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EDITED BY JOSEPH GERACI

DARES TO SPEAK

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON BOY-LOVE

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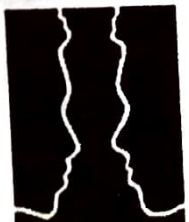

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PREFACE
Vern Bullough

This is a book about intergenerational sex but mainly about love of boys and men. This by its nature is a dangerous and forbidden topic yet real people are still involved in such activities. I think it is an important topic, yet getting data on it is almost impossible, and so researchers such as myself are somewhat like the blind men describing the elephant. We know it exists but we do not fully understand what it is. Unfortunately even writing about it in a scholarly or scientific way arouses hostile reaction from many including those who claim to be researchers. There has even been a campaign to bring about the resignation of members of the editorial advisory board of *Paidika*, an international journal devoted to the study of intergenerational sex.

We desperately need serious studies of the topic, not only of the adults involved but of the children. With few exceptions, the adults we can study are either in prison or undergoing court-supervised therapy. Even the young people involved have rarely been seriously studied, and in the United States the controversial "Recovered Memory Syndrome" has tended to further complicate the issue because so many of the therapists know very little about how memory works.

The safest studies are those dealing with historical or cross-cultural, literary or legal data, since these are not subject to the kind of restraints that limit the studies of current subjects. While there have been a number of these qualitative studies, several published in *Paidika*, knowledge about even these is limited to a handful of scholars and researchers. Hopefully this book will prove helpful by adding to the data base of those professionals who deal with individuals involved in intergenerational sex. It might also be helpful to the individuals themselves and their families.

It seems clear that there has been a long history and tradition of such activities, and that at the end of the twentieth century we are in the process of redefining the concept of consensual sex. We need to know that this is what we are doing and why we are doing it. I am not so sure we do, and the current collection is designed to throw some light on the topic and should prove helpful to guiding our decision-making. I just wish I knew more about the behaviour than I do, but certainly this book is one significant step towards disseminating what information we have to the reading public.

Part One:

Cross-Cultural and Historical Perspectives

INTERVIEW
Gilbert Herdt

Dr. Gilbert Herdt is currently Professor of the Committee on Human Development, and at the Departments of Psychology and the College, the University of Chicago. He is also Director, Center for Research on Culture and Mental Health, the University of Chicago.

As a leading anthropologist, his ground-breaking field research into man-boy insemination rites among the Sambia in New Guinea has stirred much comment and controversy. All together he has spent more than two-and-a-half years living in a remote Sambia village, beginning in 1974 and continuing even today with periodic visits. He has recently completed an ethnographic documentary film project for the BBC entitled "Sambia Gender and Ritual" which will contain rare footage of rituals which have since been lost.

Dr. Herdt's broader interest focuses on maturation in youth, not confined to Melanesian examples. He has also been Principal Investigator, Project on Sexual Orientation and Cultural Competence in Chicago Teenagers in the Metropolitan Chicago Area, which has received funding from the National Institute of Mental Health. As early as 1978 he received funding for research into gender identity and maternal bonding. In 1980 he was awarded a summer research grant for studies at the Boys Town Center for the Study of Youth Development, Stanford University.

In 1988 he was the winner of one of the most prestigious awards in the anthropology world, the Ruth Benedict Prize. He delivered the Henry Morgan Lectures, University of Rochester (1991) and has been the Chairperson and Co-chairperson for innumerable international conferences on sexuality and sexual development. He is a Fellow, Royal Anthropological Institute (UK) and Fellow, American Anthropological Association. His first book, *Guardians of the Flute*, was a non-fiction nominee for the 1981 National Book Award.

This interview was conducted by *Paidika* Editor Joseph Geraci in Amsterdam in July 1993.

* * *

Paidika: *You have cautioned about the dangers of imposing upon non-Western cultures a variety of Western meanings and values about homosexuality and "age-structured" relationships. You have also recently rejected your own view that sexual acts between men and boys be discussed as "homosexual ritu-*

als," and now describe them as "boy-inseminating rites" or "age-structured same-sex relations." Can you explain to us why there has been this shift in your language and what your new descriptions imply?

Gilbert Herdt: In scholarly work, the social sciences and anthropology in particular, we inherited a lot of conceptual baggage, particularly from the nineteenth century. Our legacy has been the assumption of very powerful categories concerning acts and identities, perhaps the most powerful being the dualism of heterosexual/homosexual. This dualism is a conflation of gender and sexuality, and the more I've thought about it over the past couple of years the more I've thought that gender and sexuality have been incorrectly fused. I've increasingly shied away from using the term "sexuality," and see it as a gloss for erotics. Erotics has recently become of great concern to me.

When I was being trained in anthropology in the late sixties and early seventies, sexuality was simply not being studied. Whatever one learned about the subject one learned from reading Freud and Kinsey, or from novels. There was virtually no anthropology of sexuality. There was a study of gender, primarily by feminist anthropologists, and they left sex totally out of the picture, for reasons that I think have to do with the history of sexuality in Western culture.

When previous anthropologists talked about the study of women and men, they were primarily talking about gender; they believed that by talking about gender, they were also talking about sexuality. The gender roles determined or dictated sexual conduct, which is what Margaret Mead, for instance, was arguing in the early sixties, and the feminists at the end of the sixties.

In constructing my own account of the Sambia I used the assumptive categories and ideas, definitions, and terms which were in popular usage at the time in psychoanalysis, in feminist anthropology, in social science discourse, and these contained much of this left-over baggage from the nineteenth century.

There were other influences at work also, not just the heterosexual/homosexual dichotomy. Many powerful aspects of the person's body, mind, personality, soul, desires, and behaviors were summarized by this nineteenth century dualism. In addition there was a centuries-long, Western social history which first viewed same-sex desire as a product of a set of ideas about sin, a transgression against God. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the idea of sin was modified by the category "disease." The philosophy of the body was also changing; increasingly there was evolving a differentiated set of roles about what man and woman were like in Western society. In the twentieth century, ideas about sexual orientation, sexual preference, and sexual lifestyle, as well as modern medicine and sexology, were of course extremely influential in the transformation of these ideas.

I would have to say that these had an influence on my early writing, so that when I came to complete my first book, *Guardians of the Flutes,* I was using the term "ritualized homosexuality" throughout. It seemed perfectly appropriate to me, even though I was distinguishing between identity and behavior. That turned out to be a critical step to take; it was perhaps one of the first books in anthropology and perhaps one of the first studies in general in which a distinction was made between having the desire and doing the behaviors. Previously, behavior and desire had been conflated. In spite of the distinction though, which was in keeping with social science study of sexuality at that time, I still used the term "ritualized homosexuality."

In other words, you were applying the identity category of "homosexuality" to behavior among the Sambia that perhaps should be otherwise described?

Yes. I was not really thinking about what homosexuality as a Western category implied. But that was common in the social sciences at that time. In the last few years, however, there has been a lot of writing and thinking about this conflation of categories and I have been giving a lot of thought to desire and to the importance of how one represents desire. For example, can a certain kind of desire be represented as distinct from the act which expresses the desire? I've been partly influenced by new studies on the ancient Greeks, such as Winkler and Halperin, which have shown again and again since the time of Boswell's book in 1980 that the Greeks were primarily concerned with thinking about what people are *doing,* rather than how they are *being.* The Greeks didn't confuse the two categories.

I think these writers convincingly show that for the ancient Greeks to do something did not necessarily mean that you formed an identity as a result of doing it. If you have a sexual interaction with a younger male, that did not mean that you were placed in some permanent identity category. Which is of course the step that we took in Western history and in epistemology, particularly since the eighteenth and nineteenth century. To invoke the category "homosexuality" in this rather grand way, it struck me, was really a misrepresentation.

In 1990 and 1991, I was also reviewing and rethinking both the literature on gender-transforming practices, particularly the *berdache* among native American Indians, and also the literature on Melanesia since the late seventies and early eighties, in preparation for my book *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia.* In both cases, it struck me how terribly reliant we were upon old-fashioned ideas, especially nineteenth-century ideas about sexual inversion. Freud had built upon these theories to form his concept of homosexuality, and anthropologists in the 1940s, '50s, and '60s simply took over Freud and the nineteenth-century view in a relatively unselfconscious way.

Looking at the material from the Melanesian studies, two cases began

to bother me. The anthropologist William Davenport did a study beginning in 1965 in the area of the Solomon Islands which he refers to as East Bay Island. He reported that there was what we might call an "egalitarian emphasis," an emphasis upon equality, between two males of approximately the same age who are having a sexual interaction. He reports this as a more or less traditional Melanesian practice, completely different from the age-structured kind of practice that we now think about. This began to bother me at lot.

In 1988 the artist Tobias Schneebaum published a book about the Asmat of New Guinea called *Where the Spirits Dwell.* And Tobias reported that among the Asmats there was also an egalitarian emphasis, between age-equals.

I began to give a lot of thought to this "egalitarianism," and in writing to Davenport it began to be quite clear from his correspondence that what he was talking about was a result of social change; it was not a traditional institution. I reread Schneebaum and became likewise convinced that his egalitarian emphasis was also probably the result of change. In other words, both of these authors, in referring to what was seemingly an equal-age structured relationship, or what we can term a "sexual democracy formation," were invoking Western concepts of homosexuality. And it seemed to me to be quite wrong to represent New Guineans by Western conceptual meanings.

Of course, this also meant that my use of homosexuality, even with the modifier "ritualized," was equally conceptually misleading. I came to the conclusion that the Melanesian practices that had concerned me were primarily a ritual form, namely boy-inseminating rites, in which boys are inseminated by men.

You seem to be saying that words should be used descriptively, without imposing identities. The language should focus on behavior. Are you being consistent with the move away from the dualistic structures you mentioned above?

The language which we use in anthropology and perhaps which we should use in a broader sense for history and culture is a language that certainly must pertain to a social practice. What do the man and boy, who are creating a transaction, do together as partners? Are they possibly forming an important social relationship over time, perhaps for the rest of their lives, which is not confined to the sexual aspect? Surely invoking only homosexuality is misleading.

In the Western tradition, homosexuality has become a category that reduces the full person to a single aspect—the sexual. That is entirely out of keeping with the holistic emphasis in the Melanesian system and, by the way, also in Attic Greece. In Greece many other dimensions of the person were at play: the body, the body fluids, the cultivation of a certain kind of spirit, a certain kind of being, a certain kind of honor, manhood,

a certain kind of philosophical outlook, a certain kind of world view, a certain kind of comportment in relationship to males and to females. These distinctions are almost entirely wiped away when you invoke the category "homosexual."

"Homosexual," applied to Melanesia, is only a rather vague and tenuous allusion to what is a much more precise and at the same time a much fuller area of human activity, namely the social practice of inseminating boys. This begins in ritual ceremonies but fans out to include many other areas of life, including everyday activities of the boy and the male who are involved with one another.

So, it seemed to me that the terms that I had used were misleading. They misrepresented the behavior. By shifting the representation I also found that new questions immediately arose. What are the desires of the boy? And, what are the desires of the man? If it's not a desire to be a homosexual, which is what the Western framework would label it as, what is it a desire for? What social and individual interests are brought to the social practice?

Many anthropologists, objecting to the categorical intrusion of homosexuality into the Melanesian situation, or into the ancient Greek situation, have argued strongly, "Well, what is going on in Melanesia has nothing to do with homosexuality." In a literal sense, they're correct. If I were to agree with my own distinction now, I would say that what these boys and men are doing is not homosexuality. However, I think this is not nuanced enough. What these anthropologists would like to do, I think, is to suggest that the social practice does not involve the erotic either, and that seems to me an entirely erroneous point of view. To deconstruct homosexuality without retaining erotics is to lose the spirit of the practice, and I do not agree with that.

In order to understand the social practice, one must understand the meaning of the erotic in the Melanesian world. That then leads us to the question, why would the boy desire the man? What does he desire in having the sexual relationship with the man? We might think, well, it's the personality, it's the face, maybe it's something about the genitals that the boy likes. Or is it a Freudian construction: the boy wants to have a big penis, he wants a substitute for the father, he wants a substitute for the mother? The flaw, of course, would be that each one of these views takes the perspective of a Western category, namely heterosexual and homosexual, and the kinds of gender needs which go along with homosexual and heterosexual. If you engage in same-sex activities with an older male, you must be feminine. You must be effeminate. You must be inverted. All of these kinds of notions are quite ridiculous in the Melanesian situation.

As we have known for a long time, there's absolutely no observational evidence to show that boys in the Melanesian situation who desire a same-sex relationship are effeminate, are inverted, manifest feminine

behavior. It's a completely different set of dynamics and principles, which has to do, I think, with the different meaning of erotic, and forms of the erotic.

How do you define both "erotic" and "desire"?

When we think of the sexual, we think of genital. And I think that's far too narrow to express the erotic. Perhaps that statement is consistent with a long-standing critique the feminists have made, not to think of the erotic as purely genital, or orgasmic, or vaginal, or whatever the case may be, but rather something that pertains to an overall, larger state of feeling or excitement in the body, but not necessarily restricted to the genitals. Sexuality is genitally centered; the erotic is more bodily diffused.

As for desire, the theory of desire that I've been developing in the last couple of years comes primarily out of the work that I did in Chicago with gay youth. In the Western tradition, we too much reduce the whole category of desire to sexual desire. It seems to me that this is a grave error historically, and for cultural study. In trying to rectify the error, we have to begin to think in broader terms about what desire is and how it develops. Where does it come from; what does it change into?

In my new study, *Children of Horizons,* in the chapter on individual sexual identity development, we made a very rudimentary formulation of a theory of desire with three aspects: aesthetic, erotic, and social. They seem to occur in some kind of a developmental sequence, with the aesthetic coming early in life, probably pre-linguistic, at a symbolic level, in the very early experiences of the child. This would have to do with tastes and appetites and things that are not subject to conscious and willful change in the same way as other kinds of things are.

The second aspect, erotic desire, overlaps it, and has to do with the kinds of objects that the person is interested in, the kinds of things that arouse, the kinds of meanings that they put on their body, and the way in which their aesthetic desires become represented in their erotic desires. This would include certain ways of feeling, sensing, tasting, and I would describe these as the undersurface of erotics. Many scholars since Freud have argued this line of thinking about the erotic, but it has been very difficult to substantiate.

And then the third, social area is usually post-pubertal, though I would think that for some individuals it can come before. This stage has to do with the social expression and attainment of these desires, which we can call "the social context of desire fulfillment," though in a sense, social roles and social practices are themselves desired objects. Let me give you an example of what I mean. Think of a woman who, as she grows up, gradually comes to realize that she's attracted sexually to other women. She experiences it very early in life, when she's only about six or seven years old. One of the reasons she's attracted to women is there are certain kinds

of aesthetic aspects of the female body that she loves, for instance the breasts, that are erotically exciting to her in a way that male breasts are not. But at some point after puberty, she begins to realize that she also has another desire, to have children, and according to the dictates of her culture, she can only satisfy this desire within the social practice of heterosexual marriage. She then might have two social desires—to be lesbian, and to have children, but not within the context of a heterosexual marriage. The desire for children, then, might cause conflict in a social situation with her erotic lesbian desires. We can see that within the same person, there can be conflicting desires, not always fully conscious. The person is then challenged to resolve them.

In any case, I would try to begin to make an analysis of desire along these lines, starting from individuals, to avoid overgeneralizing.

In describing age-structured insemination rites, you said that they begin in the context of rites and rituals, but then can "fan out," to use your phrase. Does that mean that these sexual acts at some point stop being rites and take on other, more personal meanings?

What we're talking about here is the problem of the relationship between everyday conduct and the institutional practice. In societies such as New Guinea, virtually all areas of life of any importance begin with ritual forms. Hunting, warfare, marriage, domestic life, gardening—all of these begin with ceremonial or ritual forms. These include magical practices, certain kinds of initiation rites, and certain kinds of spells. The reason for this is found within the nature of their animistic world view. To put it very simply, it suggests that the world is composed of energies, and that one can tap into these energies and can even, to some extent, control them through certain kinds of human practices. In Melanesian society, the sexual is one of these forms of energy. It is introduced by a ritual practice, which has a vast context, a sacred context, really—their religion. In the context of their religion they invoke the power of the sacred in order to bestow blessings and meaning. They instill a sense of importance, namely, that this is an area of culture which takes precedence and should not be tampered with by the individual.

In this context, the boy is introduced into sexual life sometime between the ages of seven and ten, where hitherto no sexual life has been. His life until then was perceived or interpreted as asexual, but when he is around seven or as a median age, nine, he is introduced into sexual life through an insemination rite.

By casting these sexual practices in a ritual form, no individual takes responsibility for the form. That is the beauty of ritual; it's also one of the most difficult things to accept about it, that no individual father or grandfather or brother is responsible for what is done. It's a collective action, the result of the intents and practices of the past, of the ancestors.

But what is the relationship between that ritual model and what the boy does every day?

The boy has in mind a model, the practice that is introduced through ritual. We can say that the ritual model is always in mind. It provides a kind of *charter* for what happens every day. This charter, however, is not responsible for the boy's individual decisions and the boy's individual tastes or desires, on a day-to-day basis. The boy can decide on his own what he wants to do, as can the older, unmarried bachelor of eighteen or nineteen who has sexual relations with a younger boy. Both of those are individual actors expressing their own needs, likes, dislikes, tastes, though in the context of this ritual practice. What we can safely say is: both actors begin and operate under the influence of an ideal model, a cultural charter, a ritual manifesto, so to speak, and this carries them a long way in everyday practice, even in their dreams. But it doesn't account for everything. There's still a certain area, a residue, that is left over, that is not guaranteed by or blessed or defended by ritual. For example, there might be a man who has a greater dislike for boys than another man and would sleep with them every three nights instead of every night. Another man (although this would be quite rare) might have no interest or taste for boys. By not engaging in sexual practices with boys in a sense he violates the norms or rules. The Sambia attitudes about this area are somewhat fuzzy, but generally benign. They suggest that as long as one is not drawing attention to oneself, as long you're conforming to most social roles and rules, and you're not doing anything ostentatious, you can do pretty much what you want to do. If you don't have sexual practices with boys, you might pretend that you are, or at least no one would draw attention to it. No one is going to negatively sanction you. Likewise, if you continue to have sexual practices with a boy after you've been married and had children, when according to custom you should stop, as long as it's done discretely, no one is going to draw undue attention to it.

Does the initial ritual give the charter for all future acts? Are all future sexual acts between men and boys, de facto, ritualized?

The Sambia, in spite of this extraordinarily intense ritual system, give quite a bit of license to the individual to do what he or she wants, so long as they don't violate roles and rules. Perhaps the question with respect to the boy is: what are his desires? It seems to me that in anthropology consistently for many decades, the most important description that has been left out is: what do the actors want? What do they desire? Do they have what we might call an erotic desire?

What is an erotic desire anyway? Well, in the case of the older man, some sexual investigators would say, "Well, that's perfectly obvious. Does the man get aroused or not?" My old mentor, the psychoanalyst Robert

Stoller, would have asked, "Well, do they get turned on? If they're turned on, that means they're erotically excited." It's as simple as that.

Sometimes with pre-pubertal Sambia boys it did not prove that easy, because there was not always a necessary indicator of their arousal. Let me use a concrete example, a boy named Kambo. I say to Kambo, "Well I notice that you really spend a lot of time with so-and-so. You like him a lot." He says, "Yes, I go into the forest and when I'm walking along, sometimes I realize I'm singing his name song." This would be to sing about him, his name, his personality. So I ask, "Well, why is that?" and Kambo says, "He makes me happy. You know, I like him, I like to spend time with him. He gives me small gifts, small favors." They've been together a few times for a few weeks. The metaphor the Sambia use is "to sleep together," which is to inseminate, although in fact the insemination can occur between the two of them either during the day in the forest in a very private or secret setting, or at night under cover of darkness, when nobody sees them and they have lain down side-by-side in the men's house where no one else will see them. The Sambia are extremely discrete.

And so they've slept together a few times and I ask Kambo, "Well, do you ever get aroused?" And he says, "No, no. But I feel some kind of heat." And I say, "Well, tell me, what kind of heat is it?" "Well, it's down in the area of my genitals. I just feel somehow more excited, some kind of sensation." So it's that kind of generalized feeling, which one might call a generalized erotic, but not necessarily genital, arousal, and this is the important distinction.

You would call this homoerotic as opposed to homosexual?

Homoerotic is much more precise. It doesn't confuse these old, left-over categories with the generalized desires and excitement of the person.

I came upon a remark by the anthropologist Bruce Knauft in your book Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia. *You seem to agree with it, but don't enlarge upon it. Knauft was referring to the Gebusi tribe in New Guinea, and wrote, "Homosexuality appears for all practical intents and purposes to be grounded in personal affection, rather than obligation." The question this raises for me is what positive, personal emotional meanings these sex acts have for the boy and for the man who are involved in these acts. What are the positive meanings for these individuals?*

Bruce Knauft is using words in a way that are not quite as precise as I would use them. "Homosexual" is one. "Affection" is another. We have to be aware of what kinds of meanings we're putting into these terms in order to try to be as faithful as possible to the experience of Melanesians, in his case, the Gebusi, and in my case the Sambia. These differences matter a great deal.

But what Bruce is trying to say, I think, is that there is indeed a personal feeling and affection and engagement. These are also some of the terms by which I would describe desire on the part of one individual for another. It is precisely this aspect of personal affection which I feel sits right on the border of ritual practice, but is not encompassed by it. What ritual practice does is to lay down a charter, but it cannot explain and predict individual actions which express this practice.

The ritual charter is a set of roles and rules, with beliefs and attitudes that support them. For the boy the ideal expectation is that the ritual will happen, "You will be inseminated." For the man it is, "You will inseminate him," for the purpose of masculinizing him and making him into a warrior. It provides the male with a sexual outlet, which is perfectly explicit in the sexual ideologies of males in these groups.

That does not explain personal affection, which is a process of individual liking. Two people are brought together whose particular chemistry creates a particular kind of effect on their desires, intentions, feelings, and likes and dislikes. One individual develops a particular liking and friendship, desire, a kind of intimacy with another individual. All this is present in the Melanesian system, though admittedly not in the forefront of it as it might be in a Western system, which has such a powerful ideology of individualism and aesthetics and beauty and romance. Nonetheless, it is there, on the periphery.

The question of what this affection means is a real problem concerning the psychology of the Sambia and what we might call the folk psychology of their own desire. If, using Bruce Knauft's quotation, we talk about how a particular individual is affected by another individual and has an affection for him, then we are moving from the general to the particular. And one of the difficulties in going beyond Bruce Knauft's example is that he does not provide individual cases, which is exactly what we need, and what is missing.

In *Guardians of the Flutes* I provided a few personal tidbits. In the next volume of *Guardians,* which I'm working on now, I intend to provide more, and in the third volume, I hope to deal primarily with the individual cases I've collected. Then I hope to be able to talk in some more precise terms about what these things mean to particular individuals, so that we're able to go beyond this kind of vague, general rhetoric in ways that are more satisfying and meaningful.

Are Sambia men and boys feeling "romantic" feelings? Does a man fall in love with a boy, or vice versa, or anything that is comparable to what we know of these experiences?

Some anthropologists and historians would say that romance is a category restricted to the modern period in Western culture. What I think we can say for sure is that some boys are absolutely infatuated. What do I mean

by infatuation? Well, in English, in standard English, some of its usual connotations mean: developing a strong liking, having a kind of longing, having a certain kind of idealization that overlooks the small defects in favor of a certain kind of attraction that the object holds for you. Amongst the Sambia there is a very strong emotional intensity for a short period of time. And when I say a short period of time, for Sambia boys and adolescents it would typically be a couple of weeks, sometimes at the most a couple of months, but rarely more than that. Beyond that point it passes into something else. It becomes transformed into a kind of personal understanding and friendship, which may endure for the rest of their lives. But it is not erotic in the usual sense of the term.

I think that what we are trying to do here is capture some sort of an impression of the reality of these acts for the individuals involved, and along that line I have a series of questions. If two different boys are having sex with two different men, is there some discussion amongst the boys or amongst the men of their relationship? Do they share their experiences, or are they secretive, discrete, highly individualized? Do they talk about it, and if so how? Are there jokes? Gossip? What words do they use? Is there jealousy?

Well, as a general rule, the boys will discuss their relationships among themselves, and the men (meaning older adolescents for the most part) will joke a lot about their sexual relations with women, and under certain conditions they'll allude to their sexual relations with boys. For instance, during the time of initiation, there's a lot of sexual joking and a lot of erotic horseplay going on all the time. But that's a special condition. It only happens once every couple of years. In everyday life, as a general rule, men do not refer to their sexual relations with boys because it embarrasses them. But they won't refer to sexual feelings (as opposed to acts) about women either.

These sexual feelings are something they regard as embarrassing, because they represent a desire that they have outside of themselves. Desires can be intimidating or shameful, not the desire for the boy, or the desire for a girl in itself, but somehow the desire for sex in itself. In the case of men's feelings about women, it can even be shameful. A man, for instance, might go to great lengths to hide his sexual desires for women in public. And to have sex with a women can be extremely shameful. A man must be very careful what kinds of signs he gives so as not to give away in public the fact that this has happened. There are, of course, also adolescent boys who are having sexual relations only with younger boys. They would be somewhat embarrassed to talk about their sexual desires for boys. And boys do a little bit of risqué talk, maybe with an intimate friend, but never with a group of their age-mates, unless it is a macho boast. Five or ten years later, when they're older and married, and they are talking about women, they would go to extreme lengths in public to avoid giving the

impression that they desired a woman, or that they had had sex with her. This could be extremely shameful, more than when they were adolescents, when they were talking about their desires for boys.

The joking among the young boys about their sexual relations with older males is an entirely different matter. In a way, the boys enjoy talking about their sexual encounters with men. They love to gossip about it; they sit around and say all kinds of private, risqué things. Usually the conversations are whispered and there is a lot of discussion. What are they talking about? "Oh, what's this one like?" And, "What's that one like?" As I wrote in *Guardians of the Flutes,* and elsewhere, what they're primarily talking about are the qualities and conditions of the men's semen. I referred to it in *Guardians* as a kind of semenology: like wine connoisseurs who are comparing the relative qualities, values, ages, and tastes, particularly the tastes of semen. Some are saltier, some are sweeter, and so forth.

There are two important aspects of this meta-message discourse of the boys. One is that they're not really concerned with the size of the man's penis. That doesn't really matter to them. They're not interested in the container but in what is contained.

The second aspect has to do with the social control function of this risqué banter and joking. As anthropologists, of course, what we know is that jokes are an important way, on the one hand, of expressing tension; and on the other hand of keeping people in line, of socially controlling them. The boys know that they can be ridiculed and teased by their age-mates. If they get out of line, if they're selfish, for instance, they'll be teased for it; or if they act unmanly, they'll also be teased.

The boy also should not be with the same man too long. It's considered morally wrong if he is. And this is one of the hidden threats of the erotic infatuation that I was talking about before. If a boy is with the same man too long, his age-mates will start to tease him and will accuse him of wanting to be the man's "wife." To be called the woman of the older male, well, that is a terrible insult, and humiliating for the boy. Anything that threatens his masculinity, his honor, his budding desire to be a man should be avoided. So, one of the control functions of the joking (which is ironically a joking about semen and what these males are like—which ones they should go for and which ones they should avoid) is to keep the boys themselves in line so that they don't go beyond the role.

Perhaps one of the hidden meanings in all this is that some of the boys as individuals have desires to continue being in a lover relationship with an older male, but this would violate the warrior role into which they are trying to make a transition.

If the time that they are allowed to spend with a male is being limited by joking, by social pressures, is this the result of the original ritual charter? Or is the time limitation a discomfort with homoerotic desire?

A very difficult question... I would say that the social role of the initiate, who is the fellator, as set down by the ritual charter, dictates a certain broad outline, a boundary. And the boundary says: you shall not go beyond this point. That's the point that the joking controls, that is to say, a boy should not sleep with a man more than a few times over a few months. After that it becomes something else. And that's a violation of the role. So, in that sense, the charter stipulates the boundary condition of the category, the category here being the initiate, the boy, the fellator. In that sense you might say the time limit on the relationship is caused by the ritual charter.

If sleeping together with the same man continues too long, that would be bad, in the sense that the boy would be called a woman. The boy is failing to be an independent, honorable young warrior. It has that meaning for the Sambia.

Do boys accept this part of the charter? Do some boys feel, let's say, pains of separation because they have to move on to a different man? Do they feel conflicts over the ending of a relation with a particular man?

The only way I could answer that in any meaningful way would be to talk about individual cases. This is precisely the point that I was making a while ago about Bruce Knauft's quotation. There's a danger in answering such a question too generally. I don't even know if there is a general answer.

If I think about it, there were a few times, a few signs that I remember which could be interpreted as "the problem that the boy felt in making a transition from one male to another" or "the problem in giving up a particular male." These are very, very difficult matters to interpret, though. The boy is in a situation of going to some lengths to hide what's really going on. After all, these are secret practices, and they're going on at night and in the forest, when no one else is around, so how does one know what really is going on? You only have what people are telling you, and what stories you hear through the grapevine, when the boys are gossiping amongst themselves. With that sort of information one never knows how much is real, how much is just joking. Individual boys were confiding in me their personal feelings, but I think what you are asking me to describe is their feelings of infatuation, feelings of attachment, and loss.

I'm trying to get to some sort of a reality of how the individuals in these relations are responding to these acts, and to each other. How they feel. I see that as being the bridge point between them and our own Western experience of man-boy relations. A bridge point between meanings, if you will.

I think some boys experience some problems of transition, of attachment and loss. I would say that it's a minority of the boys. As far as I can tell,

most of the boys do not have difficulties with going from one man to the next. In fact, if anything, they will put up a barrier and a resistance to forming an attachment—that kind of attachment in general is not promoted by the culture of Sambia men.

In a very few individual cases a boy forms a deeper feeling, one might call it a longing, or a "relationship," a form of relatedness which is nonetheless time-bound. How much time? A few weeks, a few months.

In 1975-1976, I knew one boy named Moondi quite well. He was fourteen when I knew him, and had been an initiate already for six years. He was right about then being promoted from second to third stage initiation, that is, to the point when he stops being the fellator and becomes the older bachelor inseminator. This transition occurs roughly between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. Until 1979 there was a period of time when he also became involved with younger boys. And he did have some younger boys who were partners.

Moondi had a very strong and unusual attachment to this one older man, let's say his name was Tee. Tee at that time had already been married once and his first wife had died. Then he had married again; ultimately he was going to marry a third time and have two wives and several children. Tee was a man who continued to like boys, but because he was married and had children, he did it in a very discrete way, and so long as he did nobody gave a damn. He did what he wanted to do, and the boys loved him. By our standards he was not at all good-looking. He was a brawny kind of stocky, short man, quite muscular and strong, but very good-natured and with a strong personality. This is the very type of man that the Sambia greatly admire.

Now this boy Moondi had an attachment to Tee, and it went on for a long time. Even at the point when Moondi was being initiated into his third stage, there was one time when I saw them together and I knew immediately that they had had sex right before. There were ways it showed. And this amazed me, because I thought: Moondi's getting so old. It wasn't that Tee particularly preferred older boys, in fact quite the contrary, he preferred small boys. Sambia men actually do differ in this respect. It was quite clear to me that it had gone on between them for a long period of time. Tee and Moondi continued to have sexual relations from time to time, even up to the point where Moondi was being initiated. In the next two or three years, when Moondi became a bachelor and was no longer a fellator, relations with Tee ended, but they became very good friends. I should also mention that in this particular period Moondi initiated sexual partnerships from time to time with younger boys, and there was one boy in particular whom he favored. How do I know that? Because he would sometimes sit and talk about it. And I would encourage him, because of course this was precisely what I wanted to understand. Well, by encouraging him of course I created a discourse, which is not really normal for Sambia. But nonetheless, he did talk to me about it; and fantasize about it.

And when he fantasized about it, he would get aroused. He slept with his boy several times. I mean, this went on for, I don't know how long, but a period of a few weeks.

What I'm driving at is that on the border of this broad area of social structuring which says: "The partner doesn't matter that much and the vessel doesn't matter that much," that, in spite of this, there's still individual desire. Within desire there's the possibility that the individual actor can express his own likes and tastes. These can sometimes be quite strong but fleeting. I think up to a certain point, they are even romantic, that is, an infatuation, not romantic in the sense of lasting for years—that's the aspect that doesn't exist.

Western Paedophilia and Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Both critics and defenders of Western paedophile sexual relationships sometimes use cross-cultural comparisons as a politic, some to condemn these relationships, and others to justify them. In the light of the discussion we've had, can you describe a scientific method for making a valid cross-cultural comparison between Melanesian and Western age-determined sexual relationships?

Well, I think we would have to begin with very elementary things. What ages are we talking about? The Sambia boys are seven to ten when they are initiated. So, one basis for comparison would be to talk about chronologically aged groups, for example, seven- to ten-year-old American or Dutch boys and their Sambia equivalents. Then you would have to ask: what is the degree of emotional and cognitive sophistication of these boys? That is obviously essential to understanding what the comparison might be. Should we assume that the seven- to ten-year-olds in both cultures have the same degree of sophistication? No, we should not. Neither emotionally and possibly not even cognitively.

We tend to think of cognition as something outside culture, as something innate and universal in the mind or the brain. I'm not so sure of that point of view. It is certainly not true of emotions. Emotions are under such strong cultural control. For instance, the attitude that children should be either sexually sophisticated, or ignorant, is very strongly culturally regulated. So, we have to ask about the individuals in the two different groups: what is their degree of sophistication; to what degree are they being regarded as independent agents?

In Sambia culture, once the boy has been initiated, he's removed from his parents' home. He is no longer under their scrutiny. He is now under the control of the men's society. His immediate mentors and people who are in charge of him are the older bachelors, specifically his brothers and cousins and other such males who live in the men's house with him. His mentors are not his sexual partners, because they're part of his kin group; the sexual partner is always from outside his group. The older bachelors

who live in the house with him are his mentors, followed by his age-mates. They offer him support, camaraderie, and social interaction. They do things together: go hunting, go to the gardens, do chores, etc., etc. The boy's father plays an important role in his life also, but from a distance, until he gets somewhat older.

During the first few years the boy is living in the men's house. But the boy is also considered to be responsible for himself. He has to get up, dress himself, clean himself every day, be sure that he has the proper food for himself. By the time he's about age eleven or twelve he has to be prepared to engage in warfare activity. And by the time he's fourteen, he can go on a war raid.

This kind of socialization the typical Western boy doesn't have. The Western boy, on the other hand, has a degree of privacy that the Sambia boy does not. He is being cultivated to promote his individuality. An American or Dutch boy may have his own room in the house of his parents. He may sleep alone in a bed every night. That's totally foreign to the Sambia. The Sambia never have their own room, and they never sleep in a room by themselves.

By contrast, in Chicago, in the last two or three years I've completed a study of a group of gay and lesbian teenagers between the ages fourteen and twenty. One of the things we studied about their sexual and identity development is when sexual attractions and feelings began. In the Chicago study we found that the average age of first sexual attraction of the boy (or the girl, by the way) is nine-and-a-half, that is to say, well before puberty. By age eleven they're beginning to have some sign of recognition of their own desires toward the same sex.

In fact, this age nine-and-a-half level of first sexual attraction influenced my thinking—empowered me, if you will—about the Sambia experience. I thought, well, after all, if these really bourgeois Americans in an urban setting with their very different kind of social life, and who are typically being treated as children in this infantilizing sort of way that we have in Western culture, well, if they can begin to have their first feelings at age nine-and-a-half, then shouldn't I be rethinking what the Sambia boy aged seven to nine is experiencing?

The Sambia boy is expected to grow up really fast so he can enter into warriorhood quickly. This leads me to believe that he is very early being prepared for erotic relations in the context of being a ritual initiate, a warrior, with certain kinds of feelings, certain kinds of social roles that he takes on, that are specific to the ritual context. The American boy of nine-and-a-half, on the other hand, is being infantilized. This is the way to begin to do a comparison. Look at the ages, look at the degree of sophistication, look at what the culture expects them to do, and then we're starting to have the ingredients necessary to make a comparison.

So already we've created very strong conditions of comparison; we can see some things that are similar and some things that are different.

Given these differences and similarities what can we then deduce as possibilities for comparison with respect to their sexual relations? We have to ask, and compare: what kinds of preparedness does a boy have to enter into such relationships?

In order to arrive at a more accurate understanding of the Sambia, you deconstructed your own language quite radically: from homosexual rituals to age-structured sexual rites, from homosexuality to homoerotic. If we now switch our discussion to Western paedophilia, would you also want to deconstruct the language here? Would you, for example, agree with the use of the word "paedophilia" for this discussion? Is there for you such a thing as paedophilia?

I would probably proceed with the same line of reasoning as I did with the use of the term "ritualized homosexuality" and point out that paedophilia emerges as a nineteenth-century discourse. It originated with Krafft-Ebing. I talked earlier about the conflation of homo- and hetero-sexuality. The original meaning of paedophilia was also the conflation of two kinds of meanings. One had to do with morals and the other with sexual instincts and sexual desire. The moral usually signified moral approbation. It belonged to the history of sin, and later disease. Desire becomes conflated with sin and disease.

It's hard to imagine a discourse that's more consistently punitive and consistently reductionistic than that of the homosexual discourse in the nineteenth century, but if there was one, I think it would probably be the discourse on paedophilia. Even though we've managed to free ourselves in the last twenty-five years from some of these chains of the past—this prison house of late nineteenth-century epistemology with respect to same-sex desire—I think we are still entrapped by these left-over nineteenth-century meanings when it comes to paedophilia.

In a way, it's gotten worse than it was even in the nineteenth century, because of the enormous attention being paid to sexual abuse and child abuse. It's an absolutely riveting discourse in the late twentieth century, a particularly American discourse. And so, I think we have to deconstruct the category "paedophilia" and think about why this was a confusion of two different kinds of things, a moral category and a category of desire or instinct. We also have to realize that paedophilia was viewed as a fundamental moral violation of the relationship between the child and the adult, a violation, that is, of the underlying cultural model which was and still is that of parent and child.

It follows, I think, that the feeling of violation, of moral punishment, that adheres to paedophilia comes from the vast dread of incest which we have inherited particularly from the nineteenth-century bourgeois ideology. Terrible moral and political sanctions follow from the incest taboo. One way to deconstruct the category of paedophilia would be to see that it contains the seeds of the rhetoric and discourse on incest from the last

century. One would have to begin to separate it from the incest discourse.

Would you abandon the word, and if so what would you put in its place that offers a more accurate description? Can we use, for example, the phrase applied to the Sambia, "age-structured same-sex relationships"?

Frankly I don't know what word or phrase to use for the Western phenomenon. In Melanesia, or in many of the traditional, non-Western societies, the practice takes its primary significance from ritual or ceremony. In the absence of a ritual or ceremony in Western culture, I think one is really forced to be quite creative and think about what kinds of conceptual ideas can be used. Sexual relationships between adults and children are usually viewed as the antithesis of the normal and natural, the antithesis also of the legal. "Age-structured practices" is a neutral concept that is used to denote institutionalized forms of sexualized relations or partnerships between people of unequal ages. Are we justified in transposing this kind of institutionalized form of relationship into a cultural situation where there is no such institutional form? I think that's the question to ask, and I think the answer is that we cannot confuse the institutional and non-institutional forms.

It seems to me it's better to create a new term, something that doesn't appeal to an institutional form, but does perhaps pertain to a particular desire. We have to think about a particular, distinctive desire, that is to say in this case, desire for a younger person, and what it means, how it's elaborated, how it's symbolized. There has also been a positive tradition of paedophilia over the last hundred years, and we have to think of a particular eros, and we have to use metaphors and symbols that have come out of this positive tradition, to talk about it. The meaning and the evolution of the desire would be a starting point, and would also, by the way, be another point of cross-cultural comparison between Western and Sambia practices.

If you were to take paedophilia out of the context of abuse, what is it?

This is a little like asking me to interpret Western homosexuality, which I regard as a meaningless discussion, or Western heterosexuality for that matter, which is equally meaningless. I don't think there is such a thing as homosexuality or heterosexuality, or paedophilia either. These are just vast spectra of activities. Within the spectrum of "paedophilia" are specific relationships, or transactions that exist between people who are younger and people who are older, between a person who has not achieved adulthood and one who has.

I hesitate to use the term child or childhood. It's such a terrible misrepresentation and should be resisted at all costs. If you look closely at the discourse on childhood sexual abuse, as soon as the category "child" is

invoked, everything is completely slanted and biased. It is suddenly no longer possible to have a rational discourse. Indeed, you could say that the category "child" is a rhetorical device for inflaming what is really an irrational set of attitudes. We would certainly have to use some other term. As I have said, what we are discussing is desire, and the desire is for a person who is not yet an adult.

In connection with our literature review in preparation for the Chicago research into gay and lesbian teenagers, we asked ourselves, "What is an abusive experience? What is a coercive experience?" Some researchers are now thinking about this as a matter of different levels, one of which is the chronological age-difference level. What they find is that if two people have had a sexual interaction and they are within three years' age difference, they would never invoke the category of abuse. However, as soon as the age difference is four years or more, then other factors enter in, such as the physical and emotional differences between the two partners. This still does not mean that abuse is the result. It only means that the possibility of coercion increases between the partners. Certain kinds of factors now enter in that may have been used as a threat or sanction to get favors, or to manipulate. So, if we're going to talk about age-different relations, we have to begin to think about the problem of will, of free will, in a different way, with a different kind of language that's more sophisticated than in the past. It's no longer useful to talk about abuse in some general and monolithic way. It's too confusing. It should be thrown out. What we need is a language which makes finer distinctions and discriminations. For instance, the word "coercion" under certain contexts is useful. The word "manipulation" is useful in certain contexts. We need to have some sort of language of intentionality for the younger person, intentionality meaning: What does the younger person desire? What is their will? What is their intention? What are they looking for? What is their interest in the relationship? What is their need? These are all words that we can use to describe some of the feelings of the younger person, and likewise, of course, for the older person.

What's problematical in the Western discourse is that the person who has not attained legal age may be subject to undue influence on the part of an older person. As in all other areas of legal and social responsibility, the younger person is not being regarded as a free and independent agent with a will. This raises new ethical problems and ethical responsibilities. What we are looking for, what we can be of use for in anthropology, in the study of comparative culture and history, is to develop a better language, a more complex language, with more complex ideas, that give a broader range of meanings, not this rather dull and reductionistic sense of something being paedophilia or abuse. These really tell us very little about what's actually going on, the lived reality of the people involved.

How would this help us to understand or reconstruct Western paedophilia—if I can still use the word?

Once we describe structures for representing and actualizing desires it still leaves a small area that's left over for the relationship between individuals and for structures that have not been predicted or explained. We're talking about a special category of desire that is not covered by any of the normative structures. This is the periphery, where there are special individuals. These individuals have special desires, they're not accounted for by normative structures, and we don't know what statistical percentage they make up, whether one, two, or five percent.

Paedophilia is a kind of desire that occurs frequently enough in the minds of enough people that it has been brought to attention and been the subject of controversy for a long time in Western culture. Paedophilia is really only the sum total of those who have continued to represent or express a certain kind of desire. In that case we have to talk about the context in which individual relationships exist between the persons. What are the relevant facts? Their ages, for example. When can we say that the younger person is able to give consent? Is it age seven, ten, or is it fifteen? Most responsible Westerners you engage in a discussion about these things, particularly in the context of sexual abuse, will arrive at a certain age threshold where they can say, "Well, that's obviously not abuse." Typically, it's around age sixteen or seventeen. Americans will agree that around this age it is not abuse because the person is no longer a "child." They know what they're doing.

Can you call paedophiles a minority group who form their own subculture? Can you talk about a paedophile community, the way you can talk about a gay or lesbian community?

If you want to create a cultural minority, which is where your question seems to be headed, a cultural minority within a heterodox, heterosexual hegemony where the normative individual is the married adult, then the problem you first have is to find a basis on which you can claim that this is a cultural minority. And what is the basis? Do these people, for example, live together? Do they have a common community? Is there a ghetto? Do they have common institutions? Do they have certain kinds of ideals, and ideal models they are trying to promote? Do they have certain kinds of symbols which they're trying to foster? Is what brings them together merely the defense of a certain kind of sexual desire?

Many of these same questions have been raised about the gay and lesbian community. The original answer was that you have to have a sociological community in order to have a real cultural minority. But many people have come to disagree with that answer. Instead they would say that you have to create some sort of social fabric, or a social, cultural network with institutions that give one the feeling that this is a viable, meaningful lifestyle with its own traditions. Or, that if you don't have traditions, you're going to create them. Culture, or subculture if you will, is the invention of tradition, the creation of social practices.

How would you characterize the current American child-abuse discussion? Is it a hysteria?

Hysteria is a very strong word. I might call it an epidemic of cultural contagion, which is a reference to a term used previously to describe the American hysteria about masturbation as a disease in the nineteenth century or about Communist witch-hunting in the 1950s. Hysteria? It is a strong word, but I think in this case it probably does apply. There have been so many famous cases now, year in and year out, on the front pages of the newspaper, it's quite clear that many of them have been grossly inflated and exaggerated. So, one has to ask: What is in the nature of the polity, within the very fabric of American life, that creates such a hysteria, such a concern with contagion, such a psychic epidemic? I've reflected many, many times on what seems to me a remarkable, a phenomenal aspect of American culture, almost an obsession with these kinds of concerns about sexual abuse. It's often been remarked to me by European colleagues that they find this aspect of American culture strange and mysterious.

What is this fascination with abuse? ... Well... a guess might be the deep unease with incest in nineteenth-century society that still influences us, and that I referred to already. It might be that if sexual abuse, paedophilia, is such a terrible dragon, then there must some underlying, probably structural, change occurring in the nature of American society and the American family, which is again awakening a deep, deep unease with incest. The question might really be: what social conditions have changed in the last twenty-five years, a period roughly concurrent with the rise of this child-abuse phenomenon. You can clearly say that in this period the American family has undergone a profound change, perhaps dissolution. The myth of the happy heterosexual family is at the point of being openly criticized and being regarded in an openly skeptical way. It is increasingly seen as an ideal cultural form which is rarely being manifested in the society. Perhaps this disintegration of the cultural ideal of the family, which has been in the process of change for a very long time, has now reached a fever point, and perhaps this manifests itself in this particular form of a "child-abuse epidemic."

We do already know a few things that could contribute to our understanding. For example, we know that the mean age of first sexual intercourse has been falling for a long time. In the United States it seems to have dropped from between fifteen and seventeen in the 1960s to between twelve and fifteen in the 1990s. Some studies have shown that in a sizable percentage, the first age of sexual intercourse is twelve to fourteen, not long after puberty. That suggests that these young persons, previously thought of as children, are no longer children in the same way that they

were before. The category of child is shrinking. What was a category consisting of eighteen years has shrunk to a category with only twelve or thirteen years. The boundary between the non-sexual and the sexual being becomes a kind of contested ground. In all of the discussions about a sexually liberal or permissive society—the effects of television, the media, movies, rock music—they seem to suggest very powerful images which are deconstructing the category of the child, that are making a child into a more sophisticated, more adult-like kind of social being. The child has become more erotized.

Has the increasing erotization of the child contributed to the abuse hysteria?

I would say that it has. The media in particular has increasingly erotized the bodies of younger people, perhaps girls more than boys, though also boys. We can talk about a concurrent and convergent trend: an increasing hysteria about sexual abuse and an increasing erotizing. If the erotization of the child from the 1960s to the 1990s has resulted in a younger and younger erotized body, but those bodies are still living at home, it must also create a pressure on the incest fear.

Is there a social acceptance process that paedophiles can engage in and nurture to improve their situation? A normalization process?

One of the steps would be the deconstruction of the language and categories being used. Buried in them are very, very old prejudices, fears, and moral approbations. The lessons for cultural and sexual history from the past twenty-five years of experience is that the deconstruction of these categories goes hand in hand with the freedom of the individual. We have to recognize that one is not trapped in these categories, and that the categories do not explain the desires or intents or feelings of the individual.

Deconstruction is a very important step, but it in turn depends upon two other steps. One is basic research. One of the most important lessons of the gay and lesbian movement is that as more and more scholarly research was done, being gay or lesbian was increasingly removed from the area of stigmatization. It opened up a whole new set of questions, a whole new set of rational processes which became applied to the study of the phenomenon. What one needs are forms of basic research which open up the whole phenomenon to a new way of thinking, and, closely related, people willing to publicly talk about the research in a way that provides a new kind of fodder for public discourse. There has to be a discussion about what social, ethical, legal, political, and spiritual consequences these kinds of relationships have. This enormously helps people to begin to break down the broad and relatively meaningless stigmatizing categories.

The age range is perhaps one of the most fundamental questions that people ask from the outside looking in. What age range are people who

are interested in younger people talking about? Two-year-olds, five-year-olds, ten-year-olds, what difference does it make? How do you explain it? How do you think about it? What kinds of processes are involved in it? What are the responsibilities that go along with the age question? Questions—well, really they are examinations, investigations—such as these would open paedophilia to a more rational scrutiny. It becomes less possible to entertain monolithic, scapegoating categories such as sexual abuse.

Of course, there is also humor. Another important step towards normalization would be to engage the rhetoric itself, sometimes playfully turning it on its head and poking fun at it. To ask for example: "What is a perfect paedophile?" is a way of engaging some of the prejudices that are implied in it.

Further Reading:

Dr. Herdt's writings are too numerous to list. The following were most relevant to this interview:

- *Guardians of the Flute: Idioms of Masculinity* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981); the first of a trilogy of works about man-boy insemination sex rites.
- *Sambia: Ritual and Gender in New Guinea* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1987).
- (as Editor) *Homosexuality and Adolescence* (New York: Haworth Press, 1989).The introduction is very important.
- (with Robert Stoller) *Intimate Communications: Erotics and the Study of Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). The introduction is especially useful.
- *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia.* 2nd ed. with a new introduction (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). The introduction is an essential text in understanding his shift from the use of the term "homosexual" to "homoerotic." It also contains a very trenchant criticism of much contemporary anthropological theory about sexuality.
- "Representations of Homosexuality in Traditional Societies: An Essay on Cultural Ontology and Historical Comparison," *Journal of the History of Sexuality.* Part I (1991), volume 1, pp. 481-504; Part II (1991), volume 2, pp. 603-632. This two-part article is highly recommended for its new theory of desire, which is also discussed in the interview above.

THE DUTCH PAEDOPHILE EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT

Frits Bernard

Early History

When one describes the history of paedophile emancipation, one must draw on memory, certainly as far as the initial phase is concerned. For today's generation it is barely possible to imagine the circumstances under which paedophiles lived in the years before 1955. They were isolated from one another, and the notion of "coming out" was not even being talked about. The laws were strictly enforced, and in the Netherlands article 248bis of the Penal Code, enacted in 1911 and abolished in 1971, which discriminated in favor of heterophiles, was still applicable.[1] Homosexual contacts and relationships between adults and individuals under the age of twenty-one were punishable, while the heterosexual age of consent was sixteen. Paedophilia was not yet an issue, and the term "sexual minority" was not yet being used. There was very little literature on the subject, except for psychiatric papers dominated by an analysis of the pathological aspects of paedophilia.

Homosexuality was also a difficult matter in society; however, the work of the Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee (founded at the turn of the century in Berlin by Dr. Magnus Hirschfield[2]) had been a pioneer in this area. There was a Dutch branch represented by L.S.A.M. von Römer, a doctor from Amsterdam. Also influential in the homosexual movement in the first years of our century was the magazine *Der Eigene, ein Blatt für männliche Kultur*, published by Adolf Brand, as well as the writings of John Henry Mackay, published under the name "Sagitta."

The evolution of National Socialism in Germany meant the end of the contributions of Hirschfeld, and of sexology in general, in that country. The Dutch branch of the Komitee was dissolved a few days after the German occupation began. By the end of World War II there remained very little of what had been started.

The Beginning

In 1940 I communicated by telephone with Jhr. Mr. J.A. Schorer, who at the time was the chairman of the Wetenschappelijk Humanitaire Comité in the Netherlands. Through him I came into contact with Dr. Benno Premsela, who was one of the first sexologists in the Netherlands. These

were the first concrete steps I took concerning the paedophile issue. However, the German invasion and the dissolution of the Comité prevented any further contacts until the next decade.

Human beings have the tendency not to make judgements based on facts, especially in sexual matters, but rather on simplified abstractions of reality. New facts, including scientific research, are generally not accepted or respected. This had long been the case with homosexuality. Misguided notions thrived, and there was active resistance to any revision of opinion. The question which occupied me was how to combat this attitude and bring paedophilia into the forum of discussion, and thus better the lot of those with paedophile feelings. I concluded that the giving of information and advice had to take precedence, but scholarly and scientific studies had to be initiated and a group of active people who would devote themselves to the integration of child sexuality and paedophilia into society would have to be organized. Up to this point in time, nothing of this kind had existed. It was a totally new idea.

If one sees paedophilia as the loving of children, also in the erotic sense, and this can mean girls and/or boys, then it is clear that paedophilia does not fall under the category of homosexuality. Nevertheless, one of my first contacts was with a homosexual organization. I had my first conversation with Bob Anglelo (pseudonym for Niek Engelschman) in 1957. He was at that time chairman of the Cultuur en Ontspanningscentrum (COC, Culture and Leisure Center), an organization in the Netherlands which concerns itself with the interests of homosexuals. I wanted to build on my idea of creating a section which would focus on the interests of paedophiles within the COC. The COC, today called the Nederlandse Vereniging tot Integratie van Homosexualiteit COC (Netherlands Association for the Integration of Homosexuality), was ambivalent about the paedophile issue in the fifties. People felt threatened by it. Yet it was in fact the COC which between 1959 and 1964 published a series of articles about paedophilia, some long, some short, in its monthly magazine *Vriendschap* (Friendship).[3] In 1962 an attempt was made by way of *Vriendschap* to raise interest within the COC for a positive and practical approach to the issue of paedophilia.[4] In an article there I proposed that a center to deal with the problems surrounding the paedophile issue be formed within the COC. In the beginning this idea was well received, but later, as things actually began to take shape and a meeting of paedophiles within the COC was announced in The Hague, the association's directors became fearful and it was banned. Because of their anxiety the plans were torpedoed and the formation of a paedophile group within the homosexual organization was foiled. My plans had failed, because the time was not ripe. Another Dutch society, the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Sexuele Hervorming (NVSH; Netherlands Association for Sexual Reform), had also long expressed objections to the issue of paedophilia and everything connected with it. The NVSH was to change its attitudes in the early 1970s.

In the meantime my attempts to form the "Enclave Kring" were taking shape. The name Enclave was chosen because this reflected the fact that paedophiles live in isolation, in a kind of enclave. The start was difficult and by no means a bed of roses.

Although, from the very beginning, Enclave was meant for heterophile as well as homophile paedophiles, the group developed more in the homophile direction. Why is not clear. There did evolve, remarkably enough in Spain, the Lolita Club, a small club in which a number of heterosexual paedophiles had united. The members corresponded anonymously with each other and exchanged non-pornographic photographs through the mail. This organization dissolved without a trace. Nothing more was heard about the founder, a businessman from Barcelona. What exactly happened will most likely never come to light.

The first foundations of the "Enclave Kring," which developed slowly into the International Enclave Movement, were laid at Mispelstraat 3, The Hague. It was there that the first meetings and discussions took place, albeit on a small scale. The first circulars were drafted and distributed. In 1960 Enclave moved to Rotterdam.

People from various countries joined; Enclave was in touch with a number of institutions and organizations. From the many letters which were received, the great psychological distress paedophiles everywhere were experiencing was revealed. Correspondence was conducted in no less than six languages. And yet Enclave remained, in part, an underground movement. The time for a real "coming out" was years away.

The objectives of the International Enclave Movement were (among others) to break down prejudice about the issues of erotic contacts and relationships between minors and adults, and to provide information and advice as well as to initiate a direct assistance program. It goes without saying that efforts were made toward a revision of the penal code.

The background philosophy of the International Enclave Movement was to attempt to develop new moral views concerning paedophilia based upon scientific investigation of facts rather than upon traditional moral judgements which find paedophilia unacceptable. To answer the question of whether the movement for the emancipation of paedophiles is justified and whether those with paedophile feelings should assert their rights, we must investigate what children think of paedophile contacts and what the psychological consequences of consensual paedophile contacts are for the children who are involved in them. Here we must rely on the results attained by the most objective scholarly/scientific research. Research done in the early 1970s confirmed that consensual sexual contact between children and adults is not per se negative, and in some cases can have a positive effect on the child.[5] The aspirations of Enclave were therefore justifiable.

Ultimately the whole paedophile problem is a political problem. I have often argued that facts are the basis for constructive discussion in politics. In a discussion about paedophilia it is essential to lay the facts on

the table before any discussion leading to a resolution can begin. It is only then that a debate about, for example, the lowering of the age of consent can bear fruit. Without a doubt, emotions will continue to play a role and on the whole can fulfill a positive role at that by revealing where the spheres of intolerance are. When those with paedophile feelings become angry, this can be taken as a signal and can show up the injustice of their situation. We should take these emotions very seriously and not reproach them. But listening to others will always be a difficult business.

In early 1958 I wrote the novella *Costa Brava* and the novel *Vervolgde Minderheid* (Persecuted Minority), which was accompanied by a scholarly afterword.[6] The progressive press Storm, in Utrecht, was willing to print the books, something which was a bit difficult in those days. There was a delay in the finishing stages and the books therefore did not come out until 1960, and then on the same day. *Costa Brava* took place against the backdrop of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), and *Vervolgde Minderheid* in the Netherlands of the 1950s. They were published by Enclave in Rotterdam and were meant to reach a broad public with the intention of bringing the issue of sexuality between adults and children to light. In those days I could not have guessed that these works would, in later years, be released in many countries in translation through established publishers.

It was also in 1960 that the three-part series "Ephebophilie en Wetenschap" appeared in *Vriendschap*. This series presented a closer investigation of the concepts of paedophilia and ephebophilia. In this article I proposed that paedophiles are primarily interested in the child who has not yet reached puberty and ephebophiles are principally interested in children during the age of puberty and after. The boundary between the two is not rigid as the one phenomenon flows into the other, but it is nevertheless important to keep them distinct. Authors such as Benedict Friedländer and John Henry Mackay put the accent on ephebophilia and not on paedophilia in its full sense of love for children. Inaccuracy in the descriptions of the two has led to much confusion and misunderstanding, before and now. Especially in America and England this difference is ignored, so that paedophilia is understood to mean all adult sexual contact with minors.

Enclave remained primarily an underground movement as the times dictated. The hostility toward paedophiles was too great. The only aspect of Enclave which was above ground was its publishing, which continued to put out books and brochures in various languages. From 1960 to 1964 no less than five books, literary and scholarly, were published,[7] as well as a whole series of brochures. This does not include articles in other publications in the Netherlands and abroad. They were years of great productivity.

There were also various magazines sympathetic with the goals of Enclave, among which were the German magazines *Der Weg zu Freundschaft*

und Toleranz, published by Wolf H.F. Prien in Hamburg, *Amigo* from Denmark, and *Verstandig Oudeschap*, a monthly from the NVSH, in which very positive discussions appeared about Enclave publications. Among the personalities who sought contact with Enclave were authors such as Jef Last,[8] Cor Huisman,[9] Heinz Oelfke,[10] and scholars such as Willhart S. Schlegel and Albr. D. Dieckhoff, a lawyer in Hamburg and author of *Der Protestanten Bericht, nebst vollständiger Übersetzung des Griffin Report* (1961).

In order to guarantee privacy Enclave did not maintain a list of members. It quickly became apparent from the letters from many paedophiles how important it was to have an address to which he or she could write about difficulties. Here is an excerpt from a letter written in 1961:

> Although it is, as you yourself have written, not possible for you to find a solution for my problem, just your writing has done me a great deal of good. Good, especially since I finally have received a letter from someone who is not reproachful. Usually one hears nothing other than scandalously distorted tirades against paedophiles. Your letter makes no mention whatsoever of a sick aberration or of ways to cure deviant behaviour. In your letter I read only understanding and hopes for help... It is impossible for me to continue to live as I now live, but I endure a deathly anxiety when I consider the possiblity of another term in prison... It does not surprise me in the least that you have received so many reactions to your books. This problem exists for a much larger number of people than most dare to imagine.

Many of the writers ended their letter with a request that it be destroyed, so we have lost an important body of historical documentation.

One letter of historical interest that was preserved came from Jan Hanlo, 14 September 1962. He later became one of the most important contemporary Dutch writers, and his letters were published by Van Oorschot (Amsterdam, 1989):

> Dear Sir: I recently read your brochure *On paedophilia*... It would be a great pleasure to make your acquaintance... Perhaps you might happen to have seen my poems, in the collection published by V. Oorschot, in which it will be apparent that this phenomenon lies close to my heart.[11]

Here is one more excerpt from a letter written in 1965:

> The changeover of the COC's *Vriendschap* to *Dialoog* (apparently due to the changing situation in the Netherlands) is for me personally a great disappointment. Most of all I miss your literary survey which was of great interest to me. And I feel intuitively that in *Dialoog* (and perhaps in *De Schakel* as well) the phenomenon of paedophilia, due to public opinion, has been pushed into the background as much as possible, as if they wish to distance themselves from the issue. It is because of this trend that I have now subscribed to *Der Weg* and *Der Kreis* as well as *Amigo* from Scandinavia in order to keep up with current events. I would therefore be grateful to hear whether the paedophile magazine that Enclave intends to release on an international basis indeed will come out. Or, is there another way to get a list of new literature? I would be very disappointed to miss any paedophile publications.

In 1964 preparations for the release of an international journal were actually well underway. The first number was ready for press. At the last moment misgivings arose and it was not published. It was to take years before a journal would come out elsewhere. This was another one of Enclave's ideas which was premature.

Around 1960 I went to America where I made contacts with prominent figures in the New York homosexual movement, my intention being to rally suppport for the goals of Enclave. I was received enthusiastically and the results of the trip were promising. In the meantime I made contacts with individuals in a great number of other countries. In 1960 I travelled to Japan, something unusual before the jet-age. In August of that year I lectured at the University of Nishinomiya within the framework of a congress organized by the Japanese Psychological Association (University of Tokyo).[12] Contacts in Kyoto, Yokohama and Tokyo were followed by discussions with those interested in Enclave. Other places I visited in the same year were the Philippines, Hong Kong, Singapore and India. Close contacts were maintained with a number of European countries, especially Germany. A correspondence with paedophiles in a few African countries began as well.

Enclave has been cited in scholarly literature outside of the Netherlands, for example in Tom O'Carroll's book *Paedophilia: The Radical Case*. O'Carroll writes, "Work towards paedophile emancipation had started in Holland in the 1950s, with the growth of the Enclave Movement, which brought paedophiles into correspondence with each other, both inside and outside Holland. In 1958 Enclave became an international publishing house specifically oriented towards paedophile books."[13]

Between 1966 and 1969 the activities of Enclave diminished, not because the problems had become less urgent but because I was occupied by other matters at the time. The development of a second phase of emancipation would not take shape until the 1970s.

The Continuation

The NVSH had long objected to paedophilia. After the conference "De Staat als Zedenmeester" (The State as Keeper of Morals) in 1969, its attitude towards paedophilia slowly changed. The old structure of the existing organization disappeared, a process of democratization took place, and it was easier for a grass-roots movement to spring up. The by-laws of the organization underwent change. Early in 1970 a number of prominent members came together in order to devise a program to deal with the issue of paedophilia. In actuality this was the start, in early January, of the paedophile workgroups. A number of resolutions were adopted which influenced all later developments. Among other things, the go-ahead was given for a book to be written about the subject which would throw light on many aspects of paedophilia. A commission was formed consisiting of experts[14] in various disciplines who immediately went to work. As early as the first half of 1972 there appeared *Sex met kinderen* (Sex with Children), published by the NVSH. This book signalled the beginning of a new development.

Paedophile workgroups arose in a number of cities. They took care of paedophiles in distress, as well as organizing all kinds of activities: open forums, readings, etc. Information was made available to those outside the paedophile community, such as schools, the police and the press. This helped pave the way for a more open attitude about sexuality and paedophilia.

The book *Sex met kinderen* had an effect throughout Europe and abroad. The historian Dr. E. Born underlines the effect of the book in the Netherlands in the foreword of his brochure *Paedophile Integration after 1959*:

> The Dutch paedophiles feel as though they have survived a long seige. Some have ventured out, but most continue to exist in hiding and must endure the consequent hardships. Even today we can gauge the courage that must have been necessary to speak of paedophilia in the sixties, not to mention the courage needed less than ten years ago to oppose a murderous taboo, to stress the urgent need for assistance and understanding, and for an intelligent unprejudiced approach to the phenomenon of paedophilia. The integration of the paedophile into society started for the first time only last year. Attempts to do this can be dated back to the beginning of the sixties.[15]

The national paedophile workgroups attained official status in the form of the Hoofdbestuurscommissie Pedofilie, NVSH, on January 20, 1973. New local paedophile workgroups still continue to come into being.

In an information brochure from 1973 the goal of the workgroups was presented as follows:

> The primary goal of the national and local workgroups is to provide the chance for paedophiles to meet each other and thereby help them to emerge from isolation. This opportunity in itself is a liberating experience.
>
> Expert assistance for paedophiles who are in distress is being organized, and furthermore efforts are being made to relieve the plight of this oppressed group. The workgroups facilitate regular contact between paedophiles and non-paedophiles within as well as outside the workgroups. This is possible since non-paedophiles joined the workgroups as well as the administrative bodies of these workgroups. The NVSH board, active members of NVSH, form part of the national workgroup.
>
> In their campaign of enlightenment the national and local workgroups also work outside of the group, by distributing information, by giving lectures, etc.
>
> The workgroups compile documentation and data files about recent occurrences and about the history of paedophilia in the last decades.
>
> The workgroups gather material for scholarly research projects as well.[16]

An above-ground organization had arisen from an underground movement. This could not have happened without the painstaking work done in the fifties and sixties.

Paedophilia became a topic outside of the NVSH too. The media gave the matter attention. Under the auspices of the Nationaal Centrum voor Geestelijke Volksgezondheid (NCGV; National Center for Mental Health) a special workgroup was formed in 1973 to deal with the possibilities of assistence for paedophiles. Already existing welfare programs could not handle this issue, as they were not adequately informed about paedophilia. This NCGV workgroup was made up of prominant authorities in various areas such as psychology, criminology, psychiatry, etc.[17] This new group met for the first time on March 18, 1974, in Utrecht. Their objectives were thus outlined:

> Given the shortcomings in aiding paedophiles with their relationships, contacts and needs that psycho-social aid programs revealed when they were consulted, it is necessary to:
>
> a) specify these shortcomings;
>
> b) review the social problems relevent to paedophilia;
>
> c) describe the possible connection between these shortcomings and the existing problems;

d) to indicate whether or not there is a connection between these shortcomings and problems on the one hand and socio-sexual attitudes about human relationships on the other, and to what extent;

e) to indicate ways in which the shortcomings revealed in aid programs can be quickly eliminated and thereby promote the prevention of problems in the future. The workgroup is also expected to make recommendations and suggestions practical to the relevent aid programs.[18]

The definitive report concerning the conclusions of the commission appeared in 1976, entitled *Pedofilie en Samenleving* (Paedophilia and Society). Here are several important conclusions from the voluminous report:

—The most acute and usually also the most serious difficulties occur as soon as the police and/or the Prosecutor become involved in the problem. Many problems escalate unnecessarily if people neglect to ask what exactly the problem is and/or people don't think of approaching the parent involved or the child.

—The Workgroup is of the opinion that it is incorrect to regard sexual activities with children under sixteen as punishable acts, and the Workgroup strongly recommends the repeal of all the sections of the law pertaining to this matter, or parts thereof, such as appear in Section XIV of the second book of the Penal Code. The Workgroup made this opinion known and argued it in a letter of December 20, 1974 to the Advisory Committee on Morals Laws. We are, therefore, in agreement with similar ideas such as those which have already been made known to the Advisory Committee by a special advisory study group of the National Center for Mental Health; by the Rutgers Foundation; the Coornhert League; the Dutch Institute for Social Sexological Research; and the Free Rights Union.

—The child, just like everyone else, has the right to express his [sexual] feelings and needs.[19]

In the report the words "paedophilia" and "paedophile" are defined as follows:

Paedophilia is the human quality characterized by an attraction to children, also in the physical sense, which is experienced as being so important that it dominates the person's life. Every adult for whom this attraction is of fundamental importance is a paedophile as long as this attraction has importance for him or her.[20]

At the end of the report there is an overview of the legal situation in various countries at the time it was written. It concludes:

The variations in the legal situation having to do with the sexuality of children and paedophilia in the various countries reflects great uncertainty about this phenomenon. The laws vary from country to country and from era to era, from no punishment at all, all the way to the death penalty.

Also people's attitudes with respect to paedophilia and the sexuality of children can be vastly different in various countries and cultural periods. It is obvious from this that also elsewhere people don't know what to do with this phenomenon.[21]

The report was clearly needed; extra copies had to be printed, and discussion on the subject began.

In the meantime the National Workgroup of the NVSH organized five international meetings in Breda between 1973 and 1975.[22] This was the first real "coming out"! These meetings in Breda also resulted in the formation of workgroups abroad. The NVSH was the model.

Since 1976 the National Workgroup on Paedophilia has given itself the sub-title Werkgroep tot Emancipatie van Oudere-Jongererelaties (Workgroup for the Emancipation of Intergenerational Relationships), indicating that they were concerned with a broader question than just paedophilia. In 1979 the name was changed to Landelijke Werkgroep Jeugdemancipatie (National Workgroup for the Emancipation of Children). From that point the accent was placed on the child, and the emancipation of the child was of central importance. The right of children to have sexual contact, as well as their right not to have sexual contact, was included in the program. The lack of children's rights to have sexual contacts or not have them was seen as a problem that needed a solution.

After the five international congresses in Breda the 1977 Congress "Pedofilie en Samenleving" (Paedophilia and Society), in the RAI building in Amsterdam, was a new peak in the history of paedophile emancipation, a coming out clearly directed to the outside world. The Congress was held under the auspices of the NVSH and the NCGV. Over two hundred people from the fields of social work, the social sciences and the police took part. There was also a twelve-year-old boy as a youth representative at the committee table. The head of the Rotterdam police, Mr. B. Kalma, gave a positive speech on the topic. Various aspects of paedophilia were discussed by a number of experts, and the Chairman of the NVSH, Tom van der Loo, closed the meeting.

In connection with this we should also mention the second sex information exhibition "Sexuality '78" (also called "The Sex Fair"), which was held from September 1 to 10, 1978 in the AHOY building in Rotterdam, and which drew many visitors. The National Paedophile Workgroup, NVSH, participated, along with four other NVSH national workgroups.[23]

The COC also took part, as did the Rutger Stichting.

In the summer of 1980 the long-expected *Eindrapport van de Adviescommissie Zedelijkheidswetgeving* (Final Report of the Advisory Committee on the Morals Laws) appeared. The committee was led by A.L. Melai, Professor of Penology at the Rijksuniversiteit in Leiden. A number of recommendations were made in the report pertaining to the sexuality of children and paedophilia, among them that, if the initiative were taken by the child, sexual contacts with children between the ages of twelve and sixteen should no longer be punishable. Although this has not been implemented, it indicates that the sexuality of children under sixteen years of age is taken seriously here and accepted, and was definitely a positive development. However, it was not until 1991 that new morals laws were introduced in the Netherlands. At present sexual contact (with no penetration) with minors between twelve and sixteen can basically be prosecuted only after a formal complaint from the minor him/herself or his/her parents.

We should also make mention of the initiative taken in the 1970s by a small group in Tegelen (Limburg) under the leadership of Hardy Sigfrid Scheller in the area of heterosexual paedophilia. They published a German-language magazine called *Propädophile Informationsblätter*. Scheller also wrote two books, *Die manipulierte Psyche, Betrachtungen über die heterosexuelle Pädophile* (Tegelen: Sandra Verlag, 1979), and *Die pädophilie Emanzipation, Motive und philosophische Grundlagen des Propädophilismus*, published by himself in 1980. The organization no longer exists.

Still active is "Vereniging Martijn" (Amsterdam). They produce a high quality monthly magazine, *O.K.: Info-magazine over Ouderen-Kinderen-relaties*. It prints the latest news as well as background information and is illustrated with photos and sketches. In addition, it makes available a "Press Focus" to members—a monthly newspaper of clippings about sex and emancipation.[24]

The Future

Looking back on the 1970s, we can see that they were years of initiative, emancipation, research, and above all optimism. The 1980s have proved otherwise. After 1982-1983 the deterioration has been rapid. In Holland resistance was mounted against the dearly won sexual freedoms, and foreign powers have tried more and more to influence Dutch moral attitudes.

The NVSH membership dropped drastically to under ten thousand in the 1980s, and it consequently faced a financial crisis.[25] The recovery has been slow.

Paedophile organizations in foreign countries have had great problems: the Swiss and French-speaking Belgian groups were destroyed by police action, and many people were arrested. Everywhere there has been

an hysteria over paedophilia and child sexuality, often degenerating into witch-hunts. The media deal with the phenomenon with complete lack of understanding. Phenomenologically distinct categories are mixed together: paedophilia and ephebophilia are not distinguished, and both are equated with child abuse.

Reaction against progress might be expected; improvement is never steady. Religious fundamentalism and its judgmental morality is now again gaining ground. After this negative period, probably a more positive one will follow; how long that will last nobody can say.

The Dutch organizations stand in the breach. They are again needed now more than ever.[26]

Was There Ever a Chance of Success?

Herman de Coninck came to the conclusion in an article he wrote in *Humo* (1994) that paedophiles had by then almost achieved their aims.

An article by Rineke van Daalen and Bram van Stolk appeared in the special sexuality issue of *De Psycholoog* (official montly organ of the Netherlands Psychological Association) of July/August 1993 entitled "Psychological Help With Problems Involving Homosexuality, Paedophilia and Sexual Abuse—The pressure of the social debate", from which the following conclusions can be cited:

"Social acceptance of paedophiles and paedophilia as the final victory of the sexual revolution has not happened. The period in which it was discussed in society was really rather short—in the *Monthly Journal of Mental Health* from 1973 to 1978. Under pressure from increasing concerns about abuse and violence, the tide turned in society against the paedophiles, resulting in important changes in ideas in the areas of social assistance and punishment. In the 1980s it again became acceptable to treat paedophiles as sick people and perpetrators of criminal offences.

"It is very tempting, from our present-day perspective, to attribute the failure of paedophile emancipation to power imbalance between paedophiles and children. But if we think back to the early 1970s, this development could never have been predicted. Considering the gist of the discussions at that time, the chances of a significant improvement in the position of paedophiles in society did not seem too bad."

Evaluation and Conclusions

Paedophile emancipation in The Netherlands began about thirty-five years ago. An historical analysis reveals how this process has taken place up to the present time:

a) Before about 1955 there were absolutely no developments in paedophile emancipation. Paedophiles lived in isolation. There was only a single, one-sided, and above all dubious psychiatric approach.

b) Between about 1955 and 1965 Enclave began to challenge this view. Paedophiles came into contact with one another. Aid for paedophiles was started. A new vision of the phenomenon developed. Scientific research was set on the agenda. The COC played an important part in all of this through its monthly publication *Vriendschap*.

c) The years between 1965 and 1970 were a period of consolidation. The COC rejected paedophilia; its new magazine *Dialoog* was not sympathetic.

d) The decade of the seventies saw a number of Enclave initiatives put into action. Within the NVSH the national paedophile workgroup was formed. The book *Sex met kinderen* appeared in 1972. Scientific research was carried out. Once again paedophiles came together, but this time under the aegis of a non-paedophile organization. There were congresses in Breda between 1973 and 1975, the first "coming out". The workgroup took on its own identity. There was an important symposium in Amsterdam in 1977. The workgroup appeared more and more often in newspapers, on radio and television. At the end of the seventies there was a shift of emphasis: now, within the workgroup, the child was perceived as the most important element and emancipation of children the group's most important goal.

e) During the 1980s emancipation suffered reversals. People started to question whether the vision of sexual emancipation was correct.

According to C. Straver, the process of emancipation has three phases which, in my opinion, are roughly applicable to paedophilia. They are:

1) An advance guard of the elite comes cautiously out in order to plead the interests of the group with the dominant forces of government and society with their prevailing opinions, appealing to and confident in their sense of justice and rejection of prejudice.

2) Through mutual association the group forms its own identity and works toward an increase of self-awareness. The accent is upon self-knowledge, but there are a few outward initiatives.

3) The group comes out, forges a strategy to have its wishes granted, confronts the dominant elements of society with its stands and the justice of its demands by means of education and provocative actions. The accent is on outward activities directed toward integration into society, being considered equal. Helping and caring for one another assume second place.[27]

Through my psychotherapeutic practice, as advisor in forensic cases, through Enclave, COC and NVSH, and by means of personal contact, I have met more than a thousand people with paedophile feelings during the course of the years. The number of children I met who had contacts with adults was over three thousand. When I review in my mind all these cases, I can only come to the following conclusions:

—People with paedophile feelings are just like other people; the variability in paedophiles is probably as great as that in the general population. A child who is interested in sexual contacts with adults is as normal as the child who is not interested in such contacts.

—Paedophilia is, first and foremost, not a problem for the paedophile; it is apparently also not a problem for the child. Paedophilia is primarily a problem for the non-paedophile, for society.

—Our attitude towards paedophilia can very well be the touchstone for the way we can and dare feel about sexuality in general and that of children in particular.

—Heterosexuality, homosexuality, bisexuality and paedophilia should be considered equally valuable forms of human behavior.

—Paedophiles can enrich society by bringing into it new perspectives.

NOTES

1. Still valid, however, is article 247 of the penal code: "A person who performs an indecent act or gives the opportunity for an indecent act to take place with someone whom he knows to be unconscious or who is powerless, or with someone under sixteen years of age, or, without participating himself, allows a third person to do such a thing, will be punished with imprisonment for no more than six years."

Also article 244 is relevant: "A man who has sexual intercourse with a girl under the age of twelve will be punished with a prison sentence of not longer than twelve years"; as is article 245: "A man who has sex, without having actual sexual intercourse, with a girl over the age of twelve but under the age of sixteen, will be punished with a maximum eight years of imprisonment. Prosecution of acts which do not fall within article 248 will not take place unless a complaint is lodged."

It should be noted that someone who seduces and has sexual intercourse with a girl between twelve and sixteen years of age can only be punished if a complaint is lodged (article 245), while someone who does not have sexual intercourse with a girl of the same age range but performs indecent acts is punishable.

2. I can clearly recall the following incident. In May 1935, when I was fourteen, I was standing in the conservatory of our house in Spain after school leafing through the newspaper *La Vanguardia Española* or *El Noticiario Universal* (I think it was the latter). My eye fell upon a short article telling of the death of Magnus Hirschfeld (May 15, 1935) and the cause to which he had devoted his life. Until that time I had never heard of Hirschfeld, but that report sticks in my memory.

3. During this time, just as nearly everyone writing in *Vriendschap* used noms-de-plume, the editors also used pseudonyms. This changed in January 1965 with the appearance of the new publication *Dialoog* (Dialogue). A new phase begun as the new magazine came out, bringing the discussion to the outside world.

4. See "Victor Servatius," *Over pedofilie—Een centrum voor pedofielen—Zin der pedofilie* (Rotterdam: Enclave 1962). This also appeared previously in *Vriendschap*, vol. 17, nos. 2 & 4, 1962. *Over pedofilie* initiated a great deal of discussion. It also appeared in German in *Kontiki* no. 59 (Zurich), April 1983, under the title *Pädophilie 1962-1983*, and is presented in English in issue 2 of *Paidika*.

5. See, among others, "De gevolgen voor het kind," in *Sex met kinderen* (The Hague: NVSH, 1972); abstracts of this in English may be found in *Love and Attraction*, edited by Mark Cook and Glenn Wilson (Oxford and New York: Pergamon Press, 1979), pp. 499-501, and *Children and Sex*, edited by L.L. Constantine and F.M. Martinson (Boston: Little, Brown, 1981), pp. 189-199. And later see Theo Sandfort, *The Sexual Aspect of Paedophile Relations: the experience of twenty-five boys* (Amsterdam: Pan/Spartacus, 1982).

6. During those years I used the pen-name "Victor Servatius."
7. The publications issued by Enclave are, in order of their appearence: "Victor Servatius" (Frits Bernard), *Vervolgde Minderheid, roman met een wetenschappelijk nawoord*, 1960; "Victor Servatius", *Costa Brava*, 1960; "Victor Servatius", *Ephebophilie en wetenschap: stand van zaken*, 1960; "Victor Servatius", *Phenomenologische beschouwingen over bisexualiteit*, 1961; "Victor Servatius", *Schlegel's analytisch constitutie-onderzoek*, 1961; "Victor Servatius", *Wetgevingen en sexueel gedrag*, 1961; "Victor Servatius", *Over pedophilie—een centrum voor pedofielen—zin der pedofilie*, 1962; Jef Last, *De Jeugd van Judas*, 1962; Cor Huisman, *De Legende van Magelang*, 1964; "O. Brunoz" (Edward Brongersma), *La Pédophilie—l'Amour des garcons*, préface, "Victor Servatius", 1964; Frits Bernard, *Vervolgde Minderheid en Costa Brava*, one-volume edition, illustrated, 1984; Frits Bernard, *Paedophilia—A Factual Report*, 1985.
8. Jef Last (Josephus Carel Franciscus), Dutch author, 1898-1972. He studied sinology at Leiden and Hamburg (graduated 1957), and headed the film service of the Institute for Labor Development. He travelled to the Soviet Union and fought in 1936 in Spain. From 1950 to 1953 he was a teacher and governmental advisor for culture and art in Bali. From his youth on he was a committed socialist, for several years a communist. His literary work comprises some 65 volumes, including poetry, fiction and essays. He was one of the most important socialist writers of his generation, and certainly the best essayist. (Source: *Oosthoeks Encyclopedia*, fifth edition, Utrecht, 1962.) His *De Jeugd van Judas* was published by Enclave in 1962, with a design he himself provided for the cover. Last himself thought this was his best book.
9. Cor Huisman, writer and journalist. He wrote particularly on North African and Middle Eastern affairs and personalities. His *De Legende van Magelang* (1964) was published by Enclave with a cover design by Mario de Graaf.
10. Heinz Oelfke, writer and poet. His latest book is *Hauptsache wir leben—Kindertage zwischen Kirchtum und Kanonen* (1987). Heinz Oelfke translated *Costa Brava* into German.
11. Jan Hanlo (Johannes Bernardus Maria Rafaël), Dutch poet and author, 1912-1969. His first poems were published in 1951; in 1954 his poem "Ote" created such a sensation that it was even disputed in the Dutch parliament. The original of this letter is in the Bernard Foundation, Inc. In 1989 I wrote an article on Jan Hanlo: "Herinneringen aan Jan Hanlo", published in MAATSTAF 7/89.
12. The lecture was entitled "Athletic-Athenic and Andromorph-Gynaecomorph Variations."
13. Tom O'Carroll, *Paedophilia: The Radical Case* (London: Peter Owen, 1980), p. 251, note 16.
14. The members were F. Bernard, E. Brongersma, I. Haagsma, W.J. Sengers and P. van Eeten.
15. Dr. E. Born, "Pedofielie integratie nà 1959" (Utrecht, 1973), p. 3.
16. NSVH, "Landelijke Werkgroep Pedofielie Brochure 1973."
17. The ad hoc workgroup of the NCGV was made up of the following: S. de Batselier, F. Bernard, P. Blok, Mrs. H.M. ter Braak, C. Gutter, G.A.A.T. van der Heuvel, C.J. Huizinga, Mevr. W. van Rijssel, Mrs. L. Rouweler-Wuts, W.J. Sengers (chairperson), J. van Ussel and Mrs. M.C. Verhulst-van der Lans.
18. *Maandblad Geestelijke Volksgezondheid*, March 1974.
19. *Pedofilie en samenleving* (Utrecht: NCGV, and Rotterdam: Instituut voor preventieve en sociale psychiatrie, Erasmus Universiteit, 1976), p. 96, 97 and 100.
20. Ibid., p. 7.
21. Ibid., p. 185.
22. These meetings also provided an opportunity for scientific research about the paedophile participants: an inquiry questionaire, investigation of neurotic or psycho-somatic symptoms, and an assessment of personality aspects.
23. The additional groups from the NVSH were the Landelijke Werkgroep Travestie/Transsexualiteit, the Landelijke Werkgroep Vorming en Voorlichting, the Landelijke Werkgroep Emancipatie, and the Landelijke Werkgroep Gehandicapte Mens en

Gemeenschap.
24. The Stichting Martijn can be contacted via P.O. Box 93548, 1009 EA Amsterdam.
25. This was a serious matter for a society which had been in existence for over a hundred years and at its peak had almost 240,000 members.
26. The workgroups can be reached via the central postal address of the NVSH: P.O. Box 64, 2501 CB The Hague.
27. C. Straver, "Homofilie in Nederland," *Intermediair*, 1972.

About the Author:

Dr. Frits Bernard is a Clinical Psychologist, and was the founder of the International Enclave Movement. He is on the Board of Directors of several associations and institutes, including the Association for Human Sexuality,Giessen; he is a member of the German Society for Sex Research, Jena, and the Society for Sexology, Utrecht. He has published numerous articles on paedophilia, a scholarly work on the subject which has appeared in three languages, and two novels.

HIDING IN THE OPEN: JOHN HENRY MACKAY'S "A FAREWELL"

Hubert Kennedy

In order to gain a publisher—and readers—it has been necessary in the past for homosexual writers to heterosexualize their stories, to change the sex of one of the partners in the relationship that the author really wishes to write about. Modern critics take this situation into account in ways that earlier critics, bound by that same tradition, could not, but the results may vary: "It must be granted that this critical procedure can be reductive if it simply seeks to 'restore the true sex' to a character that is a composite product of the literary imagination."[1] But sometimes the new insight yields a greater appreciation of the writer's intention and results in an entirely different interpretation. This will be illustrated here by a consideration of John Henry Mackay's love poem "Helene" and especially his short story "Ein Abschied: Ein später Brief" [A Farewell: A Late Letter].

That Marcel Proust used elements of his beloved Albert Agostinelli in his creation of the female character Albertine in *Remembrance of Things Past* was conclusively demonstrated in 1949 by Justin O'Brien, who called the strategy "transposition of sexes" or "substitution of sexes."[2] Since then the term "Albertine complex" has been suggested, and this has become so common that in 1977 critic Roger Austen could refer to "Albertine" novels with no further explanation. (Austen cited as an example Tennessee Williams's *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone.*)[3]

Mackay used this strategy in 1888 in his long love poem "Helene."[4] There the title character is modeled after the boy described in Chapter 6 of his autobiographical novel *Fenny Skaller*[5]—who also appears to be the subject of "Der Fluch" [The Curse] in his collection of "poems of the nameless love."[6] "Helene" was hardly noticed by the critics, but was appreciated by a few, including Mackay's friend Gabriele Reuter, who found it "overpowering by its glowing passion":

> Love, love, nothing but love! The exultation of young joy, sighs of languishing desire, wrestling with despair and newly-awakening pain of hope to the rage of the wildest passion! And then separation and her downfall—worse than death—and a curse shrieked into the air by the man who sees her drifting down the dark stream—ever farther and farther—and who stands on the shore and cannot help her.[7]

Two years after "Helene," Mackay published his third volume of lyric

poems, *Das starke Jahr* [The Strong Year]. Reuter saw in it the fruits of Max Stirner's teachings on the "right of the individual," but did not note that one of its poems directly referred, without naming it, to "Helene." Mackay made the connection unmistakable, however, in 1911 when, in the eight-volume edition of his *Gesammelte Werke* [Collected Works], he prefaced "Helene" with this poem, which unlocks some of the mysteries in "Helene."[8]

In "Helene" the narrator tells of first meeting Helene in early spring when he saves her from a suicide attempt. He immediately falls in love and makes an appointment for the next day; but she does not appear and he does not see her again until the following winter, when he discovers her by chance in a lower-class tavern where she sings. Disgusted by the situation he leaves; but he soon returns because he *does* love her and *will* take her away from her sordid occupation. (Clearly she entertains the customers with more than her singing.) To his astonishment she rejects his proposal, and although he then tries to deaden his love, it rages all the more. After he has finally accepted his fate, they have a last meeting in the street. This time she takes him home and tells him that the very day he saved her life she was forced to become a prostitute, and that when she saw him again she decided to revenge herself on him. Now that she has done it, she tells him that he was the only man she ever really loved. This final revelation finishes him off. He writes the poem, sends the manuscript to a friend, and leaves to begin a new life.

I have given the plot of "Helene" at some length since both of Mackay's biographers have stated it inexactly and perhaps therefore have overlooked the importance of the opening episode, the interrupted suicide attempt. Thomas A. Riley wrote of the poem's narrator:

> He condescends to love her, in spite of the shock he feels on discovering her low position in his moral world. To his surprise and despair she remains cold to him, a mystery that takes much time and suffering to dissolve. He finally learns that in pain at his condescending attitude, she has actually become a prostitute.[9]

This sequence of events is rather surprisingly repeated by Mackay's German biographer, Kurt Zube, although Zube is otherwise at great pains to correct Riley's mistakes.[10] The actual sequence of events makes it clear that it is the "good" act of interfering in Helene's suicide attempt that is to be avenged. This idea has often been used for comic effect: a bandit in John Sturges's 1960 film *The Magnificent Seven* says, "Sooner or later you must answer for every good deed." But Mackay was serious, writing in his memoirs near the end of his life: "I do not know why the word 'goodness' has such a disagreeable aftertaste for me. There is something in it of condescension, arrogance, of Pharisaism."[11]

This view also agrees with Mackay's description of "Helene" in the

preface to his *Gesammelte Werke*, where he states the contents of volume three:

> The third volume presents first the early poem "Kinder des Hochlands" [Children of the Highlands]. As trustworthy voices have assured me, it is the only one of my books that "can be put without hesitation into the hands of young girls." Although that gives pause for thought, I still could not decide to leave it out entirely. One does want to have written a good book once, even if it was a long time ago. "Helene," the love poem, is certainly not a good book. It is instead, perhaps, an all the more remarkable setting down of curiously passionate feeling and experience. A quite evil book, of course, is the infamous *Sturm* [Storm].[12]

The irony of "good book" is clear, but it should also be pointed out that when Mackay wrote "Helene," his anarchist and individualist views were already well developed, and that a right to one's own body and life is basic. As the protagonist in Stefan Zweig's *Amok* bluntly put it: "Please don't bother yourself... The only human right left to one is this, to croak when he wants to... and in doing it be unmolested by outside help."[13] The egoist philosopher Max Stirner, whose biographer Mackay was, had already stated this as a result of becoming "one's own": "Only when I am under obligation to no being is the maintaining of life—my affair."[14] And Mackay mentioned suicide in a list of crimes committed by the State in his book *The Freedomseeker*: "Even suicides were punished, should they be so unfortunate as to survive."[15]

In discussing Mackay's largely autobiographical novel *Fenny Skaller*, Kurt Zube particularly mentions Chapter 6, "in which Mackay long and devotedly interested himself on behalf of a sick person."[16] There the boy, who remains unnamed, is taken off the streets of Berlin by Skaller:

> He scarcely knew any more where and when he had found him. He only still knew, knew today, that he had clung to him, to him who was already sinking in the mire of life, like a drowning man—and that he had been foolish enough to believe that in that way he could rescue them both.[17]

I believe that the event that resulted in Mackay's "remarkable setting down of curiously passionate feeling and experience" in "Helene" was precisely that described in Chapter 6 of *Fenny Skaller*, in which Skaller, a boy-lover who has just realized his sexual orientation and is desperate for someone to love, takes a sick street boy into his home and nurses him back to health. He even prevents his suicide: "He tore from him the weapon with which in desperation he wanted to put an end to it, as if this life were *his* for which he fought. He helped and helped, and he never tired of helping."[18] Despite all his love and efforts to help, however, Skaller has no effect on the character of the boy, who continues to sponge off him and even threatens blackmail.

Mackay tells us in *Fenny Skaller* how much his efforts to help the boy cost him: "He had wanted to rescue a soul. Only there was no soul there. If that was a fault, well—he had done severe penance for his sin."[19] Thus, too, was the narrator in "Helene" punished for his good deed of preventing suicide—symbolic of the desire to help those who will not help themselves.

That Mackay would use the Albertine complex here is certainly to be expected, but it is interesting to note that something of the original boy remains in Helene's "sweet little child's face":

> And I was firmly drawn to her beauty,
> To her young, untouched beauty,
> To her slender, charming face,
> ...
> There was still a breath of youth about her.[20]

We may note, too, that in describing his love for Helene the narrator says:

> And my love has remained nameless!
> Not once can I cling to a word.[21]

Some years later Mackay would write in defense of man/boy love:

> But how shall I name you, my life's love?!
> Each name that has named you until now has become a term of abuse in the dirty mouth of the vulgar, a misunderstanding in dull minds, which is worse than all insults; and none names you correctly.
> You still have no name.
> So let me call you—*nameless!*[22]

Another common disguise of the true sex of the author's model takes advantage of the very situation that forces the disguise. This strategy, which may be called "hiding in the open," is just not to reveal the sex of the character concerned. It trusts that the reader will simply assume the sex that is required to make the story heterosexual. As Robert K. Martin wrote in *The Homosexual Tradition in American Poetry*: "Most writing has traditionally been heterosexual, not by declaration but by implication. Men and women are assumed to be heterosexual until proved otherwise."[23] This type of disguise is difficult to accomplish even in the shortest of stories (more difficult in German than in English!) and would seem to be impos-

sible in a novel, but is relatively easy in poetry, as Martin illustrated in his book. And in linking the American poets Hart Crane and Walt Whitman, Thomas A. Yingling wrote of Crane:

> Even the inspiriting presence of Whitman was not proof against the need to obscure reference to homosexuality in his work, for if Robert Martin is correct in suggesting that Crane learned from Whitman to trust his homosexuality and to inscribe it in verse, he also surely learned from Whitman to encode it so that it might be read in something other than a homosexual way.[24]

It is possible that Mackay, too, learned this encoding from Whitman (if, indeed, it needs to be "learned" at all). Although there is no direct evidence that Mackay read Whitman's poetry, it is almost certain that he did. Whitman's cry in *Leaves of Grass*— "Neither a servant nor master I!"—would have appealed to Mackay as it did to his American friend, the anarchist Benjamin R. Tucker; and Whitman "had some vogue in Germany mainly owing to his naturalism."[25] Thus Whitman would have been a topic of discussion among the exponents of naturalism with whom Mackay associated in Berlin in the 1880s. (Mackay later claimed that two of his novellas were "demonstrably the first of that aspiring direction of that time, which under the name naturalism stirred up so much dust in dried-out brains.")[26]

With his command of English, Mackay could easily have read Whitman in the original. In fact, Mackay published in 1889 a volume of translations of ten English and American poets, including Joaquin Miller, who was often associated with Whitman as expressing American democracy.

Mackay widely used the strategy of "hiding in the open" in his love poetry. Riley first pointed this out in his discussion of *Dichtungen*, Mackay's first volume of lyric poems, where he wrote of the section of love poems:

> Especially striking is the fact that most of his love poems could apply to homosexual as well as heterosexual love. Twenty-one of these twenty-five are written in direct address to the loved one, thus disguising the sex of the person to whom they are addressed. The only personal pronouns used are those of the first and second persons. From now on this peculiarity became almost constant in Mackay's poetry. Rare indeed is the poem in which the feminine pronoun is used, and never a girl's name.[27]

This "peculiarity" has also been noted by the Germanist scholar Edward Mornin in his extended study of the writings of Mackay. But whereas Riley saw it as "the trick he used to circumvent his infirmity," Mornin wrote:

> The secrecy and discretion, however, have in no way reduced the strength of expression in Mackay's writings, but on the contrary have rather lent them an intensity of feeling that has an even stronger effect, since their emotion is suggested and not directly expressed. This is so not only for *Am Rande des Lebens* (his only expressly homosexual collection), but also for the whole of his apparently heterosexual love poetry.[29]

A successful example of Mackay's use of "hiding in the open" is the brief poem "Morgen" [Tomorrow], which was set to music by Richard Strauss and has become one of his best-loved songs:

Und morgen wird die Sonne wieder scheinen,
und auf dem Wege, den ich gehen werde,
Wird uns, die Seligen, sie wieder einen,
immitten dieser sonnenatmenden Erde. . .

Und zu dem Strand, dem weiten, wogenblauen,
werden wir still und langsam niedersteigen.
Stumm werden wir uns in die Augen schauen,
und auf uns sinkt, des Glückes großes Schweigen.[30]

Tomorrow again will shine the sun
and, on my sunlit path of earth,
unite us again, as it has done,
and give our bliss another birth.

The spacious beach under wave-blue skies
we'll reach by descending soft and slow,
and mutely gaze in each other's eyes,
as over us rapture's great hush will flow.

The poem was surely inspired by a boy, but the "heterosexual assumption" is so strong that even today an attempt to state this fact in print may be rejected out of hand.[31]

What is relatively easy in a brief poem—leaving the sex undetermined—is difficult to do in a prose work, but that is just what Mackay did in his short story "Ein Abschied: Ein später Brief" [A Farewell: A Late Letter], which, for that matter, is also quite brief.[32] The plot of the story may be quickly told: A great and rich artist dies. In going through his mail that arrived after his death, his widow reads a farewell letter from an old person, who recalls a love affair with the man thirty-five years earlier, an affair known only to the two of them. After reading the letter, the widow tears it up, glad that her husband never read it.

The sex of the author of the letter in the story is not revealed in the letter nor in the surrounding frame of the story. Since the letter recalls an earlier love affair with the man to whom it is addressed, the "heterosexual assumption" led Mackay's biographers and critics, even Dr. Mornin, to conclude that the letter writer was a woman. (As an aside, it may be noted that Mornin and the two biographers of Mackay are all heterosexual.) But the letter can and, I believe, should be read as the farewell of an old boy-lover to his former young boyfriend.

"Ein Abschied" was written in 1898 and published in 1903 as one of the six stories in Mackay's second volume of short stories. In a brief review that year, Emil Ertl, a Viennese author of historical novels, found the theme of this story hackneyed and its German faulty. Apparently he did not read it as a boy-lover's farewell—hardly a hackneyed theme—but he says no more about it.[33]

More recently Mornin viewed the story as follows:

> In "Abschied" a jealous widow tears up a letter written to her late husband by a former [female] lover. Their married life together had been without true love, and even after the death of her husband the wife steps between him and the love of another [woman].[34]

In this quotation I have inserted the words "female" and "woman" in brackets in order to make clear what was unavoidably indicated grammatically in the original German. This illustrates the difficulty of avoiding any indication of gender in German and shows that Mackay must have taken pains to do so in "Ein Abschied." Mornin's "heterosexual assumption" led him to see the jealous wife as the essential element of the story, which, in this view, becomes rather trite. It is, however, a possible interpretation.

Riley's reading of the story, on the other hand, is quite untenable:

> In two of the short sketches in *Zwischen den Zielen* [Between the Goals] men are portrayed who marry into a dull bourgeois existence only to wake up years later to the fact that they should have continued in their early free love relationships. In neither case had they had the courage to break away with a sudden resolution as did Germann in *Der Sybarit*.[35]

It may be noted first that Riley clearly assumes that a woman is the author of the letter, for no one refers to a homosexual relationship as a "free love" relationship. But Riley reads too much into the story when he writes that the man regretted his marriage. There is nothing in the story to indicate this. It is stated that the wife found her marriage difficult, but there is no suggestion that the man was in any way dissatisfied with his

life. On the contrary, he was a successful artist, rich and famous, with admirers and friends (whom the wife does not know). Furthermore, the wife conducted the household in an exemplary fashion. He may well have been quite content with his life, dull and bourgeois as it may have been. Kurt Zube, Mackay's German biographer, merely echoed Riley:

> Also in four of the short stories in *Zwischen den Zielen* were men described who had lived in an unsatisfying marriage. But only two of them had the courage... to radically break with their previous existence... whereas in the other two ("Da erinnerte er sich" and "Ein Abschied") the persons concerned submitted to tradition, because they did not dare to defy it and give their life a better meaning.[36]

The artist in "Ein Abschied" did indeed lead a traditional life, but whether this was from conviction or lack of courage is not known. There is simply not much information given about him in the story.

Since the assumption that the author of the letter is a woman gives her a trite role in the story, attention shifted to the wife (Mornin) or the dead man (Riley, Zube) as the central character—and this in turn led, especially in the latter case, to quite false interpretations. Let us now shift our attention to the letter and suppose that its author is a man. Although the letter takes up only one-third of the space of the story, it is the heart of it, as is indicated in the story's title and subtitle. Written by "an old, already shaking hand," it is unsigned; the artist is asked to "remember whom you loved thirty-five years ago and you will know" who wrote it. The letter concludes: "Farewell, my friend! Farewell, you beloved of my youth!"

It is possible that the two men were nearly the same age thirty-five years earlier; this is suggested in the letter by, "Just as I have forgotten again for an hour that I have grown old, so should you." But the statement that the letter was written by "an old, already shaking hand" and that the widow felt "a kind of hatred of this old, romantic person" suggests a difference in their ages. There is no indication that she thought of her husband, and certainly not of herself, as old. We may suppose, then, that the artist was the younger of the two men and that, when he was the "beloved" of the older man, who was in his youth, he was still a boy, perhaps in his teens.

Thus, the letter may be read as the farewell of an aging boy-lover to a former young boyfriend. In this view, it may be seen to reflect the mixture of idealism and practicality expressed by the wise old woman who presented Mackay's ideas on boy-love in *The Hustler:*

> Only think about the beautiful hours with him. It is all that we will one day have, the memory of such hours...

> Since it is passing, let it be light—your love! Let it be light—you cannot load your burdens onto young shoulders, who neither want nor are able to carry it! Let it be light: like a day in spring; like the glow of summer; like the hour of happiness it is.[37]

Confirming Mackay's rather idealized view of man/boy-love relationships in this story is the letter writer's statement that he wants the artist to remember "your first love, which was perhaps not your deepest, but surely your happiest and most carefree, and about which no one has ever known but you and I." Clearly the relationship was important to the older man, but the tone of the letter is light, and if the writer is breaking a promise he made to himself not to contact the artist, that is only because he has learned that he is ill and wishes "to call a smile to your lips once again, the smile of remembering a happiness"—the idea repeated years later in *The Hustler*. That Mackay saw the boy in such a relationship as indeed "carefree," sometimes too much so, may be seen in his remark to a friend about a schoolboy named "Atti," with whom Mackay fell in love in the spring of 1916, only to have him disappear a few weeks later: "He, too, is very much a Berlin boy, and they beat us in love."[38]

Most touching—and again typical of Mackay's idealized view of boy-love—is the continuing gratitude of the older man, despite the difficulties that their love brought him:

> I thank you, my friend, for the happiness you gave me, and I think of this happiness as one should remember it—as the most precious rarity of this life—with reverence. What it unavoidably entailed in pain and sorrow, I have forgotten, and tranquil today I can say to you: I thank you!

Mackay was thirty-four years old when he wrote "Ein Abschied". Perhaps it reflects how he wished to view in his old age the love affairs whose difficulties so pained him at that age. Surely he hoped for the serenity expressed in the letter!

"Ein Abschied: Ein später Brief" is a rare example of "hiding in the open" in a prose work, and it was a successful strategy. This illustrates the force of the "heterosexual assumption." That Mackay felt some disguise to be necessary shows the power of what has been called "the heterosexual dictatorship." But if Mackay felt compelled to disguise the sex of the central character in his story, the question may still be asked: Why did he choose this strategy rather than the simpler "Albertine complex," especially given the difficulty of carrying it out in a language whose grammar requires gender agreements? It may have been precisely for that problem, the challenge to see if he could carry over the technique so successfully used in his love poems. I suspect, however, that there was another, perhaps a double reason why he preferred "hiding in the open." He believed

that boy-lovers like himself would be sensitive to the encoding. (As Yingling wrote of one of Hart Crane's poems: "The gender of the lover with whom the speaker awakes remains unspecified, itself a code for homosexual relations drawn from the pronomial equivocations of Whitman.")[39] Thus they could read it as a story about one of their own. This would give, as he later wrote in his first propaganda piece for man/boy love: "Courage and comfort—for them and for me!"[40]

I also believe that the character of the letter writer was modeled after Mackay himself, that the story perhaps allowed him to come to terms with a just terminated relationship and what it had "entailed in pain and sorrow." Mackay wanted to be true to himself and so could not present that character as a woman, especially since he saw nothing feminine in himself. Thus he presented him, not with the pain of the moment, but as he hoped he would see this—and other—man/boy relationships in his old age. Seen in this way, the theme is by no means "hackneyed." Rather, this story is one of Mackay's most genuine and honest.

NOTES

1. "Albertine Complex," *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality*, ed. Wayne Dynes (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), p. 33-34, here p. 33.
2. Justin O'Brien, "Albertine the Ambiguous: Notes on Proust's Transposition of Sexes," *PMLA* 64 (1949), pp. 933-952.
3. Roger Austen, *Playing the Game: The Homosexual Novel in America* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merril Company, 1977), p. xiv.
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16. Zube, p. 226.

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21. Ibid., p. 94.
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23. Robert K. Martin, *The Homosexual Tradition in American Poetry* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1979), pp. xv-xvi.
24. Thomas A. Yingling, *Hart Crane and the Homosexual Text: New Thresholds, New Anatomies* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 165.
25. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v. "American Literature."
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27. Riley, p. 117.
28. Riley, p. 118.
29. Edward Mornin, *Kunst und Anarchismus: "innere Zusammenhänge" in den Schriften John Henry Mackays* (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1983), p. 94.
30. John Henry Mackay, *Ausgewählte Gedichte, 1884-1926* (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay-Gesellschaft, 1984), p. 56.
31. The "heterosexual assumption" is, of course, often only a disguise for simple homophobia, as may be seen in the following example: In 1987 I submitted an article on Richard Strauss and Mackay to the journal *The American Music Teacher*. It revealed that Mackay was a boy-lover. The manuscript was never acknowledged, nor did the editor, Dr. Sherrill V. Martin of the University of North Carolina, reply to my repeated inquiries.
32. John Henry Mackay, *Zwischen den Zielen: Kleine Geschichte* (Freiburg/Br.: Verlag der Mackay Gesellschaft, 1984), pp. 95-98. This volume contains all of Mackay's short stories.
33. Emil Ertl, Review of *Der Sybarit und Anderes in Prosa* by John Henry Mackay, *Das literarische Echo* 5 (1903): 1360. *Das literarische Echo* was a leading periodical for literary information.
34. Mornin, p. 83.
35. Riley, p. 90.
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37. John Henry Mackay, *The Hustler*, trans. Hubert Kennedy (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1985), p. 287.
38. Mackay used a colloquial expression here: "Auch er ist eben ein Berliner Junge, und die sind uns in der Liebe 'über'." Friedrich Dobe, *John Henry Mackay als Mensch* (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1987), p. 75.
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"A FAREWELL: A LATE LETTER"
John Henry Mackay

She had slept for thirteen hours in a death-like exhaustion, without dreaming, without consciousness. It was her first peaceful night in many weeks. First there was that terrible, lingering illness, then his slow, painful death, and finally those three days of outer and inner excitement that followed her into her dreams and disturbed her sleep, just as his groans had earlier done.

Only when the grave had been closed, the mourners had dispersed, and she was alone with her likewise exhausted servants in the large, still house, did she feel how needful rest was for her, and she lay down to sleep for thirteen hours.

When she awoke, she felt again for the first time in a long while the feeling of strength and will-power that appeared intimately joined with her nature. She was ashamed of this feeling. In that moment when, as she believed, she should still be completely overcome and entirely given to grief, it was almost an intrusion. But the feeling did not let itself be banished, and so she set about taking up the reins of her life in hand again and practicing the new role that she had to play from now on: the widow of a great man. It could not be more difficult than the role of wife, which she had previously played.

After she had breakfasted and discussed with the old servant of her house the first efforts to put back onto its tracks again the disturbed course of her exemplarily conducted household, she entered for the first time the dead man's study. The windows had been opened and the pure light of a quiet fall morning streamed in. Everything was just as it had been the last time he had been brought here, the last time before he lay down never to rise again, three days before his death. On that afternoon he had still opened the letters of the last weeks himself, and the sheets lay on the desk just the way his tired hand had laid them. What had arrived since then, up to the evening when everything was over, the servant had stacked on the other corner, and there they lay, unopened, in the order in which they had arrived, a large pile of letters and newspapers of all kinds.

Calmly she set about opening them, one after the other, and laying them aside, the personal letters by themselves, then the newspapers, and finally the business mail of all kinds, those indifferent things that accompany our lives, which would continue to flow in for a while yet and finally slowly ebb with the memory of the dead man, or even somewhat earlier.

As she read the personal letters—one, two, or three from his closer friends, who inquired about the state of his illness and who all expressed

their hope for a quick recovery, and one from an ardent admirer of the great artist, deeply disturbed by the newspaper report—it occurred to her how little she had really shared with her husband—not a single one of his friendships—and how little of his life on the outside. She knew none of these friends' names and it would never have occurred to him to show her one of these letters of his admirers, of which he must have received many. Only these last drops from the fullness of a once overflowing cup of fame, now in ruins, ran into her hands, by chance into hers.

With these thoughts she had mechanically opened the next letter. She read, did not understand at first, then read again and comprehended:

"I read in the newspapers that you are sick and after thirty-five years I'm breaking a promise I made myself. For I'm writing to you once again after such a long while and for the last time.

"Who am I? Remember whom you loved thirty-five years ago and you will know.

"And why am I writing to you? Rest easy; it's just to call a smile to your lips once again, the smile of remembering a happiness that you have as little forgotten as I—perhaps your last smile! Only for that reason am I writing you.

"For how great and rich you have become, how distant in this hour perhaps lies for you already what we call sorrow and joy. But your room cannot be so full of sunshine that one more ray is not allowed to slip in and lie caressing your forehead for one last moment.

"But perhaps you are lonesome and alone, although surrounded by people, because you are great and rich. Then is this one ray to fill your whole room once more with the light and warmth of the memory of your first love, which was perhaps not your deepest, but surely your happiest and most carefree, and about which no one has ever known but you and I.

"I thank you, my friend, for the happiness you gave me, and I think of this happiness as one should remember it—as the most precious rarity of this life—with reverence. What it unavoidably entailed in pain and sorrow, I have forgotten, and tranquil today I can say to you: I thank you!

"Farewell, my friend! Do you not see us again as we were then? The white house and the rose garden, the sandy path by the pond that we so often walked? Do you not remember once more our first kisses, and do the words we whispered not come alive again for you?

"Surely! Just as I have forgotten again for an hour that I have grown old, so should you, and while your hand crumples this sheet and burns it to ashes over the candle, you will smile, as

"A FAREWELL": MACKAY

I wanted!

"Farewell, my friend! Farewell, you lover of my youth!"

When she had finished reading, she continued to look for a long time at the lines, which an old, already shaking hand and still youthful heart had written. Yet nothing made itself felt in her but a boundless bitterness and a kind of hatred of this old, romantic person. But when she then stood and walked up and down, tearing the letter into small pieces, on her cold and empty face the expression of hate gave way to one of joy, the mean and small joy over the fact that he had at least no longer enjoyed this last happiness of memory.

Written in Sorrento, 1898.

Translated from the German by Hubert Kennedy

THE PAEDOPHILE IMPULSE:

Toward the Development of an Etiology of Child-Adult Sexual Contacts from an Ethological and Ethnological Viewpoint[1]

Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg

I. Introduction

The term "paedophile" in the following presentation will be understood as the sexual contact of adults with children *before* puberty, regardless of the sex of the partners. As is well known, every culture determines what is understood by "adult" according to its own needs; here it means an age that lies in every case *after puberty*. Thus contacts between "adults" and "children"—so defined by their culture—will *not* be subsumed under the concept of paedophilia here *if both partners have already reached puberty*, for then it is merely a question of contact between adults of different ages. In this connection, the degree of age difference is unimportant.

The present essay is an attempt to describe the sexual impulse of those persons who prefer close bodily-emotional contacts with prepuberal children to those with adults, and where the impulse in question is an integrating moment of the whole personality. Let it be emphasized from the beginning that contacts of this kind are fundamentally free of force. If they are not, it is not paedophilia that is present, but rather an offence to be considered legally punishable.

II. Causes of the Negative Evaluation of Child Sexuality and of Child-Adult Sexual Contacts in our Cultural Domain

1) Traditional Hatred of the Body

The traditional hatred of the body in our civilization goes back to the pre-Christian philosophers and thinkers of ancient Greece,[2] by whom the Apostle Paul, as an educated man, was strongly influenced. No indications of hatred of the body are found in the Gospels. Through Paul's missionary work, however, genuine Christian demands were so inseparably mixed with pagan ascetic ideals that Christian dogma, both in patristic and scholastic teaching, was inconceivable without them; in contrast to their cultivation, the primary demands of the Gospels were often neglected. Sexuality was rated as negative, as long as it did not serve reproduction; and even then it was good only as a means to reproduction, not as an expression of life sui generis. Idealized, on the other hand, was asexuality, "chastity." Therefore it is obvious that sex with children, since they are not mature enough for reproduction, would be regarded as altogether evil and could

not even be considered value-neutral. To the extent that some later works on this theme express other theories,[3] they generalize relationships that doubtless existed, but which have never had ecclesiastical and general sanction, as is shown by all the penitentials, confessionals and textbooks of moral theology that have ever been found.[4]

In the late middle ages and early modern times the fear of syphilitic infection presents a further and often overlooked motive for demanding chastity, especially for very young persons. Chastity at the time constituted the only possible protective measure against the still incurable disease. Similar considerations are evoked today, as we know, by the appearance of AIDS: moralistic and hygienic measures against the epidemic are entering into a symbiosis not objectively justified. Thus "innocence," in the sense of being sexually untouched, becomes equated with "health" in the sense of being disease-free. These ideas in turn find apparent support from a false literal interpretation of the Biblical injunction, "...the wages of sin is death."

2) The Pretended Asexuality of the Child

When Rousseau writes at the beginning of his *Emile*, "Everything is good as it comes from the hands of the Creator, everything degenerates under the hands of man," the effects of the above-mentioned dogmas, believed for centuries, show themselves. For Rousseau, child sexuality meant degeneration,[5] so that, in following his concept of education, people were to try as long as possible (even until after the eighteenth year!) to do all they could to keep from children everything that would remind them, even distantly, of sexuality. We now know, at least since Freud, that children are not asexual beings, yet the influence of Rousseau continues to have an effect today. In the meantime children are "allowed" to masturbate and "play doctor," but if they seek to learn something about sexuality or direct sexual practices from those from whom they are otherwise accustomed to learn most things, namely from adults, then the majority of the population feels this to be a violation of the child's "purity." They assume (even in the face of proof to the contrary) that an ineradicable emotional harm has been caused and demand punishment of the "culprit" as if he were the worst kind of criminal.[6]

What actually offends society about paedophilia, however, is not something inherent in it. Rather the offence is in its violation of the above-mentioned ideologies, which are partly Christian and partly of a pseudo-enlightenment tendency. The ideologies, further, assume the absence of child sexuality, so that its presence is seen as "against nature," when in reality nature has in fact already bestowed sexuality upon the child. In addition, the "seducer" might undermine the child's acceptance on faith of these ideologies, which for the child are simply prohibitions. His actions are therefore subversive to repressive educational goals.

A third prohibiting ideology is the recent apodictic assumption, raised from an extreme feminist standpoint, that sexual contact of adults with non-adults (even as far as concerns sexually mature adolescents already beyond puberty) is in principle never free of force and therefore always criminal. This last conviction is just as unprovable as the two previously mentioned traditional views, but is based on its protagonists' belief in their own deductions.'

III. Child Sexuality as a Component of the Physiological Make-up of Primates

Fortunately nature pays no attention to what people from one epoch to another have understood, and understand, as being "natural." Let us then take Rousseau at face value: "Everything degenerates under the hands of man." Indeed! If we had drawn the desired consequences from the ideologies that stretched over two centuries, then in the meantime the West would probably have become really empty of people. Children must learn sexuality before their own sexual maturity in order to be able to practice it without conflict in their adult years. Reared in isolation according to Rousseau's concept, they would certainly become neurotics unfit for marriage. And in reality children do learn sexuality, only they learn it from other children, i.e., in a subculture carefully kept hidden from the adult world. If this has begun to change recently in the case of a few progressive parents, one may still assert that, for the majority of all children in our civilization, sexuality remains even today a book with seven seals until they begin to concern themselves about their own "sex education." In doing so, however, a "knowledge" of reproduction and birth is often spread and believed that is simply fantastic, that in turn calls forth new fears and insecurity. Here young primates and children in certain primitive cultures have it easier.

1) Child Sexuality in Anthropoid Apes

If, in the following considerations, animal sexual behavior is the starting point that leads by further thinking to conclusions about human behavior, then it must be expressly emphasized ahead of time that such comparisons must always be entered into with great care.[8] Human beings are not the same as beasts, and the greater the nearness of the anthropoid apes to homo sapiens in the rank of evolution is presented, the more care is required in comparisons of this kind.[9] As a rule of thumb it may certainly be held that the importance of *learning* increases, and that of instinct decreases, the higher a creature is ranked in the order of the primates.[10] In the human being pure instinctive behavior is strongly reduced. Possibly, however, the degree of the remainder of instinct still present in each individual of our kind varies and is related besides to the domain of the instinct, so that much that in reality is perhaps a remainder of instinct appears, falsely, as something individual, through factors of social behavior appropriate to personal socialization,[11] and vice versa.

The importance of learning for primates depends on their form of life; unlike martens, bears or moles, for example, primates are not loners, but social beings, and practically everything they learn is learned through and from adult members of their group or older siblings or somewhat older members of their "peer group." Learning and the forming of a tradition tend always and necessarily to be bound up with one another; at first, no doubt, predominately those "customs" were continued that made survival easier.[12] Among the early forms of our own kind that have died out the handing down of newly found, meaningful and existence-maintaining forms of relations must have been continued and substantially enlarged.

The enormous differences in the traditions that are found among human beings make clear how manifold (and sometimes, from our modern standpoint, meaningless) are the traditions that have been handed down (such as the belief in local spirits, the power of ancestors, the danger of some special kind of sex, food taboos, etc.). In spite of their absurdity, however, such traditions are neither conscious deceptions of priests nor savage superstitions. Rather, *every* tradition acts in spite of its objective truth as social cement. The same mechanism holds for social prejudices.[13]

Ethologists, ethnologists and anthropologists all agree that the importance of learning in non-human primates and in humans cannot be overestimated. To the content of what must be learned by being taken in and internalized during childhood belongs without doubt, among many other things, the sexual behavior usual in the respective culture. That is, learned sexuality (or the learned ideal of asexuality) is dependent on the respective cultural traditions. This even holds mutatis mutandis for the non-human primates, since they must learn the sexual behavior typical for their own place in the ranking order.

Primates become sexually mature at very different ages, according to how long-lived the respective species is on the average. Many young monkeys and anthropoid apes only a few days old already show forms of behavior that appear to be derived from sexual ones, but which in that early stage of life obviously are not yet "meant" as sexual. Thus, for example, the exhibition of the penis (with an erection) is a display of power and in certain monkeys (*Totenkopfäffchen*), when they are babies, is to be classified as a playful imitation of the threatening gestures of adult males.[14] For their part, these "threats" are taken no more seriously than they are meant. Even these animals, which in intellect stand far below the anthropoid apes, are thus already able to distinguish between the pure gesture and the age or maturity of the one making it. In chimpanzees and gorillas the adult animals, even the alpha-male, tolerate the fact that playing young animals, from the age of the baby to the small "child," tug at the fur, constantly cross over the distance that is maintained among adults according to their

rank, take food away from adult animals, and do not react to their defensive and threatening behavior; obviously the adults comprehend that the "youngsters" just do not yet know better.

Behavior derived from mating behavior, such as "mounting" (actually a precondition for coitus), is found in young anthropoid apes partly as play, partly as so-called "demonstrations of rank";[15] they always learn by watching the actions of adult members of the troop. Masturbation has been observed in many adult males although at the same time sexually mature females stood available; this was observed in prepuberty, to be sure, only in the intellectually especially high-ranking chimpanzees.[16] In order to learn the coitus behavior of mature animals, young chimpanzees must be able to observe older ones doing it. Examples reared alone à la Rousseau's *Emile* and then at the onset of their sexual maturity set loose in a pen with females ready to mate did not know how they were to behave. To be sure, most showed a definite interest in the females and noticeable restlessness, but many did without any kind of sexual activity of their own at all. Females reared in isolation often regarded male attempts to approach as attempts on "life and limb" and reacted with panic. Animals that have had only slight contact with others of the same species, but which nonetheless have not entirely had to do without it, often attempt sexual behavior according to the system of "trial and error,", and even animals that exercise extensive opportunity to observe older members of their species in coitus behavior, must practice the coitus behavior typical to chimpanzees until they finally master it. Chimpanzees, however, on the basis of their higher intelligence, can still learn functional sexual behavior even after an abnormal childhood, so long as they are confronted with it as "adolescents"—although such animals have distinct problems with it.[17]

The aforementioned "mounting" (originally the mature copulation behavior of male monkeys) has become in an extraordinary number of species what ethologists call a "status gesture" or "demonstration of rank." I personally believe that ethologists make it somewhat too easy for themselves when they bring into play here terms that are unsuitable for animals, and would prefer the designation "pacifying gesture" *(Befriedungsgeste)*. Otherwise, it appears to me, one concludes too directly that there is a constant readiness for conflict, which that gesture does not convincingly express. The investigation of the whole field in question suffers besides from the similarity of such behavior to that of humans, which plainly evokes errors. The only thing certain is that "mounting" on the one hand and "presenting" (i.e., offering to allow oneself to be mounted) on the other are gestures that on the breaking out of conflicts almost instantly restore the peace, since they set in motion an almost immediate restraint to aggression in the stronger (mounting) animal. The connection between the former sexual and the later social meaning of this gesture is likewise clear: in primates[18] freedom from aggression is a component of the act of

copulation. The fact that female animals of higher rank also occasionally mount lower-ranking ones show how strongly ritualized the gesture is. The situational context shows that here it is *not* a question of homosexuality. Presenting is obviously learned by all the babies (male as well as female) from their own mothers, who daily use it as a pacifying gesture toward stronger animals. This social learning is carried out on the model "identification through imitation."[19] Animals reared in isolation could not learn even the peace-making content of these reactions that are derived from types of sexual behavior. Those "unskilled" in such remained social outsiders.

Not directly sexual, but probably sexually flavored types of behavior such as caressing, romping, fondling, licking body openings, and "grooming" definitely serve the group peace in primates; they signal sympathy and a feeling of belonging together,[21] but can also and at the same time be foreplay to sexual acts. Similar nonaggressive caring behavior was at first of value only to their own young and in the course of primate evolution was much later—and indeed at first within the framework of courting—transfered to the sexual partner, wherein the bringing of food and nonaggressive gestures in an often highly ritualized form resurface. Also, in primates that live in groups without forming permanent couples, individual variations that are obviously connected with the "rank order" of the two animals clearly appear in the contacts with their various sexual partners.[21]

2) Child Sexuality in Primitive Peoples

The usual division between civilized and primitive peoples easily leads the uninitiated astray: it is self-evident that there are no human beings without culture.[22] By the term "primitive peoples" one understands today—after overcoming the linear evolutionism of the preceding century—peoples without writing or such as belonged to a high civilization that has in the meantime perished, or whose material culture has since sunk very low.

Different cultures are remarkably at variance on the question of child sexuality and its evaluation. Some judge that this area of learning is just as important as all the others or even one of the most important altogether, and so teach it intensively and unaffectedly.[23] Others hold only limited sectors of sexuality (such as those relating to pregnancy and birth) as worth teaching, thus making an evaluative selection.[24] We ourselves, and other peoples as well,[25] hold a rigid sexual rearing to be desirable and are inclined to declare morally inferior any of the goals of education that do not practically exclude sexuality. All three views mentioned, including their intermediate forms, are *determined purely traditionally* and are in no way "natural" in the sense of a pre-formation exclusively determined by instinct. The nearly supreme power of the compulsion to learn in our species, in

union with the still enormous impressibility of the infant brain, leads indeed to the fact that, for example, the sexual customs of the West that are acquired by rearing have been viewed until the most recent past as evidently given by nature.

Since the pedagogical treatment and social evaluation of child sexuality in primitive peoples is extremely diverse, it would be absurd, within the framework of a short essay such as this, to bring examples of this or that customary behavior, which, moreover, are discussed in the literature mentioned in the notes. Sexology dearly loves the most exotic examples possible (thick books on the subject thrive on them!), but in the end they only tell us very little, if we do not take into consideration the whole of the respective culture from which the examples in question came. Moreover they often lead thoroughly into error: namely, viewed only by themselves they produce in the naively ethnocentric European grotesquely false representations of the life of the people in question, since he, unconsciously selective, only observes what appears to him strange and therefore interesting—for example, the sexual liberty of young and very young people in certain cultures. He thereby overlooks the numerous food taboos that exceedingly complicate life in the same society, for food taboos do not appear to him as a European to be important. If he then reports either enthusiastically or in horror on the "liberty" of the society in question, he perceives only one side of the coin—since the "liberty" that he notices is perhaps the only one there is altogether in the people in question, for all expressions of their life except sexuality are constrained by rites, taboos, traditions, etc., to the limit of the endurable. Therefore if I give here only a few examples and limit myself to more general statements, this is because to give a detailed cultural comparison would require not an essay or a book, but rather an encyclopedia in which, in every case, along with child sexuality the whole of the respective culture of a people would be treated. Brought to a simple sounding but pertinent common denominator, one may in good conscience declare about the the child sexuality of primitive peoples: There is simply nothing that does not occur. And the farther one goes back historically to include in the analysis the circumstances of antiquity or those of the ancient Orient and the civilizations of Asia in the past, then the more colorful are the results presented.[26] As cause of any particular evaluation of child sexuality found among primitive peoples, the following may be agreed upon in general: The respective racial traditions with their myths, their genesis and fertility legends, and further the cultural characteristics of the groups in question, now treated as geographically spread out and viewed in connection with race, language (language families), lineal descent (patriarchal or matriarchal), as well as their economic and ecological particularities, religion, economic relations, natural resources along with the ecological environment all together (also their changes in the course of time!) prove themselves to be directly related to one another everywhere.

An institutionalization of child sexuality occurs within the framework of initiations (mainly in Melanesia, parts of Australia and New Guinea); it resembles the paederastic educational practices of ancient Sparta.[27] Sexual contacts between the girl just beginning to menstruate and an adult are to be judged less according to the old European custom of the "jus prima noctis" than as a component of the "rites of passage" from one stage of life to the next.[28] In the setting of the category of shamanistic religions there occasionally appear very young individuals as mediums, who feel themselves erotically bound to spirits, and sometimes believe that they are forced by the spirits to become transvestites and therefore, in a state of imagined "sex change," select same-sex marriage partners. Such bondings, however, do not attract social attention, since the shaman's society firmly believes in the supposed sex change. In large parts of India, but also in Indonesia, ancient China and Indochina as well as in the Philippines, there were and are to the present day elements of the cult prostitution of the old civilizations. Admittedly these are nothing but a secularized reminder, and socially marked as prostitution of the poor, in which children are also to be found.[29]

The sexual behavior of children and youth in many peoples, such as in the Pacific region, where individuals were especially long-lived by reason of above average environmental circumstances, presents the transition between institutional child sexuality and child sexuality in or *as play*. Here a regular youth culture tended to develop, in which no adult was allowed to enter or interfere. Usually boys and girls met in their own house, where they were undisturbed among themselves; they tried out friendships and love relationships, and celebrated their own festivals. Such arrangements, actually called "clubs" by European researchers, existed in Polynesia, Central India and Micronesia. Here the "peer group" took over on its own the sexual education of its members.[30]

The preponderant opinion among primitive peoples is that child sexuality manifests itself differently from that of adults: it is more playful and less goal-directed. Heterosexual and homosexual play among children, but also of adults with children, occurs and is hardly noticed, is smiled at, or is so common that it is a theme of ordinary conversations.[31] Sexual contacts between parents and children (especially between mothers and small children), which we would designate as "paedophile," were not rare and are probably still not today in places where the culture of the white man has not become the model or where its influence is in the process of disappearing again.

3) Connections Between Sexual Drive, Sexual Maturity and Social Maturity in Anthropoid Apes and Human Beings

Chimpanzees become capable of reproduction at about age eight, yet at this point their bodily growth is still not complete and they are inferior to

the stronger, older males in their group. This can be a source of frustration for them.[32] *Before* attaining the ability to procreate and conceive, chimpanzee children nonetheless have for years already been sexually mature to the extent that they, through observation and their own experimentation, have learned a lot about sexuality within the group. It is a question here of a cognitive learning that builds on the sexuality available from birth (earlier called "sexual drive") and directs it into the course that is appropriate for their species; in this their bodily experiences are not to be separated from the social ones.

In those primitive peoples that take a neutral, indifferent-tolerant or positive attitude toward sexuality in general and that of children in particular, the circumstances are very similar; we human beings, too, are indeed capable of sexual pleasure and frustration much earlier than the onset of puberty. But puberty (particularly in boys) is not in all societies the end of childhood nor can it be equated with social maturity, i.e., ability to marry. What is decisive is whether the culture in question is simply-structured or complicated, where much must be learned for its complete internalization (i.e., more than a person is able to learn up to puberty) and where social maturity, the sexual maturity as well as the actual ability to procreate, can only follow at a distance that is, at times, very great. In such cases all three abilities (for simple sexuality, for procreation, and for the assumption of the adult role besides) are often falsely put into one, and thus the individual is kept an unseemly long period totally in the stage of childhood. In primitive peoples the response has sometimes been the development of the youth culture mentioned (a type of reaction to which our own youth have come relatively late). Without this possibility of sexual contacts, which are allowed to them although they are not yet in a position to take on the official role of adults, there comes between the adults and the next generation strong interpersonal conflicts that for their entire later life often overshadow the parent-child relationship.

IV. Child Sexuality and Curiosity

So-called "curiosity"[33] is presumably to be viewed less as a measure of intelligence than as a disposition that some species of primates have, in the sense of a selective advantage, more than others. Thus the gorilla, which stands physically almost as close to us as the chimpanzee, shows little or no curiosity,[34] whereas the curiosity of the chimpanzee appears inexhaustible and our own, the root of all inventions, proceeds continuously from this in a straight line. Strictly speaking, curiosity is an especially intensive and active reaction to an outside stimulant and to that extent also a source of imitation and learning; without the imitation of newly invented types of behavior there would be no progress. Chimpanzees and (early) humans, in contrast to the much stronger gorilla, had a host of enemies and the more methods they adopted to cope with them, the better they succeeded.

Their heightened curiosity offered a real selective advantage for survival, especially because it was unspecific. For the human being today, too, curiosity as an inborn disposition is important for survival.

When a child directs curiosity to its own sexuality, trying it out within its peer group, it thus puts into practice *two* inborn dispositions: curiosity and the inborn ability for sexual feelings (within the limit of the degree of bodily maturity at the time, of course). In such situations the following reactions of the child are distinguishable: it reacts passively when it either simply observes what is happening around it or when it accepts the sexual actions of others toward itself without resistance or going away, but also without an active cooperation. *Active* sexual reaction (masturbation) can be directed to its own gratification or this gratification can be sought by and with others who are younger, older or the same age. In both situations curiosity (i.e., imitative learning behavior) and behavior directed to obtaining purely sexual gratification are superimposed by that cognitive learning within whose context the respective culture-specific preceptive and forbidden forms of sexual gratification are internalized. Generally children imitate only what interests them: curiosity selectively appears, corresponding to the respective (and certainly highly diverse) motivations of the individual child, and the cognitive result is stored and later differentiated as the age of the children increases. Children actively cooperate in their own socialization; they also do so with regard to the development of their sexuality, even when their behavior does not go beyond an accepting passivity. How important a child's self-fulfillment is regarding its sexual interests is strikingly shown by at least one fact: both in non-human free-living primates and in those primitive peoples that cultivate a type of rearing that fully accepts child sexuality there are no sexual crimes! On the other hand, in anthropoid apes that grew up in isolation, i.e., without the possibility of learning experiences, wild aggression is found in the attempt to copulate, and in primitive peoples that, like us, have assumed a forbidding, fearful-mistrustful attitude toward sexuality, sexual crimes are thoroughly known.

V. Child Sexuality and the Paedophile Impulse

1) The Meaning of the "Infant" Model

Already in non-human primates the raising of the young is no longer ensured exclusively on the basis of instinctive rearing behavior:[35] thus, for example, chimpanzee mothers must have the opportunity to observe how to handle babies in order to know how. Without the possibility of imitating rearing behavior, they sometimes regard their first child as a foreign object and a puzzling nuisance; they pay no attention to it or even kill it.[36] This occurs despite the fact that evolution, in the so-called "infant" model (*"Kindchen"-Schema*),[37] has installed a safety mechanism that makes possi-

ble the recognition of a young animal of the same species in need of care and protection, as a reflex, illuminating perception. Corresponding to their high rank on the scale of evolution, however, in anthropoid apes the importance of learning as a factor in the handling of the newcomer is added to instinctive-reflex nurturing. This is demonstrated by the fact that female chimpanzees that grew up alone in cages still sometimes treated their baby correctly at the first attempt, i.e. with loving care. The intensity of the reaction to the infant model must accordingly have been stamped in these primates, only in varying strengths. In general people react to the infant model, in the sense of an encoded stimulus *(Schlüsselreiz)*, by heightened acceptance and, where it is a question of living, not pictured beings, by "euphoria, caressing or nurturing actions."[38] "Nurturing actions" are primarily to be understood as feeding, warming and protecting. The enormous popularity of certain breeds of dogs (e.g. pug and pekinese), which were bred on the infant model centuries before it was scientifically discovered as an encoded stimulus for nurturing behavior, strikingly exhibits the associations under discussion: such dogs have been known and loved for a long time as "baby" substitutes and "lap dogs." Yet not all persons find Disney figures "sweet" or babies or pekinese "cute"; rather, many find them boring, even decidedly ugly and grotesque. They thus show an ideal of beauty that is exclusively oriented toward adult living beings. They are not child-hating monsters; what is missing is evidently just the ability to still relate to the infant model. But that this, as was mentioned above, can already be found in chimpanzees forces us to the conclusion that the stored instinctual ability of the individual to react in a meaningful way to the encoded stimulus is in humans also no longer generally present. Many lack it entirely, while others still react to it very intensively with euphoria and acts of devotion, which, especially when the reacting individuals are not women, are noted by the society with a certain astonishment. The functioning of the infant model in male primates is very much as important as in mothers; it makes certain that a young animal running around without motherly protection is not attacked by a grown male of the same species, but rather, on the contrary, is protected. The infant model also presents a means to hinder aggression within the species, especially toward young animals.

The "fondling" connected with the reaction to the infant model in non-human primates, and in those primitive peoples that have no taboos relating to this, includes caresses, smelling, licking, "romping," and the well-known "grooming." Touching and manipulation of the genitals of children belong in this context among the acts of devotion," because in humans, as a result of the heightened mobility of the hand, "actions" can supplement many of the forms of devotion mentioned above. Their own reaction to the encoded stimulus of the infant model brings to those reacting an intensive experience of satisfaction (the "reward" of nature, so to speak, for the response to the encoded stimulus).

The child, who has already learned after a short time how such forms of behavior—classified by it, of course, as desirable—are provoked in adults, develops for this purpose an appropriate repertoire of expressions and gestures, and, if new devotion is experienced with their help, there arises in it the feeling of security and primal trust. That exchange of positive actions and feelings, in which genetically fixed reflexive behavior and social learning are mixed, form the beginning of every bond that promotes social unity. Both young non-human primates and human children still seem to have a vague, instinctive knowledge of the effect of the infant model on adults; therefore they put on a "little child" act so as not to be punished for pranks or to gain attention (i.e., devotion). Here belongs not only the childishly calculated "regressive" behavior of young anthropoid apes and young children, which is meant to release appeasement, attention and heightened devotion, but also the well-known "fooling around" of grown-ups (deliberate stumbling and falling, stuttering, throwing things down, rolling around, talking nonsense): this is nothing but unconscious imitation of childish behavior and says in a nonverbal but unmistakable way, "I am small and dumb and helpless as a baby; why don't you concern yourself about me?!" This extends to the clowning-around of schoolchildren, whose bad behavior, not corresponding to their age, often causes them to appear intellectually deficient, although what they need is not more sense but more devotion from adults.

2) On the Etiology of the Paedophile Impulse

In contrast to the anthropoid apes (and presumably also to many of our prehominid ancestors that stand closer to us in evolution), we humans are "wanderers between two worlds": one side of our nature is firmly anchored in our genetic inheritance, which we have in common at least with the anthropoid apes and perhaps even with animals standing much lower in the scale of evolution. We are unable to give up this inheritance, since it is unchangeably imprinted in our brain stem and midbrain. The other part of our nature is determined by learning and by freedom from bondage to the "early" parts of the brain, i.e. by the cerebrum and especially by the frontal lobes. Where the impulses of the older and younger parts of the brain prove to be incompatible, there appear social anomalies[40]—collective neuroses as well as conflicts within the species, i.e., wars, as well as institutions such as the inquisition, concentration camps, etc. In the West paedophiles have become the victims of such a collective neurosis, whose culturally determined cause lies in our traditional hatred, fed from multiple sources, of the body and thereby of sex.

Paedophiles who seek to define and describe the object of their longing often reproduce the infant model with striking sureness.[41] And as conclusion to what has been presented so far, let us assert the theory—at least as a topic for discussion—that the paedophile impulse is the result of a still

unbroken spontaneous and intensive reaction—which has become rare, certainly—to the infant model, an encoded stimulus originating in the midbrain, such as may have been intrinsic to many more people in earlier epochs. Paedophiles emphasize again and again that sexuality is not the constituent factor in their relationships with children, but rather only one—important, to be sure—among numerous other and not less important ones. They further declare that in their opinion "Many people have an interest in paedophilia, but repress it." This observation may be true within limits, but the conclusion is false: my opinion is rather that many people do indeed still react impulsively and intensely to the infant model (otherwise it would doubtless not be so popular in advertising!), but just no longer quite as strongly as the paedophile. Thus it is easy for these people to do without the sexual component of their contact with children, which in truth does not represent something as unique and noteworthy as it appears to us, but rather has acquired this character only through the sexual fear that the basic body-hating pattern of our culture produces. People can do without this component in their contact with children, but one could also place special value upon it, indeed see it as an altogether important value. The moralistic judgement against paedophilia is always "learned," is a cerebral matter.[42]

Healthy children react with curiosity to everything that happens in their environment. Since they are interested in their own socialization, which includes becoming acquainted with their own sexuality and the sexual feelings of others, then in child-adult contacts, sexual content also is inevitably included, wherever it is not made taboo. Sexuality must be learned: that is one reason why children are interested in it, and children prefer to learn from someone who loves them. To this extent one would think that the natural teachers for this would be the child's own parents, and in anthropoid apes and some primitive peoples this is indeed the case. Parental introductions to sexuality, however, are *never* the beginning of a lifelong sexual relationship; on the contrary they have an absolutely temporary character. The fact is worth noting that paedophile child-adult contacts correspond to parental introductions to sexuality in that they tend to end with the puberty of the child and, in addition, that the paedophile can have equally strong emotional relationships with several children during the same period of time. Moreover, rounding out the picture is the circumstance, denied by most people who pass judgement, that for the paedophile, the sexuality of the child with whom he wishes to have contact is only of secondary interest.

3) The Fundamental Nonaggressiveness of Paedophile Relationships

Since the infant model arouses nurturing devotion and forms an unalterable basis for nonaggressiveness, paedophile contacts must by their nature be free of force. If they are not, then they are not paedophile. Those who

force a child to sexual contact belong to a category of pseudo-paedophiles who are just as truly criminal as a man who rapes a grown woman. But sexual contact by force is not attractive for paedophiles. The widespread opinion, where such a relationship is discovered, that the paedophile must have "forced" the child into sexuality, reproduces once again the Western ideology of a fundamental child "innocence" or "purity" that has long since been disproved by psychology. In truth, the child may often even be the sexual initiator with an adult in whom, by way of exception, the child does not notice the usual taboo toward all questions about sex. Declarations by paedophiles in this connection are thus by no means to be evaluated as defensive statements. Likewise, the often expressed conviction that children are "seduced" to sexuality is to be seen as pure nonsense, when one takes cognizance of the basic physiological endowment of sexual feelings already in the small child. One can "seduce" someone to sexuality just as little as to eating or drinking. Paedophile relationships also constitute no inevitable power relationship of the adult over the child: they establish on the contrary a seldom seen camaraderie between the personality of the child and that of the adult, within whose system of reference each takes the other seriously. Where sexuality with children is forbidden, as it is with us, there can be no talk of any kind of power of the adult, since the child can denounce him at any time to anyone, something which brings with it truly existence-threatening consequences for the adult.

Contrary to the customary opinion, sexual murders of children are extremely rare, but even in such shocking cases a distinction must be made between sadism and actions motivated by a fear of discovery. In the cultural domain paedophiles are considered criminal no matter whether their contacts with children are friendly and loving or are extremely harmful. It is this criminalization that brings with it most of the consequences that finally must be judged negative for the paedophile as well as for the child in question. Paedophiles who do not constantly maintain a self-awareness and an examination of the child's reactions are naive. Nevertheless their environment has at sometime or another unmistakably inculcated into both partners that sex is something nasty and bad. Thus they often have feelings of guilt—all the more serious when in fact nothing happened in the contact that the partners did not experience as positive.

If force comes into play, then the intimate contact of an adult with a child acts exclusively to frighten the child and can lead to lifelong harm. Ironically, it is often overlooked that in the cases of sexual contact with children often presented as being particularly horrible, the force used is in the first place the force of authority: the perpetrators are fathers, stepfathers, older brothers, uncles, neighbors—precisely those people whom children customarily find themselves forced to obey. The forced sexual contact is therefore interpreted by the child as a form of rearing, to which the child must obediently submit. The paedophile impulse, like every other human impulse, runs the danger of being perverted, but the perversion

does not lie in the impulse itself, certainly, but rather in its interpretation. Where sex between older and younger, even between parents and children, is not made taboo, it is not grounds for shame, mutual accusations of seduction, lies or force of various kinds. Examples of this are found in the pre-Aryan races of India, the Kighiz, in Micronesia and the Malay-Indonesian region. Are the aborigines of India or the members of the Malay family of peoples therefore not human? The question is rhetorical; I only want to emphasize one last time that our Western fear of paedophile contacts is determined above all by the sexual taboo as such.

VI. Problems of Research on Paedophilia

The start given in this essay to a discussion illuminating the etiology of the paedophile impulse may need enlarging, may be one-sided or false. One is left, however, with nothing more than theories about it, for what would be needed here to clarify the remaining questions are international empirical researches, ranging over many fields, of a social-psychological nature.[43] For us (in the Federal Republic of Germany) these are impossible at the moment, for whomever investigates nonaggressive paedophile contacts must necessarily be actively occupied with people who are living out the paedophile impulse, and with their child partners. But the information that is thereby obtained must, by law, be reported to the responsible state's attorney, since under German law paedophilia belongs to those crimes that everyone must denounce if they hear of it. The exception of professional confidentiality, as with doctors and pastors, does not exist for social researchers. An attorney of my acquaintance commented on the situation thus: "You had better not begin such a project. The state would not be able to avoid demanding that you turn over the names and addresses of your informants so as to begin prosecution. And you can not refuse, otherwise you would be imprisoned to force you."

In view of this absurd situation, I argue that sociologists and psychologists, too, who wish to undertake empirical work on the behavior, development, personality profile, etc., of the "typical paedophile," also be juridically released from the duty of denouncing our informants. As Edward Brongersma has written, the literature (and not least the expert opinions given in the courts) is stamped with conceptions of paedophilia and paedophiles that are false and have their ideological origin in the previous century.[44] Until more valid analyses exist, this will not and cannot change; but how is it to be changed, if for the researcher the effort to make a better analysis is bound up with the danger of being robbed of one's freedom? Here closes a vicious circle, whose victims are not only paedophiles, but also the behavioral sciences.

Paedophilia is the least investigated scientifically of all sexual "deviations." This is so because in it the general sexual taboo still has the most intensive effect. With the notorious imputation that every paedophile contact is forced, completely prejudiced public opinion prevents a more realistic view of things: the prejudice itself hinders its dissolution and is able to evoke in those involved and in outsiders further insecurity, fears, and even actually punishable, reprehensible acts. One is reminded of the old German legal adage: "False laws ripen into genuine crimes."

NOTES

1. An abridged version of this article was published as "Der pädophile Impuls. Wie lernt ein junger Mensch Sexualität?" in *Liebe, Sexualität und soziale Mythen* (*Der Monat* neue Folge) 295, 1984, p. 175-192.
2. A more extensive presentation of this connection is in Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, *Tabu Homosexualität. Die Geschichte eines Vorurteils* (Frankfurt/M., 1978), pp. 196ff.
3. In places in Jan van Ussel, *Sexualunterdückung* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1970).
4. Examples in Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, op. cit., pp. 196-228, 265ff.
5. J.J. Rousseau, *Emile oder Uber die Erziehung* (Paderborn, 1978), pp. 9, 216ff.
6. See Frits Bernard, *Pädophilie. Von der Liebe mit Kindern* (Lollar, 1978), esp. pp. 53-4.
7. Statements on this in Hans Giese, "Das andere Geschlecht", in Hans Giese and V.E. v. Gebsattel, eds., *Psychopathologie der Sexualität* (Stuttgart, 1962), are probably still valid today, as numerous articles on the subject in the journal *Sexualpädagogik* show.
8. The much loved equation of human behavior with that of rats ("rat-ology") of American psychologists in the animal-human comparisons of the 1950s is completely unsuited to a clarification of the present question, since these animals are much too distant from us in the scale of evolution.
9. Easily obtainable works on research into animal and human behavior include the following, a number of which are not directly connected with the theme of this essay but which provide general background to the topic: [*Ed. Note: Titles of English translations or originals, where known to us, are given after the German title; however, page references are for the German edition*] Geoffrey H. Bourne and Maury Cohen, *Die sanften Riesen. Gorillas—Legende und Wirklichkeit. Ergebnisse de Verhaltensforschung* (München, 1977), in English, *The Gentle Giants: The Gorilla Story* (New York, 1975); Stella Brewer, *Die Affenschule. Neue Wege der Wildtierforschung* (Wien/Hamburg, 1978); Vitus B. Dröscher, *Die freundliche Bestie. Neueste Forschungen über das Tier-Verhalten* (Oldenberg/Hamburg, 1968), in English, *The Friendly Beasts* (New York, 1971); Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Liebe und Hass. Zu Naturgeschichte elementarer Verhaltensweisen* (München, 1971), in English, *Love and Hate: the Natural History of Basic Behavior Patterns* (London, 1971); Alison Jolly, *Die Entwicklung des Primatenverhaltens* (Stuttgart, 1975), in English, *The Evolution of Primate Behavior* (New York, 1972); G. Kurth and Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt (eds.), *Hominisation und Verhalten* (Stuttgart, 1975); Jane van Lawick-Goodall, *Wilde Schimpansen. 10 Jahre Verhaltensforschlung am Gombe-Strom* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1975), in English, *In the Shadow of Man* (New York, 1971); Eugène Marais, *Die Seele des Affen. Beobachtungen über das Verhalten unserer engsten Seelenverwandten* (Esslingen, 1973), in English, *The Soul of the Ape* (New York, 1969); Paul Overhage, *Der Affe in dir. Vom tierischen und menschlischen Verhalten* (Frankfurt, 1972); George B. Schaller, *Unsere nachsten Verwandten* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1968), in English, *The Year of the Gorilla* (London, 1965); Walter Baumgärtel, *Unter Gorillas. Erlebnisse auf freier Wildbahn* (Frankfurt, 1979); *Grzimeks Tierleben, Säugetiere 1* (München, 1979), esp. chapters 20-22; Edouard L. Boné and Louvain-La-Neuve, "Hominisation in der Paläontologie", in Edouard L. Boné et al. (eds.), *Aspekte der Hominisation* (Freiburg/München, 1978).
10. Jolly, op. cit., summarizes the concept of "learning" on pp. 313 and 288ff.
11. Clellan S. Ford and Frank A. Beach, *Das Sexualverhalten von Mensch und Tier* (Berlin,

1960), p. 294ff., in English, *Patterns of Sexual Behavior* (New York, 1951).
12. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 217, 288-95.
13. Kurth and Eibl-Eibesfeld, op. cit., p. 383; Peter Heintz, *Soziale Vorurteile* (Köln, 1957), p. 100; Theodore Newcomb, *Sozialpsychologie* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1957), p. 561: "Even nonexistent things, such as ghosts, for example, are in a social sense truly present for the members of every group that assumes their presence and are agreed on it." In English, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1950).
14. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 150, 168.
15. Ibid., pp. 115, 118, 122, 143, 148, 151, 168ff.
16. Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. 294ff.
17. Ford and Beach, op. cit., p. 293ff; Jolly, op. cit., pp. 173ff, 112-134.
18. On the definition of the concept see Jolly, op. cit., pp. 1-5; monkeys and human beings belong to the primates.
19. H. Heckhausen, "Einflüsse auf die Motivationsgenese," in Theo. Herman (ed.), *Psychologie der Erziehungsstile* (Göttingen, 1966).
20. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 112-134; Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. 293ff.
21. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 213, 172 and passim.
22. The error is stubbornly maintained; it is unscientific and ethnocentric. Different views prevail in the various research disciplines on just where the dividing line between beasts and human beings is to be drawn; at the latest, the beginning of culture is equated with the human domestication of fire, which Peking man already knew. For an in-depth study of the whole complex of the acquisition of culture see Ute Holzkamp-Osterkamp, *Grundlagen der psychologischen Motivationsforschung*, vols. 1-2 (Frankfurt/M., 1977, 1978); see also Volker Schurig, *Naturgeschichte des Psychischen. Lernen und Abstraktionsleistungen bei Tieren* (Frankfurt/M., 1975) and by the same author, *Die Entstehung des Bewusstseins* (Frankfurt/M., 1976).
23. Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. 213ff.
24. Ibid., pp. 211ff.
25. Ibid., pp. 203ff.
26. Examples in N.M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, vol. 3, appendix 2 (London, 1925).
27. See my ethno-historical study *Mannbarkeitsriten* (Berlin, 1980) and the important work of Harald Patzer, "Die griechische Knabenliebe," in *Sitzungsberichte d. wissenschaftl. Ges. an d. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt/M.*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1982).
28. See A. van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1960).
29. Examples in my essay "Homosexualität und Transvestition im Schamanismus," *Anthropos* 65 (1970), pp. 189ff; shocking descriptions from a more recent time are in Lawrence Durrell, *Das Alexandria-Quartett* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1977).
30. Examples in Robert Brain, *Freunde und Liebende. Zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen im Kulturvergleich* (Frankfurt/M., 1976), p. 292ff., in English, *Friends and Lovers* (New York, 1976).
31. Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. 178ff, 213ff.
32. See the analysis of the behavior of half-grown male chimpanzees in Jane van Lawick-Goodall, "The Behavior of the Chimpanzee," in Kurth and Eibl-Eibesfeldt, op. cit., p. 110ff.
33. The connections between curiosity and sexual exploration of the self and others are—probably as a result of the old sexual taboos—largely unexplored. The important publication of Harry Fowler, *Curiosity and Exploratory Behavior* (New York, 1985), treats the theme on p. 74ff, with a few references to further reading in the literature; see also Jolly, op. cit., p. 282ff.
34. See Kurth and Eibl-Eibesfeld, op. cit., pp. 14ff; Jolly, op. cit., pp. 123ff, 146; for gorillas there was probably, after a period in which both tree and savannah living was usual and the importance of visual observations increased, a forced withdrawal into the forest that was caused by the more intelligent prehominids that have died out in the meantime. Although gorillas in captivity readily eat the same things as chimpanzees, in freedom they only eat twenty different kinds of plants, whereas the feeding repertoire of the chimpanzee includes more than two hundred sources: curiosity promotes discoveries that make life easier.

35. One can no longer speak today with a good scientific conscience of purely instinctual nurturing behavior in mammals; this is admissible, however, in birds and reptiles, as well as species that are below them on the evolutionary scale.
36. Examples in *Grzimeks Tierleben*, vol. 1, *Säugetiere*, p. 533.
37. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 185-88, 194.
38. For a definition of the concept see Peter Meyer, *Lexikon der Verhaltenskunde* (Paderbon, 1976), p. 104: "Childish contours and proportions of the skull arouse euphoria, caressing or nurturing behavior in human beings *(Schlüsselreiz)*"; "Childish contours and proportions (especially of the face) and in a wider sense also childish sounds and movements of individuals of the same or a different species, which arouse the nurturing drive of adults."
39. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 121, 157; Ford and Beach, op. cit., p. 293ff.
40. On this concept, see Werner Fuchs (ed.), *Lexikon zur Soziologie* (Opladen, 1973), p. 38: "The breakdown of cultural order in the form of a split in the culturally given goals and values on the one hand and the socially allowed possibility of reaching these goals on the other. The situation of anomaly exerts in the individual a pressure toward deviant behavior and is overcome through the various forms of adjustment according to the recognition or rejection of the cultural goals and values or the means allowed." (Defined following R.K. Merton, who has been especially concerned with the anomalous situation of marginal social groups.)
41. See Uwe Kroll, "Objekt meiner Sehnsucht," *Zitty*, no. 26 (Berlin, 1979), reprinted in Joachim S. Hohmann (ed.) *Pädophilie heute* (Frankfurt/Berlin, 1980), p. 155ff. It is also significant in this connection that paedophiles only experience sexually stimulating pictures of young persons as attractive if the *faces* of those pictured appear "happy" or "beaming."
42. On the connection between the development of the brain in human beings and the—at least partial—"liberation" of the higher (i.e. later developed) parts of the brain from the tyranny of the brain stem and midbrain see the excellent newer research interpretations of Gordon Rattray Taylor, *Die Geburt des Geistes* (Frankfurt/M., 1982), in English, *The Natural History of the Mind* (New York, 1981), and Karl R. Popper and John C. Eccles, *Das Ich und sein Gehirn* (München/Zürich, 1982), in English, *The Self and Its Brain* (New York, 1977).
43. Here may be mentioned the works of Dr. Frits Bernard and Dr. Edward Brongersma, as well as the research by Michael Baurmann. Newer works from abroad may also be named: Theo Sandfort, *Sexual Aspect of Paedophile Relations* (Amsterdam, 1982) and *Boys on their Contacts with Men* (New York and Amsterdam, 1987); L.L. Constantine and Floyd Martinson, *Children and Sex: New Findings, New Perspectives* (Boston, 1981).
44. Edward Brongersma, "Die Rechtsposition des Pädophilen," *Monatsschrift für Kriminologie und Strafrechtsreform* 63, no. 2 (1980). See, for example, the presentation in the psychiatric textbook, Jörg Weitbrecht, *Psychiatrie im Grundriss* (Berlin/Göttingen/Heidelberg, 1983) where, on pp. 143, paedophilia, homosexuality, bisexuality, exhibitionism, voyeurism and other "perversions" are still traced back to "defective maturation from so-called constitutional reasons or through exogenous, environmental impressions and hindrances to maturity, or both together." And an entirely new vocabulary has recently been created in the USA for that behavior which is designated by us in the Federal Republic of Germany as "sexually deviant," namely "paraphilia," defined by Dr. John Money as "an erotic-sexual syndrome in which a person is reiteratively responsive to and dependent on atypical or forbidden stimulus imagery, in fantasy or in practice, for initiation and maintenance of erotic-sexual arousal and achievement or facilitation of orgasm" (quoted in *Pan*, no. 12 [Amsterdam, 1982], p. 44-5). Having such "atypical" and/or "forbidden" thoughts is suggested to be identical with sickness ("syndrome"): here the "moral insanity" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries celebrates a shocking resurrection.

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Translated from the German by Hubert Kennedy

THE IRRESISTIBLE BEAUTY OF BOYS

Middle Eastern Attitudes About Boy-Love

Maarten Schild

> You know not how deep was the love your eyes kindled within my soul, or how great was my suffering! Bless my beloved! He wished to visit me, but could not come near me because of his tear-drowned eyes; he feared the watchers, so he came to me quickly, taking all adornments off his neck, except his beauty. I offered cups of wine to him: the wine was put to shame by those honey-like lips, those pearly teeth! His eyelids were at last vanquished by slumber, wine made him obedient to all my wishes; I wanted to make my cheek his pillow, but he found it too small and said, "Your arm is the best pillow for me!" Thus he slept safely, not frightened of treachery; I spent the night in thirst, not touching the pure spring. The moon appeared: it was nearly its last, the firmament was dark because of envy; the night was perplexed; where will the moon rise? Did it not know that she was sleeping on my arm?
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> Ibn al 'Abbar (d. 1041 CE)[1]

The traditional explanation for frequent and extensive homosexual behavior in the Middle East is that there was a strict segregation of the sexes, which made girls and women unavailable before marriage. This is, however, too simplistic an explanation. It is one-sided and views the matter from a negative standpoint. Because homosexual behavior is so universal, it needs no explanation. What must be explained, however, are the attitudes of society about homosexual behavior, since these attitudes determine the extent to which this behavior exists. The traditional explanation is useful, though, if we pursue the question of why boys were regarded as irresistible; their availability played a substantial role.

Contact between men and women in the Middle East is extremely limited because of the strict segregation of the sexes and the relatively separate male and female lifestyles. A man would hardly ever exchange a word with an unaccompanied woman or girl, not to mention getting to know her in any more intimate way. Before marriage, the opportunity for men and boys to have sexual contacts with women and girls is severely curtailed.

Role patterns prescribe that a girl should remain a virgin until she is married. Her virginity is a matter of family honor, which if compromised

would bring shame on all the members of the family. Girls are therefore kept under strict observation by male family members, who are ultimately responsible for them. Married women are also closely controlled, since sexual contact with them is considered adultery and therefore is punishable by law.

The only other possibility of heterosexual contact before marriage is with female prostitutes, and recorse is often made to this solution. But this form of sexual behavior has its limitations: not everyone can afford it.

There are of corse other possibilities for achieving sexual gratification, such as masturbation and contacts with animals. Masturbation is rejected by Islam; the Prophet spoke negatively of it:

> God, on the Day of Judgment, will not throw a glance at the one who masturbates; he will be the first to enter Hell, unless he repents.[2]

The contemporary theologian Shaykh Kishk (b. 1933) describes various objectionable physical consequences to such behavior:

> The crime of masturbation... has terrible consequences: it causes, for instance, complete lethargy, and he who practices it will be unable to walk much because of the ensuing feebleness of his legs. He will loose his sight and he will age prematurely. Cure is to be found in marriage, or in reading the Koran, prayer, fasting and physical exercise.[3]

We may assume that any connection between this pronouncement and the fact that Shaykh Kishk himself was blind is purely coincidental. Through masturbation you would not only become lazy, indifferent and depressive, but this behavior is claimed to lead to epilepsy, tuberculosis, impotency, infertility and madness. These views may sound Victorian, but are consistent with Islamic values in the Middle East. Nevertheless, in practice, masturbation seems to be the most frequently used method of sexual gratification for unmarried men, even though it is considered inferior because no other person is involved as a sexual partner.[4]

There are almost no references to sex with animals apart from the fact that, especially in rural areas, it is said to occur frequently.

Homosexual contact between men is another matter. In principle, sexual contact between equals is considered impossible according to Middle Eastern values, because one of the partners, in playing the passive role, makes himself unequal. Between men, therefore, homosexual contact may only happen if one of the partners is prepared to accept the inequality of the passive role or if both, for whatever reason, ignore such role patterns. Homosexual contact between men and boys, or between boys themselves, is therefore a much more frequent pattern.[5]

Young boys are a very attractive sexual alternative for men and older boys who are not yet married. Younger boys are not the property of anyone else, as are married women; they are not required to remain virginal, as are unmarried girls; they are unveiled and are found everywhere. As Muhammad ibn Hani al Maghribi wrote:

> Moralist, rebuke me not, that women such as Hind and Zaynab do not move me as does a little gazelle, for whom my love burns. Three interesting attributes has he: he is not apprehensive about getting his periods, never complains of a suddenly swelling belly, and is never veiled from my gaze.[6]

It appears that it was not so difficult to persuade boys. Often they were seduced, at times by offering money, but sometimes, on the rare occasion, force was used. A notorious manner of taking sexual advantage of boys against their will was to ply them with drink and subsequently "mount" them; this is called *dabib*, meaning literally "crawling." Ibn Quzman (c. 1080-1160 CE), the poet and cynic, about whom it was circumspectly remarked that he couldn't swim and indeed had rarely seen the sea, wrote:

> Throw off your restraint in loving the youthful, and as for the beloved, if you see that his sash is hard to undo, give him to drink, and do it again, as often as needed. Then, if he drinks from the large cup and endures, por him out a second: He will collapse though he be a lion! When my beloved drank his cup for you, and drunkenness made him droop among his seated companions, I redoubled my efforts whenever he raised his head; my beloved drank, he drank until he keeled over. There is no safety from me for one who gets drunk and then falls asleep.[7]

The model for Ibn Quzman was Abu Nuwas (c. 757-814 CE), the famous satirical poet and trickster, who was also a master in the art of stealthy seduction:

> His beautiful attributes promise something delicious, his eyes shadowed with kohl, filled with temptation. Upon whatever part of his body the eyes might rest, it gives continual delight. Proudly his cheeks curve from the temples in an arc to the chin, uniting there perfectly in beauty and sweetness, as it should be. Against his will I will drink the lees from his cup, that tastes of the fawn's blood, dispelling all sorrows. The wine flowed within him 'til his eyes became murky, clouded with drowsiness. I said when sleep flirted with him, "Drowsy already?" and he answered, "No, not yet." He wanted to wait until the morning to leave unviolated

and not dishonored. But when slumber overcame him and he fell asleep, I could finally enjoy my guest. I said nothing when I finally had him; God would have been more pleased had it not happened. We, and or shame, were united in sleep, two birds in one nest. Perform not the pleasures in secret, but rise to it like someone who removes all the restraints.[8]

First a boy was plied with wine until he passed out, and while he slept it off, the seducer grabbed his chance:

I stood up and went over to him with a stiff one after I had prepared my ram for attack. When I had driven my arrow into him, he regained consciousness, and, as someone who is wounded, lay down. I said to him, "In the name of your father, my rod is not so troublesome and there is no need to yell." He answered, "You have won, go ahead and fuck me, but carefully, and as much as you can." And when I climbed his back and laid my baggage on him, he sang hymns of praise.[9]

Usually Abu Nuwas was successful and the boy submitted, but on occasion a boy would resist passionately and have the last laugh:

When the morning red competed with the darkness, wine sent my comrades spinning and my Joyful One already maliciously lay in wait, I said to my prick, when I saw his eye sadly weeping, "If you are not able to do what I want, then you shall spend the night cheated, with tear-inflamed eye." At that he sank, and looked forlornly at the lad, as a gambler looks upon a lost stake. Even when the messenger of sleep whispered to the boy and his eyelids closed, I remained patient until, powerless, he slipped off. Only then did I crawl towards him, like a scorpion, sometimes even on my belly, and pierced that which was enclosed in his trousers. Yet, thrusting in my passion, my spear missed the goal, whereupon the lad detected the nail at his back and sprang up, confused in fright. Ultimately he lay atop me, and I under him, cursing my attempt to plunder his treasure. I had banged my head, and with a bleeding ear I backed away. He then even threw an apple at my face and aimed it so it struck my teeth. I went off wounded and without further desires, yet my prick stood up straight and, though I had him to thank for everything, laughed at me saying, "That's what happens to those who act presumptuously!"[10]

In order to avoid these kinds of accidents, caution was advised and it was recommended, especially in crowded sleeping places, to equip oneself

with various aids. Various sorces advised the use, among other things, of the following:

—A hook or large needle with a long thread, to attach to the clothing of the lad on whom one had one's eye, when he laid down to sleep. That way one could not only find the lad but find the way back to one's own sleeping place.

—A sheet of paper, to fan out the lamp if it suddenly went on.

—Three small stones, which were thrown one by one against the ceiling to see if everyone was asleep.

—A pillow, to be thrown at the would-be victim to see if he was asleep. If indeed this was the case, one could always gallantly place the pillow under the boy's head.

—A small bag of dust, used to make sure the boy would lie on his belly. If he were lying on his back, one would sprinkle dust in his face so that he would turn over, thinking the dust came from the ceiling. If he were lying on his side, one would sprinkle the dust in his ear. The dust could also assist in covering a quick retreat: if the victim awoke suddenly, one could throw dust in his eyes to distract his attention so that he temporarily could see little or nothing, making recognition impossible.

—Soft slippers, so that footsteps could not be heard.

—An inflatable leather sack, which could be used if someone was lying too closely beside the boy. The sack was placed between them, and inflated, thereby pushing aside the adjacent sleeper. Both the boy and his neighbor would have the subconscious idea that the other was pushing him away.

—A ring and scissors, used to make a hole in the trousers of the boy. One would make a fold in the trousers of the victim, near the anus, pull the fold through the ring and cut it off.

—Marsh-mallow pulp or a twig of the sumac tree, to put into the mouth to promote the production of saliva. One's mouth might become dry from the tension, and one would need saliva to lubricate the anus of the boy and one's own penis.

—A piece of fur or a hairpiece, which one would place on one's head to prevent one's own hair being grabbed if one were to be caught. One also had to be on guard against being scratched on the face by which one might be identified.

—A purse with false coins, which one gave to convince a reluctant victim; in the dark he wouldn't see that the coins were false.

—A small pillow to put in the boy's mouth if he should scream, or in one's own to stifle a sneeze.

—A dildo, with which one could fend off intrusive hands, and also foil attempts to grab one's penis.

—A bag of fresh brains to toss behind one if the victim or someone else gave chase, to cause them to slip and fall.

—A raw egg: If caught, one could beat a speedy retreat to one's own

bed, quickly remove one's own trousers and put egg white on the buttocks so that it would appear that one had also been mounted. If necessary, a person could scream along with the victim, but one should not overdo it.

It was considered advantageous not to have too large a tool, otherwise penetration was hopeless. It was also wise to change places in the dark, before beginning one's adventure, lest some other misguided soul might have had his eye on you![11]

Such complicated maneuvers were generally not necessary, because many boys had no problem with putting themselves sexually at the disposal of men or older boys.

While the availability of boys made sexual activity with them an attractive option, the irresistibility imputed to them in Middle Eastern poetry and stories cannot, in my opinion, be explained only by the negative fact that there was nothing better available. I would suggest that it was their beauty that led to their being regarded as so seductive.

The irresistible seductive power of beautiful youths is an often-repeated theme in Arabian and Persian poetry and literature. Many men became inextricably entangled in the curls or pierced to the heart by the roguish twinkle in the eyes of boys:

> I would give my father in ransom for a precious possession that clings to my soul! I loved a new moon unique in its beauty, borrowing from the gazelle its glances and slender neck. A full moon that shown in shapely proportion was proud of its beauty, desiring no increase. Grace had adorned him; his figure was graceful! A full moon that conquered with evident charm, cheek down curling over a jasmine complexion, a lily placed in line with a well-guarded rose; when it appeared it proudly trailed the edges of beauty's robe. Before me a creature appeared that was worthy of love! My eyelids live only to find out about him; if my soul had but feathers, I would fly to him. Beauty placed armies upon his pupils and upon the arrowlike glance feathered with licit charm. He has a tall, graceful figure, hence my heart is in thrall to desire! He has made it his aim to shun me ever since I submitted to his love, yet I have squandered my patience despite the length of his shunning. The water of beauty flows on his cheek's surface; his front teeth have put rows of pearls to shame; his mouth is a receptacle for sweets worthy of being kissed! When he donned a stylish robe as a costume, I wished to kiss his voluptuous, deep red lips, so that he said in verse, trying to act as one who refuses, and inclining coquettishly, with the sweetest of words: "I say that you will not taste the tempting morsel, by God!"[12]

Various Sufis, Islamic mystics, saw the beauty of boys as a reflection of the Beauty of God. Admiration and love of God could, therefore, be directed at beautiful lads as long as it remained a spiritual and chaste love.

Descriptions of the beauty of boys in Sufi poetry, and Arabian and Persian stories and poems in general, are unparalleled in their spiritual description of certain physical characteristics of boys, as in this passage from Ibn Khafaja (1058-1139 CE):

> I drank the wine from his hand, and such was its brightness and purity that it was as though it came from his kindness and my love. My accompanying relish consisted of the daisies of the teeth or the lily of the neck; of the narcissi of the eyelids or of the roses of his cheek. Until the wine and sleep invaded his body; they made his shoulders droop, and he leant against my arm. I proceeded to ask as a present the cold that was between his teeth for the heat that was between my ribs. I embraced him, being stripped of his figured robe; I embraced in him a sword drawn from its scabbard. Softness of chest and straightness of body; quivering of sides and splendor of blade... Both my hands journeyed over his body, now to the waist and now to the breast. One hand went down to the coastal plane of his flanks, and another went up to the plateau of his chest... After I had parted from him, I was still kissing the places where those cheek-hairs of myrtle had fallen. O morning of misfortune, may you be accursed as a morning! O night of good fortune, will you ever return?[13]

A boy's face was like the radiance of a full moon that chased the dusk of the earth. It possessed large dark gazelle eyes as bewitching as glistening jewels, piercing as two razor-sharp swords, intoxicating as the headiest wine, eyes that shine as the rays of the sun. The cheeks were like blossoming roses, gleaming like blood-red coral, blushing as a rose petal, at times subtly embellished by a beauty-mark. The teeth were pearly white and the lips red and honey sweet. His kisses and the dew in his mouth were exquisite wine and sugar-sweet honey; his breath the scent of perfume and intoxicating. His voice was soft and sweet and even more attractive by its nasal tone and lisp. His hair was long and curling and as black as coal. His neck was long and sinewy as that of a gazelle. His waist was thin and supple and yet as brittle and vulnerable as a slender twig. Finally there was his shapely bottom, rounded as a mountain of sand. In another passage Ibn Khafaja writes:

> [My love was] a tender youth, on whose cheek the down had appeared, like a line written with camphor on ambergris... I would go to him in the evening and then in the morning—I turn from

glory only for the encounter of passion. To where I might meet, as a lance, a solid chest, and drive the horses of kissing on the jousting-ground of the cheek; to where I might pluck the daisy from a desired mouth and bend the bamboo of a well-proportioned body. He walked swaying like a green bough, and I asked him to let me pluck the fruit of union—or the flowers of promise. He turned away, not inclining towards me, as though, when I was calling to him from nearby, I was calling to him from far off...[14]

Feminine beauty also was described in the same way and with the same symbols. At times the resulting conclusion was that the beauty of boys was derivative of the beauty of women and therefore second-rate. The mystic Ibn Arabi (1165-1240 CE) contended that without the similarity between boys and women, boys would be attractive to none. When the face of the boy began to become overgrown and no longer was soft and feminine, attraction and love disappeared immediately. For others, however, it was in fact girls and women who had "borrowed their beauty from boys." One was Abu Nuwas:

> By my soul! He upon whom I have rested my hope and for whom I feel such a torment of passion, prides himself above others because of his beautiful face and hair, the length of which reaches his neck, and the locks surrounding his temples, which he, my lord and master, has arranged around pear-like cheeks. God has fashioned him of gold and pearls, and during his creation made him more than beautiful. And when God had shaped him into a perfect figure, He created the women of paradise in his image.[15]

The notion that the attractiveness of women and girls was based on boyishness was expressed through the phenomenon of the *gulamiyyat*. The *gulamiyya* was a girl whose appearance was as boyish as possible. The word stems from *gulam*, meaning "boy," "servant" or "slave." The word *gulam* has a distinct sexual connotation and is closely related to the verb, *galima*, which can be translated as "being excited (by lust)." We can therefore define *gulamiyya* as a girl who possesses boyish sensuality. Muhammad al Warraq (d. 909 CE) wrote of one:

> She understood that beauty can best arouse men's love under the guise of a lad. She has therefore cut her hair in order to arrange it like a boy's, and rolled her sleeves up like them. Each day she played sports—played at ball and at baton and shot at the target with her arrows. But how could she, alas, plug up that deep and sombre pit, something that no boy possesses?[16]

The tradition of the *gulamiyyat* most likely originated in the cort of the Abbasid Caliph Al Amin (809-13 CE) in Baghdad. It is said that his mother arranged that a number of girls be disguised as boys in order to combat the preference the caliph had for eunuchs. This practice spread quickly, especially in higher circles where many female slaves and servant girls circulated dressed and coiffed as boys. Other means were used to achieve as boyish a countenance as possible. Some girls even painted a moustache in musk on their upper lips. It is said that the wife of the Umayyad Caliph Al Hakim II (961-76 CE) of Cordoba, because of his preference for boys, not only disguised herself as a *gulamiyya* but took the masculine name of Ja'far as well.[17]

A perfect illustration of the fact that even a convinced boy-lover could allow himself to be fooled by the phenomenon of the *gulamiyyat*, and temporarily succumb to the charms of a girl, is given by Abu Nuwas:

> Full-breasted was one of the servant girls from the palace, who enraptured me by the beauty of her neck, face and nape. She dressed as a boy and was well fed; her hair was short, with ornamented temples. I was swept off my feet by the beauty of her face, although the love of generous breasts is not my taste. Thus when I saw her I incessantly made verses and sang the sweetest songs. The poetic art is a bewitching snare. So she consented, and came to me on her own after the hor of afternoon prayer. "Welcome," said I, and from hand to hand were passed the cups of cooled wine, like saffron or flaming coals. She said, "This is wine, is it not? I shall lose the innocence I have reserved for God, if I consort with men and wine." I replied, "Drink! If it is forbidden, I shall be blamed, my gazelle, for your sins and mine!" Then I asked her "something," and she spoke emphatically: "It shall kill me!" And a tear began to fall. I did "it" therefore with much gentleness and said to myself, "A virginal servant: that is why she is afraid, she is still a virgin!" But when we melted together I was engulfed, a tidal wave, as at sea, in which, I drowned. And I cried, "Boy! Help!" And he came, as my foot slipped and I sank into the seething mass of water. If I had not called to the boy and he had not saved me—and just—with a rope, I would have been lost... And I swore that for as long as I lived I would never again choose the abundant froth, but would only travel by back.[18]

We could suppose, à la Ibn Arabi, that the beauty of the *gulamiyya* is derivative of that of boys and therefore second-rate. In my opinion, however, the issue is not so much which sex is the more original or beautiful, but rather about a general ideal of beauty by which both sexes can be

judged equally. It seems that for many the epitome of beauty can be found in androgyny; such an attitude is not exclusive to the Middle East. The popularity of girl-like boys and boy-like girls can perhaps be explained in that they approximate the androgynous ideals of beauty for men and women respectively more closely than men and women themselves ever can.

To prove that the beauty of boys was merely derivative of that of women, the argument was often used that the attractiveness of a boy disappeared with the growth of his beard. There even existed a separate name for verses dedicated to the growth of facial hair, *mu'adhdhar*, derived from the word *'idhar* or "down." There are numerous examples of *mu'adhdhar*, but a few will suffice:

> You were the full moon, until one night you were infected by decay. When the down sprouted, I said, "Love is finished! The black raven of down has announced separation!"
>
> Ibn al Hayy (12th cent. CE)[19]

> I asked, "What has happened to the beauty of your face that the moon is swarming with ants?" He answered smiling, "I know not what is happening to my face. Perhaps it wears black in mourning for my beauty."
>
> Sa'di (1200-91 CE)[20]

> Oh you of tender pale cheeks, you were light until the beard came to smudge you beauty. I think of the candle, its wick blackening as the flame goes out.
>
> Ibrahim Ibn Sahl (d. 1251 CE)[21]

As a general rule, the eventual growth of a boy's beard was reason enough for a man to end his relationship with a boy; his beauty was marred and love disappeared. The Saljukid Sultan Sanjar (d. 1157 CE) was an extreme case:

> It was his custom to buy a slave of his choice, then make him the object of his love, flaunting his love for him, squandering his wealth and affections on him, drinking his evening and morning cup with him, investing him with his power and entrusting him with his authority. But when night dispersed his day, and violets overshadowed his pomegranate blossom, he turned away from him and disliked him, left and abandoned him, and went so far in his hatred for him that he would not be content to end the union with him by separation, but found release from him in his execution.[22]

Others were less repulsed by this normal physical development; in fact, some found that it made a boy even more attractive:

> Jealous people and slanderers overwhelm me with sarcasm, because my beloved has started to shave. I answer them, "Friends, how wrong you are! Since when has down been a flaw? It enhances the splendor of his lips and his teeth, like silk cloth which is brightened by pearls." And I consider myself fortunate that his sprouting beard preserves his beauty from indiscreet glances; it gives his kisses a different flavor and reflects in the silver of his cheeks.
>
> Abu Nuwas[23]

> With the sprouting beard his loveliness merely grew subtler, finer, and my love for him followed suit. For us, the beard was not some vile darkness creeping cross his cheeks, but only a trickling-down of the beautiful blackness of his eyes.
>
> Ibn Sara (1095-1123 CE)[24]

> Jealous ones cry scandal: what's this? I dare to love a boy whose beard has sprouted! Well, yes. I do dare. Why not? If you love a sterile and barren garden at a time of bitter drought, will you abandon it when grass starts to grow?
>
> Al Hariri (1054-1122 CE)[25]

These verses, however, illustrate exceptions to the rule. It was very unusual for a relationship to continue with a boy once the growth of his beard had begun. It was even considered indecent and shameless behavior. The question is why this should be so, for it would seem to be admirable that love endures though beauty wanes.

We are dealing with a complex attitude, the exact causes of which are difficult to trace. My own interpretation is that it was the boyishness and seeming androgyny that was so attractive in beautiful lads, both of which soon disappeared, making way for masculinity. Growth of the beard was symbolic of becoming a man, and was not something to which lovers of boys looked forward. Quite on the contrary, it inhibited the continuation of the sexual relationship because, in principle, sex between equals was rejected. From the moment that hair began to grow on his face and on the rest of his body, the boy wanted to be treated more like a man, and there-

fore like an equal, ending his subordinate position within the sexual relationship. Abu Nuwas gives us an example of this in one of his verses:

> He saw on his cheeks a planting of down and therefore resisted my kisses and said, "I have become a man. It is over, the things of my youth. I wish to be treated as an equal, therefore ask not for union, and reproach me not." I said, "Oh you, who champion your little beard, now, by God, you are finally ripe for this business. For it is the saffron and musk that buds from under your curly temples. I admit, you burn with maturity, but the charm of your eyes is not yet over. Why should I not bite your cheeks, and suck the moisture of your mouth that is as honey?" "Go away! Leave me alone!" said he, and turned away, confused and grinding his teeth in shame. But I embraced him hastily, with pounding heart and full of panic, until we blended together on the bed of habit. My young colt snorted as I let my gift of love melt in his behind.[26]

Some men actually considered it a challenge to physically possess a boy in the bud of manhood, or, as Al Nafzawi (14/15th cent. CE) said:

> I'll have my cup from a lad of gazelle-like grace with houri's eyes, dark lips and down just sprouting around his mouth and temples, and then I'll rape him and strip him of his manhood! To vanquish a victor is the only sorce of pride.[27]

But for the boy it was a humiliation, to be returned to the feminine role which he had sought to leave behind.

The role pattern for boys is not as clearly established as those for men and women, since childhood is a transitional phase of life. Becoming a man represents the transition from the protective, female-dominated "inside" world of women and children to the "outside" world of men. The boy attempts to break away from the subordinate position in which he is continually dependent upon others. The "inside" security of family and home is replaced by the dangerous "outside" world in which one must stand up for oneself and for the honor of one's family. To be "outside" means to be always on guard against others who would manipulate or defeat one; it requires vigilant self-assertion.

We find this confrontational experience with the "outside" world reflected in the verbal word-games Turkish boys play with each other. These are a kind of ritual exchange of rhyming insults, the goal being to humiliate the other before one is humiliated oneself. For example, the masculinity of another boy can be attacked by suggesting that his mother or sister is sexually available to everyone, implying the inadequate performance of a man's responsibility to protect the honor of his family. More often boys

try to sexually humiliate each other by implying that the other could be used as a passive homosexual partner. An example of such a dialogue between two boys might be:

A: *"Hiyar!"* ("Cucumber!")
B: *"Götüne uyar!"* ("It fits your ass!")

The implication of "cucumber" is that the one so labeled is a "stupid prick." He, however, is quick to retort, in the conventional rhyming mode, humiliating the first speaker with the suggestion that he is a passive homosexual.[28] In these exchanges, the boy endeavors to prove his manliness by humiliating the other and casting him in a female role. In this "playful" way, boys learn to protect themselves in the threatening "outside" world.

A boy always has to be on his guard: the childish and feminine position of passivity and dependence has to be overcome as quickly as possible and replaced by an active and aggressive attitude. Especially older boys found it necessary to prove their manliness at the expense of younger boys:

> The aggressive behavior of older children toward younger ones is not mere bullying; it is at the same time an imitation of adult behavior and a means of displacing suffered humiliation. In later years, degrading others becomes the unthinking method of asserting oneself. I rise by pushing others down—by humiliating them, by making them look ridiculous, by undermining their position.[29]

As they are growing up boys find themselves in a none-too-enviable position. They constantly try to prove their masculinity to others and are caught up in a continuing and frustrating struggle against the passive-feminine. As a result the only ones a boy can trust are his friends, that is, his equals, of the same age. It is indicative that the Turkish word for friend is *arkadas*, meaning someone to whom one can turn one's back without fear.

In the Middle East, boys are not accepted as equals in the men's world and are not seen as "complete." Not only are they supposed to obey and respect their elders, they are also associated with the world of women. They possess, as women do, the power of seduction, or *fitna*. It is, I believe, this lack of acceptance as equals by men that accounts for younger boys, between the ages of eleven and fifteen, being regarded as available for passive homosexual contact with men and older boys.

Given the limited opportunities for sexual gratification before marriage and cultural assumptions about the irresistible beauty of young boys, this seems like an understandable situation from the point of view of men and older boys. In addition, for older boys, the domination of younger

boys plays a role in proving their masculinity. But for the younger boys this seems to be in direct conflict with their striving for manliness. It seems ironic, then, that so many boys would choose to have homosexual contacts with men and older boys and thereby place themselves in the passive role from which they wish to escape.

According to the only reasonably trustworthy statistical survey of sexual behavior in the Middle East, done among students of psychology at the American University of Beirut, 40 percent of the men had had homosexual contacts. The survey revealed that the first homosexual experience took place at an average age of thirteen, and the first experience of masturbation at an average age of 14½.[30] Apparently, homosexual contact is for many boys their first sexual experience. This homosexual contact usually occurred with older boys or men, with the boy in the passive role. This contributed to the social experience of the boy, although this would not have been the intention. Through this experience the boy learns how sexuality works and how the roles are divided so that later, when he has sex with women, he knows what will be expected of him and how he is supposed to behave. Thus a boy's first homosexual experience would be a step closer to manhood. While the boy is not treated as an equal, as a man, any attention and even contact with the world of men is more than he could have expected and therefore would give him a feeling of belonging.

The idea that association with men makes a boy more manly, or that the man's masculinity reflects onto the boy, can play a subconscious role in the boy's acquiescence. Moreover, in the Middle East there exists a strong superstition that sperm contains miraculous power. It is also thought that power and masculinity can be transferred to a boy by allowing the sperm of the man to flow into the body of the boy. A pupil of a teacher of the Koran, or of a carpenter, for instance, who wished to make his teacher's expertise his own could do this best by having sexual contact with him. It is also through insemination that the *baraka* or holy power of God possessed by certain holy men is said to be transferred.[31]

For a boy temporarily to assume a female role, specifically a passive homosexual role, can be understood as a positive experience, a maturing by association. Of great importance as well is the fact that boys find themselves in a transitional phase of their lives. That is to say that their role pattern has not been clearly established as compared to adults, and it is therefore not considered scandalous or improper that they do not yet behave as men. Passive homosexual behavior is expected to cease with becoming a man, and if not, it is only then that one should be ashamed of such unmanly behavior.

NOTES

1. A.R. Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Its Relation with the Old Provencal Troubadors* (Baltimore: J.H. Furst, 1946), pp. 210-1.
2. Quoted from the *Hadith* (The Sayings and Exemplary Behavior of the Prophet) in Madelain Farah, *Marriage and Sexuality in Islam: a Translation of Al Ghazali's Book on the Etiquette of Marriage from the Ihya'* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1984), pp. 36-7.
3. J.J.G. Jansen, "The Voice of Sheikh Kishk," in Ibrahim al Sheikh and others (eds.), *The Challenge of the Middle East: Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 1982), pp. 62-3.
4. For Islamic attitudes regarding masturbation, see Farah, loc. cit.; Levon H. Melikian and E. Terry Prothro, "Sexual Behavior of University Students in the Arab Near East," *The Jornal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 49, 1954, p. 62; Shaykh Nafzawi, *The Glory of the Perfumed Garden: The Missing Flowers* (London: Granada, 1978), p. 219; Bernard Stern, *Medizin, Aberglaube und Geschlechtsleben in der Türkei* (2er Teil, Berlin: Barsdorf, 1903), p. 237.
5. Statistics concerning sexual behavior in the Middle East are limited and should be used with reservation. A French study (P. Pascon and M. Bentahar, "Ce que disent 296 jeunes ruraux," *Bulletin Economique et Social du Maroc*, 31, 1969, pp. 1-143) of rural Moroccan youths gives the following figures about sexual gratification preceding marriage: 34% have sex with prostitutes, 20% homosexual contacts, 10% sex with animals, 10% used drink, tobacco or kif (a kind of Moroccan hashish), 7% seduced others and had 'non-commercial' sex, 5% committed rape and 4% masturbated (pp. 67-77). A limitation of this study is the structure of the questions. Analysis of combinations of sexual behaviors, such as masturbation combined with sex with prostitutes, is impossible. That only 4% admit to masturbation seems rather unbelievable. And another important statistic, the frequency of sexual behaviors, is absent altogether.

The Melikian study (L. Melikian and E. T. Prothro, op. cit., and Levon H. Melikian, "Social Change and Sexual Behavior of Arab University Students," *Jornal of Social Psychology*, 73, 1967, pp. 169-75), conducted on psychology students at the American University of Beirut, is a better study. It found that 91% of the respondents had masturbated, and the average age for the first experience was forteen years. 69% had had heterosexual contact, beginning at an average age of seventeen. In 1952, during the initial survey, 38% said they had had homosexual contact, while in 1963, in a second survey, this percentage increased to 43%. The average age for the first homosexual experience went from thirteen in the 1952 study to twelve in that of 1963. During the year before the study, 59% of the students had had sexual contact with prostitutes.

In an Egyptian study of the sexual problems of a number of men (A. Demerdash and F. Lotaif, "A Cross Cultural Study of Cases of Functional Sexual Disorders," *The Egyptian Jornal of Psychiatry*, 1, 1978, pp. 51-67), it is reported that 45% had had homosexual contact. As those who were still having homosexual contacts were excluded from the study, the percentage in general has to be higher. The motivations for the first homosexual experience were given as follows: being seduced or imitating others, 46%; unavailability or inaccessability of the opposite sex, 30%; spontaneous feelings of passion, 24%. The average age for the first experience was forteen. 62% reported having been the active partner, 29% the passive, and 8% performing both roles.
6. Tifachi, Ahmed al, *Les délices des coeurs*, trans. René R. Khawam (Paris: J. Matineau, 1971), p. 169.
7. James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* (Berkeley, CA: U. of California Press, 1974), pp. 276-8.
8. Andraes Eppink, unpublished translation given to the author.
9. Ibid.
10. Ewald Wagner, *Abu Nuwas: eine Studie zur Arabischen Literatur der frühen Abbasidenzeit*

(Wiesbaden: Steine, 1965), p. 106.
11. Regarding *dabib*, see: Nafzawi, op. cit., pp. 42-51, and Tifachi, op. cit., pp. 215-24.
12. Ibn Ubada al Qazzaz (c. 1100 C.E.), in Monroe, op. cit., p. 218.
13. Arie Schippers and John Mattock, "Love and War: a poem of Ibn Khafajah," *Journal of Arabic Literature*, 17, 1986, pp. 52-3.
14. Loc. cit. For more descriptions of the beauty of boys in Arabic poetry, see Marc Daniel, "La Civilisation Arabe et l'Amor Masculin," *Arcadie* 253, pp. 8-19, 254, pp. 83-93, 255, pp. 142-50, 257, pp. 269-74, 258, pp. 326-30, 259/60, p. 391-5, 261, pp. 487-92, 263, pp. 619-26, 266, pp. 117-20, 267, pp. 182-7, 1975-6, or its English translation by Winston Leyland, "Arab Civilization and Male Love," *Gay Sunshine*, 32, 1977; Winston Leyland, trans., "Medieval Arab Poets," *Orgasms of Light* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1977, pp. 127-33; A. R. Nykl, op. cit.; Norman Roth "'Deal gently with the young man': Love of Boys in Medieval Hebrew Poetry in Spain," *Speculum*, 57, 1982, pp. 20-51; S.M. Stern, *Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); Tifachi, op. cit.; and Wim van Wiggen, "Homofiele erotiek in de Arabische liefdespoëzie en de miskenning daarvan door Westerse onderzoekers" (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Leiden University).
15. Wiggen, op. cit., p. 16.
16. Daniel, op. cit., p. 330.
17. Regarding *gulamiyyat*, see: Daniel, op. cit., p. 118; Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1922), pp. 336-7; Wiggen, op. cit., pp. 33, 45n65.
18. Eppink, op. cit.
19. Roth, op. cit., p. 39.
20. Sa'di, *The Gulistan or Rose Garden of Sa'di*, trans. E. Rehatsek (London: Allen and Unwin, 1964), p. 190.
21. Erskine Lane, "Arab Poets of Andalusia," *Orgasms of Light* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1977), p. 11.
22. E. Yarshater, "The Theme of Wine-drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry", *Studia Islamica*, 13, 1960, p. 51n1.
23. Daniel, op. cit., p. 273.
24. Lane, loc. cit.
25. Daniel, op. cit., p. 274. Similar themes appear in Greek and Roman poetry. For instance, Strato of Sardis (d. ca. 130):

> Though the first down of youth thy face doth show
> In dainty yellow curls upon thy cheek,
> So great thy beauty, though thy beard doth grow,
> I take no heed and still thy favor seek.

The Greek Anthology: Epigrams from Anthologia Palatina XII, trans. Sidney Oswald [pseud.] (London?: Privately issued, 1914), p. 18.; also, Martialis (ca. 40-104):

> Your face reveals a down so light
> A breeze might steal it, or a breath;
> Soft as a quince's bloom that might
> Find in a finger's touch its death.
> Five kisses—and your face is cleared
> While mine has grown another beard.

An Eye for Ganymede: Forty Epigrams of Marcus Valerius Martialis, trans. Brian Hill (London: Palatine Press, 1972), p. 6.
26. Abu Nuwas, *Le vin, le vent, la vie*, trans. Vincent Monteil (Paris: Sinbad, 1979), p. 98. There is a similar verse by Martialis:

> Young Hyllus, why refuse today
> What yesterday you freely granted,
> Suddenly harsh and obdurate,
> Who once agreed to all I wanted.
> You plead your beard, your weight of years,
> Your hairy chest in mitigation?

> To turn a boy into a man
> How long then was last night's duration?
> Why, Hyllus, do you mock at me,
> Turning affection into scorning?
> If last night you were still a boy,
> How can you be a man this morning?

An Eye for Ganymede, p. 12.
27. Nafzawi, op. cit., p. 41.
28. Alan Dundes, Jerry Leach and Bora Özkök, "The Strategy of Turkish Boys' Verbal Dueling Rhymes," *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, ed. J.J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (New Yourk: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972). The same article was previously published, under the same title, in *The Jornal of American Folklore*, 83, 1970.
29. Hisham Sharabi, "Impact of Class and Culture on Social Behavior: the Feudal-bourgeois Family in Arab Society," *Psychological Dimensions of Near Eastern Studies*, ed. L.C. Brown and Norman Itzkowitz (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1977), p. 250.
30. Melikian, loc. cit.
31. Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan, 1926), vol. 1, p. 198.

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THE BOY-LOVER
Edward Perry Warren

Editor's Introduction

The first edition of *A Defense of Uranian Love* was published in a lavish, three-volume edition in 1928-30 in London, by the Cayme Press. The title page states that the author is "Arthur Lyon Raile," but this was in fact the pseudonym of Edward Perry Warren (1860-1936), an American-born art critic and collector who had settled in England. He is to be counted among the Uranians, the group of English poets and writers who revived the Greek model of boy-love in a sudden but not long-lived efflorescence of mostly paederastic verse, fiction and theoretical writing.

Warren came from a wealthy, protestant New England family, grandson of a calvinistic Congregational minister. He was educated at Harvard, where, he later admitted, he was "more or less in love with a fellow collegian." He continued his studies at Oxford, became interested in Greek and Roman antiquities, and began to collect avidly. It was Warren and his friend and companion John Marshall, whom he had met at Oxford in 1884, and with whom he shared both home and life, whose expertise built the Greek antiquities collections for the Boston Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and at Bowdoin College, Maine—except that of the British Museum, four of the five greatest collections in the world; surely one of the most extraordinary achievements of this kind. Regarding the Boston collection, Warren called it "my plea against that in Boston which contradicted my (pagan) love."[1]

Warren's writings were not unknown to his contemporaries, even though they were published in small editions. The very heterosexual Robert Bridges, England's Poet Laureate, perhaps misled by the ambivalent gender of the subjects of some of Warren's poems, wrote to him, "I think your creed really hits the essentials." By this he meant the religion of beauty and ideal love that was popular in England at that time and that was nearly made into a creed by the philosopher G.E. Moore and the Bloomsbury group. Bridges was less than pleased when he discovered that Warren located this beauty in young males, but still supported Warren's nomination as an Honorary Fellow at Corpus Christi college.

A Defense is an intricate and scholarly work, with citations in six languages, but above all permeated with Greek texts, poetry and philosophy. It was published by the Cayme Press, which was owned by Philip Sainsbury, a nephew of the painter Henry Scott Tuke.[2] Cayme also published Warren's *A Tale of Pausanian Love*, a novel which dealt with two Oxford undergraduates falling in love, and contained many of the same arguments found in the *Defense*.

Warren also published four editions of poetry, again using the pseudonym of "Raile." *Itamos: A Volume of Poems* (London: Grant Richards, 1903) was followed by *The Wild Rose: A Volume of Poems* (London and New York: David Nutt, 1909), which contained all the poems from *Itamos* and forty-five more. An "Enlarged Edition" of *The Wild Rose*, containing a further nine poems, appeared from the same publisher in 1913, and was reprinted again, with a preface, by the London firm of Duckworth in 1928.[3] As the dates borne by the poems indicate, they were inspired by the course of a relationship with a "much younger friend" than Marshall, whom Warren met in 1902.[4]

The following excerpts from *A Defense* are taken entirely from the first volume of the three-volume 1928 edition. These beautiful octavo volumes, printed on rag bond paper and bound in bright red cloth with vellum spines and tips and gold lettering, are among the greatest of Uranian rarities. Each of the three volumes may be considered a self-contained argument, though it was Warren's intention that they also interconnect. "Part the First," contained in the first volume, is titled, as here, "The Boy-Lover," which must surely be one of the earliest uses of this term in English. It contains Warren's description of *Eros paidikos* (boy-love) according to the Greek model, and ends with a reinterpretation of the platonic philosophy of boy-love leading to a spiritual ideal, as part of the natural inclination of love. "Part the Second: The Uranian Eros," in the second volume, as Warren tells us in his preface, suppresses neither the personal Eros nor the Philosophical Eros that controls it, "but subordinates both to the wider dominance of the Uranian Eros." "Part the Third: The Heavenly Wisdom and Conclusion," volume three and the shortest part, "retains the hierarchy and recants nothing, but admits discoveries by which Christians have enlarged the idea and province of Love."[5]

"The Boy-Lover" is in nine chapters; these excerpts are drawn from chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7. In the first section, Warren expounds his theory of the development of the boy-lover's desire; in the second he delineates the characteristics in the boy which are desired; the third answers, in a unique way, the charge that the boy-lover would effeminate the boy or lead him into license; the final excerpt places the boy-lover's desire within a philosophy of life. In order to assure readibility the usual dots (...) denoting omissions have not been used. Very often the text digresses, or intrudes Greek, Latin or other phrases—and whole passages—which illustrate but do not necessarily advance the argument. Every care has been taken to be faithful to Warren's ideas, precisely because he alone, to this day, has said some of these things about boy-love.

The poems which follow the text are taken from the 1913 edition of *The Wild Rose*.

The excerpts have been selected, edited and introduced by Joseph Geraci.

Editor's Notes

1. A.L. Rowse, *Homosexuals in History: A Study of Ambivalence in Society, Literature and the Arts* (New York: Dorset Press, 1983), pp. 309-13. A full treatment of his life is found in *Edward Perry Warren: The Biography of a Connoisseur* (London: Christophers, 1941) by Osbert Burdett and E.H. Goddard.
2. Timothy d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest: Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English "Uranian" Poets from 1889 to 1930* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 113.
3. Ibid., p. 253. The 1913 edition escaped d'Arch Smith's notice in this standard bibliography of the Uranians' work.
4. Ibid., p. 116.
5. "Arthur Lyon Raile" [Edward Perry Warren], *A Defense of Uranian Love* ([London: Cayme Press], 1928), Vol. I, p. [ii].

The Boy-Lover

1. The Intention

If a theory of love is to satisfy man, its feet must be planted on the earth and its head raised toward the sky; in other words it must include both his bodily and his spiritual nature. If it is true only to the latter, it is unsubstantial; if true only to his fleshly instincts, it is condemned by his self-respect.

The theory of love for women which is now accepted satisfies these two conditions. It appeals to his higher nature and admits the lower. Hence marriage is held to be the proper and only sanction and safeguard of love. But what is not recognised is that the same appeal to the higher and lower may be made on behalf of the love of boys,—that it too has its spiritual and corporal satisfaction and justification.

Further, it is not understood that the current theory in its excesses tends to the subversion of order by exalting woman beyond her due, and, with woman, the qualities characteristic of woman, so that the masculine ideal is subjected or driven into revolt.

The following account of a boy-lover and of his experiences is intended to state the case for such love and to show how it may lead to acceptance of orderly and masculine principles. It extends to the genesis of a Philosophical Eros, but does not cover the whole ground of Uranian doctrine and of the Heavenly, or Christian, wisdom. The method followed is the establishment of one case from which inferences may be drawn to like natures. A more general consideration of Greek and Christian morals is necessary, if we would assign to this love its proper standing among human motives.

2. The Rise of Love

Love can arise in many ways. It springs perhaps always from sexual desire. But, as its manifestations, for instance, the Divine Love, cannot always be traced indisputably to that origin, so, even when developments force us to recognize the connection, the initial stages may be unaware of sex. Its ideality may be established in advance, its carnality later. Let us take a case of this sort, and, as physicists conduct an experiment in vacuo, let us isolate a case of love, as much as may be, from the bodily conditions of its existence.

To do so, we must consider a youth brought up mostly at home, or otherwise separated from the common knowledge which obtains in schools and which speedily reduces the spiritual to its correspondent physical terms. Quite ignorant of sexual feeling our boy will not be, and he may not be so healthy, or, as the phrase is, clean-minded, as the school-boys who have let light into the dark places of the imagination; but he will be fresh to the touch of warm feeling, not callous and commonplace. We are tracing the formation of a lover; and we may well assume that his religious love has been intense. The spiritual and carnal loves are in their nature neither dissociated nor antagonistic. They become antagonistic as strong feelings, any one of which may claim the whole man, become antagonistic, but not otherwise. Our youth understands love only in one sense, warm personal affection, elicited by God, or by his fellow, or by woman. He makes no distinction of kinds of love, and, whatever he may know of erotic relations, he dreams for himself, during the years immediately to come, only the exchanges of sympathy. He already feels himself capable of a passion which will not be satisfied with the distant, or which will satisfy itself with the distant only at a great expense of imagination. He does not belittle love. It will not suffice him, if it is cold. He measures it by warmth, by its complete possession of himself. There is some gradual revelation within him that love, as he conceives it, is not for precisely such a being as the Christian conceives God to be. The discipline, abstinence, and suffering of religion do not daunt him, if they will direct love thither where it will find its fullest expression; but the little he knows of human love makes him doubt whether God is just to it. Predisposed to idealise every connection of the sexes by the addition of his own sentiment, it puzzles him that all extra-marital union must be base, and marital union a thing hardly to be mentioned. The remarks made by people of ordinary worldly common sense do not tally with his spiritual ideas.

Love, to such people, is less holy in the concrete, since they admit notions of indecency which appear to him excluded by love, less authoritative in the abstract, since they admit marriages which are not the effect of a prevailing passion. Emotion does not rank with them as it does in his own heart. He appears to himself, with all his incipient religious

dissatisfactions, the truer worshipper, and his dissatisfactions are evidences of his worship. He doubts alternately whether others love God and whether he loves God, since he finds that the love which the others have of God is not their controlling motive, and that his love, whether of God, or of his fellow, removes him from the absolute control of God. His physical nature is unquiet; but his unquietness, condemned "by the Bible," is symptomatic of the emotion approved and exalted by the Bible, which quiet people seem to him not to possess. He is ready for ecstasies, and treads lightly on the earth. But he foresees dimly that his love, once developed, will weight him and bring him down to earth. He is not, before all things, a lover without possessing a sense of beauty. If he can see visions through the incense, he can also see the visible world.

To such a boy the word "pure" is not convincing. He has known so many pure who are not warm and loving, so many correct who are superficial. Superficial is his word of damnation: may not the right be wrong, and the wrong right? as the first are last, and the last first. At all events friendship, the appeal of the soul, has clear and indefeasible claims, claims which hold even when the friend is misguided.

In this state of troubled aspiration and emotion he meets an older lad who appears to him to have the beauty of a Greek statue, and a solidity and stability which he misses in himself. To the elder and less imaginative boy all doubts are clear, all facts are evident. He is admired, he is happy, and his words have the ring of right decision for all his followers—his schoolmates and playmates. To love such is at once natural and right; and, on football field or in swimming bath, he discovers that his love is sensual. The other does not know the fact, or dissembles his knowledge: the younger cannot make it known; but hereby the seeds of antagonism to tradition, antagonism matured by the tradition itself, are sown in him. His love, which was, he thought, his highest quality, is connected of a sudden with what he had been told was his lowest. His ideal love, his worship, his imaginative devotion is, he now sees, capable of becoming more real than he can imagine. The fact that he has little acquaintance with the elder lad and reverences him from afar brings the younger into more abject submission; unnoticed, he is humbled. He is, as we know, and as he does not know, a boy-lover in the growing. He knows only that the door-way of the house where his acquaintance lives seems to frown, and that a nameless distinction is connected even with his straw-hat hung on a peg, or his tie laid across the back of a chair.

He has discovered that the body has its share in love; that warm affection, growing warmer, becomes sensual; that intensity of love is passion. He has passed, by the most natural way, from the highest to the most earthly, without prevision of his course. He had no idea that such a passage was possible, save in love for woman. To him male and female were indifferent, though he expected some miracle in the case of the female. His love knew nothing of sex. It hardly knows it now. If you told

him that what he now feels is only a part of what he will feel, when grown, for a woman, he would accept your statement, but would ask whether to quit one love for another on the ground of sex is not unfaithfulness to love. Are you going to base the spiritual on sexual differences? He had rather be sublimely unsatisfied, but constant. The love you recommend does not seem to him base, but base the assumption that it alone can be love. Here would be a denial of the spiritual—of the spiritual which only can justify the sensual. Later perhaps he will discover that it is the sensual which justifies him, that he by nature is Uranian, and cannot love save as a Uranian. But at the moment all that he knows is that he has discovered love—real love—to be of the body as well as the soul. In the sincerest, clearest-hearted way, he has reached the doctrine that love is one, and can be elicited by his own sex. He cannot deny it to be good, since it is love. Time goes by, and it is argued over and over again; but the only new argument which he will ever need is that no new miracle is ever wrought in him by feminine hands, and that the old wonder continues natural. His growth does not make it puerile; his study of beauty does not make it ugly; his knowledge of life does not turn it into vice; his reading justifies him; he needs but fruition to possess conviction.

We have supposed our lover to be disregarded by his older acquaintance, and we are at liberty to suppose him for many years nursing or combating a passion reproved by the many, but not, so far as he can understand, less holy than marital love. For the present, whatever is lacking in social sanction or in sexual satisfaction makes allegiance more meritorious. He finds a romantic reason in the fact that such love is not the most natural. Adherence to it would be a triumph. The theory of discipline that he has learned from Christianity preaches resistance to nature and conquest of nature. Led by the higher, he would resign the lower, had he not discovered that the higher involves the lower. But higher and lower have become false distinctions to him whenever the higher is included; for then it not only justifies but commands the lower; and love welds the human being into one.

We are supposing him still young, and still living among the relatively young. His ideal will be the youth of twenty, already possessed of the full virility which, to him, carries with it some awe, but not yet disfigured by maturity. He is worshipping what he himself would become, and his affection is still passive. At the age when boys are thinking of adventure, he is thinking of the manly; at the age when boys do not think of love, he is possessed by Anteros.[1] This is not the best way to become a man himself, except in reflection. He needs to be drawn speedily, as a love might have drawn him, on to lines pursued by his fellows. But in thought he is learning that subordination (for he is passive) to the manly ideal (his aim) which will some day take the form of a philosophical passion. His very love begins to seem unworthy of him, because it has not the high disdain and independence of the creature who refers "everything to him-

self and" is "the true and perfect centre of his actions." Truly no greater good could befall him than a worthy lover, a lover to reassure him, to tolerate his boyish imbecilities, to show him where he is right, where wrong, where weak, where wise, a lover to train and tend him, to console and fortify him, to gratify his longings, and to shout to him at football. But he misses all this, and enters the melancholy stage which most Uranians traverse when they know that their season is passing away, and ask themselves whether love for the younger will ever be so perfect as the pleasure of receiving love from the elder; when they begin to suffer from the curse which renders them less lovable in proportion as they near their full dignity. Now comes of necessity the recognition that love is not, except in a woman's nature, the worship of the highest, that the strong more naturally love the tender, and bear the infirmities of the weak, and that, whatever worship of the masculine may control meditation, the irritation of love is produced rather by the passing freshness of boyhood, or the lasting freshness of womanhood, than by the virile qualities which dominate thought. This curious deflection of nature, or, if you will, this contradiction between the spiritual and the sensual, whereby the higher is bound over to the lower, is perhaps the greatest mystery that besets the Uranian—here truly the heavenly—lover. He never solves it; he can but recognize it as the paradox of love; and his recognition is not reconciliation. But he defers to it as a fact, and meets it in the only way which is consonant with his allegiance: as his worship of the elder has been a wish to be lost himself in submission to the elder, so, in any love distinguished by inequality of age or sex, the condition imposed by the right-minded, whether lover or beloved, is that the flower shall be under the hand of the husbandman, that the servant shall not be greater than his master. Hence, when he grows up and becomes a lover, a wise, if lonely, mastery of his beloved, implying greater mastery of himself, is imposed upon him. He has learnt by obedience submission to rule. His rulership is a new obedience. He has attained the dignity of which he once stood in awe; and it is a condition of his worthiness as a lover that he shall not be, as formerly, the second, but the first. Henceforth there is no centre of gravity but in himself, and his aspiration must search afar. To love, but not to yield; to control and to guide the sweeter: that is his undertaking.

3. The Beloved

Whatever we love attains for us a value in itself, distinct from its use or profit.

Our boy-lover, when a boy, learnt to love the masculine; the man was to be privileged as an ideal in himself; he possessed the highest beauty, the best right to praise. This ideality is not always appreciated in the male, who is often valued rather for what he can do than for what he is. Perfection is not disconnected from function. But error creeps in, if we disconnect function from perfection, and judge him wholly by what he can do, not by what he is.

Our boy-lover does not fall into this danger. Unwittingly he has conceived the idea on which the theory of a liberal education—the education of a freeman—rests, that man has a beauty of his own, that it is loss of dignity for man studying to become merely a student, and for man dealing with his fellows to become only a merchant. He has fallen in love with this beauty and dignity, and reckons his friends accordingly. For them he has a place set apart such as a man gives to his wife. Thus his love of man has led to the conception of a gentleman.

There is no hereditary race of boy-lovers. The easy development of boy-love to its best depends on the character of the community. In countries not remarkable for the gentlemen whom they produce you will have no high general development of gentle affection between males. Where the gentleman is paramount the paederastic lust, which exists universally, will have a chance to become love. All love is as sensitive to its surroundings as cream to a neighbouring cheese. The peculiar character of love is but an overshot of the aim of the times. Where the feminine ideal is all important, we shall have subtle refinement and critical knowledge of feminine grace; where the masculine ideal is held aloft, the love of boys (other things being equal) acquires a better character. You will have no great boy-love unless the lines of a civilization converge toward it; but, when all national ideals are tinctured with its own philosophical nature, then it is greater than itself, for it draws on a greater nature. As a vice the practice depends less on the temperament of a people than on its self-indulgence; as virtuous it is possible only when it draws on kindred virtue.

It is this virtue which our boy-lover has been admiring in his boyhood, absorbing in his youth, and must exemplify in manhood. It is this virtue which he seeks among lads of his own acquaintance, and finding, labours to develop. The boy-lover, passing beyond the limits of his personal love, has a jealous care for the development of a beautiful boyhood, and thence a serious manhood, which he could not take so earnestly, if he were not a lover of the male; for where your heart is, there will your treasure be also.

Our boy-lover is grown up. With some sadness he asks himself whether he can ever awake in a boy the passion he once had for the elder friend who disregarded him; whether any will understand the extension that can be given to a mere physical pleasure, the reality of sentiment without which love, though gratified, is deceived. What chance is there that a boy will appreciate him, will help him, will stand by him, will even recognize the virtue he has perhaps shown in long months or years of self-restraint?

For his reverence has made him meticulous. Has he a right to awake sensual feeling till now dormant in a boy? Playing for his own ideal will he not be playing with the boy's ideal? Will the boy thank him or blame him in future years? Will he be the worse or the better? Is he congenerous with

the lover, at least so far as to return Eros with Anteros, or will his participation be for him an experience from which he will and should revolt? The long tradition of opprobrium, though half invalidated by the ignorance which supports it, appears to show that there are two natures in the world, one to find a blessing, a second to find a curse in such love; it seems to show that, for the second nature, the Uranian affection is violation of love itself. And besides, what if shifting circumstances prevent the lover from guarding, by his personal supervision, the growth of feelings which he has awakened? The difficulty is not always serious. A good judge of boys reads in many a complete absence of anterotic feeling: in some he reads, clear as daylight, its presence. There is the thin-lipped, thoughtless boy, and the sullen and passionate, or gentle and loving, boy. There is the prematurely manly boy, who at fourteen is already meditating sexual desire and procreation (to whom, consequently, direction is all important) and there is the boy whose mind consumes energy that would better be reserved for his body. Above all, with that subtle sense which dwells in lovers, and by that patient waiting which true hearts alone are willing to endure, you can gather whether feelings are sympathetic and aims are congenial. When this has been determined, then the lover may have to take the law into his own hands, to force the countersign, and risk an experiment, possibly not merely for his own good, but also for that of the boy. He has a potent safeguard, his love. This prevents even a mistake from being disastrous to self-respect.

But he labours, of course, under difficulties. The delicacy of the situation in modern life limits his chances. Danger to his reputation forbids what his conscience does not forbid, and both may preclude the easy amours which give to lovers of women a certain patience in waiting for love. It is a matter of honour for the lover to defer to the boy's untutored conscience, and to accept demurs which are insulting. If a boy rejects his address, a painful constancy in disquieting friendship may ensue. He has suffered without blenching and in secret a refusal which would have brought him sympathy from intimate friends, had he been courting a girl. He must now appear smiling when he is wounded, indifferent when he is mad, and he must continue forth in friendship. Otherwise how can he prove that his love, continually doubted, was more than lust, that friendship passed first, and gratification afterward, that he is worthy of that respect which a boy of fine feeling will often be careful after denial to show.

Let us suppose, however, that he has won his suit there where he would least expect it: from one unlearnt and unspoiled, fresh and manly, kind-hearted and tender,

> A fair young lusty boy,
> Such as they faine Dan Cupid to have beene,
> Fulle of delightfull health and lively joy.[2]

For the moment the whole cloud of lofty theory drifts away to leave behind it the laughing sunlight. The restlessness, the self-questionings, the uncertainties, which have vexed the lover, may not disappear at once; but they are bound to blow off before the breezy indifference of an unreflecting boyish nature, combined with the reality of Anteros. For it is in the indifference, the lightness, of the lad that the lover finds his best assurance. After all subtleties and extenuations of thought, and amid recollections of the laborious search after truth by which he has justified himself, the proof of fact,—of love and health and a good conscience united,—is unequalled refreshment; and if love remains a yearning, it is no longer a yearning unshared and unsatisfied, it is no longer reproved, but approved, approved by an argument stronger than logic, the evidence of experience.

The boy whom the boy-lover has found may be neither of his own kind and bent—for many boys loving sincerely a man in their boyhood, turn, at the approach of manhood, to the love of a girl—nor his own station, because the kindly, protective feeling of a boy-lover's heart will lead him beyond it. If the lover has money to give the boy an education superior to his birth, he may, as the phrase is, make a gentleman of him. Certain aptitudes of mind would be necessary to this result. But he need not be clever, for his lover is in love with nature, and (whether himself of intellectual capacity or not, but perhaps even more, if his capacity and imagination are great) will prefer to cleverness a happy disposition, untouched by the trouble of deep questionings. Truly loving, he has desired the boy to be his own self, and no copy. Knowing the strength required to live the paederastic life—now happy with all the happiness of possession, but hitherto lonely—our lover is very far from urging the boy to give up a natural inclination, if he has such, for marriage. Thus, whether through difference in nature, or by the development of independence, disturbances will occur in the course of love; it is not likely to run smooth, save for the easily vicious, and their province is really pleasure and not love. There will be calm stretches, perhaps of years; but chance is foreseen, because the object of love is being transformed. If the lover detects in him the elements of a husband, dutiful allegiance to love will compel him, not only not to hinder, but to bring about the consummation of his own unhappiness, the marriage of the young man to a good wife, and meanwhile to forward the acquaintance and society that will lead to a wise choice. From that time, however, the indisputable reign of the lover is at an end; and all his efforts tend to its destruction. He does not abdicate his privilege, but neither does he seek to forefend the separation certain to come. The lover's love is pitted against his love. He endures no compromise, because the boy's good is at stake. Those who are faithful to the good of the beloved throughout,—who have strength to expect, to endure, and not to regret such separations, must set a very high value on the years, or months, of love that precede, and on the beloved. Such a lover is the spiritual father of those who, by his help, have attained a loving manhood. The lover's

nature will imprint itself on such boys, and, when their affection is frankly past, their reverence will remain, and they will be like him as sons.

4. Strength

But, though the lover is conscientious, will there not be something immoral and unmanly in his nature tending to demoralize or effeminate the boy? This is, in the minds of many, the chief question, if, indeed, they do not consider the harm unquestionable.

First, let us clear away a chance of error. A boy-lover, at present, is at war with social opinion. He has probably suffered for his faith; he has trembled for his reputation; he has had bitter experiences with boys and men; his heart's life is always secret. This being so, we must expect to find in him traces of conflict: nervousness and want of confidence, possibly erratic ways. People flourish only in the atmosphere proper to them. Men and women at one with their surroundings may be undistinguished, but they are natural. They are not self-conscious, tremulous, reserved. Boy-love is often thought a disease; and if we divide the word by a hyphen, it is—save under passing circumstances—one continual dis-ease. Do not ask a boy-lover to be at his ease in the modern world. No more than a casual word, heard in a conversation, and representing the conventional view of the provinces of man and woman (say, for instance, something about the precedence of beauty) gives him a twinge; and his commonplace answer is studied self-suppression.

The excellent lover of the male is one who has contracted all his enthusiasms, religious, philosophical, ethical, aesthetic, on certain qualities. These qualities, not easy of attainment, and scantily appreciated of the vulgar, are the flower of manhood. Intellectual, physical, and imaginative power are to be developed here, and, above all, the personal character which is our best gift to our fellows. The foreshadowing of this is the boy. He should be possessed of the promise of manhood; otherwise he does not attract the lover. The masculine in the beloved is an integral element of his love.

To see how thoroughly this has possessed him, we must turn out a leaf in his early experience. When he fell in love with his elder comrade and perceived that the sensual was part of love, he was more than tempted, he was converted to a darker beauty, and a potent peril. Enthroning the virile, he became its jealous servant and defender. Spiritual and sensual met, as has been said, in his love, but the novelty thereof was that he no longer doubted the sensual. Years passed before he found out how to reconcile his discovery with moral tradition. During those years he grappled with a problem. Did all virtue consist of restraint? Or was there an inborn merit and worth? a dignity that had no part in sacrifice and strain, a pagan privilege of strength and reality?

We need not ask how the lover will compose these principles. Enough

that whatever system he contrives will rest on the masculine, and will show the form of his love. Will this lead him to condone all its heavy lust and oppression?

He has learnt from his strongly sensual nature, which alone gave him motive to persist in his search for satisfaction, a certain enthusiasm, since it is far more than tolerance, for the flesh; from his sense of beauty, a taste for the plastic real; from his theory, unity of soul and body. But on the other hand, with self-mastery and a better appreciation of his ideal, the prostrate adoration of virility shows itself as an unrestrained weakness of youth. The strong youths of his admiration were even then those who were strong over themselves. There are indulgences which are no mastery, not even brutal mastery, but the subjection of man through his body. To be dissolute is to be unstrung.

Thus, on a basis sensual and erotic, was laid, when he knew it not, the corner-stone of a moral system which at least does not effeminately rest on the feminine, and is strong to guard his own powers. It shelters the boy. The lover discovers—for on his lonely track all is discovery: each object is seen in a new light—that for him personally self-control, if not chastity, has a peculiar value. His danger is certainly not the danger of pushing his beloved, or any decent youth, to licence. Rather the contrary: he may be too moral himself. He wakens his conscience frequently, lest he preach a personal preposition. More than all others does he love chastity in a youth, chastity surrendered only to love. He must be careful not to enforce his predilection by untruthful moral instruction.

5. The Philosophical Eros

The boy-lover approaches the monk but does not meet him. He has much the same reason to fear women, as a distraction from high pursuits; and his jealousy, originally erotic, has some philosophical excuse. But, unlike the monk, he bears with him, in his retreat from woman's society, the sensual together with the spiritual love. He and his beloved are in training, but it is not the Christian "ascetic" mortification. There is no function of the human being which is to be atrophied, while both lover and beloved are to be directly in relation with their proper ideal, the masculine. This seems to be the peculiar advantage of such love, the advantage which renders it indeed a philosophical passion.

To say that the youth is philosophic would be absurd. He loves the man, but might love him quite as well, if he were not philosophic. And the man loves the youth partly because the youth is not philosophic. But both love the masculine, and this fervour is combined with an isolation favourable to abstract pursuits. The lovers are not dependent through women on the social world, not connected by children with the daily problems of life. They are released from the world, though they carry with them its best blessing. Meditation and love no longer conflict, but

are at one.

In boy-love there is a special regimen which fortifies the lover. His loves may be many—many more than he wants. He takes the youth at a period of rapid development. Six months will show a difference. Absent six months, the boy will return to him no longer the same; and the six months lost can never be recovered. Sooner or later he will discover that the boy no longer finds complete satisfaction in his lover's arms. Happy he may be with unalloyed happiness; but his thoughts float about something different. The firm lines which the lover's training has developed in the boy's character and body become lines of separation. We have followed out the process before in this discourse. But we may here note that nature is not always so unfriendly to him. Sometimes love dies away as the lad grows into "the light of common day,"[3] and the lover ceases to care for him in proportion as he is better able to care for himself. We then have an inverse application of the law by which love is deflected from the higher to the more tender. The protective feeling diminishes with the need for protection. Whichever may be the case, by all rights and duties the lover should not refuse himself another attachment; and perhaps we may add that he does not like to refuse so some youth whatever pleasure and strength can come into his life through love—not quite a priggish idea, since there is no education like that which a lover can give. Separation is the rule in Uranian love.

To the boy-lover honour points the way. Duty to himself implies "What Lamb calls 'a generous self-seeking', with the reservation that by self he means a great deal—his friends, his principles, his country, the human race",[4] in short his life work, a pagan idea of generosity, since it involves the blood, not given, but active. The boy-lover will seek and find himself both in loneliness and love. Not without either could he be fully developed, but not without love can he be quite himself. The selfish or personal motive thus lies at the bottom, as in all love; for, to consider it simply, what woman would care for the love of a man so disinterested that he courted her only for her own good? Egoism, paradoxically, is one of the virtues of love, though not the only virtue of the lover—whose altruism is often pitted against his love. Altruism and egoism, however, unite in the watch and ward which he will hold over the new beloved.

Passing from lad to lad, the boy-lover attains a very curious experience. In each human being the holy quality most to be preserved opens only to love, and in each human being it is different. What response was foreseen in the first is absent in the second, and love requires the lover to do without it. What he missed in the first is present in the second, and must be treasured. Love knows how to fast and how to feast. The lover must not remind the lad of what is to him an inaccessible merit. The dearest appreciation is shown in silence. The lover is thus imbued with the essence of tenderness—the power to lack, and to give without return, the wish to cover over, for love's sake, the scant measure which a boy,

always less considerate than a man, will deal. We are here on the verge of a Platonic doctrine propounded in the *Symposium*—the passage from one beloved to another beloved, from one beauty to many beauties, and from many beauties to the absolute beauty. With this as a philosophical tenet we need not here concern ourselves. We have to do only with the Philosophical Eros by which it is reached. We may suspect that Plato, a connoisseur in boy-love, was, amid all the playfulness which made him assume an immoral volatility to be the highest love, not ignorant in practice of the spiritual experience which he describes.

The understanding of character which is rendered possible only by love, and the reminiscence of many characters combine to make a worthy beloved a symbol of more than he is, and a tender philosophy of character enables the lover to be more than lover: father, friend, remembrancer, guard,—if the best be reached, saint. The love of the weak, which is notable even in the lover of the stronger sex, is strengthened by comparison of loves past, which show him other weakness, the love of virtue by memory of its absence in others. Sweetness has come out of strength, as strength has come out of sorrow, love, and labour. The man no longer lives for the day. His prevision of separation is recollection of other separations. His thought is not of years, but of a life-time. His love is not of one, but of many, or of the one ideal to be gathered from the many.

It is mostly after a separation that this last thought will occur to him. Then, when he passes again into the wilderness to fast, he must feed on the enduring and less real consolations, must examine his motives, and support himself by his purpose. Then he comes clearly to the doctrine that his "duty" is his only firm stay, his human love a minor thing. Then will the brooding Eros, so nigh to death, appear to him—a true image of love, though never to supersede the lively boy; for philosophy and its consolations must for ever remain subordinate to the life wherein the ideal and the real are at one.

It is well known in what manner the Philosophical Eros arose in ancient times out of the love of lads. The youth was to be trained by the philosophers precisely in the exercise of this highest quality. Their love of the youth became the intellectual Eros. The love of the youths was a stage in the love of the Absolute; the philosopher's love a preparation for the love of philosophy.

Our boy-lover has hitherto been fully occupied with his own justification. It was enough for him, if he could prove exceptions, and himself one of them,—if his experience could give the lie to critics of himself and of his love. By nature reverent, he thinks only of a permissive existence, an existence, by the way, which is much what sinners allow to moralists: liberty to perfect their own consciences on the condition that they shall not interfere with opposite practices, or what the wise old world allows to sinners: liberty to sin on condition that they shall be silent about their sins and not disturb good form. But with love and from love has grown phi-

losophy. The boy-lover has passed from the particular to the general. He is a mature man, and has outgrown juvenile subordinacy and taken command. He must ask himself when the mistakes of the world regarding his exceptional love are to be cleared away; for mistakes there are, whether he be right or wrong; and, if the tide rises high within him, he feels almost the force to clear them away, and the right to establish a theory not merely permissive. Is not his love legitimate?

But he hesitates. His passion is part of a view of life which would entail, or favour, very serious consequences in the moral direction of life. The world, however callous, is not yet dead to the ideal. It will be pushed to what it does not imagine by what it does not understand. His hesitation is more serious because he cannot himself predict the conclusions that will follow from the premises, the philosophy that will arise from the love.

And, if in uncertainty there is something disquieting to the conscience, there is also the consolation that it is love which brings the uncertainty. When a man's life is analysed, it is seen that, however conscience may have directed his aim and purified his intention, the only vital thing within him was the love which needed direction and purification. If it is true that only by conscience can you hold near to love, it is also true that only by love can you satisfy conscience. The boy-lover has every reason to consider whether his love is not harmful; but he has also reason not to shun whatever he likes, as if all liking were mere temptation, since, though it is temptation, it is also, within limits, assurance. He may be miscreant or miscreative, but he is at least subscribing to life and giving evidence of faith in this world.

The course of which his love of a manly boy urges him ends, not at the sweetest, but at the best and noblest, which is also the simplest and the least philosophical. The love of boys, every one of them passing away from him into manhood, has been a lesson in the substitution of the eternal for the evanescent.

The lover, in his search for a philosophy correspondent to his affection, and worthy of his proclamation, will need at all times the *viaticum* of this remembrance. Driven to records for his doctrine; thrown back on himself by the world which begins at the inlets of hearing; he will, more than such a lover in ancient times, set before himself wittingly what is better perhaps pursued unwittingly: the definition of the distinctively male idea, or form, of human life in conduct, art, and thought. He is a recluse; for his only food is the food unknown to the profane. His meat is to do the will of the Love that sent him; to determine by careful criticism, and justify by moral tests, the love which he desires to see, and, through that love, to outline, according to his powers, a pattern on the sky, the ideal of the boy and man whom he loves, and the philosophical view of life congenial to them. He is by nature a pedagogue, and is in danger of becoming a mystagogue. A boy's light-heartedness will be, not only what he exalts, but that by which he himself must be exalted.

At the highest our modern tide has not touched the heights of Greek love. The evidence that this love has associated itself with comradeship in arms, with athletics, with the love of freedom, with philosophy, with all that was most Hellenic among the Hellenes, is sufficient to warrant the thought that, with the revival of naturalism among us, it could take a new and Hellenic turn. Constantly associated in field, palaestra, agora, and feast with all the best youths of the day, hearing them glorified in poetry for their deeds and temperance, for their will that found a way and yet brooked control; seeing their firm outlines and hard muscles immortalized in sculpture, and knowing the sweat and labour which had preceded their victories, the Greek lover was, from the beginning, occupied with the contemplation of the excellence of the male, the power and glory of the masculine. Rather characteristically it is not to the sculptor, but to the sculptured that he turned, not to the praiser, but to the praised. And thus his love, dependent, no doubt, in general, on the continuance of the flower of youth, was associated far more generally with the severe effort after a perfect manhood. In Plato we find it engaged by beauty, whereas in Pindar no youth may conquer in a boxing match but the heroes, his prototypes and models, march on to the scene. And this is the golden age of boy-love.

Now it would hardly be worth while to recall from the grave a form of love which had only a luxurious beauty, but we begin to see that, whatever colour love may give to our ideal of human conduct, whatever philosophical Eros is to grow under the influence of the love of boys, may be a needed increment of human perfection. You cannot rid your philosophy of your love, nor can you tell what philosophy will be the end of your love; but you can hope that the high, and, in the Greek sense, ascetic idea of manhood which is involved in the love of a disciplined youth will have other than physical results; that, with the return of the erastic worship of the male, spiritual worship will turn into something masculine; the greatest incitement we can have in our lives will prolong itself, and prove its worth in other creations than that of family life.

Here the boy-lover strikes solid ground. What had failed him all along his early years was not the ideal, and, in his manhood, he had been granted to realise the ideal in the real flesh; but he wanted the sense of being in touch and relation with the world of visible effort and satisfaction. The difficulty for the boy-lover has been that his own faith and the excellence which he loves must slink into the corners and by-ways of the modern world. It had no proper place in such a world, no right of citizenship in the republic with which all were contented.

To say that the Love of boys is to be traced, not in the hermaphroditical variants of the norm but in the appreciation, or rather constitution of a norm,—that everywhere, in the monuments preserved to us, the feminine and masculine influences—one losing its luxuriance, the other its roughness—tend to meet under the reconciling influence of the Love of Boyhood,—and that the scholars who deplore this love adore his children,—

would be true; but it would be too much to make him the ruling spirit. The ruling spirit was one in which the Love of boys lived, and moved, and had its being, a spirit which he breathed into others, adding his own fervour, but which he himself drew from the air about him. It was a manly spirit, as the Greeks conceived manliness, blended of strength and gentleness: it was the Philosophical Eros.

The greater world is not the geographical stretch around the boy-lover; it is no longer the modern world. The legitimacy obtained is not a right relation to current ideas, nor a franchise in any place. It matters little to him what is casually thought by his neighbours, or rather it matters as little to him as it can matter to any serious human being craving fellowship. But he has desired, and desired earnestly, to know that he is legitimately in relation with what is morally great and healthy. His love has led him to search for it in Greece where he finds a conception and scheme of values correspondent to his best and wisest desires. It is according to this conception and scheme that he now judges, and forms his idea of what is great in the world, that is to say, what would be that greater world of which he is the legitimate and exiled citizen. He sees it as something real, because it rests on real values, unreal, because it is never realized. It corresponds line for line with his canon of artistic beauty, and it is, indeed the creation of the beauty which he has loved, the reflection of the beloved on the sky.

Love, for him, is not the fulfilling of the law, nor law a schoolmaster to bring us to love. Rather love is the schoolmaster which brings us to understand the beauty of a law beyond it. And, if the law was made for man, as he firmly holds, it was because man reaches his utmost strength and beauty by exercising himself in the law. Some sign of his own training he perceives in his spontaneous adherence to the narrower canons of a strict beauty become desirable. The voluptuous no longer solicits him; the luxurious is gone; the proud in abasement; yet the humilitarian virtues and the humanitarian follies have not conquered. The sterner and stronger have maintained their ground. That hard master, the Love of boys, gave him the lovely feeling of flesh only to lead him where love and endurance, gentleness and strength, unite.

NOTES

1. In Greek mythology, Anteros, a brother of Eros, was the avenger of unrequited love. However, in his writing Warren identifies Anteros with "love of the heavenly," in contrast to earthly love, including both physical and philosophical love, for which he reserves the name Eros. [ed.]
2. Spencer, Second Canto of "Mutabilitie," *Fairy Queene*, Booke VII, Canto VII, Stanza 46.
3. Wordsworth, "Ode on Intimations of Immortality," Stanza V.
4. According to my memory the quotation is from Birrell's *Hazlitt*, but I have not succeeded in finding it there.

FIVE POEMS
Edward Perry Warren

Body and Soul

I
An earth-born love? Yea, love, nor nobler birth
could lift thee from the earth.
As bedded flower that drinketh all the sun,
whose tender tendrils twining
draw upward from the richness of the loam
the colour and warmth of home
to meet the warmth of cloudland white and shining,

II
so doth thy soul its body bring to me,
with tendrils fair to see
that follow upward failing and are done:
a gift of Love's own giving;
for all that makes thee real is added grace;
loves not who loves the face
all other parts forgetting or forgiving.

III
The calm of heaven is mine; and now I know
that what I dreamed is so:
that love can melt the body and soul in one;
but whiter yet and softer
than any dream, more still than heavenly calms
the cloudland of thine arms
wherein I love thee dearlier daily and ofter.

Parting

I
I have known thee, and to know,
son of England, is enough,
though my hunger hence must show
as content with lesser stuff.

II
I have seen thy natural truth,—
seen simplicity of line
bound infinity of youth,—
clasp in one the one divine.

III
Love from Heaven, let my word,—
let my memory and my creed
not be as an image blurred,
but thy very act and deed.

The Waning of Love

I
To love thee brings me sadness, for I know
each time the time will never come again,—
that every moment brings the darker stain
of deeper manhood. Liker as we grow,
Love stirs his wings, impatient to remain.

II
Each night of love from such a love doth part
thy forward-looking self. At each remove
from boyhood thou art further from my love,
though nearer to the knowledge of my heart.
Love joineth us the closer to dispart.

III
Then thou and I to younger arms shall flee;
but thou, I think, in girlish form wilt find
what I, who know thee thoroughly, flesh and mind,
and never knew another like to thee,
shall never compass, leaving thee behind.

Sleep and Health

I
Take thou my love of body and of soul;
whether thou hold it dear or hold it light,
thou hast a man to love thee true and whole.

II
'Tis not thy doing, if I stand aright,—
if clean of conscience, or of promise sure.
Duty hath held me wakeful many a night.

III
I brought to thee my courage to endure.
Thou gavest me the comfort to resign
endurance, and I rise and sleep secure
remembering those gentle arms of thine.

When I Am Old

I
When I am old, come to me, child, and say:

"I have tried another way,
and sweet hath been the bed whereon I have lain.
I have left thee to love again;
but—take my hand today

II
and hear—for I will say it—what to hear
is not less just than dear,
words that are not more coveted than earned:
pleasure indeed I have learned,
have given my heart sincere,

III
have better loved, and found a love that now
shame were to disavow,
but not more true and perfect to the end
than thine, O perfect friend,
nor holier than thou."

MAN-BOY SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS IN A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Robert Bauserman

The diversity of sexual behavior in a cross-cultural perspective is amazing to those who assume that their own society's moral standards are somehow laws of nature. Yet it is a fact that that almost every sort of sexual activity—whether homosexual or heterosexual, whether among adults, adolescents or children—has been considered normal and acceptable in some society at some time. Ford and Beach documented cross cultural differences in behaviors and beliefs for all sorts of sexual activity.[1] They reviewed such areas as child and adolescent sexual behavior, oral sex, homosexual activity, premarital and extramarital sex, and many others. Currier discussed in more detail the range of social attitudes toward child and adolescent sexuality and the variety of sexual behavior that occurs among youngsters in these societies.[2] Other authors have reviewed the predominant types of homosexual behavior existing in different societies around the world and noted that they nearly always consist of man-boy relationships or institutionalized transvestism rather than homosexual behavior between two masculine males.[3]

Man-boy relationships are no exception to this rule of diversity in behavior and belief. Although they are roundly condemned by many segments of Western society as inherently abusive and exploitive, there have been (and still are) many societies that do not share this viewpoint. Cross-cultural data show that many societies, from small preliterate hunting-gathering tribes to complex civilizations, accepted or even encouraged "boy-love." Attitudes toward man-boy sexual relationships have ranged from open encouragement to complete rejection. Examining how these varying attitudes developed would be beyond the scope of this article. Rather, this paper is an initial attempt to examine the social and individual functions that man-boy sexual relationships seem to have played in those societies which accepted or encouraged them. The societies examined will include tribal societies in Africa and the Pacific, and the civilizations of Islamic North Africa, Japan, and classical Greece. Then, we will review studies of man-boy relationships in present-day Western society and the functions these relationships seem to perform for the individuals involved. Next, we will compare and contrast man-boy relationships in Western society with those in the other societies reviewed in order to locate similarities and differences in meaning and function. In short, we will try to answer these questions: first, why do some societies accept or even encourage such relationships and what functions do they perform (or are believed to perform) in these societies? Second, what functions do these relationships

perform for the participants in modern Western society? Third, what major similarities and differences exist between the functions of man-boy relationships in these different settings? Finally, we will consider possible directions for future research into the individual and social functions of man-boy relationships in different societies.

One brief aside on terminology is necessary: "man-boy sexual relationships" and "man-boy relationships" are used here to refer to ongoing relationships involving sexual contacts on a repeated basis, which are not based on threats, coercion or actual violence. Thus commercial sexual relationships (i.e., boy prostitution), one-time sexual encounters, contacts between strangers, contacts involving force or threats (i.e., rape), and father-son incest are not included in the man-boy relationships discussed in this paper.

A Problem: Interpretation of Other Cultures from a Western Viewpoint

Before beginning the cross-cultural review, some problems associated with anthropological and historical study of man-boy relationships must be noted. Most anthropologists are from European and American culture, with its tradition of centuries of intolerance for sexual behavior that violated the standards of heterosexuality and marriage. Scientists, just like everyone else, are socialized into the values of the society in which they grew up. As a result, until recently most anthropological commentary either ignored discussion of sexual customs aside from marriage or referred to it in extremely biased fashion. For example, one English writer of the late 1800s dismissed child sexuality in the tribes of the British African colonies by noting that "the children are vicious... the boys outrageously so...", and hinting darkly about "the depravity prevalent among young boys of the Atonga tribe... of a character not even to be expressed in obscure Latin."[4] A later author, speaking about institutionalized man-boy sexual relationships among the Keraki of New Guinea, stated that "sodomy" was a universal custom of the tribe, that "unnatural practice" was believed necessary to the boy's growth, and that after initiation at puberty every man and boy constantly played both parts in "this perversion."[5]

While issues such as homosexuality and pederasty are still usually ignored in anthropological research, those references which do appear have become less and less judgemental over time. In addition, works have begun to appear which focus entirely on the forms and meanings of such relationships in different societies.[6] Also, more recent research foregoes dismissal of such relationships as "perversions" and instead gives the peoples being studied the opportunity to explain for themselves what such relationships mean to them. In those societies with their own written literature, such as Japan, valuable insight can be gained into the meaning of such relationships within the culture itself. This survey will avoid the older and more judgemental literature in favor of sources which come to

terms with the views of the people being studied and, where possible, the literary tradition of the society in question.

The Meaning and Function of Man-Boy Relationships: Some Non-Western Societies

Our cross-cultural survey begins in Africa with the Azande, an African people living in the southern Sudan.[7] Before European rule began in the 1890s, Azande society was divided into a number of small kingdoms periodically at war with each other. A portion of the men aged between eighteen and thirty were organized into military companies, with separate units for married men and bachelors. Members of the bachelor companies customarily took boy-wives, and company commanders might have several. The boys were twelve to eighteen years old. The relationships were actual marriages formally recognized by the society. The man and boy would address each other as "my love" and "my lover." The boy was expected to assist the man by getting water and firewood and carrying his possessions while traveling. The man, in turn, took responsibility for teaching the boy military skills. Sexual activity was usually restricted to interfemoral intercourse. When the boy turned eighteen and joined the company as an adult warrior, the man would give him a shield, spear and other equipment. He also had a close relationship with the boy's parents. He would give them a bride-price just as if he had married their daughter and would address them as mother-in-law and father-in-law. He would help them to build a hut and would work for them in their garden, tending their crops.

The Azande did not idealize man-boy relationships as some other societies did. Rather, as Evans-Pritchard reports, they were viewed as a matter of convenience for men when women were not available. Married warriors would take boys with them on campaigns since their wives were not allowed to accompany them. Even after the European rulers disbanded the native military, the tribesmen regarded it as perfectly acceptable to sleep with a boy although such relationships were expected to take a secondary role next to heterosexuality.

Evans-Pritchard's research indicates that the primary social function served by the Azande man-boy relationships was to gradually initiate the boys into their adult roles. The man's responsibility to train the boy in military skills and to provide him with his equipment indicated a sort of mentor relationship. The man had to act as the boy's teacher to prepare him for his adult role. The long-term relationship between the two ensured that the boy would have the skills and knowledge to take on his role as a warrior when he reached the appropriate age. At the same time, the relationships appear to have created friendships between men and boys. The terms of endearment between the two and the close relationship with the boy's family indicate that the relationships brought about close emotional bonds and social alliances, with all the advantages that lasting friendships can bring. Although justified in terms of providing a convenient sexual outlet for unmarried young warriors, the Azande man-boy relationships served the social function of indoctrinating boys into their adult roles and the individual function of creating friendships and social alliances.

The next area to be considered includes New Guinea and the Melanesian islands in the South Pacific. In this area, anthropologists have reported on many societies where man-boy relationships were institutionalized. In southern New Guinea, man-boy relationships among the Marind-Anim were described by van Baal.[8] Here, the relationships began when a boy's first pubic hairs began to appear at age twelve or thirteen. He then was placed under the supervision of a married couple, usually a maternal uncle and his wife if such were available. There ensued a sexual relationship in which the boy's uncle had anal intercourse with him. The boy and his uncle would work together in gardening and hunting and the boy would perform other small services for his uncle and aunt. In turn, he received instruction in hunting and gardening and his aunt and uncle would help him make his ornaments and hairdress needed for social purposes. The relationships usually lasted about seven years until the youth married at age nineteen or twenty.

Once again, the man played the role of mentor to the boy, teaching him the skills he would need as an adult in that society. And again, there is a strong emotional bond created. Van Baal notes that "The bonds uniting mother's brother and sister's son are the closest imaginable. Their homosexual contacts may contribute to a further emotional strengthening of their relationship."[9] Thus, the relationships served the social purpose of training the boy in adult skills and also encouraged affectionate emotional relationship between man and boy.

In other New Guinea societies, man-boy relationships were thought necessary even for the boy's physical growth. Among the Etoro, from about age ten up to the early twenties, youths would regularly have oral sex with older men, swallowing their semen.[10] The Etoro viewed not just the physical growth of the boys, but also the development of adult skills such as hunting ability and character traits such as courage in battle as a direct result of insemination. Among the neighboring Kaluli, a similar belief regarding physical growth was held.[11] Here, when a boy reached the age of ten or eleven, his father would select a man to inseminate him for a period of months or years. However, it was possible for some boys to choose their own inseminators. The boy's physical growth was seen as a direct result of insemination. In addition, ceremonial hunting lodges would periodically be organized, in which boys could voluntarily form relationships with other men who would also have sexual relations with them. The boys and men would also regularly hunt together so that the boys could master this skill.

Among the Etoro and Kaluli, then, insemination through man-boy

sexual activity was socially recognized as a necessary stage in the boy's growth. While the ritual interpretation of such activity was the transformation of boys into men, these relationships apparently also served the purpose of bringing boys together with men to learn adult skills needed for their society.

Many of the more technically advanced civilizations of the world have accepted man-boy relationships as well. In some areas of the Islamic world pederastic relationships were accepted and sometimes even idealized. One such area, where man-boy relationships were considered to serve useful purposes, was Morocco. Edward Westermarck, an anthropologist who wrote one of the first cross-cultural surveys of homosexual behavior, reported:

> ...it is a common belief among the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco that a boy cannot learn the Koran unless a scribe commits pederasty with him. So also an apprentice is supposed to learn his trade by having intercourse with his master.[12]

Other authors also have noted sexual relationships between tradesmen and their apprentices and between teachers and their students.[13] For a more modern example Rossman relates the story of a European man, working as a teacher in Morocco, who was enticed into sex play by his pubescent pupils at the public bath in the village where he worked. Soon his students regularly came to his house to have sex and sleep with him—and one day the chief of the village asked the teacher why he had not yet slept with the chief's son, saying that "of all the boys in the village my son loves you the most." Even after he left Morocco, his former pupils often invited him back to visit them and their families.[14]

Man-boy relationships were not viewed as shameful or abnormal until the infiltration of European opinion with French colonial rule.[15] Even then, the French were not very successful in changing public opinion. One French colonial official in the early 1900s lamented the difficulty of stopping practices "the dishonorable character of which completely escapes the Moroccan mentality."[16]

Again, we see men serving as mentors or teachers to the boys with whom they have relationships, providing them with education and the skills they will need to live as adults in the society. The belief that apprentices and students actually needed to have sex with their teachers in order to learn well indicates the importance this society attached to the educational aspect of such relationships. Again, we also see the formation of close and long-lasting personal friendships.

Another culture where man-boy relationships were a readily accepted phenomenon was that of feudal Japan. Here, boy-love was idealized by some classes of society. Among the Samurai it was regarded as more manly

and heroic to love a boy protégé. Samurai would seek out young adolescents as pages and train them in the ideals of Samurai behavior and in military skills. The man served both as role model and teacher to the boy.[17] Among the Buddhist clergy, boys who decided to become monks or priests often began training before puberty. Relationships would often develop with the older priests, who like the Samurai served as role models and teachers to their young apprentices.[18] For those sects where priests took vows of chastity—as far as women were concerned—boy-love offered an acceptable outlet for sexual needs. Man-boy relationships in both groups were idealized in Japanese literature. The novelist Saikaku Iharu wrote many short stories in which youths aged twelve to eighteen became the apprentices and lovers of older Samurai.[19] Pederastic relationships between Buddhist priests and their apprentices were also idealized in traditional stories that sought also to convey Buddhist beliefs and ideals.[20] Finally, among the aristocratic classes, attractive boys were often taken into court service as entertainers, servants and sexual partners. Boys in these positions could advance far in rank and wealth through patronage of court members.[21]

Man-boy relationships were accepted by particular social classes in Japanese society because they were seen as supporting social institutions and performing necessary social functions. The men acted as role models for the boys, showing them the sort of behavior expected when they assumed their adult roles. The men also acted as educators, giving the boys the knowledge and skills they needed for their adult roles. In addition to these socially defined elements of the relationships, on a more individual level the men and boys could form close emotional ties, gaining the emotional support and strength such relationships bring.

A final example of a society accepting and supporting man-boy sexual relationships is that of Classical Greece. Although Greek society is often invoked as an example of a society that idealized homosexuality, in fact the Greeks idealized pederasty. The most accepted form of homosexual relationship in Greece involved an adult man and a younger male who could range in age from twelve or thirteen—at or about puberty—to a full-grown youth who had not yet begun to grow a beard.[22] The Greek ideal was the adolescent male. Adult men were expected to be moved by the beauty of these boys.[23] Greek vase art depicts scenes of boys and youths being courted by men and having sexual relations with them. Greek poetry and literature include many verses and passages referring to the beauty of boys and youths and their sexual desirability. Such relationships were apparently common and widespread. The classical scholar K.J. Dover bluntly states:

> It was taken for granted in the Classical period that a man was sexually attracted by a good-looking younger male, and no Greek who said that he was "in love" would have taken it amiss if his

hearers assumed without further inquiry that he was in love with a boy and desired more than anything to ejaculate in or on the boy's body...[24]

Many social rules governed man-boy relationships. Boys were expected to respond to a man's advances with shyness and modesty, and could expect disapproval from family and friends if they took the initiative in seeking an adult lover.[25] This was intended to weed out those men who were only interested in sexual relations with the boy. The man had to demonstrate through his perserverance that he was interested in the boy as a person and not just as a sex object. Using threats, blackmail or force to gain a sexual relationship was regarded as an extremely serious crime that could be punished by death.[26] Although the man had relatively greater status and power, such relationships could not be begun or ended at his whim.

Pederasty was idealized in Greek society for its educational and pedagogic value. The man was expected to serve as a role model for male behavior and masculine ideals. The boy also gained education in various fields. He could expect gifts and some social status from his relationship with the man. The relationship was expected to teach the boy the ideals of his society and prepare him for his role as an adult citizen. The man was also held responsible to a certain extent for the boy's behavior. Sexual relations were a normal part of the relationship, but the relationship was supposed to be based on mutual devotion and a pedagogic interest in the boy by the man.[27] Thus, society expected the relationship to fulfill various social functions but also expected it to rest on close emotional ties of friendship and devotion. One author summed up the place of pederasty in Greek society by writing, "In its traditional (and idealized) expression, pederasty... served a very real social need of the Greek male: it provided the youthful male beloved with a good, responsible role model to emulate, as well as someone who could initiate him into the ways of becoming a man."[28] In addition, although Greek society of the Classical period did not have formal initiation rites involving pederasty, Bernard Sergent argues from his study of Greek mythology and beliefs involving pederasty that the Greek customs derived from an older form of initiatory pederasty.[29] If so, the ancestors of the Greeks may have attached ritual meanings to man-boy sex similar to those of the Melanesians in more recent times.

What conclusions can be drawn about the meaning and function of man-boy relationships in these societies which accepted, encouraged or even required such relationships? Are there common threads which can link all of these different interpretations of man-boy relationships?

A common theme of the social beliefs regarding man-boy relationships in the societies described above is this: man-boy relationships were seen both as a transition from boyhood to manhood and as aiding in this transition. Since the relationships were limited by these societies to a specific age range, and the boy's status in society changed from that of a child at the relationship's beginning to an adult or some other higher status at its end, the relationship itself was a kind of transitional stage. The societies discussed also regarded these relationships as helping to bring the boys into adult society by imparting to them the knowledge, skills and values they would need in their society. Thus they also played an important instrumental role in aiding the transition from boyhood to manhood. The different societies, however, emphasized different roles or "functions" of man-boy relationships in this transition.

The first of these functions could be called a "role model" function; the man was expected to serve as a model of appropriate adult male behavior for the boy. This aspect is particularly clear in both the Greek and Japanese man-boy relationships. In both cases, the man's role as a model for the boy to emulate was a clearly defined part of the philosophical rationale for such relationships. Sexual activity, ideally, strengthened the emotional bonds between man and boy and thereby aided this function.

A second major function was the "pedagogical" or "teacher/student" relationship. Boys were expected to learn the appropriate skills for their adult place in society. This function was clearly defined in Greek and Japanese society. In North Africa, it was this perceived educational aspect of preparing the boy for his adult role in society upon which Westermarck and other observers commented. Among the Azande of Africa this also seems to have been the primary function served by such relationships. As in the role model function, sexual activity ideally aided this process by strengthening the emotional bonds between man and boy, thereby increasing the importance of the relationship to both.

A third function of such relationships was initiatory. The boy moved out of childhood and into a period of transition to adulthood when a relationship began with an adult man, sometimes as part of a formal initiation ceremony. This "initiatory" function seems to have been most developed (or at least, most thoroughly studied by Westerners) among the tribes of New Guinea. Here the first contacts most often took place in the context of initiation rites symbolizing the end of the boy's status as a child and his entrance into the adult male group. The belief in the magical potency of sperm and the necessity for boys to receive sperm in order to become men appears to be a central element in these societies' perception of man-boy sexual relationships. The less well developed belief in sperm's mystic power in Moroccan society seems part of the justification for man-boy relationships there as well, although it did not play a central role as in Melanesia.

Of course, these different functions are not exclusive and all seem to have had some role in the relationships that took place in the societies reviewed. The basic differences lie in large part in which of these functions were emphasized by the society as the justification for such relationships. More than one of these elements could be recognized as playing a role.

The elements of friendship and of sexual pleasure were also a clear part of the relationships in many of these societies, but these individual functions do not seem to have received the attention and elaboration that the more social functions described above did. Nevertheless, many of the authors cited above noted these aspects of the relationships in addition to the social functions. Van Baal's recognition of the close emotional nature of the man-boy relationships of the Marind-Anim, Rossman's account of the lasting friendships between the teacher and his Moroccan students, and Greek society's emphasis on the mutual devotion and individual respect expected in such relationships, all indicate the importance that individual friendship could have within these socially recognized relationships.

Man-Boy Relationships in Contemporary European and American Society

Contemporary European and American society, of course, tends to view man-boy sexual relations as exploitive and abusive regardless of context. However, studies of men and boys who have been the younger partners in such relationships reveal a much more complex picture. Generally both sexual and non-sexual aspects of the relationships are valued by the younger partners. And, in a pattern similar to that found in accepting societies, the men often serve as a role model and mentor as well as a friend and lover. Studies from the United States, England and the Netherlands have all reported very similar findings.

Tindall reported on case studies of nine boys he had encountered in his career as a school counselor.[30] All had had sexual relationships with adult men beginning around age thirteen or fourteen and lasting for several years. Tindall followed all the boys from adolescence well into adulthood, looking at their adult adjustments and how they, as adults, viewed their earlier relationships. The nine cases were drawn from a larger pool of two hundred with less complete follow-up information. Tindall's findings show the relationships to serve a number of important functions for the boys involved.

For example, one boy of age thirteen who was very interested in machinery and mechanics began spending spare time at a service station where be became acquainted with a mechanic. The two began participating in recreational activity together and on a fishing trip, while talking about sex, they engaged in fellatio and masturbation with each other. For the next five years they regularly engaged in mutual fellatio with each other; even when the sexual aspect of the relationship ended they remained close friends until the mechanic's death.

At age 44, the mechanic's former lover was married with two grown sons and had held a supervisory position as a mechanic for many years. He credited his relationship with his older friend as having helped him reach his goals and said he would have approved of a similar relationship

for either of his own sons if he had become aware of the situation.

Tindall found that "in most instances in this study a very close friendship appeared to develop," so much so that the boy sometimes selected the career of his adult friend, or a closely related one.[31] The adult served as a model for the boy in non-sexual areas of behavior and as a close friend. As for the sex, Tindall found that with the right combination of circumstances—mutual arousal, being close together, etc.—it occurred as a result of mutual desire. Usually the activity consisted of mutual fellatio and mutual masturbation. The finding that the men served as role models for their younger partners emphasizes the importance of the non-sexual aspects of the relationship to the boys involved.

The world-famous sex researcher John Money recently presented two case reports of boys who had been involved in ongoing sexual relationship with men who had voluntarily presented themselves for treatment for paedophilia at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.[32] Both boys were first seen at age fourteen and were followed through college age. The first boy, Andy, began a sexual relationship at age twelve with a man who lived with Andy's family through a rent-sharing agreement. The sexual activity usually consisted of the man performing fellatio on him, and he sometimes reciprocated by masturbating the man. Andy received help with schoolwork, advice on contraception when he began intercourse with girls at age fifteen, and advice against using street drugs. He also noted that his family could afford better housing and a higher standard of living because of the rent-sharing agreement with his adult partner. The sexual relationship ended when Andy was in late adolescence, although the two remained in close contact. Andy said of his adult friend that "He is like a second father to me."[33]

The second boy, Burt, also began his sexual relationship around age twelve with the coach of his football team. The boy began staying overnight at the man's house on weekends and soon the coach initiated sex with the boy, whom he had earlier told of his attraction to boys. Burt was surprised and curious, and enjoyed the sexual contact, which, as in Andy's case, usually consisted of the man performing fellatio on him. Usually the man initiated the activity, although Burt did on occasion. The two made an explicit agreement that the boy was the one who would decide when the sexual relationship would end. The two participated in a variety of other activities together, such as going out to movies or playing pinball, doing photography, or working around the man's house. The sex finally ended when Burt left for college. From the vantage point of young adulthood, he reflected on the relationship as follows: "To describe the relationship? Fabulous... To me, there was never any harm, physically or mentally... As a matter of fact, it's probably the best relationship I've ever had with anyone outside my own family."[34]

Money notes that in both these relationships the older and younger partners developed a strong affection and devotion for each other. In addi-

tion to the close emotional bond, both of the men acted as teachers or role models in some way—helping their young friends, giving information and advice when they needed it, or instructing them in sport or hobby activities. The relationship, including the sexual aspect, was viewed as very positive by both younger partners.

In England, Ingram reported on 92 cases of prepubescent boys who had single or multiple sexual contacts with an adult man.[35] Most of the cases were boys who had been referred to Ingram for counseling by their parents; others were discovered by counselors and youth leaders overhearing conversations in a club or at camp.

The sexual activities most often involved masturbation of the boy by the man and less often of the man by the boy. In cases where fellatio or interfemoral or anal intercourse occurred, the activities were mutual. Although much of the sexual activity was simply horseplay, Ingram noted that 63 of the boys engaged in more intimate sexual contact or "lovemaking" that continued over a period of several months, though rarely for more than a year. However, a non-sexual relationship in some cases continued for years after the sexual activity ended. One clergyman was asked to perform the marriages of two boys with whom he had been involved, and a youth leader became the godfather for the children of three boys with whom he had had sexual relationships.

In regard to various of the cases, Ingram characterizes the relationship with an adult that they provided for the boys as "loving" and "affectionate."[36] Many of the boys had abusive, absent or rejecting mothers or fathers, and were attracted to the men in large part for the love and affection they provided. Ingram argues that many of the boys may have been better off for having a loving relationship outside the family. The men performed many other legitimate roles in the boys' lives; they included clergymen, youth club leaders, social workers, and others working to help youngsters. It would appear that the relationships began with the adult acting as a teacher, leader or role model for the boy, with sexual activity coming later.

In the Netherlands, Frits Bernard examined the question of how children react to sexual relations with adults by finding a "convenience sample" of adults who had had such contacts when they were children.[37] This was done by sounding out professional and personal contacts for subjects. Subjects were then asked to write biographical accounts focusing on their relationship with the adult and were given the Amsterdam Biographic Questionnaire, a test standardized on the Dutch population, to look for evidence of trauma.

Results of the ABV test showed that the subjects were not more neurotic than the average Dutch population. Even more interesting are the accounts given by some of the men of their relationships. One man of twenty-five had his first sexual contact with a man at age fourteen—a quick, impersonal encounter. After this he reported taking the initiative repeatedly in looking for more such contacts. As an adult, he stated that his only regret was not having found an older man with whom he would not just have sex, but who would also have been a friend and teach him about "everything." Another man, aged twenty-three and engaged to be married, reported that his first contact had come at age twelve. He found the sexual contacts "wonderful." He reported feeling sorry for the man as his understanding of the sexual relationship grew, because he realized they would not be able to stay sexually intimate with each other. As an adult, he still regarded the man as one of his best friends.

Bernard concluded from the self-reports that children could experience such relationships as positive and were looking for love and affection in addition to the sexual aspects. The subjects developed strong friendships with the men with whom they were involved, and often these friendships continued well into adulthood, long after the sexual aspect had ended.

A more recent Dutch study was carried out by Theo Sandfort. Through paedophile workgroups in the Netherlands Society for Sexual Reform he was able to contact 25 boys aged ten to sixteen who were engaged in ongoing sexual relationships with adult men. Private interviews were conducted with the boys. The research method involved having the boys state the different activities and people that were important in their lives and describing the occurrence and frequency of positive and negative feelings and behaviors in each of these areas. Follow-up interviews focused on aspects of the boys' relationships that had not been discussed fully in the earlier interviews.[38]

The research found that in both the boys' overall relationships with their adult partners and in the sexual contacts themselves, positive feelings and behaviors strongly predominated. Positive feelings such as "nice," "happy," and "free" were the most frequently associated with the sexual activity, and positive behaviors such as "paying attention to" and "cooperating with" were more frequently noted than negative behaviors such as "coercing" and "domineering."

The first initiative for the sexual activity came from the older partner in most cases, but as the relationships developed both the boys and men reported that the boys began taking initiative more frequently. The most common sexual activity was masturbation of the boy by the man, followed in frequency by fellatio on the boy and anal intercourse. In all cases where the boy masturbated or performed fellatio on the man or agreed to anal intercourse, the man did the same for the boy. "What the younger did to or for the older partner was always equal to or less than what the older partner did to or for the younger."[39]

All the relationships had been going on for months or years at the time of the interviews, and the partners participated in many activities together. Some shared the same hobbies; others enjoyed the same sports together; many played games, went to movies, or stayed together on holidays. These shared activities were an important part of the relationships

for the boys.[40] The boys also valued the older partner as someone they could talk with easily, someone they could confide in and with whom they could discuss problems. Finally, some of the boys also spoke of the older partner specifically as someone from whom they could learn things.[41] In short, the boys interviewed found their relationships enjoyable and rewarding due to many factors: the friendship and affection of the older partner; the shared hobbies and recreational activities; what their adult friend could teach them; and the sexual activity itself. The men apparently served the functions of teachers, role models and mentors for the youths, as well as offering love and affection.

The sexual aspects of the man-boy relationships described in the above studies obviously do not play any recognized social function because of the negative and condemnatory attitudes of contemporary European and American society. The relationships themselves seem to be based on personal factors of close friendship and trust. The adult appears to play a role as friend and confidant for the boy, someone the boy can talk with openly, go to for assistance and rely on for support. Bernard and Sandfort both note the importance of affection, friendship and love in the younger partner's views of the relationships. Tindall noted that in most of the relationships he studied a strong and deep friendship developed, and in the cases studied by Money the boys involved emphasized the friendship, trust and support they found in their relationships.

At the same time, some of the roles played by man-boy relationships in European and American society seem very similar to those played by such relationships in accepting societies. Tindall in particular notes the extent to which the boys used the men as role models. Sandfort reports how some boys looked to their older partners as people from whom they could learn. Ingram notes how many of the men were already playing a socially recognized role in the boys' lives such as teacher or youth leader. However, these elements seem clearly secondary to the emphasis placed by the younger partners on the aspects of friendship and trust present in the relationships.

Comparison of Man-Boy Relationships: European/American Society vs. Accepting Societies

Now we must consider the similarities and differences between man-boy relationships as they occur in contemporary European and American society and as they occur in societies which openly accept, encourage, or even require them. One significant difference lies in the relation between the sexual and other aspects of the relationship. In accepting societies the men and boys are conforming to social rules; in European and American society, they are forced to realize that they are violating these rules. For those in the latter, this requires that the sexual aspect of their relationship must be kept secret from parents, peers and authorities, except for a fortu-

nate small minority who have very understanding and supportive parents and friends. The necessity of deceiving family and friends can cause complications, guilt and regrets for both the men and the boys, and the social and sexual aspects of the relationship are forced apart from each other.

In contrast, men and boys in accepting societies have social sanction for the sexual aspect of their relationship and are provided by society itself with justifications for it. Sexual contacts are seen as an integral part of the relationship. As a result there is no conflict between the sexual and the social aspects of the relationship, and no need for the same sort of deception or secrecy concerning the sexual activity which the partners must maintain in contemporary European or American society. The forced artificial separation of sexuality from other aspects of the relationship which takes place in condemning societies does not occur in the accepting societies.

A second major difference lies in the relative importance of social versus individual factors in beginning and maintaining a sexual relationship. As noted above above, man-boy relationships in European and American society can have some of the same functions as man-boy relationships in accepting societies. In fact, sexual relationships may grow out of relationships in which the man is playing a socially recognized and approved role toward the boy (i.e., teacher, boy scout or youth club leader, etc.). However, the sexual aspect of the relationship must grow out of individual emotional ties since society does not recognize it as a legitimate part of such relationships. Individual choice, rather than social expectation, becomes the primary element in determining whether or not a sexual relationship takes place. There must be "mutual attraction and desire," as Tindall phrases it, and this most likely will arise in the course of an ongoing relationship which begins in a non-sexual fashion. The survival of the sexual relationship is entirely dependent on the ability of the partners to integrate sex with the other aspects of the relationship, while recognizing that the relationship would be ended by public exposure and that most people would strongly condemn it.

By contrast, in the accepting societies reviewed above, there is a specific period of time during which such sexual relationships are expected or regarded as appropriate. In some societies, such as Melanesia, all social expectations dictated that boys have sexual relations with men, and in others, such as Greece, under certain circumstances boys were expected to do so and might face social disgrace if they did not. In these cases, the man-boy sexual relationships arise from the demands of the wider society. Certainly individual choice played some role (for example, among the Kaluli of New Guinea where the boy could choose men to "inseminate" him); however, those choices were severely circumscribed by the demands of social requirements surrounding such relationships. The particular social justification offered for the relationships included restrictions on the ages at which such relationships were appropriate, with whom they might take

place, and what sexual acts and roles were appropriate for both the men and the boys. Certainly, love and trust between men and boys did grow in these relationships. However, it would be fair to say that these grew out of a relationship mandated by society rather than forming the basis of the relationship.

In the area of the sexual activity itself, a third significant difference becomes clear. In accepting societies, the social regulations surrounding man-boy relationships include definite restrictions on what acts are acceptable. In Melanesian societies, for instance, the belief that sperm was necessary for boy's growth was expressed in the social requirement that boys receive sperm either anally or orally from men. However, this was the limit of acceptable sexual activity. In Greek and Japanese society, the boy was expected to play a passive role in sexual relations and the man the active role; the reverse was not recognized or approved as a possibility by rules surrounding man-boy relationships. In short, there was little room for reciprocity. In actual practice, this resulted in a situation where the men gained pleasure from orally or anally penetrating the boys, while the boys had little opportunity to gain comparable pleasure from the men. This does not mean that the boys never gained pleasure from these contacts or that the men made no effort to stimulate or please the boy; it does mean that the relationships in these societies emphasized the active role of the man and his pleasure, and consequently limited the boy's possibilities of pleasure. By contrast, man-boy relationships in contemporary European and American society, such as those described by Sandfort and Tindale, involve much more reciprocal activity; in both studies, the sexual activities described were overwhelmingly reciprocal and focused on mutual pleasure, or with the balance upon the boy's pleasure. Since these relationships rely on mutual friendship and desire in order to survive, this reciprocity is by no means surprising.

Despite these fundamental differences, a clear overlap exists between man-boy relationships in contemporary European and American societies and in the accepting societies reviewed. In the former, it is clear from the research reviewed above that the man can act as a role model to the boy or as a teacher. The man may play these roles in a formal way (as a youth leader, etc.); alternatively, a close friendship may develop with a boy and these functions arise informally within that relationship. The same functions occur in man-boy relationships in accepting societies; although in these the functions are formally recognized by the society in a way that they are not in European and American society, for the individual they are much the same. As for the element of interpersonal attraction and desire, this also plays a role in relationships in both contemporary European and American society and accepting societies. In the former, this element is circumscribed by the difficulties that social condemnation creates in beginning and maintaining such a relationship; nonetheless, these interpersonal elements form the basis of man-boy sexual relationships in

this society. In the case of accepting societies, this element is circumscribed by the social rules regulating the ages at which such contacts were acceptable, with whom they can take place, and what sexual activities are appropriate. Nevertheless, the evidence presented indicates that interpersonal factors could and did play a not insignificant role in relationships there as well.

Directions for Future Research

To gain a better understanding of the meaning and function of man-boy relationships for those involved, both in contemporary European and American society and in those societies where such relationships are accepted, much can be done. Researchers should continue to examine the social justifications for such relationships in the accepting societies. It is also important, however, to gather information directly from the men and boys participating in such relationships about their attitudes toward the relationship and what they feel they gain from it. In this way a better comparison can be made between the social "theory" and the individual "practice" of such relationships.

In contemporary European and American society, more research is needed that focuses on what the men and boys feel is important in their relationships and what they gain from them. This obviously means less of a focus on the sexual aspect of the relationship, and more of a focus on the other activities and how the partners relate to each other. In countries where studies of boys currently involved in such relationships are not possible, this could be done through retrospective studies with men who had such relationships as boys. In other countries where studies done directly with such boys are possible, further research along the lines of Sandfort's study in the Netherlands should be done.

In both cases, studying the meaning of the relationship for the men and boys involved provides a much needed shift in focus—away from the sexual aspect of the relationship, and toward its overall meaning as a common human experience.

NOTES

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CELTIC PEDERASTY IN PRE-ROMAN GAUL

Erick Pontalley

For the public at large, and even for many cultivated people, the history of pederasty in antiquity begins and ends with Greece and the image of Roman debauchery.[1] Few know, for example, that a great part of the Middle East also practised boy-love, that the Etruscans were renowned for the same reason, or that the Germanic peoples were acquainted with a very archaic form of pederastic initiation. But of all the peoples among whom this type of liaison was accepted, one is least likely to think of the Celts, and many Frenchmen would be thoroughly shocked to learn that their Gallic ancestors were pederasts—just like their other ancestors, be they Greek, Roman, Germanic, Arab or whatever, for few countries have seen more waves of settlement than France.

Documents concerning pederasty in Gaul, despite their relative rarity and dispersion, are still more plentiful than those for the Germans or the Etruscans. What are these documents? What do they tell us of the existence of a pederastic tradition among the Gauls proper before the conquest by Caesar in 52 BC?[2]

It is helpful to bear in mind that the investigation of such a subject rests on but few, rare certainties, but also on many hypotheses, more or less risky according to the quality of the still extant documents. To this day we are still very poorly acquainted with the civilization and general history of the Celts in antiquity; because of the paucity of sources, research is difficult, and there are disagreements even among specialists. This is all the more true if one takes a theme as specific as the love of boys.

One has, then, the choice of two attitudes: either to say hardly anything at all, for lack of complete certainty; or to list all the facts that could be of interest, without exception, with occasional attempts at explanation. It is this second course which has been chosen here. Thus, imprecisions and interpretations are inevitable, and some of them will be quite bold. The reader must make his own judgements; certainly other researchers will eventually go further and obtain more precise results. It will be made clear in the course of this article what is conjecture and what is historically documented.

Naturally, this article specifies case by case the reliability of sources and the conclusions that flow from them. For pre-Roman Gaul, they are of three sorts:

— in various Greek historians, there are a few allusions, interesting but brief, on pederasty in Gaul and among the Celtic peoples in general; these writers are generally objective and well informed;

— general sources on the Celtic world are important, but as yet poorly

exploited, in particular the mythology of late Celtic societies in the British Isles (Wales, Scotland and, above all, Ireland); but all researchers recognize today that one can extend to Gaul most of the general conclusions one draws concerning these island communities;

— sources and research concerning the other Indo-European peoples (especially the Greeks, Germans and Persians) are also of the greatest use for the correct interpretation of what we do know of Gallic sociology or mythology.

Greek Sources

Many accounts from antiquity credit the Celtic peoples in general with homosexual practices that were institutionalized and socially recognized. Aristotle, with the benefit of first-hand information thanks to Alexander's Macedonian soldiers, tells of the honor which the Celts accorded inter-masculine relations, for, he says, they kept them aloof from greed for material wealth.[3] The astronomer Ptolemy declares that pederasty is common among the peoples of the North (Celts and Germans).[4] And the Mesopotamian Gnostic, Bardesanus, confirms this opinion, mentioning legal forms of masculine union which had currency among either the one people or the other.[5]

Narrowing our scope to the people of Transalpine Gaul, they had, according to credible ancient authors, a great penchant for loving boys. Diodorus of Sicily, in the first century BC, knew that the western Celts appreciated homosexuality (probably with adolescent boys, as other accounts confirm, rather than between adults):

> They have pretty women, but rarely do they go to them; their impassioned preference is for the immoral embraces of males. Beyond understanding! Their custom is to sleep on the ground upon the hides of wild beasts, taking their pleasure with two partners, one on each side, And, most astounding of all, lacking all respect for their own dignity, they abandon their fine bodies unresisting to other men, and they do not consider this practice shameful; on the contrary, they propose their favours and if they are not accepted, they consider the refusal an injury.[6]

Strabo's account, from the start of the first century of our era, is shorter but also more precise as to the age of the younger partner:

> The Celts are notorious for picking fights, and also for not considering it scandalous that the young should lavish the charms of their adolescence.[7]

Nearly a century later, Atheneus repeated his predecessors' allegations:

> Among the Barbarians, the Celts equally, although they have beautiful women, prefer boys by far. And often certain among them will have two favorites who sleep by them upon the hides of beasts.[8]

These three texts certainly refer to the Gauls proper, for they take as their source observations reported by Poseidonios, a very exact historian who traveled in Gaul several years before Caesar's conquest.

Modern research on these documents and others of the same type tends to prove that the Celts' institutionalized pederasty, like that of many Indo-European peoples, had an educative and initiatory character.[9]

Initiatory Pederasty

In fact, today it seems to be established that pederasty was part of a body of customs common to most ancient Indo-European peoples. Because of these shared roots, we find astonishing resemblances between the pederastic practices of the Greeks, the Germans, the Celts, etc.[10] Through comparison with similar institutions among the Greeks and Germans, and also by analyzing data from the Celtic myths of Great Britain, one can attempt a reconstruction of the essential features of pederasty in pre-Roman Gaul. To be sure, each of the Indo-European peoples had its own particular way of bringing to life relations between boys and men, but a certain number of fundamental characteristics were preserved wherever pederasty continued to be a social reality.

Both among the Greeks of proto-history and among the Germans, the official relationship between men and boys was not, essentially, an expression of love, but a codified civic rite through which apprenticeship necessary for adult life was fulfilled. Probably it was the same among the Celts, and that is why, as in Diodorus' note, the Gallic adolescent sought out an older lover: it would have been to his shame should he fail to find a man disposed to take him in charge, just as, in our own time, an apprentice is discredited if all prospective employers turn him down. It goes without saying that real love could on occasion enrich this institutional relationship, but that was not essential. Also, as everywhere else, the love of adolescent boys could exist on its own, detached from any educative and social implication, for a stereotyped institution is often accompanied by its freer twin—just as, in all societies, marriage exists side by side with cohabitation.

Contrary to what the authors cited above supposed, having two boys beside one "upon the hides of beasts" was probably not a regular state of affairs. Such a nocturnal arrangement calls to mind the context of hunting often encountered in probationary rites of ancient Europe, which could only plausibly concern a certain class of men, and then only during well-

defined periods.[11] Through comparison, once again, with Greek or German pederasty, one may conclude that in reality what was happening was a sort of course of instruction and survival outside normal society. This is a very common structure in initiatory processes, very much, for example, like the Cretan pederastic ritual also reported by Strabo.[12] At the same time, many accounts also give evidence that Celtic men were certainly partial to feminine charms: evidently Diodorus and Atheneus failed to understand that the homosexual practices reported by Poseidonios did not in themselves amount to the whole of the Gauls' love life. They, like most of the peoples of antiquity, practiced pleasures precluding none, with women and boys in turn.

Apart from initiation with a pederastic component, two other educative structures appear among the Gauls: fosterage (education of a young person in one or several allied families, in accord with an old Indo-European custom),[13] and Druidic School, which busied itself mainly with the sons of the aristocracy. (The practice of extrafamilial education can be found in other forms down to our own time, and Brittany, a land of strong Celtic tradition, is still today the region of France with the most boarding schools.) One must be careful not to confuse these two distinct institutions: fosterage often began during childhood and ended with adolescence, while the time spent at Druidic School could last well into adulthood.

That there was a pederastic component in fosterage is not supported by any primary sources, but such a hypothesis is not intrinsically implausible. The Gauls were well known for their very free sexual life, which even included incest and ritual zoöphilia.[14] It would not be surprising if some of them had pederastic relations with their young wards, since these relations fell under no moral prohibition and since they even formed an official part of the eventual initiation into adult life. What is more, the social and affective bonds between the "foster father" and his ward were very strong, sometimes more than those with the natural parents; the same was true even between "foster brothers" taught together by the same tutor (for a good teacher might have several young protégés at a time, duly entrusted by their families, as indeed one boy might sometimes have several foster fathers, in correspondence with Spartan pederasty, in which it was honourable for an adolescent to have several lovers).[15] It is possible, in the context of the Celtic warrior aristocracy, that these bonds could have been expressed in erotic contacts.[16] But all that one can say is that these would have remained in the personal sphere, unlike what happened during initiation rites, where they had a social character.

Druids vs. Warriors

This is a suitable point to note that the Gauls differed from all their neighbors, even the other Celts, in the rapid evolution of their society, from the second century BC on, from a semi-theocratic monarchy in which

the Druids were dominant, to collective government by the aristocracy. Using terms coined by Indo-European archeology, it can be said that the second estate (the warriors) gained ascendancy over the first (the priesthood).[17] Now, we know from Persian and Indian societies that the Indo-European priesthood fought an age-old battle, in those nations where they were able to exercise power, to eradicate all homosexual practices, considering these a grave error.[18] Thus pederastic traditions persisted only among peoples where the warrior class won social primacy, that is, essentially, according to our documents, among the Greeks and Germans. When the Gauls, in the face of rising Druidic power, implemented a progressive but irreversible effort to hand over power to the warrior aristocracy, without a doubt they at the same time prevented the disappearance of traditional pederastic practices—a disappearance which was finalized in Ireland, where the Druids held on to the reins of power right up to the advent of Christianity.

Thus, in their rustic schools, the Druids, like their Persian or Hindu counterparts, probably discouraged pederastic activities with their pupils. This declaration is supported by the justifications that the Roman emperors, who from Claudius on engaged in a vigorous fight against Druidism, which fermented revolt against Rome, used to eventually proscribe it. To justify this repression they specifically accused the Druids of practicing human sacrifice (which seems to be confirmed in certain cases);[19] had they wind of pederastic practices, they would surely not have missed the opportunity of imputing these to them also, for pederasty, though widely tolerated, remained theoretically scandalous in Rome, at least if the boy was free-born and not a slave. In a sense, the Romans' silence on this point concerning the Druids amounts to an acquittal.

The case of Celtic royalty seems to be slightly different, to the extent to which we can glimpse traces of initiation or fosterage peculiar to royal families. The Irish hero Cuchulain, for example, was born twice and has four fathers, of whom several are gods.[20] King Mongan has a legal father, but it is the god Mannanan who comes to take him and raise him in his kingdom.[21] The young Condlé-la-Flamme was taken from his father, despite the opposition of a Druid, by a fairy who gave him a magic apple and promised him eternal youth and beauty.[22]

This last legend recalls the story of the Trojan child Ganymedes, who retained youth and perfect beauty once Zeus had taken him from his father King Tros, so that he might serve the gods with celestial aliments.[23] We are also familiar with the episode of King Tantalus, who dismembered his son Pelops, had him cooked, and served him at the table of the gods: Zeus had the boy's members placed in a cauldron (like the Celtic god Teutates' magic cauldron) and brought him back to life so that Poseidon might take him with him to his abode.[24] Now the legend of Ganymedes and the legend of Pelops are very different from most of the other pederastic Greek myths (such as those of Hyacinthus, Cyparissus or Narcissus).[25]

The welcoming of these royal sons among the gods could well then be linked to some specifically royal practice, symbolically marked by the boy's perfect beauty, his royal descent, his disappearance or temporary death after which he can be raised from the dead by a divine being, who then confers on him eternal youth next to the gods, and finally the consuming of a magic food. If pederasty plays a role in this (as much for Poseidon and Pelops as Zeus and Ganymedes), it is probably because the king, unlike the priests, belongs not only to the first Indo-European estate (which, as we have seen, was hostile to pederasty, or at least became so): as symbol of his people's unity, he shares in all three aspects of society, being at the same time priest, warrior and producer. Whatever the case, deeper research is required into all that concerns Indo-European royalty and its connections with initiatory pederasty. Our knowledge of Celtic society, on this as on many other subjects, can without doubt be expected to evolve a great deal further.

A Warrior Initiation

The above details on the ideology and historical role of the Druids, along with comparisons with the other Indo-European peoples, allows us to place Gallic initiatory pederasty in its true context: probably a temporary rite between warriors. Thus, perhaps as fosterage reaches its end, about the age of sixteen or seventeen, those Gallic adolescents destined for a military career pass through a period of initiation, during which each of them is placed with a man (a few documents seem to indicate that this "course" lasted one year). No doubt the adult would protect his pupils, and his main task would be to mould them and communicate to them his knowledge. The erotic pleasure he would gain from these liaisons, whether throughout the whole period of his sponsorship or merely during the course of a brief foray into the wild, would be considered a normal reward for his pedagogic role. In addition, the pederastic relation emphasized the adolescent's social inferiority and "femininity" beside the adult warrior, the same status the warrior society reserved for women. Thus the end of the initiation, giving him at last the right to an active sexuality, marked his accession to the status of a fully virile adult.[26]

It is perhaps significant that one finds in Gaul, too, certain values typical of Greek societies, values which favoured the blossoming of pederasty and which seem to be linked to the Indo-European warrior estate: the importance of a physical beauty indissolubly linked to moral beauty (a visible flaw, such as a boil, could definitively disqualify a Celtic king); the magical role of nuding (the Gauls engaged in combat nude, as numerous texts from antiquity and Roman bas-reliefs testify); education into virile courage (as important in Gaul as, for example, in Sparta); rejecting worldly riches as a moral value (Aristotle, as we have seen, asserts that Celtic pederasty served as an antidote to the attractions of riches); the taste for inde-

pendence (neither the Celts nor the Greeks could ever form a single state, and the Gallic warriors' revolt against their kings recalls the liberating role of certain pederastic couples against Greek tyrants).

One can even advance, with all appropriate caution, the hypothesis that several Celtic myths from the British Isles may be later heterosexual adaptations, whether Druidic or Christian, of initiation rites pederastic in character, which would, as an indirect repercussion, confirm and throw light on the practices of the Gauls. For example, the Welsh King Pwyll, while hunting a stag, meets Arawn, the King of the Dead, who sets him as a task an exchange of their respective roles and appearances for the period of one year. As he is a bachelor, Pwyll does not wish to have intercourse with Arawn's wife, for Arawn would not be able to do likewise, so he respects her honor until his return to Earth. So it is that he and Arawn become linked by bonds of friendship. Many elements of this legend recall initiatory customs known among the Germans or the Greeks: the stag hunt (as in the myth of Cyparissus); the symbolic death (myths of Hyacinthus, Cyparissus, etc.); the period of testing outside society (as with the Cretans); spending the night in the initiator's bed, and impossibility of having an active sexual role before the initiation is over (these last two being the very foundation of Indo-European pederasty, as is stated elsewhere among the Germanic Taifales).[27]

The young Druid Nede was the adopted son of King Caier. He wished to supplant the latter, both with his wife and in his role as sovereign. He asked for Caier's dagger, which the king, according to custom, could not normally refuse him. However, Caier was bound by a sacred interdict, forbidding him to part with the dagger. So Nede composed a magic satire against him, which gave Caier three spots upon his face, thus depriving him of his rights. Here, too, one finds several initiatory themes: "adoption" by an adult; an adolescent's desire to become adult sexually and socially; the desire to enter the initiator's bed (thus pederasty could be dissimulated as heterosexual adultery); and the obligatory gift of a weapon (as in Crete), marking the initiator's final retreat. However, the story has a tragic ending: while pursuing Caier, Nede was killed by a shard of stone which pierced his eye. Perhaps one can see in this, if the pederastic interpretation is justified, a warning to all Druids not to undergo the initiation rites of kings and warriors, on pain of losing their clairvoyance, or even their life.[28]

The story of Cuchulain is just as revealing. This famous hero, who probably lived during the reign of Augustus, was initiated into the techniques of war by two women: Dordmair, with whom he refused to sleep because she was too ugly; and Scatach, a sorceress whose bed he shared for a year (as well as having union with her daughter) in order to perfect his initiation through sexual intercourse.[29] This Irish legend shows that there was for the Celts a very close link between military initiation and sexual union, and might give evidence of the existence of initiatory "ephebophilia," whether homosexual or heterosexual, in the warrior class.

Finally, we must note that Atheneus' account allows us a glimpse of an original institution, specific to the Celtic people, or even just the Gauls: the union between a man and two adolescents who share his bed. This brings to mind the combat formation described by Pausanias among the Gallic cavalry of the 3rd century BC, the *trimarkisia*,[30] wherein a principal combatant is assisted by two auxiliaries. An identical structure turns up, too, in myth, where two young foals born with Cuchulain become his faithful chargers. It is possible that all of these trios represent one and the same reality, the adult warrior and his pair of young protégés, but in the different contexts of instruction and combat.[31]

The Divine Boy

To complete this consideration of pederasty in Gaul, we may add that we know almost nothing about the Celtic gods, nor their possible involvement in pederastic myths. What should we think, for example, of the couple formed by the hero Smertrius and the god Esus, reminiscent on certain points of Heracles and Hylas, or Apollo and Cyparissus? And is there an allusion to pederasty in the epithet *Lovantucarus* ("Lover of youth") applied to the god Ogmios, patron of war and combatants?

Certain indicators also show that adolescence had a religious value. There did in fact exist among the Gauls a boy-god called Maponios, whom Welsh and Breton legend has preserved under the name Mabon, and whom the Romans assimilated into Apollo. He is the equivalent, it would seem, of the Irish hero Oengus, known by the epithet *Mac Oc* (that is, "Young Son"), son of the god Dagda and the fairy Boann. This Oengus was the most beautiful and lovable of all the mythic people of *Thuatha de Danann*: he gave protection to unhappy lovers, and his kisses turned into birds which came and flew about young people. At his father's request he was abducted by Mider, hero of the Beyond and specialist in abduction, whose name evokes the Indo-European *med-* (which signifies "rule," "middle," or even "intoxication," and which is also found in Ganymedes, the cupbearer of the Greek gods, who pours their nectar).[32] Thanks to a Roman inscription, *"Toutati Medurini,"* Mider, who seems to have been known in Gaul by the name Medru, appears as one of the avatars of Teutates (whose likeness to Tantalus, another hero of the Beyond and of initiation, who was father of Pelops and one of the abductors of Ganymedes, we have already seen). One may thus suppose that a congruent myth existed in Gaul, according to which the divine boy Maponios, with his distinctly sunny and amorous character, would be carried off by Teutates-Medru, brought into an enigmatic Beyond and initiated through a rite of death and resurrection linked to a magic cauldron. As this abduction would have taken place with the agreement of the child's father, it is reasonable to see in it the symbol of a royal and probably pederastic initiation, very similar to the corresponding Greek myths.[33]

NOTES

1. I give the term *pederasty* its currently most generally accepted meaning in the French language, the meaning which accords with history, etymology and logic: a loving or sexual relation between a man and a boy (that is, a non-adult male, whether pubescent or not). *Pederasty* then never signifies *homosexuality between adults*, nor *anal intercourse*. It is of course impossible to set a precise age limit for the younger partner, such are the differences of physical and sexual development from one individual to another.
2. The Romans gave the name Transalpine Gaul, or Gaul proper, to the entire territory bounded by the Mediterranean, the Pyrennees, the Atlantic, the Channel, the Rhine and the Alps. Besides France, this area today includes Switzerland, Belgium and Luxembourg, as well as parts of the Netherlands and Germany. Cisalpine Gaul, which consisted of the north of Italy and where the Celtic occupation was not as long-lasting, falls outside the scope of this study. Likewise, the situation of the other territories inhabited by Celtic populations will not be examined here: that is, Central Europe, the British Isles, Iberian Galicia and Anatolian Galatia. We shall touch on these only in relation to Gallic history, for example to highlight some trait common to all the Celts.
3. Aristotle, *Politika*, II, 9,7-8 and 1269b; Bernard Sergent, *L'homosexualité initiatique dans l'Europe ancienne* (Paris: Payot, 1986), pp. 177-9.
4. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblios suntaxis*, II 3, 61-2.
5. Eusebius, *Euaggelikes apodeixeos proparaskeue* VI, 12 and 16, and Bardesanus, *Liber legum regionum*, 592 f. Nau.
6. Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheke historike*, V, 32, 7.
7. Strabo, *Geographikon*, IV, 4, 6 and 198.
8. Theneus, *Deipnosophistai*, XIII, 603 a.
9. Sergent, op. cit., pp. 177-191.
10. Ibid., pp. 7-11.
11. Ibid., pp. 181-2.
12. Strabo, op. cit., X, 4, 21 and 483; Bernard Sergent, *L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque* (Paris: Payot, 1984), pp. 15-53.
13. Emile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris: Minuit, 1969), tome 2, pp. 85-8; Jean Markale, *Les Celtes et la civilisation celtique: mythe et histoire* (Paris: Payot, 1988), pp. 160, 166, 275.
14. Olivier Launay, *La civilisation des Celtes* (Geneva: Famot, 1975), pp. 168-9, 182-3, 213-8, 222, 270: among the Celts, the same woman could be shared among several brothers, and legal incest between father and daughter is attested very late in Ireland; there were various formulae for engagement, marriage, cohabitation and divorce, depending on the duration envisaged for the union and the degree of fidelity expected from the espoused; rape of a girl aged between seven and fourteen incurred financial compensation, but it does not appear that paedophile relations with either sex were punishable if the child was consenting; lastly, an Irish fertility and enthronement rite is reported in which the new king must engage in public coitus with a mare.
15. Launay, op. cit., pp. 169-70, 237; Felix Buffière, *Eros adolescent: la pédérastie dans la Grèce antique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1980), p. 67.
16. Sergent (*L'homosexualité initiatique*, pp. 190-1) thinks he has discovered a possible trace of pederastic fosterage in the story of Maelgwn, a Welsh king whom the monk Gildas accuses of having lived the life of a "sodomite." This hypothesis could be generalized to other Indo-European peoples, since the same author sees a link between fosterage and pederastic initiation in the myth of Laios and Chrysippus (*L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque*, pp. 85-6).
17. Launay, op. cit., pp. 73-4.
18. Sergent, *L'homosexualité initiatique*, pp. 222-31.

19. Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, VI, 16; Diodorus of Sicily, op. cit., V, 31; Strabo, op. cit., IV, 5; Launay, op. cit., pp. 140-4.
20. Launay, op. cit., p. 127.
21. Ibid., pp. 127-8.
22. Ibid., pp. 210-11; Markale, op. cit., pp. 170-1, 411.
23. Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (1960), ch. 29; Pierre Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), pp. 163-4; Sergent, *L'homosexualité dans la mythologie grecque*, pp. 237-47.
24. Graves, op. cit., ch. 108; Grimal, op. cit., pp. 354-5; Markale, op. cit., pp. 353-7; Sergent, op. cit., pp. 75-87.
25. To my mind, Sergent has not gone deeply enough into the likenesses between Pelops and Ganymedes, nor their common differences with the Apollonian or Heraclean pederastic myths. For example, the myths of Pelops, Ganymedes and Condlé all mention some remarkable food (human flesh, nectar, a magic apple), and eternal youth (Pelops' ivory symbolises incorruptibility: see Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des symboles*); they could be linked to the first estate, and especially to royalty. Several Apollonian myths mention plants and marriages; perhaps they are indicative of initiations linked to the third estate. As for the Heraclean myths, their warrior aspect is plain to see.
26. Sergent, op. cit., pp. 64-71; Christian-J. Guyonvarc'h and Françoise Le Roux, *Les Druides* (Rennes: Ouest-France, 1986), p. 124.
27. Launay, op. cit., pp. 130-2; Markale, op. cit., p. 401; Sergent, op. cit., pp. 97-123.
28. Guyonvarc'h and Le Roux, op. cit., pp. 121-3; Kuno Meyer, "Sanas Cormaic: An Old Irish Glossary," in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, IV (Halle-Dublin: 1912), pp. 58-60; Whitley Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries* (London: 1862), pp. xxvi-xxxviii.
29. Launay, op. cit., pp. 154-5.
30. Pausanias, *Hellados periegesis*, X, 19 10-11.
31. Sergent, *L'homosexualité initiatique*, pp. 182-3.
32. Benveniste, op. cit., tome 2, pp. 123-32; Markale, op. cit., p. 404.
33. Launay, op. cit., p. 125; Markale, op. cit., pp. 101, 398-413.

About the Author:

Erick Pontalley was born in 1947. He was for many years a friend and correspondent of the author Roger Peyrefitte, who introduced him to the cultural tradition of boy-love. After founding CAPRI, the first pederast group in France, in 1968, he was for three years its spokesperson. Since 1971, he has worked in various boys' boarding shcools. He contributed to Pasteur Doucé's volume *La pédophilie en question*, and is currently working on a *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la pédérastie*, from which this article was compiled.

Translated from the French by Leo G. Adamson

THE JOURNALS OF LEWIS THOMPSON

Editor's Introduction

Lewis Levien Thompson was born on January 13, 1909 in Fulham, England; he had two younger sisters. He spent his childhood in north London and received a good conventional education in private schools, but did not distinguish himself academically. He was obviously a sensitive child and photographs show a handsome and imaginative boy with a relaxed smile and hands of quite exceptional sensitivity. He had a good singing voice and became such a keen pianist that at one time he intended to become a professional musician. He continued to play throughout his life and was especially fond of Bach, Chopin and Debussy. His mother had some Irish blood; his father, partly Jewish, came from Gosport, ran away at eighteen to join the fifth Dragoon Guards, served in India and was later at the seige of Ladysmith. Lewis and his sisters were brought up as Protestants.

In early adolescence he became friends with a Woodford draper who was a Buddhist, and began to read the great scriptures of the East. His interests were now distancing him from his family and in his teens he lived independently in London on a small legacy from a relative.

During adolescence Thompson underwent the first severe crisis of his life. This was the turning point upon which his whole future life revolved. He writes of it only indirectly in frequent references to the poet Rimbaud whom he discovered in 1927. This, he says, was the first important event of his life, not only because he admired Rimbaud, but because at the age of twenty-one Rimbaud had rejected literature. "Somewhere," writes Thompson, "between eighteen and twenty I believe I too experienced all that is implied in Rimbaud's rejection of literature."

The crux of the matter was a celebrated remark of Rimbaud, his wish to "possess the truth in one soul and body," and his bitter recognition that this is an impossibility; hence the only solution for the poet of consistently passionate integrity is that he abandon all attempts at such embodiment as *poet*. The true state of Poetry can only be attained in a Christ-like state—what Thompson calls Perfect Action. "Rimbaud represented very directly the fact that since the medieval belief in 'sainthood', embodiment of Poetry in Itself is hardly possible in Europe. The symbol remains without the reality; hence the partial and this paradoxical nature of all Western art and its increasing self-consciousness and self-exercising. In Rimbaud the problem became completely conscious." Like Rimbaud, Thompson experienced to the full the profound anguish of a youthful artist certain that *the truth cannot be told* and that by telling only half he has told an untruth. In recognition of this he now destroyed the manuscript of a book on which he had worked for five years.

Something irreparable had occurred. Never again could he bring himself to indulge in conventional "litertary creation" for its own sake; he would write solely as a form of spiritual exercise the most sparse and urgent communication conceivable.

In 1930 he began to travel. He attended the gypsy festival in Les Saintes Maries de la Mer, wandered through the Provence of Van Gogh's visionary canvases and went on a pilgrimage to Goethe's house in Weimar.

A small but significant event was a performance at Marseille Opera House in April 1932 by Uday Shankar, the great classical Indian dancer and elder brother of sitar virtuoso Ravi. It was Uday Shankar who tipped the balance in favour of Thompson's desire to visit India. "My reading in Hinduism, Buddhism and the Chinese tradition from about my thirteenth year made it easy for me to feel from the beginning that in the West one could find very distorted and fragmentary pictures of what in the East was clear, classical and complete. Thus as soon as in my inner life things came to full crisis the natural movement was at once to India." On July 26, 1932 he left Europe from Cardiff with no means to support himself once he had disembarked; he did not return.

For twelve years he travelled almost constantly, in South India, making short trips to Ceylon and northwestern India, without ever undertaking work for remuneration or ever having any means of support other than through the munificence of friends. He came and went as he pleased and was moved only by the absolute subjectivity of his inmost needs. "My life is entirely a transition, I don't *exist* at all. I have no place to sit down."

It is hard to imagine now how unconventional Thompson's way of life would have appeared in the days of the British Raj. An Englishman in Indian dress was a very rare bird indeed in the remote country places which Thompson favored. But an Englishman who did not so much appear a diligent scholar of Indian religion and philosophy as one who lived and breathed their essence—this was a source of astonishment, dismay or hostility.

Very neat in appearance, his few possessions carted from place to place in a single tin trunk, he would live in simple rooms of friends' bungalows surrounded by gardens. His diet was extremely frugal and for long periods tended to be quite inadequate. His room was always impeccably tidy, a few well-chosen objects and fabrics creating an atmosphere of seeming luxury, sensousness, repose. For long periods he lived with fishermen on the beach at Madras, but his taste and elegance would not allow him any sloppiness about his person or the way he conducted his life. He never became addicted to temple India; he rarely practised yoga or any kind of devotional exercises; his friends were legion.

For the latter part of his life, however, Thompson held a single position. Through the help of his friend Sanjiva Rao, a distinguished educator from a well-known Saraswat Brahmin family, it was arranged that he live as writer-in-residence and librarian at the Rajghat School, Benares. Sanjiva

Rao, a personal assistant to Annie Besant and a close friend of Krishnamurti, had founded the school on behalf of the latter and as a personal favor to the former. His appointment led to Thompson's final departure from South India towards the end of 1943 and residence for the remainder of his life in the ancient city where the Buddha had preached his first sermon.

Thompson was given room and board at Rajghat School, acquiring a reputation as the most daring, articulate and outspoken member of staff the school had ever had. He tried to introduce the Ranganathan classification system to the library, but since it is the most complicated ever devised he had little success.

Thompson's journal describes how, in his last years, he wrestled with declining health and the increasing effort it took him to tackle his creative task with sufficient energy. In May 1949, having been in Bombay at a friend's house to recuperate from heat sickness, he returned to his responsibilities in Benares. Nearly everybody he knew had left the city for the hills to escape the heat. He tried to find lodgings now, but all he could discover was an attic roofed with corrugated iron. The temperature was 115 degrees Fahrenheit (47C). He was found wandering, dazed, beside the river—it was noon and the onset of sunstroke was already affecting him. He went to bed with a high fever. He was quite alone, save for the brief visits of a servant with food and drink. He wrote a little. He died alone on June 23, 1949. He was cremated by the Ganges and his ashes were scattered over the river he loved.

Soon after his death his friend, Deben Bhattacharya, mailed Thompson's most immediate and accesible work, his poems, to Edith Sitwell, then at the height of her fame. "You have sent me a poet of genius whose loss is immeasurable," she cabled. "All we who care for poetry have indeed suffered a heart-breaking loss. I could not, at first, believe my eyes when I read Thompson's poems. My brother Osbert said to me, 'At last.' He meant that at last a poet of genius had been discovered."

Editor's Note:

We are pleased to publish for the first time these excerpts from the journals of the English poet, Lewis Thompson. They represent, however, only a small part of his reflections on boys, and an even smaller part of the several hundred pages of journals he wrote. For a more complete introduction to his life and further reading of his thoughts, see the book *Mirror to the Light: Reflections on consciousness and experience*, by Lewis Thompson, edited by Richard Lannoy (London: Coventure, 1984). We are grateful to Mr. Lannoy for permission to publish these extracts. We have not corrected the author's misspellings in both English and French.

The Journals of Lewis Thompson

[1919, aet. 10] When, at about 10 or 11, with a companion of my own age, by the fence of a garden in a quiet residential street, we were practising what we had never heard of as *fellatio* and an adult unexpectedly emerging from his house muttered disapproval at us, we could only understand his attitude as something exotic. It did not seem at all relevant to what we were so innocently doing in our own world. Certainly his disapproval had nothing to do with the excitement of our own curiosity, enjoyment and *pudeur*.

[1924, aet. 15] Headmaster referring before whole school to Turner and I going about with arms about each other's waist. I was quite unconscious of our having done this or that I especially went about with Turner. I only felt, simple as a perfume, his distinguished air, the clear and lonely gentleness of dark-lashed grey eyes. So far from feeling embarassed or ashamed at this reproof, I felt as if it were being made about somebody else, or quite abstractedly, in a world of mere ideas peculiar to grown-ups, irrelevant, unquestionable, unaccountable like Euclid.

How often our childhood memories show that we were utterly innocent of any conception of grown-up fears and prejudice and logic: we lived in another world.

Ceylon, 1933

Subtle, inconsequent, charming, with a faun's grace and laughing eyes, a lad told me in the market that at the next village, while he was sleeping one night near the bodhi-tree, he saw a *deva* [a god: Ed.], white, majestic, beautiful. We arranged to sleep there to see if he would come again.

As I returned in the tender light of the next morning, reviving from a handkerchief that incomparably rich, fresh, sweet, subtle, penetrating, deeply stirring scent, I looked so happy that everyone I met spontaneously smiled at me.

30.III.40

In this richly and tenderly beautiful boy, sweet, shy, indifferent, malicious, experimental, coquettish, is it not that I kiss my youth sacrificed by some deep perversity of will or of despair?

And does not every form of freshness, sweetness, vigour present to me again the same poignant, unfathomable mystery?

12.XI.43

How it really is.

A week ago I saw passing in the street just opposite Dr. Ranganathan's

house, where I often talk affectionately with the local school children, a lad, delicately made, with an open forehead and pure flower-like face. Perhaps I half perceived some recognition in his glance, a slackening of his pace, for when I stopped and spoke to him he turned out to be a relation of K.T.K. and has heard of me from him. I asked only distractedly where he was studying and forgot about him.

Some days ago, returning from a walk on the beach, walking fast, I only just caught out of the corner of my eye a smiling recognition from an attractive, aristocratic boy whom I felt I had seen before.

This evening, after having watched some children at play, and there was nothing to do, after sunset, but to leave the beach, I felt someone overtaking me: it was the same delicately smiling lad. We sat down on the sand (he had a College companion with him) and I listened more carefully to the answers to my questions. Raju, Vaishnava brahmin, from Tanjore but fifteen years in Madras, seventeen, specializing in physics.

One is naturally pleasant and affectionate with someone simple, sensitive, intelligent and charming. I walked back with him to the room where he studies.

My delight and marvel are as conscious as an actor's—entirely sincere yet not applied to the present case—applicable to no present case. All that I might have done years ago out of affection, delight, excitement, desire (but was always too humble and inexperienced even to think of with full consciousness), but which now I have in itself elaborately analysed, experimented, exhausted in body and in the mind, is of no real interest to me. Even to gaze into those beautiful eyes—soft, mysterious, subtle as perhaps only Hindu eyes can be—is possible only as a concentrated ritual in which one learnedly watches, moves, exploits oneself. Though perhaps my own gaze is deeper or far more simple than I know.

Gazing with wonder, delight and tenderness, I was overtaken by something at the first moment quite incomprehensible: those marvellous eyes melted, suffused, the delicate, subtly outlined lips trembled, were changed—tears flooded, blurred, overflowed. "When Krishna was about to touch her she pushed his hands away with her own: when Krishna looked at her face tears welled up in her eyes." [*Govindasa Kaviraja*, an epic poem about Govinda: Ed.] And this happened several times. His deep glance, beyond individuality, could contain the most childlike and intimate caresses.

Where nothing is necessary or adequate, all is possible. Of course the ancient Hindu soul has long grown quiet over all that can possibly be known of love; of course there is no raw ethicism left; of course that is true enough for me as well. "Go into *nirvikalpa-samadhi* [loss of self-consciousness through meditation: Ed.] or use your will to overcome it." The Jnani. [Thompson's guru: Ed.]

How can one not be afraid, almost, at the simple response of so pure and subtle a soul? What profound mirroring... What appallingly sophisticated ritual. On neither side intoxication or desire. All the effects of vital

charm—of inter-penetrating psychic atmosphere; of emotion, pleasure, delight are themselves perhaps yet no longer themselves because entirely subsumed.

15.XI.43
Letter to a friend.

I want to say something on a subject I have till now made a hopeless mess of with you.

If I ever attain any spiritual perfection it will be due, no doubt, in far greater measure than I can understand to the boys I have loved.

23.XI.43
Raju: The meaning is the peaceful and dazzling sea of Love, self-ordered and self-made; the obstruction is the mind, a non-existant, an abstraction, one of the spangles seeking to contain all, therefore become for itself only a spangle of darkness.

10.II.44
These boys of ten or twelve, in their talk and play, radiate an intense electricity of emotion, imagination, fantasy—something nascent, timeless, frontierless. Light and delicate as foam, it could float armadas, argosies, undermine continents. What would have happened to history if the children's crusade in 1212 had not come to grief?

14.XII.44
With the children at Rajghat School. It would require the greatest genius to express perfectly even a few moments of the beauty, fantasy, passion these little girls and boys bring to their play. I feel as, in the delicate wildness of it, I had been immersed in a sparkling element a thousand times more limpid and intense than light.

26.I.45
It is evident that imagination is the key to energy: the psychic factor is decisive. I am tired and stale partly through having lived all my life on my own substance—sterilised by exigent critical standards and self-demands in all domains, exhausted by violent or melancholic failures from them! But the psychic nature is something relative that cannot live without influx and interchange.

This evening Prabhakar came, delicate, radiant, like a rich flower, so charmingly alert and dignified and with such beautifulmanners—the cultured brahmin though only thirteen years old. With his fine tapering fingers, eyes softly glistening like a "knot of bees". And Harikrishna, his Kashmiri friend, with perfumed hair, very elegant in white cotton trousers tightly fitting knee and calf, gathered in "bangles" at the ankle. With his finely taut profile, slender grace and supple hands. This, with his sauve

golden limbs, is his essential "note" for me. A quality impossible to name which is also expressed in the combination of firmness and softness in his hands, but which in its direct expression is purely lyrical—in his peculiar sweet and abandoned yet hard and radiant playfulness.

They would not drink tea without me and the cup I drank did only good. After a tiresome dragging day (I could do nothing continuous, take interest in nothing), I was at once revived. Their grace and charm, their subtle simplicity, refreshes me.

I seize on this slight effect; yet none of this is really spontaneous, but, like descriptions, etc., forced, sustained, *invented* by mind, will, imagination... Which desperately, at the last edge of the precipice, refuse to accept that they have and can have but one Object. —Endless, subtle, frantically honeycombed, hollow, mad delay...

In my attention to children or any other aspect of nature (but don't make this a mental excuse for failure of *integral* chastity, the singleness of the whole man), I am of course continually seeking those subtle moments, gleems, reflections, inhabitings of a quality lovely and pure, or else intense, like light—a Beauty that no thing or person can embody or possess, something rare, delicate, fugitive. But imagining, perceiving it, like any artist one brings endless resource and patience to its eliciting, continuance, stabilisation. For me this is the whole activity of the Eros, its relation with sexuality purely incidental, its physical mode.

One builds the whole person, scene, event about the possibility of such a pure felicity, about a rare and invisible centre. Hence the disproportion, in the outer world (or rather, for pragmatic people) between such attention (whose aim they cannot see) and its ostensible object (which, if a person is most likely itself also quite unconscious of the quality that fugitively gleems upon it). In this outer world I do not care how great a fool I appear in such continual attention, search, contrivance. When E.M. thinks that my attention to Prabhakar makes him self-conscious ("all children are actors"), this is an irrelevant psychological, humanistic, social consideration. Where the child is purely and disinterestedly an actor we understand each other; where he is already doomed to be and even is an individual already there is only "a body of death", irrelevance. This "body of death" is the sphere of morality for ever inconclusive.

19.II.45

How pure and purifying the kiss that by his symbolic movements I thought Harikrishna at least subconsciously expected as, in his room with two other boys, he lay with his head on my knee and in which so delicately and simply his lips responded with little tenative pressures. Afterwards he lay, playing and not playing, as if dead.

The least disinterested understanding of desire brings one back to the transparency of childhood in which all is still undifferentiated, in which desire and its self-consciousness are still unborn. If I had not responded to

this pure wordless language there would have been in him, no doubt, an obscure suppression, self-pacifying. But here all remained limpid, water meeting water, unobscured and unrestrained.

May this lucid, wordless purity possess my whole life. And may I, especially with this sensitive boy who trusted to me that sweet virginity, maintain the most perfect sensibility, the most flawless, resilient delicacy, utter freedom from any darkening of thought, preconception, unillumined sensuousness, doubt or desire. —How lovely this perfect transparency of the senses and the mind, how utterly free of all other, limited, standards. Even tenderness is subsumed: the child is my own self. Here I touch my own responsibility for my own existence, beyond all purpose and all care, as if it were the caress of my guardian angel. How close and simple such a sweetness—inexhaustibly fresh and sweet like dew, my own childhood's accentless greeting of itself. It is here (indeed!) that childhood, without the least superiority, makes absurd all grown-up words.

He asked me when I am going to start my special classes. I must start as soon as possible and extend to all spheres the special and delicate relation I now have especially with these three or four boys.

Ah, what a subtle field of the most delicate spiritual knowledge and perfection.

In all his play with the Gopis Sri Krishna remained a Child. [Krishna's play with the Gopis, in the *Gita Govinda*, is the Hindu metaphysical symbol for innocent, playful sexuality: Ed.] Desire is perfect if it remains purity itself. This is too subtle a state. The modes of desire are the modes of purity.

The intrinsic truth of desire is that as such it never was or can be. This is the truth of love. Desire is the wave and love the sea. When desire knows that it is love, love knows there never was desire. It is only by the ego that desire is isolated and becomes paradox. The secrecy of Love is the open secrecy of Childhood.

By every means I must foster this exquisite, flower-like poetry. All my teaching (!) at the College must be through this limpid and desireless love, unbound by any reference outside its own purity. Its delicacy has always reduced all that is mental to pure air and light. This could be for me a wonderful purification of the mind.

The closeness of children to Poetry is expressed in the fact that this incident is isolated, pure, refers to no individual (a child is not yet a limited individual), is not prolonged or falsified by memory.

It is by Purity itself that *samskaras* [consequences of karma: Ed.] of desire at once work themselves out. And Perversity is the fruitless struggle against Purity—a struggle whose motive is Purity Itself.

That kiss could be the key to the irreversible linking of Head and Heart here and now, in this present daily life— permeation of every action, mood and thought, at last of one's very substance, by the deepest and most delicate love and understanding. Here alone "will" and "serious-

ness" are fulfilled, their irrelevance, their impossibility, overcome. All can have at last (by the most unfaltering art, mad in its utter concentration) the sole true "seriousness" of Perfect Play.

20.II.45

Blinded, illumined by the Sun, understand all without use of understanding.

When I returned from the bazaar at about 20.00 hours I found a few flowers on the little table outside my door. The thought that it may have been P. or M. or even Harikrishna who brought them, restored all the calm, transparent happiness, *prasada* [gift of a deity, often a flower or sweetmeat from the altar of a diety given to the visiting Hindu worshipper: Ed.], of last night.

2.III.45

Indescribable impression, stimulus to the imagination, when the young American soldier mentions his compatriot who, in Calcutta, seeks out negro boys ("dark meat") and the marijuana that frenzies the jazz-drummers of New York.

I see that this self-infatuated strangeness, the non-mental organised with more than mental precision, the white-hot coldness, petrified risk, learned madness of murder, incest, spiritual endeavour, so well expressed by Cocteau, is an important note in Tantra—Tantra even the perfect elaboration of it, the *bhang*-drunken Shiva, Absolute Consciousness, its Source and Essence. I see, perhaps for the first time, how deep and clear this possibility is in me; yet, I believe, perfectly integrated into a "classic" simplicity and saneness! —Innocence. Any touch of enjoyment of "vice" or of the "peculiar" in it, though so easy for me to feel and understand, seems impure, romantic, even sentimental. (A fundamental sign that the young man in question is passive, romantic, is that, according to his friend, he is a hopeless liar.)

14.VII.45

This evening I was sitting on a bed at the Sangam Hostel in the school talking with M. and H., who were lying down. A boy new this term, who came only a few days ago (he is thirteen, a Marwari) came uninvited and sat beside me. While I was turned towards H., leaning upon his lifted knees and sometimes running my hands along firm thighs and delicate hips and waist, this boy, who had not yet said a word to me, began to make slow, delicate fingerings at my groin, pressing nearer and nearer the crotch. I let him continue, to make sure it was deliberate. When I moved a little, he began again as unmistakeably from below till I moved away more widely. Veiled furtive eyes, very articulate—too articulate—hands. Obsession? or what other teachers has he had that he should begin at once like this? (No unprepared boy, surely, could have at once misread my

gestures with H.)

But H. got up suddenly, and a few minutes afterwards I found him lying beside S., a bright-eyed, flowery-looking boy, behind a towel pulled down to the lowest possible from the cord it was hanging on to screen the view from the door. When I came they got up at once and went to assembly, H. only pausing at his shelf to run a comb through his hair.

How interesting it would be if one could get to know these half conscious plant-like loves from within, and if one could find a language delicate enough to express them. How gross and arbitrary, beside the poetry of their real lives, the stuff they have to learn.

29.VIII.45

Evening. Pradyuman (his pet name is Captain—"Kaptan") Singh, seven or eight years old, a Rajput from Dholpur State, has become a great friend of mine and shows me the most charming mercureal affection. Very fair, the silky curls of his long head dark brown with a light of copper. Very quick, capricious, intelligent. Keen nostrils; long, mobile, complexly modelled, tragically sensitive mouth. How describe our games, his subtle vividness? When with clawing hands, set face and staring eyes he pretends to be a monster and I act fear, horror, terror his very quick and free imagination frightened by my "fear". He loves to play with this dangerous sensation.

Fierce dialogue. Quarrel with the lush, rich-eyed Birendra. Fool! — Rascal! — Bluddy! — Donkey! — Monkey! — Russian Monkey! — Japanese Monkey! This last was serious... and nearly led to a fight, interspersed with equally staccato Hindi slang that I could not understand. Birendra during the meal: Are you married? — No. — Are you a hermit?

Children can absorb the most extravagant love. Seeing this new attention, Birendra told me that Pradyuman is his special friend, his brother. For the first time laid his head in my lap, said I must sleep tonight in the hostel. With a quick, lovely, eager gesture, reaching up his lively, sensitive hand upon my arm. Pradyuman also snuggled his head into my lap. Two other boys who entered at once responded to the strong and delicate atmosphere this created. At such moments there is a beautiful extravagance and one sees how avid for love are these tender growing souls. And my delight in them is inexhaustible. They make possible the purest and most luminous tenderness.

31.VIII.45

The other evening Kaptan, showing an envelope, said that he was going to write to this father for pocket money: all the other boys have money but he has none. It was the eve of Janmashtami [birth of Krishna at midnight on Thursday: Ed.], a two day holiday. I tucked five rupees into his pocket (we were alone) but he would not accept it. Thinking that he might perhaps accept a smaller amount, this evening I tried again with one rupee, but as soon as he saw what it was he threw it behind him.

At about sunset he led me outside the hostel and asked to be lifted. From the sleeping Gold Mohur he plucked a few folded fronds—they close at night—and when I had put him down counted them into my hand: one, two, three, four, five rupees. Then, seated on my shoulder, he wanted to be carried about under the branches and began to strip handfuls of the fronds—all money. We ate together and when the bell rang for assembly I got up to go. He took my hands and came outside. As soon as we were out of the light from the verandah, in a soft, tenative, conniving voice he asked: "Your five rupees?"

"Namaste!" — "Namaste!" [Hindi "Thank you": Ed.]

8.IX.45

[Excerpt from a letter to the American painter Earl Brewster, close personal friend of D. H. Lawrence: Ed.]

Suddenly a fresh young voice downstairs and that charming mischievous child D., elegant in a semi-military white jacket with many pockets, was turning everything over and delightedly striking matches in my room, pulling our my drawers, pocketing money, almonds. His father told me the other day: he likes you very much. I see him rarely, and always more or less in a crowd, but have always found delicious the piquant, mischievous intelligence in his tobacco-coloured eyes. In shadow, anyway, they are actually dark brown, but full of an intense light which, in one's memory, seems to raise their tone. Very lightly tilted, wittily outlined like a faun's—Bengali brahman, says he is thirteen. I think he may be twelve.

I had never had him alone for more than a few minutes, thought another boy had come with him and might appear at any moment (he had run up the stairs) so at once, though he hid from my kiss (few Hindu boys, it seems, enjoy being kissed, though I know two marked exceptions), I caressed him daringly, found his immediate response, he sought it at once in me. I ran to bar the door from the stairs. On my couch, with the most calm and scintillating smile, he let me undo that complicated jacket and draw off his shorts. I had very soon thrown my own clothes on to a chair.

The sweetly gracile body of that age! I kissed face, shoulders, nipples, navel, tender groin and thigh. But more than all awaiting an ingenious mouth—dusky, darkly glossy, tender, hard and eager like the head of a snake, the black pistil of this lily of singed gold.

When I reversed myself beside him he was rather shy of reciprocating—natural (I thought) at first. So I lifted him, alertly docile, brought down the pillow to raise that dark divide, and rather for fun's sake than any very serious purpose (how much longer should we be undisturbed? and it would be difficult, perhaps impossible), I made to enter. Then to my amusement he wanted to try this too... but couldn't really manage it. Altogether he seemed on rather familiar ground.

All this with the most charming, simple lightness, and most lovely

natural innocence. Here you uncover the genial ancient wisdom of the Hindus—free of moralism but quite different from paganism. In any case I can't see how a "morality" that seems to cover at the same time questions of property, truthfulness and physical or imaginative delight (all of different modes and levels) can be anything but stupidly abstract—a matter of stone tables!

But then the door at the head of the stairs is banged and shaken—his companion. We pull on our clothes (he doesn't hurry), I smoothe out the sheet, let in with a smile J., about the same age—not innocent he: with sombre, anxious, hypocritical eyes.

Perhaps D. said to him in Hindi: you don't know what he did and J. in reply under his breath used the word fuck. Anyhow, when I asked him lightly what he said, he made out (what I felt an improvised lie) that he had used the word "perform". He really is not innocent but anxious, harassed, double. Though D. like any child may imitate and play with ideas around him, and is never doomed to become purely worldly, his innocence, on its own, *natural* level seems at present perfect and has the most charming, playful radiation. Though, indeed, I may really be more of a child than either...

Afterwards it occurred to me that J., by arriving after ten minutes, though they must have both come on the same bike or the difference would have been greater (else *both* would have come in a rickshaw) may even have been planned between them! and this is perhaps why D. did not seem to be in any great hurry to get his clothes on; when J. came in he was in fact still pulling on his socks.

Sannyas [Hindu ascetic vows: Ed.]. Why can people not simply *include* what is sweet and innocent? —Such painful, abstract literalism! As soon as you *refuse* anything real you are in the wrong: this is limitation, not freedom. All morality and more than half of human thought seems warped by fear, indirectness, doubleness—lack of all the *childlike* qualities, lack of geniality. So few people seem strong enough (or intelligent enough) to be innocent.

It is half past nine.

Moonless night, sky and water one, perfectly still. I shrink from my lonely bed. Shall I go and wander in the lanes? alas with no objective. Or shall I go to Anandamayi's Ashram?

14.X.46

The mind must not be allowed to decide things beforehand theoretically. That is none of its business: it is a faculty of perception and expresion, not an organ of action. The true "will" is the being itself, the central integrity—which cannot remain conscious or manifest without surface flexibility.

I saw again this evening, for example, that one cannot absolutely exclude slight amourousness with certain of the boys: there are times when

it is not only expected, wanted, called for, but exactly and immediately expresses a purely non-mental relation. Then its perfect lightness and transparency is sweet and charming for both parties. The only thing is, never to force either refusal or response—to be truly perceptive, neither theoretical nor perverse. —The lightest possible touch, no *mental* pursuit, or it becomes falsified. —Direct response to charm, direct expression of delight in it, or the tenderness it brings. Quicksilver must not be turned to lead.

Much of my fatigue no doubt comes precisely from mental tautness. I felt refreshed after playing with Raju and his friends in the Hostel—forgetting all intentions! But I lift myself into it partly by *using* my imagination, so it does not last. There must be much greater psychic *reserve* to experience a spontaneous charm, a lingering subtle fragrance.

It is no good questioning the material ("coercing nature"): but it must be entirely *used*—towards true perceptiveness, true imaginative experience and subtlety.

You *must* learn Hindi. What charming little conversations one might have with these boys. I could not follow Raju's account today of how he lost six rupees gambling—not doubt at the fairy-tale game I saw children playing on Sunday in the lanes—with elaborate coloured shapes, green, yellow, red, pasted on a ground of paper, and dice an inch square with the same forms on their faces.

Alain and Reymond came this evening. I seem to have no use for the society of grown-ups. But to enjoy that of children again I must lose all obstinate mental tensibility, recover floweriness, imaginatio, weight and logic, heavy like a rose, that I want, now, in poetry—fusion of creative intellect and perceptive imagination. The continuity of these children is a flight, or a perpetual transformation.

Don't confuse this with the maturer conscious love that has never existed for me, though I can so well imagine it.

One must entirely give way, for example, to Raju, concentrate on the child in him.

29.XI.46

Raju: sweet, golden, smiling, in the sun. He is simply a delightful, uncomplicated sturdy animal, robust flower. Re-action to this is simple and direct, and the more I let it be, at its own natural level, the simpler will be his response. All mental rules, discipline, entanglements simply irrelevant—stupid, darkening here. Yet any kind of seeking or fostering would be equally wrong: the detachment of my imagination must be freer and more resourceful than his animal detachment. If I don't infringe it (as simple sensuality does not) he is fond of me, a charming, kindly friend, with the simple, robust, childlike Nepali loyalty. Yet this detachment, of course, is one with his charm, an uninfringability: it is the very lustre of his body, at once the strength I feel when he playfully wrestles with me and its flowery fusion of richness and simplicity. This is why pure sensuality is necessarily violent: it must spark across this bottomless gulf and make of it a current—then irresistible. The current, the interchange, in love is, as D. H. Lawrence might say, the very flow of otherness, but directed, unilinear—something elemental that is tangled, dispersed, doused under ash, by all attempts at unity in the mind, or mentalisations of the possibility of unity. Raju's wrestling is a direct and pure instinct, directly expresses the sweet and pungent freshness of virginity. M., at fifteen, is already mentally surrendered to the need of enjoyment.

It is by this purity, its inaccessibility, that loveliness, even the simplest charm, is a symbol of the Infinite Divine Beauty—pure Transcendence.

Until moments of simple, genuine, unmediated sensuality arise with him, all relation with Raju must be the pure, unsought flicker, interplay, of keen electric forces (sensuality, imagination)—not reaching out, but ever true to themselves, nascent, virginal, running and seizing when they do, suddenly, incalculably, like fire, purely out of their own immediacy, without qualification. —Re-integration of simple sensuality riddled, desiccated by the mind.

27.I.47

As for pederasty, of course it has nothing to do with morality, is purely a matter of taste, of sensibility. Indeed sexuality altogether does not in itself belong to the moral domain: all that concerns morality here, as elsewhere, is selfishness or cruelty.

11.II.47

Drame de Boccaccio. M. venu, nous étions nus sur ma couche au plancher. Je l'avais guirlandé, les fleurs rouges et blanches très belles contre sa peau sombre. (A cela, quand je faisais gravement, il semblait un peu dismayed—et à voir que je ne montrais, jusqu'alors, aucune signe d'excitation.) Il attendait, d'abord, que je manifeste mon intention. J'avais tous imaginé subtile et lent—mais ce n'est pas ca, à son age (fourteen). Enfin je lui faisais coucher—ce grand corps si bellement svelte, mais je n'avais pensé qu'au fellate à double. Et mon excitation était tellement cérébrale qu'il séchait un peu les nerfs. Me voyant douteux ou ne comprenant pas, il s'assit les cuisses sur mes cuisses, se levant afin que j'entre en dessous. Je le tâchait, puis voulais qu'il m'excite un peu plus d'abord. Enfin il suppposait que je n'aimais pas cette posture et se couchait sur la face. —Il intamarre à la porte. Aux moins deux. Il se levait en hâte, commencait rapidement à se rehabiller. Je disais: Qui est-ce? J'ai du travail. Je me vètais un peu aussi, cherchait à mettre un peu en ordre. M. s'échappait sur le verandah dehors. Une des voix disait "C'est Raju" —un trè joli, fort gracile garçon qui j'avais souvent (et de plus souvent en vain), demandé à aller me visiter—frère d'un plus grand aux yeux duquel je suis suspect, mais qui, pendant les derniers trois ou quarte jours, a été plus aimable.

Alors j'ouvris, un cahier à la main. L'autre était aussi du South Hostel: je ne le connais qu'à peine et ne le trouve pas agréable. Ils expliquaient qu'il y a ce soit un *sammelan* de poètes auquel quelques-uns des garçons assistent. Ils ne restaient que presques minutes. En partant, il levait sa main afin que je ne baise pas sa joue.

Je cherchais M., lui parlant doucement. Il n'apparut qu'après quelques minutes, je commencais a penser que peutêtre il se serait dérobé le long du *cornice* du mur en haut... pas tout de même probable. A peine entré dans la chambre, il s'élancait vers la porte, l'ouvrit, découvrit Raju aux écoutes, le saisit, lui tordit la main. Doucement, je le faisait désister, disant que j'aime le petit. J'expliquais que nous lisions (j'avais seulement imagine, un peu plus avant, que nous pourrions au jour tacher de lire certains des Sonnets de Shakespeare que j'avais ouverts ce soir). M. me demandait de lui donner "ce livre". Entrait encore, saisit n'importe quel livre. Je voulais qu'il reste, il rèfusait. Je lui avais demandé pardon: I did not know they would come. Il insistait pour partir vite et disait de Raju: "You do not know what he is." —C'est vrai qu'il est querelleux, peutêtre malicieux; et il a dans l'*oeil droit* un petit "cast" blanc. Son compagnon aussi has a squint in the left eye. Je demandais à M. de venir vers minuit. En descende l'escalier il disait "Surely" — mais naturellement j'en doute.

Ayant écris ceci, je vais discrètement le chercher. — Quoique j'avais invité le petit V. (qui était venu vers les six heures) pour huit heures (il a été aujourd'hui bien "Cupidon").

Je le trouvais seul dans sa chambre à ses études. Il etait fort gentil: il lui serait bien difficile de venir à minuit, mais il viendra un autre soir. Je lui expliquais que je marchais lentement parceque j'avais cru qu'il pourrait rester une ou deux heures.

Je lui faisais un peu apprendre l'anglais. Il ne voulait pas que je montasse quand il allait se coucher.

16.II.47

Raju, last evening and again this morning. Our best relation restored. I told him again how dear he is to me. When he got up to go he paused a little, his eyes shining, with the indescribably sweet and simple look he has at such moments, and I understood that I could kiss him truly and sweetly. —"How many rupees have you got?" (I had asked: "What can I give you, what can I do for you?")

As I passed in the rickshaw, Piyare on his balcony with another, smaller boy, half laughing, half ruefully, I made the gesture "Alas, what is to be done?" and half mocking he imitated it.

S. seemed in a very subtle way, today, more mature—a new suggestion, especially in the line of his mouth. He says that yesterday he felt "very amorous".

And how could one ever, in any language not of a Hindu or Sufi legend, describe the walk back all the way to Rajghat through the lanes? —

the Sikh boy at Gudaulia; Hari Prasad, Devi Prasad at the fine-brass shop; one or two more in that lane; the strange Gujarati (fifteen) at his shop a little further, with turquoise jewels hanging from the border of his ear (I really must draw and paint such perfect, almost legendary, types). Yet indeed it is a little consciously extravagant, not quite true. I overheard someone refer to me as "Prem Sahib" [man of love: Ed.]. But indeed with the strange Tamil sadhu at Dasaswamedh and everyone who spoke to me I felt such free and rich affection and in no way modified the frankness of my worship and delight, nor did any boy, even in the open lane, resist my kisses.

28.II.47

Fever. Raju stayed on after the others had gone (Moti had been singing evening ragas) and when he got up to leave came and very sweetly kissed me as I lay on the chauki, telling me that I should put up the mosquito-net. The quality of simple, cool, lucid, masculine independence in this child is quite lovely.

THE CHILD

Entered, one lucid morning of Spring winds,
  Eros, the Child, dark, in an Indian guise. —
Wanton, beneath my doubtful, daring hands
  What simple, maddening fragrances arise!

From your calm smile the eagle and the tiger
  Have learned their elegance, their pride, their rage;
From your two eyes the Night, the Sphinx, the Augur
  Their depthless, hallucinating gaze.

Single like water is your innocence,
  White honey, sameness ravishing the tongue—
At its most secret, shadowed, sinuous
  Glinting the sharpest gleam, the keenest fang.

Drunk with the nectar of your mouth, your breath, your name,
  By your harsh magic mad, mad and at peace,
Borne by the venomed wave of golden flame,
  We shipwreck on your timeless Paradise.

Part Two:

Boy-Love and Paedophilia —The Contemporary Storm

INTERVIEW: Vern Bullough

Dr. Vern Bullough was Dean, Faculty of Natural and Social Science, State University College at Buffalo, New York. He is currently SUNY Distinguished Professor Emeritus and a visiting professor at the University of Southern California. Considered by many to be the doyen of history of sexual studies, he has published scores of books and articles on the subject. For the purposes of this interview, besides those referred to in the text below, we have particularly made use of the following works: *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), *Sex, Society & History* (New York: Science History Publications, 1976), (with Bonnie Bullough) *Sexual Attitudes: Myths and Realities* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1995), and *Sexual Variance in Society and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

Paidika Editor Joseph Geraci conducted this interview by e-mail between June and November, 1996.

Paidika: For about the last ten years, the United States, and many other countries as well, have been suffering from what some have labeled a "child abuse hysteria." Would you agree that there is such a hysteria, and if so, what do you consider its causes to be, and what characteristics would you ascribe to it?

Vern Bullough: I would have to say that there is an abuse hysteria, and that there has been far greater attention paid to child abuse in the past decade than earlier. If we look at the role of the child in the family we can see some reasons for this. For example, families are today generally smaller; the children within them, therefore, become more valued. More children also are being raised without the widespread family support system of the past, and parents are more dependent upon couples of their own age for advice and counsel. This is not necessarily a bad thing, but advice can easily become fashionable and trendy, and often erroneous, without the leveling skepticism of those who are older. At the same time there is also a greater reliance on professionals and on professionally taught nursery schools. The anxiety level of parents who leave their children in nursery schools in order to take on a paying job is high, and issues and incidents that would have been ignored in the past, or dealt with by a seasoned older person, now get blown out of proportion.

In the United States a child abuse industry has also sprung up which draws funds from the United States government. Originally the government was concerned with neglected and deprived children, but there soon

came to be a lot of experts concentrating on sexual child abuse. In American society, where many families with young children get divorced, child abuse of any kind becomes a key element in custody battles. As the number of professionals increases to fill this need, more child abuse is uncovered. Many organizations, most of them associated with fundamentalist patriarchal Christian groups, have been highly critical of working wives and mothers. Some of these groups also believe that devil worship exists, and satanic ritual abuse. They feel that the nursery school must by definition be a center of such demonic activities.

Most intelligent rational Americans tend to ignore the extremes of alleged nursery school abuse stories, but there is also a strong feeling that where there is smoke there must be fire and that children cannot and do not lie. If allegations are made by children, even innocently, they must be believed. Children, however, can and do lie, and some lie better than others, or perhaps, to put it more politely, confuse reality.

Of course, I also don't think that we can say that there is any one single, simple answer, but rather that there are many co-factors and contributing factors to the hysteria.

Can you name some more of these factors?

The ways in which children interact with each other, or are allowed to interact, has changed quite a lot. What is considered acceptable now is quite different from the way things were when I was growing up. It was quite common for younger kids to be harassed by older ones, including older boys pulling the younger ones' pants and underpants down, what we referred to as "pantsing." The older children also went in for a lot of pinching and feeling the younger ones; children between eleven and fourteen were most often the "victims." The children then were left more alone. They were freer from grown-ups and a lot of things went on which no one talked about with their parents.

The changing role of discipline in the family can also be mentioned. Parents—particularly in the past the father—had almost absolute control over their children. They often spanked them. Some of the children in my neighborhood were hit with razor straps or belts. Discipline was often harsh. My wife Bonnie, for a time, lived next to a family who spanked their son every morning on the grounds that he would do something during the day to deserve it, and they might as well get it over early in the day! Such activities would seem unimaginable to most Americans now. And interestingly, even though we Americans emphasize the importance of family, less and less control over family affairs resides in the family itself. Many activities defined as child abuse by professionals were normative in the backgrounds of probably the majority of Americans thirty or forty years ago: more spankings, and probably for a lot of people even more violent forms of discipline. I wouldn't define these as abuse unless

they get out of hand. Certainly some children were physically abused.

I find it interesting that in the United States the current batch of Republicans who are denouncing child abuse are also cutting back on aid to dependent children and so many other benefits that children have had in the past. They want to institutionalize more children in state orphanages rather than put them up for adoption to single parents or others. These policies should also be called child abuse. But as soon as the term child abuse is used people tend to think of sexual child abuse, and therefore a lot of forms of real child abuse escape attention.

The problem is really with the term "child abuse" itself. It has become a catch-all phrase meaning anything and everything, and mostly nothing. No one knows anymore what anyone is talking about when the phrase is used, although in the popular mind it primarily means sexual interaction between adults and children. If I had my way, in fact, I would abolish the term altogether and refer to the specific conduct involved, that is, spanking, abandonment, and so forth. Too many kinds of what is real child abuse are not even being called abuse, for example, children going hungry because of poverty, children having no real place they can call home because of the poverty of their parents. Yes, I really think the term should be abolished.

One result of such broad definitions is that a belief develops in the widespread existence of sexual child abuse, especially among some militant professionals. This in turn has caused the appearance of the recovered memory syndrome in the United States and elsewhere. Fortunately, there is now a reaction to what can only be called a modern version of the Salem witch trials. There has been an attack on recovered memory, and some of the extremes are being moderated. A recent book by defenders of recovered memory, edited by Alpert, emphasized that memory recall in therapeutic sessions is not necessarily either true memory or legal memory, and that the events recounted are highly relative. They prefer to call it therapeutic memory, and urge the therapist to use it to help the patient adjust to life, but also emphasize to the patient that although the therapist believes in his or her version, caution dictates that in most cases others might not agree with it. Even those therapists who stress the importance of digging deep into childhood trauma emphasize that therapeutic truth can be a highly biased personal version of what might or might not have happened, and may not be the legal truth. They argue that the therapeutic truth, whether true or not true in a factual sense, helps the client or patient, and so the therapy is valuable even when it does not correspond with reality. I have no argument with that understanding, but it should certainly be accepted as a therapeutic technique, and not as a revelation of actual events—of prosecutable actual events, we should add.

The feminist influence is also most certainly a factor in the hysteria. There is a concerted effort by a few dedicated believers to demonstrate that there is wide scale abuse. Some radical feminists, though thankfully a

minority, have gone so far as to claim that every female child was probably sexually abused in some way by a male member of their family, and can even define sexual abuse as show-and-tell and other childhood activities. I do not subscribe to their version.

Unfortunately, many of these most militant feminists are involved in the child abuse industry. A good deal of their emotions is directed towards incest. Personally, I think incest is something that should be strongly condemned, but I do not subscribe to the belief that it has been a common experience in the life of most of us, as some militant feminists do. I suspect it depends at least in part on what is defined as sexual abuse.

Other things contributing to hysteria could also be mentioned, for example, the custody battles in the United States which often result when divorces take place. Many of the most rabid accusations against a parent have taken place in such custody cases, and in the past they resulted in one parent gaining an advantage over the other. Fortunately, here as well there is now a reaction setting in against it. I see an increasing unwillingness to take most such complaints seriously without massive documentation. If you have ever been unjustly accused of child abuse you would know what a terrible thing it is.

Does this mean that you personally have been unjustly accused of child abuse?

The answer, unfortunately, is yes. In the long run, with some perspective, the story seems a bit sad, and almost a little funny.

It happened in 1980 when Bonnie and I had moved with our youngest child cross country from Los Angeles to Buffalo, New York, where we both had been appointed deans. Obviously the move was somewhat traumatic for our fourteen-year-old son who had to change schools and lose his old friends. We had not been there more than two months when I got a call at my office—and Bonnie one at hers—from a person who identified himself as from the Department of Social Welfare, saying that it was important we meet with him immediately at our home over a very personal matter.

Of course, we had no idea what it was, and we immediately canceled all our appointments and met each other at home. Our son was also there. When the social worker arrived, he immediately said that we had been identified as child abusers. We were stunned. We asked him who had denounced us, and he said that was something he could not reveal. As we talked with the social worker, and he questioned us, it became apparent to both of us that the person who had denounced us was our own son. We said as much to the social worker. You have to remember that we were high-level college administrators, living in a somewhat luxurious house, rather elegantly furnished, and we had a family portrait of a loving family hanging over the fireplace. Well, it came out that the Buffalo radio stations were running paid ads for a hot line to call if anyone suspected that

child abuse was happening, or had suffered it, and we had been denounced over the hot line.

At this juncture, the social worker, who, lucky for us, was both wise and compassionate, asked to meet with our son separately, and we consented. He then asked us if we had been having arguments, and I replied that I'd had one with him a couple of days before when he had refused to do dishes and his family chores. I had made him do them. The social worker asked our son if this was true. They went into the kitchen together, which had an automatic dishwasher, and my son reported to him that he had to rinse and load it and it was unfair. By this time, the social worker was convinced that there was nothing to the complaint, and he had a long talk with our son outside of our presence, and he then left. Of course, our son was mad at us for moving and separating him from his friends, and obviously nothing came of this incident. But for one terrible moment I remember sitting there and thinking to myself, "My God, my whole life, my whole career is hanging by a thread."

We most certainly became a statistic in reported child abuse data. Of course, it turned out to be nothing, and later we could laugh about it. I must say that I even admired the chutzpah of our son in getting even with his parents. He did do the dishes after that. Of course, if the very same thing were to happen to me now I am not so sure the outcome would be so happy. There is so much more panic around now than there was then. The matter would never be handled that informally.

Many people have noted that abuse and childhood sexuality discussions generate enormous emotions, even violent hatreds, among people. Speaking as a historian, why do you think that child sexuality is such a powerfully emotive topic in the United States?

Well, child-adult sexual interaction, "Child Abuse" writ large, is something safe to denounce. It stands in many people's minds for everything that is wrong with society. You know, there has been a radical change in American sexual mores over the past thirty years. Male sexual behavior has remained more or less unchanged, but females have become far more positive about sex, and want and enjoy sex. Premarital sexual activity among females has increased, although females still tend to have fewer sexual partners than males. The double standard has been challenged. Homosexuality and lesbianism are out in the open and the horrible fear of them that existed a generation or two ago has been overcome by large segments of the population. Transgender behavior has become more common. Prostitutes advertise in the yellow pages, or at least there are more ads for escort services, massage parlors, and the like than there used to be. The family has grown smaller, abortion is available on demand, and the nature of the family is changing. There are fewer children in most, and the mother often has a career of her own or at least a job outside the home. This has led

to a reaction, most notable in the United States among Christian fundamentalists, but there is also a responsive chord in most people even though it might only be nostalgia, not based on the reality of the past. It is, however, not particularly effective for the conservative reactionaries to attack women directly.

Critics of changing views of sexuality attack where they feel they can hit the most sensitive nerve and make the greatest impression. Probably the most sensitive place to attack is childhood sexual experience. Their attack is on several fronts, beginning with the crackdown on child pornography, extending to sex tourism, any sexual contact between an adult and a child, and even sexual contacts between children themselves.

You could certainly argue that children are the weak point in American society. We all love children, and they become shorthand for everything that is wrong with us. Paedophilia becomes the symbolic representation for all the changes that have happened in the American family. Everyone gives lip service to family issues, "The Family" writ large. Witness the recent Democratic and Republican conventions. We further accentuate the dangers by implying that lurking in every doorway is an adult interested in having sex with a child. Paedophiles are so excluded from mainstream American society that they cannot really say what they do or what they believe in. Even the most harmless adult reaction towards a child who is a stranger to them sets off all kinds of danger signals.

In other words, paedophiles have become the scapegoat for everything that seems to be wrong with American society and the family. We have institutionalized the hysteria by now. Millions, if not hundreds of millions of dollars are spent each year by the child abuse industry in proclaiming the ever present dangers to children. The child abuser in American popular thinking holds the position that the communists did in the McCarthy period.

In a recent appearance at a conference, some were concerned with my name being on the masthead of *Paidika*. One of my accusers indicated that anyone who has any associations with paedophilia, even as a researcher, must be suspect. She claimed that no data gathered from any research in such a journal could be of any value, and she compared me to those who wanted to use data gathered on victims of the holocaust to disprove the holocaust. In fact, the chief accusation currently being made against me is that I am a defender of paedophilia, which I am not. I do attempt to research the topic, which is quite different, at least in my mind, if not in theirs. I want to clarify what the real issues are, and for many, I think, these charges against me are smoke screens.

What are the real issues?

Primarily the changes in society resulting from the changing role and status of women. Women have increasingly entered the workplace, and the

traditional patriarchal attitudes of society are under attack. Women are increasingly accepting the fact that they are sexual creatures and that sex is part of their being human. In the past, the sexual woman was a bad woman.

The result of such changes is the modification of traditional concepts about the family. So-called feminists have been under attack for their assault on patriarchal privileges, but as their arguments gained acceptance, new targets were sought to try to turn back the clock. For a time that target became not so much feminists but lesbian feminists, and of course homosexuals. Then, as public opinion became somewhat more tolerant of gays and lesbians, the attack changed to gays who advocated gay marriage—one of the current targets.

In the minds of reactionaries, today's children are not like children in the past chiefly because the mother is not in the home. And what is the most horrible thing that can happen when the mother is not home but for her child to be the victim of sexual abuse?

Twenty years ago, I was accused of being a Communist and even investigated by the FBI based on accusations of people who did not like what I was doing. At the same time, I was labeled a homosexual because I investigated homosexuality and wrote about it and argued for a change in the law. Now the current fad is to accuse people of being paedophiles or child molesters.

Children have been sexually and physically abused in the United States and elsewhere. That is undeniable. What we have to examine is the history and meaning of this, and the reasons for its being a hysteria. A brief history might begin in the 1960s with the popularization of the battered child syndrome, at least until lawsuits stopped it. In the 1970s, laws were passed to protect children and end child abuse. The emphasis was first on physical abuse of children, child beatings within the family and such. In the 1980s, we saw the growth of the child abuse industry and the birth of the recovered memory groups shortly thereafter. In the 1990s in the United States, as insurance and government payments for psychotherapy declined, more money was available for alleged child abuse.

The problem is not whether child abuse exists and is real, but the extent to which it is vastly overrated. The difference between the real extent of child abuse and its exaggeration you could say represents the hysteria. There were also Communists in the United States in the 1950s, but only a handful ever wanted to overthrow the government by violent means, and probably by the end of the fifties many of the so-called Communists were probably federal agents who had infiltrated the movement. Why do we in the United States seem to need scapegoats, enemies, whom we can blame for all the ills and wrongs we see around us? I suppose that is the question that has to be put. Child abusers are today's easy answer. According to such twisted thinking, we do not need to solve the problems of poverty, or discrimination, or unemployment, or any of the other major ills around us. All we have to do is expose the child abusers, and then

society will miraculously improve.

As you are being accused of being a "defender of paedophilia" perhaps you would like to state here your personal view of paedophilia, positive and/or negative.

I have found two standards helpful in examining sexual activities, namely the age of the participants and whether or not such acts involve consent. I developed this somewhat in a recent paper, "Problems of Research into Adult/Child Sexual Interaction" [*Issues in Child Abuse Accusations* 8 (Spring 1996), pp. 65-71.]

By my reasoning, children cannot have a consensual sexual relationship with an adult, and I would hold negative attitudes about it. Such relationships are best termed paedophilia, which has been comparatively rare in the past. It needs to be distinguished from ephebophilia, that is, sexual relationships between pubescent or adolescent persons and adults. This has been relatively common in the past. From an ethnological and historical perspective, ephebophilia is part of our human heritage. Societies, however, can and do change their attitudes. This is what is happening now.

When we mount campaigns against adolescent-adult sexual interaction by raising age-of-consent limits in the United States and even at times redefining what constitutes sexual activities, we here are certainly making a break with the past. Attitudes toward adolescent-adult sexual interaction, however, are not the only changes from the past taking place. Much of what was tolerated as typical male behavior in male-female relationships has been legally redefined in the United States: for example, date rape, marital rape, sexual harassment. We have also changed our attitudes about homosexuality and lesbianism. We have recognized that females have the right to sexual enjoyment as much as males. The list could go on.

The important fact to emphasize is that there has been a massive public education campaign accompanying almost all of these changes, as well as a significant output of scholarly and scientific publications. As a result we now know a great deal more about homosexuality, lesbianism, sexual rape of women, marital rape, sexual harassment, and so forth, than we did twenty years ago. No such efforts, however, have been mounted to look at the nature of adult-adolescent sexual relations, and most of what has been published is propaganda and not research. We have made activities criminal which earlier would not have been criminal, without any real understanding of the sources of such actions or of the people involved. To understand what takes place, it is important for the researcher to investigate, and this cannot be done on ephebophilia right now.

Research requires willing respondents and a real desire by both subject and researcher to learn about the changes taking place in society. When can an adolescent be regarded as able to make his or her own decision on sexual matters? In Orange County, the conservative county bordering Los

Angeles, it was recently discovered that juvenile courts are approving marriages of thirteen- and fourteen-year-old girls who have become pregnant. The news media have expressed shock at this since the age of consent in California is higher than that.

We can't do any research on the way things should or might be. Anyone who tries to research adolescent sexuality in the United States in any serious way runs the risk of being declared a criminal. If the research involves an adult who has had a sexual interaction with an adolescent, particularly a male adolescent, by law the therapist-researcher must report the client to the authorities, and he or she then becomes a police statistic. In short, the blind are leading the blind.

We want adults to interact better with children, but we have a confused and frightened society in a period when sexual attitudes are changing, and the change is claiming many victims who have not yet adjusted to the changing norm.

We need to recognize that society is changing and adjust our conduct accordingly. Male behavior toward females is changing, and probably we need to look seriously at where we should draw a line for the age of consent. We arbitrarily raised it here without any real understanding of why we were doing it, and what applies for male-female relationships should apply to male-male ones as well. All I can say is that I only have compassion for everyone involved, but we have to be realistic and recognize that new standards are emerging to which we probably will have to adjust.

Piaget and some developmental child psychologists have written that children are capable of autonomous moral choices by the age of eight or nine. The Catholic Church, for example, also says that by the age of six a child is capable of committing a sin for which he or she must bear personal responsibility. At what age would you say a person becomes capable of making an autonomous sexual choice?

This is a question I cannot really answer. In fact I don't think there can be a universal answer to the age question. It varies with the individual and the culture. I can add, however, that the Mormons also consider that children come of age at eight—when they baptize them. But in the United States right now one has to be twenty-one to buy liquor, sixteen to drive a car, eighteen to vote, and in most states ne needs parental permission to marry before eighteen. So, the way this society looks at age is obviously a complicated matter. And it is also a change from the past. Except for voting, age limits for almost everything have been raised. I am not sure what this means, though it certainly discourages young people from taking responsibility for their decisions, and encourages the view that the young are not capable of taking responsibility. Perhaps that is why Americans are so concerned about intergenerational sex activities, something that was certainly more tolerated in earlier generations. If young people are incapable of taking responsibilities, then they need to be protected, to have their

responsibilities dictated to them.

American society, and I think European society as well, was much more sex-segregated in the past than it is now. The man's and the woman's worlds were kept much more separate. Prepubescent boys or girls moved in their respective worlds. There was, from the evidence, much less suspicion of close contacts between men and boys, and certainly there was a lot more contact and even roughhouse contact between them. Because there was such a separation of spheres, and because there was less suspicion of male bonding, or even male-male sex as long as it did not involve penetration, it was tolerated and little was said about it. A disproportionate number of men also had their first heterosexual sex experience with prostitutes, much more so in the past than now.

Although probably most males were consigned to agricultural work, they entered the job market in urban areas at twelve or thirteen, since few went to high school. Some of this kind of experience is documented by Dr. Michael Quinn in his new book *Same Sex Dynamics Among Nineteenth Century Americans: A Mormon Example* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996]. It was the "discovery" of homosexuality in the last part of the nineteenth century, particularly the notoriety given the Oscar Wilde trial, which marked a change. Child welfare laws also began to be passed at the beginning of the twentieth century, and laws changed, as did law enforcement. Organizations such as the YMCA and the Boy Scouts began to be worried about same-sex experiences of their young men. Ages of consent began rising to protect the young from exploitation, although males' ages were raised before females. The campaign against "white slavery" and child prostitution at the turn of the century also added to the change, and so did publicity.

One of the things many of us assume is that people in the past lived as we did and had the same attitudes, but of course that is not true. Much has changed in the past century in the relationships of the sexes, in the integration of the sexes, in the abolition of separate spheres, in keeping young people children, and in protecting them from "evil." This is why I said that what might have been acceptable in the past in intergenerational contacts is not acceptable now, and as with phenomena such as sexual harassment, we are learning new rules in society. The same thing I hold is true in terms of intergenerational sex.

A number of studies have recently been published about the role of boy-love in ancient Greek society, hypothesizing that it might have filled social functions such as population control (Percy), pedagogical imperatives, and initiation into manhood roles. You seem to be less negative in your attitudes towards ephebophile forms of intergenerational relationships. Can you, therefore, see any biological or social roles that traditional boy-love might fulfill in today's very different societies?

It is tremendously important that adults work with children at various age levels, and through various means: as teachers, leaders in volunteer activities such as boy or girl scouts, and coaches. This requires a love of children, but I would not classify it as paedophilia or ephebophilia. As I tried to indicate, modern American society, and I think most of European society, is not Greek society, and contemporary society has adopted different standards. Whether these standards are the correct ones or whether they ignore biological realities is beside the point. Our societies are determined to punish those who disagree or act otherwise.

You paint a clear picture of the evolution of sexual attitudes, and even enjoin paedophiles to accept the reality of the current social situation. You said for example that, "We need to recognize that society is changing and adjust our conduct accordingly... We have to be realistic and recognize that new standards are emerging to which we probably have to adjust." Can paedophiles both accept social realities and also dissent? What we might call informed dissent, rather than informed consent. What in your mind would be the extent, or the limitations, of such dissent?

Certainly paedophiles can dissent. They can argue that society has gone too far. Sometimes they can be successful, particularly if they can find allies, as they did in the Netherlands, but in the United States they have not been so successful. They can meet, organize, and campaign. They can turn to scholarship and scientific data bases.

In general the supporters of lowering the age of consent have done good historical and cross-cultural studies, but have not been so effective in their sociological and biological studies. One reason for this is the punishment or ostracism of those who seem to challenge the establishment on its accepted wisdom. Even individuals like me who feel there is a need for serious studies get in trouble. In effect, advocates and researchers and others are caught in a "Catch 22" situation. The age of consent laws in the United States might well be too high, but to seriously challenge them and to take on the law establishment is fraught with dangers.

If I was giving advice, I would argue that the campaign should be as it was in the Netherlands for establishing a rational basis for age-of-consent laws. At the same time it has to be recognized that the age will undoubtedly continue to be higher than it was in the nineteenth century.

We have begun to recognize different ages of consent for different activities, now what is necessary is to provide strong rationalizations for them. I began supporting myself economically at thirteen, made more than my father at sixteen, began college and was engaged at seventeen, went into the army at eighteen, and was married at nineteen. I also drove a tractor at twelve and a car at fourteen, but technically the age to get a driver's license in the state in which I lived was sixteen. The age for leaving school was sixteen, although under certain circumstances some could leave

earlier. Girls could be married with their parents' consent at fourteen. Of course I grew up in the World War II era when young people were expected to take on more responsibilities than they are asked to do now. One wonders if any of this could happen today in the US. Most young people here cannot get a job until sixteen, although they can still enter the military under special circumstances at seventeen.

In short, what I see is that, without looking at individuals themselves, society is attempting to keep adolescents children for longer periods than I believe they should. It will not be easy making changes.

THE HYSTERIA OVER CHILD PORNOGRAPHY AND PAEDOPHILIA

Lawrence A. Stanley

It was during the mid-1970s, shortly after child pornography appeared on the shelves of adult bookstores in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Minneapolis and other major cities, that child pornography and child sexual abuse came to be perceived as serious and pervasive problems in American society. Almost immediately, self-appointed moral crusaders and some feminists began storming the country to decry the shameful exploitation of children by child pornographers and paedophiles, i.e., those relatively few individuals who desire children, to one degree or another, as their sexual partners. Articles and editorials appeared in most newspapers in the United States calling for a stop to child exploitation. Within a year or two, in the face of mounting public pressure, distributors and retailers of adult pornography began removing child pornography from their stocks and shelves. The federal government and state legislatures responded by enacting legislation proscribing the production and sale of child pornography and by funding law enforcement efforts to combat it. By the time the first federal child pornography law took effect on January 1, 1978, the production and commercial distribution of child pornography in the United States had been virtually eliminated.

Despite this fact, the child pornography issue continued to be exploited by law enforcement officials, moral crusaders, politicians and the media nationwide. What may have begun as a legitimate concern for the well-being of children quickly became a "moral panic" which swept the nation.[1] Through the 1980s, child pornography slide shows and "teach-ins" continue to be given by a number of law-enforcement personnel, religious groups, feminists against pornography, and others professing the danger child pornography poses to children. Thousands of news articles, exposés, editorials, books, and television programs warning parents and children about kidnappings or sexual advances from friendly strangers, neighbors, and, occasionally, relatives, still proliferate at an astonishing rate.[2] School programs aimed at teaching children about "good" touch and "bad" touch have been developed and implemented.[3] Laws have been passed requiring psychiatrists, psychologists, psychotherapists, and other professionals to report any "suspicion" of sexual activity, regardless of the ethical constraints of client confidentiality. Poor grades, shyness and inability to relate to peers, as well as masturbation or other overt expressions of sexuality by a child are all perceived as signs of sexual abuse.[4] In many jurisdictions, adults wishing to seek professional help for sexual attraction to or

involvement with children must first be reported to the authorities for prosecution.[5] Professionals and volunteers who work with children, particularly teachers of young children, day-care workers, Big Brothers and scout leaders, are literally terrified of touching or being alone with a child, lest they be accused of abuse.

Claims of child sexual abuse have reached epidemic proportions. Many innocent individuals—parents and non-parents, teachers and day-care workers—have been falsely accused of child abuse, including participation in sex rings with dozens of children, animal sacrifices, satanic rituals, gang rapes, child pornography, child prostitution, and child murder.[6] A number of the accused are convicted on little or no evidence. Many are acquitted, but are left bankrupted by the costs of defending the charges against them, are unable to find jobs and are left socially and emotionally ruined.[7] Several sources indicate that up to 65 percent of all child-abuse reports in the United States today are false.[8] Truth and fiction about child sexual abuse have become nearly indistinguishable.

The activities of law enforcement agencies have also grown exponentially during this time. US Customs, the US Postal Inspection Service, the FBI and state and local law-enforcement agencies have established special units and interagency task forces to combat child pornography and paedophilia. Dozens of entrapment schemes aimed at enticing individuals into trading, selling, purchasing or receiving child pornography through the mail have been implemented and several hundred individuals have been arrested.

Some parents have been arrested and harassed by law-enforcement authorities, under the guise of law enforcement, for taking the most innocent pictures of their children. Nudists and professional photographers who photograph children are particularly fearful of arrest. The number of depictions of nude children on the pages of art photography books and in American nudist publications has declined significantly since the mid-1970s. Realistic sex education books, such as *Show Me* and *The Sex Atlas*, have similarly fallen to the censor's axe.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, the hysteria, the solution to child sexual abuse continues to elude American society. Child sexual abuse should not be blamed just on those few individuals who are paedophiles, but is a problem deeply ingrained in American culture.[9] Child sexual abuse is symptomatic of the sexual sickness of American society, which socializes girls to become sex objects and grooms boys for positions of power, which keeps children in positions of subservience to adult wishes and needs, and which refuses to provide its children with age-appropriate, sex-positive sex education. The greatest sexual danger posed to children in the United States is not child pornography or paedophilia, but the anxiety and guilt which adults feel about sexuality in general, and child sexuality in particular. The hysteria over child pornography and paedophilia conveniently diverts public attention away from the widespread social and sexual oppression of children.

Child Pornography and the Law

The Protection of Children Against Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977 proscribed the sale and commercial exchange of child pornography.[10] Child pornography was defined under the Act as any photographic depiction of a person under the age of 16 which showed that person a) engaged in any sexual activity, including masturbation and "sado-masochistic abuse," b) in a state of sexual arousal, or c) posed in such a way that the genitals or anal area of the minor were "lewdly" exhibited. A simple nude photograph of a minor was and still is not generally considered child pornography under US federal law, unless it also happens to focus primarily on the minor's genitals, unless the minor is posed in a setting normally associated with sexual activity, unless the minor is dressed in inappropriate attire considering the age of the minor, or unless the minor is depicted as having sexual feelings. A crucial factor in determining whether a depiction of a minor is "child pornography" is, of course, whether or not it was photographed by a paedophile.[11]

In essence, the 1978 law made it a federal crime, punishable by up to ten years' imprisonment and $10,000 fine for a first offence, to produce or distribute child pornography for commercial consideration, if such production or distribution involved the use of the mails or the crossing of state lines. In 1984, the Act was amended, redefining child pornography to include depictions of minors between the ages of sixteen and eighteenyears of age, broadening the standard for determining whether a depiction of a minor is salacious, and making it a crime—with or without commercial consideration—to receive, import, mail or exchange child pornography.[12] The 1984 amendments also raised the maximum penalty for a first offense to ten years' imprisonment and $100,000 fine and added a provision providing for the forfeiture of certain personal belongings—automobiles, cameras and videotape players, etc.—of convicted persons. In 1986, it became illegal to publish or cause the publication of any advertisement offering to sell or requesting to purchase child pornography.[13]

State child pornography laws vary widely from state to state, but they generally include a greater range of materials within their definitions than the federal law. Certain states, such as Ohio and Massachusetts, outlaw nudity per se where minors are involved, except under special circumstances.[14] Some states look beyond the actual contents of the depiction in question to make a determination of whether it is child pornography. In California, for example, "child pornography" may include photographs which depict neither sexual activity nor "lascivious exhibition of the genitals," but which are "intended to appeal to the prurient interests of any persons."[15] In Missouri, nudity is proscribed where it is "for the purpose of sexual stimulation or gratification of any individual who may view

such depiction."[16] A few states still follow the 1978 federal law and define the upper age limit of child pornography as sixteen.[17]

All materials depicting minors under the age of eighteen engaged in sexual activity or posing "lasciviously," regardless of where the depictions are created or produced, are considered child pornography.[18] This is true even where the activity depicted is legal in the country or state in which it is created or produced. Thus, a Dutch magazine depicting sixteen- and seventeen-year-old girls or a Danish magazine depicting fifteen- and sixteen-year-old boys is considered to be, and may be prosecuted as, child pornography in the United States.[19] Similarly, a person who photographs, outside of the United States, a nude seventeen-year-old girl with her legs parted is guilty both of creating and importing child pornography if he or she brings the photographs or undeveloped film into the United States. It is interesting to note the anomaly created by including depictions of minors up to the age of eighteen in the definition of "child pornography": in a great many jurisdictions, teenagers have the full legal right to consent to sexual intercourse, but may not legally consent to being photographed in a lascivious pose. Prosecutions for pornography depicting older teenagers are no less vigorous than those for pornography depicting young children.[20]

Under all child pornography laws—federal and state—"child pornography" constitutes a per se category of unprotected speech—that is, once an item fits the description, it is proscribed. This is so even if, taken as a whole, the item in question possesses "serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value," depicts explicit sexual conduct unoffensively, and does not primarily appeal to what some consider a "shameful interest" in sexuality.[21] Child pornography is thus completely distinguishable from "obscenity," which depicts adults and may not be proscribed if it passes this constitutional test. Art films, photographs, and sex education books containing photographs of nude minors who are engaged in sexual activity, appear sexually aroused, or are merely posing in erotic settings or postures may all be banned as "child pornography."

Most child pornography was created—that is, photographed or filmed—in the United States and Europe in the early and mid-1970s, although some of it was created in Northern Africa, Southeast Asia, and India. Very few child pornography magazines were actually printed in the United States and all domestic magazine production ceased by the time the Child Protection Act took effect in 1978. A few home-made films were produced for commercial sale in the United States between 1978 and 1980. Child pornography was produced throughout the 1970s in Denmark and Holland, and a few magazines and films were also produced in Sweden and West Germany. There is little evidence to support the oft-stated claim that child pornography was created primarily in the United States, as child pornography magazines and films were replete with European and Asian examples.

Child pornography magazines were usually digest-size, black-and-white or color magazines produced by fly-by-night operations. These magazines, generally consisting of somewhere between 24 and 64 pages, reproduced original photographs, antique photographs, and photographs taken from other magazines, together with drawings and fictional and non-fictional written materials. Since few pornographers would ever have an opportunity to avail themselves of the copyright protection laws, pirating between magazines was the norm.

Production of child pornography magazines was always sporadic. This is largely due to the fact that the market for child pornography was relatively insignificant from a commercial point of view and also due to the fact that the production of all obscene materials, adult and child, was (and still is) illegal in the United States and most European countries. Accordingly, the supply of child pornography photographs and films, including the home-made variety, was extremely limited. Several magazines made regular appeals to their readers to contribute materials and the repetition of photographs from magazine to magazine is testimony to the fact that child pornography was a scarce item everywhere. Often, magazines purporting to be monthly produced only a few issues over a period of several years. These were then replaced by other magazines, which reprinted many of the same photographs. The photographs reproduced in the magazines originated in a few instances from professional pornographers. Most, however, were contributed by individuals who photographed children with whom they were acquainted.

Between ten and twenty percent of the photographs in child pornography magazines were pirated from nudist magazines and depicted children at nudist camps engaged in innocent play. Many more magazines depicted erotic nudity than sexual activity.[22] Some magazines which have been publicized in the US press as child pornography actually contained no sexual activity or "lascivious exhibition of the genitals."[23]

A number of experts who have observed the child pornography "industry" from its beginnings to its demise generally agree that the number of minors depicted in these magazines and films did not exceed between five and seven thousand worldwide.[24] The children who participated in child pornography were not generally runaways, prostitutes, or drug addicts. They were also not the victims of kidnapping. Most were from middle-class homes and well-acquainted with the adult or adults for or with whom they posed. The children depicted were generally between the ages of five and fourteen, though the appearance of younger children has occasionally been noted. Instances of infants being "molested" and photographed are extremely rare, and should be discounted as sensationalism.[25] Other claims—child auctions in Amsterdam,[26] toll-free numbers and mail-order houses for ordering child prostitutes,[27] child "snuff" films,[28] satanic molestation rituals in which animals are dismembered,[29] "chains of [American] brothels and bordellos... where children are kept... under lock and key,"[30] and

motorcycle gang rapes[31]—are touted by law-enforcement officers, prosecutors, politicians and others who lack any credible evidence of such occurrences. No children whose photographs appeared in child pornography magazines and films were ever known or even suspected to have been the victims of murder.[32]

Child pornography never amounted to a lucrative business in the United States or elsewhere. Child pornography was cheaply produced for a very limited market, selling at most between five and ten thousand copies per issue worldwide. There is no commercial production of child pornography in the United States today. With the exception of nine issues of one 24-page publication featuring young boys, no child pornography magazines have been produced in Holland since 1982. (With respect to this publication, the material reproduced appears to predate the 1980s.) Child pornography does continue to be made much as it was prior to 1970: by a very few persons, on an amateur basis, and primarily for private viewing.

The hysteria over child pornography began shortly after a few well-publicized raids were made in 1975, and again in 1977, on several distributors and adult booksellers who handled child pornography magazines and films.[33] The raids were followed by a media blitz of misinformation by self-appointed experts, such as Sergeant Lloyd Martin of the Los Angeles Police Department and Judianne Densen-Gerber, the founder of the multinational drug rehabilitation organization, Odyssey House. Martin testified in Congress that child pornography was "worse than homocide" and reported that thirty thousand children were the victims of child pornography in Los Angeles alone.[34] Barbara Pruitt, an investigator for the LAPD, claimed that "[t]he children who die, they are the lucky ones," as if to suggest there was evidence or suspicions of murder.[35] Densen-Gerber mailed child pornography to members of Congress and stormed the country with stories of forced prostitution and drug addiction, kidnapping and murder. Among the many lies perpetrated by Densen-Gerber was her claim that she personally had counted 264 child pornography magazines which were being produced monthly and sold in adult bookstores across the country.[36] These crusaders' socially irresponsible claims were sensationalized and further exaggerated in news reports and on the editorial pages of the country's major newspapers, in addition to Congressional and State hearings. Both Martin's and Densen-Gerber's crusading ended in 1982, but there were others to replace them.[37] By 1982, the moral panic had a momentum all its own.

Ever since the late seventies, public officials and various so-called "experts" have claimed that the creation, production, and distribution of child pornography is an enormous "industry," generating untold profits, exploiting an untold number of children under the age of eighteen, and involving a vast underground network of paedophiles. Estimates vary. The *Ladies' Home Journal*, one of the most popular magazines in America, reported that child pornography generated between $500 million and $1

billion annually, exploiting several million children.[38] The *Ann Landers Encyclopedia* contains similar distortions.[39] The *Albany Times Union* reported that child pornography is a "$46 billion national industry—a loose network involving 2.4 million youngsters, according to federal statistics."[40] No such statistics exist on a federal level or anywhere else.

US law enforcement and other experts in the field have known since the late 1970s that there was never a large industry devoted to child pornography and that any industry that did exist had virtually disappeared by 1978. The Illinois legislature was one of the first governmental units to expose this fact publicly. Pursuant to a resolution adopted by the Illinois House of Representatives, the Illinois Legislative Investigating Committee (ILIC) was appointed in March, 1977 to investigate the domestic child pornography industry, focusing on Illinois, then thought to be a hotbed of child pornography. After an intensive three-year investigation—which involved interviewing convicted child molesters and pornographers, setting up its own entrapment schemes, and exchanging information with the FBI, the Los Angeles Police Department, the United States Postal Service, and United States Customs—ILIC issued its report.[41]

According to the ILIC report, the heyday of child pornography in the United States was 1976-78. The Committee noted that prior to the effective date of the Child Protection Act of 1977, public pressure and legal proceedings had already forced what little commercial production and distribution there was underground. ILIC found that after the effective date of the Act, child pornography had completely disappeared from the commercial chain of distribution in the United States and that there was little evidence of its even being underground.[42]

Information provided to ILIC by the FBI was consistent with this conclusion. On April 14, 1980, the FBI concluded a 2½-year sting operation in which child pornography was actively sought by investigators nationwide and in which simultaneous raids were staged on sixty warehouses where pornography was being stored pending distribution. In the FBI's 2½ years of searching for child pornography on a commercial level, ILIC noted, "none was discovered. Furthermore, none of the sixty raids resulted in any seizures of child pornography, even though the raids were comprehensive and nationwide." While child pornography still appeared to be available by mail order through various sexually-oriented tabloids distributed in small numbers across the United States, ILIC found the overall scope of the industry to be unimpressive. ILIC concluded:

> Pornography and other sex-related "industries" continue to be enormous operations in this country. However, neither child pornography nor child prostitution has ever represented a significant portion of the industry. Individuals may have made significant amounts of money from their own child pornography operations... but these have not been organized activities. They

should not be construed to be significant elements of the very real sex industry that exists in this country.[43]

Despite the accurate assessments contained in the ILIC Report, reports of a massive underground industry and nationwide network of child molesters purchasing and exchanging child pornography and children persisted. In the early 1980s, as the hysteria over child pornography merged with the "missing children" scare, recently exposed in the US press as a fraud, public hysteria reached new heights. Child pornography and the activities of paedophiles were claimed to be directly responsible for the disappearance of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of children per year, despite the fact that, according to the FBI, in mid-1985 there were only 67 cases of stranger abductions extant.[44] As the ILIC report noted in 1980, "the opinions of [the] 'experts' often were printed without corroboration, thus influencing the spread of stories and quotations that had little basis in fact."[45] That statement is still true today.

Indictment and conviction statistics for offenses under the federal child pornography laws are unimpressive and belie the fantastic claims of law enforcement officials and moral crusaders. Between January 1, 1978 and May 21, 1984, the respective effective dates of the Child Protection Act of 1977 and the Sexual Exploitation Act of 1984, only 69 defendants were indicted under all the federal statutes covering the creation, importation, mailing, production, receipt, and exchange of child pornography.[46] Many of those 69 indicted were guilty only of buying one or two child pornography magazines or films from Europe for personal viewing, while others were convicted for selling pre-existing, commercially-available materials to or exchanging them with Postal Inspectors and other undercover law enforcement personnel or informants. In most of the cases in which defendants were convicted of "producing" child pornography, only a handful of photographs were involved. The biggest case involved the home-made production of ten short films intended for commercial sale.

Only one case—that of Catherine Stubblefield Wilson and her colleague, Richard Trolio—involved significant distribution of child pornography. The Wilson/Trolio case is extraordinary and very revealing. According to the Los Angeles Police Department, one of the most knowledgeable police units in the country on matters concerning child pornography, Wilson was responsible for the distribution of 80 percent of all commercial child pornography in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Kenneth Elsesser, an FBI agent who was instrumental in Wilson's arrest, said of the case, "[d]istribution, be it commercial or non-commercial, of child pornography on the scale of Catherine Wilson will never again be seen in this country."[47]

Various police agencies had suspected Wilson of selling child pornography since the mid-1970s, but in 1976, when she was arrested on obscenity charges, police raided her home and found only adult, not child, pornography. The FBI and LAPD continued investigating her business. In late 1981, law-enforcement personnel who were on Wilson's mailing list received advertisements for pornography depicting bestiality. Police officers ordered, and received, an 8-mm film depicting sexual conduct between an adult woman and a dog. Based on that test purchase and law enforcement officers' suspicions that Wilson was selling child pornography, Trolio was arrested.

Upon his arrest, Trolio immediately agreed to cooperate with the police in their efforts to arrest Wilson. While law enforcement officers had failed to purchase child pornography from Wilson or Trolio, they obtained, through electronic surveillance, evidence suggesting that Wilson and Trolio were selling child pornography films. A fifteen-count federal indictment against the "Mother of Kiddy Porn" was returned in December 1982.[48]

Wilson's mode of operation was relatively simple. She placed advertisements in adult-oriented newspapers and magazines for pornography with a contact address in Denmark. All orders and correspondence were sent back to Wilson, and the money was funneled through a Swiss bank account. Wilson and Trolio mailed their orders from post offices throughout California and the South.[49]

Prosecutors and law-enforcement officers involved in the case claimed at the time of her arrest that Wilson was pulling in half a million dollars a year selling child pornography to thirty thousand customers.[50] Her Swiss bank account records, however, did not support this allegation. In the ten-year period between December 1973 and December 1983, only $556,182 had passed through her account. Furthermore, a careful examination of testimony and press reports about the case reveals that the mailing list seized contained the names of five thousand past, present, and potential customers from around the world, only some of whom had ordered child pornography from her.

It is not difficult to draw some conclusions from the Wilson case. First, if Wilson's activities constituted 80 percent of all child pornography activity, as law enforcement officials claim, then that "industry" generated well under a million dollars in the United States. Second, only several thousand individuals nationwide were involved in this "industry"—as consumers, not producers. Third, since the arrest and imprisonment of Wilson and Trolio in 1982, the sale and distribution of child pornography has been a completely insignificant activity.

Indictment and conviction statistics since May 21, 1984, the effective date of the 1984 amendments to the 1977 Act, are also unimpressive. Around 480 defendants nationwide have been arrested, most of these resulting in plea-bargained, probationary sentences.[51] It must be stressed that this arrest rate was not the result of better law enforcement or an increase in "child pornography." The large majority were simply charged with purchasing a magazine or film from a government "sting" operation in

which agents posed as child-pornography distributors, or with receiving one or a few magazines of child pornography from Europe. This period did see an expansion in prosecutions for the creation, distribution and receipt of "child pornography" depicting teenagers between the ages of sixteen and eighteen and of non-suggestive photographs depicting child nudity per se. The increase in arrests and convictions is also attributable to prosections for the non-commercial exchange of child pornography. Comprehensive figures of state prosecutions for child pornography are not available, but with the number of reported cases around fifty to date, it is likely that the number of state prosecutions is as insignificant as the number of federal ones.[52]

Despite the low number of convictions for offenses involving child pornography, the activities of US law-enforcement agents have been impressive. Hundreds of law-enforcement officers, Customs agents and postal inspectors throughout the United States devote their time to ferreting out child pornography and prosecuting defendants by creating phony businesses, newsletters and personae for purchasing, selling, and exchanging child pornography. These activities are aimed at individuals who receive pornography from abroad, homosexuals, paedophiles, nudists, and others whom law enforcement officials hope to be potential consumers or producers of "child pornography."

Organizations devised and operated by postal inspectors—with names such as "Candy's Love Club," "Ohio Valley Action League," "Research Facts," "Project SeaHawk," and "Heartland Institute for a New Tomorrow"—initiate correspondence with individuals by claiming to support first amendment rights "to read whatever we please," to support "sexual freedom" or to contact those with "similar interests."[53] Questionnaires are sent by these organizations to suspects under the pretense of doing media or other research. These provide personal information often used in targeting individuals for further investigation, in securing search warrants, and in obtaining convictions. Some of these organizations concoct newsletters, such as those of Chicago Postal Inspector John Ruberti's now-defunct "Crusaders for Sexual Freedom" (CSF), which encourage suspects to place ads soliciting or offering to sell or buy child pornography. Others are crudely designed to document the correspondent's early sexual experiences, his opinions about childhood sexuality, and his sexual preferences.[54] In the CSF "newsletters," all advertisements other than the targeted suspect's were placed by police officers, so that any attempt of the suspect to exchange, sell, or buy child pornography would result in arrest.[55]

Undercover officers also use phony names to send child pornography through the mail to suspects in the hopes that the suspect will reciprocate. If a suspect reciprocates, he is, of course, arrested. In addition, over the past three years, in an effort to inflate indictment and conviction statistics for child pornography, the US government has simply been advertising and selling child pornography through various phony businesses, and arresting the individuals who order it. Two of these entrapment schemes—International Enterprises, S.A., operated by US Customs using a Mexico City mailing address, and Euro-Arts International, operated by the United States Postal Service using a Virgin Islands mailing address—have resulted in over two dozen arrests and thus comprise a significant proportion of all child-pornography arrests and convictions.[56] Law-enforcement agencies and undercover officers have, to date, created over thirty phony organizations and used over a hundred pseudonyms to sell, send, exchange, and, on occasion, purchase child pornography.

Obviously, law-enforcement officials must target certain individuals and exclude others if they are to operate such entrapment schemes effectively. In some cases, the individual might have been previously arrested or convicted on child molestation charges. The State of California, among other places, keeps a register of "sex offenders" and these lists are also circulated among law-enforcement agencies. An individual's name might also be obtained from the address book of a person suspected of, or arrested for, selling, trading, or wanting to buy or trade child pornography or for engaging or wanting to engage in sexual activity with a minor. When a suspect is arrested on child pornography or molestation charges, it is a routine practice for local or federal agents to target each individual who may have corresponded with the suspect, regardless of the reason for such correspondence.[57] In other cases, names are obtained through advertisements placed by government agents in swinger, gay and other sexually-oriented magazines or by seizing the mailing lists of distributors of gay-related films and erotica without justifiable cause.[58]

In early 1984, in order to aid government agents in identifying potential consumers of child pornography, the US Customs Service began compiling "target lists" of thousands of individuals who have had pornographic materials sent to them from overseas.[59] Pornography of every type, not merely child pornography, is seized by US Customs. Under federal law, any package larger than a conventional letter may be opened if pornography, contraband, or some other prohibited material is suspected to be inside.[60] US Customs is quite vigorous in opening packages from Europe, particularly Denmark and Holland, in search of pornography.[61] The majority of pornography seized, however, is of the adult heterosexual variety, followed by bestiality, s/m, and finally, child pornography. Out of hundreds of pornographic magazines seized by US Customs between May 1, 1985 and May 1, 1986 in New York only about twenty-five were child pornography.[62] New York is the major port of entry for mail coming into the United States.[63] The Illinois State Legislature came up with similar findings in 1980, when it stated that "[t]here is recent evidence to suggest that volume dissemination of commercial child pornography has been greatly reduced... [W]e have obtained a report from Customs for a two-month period early this year that indicates there were a total of 151 seizures of pornography [coming into] Chicago. Of these, 23 consisted of

child pornography."[64] Regardless of what is seized, intended recipients of foreign pornography showing adults only thus become targets for child pornography investigations, particularly if they live near playgrounds, or if they are schoolteachers, day-care workers, or other professionals and volunteers who come into contact with children.[65] The target lists, which by now contain well over ten thousand names, are distributed to local law enforcement agencies and shared with the Postal Inspection Service and regional task forces.[66]

Entrapment schemes and lists compiled by Customs and other law enforcement agencies form a substantial body of data on individuals in the United States. Trash covers (where the suspect's trash is secretly inspected by police officers in search of incriminating evidence), visual surveillance, and wire tapping, are also employed in investigations.[67] This extensive and very expensive law enforcement activity generates the false impression of a large child pornography "underground" and, occasionally, these activities are even cited as "proof" that a large underground actually exists.[68] Today, a person seeking for that underground will find only a vast network of postal inspectors and police agents. There are no sexuallyoriented publications, above-ground or underground, published in the United States today which contain advertisements offering to sell, exchange, or purchase child pornography; there are no toll-free numbers to order child prostitutes; and there are no large networks of individuals, other than public authorities, exchanging child pornography. There are no networks of individuals at all exchanging children. There is currently only one active "paedophile" organization—the North American Man/Boy Love Association—and NAMBLA operates wholly within the law as a lobbying and support organization. A recent report issued by the United States Senate cleared NAMBLA of any involvement in illegal activities.[69]

Under the guise of "protecting children," millions of taxpayer dollars have been spent to investigate and prosecute would-be consumers of child pornography, many of them individuals who do not pose any immediate danger to children. Considering the very real incidence of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse which children endure each day, this represents a serious misuse of public monies and resources. The following cases are typical of "child pornography" arrests since May of 1984:

• Between September 1985 and April 1986, Tim Emerick, an individual from a mid-western US city, received several solicitations from two scam operations created by Cleveland Postal Inspector Paul Hartman: "Research Facts," which claimed it was in the business of conducting consumer surveys, and the "Ohio Valley Action League," which purported to be "an organization founded to protect and promote sexual freedom and freedom of choice." Hartman claimed that Emerick became a target for investigation because his name was found on a "correspondent's list" of an individual who was suspected of selling child pornography, even though

the individual was never convicted and it was unknown why he had Emerick's name.[70] Emerick ignored the enticing letters and surveys requesting various items of information, such as his sexual interests and what kind of pornography he purchased.

In April of 1986, Hartman sent Emerick another letter, this time from an organization calling itself "Euro-Arts International," with a mailing address in Fredericksted, Virgin Islands. Euro-Arts, also created by Hartman, had as its sole purpose the sale and distribution of child pornography. An order form for child pornography, with descriptions of the videotapes being offered by Hartman, was sent to Emerick, who promptly ordered one videotape at a cost of $50. Purportedly, it depicted two boys, ages eleven and fourteen, engaged in masturbation and oral sex. Emerick sent his order and payment to Euro-Arts in the Virgin Islands. The US Postal Service then forwarded it to Hartman in Cleveland, who filled Emerick's order by making a copy of the ordered videotape. When Emerick received the videotape in the mail on June 17, 1986, he was arrested and his house was searched.[71] Seized by police officers from Emerick's home were two video players, one in VHS and the other in BETA, a polaroid camera, an 8mm movie camera, some non-pornographic videotapes, and six adult magazines depicting nude women.[72] No child pornography was found, and Emerick never saw the ordered videotape. Emerick is currently awaiting sentencing on charges of "importation" and "receipt" of child pornography. The defense of entrapment was not available to Emerick, as it is not available to any individual who orders child pornography from the government. Hartman has boasted that he has arrested and convicted over two dozen would-be consumers through Euro-Arts and other schemes selling and exchanging child pornography.[73]

• Danny Lee Stokes, a 23-year-old construction worker from the South, fell victim to a scheme similar to the one in Emerick's case, this one run by the US Customs Service out of Mexico City. Law enforcement officials claimed that Stokes may have purchased "pornography and/or child pornography" prior to autumn 1984, but never clearly indicated why they suspected Stokes of illegal activity. In June of 1986, using a scam operation calling itself "International Enterprises, S.A." and purporting to be a distributor of "hard-to-find" pornography, US Customs sent Stokes two solicitations. The first was a letter of introduction and questionnaire asking Stokes to indicate his preference for various types of pornography. The second was an order form for child pornography magazines. Stokes ordered one magazine at $25 and sent his order to Mexico City. US Customs packaged the designated magazine and delivered it to his post-office box. When Stokes picked up the magazine, he was placed under surveillance.[74] Once he entered his home with the package, he was arrested. Police officers seized a large quantity of materials from Stokes's home, including hundreds of magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*, a few nudist magazines, a dozen or so adult pornography magazines, his wedding photo

album, three cameras, a video recorder, fourteen videotapes (three of which were adult erotic videos and the remainder of which were Hollywood movies), three registered guns, and his pickup truck.[75] No child pornography was found, although Customs boasted at the time of Stokes's arrest that thousands of magazines and videotapes were seized.[76] Stokes was eventually sentenced to five years' probation, ordered to pay a $9,000 fine, and required to forfeit all of the items seized by the police. In addition, he was ordered to undergo psychiatric treatment on a weekly basis until such time as his psychiatrist saw fit.[77] The Customs operation which led to Stokes's arrest and conviction, "Operation Cameo," was hailed by Customs as "the largest single anti-pornography operation in Customs Service history."[78] So far, it has netted nearly a dozen arrests.

• In late May of 1984, US Customs intercepted an illustrated advertisement for child pornography addressed to John Cocco, an individual from Pennsylvania. Following customary procedure, Customs issued Cocco a forfeiture notice, which Cocco signed and returned to Customs. The form indicated Cocco's desire that the illustrated advertisement be destroyed. Rather than destroy the advertisement, however, Customs delivered it to Cocco. Thereafter, Cocco returned it with a letter stating that he did not want the advertisement. Once again, Customs delivered it. When Cocco kept the advertisement after it was delivered the second time, he was arrested. After his arrest, two child-pornography magazines which Cocco also did not order were delivered to him. Cocco was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on charges of receiving child pornography in the mail.[79]

• James Smith, a Honolulu businessman, befriended three girls, ages thirteen and fourteen, who lived in his neighborhood. After several months of being acquainted with the girls, the defendant asked them to model lingerie for him, while he photographed them. The photographs were not intended for commercial distribution. The girls were photographed mostly in lingerie, although a few of the photographs showed them nude. The nudes were found not to constitute child pornography. In three of the photographs, however, the girls were shown posing with a mink tail, which the prosecution called a "whip-like device."[80] In one of the three pictures, one girl was pretending, in fun, to "whip" the other girl.[81] Smith was sentenced to five years in federal prison for creating child pornography depicting "sadistic and masochistic abuse of children" on the basis of that photograph.[82] The testimony of the girls in court clearly showed that no such abuse had taken place, and that Smith had never even propositioned them, let alone touched them, during the course of their acquaintance.[83]

• Leland Stevenson, a businessman from Arizona, regularly vacationed in Sri Lanka, where he engaged in sex with a number of teenagers and young adults. In the fall of 1985, Stevenson returned from Sri Lanka to his home in Nevada with thirty rolls of 8mm film in his possession. The film showed the teenagers and Stevenson engaged in sexual activity. Stevenson

drove to California with the film and deposited it with Yale Laboratories, a film processing outfit in Los Angeles. Only a few hours after Stevenson picked up his film from the laboratory, he was arrested.[84] Stevenson was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.[85] There was no evidence that he ever engaged in illegal activity other than bringing the 8mm films into the United States and driving them from Nevada to California.

• In January 1986, a midwestern couple was arrested for creating and possessing "nudity-oriented material," a form of child pornography under applicable state law, after the husband sent a roll of film to a local film processor. The film contained photographs of the couple's daughter and two nieces sunbathing in the family's backyard and running around the house nude. The couple had similar photographs and videotapes in their possession.[86] They were not consumers of any form of pornography, adult or child. The family had always treated nudity as natural, not as a subject of shame, and the photographs and home videos were evidence of this.

When the couple was arrested, their daughter was taken into custody by state child-protection workers. She was placed in a foster home for nearly seven months, and allowed to see her parents only on an approved visitation schedule with the supervision of the couple's attorney or a social worker. She was severely frightened and disturbed by her treatment at the hands of the state. The couple are still awaiting trial, though the child has now been returned to their full custody.[87]

• William Lerch and his wife were indicted in 1985 and charged with "photographing their six-year-old child in the nude with her pubic area exposed" and with "knowingly permitting their child to be so exposed."[88] The girl was playing with her mother on the living-room floor before a bath, turning somersaults and running around, and the father photographed them, as he had many times before. These photographs were discovered by the authorities after William Lerch took them to the local drugstore for processing. Shortly after Christmas Day 1985, when Lerch went back to the drugstore to pick up his pictures, he was arrested. His wife, unaware that there was any problem, was arrested at gunpoint by more than half-a-dozen police officers on the street in front of her house.[89] The six-year-old was picked up at her day-care center by child protection workers, who lied to the girl and to the day-care center workers, saying that the girl had been sexually abused by her parents.

At three o'clock that morning, the six-year-old [was] placed by the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services in a foster home. For five days, the child refused to eat. She just cried. At last, her parents convinced the judge to release their daughter to her grandparents, where she stayed six weeks before coming home.[90]

William Lerch was given a one-year suspended sentence for creating "child pornography."[91]

The Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation Act of 1977

was presumably passed to halt the exploitation of children via the creation, production, and sale of child pornography. This it succeeded in doing quite quickly. In the early 1980s, ideologically-motivated government officials—with the aid of the media, moral crusaders and other sexual conservatives—began an unfortunate and dangerous campaign aimed at expanding the scope of the "child pornography" laws, inventing criminal acts which otherwise would not exist, and breaking the law to enforce the law. The foregoing examples are the result. We can only hope that the American public will soon recognize the "child pornography" issue as false and begin to question the motives of those who perpetuate its existence.

The Child-Participant and the Child-Victim

It is widely believed in the United States that any involvement of a child in "child pornography," or any sexual encounter with an adult, is itself so traumatic that there is little chance the child will ever lead a normal life. Clinical observations and studies do not support this conclusion. It is true that a child victim of sexual abuse often feels powerless, having had little or no control over his or her encounter with an adult, or the events following it; may feel betrayed by the offending adult or by the person to whom the incident was revealed; may be concerned with or interested in sexuality in ways that most of society deems inappropriate for children; may suffer from a loss of self-esteem or feelings of guilt or shame; or may experience an undue fear of strangers, men or places.[92] Some children may experience some or all of these negative effects of a sexual encounter to a greater or lesser degree, but many do not appear to have any negative reactions at all.[93] Furthermore, while a number of adult-child sexual encounters, including those involving child pornography, do have serious short- and long-term consequences, many experts agree that secondary effects—the reactions of parents, friends, and child protection workers and involvement in criminal proceedings—may have a far more devastating effect than the sexual encounter itself.[94] In each case, a sexual encounter "will have different effects on children depending on their prior adjustment" and "depending on how others respond."[95] For example, a child who was already a victim of physical or emotional abuse prior to the sexual encounter, or who lives in an unstable family environment, is more likely than a child who lives in a stable family environment and who has a strong sense of self, to experience negative reactions to a sexual encounter. For the latter child, the negative aspects of the experience "may have only a minor or transient effect."[96]

For other children, a sexual encounter with an adult may be a positive experience, though US researchers are often reluctant to discuss this aspect of adult-child sexual relationships. In a study funded by the Ford Foundation, researcher Gerald M. Caplan reports that "[m]any children enjoy

[their sexual experiences with an adult], particularly when it involves no physical pain. They like to display themselves to an admiring adult. They find the physical stimulation pleasurable."[97] Studies documenting the initial and long-term effects on children of sexual encounters with adults often reveal a significant percentage of children to be unaffected or to have reacted positively. (European studies reflect more positive reports than American studies, a phenomenon which may be attributable to a less sexually repressive environment in general, early, comprehensive sex education, and a more constructive response by parents, law enforcement, and social workers.[98]) On the basis of the clinical evidence, "child-adult sexual experiences cannot... be labeled as categorically negative or detrimental; neither are they necessarily positive and therefore to be advocated or recommended." The range of experiences vary from the "clearly traumatic experiences which appear to have caused serious social and psychological impairment, through experiences in which no negative effects are discernible, to instances where the early sexual encounters were experienced as positive or appear to have been beneficial."[99]

Even if one were to accept the premise that all sexual encounters between adults and children are hopelessly traumatic for the child, this still would not justify most parental reactions and institutional responses to charges of sexual molestation of children. "By far the greatest potential damage to the child's personality is caused by society and the victim's parents as a result of, first, 'the need to use the victim to prosecute the offender; and second, the need of the parents to prove to themselves, family, neighborhood, and society that the victim was free of voluntary participation, and that they were not failures as parents.'"[100] Bruce Gottlieb, a social worker at the National Center for the Prevention and Treatment of Child Abuse and Neglect, Denver, Colorado, similarly reports of the "trauma visited upon families by multiple interviews, 'overzealousness' on the part of those attempting to intervene and the inappropriate use of the courts."[101] In his *Sourcebook on Child Sexual Abuse*, psychologist and researcher David Finkelhor notes that:

> [M]uch of the stigmatization accompanying abuse may occur after the experience itself, as the child encounters family and societal reactions. A child who was relatively unstigmatized by the molestation itself may undergo serious stigmatization if friends later reject her, if her family blames her, or if the fact of her being abused remains a focus in her life for a long time... If, for instance, a great many authorities become involved in the experience, the child is forced to testify, forced to leave home, forced to tell the story on repeated occasions, and subjected to a great deal of unwanted attention, this can also greatly increase the child's sense of powerlessness.[102]

If the effects on a child of a sexual encounter with an adult vary, depending upon the circumstances of each case, the age of the child, the child's attitudes and beliefs regarding nudity and sexuality, and the reactions of parents and institutions to the discovery, so also the effects of participation in child pornography similarly vary. "Child pornography" is not necessarily child abuse, and may be as harmless as a candid nude photo taken of a child on a beach without the child's knowledge. Unquestionably, the child who is forced to submit sexually to an adult, or to assume sexual poses for a camera, is likely to suffer significantly. Furthermore, some children who have appeared in child pornography films or magazines have expressed some degree of distress at the prospect of their being seen by people around the world.[103] On the other hand, many children have enjoyed being nude before a camera, thinking little or nothing of such activity. The children in cases like that of the Lerch family were not victims of child porno-graphy, but of overzealous and power-hungry police officers, prosecutors, and social workers who made sure that pleasurable and natural play was tainted with evil and sexual guilt.

The hysteria over child pornography and paedophilia in the United States has created a social environment in which adult-child sexual relationships are more taboo to adults than murder. In this inquisitional climate, a child who is discovered in a sexual relationship with an adult is usually treated harshly by parents, peers and authorities, especially where the child is unwilling, for whatever reason, to participate in the prosecution of the adult. In the prosecution of adults for child molestation, children are routinely coerced into recounting and even fabricating intimate details of their sexual encounters to parents, police, prosecutors, social workers, and defense counsel; forced to submit to intrusive physical examinations, during which their anuses and vaginas are probed with fingers and sophisticated instruments in the search for signs of sexual activity; and compelled to testify against adults, whether or not they want to. Because they are children, their desires are often ignored and they are threatened and punished when they do not willingly cooperate.

The mistreatment of children involved in adult-child sexual activities by law enforcement officers, social workers and the criminal justice system is well-documented. The case of "Amy," a twelve-year-old girl from California, is one blatant example of this institutional abuse. Amy's family sought counseling in California after Amy and her stepfather revealed to the mother that he had fondled her on several occasions. The family therapist they consulted reported the incident, as required under California law, to the police, who filed felony child abuse charges against the stepfather. The stepfather pled not guilty when he was charged, and the girl refused to testify against him. Frustrated by Amy's will not to testify, child protection workers placed Amy in solitary confinement in a Juvenile prison. For nine days, she was confined to a four-by-eight foot room with only a bed and lamp, and for a few days, a television set. When the judge in the case saw that Amy's resolve not to testify could not be broken, the case was dismissed.[104]

The vast majority of institutional abuse, however, is never made public. In the McMartin Pre-School case, the largest current child-abuse prosecution fraud in the United States, hundreds of young children were subjected to repeated suggestive questioning by parents, police, and therapists at the Children's Institute International, a publicly-funded organization hired by the prosecution to investigate the molestation charges. During the course of pretrial discovery in late 1986, it was revealed that Kee MacFarlane, the director of CII who did much of the initial interviewing, wore a clown costume during interviews and ridiculed children who denied they had been molested. Children were told by CII therapists, "We don't want any dummies here. We only want to talk to the smart ones. You're smart, aren't you? Your friends have all told us something. I don't want to hear you say no. If you say no, you're a dummy." Prior to being interviewed by CII, every child who testified in the pre-trial hearings had denied being molested. Not surprisingly, after the abusive questioning by MacFarlane and other therapists, the children concocted stories of murders, grave diggings, child pornography, molestation by priests and nuns, helicopter and plane rides, underground tunnels, animal mutilation, and sexual activity of every sort. Most of the stories were so full of contradictions and inconsistencies that charges against all but two of the defendants have been dropped. The McMartin case has been so exploited by the prosecution and CII, that parents will never know whether or not any children were molested.[105]

Dr. Lee Coleman, a leading expert on the subject of child abuse and a witness for the defense, testified that it was an outrage that public and private money goes to CII "to train children to believe they've been molested, in the most manipulative, outrageous way that I have ever seen. I've seen interviews in these cases all over the country and this is the worst! *This* is child abuse."[106] Coleman has documented, in professional publications, how therapists and law enforcement personnel across the country are unwittingly or purposefully indoctrinating children into believing that they have been molested, despite psychological and medical evidence to the contrary.[107]

In the prosecution of a middle-aged man on Long Island, New York, for allegedly engaging in sexual activities with teenaged boys, a mother of two of the boys wrote the following plea to the prosecutor:

> My family has suffered because of the large amount of questioning and pressure that has been placed upon them. I have to think of the health and welfare of my children and family first, and therefore feel it would be extremely damaging to allow them to be subjected to routine questioning at this point in time.
>
> I am personally very worried and concerned over certain allegations and threats that have been made to me by various law

enforcement agencies, that if I did not cooperate and allow my children to be subjected to this pressure, that they would either be taken away from me or that they would be taken away and "locked up" until the time that trials in Nassau County were concluded.

We did not ask to be part of this investigation, but were brought into it. The total effect on me and my family because of it has been harmful, and therefore all that we want to do is to be left alone at this point in time.[108]

The teenagers had asked on numerous occasions that they not be harassed and intimidated by the police. In cases of this type, juveniles are commonly held and interrogated against their wills, often without the know-ledge of their parents and in many instances for more than six hours at a time. Requests to speak with parents or an attorney are routinely refused. In the prosecution of a New Jersey man for allegedly engaging in sexual activities with minors, one thirteen-year-old boy was picked up from school by a police officer two or three times per week for several weeks and questioned for five hours at a time about his sexual activities with the man, even though he had repeatedly denied having had a sexual relationship or encounter. One officer who interrogated the boy placed a loaded gun, aimed at the boy, on the table at which the boy was sitting. During questioning, boys accused of being involved in sexual activities with adults are threatened that they will be beaten, that the officer will tell all their friends that they are "queer," or that they will be sent away to juvenile prison where they will be gang-raped.[109]

Protecting Children From Sexual Abuse

The question most people are concerned with regarding child pornography and paedophilia is how children can be most effectively protected from sexual exploitation. The answer to this question is by no means simple. The prevention of sexual abuse depends upon the sexual and social empowerment of children. Children are often abused because they are ignorant of sexual matters or because they have been taught to obey unquestioningly adult authority figures, especially male ones. Girls are more often the victims of sexual abuse because they are socialized to be dependent, yielding, passive, and compliant. Boys are socialized to be aggressive and independent, and to experiment sexually. Since, as most researchers agree, most sexual abuse occurs within the family, it is within the family that preventative measures must begin.

The first and most effective preventative measure for children is comprehensive, age-appropriate sex education. Young children, for example, do not need to learn about internal anatomy and reproduction, but do require rudimentary knowledge of their bodies. The girl who is thoroughly familiar

with her body and its reactions—she has been taught that her clitoris is a source of healthy pleasure and she knows the adults in her life support her in that pleasure—is not likely to feel guilty or ashamed about sexuality and will develop a strong sense of herself and her feelings.[110] In addition, if she is taught that only she may decide who touches her body and under what circumstances, she will most likely be capable of fending off a sexual assault by confronting the adult—parent, sibling, neighbor or stranger—who attempts to engage her. This holds true for boys as well. Very few adult-child sexual encounters involve overt force, and the child's refusal is nearly always effective in preventing molestation.[111] Children who are sexually knowledgeable and empowered will also be likely to report, not keep secret, any unpleasant experiences.

Children need consistency, however. Children who have been taught to say "no" to an unwanted touching by another person, but whose cries of "no" are ignored by parents during spanking, will most likely experience a confusion of meaning. Such children may, for example, learn to say "no" to pleasurable touches, but perceive little or no choice concerning unpleasurable ones. Moreover, children who are taught only to say "no" and are not properly instructed about the positive nature of sexuality and sexual pleasure, will develop guilt and shame about their bodies and sexuality. The child who feels guilty or shameful may become overly concerned, fearful or worried about sexual matters, and may come to associate sexual pleasure with negative feelings. Guilt, shame and ignorance of sexual matters disempower children and make them vulnerable to sexual assault.

The second most important preventative measure is providing the child with physical affection. Children who do not receive physical affection from parents at home are more likely to seek it from adults outside the home. This, of course, increases vulnerability to sexual overtures. In any event, many professionals agree that children who receive loving, physical contact from their parents, who are sexually knowledgeable, and who have a strong sense of self are less likely to suffer trauma in the event of any unwanted sexual encounter.

Encouraging the child's independence is, of course, often frightening, or even threatening, to parents who believe that their only control over their child is the threat of violence. Parents who do not take advantage of their physical superiority over their children by hitting them or otherwise abusing them physically, are more likely to raise children who respect authority. These children are also more likely to question authorities if they become physically or emotionally abusive. Parents may also be worried that their child may become promiscuous, or may engage willingly in sexual activity with peers or even adults: the right to say "no" to an unpleasurable touch necessarily implies the right to say "yes" to a pleasurable one. Necessary to children's healthy sexual growth is the opportunity to experiment with their bodies, and those of their peers, and to explore their sexuality. Parents sim-

ply must face the fact that children have sexual needs and desires, and prepare themselves for some of the difficult questions which their children are bound to ask.

Conclusion

Like the missing children campaign, the moral panic over child pornography and paedophilia feeds on misinformation and fear. Also like the missing children campaign, the moral panic is driven by greed for power and money. Law enforcement officers and social workers have exploited the child-pornography issue for self-publicity and promotion. The media has capitalized on it to sell magazines, newspapers and television programs. Government officials and sexual conservatives have used it to exert greater control over families, to intrude upon First Amendment rights and the rights of the accused, and to limit discourse and scientific inquiry regarding childhood sexuality.

The meaning of the hysteria over child pornography and paedophilia is found in examining the motives of those who perpetuate it. In the United States, the hysteria serves to avoid the real problems: the lack of healthy sexual education of children; the sexist socialization to which they are subjected; the glaring lack of children's rights within the nuclear family and in society; and the authoritarian domination of women and children within patriarchy. It also diverts our attention from society's failure to provide adequate food, housing, and education for its children. It is only by addressing these issues and meeting the real needs of children that child abuse, sexual or otherwise, can be prevented.

NOTES

1. Nina Eliasoph, "Drive-In Morality, Child Abuse, and the Media," *Socialist Review*, no. 90 (1986), p. 29. The term, as Eliasoph points out, refers to the situation "in which a minor social problem expresses and preempts a deeper, related one."
2. See, e.g., Lori B. Andrews, "Are We Raising A Terrified Generation?," *Parents Magazine*, December, 1986, pp. 138-142, 228-232.
3. "Facing Up to Sex Abuse: Prevention Programs Proliferate in Classrooms Across the U.S.," *Time*, Nov. 12, 1984, pp. 91-2.
4. Shirley O'Brien, *Child Pornography* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1983), pp. 103-5.
5. Mandatory reporting laws such as these certainly have a deterrent effect on such individuals seeking out psychological counseling. See John Money and J. D. Weinrich, "Juvenile, Pedophile, Heterophile: Hermeneutics of Science, Medicine and Law in Two Outcome Studies," *Medicine & Law* (1983) 2: 39-54.
6. See, e.g., "Disturbing End of a Nightmare. The Scott County Sex-Abuse Cases Draw to a Confusing Close," *Time*, Feb.25, 1985, p. 22; and "Hollywood Tapes and Testimony. A Chilling Sexual-Abuse Case Takes a Strange Turn," *Time*, Dec. 15, 1986, p. 64.
7. Paul and Shirley Eberle, *The Politics of Child Abuse* (Secaucus: Lyle Stuart Inc., 1986), pp. 17-91. McMartin is one of many examples.

8. Douglas J. Besharov, "Unfounded Allegations—A New Child Abuse Problem," *The Public Interest*, no. 83 (Spring 1986).
9. Media phenomena such as the popularity of Brooke Shields, and the incidence of father-daughter incest, demonstrate the pervasiveness of the problem.
10. "Protection of Children Against Child Exploitation Act of 1977," 18 U.S.C. Sections 2251, et. seq., effective date January 1, 1978.
11. United States v. Dost, 636 F. Supp. 828, 832.
12. The 1984 amendments are incorporated in the "Child Protection Act of 1984," now 18 U.S.C. Section 2251 et. seq. Congress changed the phrase "lewd exhibition of the genitals" to read "lascivious exhibition of the genitals" with the intent of broadening the proscription.
13. *Cong. Rec.*, Sept. 29, 1986, pp. 8590-92. The "Child Sexual Abuse and Pornography Act of 1986" amended, inter alia, Sections 2251 and 2255 of Title 18.
14. Page's Ohio Revised Code Annotated, Section 2907.323; Massachusetts Criminal Code, 272 Sections 29A and 29B.
15. California Penal Code, Section 311.3(a)(5). Although a photograph may be found *not* to constitute child pornography, the adult may still be prosecuted under the California child protection laws. In 1983, a Riverside, California schoolteacher was convicted for child molestation after he asked several boys to pose for photographs without their shirts. Deputy District Attorney David Gunn said that although the defendant did not approach the boys sexually or fondle them, because he was a paedophile, "he violated the misdemeanor molestation law by asking them to pose shirtless." "Shirtless photos lead to misdemeanor molestation conviction," *Press-Enterprise*, Riverside, CA, Feb. 17, 1983.
16. Missouri Revised Statutes Section 568.060(1)(b)(1).
17. See, e.g. Montana Code Annotated, 1985, Section 45-5-625(e)(3); Indiana Penal Code, Section 35-42-4-4.
18. See, e.g. United States v. Stevenson, No. 86-5102 (9th Cir., 1986).
19. Emilie Lounsberry, "Priest Given Probation; Got Child-Porn Journal," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Nov. 14, 1986. The Catholic priest was convicted of receiving a magazine, legal in Denmark and most other European countries, featuring teenage boys.
20. See, e.g. "Surgeon sentenced to five years for child pornography," *UPI Wire Service*, March 7, 1987. The "children" were two minors, ages sixteen and seventeen; also, "Teenage Porn Star's Agent Indicted On Exploitation Charges," *UPI Wire Service*, March 6, 1987. Adult pornography star Traci Lord's agent and two producers were indicted by a federal grand jury on child pornography charges. Lord was reportedly sixteen at the time her first film was produced. The film was a popular adult film and, by all accounts, Lord appeared to be well over eighteen years of age. See also, State v. Steer, 517 A2d. 797 (S.Ct. N.H. 1986).
21. Miller v. California, 413 U.S. 15 (1973).
22. According to confidential sources, the approximate total number of child pornography magazines produced worldwide between the late1960s and 1982 are: 415 different issues of magazines depicting children engaged in sexual activity with other children or adults (with slightly more magazines depicting boys than girls); 460 different issues of magazines depicting boys in naturist and erotic nude settings, including some photographs which qualify as "lascivious exhibition of the genitals"; 65 different issues of magazines depicting girls in naturist and erotic nude settings, including some photographs which qualify as "lascivious exhibition of the genitals." Only magazines containing depictions of children who are apparently or actually under the age of fifteen were included in this count. (That age is the legal age in Denmark.) Compared with the number of adult magazines, films, and videos, the total production of child pornography from inception to demise is miniscule. In the United States, in 1985 alone, over 1,700 adult-sex videotapes were produced and over 2,000 adult magazine titles were on display in only sixteen adult bookstores visited by members of the Meese Commission. Source: U.S. Department of Justice, *Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, Final Report* ("Meese Commission Report"), U.S.G.P.O., July, 1986, pp. 1353-1406.

23. Daniel Tsang, "Mail that 'Can Be Officially Opened'—and Often Is," *Philadelphia Gay News*, Jan. 10, 1985, p. 1. See also, Meese Commission Report, p. 1364.
24. Some children appeared in only one or a few photographs, while other children were featured in dozens of photographs.
25. See, e.g. Don Gentile, "Tells of Babies in Porn," *New York Daily News*, July 28, 1982. Reports of this type are sensationalistic and based on fantasy or rumour. It is rare in commercial child pornography for very young children—ages three to five—to be portrayed at all, let alone engaged in any "sexual activity." If "sexual activity" is depicted, it is of the masturbatory type, not penetrative. That is not to say that this kind of thing doesn't happen, just that it was not depicted in child pornography magazines. Depictions of babies being molested don't seem to exist at all. The frequently cited *Baby Sex* did not feature children at all, but an achondroplastic dwarf in his mid-thirties.
26. *Child Pornography and Paedophilia*, Hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, US Senate, Part 1, November 29 and 30, 1984. Testimony of Kenneth Herman, pp. 23-24.
27. Clifford Linedecker, *Children in Chains* (New York: Everest House, 1981), p. 32; "Porno rings furnished youngsters to order," *Las Vegas Sun*, March 28, 1983.
28. Linedecker, op. cit., p. 186.
29. Eberle, op. cit., p. 36.
30. *Child Victims of Exploitation*, Hearing before the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, First Session, Washington, DC, October 31, 1985, p. 28.
31. Linedecker, op. cit., p. 31.
32. In contrast, "Every year, a million children are physically abused or seriously negected by their own parents. Many millions more are emotionally mistreated... And each day, five children are killed by their parents." Nina Eliasoph, "The Missing Children Myth," *Propaganda Analysis Review*, vol. 1, no. 3, August 1986.
33. Ann Burgess, *Child Pornography and Sex Rings* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1984), p. 8.
34. *Sexual Exploitation of Children*, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Select Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, May 27, 28 and 31, June 10, 1977. Testimony of Lloyd Martin, pp. 41-55.
35. Ibid. Testimony of Barbara Pruitt, p. 56.
36. Judianne Densen-Gerber and S.F. Hutchinson, "Medical-legal and Societal Problems Involving Children—Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, and Drug-Related Abuse: Recommended Legislation," in Selwyn M. Smith, ed., *The Maltreatment of Children* (Baltimore: University Park Press, 1978), pp. 321-4. Densen-Gerber characterized herself best when she was quoted in a *Time* magazine article as saying, "I just found out about these magazines and films this summer [1976], and I've become a raving banshee over it." "Child's Garden of Perversity," *Time*, April 4, 1977.
37. Densen-Gerber was accused in January 1982 by New York State Attorney General Robert Abrams of misappropriating public monies for her own personal use. The money had been targeted for Odyssey House. Other charges of professional misconduct had also been leveled at Densen-Gerber, including "that she forced an inmate to kneel and wash her feet; that she forced a black man to sit in a chair while white women spat on him; and that once when an inmate died at Odyssey House, she ordered other inmates to dance around the deceased while singing 'Jingle Bells'". Mitzel, "Financial Scandal Hits Anti-Kid Porn Crusader," *Gay Community News*, January 23, 1982. Martin resigned from the LAPD in 1982, psychologically "fatigued." Police officials believed Martin "was a classic example of a police officer who crossed the line between dedication and obsession." Martin was criticized by fellow police officers and public officials for failing to back up his claims with verifiable figures, for acting in an overzealous manner and for harassing members of the gay community without cause. One officer stated that Martin "was not above overstating the problem... to gain support for his cause and fame for himself." Keith Love, "Officer Finds Fame, Misfortune," *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1982, p. 8; Mitzel, "LA Vice Cop Lloyd

Martin Moved to Administrative Job," *Gay Community News*, March 27, 1982.
38. Rita Rooney, "Innocence for Sale. A Special Report on Child Pornography," *Ladies' Home Journal*, April 1983.
39. *Ann Landers Encyclopedia*, p. 200. Landers and her sister are the two most popular advice columnists in America.
40. Ronald Kermani, "FBI calls Syracuse firm nation's largest 'kid porn' developer. 'Kid porn': A billion-dollar scandal," *Albany Times Union*, April 25, 1982.
41. State of Illinois, *Sexual Exploitation of Children, A Report to the Illinois General Assembly by the Illinois Legislative Investigating Commission*, August, 1980, (hereinafter, "ILIC Report").
42. ILIC Report, pp. 6-64.
43. ILIC Report, p. 30.
44. For accounts of the "missing children" scare, see Diana Griego and Louis Kilzer, "The Truth About Missing Kids," *Denver Post*, May 12, 1985, and related stories; Joanne Ostrow, "Media Helped Publicize Inflated Data," *Denver Post*, May 13, 1985.
45. ILIC Report, p. 14.
46. *Child Pornography and Pedophilia*, Report made by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, October 9, 1986, pp. 5-6.
47. Testimony of FBI Agent Kenneth Elsesser, United States Department of Justice, Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, *Public Hearings*, Miami, Florida, Thursday, Nov. 21, 1985, p. 148.
48. The appellation was given her by *Newsweek*. "The Mother of Kiddy Porn?," *Newsweek*, Jan. 23, 1984.
49. Elsesser, *Hearings*, pp. 136-148.
50. "Woman Charged in Child Pornography Operation," *New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1982, p. 28.
51. According to the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, between May 1984 and May 1986 there were 202 indictments. *Child Pornography and Pedophilia*, October 9, 1986, pp. 5-6; figures June 1986 to date obtained from the United States Postal Service. This means that between June 1986 and September 1987 there were 279 indictments, largely the result of government "sting" operations.
52. Based on computer search of reported state cases through March, 1986, and subsequent examination of state reporters.
53. Candy's Love Club (CLC), P.O. Box 2912, Norfolk, VA 23501; Ohio Valley Action League (OVAL), P.O. Box 361, Akron, OH 44309; Research Facts, P.O. Box 91971, Cleveland, OH 44101; Heartland Institute for a New Tomorrow (HINT), P.O. Box 3283, Omaha, NE 68103-0283; and Project SeaHawk, P.O. Box 6123, Falls Church, VA 22046. OVAL and Research Facts are operated by U.S. Postal Inspector Paul Hartman. CLC and Project SeaHawk are operated by U.S. Postal Inspector Robert Northrup. Heartland Institute for a New Tomorrow is the creation of U.S. Postal Inspector Calvin Comfort.
54. In U.S. v. Stokes, Case No. CR86-00146-AH, United States District Court, Southern District of Alabama, Postal Inspectors initiated correspondence with the suspect, who noted his interest "in sexual partners between the ages of 10 and 39." Affidavit of David A. Evans, Sr., United States Customs Service, November 12, 1986.
55. United States v. Thoma, 726 F.2d 1191, 1194 (7th Cir. 1984).
56. Recently, U.S. law enforcement initiated another international scam. Letters sent to suspects, headed "Hello Lolita Collector," respectively sent from "L. Gagnon" and "Produit out Auoais," P.O. Box 1457, Succ B, Hull, Quebec, Canada J8X 3X3. The latter offer consisted of a brochure in both English and French. Government deliveries of child pornography to suspects are being sent by DHL courier service rather than via the United States Postal Service.
57. The Affidavit of Paul Hartman, supporting a search warrant issued in United States v. Emerick, Case No. CR 86-190A, United States District Court, Northern District of Ohio,

Eastern Division, is a case in point. Hartman uses innuendo in place of supporting fact. "The affidavit nowhere mentions why Defendant's name is on [the list], how may names and whose names were on the list... or any information concerning why [Defendant's] name was on [the list]." Motion to Suppress, pp. 5-6.

58. In or around May 1985, Det. William Dworin of the LAPD, together with other law enforcement personnel, seized copies of the mailing list of Award Films, a film distribution company which distributes critically acclaimed domestic and foreign films, such as *Fanny and Alexander* (Bergman), *Small Change* (Truffaut), *You Are Never Alone* (Nielsen), *Suddenly Last Summer* (Mankiewicz), *Lianna* (Sayles) and *Taxi Zum Klo* (Riploh). The films distributed by Award are films about growing up, coming-of-age or being gay. A few of the films, such as *Robby* (Bleumke), showed some non-suggestive child nudity. Award did not distribute any pornography, let alone child pornography, but the officers executing the groundless search warrant remarked that individual paedophiles whom they had arrested owned films distributed by Award. This, they felt, was reason enough for the seizure. The Award mailing list was distributed to law enforcement agencies throughout the United States. See Affidavit of Paul Hartman, United States v. Emerick, p. 4; Conversation with David Brown, Esq., Brown, Weston & Sarno, March 30, 1987; Award Films advertising brochures, *The Insider*, vol. 1, nos. 1, 2, 3, vol. 2, no. 1.

59. Sam Medis, "Customs compiles porno mail lists," *USA Today*, April 13, 1984. According to Customs, every pornography seizure is noted in computer records. "Commissioner's Round Table: Pornography," *Customs Today*, vol. 20, no.4 (Summer 1985), p. 15.

60. Medis, loc. cit.

61. Dan Tsang, *Gay Community News*, Jan. 10, 1985, p. 1.

62. Independent review by the author of court documents relating to all pornography seizures during this period in the United States District Court, Eastern District of New York, the Court which handles seizures for U.S. Customs facility at Jamaica, New York.

63. According to Acting Chief Counsel, U.S. Customs, Michael T. Schmitz, New York seizures represent "the bulk of what comes in by mail." "Commissioner's Round Table: Pornography," *Customs Today*, p. 9.

64. ILIC Report, p. 27.

65. "Commissioner's Round Table," p. 35.

66. According to Medis, note 60, supra, by mid-1984 6,000 names had already been entered.

67. See, e.g., U.S. v. Thoma, supra, at 1194.

68. In testimony before Congress, R.P. Toby Tyler, a child pornography expert from the San Bernardino County, California Sheriff's Office, cited various solicitations for child erotica placed in the now-defunct publication, *Wonderland*. At least one of those advertisements was the creation of postal inspector John Ruberti. See "Child Pornography: Perpetuating the Sexual Victimization of Children," by Tyler and Lore E. Stone, paper and presentation in *Child Pornography and Pedophilia*, November 29-30, 1984, p. 99.

69. *Child Pornography and Pedophilia*, supra, Oct. 9, 1986, pp. 19-21.

70. United States v. Emerick, Case No. CR 86-190A, United States District Court, Northern District of Ohio, Eastern Division, Affidavit of Postal Inspector Paul Hartman, June 16, 1986, p. 4.

71. Ibid. pp. 5-6.

72. United States v. Emerick, Motion to Suppress, Attachment A: Inventory of Seized Items, Sept. 26, 1986.

73. John Griffin, "Hunting child-porn traffickers," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, July 22, 1985, pp. D6-7.

74. United States v. Stokes, supra, Affidavit of Evans.

75. United States v. Stokes, supra, Inventory, Federal Search Warrant #85-0050C.

76. George Werneth, "Child Porn Sting Nets 6 Suspects in 5 States," *Press Register*, Mobile, Alabama, Nov. 18, 1986.

77. United States v. Stokes, supra, Plea Agreement.

78. "Six arrested in kiddie porn sting," *UPI Wire Service*, Nov. 18, 1986.

79. Conversation with Joseph Sklarosky, attorney for defendant James Cocco, April 2, 1987.

80. United States v. Smith, No. CA-85-1216, 9th Circuit, 1986, Appellant's Opening Brief, p. 6.

81. Conversation with H. Dean Steward, Assistant Federal Public Defender, Honolulu, HA, attorney for defendant James Smith, March 24, 1987.

82. United States v. Smith, 795 F.2d 841, 845 (9th Cir. 1986).

83. Charles Memminger, "3 Teen Girls Tell of Nude Poses for 'Lonely Bachelor'", *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 26, 1985, p. A9; conversation with H. Dean Steward, March 24, 1987.

84. United States v. Stevenson, No. 86-5102, 9th Circuit, 1986, Appellee's Brief, Appeal from the United States District Court for the Central District of California, p. 6.

85. United States v. Stevenson, Opening Brief of Defendant-Appellant, p. 7.

86. State v. Robinson, Case Nos. 85 CA 47, 85 CA 48, Decision, Court of Appeals of Ohio, Greene County, May 1, 1986; conversation with Catherine Barber, Esq., Carretta, Cartwright & Barber Co., L.P.A., attorneys for defendants.

87. Conversation with Catherine Barber, Esq., Carretta, Cartwright & Barber Co., L.P.A., attorneys for defendant.

88. People v. Lerch, No. 83-1827, Appellate Court of Illinois, 1st Judicial District, Brief of Appellant. See also, People v. Lerch, 483 N.E.2d 888 (S.Ct.IL 1985).

89. Nat Hentof, "Is This Child Porn?," *Washington Post*, August 2, 1984.

90. Loc. cit.

91. Conversation with Harvey Grossman, American Civil Liberties Union, attorney for William Lerch on appeal.

92. David Finkelhor, *A Sourcebook on Child Sexual Abuse* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1986), p. 196.

93. L.L. Constantine, "Child sexuality: recent developments...," *Medical Law* 2(1):55-67 (1983), pp. 57-8.

94. Margaret Markham, "Trauma Said Severe for Child in Porno Films," *Psychiatric News*, February 15, 1980.

95. Finkelhor, op. cit., p. 196.

96. Loc. cit.

97. Gerald M. Caplan, "Sexual Exploitation of Children: The Conspiracy of Silence," *Police Magazine*, January 1982, p. 50.

98. See, e.g., Michael C. Baurmann, *Sexualitaet, Gewalt und psychische Folgen. Eine Längsschnittuntersuchung bei Opfern sexueller Gewalt und sexuellen Normverletzungen anhand von angezeigten Sexualkontakten* [Sexuality, Violence and Psychological After-Effects. A Longitudinal Study of Cases of Sexual Assault which were Reported to the Police], Bundeskriminalamt Wiesbaden, 1983. English summary, pp. 523-533.

99. Constantine, op. cit., pp. 57-8. Interestingly, Constantine observes that "[i]t is clear that one reason incest and child-child sex have been described in the past as so damaging is that the cases have been preselected in such a way that these findings are all but inevitable."

100. Markham, op. cit.

101. Saul Kapel, M.D., "Concerning Child Abuse," *New York Daily News*, Dec. 14, 1981.

102. Finkelhor, op. cit., pp. 196-7.

103. This raises serious ethical questions for police officers who routinely send child pornography to suspects through the mails, and for magazines and newspapers who print faces of children who appeared in child pornography magazines. See, for example, Rooney, *Ladies' Home Journal*.

104. "Defiance: solitary for a twelve-year-old," *Time*, Jan. 23, 1984, p. 35; "Amy's Story," *New York Times*, Jan. 15, 1984, page 23; David Thorstad, "The Case of Amy," *NAMBLA Bulletin*, May, 1984, vol. 5, no. 4, p. 2. A more recent case in Massachusetts involves two youths, ages fourteen and fifteen, who were confined in various locked facilities for at least a five month period—part of the time in Federal facilities—as "material witnesses" in the

case of a Boston-area man with whom they had lived, who is accused of Mann Act violations, after they attempted to recant all or part of previous statements they had made concerning the man; "'Victims' Jailed to Force Testimony in Boston Sex Case," *NAMBLA Bulletin*, September 1987, vol. 8, no. 7, p. 2.
105. Eberle, op. cit., pp. 86-95. Conversation with Paul Eberle, April 7, 1987.
106. Eberle, op. cit., p. 93.
107. Loc. cit.
108. "Police Threaten New Jersey Family in Man/Boy Sex Case," *NAMBLA Bulletin*, May 1982, pp. 1-2, reprinting excerpts from a letter to District Attorney Denis Dillon, dated April 20, 1982, People v. Swithinbank, Nassau County, New York.
109. "Moms and Teens File $200M Federal Suit Against Police and Bronx DAs for Physical and Mental Abuse," *NAMBLA Bulletin*, June 1985, p. 14.
110. See, generally, Alayne Yates, M.D., *Sex Without Shame* (New York: Quill, 1978); Linda Tschirhart Sanford, *The Silent Children. A Parent's Guide to the Prevention of Child Sexual Abuse* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1980); Hal M. Wells, Ph.D., *The Sensuous Child, Your Child's Birthright to Healthy Sexual Development* (New York: Stein and Day, 1978); Dennis Craig Smith and Dr. William Sparks, *Growing Up Without Shame* (Los Angeles: Elysium Growth Press, 1986).
111. Linda Sanford, op. cit., pp. 13-60, 254-262.

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THE NETHERLANDS CHANGES ITS AGE OF CONSENT LAW

Jan Schuijer

With a tone of astonishment, the American magazine *Newsweek*, on November 26, 1990, reported that the Netherlands had reduced the age of consent for sexual contacts from sixteen to twelve.[1] The author of the article was even more dismayed by the assurance, given to him by the Dutch Ministry of Justice, that not a single voice of protest had been raised in the entire country.

Newsweek was not alone in expressing shock. Mrs. Willie Swildens-Rozendaal, who chairs the Permanent Committee on Justice of the Dutch Lower House, received telephone calls from journalists in Great Britain, Canada, and Australia who, it seemed, were amazed at the bill that had just been passed by the legislators in The Hague.[2] The commotion in the foreign media reached such proportions that the Dutch Minister of Justice felt compelled to have the newly approved legislation translated into English and to make it available to the English-language press.[3] Dutch paedophile groups also received letters from their foreign counterparts: might dawn be looming for them over the North Sea?

The excitement concerned a completely unexpected amendment of the Dutch Penal Code concerning sex with adolescents. Before the change, the main provisions in the Dutch penal legislation were as follows:

- *Section 247:* a general prohibition against sex with a person below sixteen years of age (maximum jail term six years).
- *Section 249:* a general prohibition against sex with a person below eighteen years of age who is one's child or foster child, or who is entrusted to one's care or education (maximum term also six years).
- *Section 244:* a general prohibition against vaginal intercourse with a girl under twelve (maximum term twelve years).
- *Section 245:* a prohibition against vaginal intercourse with a girl above twelve, but under sixteen years of age (maximum term eight years).

This last section was different from the others in one important respect: anyone engaging in vaginal intercourse with a girl between twelve and sixteen could be prosecuted only after a formal complaint had been made by the child's legal representatives (usually the parents). This has been the case since 1886, when the present Penal Code first became effective. The legislator of those days held the view that a young man who had violated a girl's chastity should be permitted to correct his error by mar-

rying the child. Although this argument looks archaic now, section 245 has never been modified.

The one point of the *new* legislation that seemed to be the most shocking for *Newsweek* was that this requirement of a formal complaint would be extended to *all* types of sexual contact with adolescents between twelve and sixteen, both boys and girls. However, this requirement does not apply in the cases of section 249: whoever has sexual contacts with his own minor child or foster child, or with a child entrusted to his or her care or education, can be prosecuted without a formal complaint.

It must be stressed here that a complaint is not the same as reporting a crime to the police or prosecutor. Under Dutch law, anyone is entitled to report a crime. But lodging a complaint is considered an exclusive privilege afforded those specifically designated by law. Under the new law, complaints may be made by the child's legal representatives, the child, and the various official child protection agencies that fall under the Ministry of Justice.

The present legislative reform was preceded by a long chain of events. During the 1960s, the morals laws met with mounting criticism in the Netherlands, as well as in other countries. The Penal Code at that time prohibited, among other things, adultery, public nudity, homosexual contacts between an adult and a minor, abortion, the sale of pornographic books and pictures, and the public sale of contraceptives. A number of piecemeal liberalizations were made in the sixties and seventies—including the lowering of the age of consent for homosexual contacts to sixteen, equal to that for heterosexual contacts. In 1970, the government appointed an advisory committee to study and propose a comprehensive revision of the sections in the Penal Code concerning sexuality. The committee was chaired by Dr. A. L. Melai, professor of criminal law at the University of Leiden. It did not finish its task for ten years, discouraged as it was by the lack of response by the Minister of Justice to its interim reports.

The committee's final report proposed to limit the prohibition of sex with children under sixteen to those cases where the other party (i.e., the adult) had initiated the contacts. The media virtually ignored this recommendation. In November 1985, that is, five years later, the government announced the introduction of a bill on the matter. Like the Melai committee, it wished to limit the prohibition against sex with children: if the child were above twelve years of age, sexual contacts would only constitute a crime if these contacts had been induced or promoted by "gifts or promises of gifts, in money or in kind, abuse of a position of authority, or deception." The courts (the Netherlands does not have a jury system) were to specify in individual cases what "abuse of a position of authority" would mean.[4]

To many, the bill seemed tantamount to a repeal of the prohibition of sex with children over twelve. After a ferocious counter-campaign on television and in the press, the Minister of Justice, Frits Korthals Altes,

announced that to him the proposal was not "a matter of life and death" and indeed it was never formally presented to parliament. This seemed to rule out any further attempts to change the age-of-consent laws. In line with this expectation, the government formally abandoned its plan for a comprehensive revision of the sex laws in 1988. Instead, only a number of partial changes were proposed, none of which related to minors.[5]

In the meantime, however, lobbying for greater change had been taking place behind the scenes, in particular by the Dutch Society for Sexual Reform (NVSH) and the gay rights movement. The feminist movement, also, criticized the government's minimalist approach. Some of the feminist goals, such as the ending of the legal distinction between rape and sexual assault, were threatened with defeat.

Pressures from these groups contributed to parliament's change of heart in 1988, after its rejection of the reform proposals in 1985. All non-religious parties (which together make up some sixty percent of the votes in the Lower House) insisted that a comprehensive revision of the morals laws should take place after all and that the sections on children and adolescents should be included. The Labor Party (PvdA) even pointed out that Dr. Theo Sandfort, in his 1988 dissertation, had demonstrated that consensual sexual contacts between adults and minors are not exceptional.[6] The Minister of Justice agreed to amend the law, but also specified that the legislation would be evaluated one year after its enactment. The evaluation could lead to further changes.

In 1990, when the amendments proposed in 1988 were discussed on the floor of the Lower House, a string of almost comical events occurred, which produced the unexpected reform mentioned at the outset of this article. Comical, since the opponents of liberalization were beaten by their own arguments, after which they had no choice but to yield.

It started with the discovery by the Christian-Democrats—the largest party in the coalition government—that a form of discrimination between boys and girls existed in the prevailing laws. Intercourse with a girl between twelve and sixteen (section 245) carried a maximum jail term of eight years. "Penetrating" sexual contacts with boys, however, came under section 247, for which the maximum term was only six years. This discrepancy presented the parties with a liberal argument, namely, combating discrimination, to tighten up the laws against sex with children. The new Minister of Justice, Mr. Ernst Hirsch Ballin, a right-wing Christian-Democrat, agreed; he proposed a new amendment according to which the maximum jail term of eight years would apply to all forms of "sexual penetration," both with boys and with girls between twelve and sixteen.

But this proposal sparked off protests from the non-religious parties. They pointed out that this new proposal was still discriminatory. After all, they argued, vaginal intercourse with a girl could only be prosecuted after a formal complaint by the girl's parents, whereas such a complaint was not required in case of "sexual penetration" of a boy. As a man could

hardly make a boy pregnant, let alone marry him, it did not make sense to distinguish between "penetrative" and other acts between men and boys: the prosecution of the former required a complaint; the prosecution of the latter did not. The conclusion was inevitable: only by requiring a formal complaint for the prosecution of *all* sexual contacts with children over twelve would discrimination be eliminated. In particular, Mrs. Willie Swildens-Rozendaal of the Labor Party worked hard behind the scenes to make the argument prevail. The Christian-Democrats, who themselves had first brought the discrimination argument, had no choice but to agree with her conclusion. The bill was adjusted accordingly and with only five opposing votes from the extreme right wing, the Lower House adopted it. The Upper House, which does not have the right of amendment, followed suit in October 1991. On December 29, 1991 the law became part of the Penal Code:

- *Section 247:* prohibition of sex with a person under sixteen. If the latter is twelve or older, prosecution requires a formal complaint by the child, his legal representative, or an official child protection agency. Maximum term six years.
- *Section 249:* (unchanged).
- *Section 244:* general prohibition of sexual penetration of the body of a child under twelve. Maximum term twelve years.
- *Section 245:* a prohibition of sexual penetration of the body of a child over twelve and under sixteen. Complaint requirement as in section 247. Maximum term eight years.

This new law has not ended the matter. Indeed, the Lower House has undertaken to consider further changes to the law in the near future. A committee of the Labor Party, chaired by Mrs. Willie Swildens-Rozendaal, and of which the author is a member, is studying possible proposals. At this stage several weak spots can already be detected in the current legislation. For example, prosecution of sex with someone over twelve requires a complaint. However, when the latter spends the night at home with his adult partner this is no longer true; in that case the adolescent is "entrusted to the care" of the adult. This means that section 249 applies (not section 247) in which a complaint is not required. It would seem to be more sensible to extend the complaint requirement also to section 249. Certain exceptions would have to be made, as for example, in a case where the perpetrator was the same as the person entitled to lodge a complaint, such as a parent or guardian.

Another weak spot is the fact that, in addition to the adolescent and his or her parents, the child protection agencies are entitled to make complaints. This could lead to conflicts, in particular when the agency makes a complaint to which the adolescent or even the parent objects. In that case prosecution can, nevertheless, go ahead. The prosecutor is obliged by

law to hear the adolescent's opinion on the matter, but is not obliged to act on it. It would be desirable to give the adolescent the right to block prosecution if he or she wants to. Granting such power to adolescents would not necessarily mean, however, that a sexual relationship could be continued. Current civil law provides that, as long as a minor is involved, it is the parents who can decide that matter.

The events surrounding the new Dutch legislation afford a number of important conclusions. The reaction to the new law in the Netherlands was very different from the one in the English-speaking countries, which were not even affected by such a domestic Dutch affair. The Dutch public did not give one hint of protest, whereas it angrily objected to the bill that was announced in 1985. The reason for this is the nature of what is sometimes referred to as "Dutch tolerance." It is a tolerance at arm's length, implying that the other party is allowed to do things their own way as long as one is not personally affected by their actions. The social cause of this phenomenon is probably the fact that Dutch society has long been a conglomerate of minorities (religious and other), none of which was large enough to dominate the others. The logical response to this was the pursuit of autonomy within one's own social group. The Dutch are used to living with minorities who have a different lifestyle or dissenting view, as long as they remain masters of their own houses. A paedophile would be feared, in this case, as an "intruder" into the family.[7] The bill of 1985 was forcefully attacked because it suggested that parents would lose their authority to prevent sexual contacts of their children. The legislation recently adopted preserves the parents' right to lodge a complaint and thereby enables the prosecutor to act in the interests of the parents and the family, even if the prosecutor is not compelled to do so. That some parents might not feel the need, in a similar case, to lodge a complaint would not be relevant to the average Dutch person considering the law.

In the English-speaking world this tolerance at arm's length exists to a much lesser degree. There, sex with children is seen as an evil per se that has to be prevented and punished under any and all circumstances. If parents do not go along with prosecution, this would constitute a reason for taking action against the parents as well. If an adolescent should object to interference by the law in a sexual relationship he or she was having with an adult, this would be interpreted as a demonstration of how badly such interference was warranted.[8] It might be argued, therefore, that this difference of social philosophy has added to the controversy in the United States and England about the new Dutch law, just as the Netherlands has been alleged to have played an important role in the dissemination of child pornography. The new law established principles in direct contradiction to social and legal principles in the English-speaking countries, and one can see why the new Dutch law might have been threatening.

The events also indicate that a slightly more liberal attitude has been surfacing in Dutch politics as regards the age of consent. Although radical

legislative reform can not be expected at the moment, a certain normalization, step by step, as regards the thinking on paedophilia cannot be excluded. But this is far from certain. In the Netherlands, the political discussion about sex has always been rather superficial, and the political parties, including those on the left of the spectrum, have shown a tendency to set their sails to the prevailing wind. They are all too ready to be influenced by the last lobbying group they have spoken to. Perhaps more importantly, the Christian-Democrats, by far the largest party in the country, will be inclined to regard the recent amendment as a one-time concession.

In practical terms the relevance of these amendments should not be overestimated. A vast majority of Dutch parents remain hostile to paedophilia and would be prepared to make the required formal complaint if their children appear to be engaged in sex with an adult. Nevertheless, the amendment of the sex laws in the Penal Code, including the age of consent, remains a part of the Dutch political agenda, even after the government had tried to shelve it indefinitely, so something positive has surely been achieved by the new law.

NOTES

1. "Hi! Are you 12 years old and Dutch?", *Newsweek,* November 26, 1990.
2. Mrs. W. Swildens-Rozendaal, personal communication.
3. *Memorie van Antwoord* (memorandum of response) by the Minister of Justice to the First Chamber of the States-General (Upper House), Bill to amend sections 242-249 of the Penal Code, no. 20930.
4. We have translated the Dutch *gezag* as "authority." However, *gezag* indicates a position of formal, situational authority, such as that between an employer and employee, as distinct from *overwicht,* which denotes intrinsic authority arising from such things as age differences, etc.
5. *Memorie van toelichting* (explanatory memorandum), Bill to amend sections 242, 243, 247, and 249 of the Penal Code, Second Chamber of the States-General (Lower House), no. 20930, 3.
6. *Voorlopig verslag* (Preliminary report) by the Permanent Committee of Justice of the Lower House, Bill to amend sections 242, 243, 247, and 249 of the Penal Code, no. 20930, 4.
7. Dutch attitudes as regards paedophilia have been more extensively discussed in: Jan Schuijer, "Tolerance at Arm's Length; The Dutch Experience," *Journal of Homosexuality,* vol. 20, nos. 1/2 (New York: Haworth Press, 1990).
8. See, among others, A.W. Burgess, C.R. Hartman, M.P. McCausland, P. Powers, "Response Patterns in Children and Adolescents Exploited through Sex Rings and Pornography", *American Journal of Psychiatry,* 1, 41:5 (May 1984).

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THE SATANIC RITUAL ABUSE PHENOMENON

Gode Davis

In 1632 a boy in Lancashire, England, left his job tending cattle to gather plums. To justify to his parents his disobedient action, he related a fanciful tale:

He had seen two stray greyhounds running toward him. He thought he might use them as hunting dogs. When the boy chased them, a hare crossed the dogs' path, and he noticed that the dogs did not try to pursue it. Angry at their laziness, the cowherd began to beat the dogs. Lo and behold—right before his eyes they transformed into new beings, one a small boy, the other a woman whom the cowherd knew. The woman offered to pay him not to mention the incident, but he refused. "Thou art a witch," he said. The woman then withdrew a string from her purse, which instantly became a bridle, and when she touched the bridle to the head of the small boy, he was changed into a horse. The young cowherd and the woman then flew off on the back of the horse and alighted near a house, which they entered. Joining a company of people there, they partook of a feast.

When pressed, the cowherd later named eighteen neighbors who, he claimed, were present at the feast. Although the boy was familiar with the details of a similar Lancashire story from twenty years before which had resulted in a furious witch-hunt, authorities took his story about the dogs as sufficient cause for a fresh outbreak of witch hatred. The cowherd's claim led to many arrests, and he himself toured as a witch-finder.[1]

In 1985 in Bakersfield, California, a jury sentenced a young woman who worked in a fast-food restaurant to 405 years in prison for molesting children. Several older women were also given harsh "life" sentences of more than two hundred years, with no possibility of early release. The trial examined allegations by several children (none of them older than eight) that several adults met "regularly to sodomize and molest their own sons, daughters, nephews, or nieces," often after forcing drugs or alcohol on them. These and other allegations of abuse were painted in the context of devilish practices. The children claimed that the adults had formed a satanic cult and had, for instance, killed and mutilated babies.[2]

Of the two accounts just mentioned, one takes place in seventeenth-century England, the other recently in the United States. While witches are no longer burned at the stake in present-day America, charges of satanism can still be effective in ensuring draconian prison terms for suspected child molesters, even if, as was the case in Bakersfield, the satanism

charges appear to have little basis in fact.[3] During the 1960s and into the next decade, a period of relatively rational mores in the United States might have meant that the Bakersfield outcome would not have occurred. But between 1975 and 1985, a burgeoning awareness of child sexual abuse occurred in the United States. Coincident with this awareness, and influenced also by the 1980 publication of the popular American book *Michelle Remembers*, the first instances of satanic ritual abuse were reported in the US.[4]

Reports of ritual abuse per se were not altogether new. Beginning around 1975, patients (primarily adult women) had begun telling therapists they remembered having been sexually assaulted by groups of adults performing sadomasochistic acts. Other patients reported being serially raped after being abducted by aliens in unidentified flying objects (UFOs).[5]

By the late 1980s, the number of satanic abuse accounts divulged to American therapists, child-protection workers, law enforcement officials, and religious counselors had reached extraordinary levels, far surpassing the number of other ritual abuse cases being reported.[6] Compared to more conventional reports of sexual abuse of children and associated reports dealing with intergenerational sexual practices often described as "abuse,"[7] ritual abuse accounts, and satanic ritual abuse accounts in particular, tended to be atypical in several respects.

Sensational Nature

Satanic ritual abuse stories usually contain litanies of horrific acts perpetrated by Satan-inspired adults. The first modern instance in which satanic elements were incorporated into a ritual abuse testimonial was the publication of *Michelle Remembers*, written by Michelle Smith and her psychiatrist husband, Lawrence Pazder. A prototype of the satanic ritual abuse genre, this book spawned several others which also enjoyed commercial success in the media-hyped American literary marketplace.[8]

In *Michelle Remembers*, Smith detailed her ritualized abuse at the hands of an allegedly satanic cult based in Vancouver. While undergoing treatment by Pazder (he was not yet her husband) for clinically diagnosed depression, Smith spontaneously regressed to a child persona through a self-induced trance and alluded to "a deep dark secret."[9] Her revelations, accompanied by screaming and yelling, included most of the common folklore motifs found in satanic cult survivor stories; these revelations formed the basis of the Smith-Pazder book.[10]

Included in her confessions were stories of participation in ceremonies replete with black candles, black drapes, goblets, and dismembered bodies. Smith also alleged sharing coffins with decomposing bodies and described numerous sexual abuse experiences, including having "colored sticks" first dipped into a goblet and then inserted into various of her orifices.[11] In yet another instance, Smith told Pazder of a "magic operation" performed upon her which was later somehow "undone"—horns and a tail had been surgically attached to her body.[12] The rituals mentioned by Smith were said to have occurred in cemeteries, homes, mausoleums, and office spaces.

Similar published accounts began to be widely circulated in the United States, including ever more graphic details. Victims spoke of atrocities ad nauseam—for instance, some allegedly witnessed older children being forced to slit the throats and cannibalize the flesh of babies sacrificed to Satan. Sordid personal accounts described being initiated as "breeders" for satanic cults, and of having borne, as female adolescents, several—perhaps even dozens of—infants who were later ritually murdered in the victims' presence. Other victims described having been urinated upon or forced to ingest bodily wastes, or being physically tortured in various, systematic ways.[13]

These stories were often divulged to authorities by adult women (and occasionally men) claiming that the events had happened when they were children. These adults typically were diagnosed with severe personality disorders—most having dissociated from their satanic experiences since childhood. As the phenomenon spread, other victims, including adolescents and very young children (especially those attending day-care centers), also began to relate similar stories of ritualized experiences.[14] The stories told by minors contained motifs similar to those found in adult satanic survivor stories, although with the children, it was implied that the atrocities were on-going. Thus, the movement to persecute satanic ritual abuse gained a new-found urgency: the protection of children.

Though many elements contained in the stories were far-fetched and showed common themes, believers explained the prevalence and similarity of the accounts by suggesting that an ancient and vast satanic conspiracy existed, characterized as a complex international web of covert covens linked to debauched and corrupted institutions or individuals.[15] Patricia A. Pulling maintains that the satanic ranks are filled with "doctors, lawyers, clergymen, even police."[16] She believes that "adherents of this violent religion" number about three hundred thousand in the United States alone. Pulling and other believing self-appointed "experts" specializing in satanic cults often mention that the chief goal of these close-knit organizations is to abuse and sacrifice the bodies of innocent children in the name of Satan. Their implication (if not outright claim) is that evil is more powerful than good. A Massachusetts State Police document used for officer education and training describes traditional satanic cults: "A believer in Satan is predisposed to doing evil, i.e., enticed by his/her own lusts; a good person cannot be overcome and forced to do evil." In what Robert D. Hicks characterizes as "gems of criminal intelligence,"[17] the document goes on to describe the ideal victim: a living creature who is a storehouse of energy; when killed the victim's energy is liberated and produces an extremely high psychological charge to those who commit and

witness its death:

> The ideal victim is healthy and virgin to insure minimal dissipation of its force. A male child of high intelligence possesses the greatest force and therefore offers the highest spiritual attainment for would-be sacrificers.[18]

Besides dissemination through primary sources, word of ritualized satanic abuse and warnings about the satanic conspiracy was actively spread through secondary sources—chiefly through a proliferation of workshops, meetings, seminars, and papers geared to interested professionals. Very often, the proselytizing strategies used in such channels propagated and restored pseudo-scientific "blood libel" myths linked to societal scapegoating and "witch-hunting" in the not-so-distant past.[19] Attempting to explain the recurrence of such myths, American sociologist Jeffrey S. Victor wrote, "Sometimes societies create imaginary forms of deviance to have scapegoats for deep social and political tensions."[20]

Because violent sadomasochistic acts with children (thought potentially to lead to ritualized murder of boys) are often incorrectly assumed to be representative behaviors engaged in opportunistically by paedophile men, that population would appear to be a convenient scapegoat in satanic ritualistic cases. Although paedophiles are used as scapegoats, other segments of the population are also branded as perpetrators in such cases—including a surprising proportion of middle-aged and elderly women who have apparently demonstrated no prior sexual behaviors directed toward children.[21] An a priori assumption by believers in satanic conspiratorial theories is that, in the traditional satanist megacult, populations least open to suspicion actually play dominant participatory roles.

In the United States, the main agency disseminating information about satanist cults to professionals is the International Society for the Study of Multiple Personality and Dissociation, with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. The society sponsors national and regional conferences which regularly include workshops and symposiums on satanic-cult ritual abuse. Victor remarks:

> Most of the papers from these conferences are not published. When distributed to those who attend, they are usually marked "not for distribution or reproduction." Therefore, they are not easily available for scientific examination and criticism.[22]

Electronic and print mass media completed the information circuit, creating a collective awareness in the United States which subsequently spread to Western Europe.[23]

Critics have equated the similarities found in satanic ritual abuse stories with contaminated information. Victor, for example, has characterized the satanic phenomenon as "a sociometric pattern of rumor contagion" displaying a marked similarity to rumors, urban legends, and folk tales. Psychiatrist Pazder's initial reaction to Michelle Smith's victimization statements, in effect validating them, is consistent with other rumor contagion patterns where personal naïveté or biases can undermine objectivity at the rumor's outset. Although stressing the need for skepticism, Pazder has remarked that Smith's story rings true because he had been to Africa where he "had encountered beliefs and practices that, had [he] not observed them directly, [he] would not have believed could exist within humanity—sacrifices, cannibalism, rituals of every sort..."

Reminiscent of remarks made by other credulous therapists about cult survivors' tales, Pazder concludes:

> Michelle's reliving was relentlessly genuine. It maintained its remarkable intensity. It was too consistent to be false, had too much information, was too sophisticated from the psychological point of view to have been made up... It simply wasn't the kind of thing you fabricated if you were crazy or hysterical. It was being relived.[24]

By the late 1980s, hundreds of primarily American therapists, religious counselors, and law-enforcement officials expressed similar non-critical opinions averring the veracity of satanic accounts. More recently, some skeptical therapists have voiced concerns about the misuse of hypnosis techniques by colleagues attempting to encourage satanic ritual abuse memories in extremely suggestible patients. Psychiatrist George Ganaway has charged that many therapists previously exposed to satanic ritual abuse education use ideomotor (finger) signals during hypnotic trance sessions with patients to help retrieve the relevant memories.[25] According to Ganaway, much of what the "survivors" describe with the finger signals during the sessions is the result of therapists prompting their extremely suggestible patients with leading "yes" and "no" questions about cult-related experiences.[26]

Because ritual abuse memories are said to be dissociated from conscious thought processes, hypnotherapy is typically used to recover them while patients are under trance or otherwise amenable to suggestion—which, in the case of patients suffering from severe dissociative disorders, is almost always.[27] According to the *Oxford American Dictionary*, to dissociate means "to separate in one's thought." Therapists convinced of the reality of satanic megacults also tend to believe that the typical reaction of someone victimized by secret traumas (e.g., sexual or ritual abuse) is to dissociate the trauma, in effect sealing it off from conscious awareness, because society doesn't help the victim integrate the experience as it would with an open trauma (e.g., an earthquake). Contiguous with this perception is the associated belief that a violent abreaction or flashback occur-

ring during an alleged survivor's recounting means that the satanic memory is indeed authentic.

Skeptics, including Ganaway, have found such dissociation arguments dubious if also ingenious. "While the idea that traumatic memories, in all their exquisite detail, are stored away in the unconscious until abreaction during the interview situation is slick, simplistic, and attractive, it's not consistent with a hundred years of empirical evidence," Ganaway has said.[28] Empirical testing has further shown memories to be repressed by the subconscious only in rare, extremely traumatic instances.[29] Many events detailed in satanic ritual abuse stories (including most instances of sexual contact which were not physically painful) probably would not be especially traumatic except later in an adult context, unless discovery and subsequent psychological conditioning occurred soon thereafter. Most significant events, including even the most traumatic childhood events, tend to be consciously remembered to some extent by victims if they occurred.[30] In any case, memories are seldom recalled verbatim, but appear instead to be reconstructed mixtures of fact and fantasy—much like dreams.

To fulfill the therapist's perceived scenario of dissociation, diagnoses of dissociative disorders were often applied to patients. In fact, during the height of the phenomenon, thousands of patients reported satanic episodes while undergoing psychotherapy for severe dissociative disorders, commonly Multiple Personality Disorder or a Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) with a dissociative component.[31]

PTSD is an illness symptomatic of the Vietnam War era; hundreds of cases were diagnosed in men involved in combat who began having "flashbacks" of horrific war experiences which triggered dissociated memories. While some therapists assert that the significance of PTSD is minimized by applying its diagnosis to satanic survivors, the simultaneous proliferation of Multiple Personality Disorder (the presence of a number of dissociated "split" personalities with sealed-off memories existing within the same psyche) diagnoses was even more controversial.

Prior to 1975, fewer than two hundred multiple personality cases (including the famous "Sybil" case) had been reported world-wide.[32] During the next decade, accounts of ritual abuse reported by persons diagnosed with Multiple Personality Disorder were rumored to have reached the tens of thousands—with satanists, sadomasochistic groups, and extraterrestrial alien abductors most frequently named as perpetrators.[33] Ray Aldridge-Morris, a British clinical psychologist and lecturer in psychopathology at Middlesex Polytechnic School of Psychology, has written that "multiple personality has been grossly overdiagnosed."[34] He also viewed the practitioners who were convinced of the proliferating reality of multiple personality as belonging to a professional subculture which favored hypnotherapeutic techniques. According to Aldridge-Morris, most of an inordinate number of multiple personality cases were being seen by a relatively small number of primarily American therapists.[35] In most cases, a

diagnostic indicator of dissociation is used to bolster a therapist's opinion that extremely traumatic sexual abuse, often perpetrated through ritualized acts, has indeed occurred.

Lack of Evidence

Despite the widespread geographical distribution of and remarkably consistent detail found in satanic ritual abuse reports, repeated investigations have failed to uncover independent evidence corroborating the existence of an organized satanic network or even physical evidence corroborating most of the folklore motifs incorporated in satanic survivor stories. In fact, hundreds of investigations by local police agencies and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the United States (including FBI forensic evidence specialists) eventually proved fruitless in connecting a single documented case of satanic murder, human sacrifice, or cannibalism to a ritual abuse survivor's testimony. Neither satanic abuse "task forces" authorized and funded by 23 of the states nor large-scale cooperative police and social welfare investigations launched in several European nations (including The Netherlands) have produced physical evidence of an organized satanic network.[36] Nevertheless, to support the numbers alleged by survivors, believers in the satanic megacult theory have often asserted that up to fifty thousand young American children and babies are being sacrificed annually.[37] Such a claim actually became ludicrous in light of US Department of Justice figures involving missing children. In 1988, after reviewing a thirty-year dossier of missing person statistics culled from a myriad of disparate sources, the Department stated that somewhere between 52 and 158 American children in any given year may be kidnapped and murdered, most of these being adolescent girls, ages fourteen to seventeen.[38]

This notwithstanding, even more inflated claims about children vanishing have been made. In 1986, following a second "stranger danger" national media campaign capitalizing upon rising fears about sexual abuse, pornographic exploitation, and kidnapping of children, a deceptive but successful attempt to elicit funding was initiated by representatives of the federal government's National Center For Missing and Exploited Children. Explaining the urgency of the problem to a United States Congressional sub-committee, the representatives stated that 1.5 million American youngsters under age thirteen vanish every year.[39]

Isolated cases of ritualized child abuse do occur in the United States. These cases, including a small percentage with religious or satanic overtones—have been traced to serial rapists and killers of children, ritual-oriented predatory paedophiles, and other crazed individuals acting independently or within families. Such bogeymen (and occasional women) are real but relatively rare in US society. Similar aberrant group behavior occurring in isolated cells also has historical precedents but is even less typical; for instance, in Utah and Arizona, a relatively few Mormon-based polyga-

mist splinter groups have been known to incorporate ritualized sexual behaviors toward children.[40]

In order to explain the glaring lack of physical evidence for the existence of Satan-inspired networks, law-enforcement officials, therapists, and religious counselors with a vested interest in promulgating satanic megacult theories have often mentioned the clandestine prowess of the conspiratorial forces. For instance, to prevent defections and maintain secrecy, such groups have been alleged to employ various intimidation tactics directed toward child victims including, but not limited to, physical threats, psychological coercion, neurological programming, and systematic mind control triggered by visual cues.[41] Among the recent rash of published "recovery movement"[42] accounts classified as non-fiction is a book by Daniel Rider, whose qualifications are described in an editorial preface as "a counselor and journalist as well as a ritual abuse survivor." Rider has coined the term "Marionette Syndrome," implying that satanic ritual abuse victims are often transformed into puppet-like automatons.[43] In addition, bodies of murdered victims are said to be burned, buried, or eaten—all without leaving a trace. The very lack of evidence is often cited as "proof" of a traditional satanist organization's extremely successful covert practices, which are said to have been refined over many centuries.

Consequences for Paedophiles

In their diligent, pseudo-scientific pursuit of satanic influences in American society, law-enforcement agencies in the United States have devised a four-tiered satanic-criminal model. Dabblers in satanism, said to be mostly children, teens, or very young adults, comprise the fourth level. They are unsophisticated satanists attracted by fantasy role-playing games such as Dungeons and Dragons, or for instance, heavy-metal rock music with satanic lyrics.[44] The underlying assumption is that participants in this game, or youths who are attracted to this music, are by definition dabblers in satanism—a presupposition that is inherently flawed.[45]

The third level in the satanic-criminal model involves "deviant," socially-isolated individuals such as rapists and serial murderers. These self-styled satanists are said to borrow from the occult because satanic ideology permits or encourages their crimes.[46] Sociopaths or psychopaths, already distanced from common standards of behavior, might well choose an ideology that comports with their behavior.[47]

The second level of satanic involvement includes public groups of organized satanists, such as the Church of Satan and the Temple of Set. Such groups prohibit acts of violence, so the threat here is ambiguous. It is argued that because these groups promote self-indulgence to the point of attracting psychopaths and criminals, the *likelihood* of the groups luring bad people justifies law-enforcement surveillance. Frequent surveillance and occasional infiltration of the New York City-based North American

Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) is justified in the United States under a similar pretext.

Satan's inner circle, the first level of satanic involvement, is said to consist of the worst ilk. Referred to as traditional satanists, these people comprise the international megacult, tightly organized in a clandestine hierarchy—"members of families who have practiced their beliefs secretly for generations, those who abuse children, murder, kidnap, and rape."[48] Whole families are said to participate, raising children to a lifetime of animal and human sacrifices, kidnapping, ongoing physical, sexual, and mental abuse, and child pornography, to name the activities most often alluded to.[49]

Although paedophiles (also referred to as "preferential" child molesters)[50] are supposedly found in all four tiers of the satanic-criminal model, a few kinds of so-called satanist paedophiles appear to merit special attention. For instance, American police often target paedophiles involved in "sex rings," a term synonymous with "paedophile rings" in the United Kingdom. FBI Special Agent Kenneth Lanning defines a sex ring as "one or more offenders simultaneously involved sexually with several child victims." While satanic overtones are certainly conceivable in such cases, any satanic links have yet to be proven. The most commonly cited reference which fuels law-enforcement speculation about the existence of satanist, paedophile sex rings is a classified advertisement which briefly appeared in several 1975 issues of *Better Life Monthly*, a long-defunct newsletter produced primarily for boy-lovers. The advertisement invited inquiries to a rural North Carolina post-office box and mentioned a coven involving boys aged eight to fifteen. The ad read:

> Boy's Witchcraft Coven: Only one in USA! Seeks support, patronage and location for summer equinox retreat. Legit. cult. Limited supporting memberships include monthly "bulletin," details of activities, ads. Subscribe now: $35 first year, $12 thereafter. Cover photos available July 1, order now. 12- 5 x 7 glossies $16. (free to subscribers) Satisfaction guaranteed. Each coven has warlock and 12 boys ages 8 to 15. Positively no curiosity seekers, only sincere need write. . . .[51]

Another frequently mentioned connection between paedophiles and satanic rites involves children being killed during the production of so-called "snuff films." The first US criminal investigation involving snuff films occurred in August 1989. Numerous FBI agents, working with San Jose, California, police officers, arrested two Virginia men for criminal conspiracy. They were charged with devising a scheme "to either purchase or abduct a minor boy" and then, after "holding the boy in captivity for up to two weeks, while videotaping acts of sexual molestation," to murder him and dispose of the body by washing it in acid "to remove incriminat-

ing forensic evidence." The US attorney handling the case said that as far as he knows, the existence of snuff films has been talked about in law-enforcement circles for years, but has not been substantiated.[52]

Similarly, as stricter codes prohibiting child pornography were enacted in the United States in the 1980s, claims by anti-pornography activists, law-enforcement officers, prosecutors, politicians, and others alleging, for instance, the existence child snuff films or satanic molestation rituals in which animals are dismembered, were touted without persuasive evidence of such occurrences.[53] In fact, no children appearing in child pornography magazines or films have ever been known or even suspected to have been victims of murder.[54]

Perhaps the most significant indirect consequence of the satanic ritual abuse phenomenon has been a significant shift toward hard-line, adverse societal perceptions and attitudes against paedophiles, in the United States and elsewhere. These opinions have resulted in harsher legislation against paedophile behaviors while providing tacit consent for increasingly-frequent instances of so-called "ped-bashing"—violence directed against paedophiles or suspected paedophiles.[55]

Some Conclusions

The social phenomenon of increasing belief in the existence of satanic ritual abuse evolved primarily in the United States during the 1980s. The American enshrinement of the victim/perpetrator dichotomy in sexual relationships, as well as increased criminalization and stigmatization of sexual behaviors, has been fostered by many segments within society. Christian Fundamentalists and other right-wing conservatives, many feminists, and so-called "politically correct" liberals have supported numerous coalitions ostensibly to protect women and children from "victim" crime. But in promoting what has become derisively known as the "Ritual Abuse Scare,"[56] they may have gone too far. Their often uncritical support in validating thousands of incredible reports while attempting to document the covert involvement of American institutions in horrific crimes may have undermined and damaged their credibility in far-reaching ways.[57] In effect, a societal backlash, or unforeseen reaction debunking belief in the phenomenon itself, now exists. The overall incidence of satanic ritual abuse reports in the United States is declining gradually. In fact, American attention has recently focused on "false memory syndrome"—a phenomenon associated with recollection of satanic ritual abuse, and now centering on the therapeutic professions.[58]

According to an Associated Press item, on March 24, 1994, "a father faced off in court against his daughter's two therapists, claiming they conned her into 'remembering' childhood sexual abuse that never happened."[59] The lawsuit filed by former wine-company executive Gary Ramona was said to be among the first (in the US or elsewhere) to challenge the validity

of so-called "recovered memories" in a case where ritualized abuse was alleged. In the same article, Harvard University psychiatrist Harrison Pope remarked, "There are a certain number of therapists who see sexual abuse in every patient they see. And they can lead a patient by a thousand suggestions and implications, and by reinforcing what they do and don't listen to."

Ghislaine Boulanger is a clinical psychologist in private practice in New York City who began researching Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder among Vietnam veterans in the 1970s. In a recent issue of *Tikkun: A Bimonthly Critique of Politics, Culture & Society*, Boulanger writes:

> In the early 1980s, mental health workers treating Vietnam veterans and those working within the Women's Movement, strengthened by others working with Holocaust survivors, forged an informal alliance. But today the greatest danger to the ongoing acceptance and respectability of the concept of psychological trauma comes from within the profession. Now that the use and misuse of the diagnosis have assumed epidemic proportions, we are faced with too many situations in which naive or unscrupulous therapists prematurely seize on the notion of abuse to explain phenomena in their patients' lives that had previously defied understanding, at best reifying and at worst capitalizing on an inchoate despair..."[60]

NOTES

1. Wallace Notestein, *History of Witchcraft in England from 1558-1718* (New York: Crowell, 1968), pp. 147 ff.
2. Robert D. Hicks, *In Pursuit of Satan: The Police and the Occult* (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1991), pp.16-17.
3. Ibid, p. 17.
4. Michelle Smith and Lawrence Pazder, *Michelle Remembers* (New York: Congdon and Lattes, 1980).
5. Debbie Nathan, "What McMartin Started: The Ritual Sex Abuse Hoax," *The Village Voice*, pp. 36-44.
6. Debbie Nathan, personal communication, January 1992. Nathan mentioned that satanic ritual abuse cases probably reached "several thousand," while other kinds of ritual abuse cases were only in the hundreds.
7. In countries such as the US and the UK, even the slightest innuendo of sexual contact between an adult and a minor under the age of eighteen can be construed as "abuse." In most American states, for example, the crime of "fondling a child" can mean a prison sentence of five years to life—with more actual time of that sentence being served than if the child had been murdered without sexual innuendo.
8. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., p.142, "Smith and Pazder have become lecture-circuit regulars and frequent guests on television talk-shows. Presumably, the couple now live off the proceeds. At publication, Smith received $342,000 in advances for a hardcover and a paperback printing."

9. Ibid, p. 147, "In *Michelle Remembers*, Pazder did not diagnose Smith as having a dissociative disorder, Multiple Personality Disorder in particular, yet on the current lecture circuit, Smith presents herself as an MPD exemplar."
10. Ibid., p. 142.
11. Ibid., p. 143.
12. Ibid., p. 143.
13. The progeny of satanic ritual abuse genre books includes:R. S. Mayer, *Satan's Children: Case Studies in Multiple Personality* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1991); David Finkelhor, L.M. Williams, N. Burns, *Nursery Crimes* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1988); L. Kahaner, *Cults That Kill: Probing the Underworld of Occult Crime* (New York: Werner Books, Inc., 1988); Lauren Stratford, *Satan's Underground: The Extraordinary Story of One Woman's Escape* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers, 1988); Carl Raschke, *Painted Black* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990).
14. Debbie Nathan, "Day-Care Witch Trials," in *The Village Voice* (April 26, 1988).
15. Institutions as diverse as the Mormon Church and the Boy Scouts, and individuals as esteemed in society as corporate CEOs and Roman Catholic cardinals have been "identified" as being involved in the megacult.
16. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., pp. 20-21. An influential speaker, Patricia A. Pulling, who founded Bothered About Dungeons and Dragons (BADD) also describes her credentials as "a private investigator" whose "list of degrees, honors, and awards is innumerable."
17. Ibid., p. 33.
18. Ibid., p. 33.
19. Jeffrey S. Victor, "The Spread of Satanic-Cult Rumors," in *Skeptical Inquirer* 14 (1990), pp. 287-291. Blood-libel myths include, for instance, the rumor panics spread in Germany about Jews prior to the Nazi Holocaust.
20. Jeffrey S. Victor has written extensively about satanic cults from a sociological perspective. He is a professor of sociology at Jamestown Community College in Jamestown, New York.
21. Debbie Nathan, personal communication, January 1992.
22. Jeffrey S. Victor, *Skeptical Inquirer*, op cit., p. 15.
23. Rumor-panics and law-enforcement investigations, often instigated by self-appointed satanic cult "experts" on ritualized child abuse, have occurred in the U.K., Belgium, France, Germany, and The Netherlands. 24. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., p. 143.
25. George K. Ganaway, "Alternative Hypotheses Regarding Satanic Ritual Abuse Memories." Presented on August 19, 1991 at the convention of American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Sherrill Mulhern, "Satanism and Psychotherapy: A Rumor in Search of an Inquisition," in J.T. Richardson, J. Best, and D.G. Bromley (eds.), *The Satanism Scare* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1991), pp. 145-172.
30. Elizabeth Loftus, personal communication, January 1992.
31. George K. Ganaway, personal communication, January 1992.
32. Source: R. S. Mayer, *Satan's Children: Case Studies in Multiple Personality* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1991).
33. It is difficult to know the precise numbers of patients seen for any particular psychological disorder because such statistics are rarely compiled. But in the late 1980s, it briefly became the American vogue to be seeing Multiple Personality Disorder patients, particularly if you were a therapist interested in ritual abuse per se.
34. Ray Aldridge-Morris, *Multiple Personality: An Exercise in Deception* (East Sussex, United Kingdom: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989).
35. Ibid.
36. Prodded by so-called child-advocacy lobbies and fueled by generous funding (typical

initial grant: $250,000), many US state legislatures have established ritual abuse task forces to investigate satanic allegations. While no evidence of organized cult practices has yet been uncovered by such task forces in any state, the ritual abuse investigators hired at the outset are usually allowed to retain their employment as "regular" sex-abuse investigators—once the initial rumor-panic has subsided. See also Benjamin Rossen, *Zedenangst: Het verhaal van Oude Pekela* (Lisse: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1989. English translation by the author, 1990.)
37. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., p. 56.
38. Ibid., p. 214.
39. Ann E. Weiss, *Lies Deception and Truth* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), p. 51.
40. Personal communications. About thirty thousand polygamists, excommunicated from the Mormon Church or living in secrecy, are estimated to live in the United States, primarily inhabiting southern Utah and northern Arizona. Some of these splinter groups are known to practice religiously motivated sexual customs or rituals involving pubertal children, but are seldom interfered with by authorities. Other tight-knit organizations or cells, including those involving Christian Fundamentalists (e.g., a sect discovered in Island Pond, Vermont) have been suspected of incorporating sexual practices and ritualized sadomasochistic discipline with children of adult sect members.
41. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., p. 57. The Ordo Templo Orientis is supposed to enforce slavish participation in cult ceremonies by using symbols to trigger criminal responses in members: for example, a black rose or a greeting card with a frog in it, both cueing devices like the famous card deck in the film *The Manchurian Candidate* (Advanced ritualistic-crime seminar, Richmond, VA, September 22, 1988).
42. David Rieff, *Victims, All?* (New York: Harper's Magazine, October 1991, pp. 49-56.) "The Recovery Movement's message, like the Reagan-Bush message, is that there are no civic, no social obligations, only private ones." The recovery movement in the United States has been a leading reinforcement in obsessing Americans with a sense of victimization. The movement has been a major societal catalyst encouraging large numbers of adult women (and increasingly men) to "come forward" to report historical accounts of sexual and other abuses which allegedly occurred when they were children.
43. Daniel Rider, C.C.D.C., L.S.W., *Notes on Breaking the Circle of Satanic Ritual Abuse: Recognizing and Recovering from the Hidden Trauma* (Minneapolis: CompCare Publishers, 1992).
44. Robert D. Hicks, op cit., pp. 43-44.
45. Law-enforcement authorities, many with a Christian Fundamentalist bias, reason that engaging in such activities is inherently dangerous.
46. Ibid., pp. 48-50.
47. Ibid., p. 49. This assumption is very plausible in some instances, but should not be applied indiscriminately.
48. Ibid., pp. 56-57.
49. As noted in this article, cannibalism was also frequently mentioned.
50. Robert D. Hicks, op. cit., pp. 215-216. According to FBI Special Agent Kenneth Lanning, true paedophiles, in contrast to "situational molesters," are "preferential molesters" who display behaviors of great interest to investigators.
51. Following its appearance in just two issues, the classified advertisement ran with a "canceled" stamp superimposed in a third issue. Whether this coven engaged in genuine satanic practices or was simply a counterfeit organization appealing to the prurient interests of boy-lovers/paedophiles is open to debate.
52. Robert D. Hicks, op. cit., p. 60.
53. Lawrence A. Stanley, "The Child Porn Myth" (unpublished manuscript, 1989), p. 10. An edited version of this article was later published in *Playboy Magazine*.
54. Ibid., p.11.
55. Donna Hamm, personal communication, March 1994. Violence against paedophiles, called ped-bashing, is increasing in US prisons, according to Hamm. An attorney, Hamm and her husband (an attorney and an ex-inmate) direct a Tempe, Arizona-based organiza-

tion called Middle Ground which bills itself as "the only national-scope prisoners' rights group in the United States." Many other instances, sometimes associated with "gay-bashing," are occurring outside of prisons where paedophiles or suspected paedophiles are subject to harassment, assault, or worse in a society where paedophiles are now encouraged to be perceived as "sub-human scum." (Source: Maury Povich Show, NBC, aired May 11, 1994.)

56. Debbie Nathan, "Satanism and Child Molestation: Constructing the Ritual Abuse Scare," in *The Satanism Scare*, op. cit., pp.75-94.

57. Institutions are often targeted by satanic ritual abuse "experts" and later officially vindicated after the charges have accomplished their hidden agenda—reinforcement of accepted intra-organizational behaviors. In the course of its "defense," the institution ostensibly being attacked is provided with a convenient opportunity to publicly reinforce its most conservative tenets.

58. A term coined in the popular jargon referring to pseudo-memories of adults allegedly abused as children.

59. *The Salt Lake Tribune*, March 25, 1994, p. A18.

60. *Tikkun: A Bimonthly Critique of Politics, Culture & Society*, March/April 1994. In a book review of: Judith Lewis Herman, *Trauma and Recovery* (New York: Basic Books, 1992, 276 pp.).

About the Author:

Gode Davis is an investigative journalist whose articles have appeared in numerous publications.

INTERVIEW
Hollida Wakefield and Ralph Underwager

Dr. Ralph Underwager earned a Master of Divinity from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, and a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota, and has been, since 1974, Director of the Institute for Psychological Therapies in Northfield, Minnesota. Besides being a staff psychologist in a clinic, Dr. Underwager has also been a pastor at Lutheran churches in Iowa and Minnesota. He is a member of the National Council for Children's Rights, the American Psychological Association, the Lutheran Academy for Scholarship, and the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, among others.

Hollida Wakefield received her M.A. from the University of Maryland, where she also completed the course work for her Ph.D. She has worked as an elementary school teacher, a college psychology instructor, and since 1976 as a staff psychologist at the Institute for Psychological Therapies. Her memberships include the National Council for Children's Rights, the International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, and the American College of Forensic Psychology. She and Dr. Underwager are married.

Ms. Wakefield and Dr. Underwager are the publishers of the journal, *Issues in Child Abuse Accusations*. They co-edited the volumes: *Accusations of Child Sexual Abuse* and *The Real World of Child Interrogations*. They have written numerous articles on the interrogation of children, the role of the psychologist in assessing child abuse cases, the evaluation of child witnesses, and the manipulation of the child abuse system. They regularly appear as expert witnesses and give training sessions to jurists, psychologists, and laymen.

This interview was conducted in Amsterdam in June 1991 by *Paidika* Editor-in-Chief, Joseph Geraci.

***Paidika:** Could you describe your views on paedophilia, from your perspective as psychologists in the US?*

Hollida Wakefield: Our main idea about paedophilia is that it's learned behavior. We don't think it's inborn, genetic, or hormonal. Like homosexuality, we believe it's learned at a young age and that the person has the subjective reality that they've always been this way.

There's an absence of anything in the research to show that paedophilia is anything other than learned. Such things as sexual orientation are an interaction. There may well be more of a propensity among some people to be affected by learning of various types. At the American Psychological Association's 1989 annual conference, we went to a presentation on homosexuality. The research was reviewed and the bottom line was

that nothing biological had been established.

Ralph Underwager: We've been heavily involved in dealing with issues of child sexual abuse for a number of years. We've also been involved for a number of years in providing therapy for a variety of sexual dysfunctions, dysphoria, and paraphilias.

To our knowledge there has not been any convincing research that suggests there is a hormonal component, a hormonal involvement to sexual orientation. There's also nothing we know of that suggests there's a genetic component. As psychologists, we're more persuaded that behavior patterns are learned, rather than influenced by genes. We're also aware that the Minnesota twin studies are demonstrating a significant genetic component to some behavior, though I don't think they have come up with any data about paedophilia.

Is heterosexuality for you also learned behavior?

HW: Yes.

RU: Yes.

What do you mean when you say that sexual orientation is learned behavior; where do you go from there?

HW: It means that a person has more freedom. There is an element of choice for someone not happy with whatever their sexual life is. They can learn to improve it. If it's a sexual dysfunction, somebody who's a premature ejaculator or impotent for example, they can learn something different. If a homosexual did not want to be homosexual, really wanted to be a heterosexual, there would be techniques that would have a decent chance of allowing that person to change. I'm not saying the person should *want* to change. I'm only saying that there is an element of choice. A person can determine their own sexual direction, and there are many behavioral techniques available that would allow the person to change.

RU: The theory of learned behavior permits individuals to take personal responsibility for their own behavior. We find it difficult when people try to place the responsibility for their behavior on something else. In the great American game the blame is placed on bad parents who make bad kids. Explanations for homosexuality and paedophilia center on some kind of parental influence: mothers who are castrating, dominant, controlling, and hostile; fathers who are weak, and insipid. To say that my sexual responses at some level are learned is also to say that I am responsible for them.

Is choosing paedophilia for you a responsible choice for the individual?

RU: Certainly it is responsible. What I have been struck by as I have come to know more about and understand people who choose paedophilia is that they let themselves be too much defined by other people. That is usually an essentially negative definition. Paedophiles spend a lot of time and energy defending their choice. I don't think that a paedophile needs to do that. Paedophiles can boldly and courageously affirm what they choose. They can say that what they want is to find the best way to love. I am also a theologian and as a theologian I believe it is God's will that there be closeness and intimacy, unity of the flesh, between people. A paedophile can say: "This closeness is possible for me within the choices that I've made."

Paedophiles are too defensive. They go around saying, "You people out there are saying that what I choose is bad, that it's no good. You're putting me in prison, you're doing all these terrible things to me. I have to define my love as being in some way or other illicit." What I think is that paedophiles can make the assertion that the pursuit of intimacy and love is what they choose. With boldness they can say, "I believe this is in fact part of God's will." They have the right to make these statements for themselves as personal choices. Now whether or not they can persuade other people they are right is another matter [laughs].

Positive and Negative Views of Paedophilia

You've said that paedophiles speak negatively about themselves; they are defensive; they act negatively. Paedophiles are a disparate group, like any human group, so what kind of individuals are you talking about, and with whom are you having contact?

RU: Well, they are paedophiles I have come to know, to talk with as patients while providing treatment. But my contacts have not been limited to the therapeutic setting. I've also met others in a general context, here in The Netherlands, and in the US, and I've read some of the literature.

Let me give you another example. The paedophile literature keeps talking about relationships. Every time I hear the word "relationship" I wince. It's a peculiarly bloodless, essentially Latin word that may have a lot of intellectual or cognitive content, but has little emotion. I think it would be much more honest to use the good old Anglo-Saxon four letter word "love," more honest for paedophiles to say, "I want to love somebody." Not, "I want a relationship." I mean, what the hell's a relationship?

You say that paedophiles should affirm the fact that they believe that paedo-

philia is a part of "God's will." Are you also saying that for the paedophile to make this claim about God's will, is also to state what God's will is?

RU: [laughing] Of course, I'm not privy to God's will. I do believe it is God's will that we have freedom. I believe that God's will is that we have absolute freedom. No conditions, no contingencies. When the blessed apostle Paul says, "All things are lawful for me," he says it not once but four times. "All things are lawful for me." He also adds that not everything works.

Hollida, I can see you want to say something. Do you have a different point of view from Ralph's?

HW: I'd add one qualification to what Ralph has just said about there being no conditions or contingencies to the freedom given us by God. I would add you have to take the consequences of this freedom. That said, well, I guess I do feel differently about some things. For example, I find it difficult to envision how a paedophile relationship can have the potential of being the type of close, intimate, constantly developing relationship that would be possible in more traditional relationships, whether in heterosexual marriages, or a committed adult homosexual relationship. Speaking only about men and boys at least, what I have seen is that once the young man gets to be a certain age the paedophile is no longer interested in the young man sexually. These relationships start at around the age of eleven or twelve and then by sixteen, seventeen the paedophile is ready for a new one. The old relationship is, if not thrust aside, at least radically changed. It's hard for me to see how that is a deep, meaningful relationship, even if I'm using the word Ralph doesn't like. It doesn't have the same bad connotations for me.

I'm no expert on the way these relationships develop or on what happens to them when the boy turns seventeen, eighteen, or twenty. I can't imagine it just stays the same. It poses certain questions for me. Do paedophiles retain a close, intimate relationship with the boy, although the sex ends? Do they then add another boy while keeping the first boy, and then later repeat the pattern and add another and just keep adding new boys until they have a whole harem ranging in age from let's say twelve to forty? Or perhaps the paedophile doesn't keep the first boy around. Perhaps he disappears out of his life altogether only to be replaced by the next? If that is the way it is, which seems from my observation to be the case, then I don't understand how there can ever be a close, intimate, constantly progressing and developing relationship. Perhaps it is possible. I'm not saying it is not possible, but it does strike me as being a limitation of these relationships.

There's also a second set of questions I have around a completely different matter. The problem, as I would state it, is that in the United States paedophilia is viewed so negatively that I think the possibility of harming the young man would be very real. I don't know if a positive model is possible in the United States. The climate is such in the United States that it would be very, very difficult for a paedophile, even with the most idealistic of motives and aspirations, to make his relationship actually work in practice. Even if the boy at some point viewed it as positive, after coming into contact with the way the society as a whole viewed it, the very real danger would be created of making the experience harmful. Relationships and societal attitudes are, of course, two completely different areas. In such a negative climate I don't know if it would be possible for the relationship to be good for the parties involved when the entire society is so negative.

When I think about paedophilia these are some of the theoretical difficulties I have with it. In practice, how these relationships turn out is a totally different issue. It might be that the relationships continue to grow but change in form and become positive. They might also develop negatively. As I said these are theoretical problems. For example, if the sex continued we would have to call that male homosexuality, not paedophilia. If a relationship started when the individuals were respectively twenty-two and twelve, and they stayed together until they were forty-two and thirty-two, we would not define that any longer as a paedophile relationship.

RU: I think that Holly and I agree that sexuality is a smaller part set within a larger whole of our humanity: our capacity for love, our ability to approach some form of unity with another person. Sexuality takes place within this larger context, but it is not exhaustive, nor necessary, nor sufficient as a cause unto itself. The necessary and sufficient cause of sexuality for us is the unity, the wholeness, the intimacy.

The history of human behavior surely demonstrates that sexual behavior can become a very volatile, explosive part of intimacy and closeness, such as in jealousy and possessiveness. There is, in other words, a potential for sexuality, even if it is a small part of the whole, to erupt into what can be pervasive, cataclysmic experiences. When the sex ends abruptly and the man has been saying to the boy, "I love you, I care for you. You and I are one in mind, body, spirit." and then suddenly says, "That's all fine, but we ain't gonna do it no more." What happens then?

Perhaps a loving friendship continues. I've certainly encountered relationships where it has. Aren't you saying that we should define relationships in terms of love?

RU: I was urging earlier that you make the loving image clearer to the outside world. What appears to the general public is not the picture of a loving man but rather the picture of the dirty old man lurking in alleys

waiting for nice innocent young lads to come by, grabbing their genitalia and hustling them off for a period of time and sort of casting them aside and waiting for the next one.

Perhaps the question is, should we only define paedophilia or paedophiles by the worst examples of individual behavior?

HW: Well these terrible examples exist. We have to take them in. There are very negative aspects of paedophilia that we see from our experience in the United States. We saw a priest, for example, who started having sex with a child when the boy was nine. He told the child that he loved only him. But, in fact, at the same time he was also involved with half a dozen other nine and ten year olds. He had had anal sex with the kid. And then he cast him aside at age fifteen. The boy was totally and hopelessly screwed up, his whole sexuality in confusion. Worse, the story leaked out, so the child was mercilessly teased at school, called a homosexual and gossiped about. There are children who have been abused, raped, and dropped on the side of the road.

I want to be clear though. Nobody has talked to us in the US about their paedophilia who's engaged in an ongoing relationship, just individuals who were ordered into therapy. You have to remember, if somebody in the United States talked to us and said, "You know, I'm a paedophile and I have a sexual relationship with this boy and it's good," we would have to call the police and turn him in. We *would* turn him in too, because we would be in jail if we didn't. So, when we say we've talked to people we mean individuals sent to us for therapy.

The climate is such in the United States that the discussion would have to be carefully sanitized, completely abstract. There couldn't be any reference whatsoever to somebody who might be in an ongoing relationship, because we would have to call the police and say, "That person has been sexual with minors," and if we didn't do that, we would lose our licenses as psychologists, face a fine of $5,000, and six months in jail.

There is research and some scientific opinion that demonstrates that more positive examples and personal experiences exist. Theo Sandfort's research, cross-cultural models, the writings of the German sexologist Bornemann. Shouldn't we be putting positive views into the picture in order to come to an understanding?

HW: We don't know about The Netherlands. Our impression is that it's somewhat easier here than at home.

But your point is that potentially there can be good, healthy, positive relationships between men and boys. It would be very difficult to come up with sexual research for that in the United States because it would frankly be suppressed. When I did a review of the literature on boy victims of child sexual abuse, some of the studies show not just negative effects in some of the boys. The authors try to explain this away. Their rationale is that because they didn't find negative things in their study does not mean there are none. They just haven't shown up yet! If anyone in the United States were to do a study that showed positive outcomes and then wrote it up as a scientific paper they probably wouldn't get it published. It could only be published if they found a way to explain away any positive findings. They would have to make it look like they found something other than what they found. They would be entirely vilified.

Doesn't your book, Accusations of Child Sexual Abuse, *suggest that all sexual relationships between adults and children in the United States are abusive relationships?*

HW: No. I think we would claim that these sexual relationships, in the US at least, could range from neutral to harmful. We don't envision or hypothesize that they could be positive, but at best neutral.

The American Situation

You are speaking mostly about paedophiles in the US. What tack should they take given the societal attitudes? What solutions do you envision for their lives?

RU: The solution that I'm suggesting is that paedophiles become much more positive. They should directly attack the concept, the image, the picture of the paedophile as an evil, wicked, and reprehensible exploiter of children.

HW: The United States is really pretty schizophrenic right now in its attitudes. On the one hand it glorifies sex in things like underwear advertisements, or James Bond movies. On the other hand it's very puritanical. You don't have good sex education in the schools, just these ridiculous prevention programs.

Let me give another example. Video recorders and video cameras are in right now. Couples are making their own pornographic movies. The comparison is on the one hand people running around making their own pornographic movies but on the other hand reacting hysterically to child sexuality issues. There was actually the case of a man who had had the nine-year-old son of a friend spend the night at his house. He kissed him on the neck, patted him on the rear, told him goodnight, and was later sentenced to two years in prison for these acts. They were labelled sexual abuse. The child later told his mother that it made him uncomfortable when the man kissed him on the cheek.

Given this schizophrenia and these hysterical attitudes about childhood sexuality, it's going to be difficult for paedophiles to appear more

positive, to start saying they're not exploiters of children, that they love children, the sexual part included, even if it's a minor part. By the time they made such statements they would be arrested.

RU: I was in the courtroom for the case that Holly just cited and I actually heard the prosecutor say, "No man should ever be permitted to claim as an excuse that he was just being affectionate when a child says they were uncomfortable." I don't know; I don't think we can just label these attitudes "hysteria." Perhaps "madness" is better, or "pathology." What we see going on in the United States is the most vitriolic and virulent anti-sexuality I know of in our history. It may take people being arrested. Revolutionaries have always risked arrest.

In your book you said that there was "a matter of national interest and a focus of federal interest in child abuse in 1974, but then in 1984 it seemed to suddenly shift and become more hysterical." What reasons do you see for the outbreak of a child abuse hysteria, or pathology, in the mid-eighties America?

HW: I think that what we meant in that passage was that we had personally been observing a steady progression of awareness about actual child sexual abuse up to around that period, 1984. We had routinely been dealing with sex offenders and cases of incest. Around the mid-eighties we began to see cases of false accusations to a degree we had not seen before. It was the rise of this incidence of false accusations that led us to use the term "hysteria."

RU: Child sexual abuse around that time became more a matter of attention and discussion. There had been child abuse before but the earlier focus was on rehabilitation and treatment. In the early eighties this focus shifted to prosecution. As more federal money became available, child protection teams and child molestation units were set up in every county in the United States. As this structure was put into place the emphasis changed to prosecution. This is where it is now, and as a consequence there is very little interest in treatment, rehabilitation, or healing. The emphasis is: punish the bastards, put them in jail, hang them up by their toes, or other appurtenances, get rid of them.

You seem to be saying that the shift to prosecution, and the sexual hysteria, are connected? Could you clarify how such a shift might make a country pathological about sex?

RU: I believe these shifts happen when the social contract in a given country or culture breaks down. What is happening in the United States is that the populace no longer has the sense that the country knows what it is about. During the Second World War, when I was about fourteen years

old, it was a great time to live in America. We stood together. Everybody knew and understood what we were all about, what we were doing in the world. Beginning in the sixties and through the seventies into the eighties that confidence disappeared. We became fractionalized into smaller and smaller groups, each group fighting for its own to the point where we have now evolved a political system of special interest groups. There's no longer consensus politics in America.

The result of the breakdown of the social contract is that people do not have sufficient ego to handle or tolerate the ambiguity in their society. They don't have the inner resources. What they must do, then, is find something outside of themselves, something external, to give them shape and identity. Sex throughout history has played a specific role. It has allowed people both to define themselves and to locate an enemy. A sexual minority becomes a scapegoat. Whenever there has been social upheaval, whenever the social contract has disappeared, there has always been violent anti-sexuality outbursts.

The breakdown of the social contract and anti-sexuality outbursts are interconnected because there is in times of social instability a need to say that someone else is evil, wicked. The blame for everything gets put on the so-called deviants while the true American remains at home, pure, probably mortifying the flesh, crucifying the body, being a good citizen. The citizen becomes the knight riding off into the sunset victorious, leaving behind him a trail of battered and beaten people that they have judged bad. And the citizen feels justified.

In a society in turmoil, people can't tolerate anything that is different from whatever the myth of that society is. The society holds on to the myth, the belief. The myth is what they must believe. There's not enough strength in the society to deal with the facts.

Why is sex the focus of the hysteria in that situation; why not something else?

RU: Sex has always been the penultimate answer to the ultimate question, which is unity and wholeness. In theological terms sex has been the way that human beings have tried to avoid dealing with the mystery of the Trinity, the mystery of Unity. Sex is penultimate. This is why the root cause of sexual dysfunction is always some form of genitalization of sexuality. Sexuality has become, in the dysfunction, limited to genital tissue. It is not unified.

Would you say that the sexual hysteria is a kind of mystical or religious dysfunction?

RU: Yes, I would.

Your scenario for the child sexuality hysteria is the breakdown of the social

contract and a religious/mystical dysfunction. Do you recognize other causes than these?

RU: I would add radical feminism, which includes a pretty hefty dose of anti-maleness. I think in a very real way these women may be jealous that males are able to love each other, be comrades, friends, be close, intimate, work cooperatively, function in groups. The point where men may say that maleness can include the intimacy and closeness of sex may make women jealous. This would hold true for male bonding, and paedophile sex too. The woman is jealous of the connection. She says, "Wait a minute, we're not going to let you do that!"

HW: I would disagree with that one hundred percent. That women are jealous because men have close bonds with one another doesn't seem to me to make sense. The common wisdom, whether one agrees with it or not, is that a man is handicapped in a divorce more than a woman, because the woman has female friends she can talk to. Women are socialized for relationships more than men. For women to become close and intimate is easier than for a man. Men can't express feelings. These are the common beliefs. And, after all, some of the most hostile, enraged people about sexual abuse are males. Jim Peters of the National Center for the Prosecution of Child Abuse, for example.

I think the radical feminist opposition to paedophilia comes out of the general perception of men as aggressive and dominating. They use sex to dominate the weak. The weak would be women and children. That the opposition comes out of women's jealousy because men can have meaningful paedophile relationships, and they wish they could, I don't agree with at all.

RU: Certainly some men aid and abet the hysteria. They are opportunists. They have opportunistic rage. What I am proposing is that there is an aspect to femaleness that is hardly ever discussed. I believe that women also are violent, cruel, and hostile. Possibly more so than men. The radical feminists only express that side of femaleness against paedophilia.

Among certain Indian tribes, the people who did the torture were the women. A sociologist in Milwaukee who studied the records of domestic violence found that women are much more violent in domestic disputes than men, and paedophilia can be thought to be a domestic matter. My argument is that the radical feminist position arises more from women's nature than from a politics. That has been overlooked.

HW: Well, I wouldn't agree with this point of view at all. All the statistics, history too, show that violent crimes are committed more by men than by women. Violence, cruelty, hostility have been much more male domains.

The Questioning of Children

The main purpose of your book, it seems to me, is to devise a method for determining the facts when there is an allegation of child abuse. This has sometimes put you in opposition to the official system. How much have your methods been adopted at this point, and how much are they being opposed?

HW: Our main effort has been to develop methods that avoid suggestive questioning, that lead the child on. It's becoming increasingly apparent that what we are proposing is the right way to go. What we have suggested, other people are also suggesting. There is a developing consensus that this is the way to do it.

Not many people any more are advocating suggestive or leading questioning. The problem is still that people who say they agree with us still go ahead and do leading questioning anyway. They don't know they're doing it. As you know, the main reason for the acquittals in the McMartin case is that the interviews were so terrible that the jurors said, "You can't tell what went on at all, because the interviews are so suggestive."

Unfortunately, there are still very few people thinking about what happens to the child if the adults make a mistake. The worst result of bad questioning for the child is that if the child is not abused, and is taught through suggestive interviews that she has been abused, that is extremely harmful. It runs the risk of making children psychotic.

Take the McMartin case. I think we can assume that nothing happened to them. But now these children who are fourteen, fifteen years old believe that they were subjected to horrible, bizarre, ritualistic abuse. That's now part of their reality. How are these teenagers going to turn out as adults?

RU: Holly and I can demonstrate two basic things. We were the first people to publicly say, "Let's be more cautious, there's a better way to do this, we should be doing it differently." We're finding now that there is a growing consensus joining us. We can be more accurate in making discriminations between real abuse and false abuse.

In August 1990, when we were at the American Psychological Association convention the majority of the programs were in the same direction that we have been taking about. There were two or three programs that were still saying, "Children must be believed at all cost, they can't talk about things they haven't experienced." The audiences at those symposia were violently critical of that approach. Four years ago that would never have happened. When you get to the people who are doing the actual taped interviews, though, it is another story.

We're urging caution because of the child, as Holly pointed out. What you do, when you require a child who has not been abused to engage in

repeated statements about having been abused, is blur, if not destroy, the capacity of that child to distinguish between reality and unreality. When a child is reinforced by adults to repeat over and over accounts of having been abused, of having been violated in these strange, bizarre ways, children come to believe it. It becomes subjectively real. You end up with, say, a sixteen-year-old who was never abused but who now has a subjective experience of being abused. The person becomes convinced that all these terribly bizarre things happened. "I was led into a tunnel; I was undressed; I was placed on an altar; I was drenched in sacrificial blood; I have observed people cutting the heart out of others and eating it." That is now subjectively real for that child. But, the person who's taught them to believe that is the one who actually abused them. They've distorted their reality. They've made them pathological.

Are you describing a distortion of reality that occurs because of ignorance or because of malice and evil?

HW: I think ignorance is a big part of it. These aren't evil, wicked people who are purposely setting out to make children believe they were abused when they weren't. They see themselves as child advocates, child savers. They're more or less convinced they're doing a good thing. Ignorance is a very large part of it.

We have no experimental verification of this, but our suspicion is that the front-line people are young and have no children of their own. They're not trained in child development. The social workers who do the initial interviews just don't know about what a normal child is like, how suggestible they are, how they behave.

Ignorance leads to a lot of things. Ordinary exploratory sex play between children is often misunderstood. It is seen as indicative of child sexual abuse, and can therefore result in false accusations. Say a parent walks in and a four-year-old has a three-year-old's clothes off and they're exploring. The parent becomes upset, angry. "Who taught you this? Where'd you learn how to do that?" If it's a divorce and custody case they might say, "Did Daddy ever do this?"

You get bizarre things. For example, we consulted in a case of a three-year-old child who reported that a four-year-old had poked her in the genitals with a stick. This was in a preschool. The social services were called, and the first thing they did was go to the four-year-old's house to see if the four-year-old was being sexually abused. Their reasoning was that if the four-year-old poked the three-year-old in the genitals, he must have been sexually abused, or where would he have learned to do this?

There was also the incident of a ten-year-old girl and a twelve-year-old brother who were discovered fooling around with each other. The girl was put in a sexual abuse victims treatment program and the boy was put in a perpetrator's program. Seriously, these things are happening. The

underlying feeling is that if you see children being sexual they must have learned it from some adult who abused them.

RU: I agree with Holly. Ignorance is a very large part of the hysteria. Almost all the people we encounter who are involved in the system of dealing with child sexual abuse allegations, have no knowledge, no sophistication in developmental psychology. At most they have been given, one, maybe two, weekend workshops. You can't make an expert in a weekend. They form something called "multidisciplinary teams," which is one of the favorite ways that abuse is somehow supposed to be controlled. Multidisciplinary teams do not result in any increase in accuracy of decision or any increase in the effectiveness of the decision. What it results in is a pooling of mediocrity and ignorance. Of course, the APA code of ethics maintains quite clearly that both ignorance and ineptitude are unethical [laughs]. The dilemma, the reality is that we do savage things to our children; we brutalize them. Children do require the protection of society, and the protection of the law.

We've had a certain concept for a number of years. Simply stated it is that whenever two or more human beings get together and attempt to accomplish some joint task, one of the first things they do is to set up some rules. Now generally this works. You get the joint task accomplished. Rule-making is rewarded. As you add more than two people and you increase the resources and the complexity of whatever the joint tasks are, rule-making does permit more effective functioning, and that's how making laws gets reinforced.

However, there is a finite number of laws in proportion to a given population that work effectively. Any law above this number results in an increment of ineffectiveness. Let's say the number of laws necessary in the US is 13,246. Law number 13,247 would then be over the threshold. Each law you now add divides your society. People now begin to exploit. There is more and more opportunity for malice, evasion of responsibility and so on. The net effect is to begin to destroy that society. However, nobody realizes or understands it so they keep on making laws. You have now reached the point at which there is some form of revolution required to start the process all over again.

One of your goals in formulating questions for the child about possible abuse is to avoid distorting the child's reality. In your interrogation methods, do your questions presuppose for the children that they themselves see the sexual relationship as abuse?

RU: No, no. Not our methods.

HW: No. What we would do is get the child to use free recall, to describe what took place. As scientists our goal would be to get as much informa-

tion from the child about what happened and what took place as possible. We would see it as somebody else's responsibility to interpret this, or see whether it's legal or illegal.

RU: We don't tell children things like, "Well, it's all the other person's fault, you were helpless, you were powerless, and you're not responsible." Some people are now saying that this is the best thing to tell children. If you tell them they were powerless it gives the children more power. We don't do that.

Paedophilia and Spirituality

We spoke at the beginning about paedophilia and spirituality. This is not an issue that is very often discussed. Given the opposition to and oppression of paedophilia in American society, how would you describe a spirituality for paedophiles?

RU: For me, the beginning of spiritual life is in knowing that God is gracious, knowing that it is God's purpose that we have a good life, knowing that it is God's purpose that we be free. The freedom that God intends for us to have is absolute. The only thing that can match absolute killing, and judgments that condemn us such as St. Paul's, "You have sinned and come short of the glory of God," is the absolute, "You are free." You are free, that is, from all accusation; nothing, no one can accuse you.

The issue is never what is right or wrong. That's a mistaken question. Paying attention to what is right and wrong is, I think, a penultimate goal because the issue is not right and wrong but good and evil. That's totally different. Right and wrong has to do with whether or not you hit the mark, whether a given behavior matches a certain standard. If it doesn't then it's wrong.

Good and evil only pays attention to outcomes. You can never know the outcomes until you have already acted. Spirituality that attends to the issue of good and evil must always be courageous, bold, operating always with incomplete information. You never know, so you are continually making a responsible choice about which there's always a risk. You can only know if something is good subsequent to having acted, and observing the outcomes.

As with all human behavior, I would suggest that paedophiles can say, "I have chosen; I choose; I will act in this fashion. I believe that the outcome will be good. I will pay the price for that act, whatever that price may be."

HW: The price might be the difficulty of integrating oneself into one's society.

RU: Or, going to jail, certainly. As I said before, it may take people being arrested. In a sense, what is, well, I guess I can say this, what is offensive about what I know about paedophiles is their intention to be able to do what they choose without paying the price. "I want to be able to do this, but the society should let me do it without exacting any kind of price from me."

Is it reasonable for paedophiles to want and to work for the decriminalization of what they believe is right?

RU: It's not reasonable if the goal is "I want to do it, and I don't really care what other people tell me. I'm not going to engage in the attempt to communicate or to talk to people." It's like saying to somebody, "Accept me because after all I'm really the same as you are." That's what tolerance is supposed to be, and that's why tolerance always falls short. It is never to me acceptable.

I don't think it is honest to tolerate somebody only because they are saying "At rock bottom, I'm really the same as you." Or, conversely to say, I can tolerate you, I can accept you, because you are the same. I think it is much more honest and direct to say, "Yes we're different. You're black, I'm white, you're smart, I'm not. I'm paedophile, you're heterosexual." Those are real differences, real differences. Paedophiles should point out how different they are, what the differences are.

Still, isn't it a reasonable wish for paedophiles to want to see paedophile sex decriminalized? It may not be realistic right now in the US, but does that make it less legitimate a goal?

RU: Oh yes, sure, sure. I mean Jesus said, "I really don't want to do this. I don't want to go up there onto Calvary." But when it came down to it, he said, "Well, OK, I'm going to walk the steps." As for decriminalization the question is really if you're not there, how are you going to get there?

Any advice?

RU: Take the risk, the consequences of the risk, and make the claim: this is something good. Paedophiles need to become more positive and make the claim that paedophilia is an acceptable expression of God's will for love and unity among human beings. This is the only way the question is going to be answered, of whether or not it is possible. Does it happen? Can it be good? That's what we don't know yet, the ways in which paedophiles can conduct themselves in loving ways. That's what you need to talk about. You need to get involved in discourse, and to do so while acting. *Matthew 11* talks about the wisdom of God, and the way in which God's wisdom, like ours, can only follow after.

I think the paedophile movement makes a mistake when it seeks to label the church as the instrument of repression, and in a sense, the enemy. I'm certainly aware of the accusation that it's the church that represses sexuality. I don't believe that's the case at all. I believe that the repression of sexuality begins with Greek thought, not Hebrew thought. People who want to deal positively with human sexuality will do best to see the church as an ally, and to elicit from the church the positive responses about sexuality that are there.

You spoke about the need for paedophiles to engage in a discourse. What should that be?

HW: We can't presume to tell them specific behaviors, but in terms of goals, certainly the goal is that the experience be positive, at the very least not negative, for their partner and partner's family. And nurturing. Even if it were a good relationship with the boy, if the boy was not harmed and perhaps even benefitted, if it tore the family of the boy apart, that would be negative.

It would be nice if someone could get some kind of big research grant to do a longitudinal study of, let's say, a hundred twelve-year-old boys in relationships with loving paedophiles. Whoever was doing the study would have to follow them at five-year intervals for twenty years. This is impossible in the US right now. We're talking a long time in the future.

GOVERNMENT AND GOOD MORALS

H. J. Roethof

The late Mr. Abspoel, who, as you know, derived part of his fame as a public prosecutor from the trial of Gerard Reve and his donkey,[1] stated a number of years ago that during his career he was frequently confronted with legal proceedings concerning sex with minors. "More than with other offences mentioned in the Penal Code," he said, "I have had doubts about the desirability of criminalizing these and the usefulness of prosecuting them. Furthermore, as it cannot be denied that the provisions of our Penal Code are rooted in the views of what is and is not morally permitted in The Netherlands, the question occurred to me whether the State has the right to force these views, although they are held by the majority of the population, upon others by means of legal sanctions. Imposing one's own views about good and evil on others is more or less inherent in human nature. One of the characteristics of human nature is that we apply certain standards of good and evil, what is morally permitted and what is not. That is coupled with the inclination to regard these views as the only true ones. Consequently, one stands a good chance of giving in to the temptation to force his own view of truth upon others, if necessary by violent means." Mr. Abspoel himself had a Roman Catholic background, and so reveals an appealing portrait of himself.

Sexuality, like eating and drinking, is part of the normal pattern of every human being's life. At the same time it is one of our most personal and emotion-laden aspects. For that reason alone it is worth considering what role penal law should play in it. The intentions of penal law regarding sexuality derive from and were integrated with the old religious views. It has long been emphasized in our Christian society that sin must be punished and evil requited. To be sure, the way in which this ought to be done has changed in the course of time. In pre- or early Christian days families or tribes used to settle their own disputes. More modern times saw the advent of the Public Prosecutor who, with or without a request from a citizen, demanded the evil-doer's conviction on behalf of the entire society. Penal law has become public law, as we say in legal terms.

Our opinions on sexuality have long been dominated by those of church representatives. Homosexuality has been condemned for centuries, and those caught in the act were threatened and sometimes punished with severe penalties, even death. The same was true for paedophilia and several other forms of sexual conduct mentioned in the Penal Code. For centuries, the organizing principle of heterosexuality has been the limited freedom of women, who were given little choice about how many children they bore and whose right of personal self-determination in this was

strictly curtailed. In exchange they received a certain degree of protection, but remained in a subordinate role. The contraceptive pill has changed this to some extent, and I do not consider it a coincidence that the emergence of the pill and women's liberation went hand in hand, chronologically.

Nowadays the penal law is not regarded as a means of revenge. It is now seen as a means of protecting society against extremely unwelcome behaviour and even perhaps as a means of uplifting offenders. One should not have too many illusions about the latter. Consequently, a more liberal view would advocate restraint in enforcing criminal laws, particularly in cases where imprisonment could result, and even more specifically in such a sensitive and personal area as sexuality. Unfortunately, the idealistic expectation that incarceration will lead to resocialization usually does not turn out to be true. Sad as it is, it has been established that imprisonment makes people bitter rather than better. Moreover, it has to be noted that jobs are not plentiful for those who have spent time in jail. It is undeniable that imprisonment contributes to their isolation. Imprisonment still stigmatizes. Finally, one should be under no illusion about its deterrent effect. Experience shows that ever more severe penalties and ever higher crime rates often coincide.

How has the relationship between criminal law and sexuality developed in The Netherlands during the last one hundred years or so? The legislator's attitude in 1886[2] was that the authorities should combat, by means of penal sanctions, public corruption of morality. The liberal rulers of those days were enlightened on the one hand, and typical sneaks on the other. Not moral dimensions but public order stood first in their minds. Regarding sexuality, the authorities determined what could and could not be permitted for the sake of public order. There was of course a fairly strict social vigilance, in the form of people spying on each other, but as long as events were not in the limelight of publicity, the authorities would not be quick to interfere.

This philosophy lasted until 1911. Meanwhile the religious parties had taken over the helm and their Minister of Justice Regout desired to take an entirely different stand on sexual relationships than his predecessors, whose views, as he saw it, had erred on the liberal, laissez-faire side.

In apparent harmony with the spirit of the age, Christian principles were elevated to become the dominant morality. The law was amended, which led to violators of this morality being pilloried and made subject to criminal prosecution. In this way Christian ethics were officially made public policy.

The period between the world wars was marked by a great deal of hypocrisy, against which numerous organizations, particularly after 1945, began to defend themselves with increasing success. In the area of sexuality this was true first and foremost of the NVSH and COC.[3] But in a much

wider sphere emancipation, in the sense of speaking out and dissociating oneself from "overseers" and clergy, became ever more a common value.

The ideals of the French and American revolutions, including the individual right of self-determination and the principle of the equality of all mankind, again came forward. Liberation from superfluous restrictions, the wish to choose one's own identity more purposefully, strengthening of one's own selfhood and sense of responsibility were among the most important social concepts. Adults wished to determine their own place in society and appeared no longer prepared to acquiesce to the traditional security and familiarity gained by social subordination, even though this entailed undeniable risks. The women's liberation movement in particular formed a militant part of this emancipatory wave. The quest for an open, pluralist society, not least in the field of interpersonal relations, had broken out with full intensity.

Nevertheless, the seventies did not see a thorough and fundamental revision of Regout's "morals laws" of the turn of the century. This was due to several causes. Some of the most objectionable aspects, such as punishments for adultery and homosexual contacts between adults and minors above sixteen, were reformed by separate bills. I also include among these reforms the legislation on abortion, albeit with mixed feelings.[4] In addition to this, judges had increasing reservations about enforcing antiquated laws, resulting in numerous cases—for example, concerning pornographic books and films—hardly being prosecuted, if at all. As a consequence, the pressure on the government to re-examine the entire body of prevailing laws—for example those concerning serious sexual crimes and sex with children—severely diminished. However, particular responsibility should be assigned to the more than ten-year long administration of Minister of Justice (later Minister-President) Dries van Agt, who carried on a hopeless battle against the liberalization of the abortion law, which absorbed a great deal of the energy of the sexual reform movement. By the time he completed his term and returned to his native Brabant,[5] the right moment for legislative change had passed.

Just when the new Minister of Justice De Ruiter expressed his preparedness to modify the law, he was besieged by a number of women, who together with a part of the feminist movement, started to attack pornography, which was depicted as a symptom of the oppression of women, a form of discrimination in conflict with the equality of the sexes, and possibly an incentive to sexual assaults on women. Smoke-bombs and sometimes harsh actions underscored their determination. The process of "unmoralizing" the sex laws, which for years had been defended by fire and sword by anyone situating himself on the progressive side of the political spectrum, was thus abruptly, temporarily, halted. The protestors gained support from the Christian-Democrats—and from the Communist Party too, by the way—and a startled Minister De Ruiter sent his bill to the Emancipation Council[6] for advice. They subsequently recommended a

further inquiry into the possible damage done by pornography, and the connection, if any, it had with violence against women, and a further investigation of its influence on children, and the effects on children and adults who are the subjects in pornography. The issue of women's modesty, the rally-cry of Regout and his spiritual successors, was replaced by her vulnerability.

It is true that the amendment of the pornography laws, with the exception of those pertaining to "child pornography," has finally been accomplished,[7] but the rest of the program of amending and repealing morals laws proved still more difficult to bring about. A bill concerning serious sexual crimes, which had been submitted to the Council of State[8] for advice, had to be reconsidered by the Cabinet because of the age of consent it stipulated and because of the way in which dependency relations were defined.[9] If my information is correct, the bill is still pending in the Cabinet.

What in point of fact are the issues? In my view, the issues in the entire discussion about morals legislation are the responsibility of government, what criminal law can potentially accomplish, and the precise definition of offences.

The responsibility of the government regarding sexuality is, it seems to me, to guarantee the individual's right of free choice, the right of self-determination, as a primary condition for an open, pluralist society. This freedom to choose obviously contains both the right to engage in desired sexual contacts and the right to refuse those which are not desired. No government should interfere in polygamy, homosexuality, or any other form of sexual behaviour, without additional cause. By "without additional cause" I mean the government bringing action against a person, be they homosexual, heterosexual, or what have you, without that person having infringed the right of sexual self-determination of any other person. This is the origin of my critique of the idea of enforcing "public morality."

A social movement which attempts to accomplish its goals by laws that advance its own moral views legitimizes state interference in the most intimate part of people's private lives, and impedes emancipation and social renewal. As soon as any social group, whether or not it subscribes to the motto that the personal is political, can have the authorities do its bidding, the norms of this group will be imposed on others.

Restraint should be a principle in criminal law, but disregarding this is particularly detrimental when sexual behaviour is concerned, for which personal advice from one's community, and professional assistance, would be more beneficial. Criminal law is not a fitting instrument to be used for solving problems in intimate relationships. It has been argued that the sexual "oppression" of women is one element of the all-encompassing "oppression" of women in society, and that penal law could contribute to

relieving this "oppression" by combatting sexual assault. Taking issue with this, I submit that the relationship between two people is much more complicated than this stereotype. Power in an erotic or sexual relationship between two people is not entirely decided by the social strata to which each belongs, nor by the fact that one might be employed by the other, but rather their mutual affection and emotions are at least an equal factor.

Some people believe that in a lasting relationship they have to "efface" themselves for the other. In retrospect this could lead to remorse. Sometimes they go to court even after many years have passed. The newspapers nowadays are full of such reports. But what can a court contribute? Imbalances of power between the two people exist in every relationship; often the balance of power alternates between the two partners. A permanent balance only rarely occurs. Sometimes one dominates, at other times the other. Moreover it is often difficult to determine who takes initiatives. This is to say only that the matter is of such a personal nature that we need to guard against laying down all kinds of legal standards, and the involvement of the police and criminal courts, even when the "victim" desires it. If we nevertheless choose to do this, we not only relinquish our right of self-determination, but we also overlook the fact that criminal law can not be used to regulate personal relationships within society.

The draft of the bill on serious sexual crimes, as initially submitted to the Council of State, was a compromise between the positions of the religious and liberal parties in a coalition government. The contribution from the religious side was clearly expressed in their demand for an absolute prohibition of sexual contacts with persons under sixteen years of age, instead of twelve years as originally proposed by the Liberal Minister of Justice. The Liberal faction in parliament, followed by the Minister himself, changed its tack within 48 hours.

Things have changed since the seventies. In those days everything sexual was advocated. One had to experience things before being able to judge them. At present, violence, incest, promiscuity, harassment and repression are the concerns of the day. As in the old days, sex is again becoming surrounded by a veil of impermissibility. I am afraid that I must agree with the view of Dr. Wafelbakker when he says—and here I am thinking of the Rotterdam commune[10]—today parents who deliberately provide their children with a careful and responsible sex education run much graver risks than those parents who frustrate their children completely by utter negligence.

Since thorough, clear guidelines in the form of appropriate legislation is not forthcoming, a certain degree of legal uncertainty prevails in the society and in the policies of the prosecutors. Signs of this can be found daily in the press. Numerous problems arise through attempts to stretch the definitions of offences; other problems occur because of conflicting views of what does and does not represent free will, and still other

problems arise by linking obscure Christian ideas with those of new outspoken constituencies, as is happening in attacks on paedophilia. The protection of children is made the over-riding standard. The supposition that a child has no erotic desires at all, or may not act on them, provokes what I consider to be the worst form of moralizing. When a person like Dr. Mik, in the Oude Pekela affair,[11] makes an emotional statement about the perversities inflicted on children, without being specific about them, it is my view that he too contributes to such moralizing, although there can be no doubt that this is not his purpose.

Producing satisfactory sex legislation is, to my mind, hampered by five factors. These are:

1) The dependency syndrome.
2) The discrimination syndrome.
3) The vulnerability syndrome.
4) The criminalization syndrome.
5) The morality syndrome.

The *dependency syndrome* supposes that many (or most) interpersonal relationships are characterized by domination and subordination, and that law must interfere if these dynamics are abused. I consider this a dubious point of view. Sexual relationships are much more complicated that that. A person may be stronger economically, but also emotionally. One who is a "victim" in one respect may be the stronger party in another. Sex is a part of daily life and should not be approached on the basis of fear of excesses. Especially not by the government. This syndrome assumes a priori that damage or coercion will take place. When reading proposals and draft-texts for laws these days, one has the feeling that the fact that damage and coercion are the exception is entirely overlooked. Moreover, even when there is damage it does not necessarily have to lead to criminal charges, because civil lawsuits are also available as a remedy. Further, genuine coercion can be dealt with under article 284 of the Penal Code.[12]

The *discrimination syndrome* takes as its starting point that because some forms of discrimination, such as racial discrimination, are already crimes, discrimination on account of sex or sexual orientation ought to be brought under penal law also.[13] The problem is that in the case of race, the present Dutch laws do not actually combat discrimination itself, in the sense of racial inequality, but rather its expressions, such as insulting public statements. Van der Dunk rightly remarks that the relation between freedom, freedom of expression and moral censorship is the fundamental issue for a pluralist democracy. Whoever wishes for a free society must also accept its risks. Part of this is the freedom to express offending opinions. Only in extreme circumstances should a judge interfere. Moral censorship begins when, for instance, the COC sues Cardinal Simonis in order to compel him to retract what they regard as discriminatory statements about homosexuals.[14] To my mind, such an action oversteps the bound-

ary of moral censorship by a wide margin. Moreover, it never contributes to a clarification of positions when issues have to be debated in criminal courts. The possibility of offending, provided that this is done without hurting people's feelings unnecessarily, gives flavour to a democratic society.

The *vulnerability syndrome* is based on the assumption that some minorities have to be dealt with gently in public life, because persons belonging to these minorities have "already suffered such a great deal." This too opens the door to moral censorship. Little would remain of literature and art if, on every occasion, one had to evaluate the pros and cons of publishing or exhibiting something that might be considered as harmful to some group in society. I therefore share the serious objections of the NVSH against the seizure of erotic photographs of children by the Amsterdam police on the basis of article 240B of the Penal Code.[15] Leaving aside the fact that the pictures do not affect me, at any rate do not arouse me, I consider the seizure to conflict with definitions given several years ago by the Minister of Justice during the debate in the Second Chamber concerning the revision of article 240B, which focused in particular on commercial child pornography, whereby "sexual demeanour" became an element of the offence.[16]

The *criminalization syndrome* is expressed by those who regard severe penalties as a way of solving interpersonal problems. Not only have I little sympathy for extending rather than reducing the number of offences covered by morals legislation, but also I read about too many cases in the press which I question. In this respect I think of complaints that are brought to court after many years of silence, or of cases involving rape or abuse of power, which result in a conviction, where nevertheless the relationship is continued. Please understand me correctly: for my part I can still explain all this. Some of the cases I refer to, and which repeatedly come into court, could not even be discussed in earlier days, and to the extent that the taboo on them is lifted and they are discussed, the present situation is better. But when this leads to witch-hunts in which the police interfere even when the "victim" does not feel any need for it, I consider this as overdoing things. This ignores what is at least lip service given to sexual self-determination and the priority of the individual's "free will." Criminal law serves to combat excesses. It does not settle interpersonal problems and should not interfere in mutually affective relationships.

The model of the *morality syndrome* is what Mr. Abspoel discussed in the quote at the beginning of this lecture: universalizing one's own opinion and elevating it to become public morality. My approach is that the authorities have to keep at arm's length from sexual behaviour, which is a part of daily life. And I observe that this is hardly the case. The shift to the right in The Netherlands is coming from the United States. Over there, the Moral Majority is gaining ever more influence. The fundamentalist churches in America together count some 25 million members, which

equals half of the entire Iranian population. I regard this as a horrifying prospect. It coincides with a turn to the right in politics there. Emotions about sex are being projected onto their Penal Code as a whole. There is no country where the drug problem is so frantically addressed, and to so little avail. Recently, capital punishment has again begun claiming lives. The number awaiting execution is increasing by leaps and bounds. It seems to me that all these facts are closely related to each other.

To sum up, I want to make the following remarks. When I grew up, sexual intercourse was considered risky and even disagreeable except in marriage. Many years later sex was just "pleasant," and everything had to be tried if one wanted to be in step with the times. At present, many see sexual violence and abuse as one of the greatest menaces to human civilization, casting its shadow over sexuality. Not to mention the connection of sex with disease. So is there, after all, again a need for an avenging authority, a new Holy Writ?

The choice is between self-determination and protection. Whoever absolutizes one, kills the other. You cannot have it both ways. Whoever wants to avoid suffocation in the protective embrace of the government will consequently need to rely on self-determination, plus a certain degree of social responsibility. The latter must be cultivated by people themselves, and cannot be imposed. So how good it is that *Sekstant*[17] is being published and that Martijn can march on toward its tenth anniversary.

NOTES

1. In 1966, the Dutch author Gerard Reve had to stand trial on the accusation of public blasphemy after having published an essay in which he described himself as having sexual intercourse with God, who had assumed the form of a grey donkey. Mr. Abspoel served as the prosecutor, and surprised the liberal side of his audience by turning his presentation into a strong plea for tolerance and respect for religious feelings.
2. This was the year when the present Dutch Penal Code came into effect. The sections involving public morality were heavily revised in 1911.
3. The NVSH (Nederlandse Vereniging voor Sexuele Hervorming, or Netherlands Association for Sexual Reform) is an organization which, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s when its membership exceeded two hundred thousand, contributed greatly to sexual reform, including the lifting of legal restraints. During the 1970s its active work groups on paedophilia and youth emancipation had the ear of the media and gained some influence. NVIH/COC (Nederlandse Vereniging tot Integratie van Homosexualiteit, or Netherlands Association for the Integration of Homosexuality) is the largest Dutch gay organization, and has effectively contributed to the emancipation of homosexuals in the Netherlands.
4. Mr. Roethof's own bill regarding abortion was unexpectedly defeated in the upper house of the Dutch Parliament in 1976. Abortion has since been legalized.
5. This province is in the southern, and overridingly Roman Catholic and conservative, part of the Netherlands.
6. An advisory body of the Dutch government for issues of emancipation, but particularly women's emancipation.

7. The revision of the laws on pornography and indecent exposure became effective in 1986, almost seven years after a bill to this effect had first been submitted to the Parliament.
8. The Raad van State (Council of State) functions, among its other duties, as the most important advisory council of the Dutch government. Every bill has to be submitted to it for a non-binding recommendation before it is presented to the Parliament.
9. This happened in November 1985. The Cabinet had proposed a bill on serious sexual crimes which included changing the present absolute prohibition on sexual contact with anyone under sixteen years of age to a prohibition of only those sexual contacts with twelve- to fifteen-year-olds which had been "brought about or promoted by promising or presenting gifts, abuse of power, or deception," and retaining the absolute prohibition on contacts with children under twelve. The bill was, as usual, sent to the Council of State for advice, and was announced to the public in an unusually concise press release. The bill, had it become law, would have had only a very moderate impact on the prosecution of paedophile relationships, because the term "abuse of power" would have provided prosecutors and judges with considerable leeway to act against sexual behaviour they considered as damaging or otherwise undesirable. But as the actual intention of the bill was difficult to understand for outsiders, opponents of the bill easily suggested that it would be highly detrimental to adolescents. The emotional reaction that followed, which included strong opposition from several parties in the Parliament, forced the Minister of Justice to promise that the bill would be reconsidered by the Cabinet after the Council of State had offered its advice. The latter did so in the spring of 1986, but the contents of the advice will only be disclosed if and when the Cabinet has reconsidered the bill and sent it to Parliament, which has not been done and is not expected. In the meantime, based on the signals which this affair provided, prosecution of paedophile relationships has become markedly harsher. Statistics show increases in the number of complaints brought, the percentage of these which result in prison sentences, and the duration of these sentences.
10. In April 1985, members of a commune in Rotterdam were arrested and their children placed in protective custody for several days after a widely publicized police raid on their dwelling. Accusations of sexual abuse of the children had been brought against them, by an evidently vindictive former member of the commune. Thorough investigation revealed that the parents had given the children a liberal sex education, but that no sexual abuse had taken place. From the outset members of the commune courageously fought the charges and managed to draw a lot of sympathetic publicity. After more than two years of legal proceedings they celebrated a complete victory when the Hoge Raad (Supreme Court) upheld the dismissal of the case by a lower court.
11. Oude Pekela is a small village in the extreme northeast of the Netherlands. In the spring of 1987 it received world-wide news coverage following allegations that dozens of children had been abused there by a gang of child pornographers dressed as clowns. The affair was comparable to others in the United States (such as Jordan, Minnesota, or the McMartin Pre-School case in Los Angeles) and England (the Cleveland case) in the sense that it aroused tremendous emotions and inflammatory coverage by some of the media. On the other hand, great skepticism prevailed in other media. Lengthy investigations produced no evidence to support the allegations, and no one was indicted. In January 1988, when the storm over the affair had begun to abate, it was suddenly resurrected when Prof. Dr. G. Mik, a local psychiatrist who had also once served as a member of parliament, and who had been asked by the prosecutor to assess the truth of the children's statements in the affair, stated publicly that he was convinced that all the claims of a gang having abused the children were true. In fact his official report was more subdued, but his statement to the parents of the children was highly emotional, and received wide media coverage. Mr. Roethof's lecture was presented shortly after Dr. Mik's statements had been made, and this paragraph in the speech was widely publicized by the media because he was the first person of any significance to openly voice skepticism about Dr. Mik's statements. Others followed suit, and Dr. Mik was soon discredited after it was revealed he had no experience at all in child psychology, and had based his sweeping claims on interviews with only a handful of the children

involved. Further investigation by the press resulted in an article in the *Haagse Post*, a major Dutch weekly ("Duivelsgeloof: Het griezelverhaal over de pornoclowns van Oude Pekela ontraadseld," by Peter Hofstede, May 28, 1988, no. 22, pps. 24-28), which provides strong evidence that the affair originated in the local doctors' methods of following up a very minor incident of sex play in which only children had been involved.

12. Section 284 of the Penal Code prohibits illegitimate coercion in general. The maximum penalty is nine months of imprisonment, which is much lower than, for instance, that for rape, which is twelve years.

13. A bill extending most of the coverage of the present criminal laws against racial discrimination to discrimination on account of sex and sexual orientation is presently pending in parliament, and will most likely be approved by a wide margin, particularly if "sexual orientation" is defined in such a way as to exclude paedophilia. This bill includes the prohibition against offending people in public or inciting hatred, violence or discrimination against persons on the grounds of their "race, religion, philosophy of life, sex or sexual orientation."

14. In July 1987 the highest prelate of the Roman Catholic church in the Netherlands, Cardinal J.A. Simonis, was sued by the NVIH/COC after he had, in a radio interview, expressed his understanding for the situation of a hypothetical homeowner who wished to evict a tenant because the tenant was homosexual, but who might be prevented from doing so by anti-discrimination laws. The COC lost the suit, although the Cardinal had to qualify his statements during the legal proceedings in order to make it clear that he had not intended to promote discrimination.

15. In May 1987 the Amsterdam Morals Police seized fifteen photographs of nude boys which were on display in the art gallery belonging to the gay bookshop Intermale. The photographer and the gallery owner were later charged with violating Section 240B of the Penal Code, which, since May 1986, prohibits the distribution or public display of "depictions of a *sexuele gedraging* in which a person who is apparently under sixteen years of age is involved". The word *gedraging* in Dutch can mean "demeanour," "conduct," or "behavior". Although no sexual conduct is displayed in the photographs, the police and prosecutor have justified their indictment by arguing that any image which is intended to sexually arouse a viewer constitutes a *sexuele gedraging*. In hearing pre-trial motions for summary dismissal, the lower court rejected this view, and instead defined a *sexuele gedraging* as an "unevenhanded emphasis on the sex organs," and using this criteria dismissed charges against eleven of the photographs, continuing the case against four others. This decision was appealed by both the prosecutor and the accused. Some, including the NVSH and Mr. Roethof, regard this case as a deliberate attempt to stretch the intentions of section 240B beyond the boundaries intended by parliament when they debated and approved the law.

16. The *Tweede Kamer* is the lower house of the Dutch parliament, and by far the most important. During the debate on the rewriting of Section 240B, which included changing the wording from forbidding depictions of "indecent acts" to forbidding depictions of *sexuele gedraging* in which persons apparently under sixteen are involved, in response to questions from members who feared the definitions would be over-broad or unclear, the Minister of Justice gave assurances that the term would only apply to the sort of "material that is for sale in sex shops," and said that to apply the term to nude photographs would be "far from the normal Dutch usage" of the term (*Handelingen Tweede Kamer*, October 18, 1984).

17. *Sekstant* is the official publication of the NVSH.

About the Author:

The late Dr. H.J. Roethof was the senior member of the Second Chamber, the lower house of the Netherlands parliament. Originally the chairman of the Liberal Youth Organization (JOVD), he later became a member of the Labor Party (PvdA). An expert in the law of nations, he worked as a political commentator for a leading liberal newspaper and as a civil servant before being elected to parliament in 1969. As a legislator he consistently pressed for restraint in criminal legislation, not least with respect to morals laws. His accomplishments include the constitutional amendment eliminating the death penalty from Dutch law, and the legal exemption of bona fide social workers from the prohibition against hiding runaway minors.

Dr. Roethof was noted for his constancy in defending freedom of expression and legislative restraint. On the other hand, this constancy made him enemies among proponents of new penal legislation, such as feminists opposed to pornography, or gays advocating legal prohibitions against publicly insulting persons because of their sexual orientation. His clash with feminist writers over pornography may have contributed to his non-election in 1982, though he was again returned to parliament in 1986. He was not his party's spokesman on moral issues, but that did not deter him from taking firm stands on these issues. He advocated lowering the age of consent for sex to twelve, and presented lectures on the subject of morals legislation to various audiences. Like the speech here, these reflected his personal views and not necessarily those of his party. The Labor Party was the main driving force behind the 1971 repeal of the law that forbade homosexual contacts between adults and minors over the age of sixteen.

The speech translated here was the main address at the fifth anniversary celebration of the Vereniging Martijn (1988), a Dutch association devoted to providing public information about paedophilia and assistance to paedophiles, and which publishes the magazine *Ouderen-kinderen-relaties*, or *O.K.*. It has been reprinted in whole or in part in several national Dutch newspapers, in *O.K.*, and in *Socialisme en Democratie*, issued by the research bureau of the Dutch Labor Party.

Translation from the Dutch and notes by Jan Schuijer

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Compiled by Joel Crawford, Joseph Geraci, Ianthe, and Will Ogrinc

Editor's Note

The following reading list was compiled from *Paidika* Book Notes, which we began as a regular feature in the journal in issue 6, autumn 1990. To date, the accumulated notes number more than 500 books and articles, from which we have selected about 300 of the more important.

When we founded the journal in the spring of 1987, we had a simple goal in mind. In was our intention to create what we came to call "a history of record" on the subject of paedophilia. We viewed our endeavor in a historical context, for the long run if you will, in contrast to the short term, which we saw as political, the advocacy of the practically possible. As a scholarly journal, we have tried to take steps to add to the documentation of paedophilia in various ways: through additional footnotes by the authors, bibliographies, reviews, and book listings.

Some of our choices of topics and books need explanation. We believe that paedophilia exists within a social context and discourse relating not just to theories and studies of intergenerational sexuality but also to concepts of childhood and children's development. Dr. Sebald's book *Witch Children: From Salem Witch Hunts to Modern Courtrooms*, listed below, for example, is an important text on a social hysteria and the role of children. His last chapter summarizes the ways in which historical comparisons can be made between past and current eras.

We have, in general, restricted ourselves to positive accounts of intergenerational and childhood sexuality issues. There is a simple reason for this: we are the only journal in the world devoted to Intergenerational Studies, deliberately distinguishing ourselves from the proliferation of child abuse journals and literature. We reject as unscientific the definition of intergenerational relationships as inherently abusive. The power, influence, and command of financial resources of the "abuse industry" has allowed it to dominate the discussion of such relationships and to support the passage of draconian and inhumane legislation.

Surprisingly, there has been a plethora of publications that are positive, or at least scientifically neutral, on the subjects of childhood sexuality and intergenerational sexual relationships. Novels depicting positive sex between adults and children and between children themselves have proliferated in the last ten years, as have poetry, biographies, social studies, art studies, biographies, etc., a sampling of which we present here.

To cite what we have included is not to make clear what we have

omitted for the purposes of this volume. Book Notes had a fair sampling of girl-love titles as well as woman-boy and woman-girl references, which we have not included here. Issue 8 of *Paidika* was a Special Women's Issue, edited by the Dutch feminists Marjan Sax and Sjuul Deckwitz. We refer the reader to that issue for further material on the subject.

That a virtual reference library of more open material on intergenerational relationships should exist is of course not at all evident in the general discussion today. For example, the fact that revolutionary work has been done on theories of childhood, child development, and abandonment is clearly relevant to discussions of adult/child sexual relationships. What is a child? What do we know from developmental studies about the child's ability to make an autonomous choice? At what age should an age of consent be fixed, and what relevance should autonomous moral choice have on sexuality discussions? Can we properly understand archaic Greek homosexual practices with boys if we have no understanding of how the Greeks constructed or even imagined boyhood or childhood, boys and children?

There has been a more varied response to childhood sexuality issues than that presented to us by the religious right, the recovered memory movement, some feminists, or the child-abuse industry. It can be safely said, without appearing to exaggerate, that Intergenerational Studies has just begun, and that there are shades of grey and white in the discussion that do not appear in the literature of abuse.

Nor has it been our goal, because of a simple practical lack of space, to make either Book Notes or this volume exhaustive. There will indeed be many titles that some readers will find missing.

The modest goal of this volume can best be stated as a hope: that it will lead to a rational discourse on an emotive topic. If there is to be dialogue on such subjects as are presented so courageously by the authors of these articles and interviews, then we need to be informed. It is indicative of the current atmosphere that this even needs to be said. Perhaps then this volume, and even this reading list, will begin to demonstrate that enough research and literature exists to formulate a multi-dimensional view of intergenerational sexuality. We have never made any claims to absolute truths. At this stage of history we have more questions than answers, but we would like to think, at least, that we can in some small way suggest a reasoned dissent.

FURTHER READING

AUTOBIOGRAPHY: Diaries, Letters, Memoirs

(Buskirk, Philip C. van) Burg, B. R., ed. *An American Seafarer in the Age of Sail: The Erotic Diaries of Philip C. Van Buskirk 1851-1870.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994. Homosexual activities with boys on board ships in the nineteenth century, as well as insight into boy-love affairs of the time. Reviewed in *Paidika* 3:4 (winter 1995), p. 78.

Gamble, Peter. *The More We Are Together: Memoirs of a Wayward Life.* Stamford (England): Paul Watkins Press, 1993. Frank, well-written autobiography of a boy-lover.

Jarman, Derek. *Modern Nature: The Journals of Derek Jarman.* London: Century, 1991. Includes descriptions of his early sexual contacts with other boys, and the consequences of being discovered in bed with another boy at prep school.

Koch, Knut. *Barfuss als Prinz. Zwei Leben.* Munich: DTV, 1995. Autobiography with boy-love revelations.

Lawrence, T. E. *The Diary of T.E. Lawrence, 1911.* London: Garnet, 1993. Diaries containing some references to boys and love of boys.

McMullen, Richie. *Enchanted Boy.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1989.

McMullen, Richie. *Enchanted Youth.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1990.

Orton, Joe. *The Orton Diaries.* Edited by John Lahr. London: Methuen, 1986. The overtly paedophile content of these diaries has been overlooked by reviewers and critics. See especially the section on Morocco, but also throughout.

Vaughan, Paul. *Something in Linoleum: A Thirties Education.* London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994. Autobiographical account of an American boy sent to an English boarding school and the author's reflections on sexuality in the school. Treats the sexual goings-on with humor rather than disapproval.

Vidal, Gore. *Palimpsest: A Memoir.* New York: Random House, 1995. Autobiography of the famous novelist. The central relationship in the book is a boy friend with whom he began having sex at the age of twelve.

BIOGRAPHY

(Beckford, William) Lees-Milne, James. *William Beckford.* London: Century, 1990. Reissue of a biography by an architectural critic. The author does not seem to like Beckford, but the book contains information about Beckford's love affair with the twelve-year-old William Courtenay.

(Britten, Benjamin) Carpenter, Humphrey. *Benjamin Britten. A Biography.* London: Faber and Faber, 1992. Reveals the composer's infatuations with 12-year-old boys, first with boys from the lower class whom he wanted to adopt and later with choirboys. Carpenter states, we think in contradiction to his own research, that boy-love was incidental to Britten's life and creativity.

(Britten, Benjamin) Mitchell, Donald, and Philip Reed, eds. *Letters from a Life: Selected Letters and Diaries of Benjamin Britten.* 2 vols. London: Faber and Faber, 1991. Numerous discussions of Britten's attraction to 12-year-old boys.

(Casement, Roger) Bleys, Rudi. "Roger Casement ou l'Amour aux Colonies: Historiographie et Imaginaire de l'Altérité." *Homosexualité et Lesbianisme. Mythes, Mémoires, Historiographies. Actes du Colloque Internationale.* Paris, Sorbonne, 1-2 Décembre 1989. Série Histoire. Paris-Lille: G.R.E.H./C.E.A.Q./Cahier Gai-Kitsch-Camp, 1989, pp. 41-51. Discusses, among other things, Casement's (1864-1916) involvement with young Indian boys during his stay in South America.

(Chaplin, Charlie) Milton, Joyce. *Tramp: The Life of Charlie Chaplin.* London: Harper Collins, 1995. Biography of the star, with new information about his attraction to young girls, some as young as ten.

(Corvo, Frederik Baron) Bulteau, Michel. *Baron Corvo: L'Etoile de Venise.* (no place): Editions du Rocher, 1990. New short biography, well written.

(Corvo, Frederik Baron) Meijsing, Geerten. "Rolfe/Corvo in de biografie. De zaak Symons." *Maatstaf* 38:9/10 (1990), pp. 22-31. An important criticism of the principal biographies of Corvo by Symons, Weeks, and Benkovitz, convincingly arguing that these authors suppressed the real personality of Corvo. The author pleads for the necessity of a critical text edition of Corvo's work.

(Doucé, Pasteur Joseph). The following works are the more important regarding Pasteur Doucé's poltical assassination for paedophilia. (See Paidika 2:3 (Spring 1991), pp. 14-16).

d'Eaubonne, Françoise. *Le scandale d'une disparation: vie et oeuvre du pasteur Doucé.* Paris: Éditions du Libre Arbitre, 1990.

van Kilsdonk (et al.). *Voor alles pastor: de zorg van Joseph Doucé voor sexuele minderheden.* Aalsmeer: Het Dabarhuis, 1993.

Middleton, William. "Last Rights." *Out* (Dublin) 1:3 (1993). The best summary in English we know of.

Violet, Bernard. *Mort d'un Pasteur.* Paris: Fayard, 1994. Thorough study of the murder of Pasteur Doucé. Thesis is that Doucé's death was a political assassination motivated by right-wing hostility to dissident sexualities.

(Fersen, Jacques d'Adelswärd-) Cardon, Patrick, ed. *Dossier Jacques d'Adelsward-Fersen.* Lille: Cahier Gai-Kitsch-Camp. XX-4, 1991. Anthology of secondary source material. Includes selections from Alfred Jarry and Jean Lorrain; reprints the important, rare *Les Mémoires du Baron Jacques* by A.S. Lagail (aka. Alphonse Gallais) published in 1904. See also the article "A Shrine to Love and Sorrow: Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen (1890-1923)" by Will H.L. Ogrinc in *Paidika* 3:2 (winter 1994), p. 30.

(Geiser, Karl) Morgenthaler, Jan. *Der Mann mit der Hand im Auge.* Zürich: Limmat Verlagsgenossenschaft, 1988. Biography of Karl Geiser (1898-1957): sculptor, painter, photographer, and boy-lover. Very well written and with many illustrations of his sculptures of boys.

(Grant, Duncan) Turnbaugh, D. B. *Duncan Grant and the Bloomsbury Group.* Secaucus: Lyle Stuart, 1987. Biography of the Blooms-bury artist which discusses his ephebophilic affairs and infatuations. Illustrated.

(Hopkins, Gerard Manley) Martin, Robert Bernard. *Gerard Manley Hopkins: A very private life.* London: Harper Collins, 1991. Controversial new biography that analyzes the evidence relating to his attraction to choristers. The reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* (12 April 1991) wrote: "What Professor Martin does believe in quite terrifically is loving boys, a very nice belief but not one it would be sensible to dedicate your life to."

(Hughes, Howard) Higham, C. *Howard Hughes: The Secret Life.* London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1993. Claims that when Hughes was a boy he had a sexual relationship with his uncle, although Higham is a popular biographer and not reliable.

(Jahnn, Hans Henny) Bürger, Jan, ed. *Hans Henny Jahnn/Ernst Kreuder. Der Briefwechsel 1948-1959.* 1995. Letters from the German writer Jahnn to a friend, in which he reveals his paedophile inclination.

(Mackay, John Henry) Kennedy, Hubert. *Anarchist of Love. The Secret Life of John Henry Mackay.* New York: NAMBLA, 1996. Revised edition of a short biographical study.

(Leadbeater, Charles Webster) Tillet, Gregory. *The Elder Brother: A Biography of Charles Webster Leadbeater.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982. Leadbeater (1847-1934) was one of the most important figures in the early spiritualist movement, Annie Besant's right hand man. He was also a boy-lover, and was forced to leave India because of his sexual practices with boys. There is a great deal of information about his "affair" with the pubescent Krishnamurti. The book is exceptionally well researched and written.

(Maxwell, Gavin) Botting, Douglas. *Gavin Maxwell: The Life of the Man Who Wrote "Ring of Bright Water."* London: Harper Collins, 1994. Only alludes to the fact that Maxwell was a boy-lover, because of strictures laid down by Maxwell's literary trustees. As a recent review stated, "Enough is said to show that some, at least, of the adolescents with whom he fell in love benefited from the association (not financially), and remained friends when its nature changed."

(Mérode, Willem de) Werkman, Hans. *De Mérode en de jongens. Biografische fragmenten.* Baarn: de Prom, 1991. A sequel and addition to Werkman's official biography of de Mérode (see *Paidika* 1:1, summer 1987). Devoted to the poet's relationships with boys, some of whom were not aware of his feelings. Also discusses related topics, such as the publication of the boy-love poem "Ganymedes," and 50 boy-love poems the author had not seen when writing his earlier work.

(Millard, Chistopher Sclater) Hyde, H. Montgomery. *Christopher Sclater Millard (Stuart Mason): Bibliographer and Antiquarian Book Dealer.* New York: Global Academic Publishers, 1990. Biography of a famous Uranian figure, first bibliographer of Oscar Wilde.

(Stoddard, Charles Warren) Austen, Roger. *Genteel Pagan: The Double Life of Charles Warren Stoddard.* Edited by John W. Crowley. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991. Stoddard was a minor nineteenth-century American writer of travel books, and a boy-lover. This biography is very well researched and written, and the introduction discusses certain interesting problems of interpretation. In Stoddard's era, when there was not yet such a thing as a "gay" identity, Stoddard found no contradiction in desiring both 12-year-old boys and men. The age boundary was not rigidly fixed for him, and John Crowley speculates that the reason might be that neither the medical model, nor specific terms, had yet been introduced to circumscribe Stoddard's view of his inclinations. The book is also very beautifully produced. If there is to be a new genre of literature—biographies of boy-lovers—this is the model.

(Tuke, Henry Scott) Wainwright, David, and Catherine Dinn. *Henry Scott Tuke 1858-1929: Under Canvas.* London: Sarema Press, 1989. A large coffee-table book that glosses over Tuke's sexuality, but reproduces the paintings well, and otherwise presents his biography in a concise and well written way. For those interested in filling in details about Tuke's connection to the Uranian movement and a rather more frank discussion about his sexuality, there is:

- Cooper, Emmanuel. *The Life and Work of Henry Scott Tuke: 1858-1929*, published by Gay Men's Press in 1987. The reader should be cautioned, however, that there are errors of art history in this book.

(Vinci, Leonardo da) Eissler, K. R. *Leonardo da Vinci; psychoanalytic notes on the enigma.* New York: International Universities Press, 1961. Uses Freud's theories about Leonardo as a starting point to analyze the artist's work and life, with a good discussion of boy-love.

(Warren, Edward Perry) Sox, David. *Bachelors of Art: Edward Perry Warren & the Lewes House Brotherhood.* London: Fourth Estate, 1991. Centers on Warren's career as an art collector and consultant; only mentions in passing his boy-love poems and the philosophical tract *A Defense of Uranian Love.*

(Wyneken, Gustav) Maasen, Thijs C. M. M. *De pedagogische eros in het geding—Gustav Wyneken en de pedagogische vriendschap in de Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf tussen 1906-1931.* Utrecht: Homostudies, 1988. A carefully researched study about the German paedagogical reform movement and the boy-lover Gustav Wyneken. A review by Dr. Edward Brongersma can be found in *Paidika* 2:1 (Summer 1989), p. 58. A translation of the entire book will appear in a later issue of *Paidika.*

ART: Art Criticism, Art History, and Photography

Baker, Ian David. *Younger Days.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1993. Street photographs of boys.

Bergé, Willem, ed. *Heimwee naar de klassieken. De beelden van Mathieu Kessels en zijn tijdgenoten, 1815-1840.* Zwolle: Waanders, 1994. Exhibition catalog of the Dutch sculptor Kessels (1784-1836) including many fine statues of boys.

Doumas, Christos. *The Wall Paintings of Thera.* London: The Thera Foundation, 1991. The wall paintings and graffitti at Thera are one of our sources of information about Greek boy-love. The only volume illustrating all the wall paintings.

Edwards, S. H. "Pretty Babies: Art, Erotica, or Kiddie Porn?" *Historical Photography* 18 (spring 1994), pp. 38-46.

Kilmer, M. *Greek Erotica.* London: Duckworth, 1993. Erotic art of the Red Figure period, some of which depicts men and boys.

Koch-Harnack, Gundel. *Erotische Symbole: Lotusblüte und gemeinsamer Mantel auf antiken Vasen.* Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1989. Examines the erotic meaning of the symbols of the lotus and the sharing of a cloak in Greek vase painting. Relates their meaning to pederastic scenes.

Lennep, Jacques van, ed. *De 19de-eeuwse Belgische Beeldhouwkunst.* 2 vols. Mariakerke/Gent: L. Vanmelle, 1990. Exhibition catalog with many illustrations of boy sculptures; argues that the theme of the boy (*knapengenre*) was one of the first expressions of the renewed strength of nineteenth-century Belgian sculpture.

Mann, Sally. *Immediate Family.* New York: Aperture, 1992. A very extraordinary photo book about American childhood. An examination of children mirroring male and female gender roles.

Mantura, Bruno. *Temi di Vincenzo Gemito. Spoleto, Palazzo Racani Arroni, 2 luglio–3 settembre 1989.* Roma: Edizioni d'Arte, 1989. Exhibition catalog of the Neapolitan sculptor Vincenzo Gemito (1852-1929), two of whose most famous works are of boys: "Pescatore" and "Acquaiolo." Many reproductions of drawings, studies, and statues of nude boys.

McBride, Will. *Situationen/Projekte/Ein Fotobuch.* Introduction by Peter Weiermair. Aachen: Rimbaud, 1992. Photographs of sculpture work.

McBride, Will. *Will McBride: 40 Jahre Fotografie.* Schaffhausen: Edition Stemmle, 1992. Retrospective monograph of this important photographer's work.

Röttgen, Herwarth. *Caravaggio. Der irdische Amor oder der Sieg der fleischlichen Liebe.* Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, 1993. Study of the famous boy painting "Amor Invictus."

Sandt, Udolpho van de, and Michel Vovelle. "Heldenkinder." *FMR: Internationales Magazin für Kunst und Kultur,* nr. 21 (1989), pp. 51-64. Contains a very interesting essay on the symbolism of boys.

Smith, Sidney. *Handful of Angels.* Edited by Donald H. Mader. Amsterdam: Entimos Press, 1992. A collection of drawings and graphic works by the well-known artist whose bibliography was featured in *Paidika* 1:3 (winter 1988), p. 49.

Sternweiler, Andreas. *Die Lust der Götter. Homosexualität in der italiänischen Kunst: Von Donatello zu Caravaggio.* Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1993. Includes chapters on "Boy-love and the art market around 1600" and "Representations of boy-love in art collections around 1600."

Treffers, Bert. *Caravaggio: Genie in Opdracht.* Nijmegen: SUN, 1991. Attempts to uncover the hidden meaning of sexual symbolisms in Caravaggio's work by referring to the theology of his time.

Weiermair, Peter, ed. *Guglielmo Plüschow. Erotische Photographien.* Cologne: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1993. A representative sampling of his young boy photos.

Weiermair, Peter, ed. *Erotic Art. From the 17th to the 20th Century.* Kilchberg/Zurich: Edition Stemmle, 1995. Lavish study, with a scattering of illustrations and references to boy-love. We must warn the reader, however, that some of the text is unreliable.

Worley, M. P. "The Image of Ganymede in France, 1730-1820: the survival of a homoerotic myth." *Art Bulletin* 76:4 (1994), pp. 630-643.

CHILDHOOD: Childhood Studies, History of Childhood, and Pedagogy

Avery, Gillian. *Behold the Child: American Children and Their Books, 1621-1922.* London: Bodley Head, 1995. An interesting approach to the history of childhood via children's books, especially the "boy book" and autobiographical accounts of boyhood. It is, however, printed in two columns and seven point type, which makes it nearly unreadable.

Bahnen, Peter (et al.). *Homosexualität und Wissenschaft II.* Berlin: Rosa Winkel Verlag, 1992. Contains essays about Gustav Wyneken and pedagogical eros, and also about paedophilia and boy love.

Best, Joel. *Threatened Children: Rhetoric and Concern about Child-Victims.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. The author debunks several myths about missing children and sexual child abuse.

Cunningham, Hugh. *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500.* Harlow: Longman, 1996.

Davis, Anna. *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London, 1870-1914.* London: Rivers Oram, 1996. Successfully separates sentimental descriptions of childhood from facts about the real cruelty they have suffered. A new theme seems to be recurring in new studies of childhood, that history reveals to us the profound dislike of children in some societies.

Dekker, Rudolf. *Uit de schaduw in 't grote licht. Kinderen in egodocumenten van de gouden eeuw tot de romantiek.* Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1995. History of childhood, 16th to 19th centuries. Claims that children in the Low Countries were considered "children" earlier than in other places.

Dunde, Siegfried Rudolf, ed. *Handbuch Sexualität.* Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1992. Has positive sections on paedophilia and child sexuality.

Eyben, Emiel. *Restless Youth in Ancient Rome.* London: Routledge, 1993. Study of Roman perceptions of youth as regards law, education, the military, and love. According to the author, the Roman youth's most characteristic feature was *ferocitas,* i.e. "hot-headedness."

Geuter, Ulfried. *Homosexualität in der deutschen Jugendbewegung.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1994. Thorough study of homosexuality in the pre-war German youth movements; recommended.

Gil'adi, Avner. *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society.* London: Macmillan, 1992. The first comprehensive study of childhood in medieval Muslim society as reflected in legal, theological, philosophical, ethical, and medical writings as well as works of belles lettres.

Glück, Scholten, and Strötges. *Heisse Eisen in der Sexualerziehung.* Deutcher Studien Verlag, 1993. Progressive sex-education book.

Golden, Mark. *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990. Helps us understand the archaic Greek understanding of "child."

Hanawalt, Barbara. *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Hickson, Alisdare. *The Poisoned Bowl: Sex, Repression and the Public School System.* London: Constable, 1995. A very likable book about homosexual practices among boys in English boarding schools.

Jacobson, Marcia A. *Being a Boy Again: Autobiography and the American Boy Book.* Tuscaloosa: Alabama University Press, 1995. Actually a history of American boyhood, analyzed through the "boy book."

James, Allison, and Alan Prout. *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood.* London: Falmer Press, 1990.

Janssen, Rosalind M., and Jac. J. Janssen. *Growing Up in Ancient Egypt.* London: Rubicon Press, 1990. History-of-childhood book, important.

Jenks, Chris. *Childhood.* London: Routledge, 1996. Important new study analyzing the contemporary theories of the social meaning of childhood.

Kennell, N. M. *The Gymnasium of Virtue: Education and Culture in Ancient Sparta.* Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press, 1995. Section on initiation.

Kincaid, James R. *Child-Loving. The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture.* London: Routledge, 1992. One of the more important studies of the last decade. Highly recommended.

King, Wilma. *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth Century America.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995. The American South treated slave children with great cruelty. The hatred of children, and their treatment as property, sheds some light on the origins and fueling of the child-abuse hysteria by Southern conservatives.

Kleijwegt, Marc. *Ancient Youth: The Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence in Greco-Roman Society.* Leiden: University of Leiden, 1991.

Knoll, J., and J. Schoeps, eds. *Die Jugendbewegung.* Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 1988. German youth movement in the 1920s and 1930s. Deals with the erotic and sexual sides as well.

Krausman Ben-Amos, Ilana. *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. Very good history of childhood, focusing on the 16th and 17th centuries.

Lammers, Jos. *Vrijen met jezelf. Een boekje voor kinderen die meer over zelfbevrediging willen weten.* Amsterdam: Van Goor, 1993. A masturbation manual for children, very amusingly written.

Maasen, Thijs C. M. M. *De pedagogische eros in het geding—Gustav Wyneken en de pedagogische vriendschap in de Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf tussen 1906-1931.* Utrecht: Homostudies, 1988. Reviewed in *Paidika* 2:1 (summer 1989).

Matthews, Gareth. *The Philosophy of Childhood.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995. We at the journal highly recommend all of Matthews's books. He has a profound understanding of the mental capabilities of the child; respect for children comes through on every page.

Mitterauer, Michael. *A History of Youth.* Translated by Graeme Dunphy. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992. Tends a bit to psychohistory, but interesting follow-up to other histories of childhood.

Mulcaster, Richard. *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children.* Edited by William Barker. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. Reprint of an important treatise on educational theory first published in 1581. The editing, notes, and introduction are all excellent.

Neubauer, John. *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992. Highly recommended.

Percy, William Armstrong. *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. One of the clearest accounts we have read of pedagogical eros and the role of boy-love in Greek society. A "must read."

Perry, Jos. *Jongens op kostschool: het dagelijks leven op katholieke jongens-internaten.* Utrecht: A.W. Bruna, 1991. Study of Roman Catholic boarding schools in The Netherlands, with sections on sex education, chastity, special friendships, etc.

Porter, Roy, and Lesley Hall. *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. Has interesting material about anti-masturbation tracts for boys and about attempts to regulate childhood sexuality.

Röling, H. Q. *Gevreesde vragen: Geschiedenis van de seksuele opvoeding in Nederland.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994. New study about the history of Dutch sex-education programs for children through the year 1970.

Rutschky, Katharina, and R. Wolff, eds. *Handbuch Sexueller Misbrauch.* A generally positive approach, with a criticism of the child-abuse industry.

Rutschky, Katharina. *Erregte Aufklärung: Kindermissbrauch: Fakten und Fiktionen.* Hamburg: Klein, 1992. Compares the child-abuse hysteria with the campaigns against masturbation, using sugar, and watching television.

Schultz, James A. *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages, 1100-1350.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996. Refutes Ariès's theory that childhood did not exist in the Middle Ages.

Shahar, Sulamit. *Childhood in the Middle Ages.* London: Routledge, 1990.

Steedman, Carolyn. *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995. Posits the interesting theory that nineteenth-century notions of childhood were the origin of today's concepts of the self. Stimulating reading.

Sternweiler, Andreas. *Und alles wegen der Jungs: Pfadfinderführer und KZ-Häftling: Heinz Dörmer.* Berlin: Schwules Museum, 1994. Part bio-graphy of Heinz Dörmer, but more a history of the German youth movement of the '20s and '30s.

Valkenstijn, Jan. *De geschiedenis van de jongenzang tot aan de Reformatie.* 2 vols. Brugge: Uitgeverij Tabor, 1989. A well-documented history of European boy choristers from the Middle Ages to the Reformation.

Vogel, Wolf. *Staatsgewalt Gegen Kinder.* Privately printed, n.p. (1993). Argues against some of the false accusations made by the press and government about abduction of children, incidence of child abuse, etc.

Wiedemann, Thomas. *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire.* London: Routledge, 1989. Interesting addition to the growing body of literature on the history of childhood in ancient Greece and Rome.

HISTORY

Adams, Mary Louise. "Youth, Corruptibility, and English-Canadian Postwar Campaigns against Indecency, 1948-1955." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6:1 (July 1995), pp. 89-117. Thesis is that theories of innocence of youth were used to promote normative sexuality and state authority. An excellent article.

Aldrich, Robert. *The Seduction of the Mediterranean: Writing, Art, and Homosexual Fantasy.* London: Routledge, 1993. An interesting historical-biographical study of various "homosexual" personalities who travelled to, or settled in, the Mediterranean region in pursuit of more freedom of desire. Much of the discussion is about boy-love desire and social attitudes. Unfortunately, has many mistakes and inaccuracies in its details.

Barbier, Patrick. *Histoire des castrats.* Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1989. Historical study of castrati, including chapters on the recruiting of young boys and their training.

Bennassar, Bartolomé, and Lucile Bennassar. *Les chrétiens d'Allah: l'histoire extraordinaire des renégats, XVIe et XVIIe siècles.* Paris: Perrin, 1989. Contains chapters on boys kidnapped and captured by Muslim soldiers, some of whom were given as lovers to various men. The book is well researched and even contains lists of the names of the boys captured.

Bethe, Erich. *Die dorische Knabenliebe: Ihre Ethik und ihre Idee.* Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel [1988]. This 48-page pamphlet, first published in 1907 in a journal of philology, the *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, is still an excellent introduction to the subject of boy-love in ancient Greece. A review appears in *Paidika* 2:2 (autumn 1990), p. 60.

Boswell, John. *Same-Sex Unions in Pre-modern Europe.* New York: Villard Books, 1994. There are a few scattered references to unions involving boys. Especially interesting is a discussion on pp. 243-244 about sodomy laws, and also a passage by the Abbot Eutropius on p. 247. Boswell unfortunately does not make clear the age of the partners in the unions, though he hints sometimes that the union ceremonies bore comparison with adoption contracts.

Bremmer, Jan, ed. *From Sappho to De Sade: Moments in the History of Sexuality.* London: Routledge, 1989. Has an important essay by Bremmer on Greek boy love, and other essays that include discussions of boy- and girl-love. The work first appeared in Dutch in 1988.

Cantarella, Eva. *Bisexuality in the Ancient World.* Translated by Cormac O. Cuilleanain. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. Boy-love as a subtext of bisexuality.

Cohen, David. *Law, Sexuality, and Society. The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. A useful examination of proscriptions against sexuality, and also progressive attitudes, in ancient Athens. Does not give a clear enough picture of how private behavior and public laws balanced.

Halperin, David M. *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality: And Other Essays on Greek Love.* New York: Routledge, 1990.

Hermans, Lex. *Bewust van andere lusten: homoseksualiteit in het Romeinse keizerrijk.* Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1995. Roman "pederasty" as "a way of life." The deprecation of paedophilia and pederasty from the second century on is carefully traced and fitted into a new theory of Roman homosexuality.

Hill, Francis. *A Delusion of Satan.* New York: Bantam, 1995. A study of the Salem witch-hunt and trials. The author makes comparisons between what occurred then and what is happening now in the child-abuse hysteria.

Hinsch, Bret. *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Homosexuality, especially as ephebophilia, was socially accepted in China until the advent of Western influence.

Meer, Theo van der. *Sodoms zaad in Nederland: het ontstaan van homoseksualiteit in de vroegmoderne tijd.* Nijmegen: SUN, 1995. Definitive study. Excerpts will appear in a later issue of *Paidika.*

Münster, Joachim. "Les Amours Masculines dans la Chine Impériale, 1ère partie." *Alexandre* 17 (1990), pp. 55-60. Chiefly about ephebophilia.

Oosterhuis, Harry, ed. *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany: The Youth Movement, the Gay Movement, and Male Bonding before Hitler's Rise; Original Transcripts from* Der Eigene, *the First Gay Journal in the World.* New York: The Haworth Press, 1991.

Rawson, Beryl, ed. *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. Some information on abandonment. Useful study.

Reinsberg, Carola. *Ehe, Hetärentum und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland.* München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1989. Very interesting discussion of boy-love; adds new information to K.J. Dover.

Richlin, Amy. *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. Contains boy-love information. Revised version of the 1983 edition.

Sebald, Hans. *Witch Children: From Salem Witch Hunts to Modern Courtrooms.* Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1994. Excellent study.

Shapiro, Michael. *Children of the Revels: the Boy Companies of Shakespeare's Time and Their Plays.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1967. Reprinted in 1977. Includes some discussion of the bawdy nature of the plays, and the audiences' motives for attending.

Smit, Daan W. "Paiderastia, a 'Greek' Practice Reconsidered." *Talanta. Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society.* 24/25 (1992-1993).

Watanabe, Tsuneo, and Jun'ichi Iwata. *The Love of the Samurai.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1989. A good deal of information here about paedophilia and ephebophilia that is not available in other sources. The book, however, presents superficial and rather dubious theories about the reasons for the decline of homosexual culture in Japan. This is ascribed, for example, to a decline in the aesthetics of the male nude, in favor of the female nude, in nineteenth-century Europe. The theory is not at all supported or developed. The author is Professor of Psychology at the University of Kochi.

Weber, Hartwig. *Von der verführten Kinder Zauberei. Hexenprozesse gegen Kinder im alten Württemberg.* Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1996. Excellent study about children accused of witchcraft in the seventeenth century. Has a chapter on childhood sexuality and convincingly links the repression of childhood expressions of sexuality and an anti-sexual pedagogy to the witchcraft hysteria.

LITERATURE: Literary Criticism

Barkan, Leonard. *Transuming Passion: Ganymede and the Erotics of Humanism.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991. The book's thesis is that the Renaissance defined humanism in homoerotic (boy-love) terms.

Böhm, Karl Werner. *Zwischen Selbstzucht und Verlangen: Thomas Mann und das Stigma Homosexualität. Untersuchungen zu Frühwerk und Jugend.* Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1991. A doctoral dissertation (Mainz University, 1989) that discusses links between Mann's experiences at puberty and his "latent homosexuality." Discusses the boy-theme in his work.

Bredbeck, Gregory. "Milton's Ganymede: Negotiations of Homoerotic Tradition in Paradise Regained." Publication of the Modern Language Association, 106:2 (1991), pp. 262-276. Article.

Cuseo, Allan. *Homosexual Characters in Young Adult Novels.* Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1992. Very useful bibliography.

Darley, Emmanuel. *Des petits garçons.* Paris: P.O.L., 1993. Essays about boys and attraction to boys.

Dowling, Linda. *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994. Has a well argued chapter on Socratic eros and some discussion of the Uranian writers.

Duvert, Tony. *Abécédaire malveillant.* Paris: Éditions du Minuit, 1989. Philosophical musings, under various titles listed alphabetically. The last entry "Zoophilie" is an attempt to rethink the meaning of paedophilia and is an important essay on the subject.

Haddad, Nasr al-. *Neunundsechzig Nächte aus Tausendundeiner Nacht.* Vol. 1. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1994. Boy-love and androphile selections from the Arabian Nights tales.

Haddad, Nasr al-. *Nochmal Neunundsechzig Nächte aus Tausendundeiner Nacht.* Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1995. Volume Two.

Herzer, Manfred. "Ein früher gelungener Versuch, den Sex mit Kindern zu literarisieren. Einleitung zu: Friedrich August Adolf: *Ungewöhnliche Liebesgeschichten* (Berlin 1908)." *Capri. Zeitschrift für schwule Geschichte.* 18 (1995). An introductory essay that discusses Adolf's attempt to bring sex with children into literature.

Lawler, J. *Rimbaud's Theatre of the Self.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Literatussi. 13/14 (1993). A special issue of this German journal devoted to the theme of homosexuality in literature. Includes "Paedophilia and Literature."

Mann, Thomas. *Death in Venice: A New Translation, Backgrounds and Contexts.* Translated and edited by Clayton Koelb, 1994. Very good critical edition, contains Mann's working notes and fragments from his letters. The second half of the book has six essays. Especially notable is: Robert Tobin, "Why is Tadzio a Boy? Perspectives on Homoeroticism in *Death in Venice.*"

Medhurst, Andy. "'It's as a man that you've failed': masculinity and forbidden desire in *The Spanish Gardener.*" In *You Tarzan — masculinity, movies and men,* edited by P. Kirkham and J. Thumin. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1993. Article, analyzes the boy-love aspects of the famous novel by A. J. Cronin.

Michon, Pierre. *Rimbaud le fils: L'un et l'autre.* Paris: Gallimard, 1991.

Miller, Stephen D. *Partings at Dawn: An Anthology of Japanese Gay Literature.* San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1996. Contains much previously unpublished material on boy-love.

(Montherlant, Henri de). Several recent works have been published in France that re-examine the life and writings of this French writer who wrote one of the greatest of the boy-love classics, *Les Garçons.* These include:

- **Sipriot, Pierre.** *Montherlant sans masque: Biographie 1895-1972.* Paris: Laffont, 1993.
- **Saint Robert, Philippe de.** *Montherlant ou la relève du soir.* Paris: Belles Lettres, 1992.
- **McCarthy, Patrick.** *Times Literary Supplement* (London) 6 October 1993. States that Montherlant was in the habit of picking up young boys in movie theaters and parks. He was arrested in Marseille for sex with minors. He writes, "*Les Garçons* may be read as an apology for pederasty as well as the tale of Montherlant's life... it depicts love between young males both as burning sexuality and selfless purity.... Father Pradts (an "atheist" priest and teacher at the school where the novel is located) is converted on his deathbed to the realization that his life has been spent loving boys... there seems to be no reason why sublimated pederasty should not make a comeback."

Nelson, Claudia B. "Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness and Sexuality in Victorian Literature." *Victorian Studies.* 32:4 (1989), pp. 525-550.

Nieuwenborgh, Marcel van. *Rimbaud: een seizoen in Brussel.* [Groot Bygaarden]: Infotex, 1991.

(Penna, Sandro). *The European Gay Review* 6/7 (1991). A special issue devoted to Penna,

with articles by Alberto Moravia, John MacRhea, et al.
Pollard, Patrick. *André Gide: Homosexual Moralist.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991. Excellent book analyzing Gide's boy-love. A ground breaking book about the historical origins of boy-love theories.
Robinson, Christopher. *Scandal in the Ink: Female and Male Homosexuality in French 20th-Century Literature.* London: Cassell, 1995. Chapter 6 is entitled "Pederasty and the Cult of Youth."
Santi, Piero. *Cronos Eros. Romanzi e Racconti.* Bologna: Transeuropa, 1990. Collected prose works about boy-love by a relatively unknown Italian writer born in 1912. He shared Pasolini's passion for street urchins.
Schmidt, Arno. *Bio-Bibliography of Male-Male Sexuality and Eroticism in Muslim Societies.* Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1995. Essential reference tool for anyone interested in boy-love in Islam, though we caution that there are many errors of dates, names, etc.
Siegel, Klaus. "Hubert Fichte en August Graf von Platen Hallermünde. Nog steeds geen biografie." *Maatstaf* 38:9/10 (1990), pp. 150-166. Article deals with von Platen's boy-love and argues that he was "80%" of the model for Aschenbach in Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice.*
Summers, Claude J. *Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment England: Literary Representations in Historical Context.* Binghampton: Haworth Press, 1992. Solid anthology, with boy-love information.
Williams, Gordon. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature.* 3 vols. London: Athlone, 1995. The various authors of the period hid their allusions to boy sexuality behind a plethora of symbols and puns.
Wullschläger, Jackie. *Inventing Wonderland. The Lives and Fantasies of Lewis Carroll, Edward Lear, J. M. Barrie, Kenneth Graham and A. A. Milne.* London: Methuen, 1995. Interesting study about an extraordinary period in English literature, roughly 1865-1930, when these five authors transformed the literary view of childhood.
Zichardt, Klaus. "Senator Edward Jacob en zijn kroonprins. Een ontraadseling van *Amerika.*" *Maatstaf* 43:7 (1995), pp. 28-39. Very interesting and original article about pederastic themes in Kafka's unfinished novel.

Novels

Adair, Gilbert. *Love and Death on Long Island.* London: Minerva, 1991. About a man's infatuation with a teenage boy movie idol.
Amis, Kingsley. *The Riverside Villas Murder.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1973. The central character in this murder mystery is a 14-year-old boy. There is a subtext about the boy's sexuality and many remarks about his masturbation habits, and mutual masturbation with a 15-year-old friend. Chapter IX describes the boy's seduction by a neighbor woman. She confesses to him that, "I've been with a couple of other boys, you know." (p.140) Her attitude about her attraction is guilt-ridden, although the boy experiences the seduction as an altogether positive experience.
Bayly, Jaime. *Tegen niemand zeggen.* Rijswijk: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1996. Peruvian novel translated into Dutch, about a boy who is sexually attracted to other boys and meets a priest who is also.
Beachy, Stephen. *The Whistling Song.* New York: Norton, 1991. Road novel involving two 11-year-old boys in '80s America.
Bianciotti, Hector. *Ce que la nuit raconte au jour.* Paris: Grasset, 1992. Autobiographical novel about an Argentinian farm boy who joins a seminary to become a priest. His love for another youth provokes a religious crisis.
Blonski, Wladimir. *Der Sohn des Päderasten.* Translated by Adam Selerowicz. Darmstadt: Foerster, 1992. German translation of a Polish novella about a kind of paedophile Casanova. Includes some pages of boy-love poetry.

Böhme, Thomas. *Vom Fleisch verwilderte Flecken.* Berlin: Druckhaus Galrev, 1995. Love affair between a man and a 13-year-old boy.
Bot, Marc le. *La partie du soprano solo dans le choeur.* Paris: P.O.L., 1994. Novel about a passionate and deeply felt friendship between the boy soloist in a choir and the writer when he was a boy.
Braudeau, Michel. *Le livre de John.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992. A beautiful fifteen-year-old-boy goes to live with his mother's best friend. The man falls in love with him.
Brodkey, Harold. *Profane Friendship.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1994. Novel, set in Venice, about the sexual relationship between a 16-year-old Italian boy and a 14-year-old American.
Bronnen, Arnold. *Septembernovelle.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1989. Reissue of a 1930s novella that tells of the love between a teacher and his pupil. The book was much admired by Brecht.
Calasso, Roberto. *Cadmus and Harmony.* Translated by Tim Parks. London: Jonathan Cape, 1994. English translation of Italian mythological novel about gods of ancient Greece, inhabiting an imaginary land and preferring boys to women. A few scattered, but new and interesting, insights into boy-love.
Campbell, Scott. *Touched.* New York: Bantam Books, 1996. A 12-year-old boy confesses to his mother that a man has been "touching" him for over a year. The story is told from the point of view of four characters: the mother, the man, the wife of the man, and the boy–reflecting fifteen years later on the death of the man and the sex. He comes to terms with his own guilt and with the man's acts, and it ends in a forgiving way. Although de rigueur there must be a death in the novel, in conformance with Western prejudices, the book almost achieves a certain understanding by the end. There is also a good deal of criticism of the parents for their reaction, and the suggestion that it would have been better if the police had not been called.
Chesire, Jimmy. *Home Boy.* New York: New American Library, 1989. The book is set at a foundling home for boys, which the writer goes out of his way to identify as Father Flanagan's Boys Town. The book is rather disjointed, but the middle section interestingly describes the sexual lives of the boys at the home.
Consolo, Vincenzo. *Die Wunde im April.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990. First German translation of a long out-of-print Italian novel, *La Ferita dell'Aprile* (1963), about a young boy in a Sicilian orphanage.
Corlett, William. *Now and Then.* London: Abacus, 1995. Recollection of boarding school years and a love relationship with an older boy. Unusually good, and recommended.
Couch, Michael J. *My Friend Is My Enemy.* 3 vols. Winchester: M.J. Couch, 1991-1992. A young boy is forced by the Nazis to work for them. He befriends a German boy.
Dalstar. *De Palingvijver.* Amsterdam: In de Knipscheer, 1993. A novella about a seven-year-old boy who, during a trip to the countryside, views with wonder his first erection, sees a couple having sex, and otherwise becomes conscious of sexuality.
Dantzig, Rudi van. *For a Lost Soldier.* London: The Bodley Head, 1991. A lengthy review of the film based on this autobiographical novel was published in *Paidika* 3:1 (Spring 1991), p. 80.
Davies, Terence. *Hallelujah Now.* London: Faber, 1992. A Catholic youth in Liverpool and his first sexual experiences and SM fantasies.
Davis, Richard. *Vermin Blond.* London: Black Swan, 1991. A lawyer recalls his love for a schoolmate.
Delon, Michel, ed. *L'Enfant du bordel, ou les aventures de Chérubin.* Cadeilhan: Éditions Zulma, 1992. Reissue of a French erotic novel commonly accredited to Pigault-Lebrun (though Delon disagrees) that first appeared in 1800. A very rare two-volume edition also exists in Portugese, the second volume continuing where the original French ended.
Dilke, Christopher. *The Rotten Apple.* London: Macdonald, 1968. English-boarding-school genre novel that handles the theme of homosexuality among the boys with wit, frankness, and sympathy.
Disch, Thomas M. *The Priest.* London: Millennium, 1994. Novel about a priest who is

having sex with boys and the attempt of his church to cover up the matter. The sex is handled more sympathetically than the cover-up. Later on, however, the novel becomes a science-fantasy work and the boy-love theme drops out.

Drevet, Patrick. *A Room in the Woods.* Translated by James Kirkup. London: Quartet Books, 1991. Translation of the French *Une Chambre dans les Bois.* David, whose age is given as "on the edge of puberty" is staying at a lumber camp in the French mountains near the Italian border, where his mother works as an accountant. He becomes sexually infatuated with an older teen named William. David's sexual adoration of William is dealt with openly, as for example in a scene where David spies on William masturbating and he is filled with wonder. The book is beautifully written and very erotic; the sex scenes between the two boys are intense but delicate.

Dueweke, Stephen. *Playing Soldiers in the Dark.* Chicago: Bagman Press, 1992. Novel about the sexual awakening of a 14-year-old boy.

Essac, Jean d'. *Billy. Idylles d'amour grec en Angleterre.* Introduction by Patrick Cardon. Lille: Cahiers Gai-Kitsch-Camp Nr. 26, 1994. Reprint of the 1937 novella. An English boy falls in love with other boys. Includes boy-love poetry.

Esser, Kevin. *Something Like Happiness.* Amsterdam: Acolyte Press, 1993. A 14-year-old boy falls in love with younger boys.

Fichte, Hubert. *The Orphanage.* London: Serpent's Tail Press, 1990. First English translation of the German *Das Waisenhaus* (1965), about a boy's sexual awakening in a German orphanage in 1942.

Firbank, Ronald. *Santal.* Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1994. Novella, first published in 1921. Young boy living in North Africa.

Fowkes, Aubrey. *The Star Brooch.* London: The Fortune Press, 1969. English boarding-school genre novel that is remarkably positive about sex. The narrator is a fourteen-year-old English boy who has been living in Germany and comes back to spend a year at Repton (one of the top English boarding schools). The final chapter sees the hero back in Germany and ends with his having sex with two German boys, one his age and the other younger.

Franssens, Jean-Paul. *Een gouden kind.* Amsterdam: De Harmonie, 1991. Novel about a 17-year-old boy reflecting on his childhood while attending his mother's funeral. Moving passages about his coming to terms with his sexuality. A very honest and strong book.

Fry, Stephen. *The Liar.* London: Mandarin, 1993. A 15-year-old public-school boy is in love with a slightly younger classmate. The book follows the two lives through boarding school and later to Cambridge. Very funny, erotic, and well written.

Gannett, Lewis. *The Living One.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1994. A Gothic novel with the usual complicated plot, including the twist that the main character, Baron Spoor, discovers that his son is obsessed with young boys.

Gould, Andre. *A Summer's Exile.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1996. A friendship between two pubescent boys growing up in the American Midwest.

Harington, Donald. *Ekaterina.* New York: Harcourt, Brace. 1993. Fanciful, comic novel about a "princess" who escapes to New York and has a sexual fondess for boys "who do not yet shave."

Hennig, Jean-Luc. *Mon beau légionnaire.* Paris: Albin Michel, 1992. A 13-year-old boy falls in love with a soldier.

Homes, A. M. *The End of Alice.* New York: Scribner, 1995. About a teenage girl and her sexual attraction to a 12-year-old boy. She corresponds with a paedophile in jail about her desires.

Huston, Bo. *The Dream Life.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992. A road novel about a man and a boy involved in a sexual relationship.

Komrij, Gerrit. *De Pagode.* Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1992. A novella about a servant who reflects back on the relationships he had with his employer's two sons.

Kristof, Agota. *Le grand cahier.* Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1986.
La preuve. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1988.
Le troisième mensonge. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991. Novel trilogy. The young

twins Claus and Lucas try to adapt to a hostile world. They write about their experiences in a large notebook, including a paedophile encounter with a soldier. In the second volume there is a loving relationship with a young boy.

Kröhnke, Friedrich. *Was gibt es Neues bei der Polizei?* Zurich: Amman, 1989. A boy-lover reflects on his life as a paedophile.

Lieshout, Ted van. *Gebr.* Amsterdam: Van Goor, 1996. Youth novel, about a teenage boy who discovers that his brother who has just died was sexually attracted to boys.

Marsé, Juan. *Si te dicen que cai.* Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1989. A revised version of a famous Spanish novel first published in 1973. Lives and occasional sexual adventures of a group of boys in a poor quarter of Barcelona during the first years of the Civil War.

Martin, Jacques. *L'Alchémiste.* Tournai: Casterman, 1989. With drawings by Jean Pleyers. Story set in Florence in 1439, which tells of the young Jhen who visits that city and enters training to become an alchemist. He is very beautiful and the Florentine painters ask to paint him. The text is accompanied by nude drawings.

Motion, Andrew. *The Pale Companion.* London: Viking, 1989.

Mulder, Jan. *Jacob's wapen.* Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1991. Young boy growing up in Indonesia during the war years. From age five he attempts to satisfy his large sexual appetite with his nurse, then his father, and later friends.

Nicholls, Bron. *Reasons of the Heart.* Sydney, Australia: Penguin Books, 1993. This is a rather touching boy-love novel. However, it seems that only an Australian edition was published, and, as this is not available in other countries, it is nearly impossible to find.

Olsson, Hans. *Rollenspiele.* Translated by Sarah Bosse. Hamburg: Oetinger, 1996. German translation of the Swedish youth novel *Spelar roll* (1993) about a 15-year-old boy who falls in love with another boy.

Parker, Canaan. *The Color of Trees.* Boston: Alyson, 1992. A young black teenager from Harlem attends a posh New England boarding school and discovers his homosexual desire. It is graphically and convincingly written. Recommended.

Pasolini, Pier Paolo. *Petrolio.* Turin: Einaudi, 1992. Posthumous novel reconstructed from fragments after Pasolini's death, with his usual theme of street boy pick-ups.

Patroni Griffi, Giuseppe. *La Morte della Bellezza.* Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1992. Novel in which two Italian teenage boys try to understand the physical and emotional attraction they have for each other.

Peper, Rascha. *Rico's vleugels.* Amsterdam: L.J. Veen, 1993. During the absence of his wife, a man falls in love with a fourteen-year-old boy.

Piñera, Virgilio. *Kleine Manöver.* 1991. German translation of a boy-love novel by a Cuban writer of some importance, who died in 1979. No English translation so far.

Raphael, Lev. *Winter Eyes: A Novel about Secrets.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993. A boy is kept in semi-isolation by his parents but is befriended by his uncle. After his parents' divorce he goes to live with this uncle and falls in love with another boy.

Reve, Gerard. *Op zoek.* Amsterdam: De Bijenkorf, 1995. Novella. A teacher reflects on his sexual experience with a pupil.

Rolfe, Frederick. *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole.* Edited by Andrew Eburne. London: Quartet Books, 1993. This is the first complete edition of this famous boy-love work.

Schmidt, Michael. *The Colonist.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1993.

Vernon, Frances. *The Fall of Doctor Onslow.* London: André Deutsch, 1994. Takes as its plot an incident mentioned in the memoirs of John Addington Symonds, whose father blackmailed the Headmaster of Harrow (1844-1859), Dr. C. J. Vaughan, into resigning because of his sexual liaisons with his boy pupils.

Winkler, Josef. *Friedhof der bitteren Orangen.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990. Austrian paedophile writer in Sicily, Naples, and Rome, obsessed with street boys.

Plays

Harvey, Jonathan. *Beautiful Thing.* London: Duke of York's Theatre, October 1994. Play that ran in London's West End. Deals with the sexual relationship between two 15-year-old boys. Very well received and trumpeted as the work of a "major new playwright." His earlier play, *Babies,* was described as an "Orton-style black farce" where "homosexuality is treated as normative," the homosexuality being the relationship between a 24-year-old man and a teenage boy.

Shairp, Mordaunt. *The Green Bay Tree.* First performed in 1933, about a man who falls in love with the "voice" of a choirboy and buys him from his father for £500. With tragic ending.

Poetry

Abu Nuwas. *O Tribe that Loves Boys: The Poetry of Abu Nuwas.* Translated by Hakim Bey. Amsterdam and Utrecht: Entimos Press and Abu Nuwas Society, 1993. Boy-love Islamic poetry, some quite erotic, and a reliable, scholarly essay about the poet. Illustrated with photographs by Lehnert and Landrock c. 1920.

Al-Nawadji, Mouhammad. *La prairie des gazelles: Éloge des beaux adolescents.* Translated by René R. Khawam. Paris: Phébus, 1989. In praise of the beauty of adolescent boys, by a Muslim mystic poet living in Cairo in the first part of the fifteenth century.

Bory, William. *Orpheus in His Underwear.* 1993. Among other things, extols beautiful boys.

Büch, Boudewijn. *Verzamelde gedichten.* Amsterdam and Antwerp: Atlas, 1995. Many boy-love poems included.

George-Murray, Richard. *Yes Is Such a Long Word.* Amsterdam: Entimos Press, 1995. Two main themes: boys and cats.

Hattum, Jac. van. *Verzameld werk. I. Verzen.* Amsterdam: van Oorschot, 1993. Collected verse, first of two volumes of collected works, with some boy love poems.

John, Edmund. *The Flute of Sardonyx.* Llandogo, Wales: The Old Stile Press, 1991. A limited edition reprint of one of the best of the Uranian poetry volumes, published in an edition of 250 copies. Illustrations of nude boys by Nicholas Wilde accompany the text.

Mastro, Jos. *Onvervulde vriendschap-kwatrijnen.* Bedum: Exponent, 1990. Boy-love poems in commemoration of the homosexual Dutch writer Jacob Israël de Haan.

Nicholson, John Gambril. *In the Dreamy Afternoon.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1989. One of the leading figures of the English Uranians (1866-1931).

Parker, W. H. *Priapea: Poems for a Phallic God.* London: Croom Helm, 1988.

Penna, Sandro. *Pecatto di Gola: Poesie al fermo posta.* Milan: Libri Scheiwiller, 1990. Contains 26 love poems written to the son of one of Penna's close friends. Only 1000 copies.

Penna, Sandro. *Remember Me, God of Love.* Translated by Blake Robinson. Manchester: Carcanet, 1993. Boy-love poetry and prose poems.

Prick, Harry G. M. "Op weg naar een interpretatie: Over P.C. Boutens' gedicht 'Na den overval.'" *BZZLLETIN Literair Magazine* 21:88 (1991), pp. 33-38. Discovers the paedophile theme in a poem by one of Holland's most famous poets (1870-1943).

Reid, Anthony. *The Eternal Flame: A World Anthology of Homosexual Verse (2000 B.C.–2000 A.D.).* Vol. 1. New York: Dyanthus Press, 1992. English verse translations of mostly boy-love poetry by Greek, Italian, French, and Islamic writers, which calls itself "The first [volume] in any language to present a comprehensive World Anthology of Homosexual Verse." Volume 2 has not yet been published.

Schippers, Arie. *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition: Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry.* Leiden: Brill, 1994. Includes information about and translations of some of the boy-love poems.

Torren, Merik van der. *Zoete zoenen.* Amsterdam: Stichting Rode Emma, 1992.

Webb, Paul I, ed. *Blue Boys.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1990. Anthology of Uranian boy-love poetry.

Short Stories

Bender, Hans. *Bruderherz.* Munich: Carl Hansen, 1987. Relationships, including sexual ones, between boys in a boarding school.

Davenport, Guy. *A Table of Green Fields. Ten Stories.* New York: New Directions, 1993. Most notable story is "August Blue" about the painter Tuke.

Davenport, Guy. *The Drummer of the Eleventh North Devonshire Fusiliers.* San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990. Most notable is a novella set in a Danish boys' boarding school. A review appeared in *Paidika* 2:3 (spring 1991), p. 67.

Ferris, Steve. *The Cub-Hunting Season.* London: Vintage, 1996. "The Butterfly" is a beautifully written fantasy in which a 15-year-old boy awakens to find himself transformed into a butterfly and fulfills his dream by perching on the end of the penis of the boy for whom he harbors an attraction.

Foreman, Martin. *A Sense of Loss.* London: Gay Men's Press, 1993. The title story is about Tadzio, the boy in Mann's *Death in Venice,* and relates his version.

Parise, Goffredo. *Fibel der Gefühle. Geschichten von der Kürze und Süsse des Lebens.* Translated by Dirk J. Blask and Christiane Engels. Hamburg: Luchterhand, 1991. German version of the Italian *Sillabario I* (1972) and *Sillabario II* (1982). Short stories about childhood, desire, and the beauty of youth. No English translation yet of this important work.

Rudolphi, Joachim. *Der eingebildete Arzt: gesammelte Gestandnisse.* Frankfurt: Mataerialis, 1991. "Aber ewig ist nur das Wort" concerns a medical student's obsession with young boys.

Tournier, Michel. "African Adventures." Translated by Barbara Wright. *The European Gay Review* (London) Vol. 3 (1988). A short story, translated here for the first time, that deals with a Frenchman visiting Morocco and meeting and becoming sexually involved with two Arab boys aged twelve and eleven.

Trifonov, Gennady. "Two Ballets by George Ballanchine." *Index on Censorship* 24:1 (1995), pp. 45-54. Two early adolescent boys discovering their sexuality with each other. Unusually good.

SEXUALITY STUDIES

Ames, M. Ashley, and David A. Houston. "Legal, social and biological definitions of paedophilia." *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 19:4 (1990), pp. 333-342.

Bernard, Frits, ed. *Pädophilie ohne Grenzen: Theorie, Forschung, Praxis.* Berlin and Frankfurt: Foerster Verlag, 1996. New important anthology. With essays by Frits Bernard, Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, Rüdiger Lautmann, Bruce Rind, Wolf Vogel, and others.

Brongersma, Edward. *Loving Boys.* 2 vols. Amsterdam: Global Academic Publishers, 1986, 1990. Life's work by a former Dutch senator. The author relies for a large part on retrospective assessments by former child and adolescent partners in such relationships. He has a refreshingly positive view of sexuality. A lengthy review can be found in *Paidika* 2:3 (spring 1991), p. 62.

Daverveld, M. J. C. *Scripts van kindersexualiteit: een exploratief onderzoek naar scripts van kindersexualitieit bij leerkrachten.* Maastricht: Rijksuniversiteit Limburg, 1991. Research into the ways in which children understand and use sexual words.

Doucé, Pasteur Joseph, ed. *La pédophilie en question.* Paris: Lumière & Justice, 1987. The author, a Baptist minister with a background in psychology and sexology, was for many years the head of the Centre du Christ Libérateur in Paris, a pastoral service directed to the needs of sexual minorities. In October 1990 he was found tortured and murdered in a wood north of Paris, presumably for refusing to cooperate with a French Secret Service investigation of paedophiles; see *Paidika* 2:3 (spring 1991), pp. 14-16. This collection of articles exam-

ines paedophilia from a wide range of legal, sociological, ethical, and historical viewpoints, animated by an overall moral and theological concern. A review appeared in *Paidika* 2:2 (autumn 1990), p. 62.

Evans, David T. *Sexual Citizenship: The Material Construction of Sexualities.* London: Routledge, 1993. Contains as Chapter 8, "Embryonic Citizenship: Children as Sexual Objects and Subjects."

Feierman, Jay. *Pedophilia: Biosocial Perspectives.* New York: Springer-Verlag, 1990. This book is an outgrowth of a conference convened by the author in the summer of 1987, in which approximately 50 behavioral scientists from around the world gathered to discuss paedophilia from a multi-disciplinary, cross-cultural, and cross-species perspective. A review by Lawrence A. Stanley appeared in *Paidika* 3:1 (winter 1993), p. 71.

Greenberg, David. *The Construction of Homosexuality.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989. Even though the author states that Transgenerational Homosexuality is one of the four main categories of homosexuality, he devotes only pages 26-40 to its discussion, in a book of 635 pages. His discussion is generally positive, but focuses on anthropological literature, and leaves the impression that boy-love is a phenomenon of "primitive" cultures only, and not of current Western cultures also.

Haugaard, J. J. "Sexual Behaviours between Children: Professional Opinions and Undergraduate Recollections." *Families In Society* 77:2 (February 1996), pp. 81-89, tables, refs. Report of a study of 664 undergraduates, based on their recollections of consenting sexual behaviour with other children before the age of 13. Contrasted with "professional" opinion on the subject.

Hoffmann, Rainer. *Die Lebenswelt der Pädos. Rahmen, Rituale und Dramaturgie der pädophilen Bewegung.* Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1996. Postive study based on interviews with men about their sexual relationships with boys.

Kinsey, Alfred C., Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948. Various later editions. This is surely one of the most revolutionary texts on boyhood sexuality ever written. The key chapter is 5, "Early Sexual Growth and Activity" in which, for example, the authors classify six types of pre-adolescent orgasm. Here is only one sentence to make note of: "The most remarkable aspect of the pre-adolescent population is its capacity to achieve repeated orgasm in limited periods of time" (p. 179).

Lange, Hans J. de. *Pedofilie en sexualiteit.* Utrecht: Universiteit Utrecht, 1990. Interesting new, positive study.

Lautmann, Rüdiger. *Die Lust am Kind.* Hamburg: Ingrid Klein Verlag, 1994. New study with some quite positive results.

Leopardi, Angelo. *Der Pädosexuelle Komplex.* Berlin and Frankfurt: Foerster Verlag, 1988. A generally positive anthology of essays about paedophilia: its history, psychology, legal status, etc. Has a helpful bibliography at the end.

Lewald, Kuno Richard. *Unser täglicher Heterrorismus.* Privately printed. Very positive defense of paedophilia.

Martinson, Floyd M. *The Sexual Life of Children.* Westport, Conn.: Bergin & Garvey, 1994. Summarizes much of the research to date. Useful.

Mohr, Richard D. "The Pedophilia of Everyday Life." *Art Issues* March/April 1996, pp. 28-31. Paedophile desire as a repressed subtext in most adults.

Naerssen, A. X. van. "Pedofilie: een controverse in de seksuologie." *Tijdschrift voor seksuologie,* 13:2 (1989), pp. 95-100. Takes a positive view.

Nelson, Joan. "Intergenerational sexual contact: a continuum model of participants and experiences." *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy,* 15:1 (1989), pp. 3-12. Distinguishes between paedophiles and abusers, and even labels some forms of paedophilia as "visionary."

Okami, Paul, and Amy Goldberg. "Personality Correlates of Pedophilia: Are They Reliable Indicators?" *Journal of Sex Research* 29:3 (1992), pp. 297-328. Okami's work is interesting, and should be followed. He argues a much less negative model of paedophilia than most.

Parin, Paul. "Aus der psychoanalytischen Behandlung einer schweren Sexualstörung." *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung* 6:1 (1993) A reprint of a 1955 tract on paedophilia.

Randall, John L. *Childhood and Sexuality: A Radical Christian Approach.* Pittsburg: Dorrance, 1992. The author, an English school teacher, suggests that healthy sexual development is helped by sexual information and sexual exploration during childhood, and cites a range of anthropological evidence supporting this view. He brings the current atmosphere of moral panic into question, and in the penultimate chapter seeks to portray his position as a Christian viewpoint. A review appeared in *Paidika* 3:2 (winter 1994), p. 85.

Rind, Bruce, and Robert Bauserman. "Biased Terminology Effects and Biased Information Processing in Research on Adult-Nonadult Sexual Interactions: An Empirical Investigation." *Journal of Sex Research* 30:3 (1993), pp. 260-269.

Sandfort, Theo. *Boys on their Contacts with Men: A Study of Sexually Expressed Friendships.* New York: Global Academic Publishers, 1987. Based on interviews with 25 boys, research which Sandfort completed and first published in 1981. A lengthy review can be found in *Paidika* 1:2 (autumn 1987), p. 56.

Sandfort, Theo. *Het Belang van de Ervaring.* Utrecht: Homostudies, 1988. Dr. Sandfort's doctoral dissertation is based on his research into both consenting and non-consenting sexual acts between adults and youths, as well as the consequences of such acts in later life. A lengthy review appeared in *Paidika* 2:1 (summer 1989), p. 62.

Sandfort, Theo. *Seksuele ervaringen van kinderen: betekenis en effect voor later.* Deventer: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1989. Popular Dutch version of previous listing.

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