## PAIDIK A

## The Journal of Paedophilia



Winter 1988 Number 3

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## The Journal of Paedophilia

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## Paidika

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## INTERVIEW: JOHN DeCECCO

Dr. John P. DeCecco is a Professor of Psychology and Human Sexuality at San Francisco State University, San Francisco, California, and Director of Human Sexuality Studies for the University. He is also Director of the Center for Research and Education in Sexuality (CERES), and Editor of the Journal of Homosexuality. The interview took place in December 1987 in Amsterdam, where Dr. DeCecco is currently a visiting professor.

## Sexual Identity

Question: Let us begin with with some issues raised in your article in the book The Origin of Sexuality and Homosexuality. In it you question the validity of "sexual identity" as a scientific concept and suggest the substitution of "sexual relationships". Could you begin by briefly summarizing the background of this critique for our readers?

John DeCecco: It came out of a historical survey of the development of the idea of homosexual identity, the different formulations it took, in anthropology, sociology, and within psychiatry, especially in the psychoanalytic movement in America. That survey was designed to document Michel Foucault's notion that the gay identity was really a reverse discourse of the notion of homosexuality as a pathology, that it was an effort to show that homosexuals, later called "lesbians" and "gay men", could fulfill the same roles in society that heterosexuals did, that they could have long lasting relationships, that their sexuality didn't deflect them from the more serious pursuits such as work and community devotion and so on. We showed that the "gay identity" emerged as a way of "detoxifying" the pathological model of homosexuality that had arisen in the 19th century, and was propagated throughout much of the twentieth century by European and American psychiatry. As such it was a categorization of individuals rather than any general acceptance of homosexuality.

You saw several advantages arising from a shift to the study of sexual relationships, one of those being that it would make research more value-free.

I think the idea of the gay identity limits the study of homosexuality. Until fairly recently, many of the articles that were submitted for publication in the Journal of Homosexuality fitted this model of detoxification, such as 'Lesbian mothers should be entrusted with their children because the children will grow up in the appropriate gender roles, to be heterosexual'. Much research that came to me-it's now begirning to change-was an effort to prove that homo-
sexuals were "normal", but by criteria applied to heterosexual society, and there was nothing unique to homosexuality itself. I'd be interested to see an article in which we'd find out how lesbian mothers and gay fathers allow children a kind of freedom that is not present in traditional families, allow the children to develop bisexuality and androgyny and so on. That's one big limitation of the "gay identity"-there are others, besides.

You speak about that as a limitation, and yet at a certain point in history, that was perhaps absolutely necessary as a political strategy.

Yes, that detoxification literature is obviously a political ploy. It is not descriptive of the wide range of homosexual desires and acts-it shuns being "gay". So much of what Foucault calls the reverse discourse has been a political discourse. Simply, it says that all these terrible things that are claimed about homosexuals are not true, that indeed homosexuals can be very much like heterose xuals except for the fact that they are homosexuals. If inquiry into homosexuality is to be open, we must resist ideology, we must resist the normalization as well as the pathologization. Academicians should not make their first priority political whitewash; it should be the illumination of the phenomena that they turn their attention to. It would be much better and maybe ultimately better serve political purposes, if we tried to render reliable accounts of what is going on in people's sexual lives, without yielding to the pressure of saying, 'What is it that we should be telling the public that will make them more sympathetic?' I think that is where truth and politics part company.

If you abandon the language of identity, which has been so prevalent in discussions of homosexuality, and to some degree in paedophilia, what are you replacing it with, what kind of language?

To me, it is the individual and his or her desires and actions that are primary. There are such things as individual character and individual personality. They are disordered and opaque, but they are what distinguishes a single person
from anybody else. The study of sexuality ought to be pursued within the context of a person's life, and that life in its social context. The sexual identity categories are very crude, and tend to veer more and more away from sexual feelings and acts and become entities in themselves. If ultimately what we want in society is to arrive at some consensus of what sexuality is, and the ethical constraints within which it should be expressed, subsuming people under these categories works against that objective. So what do you replace sexual identity with? You don't have to replace it with anything. You replace it with people's lives, and the part that sexuality plays in those lives.

What are the implications of this shift for the study of paedophilia?

One of the things that attracts me to the study of paedophilia is that it allows the possibility of an inquiry into childhood sexuality, free from normative models that have occupied our attention in the past, particularly the psychoanalytic model of stages of heterosexual development. I see it as a chance to determine how children in their own ways, yet to be described, and in varied fashions, yet to be discovered, can be and are sexual, and how adults, as the mentors and teachers of children, unavoidably, will have some kind of role in that development, apart from just standing outside and observing it, which would be very unusual for anyone who really cared for a child. I don't think we know much about the sexual development of children, apart from heterosexual models, which say that a child at eight should be repressing sexuality and at puberty it suddenly floods forward, and ultimately leads to fatherhood and motherhood.

For the study of homosexuality to reach the point where it was able to free itself from the limitations of sexual identity concepts, there had to be a political progress. Isn't there value in a similar period of political organization for a paedophile identity? Given the current extraordinary oppression directed against paedophilia, is it possible to conduct a value-free scientific discourse on the subject?

No, but at least you can show how heterosexual values dominate. Before the gay liberation movement, it would have been impossible to do that, and it still is not easy to do today, but I think-I'm hoping, but I believe-that we now have a choice that we did not have one hundred years ago when Ulrichs formulated his theories of the Urnings. I think we now see that the identity route is another trap. You know, for a long time it left out paedophilia, homose xual paedophilia, and has never countenanced heterosexual paedophilia, which one would assume is even more prevalent, and has never acknowledged lesbian paedophilia. So I would say there wasn't a choice before the creation of the "gay identity". Maybe the inquiry should be framed differently, in other words it's not going to be an inquiry into paedophilia per se, but an inquiry into childhood sexuality and the roles that adults play in that, including the sexual role. We've maintained the preposterous stance in Western society that the adult has no part in that, or that the part is simply that of an observer, and yet in almost every other aspect of children's lives the adults are participants as well as observers. We've put a fence around the sexual area, and said 'This you must stand outside of'. So my feeling is, the better route to go is to say that paedophilia is part of the broad inquiry into sexuality, the meaning and the experience of sexuality in an individual's life, including children, and not frame it too narrowly as paedophilia. If you narrow the inquiry to "paedophiles", to the adults, you're going to deflect it away from the children, and you're going to deflect it away from the broader examination of the sources of heterosexual oppression and prejudice.

## Society versus Paedophilia

Why is society's protectiveness of the child so strong, and why has it created such a violent reaction to paedophilia, especially in the last five years?

I think you need to ask, 'What are they protecting?' It seems to me that what they are protecting, is a whole system of adult ownership of

# One of the things that attracts me to the study of paedophilia is that it allows the possibility of an inquiry into childhood sexuality. 

children and control of their development, of dictating to them desire and character so that they grow up to be mindless workers and consumers. The ordinary family is suffocating kids' imaginations and feelings, including their sexuality. There is so much economic and political power that rests on the continuation of family control and oppression, that anyone who threatens it is going to be severely punished. The family is the only recognized institution for the rearing of children, and other organizations are acting in place of the parent, and the law says it that way, that they have parental custodial rights, even though we have legions of unfit and abusive parents. It was the genius of the Greeks-well, it's not genius, because they could not do anything but what they did-that they organized homosexuality so that it was congruent with the family, and therefore did not have this opposition. I think we need to investigate the family's mistreatment of children, which is in many cases outrageous. The feminists are calling it patriarchy, I think that needs to be taken much more seriously by non-feminists.

Yet the feminists, who are precisely the ones who most condemn the family as patriarchy, are also the ones who most condemn paedophilia. Do you have any comment on that?

The feminists have their own dilemmas, and their own contradictions. To the extent that they have taken on the identity of women, which puts them at a disjuncture to all of men, and all of humanity that's not woman, to the extent that they are women-identified women, they've backed themselves into a corner because this category of "woman" then has to have unique characteristics, which will set them off from men. They have had to come up with such things as 'women are nurturant', whereas
men can never be, and to the extent that they are nurturant, of course, this puts them into a very traditional role, protecting women from these awful males who are all bad anyway, because one of the characteristics of males is selfish aggressiveness. So the only posture that a male adult could have toward a child would be one of exploitation, not one of nurturance. In fact, I think these feminists are jealous of men who show the kind of nurturance that only females are supposed to possess, because from what I know of paedophile relationships, they are supremely nurturant, in a way that should make most parents crumble with shame. The children respond so well to the care in paedophile relationships because they are getting what they want, their desires and their needs are getting met. The fact that these relationships are seen as only sexual is a way of hiding the inadequacies of biological parents. We also don't have to look at what paedophile relationships with these kids really consist of.

Could you enlarge on what needs of kids you see being met in paedophile relationships?

Men who have paedophile relationships may have insights into the kid's need for freedom and at the same time for guidance and protection, for a home base to come back to, and I think you need to tell about that out of your own understanding of these relationships. I don't think you're going to get this from most heterosexual researchers. I would certainly not leave out the fact that these kids are finding in paedophile relationships something that they cannot find in their parents. Even in the well established homes of the professional class, kids turn to paedophile relationships, to men who have time to give them, men who are cultured and who are responsive to them. Child abuse can be seen as the other side of this coin. That kids are being beaten is partly because they are expressing needs and desires, or even satisfying them, in ways that the family cannot accept, for one reason or another. If you're a heterosexual moral majoritarian you can say the breakdown in discipline is because parents have been neglecting their duties as parents. But another way of look-
ing at the breakdown of discipline is that many parents do not satisfy the needs of their children, that the children have outgrown their family, and the parents are not allowing that, and are beating them as a last desperate effort to shore up the foundations of their authority.

# Kids are finding in paedophile relationships something that they cannot find in their parents. 

One of the other problems in the family is incest, which is often lumped together with paedophilia. Do you have any comments on it?

I have heard that of ten the men who have been involved in incest are men who have been defeated, who feel their failure as men and as fathers. They haven't been able to sustain em-ployment-that's why they are home with the daughters in the first place-and they feel that they have not met the expectation of their wives, in many cases that they've never been adequate lovers, breadwinners, parents, and in some desperate moment they often turn to a teenage daughter who intuitively senses this defeat in the father and will give in to his sexual needs. It doesn't take any great wisdom to realize that sexuality is complexly related to other things in our lives and that often what looks like a grossly sexual act is really the expression of other things. In incest, the sexual act expresses the need of the defeated man to regain power. Incest has been depicted as so horrible and the adult has been so terribly stigmatized that we've been afraid to even get into the dynamics of it, but I know some stories that my students have told me and they're terribly complex. I think the guilt that the young person carries into later life is not only the guilt of the sexual exploitation, but it's the fact that they were encumbered with this feeling of defeat in an adult and tried some form of nurturance, and it couldn't work because the child could not shoulder this reversal of responsibility. But again, sexuality is a nice neat category used by
the establishment to run away from the examination of problems, because they're afraid of looking at the failures of the family very closely, and it's much easier to prosecute a few individuals for sexual abuse.

Can we return to the question of why it should be now, at this time, that the hysteria against paedophilia, and other sexual acts that threaten the family, should be growing?

I think Jeffrey Weeks is right. He's saying that the establishment is really besieged right now, the family is really besieged, there's a lot of failure, in marriage, in love, in affection, in bonds between children and parents, that we're confronted with a whole area of great social failure. Now Weeks contends that there is a whole other movement coming in, which is typified by the gay movement; I think that's terribly optimistic. I think that we've simply got to take another view of what individuals are, what few real choices we have in our lives, which are much more limited than we once believed they were. We've got to incorporate that all in our dealings with children, we've got to learn to deal with children in ways that keep us in contact with them but also out of their lives. They've got to have the space to understand who they are, to know their desires, and there's where I think men who have paedophile relationships often achieve that balance better than parents. The parents feel so overwhelmed by the task that they move between total neglect and total control, and the kids need something else, they need a distancing from the adult, and yet the adult's presence at crucial moments. I think men who have paedophile relationships also have some insights into the balancing of distance and closeness.

In your discussion of paedophilia, in terms of the exploration of childhood sexuality, you don't seem to take into consideration the reality of the paedophiles themselves, especially in the midst of oppression. Are the paedophiles themselves getting lost here?

I think that you have an obvious need, you have a help that you can provide one another, be-
cause you're not getting it from any other place. I have total respect for that, and I'm poignantly aware of it since I've been in Amsterdam, where there is this whole emigre group of men who have been tun out of their countries because of the so-called "abuse" of children. For those who know nothing of your persecution, you need to describe your experiences, but you need to ask questions, that is, why it is happening, and I think the why questions will take you in many different directions. They will certainly take you back to the family, to the guardianship of childhood sexuality, that is why I dwelt so much on that. A question that always comes up when spokesmen for paedophile groups speak to my classes in San Francisco, is 'You talk so much about the welfare of these kids, and how much you're doing for them, but what are you getting out of it?'I think what men who have paedophile relationships get out of them needs to be clearly delineated. The fact that the relationships are parental and affectionate and that the sexuality is worked into that much larger framework is not understood. That there can be that combination is surprising to most people, who still think of sex when it's cross-generational as exploitive and manipulative. I think your telling of your relationships is very important, particularly how you must balance your own fulfillment against theirs, if there come moments when these are not harmonious. I think many parents need to learn how to do that with their own children, and maybe you have insight into that that they don't have.

We've got to learn to deal with children in ways that keep us in contact with them but also out of their lives. Men who have paedophile relationships often achieve that balance better than parents.

You are a professor of psychology. One of the major social forces opposing paedophilia is the psychological pro-
fession. It provides research which opposes paedophilia, and takes an active role in the courts, giving testimony to convict paedophiles. It also advises courts on sentencing, and in Sexually Dangerous Person procedures. Do you have observations on the state of psychological research in this area, or on its funding and responsiveness to power?

Psychology has played a shameful role carrying out the government's research priorities. You must understand the process of getting research grants. The grants I got from the Federal government were to study only aspects of homosexuality which represented failures or victimization. If I were to go to the government and say, I think there's an inventiveness in relationships between two men or two women that married heterosexuals really could profit by, how the going in and out of these relationships is negotiated with much less trauma, and sometimes with enormous care and understanding, that we could well use in the present era of divorce, I would never have gotten a single grant. But I could get a grant to study jail rape, for studying ageing homosexuals who presumably the government believes never have sex anymore, or for discrimination. Today psychologists will get grants for incest and for child abuse, and violence against children and pornography. Also these studies can be experimentally designed, and the government now prefers controlled experiments: it fits in with their idea that all sexuality should be controlled, even within the context of research. So psychology has been opposed to paedophilia because the government has been opposed to paedophilia, and that's where psychology gets its money.

Psychology pretends to be a science, in the sense of a natural science. It can never be that; it shows a terrible misunderstanding of the natural sciences and of its own biases. It can never be a perspectiveless discipline; that is, any human being looking at another human being, at human conduct or relationsh:ps or studying human phenomena, does so from one, or several, of various human perspectives, whereas in the natural sciences, presumably, we come up with the truth that will stand the test from many different perspectives, so that in essence science be-
comes perspectiveless. But that is never the case when human beings are studying other human beings.

Psychology also is not a predictive science. Again, it is a pretense to being a natural science. I know one forensic clinical psychologist, who has practically dropped his private practice now. He gets involved in child abuse cases, and it's very lucrative. He's flown all around the country, he's paid for every day that he's away from home and works on the case, all of his hotel accommodations, and it's a whole profession.

## Power and Consent

One of the principal attacks on paedophilia has been in the area of power differentials between the participants in the relationship, and over the question of consent. How would you formulate the issue of consent: what constitutes consent for the minor partner? What about power in the relationship?

The issue of consent is a difficult one. We have trouble with it even in peer relationships. It would at least include knowledge of what one is consenting to.

How much knowledge? Here we touch on the argument of "informed consent", which holds that it is impossible for the child, out of his experience, to imagine what he will feel like thirty years later about the experience, and therefore cannot truly consent.

Yes, that's it. As if any woman who is consenting to have sex with a man can!

But she at least has had some parallel experiences on which to base a decision. By the time one is twenty or so you have been around a little in the world at least...

Well, why don't we outline what consent must minimally require, what the criteria of informed consent must be. It has to be some knowledge of what the act is, right at that moment, what one is consenting to, and that, in fact, what one consents to is what really transpires. Add to that the anticipated consequences of the consent, not only personal in the sense of

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'Will I really enjoy this?', 'Will it harm me in some way?', but also the social consequences of reputation, of societal judgement, parental interdiction, and so on. If you lay out all those qualifications, I don't think there are many adult acts of full consent. In a way, if we could know that much ahead of time, much of the sexual excitement would be gone, because what we often hope for, I think, in a sexual encounter, is that something new and unexpected might occur.

So you are suggesting that there actually are no relationships where there is truly full consent that meets all of those criteria?

Yes, I would be hard pressed to believe that that could occur, and even that people want it to occur. There are certain non-consensual elements which people value in emotional and sexual relationships. What is romance? Romance is when you get onto this roller coaster, you know, and you go up and down. If you could anticipate all the suffering that's going to be involved, you probably wouldn't start it, but you know there's at least going to be this thrilling undulating effect.

To say there is no true consent in any relation doesn't answer the question of what exactly consent should be in the power-charged, unequal situation of an adult and a minor.

Well, I'm not trying to evade your question. I think that sexuality is not exempt from ethical constraints, nor is any other area of our lives. We have not arrived at a social consensus on what sexuality is, on what forms of touching, of conversation, on what we see in a picture-police can see pornography where others don't.

For better or for worse I think we have not arrived at a consensus as to what it is we are consenting to. So what can a person do in a situation in which the culture provides only very confused and disordered notions of what it is that one's consenting to, what can an adult, operating within some kind of ethical community, do? I think the answer must be that one must show enormous respect for the desires of the child, and the feelings of the child, and some sense of who that child is, and how whatever transpires is going to fit into the larger frame of that child's life.

So, in other words, the adult's experience should compensate for the child's inexperience. If it's two adults, each one has a little better idea of what they may be consenting to; in the case of a cross-generational relationship the adult must be especially considerate of those things.

Exactly, but I think it's only in the area of ethical responsibility. I don't think you can substitute adult experience for childhood experience, and vice versa. And I don't think you should even be required to, it can't be done. But what you can do is, the adult must take a full ethical responsibility, for himself, that is, you must operate within ethical constraints, which I hope would include the respect for the fact that this child is a unique human being, whose uniqueness must be valued, and that the experiences that you have with the child would then somehow make it more possible for that uniqueness to develop rather than curtailing or suffocating it. This may mean giving up sex even when it is possible. In a particular case, this might mean that you would be even more sexually responsive, possibly, knowing that the child at that moment desires it, welcomes it and would benefit from it. But the ethical responsibility is a heavy one because this society is not defining what those ethical considerations should be, and because the child may or may not yet be a part of any ethical community, so that he can't make these judgements, or she can't, very well. That is why an enlightened law must have a role in protecting the child. Because the child, less than the adult, can know the consequences of his acts, there is still a place for laws that protect
the child from clearly demonstratable exploitation or immediate harm. But the enforcement of such laws would have to respect the perceptions, judgements and desires of the child.

> This leads into another question, about how paedophiles can develop a healthy relationship in the midst of a society that condemns them.

The word 'healthy' is here a substitution for ethics. It's the medical profession taking over the cleric's responsibilities; 1 prefer to have those definitions remain with the people who think and know about them. I would just say again everything I said about the ethical considerations; I would prefer them to be frankly phrased, as moral and ethical considerations, rather than 'health', because I think that plays right back into medicine and the medical control of sexuality. Medicine is embarrassingly involved with sexuality. I think that at one point it was an adventure, a huge expansion of its institutional power; 1 think today it's terribly embarrassed and would like to get out of the business if it could.

In relation to the whole question of power within their relationships, might looking at sexual relationships rather than sexual identities clarify the whole matter, because inequalities of power are one of the things that are common within all sexual relationships, which might help to clarify the question of inequalities of power within paedophile relationships.

Or vice versa. The exploration of paedophile relationships, when the adult often is extraordinarily concerned with the issues of imbalance of power, is an exploration of how power can be handled in interpersonal relations in which we're entrusting people with our emotions, and our bodies. These relations inevitably revolve around power, so that ethical notions of what is fair and equitable are crucial. Women are beginning to complain about the kind of sexist treatment that they have been subjected to: there are any number of books on the American market now you know, 'Women Who Love Men Who Hate Women', and so on. Those books have a very angry tone, yet I get the im-
pression, are still written without any real examination of the dynamics of the whole structure of the relationships women have with men, which themselves result in those dynamics. They want to change the dynamics without changing the structures. Thoughtful adults who have sexual relations with children have had to look at everything, the dynamics and the whole structure of their relationships, which have been forbidden in Western society. So again I think these individuals have a lot to contribute, as in the case of childhood sexuality, in the case of adult sexuality, and now in the case of relationships. I believe that it's the quality of the people involved that often determines the quality of the relationship. If you have sleazy characters you are going to have a sleazy relationship, and two people who have a sense of fairness and mutuality are often going to have a good relationship. You've got to have ethical people to have good relationships, and ethics is a matter of persons.

Can you pursue that a little further, how you see paedo. philes restructuring traditional roles in their relationships?

The persons I have met here in Amsterdam who identify themselves as paedophiles certainly don't impress me as being stereotypical macho American males, thank God, but in many ways they are also extraordinarily brave and pioneering men, which is part of the male stereotype. So what I guess this means is that they show a kind of androgyny, this incredible nurturance, and yet this rather fearless dedication that shows that maybe men can be men in a way that does not require brute force. In other words, that men can be powerful, but powerful in a moral way, that there can be a kind of moral power that can combine with nurturance, so that power and nurturance don't have to be seen as opposing attributes. So I think that these men redefine what it is to be a man. And then, of course, you constitute another threat, because one of the great threats that adult child relation-
ships have, especially, is that the adult is not reproducing the model of the father, of the stern, aggressive totally self-confident male. You're providing another kind of a model, with another kind of a very subcle, pervasive power that comes from understanding and knowing and responsiveness. That, you see, doesn't fit the image that we have of the totalitarian father. Therefore, even though you're providing an understanding of how males can be quite different people than they stereotypically are, that poses a threat. It is possible for males to have this enormously nurturant relationship to kids. Your authority in a kid's life, comes to the extent that you represent something that he wants to trust, but doesn't completely, and can not completely understand at the moment, but something that he will someday understand and then assume himself, which is not the transmission of male power as we think of it in the family. There are not many options open, but there are a few things that we could be doing with kids that we're not doing today, and I think paedophiles have an intuitive and often an experiential understanding of them.

## Do you have any summary you wish to make?

There are two points I would stress. I think the idea of sexual identity reduces the importance of the individual, and that the focus of inquiry must be, should be, would most profitably be, on how the sexuality of a given person fits into that person's life, and how that person's life fits into the broader social context. We ought to use the current categories of sexuality, at best, as categories of desire and behaviour, but not as categories of people. I think my other point is that the investigation of paedophilia could be important because it can be one means by which we can shed light on childhood sexuality, on issues of consent in all sexual relations, not only intergenerational relationships, and how sexual relationships are regulated not in the interest of the individuals but in the interest of our rulers.

# LISTEN! ONLY A MOMENT! A CRY 

## John Henry Mackay


#### Abstract

Gehoer! (translated here as Listen! Only a Moment!) was written by the German anarchist and poet John Henry Mackay (1864-1933) in 1908, and published under his pseudonym "Sagitta". It was written in response to the Eulenburg scandal, caused by allegations that several of the Kaiser's close advisors were homosexuals. Mackay hoped that the discussion this provoked in society could be an opening for modifying public attitudes about paeder asty. He had previously published three parts of his Bücher der Namenlosen Liebe, which had been addressed to boy-lovers; Gehoer! was his first appeal to the general public, and was mailed out to clergy, youth workers and community leaders. He was wrong about the possibility of dialogue; upon complaints from some who received it, Gehoer! and his previous titles were prosecuted as corrupting to public morals. At the conclusion of the trial, in 1909, Gehoerl and the other titles were ordered destroyed, and the publisher fined. However, it was issued again, as part of the complete Bücher der Namenlosen Liebe, in 1913 and 1924, both editions bearing imprints from outside of Germany. This is its first appearance in English, translated by Dr. Hubert Kennedy. With translations of the other prose portions of the Books of Nameless Love, it will appear later this year from Southernwood Press, Amsterdam.


And it will be like a cry!
To you, whom I do not know, about whom I know nothing, but that you are a human being like myself, I turn and ask you to listen-to listen for only a moment.

I do not know you. But I assume that, since you are human, you would stop on your way if the cry of an injured person were suddenly to strike your ear. You would stop and, according to your character, hurry to help or continue on-but at least you would stop and listen for a moment, if only out of curiosity.

With a cry, with a cry of desperation, I call to you: not for help, but rather for a hearing, and for a moment only.

What do I want from you?
It may happen that an hour comes in the life of each one of us in which we feel that its burden is becoming too heavy for us, that no living hand, no word of friendship is able to help us bear it. In such an hour-merhaps it is not a stranger to you-we walk, unable to be alone with ourselves any longer, into the streets, to wander aimlessly here and there and grasp, as if in the fear of death, for the hand of the first, the next passerby, and cry out, in order to feel that we are still alive.

In such an hour I come to you, who are a stranger to me.
"What do you want from me?" you ask.
What do I want from you?
I will speak to you. Only a moment. I will speak to you of love.

## You laugh.

"Of love? Why the introduction? The whole world speaks of love. Everyone enjoys hearing of love. Speak!"

I begin, and have difficulty finding the first word.
Yes, I will speak of love. But not of the love the whole world talks about, but rather of the love the world keeps silent about. Of which the world knows nothing, because it wants to know nothing of it.

I will speak to you of the love-

You fall back and turn away. On your mouth lies a sign of scorn and disgust. Your eyes look cold and forbidding, and you interrupt me:
"I can guess what you are getting at. But I will hear nothing of it. Is it not enough that one can't pick up a newspaper anymore, or go to any social gathering, without cunning into a discussion of these things, which a couple of years ago no decent person would dare to even think about? Is this filth now to be brought across one's path? I want to know nothing about it, however! I will not listen! Do you understand me?"

I understand you. I knew that you would turn away, that you would interrupt me, that you would talk like that. But it is here that my cry begins: to listen to me, to listen for only a moment! Just hear at least the promise that I will give you. I promise that you will hear something from me that you did not know before, on which you never thought before. And I further promise that you will not hear from me a single one of those words, in which the misunderstood notions of our age take refuge, and of which I will only say that they disgust me a thousand times more than they could disgust you, that you will hear from me none of those words, not
a single one. I give you an insight and you give me a hearing in return-for a moment-is that not a good exchange? And is it too much to ask?

## *

You are uncertain and still hesitate. Then:
"All right, so be it. In the end, what more can I lose than a half hour? So talk. But make it short."

I will be brief. As brief as possible. Let us walk up and down here. No one is listening to us. If anyone hears us, so much the better.

I will speak to you of love.
What is love?
Love is the deep and mysterious power that draws one person to another-often against his will, always against his resistance.

Love is-let me speak of it as we all, without exception, speak of it and in words just as they come to me.

Love is: the 'fulfillment of life', its 'beginning and end', the 'final end of wisdom'.

We did not know where it comes from or where it goes. It 'is there' and it 'dies of itself'.

It is our first and last happiness, it makes us 'human for the first time', 'lifts us above ourselves', discloses the 'treasures of our inner being', it awakens our best strengths; it is the hearth of our house and 'changes earth into paradise'.

Love-we love, and the world appears 'in a new light'; we are immersed in it; only in 'the beloved' do we still see it.

Love-it asks no questions, and it laughs at answers; it requires no excuse and to approval; it does not 'let itself be mocked'; it scorns the judgement of the world.

Love-it ennobles our actions and gives the least of them new meaning; it does not take, it only gives... And is blessed in receiving and giving... It is the only thing that cannot be bought in this mercenary world...

Love-it does nothing, except one thing alone: it loves.

Wonderful, like itself, are its ways.
It created the world, and holds it in existence.
What would the world be without it?!
Thus people speak of it-love!

We are in agreement on the wonderful strength of love, which rules the world, just as we are in agreement on its power, from which no one living can entirely escape.

And yet we exclude one love, declare it to be criminal, persecute it wherever we find it, and take from it every right, even the right to the name of love, one: the love of a man for a younger person of his own sex, his love for a youth, for a boy!

You stand still. Again disdain in your eyes, disgust on your lips.
"But you don't want to claim that the abominable vice you have started to talk about again has anything at all do do with love?"

Yes, I claim that, just as I claim that no love has anything to do with vice, if it is truly love. And I shall seek to prove my claim to you from the existence of this love.

But one thing I must ask of you: that you first banish from your imagination that dirty picture, which up to now has been the only way you could think of this love.

Think of your own love and you will understand me, you must understand me!

For since you are human, love cannot have remained a stranger to you: you love someone, you have loved someone.

Perhaps you are fortunate in love. Then you know the heavenly bliss of the heart, the agonizing pleasure of desire, the blessed feeling of understanding in two beings who belong to one another, the deep feeling of peaceful security on the beloved's breast.

Perhaps you are unfortunate in love. Then no torment of hell has remained a stranger to you: neither the infinite bitterness of not being heard, not being understood, the hopeless grief of futility, nor the passionate torment of never fulfilled longing, the raging pain of jealousy, the dull giving in to resignation and despair.

Now, exactly so, fortunate or unfortunate, do we feel our love. Thus it rejoices, thus it suffers, and it is distinguished in no way from yours, except in the one thing: that its object is not of the other, but of the same sex!


John Henry Mackay, circa 1900
"But that is precisely what I do not understand," you say. "Why do you not love the other sex as we do? Explain to me this discrepancy."

I could just as well ask you to explain your love to me. You cannot do it. Just as little as I can explain mine. For love does not let itself be 'explained'.

Not this one either. Two thousand years bur-
ied it in silence. They 'explained' it as criminal, just as the majority still 'explain' it today as criminal. Then, as progressive science had to occupy itself with this question, it looked for physical and mental appearances of deviation and 'explained' it as a sickness. Yet, confronted with its own research and powerless to maintain this theory in the face of numberless cases of incontestable health, science admitted the inborn nature of this inclination, its inability to be changed or influenced, and today, provided that it goes about its work honestly and objectively, it must finally admit in shame that it is a question here of a phenomenon of nature like every other, not a question of 'another kind of human being', but rather of persons who differ from other people in no way, except in this their love.

Our time-at a loss and helpless-is faced, not with criminals, nor with sick people, nor with degenerates, but with people, healthy human beings, and indeed human beings who have finally begun to regard themselves as such and to demand to be treated as such.

Again you stand still, retlecting. But then-triumphantly:
"You forget one thing: the goals of nature. Its goals are preservation and reproduction. Therefore it created two sexes. The love you speak of, however, contradicts these goals. It is unfruitful and therefore against nature-unnatural!"

To this too I can only answer:
I do not believe in the goals of nature. I only see everywhere its meaningless and enormous extravagance: how it creates numberless germs, to allow one to mature to fruition, and how it everywhere destroys what it has just created. It thus fulfills its inner laws of necessity in eternal and unbroken transitions from form to form, but it fulfills no 'goals'. And we, who do not know from where we came or where we are going, nor yet why we are here, are only allowed to guess that the world subsists in this constant struggle between attraction and repulsion.

Subsists, just as our life subsists in love and hate. A struggle against nature, whose victory is the victory over itself!

I do not believe in the goals of nature. But you, who believe in these goals, you must then also believe that nature pursues a goal with us too, and it is up to you, not me, to discover this goal.

For do you want to doubt the existence of this love? Did you yourself not say that it has become a topic of the day: that one can no longer open a newspaper without running into it. Just as the powerful dammed up current finally breaks the dam, so has it broken its monstrous silence of centuries, and it is not its fault if today it so suddenly stands among us like a stranger.

A stranger that has only one homeland: among that unique people, of whose art the soul of our culture longingly seeks the last fragments, because it recognizes in it the revelation of the highest beauty.

A stranger everywhere, but nowhere foreign: all times, all peoples, every country and every class have known and know it, and everywhere it demands today its native right to tolerance. A stranger, whom we know and yet do not know, of which we do not know what it can and will bring, we still shove it off and back away from it, as if from a leper, and it wanders homeless about and must first earn its right as a citizen and-oh!-how gladly would it not want to earn it.

For who knows in how many hearts it already lives today, since everyone denies it!

Thus placed before the fact of its existence, powerless any longer to root it out and suppress it , there remains only one thing left: to come to terms with it; and experience will teach us that we can do this in only one way: by seeking to make it useful for our life, like every other strength of nature, by allowing the apparently fruitless to become fruitful.

How-that I cannot tell you here. The time is too short. Consider for yourself how great the educational effect of this love can be on the beloved youth, if it is allowed to function unhindered. We shall see mature as its finest fruit the virtues of manliness and sincerity, of justice and freedom.

Now, however, I hear your long awaited objection:
"But who and what hinders you today from effecting this? Surely not the law? Ridiculous! No law in the world has ever punished feelings, no law has any power at all to do that. Feelings are as free as thoughts. It is not those the law prosecutes, but actions; and punishment is the only thing that protects the youth from seducers."

Not true!-I answer you. It is not true! And I will prove to you that it is not true, will show you that the law seldom punishes actions alone, but always punishes love.

Laws are made by those who have the power to make them. They last only as long as the power that maintains them. But power is forever changing, and the laws change and fall with it. Power has its strongest support in what we call 'morality': the 'judgement of public opinion', the 'voice of the people, which is the voice of God', the 'moral consciousness of the general public'. And morality, in turn, rests on the law: it is still today the guiding principle of most people, of all those who are unable to feel and act independently: the 'great masses'. What the law allows is 'good'; what it forbids is 'bad'.

And now this law! There is none that is so untenable, since it is so completely unenforceable. Here and there, among innumerable cases, some unfortunate is ruined by it. Those, however, whom it concerns, or should concern, the true seducers of youth, they slip away always, or almost always. Well versed in all its tricks and ambiguities, basing their life on the enjoyment of their senses alone (too often only because they despair of the possibility of their love and have learned to doubt it), they struggle through between morality and law unharmed, and seek to win for their underground existence the cheerless stimulation of the secret and un-usual-a life, not in the light of the sun, but in the artificial light of a hideout.

But why do I talk to you of such!
I wanted to bear witness to you of those alone who love. Of those who suffer the more, the deeper they love. Who are ruined, because they love; and who love, because they cannot live without love. Of those whom you murder, since
you hinder them from loving-those who are the true victims of this law, always, even there where it does not reach, cannot reach!
"But cannot and will not your love also lead to actions?" you ask.

It will not always necessarily do so. But certainly it can. Yet then it can be only actions of love: arising from the unique wish to make one another as happy as possible; to do good and not hurt one another; and so also to benefit and not harm one another. And that is all and should be all that I can tell you about the actions of this love, which people-and you too!-can only imagine, when you think about this love, unwilling and unable to investigate assumptions before you draw conclusions.

Nevertheless, a word more about seduction.
No law can protect youth from seduction. Only instruction can do that.

But never will instruction be more effective, more penetrating, more blessed than when love, genuine love gives it. Let us, therefore, trust less in the law than in this: the law of love, the unique unwritten law of eternal validity and durability, which one day will here too mock all our written laws-let us also safely entrust our youth to it!

And let us not always and everywhere see only seducers, who lead astray. For there are also leaders.

A seducer is one who misleads to questions and offers their solution, before they pose them themselves-who violently opens buds with impudent and impure hands, before their time of maturity has come. I have nothing to do with these seducers, as little as you, and with you I say that everything must be allowed us to keep them off.

A leader, however, is someone who carefully waits for the questions until he sees that they are pressing for an answer and are asked - who protects the bud, but does not refuse to nourish the ground for its blooming.

Here lies the border and not in the artificial establishment of age. One person is mature and appears still to be a child; another is still a child,
while we would take him to be mature already, according to his years.

Distinguish, therefore, between leaders and seducers.

For, believe me, it can happen that your weapons are turned against your own breast.

The awakening boy, the awakened young person impetuously seeks for answers to his questions-for a leader in his confusion.

How do you answer him? I do not know. I see only the results of your answers.

How does his friend answer him, his older friend by whom he has up to then found the answer to all the little questions of his young lifehow does he answer the first big one?
'Naturally,' you say, 'he advises him to love him!'

Not at all. He loves him and therefore will show him all the paths and then say: Now choose for yourself! Go in whatever direction you are impelled.

The boy, however, hesitates between you and him: between you, who have filled his soul with frightening hints and hortible warnings, and him, to whom he is drawn.

He doesn't know which way to turn. Where should he go? Should he go to a girl?-'seduce' her? Who will rescue him and her from the consequences? In the best case the sacrifice of the whole of his own life.

Should he go to a prostitute? He can buy her. But she can sell him out. And here no sacrifice will rescue him, not even that of his own lost life.

Should he finally turn to himself? In the solitary love of self seek release from his necessity? Give himself the answer that is everywhere denied and not understood, which slowly destroys him?
'He should not love at all, as long as he is young, 'you say. 'He should remain continent.' You can just as well say to him that he should not live, as long as he is young. He feels that this is no answer. It seems too simple to him. He knows already that life, which is pounding on his senses with such questions, is not so simple.
'Thus he should love with his heart, but not with his senses. Thus you should and can also love him.' And this answer, which is the worst
of all, will make him into the person we would least like to see: into an unstable dreamer, an idealist unfitted for life, a fanatic of some idea or other, whom life tosses about until it crushes him.

And with this you say to us: we should love him without-loving him.

He, however, who has hesitated so long between you and his friend, finally seeks his last refuge on the breast that loves him. And it will not shove him away. It will give him the answer that he seeks, in spite of the world and its judgment. It will not betray his love or him. It will also not disappoint him.

Therefore: Is it better that he comes secretly to it, behind your back, than openly and with your permission?

What is better: to place the danger of alienation between us, or to work in common for his happiness?

For what could I more earnestly ask of you than this: let us go together! And what could I more gladly welcome, than that you instruct him?

But before you instruct him, instruct yourself!
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And now that we have drawn closer-
But have we drawn closer?
You stand so indistinctly before me in the shadows of this night. I do not know who you are. But whomever you may be, man or woman, old or young, unhappy or happy, influential or powerless, poor or rich-you are a human being, and as such sympathy for another's suffering cannot be entirely foreign to you.

The time is short, which you have granted me, but not so short as to allow you to tarry a bit with me by a life of the love, of which you know nothing, and which is able to find its fulfillment in this love alone.

However it may appear from the outside, it is a poor life. It is a life of danger and fear, and it is a life of lies-a life that only he endures, who must bear it.

Danger and fear are around him and around all that he loves. The next chance can destroy him, can rob him of his family, alienate his
friends, tear his beloved from his heart; can shake his position in society and make his presence impossible everywhere; destroy his reputation, stain his honor, drag his name into the mud, take his bread, and make him homeless.

Therefore he builds his whole life on one lie. No one, not even the nearest to him, is allowed even to imagine how he appears inside. The mask of indifference and contentment constantly before his frozen face, he simulates love and interest-how often does he not!-where he feels none; he sympathizes where no one sympathizes with him; he does not look where he would dearly love to look, and he must lie, lie, lie-with every glance, with every word, continually.

Everything that makes up the 'happiness of the others', for which they live, is closed to him: he does not know a peaceful life in a secure position; knows no home adorned with a woman's care and the laughter of children; no peace of mind and feeling of serenity following a good and well-done day's work; does not even have the consciousness of being allowed to work for those he loves!

And he has no one to whom he can complain. Not even to the lap that conceived and bore him does he dare to bring his misery, out of fear of confusing, wounding, killing the last and dearest heart with his confession.
Everything is denied him. What the poorest of the poor may still dare, to show his bit of happiness to the world, he dare not do--he must hide it. Everything-even the last consolation of tears on the grave of the one he loved-for his tears could indeed arouse suspicion!

Loneliness is his destiny and bitterness his curse!

How is he still to live? He himself no longer knows.

Never is his love secure. Even when he succeeds in winning the trust of a young heart and calling it his, he is surrounded by suspicion, pursued by impudent curiosity, an eye is kept on every footstep, and how easily is the one who is young and therefore so easily influenced torn from him by a word, a threat, a prohibition!

Again and again he stands in mourning before the seeds of his happiness, trampled by stupidity
and malice, from year to year losing the courage to begin anew the futile task.

With less and less courage to live-for how is he yet to live and work?

He himself no longer knows.
What is allowed him after all?
What he is still able to do-everything has of course only the one goal, to make the poor victim compliant to his lust: a smile-the snare he uses to trap; a friendly word, a small gift-the bait he uses to catch; help in word and deed-the price and hush money for some received or expected disgraceful act! He holds himself back-aha, he is lurking; he 'appears otherwise quite decent'-well yes, there you see the way he knows how to hide his true nature; he is faithful, selfless, and self-sacrificing in his love-his bad conscience holds him back from the final deed.

You tell me: is there in all this even a trace of heart, sensitivity and understanding? I do not find it.

Thus he lives his corpse-life among you, a shadow of your happiness, lonely and silent, and little by little dies his feeling of being a man among human beings!

For how is he to prove that he too still belongs among them?

All around him is silence, nothing but silence.
And this silence, with which his love is buried, is the most dreadful of all: this impossibility of being able to defend himself; to seize this spectre of madness; to close the mouth that lies about us; to be able to choke the throat that spits out cowardly insults!

For this love is just not love. It is not there at all. Its nonexistence does not let it defend itself, nor grasp the inaudible whispers of rumor, nor crush the unspoken slander that prowls about.

Silence-who is able to fight against silence!
Where is the character that would not become callous or shallow in such a life, the heart that would not become bitter? Where the nerves that would not succumb?

But you all, who will hear none of this, you see nothing, you have no idea of it, you judge; his vice has ruined him; a person mistrustful and unhappy in life; a heart without love.

A heart without love? It is not without love,
but is sentenced to what is the hardest for every decent person: to deny it, and more than this: to join in insulting it, in betraying it, so as not to be betrayed! For silence arouses suspicion, defense is self-accusation!

Thus he goes where you drive him. Damned to live without love and joy, to sacrifice his life to a phantom, he puts lust in place of love, frenzy in place of joy, seeks to numb himself, delude himself about himself, clings with the last hundredth part of his wasted tenderness to the warm, but unfeeling breast that tolerates it because it is paid for this tolerance, and is still satisfied to know at least one place yet where he will not be shoved away with complete disgust. And everything becomes more and more indifferent to him: your judgement and his life, until his nausea before the waste and emptiness of this his own life buries him!
"But," I hear you say, "be stronger than your life, greater than your destiny! Openly acknowledge your love and fight for it!"

Show me first, I answer you, the person who is so independent of his whole surroundings that he can defy your judgement. And if he is, who can ask that he bare himself in the open market place, to show that he is without stain? Who has become so indifferent to himself, that he would destroy forever his last hope for a small bit of happiness?

Nothing else than this would an open confession of this love be today, this condemned love, condemned like nothing else on earth.

Who can ask it? Surely not you, who have nothing to fear and yet do not have the courage to touch on the nature of this love for fear of somewhere being suspected of being in sympathy with it.

You shrug your shoulders. 'The time is not yet ripe. You were born too soon. And it seems to me that you exaggerate a bit-it really cannot be so bad.'

Only my smile answered you.

If I were to tell you all that I know-and I could tell you much-it would be the enormous sum of those sorrows that in the accounting book of humanity have alone remained unwritten and uncounted, because they were never taken into account, not a single one was entered!
$\star$
You stand wavering. You are not shaken, for only that, which we ourselves are capable of suffering, is able to shake us.

However, you have become somewhat thoughtful.
"But what can I do?" you ask.
What can you do? You must know that yourself, I cannot tell you. For I do not know you. But one thing you can do today-everyone can-is this:

Do not make yourself an accessory to this most senseless of all judgements, this darkest of all madness, this most unfeeling of all injustices.

Take part no longer, as you have up to now: in those unspeakable jokes, with which the common and thoughtless dirty someone's lot, of which they have no idea; in the ugly and cheap smile that secretively plays around the lips of those who think themselves educated when they bury this love with silence; in the hideous hunting down of men, which has become a sport and which a never sufficiently prodded greediness for ever new sensations carries out in the open streets in our days; in the repugnant pleasure with which the rabble 'of all sorts' stones to death the one they have trampled to the ground; in the dirty suspicions with which the honor, the reputation, the name of someone who is 'so' or is under suspicion of being 'so' is stained, until his existence is buried under them!

Guard yourself well from taking part any longer in the degradation of a love you do not know, for you degrade your own love with it!

If you believe in God, then profess: God, who takes even the least one to his heart, rejects no one for the sake of the love that he himself has planted.

If you do not believe, then investigate further and realize that no area of life may be closed to true research, and regard its phenomena not
with the eye of a zealot and moralist, but with that of a searcher after the truth.

That is what you can do without fail, whoever you are, and indeed from tomorrow on!

What you are able and wish to bring about further in this sphere of your life, so as finally to order a halt to perhaps the greatest, certainly the most cowardly crime that one part of mankind has without punishment perpetrated on another part-your heart, your spirit, your love of justice alone can tell you.

The moment you allowed me is coming to an end.

I have kept my promise, have I not? You have heard nothing from me that you could not calmly listen to; no word has fallen that adds to the confusion; and I have only spoken to you of love.

Love-where is it not?
Listen: do you not hear a rustle around us in the silence of this night, deep and full like the rustle of a distant current? It is the current of love, which flows through the world. Its source wells up in the distant mystery of time. Its waters flow there pure and clear-at the beginning of the world, at the origin of all being. People bend over it, to drink in life. Everyone may come and drink: strength and health, beauty and joy.

Only we stand aside. Among all apart and alone. For our spring, also flowing here, is poisoned: poisoned by prejudice and made impure by hate. And as we bend down over it, to quench our thirst, there strikes against us the decaying smell of corpses, the corpses of those who drank nevertheless and had to die because they drank. And we shudder back, again and again-to drink nevertheless and die like them; or-to die of thirst!

It is late. The moment has passed.
I do not thank you. You have me to thank. You gave me an audience, but I gave you the
possibility of an understanding.
You turn away. You know that what I told you is the truth: indisputable in its facts.

What I wanted was: to show you that this love-the love of a man for a younger one: for a youth, for a boy-is as little a vice as every other love. I have gained nothing from you, if you have not grasped this.

You keep silent. Doubts probably afflict you, but your instinct, as you call it, rears up in oppo-sition-that poison of slander, continually injected into generations through the centuries, is having its effect and is stronger than your will for truth. You 'can do nothing against it'.

All right. So be it then.
Go. Continue to close your eyes and your ears, your heart and your understanding. Continue to help the work of persecution: sharpen the laws-no, better: make new ones that threaten a smile of this love with public dishonor, a word with prison for life! Just don't stand in the middle of the road: rip hearts from breasts, dissect their feelings, and when you run up against abominable ones, like ours, burn them in the light of your centuries, before the eyes of a mass of people screaming out to you!

Only then can you say that you have obtained what you wished!

Did you believe perhaps that I would have cried out to you because I hoped for sympathy, tolerance, understanding from you? Because I still believed in the possibility of justice in our time? Because I still had hope?

Happiness? None of us believes any longer in happiness. -Justice? We laugh at it, as at an empty word. - Hope? We have given it all up, down to the last.

No. I cried out to you, because I had to cry out!

Go. Do what you will. But do not believe that you can still do anything that has not already been done against us. The cup is empty. There are no more dregs.

But one thing, hear me, you should no longer do-no longer do for your own sake.

Speak no more of love. Genuine love makes
one discerning and indulgent-broadens our faculty for understanding the lot of others, opens our hearts to their misfortune.

Speak no longer of justice. True justice knows only one crime: the crime against the equal freedom of others, seeks to understand its causes and to make it and them impossible, but does not create criminals out of innocent people, purely for the pleasure of punishing them.

And speak no longer of Christian charity. For under the scornful laughter of those cast out the word would die on your lips!

We, too, finally comprehend and know what we have to do.

You were able to murder those who wereunpunished.

But we, who are among you and of your race, and who will be among your progeny, not your and their enemies, but their and your friends and helpers, we shall be their avengers: no more 'outcasts of humanity', but rather a part of it, and-with equal rights, equally respected in our actions, equally respected also in our lovewe shall win and maintain our place in it.

How that will happen-that is out concern.
A path lies open to us and we shall walk on it. It is the path to the heart of the youth. And we have one weapon. It is the shield of our love.

We shall hold it over us and over those we love, and the arrows of your hatred, like the venom of your slander, will glance off it. Thus shall we conquer.
For the future of youth is also the future of our love. Our love lives on in youth, our vision becomes fact. Thus our last consolation is: that no one of them, the youth, who once has truly felt this love in himself, can misunderstand it again. Each of them, who has felt its strength in himself and has tested it in growing up, has experienced its blessing in his large and small needs, and has seen its loyalty kept; whoever was not seduced, dishonored, and disgraced by us, as you persuaded him, but rather found in us the helpers and comrades of his happy youth and his friends for life, he will, having become the father of a son himself, see in the one approaching the youngster not, to be sure, a friend from the outset, but also from the outset not an enemy, will examine him rigorously, and hold
him to be a decent person until he proves himself to be the opposite.

Therefore we, who have nothing more to lose than our love, who are not without it, even if without any more belief and hope, we shall not become tired of loving. Over every trampled seed the work of our love will begin anew, until we too stand before our harvest; until the current of our love also, purified of poison and corpses, will flow clear and bright; until we too are allowed to drink of it without danger, drink as everyone drinks.

And we shall no longer keep silent. You can count on it, we shall no longer keep silent!

For one right is also ours: one right, one last one, which no power, no injustice, no maltreatment is able entirely to suppress, which even the most cruel hangman is unable to smother on the lips of his defenseless vic-tim-the right of a final cry!

Dragged before your bar as an outlaw; convicted only by the witness of stupidity and meanness; sentenced without being heard; buried alive in the midst of the living; held in the eternal fear of uncertainty about the hour of our death; and finally somewhere, sometime, strangled by the hands of some scoundrel, our last cry is our last and only right!

Only this cry is able to lift the cover of silence under which you have sought to further smother us.

Therefore we shall shout it-we shall cry out until we find a hearing, not a hearing for a moment in the darkness of night before this or that person, but a hearing before the whole world, and in everything we have to say! We shall cry, $c r \gamma$, as long as it takes to be heard, cry out as I have cried out to you with this cry!

You walk away. But do not believe that this hour will ever entirely vanish from your life.

Sometime, perhaps very soon, perhaps only after years, another hour will come, when a person who was dear to your heart, whom you believed you knew and yet did not know, incurs his undeserved fate, in which you stand stunned and disconcerted before the dead, and find al-
ways only the one question: "Why? Why?!"
And in this hour, in which your foot, which otherwise walks so securely over corpses, stumbles on the threshold of your own house, fouled by blood and tears, this hour in which you bend over him, whom you have without love or understanding offended and whom no love and no understanding can now awaken, and in which you nevertheless still hope that the silent lips
will give you the answer to the question that tortures you-in this other hour there will pierce your numb ear, as if from a distance, the echo of a long forgotten cry, like the answer you seek, a cry that once, in a dark hour, a stranger who crossed your path and whom you shook off uttered, and you will, too late, understand his meaning.

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## THE PAEDOPHILE IMPULSE:

# Toward the Development of an Etiology of ChildAdult Sexual Contacts from an Ethological and Ethnological Viewpoint ${ }^{1}$ 

## Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg ${ }^{2}$

## 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 pubert, 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 emphasised 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 philos-
ophers and thinkers of ancient Greece, ${ }^{3}$ 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, ${ }^{4}$ 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. ${ }^{5}$

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 symbio-
sis 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 ${ }^{6}$, so that, in following his concept of education, people were to try as long as possible (even until after the 18 th 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. ${ }^{7}$

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 they are simply prohibitions. His actions are therefore subver-
sive to repressive educational goals.
A third prohibiting ideology is the recent apodictic assumption, raised from an extreme feminist standpoint, that sexual contacts 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." In fact! If we had indeed 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 practise 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 behaviour is the starting point that leads
by further thinking to conclusions about human behaviour, then it must be expressly emphasized ahead of time that such comparisons must always be entered into with great care. ${ }^{9}$ 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. ${ }^{10}$ 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. ${ }^{11}$ In the human being pure instinctive behaviour 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 behaviour appropriate to personal socialization, ${ }^{12}$ 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. ${ }^{13}$ Among the early forms of our own kind that have died out the handing down of newly found, meaningful and existencemaintaining forms of relations must have been continued and substantially enlarged.

The enormous differences in the traditions that are found among human beings makes 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 tabus, 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 so-
cial cement. The same mechanism holds for social prejudices. ${ }^{14}$

Ethologists, ethnologists and anthropologists all agree that the importance of learning in nonhuman 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 behaviour 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 behaviour 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 behaviour 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. ${ }^{15}$ 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 behaviour; obviously the adults comprehend that the 'youngsters' just do not yet know better.

Behaviour derived from mating behaviour, such as "mounting" (actually a precondition for coitus), is found in young anthropoid apes partly as play, partly as so-called "demonstrations of rank"; $; 46$ they always learn by watching the ac-
tions 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. ${ }^{17}$ In order to learn the coitus behaviour of mature animals, young chimpanzees must be able to observe older ones doing it. Examples reared alone á 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 behaviour according to the system of "trial and error", and even animals that exercise extensive opportunity to observe older members of their species in coitus behaviour, must practice the coitus behaviour typical to chimpanzees until they finally master it. Chimpanzees, however, on the basis of their higher intelligence, can still learn functional sexual behaviour even after an abnormal childhood, so long as they are confronted with it as "adolescents"-although such animals have distinct problems with it. ${ }^{18}$

The aforementioned "mounting" (originally the mature copulation behaviour 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 some what 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 behaviour 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 ${ }^{19}$ 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". ${ }^{20}$ Atimals reared in isolation could not learn even the peace-making content of these reactions that are derived from types of sexual behaviour. Those "unskilled" in such remained social outsiders.
Not directly sexual, but probably sexually flavoured types of behaviour 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, ${ }^{24}$ but can also and at the same time be foreplay to sexual acts. Similar nonaggressive caring behaviour 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 court-ing-transferred 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. ${ }^{22}$

## 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. ${ }^{23}$ 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. ${ }^{24}$ Others hold only limited sectors of sexuality (such as those relating to pregnancy and birth) as worth teaching, thus making an evaluative selection. ${ }^{25}$ We ourselves, and other peoples as well, ${ }^{26}$ 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 behaviour, 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 representa-
tions of the life of the people in question, since he, unconsciously selective, only observes what appears to him strange and therefore interest-ing-for example, the sexual liberty of young and very young people in certain cultures. He thereby overlooks the numerous food tabus that exceedingly complicate life in the same society, for food tabus 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, tabus, 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. ${ }^{27}$ 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 oc-
curs within the framework of initiations (mainly in Melanesia, parts of Australia and New Guinea); it resembles the paederastic educational practices of ancient Sparta. ${ }^{28}$ 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. ${ }^{29}$ 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. ${ }^{30}$

The sexual behaviour 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. ${ }^{31}$

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. ${ }^{32}$ Sexual contacts between parents and children (especially between mothers and small children), which we would designate as "paedophile", were not rate 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. ${ }^{33}$ 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 parentchild relationship.

## IV. Child Sexuality and Curiosity

So-called "curiosity" ${ }^{3}$ 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, ${ }^{35}$ whereas the curiosity of the chimpanzee appears inexhaustible and our own, the root of all inventions, proceeds continuously from them 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 behaviour 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 passivel $\gamma$ 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 behaviour) and behaviour 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 behaviour 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 behaviour: ${ }^{36}$ 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 behaviour, they sometimes regard their first child as a foreign object and a puzzling nuisance; they pay no attention to it or even kill it. ${ }^{37}$ This occurs despite the fact that evolution, in the so-called "infant" model ("Kindchen"-Schema), ${ }^{38}$ has installed a safety mechanism that makes possible 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 in-stinctive-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 (Schlutsselreiz), by heightened acceptance and, where it is a question of living, not pictured beings, by "euphoria, caressing or nurturing actions." 39 "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 behaviour, 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 tabus 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, ${ }^{40}$ 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 behaviour-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 behaviour 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" behaviour of young anthropoid apes and young children, which is meant to re-
lease 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 behaviour 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 school children, whose bad behaviour, 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 ${ }^{41}$ 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. ${ }^{42}$ And as conclusion to what has been presented so far, let us assert the theory-at least as a topic for dis-cussion-that the paedophile impulse is the result of a still unbroken spontaneous and inten-
sive reaction-which has become rare, certain-ly-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 is 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. ${ }^{43}$

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 tabu. 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, ate 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 tabu 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 some time 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 experienced 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 tabu, 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 Mi-
cronesia 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 tabu 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. ${ }^{44}$ For us (in the Federal Republic of Germany) these are impossible at the moment, for whoever 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 behaviour, 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. ${ }^{45}$ 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 tabu 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."

> Editor's Note:
> Dr. Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg originally worked as a telex and telephone operator. She returned to complete high-school studies as an adult, then received her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Bonn, studying ethnology, sociology, comparative religion and psychology. She has long been active in political organizations, journalism and special education. Her publications in the areas of ethnology and sexology include Tabu Homosexualität (1978), Mannbarkeitsriten: Zur institutionellen Pảderastie bei Papuas und Melanesiern (1980), and Der Weibmann: kultische Ge*schlechtswandel im Schamanism (1984).

## 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, pp. 175192.
2. Translated from the German by Dr. Hubert Kennedy. 3. A more extensive presentation of this connection is in Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg,

## *Jos van Ussel, Sexualunterdrückung

Tabu Homosexualität. Die Geschichte eines Vorurteils (Frankfurt/M., 1978), pp. 196 ff .
4. In places in Jan van Ussel,* Sexualunterdückung (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1970).
5. Examples in Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, op. cit., pp. 196-228, $265 f f$.
6. J.J. Rousseau, Emile oder Uber die Erziehung (Paderborn, 1978) pp. 9, 216 ff .
7. See Frits Bernard, Padophilie. Von der Liebe mit Kindern (Lollar, 1978), esp. pp. 53-4.
8. Statements on this in Hans Giese, "Das andere Geschlecht", in Hans Giese and V.E. v. Gebsattel, eds., Ps $\gamma$ chopathologie der Sexualitāt (Stuttgart, 1962), are probably still valid today, as numerous articles on the subject in the journal Sexualpädagogik show. 9. The much loved equation of human behaviour with that of rats ("rat-ology") of American psychologists in the ani-mal-human comparisons of the 1950's is completely unsuited to a clarification of the present question, since these animals are much too distant from us in the scale of evolution.
10. Easily obtainable works on research into animal and human behaviour 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: ( $E d$. 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 Behaviour Patterns (London, 1971); Alison Jolly, Die Entwicklung des Primatenverhaltens (Stuttgart, 1975), in English, The Evolution of Primate Behaviour (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); Eugéne Marais, Die Sele 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 menschilichen 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 Lou** vain-La-Neuve, "Hominisation in der Paläontologie", in Edouard L. Boné et al. (eds.), Aspekte der Hominisation (Freiburg/München, 1978).
11. Jolly, op. cit., summarizes the concept of "learning" on pp. 313 and 288 ff .
12. Clellan S. Ford and Frank A. Beach, Das Sexualverhalten von Mensch und Tier (Berlin, 1960), p. 294ff., in English, Patterns of Sexual Behaviour (New York, 1951).
13. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 217, 28895.
14. 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).
15. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 150, 168. 16. Ibid., pp. 115, 118, 122, 143 , 148, 151, 168 ff .
17. Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. 294ff.
18. Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. 293ff; Jolly, op. cit., pp. 173ff, 112-134.
19. On the definition of the concept see Jolly, op. cit., pp. 1-5; monkeys and human beings belong to the primates.
20. H. Heckhausen, 'Einfliusse auf die Motivationsgenese",
in Theo. Herman (ed.), $P_{s \gamma}$ chologie der Erziehungsstile (Göttingen, 1966).
21. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 112-134; Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. 293ff.
22. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 213, 172 and passim.
23. 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 HolzkampOsterkamp, Grundlagen der psychologischen Motivationsforschung, vols. 1-2 (Frankfurt/M., 1977, 1978); see also Volker Schurig, Naturgeschichte des Psychischen. Lermen und Abstraktionsleistungen bei Tieren (Frankfurt/M., 1975) and by the same author, Die Entstehung des Bewusstseins (Frankfurt/M., 1976).
24. Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. 213ff.
25. Ibid., pp. 211ff.
26. Ibid., Pp. 203 ff .
27. Examples in N.M. Penzer, The Ocean of Story, vol. III, Appendix II (London, 1925). 28. See my ethno-historical study Mannbarkeitsriten (Berlin, 1980) and the important work of Harald Patzer, "Die griechische Knabenliebe", in Sitzungsberichte d. wissenschaftl. Ges. and. Johann Wolfgang Goe-the-Universität, Frankfurt/M.,
vol. 18, nr. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1982).
29. See A. van Gennep, The Rites of Passage (Chicago, 1960).
30. Examples in my essay "Homosexualität und Transvestition im Schamanismus", Anthropos 65 (1970), pp. $189 f f$; shocking descriptions from a more recent time are in Lawrence Durrell, Das AlexandriaQuartett (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1977).
31. Examples in Robert Brain, Freunde und Liebende. Zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen im Kulturvergleich (Frankfurt/M., *1976), p. 292ff., in English, Friends and Lovers, (New York, 1976).
32. Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. $178 \mathrm{ff}, 213 \mathrm{ff}$.
33. See the analysis of the behaviour of half-grown male chimpanzees in Jane van La-wick-Goodall, "The Behavjour of the Chimpanzee", in Kurth and Eibl-Eibesfeldt, op. cit., p. 110 ff .
34. The connections between curiosity and sexual exploration of the self and others are-probably as a result of the old sexual tabus-largely unexplored. The important publication of Harry Fowler, Curiosity and Exploratory Behavjour (New York, 1985), treats the theme on pp. 74ff, with a few references to further reading in the literature; see also Jolly, op. cit., pp. 282 ff . 35. 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.
36. One can no longer speak today with a good scientific conscience of purely instinctual nurturing behaviour in mammals; this is admissible, however, in birds and reptiles, as well as species that are below them on the evolutionary scale.
37. Examples in Grzimeks Tierleben, vol. 1, Säugetiere, p. 533. 38. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 185-88, 194.
39. 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 behaviour 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."
40. Jolly, op. cit., pp. 121, 157; Ford and Beach, op. cit., pp. 293 ff .
41. 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 behaviour 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.)
42. See Uwe Kroll, "Objekt meiner Sehnsucht", Zitty, nr. 26 (Berlin, 1979), reprinted in Joachim S. Hohmann (ed.) Pädophilie heute (Frankfurt/Berlin, 1980), pp. 155 ff . 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".
43. 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).
44. 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 Perspec-

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lives (Boston, 1981).
45. Edward Brongersma, "Die Rechtsposition de Pädophilen", Monatsschrift für * Kriminology und Strafrechtsreform 63, nr. 2 (1980). See, for example, the presentation in the psychiatric textbook, Jörg Weitbrecht, Psychiatric in 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 impressons and hindrances to maturty, or both together. ${ }^{\text {" }}$ And an entirely new vocabulary has recently been created in the U.S.A. for that behaviour which is designated by us in the Federal Republic of Germany as "sexually deviant", namely "paraphilia", defined by Dr. John Money as "an e-rotic-sexual syndrome in which a person is reiteratively responsive to and dependent

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on atypical or forbidden astimulls imagery, in fantasy or in practice, for initiation and maintenance of erotic-sexual arousal and achievement or facilitation of orgasm" (quoted in Pan, nr. 12 (Amsterdam, 1982), p. 44-5). Having such "atypical" and/or "forbidden" thoughts is suggested to be identical with sickness ("syndrome"): here the "mosal insanity" of the 18th and 19th centuries celebrates a shocking resurrection.

# 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?

$$
\text { Ibn al 'Abbar (d. } 1041 \text { C.E.) }{ }^{1}
$$

The traditional explanation for frequent and extensive homosexual behaviour 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 behaviour is so universal, it needs no explanation. What must be explained, however, are the attitudes of society about homo-
sexual behaviour, 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 life styles. 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 recourse is often made to this solution. But this form of sexual behaviour has its limitations: not everyone can afford it.

There are of course 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 mastur-
bates; 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 behaviour:

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 behaviour 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. 10801160 C.E.), 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, pour 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 C.E.), 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, u-
niting there perfectly in beauty and sweetness, as it should be. Against his will I will drink the leas 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 our 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, 1 said to my prick, when 1 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 sources 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 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 eggwhite 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 irresistability 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 wellguarded 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 C.E.):

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 atm. 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 splendour 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? ${ }^{3}$
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 sum. 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 joustingground 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 J 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 C.E.) 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 gulamizya 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 C.E.) 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 gulamizyat most likely originated in the court of the Abbasid Caliph Al Amin (809-13 C.E.) 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 coifed 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 C.E.) 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 gulamizyat, 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 hour 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 $m u^{\prime}$ '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 ( 12 th cent. C.E. $)^{19}$

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."

$$
\text { Sa'di ( } 1200-91 \text { C.E. })^{20}
$$

Oh you of tender pale cheeks, you *the transliteration of this name is rendered as
were light until the beard came to smudge your beauty. I think of the candle, its wick blackening as the flame goes out.

Ibrahim Ibn Sahl (d. 1251 C.E. $)^{21}$
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 C.E.) 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 indiscrete 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 C.E.) ${ }^{24}$
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?

$$
\text { Al Hariri (1054-1122 C.E. })^{25}
$$

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 behaviour. 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 therefore 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. ${ }^{2 s}$
Some men actually considered it a challenge to physically possess a boy in the bud of manhood, or, as Al Nafzawi ( $\mathbf{1 4} / 15$ th cent. C.E.) said,

I'll have my cup from a lad of gazellelike 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 source of pride. ${ }^{27}$
But for the boy it was an humiliation, to be returned to the feminine role which be 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: "Cötüne 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 endeavours 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-feminitre. 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, 1 believe, this lack of acceptance as equals by men that accounts for younger boys, between the ages of 11 and 15 , 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, $40 \%$ of the men had had homosexual contacts. The survey revealed that the first homosexual experience took place at an average age of 13 , and the first experience of masturbation at an average age of $141 / 2 .{ }^{30}$ 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 insermination 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 fermale 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 behaviour is expected to cease with becoming a man, and if not, it is only then that one should be ashamed of such unmanly behaviour:

## Editor's Note:

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## NOTES

1. A. R. Nykl, Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Its Relation with the Old Provencal Troubadours (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 Chazali'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. Meli-
kian and E. Terry Prothro, "Sexual Behaviour of University Students in the Arab Near East", The Journal 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 Turkei (2er Teil, Berlin: Barsdorf, 1903), p. 237.
5. Statistics concerning sexual behaviour 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 Mooccan hashish), $7 \%$ seduced others and had noncommercial' 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 behaviours, 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 behaviours, 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," Journal of Social Psychology, 73, 1967, Pp. 169-75), conducted on psy-
chology 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 14 years. $69 \%$ had had heterosexual contact, beginning at an average age of 17. 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 13 in the 1952 study to 12 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 Journal 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 $14.62 \%$ reported having been the active partner, $29 \%$ the passive, and $8 \%$ performing both roles.
6. Tifachi, Ahmed al, Les déli-
ces des coeurs, trans. René R. Khawam (Paris: J. Matineau, 1971), p. 169.
7. James T. Monroe, HispanoArabic 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, $A b u \mathrm{Nu}$ was: 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 Civilization Arabe et l'Amour Masculin", Arcadie 253, pp. 8-19, 254, pp. 83-93, 255, pp. 142-50, 257, pp. 26974, 258, pp. 326-30,259/60, pp. 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 Francisce: Gay Sunshine Press, 1977) pp. 127-33; A. R. Nykl, op. cit.; Norman Roth "'Deal gently with the young man': Love of Boys in Medie-
val 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., p. 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 favour 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 you 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 Ozkök, "The Strategy of Turkish Boys' Verbal Dueling Rhymes", Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, ed. J.J. Gumperz and Dell Hymes (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972). The same article was previously published, under the same title, in The Journal of American Follklore, 83, 1970.
29. Hisham Sharabi, "Impact of Class and Culture on Social Behavior: the Feudal-bourgeois Family in Arab Society", Psychological Dimensions of Near Easterm 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.

## PAIDIKA BIBLIOGRAPHIES 2:

## SIDNEY SMITH AND THE DRAGONFLY PRESS

## D. H. Mader

Sidney Smith's Dragonfly Press came into being twelve years ago, in December, 1975, with the first issue of Dragonfly, the irregular magazine from which the press took its name. This issue was sub-titled "Poetry and Illustrations", which could aptly characterize all of the press's output. Although he had produced several titles prior to Dragonfly, with its appearance the particular style of Sidney Smith's publications, blending poetry and illustration, was first established.

The significance of Dragonfly lies both in the aesthetic merit of Sidney Smith's own work and the fact it was a pioneer paedophile publication in the United States. Although it co-existed with several paedophile newsletters such as Hermes and B L ("Better Life") Monthly, Dragonfly was more consciously political and aesthetic, certainly being the first openly circulated American publication devoted to the expression of boy-love in poetry and art. A number of North American artists and writers concerned with paederastic themes were contributors or collaborators in the magazine: poets Bob Burdick, Richard George-Murray, "Antler", Pat MacGregor, Douglas Roome, and Ian Young; the author "J. Z. Eglinton"; the illustrator Ralph Hall. Issued at the same time as the first efforts of paedophile organization in the United States took place, Dragonfly provides insight into the period. Later, as editor of two early NAMBLA publications, Sidney Smith also was to document the early phases of that organization, through extracts from speeches and reports of meetings.

In addition to publishing Dragonfly, Sidney Smith (1950- .) was, at the time, a gay activist and radio-broadcaster. He was born in New York's Harlem neighbourhood. His parents
were artistically inclined, both having been professional musicians. The family, "striving" blacks of Creole background, later moved to Crown Heights in Brooklyn, where he attended parochial schools. He went on to Wilberforce College, the black liberal-arts school in Ohio, for two years, where he was involved in Civil Rights activities and also did his first radio broadcasting with the campus station. Finding the atmosphere of the American midwest stifling, he returned to New York and became a part of the East Village scene, when that area was a centre for the city's radical politics and alternative art movements. He also became involved with radical broadcasting at New York's Pacifica radio station WBAI-FM, for whom he worked as an engineer and, at different times, produced a program of his own with the Gay, and the Art and Literature departments.

His first publication, Prurient Interest, appeared in the East Village in 1973, printed at a co-operative press where persons were taught printing while producing their own material. It lasted only one issue, but was followed by a second title the next year, the tabloid-size Gayzette. This too failed to make it to a second issue, but 1975 saw a third try, Pubert Rights, which did appear twice. All three of these titles combined drawings by Smith and others, reprints of leftist political articles and gay literary items, and poetry, both original and reprinted. The atmosphere of leftist politics and sexual experimentation out of which they arose is perhaps best illustrated by the two states of Prurient Interest, in which a centerfold drawing of two lesbian lovers was replaced, midway through production, with a collage protesting the American sponsored coup in Chile. Gayzette, while it


Cover of Manchild, first edition, hand coloured copy
contains such items as a reprint from Tom Reeve's Red and Gay, ${ }^{\text {all }}$ so began to directly address man/boy-love concerns, with a frontpage manifesto which declared "Pederasts have for too long lived in a condition of fear, repression, and guilt... This must end! ...this publication will attempt to portray pederasty as a legitimate and positive sexual life-style." As the title indicates, Pubery Rights continued that direction even more strongly, focusing almost exclusively on man-boy relationships. Another change is apparent by the second issue of Puberty Rights, as poetry gains a larger proportion of the space in the magazine, and the magazine itself becomes an art work, with pages of different colours, sizes and textures, and text printed over illustrations. The cover illustration also depicts a boy with a dragonfly. All of the elements were present that went into the make-up of Dragonfly except the name itself.

With Dragonfly, the politics were implicit rather than explicit. There were no more manifestos; rather, assuming that paedophilia was a valid orientation, the magazine gave literary and artistic expression to this assumption. The first issue was mimeographed at the Gay Post and distributed free on the streets of lower Manhattan in December, 1975. The issue was in part a co-operative venture, with Ralph Hall assisting on the printing and joining in the illustration in the centre-fold, Hall doing the top half of the design and Smith the bottom.

The second issue appeared three months later, and is devoted to science-fiction, with a long article on gay themes in sci-fi literature, a brief note by "J. Z. Eglinton" on the sexual tension implied between Capt. Kirk and Mr. Spock in Star Trek, and an untitled poem which asks: What would happen if Conan came out? Would he finally understand Why red Sonja prefers not his groin?
Inner Tides, a collection of nine poems by Bob Burdick, is intended to be the third issue of Dragonfly, although this chapbook does not bear the series title. It first appeared in October, 1976, and received a second printing in April, 1977. Burdick (1908-1986) was a retired teacher who, as a gay activist, was deeply involved in both the founding of NAMBLA and in assistance for gay
prisoners, and who was tragically murdered by an ex-convict he aided.

With three issues of Dragonfly published, the press now moved in a new direction, producing chapbooks composed entirely of Sidney Smith's own artwork. The first two of these, issued in March and April 1977, were both entitled A Small Book. Number I is an autobiographical four page drawing-cycle describing a "crush" Smith had on a schoolmate in his early teens, the drawings moving from the facts of the relationship to the desired, but never experienced, fulfillment; the second is a personal fantasy involving a boy's sexual awakening, and subsequent feelings of guilt and shame. Handled in clichéd terms-the advent of guilt, for instance, is depicted as the result of eating an apple-the second is not as powerful and original as the former.

Sidney Smith was self-trained as an artist, and influences on his work are diffuse. Certainly the style of these two early books indicates one source, the "comic-book art" of his boyhood, with its story-telling boxes and simple line-drawing. Later, other works show the strong influence of Art-Nouveau, particularly in the design of the covers of the last two issues of Dragonfly, and in Evergreen. Sidney Smith himself identified the British paederast, poet, artist and lithographer Ralph Chubb (1892-1960) as a principal influence, in such general points as the mixture of poetry and art which characterizes both Chubb's and Smith's output, and the artist's personally printing his books. In fact, Smith water-coloured some copies of the first edition of Manchild, as Chubb did for some of his books. The philosophy set forth in Chubb's writings, which Smith read in copies provided by an English correspondent, also influenced him, though the roots of his concept of raising boys in accord with nature to embody a new masculine style characterized by love, gentleness and care for the environment lie more deeply in the "counter-culture" of the 1960's in which Smith moved, than in the works of Chubb.

While this philosophy first becomes a clear theme in Sidney Smith's work in Manchild, the concept earlier appeared in a manifesto by the
gay anarchist Lynn Dodge, which Smith printed in Puberty Rights 2:

We are born into a culture of death... It kills old people-drops us as left-overs... It kills the young-denies selfdiscovery... conforms us to deadly and macho images... We serve up new helpless young, our "own" children... We "educate" our young to submit, to cooperate in their own sacrifice...

The proscriptions, the forbidden relations with the young of such a death culture, had better be examined: they may, if violated, prove to be prescriptions for movement towards life...

The rights of access of children to other people, of whatever age, who turn thern on at life levels... of their own choice and consent are the rights of puberty... in any life culture. To proscribe the right of the young to choose, is but the first stage of life-long State proscriptions of the right of any individual to self-determination, to consent or dissent... It is, of course, 'natural' for a death culture to reserve its heaviest taboos for those who... molest its initial primary efforts at death-conditioning its... young.

We believe it essential to the emergence of a life culture that pleasure be experienced in non-competitive sharing...
In Manchild, Smith restates this theme in a poem beneath his images of nude boys romping in fields:

Come, Manchild,
And cast away the rags and
devices of your slavery!
Come and sing the songs of nature.
Come and dance the dances of life.

Come, Manchild,
And let your body and spirit be in harmony with the flow of creation.
Naive as this prescription may strike us today, Smith had begun setting before us, in his books,
the vision of a world in which, by accepting and sharing sexual love between males, boys-and the men they will become-liberate themselves and society from violence and death.

He was to take up the theme again in other works, among them the trilogy that concludes with A Handful of Angels. This book was printed on the mimeograph of the Blind Duck Press, the press of fellow poet and chapbook publisher Pat MacGregor (b. 1947). MacGregor's poems are found throughout Smith's publications, and he produced two chapbooks of his own work, Anon poem to youth (New York: Blind Duck Press, 1977) and Children of the Night (New York: Blind Duck Press, 1978), the former of which has a drawing by Smith on the cover. During the printing session for Angels, at least two of the pages were also printed onto white tee-shirts, making them the rarest issues by either press.

How successful the concept behind the Angels trilogy would have been is hard to determine, for it was never completed. In outline, it begins with the boys in Metamorphoses who, transformed by what remains a rather vague sciencefiction intervention, become the "angels" of the final volume. Without the missing part of the trilogy, an unpublished manuscript entitled Phantom Children which is in a private collection in England, no final judgement can be reached, but it may well be that some of the individual images are more successfully realized than the whole project.

A similar theme is found in Evergreen, which imagines a nation of boys, living together in harmony with nature and with one another, their number replenished by children received from a Lesbian planet. Unlike the two parts of the Angels trilogy which were published, which are so different in artistic style as to make it hard to conceive them as parts of a whole, Evergreen is aesthetically unified, and within the limits of its scope-one does wonder, for instance, what happens to the boys upon maturity-more successful work. Many of the drawings in it are based on photographs by the English photographer Oliver Hill.

We have already noted the science-fiction issue of Dragonfly, as well as science-fiction elements in Metamorphoses and Evergreen. Sidney

Smith was an avid reader of science fiction and fantasy literature, and a friend of "Hakim", the American author of Crowstone (Amsterdam: Spartacus, 1983), the boy-love sword and sorcery tale. In Smith's work, the function of science fiction is to allow the imaginative construction of alternative worlds with other value systems than ours-particularly in the areas of sexuality and male roles.

Between March and November, 1978, four books had been published: Manchild, Angels, Dragonfly 5 and Evergreen. Now another change of course occurred, as Smith returned to political activism again. On 2 December, 1978, the Boston/Boise Committee, formed in response to arrests of paedophiles in Boston, held a conference at which the North American Man/Boy Love Association was founded. Sidney Smith was a participant in that conference, and remained active in the details of organizing between it and the second NAMBLA Conference, in New York, in March, 1979. Except for a reprint of Manchild and a A Small Book No. 3, a "gift" volume for participants in the New York conference, his own publishing plans were set aside. After the New York conference, he continued to take responsibility for editing the second and third issues of NAMBLA's publication, NAMBLA News, which appeared June, 1979, and (retitled as the NAMBLA Journal) in March, 1980.

Perhaps the burst of publishing in 1978 had temporarily exhausted what he had to say in that medium, perhaps it was a break in momentum, or perhaps it was the beginnings of exhaustion and disillusionment following the intensity of the organizing efforts, but when the time came to return to his own work, something had evidently changed. Metamorphoses, which had been set aside for nearly a year, finally was issued in August, 1979, but was commercially printed. The next publication, A Book, was again commercially offset, and explored a new medium, manipulated xerox images and collages. The set of drawings of men and boys which Smith completed for the Jourmal, while they are consistently reprinted "classics" in the American paedophile movement, lack the vigor and playfulness of his earlier work.


From A Small Book $I$
Although Sidney Smith has been careful to make it clear that he laid down his responsibilities for personal reasons, and not as a result of any disagreement with NAMBLA, he gradually withdrew from public participation in the organization, giving up the editorship of the Journal after the third issue. Returning to Dragonfly, in June 1980 he produced the largest, most widely distributed issue to date, which included work by new poets he had contacted while editing the NAMBLA publications.

It was to be the final issue. No announcement was ever made about ceasing publication, but a variety of reasons, including pressures that his visibility with paedophile causes brought about at work and in his private life, postponed and then terminated all projects. While he has continued to draw for his personal pleasure, for the past five years Sidney Smith has chosen to retire entirely from public notice.

Though their history may be little known, Sidney Smith's drawings continue to be reprin-ted-often without attribution-and are probably among the best known paedophile images, continuing to engage the imagination of viewers. Once given away on streetcorners or sold for spare change, his chapbooks now appear in rare book catalogues at many times the prices charged on the streets of the East Village only a
decade ago. Smith sometimes described his drawings as "prayers", private meditations on a gentler world, achieved by the sharing of love among men and boys. But surely they are also manifestos, for in imagining such a world, and publishing that vision, the first steps are taken toward its creation.

## PUBLICATIONS BY SIDNEY SMITH:

Because copies of Smith's chapbooks were assembled by hand, sometimes over a period of months as need for more copies arose, there are considerable variations in the collations. Particularly among the later books of drawings, the number of end-papers (and their colour and texture ) can vary substantially. The copies here described are from the author's own collection, and in all cases were inscribed by Sidney Smith to him. It is therefore assumed that they were, in Smith's eyes, representative and complete. Copies found with additional blank pages may be considered extraordinary; copies lacking end-papers here noted should not necessarily be considered defective. The listings follow the principles advocated by Fredson Bowers, Principles of Bibliographic Description (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949).

1. PRURIENT INTEREST October, 1973 No copy available for examination. Reportedly $101 / 2 \times 81 / 2$ inches, pp. 32, printed on coloured newsprint, printed wraps.

Notes: Edited by Sidney Smith. Offset at Come!Unity Press, New York. One issue only, but in two states, the first with a centre-fold of lesbian lovers, the second with a collage protesting the American-sponsored coup in Chile. Press run: 500 copies.

## 2. GAYZETTE

August, 1974
[To left: Logo of Come!Unit $\gamma$ Press] GAYZETTE [To right: price]/[omament and two mules]/[Toleft:] Summer, 1974 [Centred, between arabic decorations:] pederasty [To right:] Volume One / Number One / [rule].

Collation: ( $17 \times 1 \mathrm{t}$ inches), five single leaves, pp. [10]. The outer leaves (i.e., pp, 1-2 and 9-10) are a thick buff-coloured laid paper, the interior leaves thinner and of various colours (light blue, yellow and salmon,
in the copy examined). Sheets were originally secured by wire staple in upper left corner; later stapled along left edge.
Contents: TITLE, untitled poem by al-Rusafi, 'Pederasty" (unsigned manifesto by Sidney Smith) and note regarding Come!Unity Press, p. 1; Report on the Second Congress on Pederasty, Breda, The Netherlands, literature list and "Alexis" and "He Is Boy", poems by K. Bidge, p. 2; Selections reprinted from the pseudo-Byronic Don Leon, and "I Love a Boy", poem by Richard Kihlstadius, p. 3; Untitled poem by Ken McLaren, reprint of Tuscan troubadour song and "Ross", poem by G. Jackson, p. 4; Excerpt from Fimistere by Fritz Peters, p. 5; Excerpt from Red and Gay by Tom Reeves, p. 6; Four poems, "Romantic Friendship", unsigned, "Two Loves" from the Greek Anthology, "Victor" by C. Woolf, and "Happy Birthday Sweet Sixteen' by Pat MacGregor, p. 7; Photograph and untitled poem from Greek Anthology, p. 8; Poems, "At Rest (?)" by F. E. Murray, "Workers Only No Trespassing" by Harold Norse, "A Boy of Fifteen" by Ian Young, "To Each Age Its Own", "Lucky Pierre" and "Bed and Bored" by W. Pagenkopf, p.9; Full page illustration of dancing boys by Sidney Smith, p. 10.
Notes: Edited by Sidney Smith. One issue only. Offset at Come!Unity Press, New York. Press run: 150 copies, of which only 25 were distributed.

## 3. PUBERTY RIGHTS 1

PUBERTY / RIGHTS / A MAGAZINE OF / BOY LOVE / [still from the film Special Friendships] / free to those who cannot afford it, 'though a .75 cont. is suggested... / [information regarding Come!Unity Press, with their logo centred].

Collation: ( $11 \times 81 / 2$ inches), [unsigned: $1^{8}$ ], pp. [t6]. Contents: Note entitled "Pederasty" and publication information, inside front cover; 'Realities', essay by Charles Pitts, pp. 1-5; Note on proposed changes in Swedish age of consent laws, p. 5; "Captive", poem by Bob Burdick, p. 6; "A Christmas Tale", fiction by Pat MacGregor, pp. 7.9; "Metamorphosis", anonymous fiction (?), p. 10; "Visions", poem by Richard Middleton, p. 11; "'Things go better with'...COCK", collage, p. 12; "Night Boy", poem by Bob Burdick, p. 13; "Of men... and littie boys", essay by Gerald Hannon, p. 14-16; "Others", literature list, p. 16; photograph and untitled poem by PLM, inside back cover.
Binding: White cover-stock printed in blue. Front cover bears title, back cover a design with the motto "Fear of Love is the Source / of AllOppression". Secured with two wire staples.

Notes: Edited by Sidney Smith. Offset at Come!Unity Press, New York. Press run: 200 copies. Issued spring, 1975.

## 4. PUBERTY RIGHTS 2

[in circle at top of design:] 2 / [drawing of boy with dragonfly] / PUBERTY RIGHTS.

Collation: ( $81 / 2 \times 51 / 2$ inches), [unsigned: $1^{10}$ ], pp. [20]. The third sheet is unequally inserted and bound in such way that one end (pp. 5-6) is an inch-wide stub, while the other (pp. 15-16) creates an almost two-page fold-out.
Contents: "Greek Love", essay by Bob Burdick, pp. 1-3; Poems by Sandro Penna and Ralph Hall, p. 3; Manifesto by Lynn Dodge, pp. 4, 8, 13; Publishing information, pp. 5-6; Poem, by Sidney Smith, p. 7; "Chan Ex", poem by Jim Eggeling, p. 9; "Invocation", poem by Jim Eggeling, pp. 10-11; Photograph, p. 12; Proposal for a paederast work-group, p. 14; Untitled reprint from "Country Women", p. 15; "Taboo or not Taboo", article on women and paedophilia reprinted from "Country Women", p. 16; "Honi soit qui mal y pense", poem by Ian Young, $p$. 17; Poems by Ian Young, p. 18; Drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 19; "Amerikan Macho!", Collage, p. 20.


Puberty Rights
Cover, Puberty Rights 2

Binding: White paper wraps. Front cover bears title, back cover a mandala of nude boys and address. Secured by one wire staple.
Notes: Edited by Sidney Smith. Front and back cover drawings, underprints on pages 1 and 2 , and drawings on pages 10-11, 14, 17 also by him. Contents offset at Come!Unity Press, cover printed at Gay Post. Press run: 250 copies. Issued summer, 1975.
5. DRAGONFLY 1

December, 1975 DRAGONFLY / POETRY and ILLUSTRATIONS / [portrait of bo $\gamma$ ].

Collation: ( $51 / 2 \times 41 / 4$ inches), [unsigned, $1^{6}$, including cover], pp. [12].
Contents: TITLE, p. 1; "Sugar-Candy Bird", poem by Ian Young, p. 2; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 3; photograph, p. 4; "He is Boy", poem by Kiokem Bidge, p. 5; drawing by Ralph Hall and Sidney Smith, pp. 6-7; "Love Murmur", poem by Ralph Hall, p. 8; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 9; photograph, p. 10; untitled poem by DAC, p. 11; drawing, p. 12.
Binding: The outer sheet of the magazine bears the title and serves as cover. Secured by two wire staples. Notes: Mimeographed at Gay Post. Press run: 100 copies. Distributed free.
6. DRAGONFLY 2

March, 1976
DRAGONFLY / [drawing of dragonfly-boy].
Collation: ( $81 / 2 \times 7$ inches), [unsigned, $1^{8}$ ], pp. [16]. In the copy examined, the innermost sheet (pp. 7-10) is grey laid paper, while the outer sheets are white bond paper.
Contents: "Article"(on gay science fiction), by Mark Horn, pp. 1-2, 4-7, 12-15; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 3; untitled poem by Bruce Rutherford, pp. 8, 10; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 9 ; publishing information, untitled poem and drawing by Demian, p. 11; "Trek", note by "J.Z. Eglington", and drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 16.
Binding: White cardstock cover, bearing title and drawing by Sidney Smith as above on front, with a Smith drawing of an Icarus figure over a fantastic landscape on back. Distributed unstapled.
Notes: Mimeographed at Gay Post. Press run: 100 copies.

## 7. INNER TIDES [DRAGONFLY 3]

 sea shell].Collation: ( $81 / 2 \times 53 / 8$ inches), [unsigned, $1^{4}$ ], pp . [8]. Contents: TEXT Pp. 1-8.
Binding: Cardstock cover, bearing title on front, drawings by Sidney Smith front and back. Secured by two wire staples.
Notes: Mimeographed at Gay Post. Two states of this chapbook exist, the eartier identified by an error in the first line on page 1, "lithsome" for "lithesome", which was corrected in a second printing in April, 1977. Press runs: 100 copies, first state; 200 copies, second state. Covers are found in a variety of colours; some copies of the second state have one additional sheet creating four pages of blank endpapers.

## 8. A SMALL BOOK [I] <br> March, 1977

A / SMALL BOOK / [triangle pointed downward]/ BY / SIDNEY SMITH.

Collation: ( $7 \times 51 / 2$ inches) [unsigned $\left.1^{4}\right]$, pp. [8]. The outer leaves (pp. 1-2 and 7-8) are thinner, salmon-coloured paper.
Contents: TITLE p. 1; blank, p. 2; drawing cycle, pp. 3.6; blank, p. 7; Colophon: 'Copyright Pending, 1977 / DRAGONFLY PRESS / .../../ 100 COPIES"'p. 8 . Binding: Glossy card wrapper, emblem of a boy's head and shoulders in two concentric circles printed on front cover, dragonfly-boy on back cover; secured by one wire staple.
Notes: This was the first book entirely of Smith's art work and the first issued by of his own press.

## 9. A SMALL BOOK [II]

April, 1977
A / SMALL BOOK / [triangle pointed downward]/ BY / SIDNEY SMITH.

Collation: ( $81 / 2 \times 51 / 2$ inches), [unsigned, $1^{6}$ ], Pp . [12]. The outer leaves (pp. 1-2 and 11-12) are thinner, salmon-coloured paper.
Contents: TITLE p. 1; blank, p. 2; drawing cycle, pp. 3-10; blank, p. 11; Colophon "Copyright Pending, 1977 / DRAGONFLY PRESS / ... /... / 100 COPIES" p. 12.
Binding: Glossy card wrapper, emblem of a boy's head and shoulders in two concentric circles printed on front cover, dragonfly-boy on back cover; secured by two wire staples.
Notes: Press run: 100 copies.

## 10. DRAGONFLY 4

July, 1977
Dragonfly / [drawing of boy with flowering staff and rising sun] / THE INTERMEDIATE, ECONOMICAL, / SMALL, NOT TOO BIG,

## SPARSE, / MINI, SUMMER 1977 EDITION. / 4

Collation: Single sheet, $14 \times 81 / 2$ inches, folded three times to create a pamphlet $81 / 2 \times 31 / 2$ inches, opening to the right. Printed one side only; title page vertically on far right section, text and one illustration horizontally on remaining three sections to the left. Contents: Four poems, by Rick Thompson, Ken McLaren, lan Young and Richard Kihlstadius.
Notes: Press run: 25 copies.
11. MANCHILD

March, 1978
(a) First printing:
[in box of rules:] MANCHILD / [drawing of boy seated in field?

Collation: ( $121 / 2 \times 81 / 2$ inches), four single sheets, pp . [8] including covers.
Contents: TITLE, p. 1; blank, p. 2; poem/drawing cycle, pp. 3-7, blank (copy examined bears a colophon hand inscribed by artist), p. 8.
Binding: First sheet bears title, blank verso of final sheet serves as back cover. Secured by three wire staples, spine backed in cloth tape.
Notes: Poem and drawings both by Sidney Smith. The seated Pan figure on page 6 is intended as a portrait of "J. Z. Eglinton". First (front cover) sheet found in variety of colours, including light blue, red and white. Some of the latter (less than a dozen) are handpainted in water-colours by Smith. Press run: 200 copies.
(b) Second impression. March, 1979:

MANCHILD / [drawing of boy seated in field]
Collation: ( $81 / 4 \times 51 / 2$ inches), pp. [10] or [12], the outer leaves (pp. 1-2, 7-8 and $9-10$ in the ten page state, 1-2,9-10 and 11-12 in the twelve page state) being single sheets, the central leaves (pp. 3-6 in the ten page state and $3-8$ in the twelve page state) being folded japanese (i.e., with the free ends bound in and the fold at the outer edge). The outermost single sheets (pp. 1-2 and $\mathrm{Pp} .9-10$ or 11-12, depending on the state) are thinner, yellow paper.
Contents: Ten page state: blank, pp. 1-2; poem/drawing cycle, pp. 3-7; blank, pp. 8-10. Twelve page state: blank, pp. 1.2; photograph, p. 3; blank, p. 4; poem/ drawing cycle, pp. 5-9; blank, pp. 10-12.
Binding: White paper wrappers, the front cover bearing the title. In the ten page state, the back cover bears the drawing of the dragonfly-boy; in the twelve page state it is blank. Secured by three wire staples; spine backed in black cloth tape.

Notes: This printing was offset from reductions of the first printing, after stock was exhausted. The shorter state is the earlier. Press run for both states: $\mathbf{5 0}$ copies.
12. "We, as men are afraid..." June, 1978 [no text on cover: drawing of three youths with grapevines by Jean de Bosschere, reproduced from Strato's Boyish Muse (London: Fortune Press, 1932)]

Collation: ( $81 / 2 \times 51 / 2$ inches), single $81 / 2 \times 11$ inch sheet folded once, pp. [4].
Contents: Illustration as above, p. 1; blank, p. 2; untitled poem/manifesto beginning "We, as men are afraid...", signed by Sidney Smith, p. 3; blank, p. 4. Notes: Mimeographed on blue paper. Prepared for free distribution at the 1978 Gay Pride March; also laid-in in the first edition of Manchild and in Angels. See "Appearances and Minor Works", item 7 for a similar broadside with a manifesto by Lynn Dodge and drawing by Smith used for the same purpose. Press run: 500 copies (?).
13. A HANDFUL OF ANGELS June, 1978 [device of boy's head in two concentric circles] / A HANDFUL OF ANGELS / BY / SIDNEY SMITH / First Edition JUNE 1978 / 200 copies / [address in two lines]

Collation: ( $11 \times 81 / 2$ inches), five single sheets, pp . [10]. The first sheet (pp. 1-2) is coloured bond paper; the remainder are heavy white art-paper.
Contents: TITLE, p. 1; blank, p. 2; drawings, pp. 3-10. Binding: Blue, yellow or red cardstock front cover, lettered: ANGELS; beneath in double box of wide and narrow rules is drawing of a "leather-angel". Originally issued without back cover; later with white cardstock back cover. Secured with three wire staples; spine bound in black cloth tape.
Notes: Angels is the third part of a projected trilogy, part one of which is Metamorphoses (see item 18). The "leather angel" on the cover had previously been used as a Christmas card by Smith; see "Appearances and Minor Works", item 5. Mimeographed at the Blind Duck Press. Press run: 200 copies.

## 14. DRAGONFLY 5

October, 1978
[drawing of kneeling boy with sea shell] / Dragonfly no. 5

Collation: Regular edition: ( $83 / 8 \times 7$ inches), [unsigned, $1^{4}$ ], pp. [8]. Special edition: same format, [unsigned, ${ }^{6}$ ], pp. [12]. In the special edition, the outer leaves (pp. 1-2, 11-12) are brown art paper.

Contents: Regular edition: haiku by D. H. Mader, p. 1; haiku by Douglas Roome, p. 2; "Japanese Boy", poem by Ian Young, p. 3; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 4; "Boys Into Men", poem by Pat MacGregor, pp. 5-6; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 7; poem by Sidney Smith, p. 8. Special edition: Tipped-in black and white photograph by D. H. Mader, p. 1; tipped in linoleum block print by Sidney Smith, p. 2; haiku by D. H. Mader, p. 3; haiku by Douglas Roome, p. 4; "Japanese Boy", poem by Ian Young, p. 5; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 6; "Boys Into Men", poem by Pat MacGregor, pp. 7-8; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 9; poem by Sidney Smith, p. 10; tipped in colour photo,graph by D. H. Mader, p. 11; tipped in black and white photograph by D. H. Mader, p. 12.
Binding: Cover in blue-grey laid art paper, front cover bearing title. Secured by two staples.
Notes: Press run: 125 copies ( 100 regular edition, 25 special edition). Both editions may be found with an additional set of coloured end-papers. Of the 25 copies of the special edition, 20 were for sale and 5 were presented to contributors.


From Evergreen

## 15. EVERGREEN <br> EVERGREEN / [drawing of boy with banner]

Collation: (8 $1 / 2 \times 7$ inches), [unsigned, $1^{6}$ ], pp. [12]. Contents: drawing cycle, pp. 1-12; colophon:
"EVERGREEN / BY / SIDNEY SMITH / First Edition NOVEMBER 1978 / 100 Copies", p. 12 below drawing.
Binding: Wrappers of same paper as contents, front cover bearing title, back cover a drawing of boy doing handspring. Secured by two wire staples.
Notes: Copies found on both green and white paper; both were printed in the same session, but green copies issued first. Mimeographed at the Petersbrook Press. Actual press run: 80 copies.
16. A SMALL BOOK NO. 3 March, 1979 A/SMALL BOOK / [triangle pointed downward]/ BY / SIDNEY SMITH

Collation: ( $4 \times 2$ 3/4 inches), four sheets folded japanese, $p$. $[8]$ including covers.
Contents: Portrait of boy with wreath on head in floral border, p. 1 (front cover); blank, p. 2; TITLE, p. 3; reproduction of photograph by Frederick Rolfe ("Baron Corvo"), p. 4; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 5; reproduction of photograph by Frederick Rolfe, p. 6; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 7; "No. 3", p. 8 (back cover).
Birding: Outer sheets form binding, as above. Secured by two wire staples; spine bound with black cloth tape.
Notes: Commercially printed, on one side of one sheet of $8 \times 11$ paper which was then cut in quarters which were folded to produce the book. Press run: 50 copies. Distributed only at the New York Conference of the North American Man/Boy Love Association, March, 1979.
17. NAMBLA NEWS No. 2 June, 1979

NAMBLA News / [drawing of boy with banner, from cover of Evergreen]

Collation: ( $11 \times 81 / 2$ inches), [unsigned, $\left.1^{4}\right]$, pp. 1, 3-9: [8].
Contents: "What is NAMBLA?" and "Advice to a Sexually Anxious Boy", p. 1; "The Importance of a Unified NAMBLA" by Jerry, p. 3; "Summary of a Speech given by J.Z. Eglinton (New York NAMBLA Conference)", pp. 4-5; "Matthew, poem by Pat MacGregor, p. 5; Book review and "Metamorphosis" (re-print of fiction?), p. 6; "The Flavor of Loneliness", by Pat MacGregor, pp. 7-8; Manifesto by Lynn Dodge, "Summary of a Speech by Bob Burdick (New York Conference)" and letter, p. 9.
Binding: Blue paper wraps, front cover bearing title, as above; back cover reproducing an illustration from Smith's Angels. Secured by two wire staples.
Notes: Edited by Sidney Smith. Published by the

North American Man/Boy Love Association. Press run: $\mathbf{2 0 0}$ copies.

## 18. METAMORPHOSES

August, 1979
[No text appears in the book; the cover bears a manipulated xerox image of a boy's face]

Collation: ( $8 \times 51 / 2$ inches), two single sheets followed by five sheets folded japanese followed by two single sheets, pp. [18]. The single sheets (pp. 1-4, 17. 18) vary in colour and texture.

Contents: blank, pp. 1-4; drawing cycle, pp. 5-15; blank, pp. 16-18. One copy examined, which was assembled later than the representative copy described, has the blank pages 3-4, 17-18 in red construction paper, with the reproductions of the Rolfe photographs used in A Small Book No. 3 tipped in on pages 3 and 17.
Binding: White paper wrappers, the front cover bearing the illustration described above, the back cover blank. Secured by three or four wire staples; spine bound in white cloth tape.
Notes: First part of a projected trilogy; see item 13 above for information. Commercially printed. Press run: 50 copies.

## 19. A BOOK

December, 1979 [Cover bears no title; dual image of a boy's face done by manipulated xerox]

Collation: ( $81 / 8 \times 51 / 2$ inches), three single sheets followed by five sheets folded japanese followed by two single sheets, pp. [20]. In the copy examined the sheets comprising pages 3-4, 19-20 are brown construction paper. Other arrangements of the blank pages are likely.
Contents: blank, pp. 1-6; collages and manipulated xerox images, PP. 7-15; manipulated xerox image of boy's face and colophon: "A / BOOK / BY / SIDNEY SMITH / 100 COPIES", p. 16; blank, pp. 17-20. Binding: White paper wrappers, front cover bearing image as described above, back cover blank. Secured by three wire staples; spine bound in white cloth tape.
Notes: Commercially printed. Press run: 100 copies.

## 20. NAMBLA JOURNAL NUMBER 3

March, 1980
NAMBLA JOURNAL / NUMBER THREE / [drawing of nude man and boy]

Collation: ( $11 \times 81 / 2$ inches), [unsigned, $1^{8}$ ], pp. 1-16. Contents: "Some Questions and Answers about ManBoy Love", p. 1; "Why is Richard Peluso Still in

Bridgewater?" and "The Immortality of Boylove", poem by "Antler", p. 2; "Letter to Tom O'Carroll" by Tom Reeves, p. 3; "N.A.M. L.A.?" and two poems by Pat MacGregor, p. 4; "A Proposal for Paedophile Groups" by Richard Bishop, p. 5; "The Great Kiddie Porn Panic of 1977" by Mitzel, pp. 6-8; "Current Literature in Child-Adult Sexual Behavior" by Gerald Jones, pp, 9-11; "Sucker: A Skit" by Douglas Roome, pp. 12-14; three poems, by Bob Burdick, Jerry and Peter Raymond, p. 14; Book reviews, poem by Stephen Foster, p. 15; "In Memoriam", poem by "Antler", p. 16.
Binding: Blue paper wraps, front cover bearing title as above, back cover with drawing of man's and boy's heads, both by Sidney Smith. Secured with two wire staples.
Notes: Edited by Sidney Smith. Drawings by Smith on covers, pages $3,4,6,7,8,10,14,15,16$. Published by the North American Man/Boy Love Association. Press run: 500 copies.

## 21. DRAGONFLY 6 <br> June, 1980 [portrait of boy in floral frame] / DRAGONFLY

Collation: ( $53 / 8 \times 4$ inches), [unsigned, $1^{12}$ ], pp. [24]. The outermost sheet (pp. 1-2, 23-24) is a thin bright yellow paper; the next sheet (pp. 3-4, 21-22) is heavy tan or dark gold stock; interior pages cream paper. Contents: blank, pp. 1-2; photograph, p. 3; blank, p. 4; "A Boy", poem by Douglas Roome, p. 5; "Five Poems" by Stephen Foster, pp. 6-7; "To a Boy Who Kissed Me", poem by Albert Collignon, p. 8; drawing by Sidney Smith, p. 9; haiku by D. H. Mader and untitied poem by Richard George-Murray, p. 10; 'In Memoriam", poem by "Antler", p. 11; "Poem for the Realization of the Divine Homosexual Manifestation in Every Human Being..." by "Antler", pp. 12-13; "The Immortality of Boy Love", poem by "Antler", pp. 14-15; "Incunabula \#1", poem by Sharon Mattlin, pp. 16-17; "Incunabula \#9", poem by Sharon Mattlin, pp. 18-19; photograph, p. 20; blank, pp. 21-24.
Binding: Tan or gold cardstock cover, front bearing title as above, back "No. 6". Secured by two wire staples.
Notes: Commercially printed. Press run: 500 copies.

## MINOR WORKS AND APPEARANCES:

1. Dodeca, Number 2 (New York, N.Y., 1975). A drawing of an oriental boy illustrates "The Chinese Boy", a poem by Ian Young; never used elsewhere. 2. Kalos: On Greek Love, Number 1, edited by "J.Z. Eglinton" (Arlington, Va.*COMITA, 1976). The Icarus figure from page 3 of Dragonfly No. 2 appears *COMMTIA
on the cover. A second issue, also bearing this jllustration, was reputedly prepared but never released. 3. Anon poem to yoush, by Pat MacGregor (New York: Blind Duck Press, 1977). A drawing by Sidney Smith appears on the front cover. The book can be found with both card covers and paper wraps.
2. Ageis (Alliance, Ohio), April, 1977. The emblem of the boy's head in concentric circles from the cover of Small Book I or II is reproduced on page 1.
3. Christmas card, December, 1977. $51 / 2 \times 41 / 8$, single fold card, bearing "leather angel" later used on cover of Angels on front and small "dragonfly-boy" on back. Commercially printed.
4. Post card, December, $1977.7 \times 51 / 2$ inches. Drawing of a Ford Tri-motor flying past the Chrysler Building, rising out of tlood-waters. Commercially printed.
5. Broadside, 'We are born into a culture of death...'', June, 1978. $11 \times 73 / 4$ inches, printed one side. Text is a manifesto written by Lynn Dodge (b. 1922), which originally appeared in Puberty Rights 2, and later in NAMBLA News. Drawing of boy-mandala by Sidney Smith at top previously appeared in Puberty Rights 2 and Dragonfly 2. Mimeographed on paper of various colours at Gay Post. Along with Smith's "We, as men are afraid..." (see item 12 above), it was distributed at the 1978 Gay Pride March in New York, and later laid-in to the first edition of Manchild and Angels.
6. Fag Rag, \#23-4 Double Issue, Fall 1978 (Boston, Mass.). Drawings from Angels reproduced on pages 1 , 4 and 5 of the Supplement.
7. Catalog 16, Elysian Fields Booksellers (Elmhurst, N.Y., 1979). The cover drawing of Dragonfly 5 is reproduced on the cover of the catalog, which also lists many of Smith's works.
8. RFD Fall, 1979 (Efland, N.C.). Reprints the drawing of two standing figures from Angels, p. 9, without attribution.
9. "Statement by the North American Man/Boy Love Association", June, 1980. $11 \times 81 / 2$ inches, printed one side. The drawing from page 3 of NAMBLA Journal Number 3 appears in the upper left corner. Distributed at the New York Gay Pride March, 29 June, 1980.
10. Liberation, Jeudi, 31 Juillet, 1980 (Paris, France). Page 20-21, two drawings from Metamorphoses and the cover of NAMBLA News Number 2 are used to illustrate an article on North American paedophile otganizations.

Editor's Note:
D. H. Mader is a Co-editor of Paidika.

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## BOOK REVIEW

## Hubert Kennedy

John Henry Mackay als Mensch
By Friedrich Dobe (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1987). paperback, 94 pages, DM 17,80 .

Under the pseudonym Sagitta, the German writer John Henry Mackay published in the early part of this century several writings on man/boy love or, as he called it, "the nameless love". Deeply committed to his cause, he wrote to his American friend Benjamin R. Tucker in 1908, "I shall never give up this battle."' This was during the erial of his publisher Bernard* Zack on charges of publishing Sagitta's "immoral" writings. That process lasted nineteen months and ended on 6 October 1909 with Zack being fined and assessed court costs, and the "immoral" writings ordered destroyed. All costs were paid by Mackay, of course, who also wrote to Tucker, "If they had known who Sagitta was, logically they would have had to sentence me to prison. ${ }^{2}$ We may wish that Mackay had revealed his identity later, but keeping the secret of Sagitta at this time had a distinct advantage!

As a result of the trial, however, there were probably many, at least in homosexual circles, who knew his identity. The police certainly suspected it, for they searched his house several times for the Sagitta books. But they found nothing; since Mackay kept all Sagitta material in a room with a separate entrance that did not appear to be part of his apartment. This is one of the many facts about Mackay revealed in John Henry Mackay als Mensch (John Henry Mackay, the Man) by Mackay's longtime friend Friedrich Dobe, which was written in 1944. The manuscript is in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin(DDR); this is its first publication. The book sheds light on a part of Mackay's life that has been rather obscure, not least because of Mackay's insistence on keeping Sagitta 'officially' secret until his death in 1933.

Dobe relates that Mackay considered including one of his early poems, "Walter oder: Das Gelage", in Sagitta's collection of poems on the "nameless love" so as to make his identity known to his readers. But the poem was not included and, despite Dobe's pleas, Mackay even refused to "come out" as late as 1932 when he published a final volume of memoirs. Only in his will did he direct that when the Sagitta
books were reprinted they were to bear his true name and state, 'I was SAGITTA. I wrote these books in the years when people believed my artistic strength had expired." 3 His "artistic strength" had not expired, but it must certainly have seemed so when no new writings appeared under his name, for at the turn of the century he was already well known as a poet, novelist, anarchist propagandist, and rediscoverer of Max Stirner, the philosopher of egoism.

The son of a Scottish father and German mother, John Henry Mackay was born on 6 February 1864 in Grenock, Scotland. Only nineteen months old when his father, a marine insurance broker, died, Mackay was taken to Germany by his mother, who later remarried there. Thus Mackay grew up in Germany, with German as his mother tongue, although he did not become naturalized until around 1900 , after he had decided to settle permanently in Berlin, which was to remain his home until his death on 16 May 1933.

Mackay began publishing in 1885, but instant fame came to him in 1891 with Die Anarchisten (The Anarchists), which had an American edition that same year and was quickly translated into six other foreign languages. Subtitled "A Portrait of Civilization at the Close of the Nineteenth Century", this was a work of propaganda in fictionalized form. By the turn of the century his poems and short stories had appeared in the leading German literary journals ${ }^{4}$ and he had also published several volumes of lyric poetry, anarchist verse, novellas, short stories, and the only biography of Max Stirner. This activity culminated in 1901 with the novel Der Schwimmer (The Swimmer), one of the first literary sports novels. Then Mackay's mother died the following year, and he was only brought out of his depression by his determination to champion the cause of the "nameless love."

In 1905 Mackay conceived his project of using his literary ability to rally other boy-lovers to the cause with a series of "Books of the Nameless Love". The first two booklets appeared in 1906, but he apparently 'tested the waters' in early 1905 with four poems in the Berlin monthly Der Eigene. Begun in 1896 as an anarchist journal that reflected the philosophy of Max Stirner ("Der Eigene": "The Self-owner" in
the meaning given that word by Stirner), Der Eigene became an openly homosexual journal from 1898. As such it continued, with occasional interruptions (mostly due to police interference), into the 1930's, making it the first successful gay journal.

Mackay did not reveal his identity as Sagitta even to Adolf Brand (1874-1945), publisher of Der Eigene, although they were personally acquainted. He even went so far as to have all correspondence as Sagitta sent to Brand from Dresden in the handwriting of his friend, the actress Luise Firle (1865-1942). Brand, however, was able to guess that Mackay was the author of the poems and, ironically, it was precisely because of the poem "Walter oder: Das Gelage", mentioned above, that he could do this. He first read this poem, which he immediately recognized was about boy-love, shortly after receiving the first Sagitta poem; the similarity of the two convinced him. ${ }^{5}$

Although Dobe did not learn that Mackay was Sagitta until 1914, they became acquainted in April 1905 at an evening gathering at the home of Mackay's friend, the well-to-do private scholar Benedict Friedlander (1866-1908), where a young medical student named Hartwig read a poem about a recent unhappy love affair with a boy. These evenings, to which the men could also bring their younger friends-Dobe compares them to Plato's Symposiumcontinued in other homes during Friedländer's severe illness, a few times at Mackay's, and later in a rented room of a small tavern near Mackay's house. ${ }^{6}$ Although Mackay was twenty years older than Hartwig and Dobe, the three were to become close friends. Dobe also reveals that the three occasionally attended sessions of the Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee, where Dobe also lectured on various topics.

The Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee (WhK, Scientific Humanitarian Committee) was founded by Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935) in Berlin in 1897 and was the leader in the political struggle for homosexual emancipation. A primary goal of the WhK was the revision of the anti-homosexual law, Paragraph 175. To this end a petition was drafted, signatures collected, and the petition more than once (without any political effect) presented to the legislature. It has been known that Mackay was an early signer of the petition (giving his address as Zurich, although he was already living in Berlin), but Dobe furnishes the first evidence that several times he attended sessions of the WhK.

The last session at which Mackay was present was on 14 October 1906 at Hirschfeld's house. Friedlănder was too ill to attend, but had entrusted Dobe with his
presentation. Head of an "Arbeitsausschuss" (advisory committee) of the WhK, Friedländer had not only raised objections to Hirschfeld's theory of homosexuality (his so-called Zwischenstufentheorie, or theory of sexual intermediates), but also objected to his heading of the finances of the WhK. Unknown to Friedländer's friends, Hirschfeld had called for an informal meeting of his supporters the evening before to prepare their response. The result was that the four members of the Executive Council attending the formal meeting together proposed the expansion of that council and proposed the simultaneous dissolution of the committee headed by Friedländer. This measure carried ("almost unanimously", according to Hirschfeld's report), ${ }^{7}$ thus eliminating Friedländer's influence without even having to name him.

Mackay was outraged at the tactic and rose to leave in protest, followed by his close friends Herbert Stegemann and Dobe. Hirschfeld diplomatically tried to stop them, standing before the closed door, spreading his arms, and saying, "My dear Mackay!" But Mackay, red with anger, replied, "I'll break the glass in the door, if you don't let us out!' According to Dobe, the three protesters retired to a tavern to discuss the matter; he gives that hour as the birth of what Friedländer later named the Sezession des Wis-senschaftlich-humanitären Komitees (Secession of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee). In fact, the Sezession was organized with Stegemann as president and attracted some members of the original WhK. But it depended on the support of Friedlander and quietly died out after his suicide on 21 June 1908, following his long and painful illness. Also contributing to its demise were the public "scandals" of the so-called Eulenburg affair,' which also affected Hirschfeld's WhK, and the reception of Mackay's Sagitta writings.

When his long trial was over in the fall of 1909 , Mackay walked through the night in the woods near Berlin. He slowly recovered from his immediate depression and when he returned to the city in the morning and "read in the trusting and pure eyes of my boy the eternal confirmation of this love, he found me calm and cheerful as always. ${ }^{\prime 10}$ Although much in the Sagitta writings has been believed to be autobiographical, this is the only place where he speaks directly of "my boy". Dobe assures us that the Sagitta writings are indeed based on Mackay's experience, particularly the novel Fenny Skaller, which he calls Mackay's "confession of life and love". He also describes several of Mackay's boys, especially the Berlin schoolboy Atti, with whom Mackay fell deeply in love in the spring of 1916. Atti was a pupil at
the famous Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle; Mackay met him in Berlin during a school holiday.

Mackay talked of his feelings for Atti with Hartwig, often in notes that he left in Hartwig's mailbox. When Hartwig emigrated to South America in 1933, shortly after Mackay's death, he gave the collection of notes to Dobe, who quotes several of them. For example, sometime before Easter in 1916, Mackay asked Hartwig to find out at which school the boys wore light brown velvet caps, and shortly after he wrote:

I found it-the light brown cap! It is charming, this brown cap, but much more charming are the brown eyes under it, and the whole boy from which they look out.

If I had not become so terribly mistrustful of every happiness, I would again hope to have something once more; but I no longer dare to rejoice! Still, I did want to write you, for you will rejoice a bit with me all the same. This really is something special!! Sometime later he wrote:

And today, when I was together again with this bit of happy and cheerful life, I almost believed that there can be something like happiness. ${ }^{12}$
But alas, Atti did not live up to Mackay's expectations, and in a note that can be dated 12 June 1916, Mackay wrote to Hartwig:

The last days have left me no more doubt that, even if he stays and does not leave me tomorrow, it has not been and will not be what I hoped for; he, too, is after all a Berlin boy, and they beat us in love [die sind uns in der Liebe 'uber']. Perhaps, if I always had him with me-but that would also be more than I could still manage now.

He has been almost my last hope. I will not let it go, but it also no longer supports me.

I believe I shall not live much longer. I feel it this evening more than ever. ${ }^{13}$
But not all of Mackay's relationships with boys were unhappy. He often told Dobe that the struggle with his sexual orientation as described in Fenny Skaller was true to life, but he always added, "Because of it I had to do without much love in my younger years-I'm making up for it now! "1s

Hartwig and Dobe also often accompanied Mackay in 1924 during his research for his final Sagitta novel Der Puppenjunge (The Hustier), which is set in the milieu of the boy prostitutes of Berlin. Mackay systematically visited all of the "schwule

Kneipen" (gay bars) of Berlin that advertised in Die Freundschaft, and during that summer and fall he could be found every evening in the Marienkasino, treating the "Pupenjungen" (Mackay wrote the work with the spelling "Puppenjunge" only in the title of his novel) ${ }^{15}$ to food, beer and cigarettes, and listening to their stories. Faithfully described, this is the bar called Adonis-Diele in the novel; ${ }^{16}$ it was later closed because of the traffic in cocaine there. Dobe also insists that all characters in the novel were actual persons, except the two leading figures, Günther and Hermann Graf.

In a brief afterword Kurt Zube, Secretary of the Mackay Gesellschaft, clarifies and corrects some statements of Dobe; in particular, he notes that Otto Hannemann, one of the two executors of Mackay's will, was the person mentioned by Dobe as the one boy of Mackay who remained a friend for life. Despite Dobe's "somewhat slovenly and untefined manner of expression", Zube notes that nothing was changed in the manuscript, "for of course it was meant to give his personal impression of Mackay." And that is indeed its value. For students of the period most of the new information has been pointed out above, but Dobe's portrait of Mackay helps bring him alive for us, and his insight into the situation of

## LEND A HAND

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boy-lovers in the early years of this century will be of value to anyone interested in the early gay movement in Berlin. Thus the book may be recommended not only to fans of Mackay, but also to a wider Germanreading public.

Dobe's memoir, part of the publication program of the Mackay Gesellschaft, is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the writer, the individualist anarchist, and especially the boy-lover John Henry Mackay. Besides Dobe's manuscript, the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (DDR), also has some 120 postcards and letters from Mackay to Dobe. They will perhaps shed
further light on this courageous fighter for the "nameless love".

> Editor's Note:
> Dr. Hubert Kennedy is Professor Emeritus, Providence College, Providence, Rhode Island, and a member of the editorial board of Paidika. He is the translator of John Henry Mackay's The Hustler (Boston: Alyson, 1985), and author of Anarchist of Love: The Secret Life of John Henry Mackay (New York: Mackay Society, 1983).

## Notes

1. Mackay to Tucker, 11 May 1908; Benjamin R. Tucker Papers, New York Public Library. Mackay wrote to Tucker in English, since Tucker did not read German.
2. Mackay to Tucker, 12 October 1908; BRT Papers, NYPL.
3. See John Henry Mackay, Die Bücher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta, 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1979), 1:491. My translation here and later.
4. For example: Die Gesellschaft, Das Magazin für die Literatur des Inund Auslandes, Pan, Jugend, Simplizissimus, Die Zeit (Osterreichische undschau).
5. For Mackay's contact with Der Eigene see Hubert Kennedy, "Das Geheimnis von Sagitta", Capri. Zeitschrift für schwule Geschichte 1 (1987), pp. 4-19.
6. It is interesting that Dobe nowhere mentions the Gemein-
schaft der Eigenen (Community of Self-owners), founded on 1 May 1903 under the leadership of Adolf Brand. Several men at the evenings described by Dobe were also co-founders of the GdE, e.g., Benedict Friedländer, Walther Heinrich and Wilhelm Jansen.
7. Monatsbericht des Wissenschaft-lich-humanitären Komitees 5 (1906), p. 202.
8. Friedrich Dobe, John Henry Mackay als Mensch (Koblenz: Edition Plato, 1987), p. 52.
9. In 1906 and 1907 several advisors of the German emperor were accused of homosexuality. This resulted in libel suits that kept the attention of the public for months. An excellent account is in James D. Steakley, "Iconography of a Scandal: Political Cartoons' of the Eulenburg Affair", Studies in Visual Communication 9, No. 2 (Spring 1983), pp. 20-51.
10. Mackay, Die Bücher der namenlosen Liebe von Sagitta, 1:48.
11. Dobe, op. cit., p. 71.
12. Ibid., p. 72.
13. Ibid., p. 75.
14. Ibid., p. 65.
15. The euphemistic spelling on the title page of Der Puppenjunge suggests a derivation from "Puppe" (doll) and "der Junge" (boy); but the word is rather derived from "pupen"(to fart), as is indicated by Mackay's use of the spelling "Pupenjunge" throughout the novel. This word is no longer used in Germany, where the ordinary term for a male prostitute is now "Strichjunge". "Hustler" is the current American term.
16. In fact, there was at that time an Adonis-Diele in Berlin, which I incorrectly assumed was the bar described by Mackay. See the notes to my translation The Hustler, by John Henry Mackay (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1985), p. 294.

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