice, that of the school, leads to ‘continued studies’, ‘successful work’, and an ‘honourable old age’, the world of the street will throw the young man onto the path of ‘drinking’, ‘vices and misery’, ending in others’ ‘contempt’ and in ‘begging’.

This conception of youth put harsher demands on young men than what nineteenth-century Protestant Christianity taught. A central pillar of that Christianity was that Jesus died to cleanse the sins of humanity. With heartfelt repentance, there was always the possibility to return to Christ, to tread again the path of virtue, as we saw that Petrus Koos claimed. A lithograph printed in 1836 shows this mentality in clear detail. Entitled ‘The broad and the narrow path’ and built on the Sermon on the Mount,\textsuperscript{79} the lithograph shows both the path of vice, at the end of which is the eternal damnation of Hell, and the path of virtue, which leads to the bliss of Heaven. Unlike the metaphor favoured by moralists, the print shows side-paths by which those who have chosen vice can return to the path of virtue. Through repentance, the lithograph tells us, those who have first followed vices such as drinking, debauchery and gluttony can indeed, even as adults, turn aside to follow virtue.\textsuperscript{80}


\textsuperscript{77} Holmberg, \textit{Den värnpliktige, utvandringen och försvaret} (1903), p. 5: ‘Se nu till, hur du smider!’ Emphasis in the original. See also Pehr Kölmark’s definition of the passions (different from most in that focus was not laid on mastering the passions, but on using them): ‘The passions are the basic matter which Nature has given to the general welfare of Human Beings; the bliss or misery of life depends on their moulding, their development and usage.’ Kölmark, \textit{Tillhör om Allmännena Uppfostrans Verkan På Samhällens i Äldre och Nyare Tider} (1795), p. 12: ‘Passionerna är grundmaterien, som Naturen gifvit till Människornas allmänna välfärd; af deras olika tildaning, deras utveckling och bruk beror livets sällhet eller elände.’ Although this definition did not centre on youth, it was made in a book which focussed on youth.\textsuperscript{78} According to the Catalogue of books, 1700–1915, KB.

\textsuperscript{79} Matthew 7:13-14, to be exact.

\textsuperscript{80} Note also that while this print portrayed the life of virtue as one of difficulties and suffering (those who have chosen the narrow path all carry heavy crosses), and in which all reward for virtue was only given in the after-life, the middle class instead preached that the right choice would lead to a better \textit{present} and \textit{adult} life.
The irreversible choice, here placed at the end of childhood. While the child is still free to choose, his choice between school and street will mark his character for the rest of his days. Wood engraving from Bengt Carl Rodhe, Första Läsåret (The First Term), 1889.
The paths of vice and virtue, as taught by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount. ‘Den breda och smala Wägen’ (‘The broad and the narrow path’). Lithograph by anonymous artist, 1856.
This cornerstone of Christian teaching was almost completely absent from moralists’ discourse. Some, like Jean Paul, claimed that there was a possibility to regret one’s choice and make a new choice, but that this was only possible in youth, before passions had taken control over the male. The majority of moralists were even stern: once passions were given free rein, all hope was lost. Once fallen, the young man had no possibility to reach ideal masculinity.

Youth was the target of moralists’ discourse because of the theory of human passions, because adulthood was decided in youth and because young men had to make an irreversible choice between vice and virtue. If the struggle with one’s passions in youth was successful, a man would be awarded with what moralists saw as the highest point of masculinity: character. It is to the paradoxical and fuzzy nature of that concept which we now turn.

CHARACTER AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

Around 1800, a new concept made its way into the most disparate discourses: character. In the nineteenth century, moralists exerted considerable energy in discussing the inner nature of men – their characters. Whereas earlier moralists had found it sufficient to reform men’s outward signs of civility, now the entire character should undergo reform. It no longer sufficed to know rules of etiquette or keep one’s temper; behaviour had to be integrated into the self.

This change in attitude is commonly attributed to class. When the emerging middle classes took over and the old aristocratic ideal of control over the passions, they also reshaped the older ideology. Control over the passions should not be just a polite mask, but a genuine expression of character. The aristocracy, the middle classes claimed, controlled only the surface, their behaviour, not inner character.

This general account needs some elaboration. The doctrine of character formation was not entirely new to the nineteenth century. The idea that men should and could mould their own characters was evident already in Chaucer but appears not to have become widespread until the seventeenth century. However, these early conceptions of self-fashioning also allowed for feigning behaviour, the very antonym of nineteenth-century conceptions of character.

Philip Carter has recently discussed the question of inner qualities and outward

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81. SAOB columns K519-520 gives only very few late-eighteenth-century but many nineteenth-century examples of how the concept of character was used in the sense of the interpretation brought forward here. Note also that most Swedish compounds made from character, such as character-development, character-fault, character-lack, character-moulding, character-steady, character-weak, et cetera, were all created in the late eighteenth century or in the course of the nineteenth century. SAOB columns K22-127. Moralists in earlier centuries had instead centred on the concept of virtue: see e.g. Bengt Lewan, Med dygden som vapen: Kring begreppet dygd i svensk tvo-taldebut (1985); Kekke Stadin, ‘Att vara god eller göra sin plikt? Dygd och genus i 1600-talets Sverige’, in Historiska etyder (1997), pp. 225-245.
84. Ibid., pp. 3, 39, 57, 68, 158, 160, 162-164.
appearances in depth. Several ideals co-existed in the period he studies, 1660–1800. In
the older ideal of the courtier, which survived into the seventeenth and eighteenth
centuries, all emphasis was laid on the exterior, on etiquette, on outward appear-
ances. The mid-seventeenth-century to mid-eighteenth-century ideal of the polite
gentleman focussed also on outward signs; however, these signs should follow the
individual’s inner character. The mid- to late-eighteenth-century ideal of sensibility
required instead that men be true in their emotions, and not use them for mere dis-
play. There should be a synthesis between inner and outer qualities; a true gentleman
had to have both inner virtue and outward elegance.

There was, then, a growing tendency well before the nineteenth century to demand
of men that their behaviour should be true expressions of their selves. However, even
in the ideal of sensibility, much emphasis was still placed on the exterior; the ideal
only demanded a synthesis of outer and inner qualities. While men’s behaviour and
appearances should their inner nature, behaviour was still very much at the centre of
attention. Nothing like the nineteenth-century obsession with the inner self, with
character, can be found in the discourses of the eighteenth century.

**Character and Masculinity**

Nineteenth-century moralists wrote at great length about character. Stefan Collini
and Warren I. Susman have shown the central role that character played in several dif-
ferent moral discourses. Both connect the concept firmly to the nineteenth century.
While these have analysed the concept, its implications for gender have received less
attention. Like the passions and youth, character was only rarely defined in a precise
way. Character was an antonym of passions, and equivalent to moral principles; how-
ever, the exact meaning of ‘character’ was only rarely discussed in detail. There was
no ‘doctrine’ on character in the period. It is typical that the bestselling moralist
Samuel Smiles could write a book entitled *Character* without ever specifying any-
where in its 333 pages what the concept meant.

Character was first and foremost a desired trait in men. Moralists frequently associ-
ated character with men and with ideal masculinity. Anders Fredrik Dalin defined

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86. Ibid., pp. 24-27, 57-76.
87. Ibid., pp. 27-32, 51-61.
88. Carter’s own conclusion is that nineteenth-century conceptions of character transformed the earlier empha-
sis on the ‘synthesis of external manners and inner “character”’, but that they thus ‘developed rather than created a
formula’; ibid., p. 215; Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists* (1991), pp. 110-111 finely draws out the substantial differences
between the two traditions.
89. Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1880–1930* (1991), ch. 3; Warren
Also see Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred*, pp. 104-105.
90. See e. g. Konsten att genom lofliga medel inom kort bli fria Rik från Intet (1827), p. 4 (but see pp. 6-8); J. B.
79; Fritz Schultz, *Om sexuell selshet* (1900), pp. 11, 21; John Morley, *On Compromise* (1874; 1886), quoted in Colli-
91. See Samuel Smiles, *Karakterens värde* (1872); for the odd example of a moralist who tried to define the con-
cept, see August Hagemann’s published speech *Hvad är karakter och huru kan den danas genom uppfostran?* (1882).
‘manly’ as what ‘usually marks, suits, befits a mature man’ and gave ‘M[anly] character’ as the first example of this usage of the term; his definition of ‘manliness’ also included character, and he exemplified ‘character’ with ‘a man of ch[aracter]’. The entries for ‘feminine’ and ‘womanliness’ included brief sections on feminine character, but Dalin mainly reserved the term for describing effeminate men, and used it only briefly and very loosely about women. Although women could have character, the concept was more or less exclusively reserved for men.

One moralist claimed that lack of character could be forgiven in women, but never in men; another wrote that one could forgive faults in a woman’s honour, but never faults in a man’s character. Others wrote of the importance that men have ‘manliness in their character’, and a whole host of moralists wrote about ‘manly character’. Moralists also repeatedly distinguished men of character from men who lacked character. In these homosocial comparisons, character was what made men men. The concept was intimately tied to men.

Character remained a crucial concept throughout the century. However, as with ideas about youth, the discussion about character tended to become more detailed as the century progressed. Character was described in both positive and negative exhortations. However, as so often in normative discourse, the negative tended to take the upper hand. Moralists spent more energies on what lack of character meant and led to, than to describe what character positively meant, and how it could be formed. These warnings about the loss and lack of character will be treated in the next chapter.

Moralists frequently wrote that what was at stake in education was character. This preoccupation with character can be seen in such early moralists as Benjamin Franklin and Joachim Heinrich Campe. Campe did not use the concept of character. Still, his description of the ultimate goal of upbringing lay close to what later moralists would describe as character. It was the young man’s responsibility to work on his own ‘moral improvement’, Campe argued.

Franklin used a diagram in which...
the virtues he wanted to acquire were listed, and he ended each day by noting whether he had failed or succeeded in following them. It did not suffice, Campe and Franklin argued, to merely perform virtues; they had to be integrated into the self, in what others would come to call one’s character. Once virtues were followed, they should be a true expression of the male self.

The focus on character must be understood in relation to another, older tradition in advice manuals, which might loosely be termed the aristocratic approach. These ideas will be discussed in chapter 6. To the Earl of Chesterfield, in the latter eighteenth century, it sufficed if men reformed their behaviour. Many Swedish moralists held the same view, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century. A minority of moralists still found it sufficient to appear virtuous, or to know the rules of etiquette, to be a real man. It is against the backdrop of this tradition that we must understand the nineteenth-century emphasis on character, on the true, inner self. To have character was the antonym of being theatrical, of showing an exterior different from one’s true self, a fault middle-class moralists were eager to attribute to aristocratic men of the world. It is only through the distinction between true and false behaviour, between character and theatricality, that we can understand the exhortation that ‘The best man is he [...], who never wants to appear to be what he is not’.

Men who did not reform their inner character were severely criticized by moralists. In a virulent attack on foppish men of the world, the publicist Bengt Törneblad did just this. The type of man who only knew who to please through etiquette, Törneblad railed, could not be trusted; he was simply ‘a caricature, a true bastard in character and heart’. Nineteenth-century moralists condemned education which only led to reformed behaviour, without developing the (young) man’s inner qualities – his character.

Hence the many confusing distinctions made between false and true behaviour. Moralists asserted that men must be sensitive but not sentimental; that men must conform to rules of etiquette, ‘but without losing the distinctiveness of one’s character’. Character was thus the opposite of feigning behaviour. A man of character had his worth grounded in himself, not in a mere display of clothes or polished manners. But how was character to be built?

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105. Another eighteenth-century moralist, Robert Dodsley, also did not use the concept ‘character’ but wrote on the reformation of the self; [Dodsley], *Det mänskliga livets ordning* (1798), p. 33. Cf. also e.g. Roos, *Människomätte* (1830), pp. 3–4; J. C. A. Heinroth, *Uppfostran och sjelfbildning* (1839), p. 6.
108. [Lundequist], *Umgångsspronet* (1847), p. 4: ‘utan att förlova det egna i sin karakter’, see also pp. 133, 139–146; *Den bildade Verldsmännen* (1848), pp. 18–19.
Character was believed to be a hidden potentiality within all men, one which could only be realised through hard work. Once character was created, it became essence – a true reflection of the individual's self, and a self which had always been a potential within the male. Character was both the true self and the effect of hard, enduring work. This idea was expressed by several authors throughout the century, but with increasing explicitness as the century progressed. As John T. Dale had it: 'A well-modernated character is the result of many years of patient work, and has gradually grown to what it is.' Another moralist was even clearer: 'our character is ourselves, what is most personal in us. A moral character is never a pure product of nature, but an artifice. A truly virtuous character must be created.' Several other moralists made similar exhortations to create character. William Guest even had a chapter entitled 'Strength of character: how you can gain it.' Developing character was to develop inner, hidden potentialities.

It is only in light of this obsession with the true self, with character, that we can understand otherwise unintelligible expressions such as the one found in a compilation of advice by book-keeper Nils Wilhelm Lundequist in 1847:

It is a laudable social intercourse with oneself if, after surmounted afflictions and storms, we re-establish the disturbed calm by ourselves, and through our inner power, set ourselves above what is disgusting, pernicious, often even petty in many a passion. How satisfied do we not then feel, when we have finally found ourselves again?

The male, when engulfed by passions, was not himself. Once passions were held in check, he had returned to himself, to the very core of his self – his character. Paradoxically, the creation of a manly character could only be achieved through mastering the baser parts of the self, the passions. Character could only be created through mastering the passions. This rigid, self-conscious and demanding effort to create character was simultaneously thought to be an expression of the true, manly self. Here lies a paradox, for the man with the most control over his passions was


110. Jean Paul William [pseud.], Om konsten att lefva (1887), p. 13: 'karakteren är vi sjelfva, det mest personliga hos oss. En moralisk karakter är aldrig en ren naturprodukt, utan en konstprodukt. En verkligt dygdig karakter skall skapas.' See also pp. 14, 16. The catalogue of books, 1700–1955, KB, lists William as a possible pseudonym. The copy at the Royal Library has no notes on this; it is not in Bygdén. The computer data base Libris does not list William as a possible pseudonym.

111. William Guest, Den unge mannen (1872), pp. 32-44: 'Karaktärsfasthet: Huru du kan vinna den.'

112. O. W. Genander, Karaktärsdaning (1914), esp. pp. 6, 10.

also the most natural and most true to his essential self. Control over one’s passions was the test of manhood which turned the potential self into reality. And this self, created and realized by the repression of urges coming from within, was the true, inner self. Hence the often confusing blurring of the borders between the contents of character and the man. The advice to young women to ‘marry a man with character – a man whose fortune is himself’ shows this clearly. Character and self were one.114

This means that the rather crude expression ‘self-control’ is misleading: the control over the self was the control over passions, which both were and were not a part of the self, since they could be both exterior to man, and impersonal.115 The ‘self’ which is to be controlled in ‘self-control’ was not, in moralists’ perception, the true ‘self’, but a bundle of passions, of animal-like nature, of low impersonal urges and desires. What moralists wanted was control over the passions, so that the self, character, could emerge and come into being. Since the ideal self was character, not passions, ‘self-control’ is a misleading term: there was no such thing as ‘character-control’, only ‘control over the passions’.116

**CHARACTER, YOUTH, AND EDUCATION TO DOMINATION**

Character had to be built in youth. In the words of A. J. Bergenström, the young man was expected to ‘achieve character’, and although many never reached it, character was ‘a loan from a savings bank which depends on how much one deposits in youth’.117 John Angell James and the English abolitionist Thomas Powell Buxton both linked the formation of character to the moment of choice in youth. James explained that the young man’s ‘future conduct and character’ depended on how he led his life after moving from home, and in particular on the choice the young man had to make between ‘the path of piety and the path of sin’.118 Buxton explained that the young man who stood ‘at the point in life, where you must turn to the right or to the left’ now had to ‘prove [his] character, resolve and fortitude’.119

Just as responsibility for control over the passions and the young man’s irreversible choice was placed on young men, so it was young men’s responsibility to create their...
own character. Moralists placed responsibility for the creation of character firmly upon the individual.  

At the end of the day, the reiterated exhortations to young men to achieve character revolved around men’s domination. It was character, the ability to withstand the passions, which legitimised that some men should have power over other men. Those who succeeded in achieving character stood above other men (and above women, although this was only rarely made explicit). If character was the result of hard work, the essence hidden inside every man, those who had succeeded in carving out this essence through hard work were entitled to a position of power. But it was not a position of power grounded in harsh oppression of others. Rather, men of character were superior to other men. To educate men to learn to develop character was to educate them into a position of domination of other men as well as women. This is where moralists’ focus on young men becomes particularly revealing. When adult moralists told young middle-class men to develop character, they were telling them to aspire to a legitimate position of power. They were bequeathing the heritage of patriarchy onto new generations, warning them of dangers, to be sure, but also luring them with the gift of character as a mark of manhood, and as a legitimate position of power.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has traversed the entirety of the nineteenth century. We have seen how moralists continued to emphasise that passions absolutely had to be kept under control, and that this was particularly important in youth. When a boy left childhood and entered puberty, violent passions arose in him, passions he had to control in order to become a real man. This was so since how young men used their youth decided what kind of adult man they would become. If the dangerous period of youth was overcome – if the youth succeeded in choosing the path of virtue instead of that of vice – he would develop character.

Moralists placed almost all responsibility for the creation of real masculinity on young men. Even while doing so, however, moralists’ faith in men was weak. Men were advised to help themselves to the highest point of masculinity, even while they were not trusted to be able to govern their passions on their own. Moralists generally

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did not trust young men to be able to master their passions.

Do moralists’ discussions nuance the idea of the male norm? Yes and no. Yes, in the sense that this chapter has shown that moralists did indeed explicitly discuss the contents of ideal masculinity. No, in the sense that what they chose to problematise was not men’s domination, but the dangers which young men faced on the road to an adult position of power. When moralists continued to discuss the dangers of youth, they discussed how adult masculinity was best to be prepared – not the problematic contents of that adult masculinity.

The discussions over passions, youth and character were overwhelmingly homosocial. Women only appeared in passing. Men who could not control their passions were not said to be like women. Men who controlled their passions were contrasted to men who did not. Young men were seen in the light of what adult men they would be, not from what young women or adult women may have wanted them to be. And men of character were almost exclusively compared to men who lacked character. This homosocial discourse made distinctions between men, and handed out different amounts of power to each group. An adult man of character, in full control over his passions, scored the highest points of masculinity; a young man who had chosen the path of vice and was wasting his life with vices scored low. When moralists legitimised why some men should have more power than others, then, this was founded on men’s relation to passions, at what point in the life cycle they were, and character.

One group of men have only been briefly mentioned here. These were the men who took the wrong path in youth; who failed to master their passions and instead gave in to their siring singing, and who therefore failed to attain character, and hence masculinity. These men were the countertypes, and are the subject of the next chapter.
3. THE THREAT AND LURE OF COUNTERTYPES
When passions rule the man, c. 1800–c. 1900

His time, which he should have used for his business, was spent in taverns and at the gambling table [...] Things now went further and further downwards with unusually fast paces. Since he no longer had money enough to visit taverns, he now spent almost all his days in beerhouses and pubs. He had submitted himself to drinking and was unable to stop.
—Arthur Engel, 1872

INTRODUCTION
Moralists went to great lengths to describe warning examples of men who had not succeeded in becoming real men. In doing so, they conspicuously used concepts that were crucial to ideal manhood – most notably character and the threatening passions. Moralists rarely asked themselves ‘what is the true nature of character?’, but devoted considerable energy to answering such unspoken questions as ‘how do men lose character?’, ‘what does lack of character mean?’ and ‘what consequences does this lack have for men and for society?’

In part, the attention devoted to criticism of unmanly men can be read as an expression of the rhetorical tradition of advice manuals, in which warning examples are used as threats to persuade the reader to follow the advice given. These warnings also contain important insights to the construction of ideal masculinity. According to Mosse’s theory of countertypes, critiques of unmanly men reveal the contents of ideal masculinity. It is to these countertypes we turn our attention in this chapter.

Two countertypes, the gambler and the drinker, will be discussed. Both were stereotyped throughout the century, in accordance with widely shared notions about

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‘Med ovanligt hastiga steg gick det nu allt mer och mer nedåt. Emeslan han icke mera hade några penningar för källarne, tillbragte han nästan hela dagarne i ölstugor och på krogar. Han hade ofverlämnat sig åt dryckenskap och kunde icke mera upphöra dermed.’

passions, youth, and character. Other countertypes, more subject to change, will be treated as we trace transformations in ideal masculinity in the second part of this book. While Mosse interprets countertypes as ever strengthening the ideal of manhood, this chapter will paint a more complex picture. Countertypes were men who fell, who could have been manly middle-class men, but who did not succeed in attaining manhood. They were ruled by their passions, and were not primarily considered as lower-class, but as middle-class. However, moralists also worried that their stance on drinking and gambling was not shared by young men; instead, these were lured to drinking and gambling precisely because they thought it was manly to drink and gamble. A final section analyses how moralists’ critique of countertyper also discussed the drinker’s and gambler’s suffering wife.

Countertypes were men who had not acquired mastery over themselves. They were, instead, ruled or governed by their passions. And they had, as we shall presently see, fallen.

THE HISTORY OF THE FALLEN MAN

Several scholars have traced nineteenth-century conceptions of the fallen woman. We know much less about conceptions of the fallen man. Men were indeed also believed to be in ever-present danger of falling. The fear that men could and often did fall was expressed by a whole host of moralists. The historian Anders Fryxell even claimed that while only one in ten women ‘strayed onto destructive misleading paths’, this was true of every second man, if not more. Indeed, the notion that men could fall lay inherent in the conception that men had to make an irreversible choice in youth. To gamble or to drink in youth meant choosing the path of vice instead of virtue. The basic history is re-told hundreds of times: the young man moves from home, gives in to the dangerous passions of drinking and gambling, becomes unable to control them, and then falls into destitution and despair, to the distress of his father, mother, and siblings.

A typical example of such a story concludes The Art of Pleasing (1807), in a section

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3. A third countertype which could easily have been added to this list was the masturbator. That figure has, however, received its fair share of scholarly attention, and is not a theme which can be compared to evidence in autobiographies, as is the case with gambling and drinking (though see the isolated cases of August Strindberg [b. 1849], The son of a servant, pp. 84-86, 116-118, 206 and P. D. A. Atterbom [b. 1790], discussed in Victor Svanberg, ‘Medelklassrealism’, Svartkvarnen 24 [1943], p. 152). On the masturbator, see e.g. Claes Ekenstam, Kroppens idéhistoria (1993), ch. 6; Jens Rydstrom, ‘Sodomitical Sins are Threefold’: Typologies of Bestiality, Masturbation, and Homosexuality in Sweden, 1880–1950, Journal of the History of Sexuality 6 (2000:1), pp. 240-276.


5. Anders Fryxell, untitled manuscript written towards the end of his life (he died in 1881), published posthumously in his autobiography: Min historias historia, pp. 177-186, quote from p. 178: ‘tåkat in på förriderliga villovägar’. Note the metaphor which suggests a choice between paths for both men and women.
entitled 'The miserable George'. George had arrived at university filled with youthful strength and great hopes for the future. However, George quickly developed bad habits and thus caused his own 'fall'. Instead of studying, he lived in idleness and bought clothes of the latest fashion. In a reference to the theme of the irreversible choice, George had now treaded 'the path of vice' and 'was unable to turn back'. Falling ill due to his reckless living, he 'shed tears over his aberrations, and decided to devote his life to virtue, if Heaven would prolong it'. However, once restored to health, George soon returned to his old friends and his old behaviour.

Apart from George's bent for fashion, the author specifically pointed to three vices: debauchery, gambling, and drinking. Metaphors suggest that these were not George's choice; rather, the vices had chosen him, since he could no longer control his passions. Thus, George did not start gambling: he gave in to gambling. A man who 'gives in' to some vice is, crucially, a man lacking the ability to control the passions. George was, then, the embodiment of unmanliness. For the sheer excitement of gambling, he destroyed not only his fortune but the basis of masculinity: his character. It all ended, of course, in debasement and death:

[George had] weakened his physical and moral powers, which could have made him a useful member of society, and [he] finally died without being missed by anyone, after having dragged himself through a useless and despicable life.

Fashion, drinking, gambling, and sexual excesses had led to George's ruin. The moral lesson was thus that he should never have yielded to these passions. The Art of Pleasing is typical in that these quite different forms of undesirable male conduct were treated together: gambling, drinking, sexual excess and fashion were one and the same, since they meant that the young man had given in to passions, instead of governing himself with reason and moderation.

George is not a singular example of a man's fall. Similar moral examples of young men's fall through misguided ideals and their own inability to withstand their passions were incessantly reproduced in advice manuals. Thomas Fowell Buxton...
wrote, as we saw in the previous chapter, on the young man’s duty to prove his character in the irreversible choice he had to make. He then immediately went on to warn that the young man who chose the wrong path would ‘sink down in idleness and become in or your dealings an unstable, useless youth; and if you once sink down there, you will discover, that it is not so easy to get up again.’ Indeed, the history of the fallen man was so self-evident a notion that the congregational clergyman and historian John S. C. Abbott referred to how the absent father who yielded to drinking and gambling ‘after a few years becomes negligent in his business and then staggers forward on the drinker’s usual road to his ruin.’

These didactic stories of men’s fall point to a crucial element in middle-class perceptions of men: while men were told to withstand their passions, faith in men’s ability to do so was very limited indeed. Men always ran the risk of becoming less than men. If character was the positive goal, men were ever in risk of losing character. As William Guest explained to Swedes in 1872:

An evening in a dance hall can corrupt one’s imagination and cause long-established moral principles to totter. One single move at the gambling table or one single bet at a racetrack can arouse the lust for these dangerous speculations to such a pitch that they can lead to a wild passion for gambling and limitless disasters.

Apparently, it did not take much to destroy what little character men had. Another moralist intoned that ‘Our character may be steady, our principles moral; we should still not put them to too hard a test.’ If character was to be a bulwark, a bastion of manly strength, it was apparently also very easy to lose character. The threat of the passions and the possibility of an ensuing fall ever lurked within men.

Character could only be attained through hard work, as we have seen. However, men were not hailed as heroic masters over their passions. Rather, it was firmly believed that many men never succeeded in controlling their passions. Character and mastery over the passions was as a potentiality within men, but rarely a present reality.

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Lundagård: Grotesker ur studentlivet (1888), pp. 3-14; Frederick Brotherton Meyer, Följ icke med strömmen! (1893), pp. 14-17; Betraktelser efter Människa frun ondrora friligheten (1840), pp. 19-28, Thayer, Flit, kraft och karakter (1883), pp. 124-125; and Dale, Främställning (1890), pp. 120-121 gave the usual story a more positive, ‘Jean-Paulian’ twist. The morally instructive, 8-page story Högmod går för Fall (1783) told a similar story but about adults. Cf. also Alphonse Daudet, Mœurs conteporaines (1876), quoted in Nourrisson, Le buveur du XIXe siècle, pp. 196-197. Similar didactic stories have been examined by Karen Halvsten, Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870 (1982). However, Halvsten’s focus is more on the men and women who lured other men to fall.


14. John S. C. Abbott, Fridens väg (1861), p. 37: ’blir efter några år försulig i sina affärer och raglar sedan fram drinkarens vanliga väg till sin undergång’. Abbott was different, however, in that he partially placed responsibility for the man’s fall on the negligent wife, as we shall see further down.


16. Sättet att vara (1892), p. 32: ‘Vår karaktär må vara fast, våra grundsatser goda, vi bora ändå icke sätta dem på för hårdt prof! It seems to me that ‘moral’ is a more exact translation of ‘goda’ than ‘good’ in this context.

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Take a second look at the illustration in B. C. Rodhe’s folk school book, reproduced on p. 54. It shows more than the choice that young men had to make and the gifts of success that the right path would lead them to. It also quite vividly shows the counter-type as a potentiality within men.

Another set of instructive illustrations shows the interdependence between counter-type and ideal. In 1838, the artist Fredrik Boye engraved and published what had originally been lithographed drawings by the French artist Jules David. The engravings and the text contrasted the development of the successful Wilhelm to the unsuccessful Frans, a typical counter-type. While Wilhelm worked hard and rose to moderate success, Frans instead refrained from work, and sought pleasures with women and gambling. His revelling led him to develop a ‘passion for gambling’, drinking, and, once firmly upon the road to ruin which was the fallen man’s fate, eventually to wife-beating, criminality, and a sentence to the galleys. The engravings linked Frans’s drinking, debauchery, and his gambling to his lack of empathy for his poor and suffering wife. In contrast to Wilhelm, Frans was fallen. And while Wilhelm was a paragon of manhood, Frans can be read as a dangerous potential within Wilhelm – what Wilhelm would have become, had he not been able to restrain his passions.

The notion that men could and indeed did fall was also expressed by autobiographers. To some extent men built their life-stories on the notion that character and true manhood could be lost if men lost control over their passions. A minority of men turned their critical gaze inwards; Wilhelm Erik Svedelius established matter-of-factly with reference to his weak or absent erotic urges that ‘If I had thrown away my moral principles, I would possibly have become a sly rogue, but never a lecherous bastard.’

The young student Claes Herman Rundgren was even more explicit. Because young men had to fight against threatening passions, they were in constant danger of falling. He also very clearly connected this fear of falling to the irreversible choice young men had to make:

Terrific fate; dangerous period of youth! what stages does not man have to pass before he becomes a man in the most beautiful sense of the word; most never do, for the fragile bark usually founders on the billowing sea and one’s heart often breaks in the struggle between virtue and passion.
The more usual path was, however, to write about other men who were fallen. Due to the imperative of the genre of autobiography that men should not criticize other men in their autobiographies, especially if they were still alive, most men did not write critically about other men. However, some commented in passing or at greater length upon men who had fallen. When autobiographers discussed the scandal the politician Henning Hamilton caused when he fled abroad once his gambling problems and his ensuing embezzlement became public knowledge, several of them used the metaphor of the fallen man in their criticism of Hamilton. Gustaf Retzius wrote of the son of his old friend Carl Snoilsky, that he developed ‘in a bad direction’ and died young. Emil Key wrote of another politician that he ‘was a glowing candle that burned out in the neck of a bottle’. Men who drank excessively and (often) died young or poor were criticized by several autobiographers, who reproduced the notion that these men were fallen.

Indeed, Nils Petrus Ödman was a carefree and fun-loving student until he was told of another student who had similarly lead a carefree life but whose shallow joyfulness and lack of Christian faith eventually led him to drinking; as a result he ‘sank down deeper and deeper’, to become ‘a drunken wretch and a vagrant’ who ‘died in misery’. From this moment on, Ödman thought of this example and decided to lead a more serious life. Svedelius wrote of a friend who had ‘entered the path of destruction’ but who was ‘saved’ to lead a good life in true ‘Jean-Paulian’ fashion.

Autobiographers, then, built their narratives partially around the notion that men ran the risk of...
On top: When passions rule the man. The countertype Frans to the right: after gambling and drinking, and with a lecherous woman clutching him from behind, he is about to engage in violence. Engraving by Fredrik Boye after a lithographed drawing by Jules David, 1838.

Bottom: A countertype of middle-class masculinity: Frans on the verge of beating his suffering wife, insensitive to his daughter’s pleading gesture, a deck of cards in his hat signifying his status as fallen gambler. Engraving by Fredrik Boye after a lithographed drawing by Jules David, 1838.
falling from virtue, of becoming countertypes.  

These descriptions of other men could be simply read as indication that (some) men did indeed ‘fall’, that is, did give in to drinking, gambling, and debaucheries, and died young. Historians have shown that the well-known fact of men’s higher mortality rates were in part due to men’s excessive consumption of alcohol. And Carl Snoilsky’s son did in fact die young, and for some time lead a life of excesses with women and alcohol. However, the way these men wrote about other men was not a mere reflection of reality. It was imbued with ideas about what real masculinity should be. The anguished Snoilsky wrote that his son had ‘plunged himself’ into a ‘depth of misery’ through his ‘unrestrained craving for pleasure’ and sent him off to Congo so that he could ‘ponder upon what he has wasted and if possible [...] defeat the passions which have brought him to his perdition’. Snoilsky’s words echo the notion of the fallen man, and express a hope that his son, like Jean Paul’s hero, might reform despite his initial vices. An even clearer example is to be found in Olof Rabenius’s autobiography. He wrote of a student who conspicuously wasted his money, drank excessively, spoke widely of his career ambitions but lacked the discipline that these plans demanded. It all ended, as with George, in a wasted life and a premature death:

When all of his money had poured out of his pockets, his proud plans for the future also collapsed; when he sat for the lowest law degree, it was given to him out of mercy, after which, forgotten and abandoned and probably filled with the misanthropy of a Timon, he ended up with the most modest position as a civil servant. He was soon called from the sleep of life to that of death. He was a tragicomic example showing that without character, a rich person is poor, and that he who tries to embrace too much will end up with nothing against his breast.

Just as the miserable George failed to become a real man, Rabenius wrote of this student’s failure to reach manhood, to achieve success in the world. In a similar vein, other men wrote of the terrible fates of friends or others who had given in to their

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29. Consider also Carl Johan Ekströmer [b. 1793], *Kirurgminnen från Karl Johanstiden*, pp. 64-65.
34. Olof Rabenius [b. 1882], *Kring Drottning Kristinas klocka*, pp. 223-224, quote from p. 224: ‘När hans guld rannit ur hans fickor, ramlade också hans stolta framtidsplaner; när han tog den lägsta juridiska examen, fick han den av nåd, varefter han glömde och övergav och förmodligen med en Timons misanthropi hamnade på den blygsammaste tjänstemannastol och snart blev från livets somm kallad till dödens. Han var ett tragiskt exempel på att utan karaktär är den rike fattig och att den, som har en för utsträckat farn, slutet ingen ting till sitt bröst.’  
Timon of Phlius (c.315-c.225 BC) was a follower of Pyrrho, known for his ‘caustic wit’ against all philosophers but Pyrrho. REP 9, pp. 419-420, quote from p. 419.
passions, and died prematurely or failed to achieve a respectable position.  

Scholars have pointed to how men as a group have been connected to such broad, stable and positive categories as reason, moderation, order, and culture, while women have been associated with irrationality, disorder, and nature. This polarisation between an unstable femininity and a stable and rational masculinity gives the false impression that women have by and large been associated with negative traits and men with positive ones. This is certainly not true of the middle classes in the nineteenth century. Men could be rational and in control of their passions, but they were seldom believed or even trusted to reach that state. Because faith in men was so low, they ever ran the risk of falling. This was so because passions were widely believed to threaten the development of character. But this had not always been so.

**FROM DRINKING AND GAMBLING TO THE DRINKER AND THE GAMBLER**

Eighteenth-century moralists devoted considerable attention to gambling and drinking. Yet, they rarely or never wrote of ‘the gambler’ or ‘the drinker’, in that highly stereotyped way which was commonplace in the nineteenth century. This shows the extent to which the ideal of character was novel to the nineteenth century. In earlier discussions, gambling was a dangerous practice with detrimental effects on men, just as drinking was a dangerous practice with harmful consequences. Men who drank and gambled did not generally, in eighteenth-century moral discourse, run the risk of becoming drinkers and gamblers. When it came to alcohol, it was the practice of drinking, not the drinker as a stereotype, that was the focus of their discussion. Around 1830, just when the temperance movement began to gather momentum, a shift occurred in the discourse from practices to human types. This stereotyping had begun modestly around 1800, but became common in the 1830s. A new character was constructed: the drinker.

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37. [Archibald Campbell], *Underwisning För En Ung Herre* (1700), pp. 54, 72, 81; [Abraham Sahlstedt], *Bref Til Min Son* (1776), pp. 64-65; Campe, *Theophron* (1794), p. 58. Only Campbell used the word ‘drinker’. More examples in Hedenborg, *Det goda follet*, p. 137note.

38. The concept ‘drinker’ was not totally new to the nineteenth century. Individual preachers of temperance had used it in titles already in the sixteenth century. However, the concept then waned away, to disappear completely in the eighteenth century, and was only reintroduced with a vengeance precisely in the 1830s. See Ferdinand Schultheiss, *Svensk nykterhetslitteratur 1557–1877* (1900), bibliographic numbers 1 (157), 5 (the same title, 1602), 10 (1699); then the explosion of titles containing the concept ‘drinker’ from the 1830s, numbers 176, 206, 207, 286, 2905; for the 1840s, see numbers 327, 388, 416, 421, 466, 482, and 511.

39. Note that moralists did not use the term ‘alcoholic’. ‘Drinker’ is a rough translation of ‘drinkare’, and pertained to the male’s entire character, not his habit of drinking too much. ‘Drunkard’ would have been another pos-
As Michel Foucault reminds us with his famous example of the homosexual, there is an important difference between perceiving acts as bad and discussing those carrying out such acts as people of a certain type. While sexual acts between men have taken place throughout history, the homosexual as a specific personality was only invented in the late nineteenth century. A parallel development occurred, only earlier, in the discussion about alcohol. When nineteenth-century moralists moved from the use of a verb to a noun in these matters, they constructed the drinker as a specific type of man. Earlier, drinking had been a problem. The drinker was not just a man lacking control over his passions; his entire self had been corrupted. Christian Nielsen typically claimed that a man who drank ‘has no right to be counted among men […] he wastes his manhood and he can hardly have it back.’ Much like the late nineteenth century invented the homosexual, then, the drinker was invented sometime around 1830. What had been dangerous actions became expressions of an enfeebled, characterless and unmanly self.

A similar displacement occurred even earlier, around 1800, in the discourse on gambling. While moralists in the eighteenth century had worried about gambling, nineteenth-century moralists cautioned men against becoming gamblers. Earlier, gambling was described as a dangerous practice. Nineteenth-century moralists instead claimed that anyone who ever gambled risked becoming a gambler. The German preacher, teacher, popularizer of history and moralist Friedrich Phillip Wilmens admitted that gambling could at times be an innocent pastime (an unusually liberal translation. Throughout this book ‘drinker’ refers to men whose characters had been destroyed through drinking, not men who simply drank).

40. Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, vol. 1: *La volonté de savoir* (1976), pp. 58-59. The exact date of the birth of the homosexual has been subject to a massive scholarly debate. The details of this debate need not concern us here; the point is that the homosexual as a specific type is a construction with specific historical roots. I briefly argue around the late rise of homophobic sentiment in Sweden in chapter 9.


43. [Campbell], *Undertrivning För En Ung Herre* (1700) pp. 79-80; [Sahlsstedt], *Bref Til Min Son* (1776) p. 16; Campe, *Theorforon* (1794) pp. 58, 143-144; Chesthejeld, *Forsta grunder til et befrifad uforrærende* (1795), pp. 76-79; Satter til Bølger (1807), vol. 1, pp. 45-47; Några reflexioner angående spel (1811), pp. 12-14; Saligt Gubbens Testamente til sin kære Son (1826), pp. 14-16; En Svensk Mons Reflexioner (1828), p. 13; James, *Tryglingen borta från kunnat* (1867), pp. 25-26. More eighteenth-century examples are given in Hedenborg, *Det godtfulla folket*, p. 179note, who also notes that views on gambling became more liberal, in that moralists went from warning against all gambling to warnings about not gambling too much; an argument which is also made by John Dunkley, *Gambling* (1985), p. 186.
al point of view), as long as the young man at the gambling table lost ‘only gold, but not also his character’. In 1894, a worried mother warned her son that the gambling table could lead him to ‘the loss of real manhood’.

Eighteenth-century moralists had never written about gambling in this way. This is the consequence of the shift from a focus on behaviour, to an almost exclusive focus on character. If upbringing should reform the entire person, not just his actions, then bad habits were no longer just practices that were dangerous to a manly performance: they threatened the man’s entire character. As a consequence, men who were unable to master their passions were no longer just behaving badly; they were men with undesirable and unmanly characters.

**WHEN PASSIONS RULE THE MAN**

Gamblers and drinkers were constantly criticized for their inability to master their passions. To gamble and drink was to give in to the siren song of the dangerous passions, and hence to lose character. It meant that the man had lost control of himself, and was ruled not by himself, but was a slave under passions. One moralist described the gambler as ‘drowsy with the stimuli of passions and hope’, while another compared gambling to a storm-tossed ocean in which one made ‘passion the first mate’ and sailed after the ‘compass of craving for gold’.

The same was true of drinking. Since drinking meant giving into the passions, it was logically equivalent to a loss of manhood, a loss of character. The connection between alcohol, loss of control over the passions and unmanliness was pointed out in several texts throughout the century.

Moralists rarely wrote at length about gamblers. Rather, gambling was one of several threats to men. Above all, it was discussed in relation to another pernicious passion – alcohol. Gambling and drinking were interconnected passions, threatening to destroy the manliness of character. A free paper distributed by the Swedish Temper...
ance Society in 1868 showed the drinker at the door-step of a tavern, with an ensuing text explaining that taverns were sites of a more general disorder. Not only drinkers, but men who used swear-words and gamblers were typically to be found in these places. The next year, the paper worriedly explained that young men from school went out to drink punch, smoke cigar — and gamble. It was not so much the gambler as the drinker the paper concentrated on. Or — the problem was not so much the drinker as the general disorder of the young. Once passions were no longer kept under control, disorder in the form of drinking, rude language, gambling, and illicit sex was only to be expected. In 1904, the preacher Nathanael Beskow warned that ‘gamblers become passionate and uncivilised, drinking brothers become simple and indecent, etc.’

Others significantly intermingled debauchery, alcohol, and gambling as causes of suicide.

Teodor Holmberg was thus representative in perceiving gambling as one of many threats to men. Holmberg told his students in the 1890s that society could be considered as a tree. If the tree was given proper nourishment, all would be well; however, when poison oozes into this source [society / the tree], the race will drink unhealthiness, effeminacy, slopiness, mawkishness and idleness; its youth loves filled glasses, card-playing and the smell of tobacco more than physical work and hearty, manly sports.

Gambling, in Holmberg, was clearly a problem. But more than that, gambling was a sign of a general disorder of passions.

Moralists were not alone in perceiving gambling as problematic. Gambling also appeared as dangerous in several autobiographies. Men who wrote that they enjoyed playing cards or had been brought up to play cards always pointed out that they had never played for money. Many men criticized others for having given in to the passion of gambling, or for having been gamblers. Other men prided themselves on

50. Nathanael Beskow, Till de unga (1904), pp. 15. Advice was typically given to a young woman to shun fops who smoked cigar and gambled and had no inclination to work. Cf. also C. Dubois, Considérations sur cinq fléaux (1877): ‘les joueurs et les ivrognes sont des êtres gangrenés’ (‘gamblers and drunkards are gangrenous beings’), quoted in Nourrisson, L’homme du XIXe siècle, p. 108; and Anne Stora-Lamarre, L’Enfer de la IIIe République (1990), pp. 69, 82, 114, 117, on the intermingled worries of alcohol and pornography.
54. [Johan Henrik Dahlgren] [b. 1800], Gustaf Qvist, Hik och dafus, pp. 4-5; idem, Tyrannmännens, pp. 3, 28; cf.
having refrained from gambling.55 When the businessman L. O. Smith first travelled to Stockholm in his early youth, the captain of the boat he travelled on took him to a place Smith abhorred. Here, men enjoyed themselves with ‘gambling and drinking’; ‘Prostitutes sold themselves to any man, and time was passed with dancing and bawling, accompanied by the slapping of cards and the rolling of dice’.56 We recognize the blurring of several passions as threats to men. But Smith, in his deeply gendered self-presentation, was a real man, not a countertype. The day after, Smith thanked the captain for having shown such vices to him, for it had made him decide, irrevocably, to never ‘drink hard liquor, waste my time and my money with card games, or let myself be caught in the webs of prostitutes. This first impression was so deeply founded in me, that I have never since in my long life yielded from this principle.’57 In distancing himself from the captain and the men who had given in to drinking, gambling, and public women, Smith portrayed himself as a superior man – a man of character, in firm control over his passions.

The consequences of passions, once unchained and let loose, also had detrimental effects on the male body. A countertype’s body was a sign that was open for all to read. Friedrich Reiche typically admonished young men to study ‘a gambler’s face, and you will find therein the traces of more than one heinous passion’.58 In C. A. Wet- terbergh’s novel A name (1845), the civil servant and countertype Årenslymp, who gave in to gambling and revelling with his colleagues, is marked with ‘hollow cheeks’.59 The American Unitarian clergyman William Channing complained that in the streets one saw so many faces marked by ‘idleness and a brutal crudity, which stem from a lack of moderation’. Other moralists also wrote about how unloosed passions could be read on men’s bodies.60

55. Louis De Geer [b. 1818], Minnen, vol. 1, p. 41, 63; Efraim Dahlin [b. 1848], Memoarer, pp. 109-110, 137, who thanked Divine grace and his upbringing rather than his character; cf. further down.


57. Ibid., p. 15: ‘förtära spritdrycker, föröda min tid och mina penningar med kortspel eller låta mig fångas i glädjeflickors garn. Så djupt rotadt blef detta mitt första intryck, att jag sedan under hela mitt långa lif aldrig vikit från denna min föresats.’


60. William Ellery Channing, Om Sjelfbildning (1848), p. 39: ‘dronighet och en brutal råhet, som härröra från brist på återhållsamhet’. See also Sätter att Boaeg (1807), vol. 1, p. 72; Toilettkonst för herrarna (1879), p. 22; Den bil-
dade Verldsmannen (1830), p. 6; Wenzel, Den äkta gentlemanen (1844), p. 7; [Julius Rudolf Schwabe], Nyn Toilett-
The bodily effects of passions let loose. Lithograph possibly by C. F. M. Darell, late 1830s. The caption reads ‘If it’s true I’ll see once I have drunk up, That the dogs of regret bark when the pleasures end.’
This theme was also contained in a subgenre within advice manuals: books which taught how to read men's (and, more rarely) women's bodies. Popular physiognomy, which had roots in the late-eighteenth-century works of Johann Caspar Lavater, made its way into advice manuals especially in the century's last quarter. The pervasive notion that men's fall could be read through their bodies is also shown in the illustration in B. C. Rodhe's folk school book, which we have already discussed. But none put the point more clearly than an anonymous lithographer in the late 1830s. This lithograph, probably made by the artist C. F. M. Darell, shows a young man, severely marked by his careless ways. Devils have taken over control of the young man's face: his nose is destroyed by syphilis, coppersmiths (a symbol of hangover) beat his head, and his eyes have an absent and dull look, while some liquid, possibly vomit, oozes from the mouth. The lithograph shows in graphic detail what would happen to the male body once passions were let loose.

COUNTERTYPES AND CLASS

Countertypes to manhood were, perhaps, simultaneously expressions of the middle class's perception of men from other classes. Lower-class men lurked as a potent and constant threat in minds of many middle-class men, and perhaps to an even greater extent in the century's second half, when socialism began to spread and the middle class's position of power needed to be strengthened against the lower, rather than the upper, classes. It is only in the century's second half that we find middle-class men engaged in paternalistic and idealistic projects to 'enlighten' the working classes, partially as a way to counteract the dangerous spread of socialism. The gambler, how-

61. Robert Cunning, *Menniskokännaren, eller konsten att, vid första anblicken, ofelbart bedöma de personers karaktärer, bajeler, lefnadsvantar o.s.v., med livlita man under lifvet kan komma i beröring* (1875); *Telefonen: Illustrerad ungkarlskalender för 1880* (1880), pp. 49-54 (with explicit and somewhat joking reference to Lavater); Edmund Rheder, *Vigilarede for unge grunor att mene kort tid under lefva kanna en mans karakter* (1881); *Menniskospegeln: Kort och lättfattig anvisning att af ansigtsuttrycket, hufvuds och andra kroppsdelsers denning sluta till menniskans karakter, deras sinnesbeskaffenhet, goda eller onda bajeler, m.m., jemte beskrifning på de hos menniskorna huvudsaklig och vanligast förekommande temperamenten, i enlighet med laren derom* (1884). For another likely contextualisation of these texts, see Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, pp. 174-175.

62. The lithograph is currently being re-catalogued at KB, where it was until recently placed under another lithographer of the century's second half, Ferdinand Tollin. It has been identified as possibly by Darell by Gunnar Jungmarker, *Karl Johans-tidens politiska karikartyrister*, *Föreningen för grafisk konst: Meddelanden* 30–31 (1951–1952), p. 20. It is then discussed in relation to other lithographs of the late 1830s by Darell's hand. Darell fled Sweden in 1839; ibid.

63. The Swedish word for coppersmith, 'kopparslagare', was used colloquially to mean 'hangover'. See SAOB columns E277-E277; Randgren [b. 1819], Diary UUB Träd, November 10 1837; Axel Lexander [b. 1879], *'Vad hände i Uppsala år 1903?* UUB X271 h:46, p. 405; Eduard Mata Östinger, *Den fulländade gentlemannen* (1886), p. 81.

64. Cf. Jürgen Kocka, *The European Pattern and the German Case*, in Kocka and Mitchell (eds.), *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1988; 1993), pp. 5-6, 16-19, 21. (But see Louis Chevallier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle* [1908], pp. 431-496, on French middle-class fears of the lower classes before mid-century; and Lars Pettersson, *Frihet, jämlikhet, egendom och Bentham* [1992], e.g. pp. 166, 193-194, 286-302.) On the idealistic, see e.g. Nils Petrus Odman [b. 1818], *Aftonunderhållningar*, pp. 23-24, 52-58; idem, *En liten sjelfbiografi*, UUB Pelle Odman 2, pp. 26-28, 44-45; and Anton Nyström below, footnotes 80-81; Teodor Holmberg [b. 1851], *Tidströmmningar och minnen*, p. 226 spent much energies against the evils of socialism; De Geer [b. 1888], *Minnen*, vol. 2, pp 296-300 here wrote of the late 1880s and was critical indeed of socialism. The liberal journalist J. P. Theorell aggressively attacked socialism already in the 1830s; Daniel Andreæ, *Liberal litteraturkritik: J. P. Theorell C. F. Bergstedt* (1940), pp. 122-131; for discussions in Parliament of the 1880s against socialism, see Björn Öhman, *Den bildade borgeren* (1994), p. 120. Rare indeed is August Strindberg, whose
ever, was conceived of as middle class. I have only found two moralists who placed the troubles of gambling among the lower classes. Most moralists wrote about gambling in relation to young men from within the supposedly responsible ranks of society. The gambler lurked as a threat to real manhood precisely because he was construed mainly as a middle-class, rather than upper-class or lower-class, figure.

The drinker carried more complex connotations of class. In Sweden, the temperance movement was dominated by the higher stata of the middle class, with some upper-class men supporting it. To this movement, which gained momentum from the 1830s onward, the drinker was primarily associated with the lower classes. Discussions about the consumption of alcohol, whether in pamphlets or in Parliament, concerned the drinking habits of working-class men, as did legislation. 'Drinking was an issue which more or less exclusively concerned or treated the lower classes of society', as Lars Båtefalk has remarked, and several other scholars have shown how the middle classes turned their critical gaze on the drinking habits of the lower classes. The same pattern – middle-class men criticizing working-class drinking – was evident in both France and the U.S. The public, professional discussion about alcohol was to a significant extent a discourse on the terrible consequences of aquavit, a beverage which was popular above all among the lower classes. In Ferdinand Schulthess's detailed bibliography of literature on alcohol, we find 162 books and pamphlets which used the word 'aquavit' in the title between the years 1800 and 1877. By contrast, only two titles on Swedish arrack punch, the favoured drink of the middle classes, seem to have been published in the same period: a homage to drinking punch by a student, and a book of instruction for how to make it. This is a telling testimony to critical gaze instead fell upon how the middle class perceived the working classes: Strindberg [b. 1849], The son of a servant, pp. 67-69.


66. This is a difference to how gambling was perceived in America, where the middle classes wrote mainly about the gambling of aristocrats, young men of possible middle-class background, and, most importantly, the working classes. See Ann Fabian, Card Sharps, Dream Books, & Bucket Shops: Gambling in 19th-Century America (1990), e.g. pp. 19, 44, 47-49. Incidentally, Carl David af Wirsén, himself a nobleman with gambling problems on the Exchange, briefly criticized rich, perhaps upper-class gamblers in his poem 'The gambling club' (1884). See Alf Kjellén, Bakom den officiella fasaden, p. 126. On Wirsén's economic problems in the 1890s, see Michanek, Skaldernas konung, pp. 113-115.


68. Båtefalk, Statens, samhället och superiet, p. 205: 'Drycken kan vara en fråga som så gott som uteslutande beror på eller behandlede samhällets underklasses. See also pp. 18, 20, 205; on pp. 110-111 and 227-228, the focus is said to have been primarily on the lower classes, with some criticism of the higher classes. See also empirical examples on e.g. pp. 122, 159, 221, 229. See also Jenny Björkman, Vårdf för samhällets bästa (2001), pp. 177-178, 179-180; Edvinsson, Den osunda staden, pp. 197-198; Per Frånberg, 'Drink and drinking culture in 19th century Sweden', in Ankarloo et al. (eds.), Maktpolitik och husfrid (1991), p. 105; Marika Hedlin, Ett liberalt dilemma (2002), pp. 100-103 and, for a slight critique of other classes but with main focus on the lower classes, pp. 183-191; Björn Horgby, Den disciplinerande arbetaren (1986), pp. 143-150; Anna Prestjan, 'Syndare, skurk eller sjukling: Drinkarens ansikten', Tännfart 22 (2002:2), pp. 5-6; Willner, Det svaga könet?, pp. 172-173, 192.


70. Computed after Ferdinand Schulthess, Norsk nykterhetslitteratur 1577-1877 (1900), pp. 12-75. The two titles on
the extent to which the problems caused by alcohol were, to the middle classes who wrote on them, confined to the lower classes.

We should note that this focus on the lower classes of society was not grounded in the excessive drinking of these classes, as compared to other social groups. If anything, at least the lower middle classes were more excessive or just as immersed in drinking as the classes which were the target of the discourse on temperance.71

Middle-class men themselves engaged in rather unabashed consumption of punch. The nineteenth century was the golden age of punch. While the eighteenth century created five rather ordinary compound words, such as punch-bowl, punch-cup and punch-ladle, the nineteenth century could boast over twenty-six new words founded on punch, among others such imaginative innovations as punch-cure, punch-tummy, punch-fat, punch-party and punch fumes. The century also brought new verbs, adjectives and nouns, such as to punch, to be a puncher or a puncheologist, versed in the science of puncheology from which, if the beverage stuck to one's clothes, one would become punchy.72 The drink was apparently on many men's lips. Efraim Dahlin was right when he wrote that 'We lived in the era of punch-dominion.'73 The professor, bishop and poet Esaias Tegnér jokingly regarded punch as one of his relatives.74

Punch is drunk in almost every autobiography I have studied, and exclusively by men. Indeed, the only example I have found of a woman drinking punch is Sophie Posse, who in 1848 wrote in her diary that she at one point 'drank punch' and 'smoked cigars' with male friends, among others her love and future husband Emil Key. Posse significantly wrote that this was a life of 'bachelor-manners' and called it a 'transgression of the usual modes of conduct.'75

punch are numbers 541 and 641:2.
72. Computed after SAOB, columns P2434-2436; the new verbs and nouns as well as the adjective punchy from column P2436. Several twentieth-century innovations, such as punch-brother, punch-orgy and punch patriotism were added by men who had been students at Lund or Uppsala in the nineteenth century and used these words in their autobiographies.
73. Efraim Dahlin [b. 1848], Memoarer, p. 184: 'Vi leved i punscherraväldets tid.' This statement concerns the late 1860s, but holds true of the century as such. Teodor Holmberg [b. 1851], Tidströmningar och minnen, p. 174 critically noted of the 1870s that 'Punch and student life were still considered as two inseperable concepts.' ('Ånnu ansågos punsch och studentliv som två rätt oskiljaktiga begrepp.') See also pp. 128, 131, 134. Drinking in student culture will be discussed in some detail in the next chapter.
74. Victor Svanberg, Meddeleselser II, Samlaren 21 (1944), p. 54, Tegnér lived between 1782 and 1846.
75. Sophie Posse's diary, 20 September 1848, quoted in Emil Key [b. 1822], Minnen av och om Emil Key, vol. 1, p. 527: 'drucko punsch,' 'rökte cigarr,' 'ungkarlsmaner,' 'öfverskridande af de vanliga reglerna för umgängen.' Another instance of a woman drinking punch, and lots of it, is recounted in Ulvros, Fruar och mamseller, p. 99. For men's consumption of punch, see e.g. Carl Wilhelm Böttiger [b. 1807], Själfbiografiska anteckningar och bref, pp. 50, 56; [Johan Carl Hellberg], Posthumus [b. 1815], Ur minnet och dagboken om mina samtida, vol. 1, pp. 11-15, 80; Rudolf Hjärne [b. 1815], Från det förflutna och det närvarande, pp. 19, 35; Johan Georg Arsenius [b. 1818], Männestreckningar, pp. 10-11, 12-13, 192, 244; [Damms] [b. 1821], Studentminnen, pp. 1514, 36, 42-43, 57, 101; Viktor Emanuel Oman [b. 1821], Från Min Ungdomstid, p. 226; Anton Nyström [b. 1842], 1819-1829: En 70 års historia, pp. 28, 61; Robert Dickson [b. 1843], Minnen, pp. 44, 70-71; Peter Bagge [b. 1850], Studentminnen och andra minnen från Uppsala 1839-1899, pp. 17, 26; Gustaf Otto Adelborg [b. 1855], Själfbiografiskt, p. 39; Nils Petrus Odman [b. 1858], "Nam man är ung och är student," in Pelle Ödmans ungdomsminnen, vol. 1, p. 217 significantly wrote of an occasion in 1858 when men were served punch, while the women were served wine; Nils [b. 1845] and Edvard [b. 1846] Seland, Carl XV:s glada dagar, pp. 194-195 heavily criticized Strindberg's wife Siri von Essen for drinking without moderation, a critique which underscores how alcohol, when consumed in large amounts, was forgivable in men, but never in women.
As in the literature on alcohol, at least some autobiographers point to the widely shared view that it was aquavit and the lower classes, not punch and the middle classes, which were problematic. Gustaf Retzius pointed out that his father was 'a great friend of sobriety', that he along with other men of the temperance movement had 'strongly opposed the folk-destroying use of aquavit', and that it was only at special occasions that his father had allowed the drinking of moderate amounts of sherry and beer, and then only for adults. To be sober, then, was to oppose aquavit and its destructive effects on the people at large, rather than to focus on the responsible and moderate drinking of middle-class men.

Other men clearly saw drinking problems as problems among men of the lower classes.77 The prominent builder of railways and liberal politician Claes Adelsköld may exemplify this attitude. Adelsköld was an avid consumer of alcohol who seems to have noted every single time he ever got drunk; this did not deter him from considering himself a friend of temperance.78 When he briefly worked as a captain on a barge in 1848, Adelsköld was vexed with the workers. These men drank aquavit, played cards, did not obey orders, and simply refused to work. In Adelsköld's description of these working-class men, who obviously were acting out their own code of masculinity, the men appear unmanly. The workers were 'drunken' and 'demoralised'; indeed, Adelsköld even referred to them as 'beasts'. It was their drinking and above all their incapacity to work, which annoyed Adelsköld most. Adelsköld attributed the incapacity to master the passion of alcohol among lower-class men.79

The physician Anton Nyström, who worked energetically within the temperance movement, stands out with an only slightly different attitude in this regard. When he addressed other men of the temperance movement in 1880, he criticized this attitude: It would be regrettable, that one in speaking about sobriety always turned to the lower classes, always preached sobriety for them, as if one wanted to stigmatize them alone as drinkers. Within the higher classes of society, drinking flourished proportionally to at least

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77. Böttiger [b. 1807], Sjelfbiografiska anteckningar och bref, pp. 58-62; De Geer [b. 1818], Minnen, vol. 1, pp. 139-140; Samuel Odmann [b. 1822], Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar, pp. 154-155; Abraham Ahlén [b. 1844], Mina barndoms- och ungdomsminnen [vol. 1], p. 19; Viktor Emanuel Öman [b. 1833], Från Min Ungdomsålder, pp. 66-68; 215-217 and Nils [b. 1845] and Edvard [b. 1846] Selander, Carl XV:s glada dagar, pp. 164-166 here connected alcohol problems to the working classes, but were more empathetic.


The drinker as a working-class man, gazed upon by the middle class. 'Help me, sir!', the drunkard pleads, while the respectable man simply answers 'I despise animals.' Lithograph by Reinhold Callmander, 1861.
the same extent as among the working classes. [...] It was therefore quite necessary to preach sobriety to the higher classes as well.  

However, it is typical that in his actual work for sobriety Nyström devoted himself more or less exclusively to the drinking problems of the working classes.  

The idea that the drinker was a lower-class figure was perfectly, if perhaps unconsciously, illustrated by the young artist Reinhold Callmander in 1861. In a collection of cartoons, he showed a respectable burgher regarding a drunkard in a harbour. The lithograph perfectly underscores the middle-class perception that the problems of alcohol were synonymous to problems among the lower classes.  

Although this working-class bias can be found in the public, professional discourse on alcohol, middle-class moralists, by contrasts, did not primarily conceive of drinkers as members of the working class. Because men were ever believed in danger of a potential fall, the drinker was instead, to moralists, an imminent potentiality within middle-class men. In fact, when moralists criticized drinkers, their main targets were middle-class men who, instead of achieving character, had fallen to the deplorable and despicable state of drinkers. The moralists’ concern for the moral upbringing of middle-class youths shows that to them, drinkers were not primarily associated with the lower classes.  

On the contrary, moralists found middle-class drinking habits deeply problematic. They frequently wrote to middle-class men about the virtue of temperance and the loss of character through alcohol, and urged them, as one moralist had it, to 'take a stand against this terrible evil and become a champion for purity, sobriety and noble manliness'. And while some autobiographers portrayed working-class men as drunkards, it was even more usual to criticize middle-class men for their drinking habits. Middle-class men who drank excessively were often criticized for their lack

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82. [Reinhold Callmander], Komiska stentryck, vol. 2: Särer om Stadslivet (1861), not paginated. Callmander was born in 1840, and published this and some other works during his training as an artist. SMK 2, pp. 3-4; SBL 7 pp. 211-214. Cf. also the drawing in Carl Sjöholm, Klitsch Klatsch (1897), p. 11.

83. Though there were several exceptions; see [Per Götrek], Bilder av Marie Kyrkobarn, eller Den Fantiges Lif (1833), pp. 9-41; Channing, Om Självbildning (1848), pp. 39-41; [Jone Hansson Chronwall], Ivar Hjalmar, Evas döttrar eller fruninnovernas giftermd-kvinnor i vår tid (1884), p. 14; Per Persson, Den uppvuxnas ungdomens förvirring (1866), p. 8; Nils Petrus Odman, Om det rnuva superiet: ett ord till rnuva män (1902), pp. 7-8, 12; cf. also [Otto Fredrik Granlund], En fattig köpmansfamilj, eller odet leb med mennishan (1861), p. 52; [On Chronwall as the author of Evas döttrar], see Eva Danichesson, “Hovudet att författa med och benen, när böckerna skola sälja”. Om J. H. Chronwall, naturpoet, visförfattare och vandrande boksäljare, Samlen 1979, p. 122.)

84. Dale, Frunngong (1890), p. 130: ‘tag parti mot detta förlagliga onda och bli en förkampe för renhet, nykterhet och adel manlighet’. See also e.g. Roos, Medborgaren Foreståld till inne plakter enligt Hustaflan (1817), pp. 30-31; Hamilton, Ytorande vid Sveriges Nykterhets-Sällskapets öfver altmannas åren-anmamnomen (1843), pp. 2-3; Abbott
of moderation. Their gendered criticisms point simultaneously to the common consumption of alcohol by middle-class men and the fact that middle-class men who drank excessively were decried as countertypes to true manhood.85

THE LURE OF COUNTERTYPES

If gambling and drinking were problems, moralists also complained that young people themselves perceived these as manly activities. It was because young men wanted to act like real men that they drank and gambled alcohol. A minority of moralists saw gambling as relatively innocent as long as the passion of anger was contained when one lost. Chesterfield himself claimed that card playing and even moderate gambling were permissible, if not precisely desired, practices. Gambling was acceptable as long one did not gamble over too much money. He noted that the young man 'may gamble, without being a gambler'.86 It was, however, more usual to criticize young men who believed that drinking and gambling were manly activities.

The tendency to complain about young men's ideals became stronger towards the very end of the century. The physician Erik Wilhelm Wretlind explained in 1890 that young men often wanted to be perceived as notable. A young man ran the risk of searching for such eminence through being able to hold his own in drinking company and at the gambling table, with the glowing cigar in his mouth. For it is most often not the desire for these things in and of themselves, but the need to be seen as a 'real man', which entices the young man into such company.87

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85. See e.g. Böttiger [b. 1807], Sjelfbiografiska anteckningar och bref, pp. 65, 68-69 (on a vicar), 87 (on a teacher), 117-120 (on a young student); Samuel Ödmann [b. 1822], Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar, pp. 23-24 (on a teacher). When middle-class men wrote of other men who had fallen, these were almost without exception men of the middle class.

86. Chesterfield, Första grunder (1795), p. 82: 'må spela, utan att vara en dobblare' . See also [Du Four], Underwissen, Lennad af En Fader åt sin Son (1810), p. 48, 82-83; [Carl Zehmen], Carl Lens, Ungharks-Lukaren, om Oembarlig Rådgivare för Unga Män, som vilja skydda sig för Galanteri-sjukdomar eller befria sig derifrån (1837), pp. 60-61; Den bildade Verldsmannen (1839), pp. 33-38; Wenzel, Den äkta gentlemannen (1843), p. 87; Den bildade Verldsmannen (1884), pp. 82-83; and the ever bantering Eduard Maria Oettinger, Den fulländade gentemannen (1886), p. 29. Cf. the earlier, completely ironic defense of gambling as a road to economic success, Mercuriistafven eller Hemligheten att blifva rik (1816), pp. 22-23.

87. Erik Wilhelm Wretlind, Mannens såglöf i normal och sjukligt tillstånd (1890), p. 16: 'duckig in dryckeslagets och vid spelbolaget med den blössande cigaren i mun'. Ty oftast är det icke begejren efter dessa ting i och för sig utan behofvet att synas vara "duckig karl", som lockar unglingen in i dessa lag' . Emphasis in the original. Cf. Doctor Chenu, quoted in Thiercé, Histoire de l'adolescence, p. 87 (a text printed in 1864–1865). That smoking was indeed manly, much to the distress of moralists, can be seen e.g. in Adelsköld [b. 1824], Utdrag ur Mitt Dagsverks- och Pro Diverse-Konto, vol. 1, pp. 58-60 (for adult life, vol. 4, pp. 268-269); Viktor Emanuel Oman [b. 1831], Frintom Unpaidomat, pp. 198-199; [Nils Petrus Ödman] [b. 1838], Pelle, 'Min första condition', in Sätter och berättelser af en sig själv. Utgiven 1865, paper 266-267, idem, 'Platsgång' and 'Den stränge rektorn', in Frintos tror- och sommarbandag, vol. 1, pp. 67, 73-74, 77; idem, 'Från gamla Karlstad, i bhd., vol. 2, p. 11; idem, 'Skola och gymnasiurn', in Somriska minnen och bilder, vol. 1, p. 184; idem, 'Hur det kändes att vara ung', in Litter till, p. 262; Robert Dickson [b. 1843], Minnen, pp. 70-71; Hjalmar Melén [b. 1843], Studentminnen från 1860-talet, p. 249; Nils [b. 1845] and Edvard [b. 1846] Selander, Två gamla Stockholmers anteckningar, p. 97. (Thus, Ödman had repeatedly tried to prove his manhood through smoking, and criticized precisely this behaviour when he took the role of moralist, as quoted below, footnote 90.)
Again, we see how gambling and drinking (and smoking) were interconnected vices. Two other moralists shared Wretlind's view; they simply copied his exhortation into their advice manuals. The American author and pastor James Russell Miller also complained that young men associated gambling and drinking with real manhood. Miller lamented this, and wrote that it was 'a sad parody of manliness'. If gambling was not a proper behaviour for men, perhaps this was more so in moralists' view of the world than among men.

Similar complaints were raised concerning attitudes to alcohol. None put the point more clearly than the college teacher and headmaster Nils Petrus Ödman, in his speech to college youth entitled Do you want to become a man?, published in 1899:

You believed, in your lack of reason, that those first few glasses took you to the road towards manliness, whereas it was really the other way round [...] whatever the desire for drink can make out of you – it cannot make men out of you. Look around you with your eyes wide open. Are these men, these individuals who down glass after glass until they turn dizzy in their heads, muddled in their speech and unsteady on their legs? Are these men, these customers of taverns, who stagger around bawling in our streets or tumble red-faced from our fine cafés, oblivious to their duties to those on whom they depend, and to those who depend on them? No, I should think that manliness, on the contrary, consists in the will and the strength to be able to withstand such humiliating passions and all the evil they bring with them.

As this passage makes clear, Ödman perceived drinking as unmanly precisely because the drinker was unable to restrain his passions. And, what was more problematic, this did not deter young men from associating drinking with manliness. Ödman was not alone in complaining that young men boasted about their drunkenness and their belief that they had acted in a manly way when drunk. Moralists frequently criticized young men who believed that it was manly to drink, especially in the second half of the century; 'do not many perceive it even as an honour, an indisputable proof of manliness to get drunk?', as one of them put.

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88. Wretlind quoted in Valdus Bengtson, Ungdomens sällsamma kamp (1900), p. 51 (with reference to Wretlind); S. Petersson, Tänker efter ungdomaströms (1899), pp. 6-7 (who simply copied this, and many other phrases, from Wretlind).
89. James Russell Miller, Unge Män, Deras fel och ideal (1900), pp. 15-16, quote from p. 16: 'sorglig parodi på manlighet'.
91. Quote from Weitbrecht, Ungdomstiden (1897), p. 48: 'betraktar ej mången det till och med som en ära, som ett ojäkligt bevis på manlighet att kunna taga sig ett rus!' See also e. g. Gricearnas Catheches eller lefnadsvetens pligter (1854), pp. 26-27; James, Ynglingen borta från hemmet (1857), pp. 34-36; Nielsen, Hurudeuts ynglingar bliena män (1869), pp. 9-10; Oertergger, Den fallnade gemensmänne (1886), p. 81; En moders förmaning till sin son (1894), p.
Advocates of sobriety also struggled hard to make temperance manly, to show that true manhood lay in not drinking, rather than the other way around. Their very attempt to demonstrate the manliness of temperance indicates how wide a gulf there was between the ideals they held and those generally held in the society they were criticizing. The fighter for sobriety and rich wholesale dealer Carl Oskar Berg, who published prolifically on the true masculinity of sobriety, did this precisely by relating sobriety to much cherished notions of youth, threatening passions – and character. Sobriety, Berg explained, was ‘manly, and proves a character, which wins greater victories than he who storms cities – the victory over oneself.’

While moralists explained that true manhood lay in refraining from gambling and drinking, the fact that they continued to vilify such behaviour implies that young men themselves may have viewed these purported vices as manly. Autobiographers also clearly show that while drinking and gambling were believed to be dangerous, they also carried connotations of manhood. Countertypes were more than mere Others, since the dangers they represented were also manly. Here, we shall limit the discussion to gambling.

That men did indeed gamble was a fact that even the moralists generally took for granted. In 1795, Chesterfield, who himself had lost a large part of his fortune in gambling, admonished men to refrain from gambling in a jocular tone of voice, knowing how widespread gambling and card-playing actually were. Another moralist significantly intoned around mid-century that ‘the gambling disease [and] the pleasure of drinking’ occurred ‘even among better folk’, and that ‘If one wants to obtain a pure character, one should not follow these bad habits, no matter how brilliant they appear to be.’ If gambling was dangerous, one of the reasons was that men were lured to it. Another moralist was particularly adamant in his critique of gambling:

Gambling! gambling, which has been invented by idiots and tricksters! gambling, which is a disgrace to civilisation, the most repugnant cancer of morals, the ruin of families, the demoralisation of youth, the immorality of polite society! Gambling! Ah, see there you are a bigwig, mister fool! […]

10; Petersson, Den uppväxande ungdomens förvildning (1896), p. 9; Dale, Framgång och huru man vinner den (1890), pp. 67, 128-130; Paul Peter Waldenström, Lät glaset stå! Nykterhetsföredrag för studenter (1897), pp. 4 (where Waldenström argued that this idea had been much stronger in the 1850s), 9 (where he claimed that many started to drinking to act manly); Petersson, Tankar öfver ungdomens (1899), pp. 6-7; Olbers, Hå, fred, utan rums! (1902), p. 7.


93. Chesterfield, Första grunder (1795), p. 76-77; cf. also p. 81. On Chesterfield’s own gambling, Folke Nibelius, Lord Chesterfield: Världsman och brevskrivare (1979), pp. 48, 118. Sätet att Bölinga (1807), vol. 1, pp. 43-47 warned the young son to become a drinker, gambler and libertine precisely because he believed so many followed eminent men who also shared these vices.

Gambling is the most stupid thing imaginable, no matter whether one loses or wins. Thus, flee from gambling, that is the best advice which can be given to you. Gambling is the door through which all ignoble passions sneak into polite society: greed, deception etc. 95

However, after these initial warnings, the author implicitly acknowledged the practice of gambling by pointing out the rules of courtesy at the gambling table. 96

Other evidence also shows the prevalence of gambling among nineteenth-century men. In 1810, gambling was so widespread in the capital that an old prohibition against gambling houses in coffee houses was reintroduced. 97 The existence of gambling as well as its perceived dangers can also be seen in its conspicuous presence in the work of novelists writing in the realist tradition in the first half of the nineteenth century. 98 In 1842, Stockholm could pride itself with no less than six major gambling houses and several smaller establishments where gambling was practised. 99 Also, autobiographers substantiate the view that at least some men regarded gambling as masculine, or at the very least that it was a widespread practise among men. Gambling occurred amongst pupils in school, 100 adults, 101 and – in particular – university students. When the author, teacher and man of letters Olof Rabenius looked back on his days as a student around 1900, he nostalgically remembered ‘worn gambling tables’ and the smell of ‘tobacco smoke’ and ‘punch’. 102 The way several other men wrote about gambling among students, as something unremarkable that everyone knew took place, indicates that the practise was widespread. 103 The civil servant Robert Dickson was happy that
he had learned to play cards in his youth, since he did not smoke and did not like punch, so his gambling was a way to pass time in his student years. Dickson, then, discreetly points out the prevalence of gambling among students.

However, while some wrote about gambling as a part of daily life, not least among students, other men were more critical. Svedelius repeatedly criticized gamblers, and testified to a veritable ‘gambling disease’ among students in the 1850s; he claimed to have known several students ‘who stood at the brink of ruin as a consequences of the rage for gambling.’ If gambling was present in men’s lives, it was often viewed with suspicion.

The gambler was thus not just a countertype to normative masculinity; gambling was also imbued with a certain lure. The minority of men who wrote at greater length about their own gambling behaviour shows this in particular detail. The physician and bacteriologist Edvard Selander recalled his youthful gambling as a student in Uppsala with both awe and fear. The gambling rooms were ‘the Holy of Holies’, and ‘once there, one often stayed until the early hours of the morning, gambling and drinking punch. I remember well one or two older students, who owing to this were completely abducted from their studies.’ The memory of gambling was connected to memories of fallen men who had not succeeded in completing their studies. In another book, Edvard returned to his continued youthful gambling, after his university years. One night, he won so much money that it would have taken him a very long time to pay it back, had he lost. He was thus ‘cured from the lust for gambling’, and he added that he had not participated in gambling for almost 50 years. Edvard had been gripped by the lust for gambling, knew well its perils, and was happy to have given it up.

In a similar vein, surgeon Carl Johan Ekström recalled that he had feverishly gambled away a considerable amount of money in Paris in 1820. He returned to roulette and miraculously won back what he had lost. His recollections about gam-

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104. Dickson [b. 1843], Minnen, p. 44. The same went for his relative sobriety as an adult; ibid., p. 107.
105. Svedelius [b. 1816], Anteckningar om mitt förflutna liv, pp. 240, 430-432, 497 (quotes: ‘spelsjukan’, ‘hvilka stodo på ruinens brant i följd af spelraseriet’; emphasis in the original), 531. Also see the critical Nils Petrus Ödman [b. 1838], ‘Studentvigilansen i Upsala på 1850-talet’ in Litet till, pp. 51-52. Authorities had worried about students’ gambling habits already in the early eighteenth century. See Claes Annerstedt, Upsala Universitets historia, vol. 3, part 2 (2014), pp. 705-706. Also see Germund Michanek, Skaldernas konung, pp. 113-114, on Carl David af Wirsén’s economic troubles, which were partially caused by gambling. In a letter to King Oscar II, probably written in March 1907, Wirsén denied that his problems had arisen from high living and gambling. The letter strongly testifies to the negative connotations of gambling.
bling were intertwined with sharp criticism of the gambler, who was ‘rightly despised by others’ and had ‘no excuse’ for the ‘misery’ he had caused himself.\textsuperscript{108} Claes Herman Rundgren wrote in his autobiography that he had never gambled, and yet quoted his own diary showing that he had indeed gambled.\textsuperscript{109} In the diary proper, his worries over his own gambling habits were all the more explicit. Here, Rundgren criticized himself for having given in to the dangerous passion of gambling – even while he continued to gamble.\textsuperscript{110} This suggests that men who did gamble often perceived their gambling as a serious problem. Claes Adelsköld and J. G. Arsenius appear extreme in their unconcerned writings about their own and others’ gambling habits; it is, however, telling that the young Adelsköld tried to prove himself a man by gambling and the use of tobacco and alcohol.\textsuperscript{111} Moralists’ perception that young men believed gambling to be manly is substantiated by evidence from autobiographies – even though autobiographers also expressed the widely shared views that gambling was dangerous and that men who gambled ran the risk of becoming gamblers.\textsuperscript{112}

A similar case can easily be made about drinking. I will show this in detail in the next chapter, but the point needs making in this context. While moralists explained that sobriety was manly, autobiographers show beyond doubt that drinking, while kept within certain limits, was indeed believed to be manly among men. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, there was a difference between drinking and becoming a drinker.

\textbf{COUNTERTYPES AND MASCULINE DOMESTICITY}

Gamblers and drinkers were often portrayed as lacking empathy for their poor and suffering wife and children. We recall Jules David’s lithograph of Frans on the verge of beating his wife, reproduced above. The middle classes by and large constituted family life as the foundation of their superior morality. Contrary to established notions that the separation of spheres for men and women meant that men above all belonged to the public sphere women belonged to the private sphere, middle-class masculinity was firmly associated with men’s benevolent exercise of power in the home.\textsuperscript{113} This was a form of masculinity that countertypes failed miserably to attain.

\textit{My son [...] Have you ever seen a gambler who was a good husband and a good}

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\item\textsuperscript{108} Carl Johan Ekströmer [b. 1793], \textit{Kirurgminnen från Karl Johanstiden}, pp. 127-128, quotes from p. 128: ‘med rätta föraktad av andra’; ‘ingen ursäkt’; ‘elände’.
\item\textsuperscript{109} Claes Herman Rundgren [b. 1819], ‘Hågkomster från mitt eget och samtidens liv’, vol. 1, UUB T1da, pp. 45, 71.
\item\textsuperscript{110} Claes Herman Rundgren [b. 1819], Diary December 11 1837, January 28, February 20, March 26 1838 and February 21 1839; UUB T1dq. Rundgren wrote about this ‘Gambling disease’ (‘Speljsukan’) and called gambling ‘A new element in the world of passions’ (‘Ett nytt element i passionernas verld’); February 21, 1839.
\item\textsuperscript{111} Adelsköld [b. 1824], \textit{Utdrag ur Mitt Dagverks- och Pro Diverse-Konto}, vol. 1, pp. 60-62, 91, 298; vol. 2, pp. 101-103; Arsenius [b. 1818], \textit{Minnesanteckningar}, pp. 30, 49, 67, 254, 248, who took an unusually careless stand on the issue, although he knew others perceived it as immoral.
\item\textsuperscript{112} The partially divergent perceptions of proper behaviour for youths among young men and the adult generation was, incidentally, not peculiar to the middle classes; see Michael Mitterauer, \textit{Unghelmenstidens sociala historia} (1986; 1988), p. 204.
\item\textsuperscript{113} This has been convincingly shown by John Tosh, throughout \textit{A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England} (1999), esp. pp. 1-8, 27-50. Cf. also Ryan, \textit{Cradle of the middle class}, pp. 147, 155; Robert L.
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father? An anonymous author rhetorically asked in 1816. Other moralists concurred in describing gamblers and drinkers as insensitive to the suffering of their wives and children. Note that this is a criticism of adult, married men, not irresponsible youths. It is also a heterosocial criticism, since moralists take into account how married men's relationships to their wives deteriorate when they give freer vent to their passions in homosocial environments. What interested moralists in this regard was not so much the man's fall in youth as the consequences of that fall for the adult. The gambler wasted his money in an unproductive manner, out of the home, instead of reinforcing his status as patriarchal, benevolent breadwinner.

In 1861, John S. C. Abbott used the well-known stereotype of the absent gambler to condemn women rather than men. In Abbott's interpretation, the man who spent his time gambling or drinking had fled from an excessively quarrelsome wife. If the man did not lead the life of a sober and diligent breadwinner, Abbott was saying, women were to blame. However, Abbott also wavered on this issue, and also found fault with gambling and drinking men for their absence from the home. The notion of the gambler's absence from the home was neither specifically Swedish nor peculiar to the nineteenth century. Already in 1709, the French expert on gambling Jean Barbeyrac wrote about the gambler's deplorable absence from his home in his seminal work *A Treatise on Gambling*. Barbeyrac's critique of gambling and gamblers was highly influential, and the cliché of the gambler's absence from the home and his tendency of being a bad father and a poor breadwinner was taken into the eighteenth century's second half, where it was used in moral tracts on gambling, in dramatic literature, and in novels intended mainly for a middle-class audience.

The drinker was also chastised for his absence from the home; 'apart from hell there is probably nothing as dreadful as being a drinker's wife', as John T. Dale put it in 1890. Other moralists issued similar criticisms. Campe linked the horrors of

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Griswold, 'Divorce and the Legal Redefinition of Victorian Manhood', in Carnes and Griffen (eds.), *Meanings for Manhood* (1990), p. 97; Margaret Marsh, 'Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915', in ibid., pp. 111-127. (Note that while Marsh places the high tide of masculine domesticity to the late nineteenth century, Tosh argues that domesticity now was under strain; *A Man's Place*, esp. ch. 8.) E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood* (1993) pp. 171-177 points out that while the home was an ideal to many, there were also many men who shunned their home, and poured all their energies into their work.

114. Salig Gubbens Testamente till sin kära Son (1816), p. 15: 'Min son [ ... ] Har du någonsin sett en spelare vara god maka, god far?' See also pp. 7, 14, 16.


118. Ibid., pp. 114, 175, 201.

119. John T. Dale, *Framgång och huru man vinner den* (1890), p. 129: 'utom helvetet torde det icke finnas något rysligare än att vara en drinkarens hustru'. See also e.g. *En Sveriges Män Reflexioner om Cifterutvid* (1828), p. 15; Per
alcohol to the inability to be an active father.\textsuperscript{120} The widely spread lithograph ‘The aquavit dragon’ depicts a drunkard who remains insensitive to his wife’s pleading that he should leave his friends and return home.\textsuperscript{121} In a magazine printed from 1867 to 1871 by the Swedish Society for Sobriety, narratives of men’s fall through alcohol were inevitably linked to their absence from the home. Or, when sober and restored, the former drinker was shown happily playing with his healthy children.\textsuperscript{122} Real men should reinforce their status as breadwinners by returning to the home after a hard day’s work, stay sober and in control of their passions. The drinker did none of these things and sank instead into poverty, debasement and depravity.\textsuperscript{123}

Gamblers and drinkers spent money that should have been brought home in an unproductive manner. They thus undermined their positions as breadwinners and benevolent patriarchs. Or, as the miserable George, undermined their possibilities of ever becoming a breadwinner.

\textbf{CONCLUSION}

Gamblers and drinkers were counter-types throughout the nineteenth century, although the drinker came to the fore especially in the 1830s. Here, the criticisms levelled at these stereotypes will be discussed in relation to the theories that were outlined in chapter 1.

George L. Mosse insists that counter-types were used to strengthen the ideal of masculinity. As we saw in chapter one, Mosse claims that ‘The line between modern masculinity and its enemies had to be sharply drawn in order that manliness as the symbol of a healthy society might gain strength from this contrast.’\textsuperscript{124} By clearly pointing out how men should not be, the ideal image of man was strengthened. The examples Mosse cites, Jews and homosexuals, may very well have worked this way.

However, it should by now be clear that counter-types did not have such a function in the moralists’ discourse. The counter-types they used were regarded as real threats to men, for several reasons. To begin with, men were not trusted to be able to control...
The drinker as countertype, in front of a tavern, insensitive to the pleas of his suffering wife and child. Wood engraving from Svenska Nykterhets-Sällskapets Meddelanden (Communications from the Swedish Temperance Society), 1868.
their passions, even while moralists placed responsibility on men for doing so. Another reason was that men were ever believed in danger of falling, of becoming less than men. If the young man did not heed the moralists’ advice, he would inevitably become a countertype. Mosse’s theory also leaves out the possibility that men shared other ideals than the stereotype which he studies. In the nineteenth century, there is much to indicate that young men associated gambling and drinking with real manhood, while moralists struggled to explain that this connection was false. In other words, countertypes were threatening possibilities within men because young men did not altogether share the moralists’ perception of what constituted ideal manhood. My empirical investigation of countertype thus suggests that they functioned in much more complex ways than what Mosse allows for. They were much more than the middle class’s much needed Others. Because men could fall, any middle-class man ran the risk of becoming that Other.

According to Yvonne Hirdman, it is because men have usurped the position of norm, of being first and foremost human beings, that we find such a wide variety of masculinities. Associations of the gendered word ‘man’ contain both heroes and villains. This, Hirdman claims, rests on the male norm, which allows men to be differentiated, in stark contrast to the stereotyping to which women are subjected. As Hirdman writes: ‘To shun labels, to reserve for oneself the right to be the differentiated, multifaceted human being is a part of the male privilege, a form of domination.’

This is a striking interpretation of how power works. However, it does not fit well with middle-class perceptions of men, as they have been discussed in the present chapter. Men clearly made stereotypes of men who were in a subordinate position of power in relation to men of character. Furthermore, these men were stereotyped as men, not as human beings. The constant denigration of drinkers and gamblers was not a genderless reassertion of male privilege. Rather, countertypes can be read as reasserting one, not the, male norm, namely the one type of man which was never criticized, and set the standard in relation to countertypes: the man of character.

The theory of the male norm and the theory of the homosocial construction of masculinity need to be treated together, since they each have implications that are intertwined. The idea of the male norm, we saw, should prompt the scholar to search analyse what was left beyond critique. As we have seen, there was a strong element of homosocial construction in the moralists’ critique: the drinker and gambler were ridiculed for being unmanly in succumbing to their passions, and were compared to the ideal, men of character. However, when moralists shifted attention from youths to adult, married men and considered the detrimental consequences gambling had for the gambler’s wife and children, they also shifted perspective. Their criticism now became heterosocial, and critical of some married men’s behaviour. When moralists denounced men’s absence from the home, they also explicitly took into consideration

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the instant in which men’s behaviour had negative consequences for women. Their criticism became at once heterosocial and critical of an ideal which was the unchallenged norm of moralists, that of the married man.

However, it is possible to draw a different conclusion from how countertypes were criticized for their absence from their homes. When men criticized this behaviour, they both saw it as a possible development among many men, and the behaviour as other to themselves. This second interpretation strengthens the ideal of an unproblematised, male norm. The well-ordered middle-class home, organized on the basis of gender difference, the separation of spheres and the ideal of male breadwinning were never problematised. The masculinities which underwent analysis tended to belong to someone else. Thus, the way the middle class discussed the gambler and the drinker deferred attention away from their own, general subordination of women and of other men. Instead of focussing on inequalities within the home, men criticized men who shunned the home. Thus, the critique of the gambler and the drinker can be interpreted as strengthening the inequalities upon which normative masculinity rested. As John Tosh has rightly remarked, excesses in marital violence ‘were not read as disturbing proof that patriarchy was rotten to the core; they were seen as an embarrassing aberration which brought marital authority into disrepute’. Patriarchy itself was never at stake, but expressions of men’s domination over women, whether through abuse or lack of paternal guidance, which took too extreme forms for middle-class sensibilities. The criticism of men who shunned their home, then, can be read as reinforcing the unproblematic nature of the domestic ideal of the middle class, which rested on the benevolent exercise of power over women. Moralists and responsible middle-class men who did not gamble or drink excessively implicitly praised their own gentler and more legitimate forms of subordination of women in pointing out in what terrible ways the gambler and drinker oppressed or did not take care of his wife.

If one form of masculinity was left beyond critique in the century, it was that of the adult, married, heterosexual man who controlled his passions, drank only with moderation, and did not abuse his wife. In men like these, moralists saw nothing problematic.

The point becomes even clearer when class is injected into the analysis. To many critics, the stereotype of the drinker carried working-class connotations. To be outraged by the terrible drinking habits of working-class men only underscored how unproblematic middle-class men’s drinking habits were. Problematic masculinity was, to some extent at least, working-class masculinity. In this respect, the exaggerated emphasis on the bad traits of other men alone – and the drinker was often ‘other’ to the critic – tended to make impossible a gendered critique of ideal men, responsible men, and normative masculinity.

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Middle-class men were reluctant to stereotype themselves, but gladly stereotyped others. The doctrine of the formation of character described how men should be turned into real men, as individuals. White, heterosexual, middle-class men were all, as individuals, expected to follow the same basic rules to become what they really were from the start. But other men, who did not comply with these rules, were stereotyped: they were viewed not as individuals but as instances of a fixed type of man. Moralists tended to describe others as other – but were less keen to problematise their own masculinity. Such an interpretation partially substantiates the idea of the male as norm: when men discussed masculinity, it was to a certain extent other men's masculinity which was at stake.

However, this interpretation does not take into account some significant facts. An important theme in this chapter has been the extent to which moralists did not trust men to be able to withstand their passions. Because men constantly ran the risk of falling, stereotyped and denigrated behaviour like wife-abuse, criminality, and absence from the home were more than mere stereotypes that applied to other men alone. They were constant potentialities within men. Although the drinker was often associated with the lower classes, moralists more often wrote of drinkers as fallen middle-class men. True, the benevolent patriarchal breadwinner was never criticized. But even in the breast of the most stalwart patriarch there lurked passions that, if unchecked, could reduce him to the state of a pathetic drunkard. What is more, men were lured into behaving in a fashion moralists claimed to be unmanly precisely because such behaviour had masculine connotations. How these ideas were related to the precarious period of youth, as presented in men’s autobiographies, will be the subject of the next chapter.
4. YOUTH AND HAVING ONE’S FLING
Student culture and masculinity, c. 1800–c. 1900

You know the nature of young men. They must have their fling. The wilder they have lived, the more firmly they are often transformed to steadiness.
—Viktor Rydberg, 1859

INTRODUCTION
Legend has it that Sigurd Ribbing, renowned and notorious professor of Philosophy at Uppsala in the century’s third quarter, habitually divided students into three groups: those who revelled, those who studied and revelled, and those who studied. Of these, it was the second type which became the best men. This, it seems, does not make sense. Did not moralists intone again and again that passions absolutely had to be restrained in youth? How could a professor at Uppsala University claim that young men should both revel and study, rather than exclusively focus on their studies? And yet, it does make sense.

This chapter deals with conceptions of youth as they emerge in autobiographies. It deals in particular with the widespread notion that young men should have their fling, i.e. give their passions freer rein in youth, especially so in their student years. Student culture offers a particularly lucid entry into the attitudes to youth among middle-class men.

I should make it clear that I focus on how autobiographers presented their youth and not the lived reality of students. The point is less to show, for example, that students drank alcohol, although this will be demonstrated, but rather to analyse what

1. Viktor Rydberg, *Den siste Athenaren* (1889), p. 214: ‘Du känner ynglingarnes art. De måste rasa ut. Ju dåraktigare de levat, desto grundligare blir ofta deras förändring till stadga.’ Note that this is expressed in a novel, and cannot be unproblematically read as Rydberg’s own opinion. The young epicurean Karmides, who has had his fling, has, however, been read as autobiographic. Like Karmides, Rydberg had also lived wildly in his youth. For this and other similarities between Karmides and Rydberg, see Victor Svanberg, *Nueva testimonio i Den siste Athenaren* (1928), pp. 70-96.

2. Olof Jönsson Ingstad [b. 1847], ‘Några minnen från 1860-talets studentliv’, ULK 1, p. 212, who did not mention Ribbing’s name; Peter Bagge [b. 1841], *Studentminnen och andra minnen från Uppsala 1869–1899*, p. 20, who identified Ribbing and also mentioned a fourth category of despised students: those who kept dogs. Ribbing (1816–1899) was professor at Uppsala University between 1850 and 1885; SBL 21, p. 132. Cf. also the waiter Lars Engström’s argument, as recounted by Waldemar Swahn [b. 1877], *Från Kalmarstrand till Stilla Havet*, p. 153; and the attitude in Nils [b. 1841] and Edward [b. 1846] Selander, *Carl XV:s glada dagar*, p. 95.
attitudes to alcohol emerge from men’s memoirs. Autobiographers portrayed their youth in ways which were, to some extent, different from their actual experience. It is men’s narratives about this period in their lives that are at the centre of attention in this chapter. The very fact that men could indeed write about their youthful aberrations in public, printed autobiographies testifies to a conception of youth different from that shared by moralists. It is this difference between men’s self-presentations and moralists’ conceptions which is at stake here. This is also why several facets of students’ lives – e.g. their singing culture and politics – as well as the many transformations of student culture over the century are not discussed.

The gap between the lived experience of autobiographers and their narrative is at times obvious. Many students led economically precarious lives and worried about their financial problems. These worries were reduced to humorous anecdotes about borrowing money from others. Many told the tale of how older students struck up friendships with the newly arrived student, for the sole aim of eating as much as possible from his food supplies. This tale was not recounted as a disaster with grave economic consequences, but as a comical aspect of students’ lives. Youth was rather nostalgically recalled as the period ‘when debts were allowed to grow, and one’s purse was thin’, as one student wrote.

Student culture was a culture of men. In 1870, women were first allowed to pass the student exam and to study at the Faculty of Medicine; by 1873, they were allowed to study at all faculties except Theology and the higher degree in law. Carl Fehrman assumes that women’s entry into universities brought about a major change in student culture. However, in the memoirs of men who studied at Lund and Uppsala after 1873 there is not a word about the presence of any female students. Men wrote of their lives as if nothing at all had changed. Student culture remained more or less...
homosocial. The women students had to create their own subgroup of students, excluded at least from men’s jovial memories of their student lives.\(^9\)

Throughout this chapter, student culture should be read in the light of the analysis of the period of youth in chapter 2. However, moralists themselves also at times wavered in their attitude to youth, as we shall presently see.

**YOUTH REVISITED**

Nineteenth-century moralists stressed that passions should be controlled with particular vigour in the precarious period of youth. However, moralists also argued against and at times partially endorsed a second, contrary, conception of youth. This was not built on the mastery over the passions, but on the need for the young man to give freer rein to his passions at this point in his life. The idea that young men should have their fling was only rarely expressed by moralists, and then almost exclusively in negative terms. The three Swedish expressions which I have found for this idea could be literally translated into something like ‘rage out’ and ‘revel out’.\(^10\) When used, these expressions were clearly linked to youth. Moralists did not advise men to have their fling, but spent so much energy in deprecating the notion that we might suspect that it was widely held by nineteenth-century Swedish middle-class men.\(^11\)

Also, even those who admonished stern control over the passions in youth still believed that pleasures and pastimes were also important for the young man. William Guest believed control over the passions in youth was particularly important. But this did not mean that young men should not also have some fun:

Be it far from me to utter any word against the enjoyments and pastimes, which belong to your age in life [youth]. Joy and vivacity are your rights, as well as your strength. Monk-like striving and devotion are rarely any virtues; however, our modern civilisation increases and facilitates, in the name of amusements, a life full of vice.\(^12\)

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9. Women were indeed by and large excluded, and had to organize their own coteries and student organizations. See Rönnholm, *Kunskapens kvinnor*, ch. 9; also pp. 144-145. Axel Lekander [b. 1879], ‘Kärlekslivet i Upsala’, ch. 1, not paginated, wrote in misgiving phrases and only in passing about female students; see also A. G. Hogbom [b. 1857], ‘Från mina första Uppsalaårs’, Hol., p. 70. Olof Rabenius [b. 1882], *Kring Drottning Kristinas klockar*, p. 168 only very briefly mentioned women students, but was more positive.

10. ‘Rasa ut’: the translator M. Wester’s note in William Guest, *Den unge mannen vid hans inträde i lifvet* (1872), p. 58 (using quotation marks); Kristoffer Sahlin, *Ungdomsstämning och Ungdomsmunot* (1902), p. 4. That the Swedish ‘rasa’ should not be translated as to ‘fall’ is evident from SAOB columns R335-341. ‘Rusta ut’: Anders Fryxell, manuscript on sexual morals, edited into his posthumous autobiography *Min historia historia*, p. 185. ‘Rusta’ was more or less synonymous to ‘rasa’; SAOB columns R 317, 3120-3122. ‘Ruckla ut’: Israel Hvasset, *Om vår tids ungdom* (1842), p. 19. All three moralists polemicized the idea that young men should have their fling; Fryxell even saw this idea as a partial explanation behind the great number of men who fell to a life of vices.

11. The only moralist who explicitly endorsed the idea that young men should have their fling was the anonymous author of *Vinkar för ungkarlar* (1845), pp. 16-17, who on p. 17 used the expression “rasat ut”, with quotation marks.

Control over one's passions – yes. A life devoid of joy and passion – no. Youth was, then, a period in which control over the passions was especially important, and a period in life in which that control was less important, inasmuch as passions were not given absolutely free rein, but held in relative check.

Others were more open in their advocacy of letting passions flow more freely in youth. One moralist had a generally forgiving attitude to the ‘thoughtlessnesses’ and the ‘aberrations’ of youth, as long as they were not taken to extremes. The author also wrote the following to his sixteen-year old son on the issue of alcohol: ‘I have taken my glass, and once you get older, my son, you may do so too, yet with restrictiveness, with moderation, so that one may not say [of you] that the wine has robbed your reason, taken away your ambition and stained your honour.’

A text from 1807, the very same which told us of the miserable George, partially exempted youth from the ideal of controlling the passions. But this did not mean that passions should be given free rein. The author also claimed that it was important to make use of one’s enjoyments, to see to it that they contributed to the upward climb in life. Still, youth should be a period of moderate enjoyments. Even while young men could and should enjoy themselves, passions were still to be restrained. Hence this other texts’ advice that mastery over the passions was especially important in youth. To these writers, then, it was more forgivable to give freer reins to one's passions in youth. The ever ironic Eduard Oettinger expressed this notion as a complete lack of concern about acquiring debts; the young man should simply live without a care.

Moralists also objected to the types of enjoyments which young men sought. The linguist, critic and political economist Abraham Sahlstedt was typical in claiming that chess, which was morally instructive, was to be preferred to throwing dice, a pastime associated with illegitimate methods of enriching oneself, and was based on luck. Enjoyments – yes. But they must be edifying. Friedrich Reiche significantly explained that enjoyments were good for one's health, but that they should be carried...
out ‘with moderation’, since ‘excess injures and poisons’. 20

In the 1890s, John T. Dale, Gottlob Weitbrecht and Nils Petrus Ödman all included a separate chapter devoted to the subject of youth and enjoyments in their lengthy advice manuals. They were largely in agreement: youth was a period of enjoyments, yet for that very reason they should be moral and enjoyed with moderation. Gymnastics, snow-ball fights, hiking and singing were good, manly enjoyments – drinking punch, gambling, going to the theatre and smoking cigars were not.21 Still, in connecting youth to enjoyments, moralists nuanced their own belief that youth was a period of choice, of particularly threatening passions, a period in which the foundations of adult character must be laid. Through their admonitions on control over enjoyments in youth, it still emerges that a certain and moderate freer rein over the passions in youth could be healthy, rather than outright lethal.22

If we turn from moralists’ discourse to how middle-class men wrote of the period of youth in their autobiographies, we shall see that the idea that young men should have their fling was indeed widespread. This becomes especially clear in what men wrote about the years they spent at university. Amongst university students, behaviour strongly censured by moralists was in vogue. The largely implicit conception of youth which emerges from autobiographies is that young men should indeed give their passions freer, at times very much freer, rein in youth.

THE YOUNG MAN’S ENTRY INTO UNIVERSITY: NEWLY WON FREEDOM

Arrival at university marked a crucial break in a young man’s life. He now entered upon a life of hitherto unsurpassed freedom. True, that freedom was far from total: it was severely curtailed in political matters, as Johan Sjöberg has recently shown.23 Beyond politics, though, the university’s model of education was one of almost absolute freedom. Young men were apparently now trusted to discipline themselves, to be able to take responsibility for their own studies and the way they led their lives. There were no clear instructions about what books one should read, or in which order they should be read. In Uppsala, this state of affairs only changed when the radical student organization Verdandi published a handbook for students in 1887, something which significantly was met with suspicion among professors. It was not until about 1900 that the university itself took over the publishing of these student guides.24

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22. See also e.g. Joachim Heinrich Campe, Theophron (1794), pp. 90-92; Israel Hwasser, Om vår tids ungdom (1842), pp. 38-41; Reiche, Familie-Vännen (1844), pp. 212-218; Thauer, Eigt, kraft och karakter (1883), pp. 129-140.
23. Johan Sjöberg, Makt och vanmakt i fadersväldet: Studentpolitik i Uppsala 1780–1850 (2002), pp. 58-66, 79-80. Sjöberg also notes that beyond the restrictions on politics, students were given substantial freedom as concerned e.g. their drinking habits; ibid., p. 61.
This newly won freedom was eagerly anticipated by young men. The man of letters Christopher Eichhorn was enraptured when he had passed the student exam, went off to get drunk, and, at fifty, mused at the memory: ‘One was a free student – it was almost the same as being one’s own master, “responsible to none for one’s actions”, and above all, no longer [responsible] for one’s homework!’

In a similar vein, the author Bo Bergman wrote that home and paternal authority had been left behind: ‘One was free. One was responsible only to oneself. The gates of life had been opened wide, and out there lay the world, which one was to make one’s own, aided by books, friends, and a good will.’

The literary man Olof Ingestad was more critical of the student culture he encountered in Lund in the 1860s, precisely because youthful recklessness was so widespread. The student of the 1860s did not consider his studies as his first task, but rather enjoyments: ‘Just consider, a liber studiosis, who had just got away from school discipline – should he not have the freedom to let himself go and enjoy himself a little! To be sure, he should also study, but there was no need to hurry. He had lots of time.’ Ingestad’s recollection of entering a life of unsurpassed freedom was echoed by several other men.

Again, we must note the difference between lived experience and how autobiographers wrote of their lives. The freedom could also be experienced as deeply troublesome, and the absence of clear instructions from professors caused much anxiety among students.

It is, however, significant that autobiographers instead focussed on the joys of this freedom, not on its troubles. Only a minority of men wrote of the pressures or dangers that the newly won freedom entailed or could cause.

August Strindberg suffered from this freedom, and yet endorsed the notion that life at Uppsala University was ‘an oasis of liberty and freedom’, where one could ‘go around poorly dressed,
have no money’, ‘sing and drink, come home drunk, and fight the police without losing one’s reputation. Utopia!’ However, he also critically noted that this was the image of Uppsala that he had learned from Gunnar Wennerberg’s Gluntarne, a collection of student songs which celebrated the carefree life of the student. It is not unlikely that he thought of these verses in particular, celebrating Uppsala as the best place on Earth:

Nowhere else in the world you’ll find a spot
Where a student so enjoys a happy lot;
There’s no risk that anybody cares a jot
Though a gent be drunk as any Hottentot.

Something needs to be said about these student songs by Gunnar Wennerberg, which were an instant success among students, even before they were published between 1849 and 1851. Wennerberg soon became one of the most celebrated students of his time. Several autobiographers recalled occasions when men sang Gluntar, not rarely when alcohol was involved. Still others mentioned or quoted these student songs. They did not fail to note the fact that they had been present when the ageing Wennerberg visited Uppsala in 1901 – the young student Axel Lekander who was given a pat on the shoulder did not brush his tailcoat for days. Even the sober Nils Petrus Ödman admitted that the songs had meant much to thousands of young men, especially in their youth, before the responsibilities of adult life were shouldered.

### Footnotes


31. Gunnar Wennerberg, ‘Gluntarne’ (1849–1851; 1882), p. 12: ‘Ingenstäds i vida verlden finns en vrå, / Der man hela dygnet om kan lefva så / Utan risk och bara immerbadd gå på / Just som Turkar och få heta folk ändå.’ Here quoted after M. R.’s translation The Boon Companions: twenty-four duets from Gluntarne (1849–1851; 1976), p. 8. The title of this song was ‘Uppsala är bäst!’ or ‘Uppsala is Tops!’ as M. R. has it; it is the title of one of Lekander’s volumes, and also of the autobiography of Knut Manasse Nyblom, which is not studied here; both, then, show the prevalence of Wennerberg’s influence on former students.

32. [Hellberg] [b. 1815], Posthumus, Ur minnet och dagboken om mina samtida, vol. 4, p. 133; Rudolf Höjme [b. 1815], Från det förflutna och det närvarande, p. 136; Svedelius [b. 1816], Anteckningar om mitt förflutna liv, pp. 384-385. Rundgren [b. 1819], ‘Hågkomster från mitt eget och samtidens liv’, vol. 1, p. 40 only acknowledged this reluctantly, and Bergstedt [b. 1817], ‘Mina studentminnen’, pp. 17-18 was even more critical of the shallow, partying Wennerberg. See also Daniel Andreæ, Liberal litteraturkritik (1940), p. 221; Sven G. Svenson, Gunnar Wennerberg (1986), pp. 110-119, 120-123 on the very critical review the aforementioned Bergstedt wrote of these songs.

33. E.g. Holmström [b. 1840], ‘Hågkomster från 1860-talets studentliv i Lund’, pp. 207-208; Stenström [b. 1841], ‘Minnen från Uppsalas’, p. 113; Louis De Geer [b. 1844], Strimda minnen från åren 1844-1852, pp. 72, 88.


many men, then, the free student spirit of Wennerberg’s songs expressed the essence of student life. And student life, as it appeared in Gluntarne, was a life of fun, of freedom, of punch, of rather heavy and irresponsible drinking. Wennerberg did not create this ideal from nothing. The ideal of the joyful and carefree student had deep historical roots. It is revealing that while men wrote of their newly won freedom, more precautions were taken to curtail the freedom of women than men’s, once women were let into the universities. The sense of freedom and the possibilities for rowdy and irresponsible behaviour remained a male privilege even after women were admitted to the universities. The feelings that Eichhorn and others held were impossible for the more circumscribed life women had to lead.

The young man had entered university. Which masculinities were current in this freer world? The life which the student expected to lead, and which he in many cases actually did lead, was roughly built on the attitude that now came the time for parties, for freedom, for flirtations, and for rowdy behaviour. Three passions in particular were given freer rein: alcohol, rowdiness and violence, and (if it be a passion), pranks. First of all these came the incessant drinking of alcohol.

**STUDENT CULTURE AND ALCOHOL**

Alcohol had been an integral part of students’ culture within secondary education, much to the distress of teachers. But it was not until meant reached university that they began to drink heavily. The first encounter with student culture included alcohol. A striking example is given in the autobiography of Claes Adelsköld, who began his studies at Lund in 1842 at the age of eighteen. Here, drinking alcohol was indeed a sign of manhood. Adelsköld wrote of how he was sent to the anatomy hall to associate with older students in medicine. When Adelsköld arrived they were occupied with an autopsy on a local criminal. Adelsköld described in some detail how the students severed the criminal’s skull, briefly rinsed away the brains to fill the skull with punch Adelsköld had had to pay for, and how he was then invited to down the alcohol. Evidently a rite of manhood, Adelsköld was proud to announce that he succeeded in drinking all of the punch without vomiting. After this initiation, Adelsköld ‘was held in such high esteem with the young doctors, that brother’s toasts were drunk in abundance’.

Although Adelsköld's tale is extreme in its grisly details and in the author's apparent pride in having passed the test, other men recalled similar stories in their autobiographies. New arrivals at Lund or Uppsala were commonly required to drink themselves drunk as part of being initiated into the brotherhood of students. When Nils Petrus Ödman, himself a firm believer in sobriety, passed the student exam in January 1856, he instantly went and bought himself a white cap, to be worn as the sign that he was now a student. Then toasts were drunk, and finally 'one' (Ödman significantly refrained, for once, from writing 'I'), 'walked home, if one was not – let us be completely honest – was led home, for that was surely what was most common.' Ödman was proud to have entered the community of students. Although he disliked the ways this was done, the rite of passage into that community meant, for him as for everyone else, the consumption of a great deal of alcohol.

It was not only upon entering the brotherhood of students that university students drank a lot of alcohol. May Day was in particular a day of wild partying, a day on which 'the most sober friends of temperance drank marrow into their bones', according to a former student. Several autobiographers testified to the wild consumption of alcohol on this day. But student life was not a sober experience 364 days a year, with an occasional outburst of drinking on May Day. On the contrary, students integrated the drinking of alcohol into the very core of their life-styles. Former students repeatedly wrote of their own and other men's drinking habits. Habits contemporaries really believed in sobriety as a manly ideal, we would at least expect men to have been silent about this side of their student life. These men not only drank alcohol when they were students. They were also apparently proud to write of this drinking as adults or ageing men. Punch in particular was an ever-present beverage at Lund and Uppsala.

42. E.g. Bergstedt [b. 1817], 'Mina studentminnen', pp. 1-6; Hjalmar Melén [b. 1845], Studentminnen från 1860-talets, p. 7.
44. Ibid., p. 40: 'gick man hem, om man inte — låtom oss vara fullt uppråkninga — ledde hem, ty det var väl det vanligaste.' Emphasis in the original.
45. [Damm] [b. 1825], Studentminnen, pp. 42-43: 'den absolutaste nykterhetsvän drack märg i benen'; Holmström [b. 1840], 'Hågkomster från 1860-talets studentliv i Lund', p. 201 used the same expression but wrote on the wild drinking on Walpurgis night; cf. also Wennerberg, 'Gluntarne', p. 214.
46. Hjärne [b. 1815], Från det förflutna och det närvarande, pp. 200-204; Svedelius [b. 1816], Anteckningar om mitt förflutna lif, pp. 391, 486; Odmann [b. 1822], Miinen och anteckningar från flydda dagar, pp. 92-93 (on both Walpurgis night and May Day); Peter Bagge [b. 1850], Studentminnen och andra minnen från Uppsala 1869–1899, p. 24; Svalin [b. 1877], Från Kolmarrund till Stille Hvar, p. 33; Rabeusius [b. 1882], Kong Drottning Kristinas kloaka, pp. 11, 14; The student Adolf Lindgren [b. 1879] was significantly called 'Second of May' because of his rancous bass voice; Axel Lekander [b. 1879]. 'Uppsala är bist', p. 17; 'Andra maj'. Rundgren's short diary entry for May 1, 1838, is revealing, if perhaps extreme: 'No promenade to Eklundshof, but instead wandering, singing and bellowing in the square. Breakfast, boozing, rumbling, drunkenness, brother's toasts, adventures, crowding, a walk home and falling to sleep.'
47. Among many examples, see e.g. [Hellberg] [b. 1815], Posthumus, Ur minnet och dagboken om mina samtida, vol. 1, pp. 51-55, 87; Arsenius [b. 1818], Miinen och anteckningar, pp. 32-33, 190; Holmström [b. 1840], 'Hågkomster från
revered by students for its ability to drink punch. How significant is not Edvard Selander’s assertion that the only café where alcohol was not served was a place students only went to when they were on the brink of destitution?

Some men explicitly endorsed the idea that young men should have their fling. When the later publicist Janne Damm studied in Berlin in the late 1840s, he got to...
know a young Swede from Gothenburg, the son of wealthy parents. This young man took Damm and other friends to a brothel, where wild drinking and orgies took place. Damm refrained from sex but ‘drank at least one bottle of champagne’. While Damm witnessed this debauchery, this uncontrolled unloosing of sexual passions (and money!), he first strongly doubted that this was a good way to spend money. However, Damm concluded that it was only after this complete recklessness that the young man could later become a responsible and skilful businessman. ‘He had had his fling […] The six thousand crowns he had thus spent in Hamburg were perhaps not so badly used as we [Damm and the other Swedes] thought then, since it was precisely through this mad extravagance that he reached moderation.’50 The young man should achieve adult, responsible masculinity through letting loose his passions in youth. Others briefly noted that students who drank heavily as students still became responsible and prominent men as adults.51

However, there should still be limits to drinking, even if they were very wide indeed. To middle-class men, drinking alcohol, even a lot of alcohol was essential for a man – but one should not drink too much, never completely lose control over one’s passions. This attitude testifies to the prevalent notion that if men gave into their passions, they would fall. Olof Rabenius, student in Uppsala around 1900, was one of many who celebrated students’ drinking. ‘The yellow nectar’, punch, ‘floated in streams through bowls, bottles, glasses and throats’; some parties ‘took the form of punch orgies’. Rabenius was not even disturbed in writing about a student who ‘in order to boast, gulped down a whole litre of cognac’.52

However, Rabenius conceded that this life was dangerous – not least to ‘the quality of one’s character’.53 Rabenius himself had drunk a lot, but still maintained that there should be limits to drinking. In this, he was representative of student culture, which demanded that students should drink, but never to the point of becoming drinkers.54 The physician and social reformer Anton Nyström, in recalling his youth at Uppsala in the 1860s, shows how alcohol was more or less a compulsory part of student life even while he argued that there should be limits to how much one should drink. Although Nyström had ‘‘‘zwycked” (punched) considerably’, he typically noted that ‘I

50. Damm [b. 1825], ‘En sjelfbiografi’, Granskaren 1890:33, not paginated: ‘drack minst en flaska champagne’, ‘Han hade rasat ut […] De sex tusen kronor han säsunda strört ut i Hamburg voro sålunda måhända icke fullt så illa använda som vi då tyckte, enär han just genom detta vanskinnaga slöseri kom till besinning.’ Compare, however, [idem], Studentminnen, p. 28, where rich fops who spent much money and led lives of debauchery were connected to the usual story of the fallen man; these were eventually ruined, Damm explained.

51. Waldemar Bülow [b. 1864], ‘80- och 90-talen: Litet om studentlivet i Lund’, p. 115; cf. also Oscar Wijkander [b. 1826], Ur minnet och dagboken, p. 80; Viktor Emanuel Öman [b. 1833], Från Min Ungdomsalder, p. 276 and Forsstrand [b. 1854], Mina Uppsalaminnen, pp. 46, 92-93.


54. Recall that my use of ‘drinker’ goes beyond the descriptive sense of simply a person who drinks. See ch. 3, footnote 39.
was, however, never smashed. While drinking was an integral part of student culture, there should still be limits to drinking. A man should still remain a man.

Other men also attested to this difference between their own or their friends’ drinking habits and the stereotype of the drinker, between insobriety and excessive drunkenness. Louis De Geer claimed that ‘I have never been so drunk, that I have not been the master over my legs and my mind.’ Ellen Key wrote that one of her father’s friends had said that Emil Key ‘never, even during his student years, drank a glass too much away from the bottle to a life of sobriety, and, crucially, to getting his degree. Even in Wennerberg’s Gluntarne, there was a brief pause in drinking and rambling, so that ‘Gluten’ could pass his exam.

Claes Herman Rundgren was drunk several times a week during his years as a student, and sometimes drank even to the point of vomiting. When he hailed the free student life, what he had in mind was heavy drinking, smoking, swearing, singing and wild dancing. This did not deter him from writing that ‘I have at times drunk and laughed in my circle of friends, certainly, but yet not in such a manner that I have forgotten what duties and decency demand.’ What these men continued to say was that in contrast to other men, they drank, but were never drinkers. They consumed alcohol but remained men.

The prevalence of alcohol in the life of students and middle-class adults does not, therefore, falsify my earlier argument that the drinker was a countertype to their sensibilities. If moralists and temperance activists depicted the drinker as a countertype,
middle-class men appear to have looked on drinking as a part of being a man. Nevertheless, that drinking should be moderate. Louis De Geer’s criticism of his friend, the poet Johan Nybom is a particularly revealing case in point. De Geer had got to know Nybom in school in the 1830s, just before they both became university students. Unfortunately, Nybom had a major flaw in his character. He turned from being a happy, easygoing student who could hold his own in drinking company, to being a drinker. While De Geer believed in a masculinity based on hard work, duty and moderation, Nybom had fallen, had succumbed to the passion of alcohol. De Geer’s description of Nybom reads like any description of the drinker among moralists, with a ‘Jean-Paulian’ twist to the theme:

Happy, witty and unoffending, he later [after his entry at university] became esteemed but also spoilt, and his penchant for punch began to exert a dangerous influence on him [...] After some time, it became his habit to keep his spirits up with punch fumes and the result made my socialising with him even disgusting. [...] he stood at the brink of complete destruction for some time [...] he really made an effort to reform his way of life, but his character was weak, and he soon succumbed again to his unfortunate passion. [...] With joy, I nevertheless learned later that he had returned to an ordered, humble and respectable life.64

Nybom remained a countertype as long as he kept his excessive drinking habits. Nybom’s lack of manliness in his drinking habits was a theme to which De Geer returned several times in his memoirs.65

Louis De Geer was by no means alone in criticizing Nybom for his relation to alcohol. Indeed, to both contemporaries and later scholars Nybom embodied the problems of the joyful student life of the 1840s.66 Most often, it was his excessive and uncontrolled drinking that was criticized, not the consumption of alcohol in itself. Rundgren typically wrote that Nybom drank ‘too much, and through this he wasted his beautiful future’.67 Nybom was the happy drinking student run amuck. He was the

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67. Rundgren [b. 1819], ’Hågkomster från mitt eget och samtidens liv’, vol. 1, p. 35: ’för mycket, hvarigenom han försprälde sin vackra framtid.’ Johan Grönstedt [b. 1845], Mina minnen, vol. 1, p. 61 simply wrote that Nybom was an ‘alkoholik’ (‘alcoholist’).
living proof used as a moral warning example of the argument that there should be limits to drinking.

It is revealing of the pervasiveness of the notions of passions and character that Nybom’s own ruminations over his drinking habits and his inability to get a degree echoed the condemnation of others, as well as the moralists’ advice. His diary shows how he fought to become again the moderate consumer he had once been. He somberly noted that alcohol and debauchery were ‘the passions, which imperceptibly but surely have taken me to the dark abyss, at which I now stand regretful, trembling and wondering’. The solution was close to moralists’ advice; it lay in ‘a rigorous, unsparing moderation’. The vast quantities of alcohol that this moderation entailed is simultaneous testimony to his inability to refrain from drinking and to current attitudes about what a moderate consumption of alcohol meant.68

It is not surprising to find that De Geer’s critical attitude towards Nybom did not lead him to conclude that men should stay sober (though De Geer led a more sober life than most). He wrote of another student friend that he drank a lot, but that it did not hurt his character, as alcohol had done to Nybom.69 Christopher Eichhorn’s vivid celebration the students of the 1860s is highly revealing:

many of those who were students in my days could take a glass, yes, sometimes a glass too many, without being or becoming boozers or drinking heroes, as it was called in times past, and without harming their futures. But then again, what physiques they had! The mere thought of the amounts of punch certain individuals could imbibe would be enough to give any of our contemporary anaemic youths an attack of indigestion.70

Again, autobiographers show that drinking was not in itself a problem – indeed that drinking was an important exercise in masculinity; the problem lay in men who turned into drinkers, whose consumption of alcohol led to an inability to control their passions, and an inability to work.71 Ingstad wrote of those who enjoyed themselves with drinking and singing so much that their studies suffered that ‘The fault lay in these cases neither in the singing nor the punch. It lay with the students themselves, in their listlessness and their lack of strength of character.’72

The strongest testimony to the presence of alcohol in student culture comes, how-

69. De Geer [b. 1818], _Minnen_, vol. 1, p. 58; see also e.g. Louis De Geer [b. 1854], _Strödda minnen från åren 1854–1924_, p. 22; Forsstrand [b. 1854], _Vid sjuttio år_, p. 31.
70. [Christopher Eichhorn] [b. 1837], ‘Figurer och scener från gamla Upsala’, p. 186: ‘många af mina studentsamtida kunde taga sig ett glas, ja, väl också någon gång ett glas för mycket, utan att jag hört, att de voro eller blifvit supare eller dryckeshjeltar, som det fordom hette, och utan att deras framtid tagit skada. Men så fanns det också fysiker! Blotta tanken på hvad vissa individer kunde intaga af punsch kunde skaffa en nutida bleksotsyngling ett anfall af magsyra.’
71. See also [Damm] [b. 1825], _Studentminnen_, pp. 104, 106; Högbom [b. 1857], ‘Från mina första Uppsalalär’, pp. 64-65, 78.
ever, not from old men who bragged about their heavy or moderate drinking habits in their student days, but from men who were students and firm believers in sobriety as an ideal. Among the autobiographers studied, quite a few men were indeed believers in temperance, though few were, as the businessman Albert Andersson and Karl Fries, who later headed the international YMCA, teetotallers.73

Nils Petrus Ödman also led a sober life — yet by doing so he stood apart from most of his friends.74 Throughout his extensive autobiographical writings, which often deal with his experiences as a student in Uppsala in the late 1850s and early 1860s, he pointed out the ubiquity of alcohol in student culture.75 He recalled that all who organized serenades had to pay the other singers in punch, and mentioned that punch was absolutely indispensable in any situation where singing was involved.76 And he wrote in a wholly sympathetic way about the ‘youthful parties’ and “reveling” of his student friend, the poet Ernst Björck. Again, there was a difference between drinking and being a drinker, even to a sober man like Ödman.77

So, even though Ödman certainly believed that masculinity entailed sobriety, as we saw in chapter 3, he lived his years at Uppsala surrounded by men who initiated other men into adult life through alcohol. When Ödman wrote with disapproval that the pioneer in agitating for temperance Peter Wieselgren was the laughing stock of the students of Uppsala, it is perhaps less his perturbed tone of voice than his claim that Wieselgren was laughed at that should claim our attention.78 Ödman led a sober life — and in this respect differed from most other men of his generation. Other sober men substantiate Ödman’s stories of being different from student culture at large. Anders Fryxell, who refused to drink heavily as a student, was met with contempt and derision. Bernhard von Beskow and his sober friends encountered a similar attitude.79

By and large, young male students were thus avid consumers of alcohol. Before moving on to other aspects of student life, we need to examine the class and gender aspect of a common rite in this pervasive drinking culture: the brother’s toast.

73. Albert Andersson [b. 1865], Uddevalla: Själfbiografi, p. 21; pp. 91-102 concern Andersson’s ardent work for sobriety. Karl Fries [b. 1861], Mina minnen, pp. 24, 41, 58, 224. Viktor Emanuel Öman [b. 1833], Från Min Ungdomstid, p. 11 wrote that his father had been a teetotaller.

74. He even thanked his sobriety for his physical and moral survival during his years as a student; Nils Petrus Ödman [b. 1838], ’En liten själfbiografi’ (1890), UUB Pelle Ödman 2, p. 7.


76. Ödman [b. 1838], ’Studentexamen’ in Svenska minnen och bilder, vol. 1:2, p. 148; idem, ’Arpi’, in ibid., p., 238; also [Eichholz] n. [b. 1837], ’Figurer och scener från gamla Upsala’, p. 186. The same was still true in the 1870s and 80s; Olof Örtenblad [b. 1844], ’Några Uppsalaminnen från 70- och 80-talet’, Hol, 11, p. 22.

77. Ödman [b. 1838], ’Ernst Björcks barndom och ungdom’, in Littet till, pp. 66-67, 71, quotes from p. 66: ”rummel”, ’ungdomliga fester’. Note that Ödman emphasised that poetry was more important than alcohol at these parties, which of course did not mean that there was no alcohol involved.


79. Anders Fryxell [b. 1795], Min historia, pp. 40-41; Bernhard von Beskow [b. 1796], Lefnadsminnen, p. 16. Sigrid Wieselgren was also sober as a student, and was therefore in this respect different from other students. He could still stake a claim to masculinity through his wit and his presence at parties. See Nilsson, ’Studenten och manligheten’, p. 70. Viktor Almquist [b. 1866], ’Skuggor och dagar’, Hol, 17, pp. 78-79 is another example.
THE BROTHER’S TOAST

Adelsköld, we saw above, was allowed to drink ‘brother’s toasts’ with the older students after passing the test of drinking punch from a skull like a real man. This expression does not exist in English. Charles Wharton Stork has translated it as to ‘drink brotherhood’. Other translators render it as ‘drop all titles’ or ‘to drink a pledge of friendship’. None, then, use the literal translation ‘brother’s toast’. I have chosen to translate it literally since the expression conveys a significant gender aspect which is otherwise lost. Drinking the brother’s toast meant that the two men would in future drop the formality of names and titles, and call each other either du (the familiar form of ‘you’) or ‘brother’ or both. Not all brother’s toasts were drunk at Lund and Uppsala. The tradition continued on into adult life, and was also at times carried out by students in secondary school. But the custom was most common at university.

When the future liberal publicist, politician and businessman Lars Johan Hierta entered Uppsala University at the early age of thirteen in 1814, he was invited to a party at which he made ‘no less than 40 “brothers”, which made me very dizzy in the head before the party was over’. Many autobiographers recalled drinking brother’s toasts with other men, in what were exclusively jovial and descriptive memories of a happy period of their lives. Brother’s toasts, then, were mentioned, especially by men born before 1850, but they were only very rarely dwelled on. Rundgren testified to their importance (and abundance – ‘brother’s toasts resounded’ at some parties), and marked every student with whom he had drunk a brother’s toast with a ‘+’ in his copy of the student roll, noting that ‘The more +’s the more fun it was.’

Similarly, friends were denoted as ‘brothers’, especially when consumption of alco-

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82. See Anders Fredrik Dalin, *Ordöökr öfver svenska språket* (1850), vol. 1, pp. 246 (under ‘Broder’), 247 (under ‘Brorskål’).

83. As in Emil Key [b. 1822], *Minnen av och om Emil Key*, vol. 2, p. 241 (where the invitation to drink brotherhood was denied); I. O. Smith [b. 1836], *Memoarer*, p. 92; Carl Sigfrid Dahlin [b. 1837], *Minnen*, p. 62.

84. As in Carl Johan Ekström [b. 1791], *Krigsmännen från Karl Johansstiden*, p. 96; Odman [b. 1818], ‘Den stränge riksröret’ (1818), in *Från norr- och södra kartländer*, vol. 1, p. 77; Swahn [b. 1877], *Ur minnenas skrivare*, p. 120.

85. Lars Johan Hierta [b. 1801], *Kirurgminnen från Karl Johansstiden*, p. 56; Odman [b. 1818], ‘Den stränge riksröret’ (1818), in *Från norr- och södra kartländer*, vol. 1, p. 77; Swahn [b. 1877], *Ur minnenas skrivare*, p. 120.

86. Rundgren testified to their importance (and abundance – ‘brother’s toasts resounded’ at some parties), and marked every student with whom he had drunk a brother’s toast with a ‘+’ in his copy of the student roll, noting that ‘The more +’s the more fun it was.’

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112
hol was involved, as in the expressions ‘drinking brothers’ or ‘Bacchus brothers’. One former student wrote of how a ‘brother’s tie’ was created between men, presumably with a toast, although this was not explicitly mentioned. A variation on this theme was the ‘uncle’s toast’, at times confusingly also called the ‘brother’s toast’: the privilege to drink this toast with men of the older generation, who typically insisted that titles be laid aside, an invitation which was most often respectfully refused by the younger man, who continued to use the title ‘uncle’ (farbror, literally ‘father’s brother’). The author Waldemar Swahn had to stick to ‘uncle’ when he finished the gymnasium of Kalmar, yet he was enormously proud of being allowed to drink a toast with the teachers. This toast, then, was a rite which both reinforced power hierarchies and showed that the young men had taken an important step into adulthood. For the sixteen-year old student, non-commissioned officer and future surgeon Carl Johan Ekström, the brother’s toast was one of many signs that he had come closer to full, adult manhood:

the young, inexperienced gymnasium student soon, and prematurely, became a whole man; – invited ladies to social events in Vännersborg, emptied his toddy at Habicht’s (the most distinguished inn-keeper in the town), as jauntily as Gregoire himself, drank brother’s toasts with the doctors at the hospital and with the younger men at the field-commissioner’s office, walked in uniform with a sabre on one side, and was everywhere, under the title of ‘Doctor’, introduced in societies, which otherwise were not open to non-commissioned officers and their like.

Ekström had become a man, and men, apparently, drank brother’s toasts. But what was the significance of these toasts? Why this continuous ‘brothering’? Autobiographers rarely give us a clue; they simply convey that brother’s toasts were common. Peter Bagge wrote that it was practical to become brothers with other students, for then one did not have to lift one’s student cap when meeting them in the street.

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88. ‘Dryckesbröder’: Anders Fryxell [b. 1795], *Min historia historia*, p. 41. ‘Bacchibröder’: Carl Ridderstad’s poem ‘Den stora silverasken’ in *Lekander* [b. 1879], ‘Kärlektlivet i Uppsala’, chapter 1, not paginated. Svedelius [b. 1816], *Anteckningar om mitt förflutna lif*, p. 80, and Ranulph [b. 1819], *Diary*, 28 April 1818, referred in passing to friends as ‘brothers’ (‘bröder’); [Damm] [b. 1825], *Studentminnen*, p. 112 used ‘umgängesbröder’; Swahn [b. 1877], *Ur minnenas sekretär*, p. 95 used ‘sällskapsbroder’ (in the plural in Ödmann [b. 1822], *Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar*, p. 110). Throughout Gluntarne, two characters the Magister and Glunten refer to each other as brothers or brother of honour (‘hedersbror’); Gunnar Wennerberg, ‘Gluntarne’, e.g. pp. 2, 13, 49, 73, 76, 103, 112, 116, 150, 172, 181.


90. Johan Georg Arsenius [b. 1818], *Minnesanteckningar*, p. 70; Damm [b. 1825], ‘En själfbiografi’, *Granskaren* 1890:35, not paginated.

91. Waldemar Swahn [b. 1877], *Ur minnenas sekretär*, p. 120.

92. Carl Johan Ekström [b. 1793], *Kyrkgymnistan från Karl Johanstiden*, p. 66: ‘[…] den unga, oerfarne gymnasiisten blev snart, och i fortid, en hel herre; – bjöd damerna på spektaklet i Vännersborg, tömde sin toddy hos Habicht (förmärkt värdshusvärden i staden), så känd som själv Gregoire, drack brorskål med sjukhusläkare, och med de yngre vid fältkommissariet, gick i uniform, med släpsabel och var allsättes, under titeln “doktor”, väl upptagen i sällskapetsreta, vilka annars icke stodo öppna för underofficerare och vederlikar.’ Emphasis in the original. Gregoire was a friend and colleague of Ekström’s; *ibid.*, p. 5.

93. Peter Bagge [b. 1850], *Studentminnen och andra minnen från Uppsala 1869–1899*, p. 26; see also p. 24.
The brother's toast, here between adult rather than students. In men's autobiographies, this habit appears in jovial recollections especially of their student years. But it was also a rite of passage, in which younger men were introduced into and created contacts with the homosocial brotherhood of men which would come to make up the nation's future elite, excluding both women and lower-class men. Hand-coloured lithograph by Hjalmar Mörner, 1830.
The brother's toast was a rite of passage into a new community, that of the students. The arrival to the university meant drinking brother's toasts, often in abundance. The continuous ‘brothering’ embodied in the brother’s toast had both distinctive class and gender aspects. The young student was taken into the brotherhood of students, distinguishing himself both from women and from men of other classes. He also created contacts with other men, something which might prove to be of use in his future career. Looked at from this perspective, brother’s toasts were more than fun. They were about power.

The language of brotherhood implied equality between men: while an ‘uncle’ had the privilege of age and titles which reinforced power hierarchies, a ‘brother’ is an equal. What is more, a ‘brother’ was most often middle-class. The concept itself excluded both women and men of the lower classes. In a society obsessed with hierarchies between men, the use of titles was a none too subtle way of designating one’s place in those hierarchies. Gustaf Retzius recalled the pain he suffered at having to call his dead father’s friend, the natural scientist Gustaf von Düben ‘uncle’ even though he had known him since childhood. von Düben’s insistence on maintaining the use of titles with the younger doctor reinforced the unequal power relations between the two men. Retzius held a generally disapproving attitude towards the unhelpful von Düben, and it was only typical that von Düben had insisted that they should maintain the use of titles.

The gender and class aspect of the brother’s toast was rarely dwelled upon by autobiographers; these merely tended to recall how many (often too many) brother’s toasts were drunk in an evening, often with some pride both over the significant amount of drinking and the many brothers one had made, as in the brief passage in Lars Johan Hierta’s autobiography. The only autobiographer who made the class aspect of the brother’s toast explicit was Janne Damm, who after leaving Lund got to know fishermen when he was smuggling booze from Denmark to Sweden. Damm disguised himself as a fisherman and wrote that it did not take much effort to get to know other fishermen; all he had to do to be taken into their community was to buy alcohol and invite some girls. ‘I was du [i.e. they did not use formal titles] with the entire company, something which comes naturally among that class of people and one does not have to drink brothers’ toasts in order to achieve that.’

With men of one’s own class, the brother’s toast was an introduction to a brotherhood of equals, but equals within a future elite; with fishermen, one could reach brotherhood more easily, but that brotherhood had, of course, no implications of power.

To become someone’s brother was also, naturally, to exclude women. In a misogynous twist, Damm showed the absurdity of the idea that women should or could drink brother’s toasts, in a brief portrait of the author Emilie Flygare-Carlén, who

94. Rundgren [b. 1819], ‘Hågkomster från mitt eget och samtidsens liv’, vol. 1, p. 42; [Damm] [b. 1825], Studentminnen, pp. 15-14; Swahn [b. 1877], Från Kalmarbund till Stillahavet, pp. 114-115.
pathetically always wanted to drink brother’s toasts with other men. Gunnar Wennerberg’s appreciation of salon hostess Thekla Knös, with whom Wennerberg wanted to be a ‘brother’, gave the theme a more humoristic touch. Wennerberg listed all of Thekla’s qualities which made her a less possible brother, such as her soft hands, that she would be no good ‘in a battle with butcher’s journeymen’, that she was ‘to some extent weakling, who never dares to go out to bars and rumble a little’, that she sat ‘like a sissy at balls waiting to be invited to dance, instead of doing the inviting yourself’, that she preferred skirts to pants, et cetera. Wennerberg’s appreciation of Thekla’s masculinity, or rather his bantering over her lack of masculinity, becomes comic, an effect of when masculine student ideals are applied on a woman instead of a man. Despite all these and other reservations, Wennerberg still with a huge portion of irony and bantering humour accepted Thekla as his ‘excellent brother’.

If autobiographers did not write about class and gender in re-telling anecdotes about brother’s toasts, this is typical. They were also silent about the position of power implied in being accepted into the brotherhood of students. Former students never wrote that their student years or their incessant brother’s toasts were instrumental in their careers. It is as if their years in Lund and Uppsala was a mere period of fun, a period when one drank with other men, and occasionally read some books, and not the period in which was laid the foundation for their future careers. The first steps to those contacts with other men was the homosocial brother’s toast. In that first step, women and lower-class men were excluded.

We have seen how young men gave freer rein to the passion of alcohol in youth, in stark contrast to the advice of moralists. Alcohol was, however, not the only passion unleashed in youth. Another passion which was given freer rein was aggression or violence.

THE PASSION OF VIOLENCE

Middle-class moralists denounced violence. In difference to earlier, seventeenth-century aristocratic ideals as well as medieval masculinities, middle-class moralists emphasised that it was absolutely required of men to control the passion of anger.

97. Ibid., Granskaren 1890:38, not paginated.
98. Gunnar Wennerberg, letter to Thekla Knös, November 9 1849, quoted in Elisabeth Mansén, Konsten att förgylla vardagen: Thekla Knös och romantikens Uppsala (1993), p. 26; the passage is here worth quoting at length: ‘Jag vill bli bror med dig, Knös! Visst har du en liten eländig hand att sticka i min näfve, visst ser du mer ut som en klen flickunge än som en gammal student, visst har du den egenheten att föredraga en vidsträckt, kjol framför ett par bornerade byxor, visst talar du som om du aldrig varit i målbrotet, visst är du i somliga fall en morsgris, som aldrig tös gå ut på källare och schweizerier och rumla en liten smula, visst sitter du som ett päk på baler och låter bjuda opp dig, istället för att följa ditt eget tycke och själ bjuda opp, visst skulle du taga dig högst jämmerligt ut i en batalj med slaktargesäller, och visst har du en hop för en karl nästan ohjälpliga fasoner, men – i alla fall, skål min förträfflige bror, min heders Knös; du är i själ och hjärta en äkta student och lika god vän med mig, som hvilken af mina massivaste och duktigaste bekanta, som helst.’ (There quoted from another book, without date; but parts of the rest of the letter is quoted in ibid., pp. 171-172, and is then dated.)
99. Cf. also Nilson, Studenten och manligheten, pp. 21-22, 15.
100. See e.g. [Sahlstedt], Bref Til Min Son (1776), p. 7; [Robert Doddsley], Det mänskliga livets ordning (1798), pp. 22-24; Sättet att Belysa (1807), vol. 1, pp. 73, 113; vol. 2, pp. 11-16; [Phillipe Sylvestre Du Four], Underwirling, Lœnnad af En Fader åt sin Son (1810), pp. 26, 36-38; Petrus Roos, Bogäretsernas farliga wolde (1829), pp. 22-23; Den bildade Verldsmannen (1884), p. 45; Öeninger, Den fulländade gentlemannen (1886), pp. 64, 97; John T. Dale,
The ability to refrain from violence and control anger were crucial aspects of middle-class men's identity. Indeed, an abhorrence of violence was one of several ways in which the middle class distanced itself both from the earlier elite, the nobility, and, more importantly, from the lower classes, to which where outbursts of violence were seen as integral to manliness.

However, if we turn to men's lives, violence instead emerges as an integral part of the formation of middle-class men's character. It was absent from adult middle-class men's lives; in youth, however, it was legitimate to give in to this passion. While autobiographers also wrote of violence to which they were subjected by others, we shall here limit the discussion to the violence that especially young men executed upon others.

Violence cut across class and generation in distinctive ways. Already when young boys entered their first school, they had either to succumb to being beaten by working-class boys from other schools, or to fight back and beat them up. The latter was the choice young boys made. This violence perpetrated against children of other classes and pupils in the same school was often recalled with some pride later in life.

In other cases, violence occurred between pupils at the same school. Nils Petrus Ödman recalled that the ceremonies in which younger pupils were subjected to violence belonged to his finest memories of childhood – even when he himself was the victim.

At secondary school, men's violence remained class-specific. When the poet Carl...
Wilhelm Böttiger entered the *gymnasium* at the age of fourteen, fights with journeymen were very common. Even for those who, like Böttiger, did not want to participate in the fighting, there was an absolute obligation to be present:

One could avoid fighting, true, but one was unconditionally obliged to be present and bear witness to how the privileged combatants dealt out stabs and blows or were bruised and knocked bloody. There was supposed to be something good and courageous in this, and the coward who kept away fell victim to everybody's scorn. I cannot recall that the teachers made any attempt to eradicate this misbehaviour.\(^{107}\)

Although Böttiger himself disliked the violence, others, including teachers, apparently did not. This class-based violence appear to have been unevenly distributed over time. J. G. Arsenius, who entered gymnasium in 1833, deplored the fact that the great fights between journeymen and pupils of the gymnasium had come to an end, since he thus never had the chance to try or prove his ‘heroic courage’.\(^{108}\) However, Emil Key, by just a few years Arsenius's senior, was involved in fights with journeymen during his years in gymnasium.\(^{109}\) Somewhat later, Teodor Holmberg recalled that violence between pupils at his own school and working-class adolescents was common.\(^{110}\) The member of parliament Ture Nerman recalled fights with lower-class school boys around the turn of the century.\(^{111}\)

Several men wrote also of a new system by which older pupils bullied the younger ones. Svedelius explained the details of the system. Those whose clothes were too fine or who tried to ingratiate themselves with the teachers were given hard slaps in the face, and steps of initiation were taken between the different ranks in the system.\(^{112}\) Several other autobiographers wrote of similar systems that included elements of violence.\(^{113}\)

Another, rarer form of violence was directed at pupils who had not yet begun sec-

\(^{107}\) Böttiger [b. 1807], *Sjelfbiografiska anteckningar*, p. 72: ‘Man kunde visserligen undvika att slåss, men man måste ovillkorligt vara med och vara vittne till, huru de privilegierade slagskämparne delade ut hugg och slag eller spjutv fingo blånader och blodiga stötar. Det skulle vara något så dukigt och modigt här, och hemfallen åt allas förakt var den backhare, som vid sådana tillfällen höll sig undan. Något försök från lärarnes sida att utrota detta oswick, kan jag icke erinra mig.’


\(^{109}\) Emil Key [b. 1822], *Minnen av och om Emil Key*, vol. 1, p. 115; this is here testified by his daughter, Ellen Key.

\(^{110}\) Teodor Holmberg [b. 1853], *Tidsströmningar och minnen*, p. 84; also Peter Bagge [b. 1850], *Minnen från Sveriges tidstid*, vol. 1, pp. 36-37; where the violence was much more brutal.

\(^{111}\) Ture Nerman's [b. 1886] autobiography quoted in Florin and Johansson, *Där de härliga lagrarna gro...*, p. 277. Victor Svanberg, *Medelklassrealism I*, *Samlaren* 24 (1943), p. 117 mentions violence like this but draws the strange conclusion that because this was the only contact pupils had with urban middle-class men, the middle class was weak in small towns; as if the pupils themselves were not middle class, and as if beating journeymen could never be an expression of the culture of young men in the educated strata of the middle class.

\(^{112}\) Svedelius [b. 1816], *Anteckningar om mitt forlutas liv*, pp. 80-85.

\(^{113}\) Carl Wilhelm Böttiger [b. 1807], *Sjelfbiografiska anteckningar och bref*, pp. 70-74; [Hellberg] [b. 1835], *Posthumus, Ut minnet och dagboken*, vol. 1, p. 17-18; Odmann [b. 1822], *Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar*, pp. 80-85.
ondary education. They were either in their final year before going to gymnasium, or younger; the first thing Ödman and his friends did after having bought the blue cap signifying that they were pupils at the gymnasium was to go and beat up some younger adolescents or children.

When the young man entered university, violence continued to be a part of his life. This violence built on an old tradition. In the seventeenth century, violence was an integral part of students’ lives. This violence continued into the eighteenth century, with recurring fights both between students and between students and men of other, predominantly lower, classes. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, violence declined. By mid-1800s, it had almost disappeared. To the autobiographers I have studied, violence was not the most crucial aspect of student culture, but, to some at least, one of its distinctive features.

The violence between men of the same class more or less disappeared at university. Instead, young men continued to fight with journeymen. Students were often assaulted by journeymen, or at least this was how autobiographers recalled it: they were rarely the aggressors, but the victims. Claes Adelsköld recalled that journeymen could assault students at any time in the dark alleys, using both knives and sledge-hammers. Samuel Ödmann had similar experiences in the early 1840s in Uppsala, where students for a while attempted to set up their own guards against the onslaught of journeymen. Students were however always quick to resort to violence to defend themselves. Rudolf Hjärne, a student in the 1830s, recalled that the drawing of blood was common among both students and journeymen. According to Karl Fredrik Karson, fights with journeymen was a self-evident part of student culture in the 1840s.
Janne Damm, student at Lund in the early 1840s, wrote in greater detail on students’ violence. Violence was not only directed at journeymen, but also at other lower-class men and those probably lower middle-class men he denoted as ‘philistines’. ‘A veritable war raged’ between students on the one hand, workers and the petty bourgeois on the other. Damm had mixed feelings about this violence. He criticized and admired the brave and violent student Elis N., who was always in the centre of the fights. Meeting with him later in life in Stockholm, Damm discovered that Elis N. had become a fallen man, a weak and destitute drinker and soldier. Damm clearly celebrated his old student friend’s earlier feats, in comparing ‘the lively, brave student with a drawn sabre in hand’ to what he had become, a ‘drunken soldier who now shook with fear of getting a flogging for having broken a decanter’. Violence was thus both legitimate and present in student life in the 1830s and 40s.

That violence between middle-class men and men of other classes had occurred also in the preceding few decades of the nineteenth century can be seen in brief recollections by Anders Fryxell and the man of letters Arvid August Afzelius. Afzelius, who arrived at Uppsala University in 1803, appears in his autobiography as a rather peaceful young man, focussing on his romantic friendship to another youth, James Haa-sum. At one point, they were hunted by two drunken farmers, and while James was being severely beaten, Afzelius ran and got some friends to help them beat up the two farmers. This is an outburst of violence in an otherwise peaceful recollection of Afzelius’s student years. Anders Fryxell, who arrived at Uppsala in 1813, briefly wrote that owing to the ideology of göticism then in fashion, with its celebration of...
Nordic manhood, ‘fights and excessive violence were praised as expressions of Göticist force’.  

Students who arrived at Uppsala or Lund after the 1840s were much less likely to write of similar fights with journeymen, although it emerges that violence did not die out altogether. Christopher Eichhorn wrote that fights could break out, but that they were rare. The Selander brothers wrote with clear approval of violence between students and ‘philistines’ as well as working-class men, in Uppsala in the 1860s. Violence also continued into the 1870s, 80s and 90s, although the violence was apparently decreasing. On the whole, it seems that fighting with journeymen was a significant part of student life only up until around mid-century. After that, incidental outbreaks of violence did still occur.

After university awaited ‘adult’ life. At this stage in life, violence more or less disappeared. Only very marginal accounts of violence in adult age comes through in autobiographies. With this final phase in the education of boy into man, control over the passion of anger was crucial. Moralists claimed that the passion of anger should be restrained. Autobiographers instead show that it was legitimate to give in to this passion, especially in youth. When middle-class men praised themselves for their greater ability to master their passions, as contrasted to the lower classes, they were thinking of adult men, who had first proved their manhood by beating up members of their social group.

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129. [Eichhorn] [b. 1837], ‘Figurer och scener från gamla Upsala’, p. 290. Violence was also a part of students’ lives in Lund; see Holmström [b. 1840], ‘Hägkomster från 1860-talets studentliv i Lund’, pp. 202-203; Ingstad [b. 1840], ‘Nägra Lunda-original och tidsbilder från 1860-talet’, p. 11.


131. Stiernström [b. 1853], ‘Minnen från Uppsala’, pp. 26 (violence between a student and a butcher); 76 (violence between students); Forsstrand [b. 1854], *Mina Uppsalaminnen*, p. 14; Waldemar Bülow [b. 1864], ’60- och 90-talen: Lätet om studentlivet i Lund’; in *Sacrum Almæ Matri Carolina Societas Civium Academiæ Lundensis* (1918), p. 119; cf. also pp. 122-123, for an extreme example.

of precisely those lower classes in their youth. To become a man was to learn to how to master the passion of anger – but this was apparently only achieved after this passion had been given freer rein in youth.

There should be limits to everything, though. Like Nybom, students ran the risk of becoming fallen men if they took the unloosing of passions to extremes. A series of engravings by the artist C. G. V. Carleman, accompanied by a poem by Anders Johan Afzelius, shows this. The young student beginning his university studies is eager to engage in fights with journeymen, to drink brother's toasts, and to party. However, because he lacks moderation, he succumbs to his passions, falls, and becomes a drinker, ending up as a teacher in the lower-class school he had himself once attended.

Young men thus gave freer vent to the passions of alcohol and violence. A third passion, or perhaps a vice, which students gave into was pranks and rowdy behaviour. While moralists explained that youth must be characterised by order and moderation, students continually engaged in pranks and derided men of other classes.

**PRANKS AND THE PHILISTINE**

As Crister Skoglund has rightly remarked, students were a group of men 'which might come to have power in the future, but who while students lack real power and influence'. University students were a powerless group, but by and large they made up the nation's future élite. As a group, they formed their identity to a large extent as being different from middle-class men engaged in trade and commerce. The epithet of 'philistine' as a derogatory term for middle-class and lower-middle-class men who lacked the education of the Bildungsbürgertum recurrent among students throughout the century. Indeed, this derogatory concept was first created among students in the second half of the eighteenth century. As the former student Viktor Almquist recalled, 'The students played the role of masters. Burghers were simply

133. Anders Johan Afzelius, *En Students Missöden*, with 12 engravings by C. G. V. Carleman (1845). It is ironic that Afzelius himself lived a wild life as a student; see [Damm] [b. 1825], *Studentminnen*, pp. 101-112.


135. ‘Philistine’ is my translation of ‘bracka’ . See e.g. [Damm] [b. 1825], *Studentminnen*, pp. 56, 127-128, Nils [b. 1845] and Edvard [b. 1846] Selander, *Carl XV:s julbjud pånum*, pp. 91-92; Strindberg [b. 1849], ‘Jäsningstiden’, p. 172; Stenström [b. 1841], ‘Minnen från Uppsala’, p. 210; Forsström [b. 1844], *Alma Uppsalaminnen*, p. 54; Åxel Lekander [b. 1879], ‘*Fotbollslösen*’ m. fl.; UUB X271 h:13, p. 31 (quoting his friend Carl Riddersstad). [Eichhorn [b. 1837], ‘Figuren och scenen från gamla Uppsala’, p. 200 significantly mentioned that the audience during certain rather morally slippery music events was intertwined with ‘en eller annan omtyckt eller tolererad “bracka”’). Cf. also Hjärne [b. 1815], *Från det förflutna och det närvarande*, pp. 90-92. Karl Fredrik Karlson, *Bilder ur studentlivet i Södermanlands-Nerikes nation i Uppsala 1839–50-talets* (1897), p. 6, wrote about the 1840s but not about his own life. See also Victor Svanberg, ‘Medelklassrealism II’, *Samlaren* 25 (1944), pp. 21, 63, on Gunnar Wennerberg’s student songs Gluntarne and the novelist C. A. Wetterbergh, although because Svanberg has decided, a priori, that middle-class ideology rested on the attitude that the striving for moderate success was legitimate, he fails to understand that this despise of lower-middle-class men was an expression of youthful, middle-class behaviour among the Bildungsbürgertum.

136. SAOB column B4127; the first example cited is from 1765.
“philistines”\textsuperscript{137}. Not even adults at the Academy were free from this attitude, though they of course did not engage in pranks or violence with these men.\textsuperscript{138}

August Strindberg, who attended Uppsala University for a brief period in the early 1870s, criticized this attitude, and pointed simultaneously to the widely shared attitude that it was legitimate for students to give freer rein to their passions:

One was a student and as such upper-class in the town, where the bourgeois were branded with the derogatory name of philistine. The student still stood above and beyond the civil law. To smash windows, break down fences, beat up the police, disturb the peace of the streets, violate property rights, was allowed, for it was not punished; at the worst with a warning [...]. What was a crime for philistines was games and pranks for students.\textsuperscript{139}

These activities seem both extreme and hardly middle-class. Yet, Strindberg’s claim is corroborated by former students’ autobiographies throughout the century. Students enjoyed bellowing in the streets, moving signposts, and organising pranks with one another.\textsuperscript{140}

Before mid-century, the infamous ‘Turkish music’ was a pastime for a group of students, who basically ran amuck in the streets of Uppsala and caused the greatest possible noise by banging tin cups and ‘singing’.\textsuperscript{141} The publicist Johan Carl Hellberg deplored that the tradition had died out when he entered university in 1836, for the Turkish music had ‘given the revelling and boisterous student life clang and colour’ with its ‘triangles, pokers and gongs at night disturbing the peace of neighbours and bourgeois, scaring the living daylights out of the weak’.\textsuperscript{142} Although he missed out on the Turkish music, Hellberg’s own life as a student was nevertheless a very wild one. Since ‘the police authorities turned a blind eye’ to students’ rowdy behaviour, it was possible for them to ‘deliberately smash windows’, ‘drink punch in the squares’\textsuperscript{143} et cetera, without risking punishment or losing their reputation.


\textsuperscript{138} Hjärne [b. 1815], Från det förflutna och det närvarande, pp. 90-97.

\textsuperscript{139} August Strindberg [b. 1849], ‘Jäsningstiden’, p. 172: ‘Man var student och som sådan överklass i staden [Uppsala], där borgerne stämplades med det föraktliga namnet brackor. Studenten stood ännu utom och över den borgerliga lagen. Att krossa fönster, bryta ner stängsel, slå polisen, störa gatufrid, ingripa på äganderätt, var tillåtet, ty det straffades inte, i alla värsta fall med en skrapa [...] Det som var brott för brackan var lek och upptåg för studenten.’

\textsuperscript{140} E.g. Afzelius [b. 1785], Minnen, pp. 59-60, 61-64; Hjärne [b. 1815], Från det förflutna och det närvarande, pp. 90-92; Randgren [b. 1809], Diary, 14 December 14 1857; October 17 1857; Odmann [b. 1822], Minnen och anmärkningar från förra dagar, pp. 109-114; Wijkander [b. 1828], Ur minnet och dagboken, pp. 79-80; [Eichho]rn [b. 1837], ‘Figurer och scenar från gamla Upsala’, Svenska Illustrerande Familj-Journalen 1887, p. 290; Sven Leonhard Törnquist [b. 1840], ‘Några minnen från mitt medlemskap af Göteborgs nation i Lund’, ULK 1, p. 167; Waldemar Bülows [b. 1836], ‘rö- och ro-talen: Liten ösm studentlivet i Lund’, p. 110.

\textsuperscript{141} See e.g. Hjärne [b. 1815], Från det förflutna och det närvarande, pp. 192-194; Jonsson, Ljusets riddarvakt, pp. 55-56; Malm, Aeb, i Arkadien, pp. 13-14.

\textsuperscript{142} [Hellberg] [b. 1815], Posthumus, Ur minnet och dagboken om mina anlitade, vol. 1, p. 48: ‘klang och färg åt det rumlande och bullrande studentlivet’, ‘tringlar, eldgafflar och gonggong nattertid störde grannarnes och borgernes ro och skrämdes slag på de svaga.’

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., vol. 1, quotes from p. 80: ‘polismakten såg genom fingret,’ ‘slå in fenster med berådt mod’ ‘dricka punch på torget’. See also pp. 35, 38-39; [Damm], Studentminnen, p. 94.

\textsuperscript{144} Fehrman and Westling, Lund and Learning, p. 58.
Up until 1852, the Universities of Uppsala and Lund had their own judiciary system with university courts, where students were tried, and rules were more lenient than those which applied to the rest of society.\footnote{144} Even after 1852, though, autobiographers testify that policemen paid less attention to students' youthful pranks and criminality. The moving of signposts, the ringing on people's doorbells and similar pranks remained favourite pastimes of students long after 1852.\footnote{145}

A small part of these activities were directed at professors, such as screaming 'percat' ('may he die') outside their homes. This was not mere youthful revelling, but political protests, as Johan Sjöberg has made clear.\footnote{146} Whether politically motivated or not, the behaviour of these young middle-class men was clearly far removed from moralists' conception of ideal youth. As we shall see, students also diverged from moralists' ideas in the ways they trained for future positions power.

**WIT AND EDUCATION TO DOMINATION**

The moralist William Guest asserted that it was men who had wits, esprit and joy of life who struck a chord in other men. This type, Guest warned, did not use his talents properly and risked being ruined by his lack of gravity.\footnote{147}

Judging from the autobiographies of former students, Guest was perspicacious on this issue. In student culture, young men with wits were especially appreciated. This is particularly clear in the homage the former student Karl Fredrik Karlson paid to Carl Abraham Löfvenius in 1897.\footnote{148} Karlson was Löfvenius's senior by ten years, and his text was thus more a brief biography than an autobiography. Löfvenius, who soon became a legend in Uppsala after his premature death in 1845 at the age of twenty-four, was apparently a much cherished student. And the reason? He was skillful in delivering spirited speeches at dinner-parties, he was witty and organized adventures such as peeping from ladders at ladies undressing with friends; and like most students he smoked cigars and drank lots of alcohol. Karlson also recounted how Löfvenius was hunted by bears – debtors – and made no moral condemnation of this fact, but rather cherished Löfvenius's irresponsible life.\footnote{149} Löfvenius's humour, wit and eloquence stood out as the qualities Karlson most greatly appreciated. To be skilled in using one's knowledge in order to make others laugh: this seems to have been why...
Löfvenius was loved by the other students.\textsuperscript{150}

Löfvenius was hardly the only student admired for his humour. Esprit or wit, the ability to enjoy life and make others enjoy it with no real concern for tomorrow, these were much esteemed in student life throughout the nineteenth century. Former students recalled men who delivered witty speeches or were animated with esprit with clear admiration, and reproduced stories of such young men in tedious detail. Easy-going students who drank punch, sang, were filled with an inexhaustible joy of life and a sharp wit were the heroes of student culture.\textsuperscript{151}

There was one thing autobiographers refrained from writing about, though. During their years as students, these witty and esteemed youths were training for their future careers. To develop the ability to deliver speeches with wit was to prepare for a position of power, for a position of domination. These men were preparing for a career in the public sphere. In this career, esprit and wit would come to be important qualities in the upward climb of life. But since autobiographers adhered to the notion that youth was a period when men should have their fling, they did not to make this explicit. Youth was, in fact, the period in which the foundation of one’s future career was laid. In autobiographies, it was a period in which one drank punch and laughed.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have seen how middle-class men wrote of how they spent their years as students at university. Student culture demanded that students should drink a certain amount (often, substantial amounts) of alcohol; it encouraged rather than condemned practises such as getting drunk, breaking windows, making noise, and the imaginative organisation of all kinds of pranks. Young men of the middle class appear not to have heeded the much cherished idea of youth as the period of choice between virtue and vice, or the idea that passions absolutely must be restrained in youth. When Axel Lekander toured Sweden with the dancing group Philocoros in 1902, he later remembered their partying, flirtations and adventures as expressions of ‘divine youthful light-heartedness’.\textsuperscript{152} Light-heartedness in youth had been a problem.
for moralists throughout the century. Not so for Lekander.

An important aspect of student culture has not been discussed here. Students, after all, did also study. There were indeed men who wrote at great length about their studies, and who seem to have shunned the partying. These men were, however, a minority. It is more significant of student culture’s demand on men to give freer vent to the passions that a man like Janne Damm did his utmost to hide the fact that he was studying hard from other students. The emphasis autobiographers put on the social aspects of student life should not be read as signifying that middle-class men did not study during their years at university. It simply means that when men wrote of their youth, it was less important for them to brag about their diligence and thrift, and more important to portray themselves as men who had had their fling – a telling testimony to middle-class men’s attitudes to the period of youth. As Rundgren wrote, ‘One must at times let the fever frenzy rage in the days of youth, in order later to handle one’s duties with so much greater gravity and calm.’

Anthony Rotundo argues that American culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries embraced the idea that men should express their passions, give them freer rein. To this end, he quotes G. Stanley Hall’s assertion from 1908 that ‘youth must have a certain fling’. Given the evidence of Swedish autobiographers, masculinities either had a different trajectory in America, or Hall was merely saying out loud what had been a guiding principle among men of the middle class throughout the century: that young men should have their fling as a way of becoming men with restraint and control over their passions.

We need to look at student culture from the questions outlined in chapter 1. Mosse’s theory of countertypes, to begin with, does not fit well into the empirical examples we have seen here. The countertypes found in descriptions of student life were more complex than what Mosse’s analysis allows for. Moralists drew a line between sobriety and being a drinker. Among men, the line went instead between drinking, even drinking a lot, and being a drinker. Men should be able to drink alcohol, but still pass their exams and keep up their work. The countertype was the ideal taken too far, not the antithesis of the ideal. Johan Nybom’s behaviour was not problematic until he became dependent on alcohol, and until it became obvious to his friends and former friends that he loafed with his exams. (Other countertypes in

\[159\] pp. 109, 197-202, 210, 212-238, 243, 249-250, 300-313; Gustaf Retzius [b. 1843], Biografiska anteckningar och minnen, vol. 1, pp. 140-142, 152-155, 181-183; and Karlson [b. 1831], in footnote 150 above. [Hellberg] [b. 1815], Posthumus, Ur minnet och dagboken om mina samtida, vol. 1, pp. 38-39 intermingled his recollections of a wild life with stories about his cramming.


155. Already Gunnar Rudberg, Ur studentlifvet: Några tankar och iakttagelser (1912), pp. 9-11 complained about this tendency in former students’ autobiographies, in which diligence and thrift were silenced.

156. Rundgren, Diary, December 3 1838; also in idem, ‘Hågkomster från mitt eget och samtidens lif’, vol. 1, p. 49: ‘Man måste i ungdomens dagar ibland låta feberyran rasa, för att sedan med så mycket större allvar och lugn sköta sina plikter.’ Cf. the students’ remake of a well-known song in Sven Leonhard Tornqvist [b. 1840], ‘Några minnen från mitt medlemsskap af Göteborgs nation i Lund’, ULK 1, p. 165.


158. Johan Sjöberg, ‘En tagg bland blommor: 1840-talets studentkarnevaler i Uppsala’, in Ågren (ed.), När stu-
student culture will emerge as we trace transformations in middle-class masculinities in the second part of this book.

Student culture, as it has appeared in this chapter, was homosocial. Students compared themselves with other men – lower middle-class men, students who did not pass their exams, sober students – not women. Students were brothers: women need not apply.

Was there a male norm among students? There was indeed a norm in the sense of an ideal which was left beyond critique. When former students wrote about their years at university, they refrained from criticizing two ideals. The first ideal was that of the student. In carnivals, students dressed up as, and thereby exoticized, poked fun at and disassociated themselves from a number of groups: gypsies, Saami (Lapps), Indians, men from different rural areas of Sweden, lower-class and lower middle-class men, and – yes – women. The figure of the student was instead portrayed as the hope of the future. While students thus disassociated themselves from the lower classes, women, and non-urban ethnic groups, they never poked fun at themselves.\textsuperscript{158}

The second sacrosanct norm was that of the adult, married man. These young men were aspiring to the masculinity of adults. For all their youthful partying, they never contrasted their lives to the thrift and diligence of professors, who instead appeared as worthy men, as long as they endorsed political ideals similar to those of the students. Adults were not among the group of men students used as a counter-image to their own identity. This is hardly surprising: students sought to be accepted into society, and hoped to become respectable middle-class men. While it is true that they did not behave as adults, responsible adulthood was nevertheless the ideal to which they aspired in the long run. Once they had left university, they had some more years left of bachelorhood, a period in which some devoted themselves to their careers, while others continued their youthful habits;\textsuperscript{159} in the long run, however, they were all hoping to become responsible, respectable middle-class men. Once students left university, pranks, bellowing in the streets, rambling, and beating up journeymen were no longer the order of the day. Accounts of wild drinking habits gave way to more moderate accounts of drinking. Violence was no longer an issue. Autobiographers turned instead to write of the details of their hard work and the hopes of a career. These men had had their fling. They were now prepared for adult life, which perfectly underscored what we usually think of as middle-class ideals, with thrift, hard work, moderation and mastery over the passions looming large.

With this chapter, our analysis of continuity in middle-class culture has ended. It has revealed several contradictions, opposing ideas, and an intense preoccupation with the exact substance of what it meant and should mean to be a man. As we now turn
our gaze towards variations and transformations of middle-class masculinities, we shall see that the patterns we have drawn out this far were even more complex. Our kaleidoscope will now continually disrupt and challenge the interpretations we have so far encountered.
Part II
VARIATIONS AND TRANSFORMATIONS
5. SERVANTS OF THE PUBLIC GOOD
Masculinities in the decades around 1800

The great example of Themistocles, whom as you know was not even deterred from declaring and defending what he knew would be useful to his fatherland by the lifted cane of the Spartan Commander, must hover before our eyes.³

INTRODUCTION

According to several scholars, masculine ideals were rewritten in the decades around 1800. An emerging middle class took over and revised older, aristocratic ideals. Mosse dates the birth of what he calls the masculine stereotype to about this period.² Michael Kimmel and Anthony Rotundo both emphasise these decades as crucial in the formation of a new, middle-class ideal, founded on manly assertiveness and breadwinning as the familiar middle-class division of separate spheres for men and women gained momentum.³ The decades around 1800 were crucial in rewriting masculine ideals in Sweden as well. Authors of an emerging medical advice literature separated the spheres of men and women, and the expected behaviours of the biological sexes were dealt with separately to a greater extent than earlier.⁴ While there had been a public discourse on both men’s and women’s marital violence in earlier centuries, the emergence of middle-class respectability around 1800 entailed a significant silence and trivialisation on this issue.⁵ Simultaneously, men’s tears were now becoming a sign of effeminacy, while in earlier periods they had been lauded as expressions of a manly sensibility.⁶

There is a risk with an approach like that adopted by Mosse and other scholars that

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². George L. Mosse, The Image of Man (1996), e.g. pp. 5-9, 17, 21-17, 40-44 emphasises the late eighteenth century as crucial, though some examples are from as early as the 1750s.
the history of masculinity is treated as one in which ideals were swiftly transformed from a supposedly ‘traditional’ or ‘stable’ past. Scholars who have written about the eighteenth century have also pointed to felt crises, transformations in ideals, and gender confusion. If the decades around 1800 were decades of change, we should certainly not suppose, as Mosse in particular does, that ideals had been stable or uncontested in earlier periods. Leaving aside whether or not the question of masculinity was discussed with greater fervour than before, this chapter will analyse the discussion about masculinity in the decades around 1800.

Conceptions of masculinity were more homogeneous in the decades around 1800 than they would come to be later on. As we shall see, an ideal which I will call the useful citizen was extolled in a majority of the texts concerned with masculinity and men.

The eighteenth century had been obsessed with the question of utility or usefulness; one scholar in passing names the period as ‘the age of utility’.7 Thinkers of the Swedish Enlightenment wrote at length about the schooling system as a way to create useful citizens.8 The Swedish poets and philosophers Johan Henric Kellgren and Thomas Thorild both associated the concept of virtue to usefulness. In Kellgren’s patriotic poem ‘A stable man’ (1777), manhood was to be useful to one’s fatherland and to be prepared to die for it. In Dialogue with Reason (1780), he related virtue to men’s usefulness to their native soil.9 Thomas Thorild also saw usefulness as a manly virtue in many of his writings.10

An ideal of usefulness was also widespread in popular catechisms, a type of religious literature mainly intended for ordinary people. Men were urged to master their passions and be useful citizens. Several writers in the genre instructed men to accept the hardships of life, remain virtuous, and live according to God’s will – and be useful citizens. Popular catechisms in the late eighteenth century, then, built on an ideal of masculine usefulness.11

The ideal of public utility was also prominent in the early eighteenth century. When the young Swedish intellectual Olof von Dalin started publishing the first Swedish weekly magazine, The Swedish Argus (1732–1734), he did this explicitly with reference to a doctrine of usefulness.12

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11. Ibid., pp. 21-34, though Lewan does not analyse the doctrine of usefulness in any detail.
12. Ibid., pp. 40-44.
The question of men and usefulness was thus an integral part of several different late-eighteenth-century discourses. Thus, it comes perhaps as no surprise that an ideal of utility was pervasive among American middle-class men at the end of the eighteenth century. In America, a man’s worth depended on how useful he was to society, although Americans fused an older ethos of submissiveness and utility with a nascent individualism and at times viewed self-interest as legitimate.12 In France, moralists of the French Revolution admonished men to be useful citizens, although moralists here used a much more sexualised language than what we will encounter in the present chapter.14 The notion that men should above all lead lives which were useful to society as a whole, then, was broadly a Western, more than Swedish, phenomenon.

In this chapter, I explore ideas concerning masculine usefulness, spanning roughly the fifty years around 1800. As we shall see, men’s masculinity was tied to their usefulness to society. Men’s usefulness was an answer to a felt crisis of masculinity, as masculinity was tied to nationalism. It was also founded on a Christian ideal of submissiveness founded on perseverance. Self-interest was not perceived as legitimate; men who saw first and foremost to their own benefit were even countenanced to real manhood. The ideal waned around 1830, but was revived in a different form in the century’s final decades. Even though the demand that men should lead useful lives was the most important notion in the period under scrutiny, it did not stand alone. Towards the end of the chapter, I look quite briefly at two other ideals of the period: the viking warrior in Swedish poetry and the notion of the poet as hero within romanticism. A third alternative, that of the man of the world, will be treated in the next chapter. A concluding study of autobiographies shows, however, that an idealistic variation of the ideal was strong in men born around 1840, contrary to what moralists would have us believe.

NATIONALISM AND THE ‘CRISIS’ OF MASCULINITY

In 1794, the Swedish economist and man of letters Johan Fischerström addressed the Royal Academy of Science on the subject of how Swedish men could regain their lost manhood. In the past, Fischerström, sixty-one, claimed, men had been real men; today, Swedish men were emasculated by luxury and a lack of bodily exercise. Fischerström described in graphic detail the hardened and manly bodies of the men of old, and complained that the current degeneration had been rapid; in only ‘a few generations’, manhood had been lost.15 In Fischerström’s view, masculinity was in a state of crisis. His deeply felt appeal to Swedish men on how to restore the manhood of old was linked to their usefulness to their nation. In a future Swedish Utopia, there would be no luxury, and men would devote themselves to leading useful lives.16 To Fischer-

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15. Johan Fischerström, _Tal Om de Medel och Utvägar, genom hvilka Styrka, Manlighet och Härdighet kunna hos Svenska Folket befrämjas_ (1794), p. 8: ‘fåå generationer’; see also e.g. 9-11, 23.
ström, the solution to the crisis of manhood was not that individual men should become manlier. The issue was wider than that; it concerned society as a whole.

The essence of manhood lay in the concept of usefulness. Men’s ‘desires [should] be enflamed to what is manly, useful and noble’ through their veneration of past generations.17 Even in his concern about pleasures, Fischerström insisted on the importance of masculine usefulness. The reason why pleasures and pastimes were dangerous, he insisted, was precisely because they were harmful to society as a whole.18

The illustration on the cover of Fischerström’s pamphlet also communicated the ideal of the useful citizen. In the frantic cult of manhood a century later, we would expect an appeal to resurrect the nation’s lost manhood to be headed with a picture of a young and healthy man with swelling muscles, fighting of the world’s vices and diseases, symbolised by women. Instead, the cover of Fischerström’s pamphlet was headed with an engraving which was the chosen mark of the Royal Academy of Science. This illustration harked back to the founding of the Academy in 1739 and a proposal from none other than the natural scientist Carl Linnaeus. It was to be a symbol both of the growth of useful sciences and the intention to bequeath useful knowledge to the coming generations. The illustration was slightly transformed over time, but its central message, that men should lead lives of utility, remained the same.19 The engraving shows an elderly man who is planting a tree in a garden. Below him, a small caption, which was used already in 1739, reads ‘For the descendants’. Even though the illustration was not chosen by Fischerström, it perfectly captures conception of masculinity.

The ideal of usefulness was almost consensual in advice manuals for young men in the decades around 1800. Moralists believed that a young man must be educated and brought up to lead a life of usefulness to his community. Authors as different as the German moralist Johann Heinrich Campe, the English author, dramatist and bookseller Robert Dodsley, and Fischerström, all discussed, in one way or another, men’s duty to be useful to society.

Joachim Heinrich Campe was one of many who at the time emphasised that men should lead useful lives. Campe’s book was written for young men on the verge of becoming adults.20 In it Campe, much like Fischerström, endorsed the ideal of usefulness as part of an appeal to resurrect a lost or at least severely threatened manhood.

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17. Ibid., p. 10: ‘begår upeldas til det som är manligt, nyttigt och ädelt’.
18. Ibid., p. 14. I believe ‘harmful’ to be a better antonym of ‘useful’ than ‘useless’ or ‘futile’ in this context. On the similar thoughts expressed by Fischerström a few decades before this speech, in his Tal Til det Svenska Folket. 1769 (1769), see Bengt Lewan, Med dygden som vapen (1986), pp. 82-87; Löfberg, Det nationalekonomiska motivet i svensk pedagogik under 1700-talet, p. 102.
19. See Bengt Hildebrand, Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademien: Förhistoria, grundläggning och första organisation (1939), pp. 415-418; Gunnar Jungmarker, ‘En vinjett och dess metamorfoser: Vetenskapsakademiens devisbild genom tiderna’, Grafiskt forum 42 (1977-10), pp. 316-319. It is unclear which artist engraved the version that was on Fischerström’s pamphlet, since neither Hildebrand nor Jungmarker reproduce that particular version; neither does Tore Frängsmyr, Gubben som gräver (1989), pp. 14-19, who follows Hildebrand and reproduces two more versions of the engraving. The artist Olof Årre seems a likely guess, however; see Jungmarker, ‘En vinjett’, p. 319.
20. As is evident already in the title; Joachim Heinrich Campe, Theophron eller Den erfarne Rådgifwaren för Den offerfarna Ungdomen (1794).
Campe emphasised that men must be driven by a will to be useful for others. Like Fischerström, he also worried that contemporary men were less manly than they had once been. Indeed, he predicted that the fatherland would soon go through ‘terrible times’ because of the lack of manliness in the younger generation, and he warned that the number of ‘half-men’ had so increased that the majority of men should be expelled from the affairs of the state to do women’s work. Campe worried about the coming generation, which he wanted to be ‘strong and manly, industrious and persistent in strengthened human perfection, for the service of our fellow beings’. Like Fischerström, he believed that restoring a threatened manhood meant teaching men to become useful and orderly citizens.

22. Ibid., pp. 41: ‘s lemma tider’, 46: ‘halfmänner’; p. 46 also on women’s work. Emphasis in the original.
23. Ibid., pp. 46-47: ‘stark och manlig, werksam och härdig i den oförswagade människostyrkans hela fullkomlighet, til våra medmänniskos tjent’.
The ethic of usefulness also meant obedience to the laws of society. It was a question of duty and obedience, not a recipe for an individual position of power.24 As the Swedish linguist and economist Abraham Sahlstedt put it in 1776: ‘The Laws of Society demand that each and every person works with thrift in what they do, to gain their bread and be useful to the community.’25 Sahlstedt added that men who did not work properly to contribute to the common good did not deserve to live, and he defined those who did not fulfil their obligations to society as inhuman, even as wild animals. Apparently, men’s humanity depended on their degree of usefulness to society.26 The French merchant and moralist Phillipe Sylvestre Du Four had written as early as 1677 that men were enjoined to be of help to their fellow beings; and Swedish readers were still partaking of his advice in 1810.27 Even marriage was a question of duty, as Robert Dodsley made clear in 1820: ‘Obey God’s command, and marry yourself a wife; be loyal to Society, and become a useful member of it.’28 Or, as an anonymous moralist put it towards the end of the period under scrutiny in this chapter:


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\text{114x674}{\text{24 See e.g. Pehr Kölmark, Tankar om Allmänna Upfostrans Verkan På Samhällen i Äldre och Nyare Tider, Jemte Utkast Til Dess förbättring i Sverige (1793), e.g. pp. 43, 66, 85; Det Ädlaste och Lyckligaste Folk (1809).}}
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\text{25 [Abraham Sahlstedt], Bref Til Min Son (1776), p. 17: ‘Samhälles Lagarne fordra, at hwar och en flitigt arbetar i sit ämne, til at föda sig och gagna det almänna.’ Cf. also Johann Karl Gottlob Schindler, Roberts Testamente till sin Son (1803), p. 7.}
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\text{26 [Sahlstedt], Bref Til Min Son (1776), pp. 15, 46-47 (although Sahlstedt separated human beings rather than men from animals, the continuing argumentation clearly linked usefulness to men); for early advice in a similar vein, see [Archibald Campbell], Underweisning För En Ung Herre: Skrefwen utfäst efter Fader (1700), pp. 85-87, 88.}
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\text{27 [Phillipe Sylvestre Du Four], Underweisning, Lemnad af En Fader åt sin Son (1810), p. 58. The first French edition, Instruction morale d’un père à son fils qui part pour un long voyage, was printed in 1677: DBF, vol. 11, pp. 1438-1439. An earlier Swedish translation had appeared already in 1683; the later translation was first published in 1757, with a second edition in 1768, and the third (and last) in 1810.}
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\text{28 [Robert Dodsley], En Rodlig Mans Handbok (1820), p. 12: ‘War lydig Guds befallning, och fäst dig en Hustru; war Samhället trogen, och blif deraf en nyttig medlem. ‘ A more brief translation is in [idem], Det mänskliga livrets ordning (1798) p. 27; see also pp. 53, 53-54, 43-44; [idem], Handbok för Alla Äldrar (1814), pp. 31, 36, 37, 40, 47. See also E. Berg, Moralisk afhandling om Konsten att lefva hellig i Äktenskap (1807), p. 12.}
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\text{29 En Svensk Mans Reflexioner om Giftermål, isynnerhet afseende på vår tid och vårt land (1828), p. 14: ‘Det är alltså icke nog om man [dvs en man] undhiker att skada Samhället; man bör, för att rätt uppfylla sin plac i detsamma, även verka och bidraga till dess välgång, mynta och bestånd. – Blott på detta sätt blir man en nyttig, redbar och gagneligt medborgare. – I annat fall är man onyttig, skadlig och oförtjent af namnet medborgare.’ The text uses the}
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Men were urged to fill their place in society, to lead useful lives, because manhood was severely threatened and because it was a duty. This ideal was also founded on a particular form of Christianity and an ideal of perseverance, as we shall see.

**CHRISTIANITY AND THE IDEAL OF PERSEVERANCE**

The idea that manhood should be built on men’s usefulness to society owed a lot to Christianity, and a very specific form of Christianity at that. Men who cared more for themselves than their community were described as un-Godly, un-Christian. Chris-
tianity should teach men to submit to Providence. Campe criticized men who were too aggressive in their attempt to make careers for themselves, and advised them to rely instead on Providence, since ‘everything depends on God’s blessing’. Du Four could without hesitation describe men’s almost total dependence on God, and name all men as his ‘Servants’ (with a capital ‘S’). He even described the act of ‘humbly yield[ing] oneself to His [God’s] all-wise and merciful Providence’ as particularly manly. Men should give in to God’s will, fight against greed, and be gentle and cautious.

Robert Dodsley similarly connected manhood with submissiveness. ‘Dangers, misfortunes, needs, work [sic] and misery’ were an inevitable part of human life. Since these could not be avoided, one had to endure them like a man: ‘therefore, arm yourself from early on with courage and perseverance, and receive your due share with a manly mind’. Men were told to remain more or less passive in the face of God’s omnipotence. The vicar Petrus Roos supported a similar Christian ideal of utility throughout his writings. By the middle of the century, such views had become obsolete.

It is revealing that perseverance was a much valued trait in men. In later periods, more emphasis was placed on man’s ability to act from his own will. The ideal of perseverance was related to a masculinity strongly imbued with a passive Christianity: stand strong in the face of the sufferings of this world, for you know that you will be rewarded in heaven. Dodsley explained that real men should stand tall in the face of setbacks, and demanded of the ideal man that ‘his manly perseverance will conquer his suffering’. Later, Christianity would be thought of as a force which could spur men to act individually to cast off the yoke of suffering laid upon them less by God and more by their own idleness. There was less need for perseverance in periods which emphasised men’s ability to act of their own free will. And, logically, we find that moralists refer less and less often to this quality as a desirable trait in men.

Swedish word ‘man’, equivalent to the English ‘one’, but it is apparent from the context that the ‘one’ who should be useful is a man, not men and women.

33. Petrus Roos, Medborgaren Föreståld till sina pligter enligt Hustaflan (1817), pp. 4, 16, 60; idem, Amnen till Guds lof, eller en Christens pligt att for alla gifter Guds armen (1828), pp. 84, 86, 96, 98; idem, Den Heliga Skrift säkom den såvunta anvisnings till alla dags vorebörja (1829), pp. 52, 82; idem, Vilhelm mörnings till Modernovelser: Tänk på andra (1829), pp. 20-21; idem, Människovännin (1820), pp. 43-44; idem, Människans tankar blevno efter Syndafallet Brutalliga och föranderliga (1828), pp. 20, 24.
34. The last example that I have found of this submissive attitude is in Reiche, Rådgifvare för ungdomen, på vandringen genom livet (1844), pp. 108-109.
35. [Dodsley], Det mänskliga livets ordning (1798), p. 14: ‘det märkiga ståndskapet övervinmer lidanden’. This relative passivity can be clearly seen already in early-eighteenth-century advice; see [Archibald Campbell], Underweisning För En Ungt Herre: Sörfven utaf hans Fader (1770), pp. 1-12; Eustache LeNoble, En Faders Underwiisning Til in Son: Huvudunda låm bör förr sig upp in Werlden (1727), pp. 52-53; En Faders Förmaning Til Sina Moderlösa Barn (1768), pp. 6-11.
36. Le Noble, En Faders Underweisning Til in Son (1727), ‘Företal’, not paginated; [Sahlstedt], Bref Til Min Son
COUNTERTYPES AND THE PROBLEM OF SELF-INTEREST

It has become a commonplace to claim that the middle classes believed in the virtue of self-interest. While seventeenth-century moralists had denounced self-interest, philosophers like Adam Smith and Montesquieu ‘solved’ the problem by claiming that men’s self-interest was harmonious with public utility. To be motivated by self-interest was now legitimate, for in so doing, men also unwittingly contributed the most to what was good for society. Albert O. Hirschman and Milton L. Myers have emphasised that especially Adam Smith perceived self-interest and public utility as two sides of the same coin. Their views are shared by several scholars.

However, while Smith and Montesquieu did indeed claim that self-interest was both legitimate and desirable, their views were not shared by many contemporaries. They can therefore not be read as representative of middle-class attitudes. It took quite some time before their views became generally accepted. Moralists writing around 1800 tended instead to believe that self-interest was deeply problematic precisely because it was contrary to public utility. Petrus Roos was typical in writing that ‘Self-interest makes human beings disinclined, reluctant and incapable of seeking what is useful to the community.’ Rather than perceiving self-interest as the foundation of public utility, Roos thus believed that self-interest blinded men to the common good. Others, like Kellgren, emphasised that men should only pursue their economic interest in so far as it was concomitant with what was useful to society. He clearly did not believe in an unproblematic, harmonious relation between self-interest and public utility. The view that self-interest was dan-
gerous and illegitimate was reiterated by several moralists even up until the middle of the century. Middle-class moralists instead explained that the very opposite of self-interest, disinterestedness (in Swedish, literally ‘non-self-interest’) was a noble virtue. Even in the 1840s, the influential middle-class author C. J. L. Almqvist typically celebrated men of commerce in his novels only as long as they used their wealth to be useful to the community. He criticized rich men who did not act with an eye to the common good. To be a useful citizen was to see to the greater good of society, not to one’s own benefit. The two were perceived as in conflict with each other, not as concomitant. Indeed, self-interest was not only problematic. To many a moralist, it was even unmanly.

Moralists around 1800 shared a countertype peculiar to its own age, a countertype which was later to become a dominant ideal both in Sweden and indeed in many parts of the Western world: the egoistic, self-made man. What were later to become signs of masculinity was criticized as undesirable and even appalling traits in men. The same moralists who explained the importance of men’s usefulness also depicted selfish men as countertypes. A critique of rich men, as well as a critique of men’s egoism, can be found in many advice manuals printed in the decades around 1800.

Dodsley denounced egotism and men’s excessive striving for wealth. In a section on how rich men should behave, he depicted the greedy rich man who cared only for himself in scathing terms: ‘He despises the tears of the fatherless, and smiles at the lamenting sighs of the agonized widow.’ Merchants should instead ‘hear the voice of your conscience, and be content with moderate profits’ , rather than swindle poor people. Dodsley’s view was shared by other moralists.

To be content with only moderate profits was to be godly and considerate of the greater good of society. Later in the century, such a thought would have been linked to unmanliness, not manliness. Moralists who endorsed a view of manhood as connected to usefulness, then, also denounced men who lived only for their own betterment, who cared not for the

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42. See e.g. Några reflexioner angående spel (1821), p. 4; Friedrich Phillip Wihnsen, Werldens Tom och Werldens Seder (1828), p. 101; Roos, Begärerlomans farliga wilde (1829), p. 40; Reiche, Rådgifvare för ungdomen (1844), p. 111; idem, Familje-Vännen (1845), pp. 181, 200; Channing, Om Selfbildning (1848), pp. 16-19. After around 1850, the problem of self-interest more or less waned from advice manuals; see Israel Hwasser, Mannens ynglingsålder (1856), pp. viii, 15; John S. C. Abbott, Fridens råd (1861), pp. 122-124; Teodor Holmberg, Från Skolåldern, vol. 3 (1868), pp. 111, 120.

43. ‘Non-self-interest’, i.e. ‘Oegennytta’. See Pehr Kölmark, Tankar om Allmänna Uppfostrans Verkan På Samhällen i Åldre och Nyare Tider (1793), p. 66; Campe, Theophron (1794), p. 84; Textorius, Kort Anvisning för tillkommande enskilde Uppfostrare och Ungdoms Lärare (1807), pp. 57-58; Axel Gabriel Silverstolpe, Tal om Hufvudföremålen att utföra vid Menniskans Uppfostran, Samning och Rättvisa (1812), pp. 9-10; Lars Magnus Enberg, Om Uppfostran till Medborglighet (1823), pp. 28, 30.


45. [Robert Dodsley], Det mänskliga livets ordning (1798), pp. 29-39 (quote on p. 39: ‘Han föraktar de faderlösas tårar, och ler åt den bedrövade enkans klagande suckar’); see also pp. 9-10; and [idem], Handbok för Alla Åldrar (1814), pp. 110-112.

greater good of society. Lars Magnus Enberg, lecturer in philosophy at and director of Stockholm gymnasium, was even more explicit in his denunciation of egotism. He named ‘low self-interest’ among the vices which had ‘at times driven this country to the brink of destruction’. Men should become men through learning the virtues of usefulness. Enberg also linked the creation of character to men’s usefulness to society. Character and a concern for the public good were set against men who were driven by self-interest.

Campe very clearly connected his positive ideal to a description of masculinity’s countertype. The most terrible men were those guided by the wrong principles, and such men often hid their real, egoistic intentions. Campe especially emphasised these words: ‘especially precisely those [people], who on every occasion hang out a Sign of disinterestedness, helpfulness and generosity, are none the less to a high degree selfish and self-conceited.’ Proper masculinity should be characterized by the intention to do good for others, not to think only of oneself.

Similar attacks on men’s self-interest were only very rarely expressed after mid-century, as greed and egotism came to be seen as legitimate driving forces in men. An exhortation such as that of the anonymous moralist in 1824, that ‘where there is conceit, there is only very sparse love for others’ would have been near impossible after say 1850. Just as moralists perceived usefulness to the nation to be a manly virtue, they worried that the entire Swedish national character would lose its strength through the dangerous spread of self-interest and egoism.

Petrus Roos spent considerable energy on explaining to his parishioners and any others who read his printed sermons that greed was terrible, and that men should not be blinded by the passion of enriching themselves. Men should concentrate instead on preparing themselves for the next life, rather than waste their energies to achieve success in the present life, Roos explained.

Throughout these discussions about usefulness, women were but an absent other. At times, though very rarely, a woman’s usefulness in the home was noted, thus separat...
rating men’s usefulness in the public sphere from women’s domestic usefulness. The only advice Dodsley gave in relation to women concerned how men could find a suitable wife; the only advice he gave directly to women concerned how they should behave to please their husbands. The ideal of the useful citizen was discussed in relation to other men, not women. Women being but an absent other, useful men were instead contrasted to other men: men who were not responsible enough to be useful citizens, such as drunkards and gamblers, but above all, as we have seen, the ideal was set in contrast to men who were driven by greed and self-interest.

The ideal of the useful citizen was not the only meaning of manhood in the decades around 1800. At least three other ideals were also current in Sweden at the time. Only two of these, göticism and romanticism, will be discussed here. The third ideal, that of the man of the world, is the subject of the next chapter. Adherents to göticism assumed that the crisis of Swedish masculinity could be resolved by a partial return to the sturdy manhood of the Vikings. The second tradition was romanticism, which had had exponents in the late eighteenth century but virtually exploded after the coup d’état and ensuing removal of censorship in 1809. These traditions show that while moralists extolled an ideal of utility, that ideal did not stand alone.

**THE DISCIPLINED RETURN OF THE VIKING: GÖTICISM**

Fischerström, we saw, believed that men should be useful citizens. Yet, his arguments were also drenched in a hypermasculinity that was absent from most of the moralists who have been discussed here. To Fischerström, manhood was in bad need of resurrection. In his appeal for a manlier masculinity, he turned his gaze upon a largely invented era when men had verily been men. The period was not clearly specified, but involved the Swedish ‘forefathers’, who had been skilled in using ‘shield’, ‘sword’ and ‘bows’. Notwithstanding his argument that masculinity had been lost in only a few generations, manhood, to Fischerström, was linked to military skill and to a lost age which needed to be revived in the effeminate Sweden, so that all Sweden would once more attract the ‘awe and fear’ of Europe. The student Jöns Eric Angelini also gloried Sweden’s past, an era in which manhood had been strong and uncontested. In a more emotional vein than Fischerström, he paid homage to the men of old. These still had much to teach Swedish men: ‘we still trod on the rusty sword of the ancient Göts; let us from the mossy memorial stones be taught to love, and, if needed, be able to die for our Fatherland!’, Angelini exclaimed. The manly past was apparently to be found in the age of the Vikings, the period of rune stones, and the Göts, the (invented) Swedish forefathers. In 1814, the publicist Bengt Törneblad also honoured

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55. [Dodsley], *Det mänskliga livets ordning* (1798), pp. 27-32.
57. Ibid., p. 33: ‘vördnad och fruktan’.
Göticism as a manlier manhood. In this 1834 etching for Ling's Asarne (The Æsir), the artist Carl Wahlbom emphasises the violence and muscles of the Swedish forefathers. What Ling and the göticists strove for was, however, a synthesis of this purportedly genuine and primitive manhood with modern civilisation. The Viking was to return, but in a disciplined form.
the Swedes of old, in an attack on the foppish and effeminate men of the world, who loved fashion and dancing. Swedes, Törneblad argued, had ‘from time immemorial’ been characterized by manlier qualities such as ‘fire, force, [and] candour’.

To these moralists, the argument that Swedish manhood was in a state of crisis was both explicit and grounded a will to reach back in history, to the age of the Vikings. Fischерström, Angelini and Törneblad were here writing within the strong literary tradition of göticism. They are the minority of moralists who wrote of an ideal shared by a majority of men of letters. This tradition, with its deeply masculinist content, deserve our special attention.

Harking back to the seventeenth century, the late eighteenth century revived the tradition of göticism. The revival was further strengthened in 1809. In 1808, Russia invaded Finland, then a part of the Swedish kingdom. The following year, arguably the most turbulent year in Sweden's modern history, Finland was lost to Russia and Sweden was subjected to what was experienced as a humiliating peace treaty. Within months, a coup d'état had dethroned King Gustaf IV Adolf, a new constitution was adopted, and foreign policy was redirected from hostility to friendliness towards Napoleon. Amid these political disturbances, there was a widespread fear of new wars. The strong revival of göticism needs to be seen in this light, especially the widespread national sense of military humiliation after the loss of Finland.

In this context, many men looked back to the age of the Vikings as an epoch of national glory. Leading Swedish intellectuals were soon producing poetry in which the effeminate South was constructed as a counter-image to the sturdy and manly Nordic countries. However, Nordic men were, according to these writers, fast becoming effeminate, as in the South.

But since they had once been men, remedy lay in a return to the lost manhood of the Vikings.

The new movement found expression in the ‘Göticist association’, founded in 1811. The current worries over the state of Swedish manhood was even written into its statutes; the first paragraph stated that ‘The göticist association shall be a brotherly

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62. Cf. the autobiography of the göticist Arvid August Afzelius [b. 1786], Minnen, p. 112.

63. Mjöberg, Drömmen om sagatiden, vol. 1, p. 239-240; Schück and Warburg, Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria, vol. 1, p. 344 (on Adlerbeth), 467 (on Geijer); Blanck, Geijers götiska diktnings, pp. 19 (quoting Göran Gustaf Uggla), 52, 42-43 (on the statutes of the göticist association), 240-241 (on the statutes and Geijer's poem 'Manhem'); Ljunggren, Kroppen bildning, p. 88 and references there.
In a passage taken from the main founder, Jacob Adlerbeth, the statutes also explained that ‘the majority of Swedes in our times have degenerated from their proud ancestors’. The veneration of the supposedly hypermasculine ancestors was driven to some extremes. In the Göticist association, men took pseudonyms after great heathen ancestors, drank mead from horns and celebrated the sturdy manhood of old, in what was deeply felt concerns over the state of the Swedish nation and Swedish manliness.

The poet and later professor and politician Erik Gustaf Geijer was one of the most influential figures in this movement. His göticist poems were important influences to several important figures in Swedish literary history. Per Henrik Ling, the founder of Ling gymnastics, and the celebrated poet Esaias Tegnér were other important writers within the göticist revival. Their poetry reverberated with the idea that Swedish or Nordic masculinity was in a state of crisis. The hope of a resurrection of Swedish manhood was perfectly underscored by E. J. Stagnelius, whose poem ‘Blenda’, written in the 1810s, exalted in the hope of Swedish military revenge after the loss of Finland:

At the remains of my forefathers, I swear!
Soon, a lost period shall once again dawn in the North
and the names of brave Swedes echo over the Earth –
the rock still carries iron and the soil nourishes men.
Swords shall flash again, and broken hears shall bleed.

The language of the göticists, then, was deeply drenched in masculinity. Indeed, it was so masculinist that even Erik Gustaf Geijer’s early biographer John Landquist, hardly sensitive to the question of gender, saw it clearly in 1924. More recently, Jens Ljunggren has argued convincingly that Ling’s version of göticism should be understood as an attempt to fuse a purportedly genuine, ‘primitive’ masculinity with mod-

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67. Mjöberg, *Drömmen om sagatiden*, vol. 1, pp. 219-220; Schück and Warberg, *Illustrovad svensk litteraturhistoria*, vol. 5, pp. 350, 354-357 show that these should not be understood as a uniform school of thought. See also e.g. Arvid August Afzelius [b. 1785], *Minnen*, pp. 114-115.
68. See the many quotes from Bernhard von Beskow, Ling, Nicander, Stagnelius, Tegnér and Vitalis (Erik Sjöberg) and comments in Mjöberg, *Drömmen om sagatiden*, vol. 1, pp. 55-61, 70-71, 146, 147, 218, 219-220, 244.
69. Erik Johan Stagnelius, ‘Blenda’, quoted in Mjöberg, *Drömmen om sagatiden*, vol. 1, p. 220: ‘Vid mina fäders stoft jag svar! / Sjärt skall en flygtad tid gry ån en gång i Norden / och tappre Svenskars namn genljuda ofver jorden – / än klippan hyser järn och törftvän männen när. / Svärd skola blixtra än och klufna hjertan blöda.’ The literal but not poetic translation is my own. This poem was probably written in the 1810s, though others have dated it to the 1820s; ibid., pp. 147, 220. We usually think of Stagnelius as a romantic. His case, as well as others, like Atterbom, shows that the two schools of thought were not wholly separate.
ern culture. Ling created his gymnastics as a way for men to find the inner aggressive essence of manhood without degenerating into actual barbarianism. Gymnastics was a way to find the (lost) inner core of manhood in a disciplined and organised form. The ideal did not demand that men should behave like Vikings; it meant that the sturdy manhood of the Vikings should be incorporated into modern culture. In this respect, the Swedish göticists were by no means unique. The revival of göticism was common to the Nordic countries. In Germany as well there was a new interest in the male body and its beauty, an interest connected to redefinitions of masculinity.

The rather harsh ideal brought forward by authors in the göticist tradition was indeed different from the useful citizen. We should not, however, think of these ideals as entirely separated. The founding document of the Göticist Association claimed that a true Göt should be characterised by ‘zeal for the common good’, and Geijer’s poems also extolled men’s duty to be useful to their fatherland. Göticists also shared the stoic ideal of perseverance which we have seen was current among moralists.

ROMANTICISM AND THE POET AS HERO: THE EXAMPLE OF ATTERBOM

Within romanticism, another ideal was current. Since we still lack an analysis of notions of ideal masculinity in Swedish romanticism, this discussion will be kept brief. Romanticists hailed the creative poet as the hero of the age. The poet stood above other men, and above society. He revealed man’s divine nature. The ideal was premised on an explicit rejection of the middle-class ideal of utility. Romanticists were accordingly chided by middle-class publicists, whose critique hampered the spread of the romantic ideal.

The young poet P. D. A. Atterbom was the leading figure of romanticism in Uppsala. In the salons of Uppsala, he cultivated an image of being different from other men. Atterbom was the languishing romantic poet who formed close relationships to women and spoke of his tempestuous emotions, allowing for androgyny in his individual style as well as in his texts. Here was a different manly ideal, endorsed by a tiny
minority, true, but one which exerted an enormous influence especially on young men. Autobiographers revealingly portray Atterbom as an emotional dreamer, easily moved to tears and absent-mindedly focussing on the intrinsic value of beauty, ever forgetting his public duties.\(^{81}\) J. G. Sandberg’s painting of Atterbom from the 1810s is revealing precisely because it is so idealized. Atterbom here appeared as the androgynous poetic hero, standing in the light of dawn, a symbol for the dawn of romanticism.

Romanticism was a strong movement in the early nineteenth century, although it never made its way into the discourse of moralists. This should not surprise us: romantics wrote poetry, not advice manuals for young men. It was a minority movement, but its ideal shows that the ideal of the orderly, diligent and useful citizen did not stand uncontested.

**PERSISTENCE OF THE IDEAL OF USEFULNESS**

The ideal of usefulness was at its peak in the decades around 1800. After about 1830, the appeal to think mainly of the greater good of society was heard less and less often. Other ideals, to be analysed in the following chapters, emerged and eclipsed the ideal of the useful citizen. But even so, ideas of usefulness did not become extinct or obsolete. C. J. L. Almqvist wrote a didactic text in 1839, in which men were cherished for the extent to which they were useful to society as a whole.\(^{82}\) And William Channing, translated into Swedish in the late 1840s, emphasised that men should lead useful

\(^{81}\) Rudolf Hjärne [b. 1815], *Från det förflutna och det närvarande*, pp. 43-49; Wilhem Erik Svedelius [b. 1816], *Anteckningar om mitt förflutna lif*, pp. 296-297; Cf. also Oscar Wijkander [b. 1826], *Ur minnet och dagboken*, p. 85.

\(^{82}\) Carl Jonas Love Almqvist, *Arbetets Ära* (1839), pp. 4-5, 8-9. New editions of this work came in 1861, 1876 and 1886.
lives, although it was not the most crucial ingredient in ideal masculinity. Channing fused the older ideal of usefulness with ascendant ideas about the self-made man and egotism as a legitimate motive for men's actions: 'A man must, in order to help himself, serve others.' Usefulness was a way to make a career, rather than a question of moral principle.83

The ideal of usefulness was present in Reiche's compilation of advice printed in 1844, although it was hardly the most important element in his conception of manhood.84 A. J. Bergenström emphasised in 1852 that a man's worth was related to his usefulness to his fatherland. This, however, is the only reference to usefulness I have found in the 1850s.85 The 1860s and 70s were similarly almost void of references to masculine usefulness. I have studied more than thirty advice manuals printed in these two decades, and have found only passing references to usefulness.86

The only example of a moralist who strongly endorsed the doctrine of usefulness in these decades was Samuel Smiles, the Scottish writer on success, whose books were published in huge numbers in England, America, Sweden and in many other countries. The first Swedish edition of his most famous of books, Self-Help, was translated and published in 1867. Smiles was to some extent a proponent of the ideal of the self-made man. The Smilesian hero was infused by a Christianity which led him to manly independence and success. This was a Christianity remote from the submissive Christian ideal prevalent around 1800. Smiles gave more leeway and legitimacy to men's striving for wealth. However, Smiles still frequently made the point that men should lead useful lives. Success and self-making were not ends in themselves. Being a useful citizen was an important, and integral, part of the individual quest for success.87

Notwithstanding the influence of Samuel Smiles, it was not until the 1880s and especially the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century, that there was a major revival in the doctrine of usefulness. However, while moralists around 1800 had laid strong emphasis on the value of usefulness, moralists towards the end of the century only devoted short passages to the ideal of utility. Even though usefulness lingered on as an ideal, it was not really integrated into moralists' arguments.88 Also, those who endorsed the ideal of utility had to argue their case in ways which reveal


84. Friedrich Reiche, *Rådgifvare för ungdomen, på rödningen genom livet* (1844), pp. 135-136; see also [Carl Johan Söderström], *Strodda Tankar öfwer åtskilliga livwets förhållanden, samlade af en fader för ett älskadt barn* (1844), pp. 11, 50-51.

85. [A. J. Bergenström], *Eklöfs-bladen* (1852), pp. 20, 23.


that the ideal was no longer a central one. Teodor Holmberg might be cited as an example. When he claimed that it was important that young men be useful to society, he used the argument to polemize against the egotism of his day. A hundred years earlier, egotistical men had also been criticized. The difference was that Holmberg, unlike the moralists around 1800, had to defend the value of usefulness. This is revealed in the pleading tone he used:

Then open your eyes, so that you may see more than what is tangible; widen your heart, so that you strive for something more than what is economically profitable; attempt to mould your life so that it becomes rich for you, fruitful for others.

While his precursors could simply extol usefulness, here Holmberg argued from the position of an underdog to defend usefulness against prevailing egotistical values.

When Nils Petrus Ödman, headmaster and fighter for sobriety, spoke to his students in 1808 on the question *Do you want to become a man?*, he insisted that masculinity meant being useful to one’s fatherland. This connection between manliness and the fatherland appears to have been revived around 1900. The fact that Swedes had been emigrating to America in masses for more than half a century was only now becoming the subject of a major discourse. The public concern over the decision of Swedish men to leave their fatherland was also expressed in advice manuals. Many Christian moralists felt called upon to point out men’s patriotic duty to remain in Sweden. Much of this rhetoric was based on a discourse of usefulness – men existed not only for themselves, but for their fatherland. It was men’s patriotic duty to become useful citizens and make Sweden strong, rather than move abroad.

Although exhortations to men to lead useful lives lingered on well after 1830, they never reached the same central point of reference they had held in many of the works written around 1800. As we shift perspective to the evidence given in autobiographies, however, this picture is put into question.

**USEFULNESS AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY**

If men did indeed think of themselves more as servants of the public good than as individuals, this is hardly a set of attitudes which will produce autobiographies. This perhaps explains why it is so difficult to find autobiographies by men born in the lat-

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89. Teodor Holmberg, *Lifvets bärande krafter: männingar till unge män* (1895), p. 4; ‘Öppna då din blick, så att du ser mer än det pätagliga; vidga ditt hjärta, så att du eftersträvar något mer än det ekonomiskt vinstdrivande; sök att dana ditt lif rikt för dig själf, fruktbärande för andra!’ See also pp 7, 8, and *Ungdomen vid lifvets skiljovägar* (1894), p. 4. The changed context for Holmberg’s criticism is treated in chapter 7.


ter half of the eighteenth century. The lesson that men should receive the sufferings of this world with manly perseverance only very rarely surfaced among autobiographers. There is Carl Wilhelm Böttiger, who wrote of the joy he felt when returning home to Västerås after having passed the student exam in 1825 ‘as if in triumph’, feeling ‘blissful and proud’. His mother, though, soon ‘exhorted me to always trust in God, never to plume myself when things went well and never to lose courage, when things went wrong’. Böttiger’s mother, more than Böttiger himself, saw her son’s achievement as God’s. In a similar vein, Carl Johan Ekström celebrated his uncle for having been ‘content with his lot’. Ekström also maintained that he had himself never acted out of self-interest. But his self-portrait was not that of a man who was ‘content with his lot’ – Ekström depicted himself as a man who actively sought to further his career as a surgeon, although this career was also intended to be beneficial to society as a whole. In a similar vein, Wilhelm Erik Svedelius argued that hard work and public utility in the world made men.

The notion that God or Providence ultimately decided men’s future and place in society was almost wholly absent from the autobiographies studied. The priest and man of letters Arvid August Afzelius is a singular example of a man whose recollections continually harped on God’s role in shaping his destiny. These men were all born around 1800, and were thus raised in an age which did not yet condone men’s self-interest or egotism. These scattered examples stand out as different from other autobiographies written by men born around 1800 or later. It would seem that middle-class men cherished ideals of usefulness different from those of the moralists, ideals founded on the duty to actively seek what was beneficial to society. We can only speculate if this is because men born around 1800 rewrote their lives to better accord them with shifts in accepted male standards, or if indeed the moralists we have discussed in this chapter were not wholly representative of the attitudes of the middle class in the decades around 1800.

Autobiographers endorsed ideals of usefulness long after the decades around 1800. This observation should lead us to draw two conclusions. While it would seem that

95. Carl Johan Ekström [b. 1793], Kirurgminnen från Karl Johanstiden, p. 17: ‘nöjd med sin lott’.
96. Ibid., p. 27.
97. Ibid., e.g. pp. 27, 46-50.
98. Wilhelm Erik Svedelius [b. 1816], Anteckningar om mitt förflutna lif, pp. 47-48, 248-249, 344-342; on the emphasis on hard work, cf. also e.g. pp. 149, 197-202, 210, 212-215, 258, 261, 276, 300-318, 620.
99. Arvid August Afzelius [b. 1785], Minnen, pp. 73, 78, 87; Henning Hamilton [b. 1814], ‘Min Lefnad’, in Clas Göran Palmgren, Gatan Henning Hamilton (2000) p. 11 thanked God for all the success he had had, but it seems to me this brief passage was more rhetorical than heartfelt.
100. A last and later example is Efraim Dahlin [b. 1848], Memoarer, p. 54, who noted that his father was compliant and proudly submissive; it is, however, telling that Dahlin also criticized his father for his inability to actively seek a career.
the question of utility was strongest around 1800, autobiographers show that it was indeed, as others have also claimed, a central pillar of middle-class ideology. And while the moralists we have discussed here were rather homogeneous in their attitude, autobiographers held two different ideals which demanded that men be useful citizens. One of these saw self-interest as legitimate because it furthered the common good, an argument which we saw that moralists either rejected or did not share. The other ideal was founded on idealistic philosophy, according to which men should actively seek to lead lives of usefulness instead of seeking individual profit. Both ideals rested on the assumption that men both could and should seek what was useful to their nation in an active way. Autobiographers frequently claimed that they or other men had sought to be useful. In their focus on individual initiative, they differed from the majority of moralists discussed in this chapter.

Claes Adelsköld might be given as an example. He continually celebrated other men for the good they had done for Sweden. He worked intensively to raise statues of heroic men so that their example would encourage coming generations to improve Sweden’s material resources. Above all, he boasted that the life he had led had been beneficial to the Swedish nation. The ideal of utility, to Adelsköld, was one of duty and of nationalism: it was a duty to improve Sweden. And this was a task he claimed he had fulfilled very well indeed. He also explained that he had helped transform other men to useful citizens.

Indeed, Adelsköld even included thoughts on the subject in his will:

> In my opinion, it is every citizen’s duty to not only during his lifetime use all his abilities and energies for the material and intellectual improvement of his country, but also to leave some reasonable share of what he has been able to acquire through work, thrift, consideration and fortunate circumstances to deserving purposes which will be useful to society.

Moralists had claimed that self-interest was dangerous or illegitimate. Adelsköld instead blended economic self-interest and his desire for a career with the duty to be a useful citizen.

Adelsköld was far from alone in taking this stand. Many autobiographers paid tributes other men for having been useful to their country. Others wrote that they had

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101. Cf. above, footnote 38.
104. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 52, 299, 388, 408, vol. 3, pp. 261-262; cf. vol. 1, pp. 274-275, where Adelsköld bluntly included himself in his celebration of the heroic patrons who had developed Sweden’s railway system. But see vol. 2, p. 572 where Adelsköld self-critically noted that he could have done more for Sweden, had he not been too obsessed with his own independence.
105. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 147-148.
worked hard in order to lead useful lives. A collectively shared attitude which
demanded that men should lead useful lives emerges from this reiterated praise of the
ego and of other men. This notion of utility was premised on **active** work, not the pas-
sive, submissive ideal which moralists endorsed.\(^\text{107}\)

Business largely shared the ideal of utility. Businessmen born around 1800 either
saw economic self-interest as harmonious with public utility, or saw their business
projects mainly as intended to increase public utility (or at least, this was how they
took to write of themselves). If moralists did not share the argument of Adam Smith
and others that economic self-interest was legitimate because it furthered the com-
mon good, businessmen born in the decades around 1800 did.

Lars Johan Hierta, businessman, politician and a leading publicist of his day, was one
of the champions of middle-class liberalism. Hierta could have portrayed himself as a
rich, self-made industrialist with a keen eye for making money. He ran separate factories
for producing stearin, sulphuric acid and silk and was involved in several other business
projects.\(^\text{108}\) In his autobiography, however, Hierta instead emphasised the public use-
fulness that his projects in agriculture had had, and his publishing firm. In his account
of his business projects he gave prominence to the draining and cultivation of bogs, a
project which he undertook for the sake of the community, not out of an interest to
make money. It was with this project, not his factories or his trading, that Hierta ended
his account of his life. Hierta proudly emphasised how his efforts had led to ‘beautiful
fields of corn, in regions where none could walk dry-shod only 15 years ago’.\(^\text{109}\) Hierta
apparently wanted to emphasise that he was indeed an active, useful citizen.

Reading Hierta’s autobiography, one is not given a clue that he was a business
genius with a keen eye for opportunities of making money. He instead focussed
entirely on his will to lead a useful life, an ideology which was apparently very impor-
tant to him.\(^\text{110}\) But he did not perceive the striving for personal benefit as incompati-
ble with public utility, as moralists had done around 1800. In a revealing letter written
in 1845 to his business associate Johan Michælsson, Hierta blended his active will to
‘be useful to the community’ with a blatant wish for wealth-seeking: ‘there are sure
possibilities here to make money’.\(^\text{111}\)

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\(^{107}\) See e.g. Anders Fryxell [b. 1795], Min historia historia, pp. 84-85; Gustaf Ferdinand Asker [b. 1812], Lef-
nadominen, e.g. pp. 7-8, 43-44; Rudolf Hjärne [b. 1813], Från det förflutna och det närvarande, p. 86; Wilhem Erik
Svedelius [b. 1816], Anteckningar om mitt förflutna liv, p. 249; Louis De Geer [b. 1818], Minnen, vol. 1, pp. 166, 208;
Samuel Odman [b. 1822], Minnen och anteckningar från fyllda dagar, p. 260; Robert Dickson [b. 1823], Minnen, p. 47;
Abraham Ahlen [b. 1844], Minnen och anteckningar från fyllda dagar, vol. 2, p. 23; Efraim Dublin [b. 1848], Memoar-
er, p. 260; Peter Bagge [b. 1850], Minnen från Skara skola på 1860-talet, [vol. 1], p. 21. Eva Helen Ulvros, Fruar och
mamseller: Kvinnor inom sydsvensk borgerlighet 1790–1870 (1996), pp. 147-149, gives several examples of an active ideal
of utility from letters between 1818 and 1860.

\(^{108}\) Nils Forsell with Gösta Berg and Sven Giardin, Ljuslodmens stearinfabrik 1839-1939 (1939), pp. 136-139, esp.

\(^{109}\) Hierta [b. 1801], Biografiska anteckningar, p. 64: ‘många vackra sädesfält på dessa trakter, hvarest för 15 år
sedan ingen kunde gå tørrskolkad fram’. On these projects, see Forsell et al., Ljuslodmens stearinfabrik, pp. 188-192; Kihlberg,
Lars Hierta i belfigur, pp. 162-169.

\(^{110}\) Hierta [b. 1801], Biografiska anteckningar, pp. 19-20, 64; Kihlberg, Lars Hierta i belfigur, pp. 7, 45.

\(^{111}\) Hierta, letter to Michaelsson on January 21 1845, quoted in Forsell et al., Ljuslodmens stearinfabrik, p. 193:
‘gagna det allmänta’, ‘nog finnes här saker att fortsjena på’.

153
were harmonious.\textsuperscript{112}

Like Hierta, his business associate Michaëlson could have chosen to portray himself as a self-made man who had reached individual success in the world. He was proud to write of how he supported himself at the early age of fourteen, and he wrote of the poverty he had experienced in childhood.\textsuperscript{113} He also wrote of the stearin factory he and Hierta ran, its expansion and their success with some pride.\textsuperscript{114} However, Michaëlson lay his greatest emphasis on his usefulness to society. He bequeathed much of the money he had made to different foundations, scholarships for young men and for the creation of Stockholm College. He was ‘convinced’ that this money shall in a blessed way contribute both to raise the level of education within the fatherland, as well as claim the reputation for culture, that the Swedish name enjoys among other civilised nations.\textsuperscript{115}

Michaëlson portrayed himself as an active useful citizen, bent on improving the Swedish nation and perpetuating its good reputation. Wealth was not an end in themselves, but a means to being useful.

On a different note, the English businessman Andrew Malcolm excused his own business failures largely with reference to the ideology of usefulness. Andrew Malcolm moved to Sweden in the early 1830s, hoping to reach success with various industrial projects involving the manufacture of machines. He never reached the success he had hoped for, and had to sell all investments at the age of sixty-five. In his autobiography he tried to explain why things went wrong. Malcolm blamed everything but his own actions. Above all, circumstances had been against him.\textsuperscript{116} It has been argued that Malcolm was simply a bad businessman, and that his inability to see his own mistakes is revealing of his ineptitude and querulousness.\textsuperscript{117} This may very well be so. What interests us here, however, is that when Malcolm explicitly stated the aims of his business, the good of the community lay at centre stage. He emphasised that his own factories had been useful to the Swedish nation, and he celebrated other businessmen mainly for their contribution to Sweden’s economic growth, not for their

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\textsuperscript{112} Cf. also Ödmann [b. 1822], \textit{Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar}, pp. 2-3, 124, 141 (the rare instance where a woman was celebrated for having been useful through philanthropy), 189, 210; Alf Kjellén, \textit{Sociala idéer och möter hos svenska författare under 1830- och 1840-talen}, vol. 1 (1937), p. 202; vol. 2 (1950), p. 84 (on C. J. L. Almqvist); the very brief point in August Strindberg [b. 1849], ‘\textit{Jäsningstiden},’ in \textit{Tjänstekvinnans om I–II}, p. 235; and C. W. K. Gleerup [b. 1800], letter to his son Axel, August 21 1899, quoted in Eva Helen Ulvros, \textit{Fruar och mamseller}, p. 215.

\textsuperscript{113} Johan Michaëlson [b. 1816], ‘\textit{Sjelfbiografi}’ TMA 1486a, p. 3. Cf. also J. H. Chronwall [b. 1851], whose autobiography is quoted and discussed in Eva Danielsson, ‘\textit{Hufvudet att författa med och benen, när böckerna skola sälja},’ \textit{Oms jubileum}, pp. 87-89.

\textsuperscript{114} Michaëlson [b. 1816], ‘\textit{Sjelfbiografi},’ p. 8; pp. 9-10 on the factory which produced sulphuric acid.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., p. 11: ‘öfvertygad,’ ‘skall på ett välsignelserikt sätt bidraga att såväl höja bildningen innom fosterlandet, som hålta det ansende i kulturväg, det svenska namnet ångra hos ofriga civiliserade nationer.’

\textsuperscript{116} Andrew Malcolm [b. 1803], \textit{Factiska bevis att Fabriks- & Industro väsendet inom Sverige ej är lika tacksamt som i andra länder,} e.g. pp. 15, 25, 77, 82-89; idem, \textit{Berättelse om min verksamhet i och för upprättandet och tidnagthållandet af en machinverkstad i Norrköping åren 1842–1868,} e.g. pp. 20-21. See \textit{Factiska bevis}, pp. 110, 115 for Malcolm’s year of birth.

success.\textsuperscript{118} He also criticized businessmen who only saw to their own profit instead of what was good for the Swedish nation.\textsuperscript{119} In short, Malcolm believed business was about the good of the community rather than wealth-seeking.

On a different note again, there is the case of the most famous self-made man in Sweden, L. O. Smith, who became the richest man the country from trading in aquavit. His bragging over his success will be discussed in chapter 7. In the present context, we need to note that he not only bragged over the money he made, but also portrayed himself as an active, useful and patriotic citizen.

When Smith wrote in detail of how he made his incredible riches, he objected to the popular belief that ‘covetousness and the craving for money’ had been ‘the only incentive’ to his actions. The truth was that Smith ‘always’ had ‘strived for what was best for the community rather than my own benefit’.\textsuperscript{120} Smith claimed that he had been guided by a will to be useful.\textsuperscript{121}

A second ideal of usefulness expressed by Smith concerned less the moral principles behind his economic aggrandizement. This ideal centred on the concept of duty. Like Adelsköld, Smith maintained that it was the duty of the successful to be useful to society. In doing so he blended a discourse on usefulness with rampant nationalism, much as in the discourse on emigration current at the time Smith was writing. To a significant extent, his autobiography was a long enumeration of different projects he had initiated or supported, all for the glory of the Swedish nation. He also listed all his philanthropic gifts and political struggles, claiming that he had done all this not for his personal glory but for the beauty of the acts in themselves – even while at the same time being very exact about all the good things he had accomplished. Smith portrayed himself as a man who, once he had reached a certain success, was more interested in enhancing the glory of the Swedish nation and in helping others than in increasing his own wealth. Above all else, Smith emphasised how much he loved his native country, and how had sacrificed time, money and energies for its benefit.\textsuperscript{122}

As I mentioned above, some middle-class men shared a second, more idealistic ideal of usefulness according to which men should see to the good of society instead of their personal profit. Contrary to what moralists would have us expect, this ideal was especially strong in men born in the 1840s, long after the ideal of utility had ceased to be important among moralists.

Sigfrid Wieselgren is a good example of this ideal. Anders Ekström has shown how Wieselgren and his friends at university shared an idealistic ideal of usefulness, in which the goal was ever the improvement of the world.\textsuperscript{123} This ideal certainly perme-

\textsuperscript{118} Malcolm [b. 1803], \textit{Factiska bevis}, pp. 81-82, 102, 112, 114-115; idem, \textit{Berättelse om min verksamhet}, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{119} Malcolm [b. 1803], \textit{Factiska bevis}, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{121} See also ibid., pp. 107-108, on politicians; cf. also Ödmann [b. 1822], \textit{Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar}, pp. 110, 202, 276, on the illegitimacy of self-interest in politics.
\textsuperscript{122} Smith [b. 1836], \textit{Memoarer}, e.g. pp. 35-43, 76-77, 81-87, 90, 93-94, 98-99, 100, 103-104, 111, 120, 124-125, 129.
\textsuperscript{123} Anders Ekström, \textit{Dödens exempel} (2000), pp. 130-146.
ates Wieselgren's autobiography. When he accepted the post as head of the Royal Board of Treatment of Offenders, Wieselgren proudly claimed to have followed his father's advice to choose "the higher task" above "the higher income". He further wrote that "nothing could seem so personally insulting as to be viewed as a hunter of offices". Wieselgren believed in hard work, and also ended his autobiography by claiming that all honour for what had happened in his life was God's, not his. If ever there was a man who shunned careerists and who saw his achievements as intended for the bettering of the Swedish nation, his name was Sigfrid Wieselgren. In a similar Christian vein, Teodor Holmberg devoted himself to teaching the lower classes, much as Wieselgren tried to reform the behaviour and morals of criminals. Holmberg was bent on creating Christian pupils, strong in their love of Sweden, men who would grow to become diligent workers, 'to their own benefit and the benefit of their country'.

The way in which Gustaf Retzius continually glorified his father is another case in point. Anders Retzius, his son claimed, had looked more to what was useful for the development of medical science than to his own profit. Although he made less money than others, he did not envy these men but spent instead 'an immense amount of work on his activity in his service of the state and of humanity'. Here was a man who actively worked for the benefit of others rather than himself, and who was therefore an ideal. Retzius himself believed in the value of hard work, but this work was to be fruitful to others.

Retzius also occasionally criticized overtly egoistic men who only saw to their own profit and not (also) to the good of society. Men – in Retzius's case, scientists – should lead a life of altruism. He clearly denounced the overtly egoistic and career-lusting natural scientist Gustaf von Düben as a countertype. The message Retzius conveyed in his critique of von Düben and his appreciation of other men was that men, especially men of science, should be altruists, should make their work useful to others.

Anton Nyström also seems to have endorsed a similar ideal, although he also self-appreciatively wrote at great length about his career. When war broke out between

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124. Sigfrid Wieselgren [b. 1843], Minnen från mina fångsvårdsår, p. 14: "den högre uppgiften" framför "den högre inkomsten".
125. Ibid., p. 15: 'intet kunde synas mig så personligt kränkande som det att bli uppfattad såsom en embritsjägare'. Wieselgren here reproduced a conversation he had had (or claimed to have had) with another man. Emphasis in the original.
126. Ibid., e.g. pp. 36-38, 64, 68, 82 for the reference to God.
127. Teodor Holmberg [b. 1853], Tidsströmningar och minnen, p. 141: 'till eget gagn och fosterlandets fromma'; see also pp. 62-63, 187-190; 316-331 on his rather aggressive nationalism. Note that women, too, should learn to become useful, but using scrubbing brushes in the home; ibid., pp. 339, 345.
130. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 82, 154-155 (here Retzius's scathing attack against Gösta Mittag-Leffler, whose overt egoism is criticized, has been taken away; Otto Walde's comment in footnote on p. 155).
Denmark and Prussia in 1864, Nyström travelled to Denmark to treat the casualties of war since he believed in the intrinsic value of sacrificing himself for a higher goal. He also decided to become a physician despite his father’s will that he should become a businessman, presumably because he believed he would do more good as a physician. He devoted considerable energy to elevating the culture of the working classes, even while maintaining a critical stance on the question of socialism. Nyström, then, perceived hard work and a career as legitimate, indeed self-evident features of a man’s life, and yet this active self-centred attitude was also founded on the will to be useful to others. He, like Retzius, Wieselgren and others believed in the value of self-sacrifice in the attempt to improve the world.

To sum up, autobiographers show that the ideal of the useful citizen was one strongly held by some middle-class men long after the decades around 1800. Moreover, autobiographers believed in active ideals of usefulness, as contrasted to the subserviveness extolled by moralists. Some men, especially businessmen, believed that success entailed a duty to be useful to one’s native country, or that their economic self-interest was concomitant with public utility. Others emphasised that the goal of usefulness should oblige men to refrain from seeing only to their own economic profit.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have sketched a dominant meaning of manhood in Sweden around 1800 – that of the diligent, useful citizen, whose masculinity was measured in terms of his usefulness to society. Sven-Eric Liedman argues that the ideal of utility was in part a way of disciplining the lower classes: it was an ideology which required the lower classes to be useful, so that men in higher places could reap the fruits of their labour. This interpretation does not sit well with the constant exhortations that middle-class moralists’ issued to middle-class men, to obey society’s command and to lead useful lives. Middle-class, not lower-class men, were continually demanded to fulfil their duty to lead useful lives. How, then, should we understand these results in light of the questions outlined in chapter 1?

Whether there was a male norm around 1800 can be questioned. As this and preceding chapters have shown, the question of masculinity was on the agenda. But there were some things moralists took for granted, which were never the subject of criticism. Above all, moralists shared the more or less unspoken notion that while men existed for the public sphere, women should remain in the private sphere. It was this tacit notion which underpinned the homosocial construction of masculinity.

The ideal was indeed homosocial. Women were almost never mentioned. Men’s usefulness was not contrasted to non-useful women, but to non-useful men. Because the issue of usefulness was more or less exclusively tied to the public sphere, it was a

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132. Anton Nyström [b. 1842], 1859–1929: En 70 års historia: Personliga minnen och sakstägelsor, pp. 14-17, 54-55, 178; cf. also pp. 58, 104. On Nyström’s ethic of work and career details, see e.g. pp. 6, 27, 62, 66, 72-82.
133. Ibid., pp. 89-99, 108-139.
134. Sven-Eric Liedman, Den synliga handen, pp. 127-150, 209-212. Hanna Östholm, Litteraturrens uppodling, pp. 150-152, 146 shows that the middle-class ideal of utility was directed both inwards and to the lower classes.
duty for men, not women. We would expect this silence concerning women to indicate that the norm was used to delineate power hierarchies between men. However, moralists did not first and foremost give young men clues to how they might reach a position of power. Their advice was more focussed on obedience and duty. If masculinity was homosocial, this was not so because moralists strove to legitimate some men’s power over other men, or men’s power over women. They were basically telling men to stay in their place, because this was a manly thing to do.

Mosse claims that countertypes were used to strengthen normative masculinity. In the years around 1800, the non-useful, greedy man were the period’s particular countertype. Men who cared more for their individual wealth than the common good were described as lacking in, rather than displaying the essence of, masculinity. This means that this countertype functioned in ways similar the examples Mosse cites. The countertype was indeed the opposite of ideal manhood. Hence the attacks on men who did not care about the greater good of society strengthened the ideal.

Even while the ideal of the useful citizen was an important, indeed the most important ideal around 1800, dissident voices were also heard. The nationalistic Swedish movement of goticism claimed that manhood needed primitive revitalization. Romanticists, on the other hand, extolled the poet as hero, and denounced the ethic of usefulness.

The ideal of usefulness persisted throughout the nineteenth century, and even experienced a sort of revival towards the end of the century. Autobiographers show that the ideal was held among men longer than moralists would have us believe. In the world of advice manuals, however, the old man planting a tree in a garden for those who would come after him was to be replaced by other types of men. These types will be treated in the following chapters.
6. THE ART OF PLEASING
The man of the world and the spectre of effeminacy, c. 1790–c. 1860

He who does not possess urbanity and grace, and who does not in every circumstance behave according to what this circumstance demands, who does not show himself on an agreeable point, who does not in everything exercise charming, harmonious manners, which appear to correspond with his own character, as well as the character of those, with whom he socializes, shall, no matter if he in other respects owns however many good qualities, if he were the most meritorious, most learned and most talented human being, nevertheless never gain the approval of polite society.
— Gottfrid Immanuel Wenzel, 1822

INTRODUCTION

The questions that this chapter deals with are, on the deepest level, immense: how did middle-class masculinities relate to the ideals of the aristocracy? What ideals did the middle class take over from the older élite, and how did these ideals change when they were incorporated by the middle class? These questions have only received limited attention in earlier scholarship on masculinities. We therefore need to look at the context in some detail.

The middle class’s relation to the nobility is an exceedingly complex issue. On the one hand, the middle class built its identity on being different from the aristocracy. The ideal of respectability was set against the supposedly lax and luxurious nobility. Hence we find the middle class in explicit polemics against the aristocracy. Middle-class authors chastised the nobility as well as middle-class men who aspired to a posi-

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2. I use ‘nobility’ and ‘aristocracy’ interchangeably.
tion in polite society, among the nobility, already in the late eighteenth century, but with an increased vigour in the nineteenth century’s first half. This criticism became especially widespread in the 1840s. C. A. Wetterbergh contrasted the vigorous middle class against the old aristocracy in his novel A name (1845). The nobility had done much good, but their time was now over, Wetterbergh claimed. In an over-explicit scene, an old marshal of the court declared that ‘a new nobility shall succeed us – that of genius, virtue, vigour, courage and love of the fatherland.’ The young Rudolf Hjärne, a champion of liberalism and middle-class values, wrote in 1846 that ‘the privilege of birth [...] belongs to the past; everyone must now create their own reputation, their own ascendancy, their own place in society.’ The time of the old élite, these men self-assuredly wrote, was over – the future belonged to the middle class.

The author August Blanche, another stark defender of the middle class, criticized middle-class men’s will to merge with the aristocracy, even while simultaneously attacking aristocratic men’s lack of morals. To Blanche, the idle and immoral aristocracy was ever threatening the morality of the middle class. Another supporter of middle-class values, the novelist and journalist C. J. L. Almqvist, ridiculed polite society and the nobility. In 1842, he contrasted Sweden’s true nobility, which included any person who was noble, to the hereditary nobility, in an article significantly headed ‘On the “scabies” of nations.’ The publicist C. F. Bergstedt hailed the author Charles Dickens in 1850 because he was ‘the inexorable lasher of aristocratic vices’ and portrayed instead ‘the manners of the middle class and of the people.’

Erik Gustaf Geijer’s deflection from conservatism to liberalism in 1838 was surely a sign of the times; so, too, was his claim in a letter of the same year that what had urged him to abandon conservatism was ‘the main fact’ of his day, namely ‘the rise to political power of the middle class.’ The examples could be multiplied. The Swedish middle class, as in other countries, construed its identity as modern, virtuous and masculine, in contrast to the outdated.


7. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 175-177, 214; 201-202 on the article from Afmålblandet in 1842, ‘Om nationernas “Skabb”.’


vice-ridden and effeminate nobility. At no point did Swedish middle-class authors do this with more fervour than in the century’s second quarter.

On the other hand, many scholars have found that the middle class envied, copied, or emulated aristocratic life-styles and ideals. While they wrote critically about the nobility, their practice points to a different set of attitudes. Arno Mayer has argued that the middle class did not in fact subvert the ideals of the nobility, but rather imitated and cajoled them in their behaviour; they built country houses, ‘assumed aristocratic poses and life-styles’, married into the aristocracy, and valued the ‘patents of nobility’.

Several other scholars have argued along similar lines. Victor Svanberg has shown that several men of letters from the late eighteenth century up until the middle of the nineteenth century envied or wanted to merge with the nobility. These men apparently wanted to associate with the nobility, or ended their criticisms once they were ennobled themselves. Middle-class attitudes to the aristocracy were, then, ambivalent. Indeed, middle-class men’s reiterated criticism of burghers who emulated aristocratic life-styles imply that at least segments of the middle class did just this. Svanberg himself, though, consistently fails to understand that this emulation was an expression of middle-class values. The romantic author and later editor Vilhelm Fredrik Palmblad, son of a rich estate owner and decidedly middle-class, was not really middle-class, Svanberg argues, since his novels of the 1810s took place in castles among the higher nobility or in foreign countries. With a more open attitude to what the middle class’s ideals were, Svanberg would have seen what his empirical investigations show: that several men of the middle class at times envied the aristocracy, and wanted to be like them.

This ambivalence towards the aristocracy was more pressing in the first half of the nineteenth century than later. It was only in this period that the middle class felt its fragile position of power threatened by the old elite.

Robert A. Nye and George L. Mosse have both shown that the ideals of the middle class were founded on those of the nobility. Their main focus lies on how the middle class’s conceptions of honour were taken over from the aristocracy, not least in the form of duelling.

In Sweden, the middle class did not take over or transform older meanings of the duel. Moralists, autobiographers and authors were unanimous in their critique of...
Some men ridiculed or criticized German students’ duelling habits. The few times that autobiographers mentioned duels, duellists were criticized, or the duel was carried out as a joking mock fight, sometimes with alcohol instead of weapons. Other men mentioned individual challenges to duels, which were generally never carried out; from their brief mentions of duels it is clear that duels were by and large foreign to the Swedish middle class. It is not in duelling, then, that we will find evidence for how the Swedish middle classes related to the aristocracy.

This chapter instead discusses an ideal which the middle class took over from the aristocracy and transformed: the man of the world. The ideal was built on emulation rather than criticism of the nobility, and rested more on display, on manners, clothes and appearances, than on character. Indeed, Anders Fredrik Dalin defined ‘Man of the world’ as ‘A person, who has good knowledge of the manners and ways of the higher classes, and habitually acts thereafter’ in his Dictionary of the Swedish language (1853).

Other moralists wrote at length of the specific rules which applied to how one should socialise with the upper classes, showing that their advice was intended for those who aspired to be introduced into, and taken up into, polite society. Advice was given to men about how to achieve a splendid appearance, on how to please others, in short, on how to achieve an individual position of power through charisma, not character. This ideal was present among some moralists already in the 1790s, gained momentum with the 1810s and 1820s, and remained central until around 1860. The middle class’s emulation of the aristocracy in the first half of the century is especially interesting, since these were the years of the emergence and rise to power of the middle class in Sweden. Although scholars seem to find the emergence of a


21. My use of ‘charisma’ is commonsensical: that a person’s manners and surface were more important than character. This is different from Max Weber’s concept of ‘charismatic authority’, which to Weber was power held by a singular individual’s religious authority. See Max Weber, Ekonomi och samhälle: Förståendesociologins grunder, vol. 1 (1918–1919; 1983), pp. 146-147, 156-175, 184-188.
middle class in almost any period in history, Sten Carlson has convincingly argued that a Swedish middle class emerged in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. After the coup d’état of 1809, a small, but important middle-class public sphere emerged; several new newspapers emerged, and there was a veritable explosion of political pamphlets after the removal of the heavy restrictions of the freedom of the press that were current during the ‘iron years’ of Gustaf IV Adolf’s reign. The 1810s and 20s saw a gradual development of this public sphere; especially the 1830s and Lars Johan Hierta’s liberal newspaper The Evening Paper which emerged in 1830 were instrumental to the dissemination of a new egalitarian, anti-aristocratic and middle-class outlook on life in this public sphere. The term ‘middle class’ as the modern bearers of true worth significantly became a commonly used concept in the 1830s. Especially the period between 1820 and 1840 meant the demise of the aristocracy’s monopoly of power and rise to power of the middle class.

In France, by contrast, the period between the closing of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the revolutions of 1848 entailed political reaction. This also meant a resurgence of aristocratic ideals and comportments. The new élites were a mixture of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, and these created what Anne Martin-Fugier has called the elegant life: comportments built largely on aristocratic foundations, with balls, dancing, the art of polite conversation, clothes and appearances at centre stage. The elegant life must be understood in relation to this revival of aristocratic ideals. Middle-class men typically aspired to be acknowledged as men of the world. Aristocratic ideals, then, set the standard for middle-class men. The elegant life was significantly subsequently criticized after the political revolution of 1848.

Given the different political and social development of Swedish society, in which the most important transition was a slow but deeply felt drainage of power of the aristocracy in favour of the middle class, it is all the more intriguing to find a development of masculinities which lies close to the aristocratic revival in France. At the very point when the middle class was emerging as the new élite, a heightened focus on men’s exterior, on their surface, on their performance more than on character was under way. The eighteenth-century model of the man of the world was taken up by the middle class as an important ideal in the ongoing debate over masculinity. This means that despite novelists’ attacks on the aristocracy, the Swedish middle class emu-
lated the aristocracy rather than created their own ideals.

The period under scrutiny was also the age of the literary salon, an institution connected to the rise of a middle-class public sphere. Literary salons flourished especially between 1820 and 1840. First formed by the aristocracy, this institution was taken over by the middle classes. The salon was a heterosocial milieu, where middle-class men and women also intermingled with the nobility. The most famous salon was headed by Malla Silfverstolpe in Uppsala in the 1820s and 30s, at which point Thekla Knös’s salon took precedence. It is significant that Malla was an aristocrat who intermingled with men of the Bildungsbürgertum. Her salon was middle-class, but it was headed by an aristocrat. The salon has mainly been studied from the perspective of the (limited) possibilities it gave to women to participate in intellectual discussion. For men, salons were a lever into the public sphere, which was closed to women. But since salons were heterosocial, they also demanded that men have other qualities than those needed in homosocial milieus. The man of the world, a model inherited from the aristocracy, now catered to middle-class needs in an institution moulded by the aristocracy. Moralists’ advice about clothing, appearances and the art of pleasing should be seen in the light of the prevalence of literary salons and the ambivalence middle-class men felt toward the aristocracy.

Salons did not mould men in a uniform way. Malla’s salon included both the languishing P. D. A. Atterbom, who as we briefly saw formed close friendships with women, and the more patriarchal, at times even explicitly sexist Geijer. A little later, Gunnar Wennerberg caused considerable attention through his theatrical style in salons; he also associated in noble circles, even while continuing his rather wild drinking habits. The example shows how polite manners and theatrical dress could be used in salons and in polite society, but that men who participated in them also could cultivate other qualities in other contexts.

This model of manhood had deep roots in eighteenth-century discourses. The ongoing discussion over men and masculinities focussed on such things as how men could achieve a soft and nice voice, about clothing or how men could learn to poise

33. Ibid., pp. 75, 83-91, 144, 155-167; Mansén, *Konsten att förgylla vardagen*, p. 48; cf. also the brief section on Atterbom on pp. 147-148 in the present book.
their bodies better by learning to dance. Many moralists took into serious consider-
tion men’s attempts to make themselves beautiful and pleasant. The model of the
man of the world, then, was a cherished masculine ideal. Simultaneously, the associa-
tion with effeminacy was much more pressing than in the ideal of the useful citizen.
This ideal had its antonym, the self-interested egotist, as its countertype. Moralists
who focussed on the man of the world instead believed that the countertype, the
effeminate and characterless fop, lay inherent in the very ideal they believed in. The
man of the world carried with him the threat of effeminacy. Therefore, men who gave
advice to men about their exterior were also less convinced that the ideal was only an
ideal. The model ran the risk of turning men into fops.

The perspective of the present chapter has been neglected in earlier scholarship on
middle-class masculinity. While other scholars have discussed the ambivalence that
the middle classes felt towards the aristocracy, the history of middle-class masculinity
has been written as if fashion, polite manners, an elegant exterior and the will to rise
into the aristocracy were not an integral part of that history. The current chapter,
then, is a first attempt both to broaden the current research on men and masculinities
in the nineteenth century, and an analysis of why and in what senses the man of the
world was both commendable and problematic to contemporaries.

In the following, I discuss this model from a number of different perspectives. I
first discuss how the man of the world functioned as a means of achievement, of
social and economic climbing in the world. I then discuss the related fears that the
man of the world in fact made them effeminate, made them too much like women.
This is followed by a discussion of two moralists who both believed that men should
be men of the world, and that this model also risked undermining real manhood. I
then follow the decline of the ideal after around 1860. I lastly consider autobiogra-
phers’ attitudes to the issues discussed in this chapter.

Before delving into this analysis, however, we must consider one nineteenth-centu-
ry figure who defined himself against the middle class and very much in terms of a
focus on the exterior. I am thinking of the dandy.

**THE DANDY**

What would be more natural when discussing the man of the world than to study
dandyism? After all, this was the century when a limited but identifiable group of
men deliberately set themselves off from dominant perceptions of manhood, to lead
lives where ostentatious display of fine clothes was an obvious and important ingredi-
ent. What’s more, the high tide of dandyism coincides roughly with the period under
scrutiny in this chapter.

I have chosen not to follow this path, and for several reasons. First, dandyism has
been quite well researched, although more often than not without a gender perspec-
tive. Second, and more importantly, my focus is on the tensions and transformations
of masculinities within the middle class. To point to a minority group which differed
from whatever may have been the middle-class’s ideas certainly widens our under-
standing of the range of different masculinities in former times. But the exclusive
focus on differing ideas also blinds us to how open and problematic those normative and supposedly monolithic masculine norms within the middle class actually were. Scholars who have written about the dandy tend to suppose that the middle class’s own notions of gender were uniform and unquestioned. Roger Kempf is representative in opening his book on dandyism by defining it as ‘a cult of difference in the century of uniformity’. While dandies were different, we are told that uniformity reigned in the rest of society.

To be sure, dandyism defined itself against the boring, thrifty, diligent and hard-working bourgeoisie. Dandies violently attacked middle-class values, and shared values such as pleasure over work, indolence over diligence, and outward appearance instead of character. Quotes could be taken in abundance to show how dandies defined themselves against middle-class values. To cite a favourite line, Oscar Wilde’s remark that ‘The first duty of life is to be as artificial as possible’. This truly ran against the grain of the middle class’s celebration of inner character. Dandies, in a conscious attempt to differentiate themselves from middle-class values, lay the search for physical beauty at the centre of attention. However, the focus on the dandy-as-different runs the apparent risk of missing troubles in that which is supposed to have been uniform, the middle class.

Scholars who have concentrated on dandyism tend to celebrate dandyism and the dandy. The dandy tends to become a hero, fighting back the high-strung, capitalistic and petty bourgeoisie. From this perspective, the middle class and its culture becomes monolithic, unchanging, and an almost absolute antonym of dandyism.

More recently, Jessica R. Feldman has reiterated this division between a stable and supposedly boring middle class and a revolutionary dandyism, adding more clearly than earlier scholars a gender perspective to her analysis. Dandies, in Feldman’s analysis, become threatening gender-benders in relation to middle-class conceptions of gender, even while those middle-class conceptions appear as stable and essentially unproblematic. As Feldman writes, ‘both [Théophile] Gautier and [Jules] Barbey d’Aurevilly, wanting to challenge comfortable bourgeois notion of order, chose to examine the concept of gender’. Bourgeois notions are here, as elsewhere in research on the dandy, taken for granted as having been stable and unquestioned. As I hope to show in this chapter, this approach is highly misleading.

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38. Quoted in Moers, *The Dandy*, p. 27.


James Eli Adams has pointed to a similarity between dandyism and middle-class masculinity in Victorian times. However, his analysis does not focus on dandiacal traits in the middle class, but rather on the shared but largely unspoken assumption that masculinity was performance to both groups. Both the dandy and the respectable burgher, Adams argues, shared a masculinity which was built on the assumption that masculinity was something men could gain only in the eyes of others. While the dandy used his exterior to be admired – and disliked! – by others, middle-class men were also theatrical, but by other means. The ambition to rise in the world is only possible through the eyes of others, through a theatrical performance of masculinity, Adams argues. Even while there is a difference between focusing on one’s career and choosing to live as a dandy, both masculinities demanded performance.

There is, however, an important difference between the dandy’s performance of gender and middle-class men’s, a difference which Adams fails to acknowledge. While dandies wanted to dissociate themselves from the middle class, middle-class men’s gender performance was intended for inclusion in society, on the striving to be accepted as a responsible citizen. Dandies’ performance was intended to exclusion from that mainstream society which they disdained, while responsible, hard-working, middle-class men wanted to rise and gain respectability within the confines of that society. The same goes for the model of the man of the world. While dandies were proud to be different, those who followed the ideal of the man of the world ached to be accepted as men of the world, as well as to achieve a position of power, as we shall presently see.

THE MAN OF THE WORLD AND CHARISMATIC POWER

The internationally well-known Earl of Chesterfield is a good starting point for the examination of the man of the world. Chesterfield’s letters to his son were transformed into an advice manual with instructions for young men in polite society in 1795. To Chesterfield, the ideal of the polite man of the world was a recipe for success, for a position of power.

Chesterfield wrote of the upper rather than the middle classes. However, aspiring middle-class youths eager to obtain the status of noblemen or follow the rules of etiquette in middle-class or upper-class company could easily find much of use in Chesterfield’s book. Chesterfield’s conception of masculinity can be captured in one phrase: the art of pleasing. This obsession with being pleasant to others was grounded in the will to power. When Chesterfield gave advice such as ‘the greatest proof of courtesy is to make everybody around you content and happy’ or that ‘courtesy is always the art of pleasing’, this was not because he believed there was an intrinsic value in being pleasant to others. In a world of strict hierarchies, the art of pleas-
ing was a rational strategy for social and economic success. The art of pleasing was the art of advancing, but through charisma rather than character:

In short, you cannot wholly understand the extent to which a pleasant conduct and beautiful gestures are advantageous on all occasions; they conveniently catch the devotion of men, they sort of steal their minds to our advantage, and work at the heart, until they capture it.  

46

To be a man of the world was not an end in itself – it was a guide to power. 47 Chesterfield's man of the world was a chameleon on a mission to further his own career through the art of pleasing. 48 This is evident when one considers the context of Chesterfield's work, which counsels young men – in the original letters, his son – on how to become a success and rise in polite society. To Chesterfield, then, men were driven by an egotistic drive for advancement. Indeed, so blatantly did Chesterfield state this that the publishing of his letters caused a major controversy. Commentators were outraged that Chesterfield did not demand men to attain harmony between inner virtue and external refinement, but merely advised men to use refinement for egotistic ends. 49 And indeed, Chesterfield admonished men who lacked 'inner merit' to 'display at least, if you can, a semblance thereof'. 50 Chesterfield was far from alone in extolling the egotistic man of the world as a commendable ideal for men. In a two-volume advice manual published anonymously and entitled The Art of Pleasing: or Requisite Qualities in a Youth to be loved and held in high esteem in the world (1807), the author obviously shared this ideal. 51 The anonymous author also wrote of art of pleasing as a way to further egotistic ambitions. As the author intoned, 'do not forget that you shall be advancing rather slowly if you do not know the art of pleasing'. 52 Masculinity, as conveyed by The Art of Pleasing, was just what the title said: being (or becoming) a man was about learning how to please the right people in order to further one's own career. 53 Other moralists wrote at length about the importance of good manners, proper clothing, or knowing how to produce a moderate and perfect smile. They only rarely made the very foundation of their advice explicit: that men should seek an individual

46. Ibid., pp. 23-24: 'Korteligen, du kan icke begripa, huru fördelaktigt et behagligt upförande och vackra åtbörder åro vid alla tillfällen; de fånga behandligt mänskors tillgifvenhet, de låtsom stjäla deras sinnen till vår för- mån, och arbera så länge på hjertat, til deos de integet det.' See also pp. 87-88.
47. This is missed by David Castronovo, The English Gentleman (1987), pp. 39-40.
48. Chesterfield, Första grunder (1795), p. 115 actually used the metaphor of the chameleon.
50. Chesterfield, Första grunder til et belevd upförande (1795), p. 115: 'inre förtjenst' , 'för åtminstone, om du kan, et utscende deraf'. For followers of this stand, see e.g. En Kusin till Lovelace [pseud.], Alendas-giramontska (1814), pp. 19-20; Mannen af verld eller goda tonens fordrningar (1821), e.g. pp. 5-7, 14-15, 17; [Pierre Boitard], Louis Verardi, Den goda tonen och den sanna belefvenheten (1839), p. 1. Cf. already Tankar, Om Klädesdräkten (1779), not paginated.
52. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 77: 'glöm ej att ni, utan konsten att behaga, skall avancera ganska långsamt'.
53. See also ibid., vol. 1, pp. 3-4, 50-59, 73-77, 87-88, 125; vol. 2 pp. 50-52.
position of power, and that this position should be founded on charisma, rather than character. Phillipe Sylvestre Du Four, otherwise a firm believer in the ideal of the useful citizen, typically wrote ‘Be courteous to everyone: that lottery gives you big winnings from a small stake’, and, even more blatantly: ‘Learn the art of pleasing, and do not be headstrong and presumptuous, and you will surely be promoted.’ In doing so, Du Four was representative of a current in moralists’ discourse in the first half of the nineteenth century, in which courtesy and theatricality were seen as legitimate roads to power. To achieve a winning elegant and pleasant surface, one moralist loosely wrote, meant making contacts with ‘persons, whose relations often can have rather advantageous consequences’. Good breeding and polite manners were, then, a tactic to rise in society. Again, we must note the difference to the life-style of dandies. These books catered for the needs of middle-class men who sought inclusion in society, who wanted to rise, and who were anxious to follow the ways of the higher classes. This is a far cry from dandies’ nonchalance and felt superiority.

**THE SPECTRE OF EFFEMINACY**

The art of pleasing entailed a focus on men’s exterior, on their appearances. As soon as moralists gave space for men to indulge in their exterior, they instantly made demarcations which separated men’s vanity from women’s, and from effeminacy. Even the Earl of Chesterfield worried about men taking their interest in appearances too far. He wrote that different men had different styles of clothes, and that character could be read through clothes. Yet some men, he explained, ‘pose themselves in such a dainty way, and paint and powder themselves to such an extent, that it induces us to believe that they are but Women in Men’s clothing’. Chesterfield returned to the issue of foppery several times in his book. However, nothing should be taken too far. This was also true of men’s techniques in flattering. This should not be done excessively, as some did, but just right. In short, Chesterfield’s ideal man ‘ran perilously close to foppery’, to use the words of a modern critic.

A reason for this was the similarity between the ideal and the gendered advice moralists gave to young women, which often centred on how women should be pleasant. The art of pleasing was not a road to charismatic power for women; women’s charm was a sign of their subjection to men, for whom they should be pleasant. Still, the art of pleasing meant that men were given advice which lay close to

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55. *Mannen af verld eller goda tomens fordringar* (1812), p. 17: ‘personer, hvilkas förbindelse ofta kan vara af gamska förmåliga följer.’ See also ibid., pp. 20, 40, 42; Johan Fredric Hjorth, *Lefnads-Reglor* (1809); pp. 6, 8, 9, 20; Wenzel, *En Man af Werld* (1822), p. 9; *Konsten att genom lofliga medel inom kort bli fyllt Rik från Intet* (1827), pp. 6-8; Friedrich Philipp Wilmsen, *Verldens Tim och Werldens Seder* (1827), e.g. pp. 105-106, 143-148.


57. Ibid., pp. 49-50, 87-88, 92, 105.

advice about how young women should be brought up in order to be good wives.\textsuperscript{59}

Throughout the nineteenth century, advice about appearances were given above all to women. Some moralists also included men in their advice, while a minority of texts were intended for men only. These manuals were almost without exception published between 1810 and 1860, showing the extent to which this period devoted considerable attention to men’s appearances. Even while these guides were obviously produced for men who cared about their appearances, their authors spent most of their ink on demarcating the line between proper manhood and effeminacy. What manhood lay in slavishly following the arbitrary changes in fashion? many worried moralists wondered, even while giving men advice about what clothes to wear.

Julius Schwabe’s *The New Toilet Book on the beauty of the body* (1859) exemplifies these worries. The book advised on how to enhance the beauty of for example the skin and hair; it also gave advice on smelly feet, bad breath and obesity.\textsuperscript{60} Many of the pieces of advice given were intended for both men and women. Schwabe wrote unproblematically about how to dye hair, even about how to make one’s own make-up. Indeed, the few explicit references to gender in the book concerned qualitative differences; for example, nose hair was said to be particularly unpleasant in women.\textsuperscript{61} However, men’s search for beauty still had to be separated from women’s. Schwabe discussed hairstyles at some length, and explained that men should take care to make it seem as if they had not really spent all those hours on making their hair beautiful. He continued:

One cannot blame a man, whose hair is not curly by nature, if he puts it up with curlers, as long as this operation is carried out in secret; and he must be particularly wary, so that he does not let his hair, at the removal of the curlers, fall in calculated and symmetrical corkscrew curls, as in a woman.\textsuperscript{62}

Thus, it was acceptable for a man to enhance his beauty, as long as this was done in secret, and in ways which would ensure that the outcome would still differentiate men from women. Even the use of curlers, blatantly coded as feminine, was possible as long as it was carried out alone in and in private spaces. This condescending attitude to a certain but secret effeminacy in men, combined with a fear that men may be deemed effeminate, was echoed by other moralists.

Schwabe’s book was intended for both men and women. However, books about

\textsuperscript{59} For the advice to women, see Eva Lis Bjurman, *Catrine’s intressanta blekhet* (1998), pp. 91, 180-181, 197, 213, 214, 223-224.
\textsuperscript{60} Consider the lengthy subtitle: [Julius Rudolf Schwabe], Dr. C. A. Hoffman, *Nya Toilettboken om kroppens skönhet: synnerligen hyns, bärets, näans, läppernas, tändernas, ödlen, armarnas, händernas och fötternas vård, till bibehållande och förhöjande af skönhet och ungdomsfriskhet; om färmma och magerhet, elak andedräkt, arm- hand- och fotsvett m.m* (1859).
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., p. 33.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., p. 24: ‘En mansperson, hvars hår lcke [sic] är lockigt af naturen, kan man ej förtänka, om han lägger upp det i papiljotter, endast att denna operation sker i hemlighet; och i synnerhet måste han taga sig till vara, att han icke låter håret, vid papiljottornas borttagande, falla i korkskruf-lika, beräknade och symmetriska lockar, liksom hos ett fruntimmer.’ Very similar advice was given in *Vinkar för ungkarlar, som önska göra sig ett rikt och lyckligt gifte* (1845), p. 14.
beauty especially intended for men were also printed. A small but significant trickle of pamphlets giving advice to men about clothes, finery and appearances were printed especially in the century’s second quarter. Even while blatantly intended for men who cared about their beards, clothing, or receding hairlines, moralists were not inclined to embrace such effeminate interest among men.63

In an advice manual on men’s clothing, published anonymously in 1829, men were unproblematically assumed to be interested in clothes and being beautiful. Even so, this author also lay much energy on demarcating men’s interest in appearances from effeminacy. Men were admonished not to be too open about their interest in clothes. Nor, indeed, should this interest in any way be carried out so that it could be associated with women’s interest in their appearances. Men, after all, had to be men. And being a man meant refraining from women’s habits. When the author discussed beauty preparations for men, she64 explicitly cautioned men not to talk about this to others, since any man who overtly showed an interest in such matters ran the risk of being the victim of ‘mean satire and mockery’.65 The author further cautioned that

If the weather requires some protection, one should still not be too well wrapped up. This reveals a womanly feebleness, which a man should always avoid in his clothing as well in his entirety.66

Men’s clothes should be strictly kept from any hints of effeminacy, the troubled author explained. Men were told not to ‘repeatedly delightfully scrutinize one’s own suit, like coquetish women’.67

Chesterfield gave the familiar theme another twist. He legitimised men’s appropriation of ‘feminine’ ways (the art of pleasing) through misogyny. It was women, Chesterfield explained, who set the tone in polite society, and therefore it was women’s judgement of the youngster which decided his future status. And since women, again, were so vain, different, and generally easy to fool, it was important to wear fine clothes, be pleasing and beautiful. Women were, as so often, perceived as more vain, more shallow than men – as wonderful stupid little creatures. Since women were so vain, it was important to talk to them, be polite, be able to please them and gain their liking. Because women ultimately decided a young man’s status in polite society, one had to please them in order to win the respect and liking of

63. See N. Redelich, Grundlig anvisning till Bot för all slags Flintskalighet, som icke beror af en hög ålder (1842), e.g. pp. 17-20, 30-56; [F. A. W. Netto], Beprövade hemligheter, att återgifwa grånadt hår sin fordna färg (1844); Anvisning till beredande af ett enkelt och oskadligt medel att befordra och återställa hårvext (1851); [Herman Hæffner], Bort med Perukerna eller Inga Flintskallar mer! (1862), p. 17.

64. If we are to trust the subtitle, the pamphlet was written by a woman.

65. Toilettkonst för herrarne, eller anvisning för manspersoner att kläda sig med smak (1829), pp. 1, 24 (quote: ‘småktig satire och bespottelse’).

66. Ibid., p. 20: ‘Fordrar väderleken skydd mot sin inverkan, bör man dock icke påpela sig alltför mycket. Derigenom röjes en svinnlig veklighet, som en mansperson så i sin klädsel som i hela sitt förhållande alltid bör undvika.’

67. Ibid.: ‘iket koketta fruntimmer tidr och ofta med välbegav syna sin kostym’.
other men. The hearts of other men could only be won through winning women’s approval.68

Women, then, were the reason why men had to devote so much time to their voices, clothes, and generally appearances. When moralists were to explain why men should devote such interest in their exterior even in homosocial environments, they instead explained that polite society as such was shallow and that men were judged on improper bases.69 To follow fashions and know the art of pleasing was important because polite society looked more to appearances than to character.

Moralists who even slightly embraced the man of the world also constantly worried that men would become effeminate. The most obvious proponents of vanity took more care than others to delimit their ideal from effeminacy. Friedrich Reiche described men’s and women’s endeavours to become beautiful as ‘praiseworthy’, but also feared that if one would let ‘the desire for beauty become a principal and ruling passion’, this will would ‘transform […] the adolescent’s effort to please, into ridiculous affectation and womanly manners, incompatible with a man’s dignity’.70 A touch of the man of the world – yes. But the spectre of effeminacy was ever-present. Another moralist explained to men that they should spend many hours in front in the mirror, to see which features made them pleasant or ugly. Men could learn much about how to poise their bodies from gazing at women. Even so, the author explained that what made men popular among women was not flattery, but a mixture of ‘high education, consideration and modesty’, although not lacking ‘manly strength, courage and firmness’; he also said that a ‘languishing man of finery’ could never secure the woman’s future, and that therefore he would be regarded by her as a mere doll.71

Joachim Heinrich Campe, who was both a firm believer in the ideal of useful citizen and approvingly quoted Chesterfield, worried about the increase of male ‘hybrids’, these former men who had of late been ‘transformed into silly fops, whose pride and only worth is not seldom carried in a Parisian coat and Londonian boots’; this increase in effeminacy, he argued, showed that manhood was in a state of crisis. Men’s bodies lacked the hardiness of men of old.72 Indeed, Campe even connected this rise of effeminacy to a decline in German national glory, swiftly transformed, in the Swedish translation, to a worry over Swedish manhood. As so often, manhood and nation were intertwined. Effeminacy was a foreign import; the ‘entire affected
foreign monkey manners' of 'our young Powder men and Courtiers' was a threat to the nation; the young man should never forget 'that you are a Man and a Swede!'73

And Campe was not alone in believing that men's exaggerated interest in their exterior or showed that masculinity was in a state of crisis.74

In most advice manuals for men, charges of lack of manhood did not point to men's effeminacy, but on their inability to develop character. The moralists who believed that socialising in polite society was a way to mould men were different in that the countertype to real manhood was effeminacy; he was closely associated to feminine ways. Men had to act in certain ways to be loved, liked, and rise in society. All of these character traits or actions ran the risk of being used to too obvious a degree, through which men would appear as fops, effeminate slaves bent on pleasing everybody around them. Men had instead to balance these virtues, since taking them too far would unman them. The fear that excessive vanity in men would turn them into fops was deeply felt in the period under scrutiny.75

It is also significant that moralists who did not endorse the ideal of the man of the world still split their ink over theatrical men who used fancy clothes to be loved and admired. While individual moralists issued these critiques also in the second half of the century, it was only before mid-century, when the man of the world was a strong ideal, that effeminate men focussing on display were an important countertype to masculinity. Men's vanity explained why they preferred massive indulgence in useless luxury to honest work. Their focus on elegance disabled men economically and made them hesitant about marriage. Men's interest in fashion held back economic progress and purity of ways. Et cetera.76

MANKIND IN CRISIS

A closer reading of two advice manuals show the deeply felt worries we have discussed thus far in detail. Both books were translated from German, and were written by the philosopher and writer Gottfrid Immanuel Wenzel and the preacher and

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74. See e.g. Johan Fischerström, Tal Om de Medel och Utvägar, genom hvilka Styrka, Manlighet och Härdighet kunna hos Svenska Follet befrämjas (1794), e.g. pp. 16-21; De Nys Moderna, eller Plåneclutten och Mann-märtlöftet: till sina följdare på heltan (1819), esp. p. 11; En Svensk Mans Reflexioner om Giffemaal, synnerligen afserande på när tid och närt land (1828), p. 26; and the evidence cited in Farid Chenoune, Des modes et des hommes: deux siècles d'élégance masculine (1993), pp. 32-33; Chenoune makes no analysis but notes the similar simultaneous rise in France between 1818 and 1830 of advice manuals focussing on beauty and virulent attacks on men's effeminacy. See also the section 'Manhood in crisis,' further down.
76. Consider the complaints in [Bengt Holmén], Ungkarlarnas Föregifne Hinder Från Giftermål: Til Julklapp Framgifne Af en Fruntimmers Favorit (1795), passim; [Robert Dodds], Det manslighetligt lifets ordning (1798), pp. 6-7; Benjamin Franklin, Den Gamle Richards Kunst att blifwa Rik och lycklig (1812), pp. 29-34; [Doddsley], Handbok för Alla Åldrarn (1814), esp. pp. 1; 18, 74, 77; [Bengt Torneblad], Goda tonen, synnerligen den stockholmska (1814), pp. 6-9, 21, 27-28, 32, 41-48, 51-53, 54, 57; Campe, Till Den Giffrona Ungdomen Några Ord (1819), pp. 52-53, 60-61; En Svensk Mans Reflexioner om Giffemaal, synnerligen afserande på när tid och närt land (1828), pp. 21-24, 26, 42-44; Betraktelser öfver Menslighetigt lifets framtider, eller Varning till Landets Ungdom för Lyx och Fattigdom (1840), esp. pp. 4-6.
teacher Friedrich Phillip Wilmsen. Both moralists shared the notion that masculinity was in a state of crisis. To both, the man of the world was simultaneously a commendable ideal and a powerful threat to the current state of manhood. Both books, in their own ways, illustrate the problems that were felt in relation to men and beauty. Because they expressed themes that were widespread among moralists in clear ways, I shall be discussing these two books at greater length.\textsuperscript{77}

Wilmsen intoned that men should devote special attention to their appearance, learn the proper way to behave, and be constantly aware of the impression they were giving. This impression, Wilmsen argued, depended on what clothes one wore, how one smiled, one’s tone of voice and bodily posture. To strive for a soft and pleasant voice, a nice smile, and fitting clothes were all highly masculine enterprises. Knowing how to dance was absolutely crucial. Wilmsen also gave ample advice on anything from the importance of brushing one’s teeth to refraining from yawning.\textsuperscript{78} These manners were all, as in Chesterfield, ways of advancing. Indeed, Wilmsen wrote of the special rules which applied to the reader who ‘still lives among the middle classes’, thus implying that the hope was ever to merge with the nobility.\textsuperscript{79} Despite his apparent admiration for polite society, Wilmsen also claimed that it was especially in ‘the social gatherings of the middle classes’ that one found men who were both pleasant and had character.\textsuperscript{80}

However, Wilmsen also warned that men should not pay too much heed to the arbitrary changes in fashion. He was apparently uncertain about how men should behave. Was it good to wear the latest fashions, or was it effeminate? Was an interest in one’s body a sign of vanity taken too far, or an important question for all men? Wilmsen does not appear to have decided on these matters, for he answered at times in the affirmative, at times not. He also worried excessively about the feminising influences of polite society. Polite society was a good way to shape men’s character, but it could also destroy character.\textsuperscript{81} This since polite society taught men to be superficial, to expose a façade which was not compatible with character. This had even caused ‘the awful degeneration of male character, which has become so common, that a man’s character in its purity and perfection is one of our time’s most rare phenomena’.\textsuperscript{82} Men were turning to feminised fops driven only by sensual pleasure, Wilmsen thundered. Vanity was ‘repulsive’, and the healthy and sturdy manhood of old was being under-

\textsuperscript{77} Gottfrid Immanuel Wenzel, Den äkta gentlemannen (1845); Friedrich Phillip Wilmsen, Werldens Ton och Werldens Seder: En Rådgivare för unga män och ynglingar vid deras inträde i stora verlden (1828). Wilmsen explicitly wrote his advice manual as sequel to Adolph von Knigge’s Umgang mit Menschen, as was apparent in the book’s subtitle. The original title was Fortsetsung von Knigges Umgang mit Menschen, and was published in 1811; DAB 43, p. 311. On Wenzel’s profession, DBE 10, p. 438.

\textsuperscript{78} Wilmsen, Werldens Ton (1828), pp. 12-20, 26-30, 34, 39-42, 82. On the voice, see also Wenzel, En man af Werld (1822), pp. 88-91; idem, Den äkta gentlemannen (1845) pp. 36-59; Mannen af verld (1832), pp. 7-11.

\textsuperscript{79} Wilmsen, Werldens Ton (1828), p. 70: ‘ännu lefver bland det borgerliga samhällets medel-klasser’.

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., p. 40: ‘medeklassens samlingspunkt’. Wilmsen did not here use the concept of character but the expression ‘sannt bildadt förstånd’, roughly ‘truly educated sense’; his point was that the middle classes were not only charming and pleasant, in all probability in contrast to the aristocracy.

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., e.g. pp. 7-9, 45, 46, 102, 106, 107, 114.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., p. 103: ‘den manliga karakterens bedröfliga urartande, som blir så allmänt, att manuen karaktär i sin renhet och fulländning är en af de mest sällsynta fenomenen’. Emphasis in the original.
mined. Yet, polite society could also mould men's characters, as long as men kept their characters free from 'simulation'.

Wilmsen seems to have shared at least two quite incompatible masculine ideals. On the one hand, there was the man of the world who used theatrical display – beauty, facial expressions and bodily posture – as means to advance among the higher and middling classes. On the other hand, there was the revitalised soldier fighting against the feminising influences of exactly that world. Claes Ekenstam is thus doing a selective reading of Wilmsen when he claims that Wilmsen stood for a rough masculinity which praised war and hard, muscular manly bodies. Wilmsen certainly believed in such a masculinity, but he also believed that men should take care of their appearances, and devote energy to being beautiful. Theatricality and the model of the man of the world both undermined and were important for real masculinity.

If Wilmsen's conception of ideal manhood was riddled with paradoxes, the same went for Goffrid Immanuel Wenzel. Wenzel gave meticulous advice about clothing and etiquette, and took great care in explaining that men who did not live up to the ideals would also become ugly, pointing out the importance of beauty for men. The logic also worked inversely: the more men mastered their passions, the more character they had, the more beautiful they would become.

However, even while indulging in the most undisguised positive evaluation of men's vanity, Wenzel still railed at men who were 'tender and flattering', and he was disgusted by men who painted their eyebrows or coloured their beard. He described this type of man as a 'double-sexed creature', a 'doll without brains', so effeminate he would have to wear especially warm clothes in wintertime. If the man of the world was an ideal, it was apparently very dangerous to take the interest in one's exterior to extremes. Tellingly, the simile made with dolls was echoed by another moralist:

He [the ideal man] must thoroughly follow every rule of fashion, yet in this also avoid every exaggeration, for this betrays bad taste, and thus he will easily be regarded as ridiculous, therefore one should meticulously see to it that a man of fashion is not thought of as a fashion doll.
Wenzel, however, had the antidote to these unmanly dolls. Thorough physical hardening through gymnastics would help these fops to regain their manhood. Gymnastics would create muscular and manly bodies – which would simultaneously be beautiful.\(^9\)

But even after he hailed this muscular man who would shun everything effeminate, Wenzel discussed men's love of dance in some detail. He also described men's love of fine clothing in exquisite and loving detail, although he cautioned against using too much embroidery.\(^9\) And he wrote approvingly about how men's social intercourse with women would make them more mild.\(^9\) Wenzel, like Wilmsen, believed that theatricality was both masculine and effeminate.

Wenzel and Wilmsen believed that polite society was a good educator of men, and simultaneously worried that it was turning a generation of men into fops. When, in another book, Wenzel gave advice to both men and women about beauty, his advice was only rarely gender-specific. Admonitions to control the passions and warnings of all kinds of excess abounded in the pages of this book – yet, there were no warnings about effeminacy or the loss of manhood, as in *The Real Gentleman*. When Wenzel gave advice about beauty but without treating men as gender – when he spoke to humans, rather than men and women – he unproblematically gave advice about how to make one's body beautiful and keeping health.\(^9\)

There is a parallel between these tensions in Wilmsen, Wenzel and other authors, and the often quite rampant misogyny of dandies. Dandies, we have seen, set up much of their attitudes as conscious opposites to bourgeois values. Dandies were androgynous, and this precise proximity to what was associated with women tended to spur a need to demarcate themselves stronger from women. Hence the presence of strong misogyny in many dandies.\(^9\) I suggest that the tensions that Wilmsen and others felt in relation to men and beauty was due to the proximity between women and an ideal manhood built on theatricality. The ideal they exhorted demanded that men be subservient to other men, sensitive, and above all, pleasant. This ideal ran the obvious risk of appearing effeminate. Hence the abrupt change, in Wilmsen's and Wenzel's texts, from a man of the world moving about in polite society, to the sturdy warrior fighting back the effeminizing influences of exactly that society.

\(^9\) Ibid., pp. 40-44, 48-51.
\(^9\) Ibid., p. 84.
\(^9\) Wenzel, *Konsten att bibehålla Helsa, Styrka och Skönhet* (1825), passim, e.g. pp. 43-57; pp. 111-148 were intended mostly but not exclusively for women.

\(^9\) This is also very briefly suggested by Lemaire, *Le Dandysme*, pp. 59-60. Jessica R. Feldman takes a very different and to my mind quite troubling stand. She argues generally that dandies' androgyny challenged gender dichotomies. Thus their misogyny becomes part of that questioning of gender dichotomies, and is in Feldman's analysis implicitly valued as positive. Marylène Delbourg-Delphis makes a similar interpretation. Both scholars refuse to really take into account the actual misogyny among dandies. Feldman, *Gender on the Divide*, pp. 7-18, 21, 86-90, 103-104, 114-120, 140; Delbourg-Delphis, *Masculin singulier*, pp 145-148. Cf. also Coblenz, *Le dandysme, obligation d'incertitude*, pp. 144-146.
A man of the world in his many guises. Intertwined between sword, pipes, and the odd bottle of wine or champagne, the man fences, dances, takes a swim or strolls majestically over ice, goes hunting and riding, dresses up in front of a mirror, and pays visit. Lithograph on the cover of Gottfrid Immanuel Wenzel, The real gentleman, 1845.
THE WANNING OF THE MAN OF THE WORLD AFTER MID-CENTURY

Shortly after mid-century, the man of the world waned away from moralists’ advice. Moralists wrote at length about the man of the world between 1790 and 1860. After 1860, I have only found two advice manuals where the man of the world was an ideal. By 1860, the middle classes had been the leading class in Swedish society since at the very least four decades. It seems that the middle classes only disassociated themselves from aristocratic ideals almost half a century after they had come to power.

Anna Hedtjärn’s analysis of changes in men’s fashion substantiates that view. In her convincing analysis of men’s fashion between 1820–1834 and between 1896–1906/7, she argues that men’s fashion in the period around 1900 was relatively homogeneous, and strove to hide the male body under sombre clothes with little or no colour. Male fashion in the period 1820–1834, by contrast, portrayed men in colourful clothes which emphasised the contours of the male body, and a rich variety of different types of clothes. In comparison to the men in costumes around 1900, men’s fashion around 1830 lay closer to women’s fashion, and was more focussed on an ostentatious display. Hedtjärn’s conclusion is that aristocratic ideals still informed men’s fashions around 1830, and that aristocratic values thus lived on within the middle class long after the shift in masculinities around 1800, as described by Mosse. Hedtjärn also points out that men tended to disappear from reproductions of fashion in the later period: fashion had become centred on women, since the ideal of masculinity no longer lay focus on the exterior.

Hedtjärn’s conclusions, then, substantiate the claim that at the time when the middle class was emerging as an agent of power in Sweden, its ideals were to a large extent taken from the aristocracy. Fashion journals for men significantly did not survive into the 1860s. Fredrik Boye’s Magazine for art, news and fashion (1824–1844) and Stockholm’s Journal of Fashion: Review for the elegant world (1843–1856) had continually contained countless illustrations of men of the world. They had no followers.

The second half of the century largely brought two new meanings for manhood to the fore. The first of these was the economic self-made man, driven by the will to eco-
nomic success. This ideal is the subject of the next chapter. In this ideal, excessively
vain men of the world only very rarely appeared as countertypes to real manhood.
However, now their significance lay less in their effeminacy than in their inability to
make riches, their inability to work hard and create individual prosperity.\textsuperscript{100}

The second ideal concerned a critique of male sexuality, and pointed to the seducer
in particular as an unmanly man. This ideal will be discussed in chapter 8. The seducer
was at times criticized for his theatricality, a trait which so annoyed those who wor-
rried over men’s excessive vanity in the first half of the century. If anything, the man of
the world became by the 1870s a model which was used mainly to be successful with
women. This was only so among a minority of moralists who pointed to the seducer
as an ideal rather than a countertype.

Thus, the gendered worries over the man of the world belonged to the period

\textsuperscript{100} As in [Robert Kent Philip], \textit{Huru tio orr kuona shapa En formögnhet} (1888), p. 42.
between 1790 and 1860: the period in which the middle class emerged and came to power in Sweden. Those books on beauty which were at times written for both men and women, at times only for men and often for women only, had by around 1860 become an exclusively feminine arena. In 1870, the Danish physician and professor Ludvig Brandes described women’s will to become beautiful as an innate drive peculiar to their sex. Men were excluded by default.\footnote{101} Half a century earlier, Wenzel had said that women’s interest in making themselves beautiful was greater than men’s. But this had been a difference of degree, not of kind.\footnote{102} By 1870, men’s gender-specific interest in bodily beauty was no longer an issue.

**THE MAN OF THE WORLD AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY**

Autobiographers substantiate my interpretation that the man of the world was an important ideal in the middle class in the first half of the nineteenth century, and that this model of manhood later waned away. Men who wrote about other men’s or their own clothes, about the will to associate with the nobility, were almost without exception born before 1840. While a variety of attitudes can be discerned among men, most men born before 1840 did in one way or another relate to the model of the man of the world. It is telling that the young Erik Gustaf Geijer, while in England in 1809–1810, saw England in part through the lens of the man of the world. It sufficed, Geijer first explained, to ask someone ‘*How are you?*’ to be considered as ‘a somewhat polite man’.\footnote{103} Geijer then deviated from his first impression, and wrote at length and appreciatively of the English ideal of the gentleman. To be a gentleman, Geijer explained with enthusiasm, was to have ‘*character*’, but this character meant ‘not only the *inner* worth’ of men, but also ‘its imprint on the *exterior*’.\footnote{104} While Swedes, Geijer seemed to say, thought of character as inner qualities, the English also emphasised that these inner qualities should be synthesised with men’s appearances and with how they were perceived by others. To be sure, some English men had taken their interest in appearances and fashion too far, but on the whole, Geijer appreciated that Englishmen valued men both for their inner worth and their exterior.\footnote{105} The English, in Geijer’s appreciation, were men of the world.

On a different note, Carl Johan Ekström criticized noblemen who refrained from socializing with non-nobles, and especially noblemen who believed that their lineage was ‘just about everything that was needed to come forward in the world’.\footnote{106} He also described a man who wanted to be a man of the world as pathetically effeminate. ‘This man, if he could be called a man’, Ekström indignantly wrote, tried to use French phrases, burned his hair, used ‘rose pomades, Eau de lavande, yellow top-
boots, a riding stick et cetera et cetera. His theatrical display apparently disqualified him as a male. It would seem, then, that Ekströmer did not endorse the ideal of the man of the world. However, as we briefly saw in chapter 4, he was himself proud to associate in societies which were not commonly open to men of his class. He also had no trouble in being ennobled in 1836, although he only discreetly changed his name from Ekström to Ekströmer. Perhaps the trouble with the effeminate man of the world who had burned his hair was that he had not really known French and that he was a mere baker’s apprentice, rather than his theatricality.

Claes Adelsköld also encountered a similar man in Alingsås where he grew up, a young fop who wore clothes of the latest fashion, burned his hair and used Essence de Rose. This man ‘behaved with the casual nonchalance and self-confidence which only the skilled, somewhat blasé man of the world is capable of’. Unlike Ekströmer, though, Adelsköld’s reaction was envy rather than dissociation. The solution was instead to become like this young man dressed in the latest fashion. Adelsköld returned several times to the beautiful clothes he had worn on different occasions; he even bought fancy clothes at times when he obviously could not afford them. Showing the extent to which class-identity is negotiable and a matter of context, Adelsköld at rare occasions emphasised his noble origins, and dissociated himself both from the middle and lower classes. He was clearly proud to write about his relations in polite society. He also noted other men’s elegance, and appreciated men of the world.

However, there should be limits to splendour, or rather, men should be both men of the world and hard workers. When young middle- and upper-class fops looking for easy money wanted to work on the construction of a railway in 1855 which Adelsköld supervised and led, their incapacity to work was intimately tied to their effeminate interest in clothes:

Crowds of such young men with big boots, snobbish clothes and manners arrived in the course of our work, were admitted and introduced into the working teams with a spade in their hand to see what they were good for. The majority were soon fed up with the engineering profession and usually left their spade behind after a few days, and returned home to mummy.
A real man could combine the model of the man of the world with hard work; he could be a man of the world in salons but still work hard in open air. These effeminate fops were only men of the world, and hence lacked manliness.

The most revealing evidence of Adelsköld’s striving to be considered a man of the world lies, however, not in his clothes. Once he could afford it, he purchased the magnificent Steninge Palace where he worked hard to ‘keep up the splendour of being a lord of the manor’.

Economic troubles forced him to sell this palace, but he soon purchased his childhood home, the somewhat less fashionable but still impressive villa of Nolhaga, where he held his silver wedding with countless guests. Here was a man of a newly ennobled family, interested in fine clothes, living in splendour, and associating freely with other nobles. Adelsköld apparently adhered to the model of the man of the world.

The author Johan Jolin was more ambivalent. He proudly used theatrical display of beautiful clothes during his student years in the late 1830s and early 1840s. He also associated with the nobility. Still, he criticized conservative noblemen, but laid even more focus on criticizing middle-class men who wanted to be like the nobility (as he himself did). And those who embodied middle-class virtues in his novels and plays significantly tended to belong to the aristocracy: aristocrats were apparently better middle-class men than the middle class itself. Jolin’s play Shell and essence: Or a man of the world and a man of worth (1845) violently criticized the man of the world, and contrasted this figure to the man of worth. Both men were aristocrats, but only the man of worth embodied middle-class virtues; the other was decried for ‘spending two-thirds of his time on his appearances, with the dancing master and the tailor’ – again, much as Jolin himself had done while he was a student.

Jolin, then, personified the middle-class’s ambivalence to the aristocracy. We also know of men who were men of the world in youth, but who chose to be more or less silent about this in their autobiographies. The poet Carl Wilhelm Böttiger was a dandy in Malla Silfverstolpe’s literary salon in the 1830s, and a romantic writing languishing love-poetry. He dressed in fashion, devoted considerable attention to his hair, and courted several young noble girls.
The poet, man of the world, and perhaps dandy Carl Wilhelm Böttiger. Theatrical dress and hairstyle. Oil painting by Olof Johan Södermark, mid-1830s.
though, Böttiger only briefly wrote about how he at one point had enjoyed impress-
ing others through ostentatious display, and hailed the beauty and natural excellence of the man of the world Hans Järta: ‘He had thrown away his inherited baronage, but nature had inscribed its patent of nobility on his forehead.’ Böttiger only wrote briefly about the literary salon he had participated in.123

Böttiger, then, had been a man of the world in youth, but did not portray himself as such in his autobiography. His redirection towards middle-class respectability can also be seen in the biographies he wrote on the poets Johan Henrik Kellgren and Erik Johan Stagnelius, in which he took great pains to describe them as manly, endowed both with the romantic ideal of the poet as hero, and with middle-class respectability and moderation.124 Another man of the world, Lars Johan Hierta, also refrained from portraying himself as such in his autobiography. A nobleman himself, he apparently lay considerable energies on cultivating his exterior. Hierta not only believed in the ideals of utility and that of the self-made man, but also focused on polite and urbane manners.125 This is also testified by a wash-drawing of Hierta on a business trip to England in the 1830s.126

Other men explicitly criticized men of the world. Rudolf Hjärne seemed to find such men just about everywhere. There was the student who ‘had fallen in love with Bulwer’s Pelham’ and wanted to socialise in polite society; there were the coteries of noble students who lay their emphasis on their exterior; and there was Böttiger, with his exaggerated interest in his appearances.127 Yet Hjärne also noted how important dancing and balls were to the students, and wrote of another man that he lacked ‘polite manners’ and ‘did not care much about his appearances’.128 If Hjärne disliked men of the world, he still noted this man as an aberration from the norm. Hjärne’s criticism of other students’ interest in clothes was echoed by other autobiographers. Their criticism is at once a testimony to anti-aristocratic sentiment, and to the actual presence of men who lay their emphasis on their exterior rather than on character.129


124. Svensson, ‘...att verka nyttigt’ , esp. pp. 34-35; given the way these men had led their lives, it took some effort for Böttiger to construe them as diligent men of moderation, in control over their passions.


126. See also Maria Röhl’s drawing of Lars Johan Hierta, 1815, in Ur Maria Röhls portefeuille, ed. Albin Roosval and with an introduction by Carl Forsstrand, vol. 1 (1916), not paginated.

127. Rudolf Hjärne [b. 1815], Från det förflutna och det närvarande, pp. 38-39, 76-78, 190-191. Quote from p. 38: ‘hade förälskat sig i Bulwers Pelham’ . Edward Bulwer’s novel Pelham (1828) was a ‘veritable manual of dandysm’ according to Delbourg-Delphis, Masculin singulier, p. 20 (‘véritable manuel du dandysme’).


129. [Hellberg] [b. 1815], Posthumus, Ur minnet och dagboken om mina samtida, vol. 1, pp. 47-48, 50 (Hellberg, however, was positive to how middle-class men had their manners polished through associating with the nobility;
Others again were more proud to have associated with the nobility. Arvid August Afzelius, most well-known as the gothicist editor of Swedish folk songs, apparently longed to merge with the aristocracy, and succeeded in doing so. He wrote at length about his contacts with noblemen and ‘polite society’. He subsequently married into the aristocracy. The historian Anders Fryxell is a trickier case. He described in detail how the middle classes in his youth in the 1810s and 20s had built their identity on attacking the aristocracy, and glorifying the middle class as virtuous and honourable. In youth, he was not free of this anti-aristocratic sentiment himself. When Fryxell changed his outlook and became more positively inclined towards the nobility in his late twenties, though, he did so with a very middle-class outlook on the aristocracy. Fryxell revered the aristocrats he got to know because they had proven themselves to be thrifty and diligent. If Fryxell moved from criticism to celebration of the nobility, this transformation by no means meant that he endorsed the ideal of the man of the world.

Others, however, did. Claes Herman Rundgren noted that his socialising with a Danish noble family in 1840 taught him ‘savoir-vivre’, i.e. good and polite manners. Janne Damm shared Rundgren’s pride, wrote extensively in an appreciating manner about his own and other men’s fancy clothes, his own fine manners, and for a while even changed his surname to ‘Vandamme’. Damm clearly aspired to be a man of the world. In a similar vein, the literary man V. E. Öman wrote with appreciation of his uncle that he ‘had acquired something aristocratic in his ways and manners [...] without this carrying the least trace of monkey-like affectation’ through socialising in polite society. Nils Petrus Ödman criticized young men’s belief that manhood lay in the cut of their clothes as late as 1899. However, he had himself used beautiful clothes as a young man, and did so explicitly to act manly. He was also proud to have associated with the nobility, and did not fail to note that his wife was the great-
‘On Norrbro, the ladies of polite society and the demi-mode exposed their elegant clothes, the “Norbro lions” strolled there, clothed in light-grey silk hats, a monocle in the eye, long scarves and chokers, elegant jackets and tight-fitting trousers with straps.’ Nils and Edward Selander’s recollections of Stockholm in the 1850s portrayed what would prove to be a dying breed: the elegant man of the world. C. A. Dahlström, ‘På Norrбро’ (‘On Norrбро’), lithograph, 1855.
granddaughter of the natural scientist and ennobled Carl Linnaeus.\textsuperscript{137}

A last case is that of L. O. Smith. Although his identity was more grounded in the ideal of the useful citizen and that of the self-made man, he was also proud to associate with the nobility. He had his two daughters married into the aristocracy. He became a nobleman and an ‘excellence’ in Spain, built a majestic villa and loved to ride through Stockholm with a four-in-hand. Smith was the \textit{nouveau riche} who, once in control over almost infinitesimal riches, used this money in part for a lavish and aristocratic life-style, although, much like Böttiger and Hierta, he did not emphasise these sides in his autobiography.\textsuperscript{138}

These men were all born before the 1840s. It is also only among this group of men that we find scattered but significant examples of criticism of other men for \textit{lacking} the qualities of the man of the world.\textsuperscript{139} The ideal apparently set the standard for the majority of men.

Men born in the 1840s were much less likely to write about these issues. The man of letters and prolific novelist Johan Grönstedt wrote with pride about his causing alarm with his fashionable clothes in Stockholm in the 1860s, and Edvard Selander wrote approvingly of another man's fine clothes and manners.\textsuperscript{140} August Strindberg wrote of his alter ego Johan that ‘He instinctively revered the upper classes, so much so he despaired of ever reaching them. He felt that he belonged neither to them nor to the slaves. Between the two he would be torn for the rest of his life.’\textsuperscript{141} Though Strindberg failed to use the concept ‘middle class’, his position of being neither aristocrat nor working class was, apparently, straining. But these were isolated examples. How significant is it not that Grönstedt felt the need to explain that his friend Svante Hedin who was a ‘fînly urbane and witty man of the world’ was ‘also a good man’?\textsuperscript{142} The model of the man of the world was apparently waning away.

No person shows this in clearer detail than Louis De Geer, the aristocrat who turned middle-class. In his memoirs, he openly if self-critically acknowledged his vanity concerning clothes; his very first memory was ‘the memory of my vanity’, when he

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\textsuperscript{137} Ödman [b. 1838], ‘Ur en matsångares anteckningar’ in \textit{Svenska Minnen och bilder}, vol. 1:2, pp. 96-117; idem, ‘Studentkvartetten hos prinsessan Fridhjem’ in \textit{ibid.}, pp. 118-136; idem, ‘En liten sjelfbiografi’, UUB Pelle Ödman 2, pp. 22 (on his wife’s lineage), 47-48.


\textsuperscript{139} Johan Georg Arsenius [b. 1818], \textit{Minnesanteckningar}, p. 40; Emil Key [b. 1822], \textit{Minnen av och om Emil Key}, vol. 1, p. 161; [Janez Damuz] [b. 1825], \textit{Studentminnen}, p. 82; and Hjärne, quoted above on p. 185.

\textsuperscript{140} Johan Grönstedt [b. 1845], \textit{Mina minnen}, vol. 2, p. 177; Nils [b. 1844] and Edvard [b. 1846] Selander, \textit{Carl XV:s glada dagar}, p. 169; cf. also p. 188. The quote to C. A. Dahlström’s lithograph is from their book \textit{Två gamla Stockholmarens anteckningar}, pp. 121-122: ‘På Norbro exponerade damerna av den fina världen och av halvvärlden sina toiletter, där flanerade “norbrokroppen”; flöda hoga, ljungå félbhattar, enkeltpussare i ögat, höga halsdukar och “fadermördare” [stärkta kragat], eleganta livrockar och stramt åtsittande pantalonger med hälkor! For the meaning of ‘fadermördare’ see \textit{SAOB} columns F63-64.

\textsuperscript{141} August Strindberg [b. 1849], \textit{The son of a servant}, p. 40; see also pp. 93, 210, 214-217. (In Swedish, idem, \textit{Två gamla Stockholmarens anteckningar}, p. 121-122: ‘Han vorðar av instinkt överklassen, vorðar den för mycket att våga hoppas komma dit. Och han känner att han icke hör dit. Men han hör icke till slavarne heller. Detta blir en av slittingarna i hans liv’.)

\textsuperscript{142} Johan Grönstedt [b. 1845], \textit{Mina minnen}, vol. 2, p. 122: ‘fint belefvad och kvick världsman’, ‘åfven en god man’. 

\textit{The Power of Character}
had stood at the age of three or four, to be admired by others in his splendid cloth-
ing.\textsuperscript{143} He criticized himself for his youthful ‘snobbery’ in clothes.\textsuperscript{144} He also charac-
terized his mind in youth as ‘although at bottom democratic, nevertheless not alto-
gether unfamiliar to sympathies with the aristocracy’.\textsuperscript{145} He was frustrated with his
own incapacity to dance, especially waltz, not least since this was the best way to win
ladies.\textsuperscript{146} During his years at Uppsala University, he was a member of Malla Silfen-
stolpe’s literary salon, and publicly defended Uppsala’s noble students against critic-
ism.\textsuperscript{147} His brief possibilities to ‘cast glances’ at ‘prominent persons and polite soci-
ety’ through his family’s contacts interested him deeply.\textsuperscript{148} As a poor clerk in the early
1840s, he noted, perhaps with some self-criticism, that he still had kept up the splen-
dour of his dress:

\begin{quote}
I only developed a slight luxury in clothing, in that I had Kæding himself for tailor. But this
was also necessary, as I associated and wanted to associate with the highest circuits of Stock-
holm, although I through this seemed to myself as a Don Ranudo de Colibrados.\textsuperscript{149}
\end{quote}

Although De Geer struck a slightly critical note, it emerges that especially as a young
man, De Geer was interested in his appearances, in splendour, and that his sympa-
thies lay in part with the nobility and polite society. Here was a man who lay consid-
erable weight on his appearances, on charming and winning ways, and who associat-
ed in polite society and in salons: a man of the world if there ever was one.\textsuperscript{150}

De Geer was later to become a liberal politician, deeply entrenched in the values of
the politically liberal middle class. He was the main architect of the Reform Bill of
1865, in which the older Parliament of four estates (nobility, burghers, clergy and
peasantry) was replaced with a bicameral Parliament. In designing this new system of
representation, De Geer explicitly claimed that it was his intention to remove power
from the aristocracy in order to place it instead ‘in the hands of the middle classes’.\textsuperscript{151}

This constitutional reform was perceived as the symbol of the death of a society

\begin{footnotes}
\item[143] Louis De Geer [b. 1818], \textit{Minnen}, vol. 2, p. 5; cf. also p. 11 on his later vanity concerning clothes. He also
appreciated his colleague in politics, the minister of finance J. A. Gripenstedt, in part for his fancy clothes; ibid.,
vol. 2, p. 18.
\item[144] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 21: ‘ängslighet’, ‘snobberi’.
\item[145] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 19: ‘ehuru i grunden demokratiskt likväl alldeles icke var främmande för aristokratiska
sympatier’.
\item[146] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 37, 89.
\item[147] Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 46-49, 50-51.
\item[148] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 44: ‘blickar […] kasta’, ‘framstående personer och den förnäma världen’.
\item[149] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 63: ‘Det enda, hvaruti jag jämförelsevis utvecklade en ringa lyx, var uti kläder, i det jag hade
själva Kæding till skräddare. Men detta var också nödvändigt, då jag umgicks och ville umgås i Stockholms högsta
sällskapskretsar, fastän jag härvid föreföll mig själf såsom en Don Ranudo de Colibrados’. Don Ranudo de Colibra-
dos was the poor noble hero of the Dane Ludwig Holberg’s comedy \textit{Don Ranudo} (translated into Swedish in 1745);
the name was used in the nineteenth century for men of the nobility who were proud to be aristocrats and who,
despite economic troubles, tried to keep up the pretence of splendour. SAOB column D1970. Fredrik Kæding was
the most sought-after fashion tailor of the time; see Johan Grönstedt [b. 1845], \textit{Mina minnen}, vol. 2, pp. 170-172.
Johan Jolin also used his services, and was proud to write so: Jolin quoted in Sylwan, \textit{Fyrtiotalets student}, p. 72.
\item[150] Cf. also De Geer’s pride and vanity in \textit{Minnen}, vol. 1, pp. 176, 214-215.
\item[151] [Louis De Geer], \textit{Några ord till försvar för det hvilande representationsförslaget} (1865), quoted in Carlson,
\end{footnotes}
founded on birth, in which the aristocracy held power. Strindberg even called it a revolution. The former man of the world became the main representative of a non-aristocratic middle-class ideology. His discussion about clothes and appearances in his autobiography significantly soon gave way to a detailed account of his career.

It would seem, then, that De Geer moved from an ‘aristocratic’ position to one which was founded on what is usually seen as the foundation of middle-class ideology: a world in which individual merit, not birth, should decide one’s position in society. The more modern system of political representation, in line with the actual growth of power of the middle class, appears to have been reflected in the architect of that new system. De Geer moved from being an aristocratic man of the world, whose power was founded on charisma, to what we normally think of as a solid middle-class ideal: that of the hard-working, thrifty and diligent citizen. Two types of sources substantiate that view.

Louis De Geer published two novels in his twenties, *Trembling Hearts at Dalvik* (1841) and *Charles XII’s page* (1847). In *Trembling Hearts at Dalvik*, Louis De Geer’s hero Reinhold combines the qualities of the man of the world with an intensive emotional life. Reinhold is above all a romantic, an idealistic liberal, much like De Geer, and a man of the world with an interest in his appearances. In order to win his love, he must first learn to master at least the most extreme outbursts of his passions. But he is hardly transformed into a middle-class man of character. Indeed, the practical Carl, Reinhold’s foster brother, an ‘avid hater of all sentimentality’ exclusively interested ‘in the result of work’, appears not as a middle-class hero but rather as rather dull and limited. Reinhold perfectly underscores the type of man De Geer himself claimed to have been in youth, when his goal had not been a career but to ‘win some pretty and wealthy girl’s heart and then settle down on a beautiful estate’, devoting himself to enjoy life and ‘the fine arts’.

By 1847, De Geer was twenty-nine and had modestly begun his own career as an assistant clerk. He was now an economizing, hard-working and thrifty young man, hoping to reach success, rather than a man of the world and a romantic. The change in De Geer’s life is reflected in his second novel. The protagonist of this novel was a nobleman but with all the qualities of a thrifty middle-class man of character – as already his name, Henrik Burguer von Ritterstein, implied. While Louis De Geer rendered Reinhold as a beautiful and emotional youth, Henrik is (or, rather, becomes) a man of ‘steady character’. Henrik himself testifies to his transformation. He claims that his war experiences and continued sacrifices to win his true love Gun-
De Geer’s ideological transformation can also be read in his changed appearances. At nineteen, an anonymous lithographer portrayed him as a timid and well-dressed aristocrat. Two years later, the artist and prolific portraitist of contemporaries Maria Röhl drew De Geer. He wore expressive clothes, and appeared with all the androgyny that moralists feared in men of the world. What a difference to the photography of De Geer in the early 1860s! He now appeared as a middle-class man, no longer wearing expressive clothing, no longer androgynous, but a stern, determined man wearing sombre and moderate clothes. Here was a man who had been a man of the world, but now looked like the most respectable of middle-class men.

None, however, portrayed De Geer as middle-class better than the much esteemed painter Johan Höckert. In an wood engraving in the middle-class review *New Illustrated Paper* just five days before the bicameral Parliament was voted through on December 7 1865, Höckert hailed De Geer as liberal a man of his time, using highly masculine imagery. The illustration alluded to a late-fifteenth-century group in which Saint George slew a dragon. Höckert drew De Geer as Saint George, killing instead the Dragon of the Four Estates. While the burgher and the peasant, decapitated, smile smugly at each other and seem content with the outcome, the nobleman and the priest are highly alarmed. But there is no doubt as to the outcome of this battle: the manly knight De Geer will soon cut off their heads, too. How fitting it was that the house of De Geer had the motto ‘Non sans cause’, ‘Not without a cause’, on its coat of arms. The motto now legitimized the slaying of the old system of representation, a symbol of a society built on estates rather than individual merit. De Geer, the nobleman and man of the world turned middle-class, clothed in armour decapitating the nobility and creating a new world where merit should precede birth: the almost exaggerated lucidity of the imagery hailed De Geer as a manly middle-class man. The age of salons and the man of the world was over. In the new society, there was no place for estates or the privileges of birth.


157. For the dating of this photography, cf. *Litografiskt Allehanda* 3 (1863:15–16); between pp. 58 and 59, a lithographed version of this photography is reproduced.

158. Carl G. Laurin, *Skämtbilden och dess historia i konsten* (1908), p. 572 claims that the illustration is by Höckert. I have nowhere else seen the very famous Höckert’s name in relation to this illustration. Laurin’s empirical investigations of other sources in this book have been judged to have a high degree of reliability: Lars M. Andersson, *En jude är en jude är en jude…: Representationer av ‘juden’ i svensk skämtpress omkring 1900–1930* (2000), p. 66. We also know that Höckert took a great interest in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* and drew several illustrations for this journal; SMK 3, p. 599. The date December 7 from Torbjörn Nilsson, *Elitens svängrum* (1994), p. 64.

159. See also the almost ecstatic celebration of De Geer, written by the signature ‘H’, which accompanied the illustration; *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* 1 (1865:48), pp. 577-578. ‘H’ did not fail to refer to the motto ‘Non sans cause’.

Louis De Geer as hero, slaying the Dragon of the Four Estates. In the background, Svea, the personification of Sweden, looks on, rather anxiously. But as the paper explained: De Geer was a man of his time, bent on destroying old prejudices. Only the nobility and clergy, about to have their heads cut off, needed feel trepidation. Wood engraving from a drawing by Johan Höckert in Ny Illustrerad Tidning (New Illustrated Paper), 1865.
From left to bottom:
Louis De Geer at nineteen. The shy aristocrat of his memoirs. Lithograph, probably 1837.

Louis De Geer at twenty-one. The romantic-looking, swarming, and well-dressed youth hoped to marry rich and devote his life to the fine arts. Here two years before publishing Trembling Hearts at Dalvik, where the emotional protagonist and hero Reinhold exclaims ‘My entire soul has been transformed into an interjection!’ Maria Röhl, drawing of Louis De Geer, 1839.

Louis De Geer as middle-class. Sombre dress which hides rather than ostentatiously displays the body, the determined look, sideburns and wedding ring emphasizing his masculinity. Photography of Louis De Geer, early 1860s.
Two years later, August Strindberg and his friend Fritz entered university. Unlike Strindberg, Fritz wanted to associate with and emulate the nobility:

he wanted to ennoble himself and rise up to them, be like them. He started to lisp and made elegant gestures with his hand, greeted others as if he were a minister and twitched his head as a man of independent means. But he was careful not to become ridiculous and spoke ironically about himself and his striving. Now, the fact of the matter was that the aristocrats he wanted to emulate had simple, self-assured and unaffected manners, some of them very middle-class, and that Fritz was using an old theatrical model, which was no more.160

Fritz used the old model of the man of the world, but was out of key with his time. The man of the world was no more.

Is this historical trajectory of the demise of the man of the world too neat? Yes. First, Louis De Geer was not, or at least was not exclusively, the champion of liberal middle-class values that he portrayed himself to be. The new system of representation decreased rather than increased middle-class power, and enough conservative elements were merged into the new system to satisfy the aristocracy. These effects of the new system were not unknown to De Geer and his fellow politicians who carried through the reform.161 (This, naturally, did not hinder Hockert and others from representing and perceiving De Geer as a modern liberal hero of the middle class.)

Second, Strindberg’s harsh words about Fritz were written in the 1880s, by which time Strindberg was obsessed with the question of class. His words are more revealing of Strindberg in the 1880s than about student culture in 1867. Even so, men born after 1850 were much less likely to write about their love either of clothes or of the aristocracy; those who confessed to admiring the nobility did so from a perspective which clearly shows that their attitude was different from the society in which they lived.162

Of the men who were born from the 1850s onward studied in this book, only three boasted with their contacts with the aristocracy or wrote of clothes and men’s polite manners. One of these, the student and later lawyer and vice rural district judge Carl Stierström, was himself a nobleman. He was apparently proud to associate with men of the higher nobility, and enjoyed wearing fine clothes.163 However, he was more bent on using the model of the man of the world to flirt extensively with...
women, as we shall see in chapter 8. The writer Carl Forsstrand longed back to the ancien régime, envied and wrote about other men's elegance, and enjoyed associating with and took a great interest in the nobility.\footnote{164} It is, however, significant that his desire to intermingle with the nobility was derided by other students.\footnote{165} The author Waldemar Swahn was, like Forsstrand, interested in beautiful clothes, hailed men who used their exterior for elegant display, longed back to the ancien régime and was politically conservative.\footnote{166} These three men were isolated cases in a world in which middle-class men no longer longed to merge with the nobility, no longer hailed the man of the world as an ideal.\footnote{167}

Also, those who appreciated or wrote of men of the world perceived them as part of an older society. Peter Bagge encountered the older professor Johan Spångberg in the 1870s and later wrote that he had that “old-fashioned distinguished ceremonious good breeding of the man of the world”. Spångberg majestically walked the streets of Uppsala in a reserved and theatrical way. Bagge noted the presence of the old man of the world Spångberg, but viewed him as old-fashioned rather than as a man in line with his time.\footnote{168}

By the turn of the century, there were still some noble students who wore fine clothes and looked down on others. But they were a coterie of their own, marginalised among students.\footnote{169} While individual men still saw fashion as central to male identity, they were no longer setting the standard for other men.

Autobiographers, then, revealed a variety of attitudes to the ideal of the man of the world. Some longed to merge with the nobility, or used theatrical display of their exterior to win advantages. Others were critical of these men. But it was only in men born before 1840 that the model really set the standard for both groups. If the Reform Bill of 1865 did not in fact cut off the head of the aristocracy, the middle classes were apparently abandoning the model of the man of the world.

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165. Forsstrand [b. 1854], *Mina Uppsalaminnen*, p. 256. Forsstrand was a student in the 1870s.

166. Waldemar Swahn [b. 1877], *Ur minnenas sekretär*, pp. 90, 123, 140-141, 142-147. Swahn's conservatism emerges in ibid., p. 135, 146; on a more extreme note, he wrote that Hitler 'intervened against communism', rather than attacked the Soviet Union. Idem, *Från Kalmarstrand till Stilla Havet*, p. 91: 'grep in mot kommunismen'.

167. A fourth example is Louis De Geer's son, who had an aristocratic upbringing and associated with the aristocracy. He, a nobleman himself, did not at all, however, emphasise these sides of his life. Louis De Geer [b. 1854], *Stridda minnen från åren 1854–1924*, pp. 75-76, 81-83, 91-92.

168. Peter Bagge [b. 1850], *Studentminnen och andra minnen från Uppsala 1869–1899*, p. 55: “gammaldags förmitt särila värdshamnabelevenhet”. Bagge did not identify from whom he was quoting at this point. A similar attitude emerges in Elof Tegnér’s brief, early biography of Böttiger; Elof Tegnér, *Carl Wilhelm Böttiger* (1881), pp. 17-18.

169. Rabenius [b. 1882], *Kung Drottning Kristinas klocka*, pp. 112-113; Hugo Swensson [b. 1879], *Spexglimtar från Stockholms nation*, HeI, 17, p. 124 seems to ridicule a student who was a man of the world. Cf. also Gustaf Otto Adelborg [b. 1883], *Självbiografiska*, pp. 9-21 (but see pp. 86-87, 117-119); Adelborg was, however, an extreme case: an aristocrat and socialist savagely attacking the noble family he was born into.

195
CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have seen how moralists who extolled the ideal of the man of the world also worried that men who followed this ideal risked stepping over into gender-bending androgyny. The ever-repeated worries show that once demarcating lines between men and women were blurred, it became more important to distinguish them from each other. The ideal of the useful citizen had safely been characterised in a way so as not to be associated with women. Once men were thought to be almost as focussed on their exterior as women, the need to demarcate this behaviour from effeminacy became more pressing.

While Mosse claims that countertypes strengthened normative masculinity, this chapter has shown that the countertype was an inherent and dangerous possibility for those who followed the very ideal moralists extolled. This is different both from Mosse's account, and the way the countertypes analysed in chapter 3 functioned. In the contrast between the man of the world and the effeminate follower of fashion, the countertype was not so much a threat and a lure as part and parcel of the ideal, once the ideal was taken too far.

Another difference from the countertypes of chapter 3 is that with the theatrical man of the world whose worth was not also grounded in moral principles, the countertype was not governed by his passions. As long as men were not in control over their passions, the distinction between real man and countertypes was relatively easy to make. The distinction between the drinker and the man of character was rarely hard to draw to contemporaries. But the theatrical man had reached a certain control over his passions, and was rational in the sense that he knew what he wanted. His overall ambition may have been set by a passion, but he was not, as the drinker or the gambler, unable to master his passions.

The ideal was both homo- and heterosocial. Women's opinions of men were crucial for whether they would succeed or no in polite society. Moralists continually wrote about how to please both women and men. In light of theories of the homosocial construction of masculinity, it would seem, then, that the question should be posed with more openness than has previously been the case. Here was an ideal in which men's relations to women were important, if not to the fore. Since the ideal was founded on assuming a position of power through charisma, at the end of the day it was other men's approval which mattered.

In terms of the male norm, this chapter shows, as the preceding chapters have, that the question of what it was to be a man was subject to massive discussions. The question of masculinity was neither silenced nor taken for granted.

The worries over masculinity analysed in this chapter concern the very moment in Swedish history when social historians have pointed to the slow but felt emergence of a middle class into a position of power. This change was simultaneous with the emergence of a middle-class culture in which salons played a central role. The early nineteenth century was the period in which merit began to replace birth and class began to replace estate as the foundation for society. This means that moralists' emphasis on appearances and behaviour more than character questions some of the conclusions
drawn in chapter 2, concerning the concept of character. It would seem that the mid-
dle classes, in its phase of consolidation and rise to power, were emulating the aristoc-
acy, notwithstanding the criticism heaped upon the aristocracy by middle-class
authors.

However, the ideal that is usually attributed to the middle class, that of the rational
young man working hard to reach success, would soon come to the fore in Swedish
society, as we shall presently see.
7. WHEN CHARACTER BECAME CAPITAL
Manhood and economic success, c. 1850–c. 1900

It is a true remark someone has made, that the way a man makes money as well as the way he uses both his time and money is a trustworthy yardstick of his character.
—William Makepeace Thayer, 1883

INTRODUCTION
The second half of the nineteenth century sent Sweden riveting through economic and social change. Industrialism was just beginning to be felt around mid-century. Liberal reforms in freedom of trade replaced old obstacles for economic pursuits, and the political reform of representation of 1865 stood out, as we saw, as a symbol of the death of an older order built on estates and the creation of a liberal middle-class society. In this middle-class society, masculinity took on a new meaning: that of the self-made man.

This chapter analyses the emergence of the ideal of the self-made man in Swedish society in the second half of the nineteenth century. The transformation consisted broadly in the growing legitimacy, after mid-century, of men's striving for individual success. Individual success came to be a central mark of manhood. And becoming a man came to mean to reach that success.

As we saw in chapter 2, character was intimately tied to masculinity. Character was by and large unconnected to economic success before 1850. A text entitled *Upbringing and self-making* (or perhaps *self-culture*) (1839), may illustrate the earlier, non-economic conceptions of self-making. When the author, the German psychiatrist J. C. A. Heinroth, spoke of ‘the desire to compete’ and ‘ambition’, concepts later embraced as crucial parts in the formation of manhood, as ‘healthy’ in the upbringing one’s children, he directly went on to warn worried parents that the child would become imbued with egotism and despise of others if these were taken too far. It is likewise telling that Heinroth defined the quenching of selfishness, greed, vanity, envy and

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other raging passions as the very foundation of all upbringing. In sum, Heinroth meant by self-making the inner power in men (Heinroth wrote about humans, but meant men) to subdue inner passions and develop a Christian thrift, diligence, and compassion. As such, the ideal was the antonym of economic self-making.

As Weber explained in his classic study of the spirit of capitalism, the yearning for riches is no historical novelty. The novelty of the spirit of capitalism as grounded in the protestant ethic was the legitimatization, under disciplined forms, of the yearning to enrich oneself. Merchants had behaved to maximize profits well before 1850; yet in doing so, they had known they were not behaving according to normative doctrines, which urged them to consider always the good of the nation before economic self-interest.

Around 1850 the striving for wealth, for success, became legitimate – indeed, it was now seen as a road to manhood. If Weber traced the origins of the spirit of capitalism, the ideal to be analyzed here is the secularization and transformation of that spirit into a more blatant egotistic search for success. Men's masculinity became tied to their individual successfulness in the world, especially the world of business. Moralists were now using the concepts 'riches' and 'success' in their titles. Worldly success, instead of being a gendered sign of illegitimate egotism and pride, became a positive, gendered mark of manhood.

This transformation in Swedish masculinities was, to a certain extent, textually imported from America. A whole flood of translations of advice manuals on how to get rich appeared, both from America, Germany, and, in the case of the best-selling Samuel Smiles, from Scotland. Some manuals were written by Swedes, although most manuals on success were translations. Towards the last third of the century, some autobiographers and liberal writers began hailing other men as ‘selfmade’ or ‘selfmade’, using (and misspelling) the English expression; others translated ‘self-made’ literally to Swedish. The English expression ‘self-made man’ was apparently making its way into the Swedish language.

By the time the ideal of self-making was taken up in Swedish discussions about manhood, it had already flourished or at least been present in America for about half a century.
a century. Historians Michael Kimmel and Anthony Rotundo both trace the making of the self-made man as an important ideal to the turn of the century 1800. They also both argue that this ideal was to become the dominant meaning for manhood in the course of the nineteenth century. However, Kimmel's and Rotundo's interpretations are not uncontested. Mark E. Kann has argued that the ideal of self-making was not widely shared, and that excessive egotism was viewed with suspicion by most around 1800. Mary P. Ryan claims that there was a shift in middle-class life in Oneida county, New York, in the 1840s, where industrialism led to a stronger cult of both masculine and feminine domesticity, and a connected new cult of the self-made man.

Irving G. Wyllie interprets Benjamin Franklin as an early exponent of the ideal of the self-made man, but notes that it would not be until the 1830s that Franklin's emphasis on self-making became representative of the larger cultural climate.

In the following, I discuss the novel ideal from a number of different perspectives, focusing on business as a way to mould men, the concepts of independence and power, and the homosocial side to the ideal. Since scholars have claimed that the ideal of the self-made man was quintessentially middle-class, I also nuance the dominance of the ideal by pointing to criticism against the self-made man in the second half of the nineteenth century. If the self-made man became a strong ideal in the century's second half, it was never an unquestioned form of masculinity. What's more, the ideal reflected how some middle-class men wanted to be, and how they wanted society to be, rather than how they behaved and how society worked. Two final sections discuss how autobiographers portrayed their careers.

BUSINESS AS A WAY TO MOULD MEN

Around mid-century, the acquisition of wealth was fast becoming a measure of men's masculinity. As the German businessman Joseph Hauptmann told Swedish readers in 1864: 'Each profession is a source to wealth, if only it is carried out by the right man.' It took a man to make money. And making money made men. Or, as Edwin T. Freedley, who enjoyed exceptional sales in America put it, 'Life itself is a trial, and one can regard business as a means to perfect one's moral nature.' The way these authors linked professions to wealth and success instead of social usefulness, and the idea that when character became capital


10. [Joseph Hauptmann], Konsten att bli en välstående och rik (1864), p. 5: 'Huvudsakliga yrken är en källa till välstånd, om det bedrivs af rätt människor.' Emphasis in the original.

men’s nature should be perfected through business, would have abhorred nearly every moralist prior to the 1850s. And Freedley was far from alone in perceiving business life as a suitable path to mould manly characters.12

Men were now unproblematically believed to be driven by a will to success. In many advice manuals, this new conception of men was so well ingrained as to be taken for granted. One writer’s introductory motto ran ‘Riches are the key to greatness, [they] facilitate and make the way for a good name’.13 There was only very rarely a felt need to legitimize that men should strive for success. John T. Dale was one of many moralists who perceived men’s quest for individual success as unproblematic:

He who decides to do everything that he is capable of with his personality endeavours to develop all his mental abilities to the utmost and to not neglect any opportunity to come forward in an honourable way.14

In this context, to come forward in the world meant enriching oneself. Reaching success, then, was to do the utmost of one’s own character. Developing one’s mental abilities was a ticket to success. Character, manhood, and riches were intricately fused. Dale’s positive evaluation of the striving for success was echoed by several moralists.15

At the same time that these tracts with normative contents concerning men’s legitimate egotism were being issued – around mid-century and after – a new literature also emerged from the printing presses. These were practical guides to how one could make riches. They often consisted of practical advice, rather than discussions about what manhood should be or what principles should guide men in their lives. Here was a new literature for a period in which the striving for riches and success was legitimate, indeed taken for granted. That men wanted riches, that they were essentially egotistic, and that this search for riches did not even need to be said out loud.16

At about the same time, guides to different measures in different countries, tables of book-keeping, and extracts from legal documents about trade emerged from the

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13. Ignaz Bernhardi Montag, Saknade konsten att bli rik och lycklig. Grundregler och Exempel för en Allmän Association af egna krafter (1852), not paginated: ‘Rikedom är nyckeln till storhet, underlättar och banar vägen till anseende.’ In the original, bold types are used on ‘Riches’.


15. E.g. Montag, Saknade konsten att bli rik och lycklig (1852), pp. 7, 31-32; Abbot Lawrence, Vågen til lycka eller Konsten att bli miljonär (1865), pp. 4, 12; Rotschild, Konsten att inom kort tid bli en rik man (1872), e.g. pp. 8-10; Robert Kemp Philip, Huru tio öre kunna slapa En förmögenhet (1888), e.g. pp. 18-25.

16. See e.g. Domnarliga Wägen till Rikedom medelst Skicklighet, Flit och Idoghet: eller Ny och Praktisk Handbok i Industrien och Hushållningen (1847); Handbok, att leda en riktig och felrikt i det borgerliga och affärslivet (1847); Konsten att genom rika arbetet snart bli en rik man (1855); Johann Heinrich Friedrich Mahn, Werklige Wägen till Rikedom, Bapprädnighet, Heln, Trifna, Besparing av Arbete och Utgifter, och Sjöandande gylne, praktiska och utvalda Råd och Hushållsregler för Alla Stånd (1855); Georg Scheutz, Den praktiska Affärsmannen: Handbok för handlande och handverkare: yttre underrättelser för ynglingar, som anna inrätta i näringsklasserna (1856), and Hauptmann, Konsten att bli en rik och mogen man (1864).
printing presses. This genre appeared roughly in the second half of the nineteenth century, and is simultaneous testimony to a new set of unspoken attitudes to riches and to the slow but felt beginnings of Sweden's ongoing process of industrialisation, which enabled more men to attempt to be self-made. In the following, I will concentrate on success manuals which were by and large more normative. As several scholars have pointed out, these guides did not offer much practical help about business.\textsuperscript{17}

Their authors concentrated instead on moral discussions. But this bias to discussions about ethics, success and manhood should not blind us to the dry and increasing flow of books and pamphlets which concentrated on legal paragraphs, coinage in different European countries, and other important facts for the well-off or better-off man interested in augmenting his riches. Businessmen did not turn to Karl Smedman's nine-volume \textit{The Complete Office-Worker} for discussions about how success lay waiting around the corner for the ambitious and hard-working young man. They bought Smedman's books, as they bought other guides to business-letter writing and bookkeeping, to do their job – to be self-made men. In these books, consisting almost entirely of long sets of tables, no particular meaning of manhood was outspoken, but their very existence points to a set of attitudes which condoned, even admired, men's will to enrich themselves.\textsuperscript{18}

**SUCCESS AS A MEANS TO POWER AND INDEPENDENCE**

The new ideal of self-making also entailed a more explicit connection between men, riches, and power. To be sure, instructions for men to be a man of the world and warnings about passions and countertexts were deeply grounded in power. However, with the ideal of the self-made man, this connection between masculinity and power was made much more explicit. In 1877, the Swedish journalist Otto Serrander claimed that 'a manly decision' was needed to open a bank account and begin saving money.\textsuperscript{19} Dale claimed that a man who did not do his utmost to reach success because of modesty 'needed a sharp rebuke for his lack of manliness'.\textsuperscript{20} Another moralist made an even more undisguised connection between manly character and the making of money. Men's economy, their morals and their character were more or less indistinguishable. 'Money is a good name and a good reputation – money is also power', as

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Cawelti, \textit{Apostles of the self-made man}, pp. 121–122; Judy Hilkey, \textit{Character is Capital: Success manuals and manhood in Gilded Age America} (1997), pp. 49–50; Wyllie, \textit{The Self-Made Man in America}, pp. 34–35.
  \item Among many such books, see Ludwig Westerberg, \textit{Omhärldig Skriftställare för det borgerliga affärslivet} (1851); C. E. Möller, \textit{Nyaste Brefbok: Rådgifware i det praktiska lifvet} (1869); Karl Smedman, \textit{Den fullständiga kon-}
  \item ry America} (1990), pp. 40, 50–53 shows how savings banks were created by a philanthropic middle-class elite in the early decades of the century, as a way to rescue working-class men from gambling and drinking, onto the road to moral improvement and greater respectability; here, too, opening a bank account was the first step to economic independence.
  \item Edward Bulwer, \textit{Om Penningars handhavande} (1866), pp. 3–8, 19. 'Penningar åro godt namn och rykte – pen-
  \item ningar åro även makt.'
\end{itemize}
the author intoned.\textsuperscript{21} Nothing could be further off from the ideal man of 1800, or indeed even of 1840. This pamphlet was written by Edward Bulwer, who in his youth had lived lavishly as a dandy, and had published the society novel \textit{Pelham} (1828) at twenty-five.\textsuperscript{22} If Bulwer had once been a dandy, he apparently had changed his mind in his later life, and his writings here linked manhood to money, self-making and power, not to a dandiacal critique of the bourgeoisie.

If money was power and masculinity was measured in money, achieving manhood became synonymous to reaching success. This becomes clear when we consider the all-important concept of independence. The concept of independence, at times with the epithet manly before it, was a theme among a majority of the moralists who connected masculinity to the making of riches. Benjamin Franklin, who as we shall see made his imprint both in America and in Sweden well before ideals of self-making came to be crucial in Sweden, centred his discussion on manhood on this concept.\textsuperscript{23} His emphasis on independence was echoed in other success manuals printed in the second half of the century. Bulwer said that men should strive for wealth with some important goal before their eyes, such as being able to support a wife, or just to reach that blissful economic state – independence.\textsuperscript{24} The American circus showman and millionaire P. T. Barnum used the Darwinian-sounding expression ‘the struggle for independence’, and other moralists used similar expressions.\textsuperscript{25} When Horace Greeley’s bestseller \textit{Success in Life} was translated into Swedish, the Swedish translator, the publicist Hugo Nisbeth, significantly changed the title to \textit{The Road to Economic Independence}.\textsuperscript{26}

Just after the turn of the century 1900, Otto Serrander had his 1877 pamphlet reprinted, sensing perhaps that his old ideas were still very much in vogue. In 1877 this text had been remarkably reprinted in at least seven editions. The little pamphlet again became an instant success. It had been reprinted six times within three years of its publication, and a dozen times by 1914. In this text, Serrander contrasted the man who had earned enough money for a safe old age to the man who had not. While the poor man was weighed down by his ‘weakness, his dependence’, it was the independence of the successful man which made a man of him: See how he walks down the road! This is indeed not a beggar. His independence gives him strength. He walks like a man. – He speaks like a man. – He looks You in the eye like a man, and there are, God be praised, many men of this calibre. How sweet, how pleasant is not their conscious force, their calm confidence!\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{22} DNB 34, pp. 380-387; SU 5, pp. 312-314; NF 17, pp. 129-133.
\textsuperscript{24} Edward Bulwer, \textit{Om Penningsars handhafvande} (1866), pp. 16, 21-22.
\textsuperscript{26} Horace Greeley, \textit{Vägen till ekonomiskt oberoende} (1874). Greeley’s impressive career – he was a newspaper editor, politician, and self-made man – is detailed in DAB 7, pp. 528-534; NCAB 3, pp. 448-451.
Independence, manhood, and moderate riches: the three floated together and became one. The businessman was truly the period’s new hero.

Also for Samuel Smiles, whose books on individual success were translated into more than a dozen languages and sold millions of copies worldwide and certainly the most popular prophet of the self-made man in Sweden, independence was at the heart of manhood. Men’s first and most important duty was to achieve economic independence.

To be sure, independence had occasionally been mentioned in earlier tracts on manhood. In André Rauch’s account of French nineteenth-century masculinities, independence is linked both to middle-class, self-made manhood and older, rural masculinities, and only rarely in the economic sense of the word.

In Sweden, the concept of independence was significantly transformed over time. Exhortations about independence before 1850 did not have the specifically economic ring to it that writers on success would give it. Already in the late eighteenth century, Campe had mentioned independence in the same breath as helpfulness. Chesterfield discussed economic independence, but it did not at all lie at the centre of his attention. Later in the century, Friedrich Reiche wavered on the subject, here as so often; he explicitly admonished men not to focus on wealth-seeking, and he devoted some pages to criticize rich people and the passions that were unchained by riches. Instead, he praised the values of poverty. Yet, he also subsequently said that men should strive for ‘bourgeois independence’, in a way as to be quite unclear if this independence did not after all have economic underpinnings. It was only with Franklin, and especially with the cult of success in the second half of the century, that economic independence became a crucial ingredient of the ongoing discussion over manhood.

Masculinity had always been linked to power – first and foremost to the question of establishing and maintaining power hierarchies between men. What was new to success manuals was the blatant and obvious way that this was stated, and the way this power struggle was built on money. Masculinity had become, more openly than earlier, the power struggle between men, carried out in the homosocial arena of the workplace. ‘Riches are the key to a good name and facilitate and open the admittance to glory’, as

Han talar som en man. – Han ser Eder i ögat som en man, och det finnes, Gudi lof, många sådana män. Huru ljuf, huru angenäm att icke deras medverna kraft, deras lugna trygghet!


one moralist put it, or rather emphasised it, mingling a focus on economic success with a preoccupation with ‘reputation’ and ‘glory’ seldom seen in success manuals.\textsuperscript{33}

The ideal of manly independence also worked to strengthen gendered barriers between men and women. In the nineteenth century, women were often by and large defined through their dependence, not least their economic dependence, on men. Dependence was part and parcel of ideal femininity.\textsuperscript{34} Thus, the economically independent man could boost his manhood by being that which women were not. The distinction between dependent and independent was, ideally, a distinction between men and women. This made the dependent man appear implicitly effeminate.

The concept of independence also shows the limits of the novelty of the ideal of self-making. If independence was the goal, it seems that riches was not what self-making was about. John Tosh has convincingly argued that independence meant autonomy, courage and respectability, rather than untrammelled riches.\textsuperscript{35} It was more about securing one’s position as a breadwinner, i.e. as a man with enough economic standing to be able to marry. Among moralists, however, the role of breadwinner was not at centre stage, as we shall see. The focus on independence rather than riches shows that men were expected to strive to become moderately wealthy, to be able to secure the respectable position of a married and economically independent man. The character-moulding effects of hard work honestly done, virtues such as self-reliance, sobriety and saving money, made the man. The goal was moderate success, moderate riches. To be self-made was more often than not not to become a millionaire, but to be wealthy enough to secure middle-class respectability.\textsuperscript{36}

Independence, then, became a sign of manhood gained and proved. More obviously than in earlier discussions about what manhood was and ought to be, the discussion about self-making and independence turned the acquisition of manhood into a struggle for power – and turned it more obviously than earlier to a competition between men. It is to this homosocial side of the ideal we now turn.

SELF-MAKING AS HOMOSOCIAL

Discussions about self-making and success were more or less exclusively homosocial. This absence of women from success manuals can be explained with the middle class’ well-known ideology of separate spheres. Normative sources connected business and

\textsuperscript{33} Montag, Såkraste konsten att blifva Rik och Lycklig (1852), p. 59: ‘Rikedom är nyckeln till anseende och underlättar och öppnar tillträdet til äran.’ In the original, bold types are used.


the public sphere firmly to men. In 1884, one advice manual in a breath separated men from women as well as men from different classes, even while perpetuating a discussion on power: ‘We [men] should avoid to discuss in an exclusively businesslike manner in women’s company, as we do with other men who belong to our own class, for example about dealings in the Exchange, trade etc.’ Strictly business meant strictly masculine. The emphasis on success and the public sphere meant that women were excluded from success manuals.

Smiles cited innumerable men of all professions as admirable models in Self-Help (1860). Only four women were mentioned in the 344 pages of the first Swedish edition in 1867. When Smiles wrote that ‘Everybody is enjoined to create a good character, as one of life’s highest goals. The very endeavour to reach this purpose, gives us the means to win it’, ‘us’ by default meant ‘us men’, just as ‘Everybody’ meant ‘every man’. In a similar vein, Edwin T. Freedley, in collaboration with his Swedish translator, the intellectual, academic and publicist Johan Vilhelm Snellman, simply forgot about women’s existence in saying that ‘There are two big classes of people in this world: men of action and men of thought.’

The American clergyman William Thayer, one of the most popular writers on success in nineteenth-century America, had a similarly homosocial conception of success. In his endless litany of moral, biographical accounts of prominent men, men’s striving for success stood against vain fops, lazy idlers, or men who were prepared to use dishonourable means to reach success. Normative masculinity was measured against other men, not women. Although Thayer’s initial definition of upbringing included both men and women, he mentioned or implied the existence of women five times in the Swedish translation of his book Tact, Push and Principle. Women were celebrated for keeping the house nice and tidy so that the man had a nice place to return to at the end of a hard day. They were also advised to use their actually impressive acute sensory perception on trying to achieve success instead of caring about fashion, thus making female success a possibility never really explored. The third time women were even briefly, remotely considered was when Thayer mentioned that young persons ‘of both sexes’ often found their homework tiring and boring.

37. Den bildade Verldsmannen (1884), p. 92: ‘Vi börja undvika att i damsällskap så uteslutande tala i affärsstil, som vi kunna gora med andra män, som tillhöra vår egen klass, t. ex. om börsaffärer, handel etc.’
38. Samuel Smiles, Menniskans egna kraft (1867), pp. 16, 67-68.
39. Ibid., p. 105: ‘Alla äro förbundna att skaffa sig en god karakter, såsom ett af livets högsta föremål. Sjelfva bemötandet att uppnå detta syftemål, ger oss medel att vinna det.’ When Smiles wrote at just a little greater length about women, as in Karaktären värde (1872), pp. 50-58, 144-149, 272-309, he celebrated them as mothers, as companions to men, as helpers of men, and (almost) never as subjects in their own right.
41. Hilkey, Character is Capital, p. 62.
42. William Makepeace Thayer, Fil, kraft och karakter (1883), p. 10.
43. Ibid., p. 44.
44. Ibid., p. 79. In a similar way, the English compiler Robert Philp briefly said that his success manual was intended for both men and women, but went on as if his advice pertained to men only. [Robert Kemp Philp], Hur a tio öre kunna skapa En förmogenhet (1888), p. 11.
ing.\textsuperscript{45} A few pages later, he cited a woman who was blind, deaf and dumb but who still became very good at sowing as an example of the ideal of persistence.\textsuperscript{46} Thayer also briefly mentioned both men and women who preached and/or taught.\textsuperscript{47}

In 263 pages devoted to a gendered doctrine of success, this was everything Thayer had to say about women. In this absence of women from his text, he was in no way exceptional. Quite on the contrary: in pamphlets concentrating on masculine self-making, women were on the whole absent. This was a gendered discourse on masculinity, in which men were set in relation to other men, not women.\textsuperscript{48} Judy Hilkey significantly points out that ‘especially the longer’ success manuals often included several chapters ‘relating more specifically to home and family, morals and manners’.\textsuperscript{49} The quintessential success manual gave advice about a strictly homosocial world, and things relating to women were only included as a sort of bonus, in the larger volumes.

In the light of moralists’ discussion of self-made masculinity, it emerges that this ideal was more or less exclusively homosocial. The discourse on self-making compared ideal men to other men, not women.

**CHANGING STANDARDS OF UNMANLINESS**

The ideal of the self-made man emerged around 1850. Indeed, around 1800, self-reliant egotistic men with sharp elbows was a countertype to real manhood. Many moralists in the decades around 1800 worried about men’s will to enrich themselves, and explicitly described men who were only driven by a will to become rich as countertypes.\textsuperscript{50} Phillipe Sylvestre Du Four maintained to a Swedish audience in 1810 that ‘Greed was the ‘root of all evil’, even while the context of his work was to give advice to his son before setting out on a business trip to the Levant.\textsuperscript{51} And as we saw in chapter 5, Robert Dodsley explicitly admonished businessmen to ‘be content with moderate profits’, rather than cause any damage to the poor person with whom one was dealing – a piece of advice which would not ring well in the later success manuals. He also wrote that ‘immoderate yearning for wealth’ was ‘a poison, which contaminates the soul; it destroys everything which is good therein’.\textsuperscript{52} As late as 1830, the vicar Petrus Roos cautioned that ‘Riches often increase the dominion of desires.’\textsuperscript{53} Men’s yearning

\textsuperscript{45} Thayer, *Flit, kraft och karakter* (1883), p. 104: ‘af båda könen’.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., pp. 112-113.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., p. 249.
\textsuperscript{48} See also Dale, *Främjande* (1890), pp. 54, 57-59, 67-73, 105, 132-133, 143-153, 272, 293, \textit{who wrote a little more about women, but mainly as the angels residing in the cozy home in which the tired self-made man could gather his strength.}
\textsuperscript{49} Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{50} Reflexioner Öfwer Et godt Hjerta, Såsom En den berömligaste Människans egenkap (1790), not paginated; Hjorth, *Lefnads-Reglor, samlade och utgifve* (1809), pp. 21-26 cautioned more generally against too much yearning for glory.
\textsuperscript{51} [Phillipe Sylvestre Du Four], *Underwißning, Lenmnad af En Fader åt sin Son* (1810), e.g. pp. 7-8 16, 27-28, 32, 41, 44-45, 51. Quote on p. 27: ‘Grigheten år roten till allt ont’ Emphasis in the original.
\textsuperscript{53} Petrus Roos, *Vårt lif är vanhället* (1830) p. 54: ‘Rikedomar öka ofta begärdescenas vilde.’ See also idem, *Den
to gain respectability through riches had not yet become legitimate. It is revealing of the earlier attitude that a text printed in 1790 which explicitly focussed on how men should enrich themselves was written in a diffident tone, and explained that the advice should lead to only moderate enriching, within the estate to which one belonged.54

One moralist gave men who wanted to enrich themselves the sarcastic advice to beware of the evil passions mercy and compassion, and added that while poor men died in peace, the rich were guilt-ridden, knowing they would never enter heaven.55 In sum, then, moralists' attitude towards money and success before the 1850s was largely defensive and negative: money was seen as dangerous and corrupting, and fears were often expressed about men who were driven only by their will to become rich.

On a more high-brow level of literature, the stance taken towards money and middle-class striving for independence and riches was almost universally condemned by Swedish romanticists from the late eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth century. Leading men of this movement, such as P. D. A. Atterbom and E. J. Stagnelius, wrote with contempt of men who used their energies to make money, to secure an economic position, rather than focus on poetic, emotional expressions of the self.56 Apparently, moralists were not alone in perceiving the seeking of riches as illegitimate.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, a disciplined egotism and sharp elbows had instead become positively linked to masculinity; as one moralist explained, emphasizing the words: 'To not stand back, but to push oneself forward in a manly way, is the order of our times.'57 What had been a sign of lack of proper, humble masculinity had become a mark of real manhood.

**EARLY PROONENTS OF SELF-MAKING**

However, the critique of egotism and men's avarice around 1800 was not hegemonic. There were some early celebrators of success, although they were not at all dominant in the discourse. What was new to the second half of the nineteenth century was the spread of the ideal, and how strong these ideas were in relation to other available meanings of manhood, not the ideas of self-making as such. An early Swedish example is to be found in Abraham Sahlstedt's *Letters to my Son*, printed already in 1776. Sahlstedt wrote to his son that 'you will never be a man of good name, as long as you are not wealthy'; he also explained that this wealth had to be created by the son himself, through the virtue of diligence.58 However, in saying so, Sahlstedt was not in line with most writers of his time. What's more, economic self-making was hardly at

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*Heliga Skrift såsom den säkraste anvisning till alla dygders utöfning (1829).* pp. 38, 61.

54. *Om sättet att bli förmögen; nånti utom nyheten om det fändlighet, som nöden studerargifver (1790),* not paginated.

55. [Adolph Westin], *Hela Werldens högsta Magt och Magnetiska Kraft, eller Grundad Afhandling om Nova Scholan om Nya Scolan i Konsten att bli förmögen Rik* (1834), e.g. pp. 11-12, 17-18. Cf. also the probably ironic immoral advice given in *Mercuriustafven eller Hemligheten att bli förmögen Rik:* *En nödig Hjelpreda för alla Speculanter* (1816).


58. [Abraham Sahlstedt], *Bref Til Min Son* (1776), p. 59 (quote: ‘du aldrig kan bli förmögen man, så fram du icke är en förmögen man’).
the centre of his conception of what manhood was.

Above all, the popularity of Benjamin Franklin in Sweden shows the extent to which ideas of self-making as essential to manhood were circulated before mid-century. A translation of Benjamin Franklin’s little pamphlet *The Way to Wealth* (1757) had appeared in Swedish already in 1813, and this text was reprinted and re-edited under different titles in eleven editions and reprints before mid-century, a remarkable amount by Swedish standards. Franklin is often treated as the archetypal self-made man. Jeffrey Decker and Steffen Kiselberg both read Franklin as if his autobiography and *The Way to Wealth* are direct sources for the ideals of the bourgeoisie. Without an explicit discussion of gender, Max Weber treated Franklin as an icon for the spirit of capitalism, and for the emerging bourgeoisie. Werner Sombart did much the same thing in his study of bourgeois mentality. Given the evidence discussed in this chapter, I believe Weber and others who follow him antedate at least the popular spread of the secular spirit of capitalism, and the ideal of the self-made man. Franklin saw men’s striving for wealth as an unproblematic and legitimate drive behind men’s actions. However, his celebration of egotistic calculation was in fact quite contested by contemporaries.

True, real manhood, Franklin said, could only be achieved through men’s drive for the acquisition of wealth. Only the independent man who was wealthy enough to be able to look a rich man into his eyes without shame was a real man. Franklin’s perception of men’s drive for wealth as completely legitimate was not generally accepted in Sweden before mid-century. Yet, his views were influential, and were taken over for example into a pamphlet on the making of riches, printed in 1827, where men’s desire for individual prosperity was seen as unproblematic. The influential liberal journalist, politician, and businessman Lars Johan Hierta appreciated Franklin, and was celebrating self-made men in his *Evening Paper* already in the 1830s. One moralist made an explicit connection between success in business and character as early as 1807.

However, it is telling that Franklin’s popularity increased after mid-century, as his views became more and more representative of the general cultural climate. It was only in the century’s second half that the general discussion on manhood took up ele-

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59. The Catalogue of books 1700–1955, KB.
62. Werner Sombart, in *Der Bourgeois* (1920); as pointed out by Kiselberg, *To og et halvt kapitel af mændenes historie*, p. 104.
63. Cf. the section on self-interest in chapter 5 and Mark E. Kann’s work, mentioned above in footnote 7.
64. Benjamin Franklin, *Den Gamle Richards Konst att blifwa Rik och lycklig* (1813), pp. 37, 48; echoed e.g. in [idem], *Gamle Richards Svartkonst-bok, hvarigenom man kan förwarmwa sig rikedom, lycka och anseende* (1827), esp. pp. 18-19.
65. Konsten att genom lågliga medel nuon kort blifve Rik från Intet (1827), esp. pp. 4-5.
ments from Franklin. A. J. Bergenström wrote in 1852 that Franklin’s *The Way to Wealth* was a book that ‘each young man should own’; Barnum, Bulwer, Ignaz Bernhard Montag, Thayer, and many other moralists in the second half of the century quoted, explicitly or implicitly, passages or maxims from *The Way to Wealth*, or discussed Franklin as an admirable ideal.\(^{68}\) Again, it is no coincidence that Smiles, who borrowed much of his thinking on independence from Franklin, should be one in the long list of quoters; nor is it surprising that he claimed that Franklin’s success was founded on his superior character.\(^{69}\) If Franklin was an early example of the ideal of the self-made man, it would seem it was only after the 1850s that his views became more known, and more representative of the cultural climate.\(^{70}\)

**THE NEED TO DISCIPLINE THE WILL TO SUCCESS**

Even though the second half of the nineteenth century saw the consolidation of the ideal of the self-made man, men’s individual striving for success was never completely unproblematic. Moralists who extolled the ideal of the self-made man rarely believed that unrestrained and unprincipled striving for success would lead to a good and manly character. Instead, moralists stressed that the striving for success should be disciplined. While it was legitimate to be driven by egotism, the ultimate goal of the man’s life should be character; wealth and success would then tend to be the consequences of character. Even though the ideal of self-making certainly allowed more room for men’s avarice, the ideal did not leave the door open for total loss of self-control. A typical example is Edwin T. Freedley’s exhortation ‘Businessmen! Make money. Make much money, but do so in an honourable way.’\(^{71}\) Seeking riches was fine, indeed essential, as long as they were acquired through honest and hard work.

Samuel Smiles also believed that men needed to balance their drive for fortunes; indeed, he believed that the drive for wealth, if taken too far, was dangerous. Wonderfully connecting this doctrine to the idea of independence touched on above, he wrote that ‘To save one’s means only in order to hide them is petty; but to economize and save in order to become independent is one of the best tokens of a manly character’.\(^{72}\)

P. T. Barnum likewise cautioned against men who were only driven by a lust to make money, no matter on what moral principles. To struggle for economic indepen-

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70. This is also a conclusion in Erik Sallnäs, ‘Benjamin Franklin – borgerlighetens dygdemönster?’ , unpublished BS-c thesis, Department of History, Stockholm University, 2001, p. 46.


dence, even riches, was completely unproblematic – still, men had to follow certain moral rules when attempting to achieve their economic goals. Looking at Barnum’s own devious ways of amassing money, one may indeed sneer at this moral teaching. However, what is at stake here are the explicit meanings for manhood in books about success. That individual writers did not always lead their lives in accordance with the moral rules they inculcated is another matter.

Thayer wavered on the question of disciplining the will to riches. He clearly defined success in terms of riches. In the opening two pages, if one had not grasped that through Thayer’s subtitle The road to success, one learnt that what young men needed to know about was how to be successful. If that was not enough for those slow in mind, the opening chapter on the book was entitled ‘On Success’. Thayer also celebrated the ‘manly independence’ struggling to ‘come forward in the world’.

Still, Thayer emphasized also that men should be driven by altruism, by a will to be good for others, not least through charity; the striving for riches should always be imbued with a Christian will to help others. He criticized, even denounced, unrestrained searching for wealth. The education of a young man should involve more than only success – it should above all concentrate on the formation of character.

This, however, still meant that success was absolutely crucial. This was so since character, every man’s ultimate goal, could only be built on success. And simultaneously, character was a guarantee for success. “It has been said that “Business life makes the man”. In one way or another, it does have a capacity to mould both the heart and the head,” Thayer wrote. Success or attempted success was a way to prove manhood. Men who had acquired character could be ‘certain of success’; indeed, he even claimed that ‘character is capital’. Even while criticizing those who only wanted wealth, Thayer still celebrated men with character precisely because they had reached success. Again: making money in an honourable way meant making oneself; meant making riches; and meant becoming manly. And even though Thayer had earlier said that men should be guided by altruism, he nevertheless asserted that every man who had ever been successful had above all been driven by the will to rise in society. Thayer blended Christian altruism and Social Darwinist tones of competition with the need for sharp elbows. If the will to riches should be disciplined, this will was still absolutely crucial for success – and success proved character.

73. P. T. Barnum, Konsten att göra sig pengar och bevara dem (1884), pp. 31-37.
74. See NCAB 3, p. 258; DAB 1 pp. 636-639; NE 2, p. 502; NF 2, p. 962.
75. Thayer, Flit, kraft och karakter (1883), pp. 1-2; ch. 1, ‘Om Framgång’, pp. 3-19; ‘manliga sjelfständighet’, ‘slå sig fram i verlden’.
76. Ibid., esp. pp. 190-221, 229-230. Cf. also Montracq, Säkraste konsten att bli en Rik och Lycklig (1851), p. 41.
77. Thayer, Flit, kraft och karakter (1883), e.g. pp. 177-178.
78. Ibid. p. 10: “Affärslivet skapar mannen”, har man sagt. På ett eller annat sätt har det en förmåga att bilda både hjerta och hufvud! See also p. 149, quoted above, p. 199; Edward Bulwer, Om Penningars handhafvande (1866), p. 5; and Smiles, Karaktären värde (1872), pp. 95-96.
80. Ibid., p. 179, ‘karaktär är kapital’ (emphasis in the original); cf. p. 183, where character is said to be ‘the condition for success’ (‘framgångens villkor’).
81. Ibid., e.g. pp. 177-190.
82. Ibid., p. 46.
As we have seen, the middle classes were preoccupied with the idea of moderation. The idea that the impulse to enrich oneself had to be restrained, then, rang well in middle-class ears, and was often expressed in texts more or less concentrated on the making of riches. The American author and Presbyterian pastor James Russell Miller is a case in point. ‘Worldly success is not a reliable proof of a good character’, Miller wrote, thus distancing himself from the more openly success-centred moralists of his time. Still, men had to be ambitious and strive forward in the world if they really wanted to be men. Miller partially endorsed the ideal of self-making. He merely wanted to balance this hard ideal against the ideal of a mild and tender gentleman.

Anthony Rotundo has claimed that the ideal of the self-made man was transformed towards the end of the nineteenth century. When the ideal fused with Darwinism and the rise of modern sports, this meant that passion was given a more positive meaning; older virtues such as self-control, Rotundo claims, even became ‘suspect’. Even given the possibility that America shared a rougher, more Social Darwinist ideal of self-making than the Swedish discourse, I find this conclusion too strong.

Authors of success manuals worried both about excessive greed, and many other forms of loss of mastery over the passions, such as gambling and drinking. After all, a success writer like John T. Dale approvingly quoted another moralist as saying ‘We must measure man’s strength of character after the intensity of the passions he represses, not after those [passions], that control him.’ Moralists who endorsed self-made manhood did not advice men to be passionate. Only twice in the success literature I have studied was the word ‘passion’, normally inimical to real manhood, used in a positive sense.

The insistence that the striving for riches be disciplined should not lead us to neglect the difference between the first and second half of the century in this respect. Before mid-century, the aforementioned J. C. A. Heinroth had warned parents against too early and exclusive an emphasis on education of their children for trade and the making of money. He had described egotists who only wanted to increase their wealth as lacking in compassion, and had claimed that selfishness was the worst of all the evils that were let loose into the world when Pandora opened her infamous box. This is a far cry from Freedley’s and others’ cautions that money be made honourably.

84. Ibid., pp. 11-15, 22-23.
86. John T. Dale, *Framgång och huru man vinner den* (1890), p. 89: ‘Vi måste mäta mannens karaktärsstyrka efter kraften af de känslor, han underkufvar, icke efter dem, som beherska honom.’ I believe ‘passions’ is a more accurate translation than ‘emotions’, of the Swedish ‘känslor’, in this given context, especially since Dale was writing about passions in the meaning preceding the one we quote here. Dale was here quoting another, unidentified moralist. See also p. 218.
THE CRITICISM OF SELF-MAKING

Thus, the focus on self-making through riches did not mean that the desire for wealth should be given free rein. To complicate matters further, the self-made man was never unquestioned. There was also cultural critique against the ideal. The critique of the self-made man often came from writers who wanted manhood to be built on traditional Christian virtues such as compassion, blended with middle-class virtues that were also important to the ideal of self-making. Just as writers on success claimed men had to curb the worst expressions of their egotism and drive for success, some writers critiqued the new ideal of self-making outright.

England, land of the industrious middle class par excellence, paradoxically does not seem to have been imbued with as much of the ideal of self-making as the more backward and poorly industrialised Sweden. If anything, the ideal had been stronger before mid-century, and was under attack by leading intellectuals of the Victorian era. Thomas Carlyle believed in the gospel of hard work, but attacked the idea that businessmen could be manly models. And Charles Kingsley, one of England’s most influential men in shaping English manhood through his teachings on ‘Muscular Christianity’, also criticized the ideal of self-making; indeed, he even went so far as to claim that ‘money-making is an effeminate pursuit’.

The criticism was heard also in Sweden. One may mention for example the Swedish priest Gustaf Fredengren, who counted three of the seven deadly sins as ‘sons of Mammon’, and argued that men who searched pecuniary fortunes lost all compassion for their fellow human beings. Or again, a moralist in 1893 warned Swedish readers to ‘Beware, so that money does not become your goal’. These moralists were far from alone in denouncing excessive egotism and men’s striving for wealth in the second half of the century.

Another indication that the self-made man was not a given hero of the second half on the nineteenth century lies in illustrations. In all of the material of illustrations I have gone through, I have only found one illustration depicting the self-made man or

89. Tinh, A Man’s Place, p. 76.
90. See Arne Hélldén, Maskinerna och lyckan (1986), pp. 198-207; esp. pp. 201-203 on the criticism of businessmen.
92. [Gustaf Fredengren], Mammons sju söner: En karkteristik öfver Mammon och hans sju söner jämte en skildring af deras inflytande i verlden (1884), esp. pp. 5-9. The three deadly sins were envy, pride and gluttony; fornication, drinking, love of self, and mercilessness were four other sons of Mammon. See also Adolphe Monod, Penning-Wännin (1889), pp. 11, 24, who went so far as to have this section entitled ‘How criminal greed is’ (‘Hur brottslig girigheten är’).
the successful man as hero. This is in Fredrik Boye’s copies of Jules David’s lithographs, published already in 1838, which celebrated a moderate rise to success. The hero Wilhelm’s success was, however, more focussed on his winning the distinction of becoming a member the Legion of Honour, his role as a patriarchal family man and businessman, whose loyal workers testified that his newly won cross would, ‘adorn the chest of an honourable, useful and industrious citizen’, than on his climb to success from moderate means.95 Illustrations of L. J. Hierta portray him more as a man of the world than as businessman, as we saw in the previous chapter. Or, there were the aggressively polemical illustrations that his enemy, the scandal journalist Franz Sjöberg published when Hierta’s associate at The Evening Paper, C. J. L. Almqvist, was charged with attempted murder. Sjöberg now exacerbated his criticisms, and attacked Hierta as a mean capitalistic oppressor, driven by an almost dia-

bolic avarice. Artists were busy depicting men of fashion before mid-century, they hailed goticist manhood and romantic poets, they denounced or admired drinkers, seducers, and gamblers; they painted and printed illustrations of men in every conceivable way, but not as self-made men. Nowhere have I found a Swedish equivalent to the American oleograph ‘The Ladder of Success’ (1875), which showed young aspiring men eager to climb on the steps of ‘industry’, ‘morality’ and ‘honesty’ to find the fruits of ‘success’, ‘riches’ and ‘honor’, even while the background showed a variety of countertypes busy with strikes, gambling and betting.

Moralists’ criticism of self-making was, however, often defensive. Also, they were not, as they had been around 1800, the most influential moralists of their time. Instead, they were dissident idealists often out of key with their increasingly industrial and materialistic age. Their critique of self-making was a critique of their time, even while it was becoming clear that the times had inevitably and irreversibly changed. Teodor Holmberg is a clear example in the very pleading tone he used. Holmberg


216
'The Ladder of Success'. The American ideal of the self-made man, tellingly absent from illustrations by Swedish artists. Virtues are here instrumental to individual success; they will lead not only to 'happiness' and 'honor', but also to 'riches', 'success' and 'reputation'. Olegraph, 1875.
continually condemned the growing emphasis on riches which he saw in society. In text after text, he warned young men of the terrible effects of socialism, but he devoted even more time, energy and space on explaining the terrible consequences of rampant egotism and the material striving for individual success. To Holmberg, socialism and Mammonism were signs that society had become egotistic, materialistic, and secular. He once emphatically explained that ‘He, who ruthlessly only sees to his own benefit, is an enemy of society. Leave free reins for the craving for pleasure and the idolatry of money, and immorality will drown the world in a new deluge!’ To Holmberg, the self-made man was a sign that the world was heading the wrong way. And society was indeed moving in the opposite direction.

**THE SELF-MADE MAN AND SWEDISH SOCIETY**

The ideal of the self-made man should be understood more as the middle class’ dream of how society and men should be, than as a guide to how men of this class behaved. There was indeed a transformation in ideals, above all a growing legitimacy given to the will to success. Yet social historians have amply shown that middle-class men did not always live according to the ideal of the self-made man.

Wherever one turns to the Swedish middle class of the late nineteenth century, one finds informal networks as sources of power – networks which often excluded actual self-made men. In Gothenburg, Sweden’s leading trading city and a middle-class stronghold, men engaged in trading came predominantly from middle-class homes, and the growing number of men of poorer background who started trading in Gothenburg by the 1880s were excluded from sources of power embodied in informal networks. Even while middle-class traders endorsed the ideal of the self-made man, indeed took pride in being the modern carriers of this ideal, they apparently did much to exclude what few actual self-made men there were from power. In Sundsvall in northern Sweden, where the exports of wood transformed the local community according to a rather wild, robber-baron like capitalism, it has been shown that success for lower-middle-class traders and artisans to a significant extent was founded on the choice of wife. Men who married women from the local community gained access to their step-fathers’ social networks, and thus became more successful than their partners marrying women from other parts of the country.

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Yet, nowhere in success manuals do we find any hint that marriage could be an important step to success, or, rather, advice manuals which focussed on marriage as a means to riches wavered, throughout the century, between the idea of a rich marriage as a legitimate way of enriching oneself, and the idea that only love was what really mattered in marriage. Men’s actual dependence on women for success is silenced in success manuals. Advice was never given about how to create social networks to exclude self-made men from power and success; indeed, this behaviour ran against the grain of the ideal. Men rising from rags to riches in a strictly homosocial world were the heroes of the ideology of the self-made man. In reality, those men met resistance among middle-class traders.

The scepticism felt by successful men towards men who had reached success but were not sons of middle-class traders is incidentally shown also in the case of the most well-known Swedish self-made man of nineteenth century, the ‘king of aquavit’ L. O. Smith. Born as the poor son of a farmer, he made an outstanding career in making a purer form of aquavit and securing a monopoly for selling it. Smith became one of the richest men in the country. When Spain illegally imposed taxes on his massive Spanish stores of alcohol in 1888 and his entire economic empire rapidly crumbled, Smith received no help from the Swedish government, and the event was largely looked upon with satisfaction from leading trading circles, politicians and civil servants who despised the at times admittedly aggressive, ruthless and tactless newcomer. While an individual case, it shows how the middle class could both believe in an ideology of self-making – and despise self-made men for being newcomers of no real class.

In success manuals, men’s success were conditioned by their character. In social reality, success was largely conditioned by networks provided by one’s parents, friends, and wife. This actual dependence on others for success is ignored in the ideology of the self-made man. This shows, I would argue, that while success manuals stood for an ideology much cherished in the middle class, it was also an ideology which many men, both self-made and not, knew were not an accurate description of reality. It was their dream of how society should be, rather than their perception of how society worked.

To complicate matters further, parts of the Bildungsbürgertum did not believe in the ideal of self-making, but regarded it as a low and materialistic ideology. To many intellectual men of the middle class in the second half of the nineteenth century, the idealist struggle to improve society, to be active citizens working for reforms, rather than the making of riches or independence were at the fore. The will to educate the work-
ing classes and may well have been stronger ideals among these strata of the middle class than materialistic self-making. In Nordic modern fiction of the 1880s, not least by the influential author August Strindberg, traders and capitalists were portrayed as immoral swindlers, not as the heroic champions of a new age. Although the era of the man of the world was over, richer segments of the middle class continued to admire and aspire to the aristocracy and its values, rather than the values of the self-made man. The self-made man was apparently but one of several masculine ideals.

What's more, even among rich, self-made men, the cultural imperative to be useful citizens, to be helpful to others, was a strong ideal, but rarely expressed in success manuals. Wealth also meant a responsibility to help others. This blending of self-making with a more active notion of the useful citizen also emerges in autobiographies, as we shall presently see.

THE SELF-MADE MAN AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY: BUSINESSMEN’S TESTIMONY

Given these diverse perceptions of self-making in the second half of the nineteenth century, is this complex shift in masculinities supported or not by evidence from autobiographies? Our first interest, naturally, is businessmen.

Businessmen born around 1800 did not focus on their careers, their work or their success in their autobiographies. They emphasised instead, as I showed in chapter 5, how their careers or attempted careers were grounded in a will to be useful members of society.

The difference to later generations of businessmen is staggering. Let us first consider the aforementioned L. O. Smith.

There is all the difference in the world between Smith’s account and the earlier businessmen. Smith laid himself squarely at the centre of his discourse, he wrote at length about his success, and he was crystal clear that the success was a result of his hard and enduring work. In telling the admittedly fantastic story of his own rise to fortune, Smith openly bragged about his ‘energy, greedy for deeds, and [my] vigorous youthful strength of action’, how he paid off his poor father’s debts at the age of 16, his habit of working at least 18 hours a day, and in a Darwinian twist mentioned his own ‘struggle for existence’. In the face of men who had been bent on thwarting him, it was Smith and Smith alone who had created his enormous wealth, he intoned again and again.

109. Only one businessman, Arvid Löfving, celebrated his father for having been a self-made man, and the norms (hard work, business, diligence) which supported that ideal, although his prose came no way near the celebration of self-making which we have observed in the present chapter. See Arvid Löfving [b. 1804], *Arvid Löfvinges ofullbordade memoarer*, pp. 5–6 (on the father), 14–18.
again. He claimed to have been known all over the world among businessmen for over half a century, and asserted that the pure aquavit he fabricated was a ‘hallmark in the history of humanity’. Here was not a man reluctant to lay claim to fame through riches, as had been the case in businessmen of an earlier generation. Smith was the poor son of a farmer who worked himself up to riches through individual initiative. Smith’s account was firmly drenched in ideas about self-making. It comes as no surprise that he firmly believed in the liberal proposition that men, if they only wanted to, could rise in society, or that his strong commitment to aiding the working classes rested on a fervent critique of socialism and the attitude that workers should be helped into helping themselves.

Given that Smith also emphasised his public utility, as we saw in chapter 5, his autobiography is simultaneous testimony to an enormous increase in the value placed on the individual and individual self-made men as heroes, and the expected imperative of self-made men that they should not be completely governed only by a will to riches. The self-made man, still in 1913 when Smith wrote his autobiography, needed also to be a useful citizen.

Other autobiographies by businessmen, born in the 1860s and 70s, show a further development of individualism and a strengthened legitimacy of the striving for economic success. It is significant that two of these men, like Smith, only wrote their life-stories when all money or public honour was lost. Uddevalla businessman and politician Albert Andersson is the most notable example. Like Smith, he emphasised his poor background as the son of a shoemaker, his yearning to become a businessman, his thrift from early years, and that he was aiding his parents financially already at the age of nine. Andersson laid his own struggle for independence and his hard work at the very centre of his text. Here was a self-made man, who had started a business in clothing and reached massive success both due to his commercials and his ‘restless work’. After moving to Stockholm, some economic troubles arose, due to Andersson’s egoistic and scheming associate, Mr. Sandström. Andersson, however, was prepared for the worst; he even saw his troubles as a personal challenge. Situating himself firmly as a responsible breadwinner and family man, he claimed the troubles were ‘an incentive [for me] to attempt to overcome my hardships, and one day as a victor, free and independent’ win back what he had lost, for he ‘intended to show that

111. L. O. Smith [b. 1836], Memoarer, pp. 2-12, 16-26, 28-33, 43-48, 60, 144, 146-150, 152, 247 (quotes from pp. 22: ’dådlystna energi och [min] ungdomsfriska handlingskraft’, 20: ‘kampen för tillvaron’). Others had indeed conspired against Smith, just as he had used aggressive means in securing his monopoly for selling alcohol. See Sjölin, L. O. Smith, e.g. pp. 35-36, 47-48, 50-52, 61-66, 206.
112. Smith [b. 1836], Memoarer, pp. 28, 40: ’en epok i mänsklighetens historia’.
114. Albert Andersson [b. 1865], Uddevalla: Själfbiografi, 5 ed., pp. 5, 10-11, 14-21, 24, 27-28; for his work, see simply passim.
115. Ibid., p. 36: ‘rastlöst arbete’.
116. Ibid., p. 62. Andersson continually emphasised how others had conspired against him (see esp. pp. 68-87), in a way as to arouse suspicion that he had troubles admitting his own role in his ultimate failure as a businessman. The possible truthfulness of Andersson’s account is, however, partially corroborated in that his account of being thwarted by politician Ture Malmgren through dishonest methods (pp. 103-109) has been corroborated, by Martin Åberg, Uddevalla stads historia: 1860–1998 (1997), pp. 166, 175, who has not used Andersson’s autobiography.

221
A man of character, a useful citizen, a self-made man, and, if not a man of the world, then at least a man proud to have become a Spanish nobleman, who had his daughters married into the aristocracy. L. O. Smith displays his orders. Undated photography.
I knew my duties and obligations as a father and as a husband.\(^{117}\)

Andersson was more than an egotistic self-made man, though. He was most hurt that his ‘idealistic strivings’ had been perceived as egotistic and scheming ways to further enrichment. He reassured readers that his participation both in temperance work and politics had been detrimental to his economic success, and denounced men who (like L. O. Smith, for example) made riches from alcohol, since they saw to their own economic benefit rather than what was good for the nation. We witness, once again, the merging of an emphasis on self-making with the duty to be useful.\(^{118}\)

C. S. Dahlin, most well-known as the pugnacious final editor of the scandal paper *The Fatherland*,\(^ {119}\) had started by pursuing a career as a highly skilled artisan, working both in Scotland and in Sweden mainly as an upholsterer and interior decorator of boats. Like Smith and Andersson, Dahlin showed similar pride in early breadwinning and continued support for his parents and siblings,\(^ {120}\) the same extreme focus on his own hard work, his economic situation, and his struggle for independence,\(^ {121}\) and an even stronger pride, even boasting, over his modest and poor background (like Andersson, Dahlin’s father had been a shoemaker).\(^ {122}\) Like Smith, he described his ongoing struggle for success with the Darwinian expression the ‘struggle for existence’.\(^ {123}\) Dahlin emphasised his hard work, to be sure, but he focussed on the illegitimate egotism of those who conspired against him to a greater extent than both Smith and Andersson.

Dahlin’s recollected life was one where egotistic businessmen, seeking profit but lacking diligence, swindled him. To strive to enrich oneself, especially the striving to become a father and reach independence, was an ideal in Dahlin – the striving to enrich oneself no matter on what moral grounds was denigrated, even aggressively attacked. Dahlin portrayed himself as an example of a hard working, diligent skilled artisan, bent on getting the job done, doing it properly, and on time. This portrait was set against countertypes, who only wanted to enrich themselves. Dahlin attacked greedy men without virtues, while his own struggle to reach independence was honourable, indeed an expression of virtue and masculinity.\(^ {124}\) He also criticized men who sought pecuniary fortunes or personal success without an eye for the common good.\(^ {125}\) In short, Dahlin’s autobiography recapitulated much of what Smith and Andersson had said of themselves: that Dahlin was an honourable man, counteracted

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118. Ibid., pp. 90 (quote: ‘ideella sträfvanden’), 91-102; cf. the digression on Swedish emigration to America, pp. 24-26.

119. Dahlin became editor of *The Fatherland* in 1914, at which point the paper had a deservedly bad reputation, a reputation Dahlin seems to have done little to enhance. See Britt Börjesson, ‘Fäderneslandet: En pressetisk sanering’, in Carlsson and Gustafsson (eds.), *Den moderna dagspressen 350 år* (1996) pp. 117-143.

120. Carl Sigfrid Dahlin [b. 1873], *Minnen* (1933), pp. 7, 9, 11-14, 16-18, 30-31, 34, 43.

121. Ibid., e.g. pp. 25, 27-28, 31-34, 47-52, 63, 65.

122. Ibid., pp. 7-16, 31, 88-89.

123. Ibid., ch. 5, pp. 45-56: ‘Kampen för tillvaron’. Also pp. 129, 130.

124. Ibid., e.g. pp. 40-44, 47-55, 60-61, 65-76, 84-85, 99, 118, 120-127, 134-140; 76-81, 86-88, 102 esp. on Dahlin’s pride in his work.

125. Ibid., pp. 115-118, 147-148, 150.
by egotists who only saw to their own good no matter on what principles; that he fought for (and, at least temporarily, reached) success; and that other men were to blame for the lack of success in his life.

Nils Peter Mathiasson, a businessman from Stockholm who like Smith was engaged in the liquor business, is the only example I have found of a successful businessman writing a full-length autobiography.\(^\text{126}\) Like other businessmen of his generation, Mathiasson emphasised his poor background,\(^\text{127}\) his economic actions and initiatives from an early age and onwards,\(^\text{128}\) he detailed his career\(^\text{129}\) and was proud to recall how his earnings went directly to his parents’ upkeep.\(^\text{130}\) His autobiography was also explicitly written as a didactic work of inspiration for young men, and included a preface on what virtues were needed in order to reach success, where moralists’ virtues such as ambition, the will to work hard, and strength of will were singled out as important.\(^\text{131}\) These were all themes of the self-made man as he appeared in the guises of Smith, Andersson, and Dahlin. Mathiasson also wrote of how he wanted to make his knowledge in business ‘fruitful’ in ‘my own country’, thus blending his self-making with the nationalistic discourse on usefulness.\(^\text{132}\) He also recalled how his employer in America, where he spent some time in the 1880s and 90s, had some bad business in speculating on pieces of land, but went back to being ‘diligence personified’, in a way which contrasted the activities of speculation with hard work, a thought expressed also by moralists, as we have seen.\(^\text{133}\) He is the only autobiographer who succeeded in spelling the English expression ‘self-made man’ correctly, and he used it, of course, in a positive sense.\(^\text{134}\)

After returning to Sweden from a period in America, it was, as in Dahlin’s case, to be able to support his wife that Mathiasson worked hard to become independent and successful. We encounter again the combination of father or married man whose self-made position is balanced against the cosy and tidy home. More than riches, the goal was the position of the married breadwinner.\(^\text{135}\)

On the whole, then, autobiographies by businessmen born around 1800 and later generations differ wildly from each other. The early generation did not write about their will to have a career or detailed their strivings in economic terms. The later generation, born in the 1860s and 70s (with L. O. Smith born in 1836) focussed on self-making, detailed their careers, wrote about their work, their will to reach success and

\(^{126}\) Nils Peter Mathiasson [b. 1868], *Mitt vinst- och förlustkonto* (1911).

\(^{127}\) Ibid., pp. 1-5.

\(^{128}\) Ibid., e.g. pp. 10-13, 10-11, 41.


\(^{130}\) Ibid., pp. 21-22.


\(^{132}\) Mathiasson [b. 1868], *Mitt vinst- och förlustkonto*, p. 90: ‘fruktbarande’, ‘mitt eget land’. Also consider p. ix, on politics.

\(^{133}\) Ibid., pp. 70-72, quote from p. 72: ‘den personifierade fliten’.

\(^{134}\) Ibid., p. 142: ‘self-made man’. Note, however, that Mathiasson had been driven to America by his love of the adventurous life of cowboys, more than by a will to be self-made; ibid., pp. 23, 64-67.

\(^{135}\) Ibid., esp. pp. 100-107; cf. Dahlin [b. 1873], *Minnen*, pp. 27-28, 45.
to support a loved wife. The duty to be useful to society survived into the later accounts, but the insistence on individual initiative became much stronger. Also, men were beginning to brag about their economic hardships of the poor background they had.\textsuperscript{136} On the whole, these autobiographies substantiate the conclusion that it only was in the second half of the century that the self-made man emerged as a model of masculinity.

**SELF-MAKING IN AUTOBIOGRAPHIES BY THE BILDUNGSBÜRGERTUM**

Businessmen only constituted a minority of the middle class, just as they are a minority in the sample of autobiographies studied in this book. Autobiographies by men of the Bildungsbürgertum show that the ideal of the self-made man was very far from dominant in the second half of the nineteenth century. Self-making is here understood in a wider sense than in the success manuals discussed above, as for instance careers in the academic world or as a civil servant. If the ideal of the self-made man had indeed been dominant, we would expect men to brag about their success and their strivings to come forward in the world. This, however, was not the case. Some men certainly believed in making careers and in individual initiative. Their focus, however, clearly lay elsewhere.

Some men simply chose to be silent about their careers. The Selander brothers could have told the story of how Edvard became a physician and bacteriologist and produced several new serums, and how Nils first rose to the rank of Colonel and then devoted himself to a career within the theatre. But it takes a look into biographical dictionaries to find out.\textsuperscript{137}

Nils Petrus Ödman pointed out that the desire to make money had not been the driving force behind his writing so many volumes of memoirs; he also thanked God for everything that had happened in his life, and his benefactor N. P. Ekström, not himself, for his economic independence.\textsuperscript{138} It is revealing that the idealistic Ödman, who produced countless amounts of occasional poetry in his student years, found absolutely nothing to say when he was to write a celebration of a businessman. When his friend solved the problem, he emphasised the businessman’s public usefulness, not his profession or how he had worked himself up from nothing.\textsuperscript{139}

The publicist Janne Damm was more ambivalent in his attitudes to self-making. He celebrated men who had succeeded in making academic careers even though they were sons of poor families. He also wrote of a middle-class man who had invited students to dinner and was subjected to their ridicule. The trader then gave an admoni-

\textsuperscript{136} Cf. also the shift between the modesty in J[akob] N[orrby] [b. 1797], J. N:s sjelfbiografi, edited by Theodor Norrby (1840; 1890), pp. 6-8, and the son’s own writing on his father in Theodor Norrby (ed.), Till J.N:s Minne: Bilagor till J.N:s biografi (1889), esp. pp. 1, 8. The father’s brief autobiography was no way near as self-assertive as his son’s later comments on his father.

\textsuperscript{137} SMK 6, pp. 621-622; Efraim Dahlin [b. 1848], Memoarer, also refrained from writing about his impressive career, detailed in SBL 9, pp. 726-729. Note that it was not death which stopped Dahlin from writing about his adult life; Dahlin, Memoarer, p. 189 (Eric Festin’s comments).

\textsuperscript{138} Nils Petrus Ödman [b. 1838], ‘En liten sjelfbiografi,’ UUB Pelle Ödman 2, pp. 21, 22, 31, 50.

\textsuperscript{139} Ödman [b. 1838], ‘En pristäflan eller Ett festpoems historia’, in Svenska minnen och bilder, vol. 1:2, pp. 160-176.
tory speech on his own individual success, as contrasted to the students’ laziness and lack of morals. Here, the self-made man was clearly the ideal, and students’ scorn of middle-class traders was denigrated. However, Damm also criticized an academic careerist who had ‘worked himself up’ for lacking the qualities of the man of the world, and criticized L. J. Hierta for having been driven by ‘self-interest’, adding that Hierta did not mind all the criticism heaped upon him ‘as long as he made money’. What’s more, even while Damm took a critical stance on student’s despise of middle-class men, he was not wholly free from this attitude himself.

Johan Grönstedt celebrated the well-known banker and self-made man A. O. Wallenberg, and appreciated a famous tailor for having worked himself up from nothing. However, this admiration of self-made men also mixed freely with celebrations of men who had lead totally different lives, such as the romantic and sensitive poet Edvard Bäckström and the party animal and man of the world Svante Hedin. On the latter, Grönstedt wrote:

Bo Jonsson Grip was so rich, that he could travel all over Sweden and still sleep exclusively in his own houses. But Svante Hedin could travel from Ystad to Haparanda [...] and would not have to sleep anywhere but in friends’ houses.

I believe that Svante Hedin was the richer of the two.

If Grönstedt cherished men who were self-made, this was clearly not the only or even the most important conception of masculinity he endorsed.

Teodor Holmberg struck an even more critical note, and repeated his moralisms on careerists when listing ‘the ruthless worshipper of Mammon’ as one of several counter-types to ideal manhood in his autobiography. He did the same in his practical life. Holmberg shunned a career, and continued to work as an idealistic elevator of Sweden’s youth to useful and Christian citizens, ever at the small Tärna folk school.

140. [Janne Damm] [b. 1825], Studentminnen, pp. 28, 149-151. Also see Damm’s celebration of a self-made man in idem, ‘En sjelfbiografi’, Granskaren 1890:15, not paginated. 141. [Damm] [b. 1825], Studentminnen, p. 81 (quote: ‘arbetat sig upp’); idem, ‘En sjelfbiografi’, Granskaren 1890:19, not paginated: ‘egennyttan’, ‘blott han förtjenade pengar’. 142. [Damm] [b. 1825], Studentminnen, c.g. pp. 36, 127-129; idem, ‘En sjelfbiografi’, Granskaren 1890:36, not paginated. For another twist, see Carl Stiernström [b. 1851], ‘Minnen från Uppsala: 1870–1880-talen’, UUB X297 o, esp. pp. 72-75-73, who used money in a theatrical display to impress other men; and Louis De Geer [b. 1854], Strödda minnen från åren 1854–1924, p. 100, who wrote that his father-in-law was ‘a selfmade man’, but immediately and significantly added ‘Very talented, he was also a true gentleman’ (‘en selfmade man. Högt begåvad, var han dessutom en verklig gentleman’).


‘Jag tycker, att Svante Hedin var den rikaste af de båda.’ Bo Jonsson Grip was a massively rich and powerful politician in fourteenth-century Sweden. SMK 1, pp. 388-389. 146. Teodor Holmberg [b. 1853], Tidströmmningar och minnen, p. 402: ‘den hänsynslöse mammonsykaren’.

147. Ibid., c.g. pp. 10, 44, 103-106, 141, 148, 199-200, 186, 187-192, 401. Holmberg’s Christian idealistic ideal of utility was briefly treated in chapter 1.
Samuel Ödmann certainly made a career as a politician and journalist, and wrote at length about his own and others’ success; he also hailed two other men as ‘self-made’. However, he also continually expressed worries that his autobiography might be read as his intentional over-emphasising of his own importance, and criticized blatant self-interest, when it was not combined with a will to be useful to the community, to a greater extent than other autobiographers. In Ödmann, there was at least at times a greater friction between the ideal of the useful citizen and the sharp-elbowed self-made man.

These men were born between 1825 and 1853. Generally, men in later generation were even less likely to write about their careers. The majority of men of the Bildungsbürgertum clearly did not endorse the ideal of self-making. It seems, then, that the ideal of the self-made man was more or less limited to businessmen. This, however, would be an erroneous conclusion. The strongest testimony to a greater acceptance for the legitimacy of a career and the striving for success comes not from businessmen. It comes from the absolutely compulsory passages by virtually all autobiographers of what became of their friends or people they had merely encountered at any given dinner or party. Autobiographers frequently wrote brief passages detailing the positions these men would rise to later in life. Rarely, but significantly more often over time, they also mentioned men who did not rise as high in society as could have been expected. These supposedly descriptive passages about other men can be read as a simple indication of reality: men who wrote autobiographies belonged to an elite where success was an actual outcome for a majority of men. But the recurring passages about other men’s later titles also points to shared attitudes concerning men’s appreciation of other men precisely for their success or their careers. Men, after all, did not have to point out what became of other men, but chose to do so. The passages about other men reinforce the homosocial construction of men’s life-stories, and the extent to which these life-stories revolved around hierarchies of power. It should be noted that these enumerations of other men’s later careers also point to a continued emphasis on men’s usefulness. When autobiographers listed what became of other men, they were applauding them both for their success and their usefulness. Men who were explicitly sceptical against wealth-seeking still wrote of the professions other men would later rise to.

148. Samuel Ödmann [b. 1822], Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar; on his own career, this is how his text is structured after his student years, pp. 125-307; although most emphasis is laid on other men. The quotes from ibid., pp. 167, 180: ‘selfmade’. Emphases in the original.
149. Ibid., pp. 161, 183, 191, 216.
150. Ibid., pp. 196-199, 201, 270, 286-287, 301-304.
151. Gustaf Bergmark [b. 1881], Alminns på 1880- och 1890-talen: Barndomsminnen från en småstad briefly celebrated Charles Hill and criticized another businessman for not being ‘man enough to run his business’; pp. 50-51, 54-55, quote from p. 54: ‘en man att själv sköta en affär’. That’s about it.
152. See e.g. Arvid August Åheden [b. 1785], Minnen, pp. 5, 13; Carl Wilhelm Böttiger [b. 1807], Sjelfbiografiska anteckningar och bref, pp. 82, 125; [Johan Carl Hellberg] [b. 1811], Posthumus, Ur minnet och dagboken om mina samtida, vol. 1, e.g. pp. 39, 79; Svedelius [b. 1816], Anteckningar om mitt förflutna lif, c.g. pp. 382, 384, 390, 608-609; Johan Georg Arsenius [b. 1818], Minnesanteckningar, c.g. pp. 24, 16, 260-268; Louis De Geer [b. 1818], Minnen, vol. 1, pp. 20-21, 143, 148; Claes Herman Rundgren [b. 1819], ‘Hågkomster från mitt eget och samtidens lif’, vol. 1, UUB Tuda, pp. 32-36, 69-78; Samuel Ödmann [b. 1822], Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar, c.g. pp. 44-45;
A minority of men also portrayed themselves at least in part as self-made men. Railroad engineer Claes Adelsköld, who as we have seen embodied both the ideal of the useful citizen and that of the man of the world, is a case in point. His silences or half-silences are highly revealing of the portrait he painted of himself. He came from a massively rich, newly ennobled family, whose fortunes were more or less destroyed in 1817, just seven years before Adelsköld’s birth.\\footnote{153. Adelsköld [b. 1824], Utdrag ur Mitt Dagsverks- och Pro Diverse-Konto, vol. 1, pp. 23-28; ibid., vol. 2, pp. 104-105; [Damm] [b. 1825], Studentminnen, e.g. pp. 51-52. Adelsköld’s grandfather had been ennobled in 1773; ibid., p. 22.}

While it is true that Adelsköld was not born to riches, it is significant that he never wrote about the extent to which he was born into social networks of power. Silent about those contacts, Adelsköld proudly claimed that both he and his friend the well-known liberal politician Pehr Murén had ‘succeeded in reaching success in the world from nothing’.\\footnote{154. Ibid., e.g. vol. 1, pp. 161, 507-508; vol. 2, pp. 140, 321, 407, 428-429; vol. 3, pp. 4, 40, 66, 173; vol. 4, p. 232. However, he admitted that he was not particularly skilled in making riches, since he had missed out on two such opportunities; see vol. 2, pp. 57, 292-293.} He also wrote of his career ambitions, his struggle to move on in the world, and the details of his career and work in language strongly resembling of success manuals.\\footnote{155. Ibid., e.g. vol. 1, pp. 51, 118, 168, 411; vol. 1, p. 270; vol. 4, pp. 115-116.} Adelsköld repeatedly portrayed himself as a man who had reached economic independence and moderate riches through his own efforts, through hard work and with the manly goal of independence and the position of breadwinner ahead of him.\\footnote{156. Ibid., e.g. vol. 1, pp. 161, 204-205; vol. 2, pp. 104, 126-131, 407, 428-429; vol. 3, pp. 4, 40, 66, 16, 173; vol. 4, p. 232. However, he admitted that he was not particularly skilled in making riches, since he had missed out on two such opportunities; see vol. 2, pp. 57, 292-293.} He significantly downplayed his actual economic dependence to the father-in-law of his second wife, who appeared only in passing as a guarantor of loans Adelsköld had to take in some business transactions. Even while Adelsköld married rich, and thus laid the foundation for his success at least to a certain extent on other things but his superior character and will-power, one would not guess this from his autobiography.\\footnote{157. Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 17, 37, 59, 332 for very brief words on his father-in-law. V. E. Ljilenberg, ‘Claes Adolf Adelsköld’, Teknik tidskrift 37 (1907-1908), 379, wrote completely in passing that Adelsköld had reached his economic independence through marriage. (Ljilenberg’s surname is an educated but very probable guess; see Teknik tidskrift 37 [Allmänna afdelingen], pp. 39, 61, 76, 93, 105, 109, 117.)}

In similarity to the businessmen discussed above, Adelsköld also attacked men who were driven only by the will to become rich no matter what the methods. He was
adamant in pointing out how his struggles for independence and success were always triggered by the will to be useful to his fatherland. He also criticized businessmen who saw more to their own profits than what was good for the nation or the inherent value in work well executed.

Adelsköld frequently blended the discourse on self-making with the ideal of usefulness. He wrote with great emotion of how his son Axel, had he not died at 25, would have been ‘useful to the community’ and ‘would no doubt have gone far and [had] become an ornament for his country, known and honoured by contemporaries and posterity’. In direct advice to young male readers of his autobiography, he similarly mixed the ideal of usefulness and economic self-making. The reader should make the following use of Adelsköld’s experience:

each and everyone can, through courage, an energetic mind and ordinary gifts of reason, but above all through work — without vacations and regulated working hours — come forward and win an independent position in the world, as well as be useful, in any of the many careers, which are open for each individual’s inclinations [...] Apparently, individual success and usefulness were two sides of the same coin to Adelsköld. His self-portrait was that of a self-made man, striving to be useful to society, and cherishing his hard-won independence. Adelsköld clearly wanted to portray himself as a self-made man.

Prime minister Louis De Geer was certainly a man of the world, as we have seen. However, he also endorsed the ideal of self-making. Indeed, he so over-emphasised his noble family’s economic hardships in his early and young years, that his brother Jacques published a brief official disclaimer to De Geer’s account. De Geer’s self-image was not as aggressively self-assertive as Adelsköld’s or those of the later generation of businessmen. De Geer named those who had helped him in his career, and reluctantly admitted that his noble birth had been of help at certain moments. He also mentioned his continued economic dependence on his father-in-law, which continued even up in his late thirties. Even so, he still concluded his lengthy autobiography by stating that ‘from having started as poor, [I] have come to good economic circumstances’, and that his outstanding public career as politician and civil servant in
Law was due in part to the fact that ‘from youth and onwards, I have had to trust to myself’ and that others had had ‘faith in the integrity of my character’. He also repeatedly emphasised his own strivings. At 23 (note the late age), his father had ended all alimonies; ‘now it was up to me to strive forward on my own accord’. Here was a man who had struggled to improve his own position. The manliness of independence becomes all the more apparent when De Geer accounted for his striving to rise in society. More clearly than any other autobiographer, he related this striving to his attempts to marry and later to be a breadwinner, despite having very little money. In accounting for his career and his ambitions, it was the role of the economizing, hard-working, and independent breadwinner which De Geer sought after – and succeeded reaching. Even De Geer’s self-criticism of his ‘veritable horror for all kinds of speculations’ which entailed that he had not ‘been able to make any large profits’ can in fact be read as reinforcing his morality. Here was a man who had not made major profits, but who had worked himself up and reached economic independence. He had shunned speculations, just as moralists on success had denounced this illegitimate way to wealth. Indeed, viewed in this light, De Geer’s shunning of speculations becomes a positive signifying mark of character.

These men were not alone in emphasising their strivings for independence and moderate wealth. On the whole, however, the idea of striving for riches and the quest for individual success was not a very common theme in nineteenth-century men’s autobiographies. Even those who like De Geer wrote briefly on their own success or the success of others clearly did not place this ideal at centre stage. Looking at men’s autobiographies, we find several different masculinities. What we do not find is men who focus on their own climb to success, independence and riches. Autobiographers, then, show what our analysis of moralists’ discourse itself revealed: the self-made man was but one of several models of manhood in the second half of the nineteenth century. Businessmen’s autobiographies show that the ideal became stronger, but men of the Bildungsbürgertum were less likely to endorse the ideal.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have seen how moralists began to celebrate the ideal of the self-made in the second half of the nineteenth century. The ideal, we saw, meant a change in attitudes where the will to riches became a legitimate motivating force behind

168. Ibid., vol. 1, e.g. pp. 59-60, 89, 100-101, 106, 108-109, 112, 117, 125-126, 150, 142-143; vol. 2, pp. 82, 110-111, 300. (But see vol. 1, p. 120.)
170. This is reinforced through his account of the massive scandal caused by his political enemy, the conservative Henning Hamilton, who had gambled away his and his son-in-law’s fortunes, a behaviour which De Geer sharply criticized in his memoirs; ibid., vol. 2, pp. 247-251. But see ibid., vol. 1, pp. 207-209.
171. See the discreetly bragging Gustaf Ferdinand Asker [b. 1812], Lefnadsminnen, e.g. pp. 1-4 (on his father), 15-
men’s actions. The will to power through riches became legitimate. Weber claimed that the protestant ethic especially in its Calvinist form had led to ‘an amazingly good [...] conscience in the acquisition of money, so long as it took place legally’. In the ideal of the self-made man, the question was no longer a good conscience in making money; making money became a preferable way of making men. What had been a legitimate pursuit became a positive path to morals and masculinity. To be sure, there were still to be moral rules for the acquisition of money. But over time, as success came to be a positive mark of manhood, the question of conscience and of man’s relation to God withered away. What was left was the doctrine that men should prove their masculinity through the seeking of riches – a doctrine which differs from what Weber called the spirit of capitalism.

The discussions on self-making shed critical light on the notion that men were an invisible, ungendered norm. They do substantiate, though, the idea that some things were taken for granted in the discussions about men. To moralists who wrote on success, women’s absence from the public sphere was a given.

The ideal was more or less completely homosocial, that is, the self-made man’s masculinity was largely defined against that of other men, not women. Self-made men were not hailed as breadwinners and successful family men. They were hailed as exemplars of masculinity compared to men who had not succeeded: idlers, drinkers, and gamblers. In autobiographies, wives appeared in passing as dependent subjects, reinforcing men’s masculinity.

The homosocial construction of the self-made man was linked to a particular countertype, both among moralists and autobiographers: men who sought success no matter the methods. The countertype were men who were driven by a will to riches, but lacking both a concern for the common good and the methods they had used to enrich themselves.

The ideal was not completely novel to the second half of the nineteenth century. To be sure, to many writers the self-made man had been a countertype to real manhood around 1800. But the influence and popularity of Benjamin Franklin’s pamphlet *The Way to Wealth*, reprinted in several Swedish editions in the century’s first half, shows that ideas of self-making were not wholly absent from this earlier phase, either. Also, even while the self-made man had gained greater popularity after mid-century, the ideal was not without its detractors. Intellectual authors, priests and some laymen critiqued the growing idolatry of money of an increasingly industrial age. Traits like sobriety and mastery over the passions were more important to their conception of

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20, 30-31, 40, 65 (but see pp. 101-103, where God is said to have helped Asker in his success); also Karl Fries, who only bragged discreetly about his outstanding career within the YMCA and wrote at length about his career but continued to thank God rather than himself for his success. Fries [b. 1861], *Mina minnen* (1919), e.g. pp. 7, 11, 26-27, 58-59, 54-55, 18, 72, 161-162. Given Frie’s focus on his career, one wonders if not his gratitude to God, despite his Christianity, was also to some extent rhetoric. A bizarre case is the rhetoric in Otto Gråbergh [b. 1844], *Mina egna memoarer*, pp. 29, 49, who portrayed himself as a self-made man but clearly had not worked very hard. Indeed, his income was founded on blackmailing the king Charles XV, whose love-letters to his mistress were in Gråbergh’s possession! See Germund Michanek, *Carl XV och Hanna på Väntorp* (1995), pp. 11-12, 86-107.

manhood than economic success. Also, the need to discipline the worst effects of ego-
tism was always felt even with those most enthusiastic about manhood as measured in success.

Asa Briggs has chronicled the dwindling star of Samuel Smiles towards the end of the nineteenth century. Towards the fin-de-siècle, we are told, more Social Darwinist
 tones entered the discussion about manhood, tones which made the moralistic Smiles appear outdated.\textsuperscript{173} ‘Character’ became replaced with other notions such as ‘personality’, which emphasized more the individual’s possibility to charm others in his striving for success.\textsuperscript{174} This trend cannot be seen in Sweden, where Smiles’s books continued to be published throughout the last two decades of the century. The influence of Social Darwinism was marked in Swedish late-nineteenth-century discussions about gymnastics and manhood;\textsuperscript{175} in advice manuals for young men, Social Darwinism coexisted with moral admonitions to remain in control of passions.

After the coming of the twentieth century, the self-made man was under increasing attack even in his country of origin, America. In American magazines for men in the inter-war years, stories of how ordinary men worked themselves up to fame and fortune, the favourite didactic story for young boys in the Victorian years, gave way to a vain form of masculinity, centred on consumption, clothing, leisure and even sex, than on hard work and other Victorian virtues such as self-control and assertiveness.\textsuperscript{176} The self-made man has continued to be a central meaning for manhood, but it has become more contested and confused.

\textsuperscript{174} Jeffrey Louis Decker, \textit{Made in America}, pp. 4, 92; Warren I. Susman, \textit{Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century} (1984), pp. 271-284 dates the change to the first decade of the twentieth century; This seems to hold true also of Sweden; Johan Söderberg, \textit{Röda läppar och shinglat hår} (2001), pp. 29-36.
\textsuperscript{175} Ljunggren, \textit{Kroppens bildning}, pp. 164-181.
8. DON JUAN’S PROBLEMATIC MASCULINITY

Male sexuality, prostitution, and the seducer, c.1870–c.1900

‘When he-lilies,’ oft I would ponder,
‘would bloom and mature and then squander
their pollen to fly in a flurry,
and aimlessly find just to fall on
the nearest available lily,
it blew where the bold breezes blew,
and yet injures nothing, it’s true;
why should I not then willy-nilly
do likewise and go out and hurry
to some nearby woman to call on
and do as the he-lilies do?’
—Gustaf Fröding, 1898

INTRODUCTION

By the late 1870s, moralists began to preoccupy themselves with men’s sexuality. This chapter strives to understand this preoccupation through an analysis of changing conceptions of the seducer. While the main focus remains on the century’s last three decades, moralists’ perceptions of seduction and the seducer in these decades are also compared to earlier views on seduction and male sexuality. Changes in the discourse on seduction and the seducer, I argue, hold the key to understanding transformations in masculinity in the final decades of the nineteenth century. When moralists problematised male sexuality, they explicitly targeted the seducer as a countertype to normative masculinity. A novel ideal of masculinity was presented, connected to a chastity which was founded on respect for women.

This preoccupation was to some extent a part of the massive public discussion over

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social purity in the century's final decades.² Some moralists were themselves social
purists, while others were influenced by this discussion. In the following, I do not
study moralists' discussions from the perspective of the growing feminist movement
and its ongoing critique of male sexuality, since this has already been covered by earli-
er scholars.³ This is in accordance with this study's intention to focus on men's dis-
course on masculinity. When, in the following, I analyse what different men wrote
about the seducer, this is done with full awareness that they often echoed women.⁴

The 1880s did not break a 'Victorian' pride silence on sexuality. Moralists had been
producing advice manuals where sexuality was openly discussed since the late eigh-
teenth century.⁵ It was the intensity which was novel, and a change of focus from
women's sexuality to men's. What's more, medical men, influential and radical
authors, and feminists were participating in the ongoing discussion. What had been
an undercurrent in literature became the focus of an infected and public discourse.
Contemporaries were aware of this novel intensity. The physician and professor of
Medicine Seved Ribbing published three of his lectures on sexuality in 1888 'mainly
because the sexual question is still on the agenda in the most varied circles'.⁶

This chapter focusses on changing and conflicting perceptions of the seducer.
I first discuss the double standard which was current in Swedish society and among
moralists throughout the century, and how the moralists' ideal was founded on an
explicit critique of the double standard and the regulation of prostitution. I then dis-
cuss how my interpretation of moralists' ideals differs from interpretations brought
forward by earlier research. The novelty of late-nineteenth-century criticism of the
seducer is shown via an investigation of earlier criticisms of seducers and attitudes to
seduction. However, I then show that a minority of moralists and writers of erotica
instead endorsed Don Juan as a manly model in the final decades of the century. I
then move on to discuss the evidence given in autobiographies.

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² The details of the discussion are to be found above all in Elias Bredsdorff, *Den store nordiske krig om sexual-
moralen: En dokumentarisk fremstilling af sædlighetsdebatten i nordisk litteratur i 1880'erne* (1971); also Gunzet
Åhlström, *Det moderna genombrottet i Nordens litteratur* (1947); Ulla Boëthius, *Strindberg och kvinnofrågan till och

³ For Sweden, this has been done from different perspectives by Inger Hammar, *Emancipation och religion: Den
svenska kvinnorörelsens pionjärer i debatt om kvinnans kallelse ca 1860–1900* (1999), ch. 5; Hjördis Levin, *Maden tills
reven: Nynaliberalismen och födelsekontroll i Sverige 1880–1910: Propaganda och motstånd* (1994), ch. 7; Ulla Manns,
*Den sanna frigörelsen: Fredrika-Bremer–förbundet 1884–1921* (1997), ch. 3; idem, 'Kultur och kön: Fredrika-Bremer–förbun-
260-271; for England, see Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, class, and the state* (1980);

⁴ I discuss the ideas about male chastity in relation to social purity in 'Don Juans problematiska manlighet: för-
föreken och sedlighetsdebatten i svenskt 1800-tal', *Historisk Tidskrift* 120 (2000:3), pp. 343-369; the present chapter
does not to the same extent relate the ideas to this discussion.

⁵ This literature is discussed in Arne Jarrick, *Kärlekens makt och tårar: En evig historia* (1997); David Tjeder,
'Playing with fire: Swedish medical and middle-class attitudes to female sexuality in the second half of the nine-
teenth century', unpublished MA thesis, Department of Economic History, Stockholm University, 1996. That the
discourse emerged around 1800 is evident from a quantification of these books in the Royal Library's systematic
catalogue of books, 1700–1955, under the heading Svenska Samlingen Medicin Konsthållanden. Not one text has
been catalogued under this heading before 1775; the real explosion of the literature came in the 1810s.

THE SEDUCER, PROSTITUTION, AND THE DOUBLE STANDARD

The nineteenth century, and especially its second half, has come to be known as the period of a sexual double standard par excellence. And indeed, what little evidence moralists give way certainly points to a double standard of sexual morality. The few times that moralists discussed infidelity in marriage, women’s infidelity was considered to be worse than men’s. A moralist advised married men not to be unfaithful already in 1828, on the grounds that their wives would then be unfaithful, too, and this infidelity would stain the man’s honour. Male infidelity in itself was not problematised at all. An unusually explicit expression of the double standard was extolled in 1845: ‘If one’s wife is ugly, one can search for more beautiful women for consolation.’ Other moralists who discussed infidelity tended to see it as reprehensible in both men and women, but more reprehensible in women. Several arguments were used, such as that women risked bringing extramarital children into the married man’s home, or that women were always emotionally involved in infidelities, which was not the case when men were unfaithful. One moralist went so far as to say that there was no real difference between an unfaithful wife and a public woman.

Don Juan’s Problematic Masculinity


8. Konsten att välja sig en Hustru och lefva lyckligt med henne (1828), pp. 57-58; op. cit., p. 54, the author explicitly said that only the husband should know something of Hymen’s secrets when getting married.


10. E.g. Försök att besvara frågan: Hwilket är bättre, att wara gift eller hålla en mätress? (1832), p. 19; Fruntimmers-Spegeln (1838), pp. 52-53; Israel Hwasser, Om äktenskapet (1841), quoted in Alf Kjellén, Bakom den officiella faunaen (1879) p. 115; K. E. V. Hoookenberg, Hoookenberg i kylskåden (1846), p. 31; Don Juan [pseud.], Kärlekens Vägledare (1872), pp. 82-83; Cl. also Don stora hemligheterna ej blott att förverfra sig lärles man känslor, utan aften att inom fem veckor bli en lycklig maka (1873), p. 18; J. B. Liebesheim, Tillförletliga avsnissan och råd för giftaslystna unga män som önska sig en i alla afseenden god, älskvärd och förståndig hustru (1879), p. 22.

11. [Chabot de Bouin], M. Octave de S:t Ernest, Första brolloppsmätten (1872), p. 21. The French Dr. Féré went even further in 1892, claiming that an unfaithful wife was even more reprehensible than a public woman since her infidelity harmed the family, the basis for society; see Annie Stora-Lamarre, L’Enfer de la IIIe République: Censeurs et pornographes (1881-1914) (1990), p. 71 (without footnote; but the text by Féré is mentioned in footnote 49, p. 77; cf. bibliography, p. 226, where his name is spelled Fère).

12. For an example from lightly erotic literature, see the review Don Juan 1891:16, p. 5. (‘Sexual experience is an advantage in men, but a cancer in women.’ (’Erfarenheten är ett föredrade hos människor, men ett kräftsår hos kvinnor.’))

The strongest example of the double standard, in Sweden as in France and England, is the regulation of prostitution. The regulation of prostitution meant briefly that (working-class) women’s bodies should be made accessible to (middle-class) men without men running the risk of being infected with venereal disease. Public women were inscribed, controlled and submitted to weekly medical examinations.

The system was said to protect middle-class women’s virtue, in that men could have an outlet for their purportedly uncontrollable sexual drive before marriage. Yvonne Svanström has chronicled the rise of this set of attitudes and the creation of the regulation of prostitution in nineteenth-century Sweden. Her findings point to a strengthened double standard in the course of the nineteenth century. When authorities worried over the spread of venereal disease in the early nineteenth century, this resulted in a Royal Circular in 1812. Here, both men and women were perceived as responsible for spreading venereal disease. Over time and gradually, physicians and authorities instead came to perceive women alone as responsible for the spread of venereal disease. By 1886, August Strindberg seemed to believe that women generated venereal disease:

The many who whine over the terrible fates of prostitutes nowadays believe that destitution and seduction are the only motives. However, in his long practise as a bachelor during which he encountered probably a hundred public women, Johan [Strindberg’s fictional alter ego] never found a single one who was sentimental or wanted to change career. They had all chosen it from their own fancy, liked it well, and were happy. [...] they never spoke of their seducer other than as being the first, and someone had, after all, to be the first. They did not like the medical examinations, true, but recruits are also examined. How much more legitimate was not then the sanitary measure taken against the women, who begat the disease, which the men had not.

Strindberg here partially blamed women’s sexual modesty for causing men’s venereal diseases, and apparently saw no problem in the regulation of prostitution.

A double standard of morality can also be seen in how some men lead their lives.

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16. Incidentally, the argument that the medical inspections of soldiers showed that the regulation of prostitution did not rest on a double standard was often made in the period. However, medical inspections of soldiers were no way near as systematic as those carried out on public women. The sexual well-being of the troops was by and large secured through medical inspections of women, not men. Svanström, *Policing Public Women*, ch. 5
An example can be given in the politician Curry Treffenberg, who criticized the seducer in terms very similar to social purists in a debate in Parliament in 1889. Here, Treffenberg very clearly criticized the double standard and middle-class who without consideration of women bought himself access to working-class women's bodies; he also gave vent to his moral indignation against the medical examinations public women were subjected to, and explained that working-class women were often seduced by middle-class men. His argumentation here lay close to those moralists who endorsed social purity. However, both his own youth and his explicit arguments in other instances point to a double standard. First, it seems that his own youth had not been completely chaste. When he recalled his student days in a letter to his friend Gunnar Wennerberg in 1882, Treffenberg mystically wrote of a boudoir in a small red house with some satisfaction. And when he worried over sexual purity in his county in 1887, he unproblematically explained that:

There was a lot of thoughtlessness and extravagance in my days in Uppsala, and I belonged myself to a company of young men within which, I am obliged to confess it, there was a lot of foolishness and mischief. But in those days, one at least had the delicacy not to scream out one's shame over the rooftops; one sought instead to cover up one's tracks as much as possible, or one joked about it or poked fun at it, as things come about in [Gunnar Wennerberg's student songs] 'Gluntarne'.

Here, it was the openness of sexual exploits which was problematic – a classical example of a double standard. There are more individual examples of this type, pointing to a double standard of sexual morality in men's lives.

MORALISTS' ATTACK ON THE DOUBLE STANDARD

Moralists of the late nineteenth century criticized this double standard, by criticizing men who seduced women. Moralists were no longer reproducing the view that women's infidelity was more problematic than men's. They were no longer claiming that men's sexual experiences before marriage were unproblematic. Instead, they criticized men who seduced women, men who expected their wives to marry as virgins even while they had sown their own wild oats in youth. Instead of reproducing the
double standard, moralists were now actively engaged in criticism of it. As the century progressed, an increasing number of critical voices against the seducer were heard.22 Men who impregnated women without taking their responsibility for the offspring were decried by several moralists.23 The seducer was ever more often discussed as a countertype of true masculinity. In Men as they are (1879), seducers appeared as uncontrolled and sexual animals, awakening and threatening the sexuality of innocent women.24 Teodor Holmberg claimed that seduction was one of many interconnected vices. ‘The drinking hero willingly becomes a seducer and a rake too, and sinks into many black depths of perdition and misery’, Holmberg explained in 1895.25

Thus, attacks on the seducer were heard more and more often towards the end of the century. From being a figure which was described as evil and lacking principles, moralists in the late nineteenth century focussed on the seducer, and put demands on men to remain chaste until marriage. Men’s sexuality was made problematic.26 Attacks on the seducer were literally strewn across the pages of The Friend of Purity, social purists’ review. Even when the concept of seducer was not used, the focus of the review was ever upon men, upon the need for men to lead lives of sexual purity. Their discourse on prostitution was a discourse which problematised men’s sexuality, masculinity and the double standard. Otto Westerberg, a leading figure in the movement for social purity, devoted several articles to criticizing the seducer.27 The seducer was the ultimate cause why women fell, and why they ultimately had to become public women.

A clear example of how seduction was tied to the woman’s fall into prostitution can be found in the former but retired and repentant dancing master T. A. Faulkner, whose confessional pamphlet From the Pleasure of Dancing and the Pub to Hell was...

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22. John Angell James, Ynglingen borta från hemmet (1867), pp. 33-34; Christian Nielsen, Huruledes ynglingar blifwa män (1869), p. 18; Karlmarne sådana de åro (1879), p. 12; Gottlob Weitbrecht, Sedlighet männens åra (1890), pp. 4-5, 7.


24. Karlmarne sådana de åro (1879), pp. 6, 12, 21.


26. E.g. in Fredrik Petersen, Åktenskap eller fri kärlek (1877), pp. 5, 8, 21; Carl Gustaf Tegnérs, Människans allmänna förändring (1890), pp. 69-72; August Ekman, Arbetsliv och Sädighet: Universitetspredikan (1897), pp. 10-11; Paul Peter Waldenström, Lit givet så? Närketsfordring för studenter (1897), p. 24; Ett Ord till unge män i en viktig angelägenhet (1898), p. 11; En man: Fri bearbetning efter ‘The White Cross’ (1904), pp. 6-7. For a late example, see Tamm, Gatans osedlighet: Ett inlägg i den sexuella frågan (1907), pp. 11-15.

27. Otto Westerberg, ‘Quinningsjägaren’, Sedlighets-Vännen 6, Appendix 2, April 1881, pp. 1-4; see also 1882:1, pp. 14-21; 1883:1, pp. 57-69; 1883:2, Appendix 3, pp. 15-14; 1884:1, pp. 62-64; 1886, pp. 67-68; 1887:1, pp. 27-28, 63-65; 1887:2, pp. 17-22. Cf. also Westerberg’s arguments against the double standard, the causes of prostitution, and the seducer in his book Prostitutionens reglementering (1904), pp. 14-25; see also e.g. Samhällets kraftkällan och de medel man denna avvända eller förbättra att använda (1877), pp. 7-8, 10, 15, 26. However, social purists’ compassion with public women could also turn into hard moralising. Even though seducers were seen as responsible for women’s fall, women, once fallen, at times provoked feelings of disgust. See e.g. Sedlighets-Vännen 1880:2, pp. 141-144; 1881:1, pp. 73-71; Bland, Bannishing the Beast, e.g. pp. 110-112 and Michael Mason, The making of Victorian sexual attitudes (1994), pp. 99-102, discuss several repressive traits in English philanthropists’ work in ‘saving’ public women. Contemporaries also pointed out some flaws in social purists’ attitudes; see Elit [pseud.], Hvorför jag häller den fria kärleken! (1893); also idem, Ar den fria kärleken kome emellan bruttlig? (1894), esp. pp. 7, 16; Lätt på foten, vol. H (1896), pp. 9-12 (the one instance at which this often misogynous collection of erotic poems and fiction approached a radical criticism in its advocacy of free love and mutual sexual enjoyment).
translated in 1897. Faulkner had come to realise that in teaching men to dance, he had in fact raised several generations of men to become seducers. He had enticed men to seek the pleasures of dancing, and had ultimately caused their flirtations which in turn resulted in innocent women's fall. Faulkner perceived women as the innocent victims of unscrupulous seducers. The seducer consciously wrecked women who had been moral and pure. Faulkner also tied this flirtation and seduction to the woman's ultimate transformation into a public woman. Faulkner complained that because of the double standard, men's honour remained unstained by seduction. Instead of setting good examples as men with mastery over their passions and a chivalric attitude to women, seducers happily caused women to fall into misery and prostitution.

In 1882, the priest and professor of practical theology Carl Norrby held a speech in the Uppsala Social Purity Association. Norrby meant that both men and women needed to change to a state of greater sexual purity. He also claimed that women only succumbed to seducers' tricks because they were so easy to flatter. Simultaneously, Norrby criticized these flattering men, seducers, for their mistaken attitude to how women should be treated. Men must be lead to 'consider the duties he as a man has in relation to woman'. It was men, to a greater extent than women, who needed to change their lives, who had to stop regarding women as mere objects for their lust, and egoistically use women's bodies with no concern for the injustice of this act. The way women were deemed morally relevant to men and men's behaviour – a novel feature of the ongoing discourse on masculinity – can be seen in the title of Norrby's pamphlet: *Respect for women in its significance to social purity*.

Norrby's speech was an exponent of a novel masculine ideal. It was founded on a strong ideal of gender complementarity, in which men's actions and thoughts were discussed in relation to what women had the right to demand of men. I have earlier denoted this ideal as the ideal of the 'gentleman'; I now believe that this concept is in fact misleading. And this for several reasons. The concept gentleman was only rarely used among moralists in the late nineteenth century. Also, the concept carried connotations of an interest in the exterior which was largely foreign to these moralists. These lay their emphasis on an attack on the double standard, and on the seducer. If anything, the ideal was that of the un-seducer, of the not-seducer, or, a label which

29. Ibid., pp. 7-15, 17-18, 22-24, 33-34.
30. Ibid., e.g. pp. 15, 14-15, 40-41.
34. Ibid, pp. 4-7, 11.
36. And when this was so, it was almost never used in relation to the ideal under scrutiny here; see e.g. the bantering and ironic Eduard Maria Oettinger, *Den fulländade genteminnen* (1886), e.g. pp. 8, 10, 23-26, 105, 122, 140-141.
Norrby was far from alone in this emphasis on chastity versus seduction. An anonymous student at Uppsala University made a heartfelt speech for sexual purity in men in 1883, in which he cautioned other students in similar terms, demanding that men remain chaste before marriage. Men's considerations of women's feelings and the fate of the seduced woman were crucial to how men should act. The student admitted that sexual continence was extremely demanding, but that the choice was a simple one for any real man to make:

But if the issue is one of precipitating a fellow human being into perdition and keeping her there [i.e. seduce her], on the one hand, or on the other hand submitting oneself to a privation [sexual continence], however difficult, then no humanitarian, I would almost say no gentleman, should be in doubt as to his choice.  

Ideal manhood was to control one's sexual urges in deference to the purity of women. Another moralist who criticized seducers and demanded that men be chaste was Norwegian professor of Theology Fredrik Petersen, in a pamphlet tellingly entitled *Marriage or free love* (1887). In Petersen, the seducer was unmanliness incarnate precisely because true masculinity should be founded on sexual continence. Petersen also criticized the regulation of prostitution and the 'hypocrisy' it embodied. Women who had sex before or outside of marriage was shamed, while men's honour were not considered stained, Petersen indignantly argued. He also expressed the novel chaste and chivalrous ideal masculinity clearly: 'if there is anything which each woman has the right to demand, it is a chivalrous and noble treatment as concerns her womanliness, and this no matter whether she is well-to-do, or the lowest and slightest and poorest.' Again, women were made relevant for how men should behave.

The trouble with seducers, in Petersen's understanding, was the will to recognize and act according to his inner beastly nature instead of fighting against it. Instead of regarding woman as a subject, the seducer saw in her a mere object for his lust. A real

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37. He was enraged at how many men treated this question with derision, which should caution us against painting too simplistic a picture of the relationship between ideals expressed in discourse and ideals existing among men, as will be examined in greater detail further down; Till Upsala studenter från en bland dem (1883), p. 1.
38. Ibid., pp. 6-7: ‘om det gäller att störta en medmänniska uti förderf [dvs förföra en kvinna] eller hålla henne qvar deruti å den ena sidan och å den andra att underkasta sig en om ån aldrig så svår försäkelse [sexuell avhåll-samhet], då bör väl ingen menneiskovän, jag ville nästan säga ingen, gentleman, tvåka i valet’. Emphasis in the original.
42. Ibid., pp. 8, 12, 14-15.
43. Ibid., p. 21.
man should instead consider women's feelings, and refrain from sensual passion. If moralists' discourse extolled in ideal of chastity and continence, it was only logical that the seducer became more and more decried. The German moralist Gottlob Weitbrecht consequently described and attacked the heartless seducer, who destroyed both his own and the seduced woman's honour. True manhood must instead consist of chaste sexual self-control, Weitbrecht argued, in his purely rhetorical question 'What does it mean to be a man? To become slave under one's desires or to subdue them and be freed from them?' Weitbrecht was also cautious to point out that it was indeed possible to lead a life of sexual continence: 'a man, a youth, who seriously wants to, can also become the master over his own sensual lust.'

Ideas about both masculine and feminine sexual self-control had been a crucial theme during the entire nineteenth century in advice manuals concerned with sexuality. But it had been a concern with a moderate mastery over the sexual passions which did not primarily discuss men's relations to women. Men's sexual self-control had been discussed more or less homosocially: as the groundwork for a masculine character or because of the inherent dangers of excess. Moralists now instead wrote of the consequences that men's sexual behaviour could have for women. The novel ideal demanded chastity rather than self-control, and, most importantly, it was founded on a perception of angelic, innocent women as threatened by seducers. In the 1880s and 90s, women became for the first time during the century relevant to normative masculinity. When normative advice came to describe the sexually chaste male as an ideal, it was only logical that the seducer came to be viewed as a counter-type to real masculinity.

The Swedish conceptions around seduction, prostitution, and purity were not originally particularly Swedish ideas. Moralists, here as throughout the century, were engaged in an international middle-class discourse on masculinity. Much of the argumentation was taken from England, where feminists had opposed the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869. These Acts meant a partial importation of the French system of regulation of prostitution. When these acts were passed, a massive feminist movement to repeal the acts emerged. In the centre of this political movement stood Josephine Butler. The Swedish Friend of Purity contained several articles by and about Butler, and the former Chairman of the Swedish Federation Ernst Olbers translated W. T. Stead's admiring biography of Butler. The arguments were taken from England and also pointed out by a vociferous opponent of social purists, the physician and defender of the regulation of prostitution Edvard Welander; Welander, Till belysning af prostitutionsfrågan

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45. Weitbrecht, Sedlighet mannes ära (1890), p. 7: 'en man, en yngling, som på fullaste allvar vill, han kan också bliitva herre öfver sin egen sinliga lusta.' Emphases in the original.
47. E.g. Några Strödda Ord, i hast, Om Äktenskapet (1806), pp. 27-29; additional evidence cited in Tjeder, 'Playing with fire', pp. 25note, 30note.
48. E.g. Petersen, Äktenskap eller fri kärlek (1887), pp. 5-21; Weitbrecht, Sedlighet mannes ära (1890), pp. 3-5.

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241
brought forward in England from the start of the campaign in December 1869 to the repeal of the acts in 1885 bear a strong resemblance to ideas expressed by Swedish late-nineteenth-century moralists. However, the Swedish discourse on the seducer was more than a mere foreign import. The war over purity raged wilder in the Nordic countries than perhaps anywhere else.

This discourse did indeed mean that male sexuality was problematised, and that demands were put on men. That the discourse were an attack on current conceptions of masculinity is very clear in Josephine Butler's own critical discourse on the regulation of prostitution. Butler claimed that 'a pure, moral spirit must be created among the men. It is our duty to demand this of them in the same manner that they have demanded it of us.' Ulla Manns compellingly describes this as a female norm: women's chastity should set the standard for, and become an ideal endorsed by, men.

That this was a radical position in the late nineteenth century becomes clear when we consider medical experts' stance on prostitution. Experts perceived prostitution as a necessary evil. Men simply had to have a sexual outlet, if middle-class women were to be spared from sexual aggression by men. Already in 1843, the physician A. T. Wistrand had argued for official brothels to ensure men's access to working-class women's bodies. Even earlier, in 1837, a translated and unusually outspoken moralist had argued along similar lines, claiming that public women were a 'quenching apparatus' for men. Towards the end of the century, this attitude to prostitution would become expressed ever more often. The physicist Anton Nyström, a sexual radical rather than conservative, claimed that if prostitution did not exist, 'society would be laid waste by the unsatisfied demands of the sexual instinct and the daughters of honourable homes would not be able to move securely to not have their virtue violated.'
This quote points to a deeply felt recalcitrance to problematise men’s sexuality – ‘the sexual instinct’ was ‘men’s sexual instinct’. Men’s need to have a sexual outlet simply had to be satisfied – if not, middle-class women would risk being objects both of seduction and rape. Swedish physicians and moralists were here echoing leading experts on prostitution such as Alexandre Parent-Duchâtele, W. E. H. Lecky, and Gugliemo Ferrero and Cesare Lombroso.56

What is more, medical experts claimed that the causes of prostitution were to be found in women, not men. It was women’s ‘wantonness and craving for pleasure’ which drove them to become public women, the physician Edvard Welander argued.57 Other medical experts, like Seved Ribbing and Erik Wilhelm Wretlind pointed to similar causes, such as bad hereditary disposition and (again) wantonness.58

Thus, while Otto Westerberg and the many other men and women who have been quoted above generally saw seduction, i.e. male sexuality, as the cause of prostitution, contemporary physicians instead argued that the women themselves were to blame. Expertise both in Sweden and internationally, then, were drenched in a sexual double standard which chose to problematise women’s, but not men’s, sexuality.

This blatant misogyny which placed the blame squarely on the woman was also reproduced in more popular pamphlets. The anonymous author of Women as they are (1869) simply stated that ‘The vast majority of so-called “fallen women” owe their fall to their own vanity, their own wantonness, or their own lack of proper moderation.’

In the light of these current views, moralists’ criticism of the seducer stands out instead as a radical critique of male sexuality. However, this is not how scholars have interpreted social purists’ discourse. Many who have studied those who extolled the ideal of purity have instead perceived them as conservative.60


60. See e.g. Ahlström, Det moderna genombrottet i Nordens litteratur, e.g. pp. 302, 312-316; Breedsdorff, Den store nordiske krigs, passion, esp. the concluding discussion, pp. 398-403; Olof Lagercrantz, August Strindberg (1979; 1984), pp. 197 (the Swedish version of 1979, p. 199, also contains a deeply unhistorical ridiculing of social purists which has not been taken into the translation), 176; Jørgen Loveczen, Mannlighetens muligheter (1998), pp. 19, 21; Michanek, En morgondröms, pp. 49-69, 78-93; idem, Studenter och betävring, pp. 83-85, 168; idem, Skaldernas konung: Oscar II, litteraturerna och litteratävlingarna (1979), pp. 311, 320, 331. Claes Ekenstam, ‘Manlighetens kriser & kransar’, in Göransson (ed.), Solleröten och kim, pp. 86-89, discusses medical men and their attack on the double standard, without mentioning the social purity movement.
Those who have focussed in detail on the seducer have not come to the conclusion that the figure was used in a radical critique of a masculinity founded on the double standard. Lynda Nead interprets the narrative on seduction as an expression of the idea that women were believed to be asexual or sexually passive. She reads the stereotype of the seducer as an ideological construct which diminished public women’s potential power. It was both repressive and reproduced inequality. In a highly influential early article, Ellen Carol DuBois and Linda Gordon make a similar reading. DuBois and Gordon here explicitly argue from a political feminist perspective from our own time. Their unwillingness to understand nineteenth-century feminists from the context of the nineteenth century blinds them to the possibility that the discourse on the seducer was a way to critique both the double standard and current ideas about masculinity. Several other scholars who have written about seduction have come to similar conclusions. These scholars overlook that moralists who criticized seducers were shifting the perspective from a focus on women to men. This change becomes clearer when we consider how moralists wrote of seduction before the 1880s.

DON JUAN BEFORE THE 1880S

In the 1880s and 90s, the seducer was used as a countertype to real manhood in a critique of the double standard. A novel ideal in which women’s feelings about and perceptions of men became central to normative discourse on masculinity emerged. The ideal was built on the perception that men’s seductions were threats to women, that men used women’s bodies for their own purposes. The novelty of the critique becomes clear when compared to earlier critiques of seducers. On the whole, moralists before the 1880s tended to blame women for seduction, even when some moderate criticism of men was expressed.

In Sweden, the seducer was decried in the figure of the spark already in the eighteenth century. The spark was attacked both for his feminised behaviour and unbridled sexual desires. However, the more usual stand was to portray women as dangerous seducers of men, rather than the other way around. This misogynous attitude

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64. Here omit the literary tradition of accounts about Don Juan. The transformations of this type are best chronicles by Georges Gendarme de Bévotte, La Légende de Don Juan, 2 vols. (1911) and Leo Weinstein, The Metamorphoses of Don Juan (1937).

is evident already in the Bible’s Proverbs, and was a commonplace in moralists’ discourse and popular culture of both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.66

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the seducer only appeared at times in advice manuals for men. The German moralist Adolph von Knigge briefly told the Swedish reading audience in 1809 that if women were only more moral, seducers would not be successful. Thus, Knigge squarely placed the responsibility of seduced women onto them, not on men.67 Knigge also portrayed women as dangerous and sexual threats to men; he warned young men for the ‘termagant with make-up’ who did all she could to seduce innocent men.68 Knigge’s contemporaries Joachim Heinrich Campe and Robert Dodsley both issued similar warnings about evil women trying to seduce men.69 P. D. A. Atterbom and Erik Gustaf Geijer wrote poetry on this theme.70 Indeed, the image of woman as a temptress of men may be said to have been central to the Romantic movement.71 The novelist Carl Gustaf Walberg wrote in 1816 of how the young Gustaf arrived to Stockholm and was seduced by a fallen woman. Here, responsibility was firmly placed on the woman, Gustaf’s ‘seductress’.72 Moralists also tended to view responsibility for seduction as lying in the woman, rather than in men. An anonymous pamphleteer explained in 1832 that virtuous women’s honour demanded of them to ward off the arts of the seducer.73 The famous French artist Grandville portrayed the fallen woman as a threat to men in a lithograph in 1830. Entitled ‘Journey to Eternity’, it showed a public woman enticing two young men, hiding her bodily decay and danger behind a beautiful mask. It was woman who posed a threat to men, not the other way around. The lithograph was copied as an etching into a Swedish journal of fashion already in 1831.74

Generally, then, moralists who wrote about seduction before the 1880s tended to criticize women, not men. It is revealing that Swedish and French advice manuals intended for women in the early nineteenth century used the narrative of the seducer to warn young women of seducers, even while maintaining that young women were themselves responsible if men succeeded in seducing them.75

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72. [Carl Gustaf Walberg], En manuelli i Stockholm (1816), pp. 21, 24: ‘förförska’.
73. Fornöd att bekorna frågan: Hurväl är bättre, att vara gift eller hålla en mätress? (1812), pp. 7-8, 15, 16. See also J. C. A. Heinroth, Uppfostran och sjelfbildning (1839), p. 180. For a very late example, see Arthur Engel, Kärleksens bemyndigare (1872), pp. 41-42.
74. The original lithograph from Grandville’s Voyage pour l’éternité (1830) is reproduced in Gabrielle Houbre, La Discipline de l’amour (1997), p. 118.
When the seducer was denounced, this was often done quite en passant. Also, the critique of the sexual double standard, which was so central in the 1880s and 90s, was absent in these earlier attacks on the seducer.  

Men’s critique of the seducer, when outspoken, tended to be paradoxical. At times, both fallen women and fawning seducers were seen as equally responsible for what had occurred. When book-keeper Nils Wilhelm Lundequist patched together a book of advice to youth from several different sources, seducers were a countertype to masculinity even while women were seen as responsible for their fall. Woman was both the innocent victim of the triangulations of a remorseless seducer, and the horrible whore attacking young innocent men. Several male authors hovered in this way between a critique of lecherous women and a critique of the seducer. Fallen women


77. [Nils Wilhelm Lundequist], *Umgängeskonst, eller Hemligheten att göra sig älskad och värderad* (1847), pp. 70–81.
had both themselves to blame, and were the innocent victims of seducers without moral principles.78

The writer and jack of all trades K. E. V. Höökenberg certainly criticized the seducer.79 Yet, he also gave detailed advice to men both about how to become popular among women.80 What’s more, Höökenberg edited two collections of misogynous jokes and erotic stories just before his death in 1869, where sex, seduction and frequenting public women were integral aspects of male behaviour.81

Nowhere were the contradictions around the seducer expressed more clearly than in a review edited by the Swedish Society for Sobriety in 1869. When a judge visited a brothel to discuss with the public women, his initial compassion with one of them quickly degenerated into misogynous disgust and voyeurism. From innocent victim, the woman was swiftly transformed into a lecherous and drunken termagant. Even while the urban seducer without moral principles was first portrayed as responsible for this woman’s fall, the paper still drew the conclusion that her immorality was grounded in her drinking habits.82

Before the 1880s, then, seducers were as criticized as fallen women, or indeed, fallen women were seen as more problematic than seducers. This set of attitudes did not die away with the 1880s. In the early twentieth century, a similar ambivalence vis-à-vis the fallen woman would be personified by the secretary of the Swedish (and later president of the international) YMCA, Karl Fries. Sexual continence lay at the very heart of the masculine ideal professed by Fries. In line with social purists, he criticized the double standard by explicitly stating that the rules of sexual continence should be the same for both men and women. However, in Fries the idea that men should control themselves out of respect for women faded somewhat from centre stage. Although he criti-

78. E.g. Friedrich Phillip Wärns, Worldens Ton och Worldens Soker (1828), pp. 87-89; John Angell James, "Tauglining Израиль Иасу из келтона" (1872), p. 8; "Säker att vara eller sittetens fördrögelser för berör och dammar" (1892), pp. 29-30. Cf. already Bengt Holmén, Ungar-


81. [Höökenberg], Eros, 2 ed. (1867; 1867); [idem], ‘Kuggad!’ (1867). These will be treated together with other similar texts, further down.

82. Svendla Nytterhos-Sällskapets Meddelanden 1869-8, pp. 433-434. See also the misogynous quotes from the 1860s in Didier Nourrisson, Le buveur du XIXe siècle (1990), p. 112.

83. Quote from Fries’s preface to Richard Toellner, Kyck eller obly? Välj! Ett öppet bref till unge män (1867), p. 4: ‘på samma gång de beklagansvärda ofren och de farliga förförerskorna’; see also Ett Ord till unge män i en viktig änglagonben, ö. ed. (1868), translated by Fries, p. 11; Ett rent ungodomlif (1902), c.g. pp. 6-9, translated by Fries; Karl Fries, De unge männen och adligheten (1902), pp. 9, 15; idem, Frestelser: Ett ord till hjälp för unge män (1908); idem,
To conclude thus far: Don Juan had been attacked by men at least since the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century, attacks on his vile character were varied, at times paradoxical. With the 1880s, Don Juan emerged as the major countertype to a masculinity founded on chastity, a chivalric but not flirtatious attitude to women, and a critique of society’s double standard. One could stop there. However, the picture is even more complex. As we shall see, some authors instead argued that Don Juan embodied masculinity, not its antithesis.

**DON JUAN AS A MANLY MODEL**

The idea that Don Juan was a manly model for men to pursue emerged especially with the 1870s. This had not been the case before the 1870s.

I have only found four advice manuals where the seducer was described as an ideal. However, while the many pamphlets cited above were never reprinted, two of these pamphlets had gone through three to four editions by 1900, which was rather much by Swedish standards. If many moralists wrote several individual texts where the seducer was decried as immoral, this minority of texts apparently sold better. One of these pamphlets was said to written by that unsurpassed seducer, Don Juan. On the surface, his advice manual seemed to teach men the difficult art of finding a wife. The first twenty pages of the text were however a blatant guide to the art of seduction. Above all, men were taught how to please women. Don Juan wanted to explain how easy it really is to find one’s way to the hearts of beautiful women, so that one can rejoice in love, reputation and earthly joys. The reader who perhaps did not grasp what the author meant by the expression ‘earthly joys’ was to be richly informed in the pages to follow. Don Juan went on to explain that ‘It is infinitely nice by engaged to, but not married to, romantic ladies.’ At a guess, the ‘earthly joys’ one could hope to experience with a romantic woman were greater that those one could expect to have with other women.

On the whole, Don Juan’s pamphlet diverged strongly from the ideal brought forward by other moralists. While these worried over the seducer’s theatrical flattery, Don Juan explained that flattering was an efficient tactic to be loved by women. The seducer’s boasting over his sexual exploits, not the exploits as such, were reprehensible: ‘when one has enjoyed some favours by a woman, it is base to pride oneself of it’.

The seducer once briefly stood out as a countertype to manhood in Don Juan’s sensual guide to seduction. This brief critique of the seducer was highly eloquent:

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85. Ibid., p. 34: ‘Svärmiska damer är det oändeligen trefligt att vara förlofvad, men icke gift, med.’

86. Ibid., pp. 26-27.

87. Ibid., p. 27: ‘nur man ha ámnjutit någon gunst av en qvinna, är det useelt att breömma sig deraf’.

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Seduced women should not be discarded [in the choice of wife]. Their love has at times been given to an unworthy wretch, who has betrayed their trust, and they usually become good wives, given, naturally, that they are not licentious; they will always remember with gratitude, that their husbands have forgiven them for their little affair.  

The passage contains several paradoxes. The man who seduces women and betrays their trust (i.e. abandons them) was an ‘unworthy villain’, even while the text had taught men to do precisely this. Simultaneously, the woman’s lost virginity was a result of her own ‘affair’, not the seducer’s tricks. Don Juan then gave young men three different signals. First, the art of seduction was important to know and master. The main focus lay here. Second, the seducer was an unworthy villain. Third, if you married a seduced woman, she would owe you gratitude since you had forgiven her for her affair. As a whole, the pamphlet’s message to men was very different from what Carl Norrby and others who decried the seducer intoned.

Another popular pamphlet, The Art not only of gaining every girl’s love, but also of winning a rich and virtuous wife (1872), explained the first art, that of gaining every girl’s love, in quite sensual terms. The author openly boasted about the many sexual adventures he had had with several women. Women were here judged mainly after the size of their wallets; lower-class women were easy to seduce, but uninteresting in the long run, since they did not have any money. Once the author had acquired enough money to afford to frequent balls, he described his own behaviour at these balls in precisely those terms which were so often criticized by other moralists. The theatrical mask of the seducer and his fancy clothes here stood out unproblematically as ideal masculine behaviour: ‘I now showed myself in full evening dress and impeccable gloves, and played against towards everyone the role of the amiable suitor.’ We witness the transformation of the ideal of the man of the world, using charisma rather than character, into seducer. This was not a masculinity built on honourable purposes and good character. Instead, masculinity meant maximising one’s sexual experiences with many women, then neglect them after sexual intercourse, as long as they would not do as a future wife – precisely the type of behaviour which so enraged so many moralists. If one gained sexual experience while searching for the rich and perfect wife, this was unproblematic, even desirable.

Two more guides shared similar views on seduction and masculinity. Both were misogynous in their attitude to women, who appeared as passing objects for men to

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88. Ibid., p. 36: ‘Förfördra flickor må icke förkastas [vid valet av hustru]. Deras kärlek har stundom blifvit egnad en ovärdig usling, som har bedragit deras tillit, och de bruka vanligen, förutsatt naturligtvis, att de icke äro losaktiga, blifva goda hustrur, hvilka städse med tacksamhet erinra sig, att deras männer haft tillgifvit dem deras snedsprång.’

89. Konsten icke allenast att förvärfva sig hvarje flickas kärlek, utan även att vinna en rik och dygdig maka (1873), pp. 8-9, 12, 15-18. New editions of this text came in 1878, 1881, 1896 and 1910.

90. Ibid., pp. 16, 18.

91. Ibid., p. 17: ‘Jag visade mig nu merendels i frack och oklanderliga glacehandskar samt spelade emot alla rollen af den älskvärde friaren. For similar theatrical ideals in Don Juan’s pamphlet, see Don Juan [pseud.], Kärlekens Vägledare (1872), pp. 42, 50; also J. B. Liebesheim, Tillförslutna anvisningar och råd för giftaslystna unga män (1878), pp. 19-20.
enjoy, and the seducer stood out as a manly ideal. It is important to note that this hailing of the seducer was new, at least within moralists' discourse.

While these eroticised guides claimed a normative masculinity for the seducer, it was partially the making of this connection which so enraged those who wanted to change masculinity to greater chastity. We recall the similar problems moralists had with drinking and gambling. The German professor of Philosophy Fritz Schultze even described this male behaviour as a disease. The disease, which consisted in that 'young men methodically and deliberately attempt to seduce young women', was rapidly spreading especially among middle-class men. And the diagnose? Donjuanism.

William Guest complained in 1872 that the seducer, like the drinker, 'thinks that he has done something quite manly'. Höökenberg wrote in 1855 that the seducer, instead of repenting his evil deeds, 'tells his friends what he has done, looking as if he had done a great and manly deed'. Karl Fries was one of many who worried that young men associated masculinity with seduction. As late as 1908 he wrote that 'it was to win repute for his manliness that he [the young man] sacrificed his manly honour and dragged a woman down in the dirt'. As with drinking, moralists were fighting against the attitudes they believed were prevalent among young men.

It seems reasonable to argue, then, that the masculinity of the seducer was undecided in the period around 1880. Several texts explained that seduction was the very antithesis to true manhood. But the idea that the seducer was manly was also more current in this period than before. While Don Juan was a problem to many, others perceived him as a hero.

In his recent book on Victorian masculinities, John Tosh briefly identifies the social purity stance on masculinity as a 'minority cause'. In advice manuals, the social purity position is strongest, even given the four 'counter-pamphlets' I have discussed. The medical discourse on prostitution seems to substantiate Tosh's view: authorities did not share social purists' focus on the seducer. However, if we are to test the representativity of advice manuals on the sexual question, we need to go beyond advice manuals. I will do this by considering two different sources in turn: erotica and autobiographies. However, the evidence remains largely anecdotal. Those who have studied sexualities in Swedish history have focussed more on discussions about sexuality than on practices. Yvonne Svanström's account of the regulation of prostitution gives several clues to male

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95. [Höökenberg], Täflor ur Lifvets (1855), not paginated: 'berättar hwad som tilldragit sig för sina bekanta, med min, som om han gjort en stor och manlig gerning'.


sexualities but is not focussed on public women’s customers. Rebecka Lennartsson devotes a little more attention to customers, but her main focus is clearly elsewhere. While we wait for a Swedish equivalent to Peter Gay and Michael Mason then, the conclusions to be drawn in the remainder of this chapter will be preliminary.

**DON JUAN AND EROTICA**

The four pamphlets advising men to seduce women did not stand alone. Similar celebrations of men’s seductions recurred throughout erotica. Erotica was an amorphous literature which consisted of a mixture of jokes, short stories, and verses; to label it ‘erótica’ is, for lack of a better concept, a convenient shorthand. There were clear connections between erotica and the middle class. Jokes were made about life at university, and the men who wrote or edited these volumes were, in so far as their names have been disclosed, middle-class. From the 1880s, the literature also attacked social purists. Authors were particularly aggressive against the women, but also the men, of this movement. One author poked fun at the idea that men should marry as virgins, probably a conscious polemic against contemporary moralists. Contemporaries worried over a whole flood of pornography. If what has survived into closed collections in our libraries is representative of the supply, these worries reveal more of those who issued them than about the actual number of texts.

Swedish erotica was only first issued in 1840, when the politically liberal editor A. P. Landin published a tiny book with the revealing title *Venus: Poetic Calendar for Bachelors*. *Venus* was followed by some similar publications in the 1840s, but it was not until the 1860s and especially 1880s that this literature really gained momentum. In this fictional universe, it was a given that men should have access to women’s bodies. From our perspective, four themes of how men and women were portrayed stand out as important.

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99. Lennartsson, *Malaria Urbana*, pp. 101-114; some of the men I discuss below are also discussed or mentioned here.
105. *Venus: Poetic Calendar for Ungkarlar* (1840). The book was prosecuted, possibly the first ‘dirty’ book to be prosecuted in Sweden; see *Strödda Handlingar rörande tryckfrihet, censur och förbudna [sic] böcker*, UB 77, not paginated. The trial has been treated by Dag Nordmark, *Politisk martyr eller ungdomens förförrare? Tryckfrihetsåtalet mot A. P. Landin och ungkarlskalendern Venus 1842*, Från Gästrickland 1845, pp. 77-93.
1. THE REDUCTION OF MASCULINITY TO THE SEARCH FOR SEXUAL ENJOYMENT.

In erotica, men unproblematically and constantly wanted to have sex. This meant that masculinity was reduced to the seeking of sexual pleasure. Men constantly pursued women, whether married or no, to satisfy their erotic urges. And although authors piously most often refrained from describing sexual acts, ever replacing them with ‘———’, it is obvious to the reader that men not only desired sex – the also had sex. Men appeared at times as filled with erotic longings, but more often as simply bent on having sex. A man’s life was a life of sexual pleasure, a life wholly bent on seducing women and having sex with them. And this search for sex was both unproblematic and legitimate.

The unproblematic nature of men’s sexual desires can be seen in the jokes about prostitution, where it was taken for granted that men frequented public women. The review Don Juan – who is surprised at the title? – called prostitution ‘one of humanity’s priorities before animals’.

Another rare but significant theme where men’s unproblematic and constant sexual longings emerged as a given was rape or attempted rape. Rape was seen as a trifle, a matter of laughs or even, in one instance, something which the woman longed for. If all men wanted was sex, women were always available to be penetrated, whether they (initially) wanted it or no.

2. FEMALE PASSIVITY AS EROTIC.

Throughout erotica, men tended to have sex with women who were asleep, or women who were first modest, but whose sexual passions were awakened by the male. True, sexual pleasure could be mutual, and women could also appear as actively enjoying pleasure, but their pleasure was always caused by men. The more usual path was to eroticize female passivity. There was the story of Amor, who had sex

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107. As in Lätt på foten, vol. Ö (1890), p. 9; Pius Mars [pseud.], I krig och kärlek är lost en dygd (1891), p. 13; idem, En nattlig brud på Gustaf Adolfs torg (1894), p. 22; En ’Nattjärt’ [pseud.], Riseutresiska ’Hotellen’ vid Kindt- och Göteborgsättern (1894), p. 24; Amor [pseud.], Eudast for ungkarlar? (1894), p. 12; Grefvinnan och trubaduren: Plånet skildringar ur Stockholms societetlif (1900), p. 7. This is a difference to international erotica, where sex acts were described in detail. See e.g. Gay, The Education of the Senses, pp. 169-174.


109. Don Juan 1893:9, p. 87: ’Prostitutionen — se der ett af människans företräden framför djuren.’ See also [Oberg], Unghärlemysterier (1845), p. 32; [Santesson], Erop (1866), p. 11; [Höökenberg], ’Kuggad!’ (1867), jokes number 77 and 79.

110. For jokes, see [Levisson], Merkurius (1842), p. 35; Calchas [pseud.], 103 Användarfor ungkarlar och påverkslätta eklingrar (1868), p. 24. See also Erato (1861), pp. 50-51; Unghärlemysterier, vol. 1 (1890 or 1891), pp. 57-56; Pius Mars [pseud.], Förbjuden frukt (1893), p. 6-7 (with a limited critique of the seducer, while the rape was seen as a banality). Lätt på foten, vol. Z (1890), pp. 5-8, on a queen who longed to be raped.

111. This is a difference to eighteenth-century erotica, where women were more active; see Stora-Lamarre, L’Enfer de la IIIe République, pp. 34-36.

112. For an extreme example, see Knulliaden (undated; given the contents, probably the 1880s); also with slight differences reproduced in Öpp med kardusen (1882), pp. 6-13.
Men’s desire to seduce gullible women. The well-dressed young man is wholly bent on seducing the lightly dressed young woman, the lure of a bed in the background. The title is highly revealing: Bachelor Calendar. Interesting and spicy depictions of the little weaknesses of women. Wood engraving, 1890.

Men’s desire to seduce gullible women. The well-dressed young man is wholly bent on seducing the lightly dressed young woman, the lure of a bed in the background. The title is highly revealing: Bachelor Calendar. Interesting and spicy depictions of the little weaknesses of women. Wood engraving, 1890.

with a sleeping woman after having shot her with the arrow of love; the sexually cold woman was thus cured from her ‘hatred of men’. Or again, there is the sleeping Josephine, filled with erotic dreams, who upon awakening learned that her loved one had had sex with her when she slept. The theme of men watching sleeping women, or of having sex with sleeping women, was often reproduced in the literature.

3. THE MILITARY METAPHORS OF SEDUCTION.

In connection to the eroticization of female passivity, erotica hailed male sexuality as active and penetrating. Seduction was a question of active, not seldom military, might. The language was one we still live with today, that of conquest and attack.

114. Opp med kardusen [1882], pp. 49-50. (This book is not the same as the one with the same title; this version, in itself a proof that the other book was something of a success, is in the rarities collection at KB, number RAR 401b, while the other is at RAR 401a.)
This language made seduction a manly pursuit. If men only wanted sex, and women's passivity was eroticized, then the daring and brave male perceived woman, and especially woman's body, as a fortress which should be stormed. Women's initial recalcitrance was a challenge to be overwon with manly activity. The military metaphors rested on the conception that while men should actively seek sex, women should be actively seduced. As the popular *Cathechism of love* had it: 'Learn to understand the language of shy girls! “No, no, no!” means of course: “Ah, yes!”\(^{116}\)

In the song *Report on the storming of Fortress Hymen* (1881), these military metaphors were particularly explicit. The song reported how 'Fortress Hymen [...] was assaulted and captured with manly courage'. After a long siege, the aide-de-camp Kiss, major von Hand and corporal Thumb had worked to prepare the way for general Hardpole, who bravely penetrated the woman's sexual organs, while major von Scrotum supported the redoubts. This manly attack on a passive woman's body was hailed with the refrain 'Hurray! Hurray! Hurray!'\(^{117}\) Similar military metaphors of attack were used pervasively; as the pseudonym Amor had it, 'He met an unexpected resistance, which he however took for coquetry. But a few quick moves and – he won victory.'\(^ {118}\) Men were the active, attacking seducers, bent on winning access to women's bodies.

Men, apparently, always knew what was best for women. Men taught women, married or no, to affirm their sexuality. As one joke went:

After a lengthy siege, Mr. X has finally succeeded to defeat Mrs. Y's virtue, although not without a certain use of force. Mrs. Y subsequently showers her seducer with the most intensive reproaches. Utterly contrite, Mr. X stutters:

'I am sorry, I will never do that again.'

'Ah. Then You are an even bigger villain.'\(^{119}\)

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\(^{116}\) *Kärlekskatekes för flickor och guvnar*, 2 ed. (1860), not paginated: ‘Lär dig blyga flickors språk begripa! / “Nej, nej, nej!” betyder ju: “Ack, ja!”’ The first edition, absent from the collections of the Royal Library, was also printed in 1860; this book had been printed under different titles in some twenty editions by 1891. Half of it was included in *Lätt på foten*, vol. W (1890), pp. 5-12. Cf. also *Don Juan* 1891:1, p. 8: ‘Women say no, but mean yes.’ ('Qvinnor säga nej, men mena tvärtom. ')

\(^{117}\) *Rapport om fästningen Mødomsborgs intagande* (1881); quotes from p. 3: ‘Mødomsborg […] Med storm inogs af mannamod; ’Hurra, hurra hurra!’.


— Förlåt, min fru, jag skall aldrig göra så mer.

— Såå. Då är Ni en ännu större usling. ’The heading of this joke was ‘An honourable woman’ (’En ärbar qvin- na’), See also e.g. ibid., vol. Å (1890), pp. 8-10.
Male active seduction, here portrayed as upper-class rather than middle-class. 'Oh, dear count, how often has not feminine virtue died here.' 'Comfort yourself, gracious creature, it has always stood up again.' On the wall, a painting clearly shows what is on the count's mind. Wood engraving in the review Don Juan, 1891.
In Swedish erotica, men defeated the resistance of women. Female sexuality was an obstacle to be overcome with military techniques – it is no coincidence that the joke labelled the male attempt to seduce a ‘siege’.

These metaphors were hardly novel – they were used widely in the eighteenth century and already in medieval Castilian epics – and were an effect of the widely shared notion that while it was legitimate for men to actively seek sex, women should be becomingly modest.

In the late eighteenth century, the ageing artist and nobleman Carl August Ehrenswärd drew flying penises penetrating passive women, and a remarkable drawing of a knight, dressed in armour, penetrating a vagina hanging from a tree with his lance, at the end of which stood an erect phallos. Never has the manliness of active penetration and feminine passivity been so vividly celebrated.

4. AN EXPPLICIT AND EMPHATIC MISOGYNY.

In erotica, men’s desire for women was mixed with a misogyny which was both explicit and emphatic. Emancipated women were the butt of jokes – a collection printed in 1861 gladly noted how Mrs. Veronika learned that equality between men and women was unnatural, since in sex, the male was on top. Women were consistently described as gullible and stupid, and marriage was at times described as a yoke for men. If men sought affirmation of their masculinity with women, women were articles of consumption, nothing more.

Höökenberg, the very same author who criticized evil seducers, pulled the following joke in 1867: ‘Why should one choose a small wife?’ ‘One should always choose the smallest of evils.’ An extreme example is in the prosecuted book Get your pecker up! (1882). Here, a man wrote to the ‘fucking whore’ who had infected him with venereal disease. His emphatic misogyny is revealing: ‘May your chance corrode you [...] And your c—t [cunt] smart without mercy until doomsday.’ While moralists of the time tended to hail women as pure wives and mothers, erotica focussed on the other side of women. They were here either stupid and gullible, or evil threatening creatures.

These four themes implied a fifth: the hailing of the seducer as a heroic ideal of...
For the seducer, any means are legitimate. The young man fondles the family’s gullible maid, who only resists until she is offered a night on the town. ‘Let me go, sir! I am a decent girl...’ ‘Aw, now now, little Anna! If I only get some money from my father, I’ll accompany you to Alhambra and then we’ll have supper at Jones’s: ‘Great fun! That’s another matter...’ Wood engraving in the review Don Juan, 1892.
masculinity. If men knew best what women wanted, and were ever seeking sex, even while women were passive, denigrated and desired, the outcome was that throughout, the seducer was a hero, not a villain. It was a given that men’s continued seductions of women was legitimate and manly. When the bawdy collection *Light-footed* (28 volumes, 1889–1890) wrote about ‘a bold Don Juan’ and his sexual exploits under the heading ‘Infidelity will punish itself’, this was not done to criticize the seducer. Although the seducer’s engagement was broken after a newly wedded husband found him in bed with his wife, the story’s focus was here as ever on how the seducer had succeeded in his seduction. 126 The moral teaching was not that seducers were evil. Rather, any method of seduction, including lies and theatrical behaviour, was legitimate, as long as it was successful. ‘To say other things than what one really thinks to women – that is the art of gallantry’, as the review *Don Juan* had it. 127 Small wonder that these authors also poked fun at the narrative of seduction, as it appeared in moralists’ accounts. 128

In other places and eras, pornography or erotic stories had been politically radical. 129 While the men who wrote and published erotica in the late nineteenth century at times portrayed themselves as radical defenders of free love, the type of love that they hailed carried massive overtones of male privilege. Sex was something to be enjoyed by men and women. But the exacting standards were ever set by men, for men. Erotica was a well of male desire, where gender inequality was reproduced, and male seduction and penetration were hailed as the very essence of life. 130

Although autobiographers, once they wrote on the matter, wrote more on flirtation than actual seduction and sex, they substantiate the claim that moralists’ perception of the seducer was indeed a minority cause, as we shall presently see.

**DON JUAN AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY**

Men were generally reluctant to write of sexuality in their autobiographies. This should come as no surprise. It goes with the genre that men did not write of their sexual lives in public, printed autobiographies. Men hid their erotic experiences from view even in private documents. When the young civil servant and later journalist J. P. Theorell moved to Stockholm in 1816, he used foreign languages to record
his intimate flirtations and exploits in his diary; the poet Johan Nybom used a cab-
balistic sign to signify ‘brothel’ in his private diary when he admonished himself not
to visit such places (a promise he did not keep).\textsuperscript{131} Even Strindberg, who wrote
openly about visits to brothels and even a moment in which a couple of friends had
the length of their penises evaluated by a public woman, made efforts to keep his
early sexual exploits secret.\textsuperscript{132} Also, prurient details have been edited out by later
generations, who have wanted to hide the sexual lives of their forefathers.\textsuperscript{133} This
sexual censorship leads to a certain insecurity in recounting men’s attitudes to what
Schultze called donjuanism. We simply do not know much about the sexual lives of
middle-class men.

On the whole, what evidence emerges from autobiographies on sexual matters
substantiates the view that moralists’ perception of the seducer was a minority cause.
Autobiographers testify to donjuanesque attitudes to women. And donjuanism
became increasingly popular towards the very end of the century. Men, then, heeded
the advice of Don Juan, not that of the moralists who pleaded for male chastity.
Indeed, the only example of a man who wrote that he had made a decision to lead a
chaste life out of deference for women was Anton Nyström, the very same man who
had claimed that this was not possible\textsuperscript{134} Others were either silent on this issue, or
wrote of their flirtations. Given that men did indeed write about this, they not only
flirted – they were also proud to record that they had flirted. Had men indeed been
imbued with a strong sexual double standard, they would at least have been silent
on their youthful aberrations from the code of sexual restraint. This, however, is not
the case.

Before the 1880s, there is evidence that at least some men and regarded flirtations
with women as unproblematic. While we are left wondering about details, these men
clearly associated at least the ability to seduce with masculinity. Men born before 1840
at times wrote of flirtations. While men who were too interested in being popular
among women were at times the butt of jokes, it was more usual that men recalled
their own flirtations with clear pride.\textsuperscript{135} Louis De Geer wrote at some length of his
popularity among women in youth.\textsuperscript{136} He also wrote about his engagement to his
future wife, the Countess Caroline Lovisa Wachtmeister af Johannishus. She discreetly
gave him a flower, which he soon placed in the marriage act of his Law book. He
then pondered if he should read so much into this gesture; ‘Don’t you recall’ – De
Geer asked himself in the form of inner dialogue – ‘that you for a while had a whole

\textsuperscript{132} Lagercrantz, \textit{August Strindberg} (1979; 1984), pp. 51, 166 (173 for the measuring of penises).
\textsuperscript{133} For some examples of this type of censorship, see Ingrid Holmquist, \textit{Salongens värld} (2000), pp. 99, 114-115, 169; Svanström, Policing Public Women, p. 290note.
\textsuperscript{134} Anton Nyström [b. 1842], \textit{1839–1929: En 70 års historia: Personliga minnen och iakttagelser}, pp. 32-35. Viktor
Emanuel Öman [b. 1833], \textit{Från Min Ungdomstid}, pp. 279-282 wrote of his own sexual purity but in phrases which
were more hostile to sexuality as such, and did not at all consider women.
\textsuperscript{135} Arvid August Afzelius [b. 1785], \textit{Minnen}, pp. 60-64, 74, 91-92, 116-117, 127, 130; Johan Georg Arsenius was
more explicitly flirtatious, and proud of it; Arsenius [b. 1818], \textit{Minnesanteckningar}, pp. 30-31, 51, 53, 70, 179, 240.
\textsuperscript{136} Louis De Geer [b. 1818], \textit{Minnen}, vol. 1, pp. 37-38, 60, 70-71.
herbarium of such [flowers], which you have either stolen or received as gifts? You do not go beyond the kissing.

Claes Adelsköld was more explicit. True, in his student years he and his friends pulled a typical student prank with a man who was overtly interested in women, and who considered himself to be a ‘real Don Juan’. Another friend simply dressed up as a woman and had Adelsköld’s friend interested. The friend later boasted having had sex with this woman, and appeared then as totally fooled. However, Adelsköld also wrote of his ‘innocent flirtations’, at times with minors, and wrote of how at one point a woman, probably his future wife, met him with ‘open arms, radiant eyes — and red lips. — — —’. In erotica, ‘———’ meant sex; given that Adelsköld added that the encounter meant two hours of ‘feast’, there is little doubt as to what Adelsköld meant. Throughout his memoirs, Adelsköld wrote with appreciation of other men who were flirtatious, and of his own flirtations. Here was a man of the world who used his charm and winning ways not only to further his career, but also to be popular among women.

Like Adelsköld, Janne Damm also repeatedly wrote of his own and his student friends’ flirtations with women, a behaviour he found totally unproblematic: ‘It goes without saying that I had several little love adventures during my student years.’

Some men born before mid-century, then, wrote rather discreetly about flirtations, but only very rarely about sex.

Two men who apparently had sex were deeply remorseful about their behaviour — at times. Claes Herman Rundgren wavered, as in his writings on alcohol, on the issue of sex. He was often unspecific, and we are left wondering what he meant by brief mentions of ‘adventures’ or the discreet ‘After that we had some fun on the way, sed silentium sit de hac re!’

Twice, he was more explicit, and his tone was then cold and callous; he once briefly noted ‘A

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137. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 94: ‘Minns du icke, att du en tid hade ett helt litet herbarium af dylika, dem du dels röfvat, dels fått?’. On the sexual metaphor of flowers, cf. also Claes Herman Rundgren [b. 1819], Diary UUB T1dq, July 1 and 2 1838.


140. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 216-223.


142. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 540: ‘onlydig kurtis’.


144. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 116-129, 152, 200, 243-245, 214, 264, 282, 141, 145, vol. 2, pp. 1, 8, 101-102, vol. 4, pp. 237-240. Adelsköld was still enraged at the unmanly fops who were flirting with wife; once married, this behaviour in other men was apparently more reprehensible. See ibid., vol. 2, pp. 144-146 and cf. also vol. 4, pp. 126-127.

145. Janne Damm [b. 1825], Studentminnen, pp. 37-41; idem, ‘En sjelfbiografi’, Granskaren 1890:32 (quote: ‘Att jag som student hade ånskliga små kärleksäfventyr faller af sig sjelft’), 33, 44, not paginated. See also Oscar Wickander [b. 1826], Ut minnet och dagboken, p. 177 who wrote of flirtations and a kiss, and Samuel Odbom [b. 1822], Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar, p. 120.

146. Ibid., December 9 1837: ‘Sedan hade vi roligt på vägen, sed silentium sit de hac re!’
maid is caressed and filled with punch’ on a day of wild partying.147 The second passage is more revealing:

we stumbled onto some people at Berlin’s, drank toddy, smoked our pipes, ate, drank punch and caressed Titti. It is nice to retire from one’s books at times and rejoice over one’s freedom and joy of life among merry brothers.148

Rundgren’s and his friends’ freedom entailed that liberties could be taken with women of the lower classes. For Rundgren, it was a pause from studying. He never bothered to consider what Titti, the passing object which reinforced his own sense of freedom, thought of his approaches. When he gazed at public women when on visit in Gothenburg, he noted that they were ‘lecherous’ and ‘licentious’, and ‘attempt to entice passers-by with languishing gazes, but they by no means look tempting’.149

Again, the women are passing objects in Rundgren’s world of homosocial freedom.

At other times, Rundgren was remorseful over his sexual behaviour, but in these dark ruminations he never once wrote of the women’s feelings. His remorse concerned him alone, and the dangers of having sex, not his relation to women.150 Indeed, when he witnessed an attempted rape on a boat from very close, he quietly observed the woman’s fight and simply stated that because she defended her virginity, the shame fell on the male. Had he succeeded in raping her, she would have fallen. The idea to stop the attempted rape appears not to have occurred to Rundgren; indeed, he prided himself for not having tried to seduce the woman himself.151 At another occasion, Rundgren flirted lightly with an unhappy 19-year-old married woman. The experience made him cognize over arranged marriages, which made both husband and wife unhappy, and led to the husband’s absence from the home. On this occasion as well as in the attempted rape, Rundgren put the responsibility for unchastity as well as married men’s misery very squarely on the woman; and he never questioned his own behaviour.152

Like Rundgren, Johan Nybom also worried over his fallen status, as we briefly saw in chapter 4. He also repeatedly contracted venereal disease from public women, and ruminated over his bad behaviour. Like Rundgren, though, he never wrote about the women, only about his own feelings. He also took for granted that women existed for the sake of men; ‘Why, this sex [women] was created to make our lives happy’.153

147. Ibid., November 30 1838: ‘En piga klappas och fylles med punsch.’
148. Ibid., April 28 1838: ‘vi råkade på några hos Berlin, drack toddy, rökte våra pipor, dejeuerade, drucko punch och klappade Titti. Det är trefligt att understundom aflägsna sig från boken och bland några muntra bröder glädja sig öfver sin frihet och lefnadsfriskhet.’ See also the brief passage on flirations on November 23-24 1838.
151. Rundgren [b. 1819], Diary June 23 1838.
152. Ibid., August 13 1839.
Some men of the early nineteenth century apparently saw flirtations as unproblematic, although sex seems to have been riddled with a sense of shame, judging by what little evidence we have. That men should have sexual access to women’s bodies was a given. In men born after 1840, though, the tone became different, and more attention was paid to flirtations and sex.

Several men of later generations wrote at some length about students’ flirtations with waitresses. Those who kept taverns always saw to it to hire particularly beautiful women as waitresses.

154 These were ever the object of students’ desire and flirtations. Carl Stiernström, student in the 1870s and 80s, even recalled flirtations as a popular ‘sport in the world of students’.155 Looking at Stiernström’s own detailed recording of flirtations, it was certainly true at least of some students. While moralists denounced the theatrical mask of the seducer, Stiernström boasted of how he used French phrases and polite manners so that he would be taken for a true gentleman; he even wrote of a man who seduced a woman through warning her of men who did not have honourable intentions and were only bent on seducing, in a wholly comprehending manner. Stiernström was ever on the lookout for possibilities to flirt, and seduce.156 And he was far from alone in writing at some length about flirtations at university and earlier; men born from the 1840s onwards wrote at length about flirtations, and thus show a rising popularity of seduction as a male privilege in youth.157 Indeed, the former student Axel Lekander’s many writings about his student years revolved to a significant extent on visits to the local brothel, on seductions, on flirtations, and on mistresses.158 Stiernström and Lekander were only different from other men in that they were so explicit and detailed in their information. Some older bachelors, too, apparently enjoyed flirtations, although most evidence of flirting and seductions come from men’s years as students.159

Another group of women available for flirtations were women in cigar shops. These seem to have been semi-official public women in the late nineteenth century.160

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160. Cigar shops had earlier been unofficial brothels. See Svanström, Policing public women, p. 368; cf. also Erik
The student as Don Juan. Here busily flirting with a woman in a cigar shop. Drawing by Bruno Liljefors, 1885.
ström called them “tobacco flowers”; Lekander recalled that it was not impossible to have these accompany him and other students for ‘strolls along Via amorosa’. Other autobiographers testified to how students flirted with women in cigar shops.\footnote{Stiernström [b. 1853], ‘Minnen från Uppsala’, pp. 80-87; this section was entitled ‘Ur “tobaksblommornas” värld’; Axel Lekander [b. 1879], ‘Kärlekslivet i Upsala’, ch. 2, not paginated; Axel Kock [b. 1892], ‘Från början av sjuttondet’, in ULK 1, p. 249, Carl Forstrand [b. 1864], Mina Uppsalaminnen, p. 161. Cf. also Hjalmar Söderberg’s novel Martin Birck’s youth (1930), pp. 73-74.}

What’s more, some men wrote of their of other men’s sexual contacts with public women. The man of letters Waldemar Bülow, student in Lund in the late 1880s, wrote that there was ‘a rich selection of moths’ i.e. public women, and that many students frequented these women (although he did not include himself among them).\footnote{Waldemar Bülow [b. 1864], ‘80- och 90-talen: Litet om studentlivet i Lund’ , p. 114: ‘rikt urval av nattfjärilar’. See also the very discreet passing section on what must be prostitution in Waldemar Swahn [b. 1877], Från Kalmarund till Stilla Havet, pp. 118-119. Stiernström [b. 1853], ‘Minnen från Uppsala’, p. 24, mentioned public women but did not concentrate on these. [Christopher Eichhorn [b. 1887], Figurer och scener från gamla Upsala, Svenska Illustrerade Familj-Journalen 1887, p. 292 mentioned public women quite in passing.}

Olof Rabenius admitted to having frequented public women, and was ashamed to have done so. But his cogitations on the subject was, as with Nybom before him, wholly untouched by any thoughts concerning the women: ‘The impression of the animal raw and the lack of warmth one received in the association with these women was repulsive, and yet one could not escape their attraction, and so one ended up in humiliation’.\footnote{Olof Rabenius [b. 1882], Kring Drottning Kristinas klocka, pp. 252, 254-256, quote from p. 256: ‘Frånstötande var det intryck av det animaliskt råa och den brist på värme och innerlighet man mottog av umgången med dessa kvinnor, men man kom ändå icke ifrån deras dragningskraft och haminade i förnedringen.’ See also Rabenius’s poem in ibid., pp. 256-259.}

On a similar dark note, Strindberg wrote of how he lost his virginity with a public woman.\footnote{Strindberg [b. 1849], The son of a servant, pp. 235-236; note that Evert Sprinchorn here wrongly translates the Swedish ‘flicka’ literally, as ‘girl’, when at other times he has more correctly translated the plural both as ‘brothels’ and ‘prostitutes’ (ibid., pp. 181, 187; in Swedish, ‘Tjänstekvinnans son’, p. 161 [losing his virginity with a ‘flicka’], 129 [‘flickor’], 131 [‘flickor’]; Strindberg’s letter to his publisher, April 25 1886 quoted in ibid., p. 321 also makes clear that he lost his virginity with a public woman.) For Strindberg’s visits to public women, see also ibid., ‘Jäsningstiden’, pp. 202-203, 283-284, 291.}

Axel Lekander, on the other hand, was ecstatic when he lost his ‘embarrassing virginity’ with a public woman in 1899.\footnote{Axel Lekander [b. 1879], ‘Kärlekslivet i Upsala’, ch. 1, not paginated: ‘besvärande svendom’.}

Indeed, Lekander wrote at length of his of other students’ habit to frequent Uppsala’s only brothel in the years around 1900. When he wrote of the moment this brothel, ‘a temple for the goddess Venus’, closed in 1902, Lekander reproduced physicians’ late-nineteenth-century discourse on prostitution, hardly current in the 1940s when he was writing:

Let us not talk about morals, but this institution was certainly – together with other useful institutions in Uppsala – a great moral protection for daughters of families in the town, for sure. [...] One got the necessary relief of the overload of one’s glands = safety valve/ with

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Axel Karlfeldt, ‘Sång med positiv’ (1906), quoted in ibid. p. 259; also [Höökenberg] ‘Kuggad!’ (1867), joke number 55. Höökenberg called cigar shops ‘horoskop’, literally ‘horoscopes’ but meaning ‘whore-closets’.\footnote{Höökenberg called cigar shops ‘horoskop’, literally ‘horoscopes’ but meaning ‘whore-closets’.}

\footnote{Axel Karlfeldt, ‘Sång med positiv’ (1906), quoted in ibid. p. 259; also [Höökenberg] ‘Kuggad!’ (1867), joke number 55. Höökenberg called cigar shops ‘horoskop’, literally ‘horoscopes’ but meaning ‘whore-closets’.}
the often beautiful and kind prostitutes at ‘the 59’. A cynic called the place a ‘lavatory for semen’. But that is to go too far, for the institution was something more than that.\textsuperscript{167}

To Lekander, public women protected the virtue of middle-class women. He did not even fear to write so in an article published in the newspaper in \textit{Dagens Nyheter} in 1949, where he called the brothel a ‘salutary and necessary academic institution’.\textsuperscript{168} In Lekander’s circle of friends, it was a given that Don Juan was a hero, not a villain. Lekander’s friend Carl Ridderstad wrote the following poem when another friend left Uppsala in 1902:

From the maids of the town there comes a lament
and life seems to them but cruel and cold.
So it is over, the Don Juan saga
but hearts are broken just about everywhere
Dispair now reigns in their hearts
You ‘beautiful Axel’ ...farewell ... farewell...\textsuperscript{169}

While moralists shunned the seducer who fooled lower-class women to abandon them to their fate, Ridderstad instead portrayed the maids as languishing and grieving as their seducer left the town. Another student wrote a similar poem to Lekander, when he moved to live in – another part of Uppsala. The local maids were grieving his departure, not because he was a callous seducer who had impregnated them; they would simply miss him.\textsuperscript{170}

In this context, we need also to consider the poet Gustaf Fröding. His autobiographical and self-exposing poems were widely read by young men of the middle class, and stirred the imagination of many of them.\textsuperscript{171} He wavered in his attitudes to

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., not paginated: ‘Låt oss inte tala om moral, men nog var denna institution – bland andra nyttiga institutioner i Uppsala – ett stort moraliskt skydd för stadens familjeflickor, det är säkert. [...] Man skaffade sig den nödvändig fattmännen i körtlarnas överbelastning [=säkerhetsventil] hos de ofta vackra och snälla hetärerna på ”59:an”. En cyniker kallade stället en ”sädeskloset”. Men det är att gå för långt, tv:s institutionen var någor mera.’ (The italicized hard brackets [ ] are in the original.) The brothel was situated on Dragarbrunnsgatan 59, hence the name of the place. In ibid., ch. 2, not paginated, Lekander wrote that he was infected with gonorrhoea in 1904, and concluded that it would have been wise to keep the brothel ‘from a hygienic perspective’ (’ur hälsovårdssynpunkt’); again, the unwillingness to problematise male sexuality is astounding. Lekander reiterated the idea in ibid., ch. 3, not paginated. Although few men would have argued that prostitution was a safety valve in the 1940s, older ideas that men’s sexuality was more or less impossible to control still lingered on, as they continue to do even to our time. See Simon Ekström, \textit{Trovärdighet och ovärdighet} (2002), pp. 130-133; Bo Nilsson, \textit{Maskulinitet} (1999), pp. 114, 116-119.

\textsuperscript{168} Axel Lekander [b. 1879], ‘”Arvprins av bildad familj”’, \textit{Dagens Nyheter} December 30 1949, p. A11: ‘välgörande och behövliga akademiska institution’.

\textsuperscript{169} Carl Ridderstad, poem quoted in Axel Lekander [b. 1879], ‘”Fruktklubben” m. m.’, UUB X271 h:53, p. 37: ‘Från stadens pigor det går en klagan / och livet synes dem grynt och kallt. / Så är den slutad, don-Juan-sagan / men hjärtan krossade överallt. / Förtvivlan herrskar i deras själ / Du ”vackra Axel” ... farväl ... farväl.’ See also Ridderstad’s poem ‘Bachelor’s party’ (’Svensexa’) in ibid., p. 73.

\textsuperscript{170} The student Erik Wilhelm Palmgren’s poem to Axel Lekander in Lekander [b. 1879], ‘Vad hände i Uppsala år 1903?’, p. 77.

\textsuperscript{171} Karl Erik Forslund [b. 1872], ‘Skädespel och skädeliv i 90-talets Uppsala’, HoL 18 p. 248; Waldemar Swahn [b. 1877], \textit{Ur minnenas sekretär}, p. 214; Olof Rabenius [b. 1882], \textit{Kring Drottning Kristinas klocka}, p. 65. Fröding’s poems were a comfort to Rabenius in his anxiety over his debacheries; ibid., pp. 254-256.
love, public women and sexuality in highly revealing ways. Fröding was the disillusioned and suffering male who had to resort to public women in search of love, the champion of free, and, in his youthful poems, a celebrator of prostitution. In one of his most famous poems, it was the rejected and loveless poet who sadly sang:

With money I bought love profanely
for me was no other to get,
its clamour rang sweet but ungainly,
about love sung wondrously yet.

This dream which was never perfected,
was a beautiful one to get,
and for one out of Eden rejected,
this Eden remains Eden yet.

Prostitution was here a poor substitute for what Fröding really sought, love. Fröding often wrote of his longing for love, and once even touched on the emotions of the public woman he frequented; she 'Could not from me disguise / Her actual want of feeling.' He also criticized students who seduced women, but did not take responsibility for their child. At other times, though, Fröding wrote in a much less emotional, and more masculinist, vein. Women here instead appeared as legitimate targets for men's desires, indeed as 'made for you to hold and cuddle', as he had it in one poem. In another poem he wrote at twenty-three, Fröding blended a stark misogyny with a celebration of a Bohemian life-style. Public women were there to be enjoyed by men:

But I do best with good whores to please me,
with shouting, can-can and beer to drink,
when tits are bare and hot lustings seize me
and air is steaming with women's stink.

How great to roll round (and scratch your itches)

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172. As in Gustaf Fröding, Poems of Youth and Tall tales and adventures (1878-1891, 1895, 1897; 1999), pp. 54-40, 49-50; idem, New and Old and Splashes from the Grail (1897, 1898; 1998), pp. 21-22. Fröding was born in 1860.
174. Fröding, 'A Girl in the Eyes' ('Flickan i ögat'), in Selected poems (1916), p. 149. (In Swedish: 'och kunde icke skyla, / hur litet hon bevektes'; from idem, Splashes and patches (1896; 1998), translated by Mike McArthur, p. 8, whose translation of these lines is wholly misleading.
175. Fröding, the article 'Studenter och grisetter', Upsala Nya Tidning November 24 1897, in Gustaf Fröding i Upsala Nya Tidning, ed. and commented by Germund Michanek (1987), pp. 61-64. To have sex in youth was not the problem – Fröding focussed on men's the lack of morals in relation to the woman and child.
176. Fröding, 'Down in Dear Old Fyrisstaden' ('I den gamla Fyrisstaden'), in Poems of Youth and Tall tales and adventures (1878-1891, 1895, 1897; 1999), p. 32: 'skapad just att ha i knäet.'
in bed where bugs, not the sheets are fresh.
How sweet to be hugged by drunken bitches
and bury myself in flabby flesh!

What fun to dance with these wild seducers
and howl with the howling she-wolf Eves
and imitate all their mad abuses
that only a female brain conceives!

What feelings tender and sympathetic
live deep in the harlot's soul and head!

What taste and poetry and things aesthetic
lie there for me in the harlot’s bed!177

Here, there was none of that suffering poet who sought love. Fröding here rather appeared as the Bohemian in whose wild life public women were passing objects. We are not surprised to note that Fröding could also resort to the military metaphors so current in erotica.178 Fröding felt empathy with the public women he had to resort to; he wrote other poems which wholly trivialised or celebrated the life of public women; and he perceived them at times as the mere objects for his lusts. He expressed several attitudes – but never the idea that men should be chaste out of deference for women.

We have seen how some men wrote of flirtations and were proud to be popular among women before 1850, and how this was changed with the second half of the century. Men now wrote of women, flirtations and sex at greater length, and considered flirtations and sex as integral aspects of being a man.179

It seems, then, that moralists’ criticism of male sexuality and the seducer was not at all heeded by men. And indeed, the autobiographers who mentioned the war over social purity especially in the 1880s all testify that students and other men were wholly critical of social purists.180 By the turn of the century, the ideas were no longer present in young men’s lives; the waves of the war over social purity had abated.181 A
man like Lekander wrote wholly unproblematically about his visits to Uppsala’s brothel, without ever even considering the existence of other ideas about proper behaviour. At the end of the day, moralists were fighting a battle to change masculinities to greater chastity, but they were apparently losing.

CONCLUSION

The seducer was under attack during the entire nineteenth century. The seducer caused women to fall into prostitution, debasement and depravity. The seducer carried a theatrical mask, and was thus not driven by honourable, moral principles. In some moralists, the critique of the seducer was closely knit to a critique of lecherous women, so that responsibility for the woman’s fall was still partially or even entirely placed on the woman. With the last two decades of the century, the seducer came to be the most important countertype to ideal manhood. Masculinity was now tied to male chastity before marriage, and a general concern for women. Women were to be the moral guides for men to imitate. Instead of an older, more misogynous notion that sexual women threatened to damage honourable men, critique was now waged against sexual men who threatened to damage honourable women.

However, the seducer was also more celebrated between 1870 and 1900 than earlier. A minority of guides to seduction, reprinted in several editions, were spread. The seduction of women without the intention to marry them was here seen as unproblematic, indeed as a proper male behaviour, not at its antithesis. These guides were more misogynous than the social purity discourse. On a purely discursive level, the question of Don Juan’s masculinity was undecided around 1880. A popular minority of authors celebrated Don Juan – a majority of moralists decried this very behaviour.

Autobiographies and erotica point squarely in the direction of a strengthened don-juanesque ideal. Seduction was seldom discussed at length in memoirs, but once mentioned it was almost without exception admired. Erotica also points to a strengthened position for the seducer. In advice manuals, social purists stand out as a strong current in late-nineteenth-century discussions over masculinity. They apparently give only one side of the story, since social purists’ view of unmanliness incarnate was celebrated in autobiographies and erotica. Social purity, in moralists’ discourse, appears representative of a major change in middle-class masculinities around 1880. When studied against the backdrop of erotica, medical discourse on prostitution, and memoirs, social purists’ discourse appears, indeed, as a minority cause – indeed, the seducer stands out as a strong ideal in late-nineteenth-century Sweden.

Moralists’ discourse on prostitution, the double standard, and the seducer entailed significant transformations in relation to the questions outlined in chapter 1. The ideal of a chaste masculinity was the first middle-class ideal which stood firmly on a heterosocial foundation. Women had the right to demand of men to be chaste, and women’s supposed experiences of men were to be the guiding light for men’s behaviour. In the ideal of the man of the world, traits associated with women had had negative connotations. With the ideal of chastity, women were instead to set the standard for men. This also had implications for the male norm. Men were not gender-
lessness human beings. They did not have the right to treat women without considering both their own morality, and what would become of the innocent victim of their lusts. There was a limit to what moralists questioned, though. The critique of men’s behaviour did not, at least not for the men who endorsed the ideal of chastity, entail a critique of men’s domination over women as such. Even while men were problematised, gender inequality was not problematic. Indeed, Carl Norrby intoned with particular vehemence that women should be subordinate to men. While moralists criticised men and wanted to change their behaviour, they were not attacking patriarchy in itself, only the double standard of sexual morality within patriarchy.

In relation to Mosse’s theory of countertypes, this chapter has revealed yet another, and more complex relation, between ideal and countertype. True, the ideal of chastity was strengthened when moralists devoted their attention to the ideal’s countertype, the evil seducer. But the ideal which was strengthened was simultaneously a re-writing of ideal masculinity. The ideal was not a stable bulwark erected against the countertype, but a novel ideal, which attacked older perceptions of masculinity. What is more, moralists worried, just as they did around gambling and drinking, that men shared other, contrary, ideals. The seducer strengthened the notion that men should refrain from sexual acts before marriage. But he also threatened that idea, since moralists believed that men shared other ideals. In this, they were also right.

9. CONCLUSIONS

What does it mean to be a man?
—Gottlob Weitbrecht, 1890

INTRODUCTION

In doing the research for and writing this book, I have not seldom felt like Patrick Lewis in Michael Ondaatje’s novel In the skin of a lion, who ‘picks up and brings together various corners of the story, attempting to carry it all in his arms’. I started out with a rather neat and uniform understanding of middle-class, nineteenth-century masculinity taken from scholars such as Michael Kimmel, George L. Mosse and E. Anthony Rotundo. Once I started doing the research, however, that masculinity turned out to be a more complex matter. Ideals and their transformations turned out to be contradictory and complex, and what had seemed like a choir of voices singing together turned into a blurred cacophony. Middle-class men cherished sobriety and got drunk; some professed that men should marry as virgins while other sung the praise of military attacks on women’s virtue; paternalistic advice to trust to Providence mingled with beliefs that men could use their charisma to gain the respect of the aristocracy; others again believed that making riches and success made men. Middle-class masculinities proved to be a more heterogeneous issue than I first had assumed. The diversity, contradictions, and transformations of ideals was both rather surprising and complex. I have, indeed, had trouble to carry it all in my arms! Peter Gay’s assertion that anyone who delves into the genre of nineteenth-century advice manuals ‘must be daunted by its riches and impressed by its astonishing uniformity’ is misleading. Moralists were in agreement on many issues, true. Yet, the impression is very far from that of uniformity.

In this chapter, I discuss my empirical results in relation to the questions and the theories that were outlined in chapter 1. In doing so, some themes that have only been briefly mentioned will be expanded, and some new themes will emerge. The most important analytic points are briefly recapitulated in the summary.

THE MALE NORM

The idea that the male was norm can be interpreted in three ways. First, that men have symbolised humanity, rather than the male sex. This interpretation has not been put into question or even investigated in the present book. However, this interpretation is often linked to a second interpretation, the idea that because men have been a norm, men have not discussed themselves as men, only as human beings. Scholars have claimed that for moralists and others writing about gender, women, not men, were the problem. This book proves those claims to be erroneous. Men did indeed discuss themselves as men. The flood of advice manuals specifically designed to make men of youngsters shows that masculinity was indeed a subject for discussion. And the discussion about masculinity was not carried out by a slim minority of men. Rather, as we have seen, middle-class men's preoccupation with the question ‘what is a real man?’ was intense. Gottlob Weitbrecht was in good and numerous company when he asked what it meant to be a man. Scholars have investigated middle-class men's preoccupation with women and ideal femininity, and have then alleged that men never discussed men and ideal masculinity. If this had indeed been the case, there would not have been that absolutely massive outpouring of advice manuals discussing how men should and should not be. Men were not silent on the question of masculinity; they were discussing the issue with utmost fervour.

So, if men were problematic, then what was the problem with them? In part I of this book, two major problems with men emerged. First, men were too often unable to master their passions. Moralists' faith in young men's capabilities of this manly achievement was very weak indeed. Since many young men could not control their passions, they ever risked the danger of falling. Second, young men had misunderstood the true meaning of manhood. They often believed that what moralists decried as unmanly activities, like drinking and gambling, made men. Departing from these two problems in men, moralists discussed again and again how young men should restrain their passions, gain a proper understanding of how to use their youth, and what true manhood really was. To the middle-class men who wrote autobiographies, by contrast, the problem with men was not that they at times gave in to their passions, but that some failed to have their fling in moderate ways. To these men, drinking was not problematic – drinkers were.

In part II, more problems with men emerged. Several of these problems will be treated below, as I shift focus to how countertoypes functioned in moralists' tracts on middle-class masculinity. The fear that young men misunderstood the nature of real manhood was not only related to gambling and drinking, but became, in terms of change, especially widespread in the century's final quarter, when several moralists denounced young men's conception that it was manly to seduce women. To some
extent, moralists’ lack of faith in men’s ability to master their passions remained, but it was also transformed over time. Around 1800, self-interest threatened to make men negligent of their duties to society as a whole. Throughout the first half of the century, men’s vanity was both commendable and a problem, since men who gave in to vanity risked to be turned into fops. In the ideal of self-made man, faith in men was stronger. The problem with men was here rather that some men lacked the stamina to rise in society – but the faith that men could indeed do so was strong. Likewise, moralists who denounced the seducer explained again and again that it was indeed possible to remain chaste until marriage. Sexuality was not uncontrollable; it could be mastered with a manly effort. In these respects, moralists’ faith in men became stronger over time.

Moralists continued to discuss the problem of men throughout the century. Some problems remained unchanged, and others were submitted to change. Again: men were considered to be deeply problematic beings.

A third, more narrow interpretation of the male norm is that while men discussed the meaning of manhood, some forms of masculinity were never problematised. These forms were not considered or were never criticized in the ongoing talk about men. This interpretation, which only allows for a male norm, not the male norm, is substantiated in the present work. When the feminist Klara Johanson wrote that ‘A new great epoch will begin on the day when the male begins to discover himself as a subject for discussion’, she would hardly have been impressed with the type of discussions over manhood which have been analysed throughout this book. We therefore need to ask whether discussions around issues such as ‘men are not what they used to be’, ‘men should have character and refrain from drinking’ or ‘real manliness must be built on mastery over the passions’ really problematised masculinity.

I would answer both yes and no. Yes, because when moralists wrote ‘women are not what they used to be’ or ‘real femininity is a state of dependence by a husband’s side’, this has been read by scholars as indicative of men’s tendency to problematise women, to focus on women. If discussions of a similar order were also present about men, then if the argumentation is to be consistent, these discussions indeed show that men also problematised men, focussed on men.

On the other hand, what Klara Johanson meant with her brief aphorism was in all probability something more. Moralists never put into question what was and is the nucleus of feminist critique of patriarchy: men’s domination over women. Moralists criticized men whose domination was based on violence, but they never once asked why men should have power over women, or why women’s femininity had to be grounded in the private sphere, in a state of dependence. Throughout the discussions about men and masculinities, we have not witnessed a will to problematise men’s power and privilege. Indeed, the discussions strove to legitimise and reproduce men’s domination.

This can also be seen in the ideals which moralists never questioned. While they focussed on young men, they never put into question the contents of the ideal of adult manhood, this goal which young men must be bent on reaching. They wrote advice to youth because they wanted to lead young middle-class men into positions of power. It was the transition from youth to adulthood, from a lack of power to a position of power, which was at stake – not adult men’s position of power, which remained undisputed. When they wrote of drinkers, gamblers, seducers, and too-egotistic men, this can be read as an unwillingness, whether conscious or not, to problematise one form of masculinity: that of the married man of character, leading a life of moderation, of mastery over his passions, and whose subordination of women and of other men rested on his superior character, not on violence or a will to dominate.

Indeed, the married man stands out as a strong, almost uncontested ideal throughout the period. Only a minority of authors hailed the free life of the bachelor, and spilt critical ink over matrimony. An overwhelming majority instead hailed the state of matrimony as the highest point of masculinity. As Maja Larsson and Mark E. Kann have shown, middle-class moralists already in late-eighteenth-century America and in the second half of the nineteenth century in Sweden aggressively denounced the figure of the bachelor. Bachelors symbolised an unhealthy individualism taken too far, and a dangerous neglect of men’s duty to father children. These reiterated criticisms against bachelors can be read as an unwillingness to problematise the end-goal for middle-class men: marriage. When a moralist intoned in 1887 that ‘no matter how excellent a bachelor’s character may be, he can still never attain a complete masculinity’, this was based on the assumption that complete manliness demanded marriage.

True, marriage was important to masculine identity already in Shakespeare’s writings. But the ideal was then still blended by a misogynous ideal, in which men’s love of women was perceived as a possible dangerous source of effeminacy. It was only with the rise of the middle class that marriage emerged as the absolute requisite of ideal manhood. Charles Kingsley’s aggressive attacks on Catholics for endorsing the ideal of celibacy and his celebration of gender complementarity and the masculinity of the married man is a case in point. And Kingsley was very far from alone in his cel-

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The imperative to marry. The bachelor, ever the subject of moralists’ critique, failed to attain real masculinity. What begins in shyness and a will to marry, a part of the life cycle for every heterosexual middle-class male, ends in misogyny and loneliness. ‘The life of a bachelor: portrayed in nine illustrations.’ The poem reads: ‘Young Mr. Pettersson, at eighteen years, still stands so “misunderstood” among the ladies.’ ‘But at twenty-five he politely pays his homage to each woman, and believes himself in luck.’ ‘But love comes and goes... and he has become fastidious, at thirty years.’ ‘At thirty-five, with a pointed moustache, he glances, bland, at the circle of women: “At forty he thinks: He is a fool, who chooses a wife, when he has a cigar!” But then regrets come at forty-five; for if he sees a happy couple, he envies them.” ‘A man, respectable, with steady sense’ – see there, a task for a fifty-year-old: ‘At sixty, he gets to hear: “Oh, look, what an old fogey over there!”’ At sixty-five he lies all alone, with gout for company in his stiffening bones.’ Wood engraving from Svenska Illustrerade Familj-Journalen (The Swedish Illustrated Family Journal), 1887.
ebration of the life of the married man as the only truly manly life; moralists frequently did the same.  

Middle-class autobiographers revealed a multitude of ideals in relation to alcohol, gambling, the ideal of utility, self-making, attitudes to the aristocracy, et cetera – but they were homogeneous in one respect: those who married mentioned that they married. To be sure, men’s narratives of their marriages differed widely from each other. On one extreme, there were men like Teodor Holmberg and Gustaf Retzius, whose recollected lives integrated their wives to a remarkable extent. These men portrayed their lives as idealistic projects which were common to husband and wife. Holmberg’s wife worked together with him at their small folk school, and both were bent on instilling Christian ideals into their pupils – Teodor into the boys, and Cecilia into the girls. Holmberg’s wife played a crucial role in his autobiography (although one may be forgiven for wondering why he wrote so little of her prominent career as a writer; to posterity as well as contemporaries, it is certainly Cecilia Bååth-Holmberg, not Teodor, who stands out as an important figure).  

The other extreme can be exemplified in men like the politician Gustaf Ferdinand Asker and J. G. Arsenius. Asker’s marriage lasted for sixty-one years; Arsenius’s marriage, for more than three decades. Both only barely mentioned that they were ever married. Several other men did the same. The winner of the price ‘Most brief mention of one’s wife’, though, goes to Anton Nyström, thrice married and twice divorced, who only mentioned his first wife in the midst of recounting the beginnings of his career: ‘Recently married and with a small inherited capital, I had started my practise’.  

Between these two extremes, most men did write about their will to

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10. Teodor Holmberg [b. 1853], Tidsströmningar och minnen, e.g. pp. 102, 143-144, 149-151, 154-156, 172, 175-176, 184, 193, 212-231, 258, 295 (mentioning Cecilia’s writings), 316, 328-330, 347-354, 380-385 (again on Cecilia’s writings).  
11. Gustaf Retzius [b. 1843], Biografiska anteckningar och minnen, vol. 1, p. 211; vol. 2, pp. 47-48, 51-55, 55, 86-87, 91-97, 99-100, 260-261, 267. Note that had I used the unprinted version of his autobiography, there would have been even more details, since it was mostly things relating to Anna which Otto Walde, the editor of the autobiography, chose not to publish, on Anna’s request; ibid., vol. 1, p. 7. Louis De Geer also wrote at some length about his wife, although their lives were not intertwined to the same extent; De Geer [b. 1818], Minnen, vol. 1, esp. pp. 88-109, 112, 121-126, 129-130, 132, 143, 184, 197, 229-232, 278-279; vol. 2, pp. 89-90, 92, 209-211, 231-232, 300.  
12. Gustaf Ferdinand Asker [b. 1812], Lefnadsminnen, p. 17; Johan Georg Arsenius [b. 1818], Minneanteckningar, p. 80 (see also pp. 108, 116, 141-142 for later brief if affectionate mentions of his wife). Cf. also the very brief passages in Janne Damm [b. 1825], ‘En sjelfbiografi’ , Granskaren 1890:42, not paginated; Robert Dickson [b. 1843], Minnen, p. 60. Carl Stiernström [b. 1851], Minnen från Uppsala: 1870–1886-talen, UUB X297 o, p. 93½ mentioned his wife and a daughter, but their absence from his account is less surprising, since he focussed totally on his years as a student.  
marry, and their pride over entering matrimony. From their accounts, it emerges that they sensed they had taken the most important step to real manhood through marriage. Even while wives tended to be absent from autobiographers accounts, the point at which men married was always there as a decisive moment in men's lives.\footnote{See e.g. Henning Hamilton [b. 1814], ‘Min Lefnad’, in Palmgren, Gåtan Henning Hamilton (2000), pp. 21, 22; Claes Adelsköld [b. 1824], Utdrag ur Mitt Dagarsverks- och Pro Diverse-Konto, vol. 2, c.g. pp. 61-64, 104-106, 142; Nils Petrus Ödman [b. 1838], ‘En liten sjelfbiografi’ (1891), UUB Pelle Ödman 2, pp. 22-24; idem, ‘När jag ”ritade gubbar”: Ett ungdomsminne’ , in Litet till, p. 23; idem, ‘”När man är ung och är student”’, in Pelle Ödman’s ungdomsminnen, vol. 1, pp. 227-228 (cf. also idem, ‘Från Öregrund till Trosa via Stockholm’, in Åftunderhållningar, p. 78); Carl Fries [b. 1860], Mina minnen, pp. 18-19, Nils Peter Mathiasson [b. 1868], Mitt evnar- och förhållandes, pp. 98-99. Cf. also August Strindberg [b. 1849], The son of a servant, p. 156.}

The reluctance to expand beyond a brief homage or mere mentions of when one was married was in part due to the genre. When Johan Carl Hellberg spent just a little more ink on how he got married and had a son, how this new role of being ‘a family man and a father’ meant that ‘the inner person goes through an upheaval’, he felt he had to legitimise the presence of his private life in his autobiography.\footnote{See Johan Carl Hellberg [b. 1815], Posthumus, Ur minnet och dagboken om mina samtida, vol. 2, p. 228; idem, ‘Hågkomster från mitt eget och samtidens lif’ (1882), vol. 1, UUB T1da, pp. 86-92; vol. 2, UUB T1db, p. 95. (Rundgren partially blocked these passages if anyone was later to publish his autobiography); also the discrepancy between Henning Hamilton [b. 1814], ‘Min Lefnad’, in Palmgren, Gåtan Henning Hamilton (2000), pp. 21, 22 and Palmgren’s evidence in ibid., pp. 76-85, 102-103, 102-213.}

Men wrote at different lengths about their wives. The point is that men did indeed mention their wives. After all, Arsenius, Asker, Nyström and others could have chosen to be completely silent on the fact that they married, but did not. Taken together, autobiographers' individual passages about marriage reinforce the notion that a real man had to marry to attain adult masculinity. In memoirs, the wife functioned as a signal, however brief, that these men had attained real masculinity. Even men whose marriages were riddled with problems still publicly professed their matrimonial bliss.\footnote{See the poem in Olof Rabenius [b. 1882], Kring Drottning Kristinas klocka, pp. 220-221; Claes Adelsköld [b. 1824], Utdrag ur Mitt Dagarsverks- och Pro Diverse-Konto, vol. 2, p. 442, on the illegitimacy of writing of one's children and private life.}

We can leave aside whether or no Anthony Rotundo is right in arguing that ‘marriage loomed larger in a woman’s [than in a man’s] social identity’; the point is that he is right in claiming that ‘marriage was a mark of full manhood’.\footnote{Rotundo, American Manhood, pp. 144, 115.} Marriage, and the
figure of the married man, was very close to never criticized by either autobiographers or moralists. Indeed, even the pseudonym Don Juan, who as we saw gave detailed advice about how to seduce women, claimed that a man who had succeeded in getting engaged to be marry had taken an important step towards real manhood:

It is with infinite satisfaction and a pleasant pride that the young man speaks to himself the words ‘I am engaged!’ for the first time. He seems to have taken a step forward to the ideal of manliness, and he does not neglect to tell everyone, that he is engaged. Everyone must know that he is so manly and attractive, that a woman wants to share her destiny with him.21

Even while he praised the seducer, the ultimate goal even for this moralist was marriage. And in Gunnar Wennerberg’s songs Gluntarne, which as we saw in chapter 4 celebrated the wild and irresponsible life of the student, the aim was still to marry and have children.22 Throughout moralists’ discourse and autobiographers’ accounts, the married state stood out as the given highest point of masculinity. This norm set the standard for other men: youths, who could never be real men, and ageing bachelors, who were lacking in masculinity.

According to several scholars, there was, however, a group of men who were exempted from the ideal of the married man. To academics, work was legitimately perceived as a marriage, and professors could therefore remain bachelors without being less than men. Instead, they could cultivate an originality of character. The evidence, however, remains anecdotal. Several scholars have focussed on professor Wilhelm Erik Svedelius as representative of this ideal.23 There are, however, several problems in treating Svedelius as representative of a larger culture. Because his example has been used by so many, I shall devote some attention to him here.

The anecdotes about the absent-minded Svedelius, cultivating a different masculinity, were widespread in autobiographies by former students.24 This substantiates the interpretation that ageing learned bachelors could cultivate their difference from married men. And it is certainly true that Svedelius remained a bachelor, and did so out of choice. Marriage, to him, was an obstacle to his career as an academic:


I would rather have wanted to drown every beautiful girl on the bottom of a lake, than have some slut get in the way of my plans with her charms.\textsuperscript{25}

This misogynous assertion is the most extreme statement about women I have seen in all of the autobiographies I have studied. We should therefore tread with caution before claiming that Svedelius’s choice to remain unmarried was representative of a learned culture in which marriage was not as crucial to male identity as in other strata. For those who have the patience to read all 638 pages of Svedelius’s autobiography, his denunciation of marriage emerges as a problematic guide both to Svedelius’s attitudes, and to a larger learned culture which supposedly shunned marriage. First, Svedelius was not consistently misogynous. What little he wrote of women also reveals that his views were more complex than his decision not to marry implied.\textsuperscript{26} He also wrote of marriage as a possible source of infinite joys, as ‘the most sacred relations of human life’, although he felt reluctant to enter marriage himself – a passage from his autobiography which is never quoted.\textsuperscript{27}

Second and even more problematic, it may very well be that Svedelius preferred men to women. The only person he ever truly loved was a man.\textsuperscript{28} This romantic friendship to another youth, Gustaf Sebastian Leijonhufvud, only lasted for three months, but made such a lasting impression on Svedelius that he devoted more than eighty pages to their friendship in his autobiography. It is a story of love between men which those who perceive Svedelius as representative do not tell.\textsuperscript{29} It is pointless to attempt to finally decide whether Svedelius was homosexual or no. He became friends with Gustaf in 1836, some three decades before Karl Maria Kertbeny coined the term ‘homosexuality’.\textsuperscript{30} In this age before modern homophobia, young men could form close romantic relationships to other men, using a homoerotic language which would become deeply problematic, almost impossible, after the rise of homophobic sentiment.\textsuperscript{31} Although sexual homophobia did exist in the 1880s when Svedelius was writing, it was not a theme in moralists’ discourse, as we shall see further down. Svedelius felt a deep closeness, even intimacy, with Gustaf; he claimed

\textsuperscript{25} Wilhem Erik Svedelius [b. 1816], anteckningar om mitt förflutna liv, p. 174: ‘Helle skulle jag velat vattlägga alla vackra flickor på sjöbotten, än att något flickekräk skulle med sina behagligheter ställa sig i vägen för mina planer.’ Note also Svedelius here writes of the threat of an early marriage, not of marriage as such, something which those who quote him fail to mention. This passage is quoted both by Florin and Johansson, ‘Där de härliga lagkronorna...,’ pp. 15-16 and Larsson, Den moraliska kroppen, p. 158.

\textsuperscript{26} Svedelius [b. 1816], Anteckningar om mitt förflutna liv, pp. 21, 97, 205-207, 229-230, 426-427.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. 162: ‘det menskliga livets heligaste förbindelser.’

\textsuperscript{28} He only briefly mentioned an early interest in a young woman once; ibid., p. 97.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., pp. 193-276 (254 for the brevity of their friendship); also pp. 408, 616-617. The only scholar who has considered this friendship is Greger Eman, in his very brief, semi-fictional account ‘Professor Svedelius förnekar sig inte’, Kom ut! 7 (1986:2–3), pp. 20-21.

\textsuperscript{30} See e.g. Bengt Dagr inform me of your plans, 2 ed. (2000), pp. 175-176.

that Gustaf’s spirit ‘penetrated’ his own, and that he ‘loved and still love’ him.\(^{32}\)
When Gustaf died prematurely, Svedelius felt ‘a complete confusion’, his heart was ‘ripped to pieces’ and he was ‘on the brink of the most violent despair’;\(^{33}\) he wrote at length about Gustaf in his diary, and grieved his death for the remainder of his life.\(^{34}\) Indeed, he only refrained from suicide from an ethic of duty.\(^{35}\)

After Gustaf’s death, Svedelius decided that he would not have anyone fill his place.\(^{36}\) He even pondered what would have become of their friendship, had Gustaf not died, and believed that some sort of relation of an intimate kind would have continued, and it is even possible, that the intimacy could have become complete, for the relations between us had after all its roots in a very deep source.\(^{37}\)

Svedelius loved only one person in his life. That person was a male youth, who apparently still stirred his imagination as an ageing man. To treat Svedelius as an unproblematic exponent of the ideal that academics could remain bachelors, then, seems to me to misread Svedelius’s autobiography. Svedelius did not marry because marriage was a threat to his career plans, true, but also because the only person he had truly loved was one of his own sex; after Gustaf’s death, none could fill his place.

There is more evidence that academics, too, had to marry, or at the very least that the peculiar originality of the academic should be poised against a loving wife. Rudolf Hjärne wrote that the poet and professor of Aesthetics B. E. Malmström would have lived a longer, healthier life, had he only married, and other men wrote of other men’s failures to marry in ways which underscored just how crucial marriage was believed to be as a guarantor of a healthy, moderate life.\(^{38}\) The prank that Gunnar Wennerberg played a colleague when he was a teacher shows how bachelors were deemed less than men. This colleague was bashful in women’s company, and had not married. Wennerberg betted that they would one day see this man walk arm-in-arm with a woman. Then, taking a stroll with his wife, Wennerberg pretended to be in a rush upon encountering his colleague, begged him to escort his wife home, and dashed off. The other teachers saw this shy male walking Wennerberg’s wife, and Wennerberg won the bet. He also reinforced his own masculinity, and poked fun at this learned man who was still a bachelor. This anecdote, when read in the light of moralists’ constant

\(^{32}\) Svedelius [b. 1816], *Anteckningar om mitt förflutna lif*, pp. 214: ‘genomträngde’ (cf. also p. 276), 244: ‘älskade och ännu älskar’.
\(^{34}\) Ibid., pp. 264, 267-274 (including several quotes from his diary).
\(^{35}\) Ibid., pp. 264, 617.
\(^{36}\) Ibid., pp. 260-267.
\(^{37}\) Ibid., p. 271: ‘en viss förbindelse af innerlig art skulle kommit att försvåra, och det är till och med en möjlighet, att innerligheten kunnat bli tva fullständig, ty förbindelsen mellan oss hade dock sin rot i en mycket djup källa’.
\(^{38}\) Rudolf Hjärne [b. 1815], *Från det förflutna och det närvarande*, p. 94. Consider also e.g. Samuel Ödmann [b. 1822], *Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar*, p. 105 (on Nyblom).
celebrations of marriage and their absence of critique of marriage, tells us more about
middle-class attitudes to marriage, even within learned circles, than the isolated case
of Svedelius.39

**MASCULINITY AS HOMOSOCIAL**

Throughout this study, we have seen how men tended to compare themselves with
other men. This is particularly true of the book’s first part. While the point could fre-
quently have been made that mastery over the passions was what separated men from
women, moralists instead compared men who controlled their passions to men who
did not. Men of character were compared to men who lacked character, and young
men were compared to adult men and other young men, not women. Similarly, the
history of the fallen man was not told as a parallel of women’s fall; men who fell were
compared to men who succeeded in building character. Gamblers and drinkers were
only rarely considered in their relation to women. Autobiographers wrote of their
lives as if women barely existed – apart from those who recorded their flirtations, at
which point they tended to compare themselves with other men who were not as suc-
cessful in flirting. Men’s preoccupation with masculinity was a preoccupation with
men’s relations to other men. Women were more or less wholly absent. Part I sub-
stantiates, then, Michael Kimmel’s and others’ argument that masculinity is largely a
homosocial enactment. Throughout this book, autobiographers’ accounts have tend-
ed to focus on other men. Some wrote of their lives in salons; some wrote of flirta-
tions and early loves; and men did note if they were married. Apart from these
themes, though, autobiographies were massively homosocial. They revolved around
men’s relations to other men. Reading them, one could almost be led to believe that
there was an enormous scarcity of women in nineteenth-century Sweden.

Part II nuanced the homosocial construction of masculinity – to some extent. Once
considered, women could play any of four roles in men’s lives. The first was the pre-
dictable tributes to virtuous women as wives who were responsible for the cozy home
to which the male would return after a hard day’s work. This ideal was based on gen-
der complementarity, and reinforced men’s domination of women, by emphasising
women’s dependence as the very foundation of their femininity. These middle-class
celebrations of women have only been briefly mentioned in the present book, since
they have already been discussed by earlier scholars, and since they were not at the
fore among the moralists who have been discussed here.40

Second, women were considered among moralists who extolled the ideal of the
man of the world. Women here appeared as men’s negative counterpart, what men
should not be. That is, men compared real men to men who had feminine traits; a
homosocial comparison, but founded on explicit considerations of women’s purport-
ated nature. Women were vain, shallow, and interested in their appearances. Therefore,


40. There were also scattered attacks on women who left the private sphere, but while these attacks were com-
mon in advice to women, they only rarely surfaced in advice manuals for men.
once men indulged in behaviour which was associated with women, there was an imminent risk that these men were turning into fops. Women were also taken into account as the key for men’s status in polite society, since women’s judgement here weighed heavily.

Third, moralists tended to view women as sexual threats to men. This was especially true until the very end of the century, although other scholars have also shown that the notion of dangerous women as vampires were especially popular in middle-class culture in these decades. In these critical gazes on women, they were deemed relevant to masculinity only in so far as they threatened it.

Fourth, towards the end of the century, moralists instead perceived men as sexual threats to women. For the first time, women’s experiences of men (or, rather, how moralists believed that women experienced men) were now considered relevant to how men should behave. It is ironic that the only heterosocial masculinity should be founded on the construction of women as victim. (A fifth variation was present among the minority who instead hailed the seducer. Here, popularity among women delineated real men from other men, even while the ideal was founded on misogyny. Women were objects mentioned in passing, relevant only in so far as successfulness among them reinforced men’s masculinity.)

Women’s emancipation has not been discussed in the present work. This might have surprised readers. After all, earlier scholars have shown in minute detail just how many male frustrations were unloosed by this movement, especially in the century’s final decades. The absence of antifeminism among moralists and autobiographers, indeed the absence of any stand taken in relation to feminism, is astounding. This silence should hardly be read as a sign that moralists and autobiographers were feminists. Rather, it would seem that moralists wrote of antifeminism and the problem that women posed to men in tracts intended for women, a genre of advice manuals which has not been treated here.

Meanwhile, one might ask if not women were implicitly invoked throughout the homosocial discussions of masculinity. I would like to introduce the seemingly paradoxical concept of implicit misogynies to understand this logic. The concept ‘misogyny’ is usually reserved for explicit and aggressive attacks on women. If the concept is instead expanded to include misogynous conceptions of women that were so self-evident they did not need to be stated, a deeper understanding of the homosocial construction of masculinity can be gained.

Implicit misogynies were especially at play in the ideal of the useful citizen and that of the self-made man. Both discourses on men were more or less exclusively homoso-

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41. See e.g. the massive empirical evidence in Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of perversity: Fantasies of feminine evil in fin-de-siècle culture* (1986).
43. Women’s emancipation was only briefly considered, and then in positive terms, in Samuel Odman [b. 1822], *Minnen och anteckningar från flydda dagar*, p. 222 and Johan Grönlund [b. 1841], *Mina minnen*, vol. 2, p. 87; [Johan Carl Hellberg] [b. 1815], *Posthumus*, Ur minnet och dagboken om mina ansedde, vol. 12, pp. 213-215 aggressively attacked women’s emancipation. But that’s about it.
cial. And yet, that very homosocial side was founded on the implicit, taken-for-granted, exclusion of women. When moralists intoned that it was men’s duty to be useful citizens, their ideal was founded on the assumption that women should not be granted access to the public sphere, as well as political rights. To be a citizen was to be a male. Because men should be useful in the public sphere, women need not apply. It was this taken-for-granted misogyny which excluded women from the affairs of the state, as well as from the ideal of utility. When men told other men that they needed to be useful citizens, women’s exclusion were axiomatic, and grounded in misogyny.

In similar fashion, women were only allowed a supportive role for male breadwinning in the ideal of self-making. When moralists wrote of opportunities for success, the implicit misogyny of the ideology of separate spheres, founded on gender complementarity, was at play. Because women’s femininity should be founded in the private sphere, men needed only to consider other men in their quest for individual success. That quest was implicitly staged against the limitations that male middle-class culture imposed on women. Women’s domesticity and dependence were the requisites for men’s possibilities to concentrate on their success in the world of men. While contemporaries hailed the system of separate spheres as the highest point of civilisation, it reproduced women’s subordination and underpinned the homosocial construction of masculinity.

A similar case can be made for this book’s first half. When men wrote of character, they only very rarely mentioned women, since ‘character’ itself was an all-male concept. Women’s inability to master their passions, a staple of philosophers’ tracts since the Antiquity, as Genivieve Lloyd has shown, was a given; therefore, men who could not master their passions were more problematic than women. Moralists strove for the legitimization and reproduction of male domination. Their discourse was a discourse on power. In that discourse, women were not relevant – other men were. Again, an implicit misogyny which excluded women from power and the means to reach a position of power was at play in the homosocial construction of masculinity. In a world where character meant power and manliness meant character, women need not apply.

At the end of the day, women were only rarely explicitly relevant in the discourse about men. Because masculinity revolved around power, it was to a large but not exclusive extent a homosocial construction. The implications that ideals had for women were if not absent, then only rarely at centre stage.

**COUNTERTYPES**

George L. Mosse has a uniform understanding of the role that countertypes played. Ideal masculinity needed its others to strengthen and legitimise the ideal. Jews and homosexuals were excluded from the fraternity of real men. The distinction between ideal and countertype strengthened the ideal.

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44 The Swedish poet and man of letters Thomas Thorild had included women in the concept citizen in 1793, but was more or less alone in doing so. What’s more, by 1817, he had changed his usage and was back using ‘citizen’ as others did – as exclusively male. Eva Lis Bjurman, *Catrines intressanta blekhet* (1998), p. 198.
Throughout this book, moralists and autobiographers have pointed to a more complex relation between ideal and countertype. Countertypes were simultaneously antonymous to moralists’ perceptions of ideal manhood, and believed to lure young men because their connotations of masculinity. It is hard to imagine that this was the case in the examples Mosse gives of countertypes. White, heterosexual middle-class males hardly longed to be considered as homosexuals or Jews. To moralists, gamblers and drinkers instead stood out as crucial countertypes. While young men did not long to be considered drinkers and gamblers, they were still believed to be lured into drinking and gambling because that would make others consider them as real men. This worry in moralists’ accounts was substantiated by autobiographers, who showed beyond doubt that men saw drinking (and, in some cases, gambling) as essential for a real man. Among moralists, the distinction between a drinker and a real man most often strengthened their ideal – but men ever risked to commence drinking because they wanted to be real men.

It was only around 1800 that the countertype was so neatly bound together with the ideal as Mosse suggests. In this period, men were told to see more to what was beneficent for society than to their own profit. Egoistic men who did just this, who searched for pecuniary fortunes without caring for the greater good of society or their nation, were decried as countertypes. The passing preoccupation with idlers among writers on success also strengthened the ideal, but here, the countertype was not as crucial to moralists as had been the case around 1800. In these cases, countertypes were simply what real men were not. The distinction between countertype and ideal strengthened the legitimacy of the ideals.

At other times, countertypes were more intertwined with the ideal. This was especially so among those who extolled the man of the world as an ideal. If the ideal was taken too far, the man of the world became effeminate and was then described as the very antonym of real manhood. Far from strengthening real manhood, then, the ideal carried with it the possible germs of effeminacy.

The same went for moralists’ criticism of the seducer in the century’s final decades. Ideally, the distinction between real man and countertype was the distinction between chaste men and seducers. However, moralists themselves as well as autobiographers revealed that many young men did indeed connect seduction to masculinity.

Countertypes, then, tended to threaten rather than strengthen ideal manhood. They were more dangerous, more problematic, than what comes through in Mosse’s account.

This book has not discussed the homosexual as countertype. His (in this context, the problem was male homosexuality) absence in the present work may have surprised readers. The fact of the matter is that the homosexual never emerged as an important countertype to real manhood in moralists’ accounts. Although the term homosexual was invented in the late 1860s, it would be long until the homosexual emerged as an important countertype to manhood. In the material I have studied, male homosexuality was a non-subject. Real men were not contrasted to homosexuals or sodomites, but to other groups of men. This means that even by 1900, homo-
phobia had not yet become a strong current in Sweden. The Dictionary of the Swedish Academy has the first usage of the term in Swedish dated to 1907.\textsuperscript{45} However, Maja Larsson has found a singular instance of its use in a translated book of medical advice already in 1874.\textsuperscript{46} In the normative material I have studied, only two physicians and one moralist discussed male homosexuality. All three did so in negative terms.\textsuperscript{47} August Strindberg is the odd singular example of a man who continually attacked homosexuals as less than men.\textsuperscript{48} It would not be until the 1920s, just a decade before the decriminalisation of homosexuality in 1944, that homophobic sentiment was rife in Sweden.\textsuperscript{49}

This absence of homophobia does not mean that middle-class men of the nineteenth century were lenient in their attitude to men who loved men, or that men who were attracted by other men did not feel that they were not real men. Svedelius admitted that he had wanted to show others what he had written about Gustaf, but decided not to, and his autobiography was only published posthumously.\textsuperscript{50} The homosexual student and later professor of Philosophy Pontus Wikner continually fell in love with other men during his student years and in his early academic career in the 1850s and 60s. The friendships he formed with other men were not seldom broken by these other men, but only after the kissing had become too intense – not when it began. The example shows that while romantic friendships were not problematic and that there should also be strict limits to just how intimate men could be with other men, those limits were very, by modern standards, wide indeed.\textsuperscript{51} If middle-class men were far from lenient in their attitudes to homosexuals, this line of demarcation was not an important one to make until the very end of the century, and was only then made by a minority of men, and only then again in ways which were very different from our own time’s. Our own time’s obsession with the homo/hetero binary was only emerging towards the very end of the nineteenth century. If these men aspired to heterosexuality, homosexuality was not heterosexuality’s main other.\textsuperscript{52}

We also need to ask how the middle class legitimised their gender order, in which some men held power over other men, and men held power over women. Today, as

\begin{footnotes}
\item[45] SAOB, column H1128.
\item[46] Larsson, Den moraliska kroppen, p. 81. The text is H. Laves (actually Lawes), Qrinnan i sin rätta prydnad (1846), p. 133; see Larsson, Den moraliska kroppen, p. 190; note for his name.
\item[50] Svedelius [b. 1816], Anteckningar om mitt förflutna lif, p. 275.
\item[52] Cf. my argumentation for historicizing the homo/hetero binary in ‘Maskulinum som problem: Genus-
\end{footnotes}
we as feminists combat and struggle against this structure, very few would publicly
claim that it is a good thing that men have more power than women. For nineteenth-
century middle-class moralists, this was so self-evident they did not need to state it.
Men's power over women did not need to be legitimised – at least not in the sources I
have examined. Men's power over other men, on the other hand, was an important
issue. Here, again, witness the overarching importance of the concepts passion,
youth, and character. Men who had character, were no longer youths, and were in
control of their passions, could legitimately aspire to a position of power. Young
men, men who were governed by their passions and who therefore lacked character,
had no right to such power. If character meant power, it was men's power over other
men which lay at centre stage.

THE INTRICACIES OF MEN'S LIVES
Again and again in the pages that have passed, I have returned to Claes Adelsköld,
that quintessential example of a man of character, a useful citizen, a man of the world,
a self-made man, and if not a seducer then an avid flirter. He drank and gambled, and
criticized drinkers; he was an aristocrat whose sympathies were most often with the
middle class, but he also proudly portrayed himself as a man who loved hard manual
labour. Indeed, he bragged of having been Sweden's first navvy when he began his
first railway at so many occasions that it has become part of his historical legacy.53
Adelsköld’s self-portrait reveals a multitude of masculinities which were by and large
different discourses among moralists. His masculinity (or rather masculinities), as it
emerges it in his lengthy autobiography, was deeply dependent on context. He could
be the flirtatious dancer, only to build railways with other men and focus on hard
work; he was the careerist who also possessed refinement and culture, and a family
man. While moralists’ discourse went through transformations, the example of Adel-
sköld – and he is not a singular example of a male who has popped up in several dif-
ferent chapters – shows that ideals were even more intertwined than what our
account of change has revealed. Therefore, a study which would focus more on men's
masculinities, and less on the moral discourse on men, would no doubt reveal even
greater complexities within middle-class manhood.

CONCLUSION: THE CONSTANT CRISIS OF MASCULINITY54
When I chose to study the entirety of the nineteenth century, this was done in relation
to earlier scholars who had described both the turn of the century 1800 and the fin-de-
siècle around 1900 as periods of particular gender strain for men. Indeed, some schol-

53. Claes Adelsköld [b. 1824], *Utdrag ur Mitt Dagsverks- och Pro Diverse-Konto*, vol. 2, pp. 31-45 (38 for the claim
that he was the first navvy in Sweden); for the legacy, see *Svensk Jernvägs-Tidning*, 1899:11, p. 1; Alfred Lindberg,
Adolf Adelsköld’, *Teknisk tidskrift* 37 (1907-41: Allmanna åldern), p. 277; Birger Schöldström, ‘Claes Adel-
sköld’, *Svenska folk-kalender för år 1908*, vol. 64 (1908), p. 170; Oskar Lidén [b. 1870], *Bilder från det gamla Alingsås*, p.
56; SBL 1, p. 81; SMK 1, p. 10.
54. This section expands on themes I have briefly written on in ‘Konsten att blifva herre öfver hvarje lidelse: Den
ars have claimed that these periods, and especially the period around 1900, was a time of crisis for masculinity. This book challenges those interpretations. To moralists throughout the century, masculinity was always problematic, and to several of them, masculinity was also in a state of crisis. Around 1800, leading Gotics were looking back to the sturdy masculinity of the Vikings as an answer to the effeminacy of Swedish men. To those who extolled the ideal of the man of the world, there was always the risk that men turned into effeminate fops, or that polite society had already destroyed a whole generation of men. To several moralists in the century’s second half, men were no longer what they had once been, and severe measures had to be taken to restore manhood. And in the century’s final decades, moralists complained that men made a dangerous connection between the art of seduction and masculinity; these believed that men in generations past had venerated and honoured women, and had stayed chaste and pure out of deference for them. Throughout the century, men were also chastised for their incapacity to master their passions and develop character. When moralists are studied longitudinally, as in this book, what emerges is a constant crisis of masculinity. Remedies for restoring men to manhood were issued by moralists throughout the century, with no particular vehemence around the turns of centuries.

The fear that men were no longer real men, but that they had been so in a distant past, was far from novel to the nineteenth century. A moralist claimed very much the same thing in 1700. Already in the fourteenth century, Chaucer complained over the men of his time, in a text tellingly entitled Ballad to a Former Age.

Two conclusions can be drawn from these reiterated worries over a masculinity in crisis. First, men were always manlier in a past age; manliness was something contemporaries had lost. If men were no longer real men, the key lay in looking backward in history to find the true ideals, the real men. Second, the purportedly innate and unchanging essential manhood which commentators looked back to was transformed over time. Moralists tended to believe that masculinity was an essence, a given fact of nature, but the contents of that essential manhood did not remain unchanged over time.

It would be wrong, though, to claim that masculinity is ‘an intrinsically troubled category’, as Martin Blum does. This is to reinsert essentialism in a postmodern guise. Masculinity has no intrinsic qualities. It is what we say and believe that it is. Thus, one may well find cultures and periods in time when masculinity was uniform and monolithic, if people had uniform beliefs about men. Middle-class masculinities in the period under scrutiny in this book was not such a culture. However, this must
remain an empirical, not a theoretical, question. The empirical results presented in this book show that to some men at least, masculinity was always in crisis. It was a troubled category only because men believed that it was a troubled category.

Scholars have hitherto focussed on men’s ideas about women, and have alleged that the question of masculinity was rendered invisible because only women were considered as gendered beings. This book has shown that men were obsessed with the question of masculinity. Michael Kimmel and others have claimed that masculinity was and is a homosocial enactment. This book has shown that while masculinity was discussed first and foremost as homosocial, women at times appeared as relevant to the meaning of being a man. George L. Mosse has alleged that countertypes strengthened ideal masculinity. This book has shown that countertypes worked in more complex ways, threatening rather than strengthening ideal manhood. This book, then, reveals more complex patterns in masculine ideals than what has come through in earlier scholars. The variety of masculinities has been described as the ever changing images that appear as one twists a kaleidoscope. Now, even while a kaleidoscope reveals complex, ever-changing patterns for each twist, the building blocks inside remain the same. These building blocks were passions, youth, character, and an obsession with power.

Then as today, creating masculinity meant reproducing and legitimising men’s dominance. This is part of the historical legacy nineteenth-century moralists carried on from earlier generations, re-wrote, reproduced, and bequeathed to our own time. It is thus a troublesome heritage we still live with today. As a concluding point, this book shows that for as long as we continue to perceive the upbringing of girls into women, boys into men, as crucial and important elements of life, we are bound to reproduce gender and inequality. Nineteenth-century men do not supply us with a solution to men’s domination. For this, we need feminism.
The first part of this book showed that several conceptions of masculinity remained unchanged throughout the century. A concept which scholars have tended to take for granted or have misread, passion, was crucial to how moralists discussed masculinity. If a male was to qualify as a man, he unconditionally had to learn to master his passions, these threatening forces believed at times to be internal to, at times external to, men. What we today think of as habits or emotions were passions to nineteenth-century moralists; only extremely rarely did the word mean sexual desires or love, as we tend to use it today.

Passions were believed to be especially violent in youth, even while young men had not yet acquired the ability to master them. Thus, moralists tended to focus on the problems of male youth. Youth was above all a period of foundation for adulthood. Young men had to master their passions and lead diligent lives because the way they used their youth would determine what kind of adult men they would become. They stood, therefore, before an irreversible choice: they could choose the path of vice, which would plunge them into early death or – worse? – failure to attain adult masculinity. Or, they could deliberate on what kind of men they would eventually come to be, and choose the path of virtue, which would lead them to adult masculinity.

If young men survived their perilous years of youth, they would attain the highest point of masculinity: character. Character was both an artifice, the end result of hard, enduring work, and the hidden potential which was simultaneously always true. A man of character was the master of his passions, and his character legitimised his position of power over other men as well as women.

Moralists, however, had very little faith in men. The majority of middle-class males were not trusted to be able to develop character, even while responsibility for doing so was placed squarely upon their shoulders. If men did not succeed in their attempt
to master passions and develop character, they would fall and become countertenors. Two ever-present lurking threats were the drinker and the gambler. Gambling, drinking, dancing, debaucheries, all threatened to engulf and destroy men; at times, they threatened also the gambler's and drinker's suffering wife, whose husband could no longer perform the duties of breadwinner, and resorted instead to abuse as well as absence from the home. These men failed to attain adult masculinity because they were governed by their passions. What's more, countertenors were not perceived as lower-class, in which case the massive attention devoted to them would have strengthened middle-class masculinity. Drinkers and gamblers were fallen, middle-class men. Gambling and drinking were especially pernicious passions, in that moralists worried over young men's tendency to perceive them as manly rather than unmanly. And indeed, autobiographers show that while drinking and gambling were dangerous, they were also imbued with a certain lure, an aura of masculinity.

Even while autobiographers to some extent substantiate these interpretations, middle-class men apparently lived quite different lives during their years as university students. Students hardly believed that they had to make an irreversible choice between vice and virtue. Instead, former students openly bragged about the passions they had given freer rein during youth. Alcohol, rowdy behaviour, pranks and, especially in the century's first half, violence, were integral aspects of student culture. In contrast to moralists' conception of youth, these men believed that young men should have their fling. But passions should still be kept in moderate control. While drinking was essential to students, drinkers were still a countertype to real masculinity. Students who did not succeed in passing their degree, or who drank so much that they became incapable of studying, were not cherished heroes of student culture, but men who had fallen and failed.

Against this backdrop of continuity, there were also several transformations and variations in middle-class masculinities, as the second part of this book has shown. Moralists around 1800 extolled a rather homogeneous ideal. Moralists gave paternalistic advice to young men to stay in their place, trust to Providence and receive the sufferings of this world with perseverance. A real man had to lead a useful life, and see more to what was good for society than to his own profit. Although some believed that self-interest was concomitant with public utility, most moralists denounced self-interest. The ideal of utility was simultaneously a nationalistic answer to a felt crisis of masculinity and a Christian ideal of perseverance which shunned egotism. Consequently, men who saw to their own benefit were not heroes, but countertenors. Two other ideals were also current, although both only gained momentum after the coup d'état of 1809: the hypermasculine but disciplined Viking who synthesized a primitive masculinity with moderation of the passions, and the emotional poet as hero, extolled within romanticism. While moralists emphasised the duty to be useful in the decades around 1800, with a slight revival around 1900, evidence from autobiographies shows that an idealistic belief in the duty to be actively useful was strong especially in men born in the 1840s.

In the first half of the century, as the middle class was emerging and coming to
power in Sweden, they also emulated the aristocracy. While novelists criticized the nobility, middle-class men used an aristocratic model of manhood to their own ends. This model, the man of the world, used charisma, not character, in order to further his ambitions to rise in polite society. This is different from the nonchalance and felt superiority of dandies, who also used clothes and display, not character, to accentuate their masculinity. Middle-class men apparently ached to be accepted by the aristocracy. Hence, moralists wrote in detail about the art of pleasing, about what clothes to wear, how to perfect one’s smile and moderate one’s tone of voice. But this theatrical display was simultaneously a cause for alarm. If men gave way to indulging in their appearances, they ran the risk of becoming effeminate. Indeed, some even believed that manhood was in a state of crisis because men focussed more on display than on character. To those who professed the ideal of the man of the world, the spectre of effeminacy was ever-present. Around 1860, this model waned from moralists’ accounts, just as it was no longer an ideal among autobiographers born after 1840.

By mid-century, yet another ideal made its way into moralists’ tracts on manhood. This was the self-made man, rising from rags to riches through his own hard work. Business was no longer believed to corrupt men with its enticing egotism. It was now instead perceived as a suitable way to mould character, as long as economic success was reached through honourable ways. Manhood became more explicitly than earlier the struggle to obtain independence and a position of power through individual success in the homosocial marketplace. Character was now not only an expression of true manhood: it was the guarantee and foundation for individual success. While individual moralists had endorsed this ideal before mid-century, it was only now that the concepts ‘success’ and ‘richest’ made their way into the titles and subtitles of moralists’ tracts. But the ideal was never in complete dominance. Some moralists denounced what they perceived as the rise of egotism and illegitimate avarice in society. Autobiographers show that while earlier businessmen focussed on the doctrine of utility, businessmen now endorsed the ideal of the self-made man. However, only a minority of men of the Bildungsbürgertum wrote of their careers in language resembling the rhetoric of the self-made man.

With the final decades of the century, men’s sexual morality came to the fore of moralists’ preoccupations. Prostitution, until then a non-subject for moralists, now became problematic. The double standard which underpinned the regulation of prostitution was decried by several moralists. Instead of resorting to sexual encounters, whether paid or no, with working-class women, men should remain chaste until marriage. Don Juan became an important countertype to masculinity because he did not treat women with respect. Male chastity meant greater masculinity. For the first time in the century, conceptions of what women expected and had the right to expect from men became relevant to how moralists discussed masculinity. Men were now perceived as sexual threats to women, instead of an older, more misogynous tradition which portrayed women as sexual threats to men. While women had been the problem in discussions over sexual morality, moralists now instead problematised men. However, the chaste ideal did not stand alone. A minority of moralists, and a trickle
of erotica, instead hailed Don Juan as a manly model. Autobiographers also show that moralists’ criticism of Don Juan was in fact a minority view. Men became increasingly bent on detailing seductions, flirtations, experiences with public women before marriage, and while these reveal several different attitudes, men apparently did not heed the advice that male chastity was the highest state of masculinity.
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Klaveness, Fredrik,
Kerfstedt, Johannes,
—,

300

Karlsson, Karl Fredrik,
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Jolin, Johan,

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James, John Angell,

THE POWER OF CHARACTER

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## INDEX OF NAMES

Italicized numbers refer to illustrations or text under illustrations. Footnotes are only included when I argue around sources or secondary literature.

### A
- Abbott, John S. C., 68, 91
- Adams, James Eli, 24n., 167
- Adelsköld, Axel, 23n.
- Adlerbeth, Jacob, 146
- Adelius, Anders Johan, 120-122, 122
- Afzelius, Arvid August, 120, 151, 186
- Ahlund, Claes, 160n.
- Alger, Horatio, 206n.
- Almgist, Viktor, 111n., 122-123
- Almqvist, Carl Jonas Love, 141, 148, 160, 215, 245
- Ambjörnsson, Ronny, 31n., 278n.
- Anders, Albert, 111, 221, 223, 224
- Angelini, Jöns Eric, 143, 145
- Aristotle, 43
- Arsenius, Johan Georg, 90, 118, 239n., 276, 277
- Asker, Gustaf Ferdinand, 89n., 210-211n., 276, 277
- Artethom, Per Daniel Amadeus, 68n., 144n., 147-148, 228, 164, 209, 245
- Augustine, Saint, 242n.
- Bagge, Peter, 97n., 100n., 113, 118n., 195
- Barby d'Aureville, Jules, 166
- Barbyrac, Jean, 91
- Barnum, P. T., 204, 211-212
- Beauvoir, Simone de, 18-19
- Beckerman, Gail, 33
- Bengtson, Valdis, 50
- Berg, Carl Oscar, 87
- Bergstenstroem, A. I., 48, 61, 149, 211
- Bergström, Gabriel, 87n.
- Bergström, Anders, 214n.
- Bergström, Bo, 102
- Bergström, Gustaf, 47n., 227n.
- Bergstedt, Carl Fredrik, 98n., 103n., 160
- Beskow, Bernhard von, 111, 146n.
- Beskow, Nathanael, 51, 76, 101n.
- Bévotte, Georges Gendarme de, 244n.
- Bjurman, Eva Lis, 170n.
- Bjursten, Herman, 109n.
- Bjöıt, Ernst, 111
- Björkman, Jenny, 92n.
- Blanche, August, 160
- Blum, Martin, 28n.
- Boblin, Bernhard, 106n., 267n.
- Bo Jonsson Grip, 226
- Boye [af Gennäs], Fredrik, 69, 77, 178, 215, 215, 246
- Brandes, Ludvig, 180
- Breedsdorff, Elias, 240n.
- Bremer, Fredrika, 200n.
- Briggs, Assy, 212
- Bulow, Waldemar, 264
- Bulwer, Edward George Lytton, 183, 203-204, 211
- Burn, Conny, 22n.
- Butler, Josephine, 241, 242, 243-244n.
- Buxton, Charles, 61n.
- Buxton, Thomas Fowell, 61, 67-68
- Bärefalk, Lars, 80
- Bäath-Holmberg, Cecilia, 276
- Backström, Edward, 226
- Backström, Wilhelmina, 58n.
- Börjeson, Britt, 233n.
- Bottiger, Carl Wilhelm, 117-118, 131, 182, 185, 184, 188, 1910.
THE POWER OF CHARACTER

C

Callander, Reinhold, 81, 84
Campbell, Archibald, 40n.
Camp, Joachim Heinrich, 40, 49n., 97-98, 116-117, 139, 143, 172-173, 205, 245
Carleman, Carl Gustaf Vilhelm, 120-121, 122
Carlsen, Steen, 30-31, 163, 194n.
Carlyle, Thomas, 214
Carter, Philip, 24, 29, 56-57
Cawelti, John G., 201n., 206n.
Cederschjöld, P. G., 13n.
Channing, William Ellery, 77, 148-149
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 56, 287
Chenoune, Farid, 173n.
Chesterfield, fourth Earl of (Philip Dormer Stanhope), 59, 85, 87, 167-168, 169, 171-172, 174, 205
Chevalier, Louis, 79n.
Chronwall, Jöns Hansson, 84n.
Clausen, Niels Senius, 19n.
Cohen, Michèle, 24n.
Collini, Stefan, 57
Cott, Nancy F., 19
Craven, William G., 31n.

D

Dahlin, Carl Sigfrid, 84n., 223-224
Dahlin, Efraim, 76n., 77n., 81, 89n., 108n., 151n., 225n.
Dahlström, Carl Andreas, 187
Dale, John T., 41-42, 49, 60, 91, 103, 175n., 202, 203, 213
Dalin, Anders Fredrik, 40, 57-58, 162
Dalin, Olof von, 134
Damm, Janne, 106-107, 113n., 115, 120, 126, 186, 223-226, 245
Darell, C. F. M., 78, 79
Darnton, Robert, 258n.
David, Jules, 69, 71, 90, 31, 237
Davidoff, Leonore, 31-32
Decker, Jeffrey, 210
Delblanc, Sven, 110
Delbourgo Delphis, Marylène, 176n., 180
De Geer, Jacques, 239
De Geer, Louis (civil servant, the former’s son), 191n., 236n.
Descartes, René, 43
Dickens, Charles, 160
Dickson, Robert (civil servant and politician), 88-89
Dickson, Robert (industrialist), 220n.
Dijkstra, Bram, 23n.
Dodson, Robert, 40, 49n., 139, 158, 139, 141, 143, 208, 245
Dubus, Gustaf von, 131, 160
Dubois, C., 76n.
Du Four, Philippe Sylvestre, 41, 138, 169, 208
Dunkley, John, 41-44, 74n.

E

Eberhard, August, 17nn., 201n.
Ehrensvärd, Carl August, 266
Eichhorn, Christopher, 102, 104, 110, 121, 123n., 264n.
Ekenstam, Claes, 23-241n., 21n., 16, 171
Ekman, Daniel, 19-20
Ekström, Anders, 102n., 115
Ekström, Simon, 262n.
Ekström, N. P., 221
Ekström, Carl Johan, 89-90, 113, 131, 180-181
Elias, Norbert, 160, 162n.
Eman, Greger, 270n., 285n.
Enberg, Lars Magnus, 142
Engel, Arthur, 62n., 65
Engström, Lars, 78n.
Eriksen, Sidsel, 74n.
Essen, Siri von, 81n.

F

Fabian, Ann, 91n., 203n.
Faulkner, T. A., 218-219
Fausing, Bent, 19n.
Fehrman, Carl, 98
Feldman, Jessica R., 166, 176n.
Fére, Dr., 210n.
Ferrero, Giuglielmo, 245
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 102n.
Finch, Lyn, 244n.
Fischerström, Johan, 45, 135-136, 137, 139, 143, 145
Flygare-Carlén, Emilie, 115-116, 182n.
Fogelström, Torsten, 102n.
Forsström, Carl, 70n., 128, 195, 267n.
Foucault, Michel, 31, 74
Foyster, Elizabeth, 44, 179n.
Franklin, Benjamin, 58-59, 204, 205, 210-211, 231
Fredengren, Gustaf, 214
Fredriksson, Karin, 190n., 219n., 254n.
Fredley, Edwin T., 204, 207, 211, 213
Friberg, Axel, 11n.
Fries, Karl, 311n., 247, 250, 267n.
Frykman, Jonas, 34, 27
Fryxell, Anders, 66, 99n., 131, 120-121, 186
Fröding, Gustaf, 233, 262-267

G

Gautier, Théophile, 166
Gay, Peter, 244-, 261n., 301n., 45, 460n., 117n., 242n., 251, 252n., 277
Geiger, Erik Gustaf, 29, 40, 145n., 146, 147, 160, 164, 180, 244
Granberg, P., 141n.
Grandville (Jean Gérard), 245, 246
Greeley, Horace, 204
Griswold, Robert L., 247n., 285n.
Gräber, Otto, 211n.
Gröntvedt, Johan, 159n., 188, 189n., 236, 282n.
Guest, William, 49, 60, 68, 99, 124, 173n., 250
Gusdorf, Georges, 27
Gustav IV Adolf, 145, 165
Gustavsson, Anna, 13n.
Gustafsson, Sverker, 140n.

H

Haasum, James, 120
Hagberg, C. A., 162n.
Hall, August, 180n.
Hall, Catherine, 32

316
THE POWER OF CHARACTER

Mathiasson, Nils Peter, 234
Maugue, Annelise, 19, 166n.
Mayer, Arno, 161
Meinander, Henrik, 56
Melen, Hjalmar, 124n.
Michaelsson, Johan, 131, 134
Michanek, Michael, 144n., 199
Mjöberg, Jöran, 146n.
Monod, Adolphe, 214n.
Montag, Ignaz Bernhardt, 211
Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, baron de, 140
More, Thomas, 200n.
Muret, Pehr, 228
Myers, Milton L., 140
Mörner, Hjalmar, 114n.
Nead, Lynda, 244
Nerman, Ture, 118
N[eman?], Elis, 120
Nicander, Karl August, 146n.
Nicolson, Christiana, 42, 74, 178n.
Nilsson, Bo, 265n.
Nilsson, Lena, 98n., 111n.
Nilsson, Linda, 206n.
Nilsson, Linda, 206n.
Nilsson, Göran B., 194n.
Nilsson, Torbjörn, 31
Nisbeth, Hugo, 204
Norrby, Carl, 239, 240, 249, 269
Norrby, Sigurd, 97
Norrby, Theodor, 225n.
Norrby, Jane, 239n.
Norrby, Jakob, 225n.
Norrby, Jane, 239n.
Onkel Adam, see Wetterbergh, C. A.
Oettinger, Eduard Maria, 211n.
Olbers, Ernst, 45, 241-242.
Ondaarji, Michael, 271
Oxel Adam, see Wetterbergh, C. A.
Palmblad, Vilhelm Fredrik, 161
Palmgren, Erik Wilhelm, 261n.
Pernot-Duchâtelet, Alexandre, 243
Peterson, Fredrik, 240-241
Peterson, August, 43
Pettersson, Lars, 79n., 140n.
Phipps, Robert Kemper, 207n.
Pico della Mirandola, 51n.
Posey, Sophie, 81
Rabenius, Olof, 72, 89, 99n., 107, 264, 267n., 277
Rauh, André, 241, 205
Reiche, Friedrich, 59, 50, 57, 100-101, 149, 172, 205
Retzius, Anders, 82, 115
Retzius, Gustaf, 70, 77n., 82, 115, 156, 17, 276
Ribbing, Sved, 214, 244
Ribbing, Sigurd, 97
Riddderstad, Carl, 181n., 113n., 123n., 120n., 268
Riebe, Bengt Carl, 54, 66, 79
Rudhe, Herman Teodor Benjamin, 201n.
Roos, Petrus, 45, 46, 49, 15, 19, 140, 142, 208
Roper, Michael, 25n.
Rotundo, E. Anthony, 23, 32, 41n., 47, 91n., 117n., 256, 131, 148n., 201, 213, 250n., 271, 277
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 140n.
Runefelt, Leif, 140n.
Rundgren, Claes Herman, 69, 90, 921n., 104n., 208, 148, 159, 113n., 126, 186, 260-261, 277n.
Ryan, Mary P., 131, 203
Rydberg, Viktor, 97
Rydstrom, Jens, 285n.
Rühle, Martha, 181n., 191, 235
Sahlin, Kristen, 99n.
Sahlstedt, Abraham, 100, 138, 209
Salina, Erik, 211n.
Sandberg, J. G., 148, 149
Sandstrom, Mr., 221
Schiller, Friedrich von, 201n.
Schutt, Ferdinand, 75n., 80
Schultze, Fritz, 200, 209
Schwabe, Julius Rudolf, 170
Schönbeck, Henrik Olof, 70n.
Shakespeare, William, 43, 274
Searl, G. R., 214n.
Snelander, Edvard, 81n., 89, 106, 121, 187, 188, 225
Sjöberg, Johan, 101, 124
Sjöblom, Johan, 219n., 221n.
Söderberg, Mr., 221
Smiles, Samuel, 57, 149, 178n., 200, 201, 206n., 207, 211, 212
Smith, Adam, 140, 143
Smith, L. O., 77, 113, 188, 219, 220-221, 222, 223, 224
Snedman, Johan Vilhelm, 207
Snoisky, Carl (poet), 70, 72
Snoisky, Carl (the former’s son), 70, 72
Solomon-Godeau, Abigail, 287n.
Sommer, Werner, 210
Sprinchorn, Evert, 103n., 113n., 264n.
Spångberg, Johan, 151
Stagnelius, Erik Johan, 146, 147n., 185, 209
Steeves, Susan, 244n.
Stearn, Peter N., 117n.
Stead, W. T., 241, 242n.
Sternhelin, Georg, 31, 32
Stiernhielm, Otto, 51n., 52
Stiernström, Carl, 108n., 226n., 262, 264, 276n.
Stolz, Alban, 50n.
Stora-Lamarre, Annie, 76n., 235n., 252n., 258n.
Stork, Charles Wharton, 322
Svedberg, August, 48, 66n., 79-80n., 81n., 102-103, 123, 188, 190, 194, 220, 236, 244n., 259, 264, 285
Sandberg, Anton Niklas, 303n.
Sasman, Warren I., 57, 232n.
Svanberg, Victor, 97n., 118n., 122n., 161
Svanström, Yvonne, 236, 250-251, 262n., 264n.
Svedelius, Wilhelm Erik, 69, 70, 89, 98n., 113n., 118, 151, 164n., 278-280, 281, 285
Swahn, Waldeman, 47n., 112n., 115, 191
Svensson, Sven G., 237n.
Svensson, Hugo, 193n.
Sylvan, Nils, 140n., 235n.
Söderberg, Hjalmar, 244n.
Söderberg, Johan, 232n.
Södermark, Olof Johan, 183
Tamm, Hugo, 210n.
Tegnér, Elof, 73n., 114n., 191n.
Tegnér, Esaias, 82, 146
Tengwall, Carl Johan, 88n.
Thayer, William Makepeace, 69n., 100n., 199, 200n., 207-208, 211, 212
Themistocles, 113
Theorell, J. P., 70n., 218-219
Therborn, Goran, 30n., 183n.
Therenc, Arnaud, 42n., 44n., 45
Thomas, Keith, 235n.
Thorild, Thomas, 114, 285n.
Tizon de Pidius, 72
Tinti, 261
Töllin, Ferdinand, 70n.
Tosh, John, 24, 47, 91n., 95, 206, 250
Treffenberg, Curly, 237
Törnblad, Bengt, 89, 143, 145
U
Ulvo, Eva Helen, 48n., 70n., 81n., 133n., 160n., 277n.
V
Vitalis (Erik Sjöberg), 146n.
W
Wachtmeister af Johannishus, Caroline Lovisa, 219, 260
Wahlbom, Carl, 144
Wahlbom, Gustaf, 216
Wallberg, Carl Gustaf, 114n., 245
Walde, Otto, 70n., 276n.
Wallen, Andre Oscar, 226
Weber, Max, 162n., 200, 202, 231
Weinstein, Leo, 244n.
Wentrecht, Gottlob, 101, 244, 275, 272
Welander, Edward, 236n., 244-245, 245
Wenzel, Gotfrid Emmanuel, 159, 173, 174n., 175-176, 177, 180
Wester, M., 90n.
Westerberg, Otto, 258, 262
Wetterbergh, C. A. (Onkel Adam), 77, 122n., 160
Wiener, Martin J., 177n.
Wieselgren, Peter, 211
Wieselgren, Sigfrid, 111n., 155-156, 177
Wijkander, Oscar, 124n., 125n., 226n., 260n.
Wilner, Pontus, 285
Wilde, Oscar, 166
Wilstroem, Friedrich Philipp, 74-75, 172n., 173-175, 176
Wirsén, Carl David af, 72n., 80n., 235
Wirsén, Gustaf af, 72n.
Wistrand, A. T., 46n., 242
Wretlind, Erik Wilhelm, 85-86, 243
Wyllie, Irving G., 201
X
Xenophon, 30, 31
Z
Zauleck, P., 91n.
Å
Åberg, Martin, 223n.
Åkerman, Carl, 140n.
Årre, Olof, 136n., 277
Ö
Odman, Nils Petrus, 49n., 70n., 81n., 86, 98n., 101, 103, 105, 111, 117, 139, 150, 186, 188, 223
Oman, Victor Emmanuel, 92n., 186, 259n.