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Editor Wayne Dynes

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Marie-Jo Bonnet

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Faderman's method is to enlarge the subject to embrace the whole sphere of women's romantic friendship. In fairness one should point out that Janet Todd (Women's Friendship in Literature, Columbia University Press, New York, 1980) had used an analogous approach, but focusing only on a number of writers, many of them men, and generally avoiding the questions of sex. After a brief look at several facets of the concern of Italian and French Renaissance writers with "sapphism," Faderman turns to the eighteenth century when the interest in women's salons and private life combined with a vein of near-pornography to zero in on the still mysterious lesbian coterie, the "secte des anandrynes" scholars still debate as to whether it existed or not. Across the Channel she shows that romantic friendships began to flourish in eighteenth-century English literature. In nineteenth-century America the term "Boston marriage" came into use to describe a longterm monogamous relationship between two otherwise unmarried women. At the same time in Europe there developed, however, a habit of sensationalizing lesbianism in fiction, a trend that has been prolonged in debased form into our own day as "lesbian trash" and in the token scenes of two women having sex in heterosexual porno films. In our own century with Gertrude Stein, Natalie Barney and Amy Lowell, not to forget Rita Mae Brown and Adrienne Rich, we are on much more appealing and better traversed territory.

The preceeding are only a few high spots from an encyclopedic work that will surely come to be recognized as a landmark in women's studies. (In fact, GBB is glad to have played a small part in its gestation, since we published, in issue no. 2, a segment on Amy Lowell.) Certainly no one should try to swallow Surpassing the Love of Men whole; it is best to read here and there, until one has assimilated something of the book's range of concerns and its complicated plan, which combines chronological and topical foci. Although there is no bibliography as such, the 64 pages of notes provide ample references for scholars, including those who may wish to challenge some of Faderman's conclusions. This reviewer would add an important contribution by A. J. L. Busst, "The Image of the Androgyne in the Nineteenth Century," in Ian Fletcher, editor, Romantic Mythologies, Barnes and Noble, New York, 1967, pp. 1-95. Faderman also seems to have missed Janet Cooper's pathfinding "Female Crushes, Affections, and Friendships in Children's Literature; or, Covert Feminism and the Children's Book Industry," in Gai Saber, vol. 1, no. 2 (summer 1977), pp. 83-87, which reveals a whole sub-genre of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writing, which had a considerable

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Un choix sans équivoque, though much less leisurely and encyclopedic than the American tome, is a solid and rewarding piece of work, which makes some important complementary points. Bonnet shows that in the Renaissance period much can be learned from the very silence, or near silence through euphemism, with which writers treat relationships between women. The devices of linguistic substitution and periphrasis used in discussing lesbianism, whether by litterateurs or doctors, are themselves revealing. Bonnet also treats the evolution of the image of the Greek poet Sappho as an eminent, but all-too-solitary exception to the rule. For if Renaissance male homosexuality was the peccatum mutum, the silent sin, lesbianism was the peccatum mutissimum.

Bonnet is interested chiefly in France and she enters into her element with the discussions of Diderot, Pidansat de Mairobert and the libertine writers of the time. Her discussions of contemporary medical texts suggest that lesbianism was conceptualized as a clinical entity earlier than Faderman thinks. Bonnet delves into the clandestine writings of the late eighteenth century and the French Revolution preserved in the *Enfer* of Hell of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Naturally, she provides considerable coverage on the nineteenth-century French lesbian novel (generally written by men) and the more recent works of Colette, Renée Vivien, Natalie Barney and their circle.

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Evelyn Gettone

SIR RICHARD BURTON: A BIOGRAPHY Michael Hastings

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Michael Hastings wrote the script (it won an Emmy) for a television program in six parts titled "The Search for the Nile," which appeared about ten years ago. The leading figure in the program was Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821-1890), whose world-wide adventures included going to Mecca in disguise and seeking the source of the Nile. The last biography of Burton, prior to this one, was Fawn Brodie's The Devil Drives (1967), which was acclaimed as definitive by the critics. Hastings, if only to dish a rival, insists that Brodie's study was spoiled by her psychological theories about Burton's enigmatic behavior. Actually, once one accepts the idea that there is nothing abnormal about wanting to be an adventurer instead of settling down to a banal existence in "civilized" society, the only enigma we are left with in Burton's case is his sex life, especially why he bothered to marry a simple-minded woman named Isabelle Arundel, who never understood her husband, never had sex with him (there was no offspring, at least), and burned his priceless manuscripts as soon as he was dead. It should be obvious that Burton was a homosexual, and it was this secret fact that was the thing that drove him into the desert and other wildernesses, in the tradition of the latent homosexuals in the novels of Cooper, Twain and Melville, as per Leslie Fiedler's Love and Death in the American Novel (1960). But Burton, like Melville, married and settled down, and was miserable. This was his tragedy. Hastings does not deal with this in any satisfactory form, although it must be admitted that there is no evidence (it was all burned) to back up any theory.

Hastings is a novelist, playwright, biographer; he lets his "creativity" persuade him to give absurd titles to his chapters, and to use a distractingly "clever" style which is out of place in a work of scholarship. There are no footnotes, and we are left guessing where many of the quotations in the text come from. The illustrations are sometimes well-chosen, but many of them are badly reproduced, and Lord Leighton's splendid portrait of Burton is omitted in favor of a cheap imitation. Hastings also insists upon giving the reader a resume of what Burton's contemporaries were up to while Burton was mucking about in the wilds. Sometimes this background material is useful, but often it is unnecessary, and looks like padding.

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Lambeth (1897). After this success of esteem, his subsequent novels failed, so he turned his attention to the immensely remunerative world of the Edwardian theatre, cutting a considerable figure in a world in which a few writers could make enough money to live like aristocrats. As Ted Morgan remarks, "In later years it would be said of him that he was the most popular author writing in English since Dickens, and that he was paid a thousand pounds for a story."

In 1916 Maugham entered into an unfortunate marriage with Syrie Barnardo, an interior decorator. Very soon, however, Syrie was displaced by a dashing American, Gerald Haxton, with whom Maugham lived for some thirty years. Fleeing British taxes, and an obscure sexual scandal that had tarnished Haxton in London, the two settled into the palatial Villa Mauresque on the French Riviera, attended by fourteen servants. Although many of their acquaintances regarded Haxton as a parasite, he was a true partner, collecting materials for Maugham's endless procession of short stories, and faithfully typing his manuscripts. After Haxton's premature death in 1944, the writer acquired a new companion, Alan Searle, who served as nurse in the last sad years when Maugham became, in his own word, "gaga."

Deeply closeted, Maugham could not abide having his homosexuality discussed at the villa, and he went to great lengths to exclude the subject from his writings. As Morgan aptly notes, "All that remains in his eighty books as a clue to his real nature is the possibility that Mildred in Of Human Bondage was based on a young man (just as Proust's Albertine was based on his chauffeur Albert), several ambiguous scenes in his novels, and two explicit passages in his essays, one concerning El Greco, the other Melville." Whether Maugham's stifling closet prevented him from achieving true greatness as a writer is problematic; what is certain is that it helped to keep his income at

a very high level.

Despite some dull spots and occasional inconsistencies, Ted Morgan's biography is the definitive work, correcting some errors put into circulation by malicious intimates. The author is quite forthright about his subject's homosexuality, beginning on page 22 where he reveals that Ellingham Brooks "took his virginity" when Maugham was 16. In this era of uncertain standards, the book is a model of production and editing. Despite the sincere efforts of biographer and publisher, there is little likelihood that the book will revive Maugham's literary reputation among the intellectuals, for he does not fit into the still standard sequence of twentieth-century literature as one of a continuing surge of avant-garde innovation. Indeed Maugham's style is cliche-ridden and his view of human nature shallow. Like Tennessee Williams, however, he created some memorable characters whom Hollywood was able to project into the minds of hundreds of millions of people.

John Pearson's extended account of the Sitwells was entitled Facades, on its first publication in London. If Maugham's limitations were bound up with his acceptance of the constraints of the Edwardian gentleman, no such limitation held back this dynamic literary trio. The delayed arrival of the modern movement to prominence in London at the end of

World War I provided the perfect climate for Edith, Osbert and Sacheverell to make their mark. Indeed, their special flair for self-presentation earned them F. R. Leavis' rebuke that "the Sitwells belong to the history of publicity, rather than to that of poetry." This charge of superficiality—facades—has probably caused their works to be underrated, as Maugham's were overrated.

Edith (1887-1964) was the eldest and and her later life was suffused with a bitterness stemming from the fact that as a child she was resented by her parents because they had wanted a boy. The great love of her life was for the Russian artist Pavel Tchelitchew, who was completely homosexual. Edith moved to Paris in part to help promote his career, and the two engaged in a voluminous correspondence when separated. Scanted for funds by her wealthy parents, she was forced to divert her energies from her true vocation of poetry to writing potboilers in prose. While she is still perhaps best known for the light verse she wrote during the 'twenties, the apocalyptic poetry of World War II is probably ripe for a revaluation that would considerably enhance her stature. While in her public appearances, especially in America, she could project a real splendor, her inner life was marred by a familiar pattern, for she seemed to have felt a need to replicate as an adult the frustrations of her childhood. Hence the unrequited passion for Tchelitchew. According to Pearson, in her last years "one of the things that most tormented her was the thought that, for all the power and the success, she would die and never know what true physical love meant." Perhaps so, perhaps not. Certainly for many years Edith Sitwell was attached to her former governess Helen Rootham, with whom she shared a house in Paris. If not physical love, theirs was certainly a passionate friendship.

If Edith, all her faults not withstanding, had the greatest depth of the three, Osbert (1892-1969) demonstrated the highest outward brilliance. His life bears a curious resemblance to that of Somerset Maugham, but transposed into a major key. As a homosexual, he trod a sure path between the period's Scylla of excessive closetiness and its Charybdis of too evident disclosure, leading to social ostracism. For many years Osbert shared his life with a famous beauty, David Horner. Like Maugham and Gerald Haxton, the two traveled the world together in search of material for Osbert's many books. Perfectly poised socially and with a sure vision of what he wanted to accomplish, Osbert Sitwell fulfilled two of the archetypal images of the time: the impressarioarbiter of taste and the urbane world traveler. In his last years he resided in splendor in the family's palatial home, the castle of Montegufoni, near Florence. When he came to be stricken by a progressive disease he continued writing, cared for by a faithful secretary-nurse. His life radiates a real contentment that is rare among twentieth-century writers, especially those whose orientation exposed them to many

cunning traps of homophobia.

Osbert's heterosexual brother, Sacheverell, who inherited the family title of baronet and is still living at this writing, has a much smaller place in the book, a decision he seems to have made himself, in keeping

with his more retiring personality. In his various appearances in the narrative, however, he always acts in accord with his siblings. Much of the impact of the Sitwells on contemporary opinion, achieved in the face of their many enemies, resulted from the fact that they were able to coordinate their efforts. Three were much harder to defeat than one.

Following in the footsteps of Michael Holroyd's landmark biography of Lytton Strachey, John Pearson has brought off a triumph. He has skillfully interwoven the complex careers of his three subjects with the literary and social background. Through carefully chosen samples of their writing he encourages a reconsideration of a body of work that has been obscured by envy and prejudice. For anyone interested in modern literature *The Sitwells: A Family's Biography* is a zestful and essential work.

Wayne Dynes

TOM BROWN'S UNIVERSE: THE DEVELOP-MENT OF THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

John Raymond de Symons Honey

Quadrangle/New York Times Book Company, 1977, \$12.50, xv+416 pages.

Professor Honey is one of a handful of scholars who in recent years have given us thoughtful studies of the English public (that is, private) school system in the Victorian era. These were sexually segregated boarding schools. They were therefore full of "pseudo-homosexual" behavior, ranging from outright "vice" (Thackeray was forced into sex on the night of his arrival) to love affairs (Disraeli, Gladstone, and, in fact, just about the whole Who's Who of the British Empire). Honey's book has three chapters dealing with sex. The first, "Sex and the Schoolmaster," deals mainly with masturbation and the puritanical myths surrounding it. The other two are "The Blight of Friendship" and "Friendship and Passion" (pp. 167-94). There are also brief mentions of sexual sadism (pp. 201-02) and transvestism (pp. 209, 384), and notes on homosexuality (pp. 378-81. The footnote system is a bit odd, with notes sometimes at the foot of the page of text, and sometimes, using the usual numbering system, in a group at the back of the book. This double system leads to notes with footnotes of their own!

Honey gives us a unified view of the rise and fall of homosexual love at the schools. In the early nineteenth century, boys slept two to a bed, and the masters looked the other way and preached only against masturbation. At mid-century, the number of beds was increased to where the doubling-up system was abandoned. There was no concept of homosexuality as a condition, so the boys loved each other (with the teachers joining in at times) without shame. This was love, not sex. Therefore it was not homosexuality. Thus spoke the conventional wisdom of the age. In 1895, Wilde was convicted, and the Sins of Sodom were broadcast throughout the land. There was an immediate realization that the schools were

"hotbeds of vice" and all friendships between older and younger boys were outlawed, although the Bensons and others fought a rear-guard action to save the erotic traditions of the system. This view of the history of sex in the schools is a rather too simplified theory, and the neat chronology doesn't work out. Further, there is abundant evidence that love between students was flourishing (once the Wilde scare had died down) as much as ever in the twentieth century. In sexually segregated environments, homosexuality is not a fashion that comes and goes, it is a necessity that is always around.

Professor Honey does not even begin to deal with the psychology of situational homosexuality, the type that heterosexuals indulge in when the other sex is absent. In all likelihood most of the homosexual acts and love-affairs in history have been performed by heterosexuals. This is a problem with which gay liberationists have never dealt, probably because "real" homosexuals don't understand pseudo-homosexual or situational or bisexual behavior. One is tempted to believe that nobody really understands anything about sex, in any form, their own or their neighbors'. At any rate, Honey makes it plain that the "female" role in school affairs was always relegated to the younger partner, a custom that betrays the symbiosis with the heterosexual mentality informing pederasty in sexually segregated societies, whether the schools of the British Empire or the gymnasiums of Athens or the taverns of Islam. The literature of the Greeks was taught in the original language to English schoolboys, and the masters admitted that this was a case of one pseudohomosexual society "infecting" another, but they never changed the curriculum. One wonders if it wasn't all a subtle, centuries-old, hypocritical plot on the part of the teachers to create an island of homosexuality in a Christian sea. The plan was too perfect to be accidental.

Stephen Wayne Foster

PROUST AND THE ART OF LOVE: THE AESTHETICS OF SEXUALITY IN THE LIFE, TIMES AND ART OF MARCEL PROUST

J. E. Rivers

Columbia University Press, New York, 1980, \$22.50 327 pages.

Earlier this year Random House at last brought out a thoroughly revised edition of C. K. Scott Moncrieff's translation of Proust's great work, A la recherche du temps perdu. Among other improvements the new edition clarifies some passages concerning masturbation and homosexuality. (Moncrieff himself apparently was gay, but he did not have access to the definitive Pléiade French edition of the work; the texts he used were fuzzy in some particulars. He also censored himself, as seen for example in his rendering of the title Sodome et Gomorrhe as Cities of the Plain.) For those returning to Proust or encountering him for the first time in the new edition, there could be no better guide than Proust and the Art of

Love, which elegantly and precisely cuts to the heart of the matter. Amazingly, "there has never been an extended inquiry into Proust's treatment of human sexuality." J. E. Rivers fills that gap handsomely, and accomplishes much more, for he demonstrates that "one of the goals of Proust's novel is to show what homosexual experience has in common with human experience in general and to use it, finally, as an image for perennial human problems and aspirations."

Proust's self-transformation from a dilettantish belletrist and interpreter of the writings of others to a great writer has always been mysterious. Rivers shows that the missing link was the maturation of his concern with homosexuality, an evolution that can be documented from his adolescence on, as seen in his surviving love letters to Jacques Bizet and David Halevy. After the turn of the century homosexuality became a matter of intense public discussion, following the suicides of Friedrich Alfred Krupp and Hector Macdonald and the protracted unfolding of the Eulenberg-von Moltke-Harden affair. These matters were frankly and persistently exploited by journalists in France, as they were in much of the rest of Europe. About this time Proust fell in love with his chauffeur Alfred Agostinelli. In January of 1908 he began the first tentative steps on the project that would take the rest of his life, A la recherche, and a few months later, perhaps even at the same time, he planned a major nonfiction article on the problem of homosexuality. It was the fusion of these two projects, in the intense atmosphere of contemporary public discussion, that Rivers argues led to Proust's major phase. In reconstructing the events of these years the author has used a wide variety of sources, including the great works of the Berlin Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, so often totally neglected by mainstream scholars.

In presenting the time's now somewhat dated views of homosexuality, Rivers shows that Proust thought not only with them but also through them so as to go beyond. We need to see his views on sexuality and "inversion," then, in a double perspective, first in the limited contemporary context, and second in a more universal form. In his recreation of Proust's vision Rivers demolishes a great deal of speculative nonsense that has come to encrust Proust's masterwork, much of it of vulgar Freudian derivation. Not spared in this respect is George Painter's detailed biography, hitherto regarded as virtually canonical, but which is in fact marred by much psychoanalytic reductionism.

In addition to clearing away much deadwood, the book provides many insightful discussions of individual passages and themes. One of the most intriguing of these concerns the use of pattern reversal to characterize some homosexual behavior. In the context of the time, of course, it was virtually impossible to escape the mesmerizing effect of the term "inversion," which was invented by the Italian Arrigo Tamassia in 1878 and quickly adopted throughout Europe. The term finds its most obvious application in the heightening of the folkloristic perception that male homosexuals are effeminate and lesbians mannish. But Proust also applies this more originally to character traits: Saint-Loup seeks out danger in battle instead of fleeing it, and Charlus becomes more pro-

German rather than less as war nears. In a larger sense the whole enterprise of the novel-the gradual recovery of more and more layers of memory-is a process of inversion or retrogression. This links up with Proust's fascination with musical techniques, including the device of melodic inversion. Rivers' discussion of this cluster of themes (p. 213ff.) is so stimulating that one wishes he had gone further and discussed such forerunners as the sexual use of palindrome (the Roma-Amor equation, suggesting that the Romans were particularly given to the posterior Venus) and the claim in the Roman de la Rose that sodomites do everything à rebours, or against the grain. Indeed, one might go as far back as Euripides who, in Medea, compares gender-role reversal to rivers running backwards in their courses. This is, however, a subject for an essay in the history of ideas.

Proust and the Art of Love is written with a brilliant clarity and concision. It is entirely devoid of current lit-crit jargon. The book has been beautifully printed by the Columbia University Press. In fact it is one of the few pieces of criticism of a great work that is fully worthy of its subject. May its tribe increase!

Wayne Dynes

THE THIRTIES: FROM NOTEBOOKS AND DIARIES OF THE PERIOD

Edmund Wilson (edited by Leon Edel)

Farrar Straus & Giroux, New York, 1980, \$17.50, xxxii+753 pages.

Edmund "Bunny" Wilson (died 1972) was the most important literary critic in America for many years, but his preference for realism and dislike for fantasy (see his hatchet jobs on Lovecraft and Tolkien) have done nothing to endear him to the younger generation, and his influence is waning even as his notebooks and diaries are being published. The Thirties deals with his wanderings here and there, especially to the Soviet Union, and his marriages and sex life, with sidelights on his attitudes. He insisted on the Jewishness of the Jews he met, a symptom of anti-Semitism. He turned communist in sympathy with Black workers, and yet he habitually used the word "nigger" in writing (privately) about them. As for homosexuals, there are some thirty instances in this book in which Wilson uses no word for them (or us) but "fairy". He muses about "the terribly creepy mirth of fairies" (p. 316), mentions (p. 665) a "strange Negroid fairy whose father had been a professor of chemistry at Northwestern", and describes the conversation which he overhears through the walls of his hotel room between an older Englishman and a Harvard student (pp. 677-78):

The older man: "You don't feel any worse than you did an hour ago, do you?" Younger man: I feel better." He seemed to be the complete university punk . . .

There are passing references to the homosexuality of Romaine Brooks, Ernest Hemingway, Auguste Rodin, Sergei Eisenstein, Stark Young, the artist Robert Jackson, General Hugh S. Johnson of the NRA, and Senator Bronson Cutting of New Mexico. But the most interesting references are to Wilson's own homosexual tendencies, which arose after his first wife died in 1932:

... touching a fellow passenger's thigh, moving over to keep away from it, did he move, too?—shutting eyes and homosexual fantasies...unreal sexual stimulus... young man too big, not my type...(p. 229)

Second night: homosexual wet dream, figures still rather dim, a boy. (p. 240)

Good-looking boy, well grown and naked except for loosely worn short pants, sitting on a stone seat and watching train go by. (pp. 349-50)

Homosexual fantasies were a way of living in the grip of the vise, getting away into a different world where those values that pressed me did not function. (p. 407)

The section on the Soviet Union is interesting, partly as an example of liberal delusion with Stalinism, followed by disillusion, and partly for two glimpses, one of "some Russian poet who'd written a poem ... giving it a homosexual slant. Tall, slim ... a little feminine ..." (p. 545), and the other glimpse of how the Russians "liked Oscar Wilde because he had been made to suffer in jail by the hypocritical English." (p. 547)

Another passage which may be of interest to gay readers although it is not directly about them, is a passage in which the word "Jew" could be replaced by "homosexual":

The Jew lends himself easily to Communism because it enables him to devote himself to a high cause . . . he is already secretive, half alien, a member of a minority, at cross purposes with the community he lives in. The (middle-class) radical . . . can only identify his interests with those of an outlawed minority . . . He is always a foreigner like the Jew . . . (p. 379)

This is the same thing that the British conservatives said about homosexuals after each of the various spy scandals of recent years, but it is also the same thing that gay radicals have been saying about themselves to justify their leftist attitudes. One can see from this how the anti-Semitism and homophobia of the conservatives tend to incite the Jews and homosexuals into rebellion, which in turn gives the conservatives a chance to say that their dislike of these groups was justified all along. Younger people tend to act out the paranoid fantasies of their conservative elders, playing the role of villain. Thus imaginary sins become realities, the true meaning of the saying, "Speak of the Devil, and he will appear."

Stephen Wayne Foster

THE CELLULOID CLOSET: HOMOSEXUALITY IN THE MOVIES

Vito Russo

Harper Colophon Books, New York, 1981, \$7.95 paperback, 276 pages.

For a long time, perhaps from the very origin of

the medium, homosexuals have shown a special affinity for movies. The current epidemic of nostalgia for old Hollywood films, especially those of the 'thirties and 'forties, owes a great deal to our "camp sensibility." Female impersonators, or "impressionists" as these entertainers are now often called, regularly choose movie stars, such as Garland or Streisand, as their alter egos. And there is the broader link between the role-playing that society imposes on homosexuals and the professional practice of actors transforming themselves, outwardly at least, into persons they are not. Feigning is common to homosexuals and actors, and it is not surprising that many per-

formers of stage and screen should be gay.

Vito Russo has been at work on this book for a decade. He has tracked down many intriguing examples, many of them illustrated by handsomely reproduced stills. Some of us saw the movies down at the Bijou before television, others on the late show, but in either case there will be many sharp twinges of recognition, mingling pain and pleasure. Russo wisely avoids the scandal-mongering approach of naming names, exemplified by Kenneth Anger's notorious (but delightful) Hollwood Babylon and now by Alan Cartnal's California Crazy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981). He is concerned with a more important goal: to identify the elements of homosexuality that movies have shown to the world. The dynamic of Hollywood's elaboration of a gay iconography must be understood as a dual process. First, the studios purloined their stereotypes of homosexuality from older media, especially novels and the stage, which in turn mirrored the American and indeed Western folklore of sex. Then, as the new medium began to exercise an almost tyrannical hold over popular consciousness, Hollywood started to *mold* America's concept of homosexuals. The movies both transmitted and invented, and seldom to our advantage. Russo seeks to call Hollywood to account for what must be bluntly termed the propagation of homophobia.

He begins with the contrast between the he-man and the sissy which is, we can readily grant, a main point of interaction between popular attitudes and Hollywood imagery. The problem is that movies have not always shown sissies to be either inferior or homosexual. The he-man/sissy dichotomy does not equate with the straight/gay one, and this discussion is more relevant to Hollywood's shaping of the American concept of gender role than it is to its concept of homosexuals. So Russo's argument starts out on a fuzzy note. As one reads further it is disappointing to realize that *The Celluloid Closet* is not organized in any strictly logical way, but consists of a kind of montage of "clips" whereby the author first presents a scene and then berates Hollywood for the

way it is handled.

The book's message is simply this: "Listen bigots! You've been beastly to us gays in movies, and you've got to cut it out." But what should Hollywood do if it wanted to reform? Russo is repelled by the prospect of a gay version of Love Story; that would be too commercial and bourgeois. What seems to be demanded is not so much a change in movies, as a revamping of the society they serve, a revolution in short. As in many other spheres, this kind of super-

ficial radicalism can become, ironically, a rationalization for the status quo. ("I don't like capitalism, of course, but until it can be replaced I'll have to watch the box office.") Throughout the book, then, the examples cited are being measured against an ideal and found wanting. But the ideal is shadowy and the critique correspondingly blurred. It is revealing that Russo does not know how to handle The Rocky Horror Picture Show, the one great commercial success that carries a message of freedom for sexual (and other) non-conformism. The movie is too anarchic and "frivolous," and our author, who is nothing if not serious, seems as puzzled as Rocky's distributors were. But the film has gathered a whole subculture around it. We ought to try to find out why.

In short The Celluloid Closet is effective as an excoriation of Hollywood for its sins. This is fine if you like that sort of thing, though for some repetition of this fairly banal point for some 250 pages will begin to verge on injustice collecting. The book is certainly not history. It shows no awareness of the sophisticated kind of film analysis that has grown up in the wake of Structuralism, which affords new tools for the dissection of the relationship between form and content. Nor does it effectively correlate the image of gays in films to American social history, as has been done in studies of the movies of the 'thirties in the context of the Depression, or of the film noir in the context of McCarthyism. Yet another approach might be to compare Hollywood's treatment with that of novelists, so well explored in Roger Austen's Playing the Game. We seek understanding, but Russo tries to satisfy us with an endless sermon. Spiced with anecdotes (as sermons often are), the genre remains a tedious one.

Russo is not generous with his predecessors, especially the late Parker Tyler, whose subtle observations opened the whole subject up. He provides a filmography of some 400 titles containing, he believes, gay scenes or gay characters, a list ostensibly pieced together through years of hard detective work. But our author makes no mention of a filmography of comparable length included in Richard Dyer's Gays and Film (British Film Institute, 1977). Dyer's list cites many items not on Russo's. Did he have some reason for omitting them? Or did he not know the earlier list? In addition to Tyler and Dyer, the serious student should certainly consult two issues of Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Cinema: no. 16 (1977), on "Gay Men and Film," and nos. 24/25 (1981), on "Lesbians and Film." Again the latter has a filmography with a number of titles Russo missed. (Despite his use of the currently fasionable phrase "lesbians and gay men," gay women appear only incidentally in this book.) Since *The Celluloid* Closet has no bibliography or footnotes, the reader will have to do his or her own sleuthing for alternatives.

Russo has treated a series of B movies in a B book. a new version of the fallacy of imitative form. A real history and analysis of "homosexuality in the movies" is still needed.

Buddy von Lausitz

THE POLITICS OF HOMOSEXUALITY

Toby Marotta

Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1981, \$16.95 hardcover; \$8.95 paperback, 369 pages.

For several years a number of researchers have been engaged on the construction of full-scale histories of the current American gay movement. Toby Marotta's is the first of these to achieve book form through normal trade distribution. In fact the doctoral dissertations of Salvatore J. Licata (University of Southern California, 1975) and Edward Sagarin (New York University, 1966; released in hardback by Arno Press, 1975) are not too difficult of access. So the distinction is not as great as it might seem. Still, Marotta's book will be widely read, and in brief reckoning of what it does and does not provide is in order.

The Politics of Homosexuality is itself a recycled Harvard doctoral dissertation, with apparently only minimal changes, including an 8-page "Epilogue," which attempts to bring the story up to date. The work exhibits the marks of diligence characteristic of its origins, based as it is on extensive interviews and the combing of movement publications, of which those brought out during the counter-culture era, when perishability seemed almost exalted into a virtue, are often elusive. Marotta's book has a neutrality of tone which, it must be admitted, provides a refreshing foil to the now sometimes embarassing rhetoric of the documents quoted. Yet there seems to be no overall method, apart from an inclination "to see voluntary associations as the prime movers in politics." Gay activists are classified according to a somewhat primitive threefold typology: radicals, revolutionaries and reformers. (Several participants in the events have already indicated to me their reservations about both the categories and to their assignment to one of them.)

The most striking limitation is the fact that after less than 70 pages on the whole "homophile" era (1950-1969), pages which are more or less national in scope, the focus narrows abruptly to New York City and stays there. Although Marotta is from Boston and now lives in Oakland, California, this is New York chauvinism at its worst. Moreover, most of the remaining text is concerned with just three years, from the summer of 1969 (Stonewall, of course) to the summer of 1973. There was much happening in the rest of the country, and indeed one of the salient features of the post-1969 period is the spread of gay organizations to hundreds of centers throughout the country that had never seen such a thing before. Obviously, it would have been impossible to cover all of these, but a sampling of several of the most important, say Boston, Detroit, Chicago and especially San Francisco and Los Angeles, would have been revealing. The author offers no explanation for his sudden narrowing of focus, he just sails into it. Presumably the remembered glory of the Stonewall insurrection (which forms the "hinge" in his narrative) can cover a multitude of sins.

The only compensation for the restriction is the possibility of concentrating on the rather intricate

development in New York City, which was indeedfor better or worse-widely copied elsewhere. We see the appearance of the Gay Liberation Front in reaction to the conservatism of Mattachine, and the Gay Activists' Alliance in reaction to the indiscipline of GLF, and of course the beginning of a long saga of acrimony and mutual misunderstanding in the conflict between lesbians and gay men that first surfaced in GLF. Generally, Marotta is sure-footed and clear in setting forth this narrative though in a few instances he may have been somewhat taken in by minor figures who retroactively inflated their role. Even on his chosen turf, however, there are limits to the author's interest. He offers no critical analysis of the damage done by the hunger felt by so many for super-star status (at times it seemed that we were all Indian chiefs and no Indians), nor of the really sinister incidents of embezzlement and financial irresponsibility. Nonetheless, this reviewer was moved by his account of the zaps and confrontations with politicians and police. Only someone who lived in the repressive Gotham City in the 'sixties can appreciate how much was accomplished by these exhilarating acts of self-assertion.

Today the New York gay movement is no longer innovative; in fact there are times when it scarcely seems visible at all. Is this due to the very success of the campaign? Or to divisive infighting among the factions? Part of the problem lies in the fact that while the zaps were useful in getting the power structure to stop doing harmful things (such as raiding bars), this strategy proved counter-productive in trying to obtain positive changes (such as passing an anti-discrimination bill in the City Council). Marotta offers no clue towards any real analysis. After a "Where are they now?" survey, he concludes blandly, "All of these individuals . . . enjoy lives that are dramatic proof that their efforts were successful. Do they all enjoy such rewarding lives? Weren't there victims as well as victors in the movement? In short, the book may be read as a useful narrative history of a few years of intense activity in New York City, but in no sense is it truly "the politics of homosexuality."

Vladimir Cervantes

ADONIS GARCÍA: A PICARESQUE NOVEL Luis Zapata; translated by E. A. Lacey

Gay Sunshine Press, San Francisco, 1981, \$5.95, 208 pages.

The casual browser in the bookstore will be first attracted to this book by the cover photograph of a very fetching latino leather boy who personifies the novel's hero, but then deterred by the lack of punctuation and gaps of spacing that characterize the layout of the text. But Adonis Garcia is no Finnegan's Wake or even Nova Express, but a highly accessible glimpse of an intriguing subculture of Mexico City. Using the device of the narrator speaking into a tape—a procedure recalling, for North Americans at least, the documentary works of Oscar Lewis—Luis Zapata

presents the life story of a hustler, who is about 25 at the time. Yet the hero is no ordinary street whore. As E. A. Lacey remarks, "Adonis is not the typical doomed and illiterate product of the culture of poverty; he is highly intelligent . . . The son of a respectable Spanish businessman, he has passed through a bourgeois childhood and adolescence . . . and he has moved into and remained in the bas monde at least partly by his own choice."

To be sure there are some hustler universals here. Adonis and his friends are often on drugs or alcohol or both. They anesthetize themselves against any emotional involvement with their johns and experience only attenuated attachments to each other. And the imagery of their talk is made up of a mixture of traditional obscenities, popular religion, scenes recalled from B movies, and advertising slogans. Much of their life is concerned with dodging the boredom of "squares," on the one hand, and escaping the menace of police and plainclothesmen, on the other. In times of need, social workers and psychiatrists are available to be manipulated.

Adonis Garcia tells us a good deal about its Mexico City setting. The hero resides in the old bohemian quarter of Colonia Roma, but plies his trade in the fashionable Zona Rosa downtown, especially in or near the popular Sanborn's drugstores. There are other resonances across time and space. As has been noted, Adonis is half Spanish and there is a deep awareness of the abiding significance of the values that Mexico has inherited from "over there." In particular, Zapata has conceived his novel as another work in a long and distinguished line of Hispanic picaresque novels, going back to the sixteenth-century Lazarillo de Tormes. (The picaro-a scrounger or con artist—is a socially marginal person who lives by his wits.) With this tradition comes the characteristic note of desengaño – a sense of disillusionment with the world, tinged with cynicism and fatalism. A more modern Spanish association is with the film director Luis Buñuel, for each of the chapters (or "tapes") opens with a dream, whose problematic relation to the main narrative must be pondered by the reader. Since Zapata has a degree in medieval literature it is probable that they have an allegorical intent that critics may be able to decode.

In the course of the story the hero goes through various crises: alcoholism, hepatitis and a nervous breakdown. Yet the book has a happy ending. Adonis takes himself in hand, stops drinking, starts body building, and moves to a new address in a middle-class gay neighborhood. He has experienced a lot, but in so doing he has sharpened his wits. What appeared to be a permanent marginalization of an alienated young man turns out not to be so very different from the process of finding one's self as undergone by bourgeois youth. Adonis Garcia, then, is not only the descendent of Lazarillo de Tormes, but also of Wilhelm Meister. Such is the integrity of the writing and the careful construction of the book's narrative that the happy outcome is believable.

A. E. Lacey has done an outstanding job as a translator, avoiding the twin extremes of excessive colloquialism and flat translationese. He provides discrete footnotes identifying places and topical allusions to films and public personalities. A sub-

stantial concluding note offers some valuable re-

flections on his principles of translation.

Adonis Garcia is an important book. To foreigners it opens up an aspect of Mexican life that we can generally inspect only as tourists, in the most external fashion. We are reminded that gay life and gay culture are becoming visible not just in North America but throughout the world. In Mexico, the book won the Grijalbo prize and is recognized as making a contribution to the emerging Mexican Gay Liberation struggle. Luis Zapata, who was born in 1951, is still young and much more may be expected of him. To the Gay Sunshine Press and E. A. Lacey go the credit for making a remarkable discovery and for presenting it in the guise of a handsome volume.

Vladimir Cervantes

TAORMINA: DÉBUT DE SIÈCLE

Photographies du Baron de Gloeden, préface de Jean-Claude Lemagny

Editions du Chêne, Paris, 1975, S45.00, 108 pages, 47 plates.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE CLASSIC MALE NUDE: BOYS OF TAORMINA

Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden, preface by Jean-Claude Lemagny

Camera/Graphic Press, New York, 1977, \$19.95, 108 pages, 47 plates.

WILHELM VON GLOEDEN, PHOTOGRAPHER

Charles Leslie

Soho Photographic Publishers, New York, 1977, \$11.85, 144 pages.

WILHELM VON GLOEDEN: EINE EINFÜHRUNG IN SEIN LEBEN UND WERK

Charles Leslie

Allerheiligenpresse, Innsbruck, 1980, \$32.50.

THE MALE NUDE IN PHOTOGRAPHY

edited by Lawrence Barnes, design and layout by Constance Cappel, introduction by Marcuse Pfeiffer Vermont Crossroads Press, Waitsfield, Vt., 1980, S8.00, 96 pages.

In the last few years, sparked originally by feminist research and interest, there has been a rediscovery and reexamination of the image of the male nude in the visual arts, including photography. Concurrently, and notably among women photographers, there has been renewed interest in the nude male as a subject. In addition to producing a growing body of new work, these trends have rescued from studied neglect a sizable body of photographic work, much of it by gay photographers. The reputation of a pioneer in photography, Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden (1856-1931), has been one of the principal beneficiaries of this effort.

Though it is incredible that so little notice should have been given to such an important figure in photographic history, the neglect into which von Gloeden fell is not inexplicable. During his career (which extended roughly from 1890 to 1914, though he resumed work after the first World War and continued to produce prints at a reduced rate until the year before his death), von Gloeden won upward of 30 international prizes and was arguably one of the most widely published and distributed photographers of his time. Today, despite critical neglect and the physical destruction of about two-thirds of the glass-plate negatives for his work, a comparatively large body of his prints still survives. Such prominence and availability should have assured notice, even if it was unfavorable.

Von Gloeden was the victim of both homophobia and two revolutions in photographic vision. He began his work in Taormina, Sicily, at a time when photography was practiced—when it aspired to art at all—as an imitation of the academic painting of the day, and he clung to his formal conventions as the soft-focus aesthetic of the Linked Ring and Photo Sessionists rose and fell, yielding the new era of Strand, Weston and others whose precise realism had less in common with von Gloden's pictorial realism than either had with the intervening movement. But where one might have expected the sort of snide critical dismissal that was the fate of Rejlander, Robinson and other "pictorialists," homophobic reaction to von Gloeden's male nudes produced only silence. For instance, Peter Pollack's massive Picture History of Photography does not even acknowledge von Gloeden's existence. His studies of Sicilian peasant life and his "classical" studies, including those of nude young Sicilian men, had been enormously popular in the first decade of our century. Yet when tastes changed at the same time that a dawning psychological age detected the homosexual subtext of his male nudes, the Baron's work was doomed to an oblivion broken only by the knowing wink of "camp." In certain circles, however, his prints, and copies thereof, continued to circulate, and among gay photographers his influence remained strong; even in the late 1950s Alfred Heinecke was posing his subjects in precise evocations of von Gloeden poses.

Two recent books, each with a translation, have begun to redress this neglect. The first issued was Jean-Claude Lemagny's collection of von Gloeden prints, Taormina, Début de Siècle: Photographies du Baron de Gloeden in 1975. An American edition, Photographs of the Classic Male Nude: Boys of Taormina, containing the same plates and Lemagny's chatty but critically slight introduction in English translation, followed shortly. In the meantime, the first biographical information on von Gloeden's career in English had appeared in Wilhelm von Gloeden, Photographer by Charles Leslie, which has since been reissued in German translation as Wilhelm von Gloeden: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und Werk.

To be thorough one must have both works. While there is some duplication in the plates presented by Lemagny and Leslic, both have unique items. The gravures in the Lemagny collections provide superior

reproductions compared to the screened prints in Leslie's American edition, though the duotone prints in the German edition are a vast improvement. If the palm goes to Lemagny for the plates, one must have the Leslie volume for any biographical and critical information. His text, which is divided into somewhat arbitrary chapters and interspersedwithout much relation to the pictures-among the plates, is a bit hard to follow because of the layout and occasional jumps backward and forward in time; it is still the indispensable source in English on its subject. Neither book attempts to date the prints, and only Leslie makes any effort to go beyond von Gloeden's homophilic output, to present it within the context of his other and equally prolific work. (A recent exhibition of von Gloeden prints at the Daniel Wolf Gallery in New York deserves credit for its attempt to do so, though the selection of prints there appeared to owe more to what was available for sale than the quality of the work itself.) Though both Lemagny and Leslie help to reestablish von Gloeden's reputation as a gay photographer, a full study of his significance to photography in general is still to be done.

Curiously, von Gloeden is absent from the recently issued collection, The Male Nude in Photography, edited by Lawrence Barns. Because von Gloeden was certainly present and even prominent in the landmark 1978 show on the male nude at the Marcuse Pfeiffer Gallery upon which the book is based, I suspect the rationale for his absence in the book was that he was already well enough served by the two books discussed above, and space might better be devoted to lesser known works. Even so, it might have been well to

include him just for completeness.

Von Gloeden's presence is not the only thing one might reasonably have asked of this book. Given the critical ruckus the show caused (three examples are reprinted, each dealing with the reviewer's sexual problems rather than the photographs), one might have hoped that, in the intervening two years, someone would have tried to answer why the male nude has been such a forbidden subject, and still provokes such reactions. Alas, such an essay—much more worthwhile than the reprinted reviews—is not forthcoming, and even the Shelly Rice introduction to the show catalogue itself, which at least asked the right questions and suggested that the answer might lie in sexual

power relationships, is not here. Three-fifths of the eighty images included are by women; about one-fifth are by identifiably gay photographers. I suspect that these proportions are significant, but no one is hazarding a guess. The prominence of women and gay photographers as opposed to straight males would certainly seem to be evidence that the latter are unwilling to look at themselves, though it, like the proportions between women and gay photographers, may reflect the fact that the original show was assembled by two women. While one can perhaps pick out the work by straight men-more formal and distanced, with less acknowledgement of the subject's personality and sexuality than in the work of women and gays-do women and gay men see the male nude in the same way? Again, no guesses. And what about the image of the young male, the adolescent Eros or Narcissus type, whom

Kenneth Clark omits in his study of nudes, who appears in several of these photographs? (All by women, incidentally, except for the famed Weston series; the specter of the gay as child molester is evidently too threatening for either gay photographers or gallery owners to deal with!) Such images are theoretically illegal, in almost all states, with laws that forbid any representation of nude minors, very much like the Fascist laws forbidding photographic nudity, under which von Gloeden's plates were destroyed. Is our society's extraordinarily violent reaction to such photographs the concurrence of homophobia, male reluctance to being objectified, and the theory that children are property? Someone ought to ask.

The Male Nude, as with the von Gloeden books, is a good start; it is good to have the plates to see what photographers are doing with the male nude today. But the critical thinking on the subject is not unfinished, as with von Gloeden; it is unbegun.

Donald H. Mader

PARIS GAY 1925

Gilles Barbedette & Michel Carassou

Presses de la Renaissance, Paris, 1981, 325 pages.

When Americans think of Paris in the 'twenties, they are likely to single out first our expatriate writers. The advanced spirits who settled there before World War I, including Gertrude Stein and Natalie Barney, were reinforced by a constant stream of new arrivals, such as Djuna Barnes and Bob McAlmon—to mention only writers known to have been homosexual. By focusing on these now almost legendary figures we tend to regard Paris as simply a stage setting for the doings of "our crowd." But Paris was of course inhabited chiefly by French people. What was gay life like for them then? This handsome book takes us a long way towards answering that question.

The title strikes the anglophone reader as an ironical reversal of our stereotypical "gay Paree." The period covered is in fact the whole of the 1920s, and not just 1925, when the Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs—giving its name to the dominant style of Art Deco- was held. There is also some background material on the prewar years, which saw the heightening of French consciousness of homosexuality, first by revelations from across the English Channel (the Wilde affair; Wilde settled and died in Paris after his disgrace), followed by importations from across the Rhine, including the word "homosexuality" itself. (In France the key date for the term is December 1907, when it was received into the Larousse mensuel illustré, according to Jean-Claude Féray in an important series of articles published in Arcadie, nos. 325-327, January-March 1981.) This increased awareness was marked by a series of fictional treatments, symbolized at the time by Jean Binet-Valmer's Lucien of 1910, and more permanently by Marcel Proust's monumental work. (See now the fine critical study of J. E. Rivers, reviewed elsewhere in this number.) There was also a literary (and sexually nonconformist) review, Count Jacques d'Adelsward Fersen's Akadémos of 1909, somewhat slighted by the authors of this book.

In the 1920s Paris emerged in the world's perception as the true capital of the arts. (Recently, it is true, a strong counterclaim has been entered for the Berlin of the Weimar republic, but this would probably have not been entertained at the time.) In literature the ever-dashing and chic Jean Cocteau emerged as the "Prince of Homosexuals," adding his name to the staider pair of Gide and Proust. There was also the start of a real gay liberation movement, which took concrete form in the review *Inversions* of 1924, suppressed by the authorities, and then bravely, though temporarily resumed as L'Amitié. Barbedette and Carassou provide substantial extracts from both, and it is clear that we need a reprint of the whole file of these pioneering journals. They were not to be replaced in France until 1962 when Futur appeared.

There were also more popular manifestations of Gay Paris, including the bisexual working-class hustlers, the bars and private clubs, the cruising places and baths. The focal event of the whole scene was provided by the legendary drag balls known as Magic City, held annually at mid-lent. In addition to the Authors' commentary, the book carries interviews with survivors: the novelist André du Dognon, the left-anarchist writer Daniel Guerin, the actors Jean Weber and René Redon, and the international writer and critic Edouard Roditi (who has also been interviewed by Gay Sunshine). Although this is not truly a scholarly book, it offers a bibliography—marred by some inaccuracies and omissions-of the period's literary production. There is no index. Forty glossy photographs recapture the way things were with

startling immediacy.

When all is said and done, the efflorescence of Paris' homosexual world in the 'twenties does not match the overall vitality of the epoch. Why is this so? First, despite the attention devoted to "inversion" by doctors, psychiatrists, novelists, and satirists in the preceeding belle époque, France had not acquired the solid substructure of public discussion and written documentation that Germany enjoyed, so that there was a narrower foundation on which to build. Second, after the terrible bloodletting of World War I, there was a pronatalist reaction, a demand that Frenchmen cease fripperies and mere dalliance whether heterosexual or homosexual-and get on with their truly serious task: repeupler la France. Third, we have the adoption, by a large part of the left, of the decadence theory of homosexual behavior. viewing it as essentially a repellent byproduct of the death agonies of capitalism and certainly not something that one would want to carry over in the new socialist society. Both this factor and the preceeding one are chillingly illustrated by a series of homophobic responses printed in answer to a survey of public opinion conducted by the magazine Marges in 1926. Finally, one must not neglect the fact that the leaders of the new Surrealist movement, which dominated the later years of the 1920s and the whole of the following decade, were, chiefly for personal reasons, hostile to homosexuality, despite (or perhaps in part because of?) their devotion to Sigmund Freud.

In the interwar years France, above all, Paris exercized a real cultural hegemony over the Western world, not only in Europe and the United States, but especially—and this one tends to forget—Latin America. Perhaps the ambivalent attitude of the French in this period towards their own sexual nonconformism has created a legacy that is still with us in some sense. In any event the attractive volume assembled by Gilles Barbedette and Michel Carassou serves not merely to fill a gap in our history, but to provide us with questions to ponder regarding international influences and the different rates of sociocultural-sexual maturation of public opinion in various countries.

Evelyn Gettone

DIE BUECHER DER NAMENLOSEN LIEBE,

John Henry Mackay ("Sagitta")

Verlag Rosa Winkel, Berlin, 1979, DM 40.-, 496 + 400 pages.

In their book Roommates Can't Always Be Lovers (1974) authors Lige Clarke and Jack Nichols report a letter from a German immigrant, who recalls that in 1920 he was leader of an organized gay group in his hometown. "We named it Sagitta (Arrow)." He does not say, and has probably forgotten, why the name "Sagitta" was used, but it was most likely in recognition of the pseudonymous author of the two volumes of Die Buecher der namenlosen Liebe (The Books of the Nameless Love), whose publication by the Verlag Rosa Winkel in 1979 was described in GBB No. 4 as "the outstanding landmark in the program of reprints of older classics." As requested in his Will, these books have been issued, for the first time, with the true name of the author, John Henry Mackay (1864-1933).

Unable to accept the "third sex" theory of Magnus Hirschfeld, as reflected in the Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen (Yearbook for Intersexual Variants), edited by Hirschfeld from 1899, and distressed by the exclusion of man/boy love from the program of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, formed in Berlin in 1897 by Hirschfeld and others, Mackay, who had been living in Berlin for a decade and was himself a boy-lover, decided in 1905 to begin a campaign to rally boy-lovers to "the cause." He planned to use his talents as a writer to produce a series of short books in various literary forms, which he hoped would unite boy-lovers by bringing them out of their individual isolation. He was unsure of their numbers, but believed they were only waiting for a spokesman.

The first two books appeared in 1906: Die namenlose Liebe, ein Bekenntnis (The Nameless Love, A Witness, 29 pages) and Wer sind Wir? (Who Are We? 62 pages, in verse). Perhaps the only review of these books was published in 1908 in the new Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft (Journal for Sexual Science),

and as might be expected in a journal also edited by Hirschfeld, the reviewer was not sympathetic. After noting that the book in verse contains "rhythms of often unusual beauty," he adds: "A complete poem is a picture that requires neither an excuse nor a justification, nor yet a polemic. Therefore I find the prose of the first book superfluous." He then says that the pamphlet Sagitta has just sent out will not win him new friends. "A pity for the wasted effort."

The pamphlet referred to was Gehoer! Nur einen Augenblick! (Listen! Only a Moment!), which, in a change of plans, Mackay addressed to the general public. He was prompted by the unexpected discussions of homosexuality in the press following public accusations of homosexuality among the emperor's close advisors. In an appeal for understanding, Mackay gathered the arguments against man/boy love and tried to answer them all at once. The pamphlet was sent gratis to many libraries and, with the financial help and insistence of Mackay's friend Benedict Friedlaender, to the heads of Evangelical (Lutheran) boys' clubs. Several ministers brought charges of giving offense and, after a lengthy trial, the pamphlet and the two books were declared obscene and the publisher given a warning and a stiff fine, which was paid, in fact, by Mackay. In all, the affair cost him 6300 marks (about US\$30,000 in today's currency). In the meantime, Mackay published Am Rande des Lebens, die Gedichte der namenlosen Liebe (On the Edge of Life: Poems of the Nameless Love, 1909), which was not bothered by the police.

Volume I of the present reprint was first published in Paris in 1913 and contains, besides the three books and pamphlet mentioned above, a short oneact play and the novel Fenny Skaller. In a lengthy introduction Mackay tells the history of his campaign. There was a second edition in 1924. Volume 2, Der Puppenjunge (The Hustler, 1926), the last publication of "Sagitta," is a long novel of teenage hustlers

in Berlin of the 1920s.

John Henry Mackay was born on 6 February 1864 at Greenock, near Glasgow, Scotland. His father died less than two years later and his mother, nee Luise Ehlers, returned with her young son to her native Hamburg. Thus Mackay grew up a German, despite his Scottish name. From his mother, who was of a well-to-do merchant family, Mackay received an income sufficient to pursue his chosen career as a writer, and two years before her death in 1902 he received a lump sum, which allowed him to purchase an annuity guaranteeing a lifetime income—or so he thought, for the value of the annuity was wiped out by the runaway inflation in the aftermath of World War I. He died in poverty in Berlin on May 16, 1933.

The novel Fenny Skaller, which is largely autobiographical, presents the story of a man who slowly and painfully becomes aware of, and comes to terms with, his love for teenage boys. The protagonist, Fenny Skaller, spends an evening reviewing his collection of photographs of ten boys he knew at various stages of his life. The difficulty he had accepting himself is illustrated by the fact that only with the seventh boy did he finally have a satisfactory sexual experience. In each of the ten "pictures" (as the chapters are called), Mackay comments on current

attitudes toward homosexuality in general and man/ boy love in particular.

Der Puppenjunge presents the seamy side of gay life in Berlin of the 1920s in a story of teenage hustlers and their johns. Mackay blames the boys' empty and sordid lives on a hypocritical police system and the bourgeois morality that supports it. The hustler whom Hermann Graff, Mackay's rather naive protagonist, falls in love with is unable to appreciate, or even recognize, his love until too late. The novel is overlong and dwells too much on the sufferings of Graff, but is a fascinating portrait of the times, and at least ends on a hopeful note as Graff, after serving a prison sentence for indecent acts committed with a minor, resolves to return to Berlin and be stronger

than the system.

Mackay stated in his Will: "I was Sagitta. I wrote these books in the years in which people thought my artistic powers extinguished." Indeed, by the time of the Sagitta books, Mackay had produced a very respectable body of works, which he republished in 1911 in a collected edition of eight volumes (available in many libraries in the United States). This included much lyric poetry, plays, novellas, short stories, a novel, and a non-novel Die Anarchisten (The Anarchists, 1891), which had an English translation. This last and Sturm (Storm, 1888), a volume of anarchistic verse, were Mackay's best known works. Also in 1911 Mackay published his biography of Max Stirner (pseudonym of Kaspar Schmidt, 1806-1856), the philosopher of egoism. This was followed by another anarchistic work, Der Freiheitsucher (The Freedom Seeker, 1920), as well as poems, a play, a novella, and a final volume of memoirs. It was as an anarchist writer, however, that he was best known; and he himself was proudest of Sturm and thought Der Freiheitsucher his most important work.

Mackay's personality and influence are reflected in a letter written by the composer Richard Strauss to his father in 1892: "In Berlin I made the charming acquaintance of the Scottish poet John Henry Mackay, the great anarchist and biographer of the Berlin philosopher Max Stirner." Strauss used love poems of Mackay as texts for two of the four songs of his Opus 27, which was a wedding gift to his bride in 1894. "Morgen" (Tomorrow) and "Heimliche Aufforderung" (Secret Invitation), while avoiding any indication of gender, were undoubtedly inspired by Mackay's love for boys and have become among the most popular of Strauss' songs. Strauss later gave musical settings for two other poems of Mackay, and there were also settings by Arnold Schönberg and Eugen d'Albert.

Mackay's anarchistic views are primarily found in his two Books of Freedom, as he called them (Die Anarchisten and Der Freiheitsucher), which he dedicated to his American friend Benjamin R. Tucker. Mackay met several of the leading American anarchists on a visit to the United States in 1893; he was one of a trio of men who lunched with Emma Goldman on the first day of her famous New York trial. Mackay's solution to the "social question" was his philosophy of individualistic anarchism, which he found confirmed in the writings of Max Stirner, and

which was close to the views of Tucker and his American colleagues. He opposed this view to that of communistic anarchism, which held that the good of society was more important than the good of the individual. For Mackay the individual was supreme. Believing that passive resistance is the strongest weapon against the tyranny of government, he denounced terrorism. And against those who said that chaos would follow the downfall of government, Mackay argued that people would then enter into voluntary associations, which would be more efficient than those enforced by brute power. His slogan was "Equal freedom for all," i.e., the touchstone of whether an action is allowed is to ask if it diminishes another's freedom to less than one's own.

In many ways Mackay would be sympathetic with the current call to "get the government off our backs," but he was too thoroughgoing an anarchist to accept anything less than a demand for the total dissolution of government, and hence would be unable to ally himself with those who see the reduction of taxes, for example, as a goal. Rather, Mackay saw the refusal to pay legal taxes as a strategy to bring about the

disappearance of all government.

Profoundly disappointed by the failure of his campaign to rally other boy-lovers to "the cause" and dismayed by the public reaction to his writings ("there is perhaps no class that exceeds Evangelical ministers for pettiness, intolerance, and dark fanaticism"), Mackay came to see the solution of the problems of boys and their lovers as one with the "social question" in general, i.e., not in gaining an understanding of man/boy love from the public, but in gaining general acceptance of the principle: Equal freedom for all.

Many modern gay activists seem as determined as Hirschfeld was to exclude the issue of man/boy love from discussion, but for those of us who believe that this issue is at the cutting edge of gay liberation the forceful and charming John Henry Mackay is a genuine pioneer, and his writings are a precious and inspiring document of our struggle.

Bibliographic Note.

An excellent full-length biography is Der Balmbrecher John Henry Mackay: Sein Leben und sein Werk (The Pioneer John Henry Mackay: His Life and His Work) by K. H. Z. Solneman (Freiburg in Breisgau: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1979). The overpriced (\$75 at last report) Germany 's Poet-Anarchist: John Henry Mackay by Thomas A. Riley, subtitled "A Contribution to the History of German Literature at the Turn of the Century, 1880-1920," contains interesting material on Mackay's literary works, but shows little understanding of anarchism—and none at all of man/boy love. I have told the story of Mackay's campaign for the recognition of man/boy love in an article "John Henry Mackay, Anarchist of Love" in The Alternate, Vol. 3, No. 18 (March 1981), pp. 27-31.

Hubert Kennedy

RENAISSANCE DES EROS URANIOS

Benedict Friedlaender

Arno Press, New York, reprint 1975, \$27.50, xvi+322+88 pages.

Although only 38 years old at the time of the publication of his Renaissance des Eros Uranios—the title may be roughly translated as Rebirth of Greek Love-Benedict Friedlaender (1866-1908) already had a publishing record many university professors would envy. Already in 1888 had appeared his dissertation on the central nervous system of the earthworm, and this was followed by articles and books on a variety of topics, including animal motion, physiological periodicity, volcanos in Italy and Hawaii, anthropological studies (based on travel to Hawaii and Samoa), political and economic movements of the time, and nudism. Friedlaender was not a professor, however-he has been described by James D. Steakley in The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany (Arno Press, New York, 1975) as a "wealthy private scholar"-and his later publications reflect his active role in the movement described by Steakley, who notes that in 1902 Friedlaender was a founder, along with Adolf Brandt and Wilhelm Jansen, of the Community of the Exceptional (Gemeinschaft der Eigenen). Despite being one of the Exceptional, he was also a member of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, led by Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935), and published a number of articles in Hirschfeld's Zeitschrift für sexuelle Zwischenstufen before leaving the Committee in 1906.

By 1906 Friedlaender had found in John Henry Mackay (1864-1933) a friend whose views on homosexuality were closer to his own than those of Hirschfeld and the Committee. Although Friedlaender did not share Mackay's political philosophy of individualistic anarchism, he did believe in Mackay's efforts to gain an acceptance of boy-love and he helped subsidize a propaganda pamphlet on the subject, ironically contributing, since the pamphlet was later confiscated by the police and declared obscene, to the legal termination of Mackay's campaign. (See the review of Mackay's Buecher der namenlosen Liebe

elsewhere in this issue.)

The question of possible censorship of his own Renaissance des Eros Uranios was clearly on Friedlaender's mind as he was writing it. He was particularly concerned by the confiscation in 1903 of Elisar von Kuppfer's Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltlitteratur (Courtly Love and Comrade Love in World Literature, 1901), a collection of literary excerpts, mostly from famous authors, treating same-sex love and friendship, that Friedlaender thought "signaled a new phase of the emancipation movement" (p. 66). Friedlaender appears to lean over backwards in his caution, however, and it is not clear how seriously we are to take his repeated statements that he not only does not advocate sexual acts, but even condemns those that lead to orgasm, when the main point of the book is that erotic attraction between men and youths is a natural phenomenon, which should be recognized and allowed

to flourish. Of course, his condemnation of the "coarser sexual acts" is not as severe as the judgment those he criticizes, mainly priests and others imbued

with a "spirit of asceticism."

If it is difficult for us to be aware of the extent to which, as Friedlaender writes, "a circumspect and discreetly contained exposition of the ABC's of love was still required, "it is equally difficult to appreciate his total rejection of any equality of the sexes. Steakley says of this: "Friedlaender's anti-feminism should be seen in the larger context of contemporary German society, whose middle class tended to view the concept of equality as a leftist political slogan, certainly not as a self-evident principle or a biological given. Friedlaender was part of a much larger wave of reaction against the feminist movement." Still, the fact that his reasoning is based on the assumption that women are the "inferior sex" (sexus sequior) vitiates much of his argument for a rebirth of Greek love. Thus, the value of his book lies less in his own explanations than in his criticism of the theories of others.

Friedlaender effectively criticizes the "third sex" theory of homosexuality, which Hirschfeld had adopted, with modifications, from the writings of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825-1895). As Friedlaender

The difference between the interpretation presented here and that of Ulrichs, which medical doctors have followed, consists in this: I explain same sex love, not through the assumption of a mixing in of characteristics of the other sex and not by the hermaphroditic predisposition of human embryos, but by the fact that human beings are social creatures and that among all social animals there must be present a physiological attraction, i.e., subjectively speaking, a physiological, and thus sensual, love also between individuals of the same sex (p. 228).

Friedlaender notes, however, that is was probably important to have medical doctors speak out, despite the resulting "sickness theory" of Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902), for progress is made by small steps. Friedlaender's comment is prophetic:

Thus the predominant interpretation, at the turn of the century, of same-sex love as a kind of "psychopathia" or sickness is to be viewed as a transitional stage. What in antiquity and outside Christian Europe and its cultural transplants was self-evident and even in its degenerate forms usually judged mildly, became in the ecclesiastical Middle Ages a vicious inclination and a punishable crime of the worst sort. Most now consider it a "sickness" that needs healing. It will come to be seen next that this sickness has a distinct advantage over the others, in that it disappears if the most elementary natural rights of freedom are restored and the sick are left in peace (p. 56).

A more particular objection to Ulrich's theory had been made by the Harvard University mathematics professor James Mills Peirce (1834-1906), who wrote in a letter to John Addington Symonds: "There is an error in the view that feminine love is that which is directed to a man, and masculine love that which is directed to a woman. That doctrine involves a begging of the whole question." Peirce's letter was first

published anonymously in the German translation (1896) of Sexual Inversion by Havelock Ellis and J. A. Symonds (English edition, 1897, reprint by Arno Press, New York, 1975; reviewed in GBB 4). Friedlaender gives no indication that he had read this letter, but he shares the view expressed:

The theory begins with the assumption that love directed to men is in general a characteristic of the female sex. The very starting point is not unobjectionable. The idea that love directed to a man or to a youth is exclusively a female characteristic, is just not an empirical fact of nature, but is rather in a much higher degree an assumption of convention and a demand or a consequence of geographically and historically restricted custom (p. 73).

Friedlaender's own assumption is that men are by nature bisexual (again agreeing with J. M. Peirce), so that only only men who are exclusively homosexual are extreme cases, but also those who are exclusively heterosexual. Playing on Ulrich's theory, which posits a germ for same-sex love, whose development produces *Urninge*, or homosexuals, Friedlaender proposed the term *Kümmerlinge* (stunted beings) for exclusive heterosexuals. (This term is not, pace Jim Steakley, used for exclusive homosexuals.)

In searching for the physiological basis of same-sex attraction, Friedlaender considers at some length the discovery by the zoologist Gustav Jäger (1832-1917) of the important role odors play in physical attraction and repulsion, and he takes up Jager's suggestion that men who attract other men may do so because their scent is, as it were, supervirile. Friedlaender is, I think, not entirely convinced by this theory, but he proposed it as at least having an experimental scientific basis, whereas the Ulrichs-Hirschfeld theory, according to Friedlaender, has no demonstrable foundation. Few today would deny that odors play a role in sexual attraction, but most have stopped searching for a simple cause of homosexuality and are as unlikely to accept this theory as they would be to join Jager's natural clothing movement (e.g., wearing wool, not cotton, underwear).

Friedlaender is quite clear, however, that it is not necessary to find a cause for same-sex love, since it is a basic human drive. The need is rather to remove the restraints that the age-old conspiracy of priests and women has imposed on social relations among men. Thus he believes that too much effort had been directed toward legal reform. "The true enemy," he says, "is not that backwards law, but rather the structure of errors and superstition on which it is

based" (p. 96).

Politically the advocates of legal reform were associated with Marxian socialism, which Friedlaender had strongly criticized in his book Die vier Hauptrichtungen der modernen socialen Bewegung (The Four Principal Directions of the Modern Social Movement, 1901). Of the other three "directions" discussed, Friedlaender also firmly rejected communistic anarchism, declared himself a disciple of Eugen Dühring (1833-1921) with regard to natural rights, and an admirer of Henry George (1839-1897), whose book Progress and Poverty (1879) advocated a single tax on land. Friedlaender had mentioned

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ARTICLES

THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD FAGGOT

by Warren Johansson

Editor's Note: As a service to our readers we are printing the following remarks, which were originally embodied in a private letter written in December 1975; the letter has become something of an underground classic. Dr. Johansson has supplied an appendix, updating his original points,

which we print also.

The question of the origin of the word faggot as an epithet applied to homosexuals is of more than etymological interest because of a myth that has gained a tenacious foothold in our movement. To quote one recent source: "During the Spanish Inquisition when heretics were burned at the stake, presumed male homosexuals were considered the only thing low enough to help kindle the fires. Bundled up with faggots of wood, they were tied to the base of the stake at which the heretic was to die. Some say that the same procedure was used during the witch burnings at Salem, Massachusetts." The putative origins of this entirely fictional notion are sometimes referred back to the high or even early middle ages.

The persistence of this myth in our midst is phenomenal and disturbing. Homosexuals have endured enough real hardships and persecutions in Christian society without there being any need to invent new ones. The continued fostering of this myth does no credit either to our pride or our

devotion to scholarship.]

With reference to the etymology of faggot in the meaning "effeminate homosexual", I shall in the following pages set forth my arguments for deriving it from the dialectal word faggot as a contemptuous

term for a fat, slovenly woman.

As to the ultimate origin of French fagot/English faggot, I agree with the brief note by Ferdinand Holthausen, Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, 20: 67 (1932), who derives both from the Norwegian dialect word fagg "heap, bundle", alongside Modern Icelandic föggur "luggage, traps" (cf. the English designation of a woman as "baggage").

There are three forms of the English word: faggot, attested by the OED from circa 1300; fadge, attested from 1588; and faggald, which the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (vol. 2, p. 385) first records from 1375. Of these three only faggot and fadge develop the secondary meaning "woman", and only faggot has the tertiary meaning "homosexual". None of the three overlaps with fag in any of its known meanings before the pair faggot/fag make their appearance in the 1920s.

John S. Farmer and W. E. Henley, in Slang and its Analogues Past and Present, vol. 2 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1891), pp. 366-367, have

for the word faggot the following meanings:

subs. 1. A term of opprobrium applied to woman; a 'baggage'.

Verb. 2 (venery).-To copulate; also to frequent the company of loose women.

Joseph Wright, in The English Dialect Dictionary, vol. 2 (London: Henry Frowde, 1900), p. 278, records the word faggot in many dialects as "A term of contempt or reproach applied to women and children; a slattern, a worthless woman".

Thus we see that the homosexual sense of the term was unknown in England even at the close of the last century; it appears for the first time in America in Louis E. Jackson and C. R. Hellyer, A Vocabulary of Criminal Slang with some examples of common usages (Portland, Oregon: Modern Printing Co., 1914), p. 30 s.v. drag, Noun:

> Amongst female impersonators on the stage and men of dual sex instincts "drag" denotes female attire donned by a male. Example: "All the fagots (sissies) will be dressed in drag at the ball tonight.'

This quotation, which is particularly valuable as there is no separate entry in the work for faggot, precedes by nine years the earliest attestation of fag, which occurs in Nels Anderson, The Hobo: The So-ciology of the Homeless Man (Chicago: At the University Press, 1923), p. 103:

> Fairies or Fags are men or boys who exploit sex for profit.

This establishes for fag the meaning of "hustler" in

the hobo milieu of the early 1920s.

Now my principal argument for considering fag secondary to faggot is that -ot is a diminutive suffix in Romance and in all dialects of Old French, but not in Germanic and even less in Modern English; on this point see Bengt Hasselrot, Etudes sur la formation diminutive dans les langues romanes, Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, 1957: 11, pp. 103-118, 170. On the other hand, the creation of new monosyllabic words by apocope is a characteristic of American slang. My authority for this is an article on "Americanisms" by Ernest Weekley, Adjectives—And Other Words (London: John Murray, 1930), p. 182:

> But brevity is perhaps the chief feature. This is attained by apocope, as in vamp for vampire, mutt for muttonhead, fan for fanatic, (apparently), etc., or by the substitution of an expressive monosyllable or compound of monosyllables for a longer word or description. It is here that American slang has made a real and useful contribution to colloquial English.

That is to say, fag must be a secondary formation from faggot just as vamp is from vampire for the simple reason that the latter (a French loan word in the first instance, a Macedonian one in the second) cannot by any process of derivation be obtained from the former. Added to this is the fact that faggot makes its first appearance in a milieu as far removed, socially and geographically, from the world of the English public school of the Edwardian era as could well be imagined. Your hypothesis would be valid if it could be shown that fag acquired the meaning "homosexual" in England and in circles that could be expected to have familiarity with the practice of "fagging"; but this is simply not the case.

It should also be noted that the meaning "woman" or "homosexual" is totally unknown to French fagot, as witnessed by the entry in the Dictionnaire universel of Antoine Furetière at the end of the seventeenth

century s.v Fagot:

On dit qu'il y a bien de la difference entre une femme & un fagot, en parlant de deux choses fort dissemblables; mais la plus grande difference que l'on y trouve, c'est qu'une femme toujours parle, & un fagot ne dit mot.

That is to say, if either of the two meanings inhered ever so faintly to the French word, the saying would be absurd or comic. The same is true of a quotation in OED for the word *ingle*, which has two meanings, "fire, house-fire" and "catamite". Under the first the entry reads:

1820 Keats Fancy 16

Sit thee by the ingle, when The sear faggot blazes bright.

All these texts and references establish faggot in the meaning "homosexual" as an Americanism of the twentieth century, and fag as an apocopated derivative. The derivations of faggot "homosexual" from the Medieval practice of burning heretics and sodomites at the stake can safely be relegated to folk etymology.

ADDENDUM

In my letter of 1975 I set forth my reasons for doubting that the words faggot and fag derived from the use of fag "lowerclassman performing menial services for an upperclassman" in the British public schools, and for rejecting the folk etymology that associates faggot with the presumed burning of witches and sodomites on a common pyre in the Middle Ages.

Subsequent reflection and research have deepened my understanding of the etymological problems posed by this pair of words, so I am presenting my newest findings. Faggot, as the reader will remember, has three meanings: 1) "bundle of sticks of wood", 2) "fat, slovenly woman", and 3) "effeminate homosexual"; and to explain the rise of the tertiary meaning I must first delve into the primary and secondary

Late Middle English borrowed the word fagot from Old French, where it was in turn a loan word from Germanic, the nearest identifiable source being the Norwegian dialect term fagg "bundle, heap". Cognates of the letter within Indo-European are Slovenian páž "wall of boards set upright" and Classical Greek antipex, antipegos "box or basket, probably of wickerwork", a technical term of the woodworking craft. These words have been studied by Rudolf Meringer, 'Wörter und Sachen", Indogermanische Forschungen, 21: 312 (1907), and by Leif Bergson, "Zur Bedeutung von antipex bei Euripides", Eranos, 58:12-19 (1960). In Old French fagot belongs to a set of expressions linked to forestry that were borrowed into Romance from Germanic in the Middle Ages, as Eugen Lerch showed in "Germanische Wörter in romanischen Sprachräumen", Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, 19:19, 22-23 (1942).

What has thrown all previous investigators off the track is the circumstance that the dialect words faggot/fadge "fat, slovenly woman" have a wholly distinct etymon within Germanic, one akin to Norwegian bagge "obese, clumsy creature (chiefly of animals)", which is recorded by Ivar Aasen, Norsk Ordbog med dansk Forklaring (Christiania: P. T.

Mallings Boghandel, 1873), p. 37. The distant relatives of the word group are Greek pegbs "well-built, solid" and Sanskrit pajráh "firm, solid, fat", to which I would add the English adjective pudgy "short and plump", with yet another variation on the initial labial; it made its way from the autochthonous dialects into the literary language only in the second

quarter of the nineteenth century.

It so happens that Norwegian bagge and its cognates have been discussed at length in the literature of historical linguistics, in particular by Otto von Friesen, Om de germanska mediageminatorna med särskild hänsyn til de nordiska språken, Upsala universitets Årsskrift 1897, 2, pp. 97-99; by Friedrich Kauffmann in a review of the dissertation in Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 32:255-56 (1900); and by Elof Hellquist, "Några anmärkningar om de germanska kort- och smeknamnen samt de germanska mediageminatorna", Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3rd ser., 12:52-54 (1903). The essence of their findings was that the doubling of the medial consonant in such words as fagg and bagge had a diminutive and hypocoristic nuance, which is reiterated in Romance borrowings like fagot with the Old French diminutive ending, and also in another set of words that is unquestionably derived from bagge: French bagasse, Catalan bagassa, Spanish bagasa, Portuguese bagaxa, and Italian bagascia, all designations for "prostitute" with a strongly perjorative accent. It is interesting that the verb-which is unknown to American English-to faggot "to frequent the company of loose women" matches Catalan bagassejar in exactly the same meaning. Also, in Swedish dialects bagge means "boy, youngster", while in the Portuguese dialect of Vila Real bagocho is a word for "little boy", see A. Gomes Pereira, Revista Lusitana, 15: 333 (1912). Last of all, the Trésor de la langue française, IV, 11, mentions the Provençal oath bougre de bagasse!

That the two words fagg and bagge retained a certain association even in their Romance environment is shown by the phrase faguotz e bagatge that occurs in an Old Provençal Histoire de la guerre des albigeois published in the Histoire générale de Languedoc, nouvelle édition, vol. 8 (Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1879), col. 33. Also, fagot is parallelled in the French argot by the form bagots for bagages.

Hence we should not be surprised that the two words fell together sometime during the Late Middle or Early Modern English period, yielding faggot/fadge in their primary and secondary meanings. As for the tertiary meaning, my hypothesis is that in American English faggot usurped the semantic role of bugger (Old French bougre) in British usage. Edward Sagarin, for example, wrote in the book The Homosexual in America (1951), p. 104:

> My English friends tell me that in England the word bugger has an extremely hostile connotation, comparable to the worst terms used in the United States.

On p. 105 of the same work he asserted that the word fag

> is particularly humiliating. The evil that it carries can only be compared . . . to some of

the worst terms that America's dominant culture has used to humiliate and suppress racial groups.

The similarity in the phonetic and orthographic shape of the two words must have facilitated the transition. It is worthy of mention that although Noah Webster discarded the second g in fagot as early as his Compendious Dictionary of the English Language of 1806, the British spelling has reasserted itself and is in the usage of movement writers since 1969 unquestionably the standard one, in contrast with wagon which has totally displaced the British form in America.

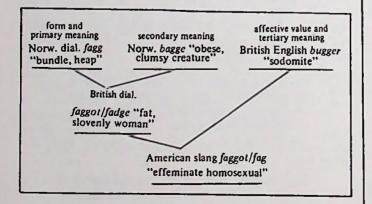
As for the British use of fag in the public schools, it should be noted that the practice of fagging never existed in American schools founded on the English model, with the exception of St. Mark's, which had a mere 22 graduates in the Class of 1914, so that any possible impact on American criminal slang may be excluded forthwith. On this see A Handbook of the Best Private Schools for 1915, pp. 272-73 and Dixon Wecter, The Saga of American Society (New York: Scribner, 1937), p. 241.

From the purely linguistic side, the American slang word fag has a British counterpart, and it was right to look for one; but the term in question is sod, defined by Farmer and Henley, op. cit., vol. 6 (1903), p. 293 as "A sodomist, hence a violent term of abuse", and hence matching Sagarin's specifications. But the word faggery is unknown to American speech, which has instead created the derivative faggotry from the basic form. By a curious parallel the French of Belgium, in the early years of this century, still had the word fagoterie "enterprise where faggots are sold", as mentioned by Comte Amédée de Caix de Saint-Aymour, "Belgicismes", Revue hebdomadaire, 20e année, tome 8 (August 12, 1911), p. 261.

In conclusion, I would concede that the independent existence of faggot and fag as terms denoting persons facilitated the reception of the complementary pair faggot/fag in the meaning "effeminate homosexual" in American English slang in the second and third decades of this century; but I maintain that the starting point for the whole development was the British dialect word faggot "fat, slovenly woman", cognate with Norwegian bagge and French bagasse.

My findings may be summarized in the table herewith:

Continued on Inside Back Cover



MARIO STEFANI'S PAGAN LYRICISM

by Stephen Wayne Foster

For centuries Venice has been associated with boy love. During the Renaissance respectable women were segregated from men, a custom which, in Venice as in ancient Greece and various Islamic societies, proved to be a fertile bed for the growth of bisexuality. Two of the most important novels of boy love ever written, the Alcibiade fanciullo a scuola and Thomas Mann's Death in Venice, were connected with Venice. The Venetian Casanova recorded the city's "vices" in his memoirs. Beginning with Henri III of France on his way home from Poland, Venice has attracted homosexuals galore—Byron, Symonds, Corvo and many others; and who could forget Bjorn Andresen as "Tadzio" (actually Count Wladyslaw Moes, whose beauty infatuated Thomas Mann) in Luchino Visconti's filmic contribution to kiddyporn? Boy love has for so long been celebrated by foreigners, that it is almost a surprise to find one of Venice's native sons taking up the theme, for the first time since the days of Casanova and Giorgio Baffo.

Mario Stefani was born in Venice on August 4, 1938. He was graduated with honors for his thesis on the letters of Pietro Aretino (ominous choice of theme!). He has worked at the University of Urbino, but is usually at the Istituti Superiori. He is a poet, literary critic, interviewer, journalist and expert on painting. His poetry has won numerous prizes. Between 1960 and 1980 he produced eleven volumes of poetry. In 1974 he issued *Poesie a un ragazzo* (poems to a boy), with a defensive (apologetic, in fact, by gay liberation standards) preface by his friend, Diego Valeri. This was a limited edition of 500 numbered copies.

Stefani and his writings are entirely unknown outside Italy and this article is his presentation to the "outside world." Since the deaths of Pasolini and Penna, Stefani is the most outspoken laureate of (in the words of Valeri) "the love that Dante calls Sodomitic." Here are samples of his work, all from Poesie a un ragazzo:

Poetry is a fair boy
at nightfall
in the uncertain light
of dying day.
* * *

Loneliness
is not to be alone;
it is to love others in vain.
* * *

If Paradise existed,
for me it would be
to contemplate a fair boy forever:

the eternal laughter of youth, the never-lost intoxication of the flesh.

* * *

Women are impure and tempt to sin.

If I had been Adam in Eden,
I would not have eaten the apple, and would have been saved from harm.
I would have been as chaste as a lily.
Only, perhaps I would have loved the Archangel Gabriel,
while Eve would have been left to sulk among her apples!

* * *

Boy,

you robbed me of heart, watch and wallet. Alas, who shall return my heart to me? Boy, rob me if you can also of the memory of your sweet beauty.

Can a woman compare with the beauty of Mauro?
Surely not.
Mauro has smiles most sweet,
and his eyes and body
intoxicate like a fine wine.
His voice is persuasive and harmonious,
he carries himself with the pride of a Greek god.
In the midst of this crowd
hurrying in the rat-race
towards nothing,
Mauro, enjoy
your gift of youth. It lasts
briefly, vanishes soon.

Filling his hand with little kisses, I said, "I shall have no other gods before you," and you laughed a silvery laugh.

* * *

To my astonishment, my boy, you reveal a body more beautiful than the Divine Comedy. You say, "I am better than those verses, my body has other rhymes more convincing; more persuasive hours I promise you if you wish." But perhaps also other torments.

* * *

Apollo Musagetes is for me the very fine boy with the dark eyes whom I meet at times and who bestows on me slow smiles: angel certainly and perhaps archangel of prohibited pleasures.

Humble flowers of the field,
how much I have loved you!
Orchid, rose, rhododendron,
lily, crocus, thistle, buttercup,
and the blood-red poppy that I could never meet
in the meadow without trembling,
reminding me of the voluptuous lips of a boy

for whom I have suffered and loved so much . . .

Angels, archangels, seraphs, cherubs, I know you!
I meet you on the street at times in the flesh.

* * *

Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, last of the pagan aristocrats, you lived to see Rome infected with the disease of Christianity. Do not mourn for the old faith, it is reborn, I assure you. Eros rises from the dungheap of hypocrisy, and Love shall be a god again, not just a word.

I gathered a wounded seagull to my chest, and a bright-eyed boy approached and said, "Can I caress it even if you hold it tight?" "Yes, certainly, and I shall also caress you."

Glory to God in the highest for your beauty, boy—superb! and yet again superb! I know not how long my joy shall last; beauty, you know, is brief, too brief indeed in the rise and fall of things.

* * *

How sad is winter, but sadder the winter of the heart. Thinking of you, your voice is the wind in springtime, and I am a tree growing anew. I am younger now, my heart is again adolescent.

**

God,
tomorrow I shall pray
(for what are two eyes
and two hands,
to deal with so many
beautiful Venetian boys?)
for you to give me
sixteen eyes and forty-three hands,
and, while you're at it,
give me an angel, too!

Noon was basking in the museum, where, alone, his uncertain hand long lingered on the body labelled "Ephebe discovered at Pesaro." Walking uneasily at night in a dark alley, I saw again the same beloved face and body, and slowly whispering, I said, "Every night you leave your museum,

descending to the streets, making a gift to others of your superb beauty."

* * *

You are young, and I am mad with love. Your laugh has no respect for my gray hair. My heart is a temple without a lock, and the door is open to all who wish to enter.

Your youth was my wine, you were the freshness of morning, you were springtime ever-born and ever-dying, you were the little sun that rises over my balcony.

I fell in love with a very beautiful Greek god, dazzled by his face.

His body was the chimera of dreams. He was my brother and my lover together. The burden of my love was light, but his heart was hidden by his words.

* * *

I have fallen in love with you and your youth, your lithe boyish body, your gift of gracefulness, your mouth that makes me jealous, your hands, your furtive glance, your bitter hair, even with the woe you offer me, a flower that I know by now, and my dream of you.

A voice calls the name of hope, and the name is yours.

The shall surely arrest me, seeing me walking with you, my statue, my Apollo. They shall think I stole you from a museum if they see the classic beauty of your face . . .

* * *

I thanked him and he bestowed his favors on me. Then I saw, suspended in the air, a new and unknown joy. It was a brief eternity.

I have left my eyes behind with that boy. Now that I am blind, how shall I find my way?

I loved a youth sadistic and fair, I shall never forget his looks, he was tall and slender, he seemed a colt or rose of spring.

Continued on Inside Back Cover

PRIVACY, SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND THE SELF-SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL: CONTINENTAL THEORIES, 1762-1908¹

by Wayne Dynes

For a number of reasons the concept of privacy has recently come to the fore as an important tool in the securing of personal freedom, including that of sexual self-expression. Yet as the authors of a recent book have indicated, even today "privacy is not a single concept but a loose amalgam of different interests difficult to combine in one formulation. 2 Since the concept of privacy is still in the process of formation, its history is elusive. What follows is an attempt to set forth some milestones in the evolution of a related cluster of ideas that precede and parallel the concept of privacy. Concepts of personal sovereignty, particularly as they developed in the last two centuries in France, Italy and Germany, form a necessary element in our as yet incomplete armory of ideas, particularly with respect to sexual matters. The task is therefore one of a preliminary archaeology of ideas. Our examination discloses a diverse gathering of figures: philosophers and legal scholars, visionaries and pamphleteers.

In 1908 an obscure German law student published a doctoral dissertation with an ambitious theme. The dissertation, which was called Das Recht über sich selbst—The Right over One's Self," was by Kurt Hiller (1885-1972), who was later to achieve some renown as a journalist and political theorist in Weimar Germany. We are indebted to him, by the way, for the term activist as applied to one who struggles

for social change.

Hiller's 1908 dissertation concerns a broad font of topics: suicide, self-mutilation, duelling, incest, homosexuality, bestiality and abortion. This is an interesting list, not only for its contents but for its order, since discussion of the three sexually charged topics of incest, homosexuality and bestiality tarries until the others have been disposed of, with abortion, perhaps the most controversial of all, being reserved for the last. Most, though not all of these modes of conduct were subject to criminal sanctions under the imperial German law code. Marshalling a dense body of argumentation in a historical perspective reaching back to classical Roman law, Hiller provided a kind of unified-field theory for offenses that he held should not be criminalized because they pertain to self-ownership. The case for decriminalizing deviant sexual behavior-incest, homosexuality and bestiality—gains force from the analogous, and probably more easily acceptable arguments proffered for nonsexual deviation. Hiller's analysis of the various rationalizations that have accumulated in favor of criminal sanctions in the categories he considers reveals that they almost always have a religious or mystical origin. As such they are arguments that, in a modern secular state, should not be permitted to pass unchallenged. Ultimately, however, the key to the matter lies in the fact that the criminalization of all these things interferes with the right to control one's own body. Hiller's role in developing this whole terrain of argument, so relevant today, has not yet

been properly acknowledged.

Kurt Hiller's ideas did not spring like Athena from the brow of Zeus. Indeed, the notions (1) that the body of laws is in urgent need of pruning, and (2) that sovereignty over one's own body is absolute, go back 150 years before his time, to the heart of the European Enlightenment. By tracing the origins of these ideas we can observe the gathering strength of a tenacious effort to expell the state from a sphere in which it had increasingly encroached since the end of the middle ages, when the secular power began to assume direct control over the punishment of so-called sacral crimes, that is to say, offenses purportedly against God rather than by persons against other persons. The process of extrusion of the state from matters deemed not the law's business may be observed in a number of thinkers, of whom only a selection will be presented here. The result of this collective endeavor was the creation of zones or enclaves of freedom in which our still inchoate notions of privacy could find shelter and stimulus for growth.

The campaigns of Voltaire (1694-1778) and his friends against injustice rooted in religious bigotry focused upon certain atrocities which were well suited for the mobilization of public opinion. One such atrocity was the execution of the protestant Jean Calas in 1762, on a false charge of having murdered his own son. Voltaire showed that Calas' punishment reflected more hatred of his deviant religious faith than any concern for the impartial administration of justice. Later he was to make much of cases of blasphemy and witchcraft. In his various broadsides Voltaire pilloried the French legal system for its irrationality, cruelty and bigotry. It is interesting that while several striking instances of execution for sexual nonconformity stood out in Voltaire's time, he made little use of them. In 1726, for example, Benjamin Deschauffours was burned in the Place des Grèves in Paris for sodomy, while Jean Diot and Bruno Lenoir were similarly dispatched in 1750.5 Nonetheless, it seems clear that the arguments employed against the punishment of blasphemy and witchcraft, as sacral pseudo-crimes, might_also have been effective against the sexual sanctions.⁶

In any event the French Enlightenment, vigorous as it was in publicizing individual cases of infamous behavior on the part of the authorities, developed no overall theory of legal reform. This was supplied by an Italian, Marquis Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794), whose treatise of 1764, On Crimes and Punishments, was received with rapturous enthusiasm throughout enlightened Europe. What were Beccaria's principles? First he was a utilitarian, in fact the inventor of the calculus of human happiness by seeking the greatest good of the greatest number. (This principle is generally credited to its perfecter and diffuser, Jeremy Bentham, who in fact purloined it from his Italian predecessor.⁸) In Beccaria's view the state's right to punish must be subordinate to the overarching imperative of the maximization of human happiness. Hence there can be no excuse for torture or excessive punishment. The punishment must fit the crime, but in no case surpass it. Wherever possible punishment itself should be avoided by treating the root causes in a preventive manner. E meglio prevenire

i delitti che punirli.

Many social evils, Beccaria held, were the unfortunate result of efforts ostensibly undertaken to cure them. This is the case notably with l'attica venere (Greek love), as he terms male homosexuality.9 It is confinement in all-male institutions, such as seminary schools, that causes much of it. In an effort to prevent heterosexual lust these schools promote a greater evil, sodomy. The remedy is not so much to punish the sodomite after he has become confirmed in his aberrent ways, but to eliminate the hothousesthe sexually segregated seminary schools-in which such exotic flowers are grown. In this way the Italian writer sees the role of law as not simply one of preventing and punishing, but of actively fostering desired patterns of behavior. Seen in this perspective, Beccaria is only in part a libertarian thinker. Nonetheless, he held that in the institution of punishment, the burden of proof always lies on the one who seeks to punish. Unless punishment can be certainly demonstrated to be efficacious it must be renounced. Thus it may be that some types of conduct, though deplorable, nonetheless do not lend themselves to reduction by the device of criminal sanctions. This seems to be the thinking that lay behind the epochal exclusion of homosexuality from Cambaceres' splendid French Code of 1810.

Before this last advance could be secured the French Revolution was to supervene. The lifting of the royal censorship in 1789 opened the floodgates to a mass of pamphlets that would formerly have been deemed subversive to the nth degree. Some were political tracts and position papers, many advancing truly outlandish schemes for the reformation of French society. Others were sexually explicit. The 1790s in fact saw a wave of pornography that was not to be duplicated in most countries until the 1960s. The boundary between the two-that is, politics and sex-was often uncertain, as seen for example in the Marquis de Sade's (1740-1814) genial little ABC Philosophy in the Bedroom (1795). After the author has explained and demonstrated the various sexual positions, the narrative yields to a long political paper, which Sade inserts into his racy

material with a disarming insouciance.

A little known, but highly significant example of the mixture of sex and politics—or sexual politics, if you will—is a brochure of 1790:Les petits bougres au manège. 10 This anonymous work presents itself as a plea for homosexual rights, apparently the first of its kind. The motto opposite the title page—"all tastes are natural"-is of course significant, though by 1790 the thought is something of a commonplace. Conversely, the argument for the rights of sexual nonconformism seems new. The Revolution, according to the writer, has secured citizens in their right to property. Now what could be more clearly one's own property than the parts of one's body, including one's genitals? What citizens choose to do with them, either alone in the company of other consenting citizens, is not the business of the state. In 1790, then, we have an implicit formulation of the right to control one's own body, to complement the by then established Beccarian idea that the body of laws must be pruned of inefficacious or counter-

productive sanctions.

Much of the speculative thrust of the Revolutionary epoch survived, in a transposed context, in the writings of the utopian socialist Charles Fourier (1772-1837). The central feature of Fourier's system is the law of attraction he derived from astronomy. In his new model communities work is less important than affection. Fourier strongly insisted that all people had sexual needs and that these could stretch from monogamy to Don Juanism, from masochism to sadism, and from exclusive heterosexuality through various forms of bisexuality to exclusive homosexuality. 11 To function properly society must be organized so that these needs can be satisfied and the energies of the people released for creative work. Artificially induced sexual scarcity he saw as simply a hindrance and a source of unnecessary unhappiness. Alas, sexual privacy had little appeal for Fourier, who wanted to have these various and multiplex behaviors recorded and regulated. Our current potential for electronic surveillance and computer sorting of sexual records would probably have been only too congenial to the voyeur side of Fourier's makeup.

With Fourier's younger contemporary Max Stirner (1806-1856), the individualist anarchist, we shift our attention to Germany. Stirner rejected every type of collectivism, and all theories which purported to discern a single, abstract essence of humanity. At the center of his vision stands the human individual, of whom alone we can have certain knowledge. Even in the most difficult of circumstances I am the master of my fate and the captain of my soul. Stirner, who taught in a girl's school, was not bold enough to develop the corollary of sexual freedom which follows from his theory of absolute individualism, but there is no doubt that this project appealed to the anarchists who revived his thought at

the end of the nineteenth century. 13

We have but one more figure to mention in this somewhat disparate roster of thinkers, the German jurist and philologist Carl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825-1895). 14 Ulrichs had a specific legal interest: stopping the spread of the provision in the Prussian penal code which criminalized homosexuality through the still untouched states of western and southern Germany. His analysis of the whole history of German law in this regard showed that the legislation turned on the formula "wider Natur"—against nature. Using a variety of arguments, from the biological to the philological, he tried to show that homosexuals were acting in accordance with their nature, rather than against it. Ulrichs' campaign was not to be victorious in Germany until a century later, in 1969. His example is worth remembering, for it shows that in addition to having a general theory of the right to control one's body, one must deal also with specific aspects of positive law as embodied in statutes and

From the foregoing investigation three main themes seem to emerge. (1) We began with the Enlightenment enterprise of bringing into question a whole panoply of traditional notions of the efficacy and nature of punishment. In this process of review there can be no privileged spheres in which religion and

tradition bar the way to reconsideration. (2) In keeping with this project one notes the effort to expose clearly the religious and mystical nature of the specific rationalizations put forward for criminalizing acts that in fact lie within the sphere of personal sovereignty. Salient among these is the concept of nature—a religious prescription masquerading as a cosmic norm. (3) Finally, we register the emergence of a developed concept of self-ownership, a concept that cannot achieve its full extension without including within its boundaries a recognition of the universality of sexual needs. Against this manifold historical background the concept of sexual privacy should now, it is hoped, seem less novel and fragmentary.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Revised version of a paper given at the twelfth annual conference of the National Committee for Sexual Civil Liberties in Detroit on May 24, 1981. Because of its relative unfamiliarity to English-speaking scholars, the tradition of the European Continent is the focus of this paper. It scarcely needs stressing that many ideas crossed the English channel freely. Indeed the thought of John Locke (1632-1704) forms an indispensable prerequisite for much of the development we shall trace.
- ²Trudy Hayden and Jack Novick, Your Rights to Privacy (American Civil Liberties Union Handbook), New York, 1980, p. xii. The key landmark in the emergence of the theme in America is the paper by Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis, "The Right to Privacy," Harvard Law Review, vol. 4 (1890), p. 193 ff. On the European Continent the use of the term is more recent, though it is now enshrined in Article VIII of the European Convention on Human Rights.
- ³ Some aspects of Hiller's work have been surveyed in Lewis D. Wurgaft, *The Activists: Kurt Hiller and the Politics of Action on the German Left, 1914-1933* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 67, part 8, 1977). For this book's shortcomings, see my review in *Gai Saber*, vol. I, nos. 3-4 (Summer 1978), pp. 278-279.
- ⁴On this sphere of Voltaire's activity, see Peter Gay, Voltaire's Politics, New York, 1965, chapter VI, pp. 273-308.
- On the latter case, sec Claude Courouve, L'affaire Lenoir-Diot, Paris, 1980.
- ⁶ Note that as early as 1748 Montesquieu linked the "crime against nature" with magic and heresy as offenses requiring great circumspection in treatment and punishment (Esprit des lois, XII, 6).
- ⁷ For the contemporary impact of Beccaria's work, see the documents accompanying the critical edition of Franco Venturi: Cesare Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, Turin, 1965. See also the recent monograph of Marcello Maestro, *Cesare Beccaria and the Origin of Penal Reform*, Philadelphia, 1973.
- This point must not obscure the important contribution made by Bentham to the study of homosexuality. See Louis Crompton's edition of his "Offenses Against One's Self: Paederasty" [ca. 1785], Journal of Homosexuality, vol. 3, no. 4 (Summer 1978), pp. 389-405; and vol. 4, no. 1 (Fall 1978), pp. 91-107.
- ⁹See chapter 31 (36 in some editions).

- 10 I owe my knowledge of this exceedingly rare pamphlet to the kindness of Giovanni Dall'Orto. Its relation to the better known Les Enfans de Sodome of the same year, and the place of both within the great constellation of French Revolutionary pamphlets, remain to be elucidated. Les Enfans de Sodome has been recently reprinted in part in Le gai pied, no. 23 (February 1981), pp. 17-20. Both works contain jocular elements, producing an uncertainty of tone that is probably due to the confluence of several sources, as well as to the very novelty of the arguments essayed.
- 11 Fourier's most important text on sexuality, the Nouveau monde amoureux, was not published until 1967. For a useful summary of his ideas on homosexuality, see Daniel Guérin's introduction to his selection: Charles Fourier, Vers la liberté en amour, Paris, 1967, pp. 25-35.
- 12 Der Einzige und sein Eigentum, Leipzig, 1845. There is an English translation by Steven T. Byington of this somewhat chaotic book: The Ego and His Own, New York, 1907.
- ¹³The chief figure in the revival of Stirner was the German writer John Henry Mackay (1864-1933), who also wrote eloquent defenses of boy love under the name Sagitta. See now Hubert Kennedy, "John Henry Mackay: Anarchist of Love," Alternate, vol. 3, no. 18 (March 1981), pp. 27-31.
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In this perspective we understand better why the gay emancipation groups developed as they did, first in Germany from 1897 to 1933, and then in America from 1950 to the present. It is because these countries, what had not benefited from the Code Napoleon, needed to catch up. Even today, homosexual emancipation groups on the Continent and in Latin America look to the United States and to English-speaking countries in general, even though

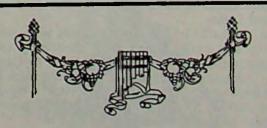
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by then established Beccarian idea that the body of laws must be pruned of inefficacious or counter-

productive sanctions.

Much of the speculative thrust of the Revolutionary epoch survived, in a transposed context, in the writings of the utopian socialist Charles Fourier (1772-1837). The central feature of Fourier's system is the law of attraction he derived from astronomy. In his new model communities work is less important than affection. Fourier strongly insisted that all people had sexual needs and that these could stretch from monogamy to Don Juanism, from masochism to sadism, and from exclusive heterosexuality through various forms of bisexuality to exclusive homosexuality. 11 To function properly society must be organized so that these needs can be satisfied and the energies of the people released for creative work. Artificially induced sexual scarcity he saw as simply a hindrance and a source of unnecessary unhappiness. Alas, sexual privacy had little appeal for Fourier, who wanted to have these various and multiplex behaviors recorded and regulated. Our current potential for electronic surveillance and computer sorting of sexual records would probably have been only too congenial to the voyeur side of Fourier's makeup.

With Fourier's younger contemporary Max Stirner (1806-1856), the individualist anarchist, we shift our attention to Germany. Stirner rejected every type of collectivism, and all theories which purported to discern a single, abstract essence of humanity. At the center of his vision stands the human individual, of whom alone we can have certain knowledge. Even in the most difficult of circumstances I am the master of my fate and the captain of my soul. Stirner, who taught in a girl's school, was not bold enough to develop the corollary of sexual freedom which follows from his theory of absolute individualism, but there is no doubt that this project appealed to the anarchists who revived his thought at

the end of the nineteenth century. 13

We have but one more figure to mention in this somewhat disparate roster of thinkers, the German jurist and philologist Carl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825-1895). 14 Ulrichs had a specific legal interest: stopping the spread of the provision in the Prussian penal code which criminalized homosexuality through the still untouched states of western and southern Germany. His analysis of the whole history of German law in this regard showed that the legislation turned on the formula "wider Natur"-against nature. Using a variety of arguments, from the biological to the philological, he tried to show that homosexuals were acting in accordance with their nature, rather than against it. Ulrichs' campaign was not to be victorious in Germany until a century later, in 1969. His example is worth remembering, for it shows that in addition to having a general theory of the right to control one's body, one must deal also with specific aspects of positive law as embodied in statutes and cases.

From the foregoing investigation three main themes seem to emerge. (1) We began with the Enlightenment enterprise of bringing into question a whole panoply of traditional notions of the efficacy and nature of punishment. In this process of review there can be no privileged spheres in which religion and

tradition bar the way to reconsideration. (2) In keeping with this project one notes the effort to expose clearly the religious and mystical nature of the specific rationalizations put forward for criminalizing acts that in fact lie within the sphere of personal sovereignty. Salient among these is the concept of nature—a religious prescription masquerading as a cosmic norm. (3) Finally, we register the emergence of a developed concept of self-ownership, a concept that cannot achieve its full extension without including within its boundaries a recognition of the universality of sexual needs. Against this manifold historical background the concept of sexual privacy should now, it is hoped, seem less novel and fragmentary.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Revised version of a paper given at the twelfth annual conference of the National Committee for Sexual Civil Liberties in Detroit on May 24, 1981. Because of its relative unfamiliarity to English-speaking scholars, the tradition of the European Continent is the focus of this paper. It scarcely needs stressing that many ideas crossed the English channel freely. Indeed the thought of John Locke (1632-1704) forms an indispensable prerequisite for much of the development we shall trace.
- ²Trudy Hayden and Jack Novick, Your Rights to Privacy (American Civil Liberties Union Handbook), New York, 1980, p. xii. The key landmark in the emergence of the theme in America is the paper by Samuel Warren and Louis Brandeis, "The Right to Privacy," Harvard Law Review, vol. 4 (1890), p. 193 ff. On the European Continent the use of the term is more recent, though it is now enshrined in Article VIII of the European Convention on Human Rights.
- ³ Some aspects of Hiller's work have been surveyed in Lewis D. Wurgaft, *The Activists: Kurt Hiller and the Politics of Action on the German Left, 1914-1933* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 67, part 8, 1977). For this book's shortcomings, see my review in *Gai Saber*, vol. I, nos. 3-4 (Summer 1978), pp. 278-279.
- ⁴On this sphere of Voltaire's activity, see Peter Gay, Voltaire's Politics, New York, 1965, chapter VI, pp. 273-308.
- ⁵On the latter case, see Claude Courouve, L'affaire Lenoir-Diot, Paris, 1980.
- ⁶ Note that as early as 1748 Montesquieu linked the "crime against nature" with magic and heresy as offenses requiring great circumspection in treatment and punishment (Esprit des lois, XII, 6).
- ⁷ For the contemporary impact of Beccaria's work, see the documents accompanying the critical edition of Franco Venturi: Cesare Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, Turin, 1965. See also the recent monograph of Marcello Maestro, *Cesare Beccaria and the Origin of Penal Reform*, Philadelphia, 1973.
- This point must not obscure the important contribution made by Bentham to the study of homosexuality. See Louis Crompton's edition of his "Offenses Against One's Self: Paederasty" [ca. 1785], Journal of Homosexuality, vol. 3, no. 4 (Summer 1978), pp. 389-405; and vol. 4, no. 1 (Fall 1978), pp. 91-107.

⁹ See chapter 31 (36 in some editions).

- 10 I owe my knowledge of this exceedingly rare pamphlet to the kindness of Giovanni Dall'Orto. Its relation to the better known Les Enfans de Sodome of the same year, and the place of both within the great constellation of French Revolutionary pamphlets, remain to be elucidated. Les Enfans de Sodome has been recently reprinted in part in Le gai pied, no. 23 (February 1981), pp. 17-20. Both works contain jocular elements, producing an uncertainty of tone that is probably due to the confluence of several sources, as well as to the very novelty of the arguments essayed.
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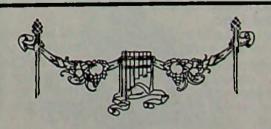
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NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR SEXUAL CIVIL LIBERTIES: HIGHLIGHTS OF THE DETROIT CONFERENCE

By Paul Hardman

The twelfth annual conference of the National Committee for Sexual Civil Liberties met in Detroit from May 20 to May 26, 1981 at McGregor Memorial Conference Center on the Wayne State University campus. The NCSLC is undoubtedly the most effective and prestigious advocate concerned with sexual liberties in America today. Although the activities of the Committee are sometimes legal and technical, and necessarily so, it also conducts work in the larger sphere of scholarly and historical investigation, in the belief that legal reform must always be buttressed by knowledge. One of the unique features of the NCSCL is its sustained effort to wed the legal and the scholarly to work for human benefit.

The overall theme of the Detroit conference was Personal Privacy. The program was conceived by Thomas F. Coleman, Esq., of Los Angeles, who has just become consultant to the California Personal Privacy Commission. For the past seven years Coleman has co-chaired the NCSCL with Dr. Arthur Warner of Princeton, N.J.. Coleman, Warner, Anthony Silvestre, Paul D. Hardman and Jay M. Kohorn of the NCSCL had worked together for several years to induce Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., to issue an Executive. Order to protect gay employees and citizens. From that effort they went on to urge the formation of a Privacy Commission, which is essentially pansexual and quite broad in its scope.

The successes of NCSCL have been so important that they almost defy belief. In 1975, for example, it was NCSCL which worked with its member Silvestre, to convince Govern Shapp in Pennsylvania to issue the first Executive Order to protect sexual minorities. It was the success in that state which led to the project to induce Governor Brown of California to issue a similar Executive Order, which he did. The actual wording for the Order was suggested by Coleman of the NCSCL.

Special Reports: Canada

The conference opened with a discussion of the recent problems in Canada, especially in Toronto, where police have been tapping wires and raiding bath houses, in the wake of their earlier harassment of *The Body Politic*, the fine local gay paper. What has to be understood is the fact that the law is quite different in Canada, despite our common Anglo-Saxon legal heritage, so that Canadians do not have Constitutional rights in the sense that we do in the United States.

At the baths in Toronto hundreds were arrested. The owners were charged with "conspiracy to keep a common bawdy house." As defined by Canadian law, "common bawdy house " means a place that is "(a) kept or occupied, or (b) resorted to by one or more persons for the purpose of prostitution or the practice of acts of indecency. . ."

Canada, like states in the United States, has laws relating to "conspiracy." One of the charges that may be involved in the Toronto case is the "conspiracy to possess the proceeds of crime." A disturbing aspect of the case is the apparent intent of the Canadian authorities to seek the extradition of two Americans who do not reside there but have financial interests in the baths, on grounds of "conspiracy." If they are successful in this effort it could open up a whole international Pandora's box.

Special Reports: United States

One of the truly outstanding aspects of the NCSCL has been its activities in the courts throughout the United States. The cases have been numerous and of

major significance.

In California the famous Pryor v. Municipal Court was decided by the State Supreme Court and it changed the standards by which sexual conduct is to be judged in the state. That was a case under the guidance of the NCSCL, and it was brilliantly handled

by Thomas F. Coleman.

Even though the State Supreme Court seemed to have settled the issues in the case, Pryor is currently under attack by the very court whose determination was overturned initially by the Pryor decision. A new challenge is being fought by NCSCL, which filed an amicus brief on May 20, 1981, in a case called People v. McConville, which attempts to limit the ef-

fect of the Pryor case.

The landmark Onofre case in New York State was also discussed. It too was part of the NCSCL strategy to overturn the unconstitutional repressive sex laws of non-reform jurisdictions. New York was such a jurisdiction until the state's highest court voided the sodomy laws of that state in deciding the Onofre case, which declared the state's sodomy law unconstitutional. Just before the Detroit conference opened we were electrified by the news that the Supreme Court of the United States had refused to hear an appeal of Onofre, this barring the way forever to a reinstatement of the heinous law. Legal experts in other states were cheered by the apparent policy of "benign neglect" practiced in this sphere by the Burger Court, for it means that lawyers can proceed to demolish sodomy laws in other states with virtually no fear of being overruled by the highest court in the land.

The NCSCL had similar success in Pennsylvania and several other states, most recently Oregon. The presence of the NCSCL in Michigan signals its intent to become active in an effort to reform that jurisdiction. State after state has had its laws modified through the non-political work of the Committee through legal challenges and administrative reform.

Religion and Politics

Dr. Milton Powell, Professor of History at Michigan State University in East Lansing, offered his views on the role of religion in politics in an attempt to clarify the phenomenon of the Moral Majority and the overt political activities of fundamentalist groups around the country. Referring to eighteenth and nineteenth century American history, he pointed to analogous and yet different attempts to intervene in politics on the part of the religiously motivated. While he believes the religious groups have now

reached their peak and will shortly lose effectiveness, the seed which they have sown will remain to bear their bitter fruit for years to come. In the recent past, fundamentalist churches tended to remain aloof, looking rather to the end of the world and the life hereafter. One of the things that Professor Powell made clear was that while there are always charlatans in the field of religion, there are also very severe individuals who believe what they preach. Rationality has very little to do with belief.

Historical Sources of Privacy

The historical roots of privacy in Western society were covered in two parts by Dr. Wayne Dynes, Professor at Hunter College (CUNY), and Dr. Warren Johansson, of the Gay Academic Union, New York. Johansson traced the sources of privacy to Roman and medieval precedent, while stressing that the full-fledged idea has begun to come into view essentially in this century. Dynes' paper, with a comment by Dr. Arthur Warner, is printed elsewhere in this issue. Privacy and the Disabled

One of the highlights of the program was the presentation of Nora J. Baladerian, a member of the California Personal Privacy Commission. She is experienced as a mental health consultant in Los Angeles, working with the physically and developmentally disabled. Her concern for the privacy of those with whom she works led to her appointment to the Commission, and to the invitation to speak at the conference. She offered a moving account of the problems of those who are dependent on others for their life and their needs. Throughout, Baladerian deployed the sense of humor that was required to cope with the horror stories of the privacy invasion of patients and wards of institutions, together with the often grotesque

Her area of expertise is one very few people even consider. Perhaps this is the case because custom requires that certain people be kept out of public view for care and treatment, so that we can ignore their plight, and they suffer accordingly.

Censorship

bureaucratic rules.

The next session of the Detroit conference dealt with censorship, which is on the increase since the rise of the Moral Majority. The impact of censorship on schools and libraries was covered in a comprehensive manner by Robert Doyle of the American Library Association, who is attached to the Office of Intellectual Freedom in Chicago, Illinois. He cited a number of overt attempts to remove books from libraries and schools and actual instances of book burnings. An important general point was the pressures for censorship come not only from the right, but also from the left and center. The left, despite its own past victimization, has often joined efforts to ban Huckleberry Finn and The Merchant of Venice as "racist." In a bland sort of way, the center can be accused of sometimes practicing a kind of "tyranny of moderation," so that works that are labeled too controversial are kept out of libraries. It is fortunate that the American Library Association has committed its resources and prestige in a continuing effort to monitor the great variety of incursions on freedom of access to information.

Southern Legal Strategy

Chaired by Thomas B. DePriest, an attorney who lives in Arlington, Virginia, and who is a southerner by birth and ancestry, this segment was truly refreshing in its approach. He reminded the conference of the peculiar concept of the "Southern Gentleman," which still survives. It is rooted in a socio-economic system where status was based on land owning, not money. It was, and essentially still is, the white male who is the focus of the southern life style. This underlying fact may be disturbing to non-southerners, but it must be reckoned with.

Paul Gordon, Esq., who is clerk to Supreme Court Justice Hayes of Arkansas, gave a fascinating review of attitudes in Arkansas and the situation of gay rights efforts there. There is no overt radicalism on the streets and elsewhere, and gay life is very understated. This is a social reality that must be grasped. Gordon pointed out that the state may once again be part of the non-reformed bloc, but that the law against sodomy is not enforced. There have been no convictions under the laws since it was re-enacted. "Why," he remarked in his cultured southern accent,

"many men have a sweet-boy at home."

The point is, he asserted, that people tend to mind their own business in Arkansas, and gay people have much more freedom than is usually thought to be the case. The best strategy for the south is to pressure the major corporations in the high technology field who may be thinking of going to southern states. A concrete example is the fact that IBM apparently plans to build a major plant in Tennessee. They will have to draw on workers in other localities to staff the new facilities. Those from San Francisco or down the peninsula, who are used to liberal laws and lifestyles, may not wish to go to backward areas. In order to accommodate them the employer might pressure local legislatures to change their ways if they want economic development. Such efforts should be coordinated with representations by local residents.

It remains to be seen how far Gordon's suggestion will work. The point is that the annual meetings of the National Committee for Sexual Civil Liberties are a great clearing house for ideas of all kinds. What will not work in one state, perhaps that of the proposer, may well give others the ideas they need to fight and win in their own states. The Detroit meeting attracted an unusual number of national and Michigan dignitaries, both gay and non-gay, who recognize the value of such exchanges of information. The group is already planning its thirteenth annual meeting, which will be held in May of 1982 in Philadelphia.



A GAY/LESBIAN STUDIES BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESOURCES SELECTED FROM NON-HOMOSEXUAL PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS:

PILOT PROJECT

Compiled by Edward C. Paolella

Editor's Note: In our work with Gay Books Bulletin and in our various individual research projects, we of the Scholarship Committee of GAU-NY have been continuously aware of our dependence on bibliographical tools of all kinds. Prompted by the vigorous leadership of our member, Mr. Edward C. Paolella of the Department of English, Brooklyn College (CUNY), we concluded that there is a great need to collect current bibliography in the non-gay press. Most of us read several gay periodicals and find that there is a considerable overlap of contents, so that we are able to keep continuously up to date. Moreover, a newcomer to the field would turn quite naturally to such sources as The Advocate or The Body Politic for news and opinion on any particular topic.

Since the gradual lifting of the taboo on discussing homosexuality the media at large have become gradually saturated with the subject. One can no longer confine one's self to the gay press itself, for articles may appear in the most surprising places. Mainstream weeklies such as Newsweek, US News and World Report and TV Guide now run stories on the intersection of homosexuality with public consciousness in various spheres. Daily newspapers are a particular problem since most of them are not adequately indexed and a nation-wide team of collectors is needed to monitor them. In recent years, however, the periodical world has been most characterized by the growth of magazines to deal with specialized groups of readers; accordingly we find material in Ebony and Psychology Today, in Rolling Stone and High Fidelity Magazine. For historical and pastoral reasons religious publications are important: Protestant (ranging from the often sympathetic pieces in the organs of the more traditional denominations to the new censoriousness of the Moral Majority publications), Catholic and Jewish. Finally, there is a need to keep abreast of the more strictly scholarly periodicals, the learned quarterlies of the social sciences and humanities. Nor should biology and its latest offshoot, sociobiology, be forgotten. It will come as no surprise to anyone who has tried to retrieve this material that the standard indices, such as the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and the Bibliographies of the Modern Language Association, often fail to list our material adequately.

In keeping with Edward C. Paolella's conception it was intended to collect the materials on a quarterly basis for publication in Gay Books Bulletin, with a view towards eventual correlation in annual volumes. A carefully planned campaign of requests for help throughout the nation (international coverage would come only later) brought a splendid response, the results of which are embodied in what follows. We and Mr. Paolella hereby extend our thanks to all who have helped. Nonetheless for personal reasons, our bibliographer has had to withdraw from the very formidable task of collecting and publishing the material on an ongoing basis, as he had hoped to do. This Bibliography is offered as a pilot, both for its own interest as a representative sample of the extraordinary range of items now appearing, and also as a goad to others who must sooner or later band together to accomplish this important task for our collective benefit.

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Renaissance des Eros Uranos from page 15

Mackay's individualistic anarchism only in passing, noting that it has little political or economic importance, but is quite correct regarding the conduct of one's personal life, and he approaches Mackay's principle of "equal freedom for all" when he writes in Renaissance des Eros Uranios that "true freedom does not consist of the rule of the majority, but rather in this, that each leaves the other in peace, in all conceivable circumstances, so far as possible (and the truly justified bounds are much wider than government-advocates imagine)" (p. 247). Further: "If the anarchistic rejection of each and every law overshoots the mark, it still contains some truth, namely: as few laws as possible!" (Appendix, p. 13).

Arno Press is to be praised for including Renaissance des Eros Uranios in "The Arno Series on Homosexuality": it is an important historical document and a valuable aid in understanding the early history of our movement. If many of Friedlaender's views, such as his extreme anti-feminism, have been rejected, others are just now being taken seriously. Friedlaender questioned, for example, the view that the proportion of homosexuals in the population is constant and independent of custom and mores, as well as the assumption that bisexuality is rare. His view of the value of "coming out" has a distinctly modern ring:

To be open is also the more decent and noble attitude. Granted, reckless honesty in this direction still carries a certain social danger, but, like most dangers, it is easily overestimated and, as a result of the selfless courage of the pioneers, is today already considerably reduced. Therefore, sincere honesty is to be named as the very first, the most respectable and effective weapon (p. 307).

Benedict Friedlaender must be counted as one of those pioneers.

Hubert Kennedy

NEW REFERENCE WORKS

Confronted as we are by an ever-increasing volume of primary materials on homosexuality and kindred subjects, it is reassuring to learn that a battalion of reference works is at hand (or soon will be) to help us cope. If the bibliographies and lists do not seem in every instance perfectly suited to their tasks there is always the possibility of improvement in time. As recently as twenty years ago any well informed person, as such stallwarts as Gene Damon and Jim Kepner will attest, could read the year's output. That is no longer the case, and we now need help of all kinds to

plan our reading efficiently.

Dr. Tom Horner, author of Jonathan Loved David, is certainly one of the most competent scholars in the demanding area of the intersection of homosexuality and religion. He is therefore a most appropriate author of Homosexuality and the Judeo-Christian Tradition: An Annotated Bibliography (\$10.00; Scarecrow Press, P.O. Box 656, Metuchen, N.J.). The 459 entries are divided among books; articles and essays; pamphlets and papers; and bibliographies. Most are annotated, generally in a descriptive rather than critical mode, though homophobic works are so indicated. Users sould bear in mind the limitation signaled by the title; that is, the book does not provide references to non-Judeo-Christian religious manifestations, such as Christopher Isherwood's Vedanta and the current vogue of fairy spirituality. A more serious restriction lies in the fact that only Englishlanguage sources are cited. This means that the primary stress is on pastoral and social-critical issues. Any real work in the exegesis of the much debated scriptural texts would have to be done largely in German. It is a pity that Horner has not provided at least a short essay on how to gain access to this material, which he could do since he reads German fluently. Bearing this limitation in mind, the work is comprehensive with no significant omissions.

In Paris, Claude Courouve is producing a new edition of his French-language bibliography on homosexuality (fiction and non-fiction). The first two parts, covering the years 1478-1881 and 1882-1924, are now available (B.P. 13, 75961, Paris Cedex 20). The Verlag Rosa Winkel in Berlin has rescheduled publication of Manfred Herzer's monumental bibliography of German-language material (including book reviews) for the end of this year. In the meantime, for in-print materials (including many in French and English, as well as German), one should consult a remarkable bookseller's catalogue, the Prinz Eisenherz Buchladen Gesamtkatalog 80/81 (Bülowstrasse 17, 1000 Berlin 30). Interspersed with lively biographies and annotations, this 204-page treasure trove seems virtually the ultimate catalogue. On these shores a nice new catalogue is that of Deskins and Greene (P. O. Box 1092, Atlantic City, N.J. 08404), which has a number of choice older items. The ever-copious Elysian Fields Booksellers has produced its catalogue no. 20 with no less than 3046 items (\$2.00; 81-13 Broadway, Elmhurst, N.Y. 11373).

J. R. Roberts has just brought out Black Lesbians: An Annotated Bibliography (\$5.95; Naiad Press, book, which comprises 341 informatively annotated items, is useful for lesbian studies in general. Another work, the importance of which will clearly transcend its apparently specialized character, is Uranian Worids, a descriptive and evaluative roster of the wealth of material on alternative sexuality in science fiction. Eric Garber and Lynn Paleo have been perfecting this work for several years; it is to be published by the established firm of G. K. Hall later this year.

Of a more general nature is Sex Research: Bibliographies from the Institute of Sex Research, compiled by Joan Scherer Brewer and Rod W. Wright (\$29.95; Oryx Press, 3930 E. Camelback Road, Phoenix, Ariz. 85018). The introduction to the selection from the holdings of the famous "Kinsey Institute" of Indiana University states: "Some subject areas, such as transexualism (sic) and homosexuality, are represented here by lists that seem short in comparison with the amount that has been written on the topics because the books and articles cited contain references sufficient to lead the interested researcher more deeply into the relevant literature. Other subjects less well represented by the existence of a body of basic works have longer bibliographies in an attempt to bring the available references together for the first time." In view of our own growing resources, this bias is acceptable. Yet this user has noted imbalances and omissions in other areas, such as censorship and adolescent sexuality, where the compilers should have "brought the available references together." Inclusion of foreign citations is spotty at best. There are also questions about the assignment of items to categories. While the Brewer-Wright selection may be of some use as ready reference in the scholar's study, in research libraries it is preferable to turn to the full catalogues of the Institute, one for books, the other for articles in periodicals (Boston: G.K. Hall; 4 volumes each).

We now have exemplary full bibliographies of two of the most prominent collections of erotica in the world, those of the national libraries of Paris and London. The late Pascal Pia's Les Livres à l'Enfer du XVI^{m e} siècle à nos jours in two volumes (Paris: Coulet et Faure), replaces the inadequate older treatment of Apollinaire and others (1919). While the annotations of the homosexual items are not as fulsome as one would like, these volumes disclose many hidden treasures. A work that is being hailed as a landmark of bibliography tout court is Patrick J. Kearney, The Private Case: An Annotated Bibliography of the Erotica Collection in the British (Museum) Library (London: Jay Landesman). This is of course the collection formed around a nucleus given by "Pisanus Fraxi" (Henry Spencer Ashbee), and inadequately catalogued by Rose in 1936. Kearney is preparing a sequel on erotic books in the British

Library not in the Private Case.

Of the extraordinary number of reference works that have appeared in the last three years or so in women's studies, one of the most imaginative is

Continued on Inside Back Cover

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PST

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ABEL, HANS KARL.

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New Reference Works from page 31

Mary Anne Warren, The Nature of Woman: An Encyclopedia and Guide to the Literature (\$20; Edgepress, Box 69, Point Reves, Calif. 94956). This handsome volume offers a collection of short essays on topics and authors, conveniently arranged in one alphabet. Each essay presents first an objective summary, followed by the author's judgment. Since Warren's forte is theory, readers will find this useful either as a review or crash introduction. Needless to say this writer disagreed with many of the opinions expressed, but he remains very favorably impressed by the clarity of writing and convenience of organization. For anyone remotely concerned with this field, this book is a must. For accounts of books only, a more conventional work, though broader in scope, is Esther Stineman, Women's Studies: A Recommended Core Bibliography (\$27.50; Littleton: Colo.: Libraries Unlimited). Unprinted materials are covered in Andrea Hinding, Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in the United States (2 volumes; New York; Bowker). Although this major work is inadequately indexed for lesbianism, patience will permit the retrieval of much elusive material.

I have left till last discussion of the most ambitious project of all, the vast Comprehensive Bibliography of Homosexuality, of which the present reporter has the honor to be co-editor, together with W. Dorr Legg and David Moore. Founded originally on the 1976

Annotated Bibliography of Homosexuality (New York: Garland Press), which with its 13,000 items was and is the largest repertory of its kind, the new work will boast over 22,000 items. (This total has been achieved despite the discarding of several thousand ephemeral and marginal items from the older work.) Breadth of coverage—both scholarly and creative writing in all Western languages—has been assured by an enthusiastic team of collaborators dispersed throughout North America, Western Europe, Latin America and Australasia. As a result of our requests, in fact, several scholars have been impelled to create autonomous national listings for their own areas.

The listings in the main body, an alphabetical roster in two volumes, are being carefully vetted in order to eliminate the gremling who infested the older work. A special feature of the main section will be the 800-odd headnotes, short biographical notices on the famous and not-so-famous writers who are included. In this way we are distilling data on movement figures, important in their day, who might otherwise lapse into undeserved obscurity. This is a small recompense to those who did so much for the rest of us in difficult times. The alphabetical list will be preceded by extensive introductory essays by the three editors, and complemented at the end by a detailed subject index. Since work on completing the main part is going forward rapidly, it is hoped that Garland Press will be able to issue the completed work in 1982.

Wayne Dynes

Etymology of Faggot from page 16

Clearly this is a problem beyond the competence of the layman to solve, even if the folk etymology could have been discredited by a mere glance into the lawbooks that would have informed any investigator that the penalty for both witchcraft and buggery in England was death by hanging. But during the first decade of its public existence our movement was burdened with a multitude of incompetent and irresponsible individuals whose chief talent was for self-promotion clothed in ill-founded rhetoric.

The heroic period of the gay movement in America is now ended; and it will never return. The advances of the 1980s and the decades to follow will in all likelihood be achieved by the experts and specialists quietly and unobtrusively serving the cause to which they are devoted and true.

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Mario Stefani from page 18

I used to see him secretly at night, I was more than a wife to him.

In the lightly-swaying boat,
naked to the embrace of the sun,
his body seemed
a clay statuette of Eros or Attis
or perhaps Apollo himself
removed from an ancient excavation.
The harmonies of that body
were the harmonies of Plato's Charmides . . .

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