

THE RITE OF SODOMY

VOLUME I

Books by Randy Engel

Sex Education—The Final Plague

*The McHugh Chronicles—
Who Betrayed the Pro-life Movement?*

THE RITE OF SODOMY

**HOMOSEXUALITY
AND THE
ROMAN
CATHOLIC CHURCH**

VOLUME I

**HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES
FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE
CAMBRIDGE SPIES**

RANDY ENGEL



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Dedication

To Mary and Sebastian Vignone

All that I am or ever shall be
I owe to my beloved parents
and to the grace of God

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Introduction

It all began quite innocently enough. It was the summer of 1987 and I was completing my first full-length book *Sex Education—The Final Plague*. Near the end of my final chapter “The Vatican and Sex Education—A Sorry State of Affairs,” I noted:

The Sex Education Movement ...has, as one of its key objectives, the promotion of a pansexual or bisexual agenda in which homosexuality and pedophilia play a key and pivotal role. The growing number of homosexual and pedophile priests and brothers, including homosexual bishops, as well as lesbian nuns, have formed a sixth column within the Church in the United States. Many of these individuals have played important roles in the development and promotion of the new sexual catechetics in parochial schools, which, like the United States Catholic Conference “Sex Education Guidelines” and the Kosnik Report, promote homosexuality and bisexuality as a variation on the norm, not a perversion.¹

I recall the first sentence of this particular paragraph rather well because when the book initially ran in serial form in *The Wanderer*, my reference to “homosexual bishops” had been removed.

In any case, I remember promising myself that, as soon as *The Final Plague* went to press and my familial and pro-life duties as the director of the U.S. Coalition for Life would permit, I would take a closer look at the members of the Catholic hierarchy who were pushing homosexuality on parochial school children.

A few months later, I began what would be more than a decade-long journey into the homosexual maelstrom—without and within—the Roman Catholic Church.

It started with a re-read of Reverend Enrique T. Rueda’s 1982 definitive study of the homosexual movement in the United States, *The Homosexual Network—Private Lives and Public Policy*, that provides a detailed description of the movement’s strategic inroads into organized religious bodies in

America with a special case study on the movement's infiltration and colonization of the Roman Catholic Church in the 1970s through the early 1980s.²

It has ended, more than fifteen years later, with *The Rite of Sodomy—Homosexuality and the Roman Catholic Church*.

Playing for High Stakes

If men cease to sit in judgement on evil deeds it is not because they are tolerant, but because they are defeated.³

Tolerance is a social not a religious virtue since the truly religious man is against the heretic and seeks the conversion of the unbeliever... True Christianity never held tolerance to be a virtue but a sign of degeneracy.⁴

More than forty years have passed since the Gay Liberation Movement first broke onto the American scene. Symbolized by the clenched fist inserted into the rectal orifice, not unlike that of the clenched fist raised by early Bolshevik revolutionaries as a sign of their allegiance to the new Soviet State and the tenets of Marxist-Leninism, the radical "gay" movement represents a world view and moral system that is as alien and hostile to Christianity as it is to the legitimate interest of the State. Yet neither of these two traditional defenders of the common good and the moral law have thus far distinguished themselves on the field of battle against the growing threat posed to the Church and State by the Homosexual Homintern.⁵

Make no mistake about it. What is at stake here is not merely a matter of controlling or minimizing some societal or clerical sexual mischief but the prevention of the undermining of the very foundations upon which the Church and State rest.

This is why, at all times and in all civilized cultures, homosexual practices, wherever they have been made manifestly public, have brought censure by both the State, which has both the right and duty to suppress vice for the common good and the Church, which is the final arbitrator of morals in society and the primary molder of the public conscience.

The matter of institutionalized homosexuality is so profoundly connected to man's convictions about his own nature and that of marriage, family and sexuality that to ignore it is to be against one's own survival—as a species, a nation and a church.

Rueda was correct when he stated that Christianity's rejection of homosexuality is not a quirk of Western civilization, but part of the common heritage of mankind. In rejecting homosexuality as a legitimate lifestyle, one is simply observing a universal norm not simply a special precept of a particular civilized religious or philosophical tradition, he said. He also acknowledged that to fail to condemn homosexuality is to welcome the direst of consequences for that particular religious tradition.⁶

Nor can the Church fail to ignore the historic connection of sexual deviancy to religious deviancy, blasphemy and the occult that is of especial

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consideration in any examination of homosexual practices in the priesthood and religious orders.⁷

That the State also shares an interest in the prohibition of homosexual practices can be gleaned from the writings of early German Protestant theologians such as mid-18th century Gëottinger Orientalist and biblical scholar Johann David Michaelis (1717–1791). In *Grundliche Erklarung*, Michaelis not only correctly identified and condemned sodomy as a predatory vice that seeks after “striplings,” and weakens marriage, but he also saw the spread of the vice as a threat to national security capable of bringing a nation to the brink of destruction.⁸

Lest we be tempted to view Michaelis’s condemnation of homosexuality as exaggerated rhetoric having no application for our own time, it should be remembered during the past century, major public homosexual intrigues such as the Eulenberg Affair in the early 1900s in Germany and the Cambridge Spy case in mid-century in England have contributed to the fall of national governments and altered the course of that nation’s history.

It is true, as we shall see in Section I on Historical Perspectives of Homosexuality that there have been certain times in the course of human events when social tolerance of various forms of homosexuality has prevailed in a given society. This sentiment of tolerance, not to be confused with societal approval, appears to be historically associated with periods of cataclysmic social upheaval, religious confusion and economic instability caused by protracted warfare or natural disaster.

At other times, the rise in the practice of sodomy and other homosexual acts has been connected to as capricious a phenomenon as a rise of a particular sociopolitical sexual fashion.

In Elizabethan England there were certain segments of the upper classes, especially the courtiers in service of the king, who viewed homosexuality as a means of social and political advancement and acted accordingly.

Later, during the Victorian era, we witnessed the rise of homosexuality in its Hellenistic form in England’s halls of academia where the “Greek ideal” was perceived and actively promoted as a rival to Christianity.

In none of these cases, however, was there anything to suggest that toleration was equated with approval or that the general sexual conventions of the day, including prohibitions against sodomitical acts, were affected.

At this point, one is apt to be challenged by not a few lay and clerical apologists for the homosexual movement, who will suggest that, at least in some primitive societies, adult male homosexuality has been accepted by the native population. Under closer scrutiny, however, their argument does not hold up.

As Arno Karlen, author of *Sexuality and Homosexuality A New View* has observed, “when a society alleged to approve homosexuality is carefully studied, it turns out that homosexual acts are accepted only in special

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situations or times of life and to the extent that they do not impair heterosexual functioning or loss of sexual identity.”⁹

Psychiatrist Ruth Tiffany Barnhouse, M.D., in *Homosexuality: A Symbolic Confusion* has voiced similar opinions regarding certain homosexual phenomenon found in primitive cultures. “There are a variety of ways it (a homosexual act) is punished which may go unnoticed by a casual observer or eager anthropologists,” she said.¹⁰ “Whenever the final limits of heterosexuality and biologically appropriate role are infringed, the result is sanctions that range from death to persecution to harassment and mild contempt,” she noted.¹¹ “Every society has sexual rules,” Barnhouse concluded. “Thus if our culture elects to consider homosexuality to be a normal alternative lifestyle, it will be the first in human civilization to do so.”¹²

Resources and Notes

The combined scope of *The Rite of Sodomy* has required many years of research and the use of thousands of books, articles and electronic web references. Some resources were obviously more reliable and/or more useful than others.

In researching the homosexual movement, Reverend Rueda’s *Homosexual Network* was especially helpful in providing a baseline of the movement’s activities and hierarchical support within the Roman Catholic Church in the United States from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. This book extends that continuum to the present day.

Autobiographical and biographical texts of and by historic and modern day homosexuals were certainly not wanting. Nor was there any dearth of information, especially on the world-wide-web, of any aspect of homosexual life or of the Homosexual Collective—history, ideology, lexicon, sexual practices, religious views, court cases and legal issues, social and recreational events, economic inroads and most especially political activities. For it is largely through the latter, that is the prism of politics, that all other aspects of the homosexual movement must be examined.

Many valuable insights into the homosexual condition were obtained from reading excerpts from the personal diaries of prominent homosexuals. As a vanity mirror reflects one’s physical features, so these diaries reveal a great deal about the narcissistic impulse of the homosexual psyche as well as provide information, though not always of the reliable kind, on the secret, double life of many of these individuals.

For example, the Russian composer Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840–1893) recorded the details of his secret life as a pederast in code in his diary and letters to his brother Modest.¹³ Certain psychiatric theories concerning homosexuality can also be authenticated in these personal recollections as in the case of English-born American poet W. H. Auden (1907–1973) who relived his sexual misadventures and jealous rages over his lovers’ actual or imagined unfaithfulness in his private diary and writings.¹⁴

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Perhaps the most memorable biographical work I read was Jean Delay's *The Youth of André Gide* (1956) translated from the French by June Guicharnaud. As one would not go to Masters and Johnson to seek out the truth about sexual love between a man and a woman, so one should avoid Kinsey and seek out the truth about homosexual affectations in their various forms from works like Delay's masterpiece on French writer André Gide (1869–1951).¹⁵

With regard to evaluating the merit of books or articles on the subject of homosexuality, it is important to establish if the authors of these works had a vested self-interest in moving the homosexual agenda forward.

It was not surprising to discover that many apologists for the homosexual movement, such as German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) and American sex researcher Alfred C. Kinsey (1884–1956) were themselves practicing homosexuals and therefore had a personal stake in the sexual revolution they were pushing under the guise of scientific and objective sex research.¹⁶

On the other hand, there were a number of pro-homosexual writers, especially ex-priests some of whom have married, who seemed to be more interested in attacking the Roman Catholic Church's alleged authoritarianism in matters of faith and morals, than in advancing the homosexual cause *per se*.

Unfortunately, while investigating the homosexual movement at large was relatively easy, trying to track down documents and information linked to the Church was not. In some cases diocesan archives were not open to the public and if they were it was on a limited and select basis. The Rev. Canon T. A. Lacey's (1853–1931) quip, "It is quite impossible to get at the archives of the Holy Office. One might as well ask to see Rothschild's books," was applicable to my case as well.¹⁷

Biographies and autobiographies of prominent members of the American hierarchy and heads of major religious orders from the time of John Carroll, first Bishop of Baltimore (1736–1815) to that of the late Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Archbishop of Chicago, were surprisingly limited—both with regard to number and scope of inquiry. This was also true of solidly researched scholarly works (written or translated into English) on the lives of modern-day popes from Pope Leo XIII to John Paul II. On the other hand, papal encyclicals and other official Church documents recorded in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (AAS) were readily available both in hard text and on the Internet.

Finally, a word about the use of endnotes in this book.

Because of the large number and complexity of many of the issues touched upon in this book, I have sought refuge in detailed endnotes found at the conclusion of this introduction and all subsequent chapters. Footnotes would have been too cumbersome and would have interrupted the flow of ideas in the text. Yet many references were too important to have

been left out entirely as they were helpful in explaining the subtleties and inferences of certain passages within the text. The inclusion of an extensive bibliography will permit the reader to pursue his special interests in greater depth.

The Problem of Definitions

The first major technical problem faced by this author was the issue of definitions, emphasis and the emergence of new constructs related to homosexuality.

For example, the word sodomy in a technical sense, is the anal penetration of either sex including penetration of a female by a male, although it is normally associated in the popular mind with male homosexual activity.

Homosexuality is a broader term used to designate homosexual behavior as well as the homosexual condition or the habit itself. Yet this term is in itself insufficient in that it identifies the homosexual as one who prefers to engage in sex (actually simulate sex) with a person of the same sex, but that is all. It does not distinguish between the adult homosexual who prefers an adult partner, as opposed to an adult homosexual who prefers a male youth. Nor does it distinguish between the homosexual who prefers sodomy to sadistic/masochistic acts of bondage and domination. Some theorists therefore prefer to speak in terms of "homosexualities" which suggests that there are different types of homosexual behavior and that these are viewed differently not only by society but also by homosexuals themselves.

For example, André Gide, himself a homosexual pederast, shrank back in horror the first time he saw two adult males engaged in an act of sodomy. He likened the scene to that of "a huge vampire feasting on a corpse."¹⁸

With reverse perception, an adult homosexual who prefers adult partners may regard Gide's attraction to youth as "perverse," though not necessarily criminal. For example, in 1998, writer Karen Ocamb claimed that watching the antics of the North American Man/Boy Association (NAMBLA) at a "Gay Pride" parade made her skin crawl. Her attack on pederasty literally drips venom. "These men aren't gay, and we mustn't let them co-opt our movement... They are simply perverts who like to f--k children, using the gay community as a Trojan horse to storm the barricades of legitimacy."¹⁹

Then there are the gay leatherfolk who see their brand of sexual expression as "...a still daring symbol of cultural transgression and personal transformation."²⁰ They charge that they are discriminated against and harassed by other gays for their sadomasochist preference and activities.

A Paradigm Shift from Act to Person

Obviously, in both the public square and in the Church, it is not to the advantage of the homosexual movement to keep the public eye focused on

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homosexual acts and behaviors. That is why the movement has engineered a paradigm shift in the homosexual debate that centers exclusively on the recognition of the homosexual person with certain rights to the total exclusion of any public discourse on the morality of homosexual acts. Different writers have expressed this paradigm shift in different ways.

As Rueda has said, "Traditionally, homosexuality has been considered a vice, a quality of the homosexual inducing him to engage in certain negative or unnatural kind of sexual behavior. Vice being the opposite of virtue, this view was based on the biblical teaching, accepted for centuries, that homosexual behavior is sinful."²¹ This traditional prohibition against homosexual acts "originated some three thousand years ago and continues as a living stream of social consciousness," he continued.²² However, in recent years, Rueda said, the homosexual movement has attempted to focus attention on the homosexual person as a member of a "repressed" or "discriminated" class rather than on his acts that are so perverse they are innately repulsive to the normal individual.²³

In *A Challenge to Love*, a publication of New Ways Ministry, Father Edward A. Malloy stated that whereas "homosexuality and sodomy once seen as but one particular manifestation of the range of sexual expression—today they now constitute an essential component of social self-definition."²⁴ Homosexuals have been transformed into an "oppressed" class with "rights."

Michel Foucault, the French Philosopher and homosexual (1926–1984) has also noted that in the past, sodomy was perceived of as an act and the sodomite was a person who habitually committed this act:

Under ancient civil and canonical codes, sodomy was a category of forbidden acts; their perpetrator was nothing more than a juridical subject of them. Homosexuality appeared as one of the forms of sexuality when it was transposed from the practice of sodomy onto a kind of interior androgyny, a hermaphroditism of the soul. The sodomite had been a temporary aberration, the homosexual was now a species." The sodomite is no longer one who commits a habitual sin but one who has a special nature.²⁵

Although it may be already apparent to the reader, I nevertheless think it important enough to point out that when and where homosexuality is described in terms of acts or behaviors, the assumption is that such behaviors are not "fixed," and one can change or alter his sexual preferences at different stages of life either by abstinence or by switching to a normal man-woman sexual relationship.

From the beginning of recorded history, this view of homosexuality has dominated all others, if for no other reason, than it reflects reality, that is, it is true. Whether we are talking about the gymnasia of the ancient Greeks or the public schools and universities of Victorian England, regardless of one's youthful sexual indiscretions and transgressions, upon reaching manhood, man-woman sexuality is the expected norm.

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On the other hand, under the terms of the new homosexual construct where homosexuality is promoted in terms of personhood, change is viewed as impossible as the changing of one's race or nationality. This is obviously the favored opinion of the Gay Liberation Movement that deals harshly with sexual deserters who are deemed guilty of having betrayed their kind.

Given this new shift in emphasis and new construct, which has rightly been viewed as a major victory for the homosexual movement, how then do we define "homosexuality" and the "homosexual"?²⁶ Among the hundreds of definitions available, I found that of scholar Kenneth J. Dover to be the simplest and most accurate. Dover defines homosexuality as "the disposition to seek sensory pleasure through bodily contact with persons of one's own sex in preference to contact with the other sex."²⁷ In essence then, the male homosexual is a man, generally content to be a man, whose erotic preference is directed toward other men.

Are the terms homosexual and gay synonymous? No. Although these terms are frequently used interchangeably, they have different connotations in contemporary homosexual life.

In the days before common sense gave way to political correctness, the term gay retained its original Middle English meaning—*merie* or *merry* in popular usage. In otherwise limited circumstances beginning in the 1940s, gay was also used as a noun or adjective, generally in a disparagingly way, to describe effeminate male homosexuals in the American theater and art world.

Today, the word gay is still used as a synonym for homosexual by the general public and, liberal pressures notwithstanding, often with the same negative overtones as in earlier years. Nevertheless, it has become the politically correct term of choice within the homosexual movement itself to describe both a homosexual orientation as well as a person with same-sex attractions.

According to ex-Jesuit Robert Goss, author of the 1993 gay radical handbook, *Jesus Acted Up—A Gay and Lesbian Manifesto*, the "homophobic" and pathologically medicalized term homosexual is no longer acceptable. "Gay is correct," he said, and "gay/lesbian" is preferred to describe a conscious unity in "resistance to homophobic and heterosexualist deployment of power relations."²⁸

This writer is not politically correct. I use the word homosexual in almost all cases and confine the word gay to references which are primarily political in nature.

Homophobia and Erotophobia

Another example of a new homosexual construct and successful political catchword in the Gay Liberation Movement's arsenal that has "acquired a special function in the service of power" is the term homophobia.

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Homophobia is defined by the homosexual movement as an irrational fear and hatred of being associated with or being in contact with a homosexual. Goss has expanded the definition of homophobia to include “the socialized state of fear, threat, aversion, prejudice and irrational hatred of the feelings of same-sex attractions” which can be held by “individuals, groups, social institutions and cultural practices.”²⁹

Sister Jeannine Gramick, co-founder of New Ways Ministry and its offshoot the Center for Homophobia Education, had defined homophobia as “any systemic judgment which advocates negative myths and stereotypes about lesbian and gay persons.”³⁰ The roots of the “sin of homophobia,” she said, “are found in religious and familial and sexual dogmatism, including belief in the traditional family power structure, i.e. a dominant father, submissive mother and obedient children,” as well as traditional religious beliefs and traditional attitudes toward women.³¹

Jim Milham of the University of Houston has even developed a “scientific” scale to measure “homophobic prejudice.”³² Milham’s scale is based on four separate dimensions manifested by various negative beliefs, attitudes and feelings toward homosexuality including the belief that homosexuals are dangerous to society and therefore need to be repressed, strong feelings that homosexuals are sinful or immoral, the stereotyping of male homosexuals as effeminate and lesbians as overly masculine and general discomfort when in the presence of known homosexuals or when the topic of homosexuality is introduced.³³

I wish to draw the reader’s attention to other less-well publicized subgroups within the homosexual matrix that are waiting in the wings ready to expand the war on homophobia to include their own particular grievance against other societal moral prohibitions.

The man/boy lovers cohort of the Gay Liberation Movement has launched its own attack against erotophobia, that is, society’s prejudice and fear of childhood eroticism that deprives the child of sex by limiting adult access to children as sexual beings.³⁴

There are also other homosexual contingents representing the sado-masochistic (S/M) and bondage and dominance (B/D) movements who have discovered their “sexual orientation” and “special gifts” including “bondage spirituality.”³⁵

The point of this discourse is that there is no argument or justification put forth for the affirmation of homosexuality that cannot be put forth to advance any other equally deviant sexual acts including pederasty which is a prosecutable offense.

A Way With Words

Why does the homosexual collective place such great importance on controlling language and assigning “correct” definition to words? The answer is simple. People think in terms of words, hence, by controlling language,

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one can control what and how people think and in a sense create a new reality.³⁶ Not only does the homosexual movement insist that its followers employ a select and politically correct lexicon, one that will help advance the movement's multi-faceted agenda, but it also seeks to impose that language on the whole of society. It is an arduous task, but one at which the movement has been eminently adept.

At the same time, the darker nature of the homosexual lexicon has been hidden from the public eye and public ear.³⁷ Indeed the movement has been extraordinarily judicious in keeping much of its everyday lingo, dare I say, "in the closet."

One need only casually leaf through a homosexual in-house text like Bruce Rodgers' *The Queens' Vernacular*, to find a number of disquieting themes found in the male homosexual sub-culture as expressed in its own lexicon.³⁸

Prominent among these themes, all of which will be examined in depth later in this text, is the utterly demeaning and hateful language connected with the females in general and lesbians in particular. To refer to a black market abortionist as a "rabbit-scraper," or to label a male homosexual who demonstrates an interest in women as a "pig-suck" is to reveal a pathological anti-woman bias.³⁹

A second theme reflected in the everyday language and figures of speech of the homosexual collective is its absolute fixation on youth and its extensive lexicon connected to the seduction and molestation of young boys by adult male homosexuals. One example should suffice.

Under the heading chicken, defined by Rodgers as "a young recruit; any boy under the age of consent," we find:

- chicken freak—elderly man with huge appetite for young roosters.⁴⁰
- chicken house—coffeehouse catering to young homosexuals too young for taverns.⁴¹
- chicken plucker—man who enjoys "deflowering" young boys.⁴²
- chicken pox—urge to have sex with younger men, a mid 60's term.⁴³
- chicken dinner—sex with a teenager.⁴⁴
- butchered chicken—boy who recently lost his anal virginity.⁴⁵
- gay chicken—a homosexual teenager.⁴⁶

There are many other similar references I could cite, but videtur quod non!⁴⁷

Some readers may object to my inclusion of this reference to pederasty in a book on adult male homosexuality and judge the commingling of these issues to be prejudicial at worse, or an unnecessary and unwarranted distraction at best. I disagree.

Adult homosexuality and pederasty are not mutually exclusive—either in terms of individual behaviors or the homosexual movement.⁴⁸

Rather, like the relationship between contraception and abortion, they are both mutually competitive and mutually stimulating.

One would have to be intellectually dense or in a perpetual state of denial not to recognize this mutuality in the simultaneous rise of clerical pederastic crimes with the rise in clerical homosexual incidents in dioceses and religious orders in the United States since the 1950s. If the presence of an active and activist homosexual clergy and hierarchy does nothing else, it most certainly sends a signal to fellow clerical pederasts that immorality and perversion within their ranks is at least tolerated where it is not openly condoned. It also ups the ante in terms of blackmail and cover-up insurance for clerical pederasts when their activities are made known to Church authorities or when they are arrested by law enforcement officers.

The proselytization, seduction and recruitment of youth, has been the lifeblood of the homosexual sub-culture wherever and whenever it has emerged in human society. Clerical homosexuality poses no exception to the rule.

Homosexuality and Subversion

Another issue which may appear out of place in a book dealing principally with homosexuality and the priesthood is Chapter 5 on the Cambridge spies. Actually, at various points in the writing of this book, I had considered eliminating it altogether. But, in the end, I decided to include it in an abbreviated form.

First, because it offers us a supremely sobering lesson about institutional accountability and the temptation of public officials to cover-up national political scandals particularly those involving gross sexual misconduct and national security.

Second, because the Cambridge Spy case affords the reader an intimate look at the phenomenon of “compartmentalization” and other important aspects of the homosexual personality as well an excellent view of the inner workings of a long-established and well-functioning homosexual network — albeit in a secular mode. One also gets to observe the unsettling phenomenon of violence, extortion and blackmail that have always been associated with the homosexual underworld.

Third, the Cambridge Spy case teaches us the incalculable importance of proper “vetting,” the art of selection of security personnel and the elimination of potential and actual security risks. According to Rebecca West, the essence of security is “the assessment of character.”⁴⁹ The same holds true for the assessment and selection of seminarians and other candidates for the diocesan priest and religious life.

It is a major premise of this book that the infiltration and colonization of the seminary, priesthood and Church today by the Gay Liberation Movement poses a serious threat to the life of the Church—as real and dangerous as any enemy mole to a nation’s intelligence network. The subversion

of the Church and the undermining of its doctrines by the homosexual movement is real and ongoing and for the most part, uncontested by Church officials. It needs to be stopped here and now and if not totally eradicated at least pushed back into its historical closet. Co-existence with the Gay Liberation Movement is impossible for the Church.

Intelligence Gathering

The fact that this book took over a decade to research and five years to complete the final text, is as good an admission as any that the enterprise presented the author with a number of difficulties—both technical and personal.

Heading the list of difficulties was the knowledge that it was going to be hard to prove the main thesis of my book—that there exists in the Roman Catholic Church today a well-organized and active international homosexual network whose roots go back to the turn of the 19th century and whose existence poses an eminent threat to the priesthood and religious life as well as the life of the Universal Church.

Readers will remember that when I began my investigation, no living American bishop had as yet been publicly accused of being an active homosexual and the criminal activities of pederast priests, religious and bishops, some cases dating back twenty or thirty years ago, had not yet made national headlines.

However, Rueda's book provided enough basic information and onomastic references to get me going in the right direction. Also I knew many priests and religious who had first hand knowledge of the operations of the clerical homosexual network in their own diocese or religious order and who were willing to be interviewed and/or provide me with certain documents and other evidence related to the network within the American Church and at the Vatican.

I found the following guide used by French Intelligence in the 1930s to weigh evidence in criminal cases to be both accurate and practical:

I hear = rumour

I see = reliable

I know = absolute truth⁵⁰

Another rule of thumb I found helpful especially in my investigation, particularly with regard to the homosexual overworld of the American bishops, came from ex-Communist Louis F. Budenz — “Look at what they do, not at what they say.”⁵¹

The question is not so much a matter of whether or not Bishop X is a “card-carrying” homosexual, but rather does he promote the practice of homosexuality or work to advance the objectives of the homosexual fifth column in (or out of) the Church? Do his private actions with regard to the homosexual movement match or conflict with his public utterances? Is he a member of a homosexual front group such as New Ways Ministry? Does

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he religiously employ the politically correct jargon and language of the homosexual movement? Does he personally move in a pro-homosexual or openly homosexual orbit? Does he faithfully follow the party line of the Gay Liberation Movement?⁵²

Did I know of cases in which active homosexual and pederast priests and bishops were caught in flagante delicto by fellow clerics or by law enforcement officials? Yes, reliable witnesses have given me such information.

However, in building my case for the existence of both the homosexual underworld and overworld in the Church, I found this type of information was less helpful than that which is commonly referred to as circumstantial evidence, that is, evidence not bearing directly on the fact in dispute, but on various attendant circumstances from which a judge or jury might infer the occurrence of the fact in dispute.

As Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton explained in their introduction to *The Rosenberg File*, to identify evidence as “circumstantial” does not imply that it is “non-evidence.”⁵³ In response to their critics who charged the authors gave too much credibility to such evidence in their case against convicted Soviet spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the authors reminded their critics that circumstantial evidence is used in courts every day and “is often more reliable than eyewitness evidence.”⁵⁴

Throughout my investigation I have tried to back my findings with at least two, generally more, confirmations from reputable sources specializing in the subject under investigation. In cases where I was unsure of a deceased or living cleric’s complicity in the homosexual network, or when circumstances indicated that such complicity was either incidental or sporadic, I gave him the benefit of the doubt and eliminated his name from the text entirely.

Identifying and putting the pieces of the American Church’s homosexual network together has been like assembling a giant jigsaw puzzle. However, as Maier’s Law reminds us, humans tend to collect and present data favorable to one’s own theories.⁵⁵ So I found it necessary to routinely ask myself, “Did a piece fit because I wanted it to and I therefore forced it to fit, or did it fit because it was truly the right piece?”

Indeed, in the very early months of my investigation, I frequently found myself wondering if I was on the wrong track entirely like the Soviet worker in a baby carriage factory who smuggled out parts from the factory to build his newborn child a carriage only to discover that he has built a machine gun instead!

Further investigation, however, when combined with later revelations and details from court briefs of convicted homosexual pederast priests and religious including members of the hierarchy over the last decade have only served to demonstrate how amazingly accurate my initial theories and original check list of bishops involved in the homosexual network were.

Naming Names

In so far as possible, with regard to the identification of persons involved in the secular and clerical homosexual network, I have generally followed the example of Father Rueda who identified homosexuals in his book who had already publicly identified themselves as such, usually in a homosexual publication and his (or her) sexual preferences were judged important to illustrate a point.⁵⁶ Also, to indicate that a person is “pro-homosexual” or an active member of the homosexual network is not to imply that all such persons are homosexuals, although some certainly are. Like the Communist Party, the “gay” leadership has found that many pro-homosexuals fall into the category of “useful idiots” when it comes to advancing the movement’s political and philosophical agenda. This truism I think is well illustrated in my chapters on the homosexual auxiliary within the Church and homosexuality in religious orders.

However, unlike Rueda, I have made some major exceptions to this general rule by naming certain prominent Church figures such as Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, John Cardinal Wright of Boston, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago and Pope Paul VI as having played an important role in the rise of homosexuality within the Catholic Church in modern times. I don’t think it would have been possible for me to substantiate my charge of intergenerational homosexuality within the Church without identifying those individuals I believe to be directly responsible for the phenomenon.

For a writer to reveal details of another person’s private life is a difficult thing to do, especially when that person is dead and cannot answer the charges leveled against him. Is it possible for a writer to be critical of a person’s behavior, especially in the intimate sexual sphere without detracting from or minimizing his accomplishments?

In his introduction to *Fury on Earth*, a critical biography of the German sexologist Wilhelm Reich, Professor Myron Sharaf examined these questions and the dilemmas a writer faces when he attempts to delve into the intimate private lives of public figures, especially such controversial figures as Reich.

Dr. Sharaf made a number of observations based on his biographical examination of Reich’s personal life that I found applicable with regard to my own writings.

Sharaf asked himself if it is possible “to find flaws in a ‘genius’ without thinking the man a freak whose greatness was an accidental offshoot of his weird personality?”⁵⁷ And he answered in the affirmative.

Further, he explained, he would not have done justice to his subject or his accomplishments or to the connections between his personality and his work, if he had obliterated “the problematical elements” of Reich’s character. Just because Reich completed his training in psychoanalysis, Sharaf

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explained, did not mean that ipso facto he automatically became a well-adjusted person with no unresolved conflicts. “A whole person includes his pathology, but does not negate his genius or great accomplishments,” he concluded.⁵⁸

One can apply such reasoning to the life of a cleric who completes seminary training and is ordained a priest or a bishop and yet continues to be stunted and fettered by certain unresolved emotional or psychological pathologies which may or may not be acted out. To acknowledge this fact, however, does not negate the truth that holds every man, (including a homosexual priest or bishop), is more than the sum of his warts—however unsettling and overpowering those warts might be.

Also, one cannot examine another person’s “warts,” without being reminded of one’s own, sometimes painfully so.

It is impossible to write a book on the subject of sexual perversion in general and clerical sexual pathologies in particular, without coming to grips with one’s own sinful (yet redeemable) nature. One may legitimately condemn a sexual act such as sodomy as being “objectively sinful” without presuming to judge the ultimate disposition of soul of the sinner at the time of death which falls solely within God’s domain.

Also as Sharaf reminded us, writers, like therapists, see their subjects (and patients) “through the prism of his own personality and experiences,” and “with his own biases and warts and shortcomings.”⁵⁹

I was, for example, aware from the beginning, that in studying the homosexual underworld and all its various subgroups, I would be exposing myself to a high degree of moral turpitude over a long period of time. The words of Alexander Pope weighed heavily on my mind:

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

Thanks in large part to God’s protective grace and the adoption of some practical precautions in handling the raw moral sewage coming out of the homosexual pipeline, I believe I have come through the experience with a greater wisdom concerning the human condition in general and the special plight of the individual homosexual in particular. One can indeed hate the sin and its collective expression, the Gay Liberation Movement, aka the Homosexual Collective, and still love the sinner.

Certainly, the initial revulsion and horror that the normal individual feels when he is confronted with the reality of homosexual acts has never left me.

As for the individual homosexual caught up in this vice, I love him more than ever. For I now have a greater understanding and appreciation of the terrible all-embracing hold that this vice can have on a man and an even

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greater conviction that one should move heaven and earth to prevent any soul from being sucked into the homosexual vortex.

Not For the Faint of Heart

By any standard, this book is not for the faint of heart. The subject of homosexuality is understandably distasteful. Its connections to the priesthood and the Catholic Church make it doubly so.

To these difficulties one can add the presence of explicit sexual language used to describe certain types of homosexual acts and practices. On this point I can assure the reader that out of a sheer sense of decency I have fought to keep these explicit references to a minimum.

However, I believe that it is not crude language but the horrendous issues raised in this book that will make it difficult reading for any faithful Catholic.

In his Epistle to the Romans, Saint Paul said that God permits disorders of the flesh including homosexuality not only in payment for personal sins but as a recompense for errors within society and within the Church. The invasion, colonization and metastasization of the priesthood and religious life by the Homosexual Collective must be viewed within the larger context of a Church under enemy siege from all sides.⁶⁰ As such, homosexuality within the priesthood is at once a cause and symptom of corruption within the Church today.

As the Roman Catholic Church, by God's design, is a hierarchical Church, the primary responsibility for addressing and correcting the current sad state of affairs falls primarily on the heads and shoulders of the Pope and the bishops he selects. To date, unfortunately, neither the Holy Father nor the Church hierarchy appear to have the necessary will, heart and stomach to wage the necessary battle to reclaim its own.

My intent in writing this book is to move the Holy See to take whatever actions are necessary to restore sanctity and sanity to the priesthood and religious life.

The late Joseph Walsh, a former ambassador to the Holy See once observed that the Vatican has become "so accustomed to surviving crisis after crisis," that it has become passive and does not take "sufficient practical measures," to deal with a crisis.⁶¹ Unfortunately, the problem of homosexuality and pederasty in the priesthood and religious life is not a crisis that will go away of its own accord. It cannot be put on the back burner without risking the total dissolution of the sacred priesthood and religious life in the world today. *Mañana* is now.

Randy Engel
December 2005

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Notes

- 1 See Randy Engel, *Sex Education—The Final Plague* (Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books and Publishers, 1993), 203. Also *Education in Human Sexuality for Christians* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Education, USCC, 1981) and *Catholic Theological Society of America, Human Sexuality—New Directions in American Catholic Thought* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977).
- 2 See Enrique T. Rueda, *The Homosexual Network—Private Lives & Public Policy* (Old Greenwich, Conn.: Devin Adair, 1982).
- 3 Ben Hecht, *Perfidy* (New York: Julian Mesner, Inc., 1961), 58.
- 4 See Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee—A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1.
- 5 The word Homintern is a play on Comintern, an association of Communist parties of the world, established in 1919 by Lenin and publicly dissolved in 1943. Many of the early advocates of the decriminalization of sodomy including Magnus Hirschfeld in Germany and Harry Hay in the United States were members of the Communist Party or connected to various radical Socialist and Communist movements of their day.
- 6 Rueda, 267.
- 7 Derrick Sherwin Bailey, Ph.D., *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1975), 127.
- 8 David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), 322.
- 9 Arno Karlen, *Sexuality and Homosexuality A New View* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1971), 30.
- 10 Ruth Tiffany Barnhouse, *Homosexuality: A Symbolic Confusion*. (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 30. Interestingly, Barnhouse illustrated her point by citing the homosexual/transvestite “berdache” of the North American Mohave Indian tribe, an indigenous tribe of the Southwest, as an example of a culture where the role of the male homosexual, “has been institutionalized, but is neither approved of or seen as a happy way of life.” This latter statement, however, invites a word of caution. Barnhouse herself was not an anthropologist. She was a psychiatrist, Episcopal priest and theologian. Her main source for her comments on the sexual habits of the Mohave Indians was probably Georges Devereux’s “Institutionalized Homosexuality of the Mohave Indians” that appeared in *Human Biology* in 1937. Devereux, a medical anthropologist and Rockefeller grantee who lived among the Mohave Indians in California, claimed that while the Mohave culture provided for the expression of homosexual drives in some of its members, officially recognizing a form of personality deviation, such behavior ran contrary to the group’s ethnic ideal and invited ridicule and other forms of harassment by the group. What needs to be said, however, is that “institutionalized male homosexuality,” (here using the commonly accepted definition of homosexuality as sexual activity between two adult males acknowledge to be such) **never** existed in the Mohave culture nor in any other American Indian culture. This fact is made quite clear in Lauren W. Hasten’s essay on “The ‘Berdache’” — a select group of children (almost exclusively males) who adopted an androgynous gender and dress and acted out the feminine role and occupations within Mohave society. According to Hasten, it was gender transformation and not homosexuality per se that had been institutionalized. This socially and religiously sanctioned arrangement made it possible then for both the hetero-

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sexual Mohave male and the androgynous “berdache” to engage in sexual activity without either of them thinking of themselves as homosexual or being subject to the onus of being labeled a “homosexual” by the tribe. Hasten has plainly pointed out that, “in most cases” (the Mohave and other tribes) acted to “prohibit the equivalent of ‘homosexual’ behavior,” that “homogendered sexual activity was not acceptable,” and that “two males who both identified as men could not freely engage in sexual activity under any circumstance.” Thus, homosexuality, as Devereaux claimed, was not, “tolerated in all its forms,” by the Mohave. Nor did the Mohave view the “berdache” as a “third sex.” There was just male and female. In light of recent attempts by some Native American homosexual and transgender groups to resurrect the “berdache” as an example of a societal affirmation of the homosexual or bisexual behaviors we note Hasten’s concluding remark: “Therefore, if homosexuality has ever been ‘institutionalized,’ and if there have ever been more than two genders, it has apparently not been among the peoples native to North America.” Hasten’s essay is available from <http://www.laurenhasten.com/testbuild/academberdlh.htm>.

- 11 Ibid. 31.
- 12 Ibid. 32.
- 13 Anthony Holden, *Tchaikovsky A Bibliography* (New York: Random House, 1995), 257.
- 14 See Dorothy J. Farnan, *Auden in Love—The Intimate Story of a Lifelong Love Affair* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984) 56–57.
- 15 See Jean Delay, *The Youth of André Gide* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963).
- 16 See Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld—A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986). Also James H. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey—A Public/Private Life* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997).
- 17 John Jay Hughes, *Absolutely Null and Utterly Void—An Account of the 1896 Papal Condemnation of Anglican Orders*, (Corpus Books: Washington, D.C., 1968), 149.
- 18 André Gide, *If I Die... An Autobiography* (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1935), 291. Dorothy Bussy did the translation from the original 1920 text of *Si le grain ne meurt*.
- 19 Benoit Denizet-Lewis, “Boy Crazy,” *Boston Magazine*, May 2001. Available from <http://www.bostonmagazine.com/ArticleDisplay.php?id=27>.
- 20 See Mark Thompson, ed., *Leatherfolk—Radical Sex, People, Politics, and Practice* (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1991).
- 21 Rueda, 103–104.
- 22 Ibid., 252.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Robert Nugent, ed., *A Challenge to Love—Gay and Lesbian Catholics in the Church* (New York: Crossroad, 1980), 108.
- 25 Michael Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 43.
- 26 The word homosexual was first coined by German publisher Károly Mária Kertbeny in 1869 and was used in anonymous writings on the subject.
- 27 K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (New York: MJF Books, 1978), 1.

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- 28 Robert Goss, *Jesus Acted Up—A Gay and Lesbian Manifesto* (San Francisco: Harper, 1993), xix.
- 29 *Ibid.*, xix. Goss quoted lesbian—feminist theorist Julia Penelope who acknowledged, “The attempt [of the Gay/Lesbian Movement] to claim words is the attempt to change the dominant shape of reality.”
- 30 Jeannine Gramick, ed. *Homosexuality and the Catholic Church* (Mt. Rainier, Md.: New Ways Ministry, 1983), 70.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 71.
- 32 Rueda, 118.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 Mike Lew, *Victims No Longer—Men Recovering from Incest and Other Sexual Child Abuse* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 264.
- 35 Thompson, 257.
- 36 See Joost A. M. Meerloo, M.D., *The Rape of the Mind—The Psychology of Thought Control, Menticide, and Brainwashing* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1956). Meerloo elucidated in very simple terms the fact that the words we use influence our behavior in daily life; they determine the thoughts we have. In Chapter Seven, “The Intrusion by Totalitarian Thinking—Verbocracy and Semantic Fog—Talking the People into Submission” Meerloo stated, “The formulation of big propagandistic lies and fraudulent catchwords has a very well-defined purpose in Totalitaria, and words themselves have acquired a special function in the service of power, which we may call verbocracy. ...The task of the totalitarian propagandist is to build special pictures in the minds of the citizenry so that finally they will no longer see and hear with their own eyes and ears but will look at the world through the fog of official catchwords and will develop the automatic responses appropriate to totalitarian mythology.”
- 37 The word sub-culture is used here in a very limited sense to describe certain norms, practices, meeting places, habits commonly associated with the Homosexual Collective. As noted in Section II, Chapter 9, the homosexual movement is in fact anti-culture.
- 38 Bruce Rodgers, *The Queens’ Vernacular—A Gay Lexicon* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972). The lexicon contains over 12,000 entries, much of which is not fit to print.
- 39 Rodgers, 167, 148.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 45
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 *Ibid.*
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 *Ibid.*
- 45 *Ibid.*
- 46 *Ibid.*, 46.
- 47 “The horse has been flogged dead.”
- 48 The terms pederast (paiderast) and pederasty are used in this book to denote same-sex relations between an adult male and an underage youth. The words are of Greek origin—pais, paid, pedo meaning child and erastes lover—literally, a pederast is a lover of boys. The use of the word ephebophile, derived from the Greek ephebe meaning a youth between 18 and 20 years of age is of

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rather recent vintage and although it is used in some psychiatric and psychological manuals has never caught on in popular parlance. The use of the word pedophile denotes an adult who is sexually attracted to children under the age of puberty and usually of the opposite sex. Since most Catholic clerical sex abusers favor young adolescent boys, the term pederast comes closest in definition to the criminal activity of sexual molestation of minor boys. It is instructive to note that the Catholic press uses the term pedophile almost exclusively to describe a priest who abuses young boys (thus avoiding drawing a connection between homosexuality and clerical sex abuse). Protestant newspapers, on the other hand, tend to use a more honest description such as “homosexual pedophile” or “pederast.”

- 49 Dame Rebecca West, *The New Meaning of Treason* (New York: Viking Press, 1964), 87. See also *The Meaning of Treason* (New York: Viking Press, 1945).
- 50 Richard Deacon, *The French Secret Service* (London: Grafton Books, Collins Publishing, 1990), 107.
- 51 Louis F. Budenz, *The Techniques of Communism* (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 212.
- 52 See Ralph Lord Roy, *Communism and the Churches* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1960) 7–8.
- 53 Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, *The Rosenberg File—A Search for the Truth*, 3rd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1984), xv.
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 Maier’s Law is a satirical comment on one’s own theories and beliefs:
 1. If the facts do not conform to the theory, they must be disposed of.
 2. One can always find some evidence to support any theory.
 3. Given any set of facts one can always invent a theory to explain it.See also Irving Bieber, *Homosexuality—A Psychoanalytic Study* (New Jersey: Jason Aronson Inc., 1988), 29.
- 56 Rueda, vxi.
- 57 Myron Sharaf, *Fury on Earth—A Biography of Wilhelm Reich* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983), 7.
- 58 *Ibid.*
- 59 *Ibid.*
- 60 The concept of the vice of homosexuality as a cancer capable of infiltrating and metastasizing any and every group with which it comes in contact is found in Samuel A. Nigro, M.D., “Why Homosexuality is a Disorder,” *Social Justice Review* (May/June 2001): 70–76.
- 61 Dermot Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican—The Politics and Diplomacy of Church-State Relations, 1922–1960* (County Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, Cork, Ireland, 1995), 248. Ambassador Walsh was referring to the threat of Communism in Italy beginning in 1946.

VOLUME I

Historical Perspectives From Antiquity to the Cambridge Spies

The Spartans blamed the Dorians, the Athenians the Spartans. Both claimed it was a Crete or possibly a Celtic import. The Persians ascribed the vice to Greeks and Medes. The Romans referred to it as the “Greek vice.” The Etruscans were said to be wild hedonists and addicted to the vice. The West blamed the East as the source of the sexual deviancy. The crusaders were said to have been infected with the vice by their contact with the Near East. They in turn were accused of introducing the practice into Spain, Italy, and France. The Anglo-Saxons blamed the Normans for carrying the corrosive element to their shores. The Dutch blamed libertine French cultural influences. For their part, the French, who seemed not to be able to make up their minds, referred to it as both *le vice allemand* and *le vice anglais*. Later, the French extended that charge to the Arabs who were accused of contaminating Foreign Legion troops in Algiers with the vice.

The Germans accused the Italians of perfecting the unnatural practice which they dubbed *florenzen* and the practitioner, a *florenzen*. The indignant people of Florence lashed back charging that the seeds of this abomination were sown by outsiders—*trapassi* or *malandrini* most especially the Bulgars (Bulgarians) who were said to be habituated to the practice.

Martin Luther charged the Carthusian monks with bringing the moral pollution to Germany from their Italian monasteries. Later Protestant reformers would expand Luther’s accusation to include the entire Roman Church, popery, and of course, the Jesuits, who seem to have a knack of always getting themselves into trouble. Naturally, English Catholics retorted that the vice had sprung from Protestant roots in Europe.

The 17th century English jurist Edward Coke blamed the infestation of the “shameful sin” of “bugeria” on the Lombards and referred to *bugeria* as an Italian invention. Even the French dramatist Voltaire voiced his opinion on this “mistake of nature,” relating the vice to geography and climate not

race. A view with which the British adventurer Sir Richard Burton concurred. Nevertheless English travelers to the Continent continued to refer to it as the *le vice Italien* pinpointing Sicily as the fountainhead of the perversion with Rome, Naples, Florence, Bologna, Venice, Ferrara, Genoa, and Parma trailing only slightly behind.

On the Dark Continent, the Afrikaans referred to men addicted to the vice by the derogatory slang term *Moffie*, while Americans at the turn of the century referred to men known to be habituated to the vice as “twilight men.”¹

The “vice,” of course, is homosexuality, derived from the Greek word *homos* meaning “same.”

Always referred to in universally unflattering terms, none of which suggest any degree of normality, homosexuality is a vice that every civilized nation has traditionally denounced as a dangerous foreign import, and the Church, from its earliest beginnings, has universally condemned as an unnatural, gravely sinful and morally degrading practice. This is historic reality.²

As the following chapters demonstrate, man has engaged in homosexual acts under various guises throughout the course of recorded human history. The practice was linked to phallic worship in ancient pagan religions. The Hebrew people associated the practice with idolatry and licentiousness and the Greeks to certain Hellenistic pedagogical traditions. Homosexual acts were the *sine qua non* of the Roman will to power. Among early Christians, all homosexual acts including sodomy, were condemned in the severest language as both a personal sin as well as an outrage against God, the Author of Nature.

Nowadays, apologists for the homosexual movement, insist that these footnotes in the sand of time are totally irrelevant because ancient man and the early Church viewed homosexuality solely in terms of acts and were ignorant of the homosexual person for whom such acts are part of his nature. That is to say, the “homosexual person” did not exist in ancient Greece or Rome or the Middle Ages.

Such arguments, however, can be sustained only if one is willing to think in terms of gayspeak and play by the homosexual movement’s revisionist rules.

Traditionally, homosexual acts have been viewed as one of many sexually deviant acts **any** man is theoretically capable of performing. It does not necessarily follow, however, that ancient societies and the early Church were ignorant of the existence of adult males (and females) who fit the modern definition of the “homosexual person,” that is, one whose emotional and psycho-erotic preference and attentions are directed primarily, if not exclusively, at the same-sex.

Did not St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans condemn persons, that is men (and women) who burn with an unnatural lust in their members for

persons of their own sex? Nor is there any doubt that both the Greeks and the Romans were aware of certain adult individuals known to prefer same-sex partners and who formed mutual and private associations of a semi-clandestine nature with each other as well as non-homosexual males including prostitutes and slaves. Unless their behaviors involved rape and/or underage children, violated certain strictures related to class distinctions, or prevented the individual from fulfilling his familial obligations, these male homosexuals were typically ignored by the public authorities.

Regarding penalties against homosexual practices, it may come as a surprise to some readers that, as a rule, the early Church and the Church of the Middle Ages was generally more just and lenient toward persons charged with sodomy, giving more consideration to age and circumstances, than the State. Also, where capital punishment was meted out to such individuals, the charges against them usually extended to other crimes against the State or Church such as murder and blasphemy.

As noted in the introduction, the historical increase of homosexual practices in a given society has generally coincided with periods of political, social, familial and economic upheaval and instability, conditions normally associated with war or natural disasters.

During such periods, homosexual practices may be said to have been tolerated, but as the French novelist and a Nobel Prize Laureate in Literature, Roger Martin du Gard has pointed out, tolerance of homosexuality can often be an illusion:

The fact that certain moral principles are less vigorously defended does not mean that they are weaker at the roots. We may seem less strict, in such matters, in France; there may be greater freedom of expression in print; the police may be less vigorous; conventional people may be less prudish. But essentially nothing—nothing at all—has changed, neither in the repressions of the law nor in the attitude of the great majority of our contemporaries.³

Yes, homosexuality does indeed have a history that dates back to antiquity. A history worth examining—first because it has played an important role in the development of Christian thought that continues to this very day, and secondly because of the homosexual movement's misuse of certain historical aspects of homosexual behavior and public tolerance to bolster their position in defense of the "normality" of homosexuality. Therefore, we shall begin—at the beginning.

Notes

- 1 André Tellier coined the term "twilight men." See Donald Webster Cory (pseudonym), *The Homosexual in America—A Subjective Approach* (New York: Greenberg Publisher, 1951).
- 2 Rueda, 252.
- 3 See Karlen, 279.

Chapter 1

Antiquity

Homosexuality in Ancient Times

Regarding the practice of homosexuality at the beginning of mankind's recorded history, we can be certain of only a few historical facts. As for the motivations and justifications for these acts and the nature and circumstances of the individuals committing them—these remain in the realm of speculation—cloaked in the mists and myths of time.

We do know that homosexual practices existed in most if not all ancient cultures of the eastern Mediterranean including Babylon and Egypt and were associated primarily with fertility rites of god and goddess polytheistic worship including the worship of male deities such as Baal and Dionysus and goddesses such as Ishtar and Astarte. Temple “prostitution” included both male and female same-sex congress and often served as a source of revenue for both the temple and the individual.¹

We also know that among the Hebrew people for whom the Old Testament teachings were paramount, homosexuality was condemned as a violation of God's law and cultic prostitution and homosexuality were held to be synonymous with ungodliness, heresy and tribal disloyalty.

Philo Judaeus (30 BC–45 AD) the ancient Jewish philosopher condemned the sexual excesses of the men of Sodom in language uncannily familiar:

They threw off their necks the law of nature and applied themselves to drinking of strong liquor and dainty feeding and forbidden forms of intercourse ... men mounted males without respect for the sex nature which the active partner shares with the passive. ... Then, as little by little they accustomed those who were by nature men to submit to play the part of women, they saddled them with the formidable curse of a female disease.²

Philo's condemnation of homosexual acts, as Rueda has pointed out, was mirrored by another Jewish author Flavius Josephus (37–100 AD) who in *Jewish Antiquities* XV 28–29 commends Herod on his decision not to send young Aristobulus to Rome lest Anthony sodomize him.³

To the Old Testament tradition we can add both Talmudic and post-Talmudic sources, which hold that all homosexual acts are considered “a moral perversion, an outrageous and disgusting deed, a serious violation of the Torah's command and, therefore, a grave sin.”⁴

I think it pertinent at this point to remind the reader that before the current era of biblical homosexual revisionism, the “sin of Sodom” was logi-

cally and universally held to be sodomy and not inhospitality on the part of the men of Sodom.⁵

The Greek Experiment

Sometimes homosexual revisionists collide with one another on the question of the true nature of “Greek love” as practiced in ancient Greece.

On one hand we are told that that homoerotic love thrived in ancient Greece, permeating all Greek institutions and social classes from the Archaic period beginning in 800 BC until the final Roman conquest and beyond.

On the other hand we are told that homosexuality never really existed in ancient Greece because the Greeks did not recognize the homosexual person as having a distinct identity. Further, this side argues, while Greek society permitted and even encouraged homosexual expression and liaisons, these were bound by rigid rules and regulations enforced by severe penalties. Further, such homosexual relationships did not dispense a male citizen from fulfilling his normal marital and familial duties and obligations when he came of age.

What then is the truth, or perhaps I should say, truths, of the matter?

We can and should begin our exploration of the role that homoerotic values and practices played in ancient Greece by remembering some of our elementary grade history lessons on ancient Greece.

First, we need to differentiate between the various epochs of early Greek history starting with Homeric Greece and ending with the sacking of Corinth and Athens by the Romans which brought the Hellenistic Age to a close.

Secondly, we need to recall that the geographical world of ancient Greece extended far beyond today’s borders and consisted of hundreds of city-states bound together by an endless and interchangeable litany of military alliances and treaties with their neighbors but uniquely separated by their own ethnic composition, history and cultural and religious mores. Among the major geographical groupings were the Dorians (Sparta, Argos, Corinth and the island of Crete); the ‘Aeolians’ (Boiotia and Lesbos); and the ‘Ionians,’ the world of Homer (Athens and the Aegean regions of Asia Minor).⁶

Homeric Greece

Our knowledge of the Achaean Age, covering the Trojan War, the fall of the Mycenaean and the immigration of the Dorians onto the Greek mainland and the beginning of the Dark Ages (1,100–800 BC) comes to us primarily through the epic writings of Homer.⁷

From the Iliad and the Odyssey comes a profile of the everyday rural life and travels of the early Greeks and the strong patriarchal familial bonds and

deep male friendships that cemented their existence in a rough and largely unwelcome land. Government was simple and of and by the clan with kings possessing powers that were limited but wide in scope.⁸

By later standards, they were a sober, generous, hard-working and modest people whose wealth was more likely to be invested in ornate palaces rather than temples. Slaves were not numerous and were employed primarily as household attendants. Like all Greeks their overriding passion was for games and athletic contests.⁹

In an era where the family not the state was considered the everlasting unit, marriages were arranged with love coming after rather than before betrothment. Though always a man's world, the status of women was relatively high and wives played an important role in familial decision making. Greek women were held to be uncommonly beautiful and Greek men uncommonly handsome. The former, as opposed to the latter, were expected to be chaste and faithful. Young women were trained by their mothers in the womanly arts while young men were trained by their fathers in the manly art of the chase and of war.¹⁰

Not all of Greek life was idyllic. Infanticide and concubinage were not unknown to the early Greeks. They were cruel in war and audacious in spirit with a reputation among their enemies for being less than honorable in their business dealings and political and military agreements.

As to the possible existence of homoerotic attachments in early Greek society we know virtually nothing. Certainly, neither the times nor customs of the early Greeks favored the development of homosexual practices. With survival as a top priority, male-female sexual relations were normative. Education for both sexes was homebound thus limiting exposure to environments conducive to pederasty.

Early Greek folklore does not mention homosexuality. The beautiful mythical Trojan youth Ganymede was carried off by Zeus to be his cup-bearer, not his catamite. And Homer's Achilles and Patroclus were devoted brothers-in-arms, not homosexual lovers.

All this would change, however, with the Greek revisionists of the Classical era where we begin to witness the full extent of the historic influences of the Dorian/Cretan military ethos and Persian influences from the East on Greek sexual mores including the adoption of various forms of homosexual practices in Greek society.

A Shift in Greek Sexual Ethics

By 500 BC Greek life in major city-states such as Imperial Athens had undergone a considerable transformation from the days of Homer. These changes at virtually every level of Greek society produced societal conditions traditionally associated with the rise of sexual unorthodoxy in general and homoerotic vice in particular, especially among the upper classes.

Among the most important of these paradigm shifts were:

- The rise of the power of the State over the family and clan with a subsequent decline in the importance of family life and natural conjugal and parent-child affections. The State became a de facto paternal surrogate for the Greek male citizen from early childhood until death.
- The disruptive climate of perpetual military preparedness against foreign and domestic enemies that mitigated against peaceful development and undermined social stability of the great republics.
- The increased urbanization of Greek cities with an ever-widening slave-base serving a minority elite leisure class.
- A decline in the status of women from earlier periods of Greek culture
- The institutional segregation of the sexes especially in the upper classes.
- And finally, the growth of a male culture dominated by a machismo ethic with emphasis on male nudity and homoeroticism and lived out in the all-male environs of the symposia and gymnasia.

Among many of the adult upper class males of the Classical period, the pursuit of sexual pleasure, youth and beauty involved a certain degree of fluidity unprejudiced by gender. For the sexual profligate, the object of one's attentions was virtually unlimited and interchangeable—man (non-citizen) or women, wife or mistress, slave including a eunuch or prostitute and even, under certain circumstances, one or more comely youth of one's own social class.¹¹

Prostitutes of both sexes were available to all for a price. Those of the female gender were readily distinguished by dress and social status, with the pornai at the lowest end of the profession and the sophisticated, well-educated and skilled hetairai serving more wealthy and influential clients.¹²

In the case of male prostitutes, composed largely of freeborn foreigners and men from the lower classes there were no such distinctions. It was strictly sex for sex's sake. Like the modern homosexual "meat-rack," the criteria for selection was simply youth and sex appeal. The young men could be rented out by the hour or on a contractual basis and kept like a mistress.¹³ Some male prostitutes depilated their bodies, dressed in female clothing and wore high heeled shoes, veils and makeup.¹⁴

Lucian of Samosata (120–190 AD) the Greek satirist of the second century AD railed against the male effeminates of his own day with their mincing gait, languishing eyes and honeyed voice.¹⁵ Critical of the buyer as well as the seller, Lucian puts his thoughts on male homosexuality into the mouth of one of his female characters who says, "I do not care for a man who himself wants one."¹⁶

One should take care, however, against giving the impression that the sexual libertarianism of the upper classes was entirely open-ended. It was not. All societies have sexual rules that apply even to the elite and ancient Greece was no exception.

All major events in life, including marriage, births and death, were sanctified by traditional religious rites. All citizens, whatever their sexual idiosyncrasies or gender preference were expected to marry and produce heirs and future citizens. As historian Will Durant has stated, "...all the forces of religion, property and the state" united against childlessness.¹⁷ Anti-social acts punished under the law included acts of sexual violence, rape of free-born children and the corruption of freeborn youth (not slaves).

And while prostitution was legal and taxed by the State, it was a crime for a male citizen to offer his body for sale to another adult male.¹⁸ Such a homosexual misadventure was punished by the loss of certain political rights and met with social disapproval from his peers. Finally, where homosexual relations involved males of the same citizen class, the law as well as custom provided for even a wider range of prohibitions and social and legal sanctions.¹⁹

Educative Pederasty—The Athenian Model

The Romans called ephebic love, that is, male homosexuality practiced with adolescents, the "Greek vice."²⁰ Most readers are more familiar with the term pederasty (or painerasty), defined as sexual attraction of an adult male for a boy who had passed puberty but not yet reached maturity.²¹

If necessity is the mother of invention, it is not difficult to discover, why and how this particular form of homosexual behavior found its way into the upper echelons of urban Athenian society. It was, as we shall see, a simple case of supply and demand requiring only a modicum of philosophical or pedagogical justification to insure legitimacy.

But first permit me to set the scene for Athens during the Classical period (500–400 BC).

By today's standards, the Imperial city had a relatively small population that hovered only about 300,000, one-third of whom were slaves. The remainder of the population consisted of foreigners or "resident aliens," farmers, miners, artisans, merchants, bankers, soldiers, women and children (all of whom were excluded from the franchise) and ruled over by a "jealously circumscribed circle of 43,000 male citizens," from whom the wealthier leisured class was drawn.²²

With ports opening up to the Aegean Sea, Athens was a great trading and commercial center as well as the cultural center of the Greek world where the arts, literature, drama and architecture flourished.

Classical Athens unfortunately placed less emphasis upon achieving a strong familial foundation.

In comparison with the Roman family model, the upper class father generally left his children's upbringing to his wife and the State as he busied himself with the affairs of the day.

An Athenian woman from the upper classes entered into an arranged marriage in her mid-to-late teens. Until that time, she lived a fairly

secluded home life distinguished by a strict segregation from the opposite sex with the exception of her husband, father and other male family members. Virginity in a bride, the sexual fidelity of a wife and the legitimacy of one's offspring were of great import in Athenian society.²³

A rich young Athenian male citizen, on the other hand, did not marry until much later, usually about age 30.

His public life began at age 6 when he entered a private school for a classical education in writing, music and gymnastics suited to the development of both body and mind.²⁴ This formal schooling ushered the young child into an all-male environment. Later, his education was expanded to include instruction in oratory, science, philosophy and history as well as training in the martial arts in preparation for military service.

At age 18, he entered into the ranks of "soldier youth." He trained for two years in the duties of citizenship and war, at which time he became eligible for local military postings.²⁵

At 21 he became a citizen of Athens with full and equal rights under the law and assumed the military and fiscal responsibilities that accompanied his new status. From here he could move on into a formal military army or naval career, a life of public service or become patron of the arts, or a multiplicity of other life options of his own choosing.²⁶

Unfortunately, his sexual options were more limited. Marriage was a number of years away. Prolonged sexual abstinence would draw unwelcome suspicions. There was no law in Athens that prevented him from slaking his sexual desires—natural or unnatural—on a slave or prostitute of either sex but, as Dover suggests, where would be the thrill of the chase in such ordinary and crass liaisons?²⁷ No, the manly role of the hunter and seducer demanded an altogether different love object—one from his own class—one of his own sex—only younger.

Yet not too young! The sexual seduction of a freeborn pre-pubescent child was a crime. And not too old! Sex with a youth sporting a heavy beard was socially proscribed as an overt homosexual act. An adolescent youth, somewhere between the age of 14 and 19 would be just right.

The only missing ingredient was a suitable rationalization for pederastic homosexuality which the various philosophical schools in Athens (never a disinterested party where homosexuality was concerned) were quick to provide. As writer John Addington Symonds notes in *An Essay on Greek Sexual Ethics*, the normally degrading act of submitting one's self to anal penetration could be made acceptable within a new context of a socially-sanctioned custom.²⁸

Under the new philosophical umbrella, vice was now capable of producing virtue in a suitable pederastic pairing. Was not the fertile mind, capable of procreating beauty, great literature and laws, more valuable than a fertile body that only produced children? asked the proponents of pederasty.²⁹

The Eromenos–Erastes Ideal

The ideal younger partner in any pederastic relationship—the eromenos—was a highborn adolescent, androgynous and beautiful in body, intelligent of mind, modest and circumspect in deportment.³⁰ In terms of his sexual role, the youth always played the passive and submissive partner, i.e., he played the female role.³¹ If he was exceptionally handsome and/or especially talented in playing the coquette and making the chase interesting he could attract a wide number of potential suitors.³² Once he made his selection, he owed his mentor/lover *philia* love (friendship) and his unwavering obedience and loyalty.

For the older lover—the erastes—who was always of equal or higher social status, the norms of pederastic courtship were strictly prescribed. He played the role of the ardent lover—wooing his beloved with expensive gifts (not money which would smack of prostitution), escorting him to the symposia and watching him perform naked at the gymnasia. The ideal erastes was heroic, chivalrous, faithful and above all, manly. Being at the height of his sexual powers, he played out his sexual role as the dominant, that is, active partner. By combining his mental skills and virtues, with physical erotic affection, he was said to touch the very soul of his beloved and inspire in him all that was beautiful and admirable.³³

In terms of specific sex acts, it appears that frottage, an intercrural form of masturbation by the senior partner between the thighs of the youth (with or without manual manipulation of his young partner), rather than anal penetration (sodomy) was a more common practice, although both were known to occur in these relationships.³⁴

The preference for the former over the latter in pederastic relationships is not surprising. Sodomy, by its very nature is an aggressive, degrading and humiliating act for any human being, male or female. It also requires a certain degree of preparation and manual manipulation by the insertor to minimize the pain initially associated with anal penetration.

There were eromenos-erastes relationships that were chaste and neither partner appeared to have suffered from such an arrangement.³⁵

The positive aspects of the eromenos-erastes relationship, I believe, could be attributed to the senior partner's role as a quasi-surrogate father, mentor, and trainer of his young protégé in military or political and oratory skills rather than his role as a bugger of boys.

Historian David Cohen in a reference to the production of “autonomous” children as outlined in Plato's Republic, has shed some light on the role of pederasty in ancient Athens. Cohen observed that, “Historically... the incapacity of mothers and the failure of fathers” to assume direct responsibility for the development of their sons created a gap which pederasty sought to fill.³⁶ He then quoted an observation by Georges Devereux that: “The Greek father usually failed to counsel his son; instead, he counseled another man's son, in whom he was erotically interested.”³⁷

It is highly unlikely that educative pederasty, so-called, whatever the rationale put forth to justify its practice, ever functioned effectively as a legitimate intellectual or philosophical training exercise. Rather, the system provided for a convenient, transient and socially regulated sexual encounter that served certain needs of a designated population. Of course, like all sentimental ideals, the ideal pederastic relationship was “pure in theory but a good deal less so in practice.”³⁸

Sometimes, the “pure,” eromenos turned out to be a mercenary male Lolita who left his parents’ house to live with his older lover and was considered “lost.” Sometimes, the “noble” erastes turned out to be just the proverbial “dirty old man.” Of this type of sexual predator, the Greek biographer Plutarch (46–120? AD) speaks when he says that in the beginning the pederast came slinking into our gymnasia to view the naked boys. “Quite quietly at first he started touching and embracing the boys.” Then he became more bold and there was no holding him. “Nowadays he regularly insults conjugal love and drags it through the mud,” comments Plutarch.³⁹

Although Athenian law was not aimed primarily at punishing immoral behavior as such, it did seek to punish immoral behavior that “either harmed those unable to protect themselves or directly transgressed against the clearly demarcated public sphere.”⁴⁰

Athenian society did take certain precautions to protect against the corruption of the morals of freeborn minors. Children’s schools were shut up after hours until daybreak and entrance into the palaestra (wrestling school) and the gymnasia or sports arena was strictly regulated.

Solon, the great Athenian statesman enacted legislation that would impose the death sentence for men who illegally sneaked into the gymnasia and boys’ schools in the Imperial city, which indicates that illicit sexual seduction of male minors must have been a problem in classical Athens.⁴¹

Again, while custom dictated that the pederastic relationship was to end when the eromenos grew into manhood (and he assumed the role of an erastes) and his older lover married, there were incidents when it did not end. Sometimes the pair remained lovers even while both were married. Sometimes, an eromenos, especially if he were repeatedly sodomized became habituated to the practice and carried it with him into adulthood, as an adult passive homosexual.

As to be expected, the great philosophers of the Classical period, who represented a small but influential minority of Athenian citizens, had distinct opinions on the subject.

Unfortunately for us, Socrates (469–399 BC) despite his foundational place in the history of ideas actually wrote nothing. What knowledge we have of him is filtered through the lens and works of his famous pupil, Plato (Aristocles) (427–347 BC) who, after Socrates’ death, later founded his

own great school. From Plato's Academy, came yet another famous pupil and the tutor of Alexander the Great, Aristotle (384–322 BC)

In Plato's Symposium, we recognize a number of homosexual types at the drinking party in the characters of Agathon, a good looking effeminate poet with a woman's voice to whom we have already been introduced. Agathon has carried his homosexual relationship well into adult life with his lover, Pausanias. Then there is the young and vain Alcibiades who attempts to seduce Socrates (unsuccessfully according to Plato). He is rejected by the master who questions the young man's true motives and suggests that Alcibiades' sexual desires will not produce virtue in him.

In any case, whatever his earlier views on the superiority of homosexual relations over normal male-female congress, in his Laws, Plato, would outlaw homosexual behavior including pederasty in his aristocratic utopian society on the basis that such acts were "contrary to nature."⁴²

When male and female come together to share in procreation, the pleasure they experience seems to have been granted according to nature; but homosexual intercourse, between males or females, seems to be an unnatural crime of the first rank. (L.636c3–6).⁴³

As for Aristotle, who frequently clashed with his teacher Plato, he was more interested in agape, that is, genuine friendship and brotherly love than in eros, that is, love attached to sexual desire.⁴⁴ Overall, Aristotle, who was married (as was Socrates) and from all reports, a devoted husband, placed great value on the harmony of conjugal relations and family life. This was in contrast to Plato, the inveterate bachelor, who was willing to sacrifice the interest of both to the overriding interests of the State.⁴⁵

The views of the common man on the subject of pederastic and adult homosexuality can be found in the Athenian theater, a state-supported form of public edification in which men and women of all classes served out their religious as well as civic duties. In the Greek tradition, the theater manifested a thoroughly heterosexual genre. The idea that two adult men would enter into a homosexual relationship was thought ridiculous.⁴⁶

In his satirical comedies, Aristophanes (448–380 BC?), the Athenian dramatist, was a harsh mocker of homosexuality in all its forms. His language was crude, its meaning openly and consistently derogatory and scornful as exemplified by his reference to homosexuals as "europroktos" (wide-arsed). Not only did he attack overt pederasts, effeminates and secret homosexuals, but he also took a shot at the philosophers and orators for their alleged affinity for sexually deviant behavior.⁴⁷

The foolish often delirious antics of an adult male continuing to seek homosexual favors from a former lover now grown into full manhood (the modern equivalent of a homosexual relationship) was a popular theme in Greek comedies.

In all probability, outside certain pederastic circles found among the upper and literary classes, adult homosexuals, married or unmarried, who

sought out other men with similar sexual desires, did so in a furtive manner with a sense of shame and ongoing fear of public disclosure and ridicule.⁴⁸

In his landmark study, *Greek Homosexuality*, which explored homosexual behavior in Greek art and literature between the 8th and 2nd centuries BC, Kenneth J. Dover noted:

Greek culture differed from ours in its readiness to recognize the alternation of homosexual and heterosexual preferences in the same individual, its implicit denial that such alternation or coexistence created peculiar problems for the individual or for society, its sympathetic response to the open expression of homosexual desire in words and behavior, and its taste for the uninhibited treatment of homosexual subjects in literature and the visual arts.⁴⁹

I do not believe, however, that the historical evidence of the Athenian Classical period supports the main premise of Dover's assertion. In fact, the historical evidence, some of which is provided by Dover himself, proves just the opposite.⁵⁰

That the ancient Greeks were less than sympathetic in their response to certain homosexual behaviors is certainly acknowledged by Dover in his 1994 memoir, *Marginal Comment*, in which the noted Greek scholar recalled: "If an Athenian adult male fell in love with a handsome boy or still-beardless youth, no inhibition restrained him from saying so; but the 'quarry' was expected to rebuff the 'pursuer'; a boy who actually sought to arouse older males was condemned; and so were homosexual relationships between two bearded males."⁵¹

A more realistic assessment of the role of pederasty in Classical Athens, is provided by another Greek scholar, Robert Flacelière. According to Flacelière, "inversion (homosexuality) was never very prevalent except in one class of Greek society and over a limited period."⁵² Further, he stated, "There is no evidence that homosexuality met with any general social approval. ...The Greeks never 'canonized' the physical act of sodomy. They merely kept up the fiction of 'educational' pederasty."⁵³

More Similarities than Differences

In researching Greek pederastic practices, I was struck by the number of similarities that existed between the homosexual mores of ancient Athens and those of today's "gay" subculture.

Certainly, in the adolescent seduction and courting pattern of the erastes and his eromenos, in the high premium put on youth and beauty of the young male partner, in the giving of elaborate gifts by suitors, in the petty jealousies, brawls and rivalries that arose between competing suitors and also the paired couple themselves, in the preoccupation with the buttocks and genitals of the "beloved," and in the masturbatory actions of the senior partner, we catch a glimmer of the Peter Pan complex that drives much of the erotic behavior of the contemporary male homosexual.

The unmanly effeminate pederast and overt homosexual of ancient Athens, much like our own stereotyped “gay” figure, was typically satirized as an androgynous figure with a high voice and mincing gait. He was the object of public and private ridicule whatever his class or occupation. And though it may well be, that as Dover claims, the Greeks were not into genetic determination or orientation, they apparently had little difficulty in recognizing abnormal behavior when they saw it.

The Greek experiment with pederasty tends to support Austrian psychiatrist Alfred Adler’s early theory that sexual perversions including homosexuality are an artificial construct produced by emotional and social conditioning and training rather than a matter of constitutional error or genetics.⁵⁴

That all was not sweet and light with the homosexual milieu of ancient Greece is revealed, although not intentionally so, in Dover’s extensive coverage of “The Prosecution of Timarkhos.”⁵⁵

Timarkhos, an Athenian prosecutor and public figure, was charged and later found guilty of having prostituted his body to another man in violation of the law. In an aside reference to the crime of homosexual assault on a full-grown Athenian youth, Dover noted that: “...unwilling homosexual submission was held to be the product of dishonest enticement, threats, blackmail, the collaboration of accomplices, or some other means which indicated premeditation...”⁵⁶ Add the not unknown suicide, murder and assassination by Athenian boylovers or their quarry and one comes close to the nature of many modern day violent homosexual intrigues.⁵⁷

Dover related one such story from Plutarch’s *Dialogue on Love* about Periandros of Ambrakia who was slain by his eromenos when the tyrant indelicately asks his young lover if he was pregnant yet, suggesting that his partner had taken on the role of a female.⁵⁸

I was also struck by the actions of the literary and dramatist homosexual revisionists of the day like the Aiskhylos (Aeschylus) who managed to turn traditional Greek myths into affirmations of homosexual relations.⁵⁹ He paired off Achilles and Patroklos as homosexual lovers with a reverse eromenos-erastes relationship and the beautiful Ganymede became the eromenos of Zeus.⁶⁰

“The idea that two men (or a god and a youth) could develop strong non-erotic, life-long friendships seems as foreign to the mind of the Greek homosexual apologist as it is for those of our own day who insist on filtering all male relationships through their own homoerotic lens.

Not surprisingly, shades of eromenos-erastes yearnings can be found in contemporary “gay” life.

For example in *Gay and Gray—The Older Homosexual Man*, avowed homosexual Raymond Berger, discussed his decision to become “a john.” “A john,” he explained, is “a patron to a younger person, (who) offers his time, attention, affection and sex; the john offers money in return.”⁶¹ This

arrangement, Berger concluded, enables him “to have sexual relations with persons who are young and attractive and very alluring, simply by freeing myself of a few of these dollars.”⁶²

On the other hand, we have the Marxist pederast journalist Daniel Tsang who has rejected the Greek “romanticized, idealized and often sexist and ageist relationship between a male adult ‘mentor’ and his young male ‘student.’”⁶³

“Gay identified lovers of youth and men have come out, rejecting the archaic ideal of Greek love, which has as its goal a man guiding a young boy on his road to marriage, nuclear family, good citizenship and other aspects of ‘straightdom,’” Tsang stated.⁶⁴ Boy lovers should embrace a “positive gay identity,” and not “pretend to cultivate a straight identity in either themselves or their sex partners,” he said.⁶⁵

Male Homosexuality in Sparta

Historically speaking, the homosexual ethos does not always play itself out in an identical way, even in the same nation during a similar time frame. This becomes quite evident when we examine the development of adult male homosexual practices in Sparta.

While the Greeks looked to cosmopolitan Athens for culture, in times of war, they turned to Sparta for military leadership. Geographically land-locked and isolated between two mountain ranges on the Peloponnesian peninsula, the Laconian city-state of Sparta was for all practical purposes a military dictatorship ruled over by a dual monarchy-oligarchy of native nobility and military elite.⁶⁶

A three-tiered class system formed Spartan society with the ruling class and soldier-citizen forming a small minority of the population at the upper tier and a very large (and politically unstable and potentially rebellious) agrarian slave population called helots (the entire conquered populace of Messenia) at the base. Between the two, was lodged the foreign commercial/middle class (the perioeci) that acted as a buffer population between rulers and slaves or serfs. Although it had a similar population to Imperial Athens at the peak of its power, about 400,000, the numbers of Spartiates who possessed full legal and political rights was considerably less, about 30,000.⁶⁷

The core of Spartan life, from birth to death, centered upon the absolute power of and allegiance to the militaristic State. The courage of its military, down to the common foot soldier and the ferociousness of the Spartan war machine were legendary throughout the Greek world and beyond, striking fear and terror into the hearts of its enemies wherever it went. For Greeks, especially Spartans, to “sack” a city was to render it utterly desolate.⁶⁸

The training of a Spartan soldier-citizen was harsh and continuous. For much of his life, he lived in the military barracks not in his home with his wife and children.

Military training began early, at the age of 7, when every male Spartan youth entered the public school system and began training that would render him both physically fit and psychologically disciplined. Cowardice in any form was severely punished. Although students were taught to read and write, these were secondary to his education as a warrior-soldier. Between the ages of 18 and 20 the Spartan cadet was tested for physical strength and military and leadership skills. If he passed, he became a full-time soldier of the state militia, lived on post (even if married) and gradually moved up the military ranks. If he failed to qualify, he entered the ranks of the middle class where he could own property and establish a business, but he lost his right of citizenship.

At age 30, as in Athens, the Spartiate completed his military training and attained full citizenship and political rights. He was allowed to live in his own house with his own family although he continued to serve in the military until the retirement at the age of 60.

Spartan virtue was measured solely in manly terms—loyalty to the State and the Spartan brotherhood, self-sacrifice, courage, sobriety and physical strength—and these were ingrained by training and reinforced by custom. All sense of effeminacy, luxury, egotism and self-aggrandizement were eschewed. If today, we find some “gay” groups idealizing and praising Sparta for its alleged “openness” to adult homosexuality and other practices, it is probably because, as historian Will Durant has suggested, they did not have to live there.⁶⁹

Every aspect of Spartan life, including entertainment, sports, religious and civic festivals were seen primarily within a militarized context. Eventually even the arts were suppressed with the exception of choral dance and music that could be turned to militaristic ends.⁷⁰

Like their male counterparts, young girls in Sparta went to school beginning at the age of six or seven and received a slimmed down version of a male military education with emphasis on martial skills of self-defense and physical strength needed to produce strong offspring.

She married at age 18, in a wedding ceremony, that like all Spartan life, was direct, simple and promptly consummated, after which the groom returned to his barracks and military duties.

Real sex, that is reproductive sex, was always a major consideration for the Spartiates especially since their ranks were so vigorously culled at birth by a rigidly enforced State program of eugenic infanticide of weak or disfigured infants. Interestingly, sexual abstinence between the married couple was seen as a method of sustaining sexual attraction and insuring fertility that otherwise might be squandered on sexual dissipation.⁷¹

In Sparta, a man’s social status was reflected in his male progeny. To be a bachelor was a disgrace and the State attached certain restrictions to men who did not marry or married but did not produce a son. “Celibacy in Sparta was a crime,” commented Durant.⁷²

Concerning the practice of “educative” pederasty in ancient Sparta we have conflicting historical reports.

Plutarch said that by the early age of 12 or 13, a Spartan youth had chosen a male mentor and lover.⁷³

The great Greek general and writer Xenophon (430?–355? BC), on the other hand, hailed chaste man-boy relationships. However, he did note that certain Spartan pedagogic rationalizations were used as an excuse for men to approach good-looking boys under the guise of a show of friendship and virtue and it also helped cover their sense of shame and fear of punishment that they would take pleasure in the seduction and sexual molestation of the young.⁷⁴ Xenophon held that men seek to keep shameful illicit homosexual love secret. In contrast, honorable chaste love is public, not hidden, and many know and approve of it including the family of the boy.⁷⁵

I think I ought to say something also about intimacy with boys, since this matter also has a bearing on education. In other Greek states, for instance among the Boeotians, man and boy live together, like married people; elsewhere, among the Eleians, for example, consent is won by means of favours. Some, on the other hand, entirely forbid suitors to talk with boys. The customs instituted by Lycurgus were opposed to all of these. If someone, being himself an honest man, admired a boy's soul and tried to make of him an ideal friend without reproach and to associate with him, he approved, and believed in the excellence of this kind of training. But if it was clear that the attraction lay in the boy's outward beauty, he banned the connexion (sic) as an abomination; and thus he caused lovers to abstain from boys no less than parents abstain from sexual intercourse with their children and brothers and sisters with each other.⁷⁶

Xenophon, *Minor Works*
“Constitution of the Lacedaemonians”

Since Sparta was a closed and secretive society and since we cannot know what went on behind closed doors or under cloaks drawn about male lovers, it is unlikely that we will ever know the extent of homosexual pederasty in the city-state. We do, however, know considerably more about the institutionalized practice of adult homosexuality in Spartan military life.

From the earlier description of Spartan life, it would appear that adult homosexuality would have had a difficult time in establishing itself in such an austere and conservative society. However, we must also consider the fact that, having exploited every facet of Spartan life to insure maximum military preparedness and troop morale and loyalty, the State was not above exploiting homosexual relations when it served its purpose.⁷⁷

Greek tradition did not permit camp followers and soldiers were often separated from their wives for long periods of time. Adult homosexual relations helped fill the sexual gap, providing sexual release and variety, but, again, with the usual caveats.

Manly homosexual bonding was encouraged so long as it did not interfere with normal conjugal life. Also, the senior partner in the relationship

was expected to play the dominant role in cases involving anal penetration of his younger lover. Furthermore, overt displays of effeminacy indicating possible gender-tampering were strictly forbidden.

In the Boeotian city of Thebes, the final outpost of Greek freedom, a similar military homosexual ethos existed but unlike the Spartans, the pairing of homosexual lovers in battle were part of Theban military organization. No one, even the most cowardly, would want to be shamed on the battlefield before the eyes of one's lover.⁷⁸

It was the legendary Theban Sacred Band or Sacred Brotherhood, composed of three hundred paired elite troops that met Philip II of Macedonia and his son Alexander at the battle of Chaeronea, and fought bravely, every man, to the death.⁷⁹ That historians should recall and honor such valor, is, not so much a tribute to homosexuality, but rather a simple and universal acknowledgement that a soldier's courage and devotion to his nation is praiseworthy whenever and wherever it is found.

Greek Homosexuality—a Complex Picture

What conclusions can we draw then about homosexual practices in ancient Greece?

Perhaps David Cohen, in *Law, Sexuality, and Society—The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* summarized it best when he wrote:

In classical Athens the community judged individuals who engaged in homosexual relations, homosexual prostitution, or adultery in accordance with a matrix of legal rules and social norms, expectations, and values which was characterized by contradiction, ambivalence, and ambiguity.⁸⁰

Was homosexuality common everywhere? The answer is no. We know that in many parts of Ionia and elsewhere, homosexuality in its various forms met with intense public disapproval.⁸¹ Further, even where homosexuality was integrated into a pedagogical (Athens) or militaristic (Sparta, Thebes) State system, it was rigidly circumscribed by custom and the law.

Was it common among all classes of Greek society? Outside the artificially-induced social environs of the *pornai* or the *gymnasia* or military barracks, there is no evidence that suggests that homosexuality was an integral part of Greek society especially among the middle and lower classes where the sexes were more normally integrated on a day to day basis.

Was it common at all periods of Greek history? Again the answer is no. We find no homosexual references in Homeric times or before the late Archaic period. Homosexuality in its different forms was associated specifically with the Golden Age of Athens and the Military States of Sparta and Thebes.

It was not until the dawn of the Hellenistic Age [330–30 BC] following the Roman invasion and dissolution of Greek city-state system that we see

a marked return to a more normal pattern of family life reminiscent of earlier periods of Greek history; and a rise in the status of women; and new emphasis on the value of marriage and conjugal relations.⁸²

It seems strange, does it not, that ancient Greece, which was dying from her depopulating habits of infanticide, inbreeding and incessant fratricidal warfare, was given a new lease on life by her Roman conquerors? With this enforced opening-up to the outside world homosexual practices no doubt continued to intrude into Greek life, but the context in which they played themselves out, had radically changed.

The Early Roman View

Prior to the creation of the Roman Republic (200–118 BC), it is highly unlikely that the early rural populations of Rome who were attempting to master the soil and sink domestic roots had either the time, inclination or opportunity for the luxury of sexual deviancy that marked later periods of the nation's history.⁸³

These early Romans were characteristically a practical people not geared toward the intellectualization or spiritualization of sex or any other aspect of everyday life. Romans did not meditate, they acted.⁸⁴ The personal sense of a will to power of the freeborn Roman male citizen was manifested in the cult of manliness and held in precarious check by an ingrained sense of stoic asceticism.⁸⁵

The early Roman family system was marked by close knit family ties, a respect for women as wives, mothers and lovers, a fairly normal integration of the sexes and an educational system whereby fathers acted as the primary educators of their own sons—factors that mitigated against institutionalized pederasty.

In terms of same-sex relations and religious practices, according to Otto Kiefer, author of *Sexual Life in Ancient Rome*, the early Roman sexual deities were “intrinsically related always to sexual functions of women or to love between a man and a woman.”⁸⁶

The Romans did not have an equivalent of a Narcissus or a Hermaphroditos. Cupid, the son of Venus and Mercury and the Roman god of love, unlike Eros, the Greek god of erotic love, was not tainted by any connection to same-sex desires. Sex was inextricably tied to fertility and procreation although the Romans were knowledgeable concerning homosexual practices, which they referred to, not surprisingly as “Greek licentiousness.”⁸⁷ Romans stereotyped the defeated Greeks as “cunning, effeminate and degenerate.”⁸⁸

Homosexuality and Societal Sexual Dissolution

It was not until the early years of the Republic, that homosexuality, in its various forms, began to get a strong hold on Roman society. This rise in

homosexual practices, corresponded to a deterioration of family life and public and private morals and a decline in and corruption of traditional religion, set against a wider social backdrop of continuing political, financial, military, agrarian and economic chaos and instability.

The arrival in Rome of foreigners from Greece and the Far East who brought with them foreign religions and foreign deities, many with prominent same-sex rites, contributed to an increase of exposure of the general populace to homosexual behaviors. Mithras, the soldier god of life, the sun and fertility, whose worship included the rite of the bath in the blood of a bull, took on homosexual overtones and became very popular with the Roman legions.⁸⁹ The worship of Dionysus, who became Bacchus, was said to be connected to homosexual debauchery and murder.⁹⁰ The corruption of the Great Mother cult was reflected in the worship of the goddess Cybele, whose high priests were known to castrate themselves, dress like women and take on men as lovers.⁹¹ Sexual deviancy among many of the Roman emperors was accelerated by contact of the Imperial court with these Eastern religious cults.⁹²

The massive influx of foreign slaves, who were either prisoners of war or purchased abroad by wealthy Romans and who under Roman rule of *ius sacrum* were permitted to keep and practice their religious rites was a contributing factor to the above phenomenon.

The increased use of slaves as domestic servants also had a profound effect on Roman family life both among the old Roman aristocracy as well as the *nouveaux riches*. Many of the responsibilities of the Patrician father and mother were now assumed by *servi* including the tutoring of young free-born boys and the use of wet nurses for Roman matrons. More slaves meant more leisure time for wealthy urban Romans of both sexes and an increased taste for luxurious living including the freedom to indulge in and a greater toleration for sexual excesses and deviations.⁹³

In this growing sexually charged atmosphere of increased sexual license, it is not surprising that there should appear on the Roman scene a version of the proverbial effeminate “queen” known as a *cinaedus*—a Latin word of Greek origin, which signified an effeminate male who enjoyed being anally penetrated (sodomized) by another male. The Latin term *muliebricia pati* indicated that a male penetrated by another male was said to be having “a woman’s experience.”⁹⁴ To be on the receiving end of an act of sodomy or *fellatio* was considered by a Roman to be a disgrace of the first magnitude.⁹⁵

Whether or not the *cinaedus* was exclusively homosexual we do not know. He may have had extracurricular other sexual liaisons with women or young boys. Nor can we be sure of the degree to which monetary or other less tangible rewards such as upward political mobility in the Imperial courts influenced his behavior. We are also left with scant information as to what degree his same-sex activity intruded upon Roman society’s

rigid class distinctions, although it is unlikely that this was a consideration so long as the *cinaedus* was not a freeborn Roman adult or youth. It is also unclear if the *cinaedi* were viewed by Roman society, or by themselves, to be a separate entity from the common class of male prostitutes who plied their wares on the streets of Rome.

All we know for certain is that there existed in Imperial Rome a group of adult effeminate men (*cinaedi*) who appeared to have preferred the role of *catamite* (passive role) in same-sex relationships and who adopted a dress and mannerisms designed to attract male partners.

The *cinaedus* wore distinguishing clothing that marked him as a passive homosexual—clothing that was short, soft, revealing and seductive. He adorned his person with perfume and jewelry, wore lavish make-up and depilated his body including both the pubic area and buttocks.⁹⁶ He adapted effeminate bodily gestures including the batting of his eyelashes and a “mincing gait” (*fractus incessus*).⁹⁷

The popular literature of the day frequently connected the *cinaedi* to certain occupations such as temple dancers and *hierodules* and to actors and mimes in the Roman theater. It was also alleged that they had a special means of communicating their identity to other *cinaedi* and to potential clients. One of these signals was the scratching of their curly-topped head with one finger.

Naturally, the outrageous and unmanly antics of the effeminate *cinaedi* provided an open-ended reservoir of material for the Roman satirist and critics of Imperial Rome.

In *Satyricon*, a marvelous satire on ordinary Roman life written about 61 AD (and first printed in 1664), Gaius Petronius, Nero’s ill-fated advisor in matters of luxury and extravagance, captured the essence of the petty rivalries and jealous sentimentalities that characterized homosexual affairs in his day.⁹⁸

The Roman poet and epigrammatist Martial of Spanish birth heaped coals of scorn and ridicule upon the heads of secret effeminate. And in typical early Latin, coarse and vulgar but always direct, the poet Catullus of Verona, who was said to have dabbled with both sexes, threatens two homosexuals saying, “I’ll blow you and bugger you, pathic Aurelius and fairy Furios.”⁹⁹

Homosexuality in the Imperial Court

The degree to which family life and public and private morals had fallen by the time of the founding of the Empire by the Caesar Augustus in 27 BC is captured in the blistering sixteen satires of the Roman general Decimus Junius Juvenalis (55–127 AD) who appeared to save his most venomous attacks for the Imperial courts of Nero (54–68 AD) and Domitian (81–96 AD) and Hadrian (117–138 AD).¹⁰⁰

In Satire I, “The Roman Empire,” Juvenal asked, “What age so large a crop of vices bore, Or when was avarice extended more?” He listed sodomy as but one of a catalogue of vices that had infected the upper classes and were steadily seeping downward to all levels of Roman society.

Apparently the androgynous-looking cinaedus was not the only homosexual “type” on the Roman scene, because in his Satire II “Moralists Without Morals,” Juvenal claimed that some rough, taciturn-looking Stoics were practicing homosexuals:

What street is not overflowing
 With these glum-looking queers? You rail at foul practices, do you,
 When you’re the ditch where they dig, the Socratic bugging perverts?
 Hairy parts, to be sure, and arms all covered with bristles
 Promise a rough tough guy, but the pile doctor smiles; he knows better.
 Seeing that smooth behind, prepared for the operation ...¹⁰¹

Juvenal also attacked men who entered into same-sex “marriages,” an obvious reference to the Emperor Nero, who, following in the path of his sadistic and incestuous father Caligula, pursued every sexual whim, natural or unnatural, including two “marriages”—one to the boy Sporus (whom Nero had castrated thus rendering him “a girl”) complete with veil and full wedding nuptials. The second to his freeman, Doryphorus.¹⁰²

And while the Emperor Hadrian did not attempt to “marry” his Antinous, he did command that, following the drowning of his young lover in the River Nile, Antinous be raised to the status of a god and worshipped with all the reverences and honors shown to a Roman deity.¹⁰³

In Juvenal’s Satire IX the reader encounters a pitiable homosexual prostitute named Naevolus who not only plays the dominant and active role to the wealthy catamite Virro, but also sires Virro’s children (with Virro’s wife) to enable the old man to keep up appearances. The poor Naevolus complains that sodomy is hard work and says that he would rather plough the master’s field than his person. Virro on the other hand is fearful of possible scandal or blackmail and was not above having his former male whore assassinated. Juvenal assures Naevolus that he will never be out of a job in Rome.¹⁰⁴

Juvenal’s friend, Martial, whose own tastes were rumored to be along pederastic lines, was equally effective in his poetic barbs against the growing effeminacy of Roman men and those freeborn citizens who “depilitate” their buttocks, “but for whom?” he asked.¹⁰⁵

The great Roman historian of the second century AD, Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus in his biographies of the twelve Caesars from Julius Caesar to Domitian related “a catalog of astounding psychosexual disease” in which homosexuality was “but one of their psychopathic characters.”¹⁰⁶ The exception was Claudius.

And while it is true that no emperor was an exclusive homosexual and none attempted to hide behind verbal euphemisms in order to rationalize

their deviant acts as the Greeks did, nevertheless, their sexual behavior was marked by an increasing degree of cruelty and sadism that was never characteristic of the Hellenistic tradition.¹⁰⁷

Did the Romans Consider Homosexuality Normal?

In a 1979 address to a Dignity convention titled “The Church and the Homosexual: An Historical Perspective,” the popular homosexualist apologist John Boswell stated that the Romans were “indifferent” to “questions of gender and gender orientation,” and “Roman law and social strictures made absolutely no restrictions on the basis of gender.”¹⁰⁸

Boswell claimed there was “absolutely no conscious effort on anyone’s part in the Roman world, in the world in which Christianity was born, to claim that homosexuality was abnormal or undesirable.”¹⁰⁹ He rejected the notion that “gay” men were held to be less masculine or inferior to “straight” men. It was Christianity, and not the Romans, that gave homosexuality a bad rap, he charged.¹¹⁰

Unfortunately for Boswell, even under the most superficial scrutiny, his statements on Roman indifferentism to homoerotic activities and his assertion that the Romans viewed “homosexuality” as being neither “abnormal or undesirable,” (his mixing of sexual gender and sexual identity metaphors notwithstanding) cannot be sustained.

It is true that under the Republic and the Empire, same-sex relations were both permitted and tolerated, if not approved of, by certain segments of Roman society, especially the ruling class, but only if certain class and gender prescriptions were vigorously adhered to.

Roman citizens were still expected to marry and produce at least one male heir.

Further, the norm by which their sexual behaviors were measured remained fundamentally unchanged. Sexual intercourse involved the active phallic penetration by the *vir* (a freeborn adult) of a female—wife, lover, slave or prostitute or—in terms of same-sex relations—the oral or anal penetration of a male “inferior,” that is, a slave, ex-slave, non-citizen or prostitute who played the passive, that is, the role of a woman.¹¹¹

Roman laws such as the *Lex Sca[n]tina* enacted at the beginning of the Republic, which specifically prohibited the debauchment of underage male citizens and Roman matrons, not only remained in effect but were expanded and eventually served as the basis for anti-homosexual legislation in the Christian era.¹¹² An adult who raped or sexually seduced a freeborn male child or youth was severely punished. In homosexual acts involving two adult citizens, the partner taking the passive role could be prosecuted.

Roman law continued to hold the body of the freeborn Roman citizen or youth to be “inviolable” against phallic penetration by another male. For a freeborn male to willingly permit himself to be penetrated by another male

was considered a disgrace and he was liable under the law.¹¹³ Not only the act, but even the desire for such an experience was considered “unmanly” and deserving of public censure.¹¹⁴ And certainly, law or no law, the effeminate *cinaedus* was considered a degenerate and was a consistent object of public ridicule.

It was not uncommon for young men, especially in the latter days of the Empire when sexual attacks upon Roman citizens of both sexes became more common, to wear amulets around their neck to indicate their freeborn status and by implication, their legal immunity from phallic penetration. This was particularly important when entering the public baths as these facilities had become notorious for attracting *cinaedi* and predatory homosexual males. For the freeborn male, the only thing worse than being raped anally was to be raped in the mouth.

Certainly, none of these considerations cited above indicate that the Romans, as Boswell asserts, were “indifferent” to sexual gender roles or to homosexual acts including sodomy or fellatio.

As for his statement that “no one in the Roman world, into which Christianity was born” made a conscious claim that “homosexuality was abnormal or undesirable,” one has only to read Boswell’s own chapter on ancient Rome in *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* to know this statement is false.¹¹⁵

Meaning for Today

To the question, “Of what contemporary relevance is all this controversy over the ancient Roman or Greek view toward homosexuality and homosexual practices?” I respond, “Very relevant, if for no other reason than prominent homosexual advocates like Boswell obviously consider it so.”

One need only examine the testimony given in the State of Colorado Supreme Court Case of *Evans v. Romer*, to understand that what the ancients believed concerning the morality of homosexual acts is still of import today.

Popularly known as the Colorado Amendment 2 case, it had its beginnings when the citizens of Colorado voted in a state-wide referendum in 1992 to amend the State Constitution to repeal various municipal ordinances that had been enacted to prohibit discrimination on the basis of “homosexual, lesbian or bisexual orientation, conduct, practices or relationships.”

The “gay” lobby immediately challenged the constitutionality of Amendment 2 before the State Supreme Court of Colorado.¹¹⁶ One of the expert witnesses for the prosecution was Martha Nussbaum, then Professor of Philosophy, Classics and Comparative Literature at Brown University, and now at the University of Chicago.

Along Boswellian lines, Nussbaum testified that neither the pre-Christian civilizations of Greece and Rome nor the major philosophical traditions associated with them (i.e., Socrates, Plato and Aristotle) had any moral objections to homosexual behavior. It was not until Christianity appeared on the scene that homosexuality was condemned as being contrary to natural law and the natural common good, she claimed. All moral objections to homosexual acts are “inherently theological,” she asserted. Her underlying assumption was clear — laws that discriminate against homosexuals and/or homosexual behaviors are unconstitutional, in that they violate the Constitutional prohibition of laws respecting the establishment of religion.

Nussbaum’s testimony, given under oath, was challenged by John Finnis, Professor of Law and Legal Philosophy at Oxford University and by Robert P. George, Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton University. Professor George later wrote a scathing commentary on Nussbaum’s testimony, titled, “‘Shameless Acts’ Revisited: Some Questions for Martha Nussbaum.”¹¹⁷

According to George, Professor Finnis accused Professor Nussbaum of what amounted to “a series of misrepresentations, distortions and deceptions” and a willful falsifying of “not only the positions of Plato and Aristotle, but also that of modern commentators on Greek philosophy and public morality such as Kenneth Dover, A.W. Price, and Gregory Vlastos, as well as her own published works.”¹¹⁸

George noted that when Nussbaum was cross-witnessed by the State attorney defending Amendment 2, if Kenneth Dover, author of *Greek Homosexuality*, had concluded that Socrates, among others, “condemned homosexual conduct,” she unequivocally replied, “No.” This despite the fact that Kenneth Dover on page 160 quite clearly states that both Socrates and Plato condemned “homosexual copulation” as such, and not just pederastic seduction or special cases involving bribery and prostitution as Nussbaum claimed.¹¹⁹

George reported that Professor Nussbaum also claimed that Plato’s *Laws*, Book I, 636c, appears to contain a condemnation of homosexual conduct only because translators, under the influence of Christianity, imported prejudices against homosexuality into their translations. However, this is not true. As George documented, virtually all known translations of the passage in *Laws* 636c not only describe homosexual acts as *para phusin*, that is, “unnatural” or “contrary to nature,” but “a crime of the first rank.”¹²⁰

As George correctly concluded, the condemnation of homosexuality by Greek philosophers, as represented by Plato, is substantially in line with the Catholic tradition we are about to explore in depth.

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Notes

- 1 For a discussion of temple worship in the ancient Mediterranean world see Karlen, 5–7. Also Reay Tannahill, *Sex in History* (New York: Stein and Day, 1981), 50–54.
- 2 Rueda, 371. For an excellent review of the position of American Judaism on morality of homosexual acts see Rueda, 370–375.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 For opinions to the contrary see John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
- 6 Dover, 185.
- 7 Will Durant, *The Life of Greece, The Story of Civilization: Part II* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1939), 45.
- 8 Ibid. 54.
- 9 Ibid., 53, 48.
- 10 Ibid., 50–51.
- 11 See Karlen, 36–37. The playwright Aristophanes lampoons the love life of the effeminate Athenian poet and dramatist Agathon who was said to flit between wife, mistress and younger male lovers, but with little success with any of them. He is the object of endless ribald of jokes and his character is tainted by his affinity for making his rectum “so accessible to lovers.”
- 12 Durant, 299–300. Some of the hetairai became personages of great wealth and influence in their own right.
- 13 Dover, 31–32.
- 14 Karlen, 33, 36–37.
- 15 Ibid., 37.
- 16 Ibid., 38.
- 17 Durant, 287.
- 18 Ibid., 301
- 19 Dover, 20. The Athenian view of an adult homosexual who permitted himself to be penetrated by another male was a negative one. Such an individual was looked upon as a potential spy and enemy of the State as he had already betrayed his own nature and therefore was capable of betraying the greater community. With regard to the enforcement of morals in ancient Athens, David Cohen observed that, “The analogy of treason with immorality implies that any form of immorality can be punished, because immorality as such tends to undermine the ‘moral consensus’ on which the health of the state depends.” See David Cohen, *Law, Sexuality, and Society—The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* (Port Chester, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 20 Angelo Di Berardino, “Homosexuality in Classical Antiquity,” in *Christian Anthropology and Homosexuality* (Vatican City, L’Osservatore Romano, 1997), 17.
- 21 Tannahill, 85.
- 22 Durant, 254.
- 23 Cohen, 103.
- 24 Durant, 288.

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- 25 Ibid., 289.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 Dover, 83, 87–88.
- 28 See John Pemble, *John Addington Symonds: Culture and the Demon Desire* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000) for Symonds' anti-sodomy opinions.
- 29 Dover, 163.
- 30 Tannahill, 85–86. Tannahill recalled that Straton, the Greek poet of Imperial Rome claimed that 16 was “the divine age” for an ideal eromenos.
- 31 Ibid., 80. Not every erastes sought after an effeminate partner. Some admired boys who possessed unambiguously male bodily features. In ancient Greece as in our own times, preferences for a particular “type” of young boy was heavily influenced by sexual fashion.
- 32 Ibid., 87–88. Dover used a simile from hunting when he described the eromenos as a “boy-hound” in which the human “quarry” gives the hunter a good run for his money. The ultimate object is copulation, Dover stated.
- 33 A. W. Price, *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1989), 15–54. In Chapter 2, “Love in the Symposium,” Price describes the life of an erastes and his young lover.
- 34 See Tannahill, 89.
- 35 Dover, 89. According to Dover, a boy who rejected the advances of an erastes and chose to remain chaste went on to become an adult male citizen in any case, and his performance of that role was not impaired by his past chastity.
- 36 Cohen, 164.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Tannahill, 88.
- 39 Karlen, 32.
- 40 Dover, 221.
- 41 Karlen, 34.
- 42 See Dover, 165 and Price, 230.
- 43 Dover, 165.
- 44 For a detailed comparison between Plato and his pupil Aristotle see A. W. Price, *Love and Friendship in Plato and Aristotle* (London: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- 45 Price, 162.
- 46 See John A. Garraty and Peter Gay, eds., “The Great Divide,” in *The Columbia History of the World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).
- 47 Karlen, 36.
- 48 Garraty and Gay, 149.
- 49 Dover, 1.
- 50 Like all writers, Dover has his own moral biases. In his preface to *Greek Homosexuality*, he repeated a statement by Erich Bethe that “the intrusion of moral evaluation, ‘the deadly enemy of science,’ had vitiated the study of Greek homosexuality; and that it has continued to do so.” Dover admitted that, “No argument which purports to show that homosexuality in general is natural or unnatural, healthy or morbid, legal or illegal, in conformity with God's will or contrary to it, tells me whether any particular homosexual act is

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morally right or morally wrong. ... No act is sanctified, and none is debased, simply by having a genital dimension.”

- 51 K. J. Dover, *Marginal Comment, A Memoir*, 2nd ed. (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1995), 112.
- 52 See Karlen, 33.
- 53 Ibid.
- 54 Ibid., 287.
- 55 Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 19–109.
- 56 Ibid., 36.
- 57 Ibid., 41.
- 58 Ibid., 107. See also Karlen, 28. In 514 BC, the famed pair of Harmodius and Aristogiton killed the tyrant Hipparchus, a partner to their homosexual intrigue.
- 59 See Karlen, 31. Aiskhylos, reported to be a confirmed pederast, produced *Laios* in 467 BC, the first play of an *Oedipus* tetralogy.
- 60 Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 199.
- 61 Raymond M. Berger, *Gay and Gray, The Older Homosexual Man* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 70.
- 62 Ibid., 70.
- 63 Daniel Tsang, *The Age Taboo—Gay Male Sexuality, Power and Consent* (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1981), 8.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid., 9.
- 66 Durant, 67–97.
- 67 Ibid., 77.
- 68 Ibid., 295–296. At the battle of Aegospotami that brought the Peloponnesian War to an end, the Spartans put to death 3000 Athenian prisoners, including many of Athens’ “best” citizens, bringing Greece further down the path of national suicide.
- 69 Ibid., 87.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Peter Levi, *The Greek World* (England: Stonehenge Press, 1990), 91.
- 72 Ibid., 83.
- 73 Karlen, 27.
- 74 Ibid., 35. Also Cohen, 81.
- 75 Cohen, 81.
- 76 See Xenophon, *Minor Works*, translated from the Greek by J. S. Watson (London: George Bell & Sons, 2001).
- 77 Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, 202.
- 78 Ibid., 192, 200. Dover has noted that *Laios*, the mythical Theban hero, was considered in Greek tradition to be the “inventor” of homosexuality.
- 79 Karlen, 27.
- 80 Cohen, 12.
- 81 Dover, 185–196.
- 82 Karlen, 39.
- 83 Ibid., 57.

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- 84 Otto Kiefer, *Sexual Life in Ancient Rome* (New York: Dorset Press, 1993), 136.
- 85 *Ibid.*, 138.
- 86 *Ibid.*, 136.
- 87 *Ibid.*, 269.
- 88 Karlen, 45.
- 89 Tannahill, 155. Also Karlen, 59.
- 90 Tannahill, 118.
- 91 *Ibid.*, 199.
- 92 Karlen, 62.
- 93 In the 1st century AD, with the opening of the Roman Empire under the reign of Augustus, the slave population of Rome was approximately 35% of the total population. Throughout Italy, there were about two million slaves, mostly male, out of a population of six million. These men carried out the laborious tasks involved in construction, mining, and agriculture. Also, domestic staff within Roman households, were predominantly male.
- 94 Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner, *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 30.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 51. Although the standard punishment for the male caught in adultery was anal rape, the ultimate humiliation was to be raped in the mouth.
- 96 Karlen, 55.
- 97 Keifer, 126.
- 98 See Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon*. Translated by Oscar Wilde (Chicago: Pascal Covici, 1927). The satire is a work of extraordinary length of which not all fragments have survived. It was probably introduced orally by Petronius to his guests in installments following a traditional evening banquet and was known to include comments on Nero's pederastic excursions.
- 99 Karlen, 48.
- 100 English translations of Juvenal's Satires are available from a number of web-sites including <http://ancienthistory.about.com/library/weekly/aa062700a.htm>. A translation by G. Ramsay is available from <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/juvenalpersius-intro.html>.
- 101 Karlen, 52.
- 102 Roman law did not recognize same-sex "marriage"—even one "consummated" by an emperor. Claudius Nero was introduced into homosexual perversion by his tutor, Seneca. He became Emperor at the age of 16 after his adoption by Claudius and after he had Claudius' natural son poisoned. His mother and first and second wife met with a similar fate.
- 103 When Antinous died in Egypt, Hadrian ordered his court to pay him homage as a god. This act, was condemned by St. Athanasius who in 350 AD pronounced that Hadrian had "... immortalized his infamy and shame, and bequeathed to mankind a lasting and notorious specimen of the true origin and extraction of all idolatry."
- 104 Karlen, 53.
- 105 *Ibid.*, 55.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 49.
- 107 Keifer, 65. According to Keifer, by the time of Imperial Rome, especially among the ruling class, sexuality had degenerated into sadism and had become an expression of "hatred and the will to power."

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- 108 John Boswell, "The Church and the Homosexual: An Historical Perspective," Fourth Biennial Dignity International Convention, 1979, available from <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/pwh/1979boswell.html>.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Hallett and Skinner, 31.
- 112 Di Berardino, 22. No text of this law survived. What we know of it comes down through the writings of various Roman historians and writers. The law punished pederasty with sons of freeborn citizens even if the act was consensual (*stuprum cum*). A freeman who had sexual relationship with another freeman [not a slave] committed a crime, and therefore even without a denunciation the magistrate was obliged to try him.
- 113 See Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity* (New York: Oxford Press, 1999).
- 114 Hallett and Skinner. 33.
- 115 See "Rome: The Foundation," in Boswell's *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*.
- 116 The verdict striking down Amendment 2 was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1996. Supreme Court of the United States, No. 94-1039, Roy Romer, Governor of Colorado, et al., Petitioners v. Richard G. Evans et al (517 U.S.620 (1996). On writ of certiorari to the Supreme Court of Colorado, May 20, 1996. Justice Anthony M. Kennedy delivered the majority opinion of the Court with Justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas dissenting.
- 117 See " 'Shameless Acts' Revisited: Some Questions for Martha Nussbaum" by Robert P. George, associate professor of politics at Princeton University, was originally published in the Winter 1995-96 issue of *Academic Questions*, the Journal of the National Association of Scholars. I have used the on-line edition from <http://webcom.com/zurcher/philosophy/nussbaum.html>.
- 118 Ibid., 1.
- 119 Ibid.
- 120 Ibid. Also see Price, 230.

Chapter 2

The Early Church

The Rise of Christianity

Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ was born in the reign of Caesar Augustus.¹ The Roman Republic had come to an end. The Imperial Empire stretched from the Atlantic in the west to the Syrian Desert in the east and from the Nile cataracts to the North Sea, and was wracked by decades of civil war, plague, famine. In addition to these political and demographic problems, there was the more fundamental issue of moral reform to counter the state of dissipation and anarchy into which the Roman family and public morals had fallen.

Enter Christianity, which brought the world not only a new and true Faith but also, a new standard of morality that was absolutely revolutionary in its time. For the Church of Jesus Christ, that is to say, the Roman Catholic Church, taught not only in terms of doctrine and dogma but morals as well.

In my chapter on the ancient world, I noted that the morality of the ancient Greeks and Romans, most especially in the sexual sphere, was predominantly one of externals, of appearances rather than substance. What mattered was one's outward conformity not one's internal disposition. Christianity changed all that with its emphasis on the formation of an upright conscience to correspond to one's external actions and behavior. Its goal according to Saint Paul, is to create a new man in Jesus Christ (Ephesians 4:22-24).²

The three-fold fountainheads for the early Church's teachings on sexual morality are the natural law, Holy Scripture and Tradition.³ Sex within marriage, which has as its primary purpose the procreation and education of offspring, was the only licit use of the sexual function. All other sexual acts including masturbation, fornication, adultery and prostitution were deemed "illicit," that is, gravely sinful.

Acts of sodomy, especially pederasty, in addition to being "illicit," carried a special onus as they were not only contrary to reason (as is all sin) but also, contrary to nature and, therefore, acts against the Author of Nature, who is God.⁴

Sodomy, either in its broadest definition which encompasses all same-sex acts or in its narrowest sense as anal penetration, has always been condemned by the Church, with homosexual acts involving violence and/or the corruption of minors (pederasty) bringing the harshest censure.⁵

The Church's condemnation of sodomy is based first and foremost on sodomy as a sin against God—a sin of self-idolatry and self-corruption. That is why, especially in the early Church and during the Middle Ages, the practice of sodomy was commonly linked to pagan religious rites and temple prostitution and to heretical sects and teachings including Gnosticism and Kabalistic Judaism and later the Manichean and Albigensian heresies.⁶

Old Testament

References to same-sex acts are to be found both in the Old Testament, which records God's relations with man before the Incarnation and the New Testament, which contains a compendium of the life of our Lord, Jesus Christ and his Apostles, as recorded by the Evangelists and other Apostles.⁷ However, most references to sexual sins found in Holy Scripture are found within the context of a man-woman relationship involving acts of fornication, incest, rape and adultery. Where references to homosexual acts do appear, they are always condemned as grievous sins and an abomination before the Lord.

In the Old Testament, in addition to the universally-acknowledged Scriptural condemnation of homosexual acts found in the book of Genesis, which records God's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and other Cities of the Plain, other references to the abominable vice of sodomy or unnatural lust can be found in the books of Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Judges, Kings and Wisdom. The following is a sampling.

From Genesis 19:1–13, 24–25

1 And the two angels came to Sodom in the evening, and Lot was sitting in the gate of the city. And seeing, he rose up and went to meet them: and worshipped prostrate on the ground,

2 And said: I beseech you, my lords, turn into the house of your servant, and lodge there: wash your feet, and in the morning you shall go on your way. And they said: No, but we will abide in the street.

3 He pressed them very much to turn in unto him: and when they were come in to his house, he made them a feast, and baked unleavened bread and they ate:

4 But before they went to bed, the men of the city beset the house both young and old, all the people together.

5 And they called Lot, and said to him; Where are the men that came to thee at night? Bring them out hither that we may know them:

6 Lot went out to them, and shut the door after him, and said:

7 Do not do so, I beseech you, my brethren, do not commit this evil.

8 I have two daughters who as yet have not known man: I will bring them out to you, and abuse you them as it shall please you, so that you do no evil to these men, because they are under the shadow of my roof.

THE EARLY CHURCH

9 But they said: Get thee back thither. And again: thou camest in, said they, as a stranger; was it to be a judge? Therefore we will afflict thee more than them. And they pressed very violently upon Lot: and they were even at the point of breaking open the doors.

10 And behold the men put out their hand, and drew Lot unto them, and shut the door:

11 And them that were without they struck with blindness from the least to the greatest, so that they could not find the door.

12 And they said to Lot: hast thou here any of thine? Son-in-law or sons, or daughters, all that are thine bring them out of this city:

13 For we will destroy this place, because their cry is grown loud before the Lord, who has sent us to destroy them.

24 And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrhah brimstone and fire from the Lord of heaven.

25 And he destroyed these cities, and all the country about, all the inhabitants of the cities, and all things that spring from the earth.

Genesis 19:1–13, 24–25

From Leviticus 18, 20

22 Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind, because it is an abomination.

23 Thou shalt not copulate with any beast, neither shalt thou be defiled with it. A woman shalt not lie down to a beast, nor copulate with it: because it is a heinous crime.

Leviticus 18:22–23

13 If any one lie with a man as with a woman, both have committed an abomination, let them be put to death: their blood be upon them.

Leviticus 20:13

From Deuteronomy

17 There shall be no whore among the daughters of Israel, nor whoremonger [sodomite, male prostitute] among the sons of Israel.

Deuteronomy 23:17

From Judges

There was a certain Levite, who dwelt on the side of Mount Ephraim, who took a wife of Bethlehem Juda:

14 So they passed by Jebus, and went on their journey, and the sun went down upon them when they were by Gabaa, which is the tribe of Benjamin:

15 And they turned into it to lodge there. And when they were come in, they sat in the street of the city, for no one would receive them to lodge,

16 And behold they saw an old man, returning out of the field and from the work in the evening, and he was also of Mount Ephraim, and dwelt as a stranger in Gabaa; but the men of that country were the children of Jemini.

20 And the old man answered him: Peace be with thee: I will furnish all things that are necessary: only I beseech thee, stay not in the street.

THE RITE OF SODOMY

22 While they were making merry, and refreshing their bodies with meat and drink, after the labour of the journey, the men of that city, sons of Belial (that is, without yoke,) and beset the old man's house, and began to knock at the door, calling to the master of the house, and saying: Bring forth the man that came into thy house, that we may abuse him.

23 And the old man went out to them, and said: Do not so, my brethren, do not so wickedly: because this man is come to my lodging, and cease I pray you this folly.

24 I have a maiden daughter, and this man hath a concubine [wife], I will bring them out to you, and you may humble them, and satisfy your lust; only, I beseech you, commit not this crime against nature on the man.

25 They would not be satisfied with his words; which the man seeing, brought out his concubine [wife] to them, and abandoned her to their wickedness: and when they had abused her all the night, they let her go in the morning.

Judges 19:1, 14-16, 20, 22-25

From the Third Book of Kings

21 And Roboam the son of Solomon reigned in Juda: Roboam was one and forty years old when he began to reign: and he reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem the city, which the Lord chose out of all the tribes of Israel to put his name there. And his mother's name was Naama an Ammonitess.

22 And Juda did evil in the sight of the Lord, and provoked him above all that their fathers had done, in their sins which they committed.

23 For they also built them altars, and statues, and groves upon every high hill and under every green tree:

24 There were also the effeminate [catamites, or men addicted to unnatural lust] in the land, and they did according to all the abominations of the people whom the Lord had destroyed before the face of the children of Israel.

3 Kings 14:21-24

9 So in the twentieth year of Jeroboam king of Israel, reigned Asa king of Juda,

10 And he reigned one and forty years in Jerusalem. His mother's name was Maacha, the daughter of Abessalom.

11 And Asa did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, as did David his father:

12 And he took away the effeminate out of the land, and he removed all the filth of the idols, which his fathers had made.

3 Kings 15:9-12

From the Fourth Book of Kings

Josias was eight years old when he began to reign: he reigned one and thirty years in Jerusalem: the name of his mother was Idida, the daughter of Hadaia, of Besecath.

4 Kings 22:4

THE EARLY CHURCH

4 And the king commanded Helcias the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the doorkeepers, to cast out of the temple of the Lord all vessels that had been made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven: and he burnt them without Jerusalem in the valley of Cedron and he carried the ashes of them to Bethel.

7 He destroyed also the pavilions of the effeminate [sodomites], which were in the house of the Lord, for which the women wove as it were little dwellings for the grove.

4 Kings 23:7

From Wisdom

9 But to God the wicked and his wickedness are hateful alike.

26 Forgetfulness of God, defiling of souls, changing of nature [unnatural lust], disorder in marriage, and the irregularity of adultery and uncleanness.

27 For the worship of abominable idols is the cause, and the beginning and end of all evil.

Wisdom 14:9, 26–27

New Testament

In the writings of Saint Paul, the great Apostle to the Gentiles; Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles; and Saint Jude, one of the twelve Apostles who inveighed against the heretical dogma and practices of the Simonians, Nicolaites, and Gnostics, the New Testament condemnation of the unnatural vice becomes even more explicit.

Saint Paul, wrote his Epistle to the Romans at the Greek city of Corinth, whose very name at the time of the Apostles was synonymous with corruption and vice especially that of sodomy. Although it was not the first of his Epistles in the order of time, it has always been placed first by the Church because of the sublimity and universality of its message. It is special relevance that not only does Saint Paul condemn homosexual acts as being sinful in themselves, but that they may also serve as a recompense for error. As virtue is its own reward, so acts of disobedience to God bring with them the bitter fruit of vice.

The First Epistle to the Romans

16 For I am not ashamed of the gospel. For it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and to the Greek.

21 Because that, when they knew God, they have not glorified him as God, or given thanks; but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened.

22 For professing themselves to be wise, they became fools.

23 And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, and of fourfooted beasts, and of creeping things.

THE RITE OF SODOMY

24 Wherefore God gave them up to the desires of their heart, unto uncleanness, to dishonour their own bodies among themselves.

25 Who changed the truth of God into a lie; and worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever. Amen.

26 For this cause God delivered them up to shameful affections. For their women have changed the natural use into that use which is against nature.

27 And, in like manner, the men also, leaving the natural use of women, have burned in their lusts one towards another, men with men working that which is filthy, and receiving in themselves the recompense which was due to their error.

31 Foolish, dissolute, without affection, without fidelity, without mercy.

Romans 1:16, 21–27, 31

The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians

9 Know you not that the unjust shall not possess the kingdom of God? Do not err: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers,

10 Nor the effeminate, nor liars with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor railers, nor extortioners, shall possess the kingdom of God.

1 Corinthians 6:9–10

The First Epistle of Saint Paul to Timothy

9 Knowing this, that the law is not made for the just man, but for the unjust and disobedient, for the ungodly, and for sinners, for the wicked and defiled, for murderers of father, and murderers of mothers, for manslayers,

10 For fornicators, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons, and whatever other thing is contrary to sound doctrine.

1 Timothy 1:9–10

The Second Epistle of Saint Peter The Apostle

But there were also false prophets among the people, even as there shall be among you lying teachers, who shall bring in sects of perdition, and deny the Lord who bought them: bringing upon themselves swift destruction.

6 And reducing the cities of the Sodomites, and of the Gomorrhites, into ashes, condemned them to be overthrown, making them an example to those that should after act wickedly.

7 And delivered just Lot, oppressed by the injustice and lewd conversation of the wicked

8 For in sight and hearing he was just: dwelling among them who from day to day vexed the just soul with unjust works

9 The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly from temptation, but to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be tormented.

2 Peter 2:1, 6–9

The Catholic Epistle of Saint Jude the Apostle

3 Dearly beloved, taking all care to write unto you concerning your common salvation, I was under a necessity to write unto you: to beseech you to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.

4 For certain men are secretly entered in, (who were written of long ago unto judgment,) ungodly men, turning the grace of our Lord God into riotousness, and denying the only sovereign Ruler, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

7 As Sodom and Gomorrha, and the neighbouring cities, in like manner, having given themselves to fornication, and going after other flesh, were made an example, suffering the punishment of eternal fire.

Jude 1:3–4, 7

Instruction, Correction and Reform—An Act of Mercy

As the Church's eternal mission is the salvation of souls, so her condemnation of all sin including homosexual acts is always co-joined to that of God's infinite mercy and the need for repentance and reform of one's life. To deliberately indulge in a serious vice places one's soul in danger of eternal damnation and renders the sinner incapable of any virtue on a supernatural level.⁸ Direct refutation combined with fraternal correction in the matter therefore is an act of mercy not only for the individual caught in the vice, but as a preservative to keep others from falling into the same pit.⁹ Although sexual sins are generally a matter of private confession, at different periods of the Church, the sin of sodomy has been a "reserved" sin, that is, the penitent was required to confess to the pope or to a bishop.¹⁰

From Saint Peter to Saint Felix I, the early popes together with the early Church Fathers drew up Church general decrees, and later canons and pastoral and penitential codes and instituted a series of synods and councils by which their decrees in matters of faith and morals, including the immorality of all homosexual acts, were made known to the universal Church.

At the Spanish Council of Elvira (305–306) the Church condemned homosexual acts especially pederasty excluding from Communion, even at the point of death (*articulo mortis*), one who does violence to boys (*the stuprotores puerorum*).¹¹

At the Council of Ancira (Ancyra) held in Asia Minor in 314, canons 16 and 17 prescribed heavy penances by both age and condition for both sodomy and bestiality and bishops were ordered to root out these practices from among the people.¹²

Special provisions including 15 years of penance and a five-year period of probation before being reunited with the communion of the faithful and receiving Holy Communion were made for those who committed these acts before age of 20. For those aged 20 and over and married, the penance was extended to 25 years. And for the married, over 50 years of age, the grace of Holy Communion was reserved until the time of death.¹³

In practical terms of letting the punishment fit the crime, harsher punishment for both laymen and clerics were applied to sexual crimes involving sacrilege, force and the seduction and corruption of the young. Offenders including defrocked clerics were often turned over to public authorities for punishment.¹⁴ As a general rule, however, if given a choice, offenders found guilty of sodomy preferred to be tried by the Church rather than secular courts as the former was held to be more restrained and compassionate than the latter.

Early Church Fathers Condemn the Vice of Sodomy

Among the Fathers of the early Church who specifically condemned sodomy and pederasty in their writings and sermons were Saint Athanasius, Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Augustine.

Of Emperor Hadrian's homosexual affair with the young and beautiful Antinous, Saint Athanasius, (296–373), the Bishop of Alexandria and Confessor and Doctor of the Church and slayer of Arianism wrote in 350 AD:

And such a one is the new God Antinous, that was the Emperor Hadrian's minion and the slave of his unlawful pleasure; a wretch, whom that that worshiped in obedience to the Emperor's command, and for fear of his vengeance, knew and confessed to be a man, and not a good or deserving man neither, but a sordid and loathsome instrument of his master's lust. This shameless and scandalous boy died in Egypt when the court was there; and forthwith his Imperial Majesty issued out an order or edict strictly requiring and commanding his loving subjects to acknowledge his departed page a deity and to pay him his quota of divine reverences and honours as such: a resolution and act which did more effectually publish and testify to the world how entirely the Emperor's unnatural passion survived the foul object of it; and how much his master was devoted to memory, than it recorded his own crime and condemnation, immortalized his infamy and shame, and bequeathed to mankind a lasting and notorious specimen of the true origin and extraction of all idolatry.¹⁵

Saint Athanasius did not hesitate to label his archenemy Arius, the handsome deposed priest of the Alexandrian Church an "effeminate."¹⁶ Arius' heretical doctrine was championed by the powerful eunuch Eusebius, grand chamberlain of the Byzantine Imperial court under the Emperor Constantine and later his son, Constantius I.

Saint John Chrysostom (344?–407), the Patriarchate of Constantinople and a Doctor of the Church famous for his great oratory and sermons, was unrelenting in his public attack on the unnatural and diabolic desires of the sodomites. He lashed out at the sodomites who had "devised a barren coitus, not having for its end the procreation of children" and attacked the paederasts who came to church to look with lustful curiosity upon handsome youth.¹⁷ He described sodomy as an unpardonable insult to nature and a sin that destroys the soul inside the body.¹⁸

Likewise, Saint Augustine, the great Bishop of Hippo and convert from Manicheanism, also warred against sodomy declaring the vice should be punished wherever and whenever it was appeared:

Offenses against nature are everywhere and at all times to be held in detestation and should be punished. Such offenses, for example, were those of the Sodomites; and, even if all nations should commit them, they would all be judged guilty of the same crime by the divine law, which has not made men so that they should ever abuse one another in that way. For the fellowship that should be between God and us is violated whenever that nature of which he is the author is polluted by perverted lust.¹⁹

With special reference to Saint Paul's First Epistle to the Romans, (Rom 1:26) Saint Augustine observed:

Still thou dost punish these sins which men commit against themselves because, even when they sin against thee, they are also committing impiety against their own souls. Iniquity gives itself the lie, either by corrupting or by perverting that nature which thou hast made and ordained. And they do this by an immoderate use of lawful things; or by lustful desire for things forbidden, as 'against nature'; or when they are guilty of sin by raging with heart and voice against thee, rebelling against thee, 'kicking against the pricks'; or when they cast aside respect for human society and take audacious delight in conspiracies and feuds according to their private likes and dislikes.²⁰

Saint Basil and Pope Saint Siricius on Homosexuality in the Religious Life

With an all-male clergy, it is not surprising that the issue of homosexuality and pederasty in the religious life should have been a matter of serious consideration and deliberation by early Church Fathers. Then as now, the problem of predatory homosexuality in clerical circles was more of a reflection of the general moral corruption of the day rather than the specific failing of clerics and monks.²¹

However, if the instructions of Saint Basil were the norm, we can surmise that where the accused cleric was found guilty of engaging in or attempting to engage in same-sex activities, the consequences were swift and painful.

Saint Basil of Cesarea, the 4th century Patriarch of Eastern monks and one of the four great Doctors of the East held that:

The cleric or monk who molests youths or boys or is caught kissing or committing some turpitude, let him be whipped in public, deprived of his crown [tonsure] and, after having his head shaved, let his face be covered with spittle; and [let him be] bound in chains, condemned to six months in prison ... after which let him live in a separate cell under the custody of a wise elder with great spiritual experience...let him be subject to prayers, vigils, and manual work always under the guard of two spiritual brothers, without being allowed to have any relationship ... with young people.²²

It should be noted that the exposition of a public flogging which exposed the offending cleric or monk to open ridicule would virtually insure that the offender would never rise to hold an office in the Church.²³

On the question of whether or not a layman who had committed acts of pederasty or sodomy could apply for and receive Holy Orders, we can refer to the directives on the norms for priestly ordination issued by Pope Saint Siricius (384–399) on 10 February, 385:

We deem it advisable to establish that, just as not everyone should be allowed to do a penance reserved for clerics, so also a layman should never be allowed to ascend to clerical honor after penance and reconciliation. Because although they have been purified of the contagion of all sins, those who formerly indulged in a multitude of vices should not receive the instruments to administer the sacraments.²⁴

Thus, any layman having been once caught up in the vice of sodomy in any form, even though he had served out his penance, by implication, would not be permitted to enter the clerical state.

The text of Pope Siricius's decree on key aspects of church discipline and clerical celibacy is of special importance because it is the oldest completely preserved papal decretal (edict for the authoritative decision of questions of discipline and canon law) and reflects the pope speaking with the consciousness of his supreme ecclesiastical authority and of his pastoral care over all the churches.

Christian Influences in the Temporal Sphere

Not surprisingly, beginning in the 2nd century and continuing through the late 5th century, the preaching and writings of these early Church Fathers combined with the edicts of the early popes in the realm of sexual morality had made their influence felt in the Roman Imperial courts both in the West and in the East.²⁵

Indeed, the names of many of these early Church leaders particularly those of Saint Athanasius, Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Ambrose are inscribed, for both good and ill, in the chronicles of the Imperial court of the early Empire. The timing was propitious.

During these early years of the Empire, there was a recurring spirit of stoicism reflected both in the realm of the public and political affairs of the Roman Senate and of the Imperial courts and their emperors.

Roman jurisprudence reflected this trend. So much so, that by the time Constantine the Great had ascended the throne in 312, Roman law had already come to view the inveterate sodomite as a danger to both Church and State.²⁶ Homosexual acts, specifically pederasty and homosexual rape, were placed in the category of capital offenses. Thus it was, Roman law, influenced by the old Mosaic law and now backed by the emerging powerful sect known as Christianity, came to serve as the basis for anti-sodomy

legislation in Italy and throughout Europe from the 3rd century until the beginning of the 20th century.²⁷

On December 16, 342, Constantine's sons, Constantine II and his younger brother Constans issued a decree making it a capital offense for a married man, of his own free will, to play the role of a woman, that is the role of the passive partner in a homosexual liaison. Homosexual prostitution was discouraged, but not totally prohibited. Eunuchs were also exempt from the law since as castrated males they were viewed as androgynous beings not real men.²⁸

The emperor's second son, Constantius II, a protector of Arians and a persecutor of Saint Athanasius, also enacted a minor piece of anti-sodomitical legislation that severely punished any male who married an effeminate (literally a woman) and then permit his own body to be penetrated by that effeminate male. This rather odd sexual configuration, that is, the "marriage" of a man to a male eunuch who would act the part of a "wife," was an arrangement not unknown at the time.

Later emperors of both the Eastern and Western Roman Empires re-enforced and extended anti-sodomy legislation.

In the Eastern Empire, under the great Christian emperor Theodosius I (379–395), a royal decree was twice posted on May 14 and again on August 6, 390 at the Roman hall of Minerva, a popular gathering place for artisans and actors, stating that any man, including prostitutes and eunuchs, who permitted his body to be used like a women (anal penetration) would be consigned to the flames. The death penalty was also instituted for those who forced a male into homosexual prostitution.

At that time, Theodosius was under an eight-month public penance set by Saint Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, for the massacre of 7000 citizens of Thessalonica in retaliation for the killing of the emperor's officials. The emperor was also under pressure to rid Rome of the stench of moral corruption and to rid the city of the remaining visages of paganism. He vigorously attacked the Arian heretics who denied the divinity of Christ and the followers of Macedonius, who impugned the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. The ancient writer Palladius sings the praises of the reign of Theodosius in his book *The Lausiatic History*, written in 419 AD.²⁹ Theodosius became an intimate of Saint Ambrose, who preached his funeral oration and was in attendance at the First General Council of Constantinople, under Pope Damasus I in 381.

His successor Arcadius, (395–408) continued the attack against heresy and paganism including the closing of the pagan temples at Gaza.

To complete the task of his father, in 438, Arcadius's son, Emperor Theodosius II (408–450) enacted the famous Theodosian Code (9,7,6) ordering the death of all men, without distinction, who permitted their bodies to be used like a woman, that is, who assumed the passive role in a homosexual relationship.³⁰

In 410, while Theodosius II occupied the Imperial throne in the East; his brother Honorius (395–423) was emperor of the Western Empire; and Pope Saint Innocent I occupied the Chair of Peter, Rome was sacked for the first time by the Goths. Forty-five years later, the Vandals sacked Rome, this time with Pope Leo the Great (the first bishop actually called “Pope”) at the head of the Church.

In the West, the figurehead rule of Romulus Augustulus, last in the unbroken line of Roman emperors, came to an end in 476. The Germanic leader Odoacer of the Heruli tribe entered Italy and became king.

Although King Odoacer, an Arian, respected the Catholic Church, he did seek to influence the election of the new pope after the death of Pope Saint Simplicius (468–483), but to no avail.

In other parts of Europe, Gaul was taken by the Franks, Burgundians and Visigoths; the Visigoths and Sueves divided Spain between them; the Vandals took control of North Africa; and Roman Britain fell to the Anglo-Saxons. The so-called Dark Ages had fallen on the West.

The Justinian Code

In the Eastern Roman Empire, however, the reign of Byzantine emperors continued until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The greatest of these rulers of the later empire was Flavius Anicius Julianus Justinianus, known to history as Justinian I.³¹ The most enduring legacy to the world of this great Christian emperor was the codification of Roman law that would later serve as a model for the common law system in England and the New World.

The Justinian Code, a well-ordered and complete codex of all Roman law, past and present, including the old Theodosian Code with its anti-sodomy laws, appeared in its final and complete form in 529.

In keeping with the Christian tradition of tempering justice with mercy, and since male homosexual acts were viewed as sins against God as well as crimes against the State, the supreme penalty of death was applied only to the obdurate and the unrepentant.³² Although the law provided that the Crown was entitled to take independent action, it was the Church that exercised a general jurisdiction over homosexual offenders and imposed its own spiritual discipline upon those whom its courts convicted.³³

Under the new Constitution, which heavily castigated both blasphemy and homosexuality, if a man was found guilty of engaging in an act of peccata contra naturam with another man, he must confess his mortal sin in the presence of the Most Blessed Patriarch and do penance to avert civil punishment. This public confession made it virtually impossible for a laymen or cleric found guilty of sodomy from entering the priesthood or religious life or from advancing to a higher ecclesiastical rank in the Church.

The Justinian Code was particularly effective against the ancient Greco-Roman practices of pederasty and homosexual and child prostitution.

The Development of Penitential Texts

In the late 500s and early 600s, the Church began to assume a greater role in the judging of sinful acts, some of which, like sodomy, were also held to be crimes against the State. With the rise in the practice of private confession, confessors began to seek out the aid of penitential guides.

Held to be Frankish in origin, these penitential texts simply listed and then briefly described the exact nature of the sin in question, noting its objective gravity and recommending suitable penances that took into consideration the age of the penitent and any special circumstances surrounding the commission of the act.³⁴ The lists of various types of homosexual acts were remarkably detailed for the age and included not only those between two men or a man and a boy, but also acts of sodomy committed by a man on a woman. Since the penitentials were simply listings, they cannot be used to indicate the frequency or habitual nature of these sins.³⁵

Pope Saint Gregory the Great Condemns Homosexual Acts and Desires

Pope Gregory I began his 14-year reign as supreme pontiff in 590 (the first monk to become pope), with his *Liber Pastoralis Curae* on the role of the bishop as the pre-eminent physician of souls entrusted by God to his care and supervision, a doctrine he practiced as well as preached.³⁶ His sermons, based largely on Holy Scripture, drew immense crowds and set the pattern for many famous preachers of the Middle Ages. His indelible influence in the areas of Church doctrine, organization and discipline make him one of the most remarkable figures in ecclesiastical history.

Pope Gregory held a distinctive view of Church-State relations. He saw the Imperial government centered at Constantinople together with the Church as forming a united whole. At the same time each had its own sphere of control—one ecclesiastical and the other secular. Still, the pope did not hesitate to call upon the Crown, as protector of the Church and keeper of the peace, not only to suppress schism, heresy, or idolatry, but also to enforce discipline among monks and clergy.

Pope Gregory's teaching on sodomy did not break new ground, but rather reflected the summing up of the teachings of the earlier Fathers of the East and West at the beginning of the Middle Ages on the nature of the crime. Using the Old Testament text from Genesis 19:1–25 describing the terrible fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, the pope declared:

Brimstone calls to mind the foul orders of the flesh, as Sacred Scripture itself confirms when it speaks of the rain of fire and brimstone poured by the Lord upon Sodom. He had decided to punish in it the crimes of the flesh, and the very type of punishment emphasized the shame of that crime, since brimstone exhales stench and fire burns. It was, therefore, just that the sodomites, burning with perverse desires that originated from the foul odor

of the flesh, should perish at the same time by fire and brimstone, so that through this just chastisement they must realize the evil perpetrated under the impulse of a perverse desire.³⁷

The reader will note that Pope Gregory not only condemned the act of sodomy as a “crime,” but also denounced the desires of the sodomites as “perverse.” Thus, lustful homosexual thoughts and desires, willfully entertained, are not only sinful (even where the act is not carried out), but they are unnatural and perverse as well.

Sodomy as a Vice and Crime in the Middle Ages

Throughout the Middle Ages including the reign of Charlemagne, king of the Franks (768–814) and Holy Roman Emperor (800–814) and well beyond, the moral and legal status of sodomy remained essentially the same. The Church always viewed sodomy as a special evil and always a mortal sin when voluntarily entered into. The State considered sodomy a crime, although the death penalty was normally reserved for sodomitical acts involving the seduction of the young, acts of violence including homosexual rape, or blasphemy. In such cases involving clerics and monks, the offenders were first defrocked, punished by the Church and then turned over to the Crown for final sentencing.

The Spanish Visigothic Code of 600 (*Lex visigothical*) provided for a particularly harsh punishment in ordering homosexual offenders who “carnally united with men” to be castrated prior to death. If married, their goods were to be immediately inherited by their children or heirs.³⁸

At the Council of Toledo in 693, Egica, the Gothic king of Spain, exhorted the clergy to strenuously fight against homosexual practices and “...to decisively extirpate this obscene crime committed by men who sleep with men, whose terrible conduct corrupts the grace of honest living and provokes the wrath of the Supreme Judge of heaven.”³⁹

Saint Peter Damian—Eleventh Century Moral Reformer⁴⁰

The alleged warning of Saint Bernard (778–842), Archbishop of Vienne, France to Pope Eugene II that “Your brothers, the cardinals, must learn by your example not to keep young, long-haired boys and seductive men in their midst,” is probably an indication of the degree to which the morals of the clergy had fallen by the 9th century in Medieval Europe.⁴¹ For the next 300 years until the era of the Gregorian reforms of the mid-12th century, wholesale violations of the vows of chastity by priests, monks and nuns and the rise of sodomy and pederasty among religious, ranked second only to the crisis of usury and simony, as major problems facing the Catholic Church.

However, it appears that whenever Holy Mother Church has had a great need for a special kind of saint for a particular age, God, in His infinite

mercy, has never failed to fill that need. And so, in the year 1007 AD, a boy child was born to a noble but poor family in the ancient Roman city of Ravenna, who would become a doctor of the Church, a precursor of the Hildebrandine reform in the Church and a key figure in the moral and spiritual reformation of the lax and incontinent clergy of his time.

Tradition tells us that Saint Peter Damian's entrance into this world was initially an unwelcome event that overtaxed and somewhat embittered his already large family. He was orphaned at a young age. His biographer John of Lodi tells us that were it not for the solicitude of his older brother Damian, an archpriest at Ravenna, the youth might have lived out his life in obscurity as a swineherd, but God deemed otherwise. Peter's innate intellectual talents and remarkable piety in the light of great adversity were recognized by the archpriest, who plucked his younger brother from the fields and provided him with an excellent education first at Ravenna, then Faenza and finally at the University of Parma. In return, Peter acknowledged his brother's loving care by adopting Damian as his surname.⁴²

Although he excelled in his studies and quickly rose in academic ranks, Peter felt drawn to the religious rather than university life. His spirituality would be formed by his love for the Rule of Saint Benedict and his attraction to the rigorous penance and individualistic practices of Saint Romuald.

In his late twenties, he was welcomed into the Benedictine hermitage of the Reform of Saint Romuald at Fonte-Avellana where he eventually became prior—a position he retained until his death on February 21, 1072, while also serving as Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, an honor bestowed upon Peter by Pope Stephen IX in 1057. The life of the well-traveled holy monk was distinguished by his great learning and a marvelous knowledge of Holy Scripture and by great penitential acts, which served both as a rebuke and as an inspiration to his fellow monks and the secular clergy at a time in the Church when moral turpitude was endemic in clerical ranks.

Owen J. Blum, OFM, Saint Peter Damian's chief translator and biographer in modern times in one of his many works on the hermit-monk, St. Peter Damian: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life, states that, for Damian, the spiritual life was first and foremost a life of prayer, especially the recitation of the Divine Office. Damian also promoted and practiced a special devotion to the Blessed Virgin.⁴³

The two hallmarks of the holy monk's teachings on the spiritual life were his great hatred of sin and his fundamental and overriding interest in the spiritual advancement of the Catholic priesthood. As Blum noted, "Damian thought of the priesthood as an order of the greatest dignity. Indeed, it was the exalted nobility of this office that caused him to speak in such dire terms to priests who forgot their position and tarnished their souls with incontinence."⁴⁴

Damian showed remarkable insight into the importance of model episcopal leadership, stating that "the example of a virtuous life" filters down

from “the princes of the Church to all levels of the clergy and laity.”⁴⁵ The holy monk was equally insistent on the deposition of unworthy incumbents to the priesthood, the duty of which fell to the local bishop.⁴⁶

Much of the success of his program of clerical moral reform was due to the fact Damian was able to closely link his own efforts with that of the papacy. Indeed, his wise council and diplomatic skills were employed by a long succession of popes.

Damian died in the odor of sanctity on February 22, 1072 at the age of 66 in Faenza while returning to Rome after a papal mission to Ravenna.⁴⁷

The Book of Gomorrah—A Medieval Treatise on Sodomy

Among Saint Peter Damian’s most famous writings is his lengthy treatise, Letter 31, the Book of Gomorrah (*Liber Gomorrhianus*) written in 1049 AD, which contains the most extensive treatment and condemnation by any Church Father of clerical pederasty and homosexual practices.⁴⁸ His manly discourse on the vice of sodomy in general and clerical homosexuality and pederasty in particular, was written in a plain and forthright style that makes it quite readable and easy to understand.

In keeping with traditional Church teachings handed down from the time of the Apostles, he held that all homosexual acts are crimes against Nature and therefore crimes against God who is the author of Nature.

It is always refreshing to find an ecclesiastic whose first and primary concern in the matter of clerical sexual immorality is for God’s interests, not man’s, especially with regard to homosexuality in clerical ranks. Also, his special condemnation of pederastic crimes by clergy against young boys and men (including those preparing for Holy Orders) made over 900 years ago, certainly tends to undermine the excuse of many American bishops and cardinals today who claim that they initially lacked specific knowledge and psychological insights by which to assess the seriousness of clerical pederastic crimes.

Upon a first reading of the Book of Gomorrah, I think the average Catholic would find himself in a state of shock at the severity of Damian’s condemnation of clerical sodomitical practices as well as the severe penalties that he asks Pope Leo IX to attach to such practices.

Part of this reaction, as J. Wilhelm asserts with regard to modern Catholics’ adverse reaction to the severity of medieval penalties (including capital punishment for heresy), can be attributed to the fact that we live in an age that has “less regard for the purity of the faith,” and have, in sharp contrast to medieval saints like Saint Peter Damian, lost a sense of sin.⁴⁹

One of the most remarkable things about the Book of Gomorrah, written as it was about 950 years ago, is how many of Damian’s insights can be applied to the current pederast and homosexual debacle here in the United States and abroad including the Vatican. His treatise certainly stands as a

masterful refutation of contemporary homosexual apologists who claim that the early Fathers of the Church did not understand the nature or dynamics of homosexuality. Rather, as Damian's work demonstrates, the degradation of human nature as exemplified by sodomitical acts is a universal phenomenon that transcends time, place and culture.

A dominant theme of Damian's work was the holy monk's insistence on the responsibility of the bishop or superior of a religious order to curb and eradicate the vice of sodomy from their ranks.⁵⁰ He minced no words in his condemnation of those prelates who refused or failed to take a strong hand in dealing with clerical sodomitical practices either because of moral indifference or the inability to face up to a distasteful and potentially scandalous situation.⁵¹

Other issues tackled by Saint Peter Damian, which have a particular relevance today, are:

- The problem of homosexual bishops or heads of religious orders who engage their "spiritual sons" in acts of sodomy.
- The sacrilegious use of the sacraments by homosexual clerics and religious.
- The special problems for the Church related to the seduction of youth by clerical pederasts.
- The problem of overtly lax canons and penances for clerical and religious offenders that make a mockery of the seriously sinful nature of homosexual acts.

The Motivation for a Treatise on Sodomy

When the humble monk and future saint, Peter Damian presented his Letter 31, the Book of Gomorrah, to Pope Leo IX, he made it clear that his first and overriding concern was for the salvation of souls. While the work is addressed specifically to the Holy Father, its distribution was intended for the universal Church, most especially the bishops of secular clergy and superiors of religious orders.

In his introduction, the holy writer made it clear that the Divine calling of the Apostolic See makes its primary consideration "the welfare of souls." Therefore, he pleaded with the Holy Father to take action against "a certain abominable and most shameful vice," which he identified forthrightly as "the befouling cancer of sodomy," that was ravaging both the souls of the clergy and the flock of Christ in his region, before God unleashed his just wrath on the people.⁵² Recognizing how nauseating the very mention of the word sodomy must be to the Holy Father, he nevertheless asked with blunt frankness:

...if a physician is appalled by the contagion of the plague, who is likely to wield the cautery? If he grows squeamish when he is about to apply the cure, who will restore health to stricken hearts?⁵³

Leaving nothing to misinterpretation, Damian distinguished between the various forms of sodomy and the stages of sodomitical corruption beginning with solitary and mutual masturbation and ending with inter-femoral (between the thighs) stimulation and anal coitus.⁵⁴ He noted that there is a tendency among prelates to treat the first three degrees of the vice with an “improper leniency,” preferring to reserve dismissal from the clerical state for only those men proven to be involved in anal penetration. The result, Damian stated, is that a man, guilty of the “lesser” degrees of the vice, accepts his milder penances, but remains free to pollute others without the least fear of losing his rank. The predictable result of his superior’s leniency, said Damian, was that the vice spreads, the culprit grows more daring in his illicit acts knowing he will not suffer any critical loss of his clerical status, he loses all fear of God and his last state is worse than his first.⁵⁵

Damian decried the audacity of men who are “habituated to the filth of this festering disease,” and yet dare to present themselves for Holy Orders, or if already ordained, remain in office.⁵⁶ Was it not for such crimes that Almighty God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, and slew Onan for deliberately spilling his seed on the ground? he asked.⁵⁷ Quoting Saint Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians (Eph 5:5) he continued, “...if an unclean man has no inheritance at all in heaven, how can he be so arrogant as to presume a position of honor in the Church, which is surely the kingdom of God?”⁵⁸

The holy monk likened sodomites seeking Holy Orders, to those citizens of Sodom who threatened “to use violence against the upright Lot” and were about to break down the door when they were smitten with blindness by the two angels and could not find the doorway. Such men, he said, are stricken with a similar blindness and “by the just decree of God they fall into interior darkness.”⁵⁹

“If they were humble they would be able to find the door that is Christ, but they are blinded by their “arrogance and conceit,” and “lose Christ because of their addiction to sin,” never finding “the gate that leads to the heavenly dwelling of the saints,” Damian lamented.⁶⁰

Not sparing those ecclesiastics who knowingly permit sodomites to enter Holy Orders or remain in clerical ranks while continuing to pollute their office, the holy monk lashed out at “do-nothing superiors of clerics and priests,” and reminded them that they should be trembling for themselves because they have become “partners in the guilt of others,” by permitting “the destructive plague” of sodomy to continue in their ranks.⁶¹

Homosexual Bishops Who Prey on their Spiritual Sons

Then comes the bitterest blast of all reserved for those bishops who “commit these absolutely damnable acts with their spiritual sons.”⁶² “Who can expect the flock to prosper when its shepherd has sunk so deep into the bowels of the devil. ...Who will make a mistress of a cleric, or a woman of a

man?...Who, by his lust, will consign a son whom he had spiritually begotten for God to slavery under the iron law of Satanic tyranny,” Damian thundered.⁶³ Drawing an analogy between the sentence inflicted on the father who engages in familial incest with his daughter or the priest who commits “sacrilegious intercourse” with a nun, with the defilement of a cleric by his superior, he asked if the latter should escape condemnation and retain his holy office?⁶⁴ Actually, the latter case deserves an even worse punishment said Damian, because whereas the prior two cases involved natural intercourse, a religious superior guilty of sodomy has not only committed a sacrilege with his spiritual son, but has also violated the law of nature. Such a superior damns not only his own soul, but takes another with him, Damian said.⁶⁵

Clerical Homosexual Abuse of the Sacrament of Confession

Next, Damian denounced as one of “the devil’s clever devices” concocted in “his ancient laboratory of evil,” by which confirmed clerical sodomites, experiencing a pricking conscience, “confess to one another lest their guilt come to the attention of others.”⁶⁶ As Damian observed, however, though such men have become “penitents involved in great crimes,” they appear to look none the worst for their penances. “...their lips are not pale from fasting nor are their bodies wasted by self-denial,” nor are their eyes red from weeping for their sins.⁶⁷

The holy monk questioned the validity of such confessions asking, “By what right or by what law can one bind or loose the other when he is constrained by the bonds of evil deeds common to them both?”⁶⁸ Quoting Holy Scripture concerning “the blind leading the blind,” (Matt 8:4, Luke 5:4) Damian continued, “...it becomes perfectly clear that he who is oppressed by the same guilty darkness tries in vain to invite another to return to the light of repentance. While he has no fear of extending himself to outstrip the other in erring, he ends up accompanying his follower into the yawning pit of ruin.”⁶⁹

Since this practice remains a common one today within the homosexual underworld of diocesan priests, bishops and religious and between pederast priests and their young victims, it may be well to recall that under the revised 1983 Code of Canon Law, the absolution of a partner (clerical or layperson) in a sin against the sixth commandment of the Decalogue is invalid, except in danger of death (Can. 977) and a priest who acts against the prescription of Can. 977 incurs a *latae sententiae* excommunication, the lifting of which is reserved to the Apostolic See (Can. 1378 §1). Unless the offending priest has his excommunication lifted by the Sacred Penitentiary or the Holy Father, he has not been validly absolved. Should he attempt to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in a state of mortal sin he compounds his offenses with the grave sin of sacrilege.

Sodomite Priests and The Sacred Mysteries

In a lengthy and scathing attack on faulty and “spurious” canons and codices related to penalties for various sodomitical acts that were in use by the Church in the mid-1000s, Damian compared them to the harsh and long penances assigned to laymen guilty of unnatural acts with men and beasts by the Church Fathers at the Council of Ancyra (314 AD) and found them wanting.⁷⁰

If, under earlier Church laws, a layman guilty of sodomy can be deprived of the Holy Eucharist for up to 25 years or even till the end of his life, how is it possible that a similarly offending cleric or monk is let off with minor penances, and is judged worthy to not only receive the Holy Eucharist but consecrate the Sacred Mysteries? he asked.⁷¹ If the holy fathers ordained that sodomites should “pray in the company of demoniacs,” how can such a cleric hope to rightly exercise his priestly office as a “mediator” between God and His people? Damian continued.⁷²

Later, Damian returned to this same theme and exclaimed, “For God’s sake, why do you damnable sodomites pursue the heights of ecclesiastical dignity with such fiery ambition?”⁷³ He warned these clerics, who persisted in their unnatural lusts, against inflaming the wrath of God, “lest by your prayers you more sharply provoke Him whom your wicked life so obviously offends.”⁷⁴ At the conclusion of this section, Damian reminded clerics and prelates alike that, “It is a dreadful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.” (Heb 10.31)⁷⁵

Remarkable Insights into the Nature of Homosexuality

In his description of the unnatural passions that rule over the sodomite, Damian revealed an extraordinary degree of perception regarding the narcissistic, promiscuous and compulsive psychosexual aspects of homosexual behavior.

“Tell us, you unmanly and effeminate man, what do you seek in another male that you do not find in yourself?” he asked. “What difference in sex, what varied features of the body?” he continued.

Then he explained the law of life. “For it is the function of the natural appetite that each should seek outside himself what he cannot find in his own capacity. Therefore, if the touch of masculine flesh delights you, lay your hands upon yourself and be assured that whatever you do not find in yourself, you seek in vain in the body of another,” he concluded.⁷⁶

The Particular Malice of the Vice of Sodomy

A wise Dominican once told this writer, that once the vice of sodomy has contaminated a seminary, Church authorities have only two options—close the place down and send everyone home or do nothing and simply wait for the moral rot to spread until the foundation collapses on its own. Why is this particular vice so deadly to the religious life?

According to Damian, the vice of sodomy “surpassed the enormity of all others:”

Without fail it brings death to the body and destruction to the soul. It pollutes the flesh, extinguishes the light of the mind, expels the Holy Spirit from the temple of the human heart, and gives entrance to the devil, the stimulator of lust. It leads to error, totally removes truth from the deluded mind. ...It opens up hell and closes the gates of paradise. ...It is this vice that violates temperance, slays modesty, strangles chastity, and slaughters virginity. ...It defiles all things, sullies all things, pollutes all things. ...This vice excludes a man from the assembled choir of the Church. ...it separates the soul from God to associate it with demons. This utterly diseased queen of Sodom renders him who obeys the laws of her tyranny infamous to men and odious to God. ...She strips her knights of the armor of virtue, exposing them to be pierced by the spears of every vice. ...She humiliates her slave in the church and condemns him in court; she defiles him in secret and dishonors him in public; she gnaws at his conscience like a worm and consumes his flesh like fire ...this unfortunate man (he) is deprived of all moral sense, his memory fails, and the mind’s vision is darkened. Unmindful of God, he also forgets his own identity. This disease erodes the foundation of faith, saps the vitality of hope, dissolves the bond of love. It makes away with justice, demolishes fortitude, removes temperance, and blunts the edge of prudence. Shall I say more?⁷⁷

Repent and Reform Your Lives

Like every saint before him and every saint that will ever come after him, Saint Peter Damian exhorted the cleric caught in the vice of sodomy to repent and reform his life and in the words of the Blessed Apostle Paul, “Wake up from your sleep and rise from the dead, and Christ will revive (enlighten) you.” (Eph 5:14)⁷⁸ In a remarkable affirmation of the Gospel message, he warned against the ultimate sin of despairing of God’s mercy and the necessity of fasting and prayer to subdue the passions:

...beware of drowning in the depths of despondency. Your heart should beat with confidence in God’s love and not grow hard and impenitent, in the face of your great crime. It is not sinners, but the wicked who should despair; it is not the magnitude of one’s crime, but contempt of God that dashes one’s hopes.⁷⁹

Then, in one of the most beautiful elocutions on the grandeur of priestly celibacy and chastity ever written, Damian reminded the wayward cleric or monk of the special place reserved in heaven for those faithful priests and monks who have willingly forsaken all and made themselves eunuchs for Christ’s sake. Their names shall be remembered forever because they have given up all for the love of God, he said.⁸⁰

Notorious Vs Non-Notorious Offenders

One of the very interesting historical sidebars to Damian's treatise is that he made no reference to the popular practice of distinguishing "notorious" from "non-notorious" cases of clerical immorality—a policy which can be traced back to the 9th century and the canonical reforms on ecclesiastical and clerical discipline by the great German Benedictine scholar and Archbishop of Mainz, Blessed Maurus Magnentius Rabanus (776?–856). Under this policy, the removal of clerics found guilty of criminal acts including sodomy, depended on whether or not his offense was publicly known, or was carried out and confessed in secret.

In cases that had become "notorious," the offending cleric was defrocked and/or handed over to the secular authorities for punishment. But if his crime was known only to a few persons such as his confessor or religious superior, the offending cleric was privately reprimanded, served a penance and then was permitted to continue at his post, or transferred to a similar post in a different diocese.⁸¹ Given the aggressive and predatory nature of the vice of sodomy, it is highly likely that such a policy contributed to, rather than inhibited, sodomitical practices among clerics and religious between the mid-800s and the early 1000s. In any case, it was unlikely that Damian, who openly expressed his condemnation of too lenient canonical regulations related to the punishment of clerical sodomites and was so judicious in preserving the integrity of the priesthood and religious life, would have approved such a policy.

Saint Damian Prepares to Defend His Work

Saints are realists, which is no doubt why Saint Peter Damian anticipated that his "small book" which exposed and denounced homosexual practices in all ranks of the clergy including the hierarchy, would cause a great commotion in the Church. And it did.

In anticipation of harsh criticism, the holy monk puts forth his own defense as a "whistle-blower." He stated that his would-be critics will accuse him of "being an informer and a delator of my brother's crimes," but, he said, he had no fear of either "the hatred of evil men or the tongues of detractors."⁸²

Hear, dear reader, the words of Saint Peter Damian that come thundering down to us through the centuries at a time in the Church when many shepherds are silent while clerical wolves, some disguised in miters and brocade robes, devour its lambs and commit sacrilege against their own spiritual sons:

...I would surely prefer to be thrown into the well like Joseph who informed his father of his brothers' foul crime, than to suffer the penalty of God's fury, like Eli, who saw the wickedness of his sons and remained silent. (Sam 2–4.) ...Who am I, when I see this pestilential practice flourishing in the

priesthood to become the murderer of another's soul by daring to repress my criticism in expectation of the reckoning of God's judgement? ... "How, indeed, am I to love my neighbor as myself if I negligently allow the wound, of which I am sure he will brutally die, to fester in his heart... So let no man condemn me as I argue against this deadly vice, for I seek not to dishonor, but rather to promote the advantage of my brother's well-being. Take care not to appear partial to the delinquent while you persecute him who sets him straight. If I may be pardoned in using Moses' words, 'Whoever is for the Lord, let him stand with me.' (Ezek 32.26)⁸³

True Church Reform Begins With the Vicar of Christ

As he drew his case against the vice of clerical sodomy to a close, Saint Peter Damian pleaded with another future saint, Pope Leo IX, urging the Vicar of Christ to use his office to reform and strengthen the decrees of the sacred canons with regard to the disposition of clerical sodomites including religious superiors and bishops who sexually violate their spiritual sons.

Damian asked the Holy Father to "diligently" investigate the four forms of the vice of sodomy cited at the beginning of his treatise and then provide him (Damian) with definitive answers to the following questions by which the "darkness of uncertainty" might be dispelled and an "indecisive conscience" freed from error:

- 1) Is one who is guilty of these crimes to be expelled irrevocably from Holy Orders?
- 2) Whether at a prelate's discretion, moreover, might one mercifully be allowed to function in office?
- 3) To what extent, both in respect to the methods mentioned above and to the number of lapses, is it permissible to retain a man in the dignity of ecclesiastical office?
- 4) Also, if one is guilty, what degree and what frequency of guilt should compel him under the circumstances to retire?⁸⁴

Damian closed his famous letter by asking Almighty God to use Pope Leo IX's pontificate "to utterly destroy this monstrous vice that a prostrate Church may everywhere rise to vigorous stature."⁸⁵

Pope Leo IX—The Precursor of Gregorian Reform

Before describing the reception that Saint Peter Damian's treatise on sodomy received at the papal court of Leo IX, I think it helpful to briefly examine the early life of this extraordinary pope, the precursor to the great Hildebrand reform in the Catholic Church.

Unlike Peter Damian, Bruno entered the world under much more favorable emotional and material circumstances than those of the holy monk. He was born at Egisheim, near the borders of Alsace on June 21, 1002. At the age of five, his influential, loving and pious parents committed him to the

care of the energetic Berthold, Bishop of Toul, who had a school for the sons of the nobility. The future pope's principle biographer and intimate friend, Wilbert, records that the youth was handsome, intelligent, virtuous and kindly in disposition, a description which later manifested itself in the distinguishing title given him when he served as chaplain at the Imperial court—"the good Bruno."⁸⁶

In 1027, Bruno became Bishop of Toul, the frontier town of his youth that was now plagued both by war and famine. He remained at this rather obscure see for more than 20 years until his ascendancy to the Chair of Peter on February 12, 1049.

When the saintly Bruno, after his election at Worms, entered Rome dressed humbly in a friar's robe and barefooted, he was greeted by a cheering populace who acclaimed with one voice that they would have no other but Bruno as their new pope. Little wonder, as under the on-again off-again reign of the dissolute Benedict IX (1032-1044, 1045, 1047-1048) the papacy had fallen into serious disrepute. Bruno's predecessor, Damasus II, the Bishop of Brixen, had died of malaria after only 20 days in office.⁸⁷

Like any pontiff set on reforming abuses within the Church, Pope Leo IX immediately surrounded himself with like-minded virtuous and able clerics including the remarkable Benedictine abbot, Hildebrand of Tuscany, the future Pope Gregory VII, one of the greatest popes of the Church.⁸⁸ In 1049, the pope appointed Hildebrand administrator of the Patrimony of St. Peter's (Vatican finances) and made him promisor of the monastery of St. Paul extra muros which had fallen into moral and physical ruin. Historian Thomas Oestreich states that "Monastic discipline was so impaired that the monks were attended in their refectory by women; and the sacred edifices were so neglected that the sheep and cattle freely roamed in and out through the broken doors."⁸⁹ Deplorable conditions indeed, but soon to be remedied.

Only four months after his election, Pope Leo IX held a synod to condemn the two notorious evils of the day—simony, i.e., the buying, selling or exchange of ecclesiastical favors, offices, annulments and other spiritual considerations, and clerical sexual incontinence including concubinage (permanent or long-standing cohabitation) and sodomy. Immediately following the April synod, he began his journeys through Europe to carry out his message of reform. In May 1049, he held a council of reform in Pavia, which was followed by visits and councils in Cologne, Reims (many decrees of reform were issued here) and Mainz before returning to Rome in January 1050.⁹⁰ It was during this period that Damian brought his treatise on sodomy to the attention of the Holy Father.

Pope Leo IX Gives His Ruling on Clerical Sodomy

The approximate date that Damian delivered the Book of Gomorrah to Pope Leo IX is generally held to be the second half of the first year of the

pontiff's reign, i.e., mid-1049, although some writers put the date as late as 1051. We do know, absolutely, that the pope did respond to Damian's concerns, as that response in the form of a lengthy letter (JL 4311; ItPont 4.94f., no. 2) is generally attached to manuscripts of the work.⁹¹

Pope Leo IX opened his letter to "his beloved son in Christ, Peter the hermit," with warm salutations and a recognition of Damian's pure, upright and zealous character. He agreed with Damian that clerics, caught up in the "execrable vice" of sodomy "...verily and most assuredly will have no share in his inheritance, from which by their voluptuous pleasures they have withdrawn." "...Such clerics, indeed profess, if not in words, at least by the evidence of their actions, that they are not what they are thought to be," he declared.⁹²

Reiterating the category of the four forms of sodomy which Damian lists—solitary masturbation, mutual masturbation, and interfemoral and anal coitus, the Holy Father declared that it is proper that by "our apostolic authority" we intervene in the matter so that "all anxiety and doubt be removed from the minds of your readers."⁹³

"So let it be certain and evident to all that we are in agreement with everything your book contains, opposed as it is like water to the fire of the devil," the pope continued. "Therefore, lest the wantonness of this foul impurity be allowed to spread unpunished, it must be repelled by proper repressive action of apostolic severity, and yet some moderation must be placed on its harshness," he stated.⁹⁴

Next, Pope Leo IX gave a detailed explanation of the Holy See's authoritative ruling on the matter.

In light of divine mercy, the Holy Father commanded, without contradiction, that those who, of their own free will, have practiced solitary or mutual masturbation or defiled themselves by fornicating between the thighs, but who have not done so for any length of time, nor with many others, shall retain their status, after having "curbed their desires" and "atoned for their infamous deeds with proper repentance."⁹⁵

However, the Holy See removed all hope for retaining their clerical status from those who alone or with others for a long time, or even a short period or with many, "have defiled themselves by either of the two kinds of filthiness which you have described, or, which is horrible to hear or speak of, have sunk to the level of anal intercourse."⁹⁶

He warned potential critics, that those who dare to criticize or attack the apostolic ruling stand in danger of losing their rank. And so as to make it clear to whom this warning is directed, the pope immediately added, "For he who does not attack vice, but deals with it lightly, is rightly judged to be guilty of his death, along with the one who dies in sin."⁹⁷

Pope Leo IX praised Damian for teaching by example and not mere words and concluded his letter with the beautiful hope that when, with

God's help, the monk reaches his heavenly abode, he may reap his rewards and be crowned, "...in a sense, with all those who were snatched by you from the snares of the devil."⁹⁸

Differences On The Matter of Discipline

Clearly, on the objective immorality of sodomitical acts, both Damian and Pope Leo IX were in perfect accord with one another. However, in terms of Church discipline, the pope appeared to have taken exception with Damian's appeal for the wholesale deposition of all clerics who commit sodomitical acts. I say, appeared, because I believe that even in the matter of punishing known clerical offenders, both men were more in agreement than not.

Certainly, Damian, who was renowned for his exemplary spiritual direction of the novices and monks entrusted to his care, was not unaware of certain mitigating circumstances that would diminish if not totally remove the culpability of individuals charged with the crime of sodomy in all its forms. For example, some novices or monks may have been forced or pressured by their superiors to commit such acts. No doubt, it is circumstances such as these that prompted Pope Leo IX to use the term, "who of his own free will" in describing a cleric guilty of sodomy.⁹⁹ Also among the four varieties of sodomy Damian discusses in his treatise, he stated that inter-femoral and anal coitus are to be judged more serious than solitary or mutual masturbation.¹⁰⁰

All in all, what this writer found to be most remarkable about the pope's letter to Damian, was the absolutist position Pope Leo IX took concerning the ultimate responsibility of the offending cleric's bishop or religious superior. If the latter criticized or attacked this apostolic decree, he risked losing his rank! Prelates who fail to "attack vice, but deal lightly with it," share the guilt and sentence of the one who dies in sin, the pope declared.¹⁰¹

Damian's Contemporaries React to the Treatise

Considering the utterly deplorable state of the secular clergy and monastic life during the tenth and eleventh centuries, I think we can say, without contradiction, that the publication of the Book of Gomorrah must have sent shock waves throughout the Church

Leslie Toke, whose biography of Saint Peter Damian appears in *New Advent*, confirmed that his work "caused a great stir and aroused not a little enmity against its author." Toke conjectured that "Even the pope, who had at first praised the work, was persuaded that it was exaggerated and his coldness drew from Damian a vigorous letter of protest."¹⁰² I do not think that this assessment is a valid one.

That Damian's treatise proved to be controversial and unwelcome especially among superiors and members of the hierarchy who were sodomizing their "spiritual sons" or those with bad consciences resulting from an

inability or an unwillingness to exercise their authority in severely disciplining offending clerics or monks, is not surprising.

But as to the charge that the holy monk was guilty of exaggerating the seriousness and extent of sodomy among the secular clergy and monks not only in his region, but also in the Church at large, I believe that charge to be false.

We know, for example, that among the first actions taken by Pope Leo IX at the Council of Reims in 1049 was the passage of a canon against sodomy (*de sodomitico vitio*).¹⁰³

Also, the probability that Damian was, in fact, speaking the full truth concerning the extent of this plague in the Church can be discerned from a number of subsequent events including the condemnation of clerical immorality including sodomy at the Synod of Florence attended by Damian in June, 1055, under the pontificate of Pope Victor II (1055–1057).¹⁰⁴ Almost 50 years after Damian's death, the Council of Nablus assembled in 1120 under the direction of Garmund, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, continued to issue edicts and penalties against the vice and crime of sodomy.¹⁰⁵

We also know that Saint Anselm (1033–1109) as the Archbishop of Canterbury, England, confirmed Damian's thesis of the wide-spread practice of sodomy not only among clergy, but commoner and courtier as well, when he stated that "...this sin (sodomy) has been publicly committed to such an extent that it scarcely makes anyone blush, and that many have fallen into it in ignorance of its gravity."¹⁰⁶

Certainly, Damian's reputation and credibility was not diminished in the minds of the great and holy men of his day by either the writing or the publication of his treatise on sodomy. Pope Leo IX and future popes continued to seek out his services and advice including Pope Nicholas II (1059–1061) and Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). Also, Pope Stephen X (1057–1058) made Damian a cardinal in 1057 and consecrated him Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia and appointed him administrator of the Diocese of Gubbio.

Although never formally canonized, Saint Peter Damian was revered as a saint at the time of his death and his cultus has existed since then at the monastery of Faenza, at the desert hermitage of Fonte-Avellana, at the great abbey of Monte Cassino and at Hildebrand's Benedictine monastery at Cluny. In 1823, Pope Leo XII extended his feast (February 23) to the whole Church and pronounced Saint Peter Damian, a Doctor of the Church.¹⁰⁷

Alan of Lille in Defense of Nature

The Church's condemnation of homosexual acts continued to be expressed in many different ways throughout the medieval period—by tra-

ditional means such as council edicts and papal declarations and by more personal and unusual initiatives as Saint Damian's Book of Gomorrah and 120 years later, Alan of Lille's *The Complaint of Nature*.¹⁰⁸

I was introduced to this marvelous work of Alan of Lille by my long-time friend and pro-life colleague, Dr. Herbert Ratner, editor of *Child and Family* magazine and one of the 20th century's most illustrious family physicians, who frequently referred to "Nature" as the "Vicar-General" of God the Father, a phrase taken from Alan's work.

The famous monk, poet, theologian, eclectic philosopher and moral reformer was born in Lille in Flanders in 1116 and died at the Cistercian Monastery of Cîteaux in 1203. A devotee of Plato, his works reflected a phenomenal knowledge of both classical and Christian literature and made him one of the most celebrated teachers of his day.¹⁰⁹

Alan took part in the Third Lateran Council in Rome in 1179 called by Pope Alexander III and attended by the Emperor Frederick I and more than 302 bishops. Included among the many edicts directed at the reformation of morals was the provision that any cleric found guilty of the "sin against nature" was to be demoted from his state and kept in reclusion in a monastery to do penance. If he were a layman, he was to be excommunicated and "kept rigorously distant from the communication of the faithful."¹¹⁰

The Complaint of Nature (*De Planctu Naturae*), written in Menippean-style with strong satirical quasi-comic overtones, was Alan's most enduring work. Dated 1160–1165, I have used the translation and commentary of James J. Sheridan of St. Michael's College, Toronto.

The heroine of the poem is Nature herself who has been appointed by God as "His Substitute, His vice-regent," to ensure that there would be no deviations in the natural order. All goes well for a time, until Nature abandons her post in favor of an incompetent delegate (Venus) who opens up the door of vice and unnatural sexual practice to man, who of all God's creatures is capable of turning his back on the natural order.¹¹¹ In the end, Nature is forced to outlaw and "excommunicate" those who indulge in these vices.¹¹²

The Complaint of Nature opens with our poet beset by sorrow arising from man's contempt for Nature's laws regarding sex and generation. Homosexuality has become rampant. Women have lost their attractiveness and the great lovers are no more.¹¹³

In the midst of his trance-like state, the poet is visited by a beautiful creature wearing a crown of stars and a dress forever changing colour. She reveals herself to him—She is Nature.¹¹⁴ Her (com)plaint and the reason she has come to earth is that man, upon whom she has lavished many honours and privileges, has turned against her and is indulging in many sexual perversions. Yet Nature's laws cannot be eradicated she insists for they

guide all things, keep the world in order and bind things together which cannot be untied.¹¹⁵ It is man who must reform or Nature will punish him for his intransigence.¹¹⁶

The poet then asks Nature why she attacks sodomy so bitterly in light of the claim that even the gods, for example Jupiter, Bacchus and Apollo, are said to indulge in same-sex practices.

She replies that the works of these poets are “naked falsehoods made attractive by artistic appeal, or falsehoods dressed in a cloak of probability.” Man finds these lies attractive, Nature explains, because by associating unnatural sex with the gods, man is better able to excuse his own deviant behavior.

The poet then asks how it came to be that God’s vice-regent should find herself under such violent attack and Nature tells him her tale of woe.

Nature says she retired and sub-delegated her work to Venus, whom she gives explicit instructions that her laws and blueprint for generation are to be followed literally and without exception. Sexual unions are to be strictly between males and females. But Venus gets bored and abandons both her husband Hymenaeus to whom she has pledged her troth and her legitimate son Desire to take up an illicit affair with Antigenius with whom she spawns a bastard son, Sport (Jocus), who becomes the font of all perversions.

Nature charges Venus with unmanning man and changing “hes” into “shes.”¹¹⁷ Venus has turned him into a hermaphrodite.

Using a grammatical metaphor, Alan, speaking through Nature, laments that, whereas, under Nature’s laws, man is the subject and woman the predicate, man has betrayed his nature by attempting to become at once both subject and predicate—but it is an utter impossibility.¹¹⁸

In opening the door to such sexual transgressions, Nature asserts, Venus has also opened the door to other vices including injustice, fraud, gluttony, avarice, arrogance, envy, prodigality and disrespect for the law. However, Nature attests, man can and must combat these vices by practicing the opposite virtues—chastity, temperance, generosity and humility. Among the remedies she proposes are fasting, restrain from strong drink that unleashes lust, custody of the eyes and generosity.¹¹⁹

At the end of our tale, Nature calls upon her cohort Genius who dons his official robes and reads the sentence of excommunication—the punishment for man who has sinned against Nature. Nature and her attendants with their candles then depart, darkness descends and the poet awakens from his ecstasy.¹²⁰

Although Alan’s condemnation of sodomy took quite a different form than that of Saint Peter Damian, both writers appeared to be of one mind with the early Church Fathers with regard to the steps necessary to conquer the vice of homosexuality.

Saint Albert the Great and Saint Thomas Aquinas Condemn Sodomy¹²¹

Among the great Dominican Doctors of the Church of the Middle Ages, two—Saint Albertus Magnus and Saint Thomas Aquinas—were uncompromising in their condemnation of sodomy.

The “Doctor Universalis,” Saint Albert the Great (1206–1280), scientist, philosopher and theologian, who was recognized for his extraordinary genius and extensive knowledge, condemned sodomitical acts on four grounds:

1. They proceed from a burning frenzy that subverts nature.
2. They are acts of disgusting foulness of high and low estate.
3. The vice tenaciously binds its adherents making it difficult for a man to extricate himself from the practice.
4. The vice passes quickly from one person to another.¹²²

The equally gifted “Doctor Angelicus,” Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225?–1274), known for both his intellectual genius and humble Christocentric piety, held that all sexual acts between persons of the same-sex, even if consensual, are nevertheless transgressions of the Divine law by which man’s sexual nature is governed.¹²³ He contends that any sin “against nature” (*peccatum contra naturam*) debases man to a level beneath that of an animal.¹²⁴

The Creation of Inquisitional Tribunals

The Fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215, held under Pope Innocent III and attended by Saint Dominic, was the most important council of reform of the medieval period.

In terms of sacramental and moral reform, the council mandated personal confession, including the confession of sexual sins. This necessitated a better-educated clergy capable of making moral distinctions with regard to the exact nature and seriousness of the sins of the penitent, which in turn, contributed to a greater appreciation of and special insights into the complexities of human psychology and behaviors including sexual behaviors.

The council also included the promulgation of a number of canons designed to counteract the heretical teachings of the Albigensians and Cathari—sects to which the crime of sodomy has been traditionally linked. These sects were highly aggressive and hostile not only to the Church but to the State and legitimate civil authority as well.

Following the close of the council, the Church began a lengthy process of standardizing canonical and criminal procedures many of which had historic roots in both Roman and English law.¹²⁵ A new form of inquiry or “inquisition” using papal delegates and judges was established to combat

the growing menace of the heretical sects and to administer justice in the name of the Church.¹²⁶

The newly emerging Mendicant Orders were tailor-made for the task.¹²⁷ Because of their wide support among the populace and their superior theological training and detachment from worldly considerations, the Order of Preachers, popularly known as the Dominicans, and the Franciscans were chosen by Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) to organize and conduct these tribunals.¹²⁸ These early inquisitions were not a distinct and separate entity, but rather a grouping of permanent judges who executed their doctrinal functions in the name of the Church. Where they sat, there was the Inquisition.

According to Edward Peters, author of the landmark study *Inquisition*, “The essential purpose of the inquisitors was to save the souls of the heretics and those close to them and to protect the unity of the Church.”¹²⁹ This was in sharp contrast to the secular courts where the objective in the sentencing of convicted heretics was strictly a punitive one.¹³⁰ The sentences given out by the offices of the Inquisition were issued in the form of penance following an act of contrition and a promise of reform by the penitent and absolution by the priest.¹³¹

Peters noted that sodomy and bestiality were “part of that general class of moral offenses that were the legitimate concern of spiritual and temporal courts in an age when religion...was regarded as the fundamental bond and basis of all social, political, and legal structures.”¹³² Although the state was entitled to take independent action, it was the Church that exercised general jurisdiction over homosexual offenders.¹³³

The Church, guided by canon law, undertook the role of spiritual rehabilitation of the offending cleric or layman and leveled suitable penances upon those convicted of sexual sins and crime and as a whole the Inquisition tempered its justice with restraint and compassion in dealing with sex offenders, especially the young. However, cases involving unrepentant habitual sodomites or those which involved sexual violence (rape), the seduction of minors or incompetents, or heretical religious practices, were turned over to State for punishment. It was the State and not the pope or the inquisitors acting in his name, that pronounced and carried out the sentence for these grave crimes which was usually death by fire, the common punishment for capital crimes in those times.¹³⁴

Throughout the remainder of the 13th century and for the next 200 years—the period of European history known as the Renaissance—the condemnation and punishment of sodomy as a crime against God and the State would remain essentially unchallenged and unchanged.

Notes

- 1 Chris Scarre, *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995) 8–9. Gaius Octavius (Octavian) who defeated Mark Antony at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC, became Caesar Augustus, the first Roman emperor through a series of tactical political maneuvers whereby the office of emperor was grafted onto the traditional constitutional government. He ruled from 27 BC–14 AD. The emperor was the head of state and supreme military commander under the protection of the praetorian guard. However, his position of supreme power was always precarious at best as the record shows. According to Scarre, of the first 12 emperors only four died of natural causes, four were assassinated, two committed suicide, and two were most likely murdered.
- 2 See Romano Amerio, *Iota Unum—A Study of Changes in the Catholic Church in the XXth Century*. Translated from the 2nd Italian Edition by Rev. Fr. John P. Parsons (Kansas City, Mo.: Sarto House, 1996), 68. Amerio states that the Church teaches that man is corrupt from original sin and needs religion to heal him and save his soul. Catholicism takes man as he is while not accepting him as he is, and tries to make him a new man in Christ, Amerio continues. This thinking is in contrast to the popular belief that the Church must accept man, including homosexuals, as he is.
- 3 Amerio, 391. As defined by Saint Thomas Aquinas “The natural law is a participation in the eternal law and an impression of the divine light in the rational creature, by which it is inclined to its due action and end.”
- 4 Saint Thomas held sodomy to be a species of lust, but more serious because it is both contrary to reason and to nature.
- 5 Rocke, 10. Technically the Church’s definition of sodomy, especially during the Middle Ages, included bestiality and the anal penetration of a woman by a man. However, the term was commonly applied to same-sex acts, that is, males with males and females with females. This language served as the religious and juridical standard throughout the Middle Ages and into modern times.
- 6 Down through the centuries, sexual deviancy has been connected to religious deviancy, especially the teachings of dualism as promoted by sects such as the Cathars, Kabalistic Jews, and centuries later the Free Spirit Movement. The teachings of Catharism, especially its dualistic doctrine of good and evil and its condemnation of material creation including human procreation, were linked by the Church to the promotion of various forms of sexual deviancy including sodomy. See Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961) and Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee A Study in Christian Dualism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
- 7 Old and New Testament texts are taken from *The Holy Bible*, translated from the Latin Vulgate, using the Douay-Rheims edition republished in 1899 by the John Murphy Company. For the King James version of these texts see Rueda’s *The Homosexual Network*, 253–256.
- 8 Alan of Lille, *Plaint of Nature*, Translation and Commentary by James J. Sheridan (Toronto, Canada: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), 48.
- 9 Amerio, 80–81.
- 10 Bailey, 110.

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- 11 Atila Sinke Guimarães In the Murky Waters of Vatican II, from the Collection Eli, Eli, Lamma Sabacthani? Vol. I (Mettairie, La.: MAETA, 1997), 356.
- 12 Pierre J. Payer, Book of Gomorrah—An Eleventh-Century Treatise Against Clerical Homosexual Practices (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier, University Press, 1982), 8.
- 13 Guimarães, 356–357.
- 14 Foucault, 37–39.
- 15 See Andrea Marie Brokaw, “Hadrian and Antinous.” Full text available from <http://ladyhedgehog.hedgeie.com/antinous.html>.
- 16 For an excellent review of the life of Saint Athanasius see Cornelius Clifford’s work on the “Father of Orthodoxy” and defender of the doctrine of the Incarnation against the Arians as transcribed by David Joyce. The text is available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02035a.htm>. Eusebius, was one of a number of eunuchs who rose to power in the Byzantine era and promoted the doctrines of the Arians.
- 17 Bailey, 26, 83.
- 18 Ibid., 83. Also Guimarães, 361.
- 19 Saint Augustine, Confessions, Book III, Chapter VIII, online edition available from <http://www.ourladyswarriors.org/saints/augcon3.htm>.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Bailey, 100.
- 22 Guimarães, 361. Along with Saint Basil, Saint Clement of Alexandria the great Athenian-born Christian apologist and missionary theologian to the Hellenistic world railed against pederasty in Greek society, particularly the practices of one called Hercules of whom he said had become “effeminate among the Greeks, and a teacher of the disease of effeminacy to the rest of the Scythians, so much so that it was becoming tedious to recount his adulteries of all sorts, and debauching of boys.”
- 23 Owen J. Blum, OFM, Peter Damian Letters 31–60 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1990), 29.
- 24 Guimarães, 357. See also Blum, 30.
- 25 With the death of Emperor Antoninus Pius in 161 AD and up until the reign of Constantine in 312 AD, the tribunician power was often divided between East and West.
- 26 At the great battle of Milvian Bridge, Constantine defeated the Eastern emperor Licinius and reunited the divided Roman Empire. In gratitude for the protection that the Christian ensign had afforded his outnumbered but ultimately victorious troops in battle, he ended the persecution against Christians in both the East and West and permitted them free practice of their faith along side of the Jews and pagans. Gradually, the emperor granted the Church more and more privileges and in return, the early Church acknowledged the cult of the emperor under many forms. Constantine brought his children up as Christians although he himself remained a catechumen to the end of his life. He was known to prefer the company of Christian bishops rather than that of pagan priests, and was present at the First Council of Nicaea (Nicaea) in 325 AD which formulated the Nicene Creed that held against Arius that Christ was the true Divinity of the Son of God. For an excellent summary of the life of Constantine I (312–337 AD) see <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04295c.htm>.

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- 27 Guimarães, 368. The author quotes jurist Pietro Agostino d'Avack, "During successive centuries, this lay temporal legislation was substantially unaltered and was nearly identical everywhere, whether in Italy or in the other European States...." D'Avack cites anti-sodomy laws from Ferrara in 1566, Milan, Rome, and the Province of Marche in the 17th century, Florence in 1542, 1558, 1699, Sicily in 1504, and from Portugal and Spain.
- 28 The male eunuch was commonly used as a woman in homosexual relations. However, even though he was castrated, he was capable of having an erection and he could therefore play the active role in an act of sodomy. As a prelude to the action taken against Arianism, Theodosius I in 389 had already moved to deprive neo-Arian eunuchs from making or benefiting from wills.
- 29 Robert T. Meyer, Ph.D., translator, *Palladius: The Lausiaca History, Ancient Christian Writers—The Works of the Fathers in Translation Series* (Ramsey, N.J.: Newman; Longmans, Green & Co., 1965), 31.
- 30 Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 29–30. The *Codex Theodosianus*, contains the collection of imperial decrees made in 453 from the reign of Constantine onwards. The *Corpus Iuris Civilis* of Justinian issued in 529, codified and regularized the great mass of Roman legal rule and doctrine.
- 31 Justinian I like many Christian Emperors played an important role of the early councils of the Church. At the Second General Council of Constantinople in 529 with 165 bishops in attendance Emperor Justinian I and Pope Vigilius, condemned the errors of Origen and confirmed the first four general councils, especially that of Chalcedon whose authority was contested by some heretics.
- 32 Bailey, 158–159.
- 33 Arthur Frederick Ide, *Unzipped, The Popes Bare All* (Austin, Texas: American Atheist Press, Inc., 1987), 154.
- 34 Tannahill, 158–159.
- 35 Bailey, 99. Bailey noted that during this time period, in the normal life of a well-governed monastery, sodomy was rare or non-existent despite the temptations of life in an all male environment. He added that heterosexual violations of the law of celibacy were much more common than homosexual acts.
- 36 Saint Gregory the Great was born in the still-garrisoned city of Rome about 540 into a wealthy and saintly patrician family with large holdings in Sicily and a mansion on Caelian Hill in Rome. In 574, he forsook his public career as a Roman lawyer and administrator and took the cowl of a monk. Only four years later, Pope Benedict I (575–579) took him from seclusion, ordained him and made him one of the seven deacons (*regionarii*) of Rome. From 579–585 Gregory served as permanent ambassador to the Court of Byzantium in Constantinople—an experience that convinced the future pope that the future of the Roman Church laid in the West and not the East. His election to the papacy was confirmed by Emperor Maurice in 590. Pope Gregory began the long process by which monastic bodies have come under direct control of the Holy See rather than the bishopric in which the monastery is located. An excellent summary of the life and teachings of Pope Saint Gregory written by G. Roger Hudleston and transcribed by Janet van Heystsee is available from <http://www.ewtn.com/library/MARY/CEGREGRY.HTM>.
- 37 Guimarães, 262.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 367.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 357.

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- 40 This segment on Saint Damian originally appeared in Catholic Family News under the title “St. Peter Damian’s Book of Gomorrah A Moral Blueprint for Our Times” by Randy Engel as a two-part series in June and July 2002 and is available from <http://www.catholicthought.com/>.
- 41 The Millenari, Shroud of Secrecy—The Story of Corruption Within the Vatican (Canada: Key Porter Books, 1999), 149. According to retired Vatican prelate Msgr. Luigi Marinelli, the Millenari, i.e., the authors of this work, are a group of influential and knowledgeable Roman clerics who wish to remain anonymous.
- 42 For an excellent summary of the life and list of complete writings of Saint Peter Damian see the New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia, “St. Peter Damian,” by Leslie A. St. L. Toke, transcribed by Joseph C. Meyer available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11764a.htm>. Also Catholic Online Saints, “St. Peter Damian,” from <http://saints.catholic.org/saints/peterdamian.html>; Owen J. Blum, OFM, St. Peter Damian: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life—A Dissertation (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1947); and Christopher Rengers, OFM Cap., The 33 Doctors of the Church (Rockville, Ill.: Tan Publishers, 2000).
- 43 Blum, 81.
- 44 Ibid., 81, 185.
- 45 Ibid., 177.
- 46 Ibid., 181.
- 47 Ibid., 35.
- 48 This text is based on two translations of Peter Damian’s the Book of Gomorrah. The most accurate is by Owen J. Blum, OFM, Peter Damian, Letters 31–60, part of the Fathers of the Church—Medieval Continuation Series (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1990). An earlier bastardized translation, Book of Gomorrah—An Eleventh-Century Treatise Against Clerical Homosexual Practices, by Pierre J. Payer, (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier, University Press, 1982), is ideologically driven as evidenced by the author’s references to the works of well known pro-homosexual writers including John Boswell, Anthony Kosnick, and John McNeil in his introduction.
- 49 See comments of J. Wilhelm on “Heresy,” transcribed by Mary Ann Grelinger and available from http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07256b.htm#REF_IV.
- 50 Blum, 15.
- 51 Payer, 29–30.
- 52 Blum, 5–6.
- 53 Ibid., 6.
- 54 Ibid., pp. 6–7. Throughout the history of the Church the definition of sodomy has varied somewhat especially with regard to the issues of self-abuse, mutual masturbation by use of hands and bestiality. However, it has always included anal penetration, usually of another male, although in some cases of a female. Saint Peter Damian makes no reference to fellatio either as a form of masturbation or as a homosexual practice.
- 55 Ibid., 8.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid., 8–9.
- 58 Ibid., 10–11.

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- 59 Ibid., 12–13.
- 60 Ibid., 12–14.
- 61 Ibid., 15.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid., 16.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid., 17.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid., 17–18.
- 70 Ibid., 20–27.
- 71 Ibid., 27.
- 72 Ibid., 28.
- 73 Ibid., 38.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Ibid., 42.
- 76 Ibid., 35.
- 77 Ibid., 30–32. Here the term “vice” (Lat. Vitium) is used in its traditional sense as a habit inclining one to sin. This habit or vice, which according to Saint Thomas Aquinas, stands between power and act, is the product of repeated sinful acts of a given kind and when formed is in some sense also their cause. While Saint Thomas Aquinas holds that, absolutely speaking, the sin surpasses the vice in wickedness, he also states while the sin may be removed by God the vice or vicious habit may remain. One conquers vice by the continuous practice of all virtues, but particularly that virtue to which it is opposed. In the case of the vice of sodomy that particular virtue is chastity. See <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15403c.htm>.
- 78 Ibid., 44.
- 79 Ibid., 44–45.
- 80 Ibid., 47–49.
- 81 Payer, 17.
- 82 Blum, 49.
- 83 Ibid., 48–49.
- 84 Ibid., 53.
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 An excellent and extensive biography of Saint Leo IX, from which this short profile was taken, is available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09160c.htm>. The biography was written by Horace K. Mann, and transcribed by W. G. Kofron.
- 87 For a biography of Damasus II see <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04614a.htm>. For background material on Benedict IX see <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02429a.htm>. According to the New Advent biography by Horace K. Mann, transcribed by Kryspin J. Turczynski, Abbot Luke of the Abbey of Grottaferrata reports that Saint Bartholomew convinced Benedict to definitely resign the pontificate. Benedict died in penitence at Grottaferrata.

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- 88 A comprehensive biography of Pope Gregory VII by Thomas Oestreich, transcribed by Janet van Heyst, is available at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06791c.htm>.
- 89 See Horace K. Mann essay on St. Leo IX at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09160c.htm>.
- 90 Ibid.
- 91 Owen J. Blum, OFM, *Peter Damian Letters 31–60*. Fathers of the Church—Mediaeval Continuation Series (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America, 1990), 3.
- 92 Ibid., 3–4.
- 93 Ibid., 4.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Ibid., 5.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 Ibid.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Ibid., 4.
- 100 Ibid., 7.
- 101 Ibid., 5.
- 102 See Leslie A. St. L. Toke (transcribed by Joseph C. Meyer), “St. Peter Damian,” *New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia* at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11764a.htm>.
- 103 Payer, 21.
- 104 Toke, 1.
- 105 Guimarães, 357.
- 106 H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Love That Dared Not Speak Its Name* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), 35–36.
- 107 Toke, 2.
- 108 Also called Alain de l’Isle, Alain of Lille, and Alain Von Ryssel. I have chosen Alan of Lille as it is the name used by James J Sheridan in his translation and commentary of *The Plaint of Nature*.
- 109 For biographical data and a review of Alan of Lille’s writings see William Turner, “Alain de l’Isle,” at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01244e.htm>.
- 110 Guimarães, 358.
- 111 Sheridan, 33–35, 99.
- 112 Ibid., 46.
- 113 Ibid., 35.
- 114 Ibid., 36–38.
- 115 Ibid., 56.
- 116 Ibid., 39.
- 117 Ibid., 67.
- 118 Ibid., 68.
- 119 Ibid., 46.
- 120 Ibid., 45.
- 121 For an interesting comparison of the two great giants of the Church see Simon Tugwell, OP, *Albert & Thomas* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988).

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- 122 Hyde, 32. Also Guimarães, 363. Note: Hyde misdates Saint Albert the Great as living in the 800s.
- 123 Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, q. 95, a. 2.
- 124 Guimarães, 363.
- 125 Edward Peters, *Inquisition* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 52.
- 126 For an introduction to the Inquisitional system of ecclesiastical justice see “Inquisition,” by Joseph Blotötzer and transcribed by Matt Dean available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08026a.htm>.
- 127 At the Council of Vienne (1311–1313) held in France by order of Pope Clement V, the first of the Avignon popes, the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, 300 bishops, and three kings, Philip IV of France, Edward II of England, and James II of Aragon, were present. The synod dealt with the crimes and errors imputed to the Knights Templars, the Fraticelli, the Beghards, and the Beguines. Acts of sodomy were among the crimes impugned to the Knights Templars. Also on the agenda was the opening of a new crusade and the reformation of the clergy.
- 128 Peters, 58.
- 129 *Ibid.*, 64.
- 130 *Ibid.*, 129.
- 131 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 87.
- 133 Bailey, 154.
- 134 Peters, 67.

Chapter 3

The Renaissance

Introduction

The humanistic revival of classical art, literature and learning known as the Renaissance began in Italy in the 14th century and spread throughout Europe over the next 250 years. It was an era that witnessed great historical changes for both Church and State including the rise of nationalistic tendencies among the secular powers which helped fuel the Reformation in Germany in 1517 and England in 1533. The discovery of the New World revolutionized European commerce and economics stimulating the development of urbanization in the great cities of Europe and the rise of a new ruling class of wealthy merchants and bankers.

There was also a weakening of the Christian moral life especially among the upper classes and the Church hierarchy not excluding the Roman Curia and papacy for whom temporal consideration generally overrode any competing religious and moral considerations. It was said of the Renaissance period that in the quest for the ideal Christian life, the cult of holiness had been replaced by the cult of greatness.¹

Given this sad state of ecclesiastical affairs, it is more than passing interest that the only Renaissance pope to be canonized was Saint Pius V (1566–1572) whose pontificate was marked by a zealotry for the purity of the Faith and a campaign for moral reform of the laity and clergy that included an end to the vice of sodomy which the pope termed “the execrable libidinous vice against nature.”²

At the personal level, the universality and objectiveness of Christian morals were undermined by the new heretical doctrines of the Protestant Reformers including justification by faith alone without reference to good works, the denial of freedom of will, which furnished an excuse for moral lapses and the personal certainty of salvation in faith (i.e., subjective confidence in the merits of Christ).³

In terms of sexual morality, however, it would be a mistake to characterize the Renaissance as a period of unbridled sexual license in which all expressions of carnal lust and sexual excesses were equally tolerated if not encouraged.⁴ This most certainly was not the case. For whatever his moral failings and materialistic tendencies, the Renaissance man remained, at the very core of his being, fundamentally religious. This perhaps is the best explanation as to why throughout Renaissance Europe and England, the prevailing common sense view of sodomy was that it was an abomination.⁵

Studies on Sodomy in Renaissance Italy

Among the great city-states that emerged in Italy during the Renaissance period was the Republic of Florence considered by many to be the original model for the modern State in the world and birthplace of Dante Alighieri and the first Medici, and the Republic of Venice, mistress of the seas and center of Italian industry and commerce. Both Florence and Venice vied for the title of the birthplace of statistical science and both city-states kept detailed historical records including population statistics and legal and juridical records including convictions for sodomy and other vices—making them a historian's paradise.

In recent years a number of historiographers have chronicled the rise of homosexual practices in Renaissance Italy and Europe. Oxford Press has published at least two major works on the subject—Guido Ruggiero's, *The Boundaries of Eros—Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (1985) and Michael Rocke's *Forbidden Friendships Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (1996). In 1989, Harrington Press, an imprint of Haworth Press, Inc. that publishes a large number of homosexual texts, published a more generalized study, *The Pursuit of Sodomy—Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, edited by Kent Gerard and Gert Hekma.

The term "sodomy" as used in all these historical references encompassed a broader definition than strictly anal penetration. In general usage, sodomy was equated with male same-sex acts of every kind including mutual masturbation and fellatio.⁶ However, the terms "sodomite" and "bugger" were usually reserved for the man who was judged to be addicted to the vice and who took the "active" role in the same-sex act typically with a younger partner. As we shall see, throughout Europe, sodomy in all its forms was a dangerous and punishable crime with penalties ranging from large fines and exile to burning at the stake.

Sodomy in Renaissance Florence

In his excellent study on sodomy and the evolution of the Office of the Night in Florence, Michael Rocke made it clear that for the Renaissance man, homosexual behavior and not homosexual identity remained the cornerstone of common thought on the subject. Florentines felt no compulsion to "organize their understanding and representation of sexuality," based on sexual deviancy alone, he said.⁷ In their mind, any man was seen as being capable of engaging in sodomy, as well as normal sexual relations with women, hence they did not seek to segregate males exclusively according to the object of their sexual desires.⁸

As Rocke pointed out early in his study, long before the Renaissance period, Florence suffered the reputation of being the capital of two vices—usury, practiced by the international merchant-banking houses like Bardi and Peruzzi, and sodomy. Among Italians and foreigners alike, "to sodom-

ize” was dubbed florenzen and a “sodomite,” a Florenzer,” he noted.⁹ As for the Florentines, they insisted that sodomy was an imported vice brought into the city by wayfarers and brigands (trapassi or malandrini).¹⁰

Among the sociological factors that contributed to the general atmosphere of lax morals and the practice of sodomy in particular in Renaissance Florence, said Rocke were:

- The catastrophic demographic consequences of the Black Death and subsequent famine and social and political anarchy. In addition to the Great Plague of 1348–1350 there were recurrent episodes in 1363–1364, 1400, 1417, 1423–1424 and 1430.
- The traditional social patterns of late marriage resulting in a profusion of youthful bachelors.
- The strict seclusion of respectable young unmarried women prior to marriage.
- The revival of interest in the arts and culture of ancient Greece with its tradition of pederasty.¹¹

How pervasive was the vice in Florence?

Rocke reported that historical records of the early Renaissance period support the charge that all social strata were infected with the vice.¹² The rich and the poor, the layman and the cleric, the citizen and the foreigner were said to practice sodomy. Taverns, public baths, houses of gambling and prostitution and certain public locations such as the Via tra’Pellicciai (Street of the Furriers) were notorious gathering places for sodomites. Rocke also identified certain occupations that were popularly associated with sodomy including the armed forces, the theater, the arts and teaching (dance and fencing).¹³

Was there something resembling a “homosexual sub-culture” in Renaissance Florence?

Rocke answered “no,” although he did document the existence of discreet “networks” or “circles” of sodomites that met the needs of men desiring same-sex contacts.¹⁴ These groupings, however, did not form a separate “sexual minority” in the modern sense, he explained. Rather they were absorbed into the larger and more general framework of illicit sexual activities that thrived in the male-dominated culture of Florence. His comments on the subject are worth quoting in full:

Enmeshed in these dense and often far-flung webs of affiliation, sodomy in Florence had a marked collective character. The extensive and multi-faceted networks of associations and friendships among sodomites and others sympathetic to them help account for the vitality of sodomy in the community and, consequently, for the difficulty of eradicating it.¹⁵

Pederasty Dominates the Florentine Scene

As to the particular form that male sodomy took in Florence, there was no question that it followed the same pattern that had dominated the

Mediterranean scene centuries before the coming of Christ—it was pederasty in the classical Greek mode with only minor divergences.

The Rocke study demonstrated that homosexual relations in Florence followed a strict hierarchical form that included an older male between the ages of 19 and 30, and a younger male, usually a teenage boy, between the ages of 14 to 16. The former took the manly active or dominant role and the latter, the passive or feminine role. According to Rocke, these roles were rarely exchanged except where two adolescent peers were involved in mutual sex play.¹⁶

In order to attract and seduce handsome young sex partners, older Florentines employed traditional inducements similar to those involved in the Greek *eromenos*—*erestes* relationship—money, gifts and in some cases, the promise of social advancement. If the youth was very poor, an offering of food or housing was usually sufficient to entice him to sexual service, Rocke remarked.¹⁷

Obviously, the more pleasure that the adult male could give his young partner the easier it was to secure his continued cooperation in the homosexual relationship. Rocke quoted the Venetian libertine priest Antonio Rocco who, in his apologia for pederasty, *L'Alcibiade fanciullo a scola* (ca 1630) contended that while the adolescent takes “natural” and “physiological” pleasure in being penetrated, it is a “conscientious lover’s duty” to foster that pleasure.¹⁸

From the vantage point of the younger partner, sodomy was also seen as a transitional venture on the way to traditional heterosexual marriage. Rocke made the important point that although some men referred to their younger sexual companion as their “girl” or their “woman,” and to boy prostitutes as “bitches,” the teen partners themselves did not appear to suffer from any “sexual gender identity crisis,” that is, they did not think of themselves as women even though they permitted their bodies to be used like women.¹⁹

One of the most important revelations of the Rocke study was that consensual homosexual relationships involving two grown men were virtually unheard of in Florence. As Rocke stated, “...sex between mature men, was, with rare exceptions, unknown.”²⁰ It was considered both “dishonorable” and “feminine” for any full grown man to play the woman’s part, even those men who sought out same-sex relations exclusively, he said. Habitual or inveterate sodomites were known to exist in Renaissance Florence as a small group of older unmarried men, but their passive partners were teenage boys not their peers, Rocke explained.²¹

Mendicant Orders Lead Campaign for Moral Reform

Although Florence had among the most severe laws against sodomy in all Europe, up until the early 1400s, these statutes were unevenly and spo-

radically enforced. As noted earlier, patterns of late marriage and the isolation of young women before marriage had ingrained sodomy into the very social fabric of Florentine society making wholesale enforcement of such laws virtually impossible.

Most sodomy cases that made it to the Florentine courts involved notorious habitual offenders including older men who played the passive role; violent and/or statutory male rape including child abuse and gang rape; blasphemy or sacrilege; or cases in which foreigners were charged with sodomizing Florentine boys.²² Guilty parties faced harsh punishment including heavy fines, castration, prison, corporal punishment, exile and execution.

Historian Rocke said that the opening of the 15th century marked the beginning of a radical shift in public attitudes toward sodomy in Florence whose citizens demanded a more vigorous enforcement of anti-sodomy laws and an end to laissez faire tolerance of the vice by public authorities. At the same time there was an effort to make the punishment more aptly fit the crime especially when the case involved adult first time offenders and youth.²³

Among the many factors that contributed to the public's groundswell for a campaign of moral reform in Florence and other cities of Italy and Europe was the growing popular belief that God had sent the plague, famine and incessant fratricidal warfare as a punishment for the widespread practice of sodomy. This apocalyptic message that recalled the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire and brimstone for the crime of sodomy was reinforced by the two of the greatest "Preachers of Repentance" of the late Middle Ages—the saintly Franciscan Italian missionary and miracle worker, Saint Bernardino of Siena, and the remarkable Dominican moral reformer, Girolamo Savonarola.

Saint Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444)

Known world-wide as the "Apostle of Italy," the mendicant friar Bernardino degli Albizeschi transversed the great cities and smaller villages of central and northern Italy for more than 40 years with his call to the faithful, including his own brothers of the Observant and Order of Friars Minor, to reform their lives.

Born into a noble and influential Sienese family, Bernardino, like Saint Peter Damian, suffered the loss of his parents at a young age and was likewise reared by relatives, in this case, his pious aunts.²⁴

In 1402, at the age of 21, Bernardino received the Franciscan habit at the friary of San Francesco in Siena that belonged to the Observant branch of the Order of Friars Minor. Two years later, after his profession and ordination, he founded a new Observant friary outside the city called La Capriola, where he led a quiet and secluded life of prayer and study of Holy Scripture. It was not until 12 years later, in 1417, that Bernardino emerged

from the friary to begin his public ministry to promote morality and regenerate Italian society under the banner of the Holy Name of Jesus.

As all his biographers including Franco Mormando have confirmed, in an age when preaching was the most important means of mass communication and mass instruction of the faithful, the holy and charismatic Bernardino drew thousands of listeners to his sermons, many of which, by necessity, were preached in the town square to accommodate the vast crowds.²⁵ His audience “embraced the entire spectrum of society,” said Mormando, from the most influential and powerful personages of Church and Crown to the poorest and humblest of laborers, farmers and servants; from the most educated circles of society to the most illiterate peasant.²⁶ Yet the friar’s message remained the same for one and all—repent and reform your lives.

Bernardino Attacks Sodomy in Lenten Message

With the same vigor and explicitness of Saint Peter Damian, 370 years before him, Bernardino rarely missed an opportunity to denounce the sin from which “even the Devil flees in horror,”—the sin of sodomy, explained Mormando.²⁷ Not surprisingly, when the famous preacher from Siena was invited by Florentine civic (not ecclesiastical) officials to deliver a series of Lenten sermons in 1424 and 1425 to rally popular support for moral reform including the abolition of sodomy, his audience was hardly a disinterested one.

These lengthy sermons demonstrated a remarkable knowledge of some of the causal factors that we now associate with homosexuality as well as insights into the nature of the vice and the effects it produces on males unfortunate enough to be caught up in the vice. Saint Bernardino preached:

No sin had greater power over the soul than the one of cursed sodomy, which was always detested by those who lived according to God. ...Such passion for undue forms borders on madness. This vice disturbs the intellect, breaks an elevated and generous state of soul, drags great thoughts to petty ones, makes [men] pusillanimous and irascible, obstinate and hardened, servilely soft and incapable of anything. ...Sodomites, unrepentant, will suffer more pains in hell than anyone else, because this is the worst sin there is.²⁸

Rocke, also among the friar’s biographers, recorded that Bernardino portrayed the inveterate sodomite as a man who is apathetic toward the fair sex, opposed to marriage, a hater of children and practitioners of sterile and perverted sexual practices which greatly offended God.²⁹ In his sermons, the friar claimed that some men who become habitual sodomites in their youth continue to use boys sexually in maturity and that these individuals once past the age of 32 or 33 found it especially difficult to give up the vice, said Rocke.³⁰

The holy friar showed remarkable insight into the problems a woman is likely to expect should she marry a habitual sodomite. According to Rocke,

Bernardino offered this “general rule”—“the greater a sodomite he is, the more he will hate his wife, as pretty as she may be...”³¹ The friar noted that in addition to being reminded daily that her husband preferred boys to her, there was also the danger that he might force his “unnatural passions” on her, Rocke recorded.³²

Reflecting on the dangers of rampant unrest and intrigues that characterized Florentine political life, the friar drew a connection between homoerotic loyalties and the subversion of the common good.³³ He was not alone in his thinking, said Rocke. An earlier 1418 Florentine law sought to exclude from civic and guild offices any convicted or suspected sodomites on the basis that they might conspire with one another against the State.³⁴

But, sodomites were not the only objects of Bernardino’s scathing attacks, observed Rocke. The friar also lashed out against parents who fail to set a good religious and moral example for their children and who do not properly monitor and discipline their adolescent sons.³⁵ Along similar lines, Mormando confirmed that the fiery preacher condemned the emasculating mother who encouraged effeminacy of dress and manners in her son either to psychologically unman him or in some cases to attract wealthy and influential male suitors for the boy.³⁶

Bernardino did not overlook the rich and powerful and the privileged in his condemnation of sodomy, nor was he above warning the populace of the alleged favoritism towards sodomites by the powerful Medici, said Rocke.³⁷

Finally, Bernardino attacked the ease with which sodomites escaped punishment in both Florence and his own city of Siena and demanded that public officials strictly enforce the laws against sodomy in order to restore social and moral stability to the city.

Given the extraordinary power of the saintly friar to convert the hard-hearted and morally indifferent to repentance and reform we can assume Bernardino was successful in raising the consciousness level of the individual Florentine as to the moral and social dangers of sodomy. However, it took seven long years before Florentine government decided to institute a new program of policing and punishing the crime of sodomy—a program that was directed more at managing and controlling the vice rather than eradicating it.

Michael Rocke on the Office of the Night

In 1432, the Republic of Florence created the Office of the Night (*Ufficiali di notte*), heretofore referred to as “the Office,” to systematically and vigorously police and prosecute males who engaged in sodomy including “consensual” affairs. Rocke reported that this specially convened judiciary commission was endowed with sweeping investigative and policing powers and it enjoyed an unprecedented reign of 70 years during which time it tried over 17,000 cases of sodomy leading to about 3,000 convictions.³⁸ It is the detailed records of these trials, uncovered by Rocke, which

provide such an amazingly intimate look at the practice of sodomy in Renaissance Italy.

According to Rocke, since the draconian penalties of the past against convicted sodomites did not appear to be effective in curbing the vice, the Office decided upon a different strategy, one that was more lenient, especially toward youthful offenders and put more emphasis on social sanctions such as public corporal punishment and the use of public ridicule and ostracism.³⁹ It is obvious, said Rocke, that the Office saw itself as the court of last resort rather than first resort in dealing with convicted sodomites.⁴⁰

Rocke's original research into the history of the Office revealed the manner in which it undertook the task of policing the vice. One of its most prominent features, said Rocke, was the leniency shown to the adolescent partner and the defacto acknowledgement by the Office that so-called "consensual" sex with minors often involved a degree of bribery, intimidation, or threat or actual violence by the adult male partner.⁴¹ Also, as Rocke reminded his readers, "Although the courts seldom penalized boys who let men sodomize them, families and the community evidently had their own way of punishing, shaming, and even ostracizing them."⁴²

The primary form of punishment administered by the Office was a monetary one—the payment of fines on a sliding scale based on the age and social status of the offender. Rocke noted that fines were reduced for men who after being arrested or cited by the Office freely confessed their misdeeds, while those who voluntarily turned themselves into the Office, confessed their crimes and named their partners, were awarded immunity from prosecution.⁴³ For the most serious cases there was prison or exile. False accusations were vigorously punished, Rocke said.⁴⁴

As wide as its juridical powers were, however, the Office did not have jurisdiction over clerical sodomites, Rocke stated. In 1436, when the Office attempted to extend its authority over monasteries, Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447) was quick to publicly reject the magistracy's action as an infringement of ecclesiastical privilege.⁴⁵

After the officials of the Office identified monks, priests, chaplains, vicars and other members of the clergy as pederasts, they turned their names over to the proper ecclesiastical authorities including the Inquisition. However, unlike Venice and Valencia where churchmen were among the conspicuously prosecuted for sodomy, it does not appear that the vice was a prominent feature of the Florentine clergy. Rocke did, however, report on a few of the more sensational cases that were tried by the Church.⁴⁶

Rethinking a Failed Strategy

Whatever the original hopes of the founders of Office of the Night were for the lenient application of the Republic's anti-sodomy laws as a means of controlling spread of the vice, by the late 1450s it was clear that the strategy had backfired. For while it was true that earlier draconian measures

against sodomites including castration and capital punishment did not totally eradicate the vice from the Florentine landscape, it did not necessarily follow that the Office's novel policies of leniency, self-denunciation with guaranteed immunity and a tendency to turn a blind-eye to an ever growing number of adult recidivists, would fare any better.

According to Rocke, by 1458 a full crisis was in the making. As common sense would dictate, the more tolerance the Office exhibited toward sodomy the more the vice increased. Not unexpectedly, the growing network of confirmed sodomites in Florence had taken full advantage of the law to escape punishment and protect and advance their own interests.

The Florentine government demanded that the Office of the Night institute a more vigorous and punitive approach to the punishment of sodomites, said Rocke.⁴⁷ The Officers of the Night countered this order with the argument that such action unfairly discriminated against the poor who made up the bulk of convicted offenders, for, unlike the rich, they could not pay larger fines nor could they escape punishment by going abroad. This conflict of interests, as Rocke noted, reflected the "...considerable differences that often existed between prescriptive norms and practice, between laws against sodomy and their enforcement."⁴⁸ In actuality, these differences were never entirely resolved.

In 1502, the Office of the Night was dissolved and its responsibilities transferred to other offices. The local magistracy continued to handle the every-day garden variety of cases of sodomy using fines and public humiliation as punishment, reported Rocke. More serious and politically explosive sodomy cases such as those involving the use of violence and forcible rape; multiple crimes including murder; cases involving Jews; and cases of sodomy that took place in churches, were turned over to higher criminal courts such as the Watch of Eight, Rocke confirmed.⁴⁹

Frate Girolamo Savonarola Wars Against Sodomy

While this Great Debate was being carried out in the secular realm in Florence, the Dominicans entered the fray in the person of Girolamo Savonarola—another of the great religious protagonists of the Renaissance era whose demand for moral reform sent shock waves throughout Florence, the Papal States and Rome—the seat of the Roman Curia and the papacy.

Savonarola was born at Ferrara on Saint Matthew's day, September 21, 1452, the third son of a noble family who had come from Padua to settle in Ferrara at the invitation of Niccolò III of the great house of Este, a rival to the Medici in their patronage of literature, the arts and science.⁵⁰

William Clark, one of Savonarola's English biographers has noted that from early childhood, Savonarola possessed "a serious, almost sorrowful nature" that continued to characterize his adult life and religious ministry.⁵¹

The young man was in his early 20s when he entered the Dominican Order at Bologna to begin a life of prayer, learning and ascetic practices.

In 1481, the preacher's superior sent him to Florence where it appeared that his strident preaching on the need for repentance and reform offended the ears of the populace most especially the courtiers of the ruling House of Lorenzo de' Medici. Undiscouraged, Savonarola went on to preach the Gospel message throughout Italy centering more and more attention on the Book of Revelation and the coming prophecy of the Great Chastisement to come and rebirth of the Church that was to follow.

He returned to Florence in 1489. Two years later he was appointed prior to the great monastery of San Marco, whereupon, he immediately began his program for the moral reform of the Order by establishing a new Dominican congregation that took on the strict observance of the original Rule of St. Dominic—a life distinguished by severe austerity, prayer and learning.

The new prior did not demand of others what he himself did not observe. His own life was one of abstemious behavior—he undertook great fasts and wore only the coarsest and most patched clothing. In an age when clerical fornication, adultery and concubinage were the rule rather than the exception, “No one ever doubted of the chastity of Savonarola.”⁵² The new prior also established the custom of regularly visiting the cells of his Dominican charges that he might raise their minds and hearts to God. Inspired by the example of Savonarola, the ranks of his small congregation quickly swelled to 238 monks many of whom were drawn from among the most prominent families of the city.

In August 1490, Clark reported, the Frate began to publicly preach at the great cathedral of San Marco. Florence was to be the starting point of his new campaign to reform the Church, the clergy and religious and the laity. This time thousands of Florentines flocked to hear him denounce the immoralities and vanities of the age. A special gallery was erected for young children and youth to more clearly hear Savonarola's message, for the monk had long determined that they held the key to a new Reformation.⁵³

With the death of Lorenzo, “the Magnificent” on April 8, 1492, and the subsequent collapse of Medicean rule and restoration of the Florentine Republic in November 1494, the door was opened to a new era of moral reform modeled along Savonarolian lines and a renewed attack against sodomy both by the Office of the Night and the Watch of Eight.⁵⁴

The Reform of the Fanciulli

One of the most interesting aspects of Savonarola's program for the eradication of sodomy, as reported by Rocke, was that involving the conversion and rehabilitation of the fanciulli, the delinquent and often violent and licentious adolescent boys of Florence, many of who regularly offered their sexual services as passive partners to the older sodomites of the

city.⁵⁵ By cutting off the “supply,” the Florentine preacher reasoned, one could diminish if not eliminate the “demand.”

Clark reported that following a lengthy period of self-imposed silence that began in October 1495, Savonarola emerged from his monastery in February 1496, to proclaim his new anti-sodomy program directed at the re-education and religious formation of Florentine boys and youth.⁵⁶ For the period it was in effect it met with extraordinary success. According to Rocke, not only did he persuade many of the young men to turn away from a life of sexual promiscuity and violence in favor of a life of good works and pious devotion, but he also motivated them to police and aggressively reproach those who continued to practice the vice.⁵⁷

Perhaps Rocke’s most startling and significant revelation concerning Savonarola’s reform program for boys was the fact that as the available pool of young passive partners began to dry up, the city’s sodomites were forced to turn to older boys and adult men for sexual favors.⁵⁸ Rocke’s examination of the documents of the Office of the Night revealed that there was a rise in the normal mean age of passive partners from 16 to 18 years old.

Rocke himself did not speculate on the implications of this historic temporary transition, from classic pederasty to more adult peer homosexual relations in late 15th century Florence.

However, I believe that it is not too far afield to draw at least a partial causal relationship between the rise of child protection laws including the criminalization of pederasty, and the rise of a full blown male adult homosexual subculture in Italy and throughout Europe in the late 1700s.

In the years immediately following the death of Frate Savonarola, whose controversial foreign politics and intrigues combined with his public condemnation of papal court immorality led to his excommunication by Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) in 1497 and his arrest, torture and execution at the stake one year later, the tumultuous political see-sawing of anti-sodomy legislation in Florence continued unabated well into the 17th century.⁵⁹

From Renaissance Florence we now transport the reader to Renaissance Venice.

Clerical Sodomy in Renaissance Venice

In Guido Ruggiero’s *The Boundaries of Eros—Sex Crime and Sexuality in Renaissance Venice*, written ten years before Rocke’s classic study on sodomy in Florence, we find that by the 1400s, sodomy, once a minor blip on the Venetian moral landscape had grown into a major problem for the Republic, infecting all classes of society including the nobility and the clergy.⁶⁰

Although one finds many similarities between the two city-states of Florence and Venice with regard to the policing of the vice, there are some unique aspects of the Venetian approach that warrant special attention,

most especially the struggle for jurisdiction over offending clerics who have committed capital crimes including sodomy.

Under Venetian law, sodomy was defined as any sexual act between two males including group (not individual) masturbation, external interfemoral stimulation between the legs of a passive partner, and anal penetration.⁶¹ As in Florence, the nature of most sodomy cases was decidedly pederastic.

Ruggiero reported that the culpable partner in sodomy cases was generally the male adult. His passive adolescent partner was merely a submissive agent.⁶² Physicians were required to report to the public authorities all cases involving the rupture of the anal orifice of a minor boy due to an act of sodomy, said Ruggiero, and death at the stake was almost a virtual certainty for men convicted of the homosexual rape of a youth.⁶³

Despite the severe penalties attached to sodomy convictions, however, Venice had a lively homosexual network similar to that of Florence, that was part of the larger underground network of illicit activities in the city, but did not constitute a separate homosexual subculture.⁶⁴ Ruggiero reported that there were certain locations in the city that were notorious for same-sex male assignations liaisons.⁶⁵ He also revealed that it was a common practice in sodomite circles, to feminize male names, for example, changing Rolandino to Rolandina.⁶⁶

As outlined by Ruggiero, the principal unit of judiciary power in Venice was the powerful Dieci or Council of Ten, the membership of which was drawn from the city's wealthiest patrician families. The Ten delivered justice. More importantly, it delivered equal justice, which meant that it was not above sentencing nobles to death for capital crimes including sodomy.⁶⁷

Unlike Florence, sodomy was always viewed by the Venetian ruling class as a "seriously willed crime," claimed Ruggiero.⁶⁸ He reported that although the city had its own Office of the Night that was charged with policing public morals including the prosecution of sodomites, the Ten assumed jurisdiction in particularly grave cases including incidents of sodomy on Venetian ships; incidents of sodomy that occurred in churches; and cases involving Jews and Christians, or members of the Venetian aristocracy, or high ranking churchmen.⁶⁹

One such case cited by Ruggiero involved a dual crime of sodomy and murder committed on sacred ground. A non-noble son of a city official was accused of the murder of a nobleman named Morosini at the monastery of San Zaccaria. The youth admitted the killing, but said he acted only in self-defense in an attempt to protect his virtue. Since the youth held to his story even under torture, the Ten released him despite pressures from the noble's family to sentence him to death.⁷⁰

The issue of clerical sodomy had long been a vexing one for the Council of Ten. According to Ruggiero, the Ten along with other Venetian law enforcement agencies believed that the Church was "too lenient" in its

treatment of convicted clerical sodomites and that it had a tendency “to protect its own in such matters.”⁷¹ The key question still being asked today was, “Is the cleric above the secular law in the commission of a crime involving a minor?” It appeared to the Ten that while laymen including noblemen convicted of sodomy, received harsh punishment, clerics, even in cases that involved minors, often got away without punishment by Church officials.⁷² Under these circumstances, said Ruggiero, the Ten appealed to the pope for help and received it.⁷³

Sensitive to the continuous charge that the Church was soft in its dealing with clerical sodomites Ruggiero noted that the pope also ordered all clerics to wear clerical attire (robes) and to be registered with the local bishop “in order to be properly distinguished from non-clerics seeking special status to avoid secular punishment.”⁷⁴ And, although death by burning was ruled as unsuitable for a man of the cloth, more stringent penalties were instituted for clerics found guilty of the crime of sodomy including the lifetime confinement of such clerics on a diet of bread and water, Ruggiero pointed out.⁷⁵

Throughout the other kingdoms of Europe, the legal secular standards for the punishment of the crime of sodomy by the Church and State remained essentially the same as that of the great city-states of Florence and Venice throughout the Renaissance period.

Sodomy in Other Renaissance Cultures

In Spain, the prosecution of sodomites was the joint-task of both the Inquisition and the State. Penalties for laymen ranged from corporal punishment and exile to burning at the stake. Clerical sodomites were usually punished by defrocking and in some cases handed over to the secular authorities for execution after the confession and absolution of their sins.

Feminist apologist Professor Mary Elizabeth Perry in her essay “‘The Nefarious Sin’ in Early Modern Seville,” reported that in late medieval Spain, where “crimes against nature” were closely linked to “religious deviancy,” death by fire was reserved for apostates, heretics and sodomites.⁷⁶

Perry stated that since Seville was located in the Kingdom of Aragon, the Inquisition under the direction of the Jesuit Order retained jurisdiction over sodomy cases, whereas in Castile, the crime was a matter for the secular authorities.⁷⁷

Most of the cases that came before the Inquisition, Perry explained, involved the already familiar pederastic pattern of homosexual relations in late medieval Europe, that is, the sexual servicing of older men by young boys in their mid to late teens.⁷⁸ In cases involving minors under the age of 17, the Jesuits, who were more interested in the salvation of souls than in the infliction of punitive measures, generally argued for leniency and the rehabilitation of youthful offenders, Perry noted.⁷⁹ The Jesuits also main-

tained a prison ministry for adult sodomites who were held in separate cells in the Royal Prison in Seville.⁸⁰

Perry claimed that in Seville, a center of Catholic piety with a very large number of churches and monasteries, the vice of sodomy was practiced by a significant number of religious and the secular clergy.⁸¹

In some clerical cases, the priest or religious was charged with the solicitation of youth for sexual purposes in the confessional, she reported. Penalties for this dual offense of sacrilege and sodomy ranged from reclusion to a monastery where the convicted cleric was prohibited from hearing confessions and disciplined by his bishop or religious superior, to execution by burning. The latter punishment was usually reserved for notorious clerical offenders or cases involving the sexual abuse of young children, said Perry.⁸²

One such notorious case cited by Perry involved a religious by the name of Pascual Jaime, who served as chaplain to the Duke of Alcada.⁸³ Caught in a compromising position with one of his dolled-up street urchins who were always in his company, Jaime admitted his life-long pederast passions to the Inquisition. He was convicted, defrocked, handed over to the secular authorities by his archbishop and publicly burned at the stake in front of the archbishop's palace.⁸⁴ Later, his young accomplice, Francisco Legasteca, who had been awaiting trial in Royal Prison, was also found guilty of sodomy and despite his young age, was also consigned to the flames as a warning to others who had been part of Jaime's pederast network, Perry noted.⁸⁵

Sodomy in Renaissance England

In comparison with its European counterparts, the Renaissance came relatively late to England—starting in the late 1400s and ebbed in the mid-1600s. It was a period of English history when religion was intimately tied to politics and the crime of sodomy viewed as a treasonable act by the Crown.

As documented by Alan Bray, author of *Homosexuality in Renaissance England*, in both Elizabethan and Jacobean England, the Protestant Reformers propagated the view that the vice of sodomy was a foreign import—introduced to the isle by the Lombards and Papists—more specifically, the Jesuit Order.⁸⁶

In popular literature of the period, the papacy itself was portrayed as a “second Sodom” and a “cistern full of sodomy,” and the Jesuits as Rome's Antichrist shock troops and the natural enemies of the State.⁸⁷

From their pulpits, Protestant ministers condemned priestly celibacy as a cause of sexual deviancy in religious life, while upholding marriage for the clergy as a natural remedy for concupiscence and a “bulwark against sexual debauchery.”⁸⁸ Scriptural references to God's destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah as a punishment for sodomy provided another popular theme

for their sermons as was the connection of sodomy to heresy and witchcraft and sorcery.⁸⁹

English Catholics in turn were wont to blame the “unspeakable” vice on the influx of Protestants from the Continent.⁹⁰ Historian Cynthia B. Herrup recalled that the well known English Benedictine monk Father Augustine Baker in the late 1500s, charged that sodomy was “the greatest corruption in our land” and he warned the youth of Oxford and Cambridge to be alert to possible homosexual solicitation.⁹¹ A warning, not without some basis in fact, for in 1541 Reverend Nicholas Udall, the headmaster of Eton, was prosecuted by the Privy Council for alleged sexual transgressions including buggery.⁹²

A Portrait of an English “Bugger”

Like his Continental counterpart, the English Renaissance man did not conceive of the sodomite or bugger, as he was popularly called, as a man with a different and distinct nature, but rather the general product of a lifetime of material luxury and sexual excesses of all kinds. The portrayal of sodomy as a vice to which the English gentry, more specifically, the London gentry, were addicted, was a common theme in Elizabethan writings and the theater, whereas common folk were portrayed as having more normal sexual desires, said Bray.⁹³ In actuality, sodomy appeared to have permeated all levels of English society, the fact that it was a felony punishable by hanging until death, not withstanding.

In early Renaissance England, the two primary factors said to contribute to the spread of the vice were the historical pattern of late marriage and the social reality of crowded housing that forced non-family members, especially unmarried servants and apprentices, to share the same bed. Also, at a time when blood-lines and inheritance laws were matters of grave political and social importance, the natural consequence of producing bastard sons from unions with female prostitutes or female servants could be eliminated altogether by taking one’s pleasures with adolescent boys from the lower classes. The sexual libertine, obviously, did not need any excuse.

As in Renaissance Florence and Venice, with the exception of mutual sex play between adolescent partners or groups of boys, sodomy was generally defined in pederastic terms, that is, as same-sex relations involving an active male adult and a passive adolescent boy drawn from the poorer working class.

Sometimes, the dominant partner was a married man and father from the upper classes who managed to live out a secret or discreet life as a lover of boys,” but as Bray noted, in any case neither party was under pressure to define themselves solely by their sexual acts.”⁹⁴

According to Bray, while there is historical evidence that some of these pederastic relationships involved mutual affection and friendship, more often than not, the elements of material and financial enticements played

the decisive role in the relationship. Also, he added, the element of coercion, actual or potential, can be said to be a factor especially in those sexual liaisons involving employers and their young apprentices; teachers and their underage pupils; or masters and their male servants or pages.

All classes of English society had access to the services of boy prostitutes housed in tavern brothels that catered to clientele seeking same-sex relations, said Bray.⁹⁵

Anti-Sodomy Laws Not Enforced

Although the police records and court proceedings for sodomy trials during the Renaissance period in England are no where as complete and detailed as those of their Italian counterparts, they do provide some information on the extent to which the vice was prosecuted and on the existence and operations of various urban networks or circles of sodomites.

From the surviving official documents and other historical data, it appears that up until the mid-1650s, law enforcement officials in major urban centers like London and in rural areas did not view sodomy as a special type of sexual offense that demanded exclusive attention or vigorous prosecution. Renaissance England did not have an equivalent to the Office of the Night nor was the Inquisition ever formally established as a major juridical force in England as it was on the Continent.

Sodomy cases that made it to the English courts, said Bray, generally involved violence against minors including homosexual rape; notorious incidents involving a grave breach of the social order; and those involving "malicious intent," that is, where the charge of sodomy was leveled against a prominent personage as a means of destroying his reputation and influence. But even in these cases, the successful prosecution of sodomites was uncommon.

To understand the apparent discrepancy between the popular sentiments of the day that viewed sodomy as a grave offense against God and the Crown, and the general lack of enforcement of anti-sodomy statutes, it is necessary to briefly examine the language as well as the legislative intent of England's early anti-sodomy statutes.

The Buggery Act, as it was known, was drafted and promulgated by Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's Lord Chancellor and an important architect of the English Reformation in 1533, two years before England's formal schism with Rome. Although the law, no doubt, accurately reflected the strong popular sentiments against the vice, the primary motivation for its passage was political not moral. Its aim was not so much the suppression of sodomy as it was the removal of the Catholic Church's jurisdiction in the matter. For in addition to making sodomy a felony punishable by death, the statute permitted the Crown to seize the property and lands of convicted sodomites including members of the clergy, thus providing still another

excuse for Henry VIII's wholesale looting of the great monastic houses of England.

It is one of those fascinating footnotes of history that in July of 1540 when the disgraced Cromwell made his way to the scaffold (he made a public confession of faith in the Catholic Church immediately before his execution), he was accompanied to the place of execution by Walter, the 1st Lord of Hungerford, who was condemned to death for committing sodomy with his manservants as well as harboring an alleged enemy of the Crown.⁹⁶

Over the next 100 years, the provisions of the 1533 law would undergo some modifications. For example, in 1548, King Edward VI approved an amendment to the law that excluded the confiscation of a convicted felon's property by the Crown. The law was repealed for a short period by Edward's successor, the Catholic Queen Mary I as part of a general overhaul of the Protestant legislation she had inherited from Edward. However, Mary's reign proved short. When Queen Elizabeth I ascended the English throne in 1563, she re-instituted her father's anti-sodomy law in its original form.⁹⁷

According to Herrup, throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, the language of anti-sodomy legislation was expressed in ecclesiastical rather than common law terms. The definition of sodomy included not only "carnal knowledge between two men," but also bestiality and unnatural (anal) coitus between a man and a woman.⁹⁸ An important feature of English law was that penetration alone determined the felony.⁹⁹

This singular requirement necessary for conviction in sodomy cases was difficult, if not impossible, for non-participants to prove. Also, most same-sex affairs involved an adult and a minor from the lower class, whose testimony like that of a women, was generally held to be unreliable. The issue of class distinction also carried over to cases involving two adult males since these usually involved a man from the aristocracy and a lower class subordinate in his employ. Further, by bringing the case to the attention of the courts, the accuser automatically implicated himself in a felonious act punishable by death, Herrup pointed out. And, when all else failed, there was always bribery and the intimidation of witnesses.¹⁰⁰

Although many confirmed sodomites, from all classes, may have eluded the scaffold or gallows on legal technicalities, it does not follow that they escaped punishment altogether. The public humiliation and ostracism of known sodomites including their confinement in the stocks were painful enough reminders of the horror with which the general populace viewed acts of buggery.

It is interesting to note that a common, though not necessarily untruthful ploy used by the defense in buggery cases, especially those involving the aristocracy, was the claim that the defendant was in an intoxicated state when the alleged act occurred, thus, he could not be held culpable for his actions.¹⁰¹

Three examples of how all the multi-faceted contingencies of the law against sodomy actually played themselves out in Renaissance England can be found in the Christopher Marlowe murder trial of the late Elizabethan period; the Castlehaven Affair of the post-Jacobean period; and the Molly House trials of the early 18th century. Each case is unique in its own right.

Sodomy, Spying, Murder and Mayhem Catholic and Protestant Intriguing in Renaissance England

The *Reckoning* by Charles Nicholl is a masterful re-creation and re-examination of the circumstances and events leading up to the trial of Ingram Frizer for the murder of the famous Elizabethan playwright Christopher Marlowe on May 30, 1593—a murder in which “lewd” and “unnatural passions” were rumored to have played a part.¹⁰²

In fact, the murder probably had little if anything to do with Marlowe’s alleged homosexual proclivities, and everything to do with his secret life as a spy and intriguer in the service of the Crown under the direction of the brilliant spy master (later Sir) Francis Walsingham, a Renaissance version of a modern James Bond.

Marlowe was recruited into the world of smoke and mirrors in the mid-1580s while studying for holy orders at Corpus Christi College, one of the ancient colleges of the University of Cambridge. He continued his espionage career long after he had forsaken the Anglican Church for a successful career in London as a playwright and dramatist.

As reported by Nicholl, Marlowe posed as a defector to the Catholic cause in support of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots against her cousin Queen Elizabeth I. He was said to have played a role in the ill-fated Babington Plot of 1586 to kill the Queen and place Mary on the English throne.¹⁰³

Earlier, while still at Cambridge, Marlowe was given an assignment to penetrate influential Catholic circles across the channel in Rheims, home of the English College that trained Catholic seminarians, priests and missionaries (and spies, recruiters and infiltrators) for their eventual return to England and the nation’s conversion back to the One True Faith. It remains unclear if he ever actually carried out the mission.¹⁰⁴ In any case, it is these events, rather than Marlowe’s rumored homosexual affairs, that drew my particular attention when reading *The Reckoning* for reasons that will soon be made clear.

On May 18, 1593, twelve days before his death, Nicholl said that Marlowe was called before the Privy Council to answer charges that he was a blasphemer and a practicing homosexual. Information concerning the playwright’s anti-religious and hostile views toward Scripture had already been obtained (under torture) from Marlowe’s former roommate, Thomas Kyd.¹⁰⁵

Another witness against Marlowe, said Nicholl, was a man of the cloth, one Reverend Richard Baines who said that he had heard Marlowe blas-

pHEME the Lord by saying that, “St John the Evangelist was bedfellow to Christ, and used him as the sinners of Sodoma.”¹⁰⁶ Baines urged that “the mouth of so dangerous a member should be stopped.”¹⁰⁷ This latter remark was certainly a strange one for a clergyman to utter, but then the Reverend Baines was not your ordinary run of the mill minister. He was, like Marlowe, a long-time spy and intriguer for the Crown, with a most unusual background as an infiltrator and spy against the Catholic Church and would-be traitors to the Crown.

Treachery in the English Seminary

The young Baines was one of Walsingham’s earliest recruits at Cambridge. The ambitious and enterprising lad began his studies at Christ’s College, but on cue from his controllers later transferred to Caius College in Trinity Street that was home to a large contingent of Catholics. Here he became known, in espionage parlance, as a “sleeper.”

In 1578, Baines was “activated” and sent to Rheims where he enrolled as a seminary student at the English College where Walsingham had already established an extensive spy network.

As related by Nicholl, the spymaster’s agents gathered military and political intelligence on the French government and English émigrés in Paris as well as the Catholic religious and lay leaders of the College. They also attempted to intercept communications between the College and the Vatican, as well as provide the Crown’s secret service with advance warning of priests entering England, said Nicholl.¹⁰⁸ Within the College itself, the English agents were instructed to create maximum friction and dissatisfaction among the seminarians and between the seminarians and their superiors, reported Nicholl.¹⁰⁹

Life at the College was very austere. It revolved solely around study and prayer. Its seminarians, drawn from England and the Continent, were instantly recognizable by their traditional black gowns and tricorne hats. There was a great esprit de corps among these young soldiers of Christ, many of whom were willing to risk torture and death should they be captured on English soil.

Then, of course, there were men like Baines who were equally dedicated to the cause of the Crown. From what we know of his four years at the College, he spent every waking moment plotting against the Catholic Church and her ministers, especially the College’s president Dr. (later Cardinal) William Allen, while outwardly attending or saying Mass and professing his dedication and love for Christ and His Church.

As reported by Nicholl, Baines was raised to the sub-deaconate and deaconate in March and May of 1581 and was ordained a Catholic priest on September 1581.¹¹⁰ He continued his efforts to insinuate himself deeper into the inner circles of senior officials to discover their secret plans and

projects and to spread discontent and rebellion against authority among the young seminarians; deeds for which Walsingham was said to pay well.¹¹¹

Some of the techniques cited by Nicholl that Baines used to spread dissension among the young men at the seminary included the use of “licentious” talk to stimulate carnal passions; breeding contempt and resentment for the strict discipline and rules of the College and against those superiors who enforced the rules; and the urging of hatred of things holy including sacred doctrine.¹¹²

Eventually Baines’ cover was blown, but the College Council did not immediately act upon the revelation until he approached Allen about returning to England as a missionary in May 1582. After his unmasking, said Nicholl, Baines was held at the local jail for almost a year and then transferred back to the College where he made a signed confession in which he stated he had conceived of a plan to kill Allen, indeed the whole College if he could, by poisoning the seminary’s water system.¹¹³

After a time, Allen permitted him to return to England where he continued in Walsingham’s service as a man of property and prominent Protestant minister in Lincolnshire, reported Nicholl.¹¹⁴

Baines, as noted earlier, was certainly not alone in his treachery.

Another traitor at the College cited by Nicholl was John Nicols, a seminarian from Rome who deserted to the English government.

There was also the case of Gilbert Gifford who enrolled at the College at Rheims in 1577 when he was 16 years old. Although he was thought to be a Catholic youth of exceptional merit, somewhere along the line the English managed to “turn” him also.

Nicholl, confirmed that Gifford had two primary targets. One was his cousin Dr. William Gifford, a Professor of Theology, over whom it is said his cousin had a sinister hold. The second was a young man by the name of John Savage whom Gifford persuaded to pledge a solemn oath to kill Queen Elizabeth.¹¹⁵ Savage later became one of the conspirators in the Babington Plot that was secretly micro-managed by Walsingham.

Gifford himself returned to England in December of 1585 by which time Walsingham was ready to move against the plotters and successfully rid the Queen of her rival, Mary Queen of Scots. Gifford, who was born into a poor family, soon became a wealthy man — no doubt a reward for his outstanding services to his spymaster and the Crown.¹¹⁶

Naturally, the English College at Rheims was not the only Catholic institution infiltrated by English spies working for the Crown.

Nicholl cited the case of Salomon Aldred, a “turned” Catholic and tailor by trade, who infiltrated the English College seminary at Rome and later became a spy for Walsingham in France. Aldred was described in a somewhat contemptuous manner by his controller thusly: “He is one in show simple, but better acquainted with Romish practices against England

than any. ... He is unnatural, and of little honesty, yet he is very worth the winning.”¹¹⁷

Another young Catholic who spied at the seminary for the Crown was Charles Sledd who specialized in producing anti-Catholic caricatures of prominent figures like Allen.¹¹⁸

Of all these Renaissance figures from the “secret theater” of espionage, it is Richard Baines who remains the most intriguing.¹¹⁹

Baines never “turned.” He was never a “defector” from the Faith. He had no vocation, no calling to the priesthood that could be said to have “soured.” He was, in fact, never even a Catholic! He simply entered the seminary and got himself ordained a Catholic priest for the sole purpose of spying on the Church.

The Baines case is very important to this study because it demonstrates in a concrete way that the infiltration of the Catholic priesthood as an agent provocator is not merely a figment of a “deranged” and “conspiratorial” imagination. It actually happened! It happened in 16th century Renaissance England. And it would happen again, more than 300 years later as part of Stalin’s campaign to infiltrate and undermine the Catholic Church in England and throughout Europe and the United States.¹²⁰

“A House in Gross Disorder” The Trial of the Earl of Castlehaven

In her exquisitely crafted book, *A House in Gross Disorder*, Cynthia Herrup presents a detailed history and analysis of this late Renaissance tragedy that reads like a modern Gothic novel.

In 1631, Mervin Touchet, the 2nd Earl and 12th Baron of Castlehaven was tried, convicted and executed along with two of his accomplices for sundry sexual crimes that included voyeurism, rape, incest, group sex, adultery and sodomy. The original charges against the Earl that included rape and sodomy had been brought by his eldest son and heir, James (Lord Audley).

As Herrup related, during the trial, Lord Audley testified that his wife was pressured into having sexual relations with his father’s manservants including Henry Skipwith (while the Earl occasionally looked on) and that he (James) feared the loss of his inheritance to Skipwith, a “favorite” of his sodomite father.¹²¹ Skipwith was also accused of being sexually involved with Lord Audley’s stepmother, wrote Herrup.¹²²

In an unusual judicial ruling, the Court permitted the Earl’s (second) wife, Anne, to give incriminating evidence against her own husband and his cohorts. Herrup reported that the Countess testified that she was restrained by the Earl while he watched her page, Giles Broadway, rape her. She also admitted having sexual relations with her son-in-law, John Anktill, and confirmed that her husband regularly sodomized his manservants and other household attendants including his footman.¹²³

Other testimony indicated that the Earl, the father of six children by his first wife, played both the active and passive role with his manservants and was obsessed with and dominated by them, a shocking and dangerous reversal of class norms.¹²⁴ Clearly, there were a number of overriding issues involving the undermining of an entire social structure and the violation of the honor of the ruling class that went beyond his indictment for sodomy.

Unfortunately for the Earl of Castlehaven, his total amorality was not the only factor weighing in against his acquittal. Although he held membership in the Church of England (witnesses charged he was an atheist), his brother was a Catholic and both had ties to Ireland at a time when the Irish were still battling the English. These were the seeds of treason. Also, as Herrup noted, unlike his father, James I and his libertine Jacobean court, the current sovereign of the House of Stuart, Charles I, was a man of strict and conventional morals in both his private and public life. The idea that a member of the aristocracy would abet in the rape of his own wife by his own manservants had sent shock waves through Whitehall.

Still, it was possible that Mervin might have been able to escape with his life had he shown any sign of repentance. He did not. He continued to declare he was innocent of the charges against him, said Herrup.¹²⁵

The actual trial lasted only one day. On April 25, 1631, the judge and jury made up of 27 peers including friends of the Countess rendered their verdict—guilty.¹²⁶ Knowing the king was against the Earl of Castlehaven had made that a foregone conclusion. However, it was widely believed that Charles would commute the death sentence especially as Lord Audley asked for mercy for his father and the distinguished Touchet family lineage went back to antiquity. But the king did not.

The Earl was beheaded on Tower Hill and two of his minions, Broadway and Florence Fitzpatrick (who had been promised immunity) were hanged at Tyburn three months later.¹²⁷

Had the Castlehaven scandal been simply a case of a master bugging his servant, it probably never would have come to trial. However, as Herrup concluded, it was the grave social and political implications of the Earl's acts, rather than the acts themselves, that made his downfall inevitable—an important observation that is applicable to the debate over homosexuality in our own times.

The “Molly House” Trials

Our third and final example of the application of English anti-sodomy laws takes us to the end of the English Renaissance period. Here we return to the writings of Alan Bray.

In the spring of 1726, acting under pressure from the Societies for Reformation of Manners, a lay committee for the monitoring of public morals, the London police conducted a sting operation against the house of

Margaret Clap in Field Lane, off Holborn, and other “molly houses” located in taverns and private homes north of the Thames.¹²⁸ As far as the Societies were concerned the action was long overdue, reported Bray. Earlier police raids against these sodomite haunts conducted in 1699 and 1707 had apparently not been effective in halting the proliferation of the gatherings of all-male debauchees that had been a part of the London social scene for more than 100 years.¹²⁹

Molly is the familiar pet form or diminutive of the female name Mary. Originally, “molly” was slang for a female prostitute, but later the term came to be identified with same-sex devotees who exhibited exaggerated effeminate traits and mannerisms.¹³⁰

Although, some writers contend that mollies were drawn from all the social classes, including the aristocracy, it is more probable that the lower and lower-middle classes predominated at these establishments.¹³¹

The molly house was, in fact, a male homosexual brothel. According to Bray, by the early 1700s, it had become a society within a society—complete with its own jargon, designated cruising areas, customs and rules.¹³² Here men gathered to drink, sing, dance, flirt, gossip, arrange assignations and engage in sex with each other or with young male prostitutes hired by the proprietors.

The hallmark of a molly was his extravagance in effeminacy and transvestism, claimed Bray.¹³³ There was a secret set of signals by which mollies could identify one another. One molly house described by Bray featured a room called “the chapel” where men played husband and wife as if it were their “wedding night.”¹³⁴ Male and female roles were interchangeable.

At the molly house, Renaissance men with same-sex desires let down their hair, figuratively and literally. They wore make-up and adorned themselves in female clothing or costumes all the while assuming female voices and airs and prancing about with a mincing gait and other caricatured mannerisms of the feminine gender. In other words, mollies were what we call today, “flaming queens.”

As Randolph Trumbach noted in his essay “The Birth of the Queen: sodomy and the Emergence of Gender equality in Modern Culture 1660–1750,” to effect the feminine identity associated with the passive or receptive role, the molly was required to adapt artificial help in terms of clothing, mannerisms and feminine names.¹³⁵ On the other hand, if the molly was taking the active role, such adaptations were unnecessary.

Whether one chooses to identify the mollies, as “homosexual transvestites” or “cross-dressing homosexuals,” one thing is clear—they were ultimately organized for the sole purpose of procuring male same-sex partners. As Bray suggested, no one ever entered a molly house ignorant of the type of trade it provided or the nature of and penalties attached to the homosexual acts committed therein.¹³⁶

One unusual aspect of London's molly house was that it served as a homosexual enclave for adult sodomites who engaged in sex with each other as well as young boys. True, there were some English rakes who equated radical politics with radical sex and who sought out the sexual diversions and irreverent atmosphere of the molly house offered along with houses of female prostitution. However, it appears that most of the patrons of the molly houses were adult men who were exclusively drawn to other adult men or boys for sexual gratification. The "he-whore" had no interest in women, remarked Trumbach.¹³⁷ In this sense then, there were some mollies in 18th century England whose behaviors and sexual preference were characteristic of the modern effeminate homosexual.

The fact that sodomites were having sexual relations, both active and passive, with other adult males at the molly houses did produce some interesting legal implications including the possibility of blackmail and its attendant dangers of public exposure, scandal and possible suicide, suggested Trumbach.¹³⁸ Homosexual acts with young boys whose testimony in court could easily be dismissed were one thing. Homosexual acts with other adult males was quite a different matter. These men were playing a dangerous game and they knew it.

Under English law, it was homosexual acts leading to penetration and ejaculation that led to convictions for sodomy and the gallows.¹³⁹

The sensational Clap trial led to the conviction and hanging of three men in May 1726.¹⁴⁰ Additional trials followed in July, but these appeared to have attracted less public attention, the novelty of the molly perhaps having been worn a bit thin. By the mid-1700s, most of the molly houses were discovered and closed down. But the concept of a "molly" as an effeminate sodomite and a prototype of a male homosexual continued to linger on in English society for decades, indeed well into modern times.

Sodomy Charges Against Three Renaissance Popes

Before leaving the Renaissance period, I should like to touch upon the delicate issue of the three Renaissance popes to whom the label of sodomite has been affixed by various writers and historians and whose names appear on various "queer" lists as homosexuals. They are Pope Paul II, Pope Sixtus IV and most importantly, Pope Julius III.

With regard to the charges against the first two of these popes, Paul II and Sixtus IV the historical evidence against them is virtually non-existent.

Pietro Barbo, the future Pope Paul II was born in Venice in 1417 to Niccolo Barbo and Polixena Condulmer, the sister of Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447). After studying for a career in business, the pope's nephew changed his mind and entered the priesthood where he quickly advanced from Archdeacon of Bologna to cardinal deacon in 1440. Barbo was elected pope in 1464 largely as a reaction against the policies of his predecessor, Pope Pius II. Known personally for both his generosity to the poor and his

love of display and gala festivals, the imposing Paul II did not hesitate to use his office to prosecute heretics in France and Germany and to attempt to restore order in the Papal States.¹⁴¹

With regard to matters of faith and morals, the pope demonstrated a great concern regarding the growing influence of the half-pagan and materialistic side of the Humanist Movement in various Church dicasteries. In 1466, he abolished the College of Abbreviators that was charged with the abridging of papal decrees and edicts before they went to the copyists. He also moved to suppress the Roman Academy on the grounds of gross immorality on the part of some of its members. Naturally these actions ignited a strong negative reaction from those intellectuals and prominent public figures who stood to lose their profitable stipends and the many privileges associated with the office.¹⁴²

Among those so affected was the well-known Humanist writer and archivist Bartolomeo Sacchi, known as Platina, who enjoyed membership in both the College of Abbreviators and the Roman Academy.¹⁴³

Platina got his revenge against Paul II five years after the pope's death in a calumnious biography in which he charges his archenemy with being a sodomite and a lover of young boys. In fact, Paul II had a reputation for sternness in his private conduct and we know he used his office to attack immorality, even within the Curia itself. Given Platina's well-known grievances against the pope, and since there appears to be no collaborative testimony to support the charges of gross immorality, this writer is inclined to side in favor of Pope Paul II and against Platina.

The second pope to be charged with sodomy was Pope Sixtus IV, a radically different personality than his predecessor Paul II to whom he owed his ecclesiastical good fortune.

Francesco della Rovere, the future Pope Sixtus IV was born in humble surroundings near Abisola on July 21, 1414. After entering the Franciscan Order, he gained eminence as an outstanding student of philosophy and theology at the University of Pavia and later rose to the office of procurator. In 1467 Pope Paul II created him Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli. Four years later, with the death of Paul II, della Rovere himself ascended the Chair of Peter.

Unfortunately for the Church and for the new pope, Sixtus IV's energies were immediately consumed in a series of pressing political struggles both within and without the Papal States. Also, his penchant for nepotism entangled the pontiff in some unsavory Italian political intrigues including the disastrous Pazzi Conspiracy headed by the pope's nephew, Cardinal Raffaele Sansone Riario, that was designed to bring about the overthrow of the Medici and bring Florence under the rule of the House of Riarii.¹⁴⁴

Although Sixtus IV is remembered in his history as a political rather than religious leader, his pontificate was not altogether marked by secular interests. He vigorously attacked the heretical doctrine of the Waldenses

and was a well-known patron of arts and letters. Unlike Pope Paul II, his attitude toward the Renaissance was decidedly positive and he was credited with being the second founder of the Vatican Library. Not without a touch of irony, Sixtus IV turned over the management of the library to none other than Platina who held the office until his death in 1481.

As to his private life and personal morals Sixtus IV was held to be blameless.

So where did the charges of sodomy against him originate? With a political enemy and a life-long conspirator against the Papal government by the name of Stefano Infessura.¹⁴⁵

Born at Rome circa 1435, Infessura was a lawyer by profession and served for many years as the secretary to the Roman Senate. He was notorious for his anti-papal sentiments and political intrigues including a conspiracy against Pope Nicholas V. Indeed his life's work was dedicated to the destruction of the Papal States and the transformation of Rome into a republic.

In 1494, Infessura wrote a scurrilous attack on the papacy in the form of a chronicle titled, *Diarium urbis Romae* (*Diario della Citta di Roma 1294–1494*). The work, later widely used by Protestants against the Church, contained all manner of gossip and rumors of Roman society including a host of calumnies against the morals of the Papal Court, which during the Renaissance period was certainly not always of the highest caliber. But Infessura did not stop there. Where calumnies against certain enemies were wanting, he created them, as were the charges of incestuous pederasty and sodomy made against Pope Sixtus IV.

As evidence in support of these charges, Infessura cited the pope's appointment of his two favorite nephews, Pietro Riario, a Franciscan, and Giuliano della Rovere (the future Pope Julius II) to the cardinalate. He then went on to claim that the young men became their uncle's lovers.

Infessura's charges of nepotism against Sixtus IV were true. His nephews Pietro and Giuliano received their red hats on December 16, 1471. Raffaele Sansone Riario, not quite 17 years old, received his red hat on December 10, 1477 along with two other relatives, Cristoforo della Rovere and Girolamo Basso della Rovere.¹⁴⁶ Their main qualification for the office was that they were family. In these turbulent times, a pope needed to surround himself with men he could trust and this need generally translated itself into papal appointments of family members.

Of Cardinal Pietro Riario (1445–1474) we know little except for the fact that he lived the life of a Renaissance prince and became a generous patron of the arts and scholarship. He is remembered for the building of the Cancelleria Palace allegedly financed from the winnings of one night of dice play with the nephew of Pope Innocent VIII. In his personal conduct, the unanimous verdict of history was that he lived an immoral life but no rumors of homosexuality were attached to his love affairs.

Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, proved more worthy of his office. A soldier at heart, he undertook many diplomatic and military tasks for Pope Innocent VIII (1484–1492) over whom he held considerable influence. Under the Borgia pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) he did not fare as well, but nevertheless his ecclesiastical star continued to rise. With the sudden death of Pope Pius III on October 18, 1503, after only 26 days in office, Giuliano's moment had arrived. Within hours of the October 31, 1503 papal conclave he was elected pope and took the name Julius II.

Under his ten-year reign the Papal States were made secure from internal struggles and foreign interventions and Italy delivered from its subjection to France. Interestingly, unlike his uncle, Pope Sixtus IV, he was free from nepotism.¹⁴⁷ He heard Mass almost daily, often celebrating it himself. In 1512, he convoked the Fifth Lateran Council with the intention of instituting a number of important Church reforms especially within the Roman Curia and the monastic orders.

Let us return now to Infessura's charges that both Pietro and Giuliano served as "catamites" to their pope-uncle Pope Sixtus IV.

First, there is the implausibility that, given the close alliance that extended between family members, especially those of great power and influence, an uncle, much less a pope-uncle would sexually misuse his own natural nephews. Secondly, if heredity plays any role what-so-ever in one's sexual life, the Rovere lineage was wildly heterosexual and prolific, its eminent ecclesiastics not excluded.

For example, before he became pope, Giuliano fathered three daughters, one of whom he gave in marriage to Giovanni Giordano Orsini.¹⁴⁸ Famous for his warlike manliness and temperamentally characterized as the pontefice terribile, it borders upon the incredible to suggest he would submit his body for penetration by any man—including his uncle, the pope, no less.

Later reputable historians of the Renaissance popes have largely dismissed the chronicles of Infessura as being grossly unreliable and purposefully maligning. So much so that when Oreste Tommasini, edited the *Diarium* in 1890, all references to Infessura's accusation of pederasty and sodomy against Pope Sixtus IV and his nephews were eliminated on the grounds that they lacked any foundation whatsoever in fact.

The Distinguished Del Monte Family

Unlike the accusations of sodomy made against Pope Paul II and Pope Sixtus IV, the charges of unnatural affection between Cardinal Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte who became Pope Julius III and the 17-year-old Cardinal Innocenzo, appeared during their lifetime.

Although, once again, the historical evidence appears to disprove that the love between the del Monte pope and his adopted nephew was a homoerotic one, nevertheless the story of their extraordinary relationship and its

tragic consequences is worth retelling, if only to reaffirm the character and integrity of one of history's most maligned popes.

In Michael L. Doerr's historic masterpiece *The Life of Cardinal Innocenzo Del Monte, A Scandal in Scarlet*, we can trace the ecclesiastical fortunes—both good and bad—of the del Monte family of Tuscany for three generations beginning with the elevation of the most worthy Antonio Maria Ciochi del Monte to the office of cardinal on March 10, 1511.¹⁴⁹

Antonio assisted Pope Julius II at the Fifth Lateran Council and after the death of the old della Rovere pope became a confidant to the youthful Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici who took the name of Pope Leo X (1513–1521).¹⁵⁰ Antonio was credited with helping to uncover the plot to murder the pope and with bringing the would-be assassins to justice.¹⁵¹ In gratitude for his personal service and in recognition of his service to the Church, in 1519, Leo X awarded Antonio the See of Albano.

So esteemed was he among his fellows of the Sacred College that at both the 1522 papal conclave following the death of Pope Leo X, and again at the 1523 conclave following the death of Pope Adrian VI, Antonio's name was found among the candidates for the papal office.¹⁵² When the honor fell to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who reigned for the next 11 years as Pope Clement VII, Antonio served him also, both at home and abroad, as he had faithfully served the pope's three predecessors.

When his brother died, Antonio brought his sister-in-law Margherita and her six children to Rome to reside with him, reported Doerr. He raised them as if they were his own taking special care for their spiritual, educational and material needs. Later, when his brother, Vincenzo died, Antonio likewise aided his widow Crisofora and her children. Of these, the eldest son, Giovanni, became the cardinal-uncle's favorite and the heir apparent to the most powerful man in the Church after the pope.

Pope Julius III—A Great Canonist and Defender of the Faith

Giovanni Maria (Giammaria) Ciochi del Monte, the future Pope Julius III, was born in Rome on September 10, 1487. Following in his father's footsteps, he studied law at Perugia and Siena, and under the tutorage of his famous uncle he attended the finest oratory and received his theological training under the great Dominican teacher, Ambrosius Catharinus. Thanks to Antonio's influence, Giovanni entered papal service as chamberlain to Pope Julius II. In 1512, at the age of 25, he succeeded his uncle as Archbishop of Siponto.¹⁵³

The young prelate later won the favor of both Medici popes. Leo X gave him the Diocese of Pavia and continued to retain him for administrative purposes at Siponto. Pope Clement VII made him vice-legate of Perugia and twice, prefect of Rome.¹⁵⁴

After the death of his cardinal-uncle on September 20, 1533, Giovanni Maria's star continued to rise on the talented prelate's own merits. In 1534, he was appointed legate to Bologna, the Romagna and Piacenza.

On October 5, 1543 Giovanni Maria received the red hat from the hands of Pope Paul III (1534–1549) who later entrusted the new cardinal with the preparatory work necessary for convocation of the Council of Trent that was called to meet the crisis of the Protestant Reformation.

On February 6, 1545, he was appointed the first president of the Council and ten months later, on December 13, 1545 he convened the first session of the historic Council that would cover a span of 14 years and would bring about major reforms in the life of the Church.¹⁵⁵

As recorded by Doerrer, in 1547, Pope Paul III relieved Giovanni Maria of his duties with regard to the management of the Council due to the cardinal's poor health and made him legate to Bologna where del Monte had served 13 years earlier. Doerrer recalled that the inhabitants filled the streets with "joyous adulation at the appointment," a reaffirmation of the high esteem in which he was held by the people.¹⁵⁶

Four years later, following the death of Paul III, Cardinal Giovanni Maria Ciochi del Monte found himself occupying the Chair of Peter as Pope Julius III.

What type of man was the new pope?

The renowned German church historian Father Hubert Jedin (1900–1980) who wrote the definitive history of the Council of Trent, stated that del Monte was one of the most skillful canonists of his time with a great knowledge of the law and a natural affinity for diplomacy. In the words of Doerrer, he possessed, "...that unerring sense of objectivity, that instinctive appreciation of what is politically correct and attainable, which are characteristics of the Italian man-of-the-people to this day."¹⁵⁷ The members of the Curia found him a diligent and faithful and honest servant of the Church.¹⁵⁸

As Pope Julius III, he remained a strict defender of the Faith and institutions of the Church and a papal leader in the Church's Counter-Reformation.¹⁵⁹

Pastorally speaking, the pope appeared to have gained the love and respect of the populace in the many dioceses where he served, especially in Bologna. Perhaps part of his charm was that he never became fully cosmopolitan, retaining many of the characteristics of the rural peasants of the Tuscany region. He was a distinguished prince of the Church, but his personal demeanor was often somewhat coarse and unrefined, confided Doerrer.

He had "an unusual racy and inappropriate sense of humor," and "an unusually melancholy temperament" punctuated by a decidedly short fuse and unmovable stubbornness, Doerrer added.¹⁶⁰ Also, good wine was never

far away, helping to kill the pain of chronic gout and infections of the eyes and teeth and neurological facial problems that plagued his later years.¹⁶¹

What his short reign as Pope Julius III might have been like had the elderly del Monte never laid eyes on the young Innocenzo we do not know, but there is no doubt that it would have been much more favorable than history now records.

Cardinal Innocenzo—the Last of the Renaissance Princes

Innocenzo, the future cardinal-prince, was about 15 years old when he first met the aging prelate who was then serving as the governor of Piacenza.

Born in 1532, in the northern fortress town of Borgo San Donnino, half way between Piacenza and Parma, Innocenzo (not his baptismal name) was the illegitimate son of a common soldier and beggar woman who left home at the age of 14 to seek his fortune and never looked back.¹⁶² All his life, Doerrer tells us, Innocenzo would be driven by an indomitable instinct to survive and survive he did, no matter what the cost to those who cared for him including his greatest benefactor, Cardinal Giovanni Maria.

The details of their first meeting are sketchy. According to Doerrer, many young men of the neighboring region came to the cardinal's establishment seeking work. The story is that Innocenzo attracted the prelate's particular attention when the young boy skillfully wrestled himself free from the grasp of the cardinal's pet ape. Impressed by the youth's courage and spunk, the cardinal brought him into his household where Innocenzo served initially as a *valero*—a combination of footman and attendant to the sickly prelate. His lack of formal education and over-all coarse behavior, which in other households might have militated against him, found favor with the old del Monte who came to treat the youth with the same affection he showed for his own relatives' grandsons. Soon the witty and charming Innocenzo had attached himself to the entire family, Doerrer said.

Had the cardinal let the matter rest here, we probably never would have heard any more about the ill-fated Innocenzo. But once the stubborn old man determined that his favorite should be given an opportunity to prove himself worthy and advance up the social and ecclesiastical ladder, the youth's fortunes and misfortunes would forever be tied to the del Monte name. When, at Giovanni Maria's request, the cardinal's brother, Boldovino, formally adopted the boy, the relationship between the two men was formally sealed.¹⁶³

After seeing to the youth's general education, the cardinal obtained for him a minor position as a provost in the Tuscany Diocese of Arezzo, even though it was obvious from the youth's behavior and temperament, that he was totally unsuited for a career in the service of the Church.

And here, in minor obscurity, he might have remained had not the unexpected happened.

Pope Paul III died suddenly and the elderly del Monte ascended the papal throne as Pope Julius III.

Once again, nepotism swept through the Curia. But as we have already seen this was nothing new in the history of the Church. During these dangerous times for the papacy, as Doerrer humorously noted, "Almost every cardinalitial consistory was like a little family reunion."¹⁶⁴

In a more serious vein, Doerrer noted that while the practice of nepotism is largely disparaged today, during the Renaissance when the Papal States and the papacy itself was under constant attack, having one's relatives in key Church positions served to stabilize Church administration and insured loyalty to the reigning pontiff.

Secondly, it is an incontrovertible fact of history, that with the exception of his adopted nephew Innocenzo, the confidence that Pope Julius III placed in his cardinal-nephews reaped great rewards for the Church during the mid-16th and early 17th centuries.

Among the most praiseworthy of del Monte's legitimate cardinal-nephews listed by Doerrer are:

- The great reformer Cardinal Fulvio della Corgna.
- The saintly Cardinal Cristoforo Guidalotti Ciochi del Monte, a Doctor of both civil and canon law.
- Cardinal Girolamo Simoncelli, Boldovino's grandson known for his great zeal and love for the Church.
- And the most remarkable of all, Giovanni Maria's great nephew, Saint Roberto de'Nobili, who was made a cardinal at age 12, lived an exemplary religious life and died in 1559 with the odor of sanctity at the age of 17, having exhausted his short life in God's service.¹⁶⁵

Unfortunately Innocenzo was not cut from the same cloth as these men. Cardinal Reginald Pole once called him an "impious rogue," Doerrer said.¹⁶⁶

When the College of Cardinals heard that the pope intended to raise his adopted nephew, a bastardo to boot, there was a sense of outrage especially among the leaders of the Counter-Reformation in the Curia who believed, with good reason, that the appointment would bring dishonor upon the Church.

Ignoring these protests, Pope Julius III quickly issued a bull legitimizing Innocenzo (he had done the same for his brother Boldovino's illegitimate son Fabiano) and in a secret consistory on July 2, 1550 gave him the red hat.¹⁶⁷ He then made Innocenzo papal legate to Bologna. Soon, said Doerrer, the young prelate was living the life any Medici prince would envy.¹⁶⁸

With regard to his new ecclesiastical appointment, Innocenzo was never more than a figurehead. When the elderly del Monte realized he had made a grievous error in selecting Innocenzo for the dual political and diplomatic role for which the young man had absolutely no qualifications, he gave his

cardinal-nephew's tasks over to the capable Cardinal Girolamo Dandini, Doerrer recorded.¹⁶⁹ This left Innocenzo free to indulge his baser passions which included a string of scandalous love affairs including one with his future sister-in-law, the poetess Donna Ersilia Cortese.¹⁷⁰

Whether or not such behavior ever motivated Julius III to consider reducing Innocenzo to a lay-state remains in the realm of conjecture. The pope was made aware of the Cortese affair which threatened to become a public scandal of the first order, but he did nothing to defend the reputation of the del Monte family. By this time, Pope Julius III was in failing health due to the advancement of gout that made eating too painful. He died literally of starvation on March 23, 1555 and was buried in Saint Peter's crypt. His plain tomb bearing the name Papa Julius III.¹⁷¹

Cardinal Innocenzo was now on his own. He was just 23 years old.

With the death of his great benefactor—the only person that he probably ever truly loved and who loved him back—the young Cardinal Innocenzo knew his fortunes had taken a turn for the worse. Would he, could he reform his life and become worthy of the del Monte name?

Tragically, the answer was no.

According to Doerrer, four of the next five popes tried to bring about his conversion, but the task proved hopeless. Innocenzo proved to be immune to the tidal wave of reform within the Church.

By the time of his death at the age of 46 on All Souls' Day, November 2, 1577, Cardinal Innocenzo had sustained years of imprisonment for staining the purple with the murder of at least two innocent men and other criminal offenses including rapine—offenses for which he remained unrepentant.¹⁷² He was buried within hours of his death, unattended and without ceremony, in the del Monte chapel in the Church of San Pietro in Montorio in Tuscany—the “last true Renaissance cardinal-prince,” Doerrer concluded.¹⁷³

As to the lingering question as to whether or not there was any homosexual attachment between the elderly del Monte and his young protégé, or if the relationship was simply one of the love of an indulgent old man for a disadvantaged youth born into grinding poverty, let us examine the evidence that Doerrer puts before us.

But before doing so, it should be noted that prior to the publication of the Doerrer book, the popular view as expressed both in the popular media and homosexual circles was that the rumors of sodomy against Pope Julius III were true.

In the anti-Catholic work *Unzipped—The Popes Bare All* by Arthur Frederick Ide, published by American Atheist Press in 1987, the author stated that Julius III had Innocenzo for a lover.¹⁷⁴

In *Pedophiles and Priests—Anatomy of a Contemporary Crisis* (1966), writer Philip Jenkins, a former Catholic, labeled Pope Julius III as an active homosexual who raised his young lover to the rank of cardinal.¹⁷⁵

The “updated” version of the initial liaison between Cardinal del Monte and young Innocenzo as seen through the lavender lens of various “Queer” websites, is that Cardinal Giovanni “discovered” Innocenzo, while roaming the streets of Parma (not Piacenza) in search of a young male prostitute on whom he could slake his homosexual passions.¹⁷⁶

Fortunately for posterity, in *Scandal in Scarlet*, Doerrler devoted an entire chapter titled “Zeus and Ganymede?” that is meant to answer these grievous charges. With the skill of an experienced surgeon, the young George Washington University scholar excised fact from fiction and made a final determination that these accusations of moral turpitude against Pope Julius XIII and Cardinal Innocenzo were “without factual foundation.”¹⁷⁷

According to Doerrler, the myth of Pope Julius III’s homosexual relationship with Innocenzo can be traced back to two sources.

The first, is a letter written in 1551 by Matteo Dandolo, the Venetian ambassador in Rome during the early years of Julius III’s pontificate, to the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. In a familiar chatty style, Dandolo retold the story of the young Innocenzo’s tryst with the cardinal’s pet ape and how the cardinal “came to like the boy as much as he liked the ape.”¹⁷⁸ He then added that del Monte provided the youth “with food and clothing, and he soon allowed the boy into his bedroom and into his own bed—as if he were a son or a nephew.”¹⁷⁹

Was Dandolo insinuating that theirs was a homosexual relationship? It does not appear so. Seen within its proper context, the meaning of this reference is rather forthright. The diplomat is voicing the opinion that the cardinal treated Innocenzo just like he would a son (or grandson) or nephew—a relationship that would obviously not have included buggery.

According to Doerrler, Innocenzo most likely served as the cardinal’s valet de chambre, that is, he attended to the elderly and sickly del Monte’s needs during the night, a not uncommon practice that continues in the Church today among very elderly and sickly prelates not excluding the pope himself.¹⁸⁰ The fact that he Innocenzo shared the old man’s bed is simply an acknowledgment of practical sleeping arrangements that were customary during the Renaissance period.

Interestingly, Danolo noted that the affection shown by the prelate for Innocenzo was so remarkable that it gave rise to a rumor that the youth was actually his own son, a back-handed way of affirming that the old cardinal possessed normal sexual inclinations.¹⁸¹ Certainly, as has Doerrler pointed out, all of Giovanni Maria’s sisters and brother were extremely prolific—allowing as many children as God would provide. There is no reason to assume that had the prelate chosen to eschew the religious life and married, he would have likewise fathered a large and extensive family.¹⁸²

The second source cited by Doerrler comes from the poisoned pen of the 16th century chronicler, lawyer and diplomat Johann Philippson (1506–1556), better known as Johan Sleidan. As a Protestant partisan in service to

the German princes united against Charles V and the Catholic Church, the anti-papal bias of Sleidan was readily acknowledged. Trent historian Jedin described Sleidan as a one-sided man, “who [laid] the blame for all the evils of the schism upon the alleged ill will of the Roman Curia.”¹⁸³

In *Commentaries on Religion and the State in the Reign of Emperor Charles V* published in 1555, the year of Pope Julius III’s death, Sleidan, who probably had knowledge of or access to a copy of the Danolo letter, accused Cardinal del Monte, that is, Pope Julius III, of keeping Innocenzo as a lover—as “Juppiter kept Ganymedes.”¹⁸⁴ The work became one of the most widely read narratives of the Reformation period. Up until Doerr’s recent research initiative on the life of the del Monte family, Sleidan’s accusations have gone largely unchallenged.

Among the arguments presented by Doerr that tend to refute the accusation that Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte was a practicing pederast and homosexual is the simple fact that the College of Cardinals, dominated by leaders of the Counter-Reformation Movement in the Church, nominated and elected him pope.

If the cardinal, who according to the modern day homosexual gossip mill, was as indiscreet and foolish as to openly solicit a youthful male prostitute in the streets of Bologna or Parma or Piacenza (while suffering from a crippling attack of gout and poor eyesight no less), it is highly unlikely that such behavior would have escaped the attention of the College of Cardinals.

With a host of Sleidans waiting in the wings to attack the Church at every turn, it strains reason to believe that the Curia for one of the greatest Church councils ever assembled—the Council of Trent—would consider, much less, elect, a pope with a reputation for pederasty.

We also know that Cardinal del Monte was greatly beloved by the common people. Spontaneous crowds gathered and cheered him on wherever he went especially in the North country. Would such treatment be lavished on a prelate rumored to be an inveterate bugger? Again, the answer must be in the negative.

As for the sexual appetites of the young Cardinal Innocenzo they were demonstratively heterosexual, as evidenced by the Cortese affair and the alleged rape charges against the two women in Siena.¹⁸⁵

Of course, this does not absolutely rule out the possibility that he engaged in a sexual liaison with the old, sickly and uncomely del Monte in order to escape his abject life of poverty, but such a relationship would have been difficult for the youth to keep secret for so many years.¹⁸⁶ Also the case of Innocenzo remains the only charge of homosexual activity leveled against Giovanni Maria.

In the end, after carefully weighing all the historical and biographical data on both Pope Julius III and Cardinal Innocenzo, I believe that Doerr

was correct in his conclusion that the charges of homosexuality leveled against the two men are without foundation.¹⁸⁷

In the words of Signora Ava Leopoldo, who provided much of the documentation used by Doerr in his chapter on the allegations against Pope Julius III:

There is no valid reason to believe that there existed any manner of sexual relationship between the pope and the boy. I see only affection from one human being to another, from a grandfather to his grandson. I see a special admiration for a poor beggar who was able to stand up and survive.¹⁸⁸

Not until the twentieth century, would the issue of a homosexual pope be raised again.

Notes

- 1 For a fascinating look at the Italian Renaissance see Jacob Burckhardt, "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy," translated by S.G.C. Middlemore, 1878 available from <http://www.idbsu.edu/courses/hy309/docs/burckhardt/burckhardt.html>.
- 2 See Guimarães for an excellent summary and bibliography on the pontificate of St. Pius V. 358–360. Guimarães notes that St. Pius V called for the universal application of the death penalty for convicted sodomites from all classes of society including members of the clergy who were to be "stripped of all their posts, dignities and income, and after degradation, be handed over to the secular arm" to be executed as mandated by law according to the appropriate punishment for laymen plunged into this abyss.
- 3 For a comprehensive review of the complex repercussions of the Reformation on Christian life and worship see "The Reformation" by J. P. Kirsch as transcribed by Marie Jutras available from <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12700b.htm>.
- 4 Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 7.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 62.
- 6 Technically speaking, the term sodomy was also applied to the act of anal penetration of a woman by a man for purposes of family limitation or prevention of illegitimate bastard offspring.
- 7 *Rocke*, 14–15.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 11.

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- 9 Ibid., 3.
- 10 Ibid., 132.
- 11 Ibid., 14, 28.
- 12 Ibid., 13.
- 13 Ibid., 157–158.
- 14 Ibid., 150.
- 15 Ibid., 189.
- 16 Ibid., 13.
- 17 Ibid., 166.
- 18 Ibid., 94.
- 19 Ibid., 107.
- 20 Ibid., 13.
- 21 Ibid., 15.
- 22 Ibid., 21.
- 23 Ibid., 32.
- 24 For an introduction to the life and works of St. Bernardino of Siena see Pascal Robinson's essay on the saint translated by Olivia Olivares at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02505b.htm>. Also see "The Franciscan Experience" at <http://www.christusrex.org/www1/ofm/fra/FRAsnt04.html> that contains a brief essay on the holy friar.
- 25 Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons Bernardino of Siena and the Social Understanding of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
- 26 Ibid., 21–22.
- 27 Ibid., 109.
- 28 Guimarães, 364.
- 29 Locke, 36. See also Locke's Ph.D. study on St. Bernardino, "Sodomites in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany: The Views of Bernardino of Siena," in *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, eds. Ken Gerard and Gert Hekma (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989), 7–31.
- 30 Ibid., 117, 39.
- 31 Ibid., 41.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid., 33.
- 34 Ibid., 35.
- 35 Ibid., 37.
- 36 Mormando, 133.
- 37 Locke, 142.
- 38 Ibid., 4.
- 39 Ibid., 84.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid., 162.
- 42 Ibid., 82.
- 43 Ibid., 52.

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- 44 Ibid., 71.
- 45 Ibid., 269.
- 46 Ibid., 139.
- 47 Ibid., 233
- 48 Ibid., 66.
- 49 Ibid., 49, 163. One such explosive case that came to light during Rocke's research involved the former archiepiscopal vicar of Pistonia, messer Donato di Piermaria who admitted that he had sodomized many clerics in his service, some for years. He named 13 boys with whom he had sexual congress, mostly young clerics who came to clean his room, plus many others whose names he could no longer remember.
- 50 William Clark, Savonarola His Life and Times (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1890), 30.
- 51 Ibid., 31.
- 52 The Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola (London: Whittaker and Co., 1843), author unknown, 145.
- 53 Clark, 239.
- 54 Rocke, 206.
- 55 Ibid., 211.
- 56 Clark, 239.
- 57 Rocke, 210.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Pope Alexander VI was a Borgia. Called by many names not the least of which was "the scourge of Christendom," Rodrigo Borgia belonged to a noble Spanish family and came to Rome during the pontificate of his uncle, Calixtus III. He was made Archbishop of Valentia and cardinal before the age of 25. According to Clark, although he was a man of exceptional administrative talents and a consummate politician, he was more interested in temporal than religious concerns. Also, his private life that included a mistress and a large number of offspring, was an open scandal. In his confrontation with Savonarola which was largely a political affair, he attempted to bribe the Dominican firebrand with a red hat. This was a grave error on his part, said Clark, as it helped confirm the friar's suspicion that the Borgia pope had "usurped the highest station in God's temple by the crime of simony." In May 1998 on the 500th anniversary of Savonarola's death, Tertium Millenium, a publication of the Vatican Committee for the Preparation of the Jubilee announced the beginning of an investigation of the life and works of Savonarola directed at the possible beatification of the Dominican monk. Fr. Innocenzo Venchi, OP is in charge of the investigation. His interview on Savonarola is available from <http://www.zenit.org/english/archive/9808/zw980816.html>.
- 60 Ruggiero, 137.
- 61 Ibid., 115.
- 62 Ibid., 121.
- 63 Ibid., 116, 126.
- 64 Ibid., 135.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 The custom of sodomites assigning each other feminine names appears to have become a common practice throughout Europe and England by the late

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- 1600s. In Lisbon, Portugal, the fanchonos, a self-identified group of effeminate sodomites adopted this practice. See Luiz Mott, Ph.D. and Aroldo Assuncao, "Love's Labors Lost: Five Letters from a 17th Century Portuguese Sodomite," in *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, eds. Kent Gerard and Gert Hekma, (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989), 95.
- 67 Ruggiero, 124.
- 68 *Ibid.*
- 69 *Ibid.*, 126–127.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 134.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 141.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 142.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 129–132.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 130.
- 75 *Ibid.*, 75.
- 76 Mary Elizabeth Perry, "The 'Nefarious Sin' in Early Modern Seville," in *The Pursuit of Sodomy: Male Homosexuality in Renaissance and Enlightenment Europe*, eds. Kent Gerard and Gert Hekma (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989), 67.
- 77 Perry, 71.
- 78 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 *Ibid.*, 71, 74.
- 81 *Ibid.*, 79.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 80.
- 83 *Ibid.*
- 84 *Ibid.*
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 20, 78.
- 87 Bray, 19–20, 29.
- 88 *Ibid.*, 26.
- 89 *Ibid.*, 21, 23.
- 90 Cynthia B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder—Sex, Law and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 34.
- 91 *Ibid.*, 27.
- 92 *Ibid.*, 28. Although Rev. Udall escaped the death penalty and later went on to a successful career in both literary and academic circles, other members of the clergy were not as fortunate. In 1580, Matthew Heaton, a clergyman in East Grinstead, was prosecuted at the Sussex Assizes for a pederastic affair with a boy from his parish. And in 1640, Irish Bishop John Atherson and his suspected lover John Childe were executed for the crime of sodomy.
- 93 Bray, 34–35.
- 94 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 54.
- 96 Herrup, 36.

- 97 See Rictor Norton, A History of Homophobia, "The Medieval Basis of Modern Law," available online from <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/homopho5.htm>.
- 98 Herrup, 28.
- 99 *Ibid.*, 28, 33. Under English law during the 17th century, rape involved both penetration and emission. Sodomy was linked with bestiality and both were held to be against the order of nature.
- 100 *Ibid.*, 28–29.
- 101 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 102 Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning—The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1992).
- 103 *Ibid.*, 131.
- 104 *Ibid.*, 92, 121.
- 105 The evidence in support of Marlowe's homosexuality is largely circumstantial. He was not known to have ever had any serious love affairs with either a woman or for that matter, a man. He never married, but since he died at the early age of 29 this can hardly be used against him. A number of Marlowe's plays including *Dido and Edward II* demonstrate his marked interest in same-sex relations, but then, the Elizabethan theater was a lightning rod that attracted many pederasts and adult homosexuals in search of boy actors. On the other hand, Marlowe is known to have publicly defended the practice of pederasty going as far as to blaspheme Our Lord by suggesting that His attachment to St. John was an erotic one. Marlowe was known to be acquainted with the occult circles of the "Durham House Set," as well as with members of London's homosexual cliques that included the brothers Bacon-Anthony and Francis (a pederast). And as Nicholl stated, there would have been no point in Richard Baines publicly accusing Marlowe of homosexual acts if Marlowe had a reputation of being a "vigorous heterosexual," which he definitely didn't. There is a third option of course. Like many artists, Marlowe may have chosen to sink all his energies and passions into his dramas and poetry and his secret life as a spy, eschewing altogether any serious love affair, with either a man or a women.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 45–46, 342.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 46.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 121–122. In one report to Pope Clement VIII, an English priest informed the pope that the Crown hoped to create enmity against the College among moderate English Catholics.
- 109 *Ibid.*, 121.
- 110 *Ibid.*, 123.
- 111 *Ibid.*, 124.
- 112 *Ibid.*, 129.
- 113 *Ibid.*, 124.
- 114 *Ibid.*, 127.
- 115 *Ibid.*, 131.
- 116 *Ibid.*, 134.
- 117 *Ibid.*, 113.
- 118 *Ibid.*, 125. The turncoat Catholic Charles Sledd worked at the English College in Rome. He also provided Baines with French intelligence that was passed on to Walsingham.

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- 119 Super-sleuth writer John Le Carré calls espionage “the secret theater of our society.”
- 120 *Ibid.* 96. Nicholl noted that the flirtations of the Cambridge men with Catholicism in the late 1500s, was similar to that of the Cambridge men with Communism in the 1920s and 30s. For most it was a “dilettante game,” he commented, although for the Cambridge spies like Anthony Blunt and Guy Burgess it was deadly serious.
- 121 Herrup, 38.
- 122 *Ibid.*, 38, 41.
- 123 *Ibid.*, 42–46.
- 124 *Ibid.*, 49.
- 125 *Ibid.*, 91–92.
- 126 *Ibid.*, 55–56.
- 127 *Ibid.*, 95. The verdicts of the jurors in the Touchet Trial are found at <http://web.ukonline.co.uk/Members/tom.paterson/touchet/touchettrial.htm>.
- 128 Bray, 82. For an extensive discussion of the role of the Societies for Reformation of Manners see Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals, A Social History of Moral Regulation* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1999). According to Hunt, homosexual prostitution did not become a major problem in London until after the 1720s. He reported that in its campaign for community virtue and public order, the primary target of the Societies were homosexual brothels rather than individual homosexuals. Also, the Societies concentrated their efforts on the lower classes rather than the wealthier upper classes. That the Societies should have “Manners” rather than “Morals” in its name suggests that these groups were less interested in the “salvation of souls,” that is internal conversion, than in outward conformity. The Societies for Reformation of Manners was later replaced by the Societies for the Suppression of Vice in the early 1800s.
- 129 Bray, 91.
- 130 *Ibid.*, 137.
- 131 *Ibid.*, 85.
- 132 Bray, 85.
- 133 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 134 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 135 See Randolph Trumbach, “The Birth of a Queen: Sodomy and the Emergence of Gender Equality in Modern Culture 1660–1750,” in *Hidden from History—Reclaiming the Gay & Lesbian Past*, eds. Martin Baum Doberman, Martha Vicinus, George Chauncey, Jr., (New York, Penguin Books, 1989), 137–138.
- 136 Bray, 93.
- 137 Trumbach, 137.
- 138 *Ibid.*
- 139 *Ibid.*, 145.
- 140 Bray, 90.
- 141 These biographical details were taken from a brief essay on the life of Pope Paul II (Pietro Barbo) by N. A. Weber, transcribed by Douglas J. Potter and found at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11578a.htm>.
- 142 *Ibid.*

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- 143 For a discussion of the College of Abbreviators see “History of the Catholic Church—From the Renaissance to the French Revolution,” by Rev. James MacCaffrey, S.J. (1914) and available from http://catholicity.elcore.net/MacCaffrey/HCCRFR1_Chapter01a.html.
- 144 For information on Pope Sixtus IV see “The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church by Francis A. Burkle-Young, author of *Passing the Keys: Modern Cardinals, Conclaves, and the Election of the Next Pope* (Lanham, Md.: Madison Books, 2001). The website is <http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/election-innocentviii.htm>.
- 145 For a brief review of the life and works of Stephano Infessura see the biographical sketch by J. P. Kirsch, transcribed by Beth Ste-Marie at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08002a.htm>.
- 146 Burkle-Young.
- 147 See Michael Ott’s excellent summary of the life of Pope Julius III as transcribed by Kenneth M. Caldwell at [wysiwyg://44/http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08562a.htm](http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08562a.htm).
- 148 Ibid.
- 149 Michael Leopoldo Doerrer and Francis A. Burkle-Young, *The Life of Cardinal Innocenzo Del Monte: A Scandal in Scarlet*, (together with *Materials for a History of the House of Ciocchi del Monte San Savino*), Renaissance Studies Series (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997), 20–26. Burkle-Young was a member of the Library of Congress and Doerrer a young scholar at George Washington University when he began his research and writings on Cardinal del Monte.
- 150 Ibid., 26–28.
- 151 Ibid., 30.
- 152 Ibid., 32, 37.
- 153 See a summary of the early life of Pope Julius III by Michael Ott, transcribed by Vivek Gilbert John Fernandez at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08564a.htm>.
- 154 Ibid.
- 155 Ibid.
- 156 Doerrer, 72.
- 157 Ibid., 68.
- 158 Ibid., 60.
- 159 Ibid., 136.
- 160 Ibid., 69.
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Ibid., 80.
- 163 Ibid., 83.
- 164 Ibid., 98.
- 165 Ibid., 101–118.
- 166 Ibid., 125.
- 167 Ibid., 126.
- 168 Ibid., 127.
- 169 Ibid., 131–132.
- 170 Ibid., 133.

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- 171 Ibid., 135.
- 172 Ibid., 177.
- 173 Ibid., 200.
- 174 Ide, 162.
- 175 Philip Jenkins, *Pedophiles and Priests — Anatomy of a Contemporary Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 27.
- 176 “Three Gay Popes” was originally posted on 11/13/00 at <http://bookbuzz.com/panati/homosexual.htm>, but is no longer available. Lamba’s “Famous GLB People in History” at <http://www.lambda.org/famous.htm> lists Pope Julius III as a “gay.”
- 177 Doerrer, 187.
- 178 Ibid., 188.
- 179 An English translation of the original Danolo letter is provided by Doerrer, 188.
- 180 According to Doerrer, Monsignor Loris Capovilla performed this role in the household of the aged Pope John XXIII.
- 181 Ibid., 188.
- 182 Ibid., 192.
- 183 Ibid., 189.
- 184 Ibid.
- 185 Ibid., 193.
- 186 Ibid., 185.
- 187 Ibid., 194.
- 188 Ibid.

Chapter 4

Homosexuality and the Rise of the Modern Secular State

Introduction

Beginning in the late 1700s including the brief period known as the Enlightenment, there occurred a dramatic paradigm shift in the phenomenon of same-sex erotic relationships throughout the Western world.

The rise of the modern state with its vast urban centers and secularized government opened the door to the development of a new homosexual collective and “sub-culture” in major cities throughout Europe including London, Berlin and Amsterdam. These new urban metropolises offered the homosexual both anonymity as well as increased opportunities for same-sex assignations and political activism associated with “the cause,” that is the legalization of consensual homosexual acts.

From a moral perspective, the final fruits of the Reformation had resulted in a cleaved Christendom. No longer was there one authority, one voice, to rule infallibly on matters of faith and morals. Now there were two distinct religions, two distinct cultures and two distinct moral codes.

The Church was no longer the center of a nation’s religious, cultural and intellectual life. Nor was “the modern man” preoccupied with matters of God. He, like the State he represented, was at once secular of spirit, scientific and progressive in thought and liberal in politics and morals.

Religious sanctions based on natural law including the prohibitions against certain vices such as pederasty and homosexuality were severely weakened. However, they had not disappeared entirely.

Protestantism was still to a large extent living off its Catholic capital in terms of family life and sexual morality. In any case, the new Protestant doctrine of the supremacy of individual conscience did not extend to the sodomite and his pursuit of illicit and unnatural pleasures. The common view held by Catholic and Protestant alike, especially within the new middle class, remained pretty much what it has always been in Christian society — sodomy was a grievous sin against God and a crime against the State.

Only in the upper classes, for whom discretion was known to cover a multitude of sins, did one find a certain degree of tolerance toward habituated homosexuals. As Barnhouse observed, “To engage in the more picturesque realms of licentiousness after all, takes both leisure and money.”¹

In the eyes of many aristocrats or prominent members of society, one’s private vices and sexual peccadilloes were no one else’s business. Or as a cleaning lady is supposed to have uttered in giving testimony at the trial of

Oscar Wilde: "I think people should be allowed to do what they want, as long as they don't do it in the street and frighten the horses."

However, as we shall soon see, during the 19th century there were a significant number of major national and international incidents involving homosexuality in which more than the horses were frightened. When the details of these sex scandals, especially those involving the aristocracy or high government officials reached the general public, there was almost always a severe backlash from the populace who demanded a greater enforcement of the existing anti-sodomy laws.

This scenario, however, was the exception not the rule.

Although anti-buggery laws remained on the books long after most governments had abolished the death penalty for sodomy, enforcement of these laws throughout Europe was erratic and determined largely by the political whims of the governing regime.

In England and Germany, where anti-sodomy laws were most strictly enforced, there were cases that were prosecuted to the full extent of the law with catastrophic results for the offender and his family. Public exposure as a habituated homosexual often spelled personal ruin and public disgrace. Then there was the matter of harsh legal penalties including heavy fines, banishment or exile, or imprisonment in a jail or a lunatic asylum.

At the end of the 19th century, however, there were new voices being raised in opposition to this traditional punitive approach to homosexuality. In addition to leaders of an emerging Sexual Emancipation Movement there were also a growing number of prominent physicians, including so-called "sexologists" who were attempting to find a new solution to the age old problem of same-sex erotic attraction.

Medical science, especially psychiatry, was in the process of developing a new medical model to deal with all forms of abnormal sexual behavior including homosexuality. No longer were acts of sodomy viewed within the traditional context of a willful moral failing to be absolved in the confessional or a crime to be punished by the courts. Rather, same-sex attraction was now considered to be a form of psychosexual pathology associated with a particular type of individual—the homosexual, who, with proper medical or psychiatric treatment could be re-directed toward the goal of sexual normalcy.

Many of these advocates of the "medicalization" of same-sex behavior, joined with socialist and anarchist leaders in the call for the "decriminalization" of homosexual behavior. The State need not interfere in the life of the homosexual, they argued, unless his behavior involved the seduction of minors, sexual violence or a disruption of the public order.

One can easily sense in this new medical model a subtle change in semantics and meaning of the word homosexual from that of an adjective describing an act or a vice to a noun indicating a certain kind or type of person, that is, a homosexual or invert. The implications of this important

semantic shift did not escape the attention of the leaders of the early homosexual emancipation movement. Vice, like error, has no rights, but people (including perverts) do.

The Victorian Experience: The Transition from Molly to Hellenistic Homosexual

It is somewhat surprising that during the 150 years that lay between the emergence of the effeminate homosexual or “molly” of the late English Renaissance and that of the new, more sophisticated “Hellenistic” breed of homosexuals that marked the Victorian age, anti-buggery statutes remained essentially intact, with three modifications.

In 1781, the courts ruled that in sodomy cases, the prosecution had to prove both penetration and the emission of male seed in order to gain a conviction. However, shortly thereafter, this provision was deleted and sodomy was once again defined in the terms of penetration only, no matter how slight.²

During the period the dual-requirement was in force the number of convictions for sodomy in England fell off precipitously, as it was difficult enough to prove penetration much less emission.

In 1861, with the passage of the Offenses Against the Person Act, the death penalty was abolished for sodomy, but sodomy remained illegal and punishable by fines and imprisonment up to ten years.³

The most radical change in Britain’s anti-sodomy laws occurred in August, 1885, when a provision known as the “Labouchere Amendment” was introduced into Parliament during debate on “white slavery” and juvenile prostitution.

Two years earlier, the reform-minded W. T. Stead, editor of the Pall Mall Gazette had written a controversial and scalding series on the horror of child female prostitution in London’s squalid over-crowded East End and even the more prosperous West End. The exposé that was based on a six-week investigation by Stead and Gazette journalists led to the founding of the National Vigilance Association and finally spurred a recalcitrant Parliament into action.

Under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, the age of consent was raised from 13 to 16 years, and the police were given broader powers to suppress brothels and arrest the clients of prostitutes.⁴

Henry Du Pré Labouchere MP, one of the wealthiest and most powerful Radicals in the House of Commons, was concerned not only with female child prostitution, but also the growing demand for young boys by wealthy pederasts. He succeeded in attaching an anti-sodomy clause (Section 11) to the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The amendment, in its final form read:

Any male person who, in public or private, commits, or is party to the Commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by

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any male person of any act of gross indecency with another male person, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and being convicted thereof, shall be liable at the discretion of the court to be imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years, with or without hard labor.⁵

Under the new law, the prison sentence for a convicted sodomite was drastically reduced from ten to two years. However, whereas the old laws had defined sodomy strictly in terms of anal penetration, the Labouchere Amendment used a broader terminology, “acts of gross indecency” that would extend to other homosexual acts including mutual and interfemoral masturbation and fellatio between male persons without regard to active and passive roles. It also criminalized both public and private same-sex indecencies.

Naturally, there were those critics who did not consider the Labouchere Amendment to be progressive. Some compared it to Germany’s infamous Paragraph 175 that will be examined later in this chapter. They dubbed the measure, “A Blackmailer’s Charter” since, at least theoretically, any man could fabricate a private incident for possible extortion purposes. This charge, however, underestimated the severity of punishment meted out under English law for false testimony given under oath. There was also the matter of self-incrimination, that is, the accuser in a court of law would open himself up to possible legal action. It also tended to obfuscate the obvious—blackmail and extortion have always been potential features of illicit sexual behavior, more so where same-sex acts are involved.

Many of these opponents of the Labouchere Amendment, then and today, appear to overlook the most salient feature of the Labouchere Amendment—that is, that its primary objectives were the curbing of underage male prostitution combined with a more active prosecution of pederast homosexuals. Previously, sexual assault cases involving boys (and girls) over 12 years of age was not considered a criminal offense.

The protection of vulnerable working class boys from older predatory homosexuals, rather than the punishment and prosecution of consenting adult homosexuals was the driving force behind the Labouchere Amendment. Generally speaking, its passage did not drastically change the overall pattern of police enforcement of anti-sodomy laws involving consenting adult males.

With very rare exceptions, from the late 1700s until the turn of the 20th century, law enforcement officers usually observed a *laissez faire* attitude toward adult homosexuals and their adult partners, more especially if they were members of the aristocracy or men of acquired fortune and influence.

If an upper class toff wanted to exercise his unnatural passions with a willing adult partner—be he a “renter” or “rough trade” or “soldier prostitute” and he was willing to pay for the sexual service, that was his business. All that was required was a modicum of discretion.⁶

However, cases involving organized homosexual assignations including public houses that catered to homosexual “clubs,” and those cases involving minors or a disruption of the public order, continued to be the object of periodic police action. The danger of arrest and public exposure remained a fact of life for those men who chose to immerse themselves in London’s criminal underworld, especially for the pederast.

The Vere Street Scandal

In July of 1810, the police arrested more than 20 members of the notorious Vere Street coterie who used to congregate and act out at the White Swan public house on Vere Street. The members of the homosexual club were generally older men, many of whom were married and included some prominent public figures. Their young guests were local Mary Anns (male prostitutes) who, in “molly” fashion often dressed up in pretty female attire and assumed female names and played the passive role.⁷

The “effeminate” model, however, was not the only type of passive homosexuals available to the membership. There were also more “manly” types to be had for those members who preferred rough trade.⁸

In his 1970 study of the history of homosexuality in Britain, *The Love That Dared Not Speak Its Name*, journalist and former MP, H. Montgomery Hyde presented a lively description of the antics of the Vere Street gang including their mock “weddings,” and group “consummations” and obscene language.⁹ The public was not amused.

In his report of the events leading up to the conviction and imprisonment of a handful of Vere Street conspirators including James Cooke, the owner of the White Swan and five of his companions, Hyde described the reception the men received as they stood in the pillory for one hour before being taken to Newgate prison. He said that angry spectators mercilessly pelted the condemned men with all forms of rotten foods and animal dung. Afterwards, on their return to prison, the prisoners were continuously assaulted with whips and flying projectiles including bricks and stones. “The streets, as they passed, resounded with the universal shouts and execrations of the populace,” Hyde concluded.¹⁰

In December of the same year, guardsman Thomas White, a familiar face at the Vere Street gatherings met an even harsher fate. White along with Ensign John Hepburn, who proclaimed his innocence to the last, was found guilty of sodomy and of offending against good order and discipline. Both men were publicly hanged outside Newgate with a vast crowd including military officials and several noblemen in attendance.¹¹ There is little doubt that the execution was intended to serve as a warning to other members of the armed forces who might be tempted to supplement their meager wages by acting the catamite for wealthy homosexual patrons.

In retrospect, the intensity of public outrage against convicted sodomites, especially by today’s standards, may be totally incomprehensible

were it not for one important, but often, ignored fact. That is, the object of choice for many adult homosexuals remained adolescent boys and young men. These pederastic relationships were characterized by disparities not only in age, but also in terms of wealth, power and influence. It is certainly an open question as to whether or not many of the homosexual scandals that rocked English society during the Victorian era would have engendered such violent public reaction had they not involved the seduction and sexual exploitation of young boys and youth, i.e., the sex abuse of minors.¹²

Clerical Crimes

In the introduction to his chapter on clerical pederasty and homosexuality in Victorian England, Hyde noted that most cases involving clergymen never came to trial. The accused was granted bail, an automatic courtesy given his superior social status and he invariably fled the country to escape prosecution.

For example, at the turn of the 19th century, the prominent Rev. John Fenwick of Northumberland, who is reported to have acquired “the unmentionable vice” as an undergraduate at Oxford, absconded not once, but twice, to France and finally settled in Naples, Italy to escape the arm of the English law.¹³

The Rev. V. P. Littlehales of Lincolnshire accused of sexually assaulting a footman in the employment of a certain Dr. Wollaston, forfeited his bail and fled to America.¹⁴

The case of the Irish aristocrat Right Rev. Percy Jocelyn, the Anglican Bishop of Clogher and third son of the first Earl of Roden is very forthright. On the evening of July 19, 1822, during a visit to London from Ireland, the bishop was caught in flagrante delicto with a private soldier named John Moverley at a public house called the White Hart. The next day, both men were charged with a homosexual offense before a local magistrate. They entered a plea of not guilty. Private Moverley, unable to post the minimum bail and sureties was remanded in custody. The bishop on the other hand, immediately posted bond, was released and shortly thereafter, fled to Scotland where he lived incognito performing menial tasks until his death in 1843.¹⁵

There is an interesting aside to the Clogher scandal that sheds some light on the degree to which the bishop’s unnatural passions dominated his life. According to Hyde, 11 years before the White Hart incident, Bishop Jocelyn had been accused of propositioning a domestic manservant named James Byrne. Instead of flying the coop, the bishop responded to the charge by suing Byrne for libel and won. Poor Byrne was sentenced to prison for two years and publicly flogged within an inch of his life. Perhaps it was the memory of this grave injustice that inspired Rev. Jocelyn to compose the short epitaph engraved on his nameless coffin: “Here lies the remains of a

great sinner, saved by grace, whose hope rests in the atoning sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ.”¹⁶

In the fourth case cited by Hyde, the Rev. Thomas Jephson, a prominent scholar and cleric of St. John’s College, Cambridge, chose to stand trial against charges that he had criminally assaulted a 19-year-old youth, James Welch, on Whit Sunday 1823.

During the trial that took place in Cambridge on July 23, 1823, the defense argued that Rev. Jephson was a victim of entrapment and possible extortion. The prosecution claimed that he sexually accosted Welch who was fortunate enough to be rescued by some local residents before the act was completed.

Following 17 hours of testimony, the jury returned with a verdict of not guilty. However, the university authorities did not appear to be totally convinced of Rev. Jephson’s innocence. Although he was never defrocked and was permitted to retain his fellowship, the college authorities asked him to remove himself from the premises and relocate elsewhere, at least until such times as his innocence could be proved without a shadow of a doubt. Rev. Jephson promptly obliged his superiors and never returned to St. John’s College.¹⁷

Pederasty at Harrow—The Vaughan Case

Although the Vaughan Affair was one of the most important cases of criminal pederasty by an Anglican cleric in 19th century Victorian England, the details of the affair did not become a matter of public knowledge until long after the principal players were settled in their graves.¹⁸

The Very Rev. Charles John Vaughan, D.D. (1816–1897) was not yet 30 when he was elected Headmaster of Harrow, one of Britain’s prestigious “Seven Public Schools” and the chief rival of Eton.¹⁹

Vaughan, a well-known English classical scholar and eloquent preacher was himself a product of the English public (in fact private) boarding school system. As a youth he attended Rugby under the direction of the famed educational reformer Dr. Thomas Arnold, D.D., and later matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge—both institutions being solid stepping stones to upward mobility in Victorian society.

As G. K. Chesterton so astutely observed:

The public school is not a sort of refuge for aristocrats, like an insane asylum where they go in and never come out. It is a factory for aristocrats; they come out without ever having perceptibly gone in.²⁰

Although Vaughan was initially drawn to the law, he finally settled upon holy orders and in 1841 at the age of 25 took his first church assignment as vicar of St. Martin’s in Leicester.

According to Christopher Tyerman, author of *A History of Harrow School*, when Vaughan was put in charge of the school in 1845 it was in near

ruin—physically and financially.²¹ Vaughan must have been an excellent administrator and charismatic fund-raiser for by the late 1850s Harrow's enrollment had jumped from 69 to over 500 boys and the school's endowment program was solvent enough to cover major school renovations and the building of a fashionable new chapel.

Vaughan appeared to be leading a charmed life. Not only had he entered into a very socially advantageous marriage, but his income, derived primarily from boarding fees was, according to Tyerman, sufficient enough to make him the equivalent of a modern millionaire.²² As for future plans, Vaughan was open not only to a bishop's miter, but a seat in the House of Lords as well.²³ Had it not been for a minor "indiscretion" that took the form of a young Harrow pupil named Alfred Pretor, it is very likely that Vaughan would have realized all of this and more.

Before examining the Vaughan-Pretor Case, a few words on the subject of vice within the context of the English boarding school.

As Tyerman has reported, the term vice as it applied to the English boarding school covered a multitude of misdemeanors including gambling, drinking, lewd speech, idleness and coarse sexual habits, that is, solitary and group masturbation and sodomy.²⁴ But these vices tend to fade into relative obscurity when compared to the dangers and viciousness of the bullying and flogging of "fags" by upperclassmen, and the general violence associated with sport. Indeed the term *le vice anglais* was used by many to refer to the common practice of flagellation or whipping with a birch rod not sodomy.

In general, boarding school authorities tended to turn a blind eye to adolescent sexual antics including the common practice of assigning female names to exceptionally attractive and willing young boys. They could not, however, overlook pederastic overtures and affairs between students and headmasters that could wreak havoc on the reputation of their school.

This brings us to the Vaughan-Pretor Affair.

Alfred Pretor was a senior boy of the Upper Sixth. This would put his age at the time of his liaison with Harrow's headmaster somewhere between 17 and 18. He must have been clueless about the serious nature of the relationship because one day in January of 1858, he told his close friend John Addington Symonds, a hypersensitive and easily scandalized youth, about his secret dalliance and even permitted Symonds to keep one of the passionate letters Alfred had received from Vaughan.²⁵ It was only a short while after this revelation that Vaughan made an exploratory sexual pass at Symonds in his study when the young man came to him for an essay review. It proved to be a costly mistake for the headmaster.

In *Feasting With Panthers*, literary historian Rupert Croft-Cooke claimed that Vaughan was not a vicious creature and probably did not go beyond a patter, a hug or at most a kiss. He suggested that Vaughan was not

what could be called “a serious offender, although he might be charged with gross indecency.”²⁶

The truth is that pederasts are rarely vicious. Slow and selective seduction, not violence, is the key to their success. Further, from subsequent events we can deduce that the affair went beyond a mere “hug” and that Pretor was not the first young man to fall under the spell of Vaughan’s charms.

In any case, the nature of Vaughan’s actions continued to trouble Symonds whose feelings of disapproval were probably mixed, consciously or unconsciously, with pangs of jealousy that Vaughan had picked Pretor over him.

In later years, Symonds would recall in his *Memoirs* that the dormitory environment at Harrow and other English public schools was marked by the grossest of sexual immoralities including repulsive scenes of onanism, mutual masturbation and obscene orgies with older boys preying on the younger boys (“bitches”).²⁷ There is also some evidence that Symonds himself was exposed to sex abuse at the hands of some older cousins in his early boyhood years. However, it is clear that Symonds viewed Vaughan’s actions in an entirely different light.

The same hands Vaughan used to stroke Symonds’ thigh were the same hands he used to distribute Communion in the school chapel. And it was Vaughan who had prepared both him and Pretor for Confirmation.²⁸ Confused and troubled, Symonds remained silent. He did not reveal his knowledge of the affair or the headmaster’s attempts to seduce him to either his parents or school officials.

At the end of the summer term, Symonds’ father removed him from Harrow for health reasons and young Symonds never returned there so bitter were his memories of the school. He then enrolled at Oxford, where as a sensitive and intellectually refined 18-year-old he began his own struggle with his homoerotic desires. In the summer of 1859, Symonds, still troubled by the Vaughan incident, finally confided the whole story to John Conington, Corpus Professor of Latin, who had befriended the young man. Conington advised Symonds to tell his father and Symonds did so.²⁹

Upon hearing the charges against Vaughan and reading Vaughan’s letter to Pretor that was still in his son’s possession, the senior Symonds, a prominent Bristol physician, immediately contacted Vaughan and demanded his resignation. Not only was Vaughan forced to resign his position as Headmaster of Harrow, but he also had to agree to never again accept any important ecclesiastical appointment, (including the Bishopric of Rochester) as a condition for Dr. Symonds’ silence.

That Vaughan had been sexually involved with students before young Alfred appeared on the scene is evident by the plea of Mrs. Vaughan to Dr. Symonds that she was aware of her husband’s “weakness” but that it should not be allowed to overshadow his contributions to Harrow. Dr.

Symonds was not convinced.³⁰ On September 16, 1859 Vaughan announced that he was taking an early and unexpected retirement.

After he left Harrow School, Vaughan continued to hold a variety of posts in the Anglican Church until his death in 1897, but he was never consecrated a bishop nor did he enter Parliament.

Rumors of Vaughan's sexual attraction to young boys were bantered about Victorian high society for years after his retirement, but the actual details of the Pretor case remained a well-guarded Establishment (Church of England) secret until 1964 when Phyllis Grosskurth revealed the first details of the Vaughan Affair in her first biography of Symonds, *The Woeful Victorian*.

In light of the recent rash of charges of sexual abuse of minors involving Catholic priests and hierarchy, it is of more than passing interest to note how "judicious" private actions and mutually agreed upon silence by Establishment figures contributed to one of Victorian England's most successful cover-ups of clerical sexual malfeasance.³¹

The Cleveland Street Scandal

The explosive West End Affair began on July 4, 1889, with a relatively uncomplicated police investigation of a theft of money from the Central Telegraph Office located in the General Post Office (GPO) West in London.³² The key suspect was a 15-year-old telegraph messenger boy, Charles Thomas Swinscow, who appeared to have an unexplainable source of income above and beyond his meager salary.

According to H. Montgomery Hyde who devoted an entire book to the scandal, when questioned by retired Police Constable Luke Hanks, a GPO employee, Swinscow, oblivious to the serious nature of his admission, told him that he supplemented his wages by sexually servicing adult men at a local male brothel on Cleveland Street at Fitzroy Square operated by one Charles Hammond. The young man told PC Hanks that he had been originally solicited by a fellow telegraph employee with the disingenuous last name of Henry Newlove who worked for Hammond.³³

After a preliminary investigation that included an interview with Newlove and two other telegraph boys, Hanks submitted his report to the Postmaster General who in turn contacted the Metropolitan Police Commissioner (Scotland Yard) for assistance. Chief Inspector Frederick Abberline was assigned as the principal investigator of the case.³⁴

Hammond's house of ill repute, sometimes referred to as a *maison de passe*, was immediately put under surveillance and arrest warrants issued for Hammond, the 18-year-old Newlove and another close associate, the phony "Reverend" George Veck, age 45, a homosexual who lived with Hammond and kept a 17-year-old boy named George Barber whom he passed off as his son.

But the police had not acted quickly enough. By the time they reached 19 Cleveland Street, Hammond and Veck had disappeared leaving the naïve Newlove holding the bag. As Newlove was being hauled off to the police station from his home, he complained to the Inspector Abberline that it was unfair that he should be prosecuted while “men in high positions” went free.³⁵

Among the highly placed personages Newlove named as visitors to the Cleveland Street brothel were Lord Arthur Somerset, alias “Mr. Brown,” a major in the Royal Horse Guards and Superintendent of the Stables and Extra Equerry to the Prince of Wales; the Earl of Euston, a sophisticated man-about-town and high-degree Mason; a Colonel Jervois of the Winchester Army barracks; and most importantly, “PAV” Prince Albert Victor, the eldest son of the Prince of Wales and the successor to the British throne. Whitehall and the Royals were alerted to the potentially explosive nature of the Cleveland Street case. Obviously this was not your ordinary case of homosexual solicitation and under-age prostitution. Abberline knew that the rules of the game had just undergone a dramatic change.

To add to Abberline’s woes, he was informed that Hammond, the key figure in the affair, had already fled across the Channel to France to escape prosecution. Scotland Yard immediately alerted police officials both in Paris and Brussels as to the nature of the charges against Hammond and asked that his whereabouts and contacts be carefully monitored.

Under the existing extradition laws between England and France, the French government had the power to authorize the apprehension of Hammond who was traveling with Ames, an under-age English boy, and ship them both back on a British freighter on the next tide. However, it soon became clear that the Royals and Whitehall were more interested in keeping Hammond out of England than bringing him home to stand trial.

Nor was Hammond the only suspect to fly the coop.

Before Abberline could obtain a warrant for the arrest of Lord Somerset against whom there was prima facie evidence in the form of signed postal orders issued to a telegraph boy in Hammond’s employ, the inspector learned that Somerset had taken a sudden four-month leave from his regiment and fled to Paris to escape the law.

Before leaving England, Somerset made arrangements for a young English solicitor by the name of Arthur Newton to handle the charges against him and to aid in the defense of Veck and Newlove. Somerset also had Newton act as his go between with Hammond who was demanding a large sum of hush money from Somerset reportedly in the realm of £2000 and first-class tickets to America for himself and his boy, Ames.

Meanwhile, in London, preparations were underway for the first of three trials connected to the Cleveland Street Affair.

Inspector Abberline had already pieced together a fairly accurate picture of Hammond’s illegal operation from the testimony of Veck and

Newlove and that of the telegraph boys including George Wright, Charles Thickbroom, William Perkins, Algeron Allies and Charlie Swinscow and Veck's boy, George Barber. The boys ranged in age from 15 to 19.

They told Abberline that before bringing them to Cleveland Street to service gentlemen, Newlove had introduced them to various homosexual acts including mutual masturbation, fellatio and sodomy (incomplete) in the basement lavatory of the GPO building.³⁶

None of the telegraph boys could be considered professional prostitutes. Their simplicity and lack of guile certainly appeared to have influenced both PC Hanks and Inspector Abberline in their favor. They were fresh faced lads, unsophisticated to the ways of the world, traits that would make them extra appealing to Hammond's pederast clientele. They all came from respectable families. When interrogated by Abberline, all expressed a sense of shame for their actions and were openly distressed when forced to reveal to their parents the exact nature of the work they performed for Hammond.³⁷

However, Newlove, who had procured their services for Hammond argued that he never corrupted any of the boys. He said that the telegraph boys in general were notorious for their willingness to engage in sex play with males willing to pay for their services, so presumably, there was no problem in having them prostitute themselves with adult men with unnatural sexual appetites. He said that Hammond received between a half to a whole sovereign per trick from his clients and paid out four shillings to the boy.³⁸

The Trial of Veck and Newlove

On September 11, 1889, Veck and Newlove stood before Judge Sir Thomas Chamber, 72, at the Old Bailey, London's main courthouse on charges of violating the 1885 anti-sodomy statute (Labouchere Amendment) by conspiring to incite and procure "divers persons to commit the abominable crime of buggery against the peace of Her Majesty the Queen."³⁹

Evidence against the two men had already been given by the telegraph boys at preliminary hearings on August 27 and September 4. Interestingly, the subject matter of the trial was found to be so offensive that Judge Chambers ordered the removal of the only woman in the courtroom.⁴⁰

Newton, no doubt with an eye towards the interests of his primary client, Lord Somerset, who was picking up all the legal tabs, urged both men to plead guilty which meant they would not be required to testify and reveal other persons connected with Hammond's male brothel (including Somerset).

Veck was sentenced to nine months hard labor and Newlove to four.⁴¹

The fact that both men, especially the older Veck, were let off with relatively light sentences, angered Labouchere, who had been watching and weighing the Cleveland Street proceedings through his own political prism. He rose to his feet on the floor of Parliament and charged that the Home Office had cut a deal with Newton and his clients to avoid a wider public scandal—a charge that government officials officially denied.⁴²

By this time, a warrant had been prepared for the arrest of Somerset, but the summons could not be served until he returned to England.

From his listening post in Paris, Somerset was well aware that his chances at a successful defense were near nil as long as Allies, his favorite, and the other telegraph boys were around to testify against him. The burning question was how to get rid of the witnesses. By late September, a solution was at hand—bribe the witnesses to leave the country.

One of Newton's agents, Adolphe de Gallo approached Wright and Swinscow and tried to get the boys to go to Australia, while another agent, Frederick Taylorson attempted to bribe Allies to go to America. Newton had made similar contacts with Thickbroom and Perkins.⁴³ The boys' parents were not advised that arrangements were being made to settle their sons abroad.⁴⁴

On October 16, 1889, Whitehall was alerted to the fact that Somerset had returned to England for his grandmother's funeral, after which he spent several days making the rounds of political and personal associates at various high government offices and visiting his club in London. Under orders from the Prince of Wales and with the knowledge of Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, he was permitted to leave England again for the Continent unmolested.

The official argument against his arrest was that the prosecution of Somerset as a sodomite would seriously injure public morality without any commensurate advantage. His sufferings from a self-imposed exile were seen as being sufficient punishment for his alleged misdemeanor. In any case, the blame for letting Somerset escape for the second time again was cast upon Scotland Yard.

Lord Somerset had just comfortably situated himself in Rouen and was beginning to contemplate a brighter future, when the second trial of the Cleveland Street scandal opened at the Old Bailey with an entirely new cast of characters.

Lord Euston Sues for Libel

The Parke-Euston trial, the last of the three Cleveland Street cases, opened at the start of the New Year.

The North London Press and its editor, the Radical journalist Ernest Parke were charged with the criminal libeling of Lord Euston, Henry James

Fitzroy, whom the newspaper had publicly implicated in the Cleveland Street scandal in a fully-illustrated featured article published on November 16, 1889.⁴⁵ Euston, a large, strapping figure of a man and a powerful Mason, had, unlike Lord Somerset, decided to publicly challenge the accusation that he patronized the Cleveland Street brothel.

Like Labouchere, who, not unexpectedly was carefully monitoring all the events connected with the scandal from his MP seat, Parke was convinced that both Hammond and Somerset were tipped off by government agents enabling them to flee England and escape prosecution. Further he also shared Labby's openly stated opinion that these same officials had negotiated a settlement with Veck and Newlove to protect the reputations of certain prominent public figures. Both men were certain that "cover-up" was written all over the Cleveland Street scandal.⁴⁶

The sensational trial opened at the Old Bailey on January 15, 1890 with Sir Henry "Hanging Judge" Hawkins presiding.⁴⁷

Parke's case against Euston was built upon evidence gathered from his own investigation and from interviews with various eye-witnesses the most important of which was a well-known middle-aged Irish homosexual prostitute, John Saul, nicknamed Dublin Jack, who had worked for Hammond for ten years.⁴⁸

It is an important feature of the Cleveland Street scandal that while both Saul and Newlove had given a statement to Inspector Abberline identifying Lord Euston as one of his clients, Euston was never picked up for questioning nor had a warrant been sworn out for his arrest as in the case of Lord Somerset.⁴⁹ Perhaps this oversight was connected to the strong connections between the Freemasons and Scotland Yard.

Also, it was rumored that Lord Euston, had previously submitted to blackmail threats in connection with his homosexual relationship with Robert Clibborn, a notorious member of London's homosexual underworld.⁵⁰

In any case, Saul testified under oath that Euston, or "The Duke" had visited the brothel at least five times between 1887 and 1889. Parke also had additional witnesses to back up his story.⁵¹ Saul, however, claimed that the Earl was not a sodomite but "liked to play with you then 'spend on your belly.'" ⁵²

The prosecution admitted that Euston had visited the Hammond establishment, but only once and by mistake. Euston swore that he had left the premises as soon as he discovered that he was in a male brothel and not a house of poses plastiques (female burlesque).⁵³ Saul was denounced as a low life. In the end, the jury went against Parke whose case was weakened by his solicitor's failure to call either Inspector Abberline or Newlove to the stand and his own unwillingness to engage in "a breach of faith" by revealing the names of certain "sources" quoted in his November article.

He was convicted of “libel without justification,” and harshly lectured and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment by Judge Hawkins. Saul was not arrested nor was he ever prosecuted for perjury or defaming “The Duke.” Lord Euston was completely exonerated.⁵⁴

After the sentencing, an editorial titled “The Horrible National Scandal” appeared in the *Reynolds*, a Labour Sunday paper with a strong anti-establishment bent, alleging that “...Mr. Parke was made an example to others who dare tamper with the name of our virtuous and noble aristocracy.”⁵⁵

...Why were the wretched telegraph boys taken to the Old Bailey...whilst Lord Arthur Somerset, being duly warned of what had occurred, made his escape, and is now living in clover abroad? All this requires, but we suspect will not obtain, satisfactory explanation. A Parliamentary inquiry cannot open the mouths of those who are determined to keep them closed.⁵⁶

Arthur Newton Convicted of Conspiracy

The truth, of course, was that while Lord Somerset may have been “living in clover” on the Continent, it was not comfortably so. The plan to get rid of the telegraph boy witnesses against Lord Somerset backfired. Both Somerset and his solicitor Newton had made the mistake of underestimating the character and resolve of the boys who had been propositioned to leave the country.

The incidents had been forthrightly reported to Inspector Abberline and on December 23, 1889, Newton and two of his agents, de Gallo and Taylorson, were hauled before Magistrate James Vaughan at the Bow Street Police Court to face charges of witness tampering and the obstruction of justice.

On January 6, 1890, the hearings resumed before Mr. Vaughan and lasted the rest of the week.

The charges against de Gallo were dismissed and Taylorson was eventually acquitted even though the prosecution produced three witnesses from Belgium who linked him (and Newton) with Hammond’s successful escape with young Ames to America aboard the *Pennland*.

The case against Newton was a different matter.

Five months later, on May 16, 1890, Somerset’s solicitor faced a jury at the Queen’s Bench Division in the Law Courts with Mr. Justice Matthew Cave presiding. The trial was marked by a conspicuous lack of fervor by the government’s prosecuting counsel.⁵⁷

The jury appeared to be swayed by Newton’s incredulous plea that he only had the boys’ interests at heart when he tried to get them out of England. But Judge Cave was not impressed. On May 20, 1890 he sentenced Newton to six weeks in Holloway prison—a symbolic rather than punitive punishment. Even so, it was an incredibly light sentence that once again, in Parke’s words, had “cover-up” written all over it.

With the final sentencing of Arthur Newton, the Cleveland Street scandal was, for all practical purposes brought to a close. The Royal family and Prime Minister Salisbury's Conservative government could breathe easier now—they had both been saved from a much more serious scandal—one that connected Prince Albert Victor to the Cleveland Street brothel.

A Royal Dilemma: Prince Eddy

It is highly unlikely that either the Royal family or Prime Minister Salisbury or any other highly placed government officials would have felt the necessity of interfering in the judicial processes connected with the Cleveland Street scandal were it not for the persistent rumors circulating in London's fashionable clubs and soirees implicating Prince Eddy in the sordid affair.

Providentially, during the seven crucial months from late October 1889 to late May 1890, when these rumors were at their zenith, His Royal Highness was out of the country on a pre-planned royal tour of India.⁵⁸ This had left the Royals and Whitehall room to maneuver.

As things stood, there were only two principal players in the Cleveland Street Affair who had privately made the connection that linked the Prince to Hammond's establishment. They were Lord Somerset's solicitor Arthur Newton and Lord Somerset himself.

When the scandal first broke during the summer of 1889, it was Newton who had warned the Office of Public Prosecutions and ultimately Whitehall and the Royal family, of the Prince's alleged involvement in the affair.⁵⁹ And it was Lord Somerset who had confided to his intimates and close family members that he was sacrificing himself with his self-imposed exile in order to protect Prince Eddy.

In Prince Eddy and the Homosexual Underworld, the English historical biographer Theo Aronson examined the evidence of the Prince's alleged involvement in London's thriving homosexual underworld in general, and the Cleveland Street Affair and the Jack the Ripper murders in particular.

In the case of the famous Whitechapel murders, the evidence was in the Prince's favor—he was clearly not Jack the Ripper unless he possessed the power of bilocation.⁶⁰ As for the charge that he was a homosexual, though not exclusively so, and that he frequented homosexual haunts like the Hammond brothel, the evidence is inconclusive although weighed somewhat in the affirmative.

From a modern-day psycho-sexual perspective, Prince Eddy appeared to have possessed certain personal traits from his youth that have frequently been linked to homoerotic tendencies including a delicate physical constitution that exempted him from rough and tumble boys' play and adolescent sports, an extremely intimate relationship with his mother, Princess Alexandra of Denmark, and a somewhat distant though certainly not hostile relationship with his father Albert Edward, Prince of Wales.

A handsome and amiable young man of slight but well-proportioned built and mild temperament, “Collars-and-Cuffs” as he was affectionately known, had a reputation for dandyism that might have been overlooked had he possessed a modicum of intellectual acuity or physical prowess which unfortunately he did not.

Although his family including his doting grandmother, Queen Victoria, took all the proper precautions to protect Prince Eddy’s physical and moral welfare once he entered adolescence, it would have been impossible to shield him completely from the Victorian underworld of vices, including sodomy. Whether on board the naval training ship *Britannia* or in the hallowed halls of Trinity College, Cambridge where the gospel of Hellenistic love and a “Higher Sodomy” was both preached and put into practice, Prince Eddy would have been exposed to “the unmentionable vice.”

By the time the Cleveland Street scandal broke, the 25-year-old Prince Albert Victor, had already acquired an unfortunate familial and public reputation for sexual dissolution and vice.⁶¹ The exact nature of his “dissipation,” however, remains vague.

Most certainly he was not the womanizer his father or younger brother, Prince George were, but this did not mean he eschewed female charms altogether. He had a number of female confidantes and was reported to have formed a few romantic attachments. He was engaged to be married before his untimely death on January 14, 1892.

This minimal attraction to the opposite sex, however, does not militate against the possibility that Prince Eddy might have been drawn into a homosexual liaison with one or more of the young predatory sodomites that were part of his intimate circle of friends at Cambridge. It was also an “open secret” that Queen Victoria’s court was strewn with aristocratic sodomites any of whom would have been more than willing to introduce the young Prince to London’s lively homosexual underworld.

Perhaps the most convincing argument in favor of Prince Eddy’s alleged association with the Cleveland Street brothel was the lengths to which the Royal family and Whitehall went to insure that any connection between the heir apparent and Hammond’s establishment never be raised in a court of law. Lord Somerset and Lord Euston were small fish in a big pond. The only thing that really mattered was that the name of Prince Eddy, the successor to the British throne, not be tainted by any association with the vice of sodomy. Whatever it took to achieve this end—perjury, judicial bribes, witness tampering, the obstruction of justice—was deemed acceptable.

It is always interesting to note that when the Establishment rallies, it almost always rallies around the “aggrieved” offenders.

From the very beginning, of the Cleveland Street scandal, private and public attention, if not sympathies, appeared to be drawn to the alleged adult violators of the Labouchere Amendment—“Poor” Somerset! “Poor” Lord Euston! “Poor” Prince Eddy!⁶²

The record does not tell us what happened to Allies and the rest of the young telegraph boys who were seduced and sexually exploited by men many years their senior and who lost their jobs and were publicly disgraced. Other than their immediate families and sweethearts and perhaps the sympathetic PC Hanks and Inspector Abberline no one seemed to care about their future. How terribly familiar!

Substitute the Roman Catholic Church for the Royal family and one can see how tempting it is for any Establishment — secular or religious — to go to extreme lengths to cover up sex scandals especially those of a pederastic or homosexual nature.

As the Cleveland Street Affair drew to a close, the overall final verdict in the case especially in the eyes of Radical critics like Labouchere and Parke was that the Establishment had won out. But that victory was an illusory one. No sooner had Victorian society begun to enjoy a respite from further unpleasant revelations about the sodomitical affairs of this or that earl or prince when another series of public trials even more devastating than the Cleveland Street scandal broke on to the London scene.

The Many “Trials” of Oscar Wilde

Contrary to popular belief, the “trials” of Oscar Fingel O’Flahertie Wills Wilde did not begin with the “persecution” of the eminent Irish-born playwright and well-known homosexual playboy of the Victorian world, but with Wilde’s “prosecution” of his nemesis the Marquess of Queensberry, the father of his young lover and companion in crime, Lord Alfred Douglas.

Indeed, it is quite clear that while the middle classes were pushing for a stricter enforcement of anti-sodomy legislation, the Victorian upper classes and high government officials who controlled police enforcement were more than happy to ignore the criminal sexual exploits of Wilde and Douglas as they did those of other prominent homosexuals of the day, had not Wilde himself opened the legal door to his own conviction by initiating a civil suit for libel against Queensberry.⁶³

Unfortunately for Wilde, it was not Queensberry who was convicted. Wilde went to prison, not for libel, but for multiple charges of gross indecencies. He was sentenced to two years imprisonment with hard labor, first at Pentonville prison, then Wandsworth prison and finally Reading Gaol.

His last prison transfer on November 21, 1895, was one of Wilde’s most humiliating and traumatic experiences of his life. Dressed in prison clothes, his hands cuffed, the bedraggled Wilde stood at the Clapham Rail Junction awaiting public transport. He was flanked by police officers who were forced to shield the prisoner from the angry cursing mob and protect him from the projectiles of spittle and brickbat. It was a terrible scene made all the more tragic by the undeniable fact that the prisoner had brought the sentence down on his own head — with a little help from his friends.

A Promising Lad

Born in Dublin on October 16, 1854, into a prominent if somewhat eccentric and unconventional family, Oscar Wilde was the second and youngest son of Dr. (later Sir) William Robert Wilde, a gifted surgeon, renowned antiquarian, prolific writer and “lady’s man” and (Lady) Jane Francesca Elgee Wilde, a fierce Irish patriot and talented poetess and linguist in her own right.

According to the distinguished scholar and critic Richard Ellmann, author of *Oscar Wilde*, considered to be the standard biography on Wilde, the playwright appeared to have enjoyed a carefree, near idyllic childhood. There was his older brother William Charles called Willie, his baby sister Isola, the “pet” of the family until her untimely death at the age of 10, and a large household of agreeable servants, governesses and private tutors. As he was growing up, young Oscar was oblivious to the darker events and familial scandals that were taking place around him.⁶⁴

At the age of 10, the intellectually precocious Oscar, along with Willie, age 11, were sent off to the Portora Royal School in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh in Northern Ireland where Oscar was to spend the next seven years of his life.⁶⁵ Unlike his brother Willie, Oscar was not popular with his classmates and he remained somewhat of a bookish loner with an “inordinate passion” for the Greek classics.⁶⁶ This passion paid off when in 1871, the promising classicist was awarded a Royal School scholarship (and later a Foundation Scholarship) to Trinity College, Dublin, the Protestant University of Ireland.⁶⁷

During his Trinity years, Wilde was heavily influenced by the pre-Raphaelitism and Hellenistic Movements as expounded by some of the leading Irish classicists of the day including the Reverend (later Sir) John Pentland Mahaffy (1839–1919) and the Latin and Greek literary scholar Robert Yelverton Tyrrell (1844–1914). It was at Trinity College that the young Wilde gave his intellectual (if not emotional) assent, to the philosophical foundation that would pave the way to his later homoerotic adventures that served as a bridge between aestheticism and decadence.

The colorful and eccentric Mahaffy, Swiss-born but Dublin-educated, was a full-fledged Philhellene—a lover of all things Greek.⁶⁸ Before he became Provost of Trinity College in 1904, he would often accompany Trinity undergraduates on school vacation tours of Greece and Italy. Wilde joined him on tour in Italy the summer of his graduation from Trinity. Their mutual interest in Greek history, art and literature developed into a long-time friendship that continued even after Wilde had matriculated to Magdalen College, Oxford (England). In 1877, Mahaffy was able to divert Wilde to a tour of Greece—after which Mahaffy was able to brag in a letter to his wife that he had saved Oscar from “the Scarlet Woman,” i.e., Rome, and redirected Wilde from “Popery to Paganism.”⁶⁹ It must have been a bitter moment for Mahaffy when Wilde’s downfall came. After this, when

asked about his protégé, Mahaffy was reported to have sadly replied: "We no longer speak of Mr. Oscar Wilde."⁷⁰

Another of Wilde's influential mentors who tutored Wilde in classics was the brilliant Robert Tyrrell, who held a number of professorships at Trinity including that of Latin, Greek and Ancient History. He was best known for his commentaries on the correspondence of Cicero and his critical text of Sophocles and best remembered for his support for Wilde after the 1895 trials.⁷¹

Wilde's Flirtation with "The Scarlet Woman" (Rev 17:3)

For most of his life, Wilde had an on-again off-again romance with the Roman Catholic Church that may possibly have predated his Trinity years.

His first and official baptism took place at St. Mark's Church (Anglican) when he was seven months of age. The service was conducted by Oscar's uncle, his father's oldest brother, Rev. Ralph Wilde.

His second baptism took place privately when Oscar was about nine or ten years old. Jane Wilde had formed a friendship with a Catholic priest, Reverend L. C. Prideaux Fox, himself a convert, who was serving as chaplain for the Glenree Reformatory near the Wilde's summer home in the Wicklow Mountains. At their mother's request, both Oscar and Willie received instructions in the Faith and were later rebaptized.

Dr. Wilde, a member of the Church of Ireland (Protestant) who had two brothers in Orders, was naturally not pleased with the affair, but he let the matter pass. The private baptism was not registered and Father Fox was soon transferred to another post never to be seen again by the Wilde family.⁷² Dr. Wilde's opposition to the Catholic Church remained strong throughout his life.

As for Oscar Wilde's third and final baptism, at the time of his death, a Catholic priest administered the Last Rites of the Church that included a conditional baptism, the forgiveness of sins and the final sacrament of Extreme Unction.⁷³

During his four years at Trinity, much to his father's chagrin, or perhaps because of it, the young Wilde considered conversion to Catholicism. He had a number of close Catholic friends including a few Dublin priests, mostly Jesuits, and was an admirer of the prose of Cardinal John Henry Newman who had come to Dublin to serve as rector of Catholic University in 1854, the year of Wilde's birth.⁷⁴ Later, Wilde visited Newman at Birmingham.⁷⁵

However, at the time of his graduation from Trinity in 1874, Wilde's interest in the Catholic Church had, for the time being, declined in lieu of more pressing worldly pursuits and ambitions.

Also, by the time Wilde left Trinity College for Oxford, the seeds of his ambiguous sexuality reflected in his dandified mannerisms and dress and his acquired spirit of rebellion against bourgeois morality had been planted.

However, at this early stage of Wilde's academic career, they had not as yet manifested themselves so as to interfere with his studies. He remained an excellent student.

As an undergraduate, Wilde took a First Class in Classical Moderations and a First Class in Literae Humaniores and in his senior year he captured a Berkeley Gold Medal for Greek and a Demyship to Magdalen College, Oxford. Many wealthy Irish families sent their young men to Oxford or Cambridge (Oxbridge) to complete their education in the fullest sense. For Oscar, his presence at Oxford signaled a major turning point in his life.⁷⁶

The Oxford Years 1874–1878

It might surprise readers to know that for the first year or so at Magdalen College, Oxford, Wilde, just entering his twenties, led the life of a fairly conventional Oxford undergraduate with no particular fame or notoriety.⁷⁷ His letters to his family and friends at home in Ireland during this period are filled with familial reminiscences and lively candor, good humor and a healthy dose of leg-pulling on a wide variety of subjects—his studies, his new friendships especially with Reginald “Kitten” Harding and William “Bouncer” Ward, his thoughts on religion, his new female acquaintances and his sporting activities, most especially shooting, golf, swimming and fishing.⁷⁸

As for Wilde's sexual extracurricular activities at Oxford, we know they existed because the young man suffered a case of syphilis and was treated with mercury while a student at Oxford. Whether or nor his illicit affairs were with female or male prostitutes or both we do not know.⁷⁹

As for sheer academic controversy and excitement, Wilde had come up to Oxford at just the right time. The university was about to break into open warfare as the proponents of the Hellenistic tradition as espoused by men like Walter Horatio Pater, Benjamin Jowett and John Addington Symonds came to open blows with the adherents of Protestant traditionalists. The indirect influence of Jowett and Symonds on Wilde will be discussed later.

But at this moment in time, it was the writings of Pater, Oxford's (Brasenose College) premier aesthetic and don, that appeared to most heavily influence Wilde's embryonic theories on art, creative genius and homoerotic love in the Greek pederastic tradition.⁸⁰ Pater's proselytizing of ill-disguised neo-pagan themes—“The love of Art for Art's sake; the role of art in the social regeneration of Society; the merits of a “refined decadence” as an impetus for creative genius; and the virtue of experience for its own sake, struck a particularly agreeable cord in Wilde's restless psyche and helped fill a growing spiritual void in Wilde's life.⁸¹

Wilde, as a budding aesthetic, was also impressed with the teachings of John Ruskin (1819–1900), Slade Professor of Art at Oxford and one of the greatest art critics of the Victorian era.⁸² The highly esteemed Professor Ruskin publicly favored the Pre-Raphaelite Movement in art as exemplified

by the early works of Rossetti, Millais and Holman Hunt. Philosophically, he stood almost diametrically opposite Pater in his opposition to the neo-classicism and sensual self-indulgence.⁸³ Ellmann reported that Wilde sought out some spiritual direction from Ruskin and a friendship ensued, but it was not lasting one.⁸⁴

The same might be said for Wilde's attraction to Freemasonry, an important factor in religious (Church of England), social and professional mobility in Victorian society. His father, now Sir William Wilde, was a high-ranking member of the Shakespeare Lodge in Dublin and Wilde loved Masonry's secrecy, ritualism and high fashion.

On February 23, 1875, he officially joined the university's Apollo Lodge and quickly obtained the level of 3rd degree.⁸⁵ About 18 months later, Wilde went over to the Apollo Rose-Croix Chapter—the "High Church" of Freemasonry and achieved the 18th degree. Initially, Wilde was an enthusiastic recruiter for the order until the novelty of it all began to wear thin. Throughout his remaining years at Oxford and in later life, Wilde maintained a peripheral interest in Freemasonry, but it never became the all-consuming passion it had once been.⁸⁶ For Wilde, the source of his new passions lay in a different direction.

The Beginning of a Secret Life

It is impossible to point to a particular date or set of circumstances that marked the beginning of Wilde's flirtation with the homosexual underworld at Oxbridge and London, but there are enough clues to indicate that it had begun sometime during the latter part of his first year at Oxford.

We know that one of Wilde's visitors at Oxford during early summer of 1875 was the sculptor and "through-paced queer" Lord Ronald Gower known to be addicted to rough trade.⁸⁷ On one such visit, Gower brought along a companion in crime, a young sketch artist by the name of Frank Miles, who like Gower, was a "conscious and uninhibited" homosexual and exhibitionist.⁸⁸

By the summer of 1876, the two mens' relationship with Wilde was on familiar enough ground for Miles to invite Wilde (and Gower) to his home at Bingham, Nottinghamshire. Miles' father was a rector without a clue as to his son's homosexual behavior.⁸⁹ Thereafter, Wilde saw Miles on a more regular basis, sharing holidays and school vacations. Interestingly, although his two best friends, Kitten and Bouncer, knew Frank or knew of Frank at Oxford, Wilde tended to keep his friendship with them separate from his growing relationship with Frank Miles.⁹⁰ Wilde was beginning to compartmentalize his life.

The Death of Sir William Wilde

The death of his father on April 19, 1876, at the age of 61, following a long-term battle with asthma and gout, combined with the news that

his family's finances now bordered on the disastrous, weighed heavily on Wilde's mind as he left Dublin after the funeral to return to Oxford and his studies. The young man, consumed with grief and worry entered into a period of deep religious introspection in which he contemplated his conversion to Catholicism—an action his father had consistently thwarted when he was alive.

On occasion, Wilde went to hear his favorite preacher, Cardinal Henry Edward Manning at the Church of St. Aloysius in St. Giles, the first Roman Catholic Church to be built in Oxford since the Reformation.⁹¹ Prophetically, one of the cardinal's most persistent themes of his preaching was Oxford's spiritual apathy and decay.⁹² Four months after his father's death, on July 19, 1876, Wilde again went to hear Cardinal Manning preach in London.⁹³

In the summer of 1877, David Hunter-Blair, one of Wilde's closest "Papist" friends at Oxford, made his last stab at his schoolmate's conversion. The wealthy and zealous Blair, a recent convert himself, who would eventually enter the Benedictine Order, helped finance Wilde's trip to Rome ostensibly from some gambling winning. Blair also arranged for a private audience for Wilde with Pope Pius IX.

Wilde joined Blair and Ward, a Protestant, in the Eternal City on the way home from his trip to Greece with Mahaffy, who was as eager to keep Wilde Protestant (and pagan) as Blair was to make him Catholic. As for Wilde himself, after a momentary flicker of inspiration for things Roman, he returned to Oxford as elusive as ever regarding any serious and concrete spiritual commitment to either Anglicanism or Catholicism.

There is no question that Wilde was always attracted to the outward signs of the Catholic faith especially the beauty and pageantry of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the exquisite vestments and the delicious smell of burning incense and bees wax candles. But he never gave his assent to Catholic doctrine or dogma. And while it is true that he often made references to Christ in his works, this was not the Christ of Scripture—God made Man. In fact, Wilde often used Christian symbols and references to Christ in a manner that would, in effect, turn Christianity on its head.

In Wilde's only novel, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, the author has the young Dorian contemplate the reasons why he had not converted to the Roman Church despite his sensual attraction for Roman rituals and his fascination with its mysteries including the dimly lit confessionals where men reveal their darkest secrets:

It was rumored of him once that he was about to join the Roman Catholic Communion. ...But he never fell into the error of arresting his intellectual development by any formal acceptance of creed or system, of mistaking, for a house in which to live, an inn that is suitable for the sojourn of a night, or for a few hours of a night in which there are no stars and the moon is in travail. Mysticism, with its marvelous power of making common things strange

to us, and the subtle antinomianism that always seems to accompany it, moved him for a season. ...Yet, as has been said of him before, no theory of life seemed to him to be of any importance compared with life itself. He felt keenly conspicuous of how barren all intellectual speculation is when separated from action and experiment. He knew that the senses, no less than the soul, have their spiritual mysteries to reveal.⁹⁴

To the outside world, Wilde remained a minimalist Anglo-Irish-Anglican Protestant, but by the start of his third year at Oxford it was clear that his intellectual loyalties and emotional desires lay well outside the boundaries of Christianity altogether.

Mahaffy had primed Wilde's latent pederastic urgings at Trinity and on their trips to Greece. Pater and his colleagues had fanned the coals of homoerotic desire at Oxford. Now with the death of his father whom he loved and respected, the last barrier to the release of Wilde's homoerotic inclinations and his transformation into the "quintessential London dandy" and later into England's foremost exponent of the virtues of Greek love, came tumbling down.⁹⁵

It is significant that Wilde's brother Willie, who used to visit Oscar at Oxford, was among the first to suspect that Oscar's sexual inclinations might not be entirely normal following Wilde's return from Greece and Rome that fateful spring of 1877.

Some of his closest Oxford friends began to remark on Oscar's new "extreme aestheticism," the going euphemism for a sexual invert or homosexual—a personae that Wilde was just beginning to publicly exploit with his new opulent and sometimes comic wardrobe and his exaggerated effete mannerisms and mincing gait.⁹⁶ In his biography of Wilde, Croft-Cooke reported that Wilde's letters and manner of speech during the second half of his stay at Oxford contained more "campy" and "self-mocking" expressions that reflect a connection, however vague, with a homosexual milieu.⁹⁷

Happily for everyone, however, Oscar's last years at Oxford, as at Trinity College, had not been all play and no work. By the time he left Oxford for a literary career in London in 1878, his reputation as an undisputed master of classical poetry and verse was made. In his senior year he not only won the coveted (Sir Roger) Newdigate Prize for English verse for his poem "Ravenna," but he also earned a double first in "Greats." The combined academic and artistic honors made him famous not only in academic circles, but in London society as well. The world lay at Oscar Wilde's feet. The only question that remained for the self-styled "Apostle of Aestheticism" was how to best exploit his classical training and literary talents? That and where and with whom to live in London?

A New Life in London

Upon going down from Oxford, the ambitious but financially constrained Wilde, now age 25, took up rooms with his close and equally ambitious

friend Frank Miles, age 21, settling first at Salisbury Street near the river and later at Chelsea.⁹⁸

It was after their second move to Tite Street that Wilde and Miles had a violent quarrel over Canon and Mrs. Miles' objections to one of Wilde's recently published poems, probably "Charmides" with its shocking and forbidden psychosexual themes that included necrophilia.⁹⁹ Apparently Miles' parents were totally oblivious to their own son's secret life as an exhibitionist and homosexual. The argument sent Wilde packing. After the death of his father, Miles' life quickly deteriorated. In 1887, he was confined to Brislington asylum near Bristol where he died four years later, reportedly by his own hand.¹⁰⁰

The fates appeared to have been kinder to Wilde—at least for awhile.

In the spring of 1891, the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta *Patience* opened at London's Opera Comique to rave reviews.¹⁰¹ Based upon an earlier satirical piece by William Gilbert titled "The Rival Curates" about two meek, asexual priests (Roman Catholic), *Patience* represented a frontal assault on the Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic Movements and a Protestant (Evangelical) back-handed swipe at the Roman Church that appeared to be attracting more than a few aesthetic converts.

The lead characters in *Patience* are the outrageous aesthete, Reginald Bunthorpe and the more sensuous and "fleshy" aesthete, Archibald Grosevenor. Their manner of deportment is effete, their dress outrageously flamboyant, and their favorite flower—the gilded lily (a replacement for the green carnation of the sodomite).

Since Gilbert wrote the lyrics for *Patience* while Oscar was still at Oxford, Wilde was not the model for either Bunthorpe or Grosevenor. Nevertheless, Wilde, a born self-promoter, quickly saw the benefits of developing his public image along the lines of these Savoyard characters.

In his memoirs of his father, Vyvyan Holland Wilde corrects the story that it was Richard D'Oyly Carte, the producer of all the Gilbert and Sullivan operettas who invited Wilde, England's leading exponent of aestheticism, to deliver a series of lectures in America's major cities. Actually the invitation came from Carte's business manager Colonel F. W. Morse.¹⁰² Wilde needed the money and he also wanted to attend to the production details of his play *Vera* (or, *The Nihilists*) that he wrote in 1880.¹⁰³

On December 24, 1881, Wilde embarked for America and began his first whirlwind tour that took him from New York to California—140 lectures in 70 towns in 260 days.¹⁰⁴ Most Americans couldn't have been less interested in the English "fop," but High Society, especially the female element, took him to their bosom. Oscar loved to mingle with the upper crust and attended a number of private salon engagements in New York and California that were especially arranged for him.

Oscar also had the opportunity to meet with a number of prominent American literary figures including the poets Henry Wadsworth Long-

fellow and Walt Whitman.¹⁰⁵ His personal tours took him to a Masonic temple and to Cherry Grove on Fire Island, the future site of one of New York's most notorious homosexual vacation enclaves.

By the time he returned home to England after his successful American tour, Wilde was a celebrity! For the next two months he was a hot item in London's fashionable literary circles. When his popularity waned he retired to the Hotel Voltaire in Paris to finish off his next play, a rather poor work, *The Duchess of Padua*, that was written for, but rejected by, the American actress Mary Anderson.¹⁰⁶ Then, having spent the remainder of the £1,200 he earned on his American tour he sailed back for a second tour and the unsuccessful premier of *Vera* at the Union Square Theater in New York on August 20, 1883.¹⁰⁷

Wilde as a Husband and Father

When Wilde met his future wife Constance Lloyd in May of 1881 in London, he had not as yet fully committed himself to the more "vulgar," physical expressions of "Greek love." At age 27, he appeared more than willing to give marriage and parenthood a try. Besides, he had spent himself dry and was mortgaged to the hilt. Croft-Cooke put the matter rather tartly, but in hindsight, perhaps quite accurately, "She (Constance) had a sufficient income and they set up a home in Tite Street."¹⁰⁸

Constance Wilde was Irish born, the daughter of the prominent London barrister Horace Lloyd. She was 23 years old when she met Oscar and his mother and soon became a regular at Mrs. Wilde's soirees. The strong-willed Francesca Wilde, the dominant force in her son's life, apparently did not view Constance as a serious competitor for Oscar's affections. Nevertheless, by all accounts, the new Mrs. Wilde was not only beautiful but charming, cultured, intelligent, multi-lingual with a hidden strength of character that surfaced later in her marriage.

Although she could not have been unaware of her husband's reputation as an "aesthetic" and "dandy," we cannot assume she thought of her husband as a potential or active "sodomite" since these Victorian terms were not necessarily synonymous. Despite parental objections on the bride's side, the couple was married on May 29, 1884 at St. James Church, Paddington in "a high aesthetic mode" and spent their honeymoon in Paris at the Hotel Wagram.¹⁰⁹

Oscar's flattering attention and passionate love letters during their courtship and the arrival of two sons, Cyril and Vyvyan, within 18 months of marriage, must have quelled any early doubts she might have entertained about the wisdom of their marital union. And it certainly was more than sufficient to squelch those long-standing dark rumors that had followed Wilde down from Oxford.

In his memoirs, *Son of Oscar Wilde*, Vyvyan Holland Wilde, Oscar's younger son, presented a touching portrait of Oscar Wilde as the adoring and adored father during the "happy years,"—the games in the park and nursery; his father's famous guests; frolicking at the seashore; the endless hours of storytelling; and the mending of precious broken toys.¹¹⁰ After the fatal trials, when the bailiff came to sell the contents of the house, Vyvyan recalled that lot number 237, "a large quantity of toys," realized 30 shillings.¹¹¹

Professionally speaking, Wilde continued to work hard as a playwright while accepting more mundane writing assignments as a book reviewer for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a drama critic for *Dramatic Review* and an editor (1887–1889) for *The Lady's World* (later renamed *Woman's World* magazine). With the publication of *The Happy Prince and Other Tales* in the spring of 1888, Wilde entered an unprecedented period of sparkling creativity that enhanced his reputation as a literary artist as well as his pocketbook.

Wilde was now the center of three adoring constellations—his wife and young sons, an intimate circle of influential and wealthy friends and associates and a growing, world-wide audience of adoring fans and admirers. All in all, they appeared sufficient to keep Wilde content for a time. Unfortunately for all concerned, it was a rather short time.

The Marillier Infatuation and Ross Affair

There are at least two different stories as to what prompted Wilde to begin or restart his homosexual affairs just two years into his marriage.

The least believable version is that proffered by Wilde's friend and biographer Robert Sherard who claimed that the return of syphilis forced Oscar to abandon normal marital relations and drove him to homosexuality.¹¹²

The more probable and prosaic reason was that Wilde had simply become bored with married life. He still loved being a father, but he now longed to taste more exciting and forbidden sexual fruit.

We know that Wilde, the ultimate connoisseur of beauty, was very upset that Constance's pregnancies had marred her lovely face and lithe figure and that he had complained to his friends that she had become "heavy, shapeless, (and) deformed" and that he was so disgusted that he had "to force himself to touch and kiss her."¹¹³ With regard to his own bloated facial features and middle age spread he ventured no comment.

There is also the simple element of chance and opportunity.

His first-born son Cyril was just five months old when Harry Marillier reentered Wilde's life.

Oscar had first met Harry when the Bluecoat boy was only 15 and Wilde had just left Oxford to live with Frank Miles at Salisbury Street.¹¹⁴ The

exceedingly handsome young man was now 20 years old and an undergraduate student at Cambridge. Wilde invited the young man to meet him in London and Harry accepted the invitation. A correspondence began between the two men that reflected a desire for a greater intimacy on Wilde's part, but the infatuation came to nothing (possibly through parental interference by Marillier's father) and their letters quit by February of 1886.¹¹⁵

Wilde's unrequited love for Harry Marillier, however, did result in one "redeeming" feature. It primed him for what is alleged to have been his first homosexual experience with a lad named Robert Ross, a 17 year old Canadian who had been brought up in London and was just about to enter King's College, Cambridge. About a year later, school authorities abruptly told the undergraduate to leave Cambridge, an incident probably connected to his homosexual activities. "Robbie" went on to become a journalist and art critic, but he made his reputation as Oscar Wilde's literary executor.¹¹⁶

Literary historian Rupert Croft-Cooke rejected the idea of little Robbie's "seduction" of the 32-year-old Wilde and I tend to agree with him.¹¹⁷ From what we know of Wilde's last years at Oxford, particularly his obsession with sexually-transgressive literary themes and his long-term friendship with the homosexuals Frank Miles and Lord Gower, it appears that Oscar would not have been a stranger to London's homosexual underworld with its ready access to young rent-boys upon whom he could slake his pederastic appetites.¹¹⁸ In addition, as Croft-Cooks so astutely pointed out, Wilde's reputation as an aesthetic would not have grown were it not aided "by the gossip of the queers, one of publicity's most powerful mouth-pieces then and today."¹¹⁹

On the other hand, if one views Ross' "seduction" of the older Wilde solely within the context of an ideal quasi-intellectual Hellenistic framework, with Wilde acting the respected erastes and the young dark-haired handsome Ross his beloved eromenos, then indeed Ross may be the first boy that Oscar ever had.

In his later days, Ross is said to have regretted his early affair with Wilde, but he was not to blame. Wilde was ripe—one might even say—overripe—for a pederastic relationship with Hellenistic overtones. He had longed and desired to partake of the "forbidden love" that promised to free him from the shackles of traditional morality, "liberate" his senses and flood his being with a fresh wave of intellectual and creative genius. Ross had issued the invitation. Dare Wilde refuse?¹²⁰

But Wilde had no sooner consummated his relationship with little Robbie, than their physical ardor began to cool, although it was never cut off altogether. This was a pattern that Wilde would establish with most of his sexual alliances that involved young men from upper or middle class families. Wilde was already looking forward to his next conquest. Nevertheless, as is not uncommon with many homosexual affairs, the genuine friendship that developed between Wilde and Ross would last a lifetime.

Oscar Wilde's Dorian

It was less than a year later, after Ross had entered King's College, Cambridge that Wilde found his next sexual partner in the person of John Gray, a working class youth and aspiring poet who Wilde picked up in a bar one evening in 1889. The handsome Gray, who spoke with a lively Cockney accent before he remade himself, was 23 years old and he held a daytime job at the Foreign Office. It was later said that he provided the model for Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, although there were significant difference between this Gray and the fictitious Dorian Gray.¹²¹

Wilde immediately began to parade his latest "favorite" about town as middle-aged queens like to do. For his part, the obviously ambitious Gray was content to bask in his master's spotlight and he soon became a regular member of Oscar's literary and homosexual circles. Wilde's affair with Gray was to last more than two years, although it was taken for granted by both men that their relationship was not exclusive, as Wilde had developed a distinct preference for local lower-class renters (his "honey-sweet boys") and Gray was always on the look out for potential sugar daddies.¹²²

Later, when Wilde met his "true love," Lord Alfred Douglas, he attempted to soften the blow of separation with Gray by agreeing to pay for the printing of *Silverpoints*, a collection of poetry that included 13 original works by Gray. This proved unnecessary.

The tab for *Silverpoints* was eventually picked up by the wealthy Jewish Parisian socialite Marc-André Raffalovich who entered Gray's life just when the despondent young man was contemplating suicide. Gray's new suitor laid himself and his vast fortune at the young man's feet. Gray made a remarkably quick recovery.¹²³ However, in time, what began as a homosexual liaison was suddenly transformed into a deep and abiding chaste friendship by an extraordinary turn of events.

In 1896, following a dramatic religious experience, Raffalovich, converted from Judaism to Catholicism. Together with Gray, who had come into the Roman Church six years earlier, the two men embarked upon a spiritual journey that brought Gray to Scots College in Rome in October 1898 to study for the Catholic priesthood.¹²⁴ Later Raffalovich became a Dominican Third Order tertiary and a daily communicant at Canon Gray's new church that was built with funds provided by Raffalovich.

After his ordination on December 21, 1901, Father Gray, at the insistence of Pope Leo XIII, settled outside of England, in Edinburgh, Scotland accompanied by his gentleman companion. The two men went on to forge a lasting fraternal bond that spanned more than three decades—until Raffalovich's death in February 1934. Canon Gray followed his faithful friend to the grave just four months later. Their lives had been transformed by God's grace. Agape had conquered Eros. Wilde was not as fortunate. He was about to meet the love of his life, Lord Alfred Douglas, and his Waterloo.

Life with Bosie—The Golden Boy

Lord Alfred Bruce Douglas, affectionately known as “Bosie” was the third and youngest son of the 8th Marquess of Queensberry.¹²⁵ He was a born and bred aristocrat, educated at the elite Winchester Public School and later Oxford. He was also an aspiring poet, well built, with exceptionally good looks, golden blond hair and an alabaster complexion.¹²⁶ The combination proved irresistible to Wilde.

Lionel Johnson, a former Winchesterian and a homosexual, had introduced the two men during the summer of 1891.¹²⁷ Douglas was barely 21 and a struggling student at Magdalen College, Oxford when he began his explosive affair with Wilde, now 37 and a husband and father. Wilde was thoroughly besotted from the moment they met. All caution was thrown to the wind.

Wilde courted the beautiful Bosie for several months buying him presents and entertaining him in high fashion before Douglas permitted Wilde to fellate him. Bosie, used to playing the active role (sodomy) in his relations with adolescent boys later recalled that it was not a particularly pleasant experience.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, Wilde’s fame, money, celebrity status and most of all, “his magical conversation,” proved to be adequate compensation for his role as catamite to Oscar Wilde.¹²⁹

Although Douglas’s mother and others blamed the elder Wilde for “corrupting” Bosie, this was not quite true. Bosie had engaged in homosexual acts, that is mutual masturbation (not sodomy) at Winchester and Oxford and had already developed a taste for boys younger than himself. There is no evidence, however, he ever engaged in such acts with older men until he met Wilde.

Since their sexual relationship, by mutual agreement, was never exclusive, Bosie was able to seek out more adventurous sexual outlets in the form of renters and roughers, many of whom he happily shared with Oscar. This arrangement of mutual infidelity, however, never prevented Douglas from flying into one of his jealous rages over one of Oscar’s new flames. For his part, Wilde, who was never possessive about his “he-whores,” often referred to his casual affairs with lower-class youth as “feasting with panthers,”—his boy prostitutes being the exotic beasts and Wilde their dominant and masculine “animal tamer.”¹³⁰

Although Douglas eventually gave up homosexual practices altogether in his post-adolescent years, Wilde never did. In fact, the older Wilde became, the more indiscriminate he became and the younger and younger his partners became. As for specific homosexual practices, all the evidence available to date shows that both men preferred the dominant and active role, although both were known to occasionally play the passive role.¹³¹ The record also indicates that both men practiced masturbation of partners, mutual masturbation, interfemoral (“frottage”), fellatio, and, at least on Wilde’s part, sodomy.¹³²

Unfortunately for Wilde, what had begun as a quasi-intellectual search for the “Greek ideal love,” had deteriorated into a frenzied pursuit of uninhibited pleasure and raw sex accompanied by other illicit homosexual accouterments such as drugs and “Socratic” pornography.¹³³ Eventually his homosexual passions became so all consuming that he had to leave London to get any writing done at all.¹³⁴

To add fuel to the fire, both Wilde and Douglas actively and openly proselytized for “the cause” whenever and wherever they could.

For example, in his fourth year at Magdalen College, Oxford, Douglas took over the editorship of the *Spirit Lamp* and used the magazine to promote a thinly veiled homoerotic ethos under the guise of Hellenistic love.

The equally dedicated Wilde tried his hand at recruiting fellow debauchers from his many artistic friends and acquaintances. He credited himself with bringing the French writer André Gide whom he had met in Paris in 1891, into “the fold.” In his biography of Gide, the French writer Jean Delay, affirmed that Wilde played a decisive role in Gide’s decision to aggressively pursue a life of pederasty following their meeting in Algiers in January of 1895.¹³⁵

The details of that fateful meeting in Algiers when Wilde persuaded the young Gide to accompany him on one of his nocturnal pederastic adventures are recorded by a number of writers including Gide himself in his autobiography *Si le grain ne meurt*.¹³⁶ It is Delay, however, who best captured the spirit with which Wilde entered into this singular enterprise.

According to Delay, Gide was not unaware of the true nature of Wilde’s (and Douglas’s) unnatural passions for young boys—passions to which he himself was attracted. What set Wilde apart for Gide, however, was the enthusiasm with which Wilde was “always trying to instill into you a sanction for evil.”¹³⁷

Wilde’s New Hedonism left no room for the quaint moralisms that still haunted Gide such as Christianity’s emphasis on the mortification of the flesh or the condemnation of man’s baser instincts.¹³⁸

The vulnerable Gide was swept away.

Following his extraordinary sexual encounter with a young Algerian musician of about 14, Gide convinced himself that he had at last discovered his “true self.” He became a confirmed pederast. What followed was quite predictable. As Delay explained, “The minute a young man whose instinct has been repressed by moral and social constraints decides to free sexuality from guilt, he also generally rebels against the constraints themselves.”¹³⁹ Gide proved to be no exception to the rule.

Whether in Algiers or Paris or London, the Wilde-Douglas Affair was not an “open secret”—it was simply open.¹⁴⁰ From November 1882 to December of 1883, Wilde and Douglas were constantly in each other’s company and traveled everywhere together usually with a bevy of international news reporters at their heels. Later, as the sexual intensity of their rela-

tionship began to cool, the men continued to enjoy each other's company as friends and companions in crime. Their combined flamboyant antics, camp language and mannerisms and dandyish dress attracted attention and media coverage wherever they went—in England or on the Continent. Meanwhile, on the home front, Wilde's family—his wife, young sons, mother and brother Willie were beginning to feel the painful effects of Victorian Society's disapproval in the form of increased social ostracism and isolation.¹⁴¹

Entering the Forbidden Zone—The Case of Edward Shelley

Between 1892 and 1895, Wilde turned London society on its head with an unprecedented series of highly successful and lucrative theatrical productions beginning with *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1892), followed by *A Woman of No Importance* (1893), *An Ideal Husband* (1895) and *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895). On a more personal level, the celebrated middle-aged playwright and pederast kept an eye out for potential new sexual conquests and began exploring heretofore forbidden territories.

Enter Edward Shelley.

It was Wilde who spotted the handsome 18-year-old clerk-office boy when he went over to his publishers Elkin Mathews and John Lane's office on Vigo Street one fine day in early 1892 to sign some copies of his *Poems*.

Shelley was not what one might call Wilde's usual cup of tea, that is to say, he was neither an Oxbridge queer nor a male prostitute. He came from a respectable middle-class family and had attended State schools. On the other hand, he had all the essentials Wilde demanded from his sexual consorts. He was young, handsome, most likely a virgin and like John Gray, he had some literary aspirations which Wilde could and did exploit.¹⁴²

Flattered that the elder Wilde would take a particular interest in him, Shelley accepted an invitation from the elder Wilde for dinner and drinks at a public room at the Albemarle Hotel. Later the two men retired to Wilde's private suite for more drinking and probably a smoke of Oscar's opium tipped cigarettes.¹⁴³ Shelley was primed for seduction and Wilde carted him off to the adjoining bedroom to sample the boy's physical attributes. Shelley later testified that he successfully resisted Wilde's advances that night.

The next evening Wilde brought his new favorite to the theater to show him off. Shelley also dined with Oscar and Constance at their home and was later introduced to some of Wilde's more intimate friends. At one point Wilde asked Shelley to join him for a stay at a Felbrigg farmhouse near Cromer, but the invitation was turned down as the lad still had his job to consider.¹⁴⁴

There are conflicting reports as to whether or not Wilde ever engaged in explicit sexual acts with Shelley, but there appears to be sufficient evidence that he did so before their relationship ended in March of 1893.

Although Wilde had grown bored with the now petulant and demanding Shelley, it was actually the young man who broke off the relationship ostensibly out of concern for the increasing dangers posed by his intimacies with the famed playwright. The unhappy youth had become the butt of endless jokes at the office where his not-so-naïve fellow workers referred to him as “Miss Oscar” or “Mrs. Wilde.”¹⁴⁵ Shelley, who was beginning to exhibit signs of an emotional breakdown, soon lost his job, at which point he confided his plight to his father who strictly forbade him to ever see Wilde again. Shelley had no contact with Wilde for over a year.

Then in 1894, Wilde received a telegram from the down-and-out Shelley asking for money. In his communication, Shelley said he was haunted by a bad conscience resulting from the “sins they had committed together.”¹⁴⁶ Wilde felt “hurt” and “betrayed.” After all he had done for the boy! Nevertheless, he sent him the money. A case of blackmail or not, Shelley’s telegram was an evil omen of things to come, but Wilde was too intoxicated with his newly found fame and fortune to take notice.

Deeper into London’s Homosexual Maelstrom

The door to London’s homosexual underground had been opened to Oscar during his early years at Oxford by his friends Frank Miles and Lord Gower. Wilde’s affair with Robbie Ross had expanded his connections to Oxbridge’s intimate coterie of queer dons. After he met Douglas, Wilde’s initiation into Victorian England’s flourishing and multilayered world of same-sex prostitution and criminal activity was complete.

Wilde had two primary resources for the procurement of young boys. One was Alfred Waterhouse Somerset Taylor and the other was Maurice Schwabe.

Schwabe was the younger, more intelligent and better educated of the two men and shared Wilde’s preference for boys from the East End slums. The two men had been introduced by Robbie Ross. Wilde, who had a brief sexual relationship with Schwabe, would occasionally have the young man over for dinner at his home to catch up on the latest gossip of London’s homosexual scene.¹⁴⁷ Late in the summer of 1892, Schwabe introduced Wilde to his friend Alfred Taylor, a rather gentle individual with a penchant for women’s clothing and young renters.

Taylor, now in his early 30s had been educated at Marlborough and then privately tutored. He had planned a military career in London’s Royal Fusilier regiment, but when he came into a fortune he decided to pursue a life of pleasure instead. Croft-Cooke characterized Taylor as a “harmless typical London effeminate queen” who had overspent himself into bankruptcy.¹⁴⁸ He now lived in a set of small rooms on Little College Street that served as a campground for other homosexual queens from other respectable families. Taylor enjoyed cruising and would often bring his young pick-ups back to his apartments for one of his “teaparties.”¹⁴⁹

According to Croft-Cooke, a friendly but dangerous competition of sorts developed between Taylor and Schwabe as to who could bring Wilde, the “best” boys—“nice” “clean” and “feminine.”¹⁵⁰

One of Taylor’s more classy pickups was a tall, slim lad he spotted at the Gaiety Theater by the name of Sidney Mavor, aka “Jenny.” Taylor told the young man that Mr. Wilde liked “nice, clean boys.”¹⁵¹ Shortly thereafter, Taylor introduced Wilde to the impressionable Mavor as a “real Lord” at a lavish dinner at Kettner’s that Schwabe had arranged for the occasion. Douglas joined the foursome to witness the seduction scene. A few nights later Wilde had the boy at the Albemarle Hotel. Sidney Mavor became one of Wilde’s extended favorites.¹⁵²

Unfortunately for Wilde, Schwabe was less selective in his choices. One of his pickups was a 17-year-old charmer named Frederick “Denny” Atkins who, unbeknownst to Schwabe, was an accomplished blackmailer with a criminal record a mile long. Schwabe himself became rather attached to the boy, but he eventually got around to introducing Atkins to Wilde in October 1892.

Like Schwabe, the earthy and vulgar Atkins fascinated Wilde, so much so that he took his new “secretary” to Paris where the two men had connecting bedrooms and Freddie received, of all things, a permanent wave at the famed Pascal Hair Salon.¹⁵³

Soon after their return to England, the enterprising Atkins brought his friend and fellow blackmailer, Alfred Wood, an unemployed clerk, over to Taylor’s place. Wilde was away, but Douglas was there and scooped the beautiful boy up for himself. That was his first mistake. The second was to take this new angelic-faced acquisition to his rooms at Oxford where Wood managed to secure some indiscreet love letters that Wilde had written to his Bosie. Wilde would later pay out blackmail money for those letters, but not before he had tasted Wood’s charms for himself.

While the Atkins-Wood Affair was being played out, Taylor, not to be outdone by Schwabe, had procured two delightful boys for Wilde at the St. James Bar through the intercession of a young prostitute named Edward Harrington. Enter the brothers, William and Charles Parker, a couple of penniless, down-on-your luck young lads looking to survive and willing to sell their bodies to a “willing gent.”¹⁵⁴ Taylor kept the boys for himself for awhile before introducing them to Wilde and his friends.

After an evening of superb dining and drinking champagne at a local restaurant, Wilde got his choice of the brothers and picked “Charlie” who had a girlish face and slight build. William stayed behind with Taylor, while Wilde took his brother to his suite of rooms at the Savoy, plied the boy with liquor, and sodomized him. Under oath, Charles Parker testified that before meeting Taylor he had never been involved in prostituting himself. He said at the trial that he had entered the army in August 1894.

Charlie Parker gave a detailed description of how Wilde liked his sex:

I was asked by Wilde to imagine that I was a woman and that he was my lover. I had to keep up the illusion. I used to sit on his knees and he used to play with my privates as a man might amuse himself with a girl. Wilde insisted on this filthy make-believe being kept up.¹⁵⁵

By 1893, Wilde had found it necessary to find new working quarters, this time at 10 St. James Place as the proprietors of hotels like the Albemarle no longer wanted his business. With Douglas abroad, Wilde continued his visits with Charlie Parker, Sidney Mavor and Freddie Atkins along with several other new boys, among them an actor, Harry Barford and an unemployed clerk, Ernest Scarfe, a discard of Douglas to whom Oscar gave an inscribed silver cigarette-case. They were, however, only part of Wilde's and Douglas' common stable of available boys. Others were just working class boys they casually solicited from local hotels or on the street, like 18-year-old Alphonso Harold Conway who sold papers on the waterfront at Worthing.¹⁵⁶

Taylor had also been forced to move that same year, but for a different reason. The police had learned about his same-sex brothel and his so-called "teaparties" and had set watch on his Little College Street apartments which they later searched. On August 12, 1894, the 32-year-old Taylor was arrested along with Charlie Parker, now 19, when the police raided a drag party held at a residence at Fitzroy Street.¹⁵⁷

Wilde remained unfazed.

Queensberry Attacks and Wilde Sues

In the opening chapter to *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, Wilde has the disolute Lord Wotton advise his artist friend Basil Hallward (whom Dorian Gray will later stab to death) that; "...I choose my friends for their good looks, my acquaintances for their good characters, and my enemies for their good intellects. A man cannot be too careful in the choice of his enemies..."¹⁵⁸

It is unfortunate for Wilde that he did not heed his own advice. In taking Lord Douglas as a lover, Wilde had also taken on a formidable enemy, Bosie's father, John Sholto Douglas, the 8th Marquess of Queensberry. Wilde underestimated the tenacity and resourcefulness of Queensberry, as well as his own vulnerability at many different levels.

Wilde's biographer Ellmann described Queensberry as an "aristocratic rebel," of Scottish descent and an "iconoclast" who rejected Christianity until his death bed conversion to Catholicism on January 31, 1900, the same year as Wilde's death.¹⁵⁹ Like Wilde, Queensberry was a complex, driven character and just as reckless. On the other hand, he had two distinct advantages over Wilde. First, he possessed an aristocratic title that buffered him from the consequences of his eccentric behavior and secondly he was very wealthy.

The fact that Queensberry, after whom the Marquis of Queensberry Rules of English and American boxing are named, saw himself as the epitome of a “man’s man,” made Wilde’s highly publicized fling with his youngest son, Alfred, the equivalent of waving a red flag in front of a raging bull. Further, there is evidence to indicate that Queensberry’s claim against Wilde may not have been solely motivated out of personal malice or spite.¹⁶⁰

On October 18, 1894, Queensberry’s favorite son and heir to the title, Francis Archibald Douglas (Lord Drumlanrig), was killed in a hunting accident. Rumors soon surfaced that the accident was actually a suicide.¹⁶¹

Francis Douglas had served as private secretary to Lord Rosebery (Archibald Philip Primrose), the 5th Earl of Rosebery (1847–1929), a fellow Scot and Foreign Secretary under Gladstone in 1886 and again in 1892.¹⁶² There were rumors that Francis had become the widowed Rosebery’s young lover. The threat of public exposure of the alleged affair between Lord Drumlanrig and Lord Rosebery, leader of the Liberal Party and England’s future Prime Minister, was said to have driven Francis to take his own life.

Whether or not Queensberry was angry because he had evidence of Rosebery’s homosexual relationship with his eldest son, or simply because Rosebery had brought Francis into the House of Lords as Lord Kelhead in 1893, while he (Queensberry), who carried the ancient title of his Scottish ancestors languished outside for his unorthodox beliefs, or both, we do not know.

We do know, however, that early that same year, Queensberry had pursued Rosebery to Homburg, Germany where the Foreign Secretary was on holiday and, armed with a horsewhip, announced his intention to publicly assault the British minister for his part in promoting Lord Drumlanrig to the peerage. The Prince of Wales personally intervened and the Chief Commissioner of Police arrived on the scene, escorted Queensberry away and made sure he was on the morning train to Paris.¹⁶³

Rosebery later wrote to the Queen, “It is a material and unpleasant addition to the labours of Your Majesty’s service to be pursued by a pugilist of unsound mind.”¹⁶⁴

Wilde was next on Queensberry’s hit list.

On April Fools Day, 1894, Queensberry spotted Alfred and Oscar lunching together at the Café Royal. The two men had just returned from Paris where Wilde had had a bitter fall-out with Douglas. The pair was now openly engaged in one of their proverbial reconciliations. Queensberry used the occasion to issue his son a final warning to end his “loathsome and disgusting relationship” with Wilde, but to no avail.¹⁶⁵ Queensberry’s next stop was to engage a top-notch solicitor, Sir George Henry Lewis, a friend of the Douglas family.¹⁶⁶

In late June, Queensberry showed up at Wilde's Tite Street residence in a violent rage, cursing and shaking his fists, demanding that Wilde sever his relationship with Bosie. He then began to stalk Wilde as he had done Rosebery. Wilde prepared himself for a legal battle and sought out the advice of a solicitor, but it was not until the following year that he was galvanized into action.¹⁶⁷

On February 18, 1895, four months to the day following the death of his beloved son, Francis, Queensberry delivered the most famous misspelled calling card in history to a porter at the Albemarle Club. It read "To Oscar Wilde posing somomite." [sic].¹⁶⁸ Wilde had been away in Algiers with Douglas and did not receive the inscribed card until ten days later.

Goaded on by his own pride and sense of honor and by Bosie, who wanted to see his father in the gaol, Wilde filed a civil suit of criminal libel against Queensberry who was arrested on Saturday morning, March 1, 1895.¹⁶⁹ A surety of £1,500 was demanded of Queensberry to insure that he would not flee the country, which of course he had absolutely no intention of doing.¹⁷⁰

It is important to keep in mind that although Queensberry was the defendant in this first trial, the nature of the case was such that it was Wilde, not Queensberry, who was actually on trial.

As expected, Queensberry pleaded justification and on March 30 filed the required bill of particulars that listed 15 separate counts and 12 young men (ten named) whom Wilde solicited to commit sodomy.¹⁷¹

Both Wilde and Douglas, in the presence of Wilde's solicitor saw the listing with all the familiar names—Shelley, Mavor, Atkins, Schwabe, Charles Parker, Wood and so on—before the trial began, but they were apparently not aware that these young men were actually in the building preparing to give testimony on their relationship with Wilde. It appears, from subsequent events, that Queensberry must have secured a promise of immunity from prosecution for the boys since none was arrested and held for trial after the Wilde ordeal was over.¹⁷²

In any case, Wilde was able to convince his solicitors that although he knew the boys, he had never engaged in any sexual improprieties with them.¹⁷³ He insisted that he was absolutely innocent of the charges made against him. On with the trial! The show must go on!

Wilde Vs. Queensberry

Following preliminary court proceedings, the first of three sensational trials involving Oscar Wilde began at the Old Bailey on April 3, 1895 with Mr. Justice R. Henn Collins presiding. The young but formidable barrister Edward Carson (later Lord Carson), a fellow student of Wilde's from Trinity College, Dublin, assisted by junior counsel, Charles F. Gill, appeared for the defense (Queensberry). Queensberry also retained the services of Charles Russell.¹⁷⁴

The distinguished Sir Edward Clarke, QC, MP, one of the most respected and renowned solicitors in England and “a veritable Titan of the Bar,” assisted by Mr. Travers Humphreys and Mr. Charles Willie Matthews, an experienced criminal lawyer, appeared for the prosecution (Wilde).¹⁷⁵ Both sides were more than adequately represented, but in the end the trial proved a no contest.

As the first day of proceedings came to a close, Clarke knew that despite Wilde’s oath to the contrary, his client had deliberately lied to him about his pederastic activities. Further, Wilde had just repeatedly perjured himself on the stand beginning with a simple lie about his age—he was not 39, he was over 40.¹⁷⁶ Moreover, Clarke strongly suspected that Carson had more than enough evidence to support Queensberry’s accusation that his client was not only a “posing” sodomite, but an active one. What was even more certain was that no jury in the world was going to convict a father for trying to save his son from such a man.

For his part, Wilde had anticipated that he would be questioned in court about his relationship with Queensberry and his son, Lord Douglas and the homoerotic implications of some of his published works such as *The Picture of Dorian Gray* and personal correspondence including the blackmail letters taken by Wood from Douglas at Oxford. He was prepared to deliver an eloquent soliloquy in defense of Socratic love. Yet, for some inexplicable reason, he was not prepared, when, at the end of the first day of the trial, Carson began to question him about his relationship with certain young men.

First, Carson asked about Wilde’s relationship with his publisher’s office boy, Edward Shelley. Then he passed a note to Wilde without comment with Maurice Schwabe’s name written on it. Then he inquired about the dock boy, Alphonso Conway, and laid out a selection of gifts including a signed edition of one of his works that Wilde had given the semi-illiterate street urchin. Next Carson asked about Walter Grainger, barely 16 when Wilde met him. He had been a servant at the house in Oxford where Douglas had had rooms. Finally, he asked Wilde about a pageboy at the Savoy named Herbert Tankard whom Wilde had shipped to Calais for safekeeping (Tankard did not testify). Throughout the questioning Wilde insisted, under oath, that he had no improper relationship with any of the boys. Further he said he had no reason to suspect that any of the boys was of an “immoral” or “disreputable” character.¹⁷⁷

Many thought that Clarke was going to call Lord Douglas to the stand to defend Wilde but he did not.¹⁷⁸ Wilde said he opposed putting Bosie in the witness box as he was loath to put a son against his father. Clarke also was opposed to opening up another can of worms.

The following day, Carson continued his reexamination of Wilde, this time homing in on Wilde’s relationship with Alfred Taylor and the boys that Taylor had procured for him—Charles Parker, Fred Atkins, Ernest Scarfe

and Sidney Mavor. The key question was not what Wilde had given them in terms of payment or gifts, but what the boys had given to him. He also asked Wilde if he remembered the waiter at the hotel in the Boulevard des Capuchines in Paris, which signaled to Wilde that Carson had information on his sexual exploits outside of London. When Carson announced that the defense was prepared to call to the stand at least five of the dozen or so boys with whom Wilde had sexual relations, Wilde blanched.

To his credit, Clarke stood by his client. Wilde was advised of his legal options. Privately, however, he was urged to take his wife and family and seek voluntary exile abroad while his solicitors gained him time by keeping the trial going. Wilde refused. Queensberry's position stiffened and he told his solicitors to refuse any compromise that Clarke was prepared to offer.

On April 5, the third and final day of the trial, Clarke had no choice but to concede defeat and withdraw the prosecution. Queensberry was acquitted of all charges. Mr. Justice Collins instructed the jury to rule that not only were Queensberry's charges against Wilde true but that his actions in exposing Wilde were in the public interest. Wilde was ordered to pay Queensberry's court costs of £600.¹⁷⁹ But even worse, his actions against Queensberry had opened him up to prosecution by the Crown for the violation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885.

Once again, Queensberry was willing, even at this late date, to let the matter drop if Wilde were willing to leave England and Bosie behind. But when Wilde again refused, Queensberry immediately ordered his solicitors to turn over all evidence against Wilde to the Crown's Director of Prosecutions' office in the Treasury building in Whitehall.¹⁸⁰

At 3:30 p.m. Detective-Inspector Brockwell from Scotland Yard was dispatched to seek a warrant for the arrest of Wilde from Sir John Bridge the Bow Street magistrate. Before issuing the warrant, Bridge held a meeting with Brockwell, Queensberry's men Russell and Gill and two of the boys named in Queensberry's list of particulars. The delay was no doubt deliberate in order to provide Wilde with sufficient time to catch the next train to Dover and a boat to France. As H. Montgomery Hyde, a former MP suggested, in the midst of severe economic and political turmoil at home and abroad, the last thing the Liberal Government of Prime Minister Rosebery or the Royal family needed was an international expose of sodomitical practices among Britain's upper and aristocratic classes.¹⁸¹

But, to everyone's surprise, when the police arrived at the Cadogan Hotel, Wilde was waiting for them. His instinct had been to flee. In this he had the support of nearly all his friends and family including his wife, Constance. But his mother, Lady Wilde, was against his flight. She demanded as a condition for retaining her love, that Oscar remain in England and face the charges against him even if it meant imprisonment. Later Wilde confided to Bosie that he was not wont to live the life of a fugitive.¹⁸² Some of Wilde's friends, however, did not share his scruples.

Robert Ross and Maurice Schwabe with whom Wilde had been intimate and a number of active pederasts crossed over from Dover to Calais that night.¹⁸³

Wilde spent a fretful night in jail at the Bow Street Police Station. The next morning he was formally charged with having committed acts of gross indecency. Mr. Justice Bridge, a firm proponent of anti-sodomy statutes, denied him bail and he was remanded in custody at Holloway prison for the next three weeks during which time he underwent three grueling sessions of preliminary hearings before a Grand Jury at the Bow Street station.¹⁸⁴

The prosecution was ready to present the testimony of some of the boys Alfred Taylor had solicited for Wilde beginning with Charles Parker. Parker was followed by Sidney Mavor, the only public school boy in the bunch. Douglas had managed to get to him earlier and convinced him that as a man of honor he had a solemn duty to deny having anything to do with Wilde. Although Mavor admitted that he had been to bed with Taylor, when the prosecution asked what happened when he and Wilde spent the night together in Wilde's bed he replied, "nothing."¹⁸⁵ The Grand Jury was of another mind and both Wilde and Taylor were bound over for trial for violating Section 11 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

The Crown Vs. Wilde—The First Round

On April 26, 1895, the second of the Wilde trials opened in criminal court at the Old Bailey with Mr. Justice Sir Arthur Charles, a distinguished authority on ecclesiastical law, presiding.¹⁸⁶

Wilde stood co-joined with Alfred Taylor as the indictment against both men was read. They were charged with twenty-five counts of gross indecencies (not sodomy) and three counts of conspiracy to commit such acts.¹⁸⁷ Clarke waived his fee and continued to serve as Wilde's solicitor along with Matthews and Humphreys. Mr. Justice Charles F. Gill, a Trinity College alumnus like Carson, assisted by Horace Avory and Arthur Gill acted for the Crown, under the advisement of the Solicitor General Sir Frank Lockwood.¹⁸⁸

Prior to the start of the trial, both sides maneuvered for advantage. Clarke wanted Wilde to be tried separately from poor Taylor who was an obvious liability. When the trial ended and the conspiracy charge was dropped, the two men were unjoined and retried separately.

Gill, in turn, had reached a deal with Queensberry's solicitor to keep Lord Douglas's name out of the court proceedings in so far as possible in exchange for the evidence Queensberry's private detectives had assembled against Wilde. There were also rumors afloat at Whitehall that Lord Rosebery, Queensberry's nemesis, had considered helping Wilde at one point, but was dissuaded from doing so as Wilde was considered to be too great a political liability.¹⁸⁹

Bosie, who had remained in London throughout the Queensberry trial and had visited Wilde daily during his incarceration at Holloway prison, had

departed for Calais with Oscar's blessings after Clarke insisted his presence in London would hurt his client, especially if Douglas were called as a witness by the prosecution. Wilde was released on bail, but since no hotel would have him, he was forced to find lodgings with one of the few sympathetic friends Wilde had left, Ada Leveson, whom Wilde affectionately called "the Sphinx."¹⁹⁰

Once the legal preliminaries were over and Wilde's trial got underway, the second trial moved quickly.

Gill ordered Charles Parker to the witness stand and the youth stated that Wilde had committed sodomy and other acts on his person at the Savoy, Albemarle and St. James Hotels, Taylor's house, Wilde's home on Tite Street and Parker's room in Chelsea.¹⁹¹ William Parker confirmed his brother's testimony with details that demonstrated both boys were speaking the truth. Next, Gill's junior aide Avory interrogated Alfred Wood who testified that Wilde had also sodomized him. Then came Thomas Price, a waiter at the St. James, who stated that Wilde brought boys of quite inferior station to the hotel.¹⁹²

The young blackmailer, Fred Atkins, testified after Price. He told the jury about his trip to Paris with Wilde, but said there were no indecencies between them. Atkins was later removed from the courtroom and charged with perjury.¹⁹³ A housekeeper who took care of Atkin's lodgings said that Wilde visited the young man there and that the bed sheets were "stained in a peculiar way" after Wilde's visits with Atkins. Sidney Mavor testified next and stated there was never any impropriety between himself and Wilde. This statement was in contradiction to the testimony he had given previously to police officers that he and Wilde were intimate.

Gill then brought the prosecution's star witness to the stand. The testimony of Edward Shelley was important for the prosecution's case. Wilde had corrupted and ruined him. Unfortunately, Shelley was both mentally and emotionally unfit to testify, but he gave his statement nevertheless. Later Wilde denied he conducted himself improperly with Shelley or that he had any improper relations with Charles Parker, Wood or Conway. Asked what was Wilde's business with these lads, Wilde replied that he loved youth and found the boys' company entertaining.

The prosecution now brought to the witness stand several employees of the Savoy Hotel who had observed Wilde naked in bed with naked young boys. Antonio Migge, a professional masseur who had attended Wilde said he saw Wilde in bed with a young man. His evidence was confirmed by a chambermaid, Jane Cotter who testified that she saw Wilde in bed with a boy of about 16. Later Cotter said she received instructions from the housekeeper Mrs. Annie Perkins on how to deal with the stained sheets.¹⁹⁴ Gill filed additional transcripts with the judge and the case for the Crown was completed.

Wilde Sings the Praises of Socratic Love

Sir Clarke then opened the case for the defense. After his opening remarks he called Mr. Oscar Wilde to the stand. Wilde was asked if he had given truthful testimony at the Queensberry trial and Wilde answered that he did. He also said the allegations of gross indecencies made against him in court carried "no truth whatsoever."¹⁹⁵

Upon cross-examine of Wilde, Gill asked the accused about the meaning of Lord Douglas's sonnet "The Two Loves" written in November or December of 1892. Wilde used the occasion to deliver one of the greatest performances of his life, an exposition on the "Love that dare not speak its name." It was the high point of the trial for Wilde.

That "Love," waxed Wilde, was the supreme affection "of an elder for a younger man as there was between David and Jonathan," ...it was a Platonic Love... it is found in "the sonnets of Michelangelo and Shakespeare. But, grieved Wilde, it is a "Love that today is gravely misunderstood." This terrible misunderstanding is responsible, Wilde asserted, for his unfortunate presence in the docket this very day. "There is nothing unnatural" about this Love, Wilde proclaimed, "It is beautiful, it is fine, it is the noblest form of affection. ...It is intellectual, and it repeatedly exists between an elder and a younger man, when the elder has intellect, and the younger man has all the joy, hope and glamour of life before him."¹⁹⁶

The whole court was carried away and there was a tremendous spontaneous burst of applause in the courtroom.

Clarke took advantage of the high ground that Wilde had momentarily captured by hammering away at the "low life," that is, the boy prostitutes that were attempting to sully the character of one of England's most distinguished playwrights and man of letters. How reliable was the testimony of a Parker or a Wood or an Atkins? They were blackmailers, prostitutes, perjurers and petty criminals! In short, they were ungrateful wretches who had taken advantage of Wilde's generous and kindly nature. A verdict of "not guilty" for Wilde, Clarke concluded, would not only clear the name of this great man, but "clear society from stain!"¹⁹⁷

Wilde's speech on the high aesthetics of man-boy love in the Socratic tradition might have carried the day had the jury not already been exposed to all the lurid details of Wilde's promiscuous sex life. However, the vision of Wilde, with his rotund figure and "jaded and flabby appearance" sodomizing or being fellated by young, fresh-faced boys like Charles Parker must have been a difficult image for the jurors to put out of their mind.¹⁹⁸ Obviously, Wilde's "Love that dare not speak its name," appeared to have suffered in the translation.

How was it possible for the jury to reconcile Wilde's high-minded philosophical idealization of man-boy affection with his alleged acts of buggery and masturbation upon young, poor, semi-literate boys from the East End

who sold their bodies to wealthy pederasts like Wilde for a promise of warm lodgings, a decent meal and a few pounds with which to survive another day? Wilde's "Love" had sordid, commercial sex written all over it. The implications of his sordid involvement with decent lads like Shelley and Mavor, and the Parker Brothers before they met Alfred Taylor, were even worse.

Alfred Taylor, Wilde's fellow prisoner, represented by J. P. Grain took the stand next. After a few brief questions by Gill on the manner in which he earned a living and the boys he brought to his residence, he was excused. The rest of the fourth day's proceedings was taken up with closing statements with Clarke who denounced the low character of the boys who testified against Wilde, and Gill who reminded the jury that these boys had nothing to gain and everything to lose by testifying against Wilde.

On the fifth and final day of the trial, Judge Charles rendered his opinion before turning the matter over to the jury—an opinion that overall was in favor of Wilde.

Justice Charles determined that Wilde and Taylor were not co-conspirators and the charges of conspiracy were dismissed. He also declared Shelley to be unstable. With regard to Wilde's literary works, he said he did not regard *Dorian Gray* as a "culpable" novel. As for the testimony of the Savoy employees he said that he found it difficult to believe that Wilde carried on so openly at the hotel and that the employees did not speak out about the incidents before the trial.¹⁹⁹ However, he declared, he did not reject the testimony of witnesses about Wilde's and Taylor's behavior with Shelley and Wood and Atkins and the Parker brothers. It was the task of the jury to determine if Wilde committed "indecent acts" with these young men in violation of the law and if Taylor assisted him in any way and/or committed such acts.

Jury deliberation took place on May 1. The 12-member, all-male jury was out for just under four hours. A verdict of "not guilty" was pronounced on the count relating to Atkins. Regarding the other counts there appears to be some discrepancy. One juror is supposed to have later revealed that the vote to convict Wilde was eleven to one. However, no unanimous consensus was forthcoming. A retrial was ordered. Clarke was able to obtain bail from another judge in chambers.²⁰⁰ Wilde had three weeks of freedom. It was his last chance to run.

The Crown Vs. Wilde — Conviction

Wilde's retrial lasted six days from May 20 to 25, 1895.²⁰¹ The presiding judge was Sir Alfred Wills a staunch Conservative. Justice Gill was replaced by the Crown's high-powered Solicitor General, Sir Frank Lockwood and Sir Edward Clarke continued his defense of Wilde.

Although the trial was largely a replay of Wilde's first trial, there were some new revelations. For example, the jury was informed by the defense

that the prosecution (Queensberry) had been paying the boy-witnesses against Wilde a five-pound stipend from day one of the Wilde-Queensberry trial.²⁰² Lockwood insisted that the prosecution did only that which was necessary to keep the witnesses from being tampered with and housed in a central and safe location for trial purposes. It was also revealed that the prosecution had been able to arrange for a three-month leave of absence from the Army for Charlie Parker in order to secure his testimony against Wilde. The jurors were also informed that it was Maurice Schwabe who had introduced Taylor to Wilde. This would not have been of any particular interest except for the fact that Schwabe was Lockwood's nephew by marriage. Coincidentally, Schwabe was now safely tucked away in France.

On the political scene, there were signs that the original neutral (if not favorable) views of Rosebery's Liberal Government had hardened against Wilde as evidence by Lockwood's take-over as lead prosecutor for the Crown.²⁰³ Wilde had been given every opportunity to seek asylum from prosecution abroad, but he stubbornly chose to stay in England.

Queensberry was still on the warpath and it was widely believed that he held evidence against Rosebery (possibly linked to his association with Lord Drumlanrig) that could affect the upcoming elections if made public. There was also considerable pressure building from certain political factions in Parliament and from the general public who perceived the Crown's less-than-enthusiastic prosecution of Wilde as an indication that the rich and famous, by way of their privileged class or station in life, were immune from prosecution for the violation of England's anti-sodomy statutes.

The Crown made quick work of poor Alfred Taylor.²⁰⁴ He was again poorly represented in court by Mr. Grain who was no match for Lockwood.²⁰⁵ Taylor's earlier public school connections did not save him. In fact, they contributed to his downfall. He was quickly tried for "gross indecency," and convicted after only one day of testimony. Now he was an all but forgotten and pathetic figure sitting in jail awaiting sentencing. Why was the Crown dragging its feet with regard to Oscar Wilde?

The one thing that Wilde did have going for him was the fact that the original charges against him (and Taylor) had been modified and reduced.²⁰⁶ The conspiracy charge with Taylor was dropped and the new indictment was reduced from twenty-five to only eight counts. Justice Wills ordered a new jury empanelled for Wilde and the witnesses had to be recalled.

As the prosecution began its case, it was clear that their star witness Edward Shelley had become more of a liability than an asset. Justice Wills declared that Shelley was an accomplice to Wilde and therefore his testimony was not credible unless corroborated.²⁰⁷

Clarke had revised his strategy by this time and his arguments came across as more of a plea for mercy for Wilde than an aggressive attack upon the prosecution's witnesses, although he took several swipes at Charlie Parker as an "uncollaborated" and "unstable" witness. What he had not

been able to prove, however, was that the boys were lying about the sexual favors they performed for Wilde.

At one point Clarke declared that the Wilde trial was “operating as an act of indemnity for all the blackmailers in London.”²⁰⁸

Clarke admitted that Wilde was now “a broken man,” and lamented that a life filled with “brilliant promise” with a “bright reputation” should have been brought so low by the “torrent of prejudice” spewed from Fleet Street (the press). A “not guilty” verdict, Clarke concluded, would save Wilde from “absolute ruin” and permit him “to live among us a life of honor and repute, and to give in the maturity of his genius gifts to our literature, of which he has given only the promise in his early youth.”²⁰⁹

Lockwood closed the case for the prosecution by reiterating the homoerotic nature of Wilde’s love letters to Lord Douglas, Wilde’s blackmail payment to Wood and the testimony of the many boys who were alleged to have had sexual relations with Wilde—testimony that appeared to be collaborated by other more reputable sources including the employees of the Savoy.²¹⁰

Concerning the issue of blackmail raised by Clarke, Lockwood reminded the jury that “the genesis of the blackmailer is the man who has committed these acts of indecency with him. Were it not for men who were willing to pay for the vice, there would be no blackmail,” he said.²¹¹

After Lockwood and Clarke had delivered their concluding statements, the jury foreman who was permitted to ask the judge questions, asked the one question that was on every one’s mind—“In view of the intimacy between Lord Alfred Douglas and Mr. Wilde, was a warrant ever issued for the apprehension of Lord Alfred Douglas?”²¹² Judge Wills replied that the jury’s duty was to determine the guilt or innocence of the man in the docket—Mr. Wilde—and no other.²¹³

It was time now for Justice Wills to have his say.

Unlike Justice Charles, he found Wilde’s letters to Lord Douglas to be indecent.²¹⁴ He also said that it is fair to judge a man by the company he keeps—a reference to Taylor and his low-class boys.²¹⁵ He then thanked the members of the jury for their patience and instructed them to retire to deliberate the verdict. Lockwood thought he had lost the case and congratulated Clarke on his win, but Clarke knew better. Two hours later the jury returned with a guilty verdict on all counts except that relating to Edward Shelley.

On May 25, 1895, Justice Wills passed sentence upon Wilde and Taylor for having violated Section 11 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act:

Oscar Wilde and Alfred Taylor, the crime of which you have been convicted is so bad that one has to put stern restraint upon one’s self to prevent one’s self from describing, in language which I would rather not use, the sentiments which must rise to the breast of every man of honour who had heard the details of these two terrible trials. That the jury have arrived at a cor-

rect verdict in this case I cannot persuade myself to entertain the shadow of doubt; and I hope, at all events, that those who sometimes imagine that a judge is half-hearted in the cause of decency and morality because he takes care no prejudice shall enter into the case, may see that that is consistent at least with the common sense indignation at the horrible charges brought home to both of you. It is no use for me to address you. People who can do these things must be dead to all sense of shame, and one cannot hope to produce any effect upon them. It is the worse case I have ever tried. That you, Taylor, kept a kind of male brothel it is impossible to doubt. And that you, Wilde, have been the centre of a circle of extensive corruption of the most hideous kind among young men, it is equally impossible to doubt. I shall, under such circumstances, be expected to pass the severest sentence that the law allows. In my judgement, it is totally inadequate for such a case as this. The sentence of the Court is that each of you be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for two years.²¹⁶

Although Wilde appeared to be reeling from a state of shock as the sentence was pronounced, it could not have been totally unexpected. In a sense, he had already been convicted (and later sentenced by the press) when he was forced to drop his case against Queensberry almost two months before.

In retrospect, Clarke's strategy of having Taylor and Wilde tried separately may have backfired. Taylor's trial and conviction for gross indecencies and the procurement for illicit purposes had piggy-backed Wilde's second trial so closely that it would have been an obvious miscarriage of justice for Justice Wills to have sentenced Taylor to prison and let Wilde, his accomplice in crime, go free.²¹⁷

All in all, despite the worldwide notoriety that surrounded the trials, Wilde had received a fair trial. All the justices involved, whatever their personal feelings, appeared to have acted with integrity and compassion for all the witnesses including Wilde and they gave Wilde's solicitors the greatest latitude in the defense of their client. Wilde was found guilty because the evidence against Wilde was too damning to permit any other verdict but guilty. But did the punishment fit the crime? After all, violation of the Labouchere anti-buggery statute was a misdemeanor not a felony.

Obviously, Justice Wills believed that in the case of Oscar Wilde and Alfred Taylor, the punishment, did fit the crime (at least in a minimalist sense). And equally obvious is the fact that an overwhelming majority of Englishmen agreed with him. The spontaneous outpouring of public support from every quarter and every class of English society for Queensberry and against Wilde that followed Justice Will's ruling reflected the prevailing sentiment that "the High Priest of Decadents" had finally gotten what he deserved.²¹⁸

Among the prominent Victorian personalities that volunteered an opinion on the subject of Oscar Wilde's impending imprisonment was Henry Labouchere, MP, editor of the journal *Truth* who had known Wilde on and

off for years. Labouchere believed that the root cause of Wilde's tragic condition stemmed from his "pathological need for attention."²¹⁹ Alluding to the Irish playwright's unbalanced mental state that prompted him to seek notoriety at any cost, the Liberal leader wrote: "...it would not surprise me if he were deriving a keen enjoyment from a position which most people, whether really innocent or guilty, would prefer to die rather than occupy."²²⁰

Mr. Travers Humphreys, who had assisted Clarke in the defense of Wilde, expressed similar feelings in his *A Book of Trials*, published more than a half-century later. Humphreys blamed Wilde's "vanity and exhibitionism that are typical of the moral code held by men like him," as the primary cause of his downfall.²²¹

Others, like W. T. Stead, whose moral campaign against "white-slavery" was instrumental in marshalling Parliament's support for the 1895 Criminal Law Amendment Act, tied Wilde's pederastic habits to the rise of the Hellenistic tradition in England's public schools and Oxford and Cambridge and other centers of higher education. "If all persons guilty of Oscar Wilde's offenses were to be clapped into goal, there would be a surprising exodus from Eton and Harrow, Rugby and Winchester, to Pentonville and Holloway (prisons)," he said. Stead then called upon all headmasters to "pluck up a little courage from the results of the Wilde trial, and endeavor to rid our Protestant schools of a foul and unnatural vice, which is not found in Catholic establishments, at all events in this country."²²²

Stead was by no means alone in connecting the rise of pederasty among Oxford and Cambridge-educated youth to the morally corrosive influence of the English School of Aestheticism as preached by the likes of Benjamin Jowett and Walter Pater.

In *Hellenism & Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford*, classicist Linda Dowling examined the crucial role played by the proponents of the Hellenistic tradition in fashioning the "Greek vice" as a culturally acceptable phenomenon at Oxford (and Cambridge).²²³ Men like Jowett, she wrote, were skilled in subverting Christianity's opposition to homosexual behavior, particularly in its Greek form, by presenting these traditional moral prohibitions as being outdated and parochial. Homoerotic behavior, heretofore associated with effeminacy, was to be "masculinized" along Hellenistic lines (the Greek warrior virile model) and offered as an alternative by which a post-Christian and decaying society could rejuvenate itself.²²⁴

It is not surprising then, that the few voices raised in Wilde's defense after his conviction for pederasty came almost exclusively from Oxford and Cambridge and London's literary and artistic circles. Even here, however, great care was taken to avoid any suggestion that any defense of Wilde implied a defense of his homoerotic behavior.²²⁵

For example, Robert Buchanan, a well-known playwright and contributor to the *Daily Telegraph*, one of London's largest metro-dailies, called for a modicum of charity, Christian or otherwise, toward Wilde and warned

against “casting the first stone.”²²⁶ Buchanan’s call for forgiveness of Wilde’s sexual transgressions in light of his many literary and artistic contributions to society takes on a somewhat sardonic overtone when one realizes that Wilde himself never expressed a desire to be forgiven. Why should he? In his mind he never truly believed he had done anything wrong.

Laws were for ordinary people—not Wilde. His art put him above the law. As Croft-Cooke so aptly put it, “Wilde was the apotheosis of the artist whose privilege it was to ignore all rules of human conduct, all ethical values, all conventions, all legislation.”²²⁷

Justice Wills was correct in his assessment when he said that any references to shame or guilt would be wasted on the convicted prisoners, at least as far as Wilde was concerned. Wilde did not have to overcome any sense of shame or guilt because he did not entertain those feelings in the first place.

In a poignant letter of February 27, 1898, written shortly before her death in Italy, Constance lamented that Wilde’s punishment hadn’t done him much good since it did not teach him the lesson he most needed—“namely that he is not the only person in the world.”²²⁸

As for the rest of Victorian society, the near unanimity and ferocity of public opinion against Wilde was a timely barometer of the horror with which most Englishmen continued to view male homosexual behavior. Further, the public’s exposure to the sordid realities of London’s criminal homosexual underworld (prostitution, drugs, pornography, blackmail) when combined with the airing of Wilde’s dirty laundry, literally and figuratively, reinforced public support for Britain’s anti-sodomy laws.²²⁹

Prison Life and Beyond

After their joint sentencing on May 25, 1895, Wilde and Taylor were taken to the harsh environs of Newgate prison to await transfer to Pentonville prison. Later, Wilde was sent to Wandsworth prison in North London where he despaired of life. When he became seriously ill, he was brought to the prison infirmary where he spent two months convalescing. Then on November 13, without notice, he was hauled from the hospital ward dressed in prison clothing, handcuffed and taken to Clapham Train Junction to await public transport to Reading Gaol where he served out the remainder of his two-year sentence.²³⁰

In *De Profundis*, Wilde recalls the humiliation of that day, most especially the jeering crowd of passers by who laughed and mocked him as he waited for the train, policemen on either side, in the pouring rain for one-half hour. They appeared to him to be without pity. “They should have known ...how to interpret sorrow better,” he recalled from his jail cell.²³¹

Fortunately for Wilde, his health and mental outlook improved significantly at Reading, especially when eight months after his arrival there the governorship of the prison was transferred from Major Henry B. Isaacson

to Major J. O. Nelson, a progressive and compassionate reformer who was sympathetic to Wilde.

In February 1896, Constance traveled from Genoa to inform Oscar of the death of his beloved mother. This would be their final meeting. She was in poor health. That summer the courts ordered that joint guardianship of Wilde's two sons be given to Constance and her cousin Adrian Hope.²³² Constance died in relative obscurity on April 7, 1898 in Genoa, Italy after complications from an earlier operation on her spine.²³³

To say that Wilde had ushered his wife to an early grave by his brutal indifference to her for most of their married life would be a gross understatement. The fact that Wilde brought his sex partners to his own home and that he engaged in sexual familiarities with these young men in front of his family and the servants, demonstrated the contempt with which he held his wife, his children and his marriage vows.

While at Reading, Wilde wrote a number of poignant letters to Robbie Ross, whom Wilde had designated as his literary executor at the time of his death with complete control of all his plays, books and papers. Wilde said that he chose Robbie because "my wife doesn't understand my art," and his son Cyril was too young.²³⁴

In a short letter to Ross dated March 10, 1896, concerning some legal matters with Constance's solicitors, Wilde acknowledged the "unhappiness" that he had brought upon his wife and the "ruin" brought on his children.²³⁵ He expressed gratitude to Aurélien Marie Lugne Poë who, despite Wilde's disgrace in England, had produced Wilde's *Salomé* at the Theatre de l'Oeuvre in Paris.²³⁶

The following fall, Wilde sent Ross another letter informing him that his application to Whitehall to commute the remainder of his sentence had been refused. On the brighter side, he had been granted an unlimited supply of ink and paper, he was free from hard labor and he had ready access to a number of his favorite books.²³⁷ Contemplating his release from prison, Wilde said that he was conscious that he would be entering "a world that does not want me."²³⁸ "Do not think that I would blame any one for my vices. My friends had as little to do with them as I had with theirs," he told Robbie. "Nature was in this matter a stepmother to us all," Wilde mused without bitterness.²³⁹ Making an oblique reference to his homosexual misadventures, Wilde confessed, "I admit that I lost my head. ...I curse myself day and night for my folly in allowing something to dominate my life."²⁴⁰ At the end of his letter, Wilde repeated his instruction to Ross that all his letters were confidential and were not to be shown or discussed with anyone.²⁴¹

De Profundis—Wilde's Last Will and Testament

On April 1, 1897, about seven weeks before his anticipated date of release from Reading Gaol, Wilde sent Ross a letter stating that he had

completed a manuscript that would fully explain (“not defend”) his “extraordinary behavior”—a psychological catharsis that will tell “the truth”—concerning the circumstances that led to his imprisonment, the lessons that prison life has taught him and the promise of a new life that awaits him beyond Reading’s gates.²⁴²

Wilde was as good as his word. The completed work in the format of a letter to Douglas that Wilde had worked on at intervals during the last months of his imprisonment, written on blue stamped prison foolscap paper, was presented to Ross shortly after his release from prison. Wilde instructed Ross as his literary executor to send the original letter to Bosie and to retain a copy for himself. In fact, Ross kept the original and sent a typed copy to Douglas who is reported to have read the first few pages and trashed it. After Wilde’s death, the Douglas family tried to secure the original from Ross, but he had deposited it in 1909 with the British Museum under a 60-year embargo. The original letter to Bosie was released to the Wilde family estate on January 1, 1960 and made available to scholars and the general public.²⁴³

A heavily excised version of Wilde’s letter to Bosie, however, did appear in 1905, five years after Wilde’s death. Ross had it published first in German and then in English. The title *De Profundis* was assigned to the manuscript by Robert Ross, not Wilde, and was based on the Old Testament psalm which begins with the words, “Out of the depths I cry to you, O Lord.” (Ps 129).²⁴⁴

As with all of Wilde’s writings, *De Profundis* lends itself to a multitude of interpretations. Wilde’s biographer, Richard Ellmann called it possibly the longest “love letter” ever written.²⁴⁵ Bosie’s biographer, Douglas Murray, while noting that the work contains some of Wilde’s greatest prose, nevertheless saw it as “a series of pathetically mundane squabbles.”²⁴⁶ Others viewed the work as a welcome but brief respite from Wilde’s perpetual narcissism. Clearly, it was all of these and more.

Read from a traditional Catholic perspective, I believe that one could also characterize *De Profundis* as “highly subversive.” As he had done so many times before, Wilde used Scripture and Christian references in this work to undermine Christian beliefs and morals.²⁴⁷ In *De Profundis*, Wilde recreated the Passion of Our Lord in his own image with Wilde as the “Christ” who willingly lays down his life for his art, his beloved Bosie as Judas who betrays his master, his trials as his Garden of Gethsemane, hypocritical British Society as the New Pharisees demanding Wilde’s death, and his imprisonment in Reading Gaol as his crucifixion and burial. That Wilde intended for his work to be more than a simple letter of an aggrieved lover is evident in his letter of April 1, 1897, to Ross in which he explained that he conceived the work as an encyclical letter or bull,” similar to those issued by the Holy Father in Rome that are titled after the opening words of the document.²⁴⁸ Wilde’s *Epistola* opened with the words “in Carcere et

Vinculis” (In Prison and Chains). That Wilde was angry with Douglas cannot be doubted. That he had a bone to pick with God is less obvious. But before exploring these subtleties, let us look at the overall content of the work.

In his “Prefatory Dedication” to *De Profundis* that accompanied the 1905 English printing of Wilde’s work by Messrs. Methuen in London, Robert Ross acknowledged the assistance of Herr Meyerfeld, who published the first translation of Wilde’s (abridged) letter in German in *Die Neue Rundschau*.²⁴⁹ Ross explained that the original manuscript consisted of 80 close-written pages on 20 folio sheets, and that only he, Major Nelson of Reading Gaol and a confidential typist had read the whole of it.²⁵⁰ “Contrary to a general impression, it contains nothing scandalous,” Ross explained. “A large portion of it is taken up with business and private matters of no interest whatsoever,” he added.²⁵¹

The portion of the manuscript which occupied more than one-third of the original text, and which was suppressed and not released until 1960, is, of course, Wilde’s bitterly scathing attack on Douglas as the architect of his destruction.

In his opening salvo against his “dear Bosie,” Wilde decried the fact that during his two long years of imprisonment, he never received a “single line” from Douglas.²⁵² “Our ill-fated and most lamentable friendship has ended in ruin and public infamy for me,” Wilde wrote. Nevertheless, he said that his memory of their “ancient affection” had helped him to curb his bitterness toward Douglas.²⁵³ That Wilde found it difficult to actually do so is evident in the charges that he proceeded to make against Douglas.

Wilde accused Bosie of being spoiled and vain, a mama’s boy, a financial bloodsucking leech, a mad man from a family of mad men and the font of Wilde’s “artistic” and “ethical” degradation.²⁵⁴ He reminded Bosie that he was corrupted before Wilde met him and that it was Bosie who first contacted Wilde by letter asking for assistance in dealing with a blackmailer with whom Douglas had had a homosexual relationship.²⁵⁵ He reiterated the details of the Savoy Hotel fiasco and the terrible circumstances of “the Brighton incident” when Douglas deserted the seriously ill Wilde to seek his own pleasures, justifying himself later with the hurtful quip, “When you are not on your pedestal you are not interesting. The next time you are ill I will go away at once.”²⁵⁶

Wilde admitted that at this point in their relationship he had decided to separate himself completely from Douglas, but the untimely death of Bosie’s elder brother Francis sent him rushing back to console his beloved Bosie. The only thing that made Bosie bearable to him, Wilde said, was his deep, heart-felt conviction that, through it all, Douglas really did love him.²⁵⁷

Wilde, of course, was still filled with anger that Douglas had succeeded in making him the “catpaw” between him and his father and for deliberately

goading and taunting Queensberry into writing the libelous calling card that started Wilde on his way to prison.²⁵⁸ And he struck out at Douglas's carelessness in leaving Wilde's personal letters around where blackmailers could get them, an obvious reference to the famous "Hyacinthus" letter that was used against him at his trial.²⁵⁹

Then Wilde delivered the coup de grâce. Of all Bosie's defects of character, Wilde wrote, the most fatal was his utter "lack of imagination"—the quality "that allows one to see things and people in their real as in their ideal relations."²⁶⁰

If Douglas hadn't already thrown Wilde's letter into the garbage in a fit of rage, he probably did so now. Many of Wilde's charges against him, he knew to be true, but not all. The only thing Bosie knew for certain was that he was as devoted to Oscar as Oscar was to him. Hyde goes one step further and states that Douglas was completely captivated by Wilde's charms and in the end he was without doubt more devoted to Wilde than the older man had ever been to him.²⁶¹

Having vented his spleen on poor Bosie, the penniless, fatherless, distraught Wilde now turned his attention to the horrors of prison life. This marks the point at which Ross chose to start the 1905 abridged version of *De Profundis*.

Wilde described his current position in society as being between that of Gilles de Retz, the 15th century companion to Joan of Arc, who was charged with witchcraft, child murder and sodomy and burned at the stake, and the Marquis de Sade, who needs no introduction.²⁶²

Wilde had become a "man of sorrows."²⁶³ The small iron-barred window of his cell prevented him from seeing the sun and the moon. "It is always twilight in one's cell, as it is always midnight in one's heart," he told Douglas.²⁶⁴

Wilde said that his sorrows of late had been compounded by the sad tidings of the death of his revered mother; by legal action that has taken his two children from him; by the incessant hounding of his creditors; and by the growing realization of the disgrace which has fallen on the Wilde name as a result of his "terrible and revolting scandal."²⁶⁵ Unlike other men, Wilde wrote, prison has offered no sanctuary for him.²⁶⁶

Wilde said he remembered "that beautiful unreal world of art," where he was once King and where he would have remained had he not let himself "be lured into the imperfect world of coarse uncompleted passion, of appetite without distinction, desire without limit, and formless greed."²⁶⁷

"I was a man who stood in symbolic relations to the art and culture of my age," Wilde wrote Douglas.²⁶⁸ He then acknowledged all the gifts that the "gods" had lavished upon him, "genius, a distinguished name, high social position, brilliancy, intellectual daring," and how he ultimately threw away this inheritance in a search "for new sensations" and perverse desires which at the end "was a malady, or a madness, or both."²⁶⁹ With obvious

reference to his double life as a pederast, Wilde said he “forgot that every little action of the common day makes and unmakes character, and that therefore what one has done in the secret chamber one has someday to cry aloud from the housetops.”²⁷⁰

Happily, Wilde continued, his horrific suffering in prison had not been without meaning for it had revealed to him something that would always be part of his nature, but until now hidden—“Humility.”²⁷¹ And it is this new element found within himself that held the promise of a new life, “a *Vita Nuova*” for him and the means of unearthing “a fresh mode of realization.”²⁷² That his “new life” would include a reconciliation with his beloved Bosie, whom Wilde ultimately forgives, is a possible interpretation of one of the most haunting sentiments Wilde expressed in his “epistle” to Douglas, “When you really want it (forgiveness) you will find it waiting for you.”²⁷³

Among the many essential tasks that he must tackle in order to successfully approach life “from a completely new standpoint,” Wilde told Bosie, is to free himself “from any possible bitterness of feeling against the world,” and to seek happiness apart from the “external things of life.”²⁷⁴ In this endeavor, however, Wilde said he must look solely to himself and rejected outright any benefits said to be accrued from “morality” or “religion” or “reason.”²⁷⁵

Regarding morality, Wilde said he is “a born antinomian, a man made for exceptions, not for laws.”²⁷⁶

As for religion, he said his “Gods” are not “unseen” but “dwell in temples made with hands.” His creed, he said, has been “made perfect and complete... within the circle of actual experience:”

When I think about Religion at all, I feel as if I would like to found an order for those who cannot believe: the Confraternity of the Fatherless one might call it, where on an altar, on which no taper burned, a priest, in whose heart peace had no dwelling, might celebrate with unblessed bread and a chalice empty of wine.²⁷⁷

Wilde rejected God the Father, since he believed God the Father had rejected him.

Wilde also said he rejected reason as a helpmate, in so far as it is expressed through law, for he himself had been convicted both by “wrong and unjust laws” as well as “a wrong and unjust system.”²⁷⁸ “The supreme vice is shallowness,” Wilde asserted and society shares in this “vice” when it fails to acknowledge the pain caused by the punishment it inflicts on individuals.²⁷⁹

Where then did Wilde believe his salvation lay? In his art and in his life as an artist, he told Douglas.²⁸⁰ Then on a somewhat peevish note, Wilde told Douglas that the only persons he chooses to associate with at this point in his life are “artists and people who have suffered.”²⁸¹ Obviously this left the pampered Lord Douglas out of the running—at least for the day.

Wilde tried to impress upon Bosie once again the horror of prison life with "its endless privations and restrictions" that makes one rebellious not humble.²⁸² The most terrible thing about prison life, Wilde wrote is "not that it breaks one's heart—hearts are made to be broken—but that it turns one's heart to stone," and makes it impervious to "grace."²⁸³

Then in a softer more conciliatory tone, Wilde assured his Bosie that he hasn't forsaken his old life altogether. In fact he said his "New Life" is "of course, no new life at all, but simply a continuance by means of development and evolution, of my former life."²⁸⁴

"I don't regret for a single moment having lived for pleasure," Wilde told his lover, but to live for pleasure only is a very limiting experience, one that interferes with "self-development" and is unworthy of the true artist.²⁸⁵

It is at this point in his monologue that Wilde assumed the persona of Christ, the "supreme artist" as well as the "supreme individualist."²⁸⁶ And Wilde was His prophet. Like Christ, Wilde believed that he was betrayed with a kiss, denied by his friends, rejected by the "high priest of orthodoxy," condemned by "the magistrate of civil service," covered with a scarlet cloak, crucified before his own mother, died and was buried in a tomb.²⁸⁷

Then in a slight digression from self-pity, Wilde said that no man is truly worthy of love, yet God bestows His love freely on man. "Love is a sacrament that should be taken kneeling, and Domine, non sum dignus should be on the lips and in the hearts of those who receive it," Wilde told his lover.²⁸⁸ The homoerotic implication of Wilde's prose is readily distinguishable.

The next time that Wilde applied ink to paper, he informed Douglas that, should he (Wilde) ever resume his writings, he would take up two particular themes. The first being the role of Christ as the "precursor of the Romantic Movement in life" and the second, "the artistic life considered in its relation to conduct."²⁸⁹

In Wilde's eyes, Christ's morality is "all sympathy, just what morality should be," and His justice is "all poetical justice, exactly what justice should be."²⁹⁰ "His chief war was against the Philistines," Wilde wrote Douglas, "...the war every child of light (presumably this includes himself) has to wage."²⁹¹ Christ condemned "...their inaccessibility to ideas, their dull respectability, their tedious orthodoxy, their worship of vulgar success, their entire preoccupation with the gross materialistic side of life, and their ridiculous estimate of themselves and their importance..." Wilde continued.²⁹²

For Wilde, however, "it is when he deals with a sinner that Christ is most romantic, in the sense of most real."²⁹³ "His primary desire was not to reform people, any more than his primary desire was to relieve suffering," Wilde wrote. Rather, he told Douglas that "...in a manner not yet understood of the world he regarded sin and suffering as being in themselves beautiful holy things and modes of perfection."²⁹⁴ That Wilde

juxtaposed sin and suffering and then claimed that Christ held sin to be a “holy and beautiful thing” and the sinner to be in a “mode of perfection,” is indeed a “Christ” fashioned in Wilde’s own image.²⁹⁵

With his days of imprisonment drawing to a close, Wilde sought to end his letter to his beloved Bosie on a hopeful note. While he dismissed the idea that prison had brought about any “reform” in the matter of morals, Wilde reiterated his belief that his suffering in prison had helped him to become a “deeper man.”²⁹⁶

Wilde then attempted to put to paper a partial explanation as to the nature of his pederastic affairs with lower class young men. This section of *De Profundis* represents some of the writer’s most familiar prose:

People thought it dreadful of me to have entertained at dinner the evil things of life, and to have found pleasure in their company. But then, from the point of view through which I, as an artist in life, approach them they were delightfully suggestive and stimulating. It was like feasting with panthers; the danger was half the excitement...I don’t feel at all ashamed at having known them, they were intensely interesting; what I do feel ashamed of is the horrible Philistine atmosphere into which I was brought...To entertain them was an astonishing adventure...What is loathsome to me is the memory of interminable visits paid by me to the solicitor Humphreys when in the ghastly glare of a bleak room I would sit with a serious face telling serious lies to a bald man till I really groaned and yawned with ennui. ...I had to come forward as the champion of respectability in conduct, of puritanism in life, and of morality in art.²⁹⁷

Wilde then expressed his appreciation to his loyal friends who have stood by him throughout his many trials and imprisonment including Robert Sherard, Frank Harris, More Adey, Arthur Clifton, Robbie Ross and to the many nameless persons who have been kind to him in his prison life.²⁹⁸

Wilde confessed that he has grown tired of “the articulate utterances of men and things,” and he expressed his longings to discover “The Mystical in Art, the Mystical in Life, the Mystical in Nature...”²⁹⁹ He said he knew “Society...will have no place for him,” but he is not discouraged for he believes Nature, “whose sweet rains fall on the unjust and just alike” will welcome him with Her eternal embrace:

She will hang the night with stars so that I might walk abroad in the darkness without stumbling, and send the wind over my footprints so that none may track me to my hurt: she will cleanse me in great water and with bitter herbs make me whole.³⁰⁰

In terms of their future relationship, Wilde told Douglas that he intended to be more of an “individualist,” not less, in his *New Life*.³⁰¹ However, if Bosie were agreeable, Wilde said they could meet in June in some quiet town like Bruges and that hopefully “Love would show them

the way to a future happiness.”³⁰² Wilde made it clear that he considered his exile from England to be permanent.

Wilde then instructed Douglas that he must “not be afraid of the past.” “If people tell you that it is irrevocable, do not believe them,” he said. “The past, the present, and the future are one moment in the sight of God, in whose sight we should try to live.”³⁰³ “You came to me to learn the Pleasure of life and the Pleasure of art,” Wilde concluded. “Perhaps I am chosen to teach you something more wonderful, the meaning of Sorrow and its beauty.”³⁰⁴

Wilde signed his letter, “Your affectionate friend, Oscar Wilde”

The Release and Death of Oscar Wilde

On the evening of May 18, 1897, Wilde was taken from Reading Gaol to Pentonville prison since prisoners were required to be released from the prison they were originally admitted to. This helped to avoid any unpleasant public demonstration the following morning.³⁰⁵ There was a report that he had made a request for a six-month stay with the Jesuits of Farm Street, but the request was turned down.³⁰⁶

Wilde met his dear friends More Adey and Reverend Stewart Headlam at the prison gate and there was a brief meeting with intimate friends before Wilde and Adey left England for France. Robert Ross and Reginald Turner were waiting for them when the boat docked.³⁰⁷ The gentlemen then went to the Hotel Sanwich in Dieppe where Wilde registered under the assumed name of Monsieur Sebastian Melmoth. It was at this point that Wilde gave Ross the *De Profundis* manuscript.³⁰⁸

Wilde later moved to the Hotel de la Plage at the seaside coastal town of Berneval-sur-Marne, near Dieppe where he began his most famous poem and his final literary work “The Ballad of Reading Gaol.”³⁰⁹

H. Montgomery Hyde, who had access to much of Wilde’s private correspondence during this period reported that immediately upon his arrival in Paris, Wilde re-kindled his homosexual affair with his little Robbie, and that he also resumed his indiscriminate prowling for young sexual partners in Paris and abroad, a practice that continued up until his final illness in the fall of 1900.³¹⁰

Then, much to Ross’ regret, Wilde and his Bosie, who by now had lost much of his youthful beauty that was so important to Wilde, met and reconciled their differences in Rouen and started to travel together once again. Their first stop was Naples. Unfortunately, once it became public knowledge that Wilde had rejoined Douglas and had reverted to his former “life of the sewer,” his visitors dwindled down to almost zero as did the funds that he had been receiving from his wife and old friends.³¹¹

In his Autobiography, Douglas declared that for six months prior to Wilde’s imprisonment and after Wilde had been released from Reading

Gaol, they no longer engaged in any sexual intimacy with one another.³¹² Douglas blamed Ross for stirring up Wilde's homoerotic passions again at Berneval, although it is more than likely that Wilde would have resumed his homosexual exploits without Ross' incitement.³¹³

Queensberry had hired a detective to track Wilde and Douglas on the Continent and keep them apart, but this attempt, like all the others, failed.³¹⁴ When they broke up they would do it on their own.

By late December of 1898, Wilde and Douglas had had their bitterest quarrel ever and separated for the last time. Wilde continued his travels sometimes in the company of Robbie Ross and at other times alone.

In spite of his homosexual pursuits, or perhaps because of them, Wilde did at times turn his mind and heart to things spiritual. He occasionally went to Mass and in March was in Rome for Easter and received the pope's blessings seven times. Ross said that Wilde told him, "The artistic side of the Church and the fragrance of its teaching would have cured my degeneracies."³¹⁵

By the time Wilde made the decision to leave Rome and Sicily and return to Paris he was nearly penniless and his health had drastically declined due in part to his increased dependency on drugs, especially liquor and absinthe which he used to numb the pain of social isolation and the physical effects of premature aging.³¹⁶ His life as an artist had come to an end, but his homoerotic passions were hanging on for dear life.

Oscar Wilde died on November 30, 1900, at the age of 46 at the Hotel d'Alsace. The proprietor M. Jean Dupoirier had compassion on the ailing Wilde and never pressed him for payment.³¹⁷ The cause of death was most likely a form of encephalitic meningitis resulting from a chronic ear infection although tertiary syphilis cannot be fully ruled out.

Two days before his death, Robert Ross asked an English priest from the Passionist Order, Father Cuthbert Dunne, to come to Wilde's room. With Ross answering for Wilde, the dying man was given conditional Baptism and anointed with the oils of Extreme Unction. Although Wilde remained heavily sedated with morphine, he did experience brief periods of lucidity, during which time Father Dunne was able to confirm that Wilde of his own free will did desire to enter the Roman Catholic Church.³¹⁸

Ross said that Wilde had once told him that "Catholicism is the only religion to die in."³¹⁹ From his writings it appears that Wilde's alienation from his early Protestant roots appeared to increase the older he got.

A Requiem Mass was said for Wilde by Father Dunne and the church rector at the chapel of the Sacred Heart behind the grand altar of Saint-Germain-des-Prés Church in the Latin quarter of Paris. Wilde was buried in a pauper's grave at Bagneux outside the walls of Paris on December 3, 1900 in the presence of Robert Ross and Lord Douglas. The latter was hysterical with grief and nearly collapsed into the gravesite.³²⁰

As noted earlier, Wilde's old nemesis, Queensberry, died the same year as Wilde. Like Wilde, he had also made a deathbed conversion to Catholicism.³²¹

As for Bosie, his life changed drastically after Wilde's death. On March 4, 1902, he married Olive Custance with the resentful Robert Ross looking on.³²² The couple had one son, Raymond.³²³ Like Wilde, Douglas was an affectionate and dutiful father. In 1911, Lord Douglas converted to Catholicism and, convinced of the sinfulness (but not criminality) of homosexual behavior, he turned from his former life as a pederast and never looked back.

After his marriage and conversion, Douglas was naturally anxious to disassociate himself from Wilde's "crime." He opposed the publication of *De Profundis* and later became engaged in a series of bitter court battles with Ross and other antagonists that exhausted his financial resources and finally alienated his wife.³²⁴ By the time of his death on March 20, 1945, in Sussex (England), however, he managed to put off his lifelong impetuous and self-destructive behavior long enough to be reconciled with his family and to ask and receive forgiveness from the many enemies he had created throughout his lifetime.

Although Lord Alfred Douglas outlived Wilde by almost half-a-century, I think it only fair to add that Wilde's writings, particularly his plays and fairy tales, outlived both Queensberry and his son.

New Revelations Concerning the Wilde Trials

Throughout all the Wilde trials, his solicitors (and many of his later biographers including Richard Ellmann) repeatedly emphasized that the young men with whom Wilde was alleged to have committed acts of indecency were all over the statutory age of 17.³²⁵ H. Montgomery Hyde also claimed that, as far as it was known, "he never debauched any innocent young man."³²⁶ Presumably Wilde's sexual relations with young (possibly preadolescent) boys in Algiers and other well-known homosexual happy-hunting grounds outside of England were not to be counted.

However, newly uncovered documents on the Wilde trials suggest that much of the more damning evidence against Wilde was actually never used against him at his trials.

In a story titled "Wilde's sex life exposed in explicit court files," by Vanessa Thorpe and Simon de Burton that appeared in the Sunday, May 6, 2002 issue of the *London Observer*, the authors reported that new documents on the 1895 Wilde trials reveal that much of the more damaging evidence against Wilde was withheld by Queensberry and his solicitor Charles Russell and never made public.³²⁷

The 52 pages of hand-written statements on heavy parchment paper from 32 witnesses were obtained by Queensberry's agents and then handed over to his solicitor at Day, Russell & Co. A London collector picked up the

bundle in the 1950s in a junk shop and put them up for auction at Christie's. According to Thorpe and Burton, the packet of documents that was purchased for just a pittance was now expected to fetch £12,000.³²⁸

Thomas Venning, a manuscripts specialist at Christie's, said the documents provided a new account of Wilde's undoing and had "very detailed sexual content which was only mentioned in the trial euphemistically."³²⁹

One of the documents made available to the press was a statement by a young man named Wallis (Walter) Grainger.

Grainger stated that Wilde took him to a cottage in nearby Goring-on-Thames which the playwright had rented and where he wrote *An Ideal Husband*. On the second or third night, said Grainger, Wilde "came into my bedroom and woke me up and told me to come into his bedroom which was next door. He worked me up with his hand and made me spend in his mouth." The former butler of the Marquess of Queensberry was reported to have been in the next room.³³⁰ Grainger, who was just 16 when Wilde met him, was never called to testify against Wilde.

Another newly uncovered document contained a statement by Gertrude Simmons, governess to Wilde's two sons, who said she saw Wilde "holding the arm of George Hughes, a boat boy, and patting him very familiarly."³³¹ George Hughes was never brought forth to testify against Wilde.

Then there is the matter of the testimony given by employees of the Savoy Hotel who claimed that they saw Wilde with young boys in his room on several different occasions. These included the statements of the masseur, Antonio Migge and that of Jane Cotter, the hotel chambermaid. The young boys were never identified.

There was also evidence concerning the stained sheets. Clarke offered the simple explanation that Wilde had a case of diarrhea that accounted for the feces found on the bed linens.

The newly uncovered documents from the Day, Russell & Co. law firm shed new light on these matters and suggest that if indeed the testimony of the Savoy employees at the Wilde trials were skewed, they were skewed in Wilde's favor not against him.

For example, found among the transcripts was the original statement of a Savoy chambermaid named Margaret Cotta that was given to the police or to Queensberry's detectives before the trial. It is obvious from the text that Margaret Cotta and Jane Cotter who testified at the Wilde trials in 1895 were one and the same person.³³² However, the original statement is different from the testimony she gave at the trials.

First, Cotta stated that the age of the "common boy, rough looking" in Wilde's bed was about 14 not 16 as she later testified. Cotta then reported that the sheets of Wilde's bed were always in a "most disgusting state... [with] traces of vaseline, soil and semen." [sic] She said she received instructions that these linens were to be kept apart and washed

separately. Cotta added that a stream of pageboys delivering letters were usually kissed by Wilde, who tipped them two shillings and sixpence for their trouble.

Why did Cotter (Cotta) change her testimony concerning the age of the boy she said she saw in Wilde's bed? Was it because he was underage, in which case Wilde would have been facing more serious charges than a misdemeanor? Why were the other boys in Wilde's bed at the Savoy never identified? Why did the prosecution not have expert forensic witnesses testify as to the exact nature of the unusual stains on Wilde's bedding? Evidence of semen together with Vaseline, commonly used as lubricant for anal penetration, would have sealed their case.

The answer to these questions may be that while Queensberry wanted Wilde convicted, he was also interested in protecting his own son, Lord Douglas, who though in France, was not entirely outside the long-reach of the law. It was probably no great secret that both Wilde and Douglas had had sexual relations with underage young boys in Algiers. If he upped the ante against Wilde perhaps Queensberry believed he might also do his son harm. There was also an outside chance that Queensberry had sufficient evidence against Prime Minister Rosebery of a "personal" nature, which would guarantee a guilty verdict for Wilde, thus making any additional evidence against Wilde superfluous.

In the end, much of the written testimony that could have been used against Wilde was thrown in a desk drawer at Day, Russell and Co. to gather dust until their public auctioning 100 years later—a remarkable footnote to a remarkable trial.

The Importance of Being Wilde

Although Oscar Wilde has recently achieved icon status as a precursor of the "Modern Homosexual" and a pioneer for "Gay Rights" it is highly unlikely that Wilde ever thought of himself in these terms.

In *De Profundis* Wilde made it clear that he underwent his passion and martyrdom at Reading Gaol solely for the sake of his Art. Although *De Profundis* is one of the few works in which Wilde discussed his "vices," these references to his homoerotic passions are all filtered through the lens of Wilde as the supreme artist, not Wilde the supreme revolutionary who "seized and articulated the modern homosexual identity."³³³

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the public trials of Oscar Wilde did play an important role in exposing the Oxbridge upper-class homosexual network as well as London's seedier homosexual underground to the outside world. This exposure provides certain insights into the here-to-fore closeted, semi-secret underworld of the Victorian sodomite that are of particular importance to this study.

The first is that the primary mode of homosexual expression in 19th century England was pederasty—that is, same-sex liaisons that typically

involved an older man who assumed the dominant, i.e., the male gender role and a younger passive partner. The latter gave pleasure to the former and roles were rarely interchanged. Casual affairs with multiple partners characterized homosexual relations at all levels of Victorian society. Although there were some notable exceptions, these merely serve to emphasize the rule.

Secondly, the Wilde case demonstrates that despite all the rhetoric about the “democratic” and “egalitarian” aspects of male homosexuality, the essential predatory nature of pederastic homosexuality and the barriers of class (or ethnic) distinctions remained. Indeed, as Wilde explains in *De Profundis*, the danger posed by slumming with his inferiors was “half the excitement.”³³⁴ The rich and famous Wilde unabashedly used poor, working class boys for his own sensual pleasure, not out of any altruistic or humanitarian consideration for which a quid, a smile and handshake would have sufficed nicely.

But perhaps one of the most instructive insights afforded by the Wilde case is the ability of social institutions to stimulate and promote homosexual behavior. The emphasis placed on the Hellenic tradition in British boarding schools and at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge with its subtle homoerotic overtones played an important role in undermining religious and moral sanctions against sodomy among the predominantly Protestant aristocracy and upper middle classes. Particularly insidious was the linking of art to the dogmas of Aestheticism which proclaimed the superiority of a “Higher Sodomy” and which held artists to be above the law and moral and religious restraints that bind humanity together for the common good.³³⁵

There is one other important footnote to the Wilde story that I should like to add at this time, although the full impact of its significance will not be readily discernable until a much later chapter on the 20th century popes. It concerns a certain young man who was known to be an admirer of Oscar Wilde’s works.

The young man was born on September 26, 1897 in Brescia to a prominent Italian family with strong ties to the Church. He lived a somewhat cosseted life as a child, due in part to frequent bouts of illness. He grew into a shy, melancholy, somewhat effete adolescent with a limited ability in matters intellectual, but highly attuned to things political (decidedly liberal and anti-fascist). At age 19, he told his parents he had a calling to the priesthood and entered the local seminary on an “out-patient” basis necessitated in part by hectic wartime conditions. Thus he never had the opportunity of experiencing the normal rigors of seminary life nor was he forced to enter into an academic competition with his peers.³³⁶

Having received a dispensation from Bishop Giacinto Gaggia to live at home (the local seminary was in use as a military hospital), he commuted to his seminary lectures held at make-shift facilities at San Cristo dressed

in civies as he had also been dispensed from wearing the required soutane (cassock) that marked ordinary seminarians as men set apart for God's service. He was, as Wilde would say, a young man born for exceptions.³³⁷

Second only to his passion for politics, was our young friend's passion for reading. His living arrangements, away from the "censorious" eyes of a seminary rector or room proctor, permitted him the widest latitude in private readings. His readings included the works of Adam Mickiewicz, the leader of Polish Romanticism, as well as Tolstoy, Goethe and, most surprisingly, Oscar Wilde, whose books and writings at the time were still difficult to obtain.³³⁸

He read *De Profundis* (a "sketchy" Italian translation) and underlined the passage: "The poor are wiser, more charitable, more inclined to good, more sensitive than we are. In their eyes prison is a tragedy in a man's life, a misfortune, a misadventure, something which calls for sympathy."³³⁹ Later in the poem, next to Wilde's complaint, "A day without lamentations is a day in which one has a closed heart, not a day about which one can be happy... a single London suburb contains enough unhappiness to demonstrate that God does not love men," our young man writes in the margin, "Or that men do not love God."³⁴⁰

On the subject of the heretical statements found in *De Profundis* related to Christ, His mission on earth, or the "holiness" of sin, where one would expect expressions of outrage from a young man aspiring to the priesthood, one finds only silence.

By any measure, the reading of Oscar Wilde's works by the young Italian seminarian was decidedly strange. All the more so when one considers the time period (1917) and the still close connection in the public mind between Wilde and the crime of sodomy. Was there any connection between the seminarian's liberal political ideology and his fascination with Wilde as a religious and moral rebel? I will explore these questions and many more later in the book. For now I think it sufficient to identify the young seminarian in question—he was Giovanni Battista Montini—the future Pope Paul VI.

John Addington Symonds—A New Homosexual Model

John Addington Symonds, the prominent 19th century man of letters and Renaissance historian, to whom the reader has been briefly introduced in connection with the Vaughan scandal at Harrow, offered Victorian society an alternative to the Wildean model of male homosexuality.³⁴¹

An early advocate of "homosexual emancipation," Symonds espoused a "modern" and "scientific" approach to same-sex eroticism onto which he grafted a heavy larder of Romanticism and utopian socialist politics. His writings on what he preferred to call "sexual inversion," come very close to many contemporary assumptions about homosexual identity and personhood, and they provide an excellent introduction to the new breed of

sexologists who would begin the process of medicalizing homoerotic relations. It was Symonds and not Wilde who helped engineer the new paradigm shift on same-sex relations that would characterize the direction of discourse on homosexuality into the next century and beyond.

Born in Bristol on October 5, 1840, into a wealthy upper-middle class English family with ties to the aristocracy and Oxbridge, Symonds' early life was marred by two great losses—that of his mother at the tender age of four and the loss of health that would overshadow his entire life until his death at age 52.

Symonds' principle biographer, Phyllis Grosskurth, noted that his father, a physician, continually fussed over the young boy's delicate state while at the same time urging the sickly and morbidly timid youth to be stronger and manlier.³⁴² Symonds, in the words of literary critic Van Wyck Brooks, "considered himself an Ugly Duckling."³⁴³

Young Symonds was both intellectually and sexually precocious, the latter attributed to his early initiation into male sex play including fellatio at the hands of his older male cousins and other boyhood acquaintances. His erotic interest in young boys lingered on throughout his formative years at the boarding school at Harrow and later at Balliol (Oxford) where he discovered the true "liber amoris" after a reading of Plato's *Phaedrus* and the *Symposium* and William Johnson's *Ionica*.³⁴⁴ He studied Greek under Benjamin Jowett and was heavily influenced by Jowett's Hellenistic teachings, both expressed and implied.³⁴⁵ Symonds' homosexual passions, however, did not find full physical expression until he was in his late twenties, by which time he had married and fathered four children.³⁴⁶

Between 1878 and 1880, Symonds, beleaguered by chronic illness (pulmonary tuberculosis) and mental exhaustion, moved his family to Switzerland where he eventually established a permanent residence at the ancient village of Davos Platz and winter quarters in Venice, Italy.³⁴⁷ Having reached an "understanding" with his wife whereby he pledged to support his family and continue to play the role of husband outside the boudoir, Symonds threw off his shackles of sexual restraint and began a long series of homosexual affairs with local youths and tradesmen including a wide assortment of manly Swiss athletes and handsome Venetian gondoliers.

Symonds, having first dispensed with his Calvinist-Protestant conscience, soon did away with Christianity altogether in favor of a more flexible, less censorious creed that would serve his homoerotic needs and permit him to spin his own "cocoon."³⁴⁸ Among Symonds' close acquaintances his homosexuality was an "open secret," i.e., known, but not openly discussed.

Professionally, Symonds continued his life of lecturing and travel as a distinguished man of letters. During his Oxford days he had distinguished himself as a promising classicist of the first degree by winning the

Newdigate Prize for English Verse at Balliol College (1860) and graduating with honors in *Literae Humaniores*. Under an Open Fellowship at Magdalen College he had won the Chancellor's Prize for his writings on "The Renaissance," that laid the foundation for his seven volume work *Renaissance in Italy* and his studies on Dante, Michelangelo, and Greek and Italian literature and art.³⁴⁹

Symonds' works on Hellenistic Greece and the Renaissance brought him worldwide attention in England and on the Continent along with modest monetary rewards.³⁵⁰ They also provided for his less tangible needs. As Rictor Norton, the prolific writer of all things homosexual explained, "Symonds was a sensualist and a romantic rather than an academic."³⁵¹ His "cultural studies gave him the opportunity to indulge his central aesthetic preoccupation with healthy naked men, nude youths in the gymnasia, the male nudes of Signorelli and Michelangelo and contemporary photographs of nude young men in classical poses."³⁵² Symonds also used his historic studies, particularly his Hellenistic works, to demonstrate that his "unnatural" sexual appetites were in line with the noblest traditions of the Greek *paiederastia* and to propagandize for changes in the law aimed at the "emancipation" of "inverts" and the decriminalization of consensual homosexual acts.

Symonds, who fashioned himself "a born Bohemian," generally sought out companions for his romantic adventures in Davos and Venice among working class youth in their late teens and early twenties.³⁵³ In addition to the difference in age and social status, his choice of Swiss and Italian young men provided an ethnic "otherness" that added additional excitement and romance to his experiments in "democratic" sex.³⁵⁴

In his *Memoirs* Symonds wrote that he believed that he helped these young men broaden their sexual experiences without altering their normal sexual appetites and that some even discovered pleasure in it for themselves.³⁵⁵ Thus, Symonds could not be accused of corrupting the morals of youth. Nevertheless, he always felt obliged to reciprocate this act of friendship with money or with influence.³⁵⁶

Symonds also admitted he sought out rough trade, strangers, including soldiers, sailors, male (and female) prostitutes with whom he took "occasional liberties," although he adds that he considered these overt commercial affairs to be "always abhorrent" to his nature.³⁵⁷

Not all of Symonds' sex partners, however, were outside his own class. One of these exceptions was a young English schoolboy by the name of Norman Moor who Symonds had met in 1868.

Symonds as a Seducer and Pederast

Symonds was 28 years old and married when he first saw Norman Moor, 17, a handsome blond Sixth Form student at Clifton College, at a dinner-party given by an intimate friend H. Graham Dakyns, a classics master

at the college.³⁵⁸ Symonds became immediately infatuated with the youth and was determined to possess him regardless of the dangers any intimacy with the well-born lad might present.³⁵⁹

In his *Memoirs*, Symonds described how he determined the course of action that would put the boy within his grasp: "In order to approach him, I contrived that Percival, the headmaster ... should invite me to lecture to the Sixth Form."³⁶⁰ A successful seduction followed the details of which Symonds carefully recorded in his diary in a rather ethereal style.³⁶¹ The affair, with its "relatively buttoned-down" sexuality that most likely did not include sodomy, lasted four years with most of the enthusiasm on the elder man's side.

In January 1869, Moor went up to Oxford much to Symonds' joy, but the lad unfortunately failed to live up to Symonds' expectations as a scholar. Nevertheless, Symonds overcame his disappointment and their romance continued during Norman's vacation days. In the summer of 1872, Symonds took Moor on a Continental tour and then brought the young lad home to visit his wife and daughters. According to Symonds, the two men had traveled in the spirit of comradeship as "amorous caresses had gone by."³⁶² Symonds' wife, Catherine, was always jealous of Norman.³⁶³

Symonds' *Memoirs* included a letter from Norman to Symonds written on November 26, 1886, in which Moor gave some details of his early sexual life. He said that he was corrupted by an 11-year-old classmate and later developed a taste himself for younger boys.³⁶⁴ Moor said that it was John Percival and Symonds that "did something to cure me of this," that is, they helped cure him of pederasty.³⁶⁵

Symonds interpreted this sentence as an affirmation that his seduction of Moor did no harm and "...that he (Moor) after the lapse of sixteen years, looked back upon my influence as salutary in the matter of love between male and male."³⁶⁶ Symonds said, he did not regret his passion for Norman as it was "natural," and the young man "responded to it naturally, so far as temperament, age and constitution of his emotional self permitted."³⁶⁷

Happily, Moor went on to become a husband, a father, and, Symonds' evaluation of his poor scholarship potential aside, one of Clifton College's most popular and excellent classics masters.³⁶⁸ Norman Moor died of influenza in 1895.

The other "great love" of Symonds' life was Angelo Fusato, a young, blithe, pretty-looking gondolier and gigolo whom Symonds discovered one May day in 1881 in Venice. Angelo, 24, already had a common-law wife by whom he had fathered two children, but Symonds took that all in stride.³⁶⁹ He wanted the young man and he had him. That Angelo was heterosexual merely added to his allure. Symonds helped support his new lover and his relatives and gave Angelo money to purchase a house. Later, Symonds obtained a position for Angelo at the Post Office that enabled the young man to marry. The two men made a mutually satisfactory arrangement where-

by Angelo continued to serve Symonds as lover, personal gondolier and traveling companion. Much to Catherine's displeasure, Angelo was brought to the family home in Davos as a guest and accompanied his master to the theater and to the residences of Symonds' acquaintances when they visited in England.³⁷⁰ Angelo remained with Symonds until the last. When his master died in Rome on April 19, 1893 Angelo was there to console him. Catherine was not.³⁷¹

Sodomy is for Sissies³⁷²

Symonds had an unusual take on sodomy. On one hand, he condemned the practice out of hand as the behavior of degenerate effeminate because the practice forced one partner to take a passive, feminine role.³⁷³ Contrary to popular opinion, he argued, buggery was not instinctual in homosexuals and those who engaged in such acts felt repugnance not pleasure.³⁷⁴ On the other hand, he held that no physical harm came of sodomy and that Nature herself provided for universal rectal pleasure by surrounding the orifice with the same nerves found in the reproductive organs.³⁷⁵

Obviously, as a practicing homosexual who was attempting to sell Victorians on a new, "masculinized" homosexuality, Symonds' public discourse against sodomy was both understandable and self-serving. Symonds had realized early on in the game that for most Englishmen, sodomy continued to be associated with anti-social and anti-religious beliefs.³⁷⁶ Further, as the Wilde trials would later demonstrate, sodomy carried little aesthetic appeal. Symonds' own writings suggest he practiced fellatio and voyeuristic solitary and mutual masturbation, and when he engaged in sodomy, he played the dominant, manly role not the passive effeminate role.

Interestingly, although Symonds had hundreds of sex partners, he didn't consider himself to be "a voluptuary" like his friend (and Wilde's friend) Lord Ronald Gower. Nor did he see himself as an Apostle of Decadence like the "vicious" sodomite Oscar Wilde. On the contrary, he convinced himself that he indulged his sexual appetites only in "moderation" (without harm to the entire organism) and with a spirit of pure and manly shared comradeship rather than pure animal lust. There was, however, a very real and dark aspect to Symonds' promiscuous relationships that had better gone unshared.

When Symonds was originally diagnosed with phthisis (tuberculosis of the lungs) in 1877 at the age of 15, it was thought to be a congenital degenerative disease with no known cause or cure. Physicians usually prescribed rest, pure air and good food to tuberculin patients like Symonds. By the late 1880s, however, it had been confirmed by medical science that the "White Death" was a contagious disease contracted by the inhalation of infectious airborne bacteria.³⁷⁷ Nevertheless, Symonds continued to expose young men to the dangerous and fatal disease by engaging in intimate sexual relations with them.

Symonds as a Disciple of “Greek Love”

Symonds’ writings on homosexuality served two primary purposes—one personal, one public. The first, was to justify his own sexual behavior and to assist the highly compartmentalized Symonds in integrating his homosexual identity with his “total self.” The second, was to change Victorian opinion with regard to the legitimacy of same-sex relations. He took great care to frame the phenomenon of sexual inversion in pseudo-scientific/medical terms so as to make the indelicate subject of buggery an acceptable topic of drawing room conversation.³⁷⁸ He was also the first writer to use the word “homosexual” in an English publication.³⁷⁹ Much of Symonds’ writings in defense of homoerotic relations are so strikingly familiar that it is hard to believe they were written well over a century ago.

By the early 1880s, Symonds had already produced a large number of both privately circulated and published homoerotic poems, sonnets and translations, some of which were “frankly masturbatory” and others cleverly disguised as Scriptural “meditations.”³⁸⁰ But it was not until 1883 that his first major polemical work on pederasty and homosexuality, *A Problem In Greek Ethics Being An Inquiry Into The Phenomenon Of Sexual Inversion Addressed Especially To Medical Psychologists And Jurists*, appeared in print, and then only in a closeted limited edition of ten copies. In 1891 he published a follow-up study, *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, again with a limited edition.³⁸¹

That both these works contained all manner of contradictions and speculation is not surprising. Medical science’s views on the nature, cause and treatment of homosexuality were in a rapid state of flux and were virtually inseparable from the popular discourse of the Victorian era on congenital “degeneracies” of all kinds—physical, mental, moral, social and civic.

From A Problem in Greek Ethics to A Problem in Modern Ethics

To ignore pederastia is to neglect one of the features by which Greek civilization was most sharply distinguished. Yet this has been done by nearly all writers on Greek history and literature. The reasons for evading the investigation of a custom so repugnant to modern taste are obvious; and it might even be plausibly argued that the topic is not sufficiently important in its bearing on Greek life and thought to justify its discussion. Still the fact remains that pederastic was a social phenomenon of one of the most brilliant periods of human culture, in one of the most highly organized and nobly active races. The fact remains that the literature of the Greeks, upon which the best part of humanistic education rests, abounds in references to the pederastic passion. The anomaly involved in these facts demands dispassionate interpretation. I do not, therefore, see why the inquiry should not be attempted; why some one should not strive to ascertain, so far as this is pos-

sible, the moral feeling of the Greeks upon this subject, and should not trace the history of so remarkable a custom in their several communities.³⁸²

From Original 1883 Introduction to
A Problem in Greek Ethics

Symonds began his defense of homosexuality with a defense of man-boy love in the Hellenistic tradition. This was significant. Wilde would raise the same defense at his own trial a decade later and fail. Symonds fared no better. Certainly the *eromenos*—erastes pedagogical relationship was a reality among the upper classes in Athens in the late Archaic period and adult homosexuality existed in the militaristic city-state of Sparta. But these were neither universal practices nor universally approved practices among all classes, in all regions and at all times in ancient Greece from the Homeric to the Hellenistic Age. Also, even where certain forms of homosexuality existed they were not exclusive. A man was still expected to marry and have children. Further, such practices were always surrounded by tightly prescribed customs and laws—an altogether unpromising foundation on which to build his case for homoerotic “emancipation.”

In his more lengthy sequel, *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, Symonds began with an appeal for a frank and open public discourse on a passion which society was reluctant to acknowledge much less name—so Symonds provided a name—the “inverted sexual instinct.”³⁸³ Modern science, he stated, had adopted this “neutral nomenclature” that was free of prejudice and he would also.³⁸⁴

Like the true Modernist he was, Symonds claimed that Christian opinion against sexual inversion must be re-examined in light of new evidence provided by science. This new evidence, Symonds stated, had dispelled many “vulgar errors” concerning the sex practices of inverts, including the belief that all inverts practiced the *aversa Venus* (sodomy); that same-sex practices produced disease (even when practiced in moderation not excess); that inverts preyed upon underage boys; and that all inverts were effeminate.³⁸⁵

Symonds drew upon the work of a variety of writers on the subject of sexual inversion that included the famous Austrian physician Professor Richard von Krafft-Ebing, the Italian criminal psychologist Cesare Lombroso and the German jurist, political activist and self-avowed homosexual Karl Heinrich Ulrichs.³⁸⁶

Dr. Richard Von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902)

Dr. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Professor of Psychiatry and Neurology at the University of Graz (and of Strasbourg and Vienna) gained worldwide recognition as the foremost specialist in the categorizing of mental illnesses with the publication of *Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie* (Text-Book of Insanity) in 1879.³⁸⁷ It was followed in 1886 by *Psychopathia Sexualis*

(Aberrations of Sexual Life), a catalogue of all known sexual pathologies in which Krafft-Ebing identified four specific diseases of the nervous system that were characterized by an individual's attachment to deviant sex objects—sadism, fetishism, masochism and the antipathic sexual instinct (homosexuality).³⁸⁸

Krafft-Ebing did not view homoerotic attraction as a simple criminal vice, but as a complex degenerative moral-physiological disorder that was generally inborn although it could be acquired by habits of masturbation or debauchery. Thus, homosexuals should be considered “diseased degenerates,” not “criminals.”³⁸⁹

Krafft-Ebing classified and subdivided sexual inverts into three main categories and an assortment of subdivisions:

- The *Psychical Hermaphrodite*—a person who is predominantly sexually attracted to his own sex but who retains a rudimentary attraction toward the opposite sex.
- The *Urning*—a true homosexual who is solely attracted to his own sex and has an aversion to the opposite sex. Some male urnings appeared to be normal in every way except their sexual appetites. Others assume a feminine gender role in their manner of dress, voice and body movements.
- The *Androgyny*—a person who possesses the soul of a one sex but is entrapped in the body of the opposite sex.³⁹⁰

Krafft-Ebing was publicly opposed to legal and criminal sanctions against sexual inverts because such individuals, “...in the light of science, are not responsible for their acts.”³⁹¹ He advocated medical treatment (including hypnosis) not incarceration of sexual inverts. His theories on the necessity of the conservation of sexual energy as the hallmark of a civilized society were closely connected to his views on onanism (solitary masturbation). Like many Victorians, the Austrian psychiatrist viewed “self-pollution” as a neuropathic disposition or taint that resulted in a variety of physiological ailments, destroyed virility, weakened the will and eroded one's moral character.³⁹² He also viewed habituated masturbation as a major component of the etiology of homosexuality.³⁹³ He believed that every homosexual was an inveterate masturbator, but not every habitual masturbator was an invert.

Symonds disagreed with Krafft-Ebing's exposition on the connection between onanism and sexual inversion as well as his claim that inherited neuropathy was the root cause of same-sex attraction, but he found Krafft-Ebing's opposition to anti-sodomy laws ideologically useful.

Dr. Cesare Lombroso (1835–1909)

Dr. Cesare Lombroso was an Italian psychiatrist professor and criminal forensic specialist whose studies on characterology and criminology were

well known in Victorian professional circles. He studied at the Universities of Padua, Vienna and Paris and later became Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Pavia.

During the early part of his career, Lombroso, a disciple of Darwin (evolution) and Galton (eugenics), focused much of his attention on phrenology (craniology), the study of character and mental capacity based on the conformation of the skull. He became the leader of what was known at the time as the Italian School of Criminology distinguished by its adherence to biological determinism rather than free will as being the key factor in criminal behavior. Lombroso's name became virtually synonymous with the term "atavism," that is, the reappearance of a characteristic in an organism after several generations of absence. Lombroso applied the term "atavist" to those persons who had reverted back to primitive or primordial man and who retained an innate potential for anti-social behavior (the born criminal).³⁹⁴

Lombroso divided criminal types into four categories:

- I. The Born Criminal
- II. The Criminal by Passion
- III. The Insane Criminal
- IV. The Occasional Criminal

Lombroso placed the pederast in Category III (the criminally insane), along side kleptomaniacs, nymphomaniacs and habitual drunkards. Such individuals, he claimed, commit crime because of a neurological defect of the brain which rendered them incapable of determining right from wrong. As a criminal class they could not be held responsible for their action, he said, therefore treatment and social isolation (to prevent breeding) rather than punishment was preferable in such cases.³⁹⁵

He distinguished homosexual offenders who have been born as such, from those who acquired the vice from "barracks, or colleges, or by a forced celibacy," and who would return to their normal sexual appetites when they were introduced back into normal society. Where homosexuality was inborn, however, he recommended that these unfortunates "...should be confined from their youth, for they are the source of contagion and cause a great number of occasional criminals."³⁹⁶

As expected, Symonds adamantly objected to Lombroso's classification of pederasty as a form of "moral insanity." And although he does not entirely dismiss Lombroso's theory that homosexual practices found among primitive and warlike tribes such as the Tartars and Celts are an indication of cultural atavism, he fiercely rejected the idea that the ancient Greeks should be so classified.³⁹⁷

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1826–1895)³⁹⁸

Ulrichs, who used the pen name "Numa Numantius," came closest to being a kindred spirit to Symonds, not only because he shared Symonds'

homoerotic appetites, but also because he shared Symonds' zeal in removing the "prejudice" and "ignorance" that surrounded society's attitudes toward homosexuality.³⁹⁹ In 1854 Ulrichs took an early forced retirement from his civil servant post as a lawyer after his homosexual activities were made public.⁴⁰⁰

Many of Ulrichs' writings on sexual inversion were directed at establishing a scientific basis for the theory that the homosexual condition was inborn and immutable and that the men who possessed these instincts were not inferior in any way to normal men—physically, intellectually or morally. Like Symonds, Ulrichs opposed all laws directed at the repression or punishment of such individuals.

Ulrich developed his own vocabulary of sexual inversion:

- The Dioning—the normal man
- The Urning—the abnormal man or male sexual invert (a member of the "Third Sex") The Urningin—a female sexual invert (a member of the "Fourth Sex")
- The Mannling—the invert who prefers effeminate males.
- The Weibling—the invert who prefers powerful and masculine adult partners.
- The Zwischen-Urning—the pederast who seeks out adolescent boys as sex partners.
- The Uranodioninge—the bi-sexual who is attracted to both males and females.
- The Virilisirt—a genuine invert who forces himself to cohabit with women and may even marry.
- The Hermaphrodite⁴⁰¹

What distinguished Ulrichs' writings on sexual inversion from his contemporaries was the emphasis that he placed on the sexual invert as a different being or species of man, not simply a person with an abnormal sexual appetite.⁴⁰² Ulrichs' theories and discourse on the "Third Sex" came at a time when the public was already beginning to think of the homosexual as a different type of person rather than simply as a person who engaged in perverted sexual acts. The homosexual was acquiring his own identity and Ulrichs played an important part in that acquisition. In fact, in 1865, Ulrichs drafted a set of bylaws for a "Urning Union"—a bill of rights for homosexuals that is virtually identical to the agenda of the homosexual movement today.⁴⁰³

Ulrichs traced the cause of sexual inversion to a biological mishap in early embryonic development during pregnancy that resulted in a female soul becoming entrapped in a male body thus creating a "Third" or "Intermediate" Sex.⁴⁰⁴ In such cases, one's innate sexual, psychic and emotional

attachment to members of one's own sex betrayed one's physical anatomy (including the genitalia), he wrote.

The German jurist has some unique views on the nature of same-sex attraction. He argued that the love Urnings practiced, was superior to solitary masturbation because it involved an "I" and "Thou," that is, the Urning and his beloved, and because it produced a "higher level" of love in terms of both physical release and emotional gratification.⁴⁰⁵

Ulrichs also promoted the theory that a "delicious passion" in the form of a "magnetic current" (animal magnetism) went through the body of a Urning whenever he made physical contact with an attractive young man.⁴⁰⁶ Urnings were driven to "embrace" and "cling" to such persons and "to touch their sexual parts intimately...in spite of the fact that they (male sex organs) are completely useless for his kind of intercourse," he said.⁴⁰⁷ However, since the object of the Urning's passions was not endowed with a female orifice to accept the male sexual organ, other parts of the male body including the anus must be used, he explained.⁴⁰⁸ Ulrichs admitted that sodomy was an "unaesthetic act," but he said, it was no more disgusting than the ordinary conjugal act.⁴⁰⁹ One of his many accurate observations concerning same-sex relations was that, historically speaking, Urnings have always put a high premium on large male genitalia.⁴¹⁰

With regard to possible health hazards connected with anal penetration, he said that science and medicine had established the fact that sodomy was not any more dangerous than ordinary intercourse between a male and female.⁴¹¹ However, Ulrichs always took care to point out that there were other ways and means besides anal penetration (sodomy) that the Urning used to achieve sexual satisfaction.⁴¹²

To these opinions there were obviously many objectors. In one medical journal, an anonymous reviewer attacked Ulrichs' belief that the anus "which is meant by nature for defecation...be made a place of amusement for the male member, to make use in case of necessity of the various parts of the body as makeshift for those that are missing."⁴¹³ "The fact that the health of the kinaidos (Urning) is seriously and incurably threatened by this abominable act is not taken into consideration by this half-mad author," the reviewer said.⁴¹⁴

Homosexuality and the Law

Symonds did not share all of Ulrichs' views on the topography of homoerotic attractions. For example, he believed that a man with normal sexual appetites might acquire the taste for homosexual pleasures when isolated from the company of females as in the case of military barracks or prisons. Nevertheless, he enthusiastically embraced Ulrich's (and Krafft-Ebing's and Lombroso's) beliefs that homosexual acts should be decriminalized.

In *The Problem of Modern Ethics*, Symonds gave considerable space over to Ulrichs' arguments against the legal persecution and social ostracism of

sexual inverts whose only crime was that they “cannot feel sexually as the majority feel...because they find some satisfaction for their inborn want in ways which the majority dislike.”⁴¹⁵ Sexual inverts had to be measured by a different standard than other men, Ulrichs argued. He proposed that society should “leave nature to take her course” and leave the Urnings to themselves.⁴¹⁶

What then should the law be as with regard to sexual inverts? No different from other men, Ulrichs answered. Consensual sexual relations between men should not be criminalized unless violence is involved, “public decency” is offended, or in cases involving an adult and an underage boy, although on the last two points, his writings reveal a decided equivocation.⁴¹⁷

Ulrichs insisted that since the homosexual inclination in an Urning was natural to him and could not be altered, society should not sentence him to a life of forced sexual abstinence, but let him act out his passions as he willed.⁴¹⁸ Such an enlightened approach would permit the Urning to develop voluntary, wholesome and sexually satisfying and possibly permanent relationships with other men, Ulrichs wrote. He was convinced that once people saw the “sublime side” of Uranian love and the “loyalty, devotion and spirit of sacrifice” practiced by Urnings toward their partners, they would, “without hesitation” approve of homosexual relations.⁴¹⁹

Symonds, on the other hand, appeared to be more realistic and less optimistic concerning the ability of sexual inverts to establish such edifying and permanent bonds. In his *Memoirs*, he acknowledged that homosexual relationships were inherently unstable due to the absence of marriage and children and a common life. However, all was not lost, he added, because this left the parties “free to form new alliances as they desired with no harm to anyone.”⁴²⁰

On the question of predatory sexual inverts, Symonds agreed with Ulrichs that only “old debauchees or half-idiotic individuals are in the habit of misusing boys.”⁴²¹

Although Ulrichs came from a long line of Lutheran ministers, he rejected Protestant morality and blamed the plight of the Urning squarely on the shoulders of Christianity.⁴²² Like Symonds, he rejected the idea that Holy Scriptures condemned homosexual acts or that the biblical directive to “increase and multiply,” had any relevance in modern society. Ulrichs dismissed the latter argument with a Malthusian quip that “habitable portions of the globe are rapidly becoming overcrowded.”⁴²³ Symonds agreed with that assessment and added that the sterile acts of inverts were beneficial “in the present state of over-population.”⁴²⁴

As for the Church’s prohibition of homosexuality, Ulrichs claimed that the writers of the Old and New Testament were scientifically ignorant of the existence of the “Third Sex.” Homosexuals were not acting against the natural law he insisted by following sexual instincts that were natural for

them. Ulrichs demanded that the Church stop “tormenting” the conscience of the Urning and start teaching a “sexuality without sin.”⁴²⁵

Like Wilde at Reading Gaol, Ulrichs took upon himself the mantle of Christ and wrote that he too had been persecuted, exiled, defamed and proscribed. Catholic priests may voluntarily take a vow of celibacy, Ulrichs said, but it was absurd to doom invert to such a fate. “We maintain that we have the right to exist after the fashion in which nature made us. And if we cannot alter your laws, we shall go on breaking them,” he said.⁴²⁶ With these words of defiance by Ulrichs, Symonds brought his defense of homoerotic love in to a close.

The influence that Ulrichs had on Symonds was extraordinary. What is even more extraordinary is the degree to which Ulrichs’ theories on the “Third Sex” had permeated the Victorian consciousness at least among the upper classes by the start of the 20th century.

For example, in her book *Oscar Wilde and His Mother A Memoir* (1911), Anna Dunphy, the Comtesse de Brémont, an acquaintance of Lady Wilde, waxed solemnly over Wilde’s irregular passions that she attributed to his “feminine soul” that inspired his artistic genius, but also was responsible for “the lust for strange, forbidden pleasures...”⁴²⁷ She confessed that she recognized this tragic mix-up of Nature the very first time they met when she beheld, “his feminine soul, a suffering prisoner in the wrong brain-house.”⁴²⁸

Symonds’ American Hero Poet Walt Whitman

In his closing pages of *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, Symonds devoted a special section to the homoerotic verse and prose of the American poet Walt Whitman (1819–1892) with special attention to his poem “Calamus” found in *Leaves of Grass* and prose passages taken from *Democratic Vistas* in praise of Democracy as “the new religious ideal of mankind.”⁴²⁹

The two men had engaged in a lively exchange of correspondence for two decades although they had never met. Symonds’ affection for Whitman bordered on idol worship. As for the vain, self-promoting Whitman, already a cult figure in America, Brooks said he was always happy to accept “another weaver of fresh laurels for the imaginary crown he wore on his head.”⁴³⁰

Although Whitman, unlike Symonds, was born into a large working class American family and received little formal education, the two men actually shared much in common.⁴³¹

First, they were both “slow fruit,” that is they did not “come out” to the homosexual life until early middle age and then only to a close circle of friends.⁴³²

Secondly, they shared a mutual enthusiasm for young, virile “butch-type” sexual partners and an open disdain for effeminate “faggots.”⁴³³ Both

men were avid cruisers and diarists. In the 1850s, Whitman kept a notebook that listed the names of young workingmen whom he had prospected along with details of their personal life such as their age, marital status and looks.⁴³⁴ Whitman liked his sex rough and ready, and unlike Symonds, appeared to have no aversion to sodomy. Although Symonds and Whitman both had serious affairs, neither man was monogamy-minded. Whitman was adept at juggling more than one young lover at a time, a practice that often led to petty quarrels and resentments.⁴³⁵

Lastly, and most importantly, both men embraced, propagandized and fought for a new homosexual ethos based on democratic principles that transcended class, religion, race and nationality.

The ever-romantic Symonds, was absolutely besotted by Whitman's poetry and writings that extolled the virtues of "manly love," "athletic love" and "the high towering love of comrades."⁴³⁶ In his American friend, Symonds saw another sexual visionary like himself, and 19th century America as some kind of sexual frontier where the homoerotic ideals of Whitman were heartily welcomed. Whitman of course, knew better.

American common law was no more friendly towards sodomy (anal penetration) than the English anti-buggery laws from which it was derived. Even after the death penalty for sodomy was eliminated after the American Revolution of 1776, harsh legal punishments remained including public exposure in the pillory, fines, prison time or loss of property. What is more important, homosexual behavior, especially sodomy, remained an ignominious crime against God and country in the eyes of the American people and a vice that needed to be repressed by society.⁴³⁷

Among the most vociferous opponents of Whitman's "smutty" poetry were the Philadelphia Society and the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice.⁴³⁸

Naturally, Whitman never confided in Symonds that he had once been the victim of a vigilante-brand of American justice for committing a homosexual rape on a young schoolboy.

The alleged incident that came to be known as the "Southhold" or "Sodom School" Affair or simply "The Trouble" was reported to have occurred in 1841 when Whitman, age 22, was a schoolteacher in the small town of Southhold on the far tip of Long Island. He was a boarder of a local family and, as was the custom of the times, shared a bed with one of his young students.

On January 3, 1841, Reverend Ralph Smith, a Protestant minister denounced Whitman for the crime of sodomy from the pulpit. A group of angry citizens, presented with evidence of "bloody sheets," went hunting for the young schoolteacher. They found him hiding in the attic of the Corwin residence. They dragged him out of the house, tarred and feathered him, and rode him out of town on a rail.⁴³⁹

Whitman appeared to have a genuine affection for Symonds even though he sometimes became irritated when the Englishman tried to pressure his American friend into admitting that he was, like him, a sexual invert. But Whitman would not be wheedled out of his “great secret.” Finally, in 1890, after years of Symonds’ gentle inquisition, Whitman exploded and wrote Symonds an indelicate and untruthful response in which he rejected the “damnable” inferences that he was such a person and that he had a gaggle of six illegitimate offspring to prove it.⁴⁴⁰ Although Symonds was probably hurt by Whitman’s lie, he did not press the subject any longer and continued with his correspondence from across the sea until his death three years later.

Symonds’ Collaboration with Havelock Ellis

In 1892, Symonds, anxious to have a medical physician affirm his advocacy of the homosexual life, began a collaborative effort with the 33-year-old pioneer sexologist Henry Havelock Ellis who was at work on the first of a seven-volume opus *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1897–1910).⁴⁴¹ Unfortunately, Symonds died in 1893, leaving Ellis to complete *Sexual Inversion* on his own. However, anyone acquainted with Symonds writings on homosexuality can see that his influence on the book was substantial.

In his autobiography, *My Life*, Ellis admitted that prior to his correspondence with Symonds, the subject of sexual inversion had interested him less than any other topic because he “had known very little about it.”⁴⁴² The original version of *Sexual Inversion* contained the complete text of Symonds’ *Greek Ethics*, portions of *Modern Ethics* and many of his observations and comments on various aspects of homosexuality.

Since the 1895 Wilde trials made the publication of their completed manuscript in defense of homosexual practices problematic in England, Ellis secured a German publisher in Leipzig. *Sexual Inversion* was published in 1896 under the title *Das konträre Geschlechtsgefühl* (*The Contrary Sexual Feeling*) and bore the names of both authors. In November 1897, Ellis managed to secure the first English printing of the controversial work. It was still published under joint authorship. However, Symonds’ executor, Horatio Brown bought out almost the entire first printing out of deference to the sensibilities of Catherine Symonds and the Symonds family. When the next printing appeared, Symonds’ name was eliminated altogether and Havelock Ellis listed as the sole author.

But this run-in with Symonds’ wife and heirs appeared to be the least of Ellis’ problems. Ellis was drawn into an extended legal battle over his book that was condemned as “homosexual pornography.” The courts eventually declared *Sexual Inversion* to be obscene and ordered all remaining copies destroyed.⁴⁴³ Nevertheless, Symonds’ selection of Ellis as his partner in crime proved to be a rather prophetic choice, for Havelock Ellis be-

came one of the founding fathers of modern sexology and a precursor of the Kinseyian Sex Liberation Movement of the late 1940s.

Dr. Ellis' entire world revolved around sex—romantic sex—“the chief and central function of life...ever wonderful, ever lovely.”⁴⁴⁴ He himself, however, was unlovely, a rather unattractive man with a slightly effeminate demeanor.

Ellis, who saw himself as a “sexual visionary” believed that Victorians were too obsessed with traditional (read religious) views on sex (i.e., marriage, family and conventional, heterosexual, sex) and needed to be persuaded to expand their sexual horizons and introduce greater variety into their sexual repertoire.⁴⁴⁵ Ellis' radical views on sex were a reflection of his radical politics, or perhaps it is more accurate to say that his radical politics were a reflection of his radical sexual views and practices in line with the Nietzschean dictum that “the degree and kind of a person's sexuality reach up into the ultimate pinnacle of his spirit.”⁴⁴⁶ Like Symonds, but more so, Ellis was intimately connected to radical Socialist groups including the Fabian Society and its small but influential coterie of feminists, Darwinists, Malthusians, eugenicists and sexual inverts.

In many ways, Ellis' public campaign against Christian morality served to mask his own sexual inadequacies and fetishes. From his early years, he was a habitual masturbator and his frequent bouts with impotence led him to bypass normal male-female coitus in favor of acts with more “erotic symbolism” such as urolagina.⁴⁴⁷ He was not a homosexual, but he did marry one, a confirmed lesbian and fellow radical named Edith Lees. Their union proved a disaster for both.⁴⁴⁸ Ellis, like his wife, took on many female lovers during his lifetime. His most notorious affair was with Margaret Sanger whom Ellis met in 1914. She later publicized his works in her *Birth Control Review*. It comes as no surprise then that he was in favor of “open marriages,” in which both men and women could freely engage in extra-curricular sex. Nor is it surprising that his theories of sexual liberation extended to include sexual inverts.

Sexual Inversion—An Apologia for Homosexuality

The Ellis-Symonds text of *Sexual Inversion*, although written over 100 years ago, is quite modern in its polemics in favor of homosexuality. Krafft-Ebing's theories of sexual inversion of homosexuality as an inborn disease or acquired vice are dismissed in favor of the view that homosexuality is simply an inborn variation or “sport” on the norm that is incapable of being modified.⁴⁴⁹

Although Ellis used the words “homosexual” and “sexual invert” interchangeably, he thought the former “a barbarously hybrid word” and disavowed having responsibility for it.⁴⁵⁰ Ellis translated sodomy in modest Latin terms, *immissio membri in anum hominis vel mulieris*.⁴⁵¹

References to animal studies and human anthropological patterns were used to sustain the overall premise of the book—that sexual inversion harmed no one including the invert himself; that the invert should be permitted to indulge his natural sexual appetites; and that society reaps the benefits of the special artistic and intellectual superiority possessed by sexual inverts.⁴⁵² Ellis presented 33 selective case studies designed to illustrate the validity of his arguments in favor of sexual inversion.

However, the use of the term “case studies” was patently dishonest as it gave the impression that they were the result of Ellis’ professional clinical studies with his patients. They were not.

Ellis graduated with the minimum education necessary to receive a medical degree and had no specialized training in psychiatry or psychology and never had a medical practice. Ellis did acknowledge that Symonds provided about half of the case studies.⁴⁵³ Other self-avowed homosexuals like Edward Carpenter wrote up their own sexual histories and gave them to Ellis for inclusion in the book. Few of the sexual inverts in the study admitted to the practicing of sodomy.⁴⁵⁴ All defined themselves as manly, not effeminate. All said they appreciated the opposite sex. Indeed all portrayed themselves as paragons of personal and civic virtue—“high bred, refined and sensitive.”⁴⁵⁵

Ellis’ writings, like those of Symonds and Wilde, provide us with a fairly broad prospectus on how proponents of homosexuality attempted to sell their homoerotic wares to the predominantly Protestant, urbanized population of Victorian and Edwardian England. And, although it was not the intention of the authors, they also reaffirmed, directly and indirectly, that English society as a whole, continued to view homosexual acts and the emerging homosexual person with the same degree of disgust, horror and intolerance experienced by their Cromwellian and Calvinist forebears. The sexual invert of Oxbridge may have been more “learned” and more “masculinized” than London’s lower-class mollies and Mary Anns of the previous century, but they were no less shunned and abhorred as being subversive to Church and State. Nor did the Englishman stand alone in his aversion to homosexual relations.

The Prosecution of Urnings in Germany

Thanks to the prolific writings of Herr Karl Ulrichs, the self-avowed German ‘Urnig’ (to whom the reader has already been introduced in connection with the writings of John Addington Symonds), we have a fairly extensive record of how Germany’s anti-sodomy laws were promulgated in the years leading up to the end of the First Reich and the founding of the Second Reich under Kaiser Wilhelm I in 1871.

Historically, the German Prussian States had strict anti-sodomy statutes that were based on the 1532 Penal Code of the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* under Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

The provisions of Paragraph 143 as interpreted by Prussian courts in the second-half of the 19th century stated that all unnatural practices between men (widernatürliche Unzucht) including sodomy or acts leading up to sodomy but excluding mutual masturbation, constituted a felony and were punishable by three to six months of imprisonment or less.

Other German Kingdoms, notably Hannover, Oldenburg, Thuringia, Württemberg, Braunschweig, Saxony and Bavaria had sodomy statutes that were based on the more liberal 1804 Code Napoléon. Homosexual acts per se were not prosecuted unless minors were involved or the public peace was disturbed.⁴⁵⁶

In *The Riddle of 'Man-Manly' Love*, Ulrichs' magnum opus work on homosexual life and death in and about Germany under the First Reich, he presented a number of important civil and criminal trials involving Urnings that took place between 1860 and 1869.⁴⁵⁷

One of the most controversial trials cited by Ulrichs took place in September 1864 in the Tyrolian region of Austria near the southern most tip of Germany. A 43-year-old Catholic priest was arraigned on multiple charges of the rape of a minor, crimes against nature (sodomy), seduction and fornication. These crimes were reported to have taken place over a period of 12 years. In addition to these violations of the civil law, the priest had also violated Church law. Not only had he broken his vows of chastity and celibacy, but he had also committed sacrilege by using the confessional to solicit sexual favors from young male penitents.⁴⁵⁸

The pastor was brought to trial on September 3 before a five-judge panel at the Botsen County Court. The trial was closed to the public. Seven of the seventeen boys with whom the priest had sexual relations were subpoenaed to testify. It is unclear if the 12-year-old boy he raped was called as a witness.

It took only one day for the judges to reach a verdict of guilty. The priest was sentenced to the maximum punishment allowable under the law, nine years in prison with hard labor to be made more severe during fast days. Sentences ranged from two to four months for some of the priest's older accomplices.⁴⁵⁹

In addition to the Tyrol case, Ulrichs cited nine others that included Protestant as well as Catholic clergy who were charged either with homosexual solicitation of adult male partners (usually soldiers) or the seduction and corruption of young boys.⁴⁶⁰ In connection with the latter category, it is interesting to note how little the strategies of predatory "man-boy" lovers have changed over the years. The clerical pederasts of the mid-19th century went "where the boys were," that is, they sought out their prey in schools and orphanages. Convictions in these cases drew anywhere from a week to three or four months in jail.

In general, all of the cases appeared to have been isolated incidents with no connections to any organized ring of clerical pederasts. Nor is there any

evidence that their numbers were greater than non-clerical offenders in the general population.

The Infamous Zastrow Case

As shocking as the Tyrol case and others involving clerical sex abuse were, they paled into insignificance when compared to the case of Carl Ernst Wilhelm von Zastrow whose trial opened in Berlin on July 5, 1869.⁴⁶¹ It was a criminal case that involved the brutal attack, sodomization and mutilation of a young boy and the suspected murder, sodomization and mutilation of a second boy. Ulrichs took an extraordinary interest in the case although he denied having any contact with the accused.⁴⁶² From the numerous articles he collected on the trial from Berlin papers, he formed a profile of the accused and made a detailed analysis of the motivations for the crimes—all of which appeared in his final chapters in ‘Man Manly’ Love.

Zastrow, a painter and former militia lieutenant, was a wealthy member of an influential and noble family.⁴⁶³ Little is known about his formative years except that his mother and maternal grandfather were reputed to be of unsound mind—an argument used by Zastrow’s attorney at his trial.⁴⁶⁴ Ulrichs reported that Zastrow had been dismissed from his military unit and banished from Dresden because of his “disreputable lifestyle.”⁴⁶⁵ In his work, Ulrichs described Zastrow as an effeminate, refined, gentle, pious Urning with a “cold, colorless facial expression” that hid “a secret passion.”⁴⁶⁶ But Ulrichs was uncertain if the accused was a “Mannling” or a “Weibling” or a mixture of both.⁴⁶⁷

The story began on January 17, 1869 when Zastrow was picked by the Berlin police in connection with the attempted murder, rape and sexual mutilation of five-year-old Emil Hanke.⁴⁶⁸ The boy had been sodomized, bitten on the face and freshly circumcised.⁴⁶⁹ His wounds to the rectum were such that the child was unable to hold a bowel movement.⁴⁷⁰ After the sexual assault, his assailant(s) tried to strangle him. When that failed, his attacker(s) tried to stuff him into a heating duct to hide or suffocate the child. Amazingly, the boy survived, although he remained in critical condition at Bethany Hospital for several weeks.

This was not the first run-in that Zastrow had had with the Berlin police. On the same day, two years earlier, on January 17, 1867, Zastrow had been taken into custody and questioned about the brutal murder-mutilation of a 15-year-old baker’s apprentice named Corny. The boy had been sodomized and then a wooden stake was driven up through his rectum into his lungs. His body was found in Panke Brook.⁴⁷¹ The coroner reported that the murderer had attempted to cut out the lad’s rectum and in fact, did cut off the boy’s privates while he was still alive and then fled carrying the pieces of flesh with him.⁴⁷² Unfortunately, there was not enough evidence against Zastrow and he was released.

Legal proceedings against Zastrow in connection with the Hanke attack began on July 5, 1869. Public officials, fearing a public riot and lynching, held his trial in a room at the jail rather than transport the accused to the courthouse. The child Hanke was present at the trial, but he was unable to make a positive identification of his attacker.⁴⁷³ The trial was closed to the public, but the judge permitted members of the press to be present.⁴⁷⁴

In the early publicity surrounding the trial, no reference was made to Zastrow's homosexuality, but the police were aware of his unnatural sexual appetites.⁴⁷⁵ Later, when they searched Zastrow's residence they found a copy of Ulrichs' book *Memnon* (*The Lone Voice*) in Zastrow's library.⁴⁷⁶

When Zastrow took the stand, he said he was indeed a member of a "Third Sex" as described in Ulrichs' writings and that he always had a sexual attraction for "handsome manly forms," but never for women.⁴⁷⁷ In a letter written to a friend from his jail cell, he wrote, "I feel I am an unnatural criminal. I indulged in my favorite sin too often."⁴⁷⁸ Commenting on Zastrow's claim that he felt isolated and cut off from society and that he had never formed any real relationships, Ulrichs retorted that all Urnings in Germany shared the same sentiments—that they were all "loners."⁴⁷⁹

Among the expert witnesses called to testify at the trial was Dr. Karl Westphal, the prominent German psychiatrist who coined the term "contrary sexual feeling" to identify homosexuality. In contradiction to testimony presented by other forensic doctors, he stated that Zastrow's homosexuality was an inborn condition not an acquired vice, and that it was not the result of debauchery caused by habitual masturbation or other external factors.⁴⁸⁰

Although three witnesses placed Zastrow outside the district when the crime was committed, there were two items—a walking stick and a handkerchief with his initials stained with blood from the victim—linking him to the crime. However, this was only circumstantial evidence. Except for the fact that a forensic specialist was able to match the teeth marks found on the child's face with an imprint formed by Zastrow's teeth, the defendant might have gone free, yet again.

After Zastrow's attorney played the insanity card, the judge permitted a three-month postponement of the trial in order that a more thorough evaluation of the accused's mental state be undertaken. The trial resumed in late October 1869.

On October 29 the jury returned a unanimous vote of guilty on charges of forcible rape and bodily harm, but Zastrow was found innocent of the charge of premeditated attempted murder. The judge sentenced Zastrow to 15 years in prison plus a 10-year probationary period under police supervision following his release. Death took Zastrow in February 1877 before his sentence was complete.⁴⁸¹

Ulrichs, a lawyer who was known to take up the legal defense of accused homosexuals (with or without their solicitation) had taken up Zastrow's

cause, not to defend his actions, but to make sure that the accused was not deprived of his constitutional right to a fair trial simply because he was a homosexual.

There is little doubt that Ulrichs saw the Zastrow trial as an opportunity to expound his own theories on sexual inversion and to attack Prussia's anti-sodomy laws. The main theme that extended throughout his writings on the Zastrow case was that the accused was driven to commit his crimes by certain pathological circumstances that were unrelated to his Uranism, but aggravated by society's hatred and contempt for the Urning.

In Book Eight titled "Incubus: Uranian Love and Bloodthirstiness" (1869) and Book Nine "Argonauticus: Zastrow and the Urnings of the Pietistic, Catholic and Freethinking Parties" (1869) of 'Man-Manly' Love, Ulrichs reported on 15 criminal cases that he believed were related to the Zastrow case.

After reviewing these cases, Ulrichs said he had come to the conclusion that: "In the case of certain individuals, pathological emotional disturbances appear to be possible—be they chronic or only of a moment's duration, whether accompanied by actual visions or not—where the individual is forced into behavior of wild cruelty and bloodthirstiness by an unconquerable inner impulse." He believed that Zastrow had suffered from such a condition.⁴⁸² In making such a supposition, Ulrichs became one of the few homosexualist writers of his era to touch upon, knowingly or unknowingly, the existence of a phenomenon commonly referred to today as homosexual rage.

Indeed, in 'Man-Manly' Love, Ulrichs revealed a great deal more of the darker aspects of the homosexual psyche than he probably intended to. In all his public pronouncements Ulrichs consistently portrayed the Urning as a feminine, gentle creature of high moral character. Yet his book was filled with incidents of violence of all kinds and dead bodies are strewn all over its pages.

There was the story of Johann Gnieser, a gentle pederast who axed a 12-year-old boy to death to prevent him from telling his stepfather that Gnieser had repeatedly sexually abused him.⁴⁸³

There was the case of Joseph Kraft (1868), "a very feminine" homosexual who excelled in "womanly occupations," who strangled his beautiful young wife with his own hands because she was a reminder of his sexual inadequacies.⁴⁸⁴

There was the tale of a trio of suspected Urnings who seized and partly castrated a retired soldier in the town of Klein-Korren (1869).⁴⁸⁵

There is a story of two Urnings raping an Austrian soldier (1849).⁴⁸⁶

There were several tales of Urnings who were murdered by their sex partners such as Herr Lindemann who was murdered and robbed by his young lover, Konig (1865).⁴⁸⁷

And there are numerous references to Urnings who are killed by their own hand (by poison, pistol or hanging) out of fear of public exposure or who were victims of blackmail or extortion by criminals who populated the sexual underworld of which these desperate men were a part.⁴⁸⁸

Fritz Krupp “The Oscar Wilde of the Second Reich”⁴⁸⁹

On November 22, 1902, news of the sudden death of Friedrich “Fritz” Alfred Krupp, “The Cannon King” and the heir to the great German industrialist/munitions fortune made headlines around the world.⁴⁹⁰

The official story was that Krupp, age 48, had died of natural causes — a stroke. However, no autopsy was performed as required by law and there was no official inquest into his death. Also his coffin was sealed before his wife and two young daughters could pay their respects, in breach of custom.

The Cannon King’s funeral in Essen was, as expected, a real Volksfest, carried out with great pomp and fanfare as befitting an illustrious son of the Reich, complete with a glowing testimonial from Kaiser Wilhelm II who was in attendance with a large contingent of his military entourage.⁴⁹¹

The unofficial story was that Krupp had died by his own hand. His alleged suicide was attributed to a series of public exposés on his pederastic affairs with young boys in Berlin and in Capri. Articles and lurid photographs of Krupp’s homosexual trysts with underage Italian boys on the island of Capri and at the Hotel Bristol in Berlin were already in circulation in Germany and abroad at the time of his death.⁴⁹²

Although sodomy continued to be a criminal offense throughout the entire German Reich under Paragraph 175 (the former Paragraph 143 of the earlier Prussian Penal Code), in cases involving powerful public figures like Krupp, the police had, as a matter of course, simply been forced to look the other way.⁴⁹³

In Italy, Krupp was permitted even more latitude to indulge his sexual fantasies since homosexuality per se was not a punishable offense under Italian law. Nevertheless, it was in Italy and not Germany that Herr Krupp’s difficulties began.

When Krupp, an amateur oceanographer and avid yachtsman, first established his vacation residence on the island of Capri he arranged for young native boys to be sent to his luxurious suites at the Quisisana Hotel.

Then, perhaps acting on a whim, the physically unappealing but congenial and Midas-rich eccentric decided to create a new “religious order” dedicated to pederasty. Krupp created his temple of worship at the Grotto of Fra Felice, an above-ground isolated ocean cave on the far side of the island named after a venerated 16th century hermit.⁴⁹⁴ The young “monks” who guarded the grotto gates wore Franciscan robes as uniforms. So to the charge of gross immorality against the new fellowship, one could add the grave sin of blasphemy.

Whereas Oscar Wilde gave his male consorts silver cigarette cases, Krupp designed solid gold insignias in the shape of artillery shells adorned with two cross forks to identify members of his innovative fraternity.⁴⁹⁵ Krupp also created ritualistic homosexual orgies on the formerly hallowed site and even permitted some of these to be photographed. It did not take long for reports and photos of Krupp engaged in sodomy and other sex acts with young, pre-adolescent children to reach the Italian police and government officials. A formal, high-level investigation of Krupp's activities at the grotto was completed in the spring of 1902 and the government of Victor Emmanuel II ordered Krupp out of the country. To emphasize its displeasure, Berlin was informed by diplomatic courier that Krupp was now *persona non grata* in Italy.⁴⁹⁶

The Kaiser, who was well aware of Krupp's double life, accepted the Italian reproof with a minimum of concern, and the matter was put on the back burner.⁴⁹⁷ As for Krupp, he didn't get overly excited. The Capri Affair would be covered up just like all his other indiscretions had been. Besides, there were other islands he could buy and colonize.

This time, however, Krupp was wrong. The genie was already out of the bottle. Given the publicity surrounding the carabinieri's investigation of Krupp's activities on Capri, it was not long before the Italian press picked up the scent of an international scandal of the top magnitude.

According to William Manchester, one of Krupp's biographers, the first papers to break the story were Propaganda in Naples and Avanti in Rome.⁴⁹⁸ Less than a week later, the German Catholic paper Augsburgischer Postzeitung using a Rome dateline, carried a lengthy article on Krupp's sex circus at the sacred grotto. Although Fritz Krupp was not named in the article, he was readily identifiable by the description of the key villain—"a great industrialist of the highest reputation" with "intimate" connections to the Imperial court.⁴⁹⁹

On November 15, Berlin's less scrupulous Socialist Democratic journal Vorwärts (Vol. 268) in an article titled "Krupp auf Capri," exposed "Exzellenz Krupp" as a pederastic fiend and demanded that the public prosecutor's office begin legal action against Krupp under Paragraph 175 of the German penal code.⁵⁰⁰ This feigned indignation of the Socialist leaders was rather ironic considering the fact that their party was on record as opposing Paragraph 175. Also, whatever his personal crimes, Fritz Krupp was, by contemporary standards, a progressive and fair employer of the 50,000 factory workers that manned Krupp industries.

In any case, Krupp and his agents put the Kaiser and his advisors on high alert.

Within hours of Fritz's telegraphed plea to the Imperial palace for help, Germany's chancellor was ordered to prepare a legal brief against the publishers of Vorwärts, and the Imperial police raided the offices of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and confiscated all copies of the offending issue.

Krupp, a la Wilde, reluctantly prepared to sue both the *Augsburger Postzeitung* and *Vorwärts* for criminal libel.

As if all this damning publicity weren't enough, the Cannon King's troubles were further complicated by problems at home.

In early October of 1902, after receiving an anonymous mailing filled with clippings of her husband's sexual misadventures in Capri, Krupp's wife, Marga, asked the Kaiser to intervene in the matter. The possibility of having Fritz declared incompetent was discussed by Kaiser Wilhelm and Frau Krupp, but not acted upon. Marga Krupp was simply told to be silent. When she would not be quiet, it was she, not Fritz, who was put away.⁵⁰¹ On November 2, with the tacit approval of the emperor, Krupp had his wife forcibly taken from their castle at Villa Hügel and committed to a private asylum in Jena as a lunatic.⁵⁰²

On November 21, Krupp was advised that doctors were coming to the castle to discuss the final disposition of his "insane" wife. Fritz was unwilling to commit his wife for life and to deprive his two young daughters of their mother. Such a cowardly act would be useless and unworthy of a Krupp. Besides, it was plain that the whole world would soon know of the ignominious fall of Kruppdom. Krupp believed that there was only one way out for him and he took it.

According to Manchester, a hasty cover-up of Krupp's suicide was arranged with the cooperation of the household staff by the four visiting physicians who arrived at the castle the morning of November 22, 2002, after Fritz's body was discovered by a servant. Marga was immediately released from her confinement to attend her husband's funeral, after which she forbade any further legal action to clear Fritz's name, thus bringing the ugly scandal to a quick and merciful end.

Although the Krupp Affair is more than a century old, it continues to be topic of interest to homosexual activists in this country and abroad as evidenced by the numerous pro-homosexual websites that carry details of the suicide, but not for reasons one might readily suspect.

It appears that prior to the Capri exposé, Socialist Party leaders had already been tipped off that Herr Krupp was an active pederast. The alleged informer was said to have been a Berlin physician with ties to Berlin's homosexual underworld. He had attempted to blackmail the wealthy industrialist out of 100,000 marks, but had failed.⁵⁰³ The collaborating evidence provided by the informer when combined with the Italian press reports against Krupp made it possible for the publishers of *Vorwärts* to go for the jugular of their political foe.

And who was this alleged informer?

He was reputed to be none other than the young Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, the head of Berlin's Scientific Humanitarian Committee (SHC) a pro-homosexual pseudo-scientific propaganda organization.⁵⁰⁴ The irony of

Hirschfeld's alleged treachery was that the SHC was dedicated to the elimination of anti-sodomy laws and the legal protection of homosexuals like Krupp.

Magnus Hirschfeld and Germany's "The Rights of the Behind Movement"⁵⁰⁵

Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, was only 34 years old when the Krupp Affair broke out, yet he was already the acknowledged leader of the German Sexual Emancipation Movement. As with Symonds and Ulrichs, his writings, research and politics were all intimately tied to his own self-interests and they permitted him to indulge his own voyeuristic homoerotic appetite. At a time when being a German Jew, a Socialist/Communist and homosexual were social and professional liabilities, Hirschfeld distinguished himself by being all three.

Born on May 14, 1868, into a large bourgeois Jewish family with seven siblings, a well-known physician-father and a loving, practical mother in the beautiful historic seaside region of Pomerania, Prussia, Magnus' early childhood was a lively and happy one. According to his chief biographer, Charlotte Wolff, after completing his early academics at the Dom Gymnasium, Magnus entered the liberal arts program at the University of Breslau, but changed his mind mid-stream and decided in favor of a medical career. He combined his medical studies at Strassburg, Munich, Heidelberg and Berlin with his military obligations and received his medical degree in February 1892. However, he still remained ambivalent about his ultimate life's work.⁵⁰⁶

At what point in his life the young Magnus began to personally identify himself as a homosexual male we do not know. But no doubt his homosexual desires played a pivotal role in his final decision to pursue a career in the field of sexology in which he could combine his private interests as a homosexual with his scientific and political interests in promoting homosexuality.

By the time he helped organize the Wissenschaftlich-humanitaeres Komitee (Scientific-Humanitarian Committee) on his 29th birthday in 1897, he was already well acquainted with major works on sexual inversion by Krafft-Ebing and Ulrichs. Hirschfeld had also written articles in favor of homosexuality under the pseudonym Dr. Med. Th. Ramien, including the pamphlet "Sappho und Sokrates" (1896).⁵⁰⁷

At about the same time that Hirschfeld was organizing the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee (SHC), the well-known pederast Adolf Brand was converting his anarchist journal *Der Eigene* (The Original) into a mouth-piece for pederasty and homosexuality under the guise of "male culture" that emphasized the Greek military model and the "butch" model of the male homosexual.⁵⁰⁸

Although Brand and other leaders of the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* (the Community of the Elite) and Hirschfeld differed on the direction and strategies of the homosexual movement in Germany, they were united in their opposition to Paragraph 175 and the need for an ongoing propaganda and political campaign designed to discredit and eventually repeal the nation's anti-sodomy laws.⁵⁰⁹ Hirschfeld's Committee was seen as the vehicle whereby they could establish a scientific basis for their anti-sodomy campaign.⁵¹⁰

By the time young Dr. Hirschfeld and his team of SHC interviewers and data collectors entered the vast "Boyopolis" of Berlin, the epicenter of homosexual European life, to begin their "scientific" investigations and studies of male and female sexual inversion, the phenomenon of urbanized colonization by large numbers of homosexual men and women was already well underway.⁵¹¹

That a highly sophisticated international homosexual network was already in place in major cities in Germany as early as the 1850s was clear from the journals and writings of homosexualist writers of the period.

For example, in April 1867, when the Prussian police arrested Uranian activist Karl Ulrichs on grounds of sedition and raided his apartment in Burgdorf, they discovered lists that Ulrichs had drawn up containing the names of prominent homosexuals living in Berlin and the names and addresses of homosexuals living in Paris, London and Rome.

As in Victorian England, the sexual underworld of cosmopolitan Berlin was divided along class lines.

The homosexual *haute votée* favored the elegant first class hotels and bars in West Berlin where members of the aristocracy, high government and military officials and the otherwise rich and famous could indulge their every sexual whim and attend lavish costume balls all awash with homosexuals, lesbians and transvestites of every imaginable description.⁵¹²

The lower classes had their own haunts for pickups and entertainment in the poorer neighborhoods of North and South Berlin. In addition to private houses, homosexuals could drink, eat, dance and carry on their affairs at the cafes and taverns along the Tiergarten and the Friedrichstrasse that catered to homosexuals and other criminal trade. The soldier-prostitute was as familiar a figure in the garrison districts of Germany as he was in England. There were also numerous sports clubs and fraternities that operated as centers of male culture.

In terms of law enforcement, by the late 1800s, the Criminal Police Department (*Kriminalpolizei*) in Berlin had already established a special homosexual unit in Room 161, at police headquarters on the Alexanderplatz. Here records were kept on suspected and convicted homosexuals and transvestites as well as blackmailers. From 1905–1919 Police Commissioner Hans von Tresckow served as director of the homosexual

task force. Commissioner Tresckow estimated that there were more than 100,000 men living in Berlin who were addicted to the vice.⁵¹³

As a whole, the police had mellowed in their treatment of Urnings since the days of Wilhelm I. They now dealt more leniently with cases involving consenting adults, but harsher with male transvestites whom they forced to register as women. The police were most severe in cases involving violence and/or convicted pederasts and prostitutes, and con men who attempted to blackmail wealthy or influential homosexual clients. Agents provocateur were rarely used by the authorities to spy on suspected homosexuals except in extraordinary cases such as those involving national security or organized male prostitution rings.⁵¹⁴

Every once in awhile there were incidents of police corruption by wealthy homosexuals as with the case of Herr von Meerscheidt-Hullesem, a high official of Berlin's criminal police and member of Hirschfeld's SHC who used to run interference for Fritz Krupp at the bureau before he (Krupp) committed suicide.⁵¹⁵

Of course, as the founder and leader of the SHC and as an active homosexual, Hirschfeld's name was on the Polizeipraesidium's notorious pink list along with many lesser-known homosexuals who had found both safe haven from the police and employment at the SHC headquarters located in the Charlottenburg district of Berlin.

The SHC's Campaign for Sex Reform in Germany

As stated in its Articles of Incorporation and Constitution of May 15, 1897, the aims of Hirschfeld's Scientific and Humanitarian Committee (SHC) were to conduct "research into homosexuality and allied variations, in their biological, medical and ethnological significances as well as their legal, ethical and humanitarian situation," and "to change public opinion about homosexuality through publications... pamphlets, scientific talks and popular lectures."⁵¹⁶ Executive power rested with a small circle of supervisors called "Obmanner."⁵¹⁷ Membership was open to all. However, by 1900 it had only 70 members.⁵¹⁸ In 1899, the first volume of *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, the official journal and organization mouthpiece of the SHC, rolled off the presses.

The philosophical underpinnings of the Committee were a mixture of Social Darwinism, Nietzscheism, Racial Hygiene and Sexual Improvement. For Hirschfeld especially, eugenics remained the focal point of sexology and sociology.⁵¹⁹

Politically, the SHC preached the gospel of radical Socialism and Communism. And although its primary goal was the decriminalization of homosexual acts and the repeal of Paragraph 175, in fact, the SHC involved itself in the widest possible range of "sexual reform" issues including "abortion rights," birth control for individuals combined with Malthusian programs of population control for national governments, sex instruction for youth and

adults, women's emancipation, eugenic sterilization, artificial insemination, open marriages, no-fault divorce, pornography, prostitution and venereal disease.⁵²⁰ It is noteworthy that one of Hirschfeld's first acts as the head of the SHC was to lobby for the repeal of Paragraph 218 of the German penal code that prohibited induced abortion.⁵²¹

The SHC opened its campaign against Paragraph 175 on December of 1897 by delivering a Petition to decriminalize homosexual acts to the Reichstag and Bundesrat. The Petition had been drawn up by Hirschfeld and signed by more than 3000 German citizens including Professor Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann and other prominent sexologists, jurists, artists, publishers and Socialists.⁵²²

The opposition forces composed of main-line Protestant Churches and the Roman Catholic Church were led by Pastor Scholl who opposed the SHC Petition in a speech to the Reichstag on January 19, 1898, reminding government officials of the biblical injunction against homosexual acts.⁵²³

Among the many arguments for the decriminalization of homosexual acts presented by Hirschfeld were:

- New scientific research into the nature of sexual inversion had demonstrated "without exception" that it is an inborn and irreversible condition, therefore, the Urning or Uranier should not be punished for acting on his natural erotic attraction towards the same sex.
- Homosexual intercourse was "in no way" different from heterosexual acts.
- The repeal of anti-sodomy laws in France, Italy and Holland and other countries did not result in "lowered moral standards."
- Homosexuality was not synonymous with sodomy and coitus analis and oralis occurred comparatively rarely in homosexuals," at least as rarely as among "normal" people.
- Homosexuals did not seduce immature juveniles and pedicatio (pederasty) and love for juveniles was as rare in inverts as in normal populations.
- Paragraph 175 made people feel guilty about their homosexual appetites and drove many to commit suicide or pay off blackmailers. The law also "encouraged the vice of male prostitution."
- Prosecution of inverts caused exilism and depravation of the Fatherland.⁵²⁴

The Petition did note the conditions under which homosexual actions should be punished. They included cases that involved force or threat of force, minors under the age of 16, the "feeble-minded", or those actions which offended public decency."⁵²⁵

The 1897 Petition failed, but the SHC continued its lobbying efforts against Paragraph 175 for another 30 years. In spite of all its propaganda efforts in favor of homosexuality, the SHC could not convince the burgeoning middle-class that homosexuality was normal and that homosexuals as a

group presented no moral or physical threat to society, particularly youth. Moreover, as Wolff acknowledged, the majority of scientists dismissed Hirschfeld's theories and SHC actions as self-serving and a "vulgarization" of science.⁵²⁶ The political "Right" was against the repeal of Paragraph 175. The national press was divided on the matter.

Many Berliners were particularly hostile to SHC's nonstop use of public "surveys" on homosexuality, which they viewed (correctly so) as a form of homosexual proselytization and recruitment. In one case, a group of students found the Committee's questionnaire on homosexuality offensive and took Hirschfeld to court. Hirschfeld's biographer, Charlotte Wolff, claimed that the presider in the case, Chief Justice Isenbiel, was a notorious "homophobic" who fined Hirschfeld and ordered him to pay court costs.⁵²⁷

Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld as Physician and Social Scientist

Hirschfeld attracted a large number of patients from around the world to the SHC center. Wolff characterized his attitude toward these men and women seeking relief for various psychosexual and physical ailments including homosexuality, pedophilia, transvestism, genetic disorders and impotency as helping them to become their "Ideal Self."⁵²⁸

Throughout his career, Hirschfeld never abandoned his belief that sexual inversion was a biological and unchangeable condition resulting from an interruption of normal fetal development during the first three months of gestation. Hirschfeld placed great emphasis on sexual inversion as a "state of mind," that is, he defined a Urning by his sexual feelings or emotional attraction toward men not by his homoerotic actions. Homosexual acts, such as sodomy, he said, played only a "minor" role in the condition. The proposition that homosexuality was "all in the mind" and rarely acted upon was, of course, a lie as Hirschfeld well knew and Wolff admits.⁵²⁹ Nevertheless he found it a useful tool in his efforts to refashion the public's image of the homosexual.

Although Hirschfeld had publicly testified that he favored laws to protect youth from homosexual predators, he personally did not believe that pederasty was a criminal offense per se, but rather a form of mental illness. In any sex abuse involving minors, the SHC leader said, it was necessary to establish if the attacker was motivated by criminal motives or by pathological conditions. In cases involving inborn drives, the accused needed treatment not a prison sentence. Wolff reported that Hirschfeld also believed that sex abuse of minors and the mentally disabled was more prevalent in the lower classes.⁵³⁰

In 1914, Hirschfeld published a major work on homosexuality and lesbianism, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*, a pre-Kinseyian work based on his interviews with male and female homosexuals from around the world.⁵³¹

Among the German professionals who went over to Hirschfeld's side after reading the text was a chemistry professor named Dr. Wilhelm Oswald who thanked Hirschfeld for ridding him of his "religious prejudice" against homosexuality. Oswald said he was now convinced that the homosexual condition was "neither a vice nor a perverted habit."⁵³² "The time had come for religion to try to solve its problems concerning the important question, that it had never dared to 'look in the face,'" he wrote to Hirschfeld.⁵³³

On the other hand, there were men like Dr. Sigmund Freud, a Kabalistic Jew, who were critical of Hirschfeld's absolutist position on sexual inversion as an inborn and nonreversible condition. Freud's views on the nature and cause of homosexuality were rather complex and often contradictory, but he did insist that there was a form of homosexual attachment that was acquired and not innate and that it could be cured through psychoanalysis.⁵³⁴

Freud was joined by Dr. August Forel, who also believed that there were two kinds of sexual inversion, one inborn, and a "pseudo-homosexuality" that was acquired and could be cured. Interestingly, Forel advised his homosexual patients against marriage not only out of hereditary considerations, but also because "they used women as housekeepers and had contempt for them in their hearts."⁵³⁵

It was not until 1920 that Hirschfeld completed his premier opus, *Sexualpathologie* (Sexual Pathology). The three-volume work covered a wide range of sex-related issues including masturbation, artificial insemination, sexual neurosis, endocrine functions in human sexuality and homosexuality.

During his long career, Hirschfeld published hundreds of medical and socio-political articles and tracts on every aspect of human sexuality, but in all cases, the bottom line remained the same — down with Paragraph 175 — full sexual emancipation for homosexuals.

With the creation of the Institute for Sexual Science (ISS) in Berlin in 1918, Hirschfeld's life-long dream of an international center for sexology research and treatment of sexually dysfunctional men and women was realized. The offices of the SHC were transferred to the Institute and Hirschfeld established his residence in what had been the grand domicile of the French Ambassador to Berlin. The Institute embodied a vast complex of medical offices, research and forensic laboratories, fully equipped lecture halls, a library containing 24,000 books and a collection of 35,000 photos and exquisite guest rooms for visiting dignitaries, foreign physicians and sexologists and well-known homosexual visitors including André Gide and Christopher Isherwood.⁵³⁶

Magnus Hirschfeld — The Private Man A Prototype of the Cosmopolitan Urning

To the casual observer, Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld would have appeared to be just another typical well-to-do bourgeoisie Berliner, reserved in manner,

fashionably dressed, with a kindly grandfatherly face. It was an image that Hirschfeld carefully cultivated.⁵³⁷

In private life, however, when he knew he was safe and among his own kind, the highly compartmentalized SHC leader would let down his hair and indulge his predatory sexual instinct for feminine-looking, respectable young men, with just enough rough trade thrown in to make life interesting. Like Wilde, he took a certain pleasure in introducing some “well-hung” but uneducated young men to his world of culture and taste. Also like Wilde, he always had to be the center of attention surrounded invariably by a crowd of adoring young men each vying for their master’s affection. “Please! Call me Papa,” he would tell them. And they did.⁵³⁸

Over his lifetime Hirschfeld had hundreds of sexual partners. But there were only two who were really important to him.

The first was Karl Giese, a handsome looking, but effeminate acting “girly” young man who met Hirschfeld sometime in 1919 or 1920. Giese became Hirschfeld’s long-time lover, trusted collaborator and principal archivist at the Institute for Sexual Science.⁵³⁹ With the exception of his favorite sister, Franziska, like many homosexuals, Hirschfeld had little if any contact with other members of his own family. Giese and his fellow queens and transvestites became Hirschfeld’s new family at the Institute.⁵⁴⁰ After “Papa’s” death, Giese attempted to get a medical degree to continue the work of his master, but was unsuccessful. He committed suicide in the spring of 1938.⁵⁴¹

The other great love of Hirschfeld’s later life was Tao Li, a 23-year-old Chinese scholar whom Hirschfeld met in Shanghai in 1931 while he was on a world tour. Tao Li quickly became a rival of Giese for Hirschfeld’s affections even though Giese had taken on another lover to satisfy his darker masochist needs. Tao Li had aspirations of becoming a “Chinese Hirschfeld,” but after Hirschfeld’s death he left Europe for Hong Kong and was not heard from again.⁵⁴²

At still another level, Hirschfeld satisfied his voyeuristic tendencies by taking periodic jaunts to Berlin’s red light district. Here he carried on his scientific expeditions and interviews with homosexuals from all classes and picked up renters to fill his more carnal needs.

Spiritually speaking, Hirschfeld was fundamentally a Gnostic Kabalistic Jew. Like many homosexuals, he felt drawn to esoteric and occultic belief systems that were free of dogma and moral sanctions. In the fall of 1931, during a trip to India, he attempted to make contact with Annie Besant, the head of the Theosophy Movement in India, but she was unable to receive him due to illness.⁵⁴³

What Hirschfeld lacked in personal religiosity, however, he more than made up in his hatred for the Catholic Church. Three hundred plus years later and poor Magnus hadn’t yet recovered from the Council of Trent held from 1545 to 1563.

In "Sexual Reform in the Light of Sexual Science" a lecture presented at the World League for Sexual Reform in Copenhagen in 1928, Hirschfeld decried the Church's attempts to use theology instead of science to formulate sexual morals. A new scientific view of love was needed, unprejudiced by the Church, one that separated love and sex from procreation, he claimed.⁵⁴⁴ According to Hirschfeld, sex reform within the Catholic Church had been "stifled" at Trent and forever after.⁵⁴⁵

At a later WLSR forum held in Vienna in 1930, in a speech titled "Sexual Liberation," Hirschfeld restated his antagonism towards the Church as the final arbitrator of morals. He concluded with the warning that: "We can't deceive ourselves that we have yet fully overcome the sexual legislation of the Middle Ages," and he urged his audience to do everything they could to end all laws that attack "sexual and national minorities."⁵⁴⁶

Hirschfeld in Stalinland

From his youth, Hirschfeld was always attracted to Marxism and radical Socialist causes.

In 1900, when he was 32, Hirschfeld and his sister, Franziska, joined the pioneer utopian commune of the Order for the True Life founded by radical socialists Heinrich and Julius Hart in the village of Friedrichshagen near Berlin.⁵⁴⁷ Although he enjoyed the comradeship the society offered, he didn't have much use for its founding spirit based on "the brotherhood of man cultivated in a spirit of purity of mind and body."⁵⁴⁸ For a highly sexed homosexual male like Magnus, all the talk about purity of the mind and body was a real turn-off.

Even after the founding of the Weimar Republic in 1918 when Hirschfeld hastily changed his allegiance from the Kaiser to the new Socialist State with "democratic principles," he still believed the Soviet model to be superior. Wolff recorded that Hirschfeld had documented membership in and was a "fellow traveler" of the Union of Socialist Physicians which was closely aligned with the Communist Party.⁵⁴⁹

After the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia in October of 1917, Hirschfeld warmly embraced Lenin's Revolution. This was a significant decision given the fact that both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were hopelessly "homophobic," as was Lenin.⁵⁵⁰ From their perspective as believers in enlightened, scientific and biological determinism, heterosexual monogamy was man's natural condition, whereas homosexuality was the by-product of the degenerate and effeminate bourgeoisie that would disappear with the victory of the proletariat. Engels was particularly critical of anything that smelled "Greek."⁵⁵¹

Lenin, a disciple of Marx and Engels, was even more vicious in his personal attitudes towards homo-sex which he viewed as a narcissistic, self-indulgent anti-social contagion that robbed the collective of heirs and undermined the new social order.⁵⁵² Marxism-Socialism demanded that the

individual subordinate his personal needs and desires to the needs of the State, a demand that created an historical ambivalence, if not outright hostility, toward the idea of homosexual emancipation. And while it is true that between 1917 when the entire Russian czarist criminal code was abolished, and 1933–34 when Stalin restored the penalties for sodomy under the Soviet criminal code, there existed a legal limbo in which sodomy was not criminalized, nevertheless many government officials, jurists and the Russian people remained hostile to same-sex relations and continued to take steps to repress such acts under existing statutes that prohibited disorderly conduct and the corruption of minors.⁵⁵³

In June 1926, Stalin invited Hirschfeld to make a study tour of Russia to see how the Soviet Union's new sexual freedoms were working and to visit Soviet eugenics laboratories.⁵⁵⁴ The Soviet Party line of benign neglect toward adult consenting homosexuals during this period was influenced by three factors. The first was that Stalin was too preoccupied with consolidating his power and eliminating his political rivals to think about a new criminal code. The second was the rise of the Sex Reform Movement in Russia that advocated the decriminalization of same-sex behavior. The third was the growing influence of psychoanalysis in the Russian medical profession that saw homosexuality as a mental and/or emotional disorder that should be treated rather than as a crime to be punished.

One can only imagine the disappointment that Hirschfeld must have experienced when he learned that in December 1933, acting under Stalin's orders, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, had introduced legislation that would recriminalize sodomy between consenting adult homosexuals throughout the USSR.⁵⁵⁵ The penalty for simple sodomy under Article 154a was set at three to five years imprisonment. If force was used or dependents or minors were involved, the punishment was raised to five to eight years at hard labour.⁵⁵⁶

The idea that homosexuality was a disease had simply been a ruse instigated by the decadent West to undermine the Soviet state, claimed Stalin. But that error had now been corrected. Sodomy was once again a crime. The Soviets had learned a valuable lesson. A society intent on its own survival and welfare must repress vice. Counterrevolutionary perverts must be excised and isolated to prevent the moral contamination of Soviet society, public officials declared. These were some of the arguments presented by Party leaders in favor of recriminalization. Apparently, both the Soviet people and Soviet leaders who followed Stalin agreed with the prohibition for it remained essentially intact until the 1980s.

Before closing the page on Hirschfeld and Stalin, I think it important to note that regardless of the legal status of sodomy in the Soviet Union and regardless of the scorn that Marx, Engels and Lenin (and later Stalin) heaped upon the heads of homosexuals, Russian leaders, including Czar Nicholas II, were not above exploiting sodomites for certain tasks that the

government deemed essential to its welfare including sexual entrapment, espionage and spying.⁵⁵⁷

Which leads us to the important, but still unanswered question, as to whether or not Hirschfeld shared his vast lists, questionnaires and patient records of German, other European and English and American homosexuals with Stalin.

We already know that during the 1920s and early 1930s, both Communist and National Socialist (Nazis) undercover agents were employed at Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin. There they had access to ill-secured secret lists of SHC members and Hirschfeld's private files of prominent homosexuals from around the world including those who had been treated at the ISS.⁵⁵⁸

We also know from the Krupp Affair that Hirschfeld himself was not above using blackmail in order to secure "donations" with which to build his palatial Institute and that the Social Democrats with whom he was politically aligned, used Hirschfeld's evidence against Krupp that ultimately led to the Cannon King's suicide.

It is my belief that Stalin did secure at least some of Hirschfeld's secret files, either from Hirschfeld himself, or, as in the case of Hitler, from files Soviet agents pilfered from the SHC/Institute files and that these files were used by Stalin for purposes of entrapment and recruitment of spies and espionage—an area that we will explore in depth in Chapter V on the Cambridge spies.⁵⁵⁹

When Hirschfeld died on May 14, 1935, in exile in Nice (France) he was still wearing his political blinders concerning all things Soviet. Nor had he ever given up on his campaign to abolish Paragraph 175.

Yet, at the time of his death, Germany's anti-sodomy laws were more entrenched than ever.⁵⁶⁰ The credit or blame, as the case may be, for this continued support by the German people for anti-homosexual legislation can be traced to what became the most notorious homosexual scandal of the 20th century—The Eulenburg Affair.

The Eulenburg Affair

Unlike the Wilde and even the Krupp scandals that were essentially personalist in nature, the Eulenburg Affair involved many of Germany's leading government and military figures as well as the Royal household of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Its far-reaching ramifications left an indelible mark on Germany's national life and foreign policies for decades to come.⁵⁶¹

The chief players in the Eulenburg Affair were:

- Ex-Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1871–1890) who served Kaiser Wilhelm I in the founding of the Second Reich and was the primary architect of Realpolitik that brought a balance of power to Europe.

- Kaiser Wilhelm II (1888–1918), 9th King of Prussia and the 3rd Emperor of Germany
- Maximilian Harden (Felix Ernst Witkowski), (1861–1927), the Jewish editor and publisher of *Die Zukunft* (The Future)
- Count, later Fürst (Prince), Philipp von Eulenburg-Hertefeld, Count of Sandel (1847–1921), the Kaiser’s closest advisor and devoted friend.
- Count Kuno von Moltke (1847–1923), Commander General of the Berlin Military Garrison and Eulenburg’s intimate friend.
- Bernhard Prince Heinrich Bülow the Imperial Chancellor

The genesis of the Eulenburg crisis began in March 1890, 17 years before the first Eulenburg-Harden trial, when Kaiser Wilhelm II wrested the reins of power from Germany’s Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck and his son Herbert, the Foreign Minister. Bismarck’s “Chancellor-dictatorship” was supplanted by a Hohenzollern monarchical regime in which the Kaiser, the Imperial family and court formed the center of the Reich’s ruling body and upon which all government officials, military and civilian and the vast State bureaucracy were dependent.⁵⁶²

Wilhelm II was a complex character, whose life, in the words of one of his most sympathetic but realistic biographers, Isabel V. Hull, was “an elaborate masquerade.”⁵⁶³ “He paraded as the consummate soldier—warlord, always in uniform, always fierce, hard, steady, an amalgam of the “masculine virtues,” of his beloved grandfather whom he tried to emulate, Hull said, “but he was actually none of these.”⁵⁶⁴ He was, in fact, “slightly feminine in appearance, with delicate health” and a nervous, volatile and unstable constitution.⁵⁶⁵

Historian Professor John C. Röhl of the University of Sussex cites six dominant features of the Kaiser’s personality—immaturity, vindictiveness, unrealism, an over-estimation of his own abilities, an offensive even sadistic sense of humor and finally a love of ostentation in dress including military uniforms and historical costumes.⁵⁶⁶ These were traits that would hardly recommend themselves to a description of a ruler committed to restoring power to the throne. Further, whereas his grandfather, Kaiser Wilhelm I, had surrounded himself with men of outstanding ability like von Bismarck, the grandson preferred the company of less capable political and military advisors that were more pliant to his will and the spirit of *Weltpolitik*.

Wilhelm II’s entourage or “inner circle” was divided into two competing camps—the powerful Army Officer Corps of the Prussian military and the civilian Junker ruling class, Prussia’s privileged, landed nobility headed by the Kaiser’s sole “bosom friend” Count Philipp von Eulenburg.⁵⁶⁷

There is absolutely no mystery as to why the young Kaiser was so attached to Eulenburg. Politically, the count was a staunch archconservative royalist.⁵⁶⁸ Personally, he was a thoroughly “continental,” gracious, cul-

tured, knowledgeable aristocrat, a brave soldier decorated with the Iron Cross and an accomplished artist and writer.⁵⁶⁹ Gymnasium educated, Eulenburg had forsaken a career in the military for a career in the law and later the diplomatic corps which brought him to the Wilhelminian court.⁵⁷⁰ Eulenburg and his “Darling” Kaiser, also shared a special interest in religious spiritualism (séances, mediums and events of the paranormal and supernatural), a movement that was very much in vogue in Germany and throughout Europe during the mid-19th century.⁵⁷¹ Dabbling in the occult, however, invited condemnation from certain military and diplomatic quarters—more so perhaps than dabbling in homoeroticia.⁵⁷²

In 1875, Eulenburg married the Swedish countess Augusta von Sandels by whom he had eight children, but the most important woman in Eulenburg’s life remained his mother, Alexandrine von Eulenburg, his supreme confidante and solace until her death in 1902.⁵⁷³

All of this biographical data would be meaningless, however, if it were not put into the proper context of “the central, shaping impulse” that dominated Eulenburg’s private and public life—his love of men and the idealized, passionately romantic, sometimes sexual, male friendships he formed into a small but influential coterie around the Kaiser that became known as the “Liebenberg Circle.”⁵⁷⁴

It is noteworthy that in October 1897, Eulenburg’s younger brother Friedrich (Fredi) was forced to resign from his officer corps regiment in order to escape a military court martial investigation into his alleged homosexual behavior, charges that had been initiated by Friedrich’s wife who was seeking a divorce after 20 years of marriage.⁵⁷⁵

There is no question that Eulenburg’s homosexual life had been an “open secret” in the inner circles of the Kaiser’s Court long before the scandal broke.

For example, in 1899 when the old Reich Chancellor Prince Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, a relative of the Empress heard the rumor that Count von Eulenburg was to be raised to the rank of Fürst (Prince), he wrote an angry letter to his son Alexander denouncing Eulenburg as a “prize scoundrel” who literally “begged” for the title while protesting he “resisted” the honor.⁵⁷⁶ Alexander Hohenlohe responded to his father’s letter by mocking the Kaiser’s “newly baked princes”:

I have just read in the newspapers that Phil. E. is to be raised to the rank of Prince. ...The assumption that Ph. Eul. is aiming to acquire the post of Statthalter (Governor) of Alsace Lorraine seems very plausible to me. The [salary of] 200,000 marks he could make good use of, as we know, for all kinds of purposes. It’s a matter of indifference to me as I certainly won’t become Statthalter in the near future. And if he should treat me badly, I’ll simply submit my resignation [as Bezirkspräsident in Colmar] and buy myself a hundred thousand acres of land in Siberia.⁵⁷⁷

Also, the ever-efficient Berlin police had Eulenburg's name on their pink list for homosexual incidents purported to have occurred before Wilhelm II had come to power.⁵⁷⁸

However, the subject of same-sex relations was so taboo that it was never spoken of in polite circles and only in whispers in private—lest the accused demand satisfaction in a duel. Also, it bears repeating that the Liebenberg Circle, though small in number, cast a wide net over Wilhelminian society. If Eulenburg ever went down on charges of sodomy (which he eventually did) many of his friends and associates would also be drawn into the wake of the scandal, not excluding the Kaiser himself.⁵⁷⁹

One of Eulenburg's most cherished friends was Count Kuno von Moltke, Commander of the Berlin Garrison—a title one should take with a grain of salt since the only military distinction that the poor Moltke could claim was that he had a knack of falling off his horse during maneuvers.⁵⁸⁰

It has always been assumed that Eulenburg and Moltke were involved sexually although some writers including Hull say there is no evidence to confirm this belief.⁵⁸¹ We do know that the two men were constant companions, that Moltke addressed Eulenburg by the feminized form of Philipp, "Philine," and that they engaged in a highly romanticized correspondence when they were apart. Also, Eulenburg was intensely jealous and upset when Moltke married, an oddity in itself since he was married, or better said, "well" married with eight children to demonstrate that he had not found normal marital relations beyond the pale of his sexual instincts.⁵⁸²

In the spring of 1894, the Kaiser appointed Eulenburg to one of Germany's most important diplomatic posts as Germany's ambassador to Vienna, even though the count never showed any special aptitude in the diplomatic field.⁵⁸³ Here the count was able to mix business with pleasure. He began to regularly patronize some of the city's most notorious bathhouses where he eventually fell into the hands of bad company.⁵⁸⁴

The Foreign Office in Berlin was called upon to assist the ambassador in paying out a large sum, over 60,000 Kronen taken from the office's slush fund, to pay off the blackmailers.⁵⁸⁵

In August 1897, Eulenburg arranged to have Moltke appointed as military attaché to Vienna. Unfortunately for both men, Moltke brought his wife Lily with him and it was not long before quarrels over her husband's inordinate attachment to the count led to a public scandal and a divorce.⁵⁸⁶ Moltke was quickly shuffled back to Berlin where he advanced up the military ladder to a major general in the manner of Gilbert and Sullivan's First Lord of the Admiralty, Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Porter, K.C.B.

Enter Maximilian Harden

In 1892, two years after his forced retirement, Bismarck contacted the popular and respected journalist Maximilian Harden, an ardent German

Nationalist and admirer of the ex-chancellor. He informed him that a coterie of *cinaedi*, that is male homosexuals, had attached themselves like barnacles to the Kaiser and that these men posed a threat to the country's interests and national security.⁵⁸⁷ Their first loyalty, he said, was not to any country, creed or class, but to their own kind.⁵⁸⁸ Bismarck told Harden that the ringleader of these sexual subversives was none other than the Kaiser's favorite, Count von Eulenburg.

Harden, took the information under advisement, but did not immediately act upon it. Like many bourgeois Jewish liberals he was on record as opposing Paragraph 175 so he could not be accused of intolerance towards homosexuals. Nevertheless, as a great admirer of Bismarck and an ardent German nationalist he took Bismarck's warning seriously.

In 1893, Harden began a lengthy, on-going series of editorials and articles in his weekly newspaper *Die Zukunft* that attacked Eulenburg and his Liebenberg Circle without alluding to the count's personal vices. His objective was to remove the count and his appointed hirelings from positions of power and public trust.

In the meantime, Harden began collecting information on Eulenburg's numerous sex partners and intimate friends that included Count Kuno von Moltke and Baron von Richthofen, head of the Berlin police.

He also learned of Eulenburg's blackmail intrigue in Vienna and that Eulenburg's wife had begun divorce proceedings against her husband. Harden was now prepared to take more decisive action against the Kaiser's favorite who had been elevated to Fürst (Prince) on January 1, 1900, a scandal in its own right that created much ill-will against Wilhelm II.⁵⁸⁹

In 1902, Harden forced Eulenburg into an early, but temporary, retirement from public life by threatening to expose his secret life as a homosexual. The Prince, already despondent over the death of his mother and in poor health capitulated and retreated to Schloss Liebenberg, his country estate north of Berlin.

It was not until early 1906 that Eulenburg returned to Court to reactivate his Wildean "camarilla" (homosexual band). He also resumed his political and diplomatic forays at Court; this time, it was rumored with an eye on the Chancellorship.⁵⁹⁰

When Harden heard that Eulenburg was back in circulation and that the Kaiser had decided to reward him for his services to the Crown with Prussia's highest honor, the ultimate symbol of Prussia's heroic-aristocratic warrior state, the Order of the Black Eagle, he traded in his kid gloves for a pair of steel gauntlets.⁵⁹¹

The Lecomte Debacle — Fact or Fiction?

The idea that Eulenburg and his clique represented an actual not merely theoretical threat to the Fatherland is alleged to have been brought to

Harden's attention by the Imperial Chancellor Bernhard Prince Heinrich Bülow, who was a former close friend and political ally of Eulenburg in the 1890s.⁵⁹²

Bülow, was reported to have informed Harden that the Liebenberg Circle had played a key role in Germany's humiliating diplomatic defeat at the international Algeciras Conference held in April 1906 at which France's "sphere of influence" over the hotly contested, mineral-rich and strategic African protectorate of Morocco was formally recognized. Negotiators for the French delegation confidently played diplomatic hardball at the conference because they had inside information that Germany was not willing to go to war to challenge France's hegemony in the region.

At this point in our story we encounter the shadowy figure of Raymond Lecomte, a secretary at the French Embassy in Berlin, and a close friend of Eulenburg from the early 1880s. Although he was not an intimate Liebenberger, he was a known pederast, the kind of man that attracted rumors of dark intrigues wherever he went.

The Paris Foreign Office, of course, knew all about the unnatural sexual appetites of the "King of the Pederasts" since Lecomte had gotten into difficulties with the Munich police on his last posting.⁵⁹³ Whereupon he had been transferred to the French Embassy in Berlin and later became a member of the Berlin/Potsdam homosexual cabal.⁵⁹⁴

In the early spring of 1906, Lecomte was said to have obtained secret diplomatic information on the Morocco situation as a result of his contacts with his fellow-homosexuals in the Liebenberg Circle that convinced him that Germany's saber rattling was all bravado. He was reported to have relayed this information to his superiors, who in turn transmitted the information to their representatives at the Algeciras Conference, thereby giving the French an advantage in the negotiations. By the time the Germans discovered Lecomte's treachery, he was safe at the French home office in Paris where he was congratulated and given a new diplomatic posting.⁵⁹⁵

The Lecomte Affair appeared to be filled with intrigue and duplicity, but according to Hull there was no great betrayal by anyone, at least in this particular incidence. The French did not need Lecomte to tell them of the Kaiser's specific intentions with regard to Morocco. According to Hull, Wilhelm II, much to the shock and chagrin of his Foreign Office, had already revealed Germany's position on the Moroccan question in at least two public speeches given in March and May 1905, months before the Algeciras Conference began.⁵⁹⁶

The important point here is that Harden did believe the Lecomte betrayal and the complicity of the Liebenbergers in the Morocco matter.⁵⁹⁷ For him it became the proverbial last straw. Starting in November 1906, and continuing through the spring of 1907, Harden launched a one-man media campaign in *Die Zukunft* against Eulenburg and Moltke aka "TuTu." For

Berliners who could decipher the coded references to homosexuality in the articles, the picture that Harden painted of the moral corruption and political intrigues engendered by the Liebenberg coterie was plain enough. That the Kaiser should appear to be heavily influenced and side with these degenerates was even worse.

Eulenburg was asked by the Kaiser, who appeared to be still in his corner, what he intended to do about Harden's libelous articles.

Eulenburg, trained in the law, took the least dangerous way out. He publicly denied he had violated Paragraph 175, then privately turned himself over to the state prosecutor of his district to have him conduct an investigation of his past life.⁵⁹⁸

In the meantime, the Crown Prince became the bearer of bad news to his father. He presented the Kaiser with hard evidence against Eulenburg and Moltke including some of their intimate correspondence and police files on key homosexuals within the Kaiser's entourage. The Kaiser, egged on by Eulenburg's enemies in the military, issued an Imperial ultimatum—Eulenburg was informed that he must clear himself or go into exile. Eulenburg resigned from diplomatic service on June 28.⁵⁹⁹ On July 28, 1907, the investigation by the state prosecutor turned up no evidence against Eulenburg and the Prince was cleared of the charges without a public trial. But this did not help him because Moltke had been forced into court action.⁶⁰⁰

After Harden had refused to engage in a duel with Moltke, the Count was left with no other choice than to sue for libel. Although he wanted to bring criminal libel charges against Harden, on the advice of his legal counsel, he had settled for a civil libel suit.

The Harden-Eulenburg Trials and Mistrials

Over the next 14 years, the publicity surrounding the multiplicity of Harden-Eulenburg-Moltke related trials exposed the German people to an unprecedented glimpse of homosexual life at all levels of society, but most especially among the nation's bluebloods and military elite.

Moltke vs. Harden, the first of a long series of sensational trials monitored by the international press opened on October 23, 1907, with Chief Justice Isenbiel presiding. Harden had excellent legal representation. Moltke, who appeared in court wearing makeup, was obviously less competently represented.⁶⁰¹

The three key witnesses for the defense were Lily von Elbe, Moltke's ex-wife, a soldier named Bollhardt from the Potsdam regiments and Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld.

Moltke's former wife, who admitted that she did not know of the existence of homosexuality until the trial, testified that her husband ended his conjugal duties only days after they were married because he was in love with his "Phili" (Eulenburg).⁶⁰²

Bollhardt testified that he was an eye-witness to a number of homosexual orgies involving officers and enlisted men from his Potsdam regiment including Lieutenant General Wilhelm Count von Hohenau, commander of the elite Garde du Corps and a blood relative of the emperor and Count von Moltke. The Kaiser had already released both men from active duty.⁶⁰³

Magnus Hirschfeld was called by the defense as a forensic expert and the foremost authority on homosexuality in the world. In keeping with Harden's strategy to show that Moltke was a sexual invert (but not necessarily an active sodomite), Hirschfeld testified that homosexuality was an inborn condition and that from the evidence already presented and his own observations, he believed Berlin's top military commander was "psychically homosexual."⁶⁰⁴

On October 29, Harden was acquitted, but his victory was short lived. Moltke, now publicly disgraced, was ordered to pay court costs.

The public felt that justice had been done.

The Kaiser felt otherwise and a legal challenge was quickly put into motion.

Justice Isenbiel, who incidentally, was a long time foe of Hirschfeld and who believed that homosexuals had "the morals of dogs," declared a mistrial on the basis of "faulty procedure."⁶⁰⁵ The verdict against Moltke was set aside and the state prosecutor was instructed to order a new trial.⁶⁰⁶

In the meantime, Eulenburg, who had been publicly identified with Moltke was drawn into a separate court battle. The trials were beginning to take on an aura of a Keystone Cops comedy—but few Germans were laughing.

On November 6, 1907, the trial of Bülow vs. Brand opened and closed in Berlin. The self-avowed pederast and anarchist, Adolf Brand who had worked with Hirschfeld against Paragraph 175 was charged with libeling Chancellor Bülow by accusing him of having a homosexual tryst with Geheimrat Schaefer, his Privy Counselor.⁶⁰⁷ It appears that Brand had a number of sources for his charges against Bülow. Two names that came to the fore were the political intriguer Count Guenther von der Schulenburg who fled the country as the Brand trial opened and the journalist Joachim Gehlsen who stated that he got the information from Magnus Hirschfeld.⁶⁰⁸

In the end it was Brand who was left holding the bag. All he knew and had reported in his magazine *Der Eigene* was what his "sources" had passed on to him—that Bülow had been blackmailed because of his homosexuality and that he and Schaefer were seen in a compromising pose at an all-male gathering hosted by Prince von Eulenburg. But he had no witness to confirm this story or back up his charge against Bülow.

Bülow then took the stand and declared himself to be innocent of any violation of Paragraph 175. His morals and manners were blameless, he said.⁶⁰⁹

Eulenburg then took the stand and swore under oath that he had never engaged in either sodomy or other same-sex acts and that he was never present at the orgies described by Brand. Further, he said, he vigorously resented the fact that genuine and natural male friendships were being made the basis for calumnious accusations.

The trial was concluded in one day. Brand was found guilty of defamation of character and was sentenced to a prison term of 18 months. Bülow had defended his honor. With the libel retrial of Harden coming up, all Berlin was anxious to see if Count von Moltke could do the same.

The Moltke Vs. Harden Retrial Debacle

Unlike the first trial, the second round between Count von Moltke and Harden that opened on December 18, 1907, again under Judge Isenbiel, saw the prosecution on the offensive.

Medical witnesses were called to discredit the testimony of Frau von Elbe as the ravings of a “classic hysteric,” and jealous woman.⁶¹⁰ Both Moltke and Eulenburg took the stand and in a performance reminiscent of Oscar Wilde’s brilliant monologue in praise of Greek love at his second trial, they defended the idealized spirit of male friendship and esprit de corps as being in keeping with the finest of German traditions.

Eulenburg, the most important witness, repeated the sworn statement testimony he had given at the Brand trial that he had never violated Paragraph 175 and that he had never engaged in “swinish” behavior (sodomy) or “dirty” sex, (mutual masturbation).⁶¹¹

But the most surprising turn-of-events came when Hirschfeld retracted his original professional opinion that Moltke was an effeminate homosexual. The case of the Count’s homosexual orientation, he said, had not been proven. It was a humiliating moment for Hirschfeld and the hostile press had a field day exposing his “incompetency.”

On January 3, 1908, a verdict was rendered—this time against Harden who was given a four month prison term (that he probably served under house arrest). The Kaiser was ecstatic with the news and made plans to raise the “innocents” Moltke and Eulenburg to higher posts. He wanted his dear friends back. The public was convinced that the original verdict against Moltke was the right one. The large international press corps, like everyone else, thought the Eulenburg Affair was over and departed, leaving scandalized Berliners to lick their wounds and recover their moral equilibrium.

In actuality, the affair was just heating up.

After his 1908 conviction, Harden remained more determined than ever to get a conviction against Eulenburg and thus insure the Prince’s permanent exclusion from the Kaiser’s circle of political and diplomatic advisors.

In mid-April 1908, Harden, with the cooperation of a Bavarian editor Anton Städele, engineered a phony libel trial in Munich, well out of reach of Prussian authorities, to entrap Eulenburg. Harden charged Städele with printing an article that claimed the Prince had bribed Harden into calling off his attacks. As part of his “defense” at the court proceedings, Harden introduced new and substantial evidence against Eulenburg.⁶¹²

Two men, a common laborer and a fisherman on the Starnbergersee who had once served under Eulenburg, 20 years before (pardon the pun), were subpoenaed and put under oath.⁶¹³ The men testified that they had been seduced by Eulenburg and had “fooled around” with both the Prince and Moltke (they were unacquainted with the term “sodomy”).⁶¹⁴ The fisherman, Jakob Ernst, gave Eulenburg the coup de grâce stating in his testimony that he had never ended his intimate relationship with Eulenburg.⁶¹⁵

Berlin reacted to the new evidence immediately. Eulenburg, on the order of Chancellor Bülow, was arrested on charges of perjury and taken to the County Court of Berlin. His castle was also searched for incriminating evidence. He was formally arraigned on May 7, 1908. The Kaiser demanded that he return the Order of the Black Eagle.⁶¹⁶

The Imperial Supreme Court then reversed Harden’s libel conviction and called for a second retrial. Eulenburg attempted to get his trial postponed, but to no avail. The Prince was advised that the list of witnesses who were prepared to testify against him had grown at an exponential rate and that the state prosecutor had damning new evidence that included a love letter that Eulenburg had written to Ernst.

Eulenburg’s trial lasted from June 29 to July 17, 1908. On occasion Eulenburg became so ill on the witness stand that the proceedings had to be put off—and put off—and put off—until it was clear that Eulenburg was never going to be healthy enough to stand trial. A close friend and member of the Liebenberg Circle, at one point, urged the Prince to commit suicide, but Eulenburg demurred.⁶¹⁷ The legal charade continued for another decade until Eulenburg’s death in 1921, interrupted only briefly by a World War.

As for the three-ring legal circus involving Harden and the “rehabilitated” Count von Moltke, these trials continued from May 1908 through April 1909 when they came to an abrupt end. The Kaiser and the country had had enough.

After arduous negotiations, a settlement was finally reached in which Harden agreed not to appeal the latest verdict against him. Chancellor Bülow had his office secretly pay off Harden’s court costs of 40,000 Marks for all three trials.⁶¹⁸ Moltke withdrew his suit. His peers cooperated by clearing his name at a military court martial. After a time he was received again at Court functions.⁶¹⁹ The Kaiser took his doctors’ advice and went to England to recoup from the scandal. There would be no more trials for any of the key players involved with the scandal—but the moral, political

and military fallout from the Eulenburg Affair would continue on for years to come.

The Aftershocks of the Eulenburg Affair

The Eulenburg Affair broke the heart of the German people and sent them into a period of national mourning. Private vice has public consequences. And sometimes these consequences prove catastrophic not only for the individuals and families involved, but for an entire nation.

But nations like families do not mourn forever. When the German people had sufficiently recovered from the dreadful scandal, the expected public backlash began. It was time to put “constitutional thumb-screws” on the Kaiser and rein in the nobility. The call for government reform from the top down and for the moral regeneration of society echoed from every quarter of German society—every class, every religious denomination and every political party—from the Catholic Center Party to the Social Democratic Party. A new wind of conservatism, both political and moral, swept across the nation, particularly among the swelling middle class.

Among the first of these reforms was the demand for a more widespread and stringent enforcement of Paragraph 175. Public officials and the police were happy to oblige. In the years immediately following the height of the Eulenburg-Moltke-Harden lawsuits, prosecutions for homosexuality rose 50 percent.⁶²⁰ Surveillance of popular places of Uranian assignation was increased and a general warning was issued to Uranians that those who chose to violate Germany’s anti-sodomy laws would be prosecuted.

In addition to the civilian enforcement of Paragraph 175, the Reichstag demanded that the Kaiser clean out the Augean military stables in Berlin and Potsdam, where the Kaiser had his official residence. This was the bitterest hurt that the Kaiser had to endure for the military had always been closest to his heart.

Isolated incidents of homosexuality in the German military had been reported and punished under the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm I and Chancellor von Bismarck, but under Wilhelm II the problem had become endemic not only among enlisted men but among officers as well.⁶²¹ The vice had spread outward from Berlin and Potsdam to the garrison towns of Dresden, Munich, Magdeburg and Koenigsberg.⁶²²

Further, the nature of the homosexual offences went far beyond the lower-class conscript who occasionally rented out his body to an upper class Urning. Top officers of the Imperial German Army had been accused and convicted for violating the persons of men under their command.

Police Commissioner Tresckow reported that Lieutenant General Wilhelm Count von Hohenau, Commander of the Regiments of the Cuirassier Guards and Gardes du Corps in Potsdam, had dared to make his subordinates the instrument of his unnatural passions.⁶²³ Major Johannes Count

von Lynar, another officer stationed in Potsdam with the Gardes du Corps, the elite bodyguard regiment of the German Kaisers, was charged with coercing his aide-de-camp to masturbate him.⁶²⁴

Between 1903 and 1906 there had been 20 military officers court-martialed for homosexual offenses and there was a spate of suicides among the “Warm Brethren” (homosexuals) who were being blackmailed or under investigation by military police. Between 1906 and 1907, six officers took their own life.⁶²⁵ At the time of the Eulenburg Affair, military morale and discipline, even among the elite corps made up of members of the aristocracy, had sunk to a new low. Germany’s Armed Forces had been publicly humiliated and national security had been compromised.

After the Eulenburg Affair, the Kaiser took Tresckow’s advice and ordered that all company and squadron heads treat homosexual violations with the greatest severity and to exercise stricter supervision over their men. Surveillance was increased around the perimeters of the garrisons to discourage homosexual assignations. All known Urning officers were advised to retire as they would be shown no mercy if they were later brought up on morals charges.

Despite these shake-ups, however, German military leaders recognized that the overall effect of the demise of Eulenburg’s civilian, pacifistic Liebenberg Circle was to increase their influence and power especially in the realm of foreign affairs.

As for Germany’s Homosexual Movement that appeared to have been gaining momentum before the Eulenburg scandal, it was driven underground. The SHC’s campaign against Paragraph 175 was dead in the water. Hirschfeld had discredited himself at the Moltke-Harden trials, but he still managed to continue to lecture and write until a more favorable political situation presented itself. It was a long wait.

Not until 1918 when Kaiser Wilhelm abdicated the throne and the Red flag of the Weimar Socialist Republic flew over Berlin did the leaders of the “Rights of the Behind Movement” feel secure enough to emerge from the shadows and enter the decadent world of post-war Berlin on the eve of the Third Reich—the world of Cabaret.⁶²⁶

In the meantime, the German people had received a quick shorthand course in Homosexuality 101—and what they saw they did not like. Even enlightened liberals like Maximilian Harden, who had once been an ardent foe of Paragraph 175, now perceived the law in a more favorable light.

On the international scene the response was mixed.

The English response throughout the Eulenburg Affair was subdued but still negative. England had not yet fully recovered from the Oscar Wilde trials. Besides, the Kaiser was the beloved grandson of Queen Victoria and as everyone knew quipped writer Brent McKee, “the British Royal Family was probably more German than the Hohenzollerns.”⁶²⁷ It was not until

World War II that England exploited the Eulenburg scandal in its wartime propaganda campaign directed at demoralizing German troops.

The French, Italians and Austrians on the other hand were delirious with joy over the humbling of their historic enemy and rival on the world stage.

In the end, there were no real winners in the Eulenburg Affair—but there were many losers.⁶²⁸

Homosexuality in France — From the French Revolution to the Third Republic

It is one of those inexplicable ironies of history that it was Catholic France, Eldest Daughter of the Church, that was among the first of the European powers to decriminalize sodomy, or to be more precise, to fail to sustain its former prohibition as a “crime contre nature.”

Under the Ancien Régime, sodomy remained a capital offense even though the extreme penalty of the vindices flammae was rarely carried out. The exceptions were sodomy cases that involved additional crimes such as murder, or sexual assault of a minor, or blasphemy, or where public officials were attempting to suppress the vice by making examples out of one or two notorious sodomite offenders.

There were seven sodomites burned at the stake in Paris in the 18th century, the last of whom was a Capuchin monk, Pascal, who was committed to the flames in 1783 under the reign of King Louis XVI.⁶²⁹

The pattern of homosexual practices in 18th century Paris and other large urban centers of France was virtually identical to that of Victorian England and Wilhelminian Germany.⁶³⁰ The male homosexual was part of the general criminal class without a distinctive sub-culture, but he had an underground network that served his minimum needs. The French version of mollies had their favorite haunts for assignation and socialization, secret signals of recognition, favorite pet female names for themselves and their sexual partners and a campy dialect. Pederasty, that is sexual relations between older (usually wealthy) homosexuals and younger patrons from the working class or local military garrison, continued to be the most popular mode of homosexual expression.

Typically, the activities of ordinary homosexuals came under police scrutiny only when they became public nuisances; when they were caught soliciting sex, engaging in sodomy or mutual masturbation or exposing themselves in public places such as public urinals and public parks; when they were charged with the corruption of a minor; or when they became victims or facilitators of blackmail or extortion. Penalties were tailored to fit the seriousness of the offenses. Repeat offenders were treated more harshly. In most cases the upper class got away with a warning while the less privileged were fined a few pennies and/or imprisoned for a few days or weeks—rarely longer.

The first major break France made with her Catholic heritage (and the traditional legal system that was based on ecclesiastical law and the natural law) came in August of 1789 with the adoption by the National Assembly of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy under King Louis XVI.⁶³¹

The Declaration created a revolutionary New Order that touched upon every aspect of French life—political, legal, economic, social, religious and moral. Men were declared free and equal from birth. (Art. 1) The font of all men's rights was the Nation. (Art. 3)

In matters of private action (including private vice), the citizen was granted full liberty in so far as he did not “harm other people.” (Art. 4) The law could only forbid those actions that were detrimental to society. Anything that was not forbidden by law was licit and none were compelled to do what the law does not require. (Art. 5) No man could be accused, arrested or detained except in the cases determined by the law and according to the methods that the law has stipulated. (Art. 7) No one could be harassed for his opinions, even religious views, provided that the expression of such opinions did not cause a breach of the peace as established by law. (Art. 10)

In the fall of 1791, the National Constituent Assembly approved a new Civil and Penal Code and judicial system that would embrace the basic principles enunciated in the Declaration of 1789.

Earlier, on July 19–22, the Assembly had reached agreement on the category of “Misdemeanors,” that is minor infractions of the law that do not require a trial or jury. The new code for Municipal Police and Correctional Police provided for penalties of fines and incarceration for acts of public indecencies and corruption of the morals of minors and other “unseemly actions” by members of the same or opposite sex.

In August and September, 1791, the National Assembly made its determination on the laws regulating the prosecution of felonies. The only sex crime included in the Criminal Code was female rape. Unlike misdemeanors, felony cases required a trial by jury and persons convicted of such crimes were open to a prison sentence of two years or more. A separate provision criminalized child prostitution, but man-boy sex acts were not penalized *per se*.⁶³²

As to the crime of sodomy, the National Assembly passed over the former capital offense in silence. The secularized State now distinguished between crimes in which it had an interest and acts of vice and irreligion in which it did not. Private consensual sexual behavior fell into the latter category.

But while the law was silent on acts “contre nature,” French society like every other society had means, other than the law, by which it manifested its objections to unacceptable behaviors and punished sexual miscreants. French homosexuals were not free from scorn as Ulrichs believed. Indeed, as the Jesuit-educated statesman Marquis de Condorcet (Marie-

Jean-Antoine Caritat) publicly stated, “scorn not burning” was the best punishment for sodomites.⁶³³ Where the law feared to tread, public opprobrium was as powerful a deterrent as any law. What was more, it had universal application as it could be practiced by rich and poor alike.

So while the laws punishing sodomy disappeared, the anti-sodomy attitudes of the French people remained essentially unchanged for the next 150 years. The sodomite remained what he had always been in French society—a moral and social pariah and sodomy remained a vice to be repressed and a mortal sin to be confessed. The decriminalization of sodomy did not translate into an acceptance of sodomy. Besides, the law was not entirely on the sodomite’s side.

In July 19–22, 1791, the National Assembly adopted legislation that empowered the municipal police to arrest and punish by means of fines or imprisonment (without trial), any public act of gross indecency including sodomy and pederasty.⁶³⁴ In practice, however, the law was ambiguous enough to discourage the police or public authorities from actively repressing the vice. The uncertain law also discouraged many people from reporting public acts involving sodomy or the seduction and corruption of youth to the police. The results were predictable enough.

In the decade that immediately followed the workings of the National Assembly, from the guillotining of King Louis XVI and his family to the fleeting days of the First Republic, from the Committee of Public Safety and its Reign of Terror to the fall of Robespierre and the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, the practice of sodomy increased in France.

By 1798, the French police expressed concern at the alarming rate that the vice of sodomy had contaminated not only Paris but the rural provinces as well.⁶³⁵ Homosexual cruising of public areas by sodomites had become a major public nuisance. The solicitation of young male prostitutes, some as young as 12, by wealthy Parisians and foreign pederasts and sexual tourists added to the overall alarm of public officials. Cases of molestation of adolescent boys by clerics and schoolteachers were reported with increased frequency. Little changed when Napoleon Bonaparte came to power.

Sodomy under Napoleonic Law

Although the task of revision and consolidation of French laws had begun immediately after the French Revolution, it fell to General, later Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte I, to complete the work. Plans for the establishment of a special commission to oversee the lengthy project were set into motion soon after the establishment of the tri-part Consulate in November of 1799, and the subsequent rise of Napoleon to First Consul with Jean-Jacques-Régis de Cambacérès (1753–1824) as Second Consul and Charles François Lebrun as Third Consul.

It was to Cambacérès that Napoleon delegated the leadership of a special commission to create a new legal framework for France and the French

Empire. The most famous section of the completed work that combined Germanic laws with Roman principles was the Civil Code of 1804 (as distinguished from the Penal Code) — known to history as the Code Napoléon.

As in the earlier laws of 1791, no specific reference was made to sodomy in the Code Napoléon. However, Article 330 of the Penal Code of 1810 provided for a fine of 16–200 francs and/or a prison term of three to twelve months for persons who created a “public scandal.” Article 331 set the age of consent at 11 years.⁶³⁶ The definition of rape was expanded to include male rape (sodomy). Judges were also granted more latitude with regard to sentencing convicted felons including the possibility of life imprisonment.⁶³⁷ Although the leverage granted to police and public authorities did not differ dramatically from that provided under the old 1791 laws, the courts were given more power in cases in which the charge of sodomy was combined with a felony such as murder.⁶³⁸

It was commonly assumed that Cambacérès, a notorious homosexual, whose critics dubbed the “Pied-Piper of Pederasty,” masterminded the anti-sodomy coup. The historical evidence, however, points to Napoleon himself.⁶³⁹ According to historian Michael David Sibalís, an authority on early 19th century France, Bonaparte had pledged to restore a high level of morals to France and to severely punish violators of the public order, but he was not in favor of recriminalizing homosexual or pederastic offenses *per se*.

Sibalís states that Napoleon’s views were based on his beliefs that Nature had, on Her own, limited the practitioners of the “unnatural vice” to a very small number. Further, he opposed public trials that generated publicity for the existence of the “unnatural vice,” and were, therefore, more harmful than helpful in promoting good public morals. Justice was better served, Bonaparte believed, by having local police and law enforcement officials, rather than the judiciary, handle cases of sodomy and pederasty that came to their attention.⁶⁴⁰

Sibalís cites the landmark Chartres Case of 1805, to illustrate the manner in which sodomy incidents were traditionally handled during the Napoleonic era.

The case involved an assault, a “gay-bashing” if you will, against two notorious inveterate homosexuals who were part of an active homosexual network operating out of the city of Chartres. The leader of the small group of soldiers that attacked them had been the recipient of unwanted sexual advances by a masked invert at a local carnival ball. In an effort to get revenge for the affront to his person, the soldier and some of his regimental buddies planned an assault on the two members of the homosexual coterie whom they were able to entrap by posing as willing customers. The soldiers carried out their plan and were subsequently arrested and charged with assault by the local magistrate. But when the magistrate learned of the motivation for the attack he did an about face. He instead charged the two

homosexuals “with an offense against morals and corruption or attempted corruption of young people.”⁶⁴¹ When the prosecutor for Chartres and the imperial prosecutor locked horns on the question—“If the law is silent on the criminality of same-sex relations, did the soldier have the right to defend his honor against a predatory sodomite?—an outside opinion from a higher authority was sought out. The matter was submitted to the Emperor Napoleon for a definitive ruling at the next meeting with his minister of justice on July 17, 1805.⁶⁴² And rule he did.

Napoleon declared that the law did not interfere with private vice, including the “unnatural vice.” On the other hand, public acts that disturbed the peace, were a matter for local law enforcement to deal with as they saw fit. Thus the Chartres police were free to banish or fine or imprison the offending homosexuals. Above all, he instructed, there was not to be any public investigation or trial in connection with the incident.

According to Sibalis, in the end, for reasons unknown, the police let the most prominent of the two homosexuals go free. Neither he nor anyone else connected with the case spent even one day in jail. (his associate had already fled from Chartres).⁶⁴³

The Chartres case, of course, involved all adult males. Did the authorities treat pederastic assaults on young boys, 10 years of age or younger, any differently? It appears that in some situations they did. The Alméry trial of 1807 demonstrated that the public’s tolerance level for men who preyed on young boys was extremely low.

Jean-Claude Alméry was a teacher-pederast who operated freely in southern France at the turn of the 19th century. His *modus operandi* was simple—he would molest his adolescent students until he was discovered and then move on to a new school and new victims. Sibalis reported that in October 1807, Alméry attacked a 16-year-old domestic servant who shared his bed.⁶⁴⁴ The youth immediately reported the incident to police officials in Avignon. Recognizing that the molestation was a misdemeanor not a felony under the law, the officer in charge sentenced Alméry to six months in jail.

However, Sibalis noted, for some inexplicable reason, a trial did in fact take place and on January 8, 1808, the schoolteacher was sentenced by the correctional court of Avignon to serve one year in prison and pay a fine of 500 francs—the maximum permitted by law.

The Prefect of the Vaucluse called Alméry “one of those depraved beings who could not be sequestered long enough from the society that they infect, “and the prosecutor as well as the judges publicly stated that the sentence was much too lenient considering the nature of Alméry’s crime.⁶⁴⁵ They resented the fact that the law had tied their hands in the matter. Sibalis ends the story with a note that, once in prison, Alméry had to be put in solitary confinement to prevent him from having sex with the other prisoners.⁶⁴⁶

Two Cases of Clerical Sex Abuse

In addition to a number of other secular cases involving sodomy and pederasty in early 19th century France, Sibalis reported on two sexual abuse cases that involved Catholic priests. What was significant about these incidents is the reactions of the local hierarchy to the molestations.

The first pedophile case occurred in Normandy in 1811. A village priest sodomized a young male child he was preparing for First Communion. He told the boy that this was his “penance” and that it should be kept “a secret” like the seal of confession.⁶⁴⁷ The child, however, did not keep the secret and told his father and uncles. The men hid themselves in the sacristy and caught the priest in the act when he again attempted to assault the boy. The priest was then brought to the police.

Local officials, however, were worried about the scandal that would arise if they should prosecute the priest. The minister of justice was contacted and asked for a determination on how to proceed.

When the matter reached the justice department, a letter was drafted by an undersecretary for the minister to sign. It instructed the local magistrate to go ahead with the prosecution of the priest under Article 331 of the Penal Code as the child involved was under the age of consent, that is, under eleven.⁶⁴⁸ The draft letter stated that fear of scandal should not prevent justice from being carried out for a “crime of such enormity.”⁶⁴⁹ It ended by informing the local magistrate that the prosecution of the offending priest would prevent further outrages of betrayal of the trust of parents as well as the betrayal of the sanctity of the priestly ministry.

According to Sibalis the letter was never sent. The minister rejected the recommendations and instead referred the matter over to the local minister of police and the Prefect of Calvados. Initially, the angry prefect decided to imprison the priest for several years and then banish him from the region. However, as reported by Sibalis, “In the end, he merely had the bishop transfer him to the nearby Diocese of Bayeux.”⁶⁵⁰

The second clerical abuse incident reported by Sibalis took place in the Diocese of Valance in 1812. In this case the Bishop of Valance asked the government to mete out a suitable punishment for a priest who had sexually molested children. He explained, “You will serve... good morals, religion, honor, and the security of families and of the priesthood, by taking effective action as soon as possible to rid society of this individual.”⁶⁵¹ The records of the Archives Nationales unfortunately do not provide any further details that would indicate how this case was resolved.

Thus we have two Catholic bishops who were faced with priests who abused children—one simply transferred him to a nearby parish while the other turned the priest over to the authorities and insisted that they do their duty by punishing the cleric. It appears that some things never change.

Sibalis reports there were only four court trials that involved homosexual activities during the entire Napoleonic period and three of those involved men who molested boys.⁶⁵²

A Historical Sidebar on the Marquis De Sade

The life of the Marquis Donatien Alphonse François de Sade, one of history's most notorious sodomites, spanned five regimes. He was born, educated, married, tried and imprisoned under the monarchy of King Louis XV; jailed, escaped and reincarcerated under King Louis XVI; freed; accused of conspiracy against the Republic; condemned to the guillotine, freed and jailed again under Robespierre; and finally placed in a lunatic asylum for his criminal recidivism and pornographic writings by Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul General and Emperor. It appears then, that while the Marquis' greatest quarrel in life was with God, he also managed to draw the ire of the Crown and State on his head for more than half a century, that is, more than half of his adult life.

We know that the Marquis engaged in sodomy, therefore, he could be properly called a "sodomite," but was he a homosexual, that is, did he prefer homosexuality over normal heterosexual coitus? Although I believe there is sufficient evidence to answer that question in the affirmative, for the purposes of the study of Sade, it is not necessary to do so.

First, because as Gilbert Lély, Sade's most influential and sympathetic biographer has pointed out, the sexual inversion of the Marquis was "so tangled up with blasphemy and mystification that there is no possibility of treating it separately from these."⁶⁵³

Secondly, and perhaps more to the point, was the fact that Sade engaged in sodomy for reasons that were largely peripheral to his homosexual desires, be they inborn or acquired. In both his life and his writings, sodomy became the expression of his will to power as well as the ultimate symbol of his hatred and rebellion against God and Church—a means of transvaluing traditional moral, familial and societal virtues including love, fidelity and honor into the "virtues" of Sadian Society—lust, infidelity and dishonor and above all, evil.

To gain some insight into the origins of Sade's transgressive ideology as well as his actual acts of criminal violence including forced sodomy, it is necessary to examine his childhood and the complex and troubled relationship that existed between Sade and his parents, particularly his mother and between the parents themselves. One of the best sources on Sade's early life is Sade—A Biographical Essay by Laurence L. Bongie, Professor Emeritus of French, at the University of British Columbia.

Donatien, born on June 2, 1740, was the only surviving child (of three siblings) of Marie-Eleonore de Maille de Carman Comtesse de Sade and Jean-Baptiste-Joseph-Francois, Comte de Sade. From birth, the child was impressed with the idea of his superiority in life by virtue of his class and

distinguished maternal ancestry to the royal blood of the Condes. With his father away, Sade's mother raised her son virtually by herself for the first four years of his life.⁶⁵⁴ In spite of chronic illness, she was a faithful wife to her wayward diplomatic husband and a loving, conscientious mother to Donatien, with one glaring weakness—her hopeless indulgence toward her son's every desire.

Donatien's father, the Comte de Sade, had aspirations for a diplomatic career at the Imperial Court in Versailles. He was appointed to a high French government post at the elector's court in Bonn, Germany.⁶⁵⁵

Bongie claimed that Jean-Baptiste became involved in some unsavory financial irregularities and other misadventures in Bonn that eventually earned him the lifelong enmity of King Louis XV and dashed all hopes for any future at court. When the Comte realized his diplomatic career was going nowhere, he rejoined his wife and incorrigible young son in Paris. When his attempt to purchase a title for himself as a "prince of the empire" also failed, Donatien's father recognized that his future lay in the hands of his son and began to plan and plot accordingly, said Bongie.

It must be noted, that whatever his professional disappointments, they did not interfere with the Comte de Sade's extramarital sex life. Not only was he an enthusiastic debaucher of young women, but of young men as well. Bongie notes that he regularly engaged in sodomy with the manservants and domestic staff of the Hôtel de Condé where the Sade family had their residence. He also employed the services of male prostitutes who brought the Comte into direct contact with Paris' criminal underclass as well as the Paris police.⁶⁵⁶

According to Bongie, one of his particular favorites whom the Comte eventually brought into his household was a young tradesman and male prostitute, Francois Le Poivre.⁶⁵⁷ In addition to the elder Sade, the enterprising Poivre was also servicing the Bishop of Fréjus, Martin du Bellay.⁶⁵⁸ Du Bellay had replaced Bishop (later Cardinal) André-Hercule de Fleury who resigned in 1715 to become tutor to the future King Louis XV and who became one of France's greatest diplomats and statesmen.

Bongie reports that the Paris police records for early 1749 showed that young Poivre charged the bishop twice what he charged Jean-Baptiste de Sade for sexual favors rendered beneath the stairwells of the Hôtel de Condé.⁶⁵⁹

By this date, his dissolute father had taken the young Sade from his supposedly "invalid" mother and placed him in the care of his paternal grandmother in Avignon. The timing proved to be a dreadful and decisive error. Two years later, Donatien was entrusted to his paternal uncle, the worldly and unchaste Jacques-Francois-Paul-Alfonse who was the Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Leger d'Ebreuil. This was an even more grievous error.

At the age of ten, Donatien was placed in the care of the Jesuits at Louis-le-Grande, a preparatory school for young noblemen where, by the end of his fourth year, his early predilection for sexual violence was cemented by his exposure to a wide-assortment of other vices including onanism, flagellation and school-boy exercises in sodomy.⁶⁶⁰ Bongie reported that by the time Sade was in his early teens he had become “a good-looking bugger.”⁶⁶¹

Sade had barely reached his 14th birthday when his father secured a certificate of nobility for him that enabled the lad to enter the elite school of Chevaulegers, the Light Horse Regiment of the Royal Guards garrisoned at Versailles. As soon as his training was complete he joined the Regiment du Roi. He was only 15 and France was poised at the brink of war. Three years later, Sade secured a commission with the Carabiniers de Monsieur and saw military action in Prussia. By the time the Seven-Year War had ended in 1763, he had attained the rank of cavalry captain and along with that, a reputation for dissolute and violent behavior that was already known to his family and to the ever-vigilant Paris police.

Once again his father intervened, this time to secure a financially and socially advantageous marriage for his wayward son with Mademoiselle Renee-Pelagie de Montreuil, the daughter of a wealthy and aristocratic family. The marriage took place on May 17, 1763. It was a foregone conclusion that Sade had no intention of abiding by his marriage vows, as he had already prepared a secret hideaway for his future extramarital liaisons.

Crimes Against Church and State

With the death of Sade’s father on January 24, 1767, one of the few persons for whom he appeared to have had a genuine affection and respect, the last restraint on Sade was removed.⁶⁶² The birth of his first son on August 27 of the same year, followed by the subsequent birth of a second son in 1769 and daughter in 1771 had no moderating effect on Sade’s horrific private life that had already landed him in the gaol. His behavior had also attracted the King’s wrath and he had become the object of constant surveillance by the police and vice squad.

Despite the myth propagated by contemporary writers like Gilbert Lély, that the Marquis de Sade was a “prisoner of conscience,” a man imprisoned for his ideas and his ideals, the historical record clearly demonstrates that Sade was imprisoned for the commission of violent civil crimes that were accompanied by acts of blasphemy and sacrilege. As documented by Bongie, all of these criminal actions including the infamous Testard (1763) Keller (1768) and Marseilles Incidents (1772) involved the sodomization (or attempted sodomization), whippings and death threats against lower class women, not all of whom were prostitutes.

The Testard Affair took place on October 18, 1763 in the Paris quarter where Sade picked up a prostitute, Jeanne Testard. Her deposition to the

police included the statement that the man she later identified as the Marquis de Sade threatened to kill her if she did not participate in the blasphemous and sacrilegious activities that involved consecrated hosts and the crucifix. The nature of his actions were so shocking that the King was advised of the incident and ordered Sade's arrest. He was gaoled briefly at the fortress of Vincennes, then released into the custody of his family. Both before and after the incident the Paris vice squad had Sade under regular surveillance and the police had warned brothel keepers not to let out their girls to him because of his violent nature. Jeanne Testard's pimp had obviously not gotten the message.

The Arcueil incident occurred on Easter Sunday morning April 3, 1768. The 28-year-old Sade lured a respectable domestic and widow named Rose Keller to a rented cottage in Arcueil where he again engaged in a litany of blasphemous acts and the scourging of the young woman whom he also threatened to kill. After her escape from Sade, she reported the incident to the local magistrate. Keller, however, was bribed into silence and dropped her charges against the Marquis. In the meantime Parisian authorities were advised of the assault on Keller, and Sade was arrested and brought to the stricter confines of Pierre-Encise fortress near Lyons. Here he remained until the King granted him clemency and released him to his wife and her family on November 16, 1768.

The next notorious incident took place in June 1772 in Marseilles. Sade's manservant Armand Latour was instructed to pick up some young prostitutes for the Marquis to sodomize. The incident involved more whippings and reciprocal acts of master-servant sodomy that were performed in front of the frightened girls. Sade also gave the girls some experimental "sweet-treats" he had concocted which made some of them violently ill. They thought they had been poisoned. After learning of Sade's orgy, Marseilles authorities ordered the arrest of both Sade and Latour, but the men were already in flight. Sade was accompanied by his sister-in-law, Lady Anne, a canoness whom he had seduced and with whom he had incestuous relations.

The final escapade that resulted in his long-term imprisonment took place in late 1774 after he had returned to his residence at La Coste. This incident involved the alleged abduction of a number of respectable young girls from Lyons and Vienne for questionable purposes. His imprisonment on September 7, 1778, signaled the first of his long-term convictions for sodomy and other crimes against the Church and the Republic.

By 1772, the year of the Marseilles Incident, Sade had become a fugitive from the law. Following a trial held in absentia on September 3, 1772, he was publicly "beheaded" in a mock sentencing at the guillotine as punishment for his alleged crime of poisoning, his body was burned in effigy, and his ashes scattered to the four winds for the crime of sodomy.⁶⁶³ After cooling his heels in Italy for a year where he was drawn to the cultural life

of Florence and Rome, Sade returned to France in 1777. He was subsequently arrested, tried, placed in police custody, escaped, recaptured and imprisoned at the fortress of Vincennes.

Seven years later he was transferred to the Bastille where he completed a number of pornographic novellas in order to earn some cash. These included *The 120 Days of Sodom* and *Justine or The Misfortunes of Virtue*. One anonymous writer for *Kirkus Reviews* remarked that Sade's "greatest distinction as an imaginative writer was to create a self-contained repetitious rhythm of impossible sexual acts that have no relation to what real people would do (or want to do), the likes of which have never been repeated in prose."⁶⁶⁴

Shortly before the storming of the Bastille on July 14, 1789 and the unceremonious sacking of his cell by rioters, Sade had been taken to Charenton Asylum where he remained until his two grown sons Louis-Marie and Donatien-Claude-Armand, whom he had not seen for more than a decade, came to claim him in April of 1790.

After he had publicly declared his loyalty to the cause of the Revolution, Citizen de Sade embarked upon a short theatrical and political career that came to an abrupt end when he was arrested as an enemy of the Republic on December 8, 1793. Sade was scheduled to go to the guillotine on July 27, one day before Citizen Robespierre's head left his shoulders, but for some inexplicable reason was not brought to the block and was set free having served 312 days of detention.

In the company of the young actress Marie-Constance Renelle (Mme. Quesnet) with whom he had formed an intimate attachment that lasted the rest of his life, and her young son, the penniless aristocrat attempted to make a living as a part-time soldier. He also staged a few of his plays and published some of his obscene works including *Juliette* and *Justine*.⁶⁶⁵

His pornographic writings, however, soon brought Sade back behind bars without trial for the last time. The year was 1801. The new regime was the First Consul of Napoleon Bonaparte. Sade was first sent to Sainte-Pélagie prison then to Bicêtre prison and finally at the request of his family back to Charenton Asylum where he died on December 2, 1814.⁶⁶⁶ After the fall of Napoleon, under the reign of the Bourbon Kings and for decades to follow, Sade's books were banned in France.

Life and Death in Sadeian Society

The most important feature of the world that Sade created in his fiction and the fantasy world in which he lived was that it was a world without God. However, to deny God was not enough—God must also be hated and reviled as "the supreme evil." In a sense, Sade's entire life was, as Bongie has suggested, one long temper tantrum against God and all authority—secular and religious.

It followed then, that if God had no place in Sadeian society, neither did love nor hope nor virtue nor compassion nor honor nor any other human quality that gives meaning to the life of ordinary human beings. It was a world in which man could not survive and remain human.

Although some writers continue to portray Sade as a “liberation theologian” and his world as a paradise of freedom, he, in fact, had very little by way of “Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité” to offer his inmates. This was a motto that Citizen de Sade proclaimed to save his own hide, but one that the Marquise de Sade rejected in practice. His wealth, upper-class credentials and connections enabled him to routinely escape “the ignominy and horrors of this century’s ordinary criminal justice.”⁶⁶⁷ Sade’s New Order based on the law of the jungle and the survival of the fittest presented no problem for the Marquis. He knew himself to be a superior being that was born to be served—not serve.⁶⁶⁸

In terms of a sexual ethos, the Sadeian world was fundamentally sodomitical. In both his personal and fantasy life, Sade was obsessed with buttocks and with anal sex, first and foremost as an expression of the ultimate outrage against God and secondly as a vehicle of supreme pleasure. Sade declared that Nature was indifferent to morality and that She held no objection to sodomy as the practice violated neither her tenets nor reason. The waste of seed occurred naturally enough in man, Sade argued so as to rule out the Church’s injunction that sex cannot be divided from procreation.

Although Krafft-Ebing created the term “sadist” using Sade’s name to identify a person who received sexual stimulation and pleasure from the infliction of pain upon others, the Marquis’ personal preference was inclined towards sadism’s twin—masochism. He was also a habitual onanist and voyeur. He preferred the passive role accompanied by acts of humiliation, violent beatings and coprophilia in his sodomitical relations with his young secretaries, domestics and male and female prostitutes. All of Sade’s pornographic fiction are filled with references to anal penetration ad nauseam.⁶⁶⁹ It is not the human face that captivated Sade, but rather human feces, the size of the male organs and the anal orifice.

When one considers that the 19th century sexual fantasy world of the Marquis de Sade has become the real “gay” world of the 21st century, it becomes clear why this writer has included his brief biography in this study.⁶⁷⁰

French Physicians’ View— Sodomy Remains a Vice

Even after the abdication of Napoleon in 1814, the year of Sade’s death, there was no change in the legal status of sodomy. From the reign of the Bourbon Kings, Louis XVIII (1815–1824) and Charles X (1824–1830), to that of Louis Phillipe (Duc d’Orleans) (1830–1848), sodomy remained out-

side the purview of the law—indeed sodomy would never be re-criminalized again in France. In April 1832, there was only one minor amendment to the Penal Code of 1810 that touched upon homosexual acts. The new provision made it a crime for an adult to engage in sex with a boy under 11 even if no force was used.⁶⁷¹

When Emperor Louis Napoleon III (1852–1870) proclaimed a “new moral order,” in France, the only concrete change in the nation’s sex laws was the criminalization of transvestitism in public places and balls (Art. 471 Penal Code of June 10, 1853).⁶⁷²

The consensus among French rulers and lawmakers was that private vice could not be punished without violating the sanctity of the home and that was unacceptable.

But perhaps the most important factor in retaining the legal *staus quo* of sodomy was the simple fact that the vast majority of Frenchmen of the period knew little about same-sex relations, and even less about the homosexual underworld of Paris or the more informal sodomitical networks that existed in places like Chartres and Valance. This latter state of affairs, however, was about to change.

By the mid-to-late 1800s, the wisdom of France’s official *laissez faire* attitude toward sodomy and sodomites was drawn into question largely as the result of the popularization of writings on “sexual inversion” by a growing number of prominent French physicians notably Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893), his associate Valentin Magnan (1835–1916), Bénédict A. Morel (1809–1873) and Professor Auguste Ambroise Tardieu (1818–1879). Of these, Tardieu, a leading medico-legal and forensic expert, was the most influential.⁶⁷³

Unlike Symonds, Ellis and Hirschfeld, Tardieu viewed homosexuality in the traditional Catholic sense as an acquired vice, and pederasty as learned behavior caused by early seduction and sexual debauchery. He did not believe that sexual inverts were insane, although he held out the possibility that they might suffer from some neurosis.⁶⁷⁴

In many ways, Tardieu was ahead of his time. For example, he was one of the first writers on sexual inversion to draw attention to the public health issue of venereal disease that was endemic among sodomites and the male prostitutes who serviced them. He was also careful in his works to distinguish between men and women who desired same-sex relations exclusively and those who preferred normal man-woman relations, but, who because of circumstances (prison, the military) or for monetary considerations engaged in homosexual acts.⁶⁷⁵

Tardieu’s career in pathology, toxicology and forensics paralleled his interest in criminal behavior and historical crimes and he was frequently called as an expert witness in high profile murder cases. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have espoused certain theories that linked same-sex activity to criminality—not that homosexuality was a crime in

and of itself, but that it frequently led the practitioner of the vice into the environs of the criminal underworld.

Tardieu noted that the fascination of many upper-class inverters with rough trade and renters brought them into contact with prostitutes, blackmailers, extortionists, thieves and other elements of the criminal world.⁶⁷⁶ There was also the proverbial problem of solicitation and exhibitionism by predatory pederasts who sought to corrupt young boys.

Tardieu was also cognizant of the violence, including beatings and even murders that frequently accompanied same-sex relations. Sometimes this violence occurred when clients brought strangers into their homes and sometimes it was connected to the jealousies and rages of paired-off homosexuals.⁶⁷⁷ There was also the addiction of homosexuals to pornography and drugs.

Overall, Tardieu held that, like all practitioners of organized vice, homosexuals lowered the moral tenor of neighborhoods where they congregated. Alas, this was a far cry from the picture that Ulrichs had painted of France's rapprochement with Uranians that had resulted in greater familial and societal stability and happiness.⁶⁷⁸

That Tardieu's astute observations on the malignant elements of the homosexual life in 19th century France, where homosexual acts were legal, should be virtually identical (if not in quantity at least in quality) to the criminal elements of the homosexual underworld of 19th century England and Germany, where homosexual acts were illegal, should not surprise the reader.

French sexual inverters of all classes, like their English and German counterparts, still had other reasons than a run-in with the law to keep their unnatural sexual proclivities secret. The disclosure that a man was a sodomite remained a social liability both privately and publicly. Such a disclosure could and did lead to scandal, dishonor, ostracization, public censure, and in some cases divorce, financial ruin and family banishment.⁶⁷⁹

Homosexuals who restrained their actions to private quarters and did not cross class lines could generally carry on their double life with relative safety. However, purely private same-sex acts lacked the essential element of danger, which, to quote Oscar Wilde, was "half the excitement." Hence, the willingness of many homosexuals to cross the legal barrier to engage in public solicitation of male prostitutes and renters and to engage in public sex acts at municipal urinals and public parks—actions destined to lead them into the arms of the law and outlaws.

The warning of physicians like Tardieu about the serious negative consequences of sexual inversion on society did not go unheeded. After the excesses of the Revolution, France was ripe to moral reform.

An important factor in this renewed spirit of religious and moral conservatism were the reforms that were put into motion in the Catholic Church following the First Vatican Council (1869–1870) called by Pope

Pius IX.⁶⁸⁰ A sense of renewed piety and a rise in level of public and private morals was manifested not only in a new vigor in the religious life of secular and order priests and nuns, but also among the French laity of all classes.

Such were the moral conditions of France on the eve of the Franco-Prussian war. Into such an environment was born one of France's most famous writers and certainly its most famous homosexual—André Gide.

The Early Life of André Gide— A Solitary and Sullen Childhood

If ever there was a combination of inborn dispositions and childhood influences that conspired against a young man's strivings toward manhood and normal heterosexual maturity, it was in the early life of a young Parisian boy named André Gide. Tardieu believed that homosexuals including pederasts were made not born. In Jean Delay's biographical masterpiece *La Jeunesse d' André Gide* that appeared in France in 1956, five years after the death of Gide, we can put Tardieu's theory to the test and in doing so gain some important insights into the multi-faceted factors that turned one ugly, nervous and divided little boy into a divided man, a pervert and a Noble Prize Winner in Literature.

André Gide was born on November 22, 1869, the only surviving child of a less than happy marriage.⁶⁸¹

André's highborn mother Juliette married below her station when she took Paul Gide, a lawyer, as her husband. Her decision tipped the scales in the struggle for power in the Gide household to her advantage. So it was that their young son soon found himself in the unenviable position of having to choose between his father—"tender but distant, charming but absent, gentle but inattentive"—and his mother, who lacked the warmth, charm and feminine instincts that might have made her dark Calvinist beliefs less cold and threatening to André.⁶⁸² Unfortunately for young Gide, death stepped in and made the final choice for him. His father died of intestinal tuberculosis in 1880 when André was just 11 years old.

Now the death of a father at any age, is always tragic, most especially when he leaves behind an only son who stands at the threshold of manhood, but it is not necessarily a prescription for lifelong disaster. It was, however, in the case of young Gide.

It was not that Madame Gide did not love her son. She did love him, but as Delay recalls, she loved him "badly."⁶⁸³ From his earliest years, she treated her son as if he were an invalid. He was not. She catered to his every whim, fed his narcissistic tendencies and left his youthful vices uncorrected. In short, Delay stated, she transformed André from a spoiled and "depraved child who needed to be reformed" into "a sick child who had to be cared for."⁶⁸⁴ In these and other less subtle ways she succeeded in stripping her son of his fragile virility and his sense of manliness. Delay

recalled a number of occasions when Madame Gide effectively interfered with the normal psychosexual development of her son not the least of which was her discouragement of his early interest in members of the opposite sex.⁶⁸⁵

In terms of physical appearances, young André did not have a lot going for him. He was an unattractive child, puny in stature whose poor fitting school clothing accentuated his ill form. His general disposition as a youth was somewhat sullen with a tendency toward morbid introspection, qualities that Delay linked to Gide's inborn condition of "constitutional anxiety," that tended toward "nervous hysteria."⁶⁸⁶

Gide's largely self-induced, psychosomatic illnesses, he discovered, helped bring his mother under his control and resolved the "authority-submission conflict" (not a sexual conflict) between them in his favor.⁶⁸⁷ His "bodily flights into illness," Delay explained, also provided an escape from reality—a common childhood subterfuge that Gide carried with him into adult life.⁶⁸⁸

Delay noted that Gide displayed early signs of neurosis as a child and schoolboy that included evidence of early masochistic behavior and an instinct for self-destruction and aggression towards others. The former was manifested in Gide's unchaste behavior at an early age. As a schoolboy he was dismissed for a time from the Ecole Alsacienne for onanism.⁶⁸⁹

The frenzied level of young Gide's masturbatory habits, explained Delay, were symptomatic of the young boy's hidden anxieties and feelings of inadequacies. What began "as a very ambiguous autoeroticism" he said, "translated later into narcissism: self-love and self-hate."⁶⁹⁰ When Gide entered manhood and discovered what he called his 'authentic-self,' that is his pederastic nature, all he had really done was trade in his childhood onanism for mutual onanism with young boys. As Delay explained:

When the organism is accustomed exclusively to solitary vice, as though it were a kind of "toxicomania," the sexual instincts become centered exclusively on the organ that gives habitual pleasure, and desire cannot be transferred except to a human object endowed with the same advantage. Thus the finality of the instinct—the complete union of the two opposite sexes—is thwarted; the homosexual is not attracted by the different but by the homology that recalls his own sexual organ, the object of all his complacency."⁶⁹¹

Had Gide been a Catholic child instead of a Protestant child, Delay suggested, he would have benefited from the sacrament of confession for he would have known absolutely that all his sins were forgiven and, in addition to God's grace, would have received much needed advice and practical encouragement from an understanding priest and a male role model. Likewise he would have found comfort in his loneliness knowing that he was always surrounded by his guardian angel and the saints and martyrs with whom he could have shared his confidences. His mother's shortcomings

would perhaps not have appeared so terrible and unforgivable for he would have had the consolation of a second Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁶⁹²

But young André Gide had none of these spiritual and emotional comforts. In matters of conscience, he was his own judge and jury. Delay surmised that once Gide reached the age of reason, his onanistic habits must have filled him with dread and guilt for under the doctrines of Calvinism, carnal sins are the deadliest of all sins.⁶⁹³ The resulting moral conflict over his habituation to unchastity and later homoerotic desires made Gide's self-division and dualism virtually inevitable, said Delay.⁶⁹⁴

It was not surprising that when Gide decided to abandon his religious heritage in his late 20s, he rationalized his actions by stating that his mother worshipped a different Christ than he did. Like Oscar Wilde, he condemned the church for distorting the teachings of Christ and accused Saint Paul of betraying the Gospel with his condemnations. In language that foreshadowed Wilde's *De Profundis*, Gide said that his Christ did not condemn. Rather he said, his Christ had emancipated him so that he might be free to follow a "high wisdom" [really a higher immorality] and act upon his homosexual desires.⁶⁹⁵

Gide's Diaries and Writings

Diary-keeping is as "necessary to psychological narcissism as a mirror is to physical narcissism."⁶⁹⁶ This astute observation by Delay is validated in Gide's extraordinary commitment to his diary and journals that covered most of his adult life, a span of nearly 60 years.⁶⁹⁷

Legend tells us that the original Narcissus looked into the placid stream and fell in love with his own image—a physical narcissism. Gide on the other hand saw his own image in the faces of the young boys with whom he played childish sex games—a psychological narcissism. He prided himself on "taking pleasure face to face, reciprocally and without violence."⁶⁹⁸ Afterwards, he recorded the details of his furtive amorous adventures in his diary, reliving them over and over with each reading. Gide also used his diary to help him analyze his moods and catalogue his emotions, said Delay.⁶⁹⁹

Gide invested a great deal of himself in his writings. In his first published work, *Les Cahiers* (Notebooks) of André Walter (1891), Gide gave fictitious Walter, a Huguenot struggling with the vicissitudes of life, two of his own vices—masturbation and pederasty.⁷⁰⁰ Gide's Walter, was, like himself, a Manichean and dualist. Fortunately for Gide, whereas Walter fell victim to his own fantasy world and went mad, he (Gide) managed to survive.

In perhaps his most famous book, *Corydon*, which he wrote in 1907 but dared not publish until 1924, Gide used the debonair man-about-town and confirmed pederast Corydon to make his case for man-boy love in the Greek warrior tradition. The outstanding feature of Corydon's persona was

his manliness and aggressive, almost militaristic virility—an image Gide desperately wanted to cultivate in order to offset the popular notion of the homosexual as an effeminate and passive creature.⁷⁰¹ His timing proved disastrous. The last thing the people of war-torn France wanted to read was Corydon's praise of Wilhelminian militarism draped in homoerotic dress (shades of the Eulenburg Affair) and the virtues of the war mongering Spartan pederast. Besides, as writer Martha Hanna so aptly quipped, "The last advice you ever give to a Frenchman is that he become more like a German."⁷⁰²

Gide was not successful in convincing the French people that Greek pederasty was an all around healthy and honorable endeavor that filled the sexual needs of both man and boy—an untruth that Gide desperately wanted to be true in order to rationalize his own perversion.⁷⁰³

Although Corydon's dialogue format and neo-classical style is different from John Addington Symonds' *Greek and Modern Ethics* written 40 years before, its arguments in praise of pederasty are virtually identical.

In both his autobiography, *Si Le Grain Ne Meurt* that begins with his birth and ends with his engagement to his cousin Madeleine, and his *Journals* published in 1932–1933, Gide reiterated two of his favorite stories concerning his early misadventures into the world of pederasty.⁷⁰⁴

The first, already recorded earlier in this chapter, is his famous debauch of Algerian boys with Oscar Wilde in January 1895.⁷⁰⁵ The second is Gide's famous vampire story of 1897 in which he watches his friend Daniel B. sodomize a young boy named Mohammed with whom Gide had been intimate. "He seemed like a huge vampire feeding on a corpse. I could have screamed out with horror..." wrote Gide.⁷⁰⁶

Gide's diary and journals give us an idea of how the married writer lived out his compartmentalized life.

We can see for example, how he divided his "sex life" from his "love life." Gide "loved" his childhood sweetheart and wife of 42 years, Madeleine Rondeaux, even though their marriage was never consummated. But his sex life revolved about a group of young boys he collected for his sexual use from his home region and from abroad as circumstances permitted. Only in the person of Marc Allégret did love and sex come together for Gide.⁷⁰⁷

In all probability, Madeleine Gide must have suspected that Gide was not sexually normal when she married him and she most certainly knew it after their uneventful honeymoon. Delay reported that while they were in Florence, Gide resisted his pederastic desires. But a few weeks later in Rome when he was at Saraginesco's art studio with his wife, he arranged for a few of the young male models to accompany him to his villa under the pretext of photographing them.⁷⁰⁸ Later, his wife remarked that when she looked at her husband's face when he was surrounded by a group of young boys, he looked like "either a criminal or a madman."⁷⁰⁹

Once the couple had returned to France, Madeleine resolved to take that part of Gide that he was willing to offer her—the part he had formerly given to his mother, and to ignore his exotic Italian and Arabian excursions and his local forays into the Coverville countryside where they lived.⁷¹⁰

A full-bloom crisis did not develop in their relationship until 1917 when the 47-year-old Gide “fell in love” with 16-year-old Marc Allégret.⁷¹¹

Gide’s affair with the young Allégret, like Symonds’ affair with Norman Moor, was a very dangerous undertaking. Marc’s father, Pastor Élie Allégret had been best man at Gide’s wedding and his children knew Gide as “Uncle André.”⁷¹² Marc had been placed under Gide’s unofficial guardianship while Pastor Allégret was away on missionary work in Africa.⁷¹³ The idea that he had violated this sacred trust by taking his adopted son as a lover in May of 1917 apparently never occurred to Gide—or if it did it was quickly buried beneath a storm of unbridled passion. The following year they became traveling companions leaving Madeleine at home to nurse her growing resentments and jealousies.

Gide’s intimate relationship with Allégret continued intermittently for the next few years despite Marc’s growing skirt-chasing escapades, but his friendship with the young man lasted a lifetime. Allégret went on to a successful career in film directing and by the time of his death in 1973 had become an icon of the French cinema. Marc did not marry until 1938 at the ripe old age of 38—the same year Madeleine Gide was laid to rest.⁷¹⁴

In his assessment of Gide’s sexual perversion, Delay notes that while Gide’s heterosexual experiences were thwarted throughout his entire life by anguishing feelings of guilt, inferiority and insecurity, none of those inhibitions ever intervened in his pedophilic relations.⁷¹⁵ Gide nursed an inferiority complex about his virility and feared sexual intimacy with a woman, even though he was physiologically sound. The only sexual relationship he believed that he could measure up to and dominate was sex with a child.⁷¹⁶

Tardieu theorized and Delay confirmed that Gide’s homosexuality was not inborn. It was acquired and therefore modifiable. But Gide remained “extraordinarily ignorant of things sexual which contributed to his deviation,” said Delay.⁷¹⁷

It (homosexuality) was not inscribed in his nature, but produced by diverse factors which had arrested the normal development of his sexual instinct, factors so entangled that to disentangle them would have been a difficult, but not impossible task. He had a homosexual neurosis—in other words, a sexual neurosis—which is susceptible of medical treatment, at least today. Later in life, Gide wondered if he could have been helped at these early stages of his life. But by the age of 50 he had long decided that his sexual habits could not be changed; his sexual neurosis had become a perversion to which he gave his full consent and with which he shamelessly came to terms.⁷¹⁸

Like Wilde, Symonds and Ellis in England and Hirschfeld and Ulrichs in Germany, Gide had devoted his entire adult life to selling the “good news” of pederasty and by implication of all same-sex relations to an unresponsive and even hostile citizenry. By the time of Gide’s death in 1951 it was clear that he had lost the propaganda war. The French people and the French government were more ill-disposed toward homosexuality than ever before.

Shortly after de Gaulle’s return to power in 1958, the Gaullist deputy Paul Mirguet denounced homosexuality as a public scourge. The demographic reality of a nation ravaged by two World Wars had spelled the end of France’s liberality with regard to non-reproductive homosexuality. Large families were in fashion and homosexuality and lesbianism were out of fashion.

Prison sentences and fines were raised for the crime of pedophilia and the seduction of minors between the ages of 15 and 21. The maximum time for incarceration of a convicted pederast was raised to three years and the maximum fine was set at 50,000 francs. Fines against homosexual indecency were set higher than those for heterosexual indecency.

Under the Fourth Republic and the early years of General Charles de Gaulle’s Fifth Republic, sodomy had returned to its medieval status as both a sin against nature and a crime against the nation.⁷¹⁹

The Homosexuality of Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky— A View of Sodomy in 19th Century Russia

Unlike some nations of the West, homosexual acts never became “fashionable” in Czarist Russia.

From the Middle Ages on, sodomy or buggery was always considered a vice to be suppressed, a serious sin and an object of public scorn and ribald humor although not always a matter of criminality unless minors or violence was involved.

In the 18th century, Peter the Great established a military code (1706) based on the Swedish model that made “unnatural lechery” a crime punishable by burning at the stake, although this was later reduced to corporal punishment. If force (rape) was used in the commission of the crime then harsher penalties of death or imprisonment with hard labor prevailed.⁷²⁰

In 1832, under Czar Nikolai I (1825–1855), the grandson of Catherine the Great, all Russian laws were gathered and systematically indexed into the Digest of Russian Law.

Under Article 995 of the new criminal code law (1845) that was based on the German model, sodomy or “male lechery” (*muzhelozhstov*) was criminalized. The offense of sodomy was punishable by exile to Siberia for up to five years. Under Article 996 pertaining to the seduction and abuse of minors, dependents and mentally retarded persons, and to sodomitical rape, the penalty was more severe—from 10 to 20 years’ hard labor in Siberia.⁷²¹

In 1845, the definition of sodomy that had been strictly interpreted by the courts to mean anal penetration, was broadened to read “vice contrary to nature,” that is, both sodomy and bestiality. Punishments of penal servitude remained high for both simple sodomy and cases involving aggravated assault or abuse of minors. Members of the Russian Orthodox Church were also given a religious penance that was assigned by church authorities.⁷²²

In terms of the practical application of the anti-sodomy statutes during the mid-19th century, they were as a rule sparingly and unevenly applied by the czarist courts. Adult consenting homosexuals were rarely prosecuted. In cases that involved members of the Russian aristocracy, authorities looked the other way. Custom tended to tolerate the sexual eccentricities of prominent artists and men of letters. The State depended more on religious sanctions imposed by the Church to repress the vice than on legal penalties to punish homosexual offenders. In assigning penalties, mitigating factors including age, recidivism, marital status and degree of intoxication, if any, were considered by jurists.⁷²³

It was not until 1903 under Nicholas II (1894–1917), that a revised criminal code (never fully enacted) under Article 516 reduced imprisonment for homosexual acts, including those between consenting adults, to a minimum of three months, except for rape or seduction of a minor where the penalty remained high—from three to eight years imprisonment. Bestiality was decriminalized.⁷²⁴

This tendency toward greater leniency in the law reflected the growing influence of Westernization on Russia and a basic attitudinal shift among physicians and jurists that inveterate sodomites needed treatment rather than incarceration. Despite these new accommodations by the law, however, social sanctions remained in place especially for the aristocracy and upper classes where if a man was caught in flagrante delicto with another man, he was expected to do the right thing, that is, save his honor and commit suicide.⁷²⁵

The sweeping winds of urbanization, industrialization and social change that swept through Russia during the mid-1800s, was reflected in the growth of an elaborate, multitiered homosexual underworld in the new capital city of St. Petersburg and to a lesser degree in older Moscow.

“Blues” or “blue men,” as males seeking same-sex relations were called, were usually married, preferred younger partners and frequently carried out their homosexual activity ostensibly “under the influence” of vodka to avoid the social stigma of being known as a sodomite. There was also an exclusively homosexual grouping of Uranians, popularly known as *tyotki*, the Russian word for tantes, that is, aunties or middle age, passive queens who organized their own forms of entertainment and social camaraderie, and called each other by feminine diminutives.⁷²⁶

Traditional Russian bathhouses, some fitted with private rooms, as well as public taverns, beer-halls and urinals offered the most common sites for homosexual assignation and activity with male prostitutes.⁷²⁷

Generally, men of wealth and influence including members of the Imperial court preferred to make private arrangements for their homosexual liaisons rather than cruise the streets or parks in order to avoid public scandal and occasions for blackmail. It was not uncommon for these men to use their manservants or domestic staff for sexual relief or to hire a personal valet specifically for sexual purposes. There were, of course, always the proverbial soldier-prostitutes in garrison regions who made themselves available to wealthy clients.⁷²⁸

Finally there was the emergence of the *Mir Iskusstva* (The World of Art) Movement of the late 19th century that provided a respectable social cover for prominent Russian artists, male ballet stars, writers and intellectuals—among the most famous of whom was Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky.

The Formative Years of the Russian Composer

Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky was born on May 7, 1840, in Kamsko-Votkinsk in the Ural Mountains, far from the glittering world of St. Petersburg and the Imperial Court.

His father, Ilya Petrovich Tchaikovsky, was a government inspector of mines—an unsophisticated, loving, good-natured man with two great loves—his large family and the opera. His mother, Ilya Petrovich's second wife, Aleksandra Andreevna d'Assier, was a well-bred, highly ambitious woman who spoke fluent French and German and shared her husband's love of music. Her maternal instincts, however, did not match her artistic talents. She was generally regarded as a domineering wife and an adequate but cold and undemonstrative mother, although this did not appear to have dampened young Pyotr Ilyich's intense love for her.⁷²⁹

The Tchaikovsky children—Zinaida, born of Ilya Petrovich's first marriage, Nikolay, Alexandra (Sasha), Pyotr, Ippolit and the twins Modest and Anatoly—had plenty of company in each other and the special joys that large-family living in a rural setting brought.

In 1843, Madame Tchaikovsky hired a young French Protestant governess, Fanny Dürbach, who was particularly fond of Pyotr whom she dubbed 'un enfant de verre' (child of glass) because of his fragile but lively disposition and musical giftedness.⁷³⁰ Fanny lovingly attended to her charges until an ill-fated family relocation to Moscow and then St. Petersburg brought on a financial crisis and her employment was abruptly terminated. Pyotr was particularly devastated by the loss of Fanny.⁷³¹

A second major crisis for Pyotr came when he was eight years old from serious complications associated with childhood measles. He developed a disease of the nervous system possibly meningitis that left him in a chronically insomniac and nervous state of ill health for months. Like young

André Gide, Pyotr was quick to use his invalid status to avoid his return to the Schmelling School that he hated and to manipulate his mother. Pyotr turned into a clinging, insecure mama's boy.⁷³²

Although the young boy wanted to pursue a career in music, his parents insisted that he enter a more sensible profession. At the age of 10, Pyotr was sent away from his family to a preparatory school where he studied for his entrance into the School of Jurisprudence in St. Petersburg.

As described by one of Tchaikovsky's most prominent biographers, Anthony Holden, the Russian lycée of the 1850s shared many of the more unsavory characteristics of the English boarding (public) schools including public floggings of naked boys and rampant homosexual experimentation including mutual masturbation and buggery. Pyotr developed a number of boyhood crushes and homoerotic attachments that appeared to have taken on a greater significance when his beloved mother died of cholera on June 25, 1854. He was but 14.⁷³³ Tchaikovsky's disposition toward homosexuality, or to be more specific, toward pederasty, was primed but it was not as yet fixed. On the other hand, his great passion and love for music that had claimed him almost from the cradle would now come to the fore and become the center of his life.

In 1863, Tchaikovsky, who without any particular enthusiasm or effort of his own, had managed to secure a respectable position at the Ministry of Justice after his graduation from the School of Jurisprudence, resigned his job and enrolled at the newly created St. Petersburg Conservatory. It was here that he began his career as a composer in earnest. After his graduation in 1866, he accepted the position of Professor of Composition at the Conservatoire in Moscow where new doors were opened for the composer both professionally and socially. On the darker side, there was his growing pederastic interest in young adolescent boys, his seamy affairs with lower-class renters and male prostitutes and an increased habituation to alcohol and gambling.

In 1867, Tchaikovsky developed an all-consuming infatuation with Désirée Artôt, a Belgium operatic diva five years his senior. The affair led nowhere, possibly because Artôt and her controlling mother had been informed of her intended's unnatural sexual appetites.⁷³⁴ Tchaikovsky felt genuinely distraught, humiliated and betrayed when he discovered that his fiancé had taken flight and married another man—a Spanish baritone to boot!⁷³⁵

Ten years later, on July 18, 1877, Tchaikovsky took the "cure" and married Antonina Milyukova, a woman about whom he knew little and whom he did not love. The two had met briefly in 1865 at the home of a mutual friend and the pretty 16-year-old Antonina formed an attachment to the composer. Over the years, this schoolgirl crush had developed into a one-sided love affair that drove the young woman, now age 28, to contemplate suicide if Tchaikovsky spurned her advances.

The flattered Tchaikovsky arranged to meet her, they talked, met again, he proposed marriage at the same time declaring that he could never love her as anything but a faithful friend, she agreed, they married in a quasi-secret ceremony followed by a reception that was more like a funeral wake and an unconsummated wedding-night. After a botched, somewhat comical, attempted suicide by self-inflicted pneumonia, Tchaikovsky sent his younger brother Anatoly off to Moscow to inform Antonina that their marriage of less than three months was over—forever.⁷³⁶

Tchaikovsky's Secret Life as a Pederast

Like many of the more publicly identifiable pederasts and homosexuals of his day including Oscar Wilde, Tchaikovsky lived very close to the edge in terms of his sexual life.

His same-sex partners and contacts were drawn from three separate but contiguous circles.

The first of these groupings was the homoerotic circle of Prince Alexey Golitsyn who boldly kept a male lover and organized soirées frequently attended by Tchaikovsky.⁷³⁷

The second grouping involved a variety of lower-class male prostitutes and domestics who serviced wealthy clients like Tchaikovsky. During his stays in St. Petersburg and Moscow and at various provincial towns like Klin and during his visits to the United States and Paris, which was his favorite European city, the famed composer-conductor rarely failed to sample both the local and more exotic sexual fauna. Like his Parisian pederast counterpart André Gide, the Russian composer looked down upon adult same-sex relationships. He had a particular aversion to the campy antics of flaming middle-aged queens.⁷³⁸

Tchaikovsky used his own manservant Alexey Sofronov, who entered his service in 1871 at the age of 12 for sexual relief until the young man lost his adolescent charms.⁷³⁹ Alexey's older brother Mikhail was less suited to the composer's sexual tastes, but proved useful as a pimp for Tchaikovsky. Alexey, whose own sexual tastes were normal, later married (twice) and fathered a child, but he faithfully and discreetly served his master to the end. In his will, Tchaikovsky left him one-seventh of his estate.⁷⁴⁰

Engaging in homosexual relations with his peers and consenting young males below his station was dangerous enough, but it was Tchaikovsky's unrelenting passion for young adolescent boys that propelled him into the criminal ranks. As Holden records, once he crossed the fine line between true affection and lust and yielded to his darkest desires he never looked back. With each new conquest it became easier and easier to rationalize his sexual exploitation of his adoring pupils and protégés. Fame and musical genius aside, Tchaikovsky had become a moral danger to the young boys with whom he came in contact.

After his separation from Antonina, Holden reports, Tchaikovsky became fixated upon a 15-year-old pupil, Eduard Zak. It was his belief that

boys of 15 were “at the height of their sexual allure”⁷⁴¹ What physical expression the affair took we do not know. What we do know was that Zak was not the first adolescent boy to be seduced by the composer, nor the last, and that the young man committed suicide four years later at the age of 19.

Another young man whom the composer is reputed to have taken as a lover was the young violin student, Yosif Kotek to whom Tchaikovsky owed the long-term patronage of the wealthy Nadezhda Filaretovna von Meck.⁷⁴² According to Holden, when Kotek grew up he became a “desperate womanizer,” but he remained a close friend of the composer for life.⁷⁴³

In letters to Modest (also a passive homosexual) concerning the 9-year-old Nikolay Konradi, called “Kolya,” a deaf-mute that his brother was tutoring, it was clear that even little Kolya was not “beyond the range of the composer’s sexual aspirations.”⁷⁴⁴

Perhaps the greatest “boy-love” of Tchaikovsky’s life was his own nephew Vladimir Lvovich Davidov whom his uncle affectionately named “Bob.” It is to Bob, the young son of his sister Sasha, that the composer dedicated his sixth and final symphony, the *Pathétique*.

Bob was only eight when his uncle announced that Bob was his preeminent favorite.⁷⁴⁵ According to Holden, by the time his nephew was 13 years old his uncle’s genuine affections for him had been transformed into an all consuming erotic fixation.⁷⁴⁶ Tchaikovsky expressed “guilt” over his “unthinkable sexual feelings” for Bob, says Holden, but this did not prevent him from sending the boy wildly sentimental letters expressing his love from every city that he toured.⁷⁴⁷ Bob was flattered by his famous uncle’s attention, but was also troubled by the increasingly intimate nature of the letters he received.

As he grew into manhood Bob became a nervous, high-strung, mercurial young man prone to fits of depression and suffering from obesity and diabetes.⁷⁴⁸ He was anxious to make his mark in the world, preferably by writing, but he lacked the driving ambition needed to translate his day-dreams into reality. Although Bob did establish separate interests and his own circle of friends, he continued to live vicariously off the fame and fortune of his world-famous uncle, says Holden.⁷⁴⁹

In his middle years, Bob developed homoerotic tastes of his own. Holden reports that on occasion Bob accompanied Tchaikovsky on his evening excursions in St. Petersburg, sometimes acting as a procurer for his uncle. However, the two men were never sexual partners.⁷⁵⁰ Tchaikovsky’s love for Bob, as passionate as it was, remained unrequited.

After his uncle’s death, Bob helped Modest to set up the Tchaikovsky Museum and Archive at the family homestead in the small town of Klin. As recorded by Holden, he served as the curator of the museum until his tragic death, by his own hand, at the age of 34.⁷⁵¹

As noted earlier, however, not all of Tchaikovsky’s sexual partners were young boys.

In 1886, while visiting the provincial town of Tiflis, Tchaikovsky made the acquaintance of a handsome artillery officer, Ivan Verinovskiy, whom he dubbed *ofitserik* or “little officer.”⁷⁵² According to Holden, the young man had expressed a love for the composer’s music which was a sufficient enough recommendation for him to be invited to the home of his younger brother Anatoly where the composer was visiting.⁷⁵³ In this fleeting infatuation, the composer was forced to vie for the affection of the soldier with his flirtatious sister-in-law Praskovya (“Panya”). Tchaikovsky apparently lost the war or became so frustrated with Panya that he left the house. Shortly after Tchaikovsky’s departure, the young man put a bullet through his head.⁷⁵⁴

As usual, Tchaikovsky was devastated by the news of Verinovskiy’s suicide, said Holden. Nevertheless, he soon found a pleasant replacement in the person of a young cellist, Anatoly Brandukov, who would remain close to his master until his death.⁷⁵⁵

In 1888, the prematurely aging Tchaikovsky met a talented young Russian pianist Vasily Sapelnikov. The composer confessed to his Modest that he had not loved anyone so much since Kotek.⁷⁵⁶ Although their relationship was reported to be simply “platonic,” nevertheless, Sapelnikov, like Brandukov, would on occasion become an evening fellow traveler with the composer in search of young men at local homosexual haunts.

Since Tchaikovsky was never involved in any public scandal or trial like Oscar Wilde, and because he did not publicly acknowledge his pederastic taste like André Gide, almost all of the information about his private life and sexual exploits has come down to us from entries found in his private diaries and from his voluminous correspondence.

Anthony Holden had revealed that the composer-conductor recorded a great deal of information about his homosexual liaisons in letters to Modest and other close friends. Beginning in the late 1870s and continuing through the early 1890s, he also kept a series of diaries and journals in which he confided his sexual longings and details of his homoerotic affairs. By necessity all these entries and incriminating letters were heavily coded. Two years before his death in 1893, Tchaikovsky destroyed most of his telltale journals and correspondence.⁷⁵⁷ Only the summer diaries of 1884 that recorded the 44-year-old composer’s obsession with his 13-year-old nephew, Bob, survived.⁷⁵⁸ Modest later published a number of letters and other written remembrances of his famous brother, but these were heavily sanitized to remove any references or clues to Tchaikovsky’s unnatural sexual desires.

Nevertheless it has been possible for historians and biographers to piece together a fairly accurate picture of Tchaikovsky’s double life as a predatory, self-destructive homosexual dominated by pederastic passions. Like Wilde and Gide and all the other homosexuals covered in this historical overview, he possessed an uncanny ability to compartmentalize his life and to rationalize away all obstacles that stood in the way of his inordinate

sexual desires no matter what the price to himself or to the many young men he seduced, some of whom took their own life.

Tchaikovsky's mysterious death on November 6, 1893, in St. Petersburg has been the subject of much controversy in recent years. While the official death certificate listed cholera as the cause of the composer's death, there is an abundance of new historical data that strongly supports the theory that Tchaikovsky took his own life.⁷⁵⁹

In his biography of the famed composer, Holden presents what appears to be the most plausible explanation for Tchaikovsky's suicide. He writes that in 1893, the year of his death, Tchaikovsky began a homosexual liaison with Alexandr Vladimirovich Stenbok-Fermor, the 18-year-old nephew of Count Alexy Alexandrovich Stenbok-Fermor, a close friend of the Czar Alexander III.⁷⁶⁰ The outraged Count used the prominent lawyer, Nikolay Jacobi, a graduate from the composer's alma mater, the School of Jurisprudence, to present his letter of complaint directly to the czar. In order to avoid a public scandal, Jacobi took it upon himself to immediately convene a secret "court of honor" at his home composed of Tchaikovsky's schoolmates and contemporaries who were in St. Petersburg at the time.⁷⁶¹ The composer was summoned before the make-shift court and ordered to defend himself against the charges put forth in the letter of the Count or take the honorable way out and kill himself.⁷⁶² Within a day or two, news had spread throughout the city that Tchaikovsky was mortally ill. On November 6, 1893, Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky died. His funeral was the largest St. Petersburg had ever seen.⁷⁶³

Conclusion

The critical assessments of Tchaikovsky and other prominent homosexuals and pederasts of the 19th century found in this chapter are not intended to disparage their worldly accomplishments. Nor are they meant to suggest that these men were totally lacking in certain admirable qualities. And most certainly they are not to be interpreted as an indication of the ultimate eternal fate of their immortal souls, for as a 6th century philosopher once said, "the soul of a man is a far country, which cannot be approached or explored."⁷⁶⁴ God is the final judge, not man. But this does not mean that we cannot judge a person's outward acts or weigh the historical evidence for or against his character.⁷⁶⁵

The historical biographical sketches that have been presented in this section are intended to draw the reader's attention to the innate destructive nature of homosexual passions on men of every age whose misfortune it was to be caught up in the vice; on those young men who were drawn into the web of perversion; and on those family members who were left to pick up the pieces of tragic affairs gone wrong. It is difficult to imagine any vice that leaves as many dead bodies and dead souls in its wake as does homosexuality.

Notes

- 1 Barnhouse, 28.
- 2 H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Love That Dared Not Speak Its Name* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), 68–69.
- 3 Bray, 17.
- 4 Hyde, 135. The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885 (48 & 49 Vict.C.69) that included the Labouchere Amendment became law on January 1, 1886.
- 5 Theo Aronson, *Prince Eddy and the Homosexual Underworld* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1994), 17.
- 6 Hyde, 198.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 79, 122.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 81.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 79–80.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 79.
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 *Ibid.*, 127–138, 155–157. One of a series of homosexual scandals was known as the Dublin Castle Case. Most of the court records dealing with incidents were destroyed in the Irish Civil War. However, the basic facts of both the 1884 and 1907 scandals are well known. The venue for the 1884 scandal was “the Castle” in Ireland, the official seat of the English government. The fuse was lit when two militant members of the Irish Nationalist Home Rule Movement, William O’Brien and “Tim” Healy, were informed that there was an active clique of adult male sodomites at Dublin Castle. After a preliminary investigation that included the testimony of several Irish police officers, Healy wrote an unsigned article in O’Brien’s militant journal *United Ireland* in which he publicly implicated Inspector James Ellis French, head of the Criminal Investigation Department in the alleged homosexual ring that involved Irish underage boys. French promptly obtained a writ for libel and the battle was on. Among the prominent aristocrats that were swept up into the scandal were Mr. Gustavus Cornwall, Secretary of the General Post Office and Captain Martin Kirwan of the Royal Dublin Fusiliers. Eventually French, Cornwall, Kirwan and seven other defendants were committed for trial based on the evidence provided in the libel trials that found O’Brien innocent. However, these felony proceedings were not publicized in the interest of “public morality.” In the end, Cornwall and Kirwan were acquitted due to “insufficient evidence.” French and other members of the homosexual clique were given prison sentences and the case was closed. The second Dublin Castle scandal with homosexual implications occurred in 1907 and involved the theft of the Irish crown jewels from the library safe at the Castle. The caretaker for the gems was the Ulster King of Arms, Sir Arthur Vicars, a known homosexual. On one occasion when Vicars and his housemate and assistant Francis Shackleton were entertaining some homosexual associates in the Castle’s Office of Arms, Shackleton and a pederast by the name of Captain Richard Gorges plied Vicars with liquor and made a key to the safe and later stole the Irish jewels. When the culprits were caught, they threatened to expose the entire homosexual ring including Vicars and a number of other prominent personages including one related to the Royal family. The ruse worked. Due largely to the interference of King Edward VII, who was already reeling under the Eulenberg homosexual scandal in the court of

his nephew, Kaiser William II of Germany, no arrests were ever made in connection with the theft and the jewels were not recovered. Vicars was dismissed and returned to his estate in Kerry where he met an unhappy end at the hands of the Sinn Feiners in 1921. Both Shackleton and Gorges were later convicted for unrelated crimes and spent much of the remainder of their lives in penal servitude.

13 Ibid., 82–83.

14 Ibid., 83.

15 Ibid., 84–85.

16 Ibid., 85–86. See also Hyde's account of the tragic case of Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, the second Marquess of Londonderry and a neighbor of the Bishop of Clogher in *The Strange Death of Lord Castlereagh* (London: Heinemann, 1959). The case raises the specter of blackmail and sodomy and the suicide of Lord Castlereagh.

17 Ibid., 89.

18 Phyllis Grosskurth, *The Woeful Victorian* 31–41.

19 "The Seven Public Schools" of Britain were Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse and Shrewbury. By the 1800s, these large, fee-paying boarding schools drew pupils from around the world and were considered the main-feeders for Oxford and Cambridge universities and later key positions in the civil service. In the UK, the meaning of "public schools" is opposite of here in the United States. It is an entirely independent school. Originally founded as charity schools for the poor, when foundation money ran out to keep them up, fees were introduced for tuition and additional fees for boarding. There are also "state schools" financed by government which charge no fees and follow a national curriculum. See Terence Copley, *Black Tom Arnold of Rugby—The Myth and the Man* (New York: Continuum, 2002).

20 G.K. Chesterton, *What's Wrong With the World*, Chapter X, "The Case for the Public Schools" is available from <http://www.bookrags.com/books/wwwtw/PART38.htm>.

21 Christopher Tyerman, *A History of Harrow School 1324–1991* (London: Oxford Press, 2000).

22 See Mary Beard, "Degradation, Ugliness and Tears," available from http://www.londonreviewofbooks.com/v23/n11/bear01_.html. Beard gives an excellent book review of Tyerman's *A History of Harrow School*.

23 Hyde, 111.

24 Tyerman, 272.

25 Hyde, 111.

26 Rupert Croft-Cooke, *Feasting With Panthers—A New Consideration of Some Late Victorian Writers* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 96–97.

27 See Phyllis Grosskurth, *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds* (London: Hutchinson, 1984).

28 Hyde, 11.

29 Phyllis Grosskurth, *The Woeful Victorian* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964), 35. John Conington, must have had mixed emotions when Symonds approached him on the matter of Vaughan's sexual transgressions at Harrow. In her classic work *Hellenism and Homosexuality*, writer Linda Dowling noted that it was Conington who introduced his young protégé to William Johnson's *Ionica* (1858), a volume of verse that inspired and

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encouraged Symonds' pursuit of the Platonic pederastia ideal. In *The Woeful Victorian*, Grosskurth said that Conington, a homely, bespeckled man, who held "reading-parties" for promising young men like Symonds "encouraged Symonds' homosexual tendencies." On the other hand, she also noted that with regard to his own conduct, Conington was "scrupulously correct." This curious and ambiguous dichotomy between promoting Greek love and at the same time avoiding its logical sequela in terms of personal behavior appears to have been a common phenomenon among many Oxbridge professors.

- 30 Tyerman, 278.
- 31 See Hyde, 116–120. The author cites two pederast incidents at Eton between 1845 and 1875 that involved homosexual masters William Johnson (Cory) and Oscar Browning.
- 32 See H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Cleveland Street Scandal*, (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1976).
- 33 Hyde, *Scandal*, 26.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 26.
- 35 Aronson, 11.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 9–10.
- 37 Hyde, *Scandal*, 175.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 50.
- 39 Aronson, 11.
- 40 Hyde, *Scandal*, 49.
- 41 Aronson, 137.
- 42 Hyde, *Scandal*, 48.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 179.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 184.
- 45 Under the libel laws in place during the Victorian era, the libel not only had to be true in fact, but the revelation of the charge had to be in the public interest, that is, for the public's benefit. In some criminal libel cases involving accusations of "unmanly vices," though the defendant was deceased, his family could start a court action to preserve the dead man's reputation as happened in the case of George Nassau Clavering-Cowper who died in 1789.
- 46 Hyde, *Scandal*, 46.
- 47 Aronson, 153.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 155. See Anonymous (Jack Saul), *Sins of the Cities of the Plain*, (New York: Masquerade Books, Inc., 1992).
- 49 *Ibid.*, 157.
- 50 *Ibid.*, 160.
- 51 Hyde, *Scandal*, 118.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 108.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 115.
- 54 Aronson, 160.
- 55 Hyde, *Scandal*, 161.
- 56 *Ibid.*
- 57 *Ibid.*, 172.
- 58 Aronson, 147.
- 59 *Ibid.*, 171.

- 60 *Ibid.*, 93–115.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 116.
- 62 The publicity surrounding the trial and Judge Cave's ruling finally sealed the fate of Lord Somerset. He could never return to England. He continued to live incognito in France with a male companion until his death on May 26, 1926. The warrant for his arrest in England was never revoked. Euston became Grand Master of the Mark Masons. He died of dropsy in 1912. Prince Albert Victor died on January 14, 1892 of complications related to pneumonia and influenza. Information on William T. Stead's continuing campaign for "moral purity" is available from <http://www.attackingthedevel.co.uk/july6.htm>. See also Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society Women, Class and the State*, (London, Cambridge University Press, 1980). By the late 1800s, the Movement for Sexual Purity which had replaced the earlier anti-vice societies was making its influence known through legislation rather than police actions as was the Societies for Reformation of Manners. Both came into conflict with the emerging Social Hygiene Movement with the latter's emphasis on external and prophylactic remedies to vice as opposed to reforming one's moral behavior. Stead died on the Titanic's maiden voyage on April 15, 1912.
- 63 Hunt, 3.
- 64 Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 13–15, 20. For a glimpse of Oscar Wilde's early life and biographical data on Wilde's parents and siblings see Joy Melville, *Mother of Oscar—The Life of Jane Francesca Wilde*, (London: John Murray Ltd., 1994). Before his marriage, Dr. Wilde fathered three illegitimate children, a boy, Harry Wilson, Oscar's half-brother, and two girls Emily and Mary. To his credit, Dr. Wilde financially supported and educated his out-of-wedlock children. Tragically, his beloved daughter Isola died at age 10, and Emily and Mary were burnt to death in a crinoline fire at a ball in County Monaghan. See http://home.arcor.de/oscar.wilde/theatre/june_festival.htm. After the death of Isola, there may have been a change in the family constellation that resulted in an increase in sibling rivalry between Wilde and his brother Willie. In 1864, the year he was knighted, Sir Wilde was accused of chloroforming and then raping a mentally distraught patient, Mary Josephine Travers. Melville gives an excellent account of the trial in *Mother of Oscar*. No doubt, the distress attached to the scandal was a contributing factor to Sir William's death in 1876, only two years after Oscar had gone up to Oxford.
- 65 The Portora Royal School was a free school founded by James I in 1608 (1618?) By the late 1800s, it had a distinctive Ulster Unionist, Church of Ireland milieu. After Wilde's conviction, his name was erased from the Scholars' Board, but it was reinstated in 1930. For a more intimate glimpse of Wilde's life at the Portora Royal School see Heather White, *Forgotten Schooldays, Oscar Wilde at Portora* (Gortnaree, County Fermanagh: Principia Press, 2002).
- 66 Vyvyan Holland (Wilde), *Oscar Wilde* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1960), 15. Wilde's son Vyvyan also wrote *Son of Oscar Wilde* (London: Oxford University Press, 1987) with a foreword by Merlin Holland, Wilde's grandson.
- 67 H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde* (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), 29.
- 68 Mahaffy was not uniformly successful in preventing conversions to Roman Catholicism. According to Professor Brian Arkins of the National University of Ireland, Galway, another young man, John Sullivan (1861–1933) son of the

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Lord Chancellor of Ireland and, like Wilde, a student at Portora Royal School in Enniskillen and Trinity College, Dublin also accompanied Mahaffy to Greece. Unlike Wilde, however, he converted to Catholicism in 1896, entered the Jesuit Order in 1900 and lead a life of prayer and service to the poor.

Father Sullivan is currently a candidate for beatification in Rome.

See <http://www.ucc.ie/iihsa/mahaffy.html> and

<http://www.jesuit.ie/irl/history.htm#sullivan>.

- 69 Ellmann, 70.
- 70 Holland, Oscar Wilde, 17.
- 71 Hyde, Trials, 33.
- 72 Ellmann, 119–120.
- 73 Wilde's third Baptism. See essay written by Anne Varty, Royal Holloway University of London on Oscar Wilde at <http://www.litencyc.com/php/speople.php?rec=true&UID=4718> Note: The Roman Catholic Church teaches that the Sacrament of Baptism can only be administered once. However, if there is a reasonable doubt as to the validity of a prior baptism, a conditional baptism may be administered beginning with the words "If thou art not already baptized, I baptize thee..." The conditional form (*si capax es*) is used when it is doubtful whether the person is a valid subject for the sacrament, e.g., whether he is not already dead, whether he has been baptized, has attained the use of reason, or has the implicit habitual intention of dying in a Christian manner. See <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05716a.htm>.
- 74 Ellmann, 34. In 1858, Newman, returned to England frustrated at the "provincialism" of the Irish bishops. He was made the editor of *The Rambler*, but he was asked to resign shortly after assuming this position because his essay, "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine," was censured by Rome, where it was thought to be a statement against papal infallibility.
- 75 Holland, 24.
- 76 The two great turning points in my life, Oscar Wilde wrote in *De Profundis*, were "when my father sent me to Oxford, and when society sent me to prison."
<http://www.nyu.edu/library/bobst/research/fales/exhibits/wilde/3oxford.htm>.
- 77 Holland, 24.
- 78 Croft-Cooke, 192. See also *Son of Oscar Wilde* (London: Oxford University Press, 1987), 30–32.
- 79 Hyde, Trials, 51.
- 80 Ellmann reported that in 1874, Pater (1839–1894) and the "Conclusion" to his *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* were denounced from the pulpit as immoral. A few years later, there were more attacks on Pater and Symonds and on *Aestheticism* and *Oxford Hellenism*, including W. H. Mallock's attack in *The New Republic* that forced both men to withdraw from the election for the Slade Professorship of Poetry. According to Croft-Cooke, Pater was a rather ugly, little, slightly hunchbacked man ("the Caliban of Letters") whose atheism foiled his early clerical aspirations, but appeared to serve him well as a fellow at Brasenose College where he spent most of his life. Pater himself was influenced by classical antiquity, Hellenism and the Renaissance, and was a proponent of intense male friendships. Although Pater was close to a number of accused homosexual pederasts like the artist Simeon Solomon and Eton's Oscar Browning, he never was publicly accused himself. Pater's own household was always filled with handsome young men

from sporting fraternities. As Rupert Croft-Cooke so aptly observed, many of Oxbridge's "academic old queers" lived lives of affluence and leisure. They had plenty of money and large comfortable homes and servants. They often took their young friends abroad, attended public functions with their "favorites," and so forth. Yet they managed to carry on a full academic life. Wilde's affinity for Pater's teachings, especially Pater's belief that the highest ethical principle was the pursuit of sensual pleasure, was reinforced by his continued friendship with Mahaffy, who served as a traveling companion to Oscar on summer vacations to the Continent including a 1875 excursion to Florence, Bologna, Venice, Padua, and Verona then home to Ireland via Paris.

81 Ellmann, 50.

82 Ruskin's private life at Oxford was not as successful as his academic life. Brought up in a strict Victorian brand of Evangelical Anglicanism he was troubled by religious and moral scrupulousness throughout much of his adult life. Ruskin had what was referred to in Victorian times as a "white marriage" that is, an unconsummated marriage to Euphemia Gray, his wife of six years. Although Ruskin opposed homosexual pederasty in the Hellenistic tradition, he was emotionally, if not in fact, a clinical pedophile with an obsession for young girls, and most likely never experienced a normal sexuality.

83 *Ibid.*, 48.

84 *Ibid.*, 52.

85 *Ibid.*, 41.

86 *Ibid.*, 68. In 1892, Wilde met George Ives who had formed a Masonic-based secret homosexual clique called the Order of Chaeronea, but there is no record he ever joined this group. It was the battle of Chaeronea (Greece) in 338 BC that the Theban Army of matched homosexual partners met defeat at the hands of Philip II of Macedonia.

87 Croft-Cooke, 194. The sculptor Ronald Sutherland, better known as Lord Gower (1845–1916) is reputed to have been the decadent model for Lord Henry Wotton in Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*.

88 *Ibid.*

89 *Ibid.*, 195.

90 *Ibid.* The friendship between Harding, whom Oscar treated like a younger brother, Ward and Wilde (nicknamed "Hosky") remained close until Oscar graduated and went down to London to begin his literary career.

91 Ellmann, 59.

92 *Ibid.*

93 Henry Edward Manning, educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford, an Anglican cleric and widower who had been heavily influenced by the Oxford and Romeward Tractarian Movements, was received into the Church on Passion Sunday, April 6, 1851 by Father Brownbill, S.J. Recognizing the extraordinary circumstances of his person, the Holy See approved his ordination as a Catholic priest only two months later on Trinity Sunday, June 14, 1851. He was consecrated the second Archbishop of Westminster on June 8, 1865. Manning received the cardinalate ten years later in 1875. Manning attacked the growing decline in morality at Oxford where the forces of Hellenism had been in ascendancy for a number of years. He also had a number of doctrinal differences with John Henry Newman that included the promulgation of the doctrine of papal infallibility. Manning supported it without reservation. Manning dedicated his life to the service of the poor and reform

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- of abuses at all levels of society. See <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09604b.htm> excellent review and insightful remarks by W. H. Kent as transcribed by M. E. Smith.
- 94 Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 5th edition (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964), 135–136.
 - 95 Oscar Wilde's adaptation of the role of a fop adorned with lace ruffles and silk stockings did not necessarily mean that he was also automatically assumed to be an invert or sodomite. Nor, as Ellmann has pointed out, did Wilde's "dandyism" make him unattractive to women. On his European vacations between 1875 and 1877 that included visits to Rome, Paris, and Greece and on his U.S. tours Wilde had met a number of admiring aristocratic and accomplished women.
 - 96 Ellmann, 87–89.
 - 97 Croft-Cooke, 204–205.
 - 98 *Ibid.*, 195.
 - 99 Ellmann, 148.
 - 100 Ellmann, 149. Also Croft-Cooke, 197.
 - 101 See William R. Terpening's essay "Patience, Satire, and Self-Righteousness," on the Victorian website: <http://65.107.211.206/mt/gilbert/patience.html>.
 - 102 Holland, 32.
 - 103 Hyde, *Trials*, 38.
 - 104 The texts of a number of Wilde's American lectures appear in *The Essays of Oscar Wilde* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corp., 1916) including "The Practical Application of the Principles of the Aesthetic Theory to Exterior and Interior Home Decoration" (May 11, 1882).
 - 105 Wilde met Walt Whitman on January 18, 1889 at the poet's home in Camden, N.J. Wilde was 27 and Whitman was 62. Wilde later tattled to one of his close friends that Whitman did not bother to keep his homosexuality from Oscar. On the other hand, Whitman confessed to a friend that the young Irishman had "come-on" to him.
 - 106 Holland, 41–43.
 - 107 Hyde, *Trials*, 44–45.
 - 108 Croft-Cooke, 201.
 - 109 Ellmann, 245–246.
 - 110 Holland, 50–58.
 - 111 *Ibid.*, 63.
 - 112 Hyde, *Trials*, 55.
 - 113 Joy Melville, *Mother of Oscar—The Life of Jane Francesca Wilde* (London: John Murray Ltd., 1994), 196.
 - 114 The Bluecoat boy was generally a young man of academic promise whose families were unable to pay the high costs of public school boarding. He wore the distinctive "charity dress" of a long cassock-like bluecoat, kneebreeches and bright yellow stockings. Christ's Hospital was among the best known of the Bluecoat schools.
 - 115 Harold Marillier became an art critic, and an authority on Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898) a prominent illustrator and aesthetic of the Victorian era. Marillier died in 1951.

- 116 Hyde, *Trials*, 58.
- 117 Croft-Cooke, 172.
- 118 The ages for “rent boys” ranged from the early teens to the early twenties. Technically speaking then, many so-called “rent boys” were in fact young men who had come of age.
- 119 Croft-Cooke, 196.
- 120 In *A Picture of Dorian Gray*, Wilde has his alter ego, the cynical Lord Henry Wotton upon his first encounter with the exceptionally attractive Dorian Gray declare: “I believe that if one man were to live out his life fully and completely, were to give form to every feeling, expression to every thought, reality to every dream—I believe that the world would gain such a fresh impulse of joy that we would forget all the maladies of medievalism, and return to the Hellenic ideal. ...The only way to get rid of a temptation is to yield to it.”
- 121 See Jerusha Hull McCormack’s excellent character study, *John Gray Poet, Dandy, & Priest* (Hanover, N.H.: Brandeis University Press, 1991).
- 122 Croft-Cooke, 203. There appears to be some disagreement between McCormack on one hand and writers like Richard Ellmann and Douglas Murray on the other, concerning the degree of sexual intimacy between Wilde and Gray. However, I think that all would agree with the assessment of McCormack that the sexually ambivalent, almost asexual Gray was more interested in Wilde’s professional and artistic connections than in any passionate homoerotic relationship.
- 123 Though Wilde was happy enough to let Gray go over to Raffalovich’s bed, the latter held a long and spiteful grudge against Oscar, partially because both he and Gray were jealous of Wilde’s literary and dramatic successes and partially because Wilde had had Gray first. After the Wilde trials in England, Raffalovich wrote a mean-spirited book against Wilde titled *L’Affaire Oscar Wilde*. Croft-Cooke called the book “a filthy little pamphlet.”
- 124 Neither Raffalovich and Gray ever talked at least publicly about their earlier experiences in London nor mentioned the name of Wilde after their conversion. In April 1900, shortly before his death in France, Wilde accompanied his friend Harold Mallor for a visit to Palermo and Rome, where he spotted Gray in his cassock walking with some fellow seminarians. Gray saw Wilde but quickly averted his eyes and passed him by. Gray had begun a new life—one totally unconnected with the now infamous Oscar Wilde. The two men never met again.
- 125 Douglas Murray, *Bosie—A Biography of Lord Alfred Douglas* (New York: Hyperion Books, 2000).
- 126 Ellmann, 386. Douglas’ first published poem was “*De Profundis*.” He also wrote the famed “*The Two Loves*” from which comes the oft-quoted reference to sodomy, “the Love that dare not call its name.”
- 127 Croft-Cooke, 232–238. According to Croft-Cooke, Johnson was dwarf-like in stature, an excellent scholar, an alcoholic, and a leader of Winchester’s homosexual clique until his conversion to Catholicism.
- 128 Ellmann, 386.
- 129 *Ibid.*
- 130 Croft-Cooke, 173.
- 131 Hyde, *Trials*, 60. Although Wilde was said to have initially been repulsed by the act of sodomy, preferring instead interfemoral or oral stimulation, he had been weaned over to buggery by the time of his trials.

- 132 *Ibid.*, 65.
- 133 Like most modern-day homosexuals, Wilde used same-sex pornography, in addition to alcohol and drugs, to stimulate and enhance his sexual performance. There is also some evidence that he tried his own hand at writing homoerotic pornography. While there are a number of these books such as *Sins of the Cities of the Plain* that have been wrongly attributed to Wilde, there is some evidence to support the belief that he did contribute to *Teleny*, a “how-to-do-it” guide for upper class Victorian gents interested in exploring “Greek love.” Unlike the anonymously written *Sins of the Cities* which is undisguised raw titillation, *Teleny* is replete with sophisticated references that range from Holy Scripture to the works of Chaucer, Dante and Shakespeare. The “aesthetics” of *Teleny*, however, are reduced to a hysterically comic level by the detailed physiological description of how the sexually experienced M. Rene Teleny goes about seducing and bugging his new lover, M. Camille Des Grieux—“...the sap of life began to move slowly, slowly, from within the seminal glands; it mounted up the bulb of the urethra...” It is high camp at its best. How Wilde’s name became linked with *Teleny* is an interesting story that may be as fictitious as the book itself. It began with a man named Charles Hirsch, who owned a little bookshop on Coventry Street in London called the *Librairie Parisienne*. Hirsch reported that Wilde was a regular client for whom he special-ordered expensive, high quality erotica of a “Socratic” nature, that is, same-sex pornography. In 1892, shortly after *Lady Windermere’s Fan* had opened at the St. James Theater, Hirsch said that Wilde left a wrapped package with him with special instructions for its delivery to a friend who would call for the “manuscript” and identify himself by presenting Wilde’s calling card. Three men came and went, the last returning with a sloppily wrapped marked-up manuscript for a homoerotic novel titled *Feleny*, (changed to *Teleny*). The novel was published under the fictitious imprint *Cosmopoli* by Leonard Smithers in 1893. Wilde was reputed to be the brains behind the work that included other contributors. According to H. Montgomery Hyde, the *Olympia Press* in Paris republished the original English version in the early 1960s and listed the author as Oscar Wilde. Whether or not he actually micro-managed its writing is perhaps secondary to the fact that he certainly was capable of doing so by 1892. For a fuller discussion of possible contributors see the Introduction to the *Gay Men’s Press* 1986 edition of *Teleny* by John McRae. Interestingly, none of Wilde’s best-known biographers including Richard Ellmann and Rupert Croft-Cooke make any reference to Wilde’s possible association with the *Teleny* manuscript.
- 134 Croft-Cooke, 174.
- 135 *Delay*, 291–292.
- 136 André Gide, *If I Die ... An Autobiography*, translated by Dorothy Bussy (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1935).
- 137 *Delay*, 291.
- 138 Wilde enjoyed mocking and subverting conventional morality in all his writings and plays. He often made coded references to homosexuality and other sexual transgressions. For example, the word “earnest” as in *The Importance of Being Earnest* was a common slang term for homosexual among “in” groups in upper Victorian society. In *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* (New York: Methuen, 1983), writer Jack Zipes explains that “Wilde was highly disturbed by the way society conditioned and punished young people if they did not conform to the proper rules.” He had always been sensitive to the authoritarian schooling and church rigidity which most English children

were expected to tolerate,” writes Zipes. The author contends that Wilde’s “purpose” in writing his fairy tales was “subversion”: “He clearly wanted to subvert the messages conveyed by [Hans] Andersen’s tales, but more important his poetical style recalled the rhythms and language of the Bible in order to counter the stringent Christian code,” says Zipes. Wilde’s views on marriage and fidelity, most especially those expressed in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, must have distressed the two women who loved him most—his wife, Constance and his mother, Lady Wilde. For example, Lord Henry tells Basil, “... the one charm of marriage is that it makes a life of deception absolutely necessary for both parties. I never know where my life is, and my wife never knows what I am doing.” “What a fuss people make about fidelity!” exclaimed Lord Henry to Basil and Dorian. “My dear boy, the people who love only once in their lives are really the shallow people. What they call their loyalty, and their fidelity, I call either the lethargy of custom or their lack of imagination. Faithfulness is to the emotional life what consistency is to the life of the intellect—simply a confession of failures.” “Never marry at all, Dorian,” Lord Henry advises. “Men marry because they are tired; women because they are curious; both are disappointed.”

139 *Ibid.*, 394.

140 The Wilde-Douglas Affair was so notorious that even London’s commoners were aware of the nature of their relationship as evidenced by later trial transcripts of testimony of parents whose boys Wilde used. The only two persons who appeared to be suffering from denial were Constance and her mother-in-law, Mrs. Wilde.

141 See Anna Dunphy, *Comtesse De Bremont, Oscar Wilde and His Mother A Memoir* (London: Everett & Co., Ltd., 1911).

142 Croft-Cooke, 175.

143 Wilde was reported to be an opium eater. Drug addiction was not uncommon in Victorian society. The working class used it as a magic elixir to treat all sorts of ailments and the upper classes for the exotic experience it afforded the senses. Within the middle classes, its use was generally associated with the Bohemian life and writers and artists including Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, creator of Sherlock Holmes. Wilde had his Lord Henry Wotton preach his gospel of decadence while puffing on an opium-tipped cigarette or opium pipe.

144 Croft-Cooke, 210.

145 *Ibid.*, 261.

146 *Ibid.*, 264.

147 *Ibid.*, 232.

148 *Ibid.*, 268.

149 *Ibid.*

150 *Ibid.*, 270.

151 *Ibid.*

152 *Ibid.*, 269–270. Sidney Mavor later entered the Church of England as a curate.

153 Michael S. Foldy, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde Deviance, Morality, and Late-Victorian Society* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 17. See also Croft-Cooke, 271.

154 Croft-Cooke, 27.

155 *Ibid.*, 274.

- 156 *Ibid.*, 278–279.
- 157 *Ibid.*, 157.
- 158 Wilde, *Dorian Gray*, 16.
- 159 Ellmann, 387, 577.
- 160 John Graham Chambers, a member of the Amateur Athletic Club (AAC), wrote these rules in 1865. They were published in 1867 with the financial patronage of John Sholto Douglas, the 8th Marquis of Queensberry.
- 161 Queensberry had four sons: Viscount Francis Archibald Douglas (Lord Drumlanrig); an eldest surviving son, Lord Douglas of Hawick, and younger sons Lord Percy Douglas, and Lord Alfred Douglas, and one daughter.
- 162 Like his nemesis, Queensberry, Archibald Philip Primrose, Fifth Earl of Rosebery was a Scot, titled, an outstanding sportsman (“best shot in England”), and fabulously wealthy—a man who from birth viewed the world from the top down. He was born on May 7, 1847, the third child and eldest son of Lord and Lady Dalmeny. Archie was the favorite of his father, but not his mother. He was but three years old when Lord Dalmeny died. The loss of his father cast a long shadow over his early childhood and Archibald withdrew into himself. He was an attractive child with girlish good looks that stayed with him until well past middle age. His early tutor was the brilliant Eton scholar, classicist and pederast William Johnson (Cory) (1823–1892). He later attended Bayford House boarding school, Eton (1860–1865) and Christ Church, Oxford (1866–1869). He left Oxford, however, without taking a degree due to a disagreement with university authorities over his refusal to give up his stable. He took a world tour instead. Even at the age of 18, he remained somewhat of an enigma to his family and friends. He was intelligent, charming, an avid reader and chronicler and mature beyond his years but his sarcasm, “flaming temper” and moody personality tended to alienate many of his acquaintances. He had few close friends and even fewer who were permitted to call him by his familiar name “Archie.” In 1868, at the age of 21, he met his future wife, Hannah de Rothschild. Over his mother’s objections (Hannah was a Jewess), the couple were married ten years later in a lavish wedding (civil and religious). Hannah proved to be a woman with uncommonly good sense, a devoted wife, an excellent mother to her four children and an outstanding social hostess as befitting the Rothschild name she bore. Lord Rosebery’s marriage to a Rothschild brought him into what is perhaps the world’s most influential and wealthiest family. It also opened to doors into Whitehall’s most elite political circle. Although Rosebery held expansionist Imperialist views, he nevertheless aligned himself with the Liberal Party in the House of Lords where he had taken his place in May 1867 at the age of 20 when he inherited his title following the death of his grandfather. In 1880, after the General Elections, Prime Minister William Gladstone made Rosebery Under-Secretary for the Home Office for Scottish Affairs. Between 1881 and 1886 he continued to hold various government posts including the Commissioner of the Board of Works and entered the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal. He served as PM Gladstone’s Foreign Secretary for brief period in 1886 and for a full term beginning on August 15, 1892. This latter appointment came two years after the death of his wife Hannah. On March 5, 1894, Gladstone resigned and Queen Victoria named Rosebery Prime Minister. By the time of the opening of the Queensberry-Wilde trial on April 3, 1895, the Liberal Party was in utter chaos and on June 22, 1895 Rosebery tendered his resignation. In 1905 he abandoned the fractionalized Liberal Party and quit politics all together to return to private life. At the out-

break of World War I, Rosebery became Governor of the British Linen Bank. The remainder of his life was spent with his children and grandchildren and in pursuing the hobbies he loved—collecting books, tapestries, old silver. He also now had the time and money to indulge in his life-long passion for the Turf (horse racing) and breeding of race horses. He died on May 21, 1929 following a series of strokes that left him partially crippled. There are currently four major biographies on Lord Rosebery: Edward Raymond James, *The Man of Promise Lord Rosebery—A Critical Study* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1923, 1972); Robert Rhodes James, *Rosebery A Biography of Archibald Philip, Fifth Earl of Rosebery* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1963); Gordon Martel, *Imperial Diplomacy Rosebery and the Failure of Foreign Policy* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, Mansell Publishing Ltd., 1986); and David Brooks, ed., *The Destruction of Lord Rosebery From the Diary of Sir Edward Hamilton 1894–1895* (London: The Historians' Press, London, 1986). None of these biographies make any direct reference to Lord Rosebery's alleged homoerotic passions. However, in 1997 writer Michael S. Foldy, reopened the question of Lord Rosebery's alleged homosexuality in *The Trials of Oscar Wilde: Deviance, Morality, and Late-Victorian Society*. Unlike the case against Wilde, the matter of Rosebery's alleged homosexuality including his involvement with Queensberry's eldest son, Lord Drumlanrig, when Rosebery was in his late forties, is based primarily on circumstantial evidence. Nevertheless, that evidence is worth examining in light of its potential importance with regard to Queensberry's legal victory over Oscar Wilde. The first question is, if Rosebery did entertain homosexual affectations during his lifetime, where did they begin? There are of course the usual general suspects—boarding school and Oxford—but there is also one that has as yet been explored. In his excellent 1963 biography of Rosebery, Robert James noted that the classicist and poet William Johnson (Cory) had been a tutor to the young Rosebery. Johnson, a well-known disciple of Platonic paederastia and a member of the Apostles, a secret society at Cambridge University, was dismissed from his teaching post in 1872 following the exposure of his affair with one of the young men in his charge. According to Richard Deacon, author of *The Cambridge Apostles* (New York, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1985), that pupil was none other than the Earl of Rosebery. Johnson's famous book of verse, *Ionica* (1858) reflects the author's romantic vision of the ideal man-boy relationship based on the Hellenic model. Young Rosebery's Adonis features combined with his solitary and melancholic disposition would have made him an appealing candidate for seduction to a Uranian like Johnson. None of Rosebery's biographers mention that he had any serious female attachment before his marriage to Hannah at age 30, even though he was one of London's richest and titled bachelors. But this would not have been unusual in aristocratic Victorian society. His biographers do, however, note that he was a heavy gambler and that he was addicted to the Turf. With regard to his other vices, Edward Thompson wrote that Rosebery, like other "noblemen" had a relish for the "coarser pleasures of sense," and Rosebery himself often made reference in his diary to his personal struggle against "...temptations of the sensual life," "his own nature" and his "egotistic belief." On a rather strange note, James wrote that "throughout his life Rosebery was always surrounded with peculiarly malicious gossip," but goes no further. Martel tells us that Rosebery collected pornography, but is not specific as to gender. In his own investigation of Rosebery, Foldy mentions a curious letter sent by E. Neville-Rolfe of the British Consul (Italy) to Lord Rosebery at his private villa near Naples, on

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December 30, 1897. The letter alerted Rosebery to the fact that the “infamous” Oscar Wilde, calling himself Mr. Sebastian Nothwell [sic], was staying not two miles away in a small villa at Posillipo. Neville-Rolfe writes that Wilde had separated from Douglas and was living the life of a recluse. He assures Rosebery, however, that he doesn’t think “the poor devil” will give him “any trouble.” In the late 1800s, Naples, as Algeria, was a well-known sexual enclave for English pederasts. However, Foley’s suggestion that Rosebery selected his vacation spot to have ready access to Neapolitan boys, like Wilde and Douglas did, fails to take into consideration that his villa was an ancestral residence that he and his brother and sisters used to vacation when Rosebery was a little boy. Why did Neville-Rolfe decide to share the information with Rosebery? Again, there are many possibilities. If Rosebery was in fact known to frequent local homosexual haunts, then the letter concerning Wilde’s close proximity would have served as a warning to him. Even if Rosebery was not involved in any homosexual liaisons, the letter could have been written to spare him possible social or political embarrassment from guilt by association. Or it may have been simply a juicy piece of gossip to break the tedium or gain favor with the influential English Lord. Foley also raises the question as to whether or not Rosebery’s bout with ill-health and his virtual nervous breakdown while serving out his term as Prime Minister was in anyway connected to the Wilde trials and to a successful effort at blackmail by Queensberry for the purpose of insuring that the Crown got a conviction against Wilde without involving Bosie. It is possible to put together a timeline for the period in question. For almost two years after Hannah’s death in 1890, Rosebery suffered from severe depression and insomnia. However, by June 1892, he appeared to have sufficiently recovered to accept the important post of Foreign Secretary under Gladstone. Queensberry’s attack on Rosebery in Homburg took place in early 1893. H. M. Hyde, in his *Trials* said the attack was provoked by Rosebery making Drumlanrig an English peer. On March 5, 1894, Rosebery became Prime Minister of England. Almost eight months later, on October 18, 1894, Lord Drumlanrig met his death, a death rumored to be tied to an unnatural attachment to Rosebery. In *De Profundis*, Wilde recalls the accident that occurred on the eve of Lord Drumlanrig’s marriage and states that the incident was “stained with a darker suggestion.” The tragic death of Rosebery’s young protégé is not mentioned by any of his biographers. On March 1, 1895, Rosebery, who was recovered from an attack of influenza, received the news that his old nemesis, the “crack-brained” Queensberry was arrested after being named in a libel suit initiated by Oscar Wilde. One week later, Rosebery was reported to be seriously ill. By March 18, his depression and acute insomnia were reported to be so severe that his closest friends feared a complete mental breakdown. Rosebery’s poor state of health continued through to the latter part of April. On April 25, one day before the start of Wilde’s first criminal trial, Whitehall reported that the Prime Minister was doing better. By May 9, Rosebery was seen out in public but appeared to suffer a relapse. From May 13–20 Rosebery was reported to be on a yachting trip. On May 28, only days after Wilde was convicted at Old Bailey, Whitehall reported that Rosebery had made a satisfactory recovery and no further word was heard about his health. Unfortunately, his Liberal Party had not recovered from its fratricidal battles and Rosebery was forced to resign on June 22, 1895. According to Foldy, two of Wilde’s major biographers, H. Montgomery Hyde and Richard Ellmann, intimate that Queensberry had evidence against highly placed government officials, specifically Prime Minister Lord

Rosebery, in connection with alleged sodomitical crimes. And that Queensberry used that evidence to keep his son, Lord Douglas' name out of Wilde's criminal trials and to make sure the Crown won its case against Wilde. This may have been why the Crown replaced Mr. Justice Gill with the high-powered Solicitor-General Lockwood when Wilde was retried. Were the charges of homosexuality against Lord Rosebery true? Possibly, at least for a early period in his life and maybe in his later years. One can wonder if the Rothschild family, with its worldwide intelligence service would have permitted Hannah to marry Lord Rosebery if there was even the remotest suspicion that he was a practicing sodomite at the time of his marriage? If Rosebery was in fact involved with Queensberry's son, there might have been extenuating circumstances surrounding the affair. It is possible that Rosebery engaged in same-sex acts as a youth, abandoned them when he married, and then, when Hannah died, renewed his homoerotic liaisons with his personal secretary, Lord Drumlanrig, out of loneliness. It is not an uncommon phenomenon. Writer Howard J. Booth in his essay "Surpassing the Modernist Reception of Symonds," in *John Addington Symonds—Culture and the Demon Desire* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000) includes Lord Rosebery in the Naples Bay homosexual clique. If I were to venture an opinion on the Rosebery case, I would say that there is a good possibility that Rosebery, at some stage during his life, did engage in homoerotic activity. The fact that James reports that Rosebery was plagued by "peculiarly malicious gossip" throughout his life tends to reinforce that belief. Queensberry hired detectives to get the goods on Wilde. There is no reason why he would not have done the same with Rosebery. However, whereas Wilde was fairly easy prey—Rosebery was not—he was a nobleman, he had unlimited financial resources, and most importantly he was protected by one of the world's most powerful families—the Rothschilds. In the end perhaps Queensberry simply had to settle for Wilde's head and leave Rosebery to his Maker.

- 163 Robert Rhodes James, *Rosebery A Biography of Archibald Philip, Fifth Earl of Rosebery* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1963), 287.
- 164 James, 287.
- 165 Ellmann, 417.
- 166 *Ibid.*, 441.
- 167 *Ibid.*, 419.
- 168 *Ibid.*, 438.
- 169 Hyde, *Trials*, 80.
- 170 *Ibid.*, 81.
- 171 *Ibid.*, 443.
- 172 Foldy, 12.
- 173 Ellmann, 468.
- 174 The summation of the Wilde trials is based on the following texts—Michael S. Foldy, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde: Deviance, Morality, and Late-Victorian Society* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997); Rupert Croft-Cooke, *Feasting With Panthers A New Consideration of Some Late Victorian Writers* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967); Richard Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988); H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Trials of Oscar Wilde* (New York: Dover, 1962); and Vyvyan B. Holland, Merlin Holland, Rupert Hart-Davis, *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2000). There are thousands of on-line refer-

ences to the Wilde trials including portions of the transcripts from the trials. See <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/wilde/wilde.htm>. The reader may want to keep in mind, however, that there is good reason to believe that these historical records may have been doctored and tampered with at the time of the trials, so they may not be as accurate as once believed. We know Wilde lied under oath, first about his age and then about his relationships with the boys Taylor brought him and others he and Douglas solicited.

- 175 Hyde, *Trials*, 86.
- 176 Ellmann, 445. Wilde's solicitors were not the only ones in denial. The following story is related by Ellmann. Frank Harris was one of Wilde's closest friends who stood by him throughout the trials. After Wilde's first trial, when Harris heard about the testimony of the chambermaids at the Savoy Hotel concerning Wilde's young bedroom companions, he told Wilde that they must have mistaken Douglas for him and that the whole thing was a pack of lies. Harris also decried the testimony of Shelley, but noted that there was no one to collaborate the young clerk's story anyway. At which point, Wilde broke into the conversation and exclaimed, "You talk with passion and conviction, as if I were innocent." "But you are innocent, aren't you," Harris asked. "No," replied Wilde. "I thought you knew that all along." To which Harris responded "I did not believe it for one moment." Harris told Wilde that it did not make a great deal of difference to him, and it seems, from subsequent events that it did not. Wilde relates the same conversation with Harris in *De Profundis*: "A great friend of mine—a friend of ten years standing—came to see me some time ago, and told me that he did not believe a single word of what was said against me, and wished me to know that he considered me quite innocent, and the victim of a hideous plot. I burst into tears at what he said, and told him that while there was much amongst the definite charges that was quite untrue and transferred to me by revolting malice, still that my life had been full of perverse pleasures, and that unless he accepted that as a fact about me and realized it to the full I could not possibly be friends with him any more, or ever be in his company. It was a terrible shock to him, but we are friends, and I have not got his friendship on false pretences."
- 177 Foldy, 18.
- 178 *Ibid.*
- 179 Ellmann, 459.
- 180 Foldy, 20.
- 181 Hyde, *Trials*, 151.
- 182 See Edmund Bergler, M.D., *Homosexuality: Disease or Way of Life?* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 92.
- 183 Ellmann, 457.
- 184 Much of the evidence against Wilde was actually volunteered by an actor named Charles Brookfield, who held a personal grudge against Wilde. Private detectives Kearley and Littlechild, formerly with the Metropolitan police, were also hired by Queensberry to get evidence against Wilde going back approximately three years to the time when Wilde took up his affair with Douglas. It was not a difficult task. Neither Wilde nor Douglas ever bothered to hide their own affair much less those with the young men they solicited for sex. On the contrary, Wilde appeared to take special delight in exhibiting his youthful catamites at the theater and other public places. Some writers have criticized Queensberry's hirelings for engaging in unethical and even

unlawful means to secure evidence against both Alfred Taylor and Wilde and for coaching witnesses in their oral testimony. They are silent, however, about the fact that Wilde and Douglas visited a number of these same young men including Shelley, Scarfe, Mavor, and Atkins in order to secure their silence should they be questioned by Queensberry's men. Obviously, detective work in the Victorian era was not without its special dangers especially when it involved gathering evidence in connection with sexual transgressions including adulterous or homosexual liaisons. Death threats were commonplace especially in cases that involved tracking prominent sodomites through the corridors of the criminal underground.

- 185 Ellmann, 460. Also Foldy, 34.
- 186 Hyde, *Trials*, 166.
- 187 Foldy, 32. The 25 counts were broken down as follows: nine counts misconduct with the Parker brothers; three counts with Freddie Atkins; five counts with Alfred Wood; two with unknown boys at the Savoy; two with Sidney Mavor; and one with Edward Shelley.
- 188 Lord Douglas of Hawick, Queensberry's heir and Douglas' elder brother was legally represented at the trial also. He had met one of the boys in the case, Ernest Scarfe, on his way to Australia in 1893 and thought he should protect himself legally.
- 189 Ellmann, 462.
- 190 *Ibid.*, 392.
- 191 Hyde, *Trials*, 171–173.
- 192 *Ibid.*, 184.
- 193 *Ibid.*, 193.
- 194 *Ibid.*, 194.
- 195 *Ibid.*, 198.
- 196 Ellmann, 463.
- 197 *Ibid.*, 464.
- 198 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864–1901), a friend of Wilde's, was present at the trials and characterized Oscar's appearance as "jaded and flabby."
- 199 *Ibid.*, 464–465.
- 200 *Ibid.*, 465.
- 201 By the end of the final trial, Wilde was bankrupt. When the promised financial assistance from Bosie's brother fell through, bailiffs seized all of Wilde's property and goods and liquidated his estates to pay Queensberry's costs and to satisfy Wilde's other creditors. See http://www.crimelibrary.com/gangsters_outlaws/cops_others/oscar_wilde/11.htm.
- 202 See "All About Oscar" at http://www.crimelibrary.com/gangsters_outlaws/cops_others/oscar_wilde/13.htm.
- 203 Foldy, 23–30. The author provides an excellent summary on the circumstantial nature of Queensberry's claims against Rosebery.
- 204 Taylor was tried separately and the jury found him guilty. At his trial, that was attended by the silent Clarke, there were a number of witnesses who swore under oath that Taylor and Wilde were often seen together and in the company of young boys that they brought to the Savoy. The prosecution also produced telegrams regarding certain "arrangements" which Taylor had made

- with Wilde concerning the young men Taylor had solicited and in most cases already slept with. Taylor's sentencing, however, was held over until Wilde's verdict was rendered. In the end, both men received a two-year sentence with hard labor that included solitary confinement. Because of his age and poor physical condition, Taylor was excused from heavy physical work. Wilde spent most of his time indoors, his cell was poorly ventilated, and his diet was poor. Mail was limited and censored. Visitors were few with Wilde's creditors at the head of the line.
- 205 Foldy, 40.
- 206 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 207 Ellmann, 475.
- 208 See Sally Brown, "The Downfall of Oscar Wilde," Part II from the British Library Collections available from <http://www.bl.uk/collections/wilde2.html>.
- 209 Ellmann, 476.
- 210 *Ibid.*, 476.
- 211 Foldy, 45.
- 212 Hyde, *Trials*, 264–265.
- 213 Douglas was not in the country at the time of the trial. He had gone abroad at request of Clarke. He was reported to have visited Lord Henry Somerset of Cleveland Street scandal fame, and to have resumed his boy hunting adventures in Capri and Sorrento.
- 214 Ellmann, 477.
- 215 Hyde, *Trials*, 266–267.
- 216 Ellmann, 477.
- 217 Immediately after Wilde's conviction, a friend of Wilde, possibly Tyrell, approached Whitehall for a Royal pardon, but Home Secretary Michael Howard reported that it was refused. Later, in July 1896, Wilde sent his first petition to the Home Secretary requesting a mitigation of his sentence, but again was turned down. He was, however, permitted to have extra reading materials of his choice.
- 218 Foldy, 66.
- 219 *Ibid.*, 56.
- 220 *Ibid.*
- 221 See Trevers Humphreys, *A Book of Trials* (London: Heinemann, 1953). Sir Humphreys, who died in 1956, wrote the foreword to H. Montgomery Hyde's 1948 text of *The Trials of Oscar Wilde*.
- 222 Hyde, *Trials*, 150.
- 223 Linda Dowling, *Hellenism & Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994).
- 224 *Ibid.*, 78
- 225 Members of the English aristocracy whose approval Wilde had slavishly sought since he came down to Oxford from Trinity College, Dublin were conspicuously absent among Wilde's defenders. This is not surprising. As Croft-Cooke has pointed out, Wilde was always considered an "outsider" by the British Establishment, or as the French would have it, was *declassé*. Before Wilde's conviction, there were some members of the aristocracy and prominent political leaders who were willing to indulge Wilde's idiosyncrasies—sexual and otherwise—in exchange for an evening of entertainment and amusement. However, Wilde was never an intimate in

Victorian England's better society despite his attempts to live the life of an aristocrat vicariously through his young lover, Lord Alfred Douglas. Writer Terry Eagleton in the "The Doubleness of Oscar Wilde" (The *Wildean*, 19, July 2001, 2–9) made the following observations which cast an interesting light on Wilde's place in English society. Eagleton wrote: "Like many an Irish émigré washed up on the shores of England, Wilde set about the business of becoming more English than the English, a project he shared with Joseph Conrad, Henry James, T. S. Eliot, V. S. Naipaul and a good many other luminaries of modern English literature. ...The Irish didn't only have to supply Britain with its cattle and grain; they also had to write much of its literature for it. ...All of these men practiced that most native of all Irish customs, getting out of the place. ...At once in and out of English society, they could master its conventions while at the same time turning a subversive satirical eye upon them. ...Or perhaps, as he himself would say, imitation is the sincerest form of mockery. ...So though the Irish wit in England is allowed to play the clown, from Oliver Goldsmith to Brendan Behan, this licensed jester must ultimately know his place. ...He mustn't get his hands, however well-manicured, on sons of the aristocracy, whose destiny is to marry and reproduce their line, and, if he does, as Bernard Shaw knew very well, the English have long experience in how to take care of such rotters, cads and bounders. He was born into that most schizoid of social classes, the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy, and like Yeats, tended to feel English in Ireland and Irish in England. The Anglo-Irish endured a kind of internal exile, at once natives and aliens, rules and victims, both central and marginal to Irish life. If they were formidably self-assured, they could also feel fearfully defensive and besieged, and Wilde, the patrician who himself became persecuted, reflects something of this ambiguity. ...A similar duality haunts the career of Wilde's great compatriot and contemporary, Charles Stewart Parnell, another Anglo-Irishman brought low by a combination of sexual misdemeanors and a spiteful British Establishment." The full text and commentaries from other authors on Oscar Wilde are available from http://www.pgil-eirdata.org/html/pgil_datasets/authors/w/Wilde,O/comm.htm.

226 Foldy, 60.

227 Croft-Cooke, 168.

228 Ellmann, 225. Note: By the time the letter was written, Wilde's brief idyll with Douglas following his release from jail nine months before had come to a bitter end and Wilde returned to Paris from Italy in poor health and desperate financial condition. Constance, who still loved her husband, was willing to forgive Oscar and aid him financially after his release if he would agree to give up his homosexual adventures, but Wilde had preferred Bosie to his family.

229 Croft-Cooke reported that after the Wilde trials there was a "social cleanup" that involved a crackdown on pornography. Even men's fashions were affected and men cut their hair short.

230 Some historians give the transfer date as November 21, 1895. See http://home.arcor.de/oscar.wilde/about/p/prison_years.htm.

231 De Profundis, line 792.

232 Hyde, *Trials*, 296.

233 Constance initiated divorce proceedings in 1893, but withdrew them in October 1895. After the trials of her husband, she took her family name of Holland and went to live in exile in Geneva, Switzerland in a small village of Glion. In a letter from prison dated April 6, 1897 to Ross, Wilde rejected the

- conditions that were attached to his continued financial dependence on his wife. However, he did wish to see his children from time to time. In fact, he never did. Legal action was taken to deny Wilde access to his sons. Quadrant Productions has written a one-man show based on Oscar Wilde's son, Cyril Holland, who served in India as a soldier and died in Germany during World War I. Wilde's younger son, Vyvyan, served in the Royal Field Artillery, became a writer, entered the Catholic Church as a convert, and later married, but met with misfortune and died penniless. His son, Merlin Holland, with the financial assistance of Dame Rebecca West, attended Eton and Magdalen College, his grandfather's college. Merlin currently lives in London and has become a well-known lecturer on his grandfather's life and trials. He is the co-editor of the Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde. See http://www.biblio-india.com/articles/nd01_ar20.asp?mp=ND01.
- 234 Letter III was written from jail on April 1, 1897 to Robert Ross. See *The Prose of Oscar Wilde* (London: C. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), 721–722.
- 235 Letter I to Robert Ross dated March 10, 1896, *The Prose*, 715.
- 236 *Ibid.*
- 237 *Ibid.*, 717.
- 238 *Ibid.*, 719.
- 239 *Ibid.*
- 240 *Ibid.*
- 241 Letter III, 721.
- 242 *Ibid.*, 722.
- 243 The quotations from Wilde's *De Profundis*, unless otherwise noted, were taken from the complete original version of the work released from the estate of Oscar Wilde in 1962 and later printed in *Collins Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, the Centenary Edition* (Glasgow: Harper Collins, 1999). References to Wilde's letters and background information on *De Profundis* along with select quotes from the 1905 abridged text are from *The Prose of Oscar Wilde* (London, C. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909) are indicated in the endnotes.
- 244 It is somewhat ironic that Ross selected the title of *De Profundis* for Wilde's work since that was the same name that Lord Alfred Douglas gave to one of his early homoerotic poems written on or about the time of his introduction to Oscar Wilde. With regard to Douglas's reaction to the letter, there are a number of conflicting reports. In his later years, Douglas said that he never received (or read) Wilde's letter. Another story is that Douglas was angry with Wilde's letter and destroyed it without a full reading. Such a reaction would be understandable in that Wilde's love letter to his Bosie was hardly a flattering one.
- 245 Ellmann, 515.
- 246 Murray, 101.
- 247 Exceptions to Wilde's penchant for standing Christianity on its head can be found in his two letters on prison life and prison reform written to the editor of the *Daily Chronicle* on May 28, 1897 and March 24, 1898 following the publication of *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*. Copies of these are found in *The Essays of Oscar Wilde*, pp. 599–624
- 248 Letter III, 724.
- 249 *De Profundis*, "Prefatory Dedication," from 1905 version, 709.
- 250 *Ibid.*, 712–713.
- 251 *Ibid.*, 713.

- 252 De Profundis (1962), 980.
 253 Ibid.
 254 Ibid., 980, 982–983, 986, 989, 990.
 255 Ibid., 995.
 256 Ibid., 986, 993.
 257 Ibid., 994, 999.
 258 Ibid., 1001.
 259 Ibid., 995.
 260 Ibid., 1000, 1016, 1056.
 261 Hyde, *Trials*, 63–64.
 262 De Profundis (1962), 1008.
 263 Ibid., 1009.
 264 Ibid., 1010.
 265 De Profundis, 1905, 737, 740.
 266 De Profundis, 1962, 1016.
 267 Ibid., 1017.
 268 De Profundis, 1905, 741.
 269 De Profundis, 1962, 1018.
 270 Ibid.
 271 Ibid.
 272 Ibid.
 273 Ibid., 1019.
 274 Ibid.
 275 Ibid.
 276 Ibid. Foldy defines an antinomian as a person “who believes that faith alone, and not necessarily obedience to existing moral laws, is necessary for salvation.” In the context used by Wilde, it is related to the belief that the true artist was beyond the pale of all authority—both secular and religious.
 277 Ibid., 1019.
 278 Ibid., 1020.
 279 Ibid.
 280 De Profundis, 1905, 752.
 281 De Profundis, 1962, 1022.
 282 Ibid., 1025.
 283 Ibid.
 284 Ibid., 1026.
 285 Ibid.
 286 Ibid., 1027.
 287 Ibid., 1027–1028. In his essay, “The Soul of Man Under Socialism,” Wilde said, “The message of Christ to man was simply ‘Be Thyself.’” See <http://www.csulb.edu/~csnider/wilde.fairy.tales.html>.
 288 Ibid., 1034.
 289 Ibid., 1029.
 290 Ibid., 1035.
 291 Ibid., 1036.

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- 292 Ibid., 1036.
- 293 Ibid., 1034.
- 294 Ibid., 1036.
- 295 Ibid., 1037.
- 296 Ibid., 1039.
- 297 Ibid., 1042.
- 298 Ibid., 1044–1051. Wilde's first biographer was Robert H. Sherard. His works include *The Life of Oscar Wilde* and *Oscar Wilde Twice Defended*. André Gide and Frank Harris followed with their books that revealed the more seedy aspects of Wilde's homosexual life which the naïve Sherard could not bring himself to ever admit.
- 299 Ibid., 1057.
- 300 Ibid.
- 301 De Profundis, 1905, 794.
- 302 De Profundis, 1962, 1058.
- 303 Ibid., 1059.
- 304 Ibid.
- 305 Hyde, *Trials*, 307.
- 306 Ibid.
- 307 There appears to be conflicting stories as to who met Wilde at the prison gate when he was first released. Some sources report that it was More Adey, but Ross said it was he.
- 308 Ibid.
- 309 In "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," Wilde made good his promise to convey to the outside world the inhumanness of prison life. The work was based on the incarceration and ultimate death by hanging of Trooper Thomas Woodridge for the murder of his wife, and the reaction of other prisoners including Wilde, to Woodridge's bitter fate. The poem was published anonymously in February 1898, in London, by Leonard Smithers. Wilde also published a collection of epigrams and aphorisms extracted from his previous works.
- 310 Hyde, *Trials*, 59, 61.
- 311 The reference to Wilde's return to "his sewer life in Paris," is attributed to St. John Ervine, author of *Oscar Wilde: A Present Time Appraisal* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1951). After Wilde's release, Carlos Blacker who was a trustee of Constance Wilde's marriage settlement and one of Oscar's oldest and closest friends, wrote to Otho Holland, Wilde's brother-in-law, that he had ceased to communicate with Wilde. Blacker wrote, "After thus returning to his vomit (forgive the expression), it was obvious that he was hopeless and beyond redemption"
- 312 Ibid., 65.
- 313 Ibid., 311.
- 314 Foldy, 123.
- 315 See Andrew McCracken, "The Long Conversion of Oscar Wilde," *New Oxford Review*, September 1998: 13–18. Andrew McCracken is head of the Library Department and teaches Church history at Notre Dame Regional Secondary School in Vancouver, British Columbia. The full article is available from: <http://www.catholiceducation.org/articles/arts/al0010.html>.

- 316 Absinthe is a green liquor with high alcoholic content prepared from wormwood and other herbs.
- 317 Hyde, *Trials*, 313.
- 318 Father Dunne's assurance to Rome that he was "absolutely sure" that Oscar Wilde's conversion was valid must have been received with mixed emotions by Pope Leo XIII and Vatican officials—joy that Wilde had at last found his way home, but continuing concern over the anti-Christian influences of his life as a sodomite. It does not appear that any of Oscar Wilde's works were put on the Vatican's *Index librorum prohibitorum* (*Index of Prohibited Books*), although certain in-house publications such as the influential Jesuit journal *La Civiltà Cattolica*, established by Pope Pius IX in 1850, have been critical of both Wilde and his works in the past. In 1959, *La Civiltà Cattolica* identified the author of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* as a "devilishly perfumed show-off," and condemned "The Ballad of Reading Gaol." However, on October 10, 2000, the *Agence France-Presse* carried a story from Vatican City titled "Oscar Wilde Gets Positive Catholic Media Attention," by Rev. Antonio Spadaro that highlighted *La Civiltà Cattolica's* recent "rehabilitation" of the Irish playwright. The article by Antonio Spadaro, marked the centenary of Wilde's death. Spadaro contended that "The Ballad of Reading Gaol" did indeed contain "an implicit path of faith." Spadaro criticized *De Profundis* as being merely "too literary." He also stated, incorrectly, that the writing of the work represented Wilde's conversion to the Faith. Until the Second Vatican Council, *La Civiltà Cattolica* was considered to be one of the Holy See's strongest voices against Freemasonry and Modernism, in all its forms, but that appears to be no longer the case.
- 319 Ellmann, 583.
- 320 Ellmann, 585. Oscar Wilde's body was later reinterred in Père Lachaise, with a modernist monument by Jacob Epstein, commissioned after the sale of his works by Ross on completion payments, in 1909. In 1918, in accordance with Ross' wishes, his ashes were added to Wilde's tomb. Wilde is also remembered in a beautiful stained glass plaque at Westminster Abbey bearing his name and the date of his birth and death.
- 321 *Ibid.*, 577.
- 322 Murray, 124. The enmity between Lord Alfred Douglas and Robert Ross was of longstanding. Ross was always jealous of Bosie, even after he and Wilde had separated and Robbie had taken a new lover. The fact that *De Profundis* was addressed to Bosie and not him may have rekindled the flame of jealousy in Ross. Ross was present at the wedding of Douglas in 1902, but according to Douglas Murray resented the union. Ross redeemed himself by being a true friend to Wilde's two sons in their later years.
- 323 *Ibid.*, 266. In 1927, Lord Douglas' son, Raymond, was diagnosed with a severe mental illness and was taken to a religious order establishment operated by the monks of the Order of St. John. Raymond remained institutionalized until his death on October 10, 1964.
- 324 *Ibid.*, 187.
- 325 Ellmann, 459. See also Foldy, 5.
- 326 Hyde, *Trials*, 19.
- 327 Vanessa Thorpe and Simon de Burton, "Wilde's sex life exposed in explicit court files—Under the hammer: unpublished witness statements tell of 'rough' teenage boys and soiled sheets," *The Observer*, 6 May 2001. The article was reproduced on the *Guardian Unlimited*, UK online newspaper in

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the Book Review Section at

<http://books.guardian.co.uk/news/articles/0,6109,486664,00.html>.

328 Ibid.

329 Ibid.

330 Ibid.

331 Ibid.

332 See Cotter testimony at

<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/wilde/Crimcotter.html>.

333 This is a paraphrasing of a claim made by Paul Russell in *The Gay 100 A Ranking of the Most Influential Gay Men and Lesbians, Past and Present* (New York: Carol Publishing Co., 1995). Russell is a Professor of English and of Gay and Lesbian Studies at Vassar College. Russell listed Oscar Wilde as number “3” behind Socrates and Sappho. It is interesting to note that Wilde’s biographer Richard Ellmann insisted that Wilde’s homosexuality was a vital and positive force in his life. According to Ellmann, “Homosexuality fired his mind,” “liberated his art” and was the “major stage in his discovery of himself.” (281–286) However, if *De Profundis* is any indication of Wilde’s true feelings regarding his own homosexual behavior or homosexuality in general, perhaps homosexual apologists like Russell and Ellmann had better search elsewhere for their idealized homosexual poster boy.

334 *De Profundis*, 1905, 795.

335 Dowling, 115. Dowling also mentioned the Victorian Oxford mentor system inspired by Tractarian tradition of intense undergraduate male friendship [i.e., John Henry Newman and Hurrell Froude] and new institutional structures as model for a new civil elite in Britain with Oxford as its intellectual center. In this new model of tutoring, “...an older man, moved to love by the visible beauty of the younger man, and desirous of winning immortality through that love, undertakes the younger man’s education in virtue and wisdom.” Dowling also noted that many Oxbridge homosexuals and ambiguous personalities were drawn to Newman’s tutorial system and ascetic life.

336 Biographical data from Peter Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI The First Modern Pope* (Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1993).

337 Ibid., 43–44. The author’s source of information on Montini’s reading of Wilde is given as: *Lettere ai Familiari 1919–1943* ed. Nello Vian. Brescia, 1986, 2 vols. Istituto Paolo VI, ppix.xx

338 Ibid., 45. Born in 1798 near Novogrodek, Lithuania into an impoverished noble family, Adam Mickiewicz transformed his poetry into a revolutionary clarion for Polish independence. Although he later became entangled with the revolutionary and messianic doctrines of Andrzej Towianski, by the time of his death in 1855 he had reconciled with the Church. His body is entombed at the Cathedral of Krakow. It is unclear which Tolstoy Montini was reading in his seminary days. Neither could be considered clerical role models. Alexei Nikolaevich Tolstoy (1883–1945), one of the founders of Soviet literature, was the author of a number of works on pre-revolutionary Russia that led to the October Revolution of 1917 and the victory of the Bolsheviks and establishment of the Soviet State. Although he originally opposed the Bolsheviks and sided with the Whites, he later became a literary hack for the new regime. His epic work is the trilogy *Ordeal*. Between the years 1914 and 1916 Tolstoy served as a war correspondent for the newspaper *Russkie vedomosti* that sided with the Whites. He made several visits to the Front line, and traveled in France and England. In 1917, Tolstoy worked for General

Denikin's propaganda section. See <http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/atolstoi.htm>. The Russian novelist, author of *War and Peace*, Count Leo Tolstoy was born into a life of wealth and comfort in Czarist Russia. He attended the University of Kazan and as a youth led a dissolute life of heavy gambling, dueling and fornication. Although he was baptized in the Russian Orthodox faith, he did not return to it until he was 50 years of age. In 1901 he was excommunicated after his writing *Ressurrection* and later developed his own revolutionary religious model that embraced non-resistance to evil, a morality based on private conscience, and justice for the working classes and peasant farmers. He rejected the divinity of Christ and the authority of both Church and State. Many of Tolstoy's religious works can be found at the Anarchist Library at <http://flag.blackened.net/daver/anarchism/tolstoy/index.html>.

339 Ibid.

340 Ibid.

341 The biographical date on Symonds has been taken from the following sources: John Addington Symonds, *Sexual Inversion* (New York: Bell Publishers, 1985); Van Wyck Brooks, *John Addington Symonds—A Biographical Study* (Michigan: Scholarly Press Michigan, 1970), a reprint of the 1917 work; Horatio F. Brown, *John Addington Symonds—A Biography Compiled from His Papers and Correspondence* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1908); Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds: a Biography* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1964); Phyllis Grosskurth, *The Woeful Victorian: A Biography of John Addington Symonds* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); and Phyllis Grosskurth, ed., *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, (New York: Random House, 1984.) An outstanding online reference on Symonds is Sam Binkley's "The Romantic Sexology of John Addington Symonds," *Journal of Homosexuality* (Haworth Press, Vol. 40, No. 1.) available from <http://www.thing.net/~sbinkley/Symonds.html>. In Horatio Brown's biography of Symonds, there are no references to Symonds' homosexuality. Symonds had an apartment in Brown's house in Venice for some years so it is difficult to believe that his future executor did not notice his friend's particular friendship with Angelo Fustao, who Brown simply refers to as his "Venetian servant." Brooks' biographical study of Symonds written in 1917 does not mention Symonds' homosexuality either. Yet, of all the biographies of Symonds, it stands out in terms of its lively and perceptive character sketch of the man. Phyllis Grosskurth, is a Canadian educated at the University of Toronto and London, where she received her Ph.D. for her thesis on the literary criticism of Symonds. Although Symonds' Memoirs were still under embargo when she wrote *The Woeful Victorian*, the London Library did permit her to read the manuscript and make use of the facts it contained without direct quotation. When the manuscript was finally released, she became the editor of *Symonds' Memoirs* (1984). Although Grosskurth can hardly be accused of harboring homophobic views, her writings (along with those of Brooks) have been criticized by a number of gay writers as portraying Symonds as a victim of a painful and troubling condition, not, as they would prefer, an ideologue, visionary or reformist of the early homosexual emancipation movement. For other viewpoints see John Pemble, ed., *John Addington Symonds—Culture and the Demon Desire*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000). The text includes important essays by Jonathan Kemp, "A Problem in Gay Heroics: Symonds and l'Amour de l'impossible"; Peter J. Holliday, "Symonds and the Model of Ancient Greece"; and Howard J. Booth,

- “A Certain Disarray of Faculties’: Surpassing the Modernist Reception of Symonds.”
- 342 Phyllis Grosskurth, *The Woeful Victorian: A Biography of John Addington Symonds* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), 15.
- 343 Van Wyck Brooks (1917), *John Addington Symonds—A Biographical Study* (Michigan: Scholarly Press, 1970).
- 344 Dowling, 86. After Balliol, Symonds attended Magdalen College.
- 345 Holliday, Peter J., “Symonds and the Model of Ancient Greece,” in *John Addington Symonds—Culture and the Demon Desire*, ed. John Pemble (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 82 .
- 346 Supported by his father, a physician and sympathetic, intelligent man and Dr. Spencer Wills, the eminent family physician, Symonds was encouraged to seek the “cure” for his sexual affliction in marriage. His marriage took place in November 1864, but it proved to be a grave mistake. His wife Catherine appeared to have little interest in sex aside from doing her “duty,” and Symonds could not combat his distaste for the marital embrace which he used merely as a form of sexual release. After the birth of two daughters, the couple agreed to take “precautions” to prevent further births. Two more daughters later, sexual relations between Symonds and his wife ceased altogether. On April 7, 1887, Symonds’ eldest daughter, Janet, age 22, died in Davos of tuberculosis. Janet had been diagnosed with the lung ailment at the age of 14. After that time, Symonds switched his serious affections to his more active daughter Madge. Outwardly, Symonds and Catherine continued to live as man and wife, but as time went on Catherine became more jealous and resentful of Symonds’ young paramours whom he sometimes brought to his home. Virtually all signs of real affection died between them. Symonds remained, however, an affectionate father toward his four daughters.
- 347 See Horatio F. Brown, *John Addington Symonds—A Biography Compiled from His Papers and Correspondence* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1908), 356–480.
- 348 Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds: a Biography* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1964), 247. See also Brown, 10.
- 349 *Ibid.*, Grosskurth, 247. Symonds said that after he left Magdalen College, he preferred the writings and philosophy of Goethe, Bruno, Spencer (Herbert), Darwin and Whitman (Walt).
- 350 Like every writer, Symonds was not without his critics. The Cambridge History of English and American Literature lists Symonds as a Lesser Poet of the Middle and Later Nineteenth Century. For a critique of his poetry see <http://www.bartleby.com/223/0651.html>. Van Wyck Brooks was a critic of Symonds’ writings. He said that since Symonds always kept “his real self” hidden, it was essentially unexpressed in his works, in other words, his work lacked the “personality” that marks, for example, Dicken’s writings. He charged that Symonds’ writings lacked any truly comprehensive vision and possessed no inherent sense of unity. Perhaps Symonds’ neighbor in Davos, Robert Louis Stevenson, said it best when he quipped that he found Symonds, “a far better and more interesting thing than any of his books.”
- 351 See Rictor Norton “The Life of John Addington Symonds” at <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/symonds.htm>.
- 352 *Ibid.*
- 353 Young boys as well as young girls were readily available for sexual tourists in Italy during the mid-to-late 1800s.

- 354 Kemp, John, "A Problem in Gay Heroics: Symonds and l'Amour de l'impossible," in John Addington Symonds—Culture and the Demon Desire, ed. John Pemble (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 50. Other prominent Victorian homosexuals who sought sexual partners largely outside their own class were E. M. Forster (1879–1970) and Edward Carpenter (1844–1929). Forster, the British novelist, had as his lover for half a century a virile, handsome, married, London policeman who granted his most elemental wish: "to love a strong young man of the lower classes and be loved by him and even hurt by him." Edward Carpenter, the great English "sexual emancipator," was a fellow homosexual and friend of Symonds and traveled in the same radical socialist groupings. Believing the effeminacy of Uranians a myth, Carpenter and his working-class lover, George Merrill, both took on an affected form of macho dress. The class discrepancy was not as large as those between Symonds and his sex partners. Carpenter and Merrill lived in relative seclusion in the Derbyshire countryside and were not troubled by local police officials who were aware of their "arrangement." Carpenter joined the Fabian Society in 1884, and maintained an interest in the esoteric religions especially Hinduism. Carpenter first met John Addington Symonds in 1892 after the latter had begun collaborating with Ellis on *Sexual Inversion*. Carpenter supplied Symonds and Ellis with his own history, as well as numerous other case studies of homosexuals. Though many of his poems were openly homoerotic, including his most famous, the Whitmanesque "Towards Democracy," Carpenter did not write specifically about homosexuality until 1894, when he published "Homogenic Love: and its Place in a Free Society" privately. This pamphlet, which defended homosexuality as both natural and normal, was the fourth in a series on sexual liberation. The others were collected under the title *Love's Coming of Age* in 1896, but "Homogenic Love" could not be added until 1906 due to the publisher's fear—after the Oscar Wilde trials in 1895—of publishing any material on homosexuality. Carpenter argued that, just as ordinary heterosexual love fulfills its special function in the propagation of the race, other types of love should have a special function in social and heroic work and in the generation of spiritual and intellectual children. See <http://www.modjourn.brown.edu/mjp/Bios/Carpenter.htm>. A complete tour of Carpenter's works can be found at the Edward Carpenter Archive <http://www.simondsn.dircon.co.uk/ecindex.htm>.
- 355 Phyllis Grosskurth, ed., *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds*, (New York: Random House, 1984), 278.
- 356 *Ibid.*
- 357 *Ibid.*, 277. Apparently Symonds visited both male and female brothels at different stages in his life for he stated: "These adventures gave me little pleasure, and left me with strong disgust. ...To pay a man to go to bed with me to get an hour's gratification out of him at such a price, and then never see him again, was always abhorrent to my nature. I have tried the method, and have found that it yielded no satisfaction—less even than similar arrangements which I have made with women in brothels." Symonds then observed, "The sexual relation between man and man seems to me less capable of being reduced to frank sensuality than the sexual relation between man and woman."
- 358 Grosskurth, *Memoirs*, 193.
- 359 Grosskurth, *Woeful Victorian*, 128–129.
- 360 Grosskurth, *Memoirs*, 193.
- 361 *Ibid.*, 209–210.

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- 362 *Ibid.*, 212.
- 363 Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds: a Biography* (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1964), 199.
- 364 Grosskurth, *Memoirs*, 212, 296. See Appendix also. In the same letter, Moor told Symonds that he did not believe that the study alone of the classics caused paederastic instincts although they may appear to sanction those instincts. He also suggested that sex instruction merely increases one's sexual curiosity so as not to be considered a cure. He advised a well-rounded program of work and play.
- 365 *Ibid.*
- 366 *Ibid.*
- 367 *Ibid.*, 213.
- 368 Grosskurth, *Biography*, 176, 212.
- 369 *Ibid.*, 275.
- 370 *Ibid.*, 275.
- 371 Brown, 471.
- 372 Kemp, 51.
- 373 *Ibid.*
- 374 *Ibid.*
- 375 *Ibid.*, 59. In *A Problem in Modern Ethics* Symonds quotes anthropologist Paola Mantegazza's theory that the desire for anal penetration (*aversa*) may result from the malformation of the nerves of pleasurable sensation being located in the rectum instead of the genital organs.
- 376 *Ibid.*
- 377 In 1882, the German physician Robert Koch (1843–1910) discovered the microorganism *M. tuberculosis* that was responsible for pulmonary tuberculosis. Although the discovery of antibiotics and the BCG vaccination to prevent tuberculosis was many years away, it was known that overcrowded conditions, unsanitary conditions and poor nutrition that were endemic in Victorian England's poorer neighborhoods was a breeding ground for the fatal disease.
- 378 This clever strategy was not lost on homosexual sexologist Alfred Kinsey, many decades later.
- 379 Kemp, 46. Károly Mária Kertbeny (Karl Maria Benkert) (1824–1882) was a German-Hungarian writer who coined the terms "homosexuality" and "heterosexuality." He used these terms first in correspondence with Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in 1868 and in subsequent anonymous pamphlets that called for the repeal of Prussia's anti-sodomy laws. Although he claimed to be a "Normalsexualer" he said he opposed any government attempt to regulate sexual behavior. Both terms began appearing in U.S. medical journals in the 1890s and came into general usage during the 1920s. See http://www.leatherarchives.org/sitemap_/Exhibits/Tony%20DeBlase/Exhibits_DeBlase_Timeline2.html.
- 380 Norton, 13. Symonds' homoerotic series, *Studies of the Greek Poets* (1873–1876) was written at the same time he was working on his apologia for pederasty and manly love, *A Problem in Greek Ethics*.
- 381 *Sexual Inversion* was published in 1896, three years after Symonds' death in Leipzig under the German title *Daskonträre Geschlechtsgefühl* and bore both authors' names—Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds. Symonds' *Memoirs* were left in the care of his literary executor Harold Brown to be

- published after his death, but Catherine Symonds refused her consent so that they were not published until 1984 by Phyllis Grosskurth.
- 382 Both *A Problem in Greek Ethics* and *A Problem in Modern Ethics* are available in printed and online formats. *Sexual Inversion* (New York: Bell Publishers, 1984) with an introduction by Richard Michaels contains a revised version of both studies. Mr. Rictor Norton was kind enough to grant me permission to quote from the original 1893 text of *A Problem in Greek Ethics* and the 1891 text that is available from his website— John Addington Symonds Pages, at <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/symindex.htm#contents>. The reader may want to compare the original “in your face” introduction to “*A Problem in Greek Ethics*” with the “revised” watered down version of the introduction that appears in the appendix of *Sexual Inversion*.
- 383 Symonds, *Modern Ethics*, Norton, ed.
- 384 *Ibid.* Speaking of the “nameless” passion, Symonds says that even when society bestows a name on the practice, he “can hardly find a name which will not seem to soil this paper.” This universal expression of contempt for homosexual acts appears to undermine the idyllic romanticized picture of same-sex passions that Symonds painted in his introduction. Later, he stated, “It is a common belief that a male who loves his own sex must be despicable, degraded, depraved, vicious, and incapable of humane or generous sentiment.” Again, the use of the term, “common belief” indicates the normal attitude toward such behavior is one of universal revulsion.
- 385 *Ibid.*
- 386 Also mentioned are Sir Richard Burton, J. L. Casper and Carl Liman, authors of *Handbuch der Gerichlichen Medicin*, Inspector Carlier, Chief of the Police Department for Morals in Paris, French Professeur B. Tarnowsky, Dr. Paul Moreau, Dr. Julius Rosenbaum and others.
- 387 The English edition of *Lehrbuch der Psychiatrie (1879–80)* was published in 1904.
- 388 In subsequent editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Krafft-Ebing expanded his study of homosexuality (i.e., the apathic sexual instinct) to include additional case studies and observation notes.
- 389 See “Krafft-Ebing Diagnoses Degenerates” from the Gay History website at <http://www.gayhistory.com/rev2/events/1886.htm>.
- 390 Symonds, *Modern Ethics*, Norton, ed.
- 391 Sam Binkley, “The Romantic Sexology of John Addington Symonds,” in *Journal of Homosexuality* (New York: Haworth Press, 40, no. 1), 4. See <http://www.thing.net/~sbinkley/Symonds.html>.
- 392 *Ibid.*
- 393 Dr. Henry Maudsley (1835–1918), the eminent British psychiatrist and editor of the *Journal of Mental Science*, was the 19th century’s Establishment spokesman on the dangers of habituated masturbation. “In the life of the chronic masturbator, nothing could be so reasonably desired as the end of it, and the sooner he sinks to his degraded rest the better for himself, and the better for the world, which is well rid of him,” he said. Nothing ruined a young man’s moral character and health quicker and paved the way to “madness” than self-abuse, said Maudsley. See <http://www.catbull.com/alamut/Biblio/OSMOND%20Humphrey/Psyche.htm>.
- 394 See Cesare Lombroso, *Crime, Its Causes & Remedies*, Translation by Henry P. Horton (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1918). Lombroso placed

about 40 percent of the criminal population in the “born criminal” category. Although he began his criminology career as a biological determinist, in his later years he began to talk about the “multiplicity of causes” that contributed to criminal behavior.

395 *Ibid.*, 418.

396 *Ibid.*

397 Symonds, *Modern Ethics*, Norton, ed.

398 See Hubert Kennedy, *Ulrichs: The Life and Works of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson Publications, Inc., 1988). Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was born on the family estate in Westerfeld in Hanover, Germany on August 28, 1825. His father died when Karl was 10. In addition to losing his father, he also lost one brother and one sister. Both mother and son were devoted to one another. Karl was baptized and confirmed a Lutheran. Although, in later years, he was attracted to Roman Catholicism he never converted. Ulrichs completed his university studies in the law in 1855, but felt more attracted to an academic and writing career. In the end he entered the civil service administration in Hanover as a jurist (judge) and remained at his post for six years until his homosexual activities became public and he resigned his position. Ulrichs immigrated to Italy in 1880 and died in L'Aquila on June 14, 1895, the year of the opening of the Wilde trials in England.

399 *Ibid.*

400 Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, *The Riddle of 'Man-Manly' Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality*. Translated Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, Vol. I and II (Buffalo, N.Y: Prometheus Books, 1994), 527.

401 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 161–164, 306–311, 314. Although Symonds thought these “outlandish” names to be “seemingly pedantic and superfluous” he believed that they were necessary to a proper understanding of Ulrichs’s system. The term “Urning” was borrowed by Ulrichs from a Viennese Doctor of Law named Kaserer with whom he had correspondence in the late 1860s.

402 Kennedy, 63.

403 *Ibid.*, 108–109.

404 Ulrichs, Vol. 1, 300–304.

405 *Ibid.*, 159.

406 *Ibid.*, 62–63.

407 *Ibid.*, 141–142.

408 *Ibid.*, 141.

409 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 564.

410 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 143.

411 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 643,

412 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 142.

413 Kennedy, 163.

414 *Ibid.*

415 Symonds, *Modern Ethics*, Norton, ed.

416 *Ibid.*

417 Ulrichs, Vol. I, 122, Vol. II, 376. With regard to the issue of offenses against public decency, Ulrichs held that no penalty should be invoked if the person who discovered the act was a child under ten, a mentally deficient person, or

any police official or public authority since such persons could not possibly be offended by any sexual act they came upon. On the question of the punishment by law of male prostitutes, Ulrichs equivocated since he believed that such men provided a valuable service to Urnings whose natures demanded satisfaction from other males. Ulrichs professed to be against child molestation, but he seemed to have ambivalent feelings about Urning relationships with adolescent boys. It appears that Ulrichs was not anxious for police to take action against pederasts unless the incident involved the use of force or threat of violence. For example in *The Riddle of 'Man-Manly' Love*, he presented a case involving a 14-year-old boy who is quietly and kindly seduced by his riding master, a handsome 30-year-old man. Ulrichs was in no way critical of the elder man's actions. On the contrary, he praised the relationship that developed in glowing terms as a "bond based on truly reciprocal love between two Urnings, a Weibling and a Mannling." Personally, Ulrichs preferred soldiers, particularly the hussars, as sexual partners and did not appear to have ever been attracted to young boys after he reached adulthood.

418 Symonds, *Modern Ethics*, Norton, ed.

419 Ulrichs, Vol. II, 369.

420 Grosskurth, *Biography*, 278.

421 Symonds, *Modern Ethics*, Norton, ed.

422 Ulrichs, Vol. I, 21.

423 Symonds, *Modern Ethics*, Norton, ed.

424 *Ibid.*

425 Ulrichs, Vol. II, 561.

426 Symonds, *Modern Ethics*, Norton, ed.

427 Anna Dunphy, *Comtesse De Bremont, Oscar Wilde and His Mother: A Memoir* (New York: Haskell House Ltd., 1972), 16.

428 *Ibid.*, 33.

429 Symonds, *Modern Ethics*, Norton, ed.

430 Brooks, 116.

431 See David S. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 36–39. Walter Whitman was born in West Hills, (L.I.) New York. He was the second eldest son in a family of eight children—Jesse, George (Washington), Thomas (Jefferson), Andrew (Jackson), Edward, Louisa Hannah, and Mary Elizabeth. Like many homosexuals, the poet appeared to have little contact with his siblings once he entered adulthood with the exception perhaps of his sister Mary. As a young child, he had little religious training. His father did not attend church and his Quaker mother occasionally attended the local Baptist church and other area churches. His religious beliefs as a young man were a combination of freethinking, Quakerism, deism, and spiritualism. Whitman attended public school from 1825–1830 in Brooklyn, N.Y. where he had moved at the age of 4, but left at the age of 11 to take a job as an office boy.

432 Gary Schmidgall, *Walt Whitman A Gay Life*, (New York: Dutton Press, Penguin Putman Publishers, 1997), xxx.

433 *Ibid.*, 122.

434 *Ibid.*, 88, 116.

435 *Ibid.*, 22, 332.

436 *Ibid.*, 73–79.

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- 437 For an interesting review of anti-sodomy statues in the United States from colonial to modern times see Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac—A New Documentary* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publications, 1983). There are a number of websites available on this topic including “The Sensibilities of Our Forefathers,” by George Painter at <http://www.sodomylaws.org/sensibilities/commonlaw.htm>.
- 438 Schmidgall, 84.
- 439 Reynolds, 71–73.
- 440 Schmidgall, 74.
- 441 Henry Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. Vol. I. and Vol. II (New York: Random House, 1936). Ellis had visited Symonds at the Brown residence in Venice on a few occasions and so had a working relationship with him before his death. Some of the topics covered by Ellis in his *Psychology of Sex* series included “autoeroticism” (masturbation), a term he coined and a subject and practice close to Ellis’ heart; “erotic symbolism,” the mechanics of male-female coitus; fetishism and scatology; “sexual education”; prostitution and venereal disease; trial marriages; and pregnancy. Ellis’ writings in favor of liberated sex, eugenics and birth control appeared frequently in Margaret Sanger’s journal, *Birth Control Review*. This gave him greater exposure in the American Press. Ellis met the married Sanger in late 1914 and they remained close friends even after their affair had ended. His books include *The New Spirit* (1890), *Man and Woman* (1894) *The Erotic Rights of Women* (1918) and his autobiography, *My Life*, published posthumously in 1940. *Sexual Inversion* underwent a number of revisions over the years and in 1915 Ellis added material provided by the well-known German sexologist and homosexual Magnus Hirschfeld. Ellis also developed an interest in lesbianism as practiced and propagandized by English and American representatives of the sexually liberated “New Woman,” including Radclyffe Hall, author of *The Well of Loneliness*, Gertrude Stein, and Virginia Woolf of Bloomsbury fame. His essays covered a wide-variety of subject matter from reminiscences of his early experiences in Australia to “social hygiene” (eugenics) to the plays of Christopher Marlowe.
- 442 Havelock Ellis, *My Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939), 449–450. Henry Havelock Ellis was born on February 2, 1859 in Croydon, Surrey, England, the eldest and only son among five children. His father was a ship builder. The young Ellis, like so many famous sexual inverts of the period, was a “sickly child.” He attended French and German schools in England and later private boarding schools. He began his medical career with a special interest in sexology in 1880 at St. Thomas’s Hospital in London and graduated nine years later with the minimum Licentiate in Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery from the Society of Apothecaries. He became a member of the British Medical Society although he never established his own practice. Throughout his medical schooling, finances were a chronic problem, making moonlighting a necessity. His radical socialist politics and writings on literary, social and sexual issues drew him away from a career as a physician, and redirected his interest towards radical sexual politics and the “science” of sexology. This brief biographical sketch of Havelock Ellis was taken from *My Life* and the Ellis website at <http://www.modjourn.brown.edu/mjp/Bios/Ellis.htm> and other internet sources.
- 443 *Ibid.*, 351–373. *Sexual Inversion* was published with the assistance of Ellis’ fellow radicals, George F. S. Von Weissenfeld (alias Dr. Roland de Villiers)

later discovered to be a notorious forger and confidence man, and Mr. George Bedborough, both of “the Legitimation League,” over which the London police kept a watchful eye. Worried that he might be prosecuted under the Obscene Publications Act, Ellis secured the legal assistance of Wilde’s former solicitor C.O. Humphreys and Sons. Ellis, however, was never brought to trial. Von Weissenfeld committed suicide while in jail, but Bedborough was able to secure immunity from prosecution and escaped the clutches of the law. Sexual Inversion was declared obscene by the London courts and all remaining issues burned by the government. See <http://people.albion.edu/mhensley/thesis.htm>.

- 444 Paul Robinson, *The Modernization of Sex* (New York: Harper Colophon, Harper & Row, 1977), 27.
- 445 *Ibid.*, 27.
- 446 See “Philosophizing Dangerously with Friedrich Nietzsche” at <http://www.tearsofflorona.com/nietzsch>.
- 447 Colin Wilson, *Sexual Misfits—A Study of Sexual Outsiders* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1988), 181. As Wilson noted, the fact that Ellis received pleasure from watching his female partners urinate in front of him is not so amazing as the fact that he was able to convince these women that “golden streams” (“golden showers,” a common homosexual practice involves urinating on one’s partner) represented a forward step in sexual aesthetics, rather than “a case of arrested development.”
- 448 In 1891, Ellis married Edith Lees with an “understanding” that both remain financially and sexually independent. Although their cohabitation as man and wife was short lived and each sought sexual satisfaction elsewhere, their relationship was strained by jealousies—both sexual and professional. Lees suffered from manic-depression that grew more serious with age. She died in September of 1916 before her divorce from Ellis was finalized. Ellis’ later years were happier. He fell in love with a young Frenchwoman, Françoise Lafitte, and the two lived in a common-in-law marriage until his death in 1939 at the age of 80. Lafitte is said to have restored Ellis’ virility and helped him toward a more normal pattern of sexual relations in his last years with her.
- 449 Ellis, *Sexual Inversion*, xiv, 41. Ellis did reluctantly admit there were “rare” cases of acquired sexual inversion. He also acknowledged that, at least in England, homosexuality was artificially induced by certain public school practices and customs.
- 450 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 451 *Ibid.*, 156.
- 452 *Ibid.*, 3, 14.
- 453 *Ibid.*, xiii.
- 454 *Ibid.*, 117–118. Ellis, like Symonds, discounted the idea that sexual inverts were predominantly sodomites. Based on the case studies reproduced in *Sexual Inversion*, he claimed that some homosexuals never had any physical contact with their partner or never went further than mutual masturbation. He said fellatio was rare. For those that practiced paedicatio (sodomy) most took the active not passive role. However, he stated in none of the case studies did any of the inverts declare that sodomy was their habitual or preferred sexual activity.
- 455 *Ibid.*, 49, Case Study VII.

- 456 The Latin text of Article CXVI—Punishment of the unchastity that is committed against Nature—can be found at <http://www.well.com/user/aquarius/boehmer.htm>. Homosexual acts and bestiality were punishable by death by fire although there were provisions for extenuating circumstances involving age and ignorance of the law. In April 1871, with the founding of the second Reich, Germany got a new constitution and penal code based largely on Prussian law. Paragraph 143 of the old Prussian Penal Code was now applied to all the Federated German States. It was later renumbered as Paragraph 175 and became as famous (or infamous) as England's Labouchere Amendment.
- 457 Ulrichs put the ratio of Urnings to Dionings in Berlin in 1864–1865 as 1 per 500 adult males. However, when compared with official police records for the same period, his figures were grossly underestimated. See Ulrichs, 261.
- 458 Ulrichs, Vol. II, 106.
- 459 Ibid.
- 460 The following cases involving clerics are cited by Ulrichs in *The Riddle of 'Man-Manly' Love*:
- A priest in Lüttich who was arrested for soliciting. (1862)
 - A senior Protestant minister (Ulrichs' cousin) at St. Albani's Church in Göttingen was charged with having sexual relations with a soldier. He fled to America. (1863)
 - A priest who was curator of Moos in the Passeier Valley was charged with solicitation. (1864–65)
 - A priest who taught at the Jesuit Gymnasium in Augsburg was accused of having sexual relations with three students belonging to the nobility. (1868)
 - A lay brother and teacher at the Royal Orphanage in Vienna directed by the Jesuits was accused of sex abuse. (1869)
 - A priest who was a teacher and the cathedral curate for the bishop of Augsburg was accused of corrupting a 12-year-old boy in a public place. He appealed his eight-day sentence in prison and was given a thirty-day sentence in its place (1869).
 - A Catholic rector of a secondary school in Rorschach was under investigation for unnatural vice (1869).
 - A Unitarian minister who was suspended for propositioning a soldier. He was later reinstated to his post, but then convicted and jailed for one year. (1869).
 - An English cleric of the Anglican faith, who identified himself to the police as an assistant to the Archbishop of Edinburgh was arrested in Nuremberg for immorally touching two young boys, ages 13 and 14 and for disturbing the peace. He was sentenced to 4 months in prison, but he filed an appeal and was acquitted. Later it was revealed that the accused was in fact the Archbishop of Edinburgh himself. (1869)
- 461 Details of the trial of Carl Von Zastrow were taken from Ulrichs' *The Riddle of 'Man-Manly' Love* and from Hubert Kennedy's superior accounting of the case in *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs—Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement*.
- 462 Kennedy, 168. If Ulrichs did not know Zastrow personally, he may have known of him, because according to Kennedy, when the police raided Ulrichs' home in Burgdorf in 1867, the year Corny was butchered, Zastrow's name was on the list that Ulrichs had compiled of Berlin Urnings.
- 463 Ibid., 169.

- 464 Ulrichs, 528.
- 465 Ibid., 526.
- 466 Ibid., 528.
- 467 Ibid., 437.
- 468 Ibid., 452.
- 469 Kennedy, 168.
- 470 Ibid.
- 471 Ulrichs, 452.
- 472 Ibid., 437.
- 473 Kennedy, 169.
- 474 Ulrichs, 525.
- 475 Kennedy, 168.
- 476 Ibid.
- 477 Ulrichs, 527.
- 478 Ibid.
- 479 Ibid.
- 480 Kennedy, 169. The German term “contrary sexual feeling” to describe the homosexual condition was translated into English as “inverted proclivity” (1871) and then into “sexual inversion” (1878). It remained the standard psychiatric term for homosexuality until 1915 when it was replaced with Freud’s term “homosexual” to define a condition that was acquired or learned behavior rather than congenital or inborn. See “Westphal Invents Sexual Inversion,” at <http://www.gayhistory.com/rev2/events/1869.htm>.
- 481 Ibid. 171.
- 482 Ulrichs, 435–472.
- 483 Ibid. 455.
- 484 Ibid., 368.
- 485 Ibid. 457–458.
- 486 Ibid., 494.
- 487 Ibid., Ibid., 418, 428.
- 488 Ibid., 578–584, 612.
- 489 Phrase taken from William Manchester’s chapter on the Krupp Affair in *The Arms of Krupp* (Little, Brown and Co., 1968), 206.
- 490 See Norbert Muhlen, *The Incredible Krupps The Rise, Fall, and Comeback of Germany’s Industrial Family* (New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1959).
- 491 For a detailed analysis of the relationship between Fritz Krupp and Kaiser Wilhelm II see Isabel V. Hull, *The Entourage of Kaiser Wilhelm II 1888–1918* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 158–171.
- 492 Author William Manchester (*The Arms of Krupp*) has pieced together some threads of Krupp’s pederastic and criminal activities in Berlin. According to Manchester, Herr Conrad Uhl, the proprietor of the Hotel Bristol in Berlin where Krupp retained apartments separate from his wife Marga, had gone to the police to inform them that the wealthy industrialist had set up what was essentially a male bordello at his hotel. Krupp asked Uhl to hire some of his Italian paramours in order that they might be sexually available to him whenever he visited. Krupp picked up the entire tab including their wages. Uhl, who was fearful that he might be prosecuted for permitting his hotel to be

- used for criminal purposes, went to see the Berlin Police Commissioner who headed a special vice unit for homosexual deviants. Von Tresckow, who no doubt already had Krupp on his list of the rich and famous that included “three counts, all aides-de-camp of the Kaiser...and the King of Wurttemberg, the King of Bavaria, and Archduke Ludwig Viktor,” told Uhl to remain silent, he had done his duty. See [wysiwyg://6/http://www.angelfire.com/ut/branton/krupp3.html](http://www.angelfire.com/ut/branton/krupp3.html). See also Scott Lively, *The Poisoned Stream: Gay Influence in Human History Vol. I. Germany 1890–1945, Vol. I* (Keizer, Ore.: Founders Publishing Corp., 1997), 38–39.
- 493 On June 28, 1935, the language of Paragraph 175 (and related sex offense sections of the penal code) was amended. There are a number of different translations of these revisions. The important changes included the substitution of the term “criminally indecent activities” that could be more broadly interpreted to include fellatio, mutual masturbation as well as sodomy to replace the former term “sexual acts.” A jail sentence with a maximum of ten years was attached to serious violations of Paragraph 175 especially those involving the use of force or violence, undue duress, and males who engaged in homosexual acts for a living (prostitutes). Judges were given more discretion in cases involving partners under age 21. Cases of pederasty involving minors (boys under 14) were considered especially heinous. Between 1871 and 1935 the average number of arrests for a violation of Paragraph 175 was about 500 annually. Paragraph 175 was liberalized in 1969 and then abolished from the penal code in 1994.
- 494 Muhlen, 92.
- 495 Manchester, 223.
- 496 Muhlen, 93.
- 497 Manchester, 224.
- 498 Ibid.
- 499 Ibid., 225.
- 500 Ibid., 226.
- 501 Hull, 170.
- 502 Muhlen, 94.
- 503 See Russell, 18. Also www.sbu.ac.uk/stafflag/magnushirschfeld.html.
- 504 See Charlotte Wolff MD, *Magnus Hirschfeld—A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology*, (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 225. In her sympathetic biography of Hirschfeld, German psychiatrist Charlotte Wolff expressed puzzlement as to how Hirschfeld, who had no fortune of his own, managed to live a life entirely free of financial worries. She said that she had been told by a Hirschfeld relative that he received “much money from rich homosexuals in Germany,” and stated that he charged astronomical fees from his wealthier patients, but she does not mention the possibility of blackmail. As to Hirschfeld’s alleged role in trying to blackmail Fritz Krupp, the timing and the circumstances of the incident tend to favor the charge against him by Russell. Wolff reports that after Krupp’s death, Hirschfeld publicly stated that Paragraph 175 was responsible for the suicide.
- 505 In a letter of June 22, 1869, to the German revolutionary leader Karl Marx on the subject of Karl Ulrichs’ theories on homosexuality, Friedrich Engels, Marx’s close collaborator and financier, casually observed that the pederasts appear to be winning the day with their new motto of “war against the frontal

- orifices, peace to those behind. Noting that pederasts have attracted support from important personalities and were already well organized (albeit secretly), Engels wrote: "...But just wait until the North German Penal Code recognizes the *drois du cul* (literally, the rights of the asshole) then he (Ulrichs) will operate differently. ...Then things will go badly for poor frontside people like us, with our childish penchant for females," he concluded. The letter is quoted by Kennedy in his biography of Ulrichs. A cleaned up version is found in Richard Plant's, *The Pink Triangle—The Nazi War Against Homosexuals*, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1986), 38.
- 506 Wolff, 27–29.
- 507 Russell, 16. Hirschfeld wrote the small booklet with publisher Max Spohr in Leipzig. It concerned the suicide of a young officer on the eve of his marriage because of his homosexual feelings. "Dr. Ramien" declared that society should accept homosexuality and decriminalize its practice.
- 508 See Wolff, 60–61.
- 509 The speech by NAMBLA activist David Thorstad, "Pederasty and Homosexuality," presented to the *Semana Cultural Lesbica-Gay*, Mexico City on June 26, 1998, is available from www.nambla1.de/pederasty.htm. Thorstad told his audience that discrimination by homosexuals against their brother pederasts was evident in Germany in the late 1890s and he attributed this discrimination to political opportunism by "gays" who were seeking political gains as the expense of man-boy lovers. According to Thorstad, the two groups disagreed on the nature and origin of same-sex attraction. He said that while most homosexuals adhered to belief that homosexuality was an inborn permanent condition, the pederasts believed in the bisexual and fluid nature of human sexuality and that homosexuality was a predominantly acquired condition. In exchange for additional political support, Thorstad said, Hirschfeld and the SHC agreed to raise the age of consent from 14 to 16 years of age, a compromise that the pederasts denounced.
- 510 *Ibid.*
- 511 For a view of Berlin's homosexual milieu see Stan Persky, *Boyopolis: Sex and Politics in Gay Eastern Europe* (Woodstock, N.Y.: The Overlook Press, 1996).
- 512 Wolff, 55–56.
- 513 Scott Lively, *The Poisoned Stream—“Gay” Influence in Human History*. Vol. I. Germany 1890–1945 (Keizer, Ore.: Founders Publishing Corporation, 1997), 15.
- 514 Wolff, 55–56.
- 515 *Ibid.*, 42.
- 516 *Ibid.*, 449.
- 517 *Ibid.*, 449–450.
- 518 See Rictor Norton, "One Day They Were Simply Gone"—The Nazi Persecution of Homosexuals at <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/nazi.htm>.
- 519 Wolff, 251–252.
- 520 See Engel, *Sex Education—The Final Plague*, 9–12.
- 521 Wolff, 252. The text of the 1897 Petition was translated by Wolff and is found in the appendix of her biography on Hirschfeld.
- 522 *Ibid.*, 43. In a 1901 article in the SHC journal *Jahrbuch*, Krafft-Ebing is said to have retracted his theory that sexual inversion is morbid and degenerate. Rather he said it was an inherited variation. Krafft-Ebing had always been against the criminalization of homosexual acts. He argued that even though

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the perverse deserve to be punished, perverts do not. See “Krafft-Ebing Diagnoses Degenerates” at <http://www.gayhistory.com/rev2/events/1886.htm>.

- 523 Ibid.
- 524 Ibid., 448–451.
- 525 Ibid., 447.
- 526 Ibid., 121.
- 527 Ibid., 58–59.
- 528 Ibid., 182.
- 529 Ibid., 54.
- 530 Ibid., 281.
- 531 Ibid., 144.
- 532 Ibid., 141.
- 533 Ibid.
- 534 Ibid., 101–102. According to Wolff, when Hirschfeld left the Berlin Psychoanalytical Society that he helped found in 1911, Freud, who had once hailed Hirschfeld as a revolutionary figure in sexology, bitterly attacked him. Freud said that “Magnus Hirschfeld, who has left the ranks, was no great loss.” Freud described him as “a flabby, unappetizing fellow, incapable of learning anything.” Hirschfeld had a thicker skin, said Wolff, and he was usually more open to his critics than Freud.
- 535 Wolff, 126.
- 536 Ibid., 176.
- 537 Ibid., 57.
- 538 Ibid., 218. Tante (Auntie) Magnesia was the nickname given to Hirschfeld by his detractors.
- 539 Ibid., 185.
- 540 Ibid., 221.
- 541 Ibid., 416.
- 542 Ibid., 414.
- 543 Ibid., 333–334.
- 544 Ibid., 94.
- 545 Ibid., 259.
- 546 Ibid., 282.
- 547 Ibid., 47.
- 548 Ibid.
- 549 Ibid., 233–242.
- 550 Karl Marx, real name Mordecai, was born into a well-to-do bourgeois Jewish family in Trier, Prussia on May 5, 1818. His grandfather was a Cologne rabbi and his freethinking Jewish father, a lawyer. Educated at the local gymnasium and the Universities of Bonn and Berlin, the young Marx was originally drawn to Hegelism, but later adopted the materialistic and atheistic doctrine of Ludwig Feuerback. He was also a Freemason and a Satanist. He married in 1843. Marx met the wealthy Engels in 1844 and together expanded on the already well established revolutionary theories and practices of proletarian Socialism or Communism. Much of their work and organization, including the writing of *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) and the formation of the First

International (1864) was carried out in London. Marxist-Engels doctrine called for violent world revolution to create a new socialist order based on scientific materialism and class warfare, culminating in the victory of the proletariat or working class over their bourgeois exploiters to form a classless socialist state. Marx's opus work was *Das Kapital*. Marx died in London in 1883. For a look at Marx's interest in American affairs, especially the Civil War and the U.S. labor movement, see Solange Hertz, *The Star-Spangled Heresy: Americanism* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Veritas Press, 1992). Friedrich Engels was born in Barmen Germany on November 28, 1820. His father was a wealthy industrialist with a cotton-factory in Manchester, England where Friedrich was sent to supervise the workers. After their initial meeting in Paris in 1844, the two men formed a close ideological and political as well as personal partnership with Engels supporting Marx and his family for their entire lives. Engels was active in the formation of the Communist Correspondence Committee (1846) and the Communist League as well as the first drafting of *The Communist Manifesto*. Like Marx, Engels was arrested and exiled on a number of occasions from a number of different European countries for his revolutionary theories and practices. After Marx's death, he edited, translated and promoted all of Marx's works. He died in London on August 5, 1895. See <http://www.marx2mao.org/Lenin/KM14.html> and <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/TUengels.htm>. Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, who later took the name of Lenin, was born in Simbirsk on April 22, 1870. His father died when he was only 16 and his brother was executed one year later for revolutionary activities against the Czar. Drawn initially to a career in law, Vladimir Ilyich later embraced the tenets of Marxism and aided in the formation of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) in 1898. When the party split, Lenin became the head of the Bolshevik faction. After the October 1917 Revolution in which the Bolsheviks came into power, he became the Chairman of the new Soviet government. Lenin founded the Third Communist International (Comintern) in March 1919 and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922, two years before his fatal stroke at which time Stalin overcame his rivals including Trotsky and assumed power over the USSR. From: *The Lenin Internet Archive: Biography: Timeline* at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/bio/timeline.htm>.

- 551 For an excellent discussion of homosexuality and the political "Left" as seen through the eyes of contemporary "gay" activists and writers see by Gert Hekma, Harry Oosterhuis, James Steakley, eds., *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1995.)
- 552 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 553 See Laura Engelstein, "Soviet Policy Toward Male Homosexuality: Its Origins and Historical Roots" in *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*, eds. Gert Hekma, Harry Oosterhuis, James Steakley (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1995).
- 554 Wolff, 233–234.
- 555 Engelstein, 172.
- 556 *Ibid.*, 169.
- 557 In 1913, under Czar Nicholas II, Colonel Alfred Redl, a senior intelligence officer in the Austro-Hungarian army was blackmailed by the Russians who held evidence of his homosexual activities against him. Redl continued to supply the Russians with valuable military secrets until a chance incident led to his discovery. He killed himself with a pistol in a Vienna Hotel.

- 558 Wolff, 423.
- 559 Ibid., 221. In addition to “donations” Hirschfeld received from wealthy homosexual patients, whom he charged an exorbitant rate, Hirschfeld obtained some monies from experimental treatments that he created. For example, he developed a hormonal treatment for impotence and frigidity called “Titus Perlen” that he promoted at his lectures and in his professional publications and from which he received considerable profits. According to Wolff, the preparation was hazardous and she attacked Hirschfeld as being both professionally and ethically reckless in promoting a dangerous treatment, especially one in which he had financial interests. On February 1, 1924, in an elaborate ceremony, Hirschfeld turned the ISS over to the new Weimar Republic in order to secure certain tax advantages and to give the Institute more respectability. He accepted the title (and kept control) of the new foundation. In the meantime, the secretariat of the old SHC was taken over by 24-year-old Richard Linsert, a member of the Communist Party with whom Hirschfeld collaborated on a number of later works. The policies of National Socialism under Adolf Hitler toward homosexuals, contained much of the ambiguity that marked Soviet anti-sodomy legislation. Nazi propaganda described homosexuality as a form of “sexual bolshevism.” Yet, Hitler tolerated Ernst Röhm, a known-homosexual as leader of the paramilitary SA until political opportunism dictated that Röhm and his kind be eliminated in the “Night of the Longknives” in 1934. Hitler also used the pedophile hammer against certain religious orders, particularly Franciscans, in his attack on the Roman Catholic Church.
- 560 With the rise of National Socialism and the Nazi Party in the 1930s, Hirschfeld’s personal safety and the safety of the Institute came under increasing attack. Hitler, like Stalin was particularly interested in getting hold of all of the Institute’s secret files as well as the card list of the World League for Sexual Reform. However, by March 1933 when the Nazis raided the Institute, Giese had already escaped with most of the important documents and records and brought them to Hirschfeld who had resettled in France.
- 561 The best overall reference on the Eulenburg Affair is Isabel V. Hull, *The Entourage of Kaiser Wilhelm II 1888–1918* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1982). An excellent historical portrait of the entire Von Moltke family is found in Otto Friedrich, *Blood and Iron—From Von Bismarck to Hitler—the Von Moltke Family’s Impact on German History* (New York: Harper Perennial, Harper-Collins Publishers, 1995). Other sources include John C. G. Röhl and Nicolaus Sombart, *Kaiser Wilhelm II New Interpretations—The Corfu Papers*, translated by Terence F. Cole (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1982); John C. G. Röhl, *The Kaiser and his Court Wilhelm II and the Government of Germany*, translated by Terence F. Cole (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994); James D. Steakley, “Iconography of a Scandal: Political Cartoons and the Von Eulenburg Affair in Wilhelmin Germany,” in *Hidden from History—Reclaiming the Gay & Lesbian Past*, eds. Martin Baum Doberman, Martha Vicinus, George Chauncey, Jr., (New York: New American Library, Penguin Books, 1989); and Scott Lively *The Poisoned Stream “Gay” Influence in Human History Vol. I Germany 1890–1945*, (Keizer, Ore.: Founders Publishing Corporation, 1997). The excerpts from Lively’s *The Poisoned Stream* used in this book were taken from the electronic version available at <http://www.abidingtruth.com/poisonedstream/chapter1.html>. See also, “The Von Eulenburg Affair—‘Outing’ as delayed Revenge?” *Die Andere Welt*,

- February 1997, 8–9 at
[http://mitglied.lycos.de/eratonet/en/Von Eulenburg_affair.htm](http://mitglied.lycos.de/eratonet/en/Von_Eulenburg_affair.htm).
- 562 Röhl, *The Kaiser and his Court*, 3–4. As Röhl points out, Kaiser Wilhelm II's desire for "personal rule" never embraced a "full scale-autocracy."
- 563 Hull, 17.
- 564 *Ibid.*
- 565 *Ibid.*
- 566 Röhl, 12–16.
- 567 Hull, 9, 48. The author provides a detailed examination of Kaiser Wilhelm II's Umgebung (entourage).
- 568 *Ibid.*, 146.
- 569 Röhl, 31.
- 570 Hull, 49.
- 571 *Ibid.*, 70.
- 572 Röhl, 64–67.
- 573 Hull, 49–50. Also Röhl, 97.
- 574 *Ibid.*, 47, 51–53.
- 575 *Ibid.*, 109. Also Röhl, 55–57.
- 576 Röhl, 101.
- 577 *Ibid.*, 101–102.
- 578 Hull, 130.
- 579 Röhl, 42–50.
- 580 General Kuno Graf von Moltke should not be confused with General Helmuth von Moltke who became Kaiser Wilhelm II's Army Chief of Staff in 1906. Although von Helmuth occasionally hunted with members of the Liebenberg Circle, he was never an intimate member of von Eulenburg's intimate circle. See *Lexikon der Deutschen Generale—von Moltke, Helmuth 1848–1916 and von Moltke, Kuno Graf 1847–1923*—at www.lexikon-deutschegenerale.de/m_pr2.html.
- 581 Hull, 53. It may be that Eulenburg and Moltke shared a brief sexual intimacy early in their relationship, but like Oscar Wilde and Lord Alfred Douglas, they later found it more sexually satisfying to seek out (and share) other sexual outlets in the form of "recreational" sex with renters, prostitutes and lower class workmen.
- 582 Röhl, 61. The author states that according to Axel Varnbüler, Eulenburg conducted a number of extra-marital affairs with women.
- 583 Eulenburg entered diplomatic service in 1877 and served as Secretary to the Prussian Mission in Munich (1881–88) before his appointment to the ambassadorship in Vienna.
- 584 Fritz Stern, *Gold and Iron—Bismarck, Bleichroder, and the Building of the German Empire* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1977), 306.
- 585 Lively, 29.
- 586 Hull, 55–56.
- 587 Stern, 273. Former Chancellor von Bismarck was well aware that the Fourth Estate in Germany was dominated by Jews, so it was logical that he would seek out the assistance of Harden in exposing the Eulenburg homosexual clique that surrounded the Kaiser.
- 588 *Ibid.*, 254.

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- 589 Röhl, 101–102.
- 590 Hull, 123–126.
- 591 Röhl, 84.
- 592 Hull, 87, 89.
- 593 Lively, 59.
- 594 Ibid.
- 595 Stern, 247.
- 596 Hull, 127.
- 597 Ibid., 133.
- 598 Ibid., 137.
- 599 Stern, 240.
- 600 Ibid.
- 601 Ibid. 242.
- 602 Ibid.
- 603 Wolff, 70.
- 604 Simon LeVay, “Queer Science—The Use and Abuse of Research into Homosexuality,” *Washington Post*, February 13, 2003, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/books/chap1/queerscience.htm>.
- 605 Wolff, 71.
- 606 Ibid.
- 607 Adolf Brand was member of a special unit of the SHC called the “Aktionsausschuss” (Action Board) that organized and conducted a campaign against Paragraph 175.
- 608 Lively, 26. See also Steakley, 528.
- 609 Wolff, 70.
- 610 Stern, 244.
- 611 Ibid., 255. Also Wolff, 72.
- 612 Stern, 244.
- 613 Ibid.
- 614 Ibid.
- 615 Ibid., 245. Also Röhl, 63. Röhl notes that before Wilhelm became Kaiser, he had ridden with Count von Eulenburg on the Starnbergersee with Jakob.
- 616 Hull, 144.
- 617 Ibid., 139.
- 618 Ibid., 140.
- 619 Ibid.
- 620 Steakley, 531.
- 621 Ulrichs, 356. In *The Riddle of ‘Man-Manly’ Love*, Ulrichs reported on an 1868 case in which a First Lieutenant in the 9th Infantry Regiment in Würzburg made sexual demands on a subordinate who reported the incident to the company commander. The regiment commander ordered the offending officer to immediately leave the service. Ulrichs thought this grossly unfair. Ulrichs also noted that enlisted men arrested for homosexual activities off post were punished by small fines or a short term in the brig.
- 622 Lively, 20.

- 623 Ibid., 19. Also Steakley, 239.
- 624 Steakley, 239.
- 625 Ibid.
- 626 The musical *Cabaret* was based on the 1933 book *Berlin Stories* by British writer and self-avowed homosexual Christopher Isherwood. He was a frequent guest of Magnus Hirschfeld when he was in Berlin, and was especially fond of Karl Giese, Hirschfeld's young lover. Hirschfeld considered Isherwood to be suffering from "infantilism." Christopher kept a detailed diary of his many homosexual affairs with working-class and foreign youth. His experiences at the Institute and in Berlin were written up in *Christopher and His Kind 1929–1939* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1976). For a full biography of Isherwood see John Lehmann, *Christopher Isherwood — A Personal Memoir* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1987).
- 627 *Quip* by Brent McKee in "The Replacement Player — Germany in the Real World" at http://www.diplomacy-archive.com/resources/strategy/articles/replacement_player.htm.
- 628 There continues to be much speculation today about the role of the Eulenburg Affair in the fomenting of World War I and World War II. There are some homosexual proponents that suggest the elimination of the Liebenberg circle from the Kaiser's entourage removed the voice of moderation from the court of Wilhelm II and increased the influence of those advocating a more aggressive nationalism and militarism. But one also must consider that von Eulenburg was against any legitimate constitutional advances in government and favored a pro-agrarian rather than a pro-industrial Germany. He sought to stick his head in the sand with regard to the new social forces that were sweeping across Germany. In the end, perhaps the pivotal factor in Germany's march to war began with the dismissal of Chancellor von Bismarck. Wilhelm II surrounded himself with men who would rubber-stamp his vision of a New Germany. Eulenburg and his homosexual coterie served in this capacity. The minute they stepped out of their given role, they would have — as the common expression "been toast" — homosexuals or not. For a lengthy academic discussion of these issues see Professor Röhl's assessment in *The Kaiser and his Court*, 150–189.
- 629 Laurence L. Bongie, *Sade A Biographical Essay*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 81.
- 630 See Merrick, Jeffrey and Ragan, Jr., Bryant T., eds., *Homosexuality in Modern France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- 631 The Declaration was drafted by Gilbert du Montier known to history as the Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834). He sent a copy of the draft to Thomas Jefferson before giving it to the French Estates General for consideration by the National Assembly. The Declaration had a much greater effect on Europe than did the American Declaration of Independence. Author used the new translation based on French language available from <http://www.magnacartaplus.org/french-rights/1789.htm>.
- 632 Michael David Sibalis, "The Regulation of Male Homosexuality in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France 1789–1815," in *Homosexuality in Modern France*, eds. Jeffrey Merrick, and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 83.

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- 633 Bryant T. Ragan, Jr., "The Enlightenment Confronts Homosexuality," in *Homosexuality in Modern France*, eds. Jeffrey Merrick, and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 22–23.
- 634 Sibalís, 82–83. See Articles 8 and 9 of the Law of July 19–22, 1791.
- 635 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 636 Vernon A. Rosario II, "Pointy Penises, Fashion Crimes, and Hysterical Mollies: The Pederasts' Inversions," in *Homosexuality in Modern France*, eds. Jeffrey Merrick, and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 148.
- 637 Sibalís, 83.
- 638 Rosario, 148.
- 639 An 1814 cartoon that lampooned Cambacérès for his effeminacy and pederasty shows him dressed as the Piped Piper of Hamelin being followed by a long line of young boys can be seen at www.gayhistory.com/rev2/factfiles/ff1810.htm.
- 640 Sibalís, 92.
- 641 *Ibid.*, 89.
- 642 *Ibid.*, 91.
- 643 *Ibid.*, 92.
- 644 *Ibid.*, 95.
- 645 *Ibid.*
- 646 *Ibid.*
- 647 *Ibid.*, 92.
- 648 *Ibid.*, 93.
- 649 *Ibid.*
- 650 *Ibid.*
- 651 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 652 *Ibid.*, 95.
- 653 Gilbert Lély, *The Marquis de Sade: A Biography*, translated by Alec Brown (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1961), 122.
- 654 Bongie, 19.
- 655 *Ibid.*, 21.
- 656 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 657 *Ibid.*, 67.
- 658 *Ibid.*
- 659 *Ibid.*
- 660 *Ibid.*, 260.
- 661 *Ibid.*, 81.
- 662 *Ibid.*, 93. Bongie records, that the Comte de Sade, at the time of his death, had repented of his sins and was reconciled with the Church.
- 663 *Ibid.*, 133.
- 664 *Ibid.*
- 665 Donald Thomas, *The Marquis De Sade A New Biography* (New York: Citadel Press, Carol Publishing Co., 1992), 250–251.
- 666 Thomas, 250. The terms "prison" and "asylum" should be taken with a modicum of caution. Since Sade was of noble birth—revolution or no

- revolution—he was, with few exceptions, treated accordingly—he almost always had a supply of wine and good food on hand; he had visitors, pen and paper; his own library of books; and a supply of anal dildos, supplied by his wife, whereby he was able to sodomize himself. Sade kept an asylum diary in which he continued to make entries almost to the day of his death. It was not published until 1970. In addition to the attention of Mme. Quesnet, who Sade passed off to the authorities as his daughter, in 1808, Sade, now 60, seduced the 12-year-old daughter of an asylum employee Madame Leclerc. Madeleine Leclerc remained Sade's mistress until his death. She, along with Sade's son, Donatien-Claude-Armand, his physician, Dr. L. J. Ramon, and the Abbé Geoffrey were the last persons to visit the Marquis before his death.
- 667 Bongie, xi.
- 668 *Ibid.*, 244, 256.
- 669 *Ibid.*, 32, 123, 125.
- 670 Although it is clear that Sade was more than capable of sodomizing any modern homosexual male under the table, few gay websites or gay writers appear anxious to claim the Marquis as one of their own. For example, Paul Russell's *The Gay 100* does not include Sade. Neither does the popular gay website the American Library Association's Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgendered Round Table.
- 671 Over the next 100 years, the age of consent rose from 11 to 13 (April 1863) to 16 and finally to 21 under the Vichy regime of Petain in 1942. It was not until 1982 that the age of consent was fixed at 15 with special restrictive exceptions for individuals deemed to have an inordinate influence on the child such as relatives, teachers, and clergy.
- 672 Rosario, 170.
- 673 Drs. Jean-Martin Charcot and Valentin Magnan collaborated on the term "perversions sexuelles" which they coined 1882. The term encompassed sexual inverts and pedophiles. The theories of Dr. Bénédict A. Morel were heavily influenced by English and German theories of degeneration and hereditary "taints." John A. Symonds was one of Morel's severest critics. For an excellent summary of Tardieu's career see <http://www.whonamedit.com/doctor.cfm/99.html>.
- 674 Victoria Thompson, "Creating Boundaries: Homosexuality and the Changing Social Order in France, 1830–1870," in *Homosexuality in Modern France*, eds. Jeffrey Merrick, and Bryant T., Ragan, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 114.
- 675 Thompson, 114.
- 676 *Ibid.*, 115.
- 677 See William A. Peniston, "Love and Death in Gay Paris: Homosexuality and Criminality in the 1870s," in *Homosexuality in Modern France*, eds. Jeffrey Merrick, and Bryant T., Ragan, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). Other comments on the violent homosexual underworld in late 19th century France can be found in a letter to Dr. Paul Serieux, on May 15, 1893, from J. K. Huysmans who sent him materials and studies on sexual anomalies and sexual inversion [homosexuality]: Huysmans wrote: "I was able to get an introduction into the frightful world of sodomy. Frightful! Frightful is the word, and if demonic action were to exist, that is where it would be found. I believe that they are all candidates for the madhouse, but stab wounds ensure that they die in hospitals rather than in mental asylums. This is what is

disconcerting; one could almost establish a law: that is, that true sodomites (I don't mean that young lads who do it for money, but those who live only for this fixation) are physical giants. It seems that muscular strength develops this taste in men. Thus this army finds its recruits amongst the porters of the central markets, butchers' boys, fairground strongmen. Those are the ones who are really enamoured of this vice and are, above all, the passive partners. All the bars around Les Halles are full of them. And what is frightening is that a man who has this vice cuts himself off voluntarily from the rest of the world. He lives apart. He eats, has his hair done, drinks in special establishments run by sodomites; his brain becomes even more given up to this imbecility as his voice changes; imagine a Hercules with enormous arms, a bestial mouth, cackling like an old maid, putting on airs and graces in a loud voice that is shrill and husky! ...If you get any patients at Villejuif (the asylum where his mistress died) who are members of these confraternities, try to get to know their past, if possible! You will find material for some curious studies of the human soul." J. K. Huysmans, *The Road from Decadence—From Brothel to Cloister—Selected letters of J. K. Huysmans*, edited and translated by Barbara Beaumont (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 131–132.

678 See Ulrichs, Vol. I, 329.

679 Peniston, 142.

680 Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) (1792–1878). His famous Encyclical *Quanta Cura* issued on December 8, 1864, and his firebrand declaration *Syllabus errorum* became the scourge of the Modernists for the next 39 years. Pope Pius IX the longest reigning pontiff in papal history convened the First Vatican Council on December 8, 1869. The Council's most significant pronouncement was the doctrine of papal infallibility, that is the pope was infallible when speaking *ex cathedra* (from the throne) on matters of faith and morals. The Italian revolution in which France played a major role interrupted the process of the Council, which was never concluded. From "The First Vatican Council," by K. Kirch, Transcribed by Douglas J. Potter at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15303a.htm>.

681 Delay, 65.

682 *Ibid.*, 36–39.

683 *Ibid.*, 41.

684 *Ibid.*, 135.

685 *Ibid.*, 432.

686 *Ibid.*, 104, 133.

687 *Ibid.*, 125.

688 *Ibid.*, 135.

689 Gide, 52.

690 Delay, 117.

691 *Ibid.*, 433.

692 *Ibid.*, 120.

693 *Ibid.*, 118.

694 *Ibid.*, 119.

695 *Ibid.*, 323,

696 *Ibid.*, 230.

- 697 Among the most legendary of pederastic diarists was the famous Irish patriot, Sir Roger Casement who kept a detailed journal of the boys he sexually abused. His diary was seized when he was arrested for high treason in 1916, and certain citations used from it by British intelligence to undermine popular support for him and his cause. There were later claims that the diary was a forgery. However, H. Montgomery Hyde said that Casement admitted his pedophile actions to a member of his defense council, Sergeant Sullivan, and that he “gloried” in his homosexuality. Casement was received into the Catholic Church on the eve of his execution. In 1965, his remains were returned for a hero’s funeral to the Irish Government. See, Hyde, *The Love That Dared Not Speak Its Name*, 162–163.
- 698 Delay, 426.
- 699 *Ibid.*, 230.
- 700 *Ibid.*, 226.
- 701 Robinson, 199.
- 702 Martha Hanna, “Natalism, Homosexuality, and the Controversy over Corydon,” in *Homosexuality in Modern France*, eds. Jeffrey Merrick, and Bryant T. Ragan, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 202–224.
- 703 *Ibid.*, 213.
- 704 See André Gide, *The Journals of André Gide*, translated and edited by Justin O’Brien, Vol. I 1889–1924, Vol. II 1924–1949 (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1987). Among Gide’s other popular works are *Prometheus Misbound* (1899), *The Immoralist* (1902), *Strait Is the Gate* (1909), *Lafcadio’s Adventures* (1914) and *The Counterfeiters* (1926). In 1909, he helped found the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. In 1947, he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature.
- 705 In *Gay Lives—Homosexual Autobiography from John Addington Symonds to Paul Monette* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), homosexual writer Paul Robinson raised an intriguing question as to whether or not a homosexual’s nationality played any role in determining his personal characteristics and the manner in which he lived out his life. He answers in the affirmative—with qualifications. He proffered, that while the British autobiographers in his book, demonstrated a “sexual fascination with the lower classes,” the French autobiographers tended to attach more erotic significance to “national and ethnic differences” in their selection of sex partners. He also noted that the French writers, displayed a distinct proclivity to philosophize their condition away, that is, they manifested a peculiar and irremediable penchant for “abstraction” and “introspection.” “Unlike the British and the Americans, they (the French) are not satisfied simply to be homosexual; they have to rationalize their preference in terms of some grand metaphysical scheme,” Robinson said. Two other characteristics, Robinson stated that set the French autobiographers apart from their English and American counterparts are “a curious absence of embarrassment (though not necessarily of guilt)” and a “perceived literary superiority.”
- 706 Delay, 426.
- 707 *Ibid.*, 442.
- 708 *Ibid.*, 451.
- 709 *Ibid.*, 448.
- 710 *Ibid.*, 305.
- 711 *Ibid.*, 195.

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- 712 *Ibid.*, 303.
- 713 Some sources state that Gide “adopted” Marc Allégret, one of Pastor Élie Allégret five children. Other sources indicate that Gide was Marc’s “uncle.” If there was any connection, however, it was probably as Delay indicated—an informal guardianship—which Gide took full advantage of.
- 714 Delay, 303.
- 715 *Ibid.*, 437.
- 716 *Ibid.*
- 717 *Ibid.*, 435.
- 718 *Ibid.*, 441–442.
- 719 Hanna, 221.
- 720 Igor S. Kon, “Moonlight Love—Historical Prelude,” available from the Gay.Ru project of the Russian GLBT Center in Moscow at <http://www.gay.ru/english/history/moscow/16001861.htm>. See also Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
- 721 *Ibid.*
- 722 Engelstein, 157.
- 723 *Ibid.*
- 724 *Ibid.*, 157–158.
- 725 *Ibid.*
- 726 Dan Healey, “1861–1917: The Appearance of a Homosexual Subculture,” available from <http://www.gay.ru/english/history/moscow/18611917.htm>. For an updated notion of “blues” see Kevin O’Flynn, “Deputies Want To Outlaw Homosexuality,” *St. Petersburg Times*, April 26, 2002 available from http://www.sptimes.ru/archive/times/765/top/t_6333.htm.
- 727 *Ibid.*
- 728 *Ibid.*
- 729 Early biographical data on Tchaikovsky’s parents was taken from Gretchen Lamb’s website on Tchaikovsky—*The Man, The Composer, Miscellaneous* available from <http://www.geocities.com/Vienna/5648/Tchaikovsky.htm>.
- 730 *Ibid.*
- 731 Anthony Holden, *Tchaikovsky a Biography* (Random House NY, 1995), 7–10.
- 732 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 733 *Ibid.*, 21–29.
- 734 *Ibid.*, 66–69.
- 735 *Ibid.*, 68.
- 736 *Ibid.*, 125–150. In 1896 Antonia was certified insane and institutionalized in an asylum in St. Petersburg. She died during the Russian Revolution of 1917.
- 737 *Ibid.*, 42.
- 738 *Ibid.*, 82.
- 739 *Ibid.*, 80.
- 740 *Ibid.*, 401.
- 741 *Ibid.*, 72.
- 742 *Ibid.*, 135–150.
- 743 *Ibid.*, 245.

- 744 Ibid., 110.
745 Ibid., 202.
746 Ibid., 234–236.
747 Ibid., 313.
748 Ibid., 319.
749 Ibid., 263.
750 Ibid., 310, 391.
751 Ibid., 403.
752 Ibid., 225.
753 Ibid., 255.
754 Ibid., 256.
755 Ibid., 347.
756 Ibid., 268.
757 Ibid., 234.
758 Ibid.
759 See also Alexander Poznansky, *Tchaikovsky—The Quest for the Inner Man* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991).
760 Ibid., 379–380.
761 Ibid., 380.
762 Ibid.
763 Ibid., 368.
764 Tyerman, 278.
765 Röhl, 24.

Chapter 5

The Homintern and the Cambridge Spies

Introduction

Claire Sterling, author of the superb exposé *Octopus: The Long Reach of the Sicilian Mafia*, has observed that “a network is impossible to resist where imperfectly understood.”¹ Part of this understanding of networks, be it the Mafia, the Cambridge spy ring, or the 21st century Homintern in the Roman Catholic Church includes an acknowledgement that such subversive organizations do not grow “spontaneously,” but must be “directed and managed.”² To discuss such things as infiltration, subversion, spies, treason, and betrayal in the context of any subversive organization is, in the words of Father Enrique Rueda, neither “unseemly” nor “paranoid.”³

This historical overview of the Cambridge spies demonstrates how quickly Crown, State, or Church can be brought down when subversion and treason from within combines with attack from without.⁴ It not only provides an example of the development, organization, and ramifications of a subversive network, but also many concrete insights into the development and inner workings of the Homosexual International from the 1930s on. Most importantly, it provides a detailed examination of a large-scale Establishment crisis and cover-up in which homosexuality played a pivotal role in a nation’s history.

The Anatomy of Treason

A nation can survive its fools, and even the ambitious. But it cannot survive treason from within. An enemy at the gate is less formidable, for he is known and he carries his banner openly. But the traitor moves among those within the gate freely, his sly whispers rustling through all the alleys, heard in the very hall of government itself. For the traitor appears not a traitor—he speaks in accents familiar to his victims, and he wears their face and their garments, and he appeals to the baseness that lies deep in the hearts of all men. He rots the soul of a nation—he works secretly and unknown in the night to undermine the pillars of a city—he infects the body politic so that it can no longer resist. A murderer is less to be feared.⁵

Cicero 42 BC

In the realm of the profane, a traitor is defined as one who betrays his country to which he owes his allegiance by overt actions. In the realm of the sacred, the traitor is one who by deliberate acts, betrays his faith.

The motivation for treason—both secular and sacred—is generally mixed and difficult to decipher. It may include a desire for personal gain or

monetary reward, or be a consequence of an illicit entanglement or former criminal action, or simply the desire to deceive and betray those for whom a violent and long-standing grudge or resentment is borne.

Although blackmail is popularly believed to be an effective means of recruiting potential traitors by enemy operatives in the secular sphere, this is usually not the case. As Alexander Orlov, a former chief of Soviet Intelligence has observed, it is a poor and dangerous strategy “to make an enemy of a man and thereafter rely on him in such a delicate and hazardous matter as an intelligence operation.”⁶ The claim of blackmail, on the other hand, is often used as an after-the-fact ploy. Convicted traitors will often attempt to “extenuate their guilt in the eyes of the jury and win as much leniency as they can from the court” by testifying that they had been forced into espionage by the threat of blackmail,” said Orlov.⁷

Since human motivation is so critical to the espionage business, the successful recruiter and network builder tends to eschew blackmail in favor of more positive means of inspiring and directing the members of his spy network. These include appeals to idealism, the lure of money, or to personal and exploitable character traits including excessive egotism, the desire for revenge or retribution.⁸ The ability to correctly assess character and motivation and to mold the members of his spy team into an effective cohesive espionage team is the mark of intelligence competence.⁹

Victor Ostrovsky, a former Mossad (Israeli Intelligence Service) agent compared the recruitment process to that of rolling a rock down a hill. “We used the word ‘ledarder’ meaning to stand on top of a hill and push a boulder down. That’s how you recruit,” he explained.¹⁰ “You take somebody and get him gradually to do something illegal or immoral. You push him down the hill. But if he’s on a pedestal, he’s not going to help you. You can’t use him. The whole purpose is to use people. But in order to use them, you have to mold them. If you have a guy who doesn’t drink, doesn’t want sex, doesn’t need money, has no political problems, and is happy with life, you can’t recruit him,” Ostrovsky said.¹¹

The Traitor as a Grievance Collector

Bradford Westerfield, an expert on espionage has claimed that, in terms of personality traits, the man who would be traitor can be defined by three primary characteristics—his “immaturity, sociopathy and narcissism.”¹²

“His self-absorption is like a dark star or a black hole—everything goes in but no light, no love, no warmth, no understanding ever comes out,” Westerfield said.¹³

In his need to preserve his “emotional virginity” and to deflect “his own guilt, blame, and responsibility,” Westerfield noted, “the traitor attributes his adverse conditions to persons or circumstances outside of himself.”¹⁴ Whatever the “actual source of his difficulties,” the traitor does not see

them arising from his own actions. In this way he is able to preserve his “grandiose view of his immediate self,” Westerfield said.¹⁵

The habitual mindset of a traitor has been described as one of “controlled schizophrenia.”¹⁶ Not unlike the pederast priest who says Mass and immediately retires to the sacristy to sodomize an altar boy, the successful traitor needs to strictly compartmentalize his life in order to retain a sense of sanity and control and to escape detection. He must perfect the art of duplicity and concealment. He must learn to play out different roles—to constantly remake his persona. He also must have great strength of will in order to contend with the inevitable tensions that living a double or triple life brings. Failure to acquire these skills is a virtual guarantee of a mental or emotional breakdown.¹⁷

For the traitor, Westerfield said, “hatred is a powerful motivator.” The traitor is a “collector” of injustices and resentments, real and imagined.¹⁸ When it is combined with an ideology like Communism that feeds on hate, the combination can be lethal. Quoting a British historian, Westerfield said that “a man is never so dangerous as when he can identify a private grievance with a matter of principle.”¹⁹

This singular factor—hate—explains in part why two minority groups, notably, Jews and homosexuals, played such a significant role in a number of major United States and English spy cases during the post-1917 Bolshevik Revolution era. Both Lenin and later Stalin were able to exploit the vulnerabilities of Jews and homosexuals in advancing their dictatorships.

The Bolshevik Jews, alienated from both their own religious heritage and from Czarist Orthodox society, played a prominent role in the Bolshevik Revolution, the Communist Party, the Red Army High Command and the Soviet Cheka, the Bolshevik’s secret police and primary arm of terror.

According to Zvi Y. Gitelman, author of *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics—the Jewish Section of the CPSU, 1917–1930*, “Since most Jews were not obviously devoted to the Czar, they could be expected not to support the Whites.”²⁰ Also there was the matter of power. “From the Jewish point of view it was no doubt the lure of immediate physical power which attracted many Jewish youths, desirous of avenging crimes perpetrated against their people by anti-Soviet forces of all sorts,” wrote Gitelman.²¹

“Whatever the reasons, Jews were heavily represented in the secret police,” he said. “If you fell into their hands you would probably be shot,” he continued.²² “Since the Cheka was the most hated and feared organ of the Bolshevik government, anti-Jewish feelings increased in direct proportion to the Cheka terror,” said Gitelman.²³ He also reported that Lenin appreciated Jewish participation in Soviet Administration as well as the role of Jews in revolutionary activities not only in Russia, but also in other lands.²⁴

In the United States, during the decades immediately following the 1917 Revolution, investigative writers Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, authors of *The Rosenberg File—A Search for the Truth*, wrote that many Jewish intellectuals and scientists, were drawn into the spy game by their admiration for the Soviet social experiment that had made “anti-Semitism” a crime against the state.²⁵ Radosh and Milton cited convicted Soviet spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as “thoroughgoing ideologues,” and Ethel Rosenberg, in particular, as a “practical hater” filled with “vengeance.”²⁶

Like the Bolshevik Jews, leaders of the emerging Homintern in Europe and in the United States were filled with the same revolutionary zeal for a utopian New Order that would no longer discriminate against homosexuals. Both groups used the clenched fist as a symbol of “liberation” except that whereas the Communist raised his fist in the air, the members of the Homintern drove it into the rectum as a symbol of their rebellion.²⁷ The Comintern and the Homintern also shared a common hatred for God, for Christianity, indeed all legitimate power. Like their Jewish counterparts, Communist homosexuals were willing to take a risk because they believe that they had nothing to lose.

Treason is a deviant act.²⁸ So is sodomy. Historically speaking, there has always been a traditional association between sexual deviancy and heresy and treason.²⁹ And while it is true that not all homosexuals are traitors or radical Socialists, nevertheless the traitor and the homosexual do share common traits.

The personality profile of a homosexual closely fits Westerfields’ personality profile of a traitor—he is immature, neurotic, and narcissistic. The active homosexual is an artful seducer, a natural recruiter and a proselytizer for “the cause.” He is a predator skilled in evaluating the vulnerability of his prey. He is conditioned to acts of duplicity and split loyalties. He lives a compartmentalized life with contacts to the criminal underworld via illicit drugs, pornography, prostitution, and possible blackmail and violence. The homosexual is a gatherer of “injustices” and Marxism offers him “the attraction of a secret shrine of individual rebellion.”³⁰ It is this desire to strike back against a society that has rejected him, rather than the threat of blackmail that lures the homosexual into the enemy’s espionage net.³¹ The homosexual believes himself to be an “outsider,” who like the spy, wants to come in from the cold, but feels he cannot.

The Dutch psychologist, Gerard J. M. van den Aardweg, Ph.D., summarized the homosexual’s propensity for subversion thusly: “Subversiveness is not rare in homosexuals, as it is the hostility coming from the complex of not belonging. For that reason, avowed homosexuals may be unreliable elements in any group or organization.”³² They desire an unreal utopian world, said van den Aardweg. One that is “superior,” snobbish, more “chic,” full of “thrill and adventure” in comparison to “the ordinary world,” he reported.³³

The Espionage Business

Gathering intelligence on foreign governments including their secret offensive and defensive powers and plans, and keeping the actual or potential enemy state from discovering its national secrets has been the common goal of all national secret services since time immemorial. Traditionally, European powers relied on selected princes of the Roman Catholic Church to organize their secret services since no single nation was able to compete with the most widespread and efficient espionage system in the world.³⁴

For example, in 17th century France, acting under a request to the Holy See by King Louis XIII, Cardinal Richelieu aided by a Capuchin priest, Francois le Clerc du Tremblay, created a vast internal and external intelligence service that rivaled that of France's arch rival, England, and catapulted France into a first-class world power.³⁵

Although the objectives of modern day national secret services has changed little from the days of Richelieu, the means by which these objectives are secured and information processed has changed dramatically and vary widely from country to country. During the first half of the 20th century, the United States, and the West in general, based their doctrine of intelligence primarily on research and information gathered from "open sources," whereas the Soviets and Eastern Bloc depended more on a "cloak and dagger" approach in which intelligence is gathered from secret sources using a vast network of spies, informers, and undercover agents to ferret out highly classified documents and raw data and to lure potential traitors into their service.

By the early 1920s, the intelligence services of key Western European powers including England and France, were alerted to the fact that the Bolsheviks, in addition to building up the Cheka, their internal secret police used to combat "counter-revolutionary" activities and sabotage at home, were also planning a new and vast international espionage network.

In early 1918, Communist chief Vladimir Lenin, put the Cheka, into the hands of Felix Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky, considered to be the father of modern Soviet espionage. Although the name of Soviet intelligence services has changed over the years from the Cheka to the GPU (State Political Administration, 1922–1923), to the OGPU (Unified State Political Directorate, 1923–1934) to the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, 1934–1946) to the MD (Ministry of Internal Affairs 1946–1954), and finally to the KGB (Committee for State Security) that was supplemented by the GRU (Chief Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff) in 1954, Soviet espionage agents are still known to Soviet citizens as Chekists.³⁶ Following the death of Dzerzhinsky in 1926, Lenin's heir to terror, Josef Stalin, made the newly expanded Soviet secret police the instrument of his absolute power over the Russian people.

In terms of foreign espionage, during the early 1920's, Soviet intelligence operations designed to foment World Revolution were routinely

centered in Soviet embassies. Gradually, however, Stalin began to replace this highly vulnerable system with a more sophisticated network of Soviet agents headed by resident directors who had no connections to the Soviet Union's formal diplomatic staff abroad and who operated under orders directly from Moscow. Labour unions, universities, industrial centers and liberal political and cultural institutions in the United States and in Europe were the primary targets of Communist infiltration and control. For example, in England, the Trotskyists and Communists posed as Socialists and heavily infiltrated the Labour Party. Even the Tories were not immune from infiltration. The NKVD was also able to use the Comintern intelligence apparatus in Britain to recruit civil servants from the governmental bureaucracy at Whitehall, including members of the "permanent secretaries" club of heads of the Department of State."³⁷

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, as Stalin was methodically planning his Great Terror at home in the form of massive political, military, economic and agricultural purges that cost an estimated 20 million Russian lives, he also embarked upon a vastly expanded espionage program designed to secure diplomatic, military, industrial and scientific intelligence from the West.³⁸

Stalin ordered that Soviet-controlled long-term "sleepers" and "moles" be placed in secret service agencies, high government posts and key university and scientific centers throughout the West. His strategy proved deadly successful especially against British Intelligence Services and the United States' Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and later the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA).³⁹

As espionage writers Phillip Knightley, Bruce Page, and David Leitch, have pointed out, "A penetrated secret service is not just a bad one; it is an appalling liability."⁴⁰ "For at least ten years, a charitable estimate, the British Secret Service in areas of diplomacy, economics and strategic defense were the blind leading the blind; operations were forfeited; officers compromised; agents shot, imprisoned or forced to become channels of misleading information, i.e., disinformation," they charged.⁴¹

The fact, that by 1932, Stalin had already set a course of covert warfare against the West, well in advance of the onset of World War II, supports the theory put forth by historians such as Professor Ernst Topitsch of the University of Graz in Austria, that the Soviet dictator used the war as a part of the Soviet long-term strategy for the subjugation and destruction on the non-Communist world, that is to say, the Second World War was essentially Stalin's war not Hitler's.⁴²

A Soviet Hook for Everyone

Stalin honed Soviet espionage into an exacting science with a "hook" tailor-made for an exact fit of every potential target of recruitment.

In terms of diplomatic intelligence, the principle sources of State secrets were foreign diplomats, ambassadors, staff members of foreign ministries including code clerks and secretaries, members of parliaments and ambitious politicians who in their quest for power sought financial aid and support from the liberal establishment.⁴³

Foreign Office departmental heads were of particular value because they were able to supply the Soviets with confidential documents of the secret policies and strategies of multiple foreign governments. The greatest Soviet prize, however, was the hooking of a high level diplomat or ambassador who, in addition to being privy to important foreign policy decisions, could be used by the Soviets as a Judas-goat to attract other recruits, or as an “agent of influence” as well as a vehicle for disinformation.⁴⁴

Soviet intelligence offices kept detailed life histories of potential recruits in the diplomatic field that included background information on their character traits and temperament, family life, schooling, religion, finances, associations, ideology, politics, and sexual habits and vices.⁴⁵ Since diplomatic posts including those of the United States and Europe as well as the Vatican, have traditionally attracted an inordinate number of male perverts, the Soviets found that in the case of homosexual diplomats, blackmail was worth the extra risk and expense.⁴⁶

Interestingly, even when a Soviet agent failed to hook homosexual diplomats with a threat of blackmail or exposure, his illegal overtures were rarely reported to the authorities by the compromised diplomat or ambassador, since the latter was unwilling to expose his own illicit sexual habits.⁴⁷

Significantly, in sharp contrast to the Soviets who were quick to appreciate and exploit the traditional blackmail potential of homosexuality, British intelligence services were not. Active homosexuality, as we shall see, was not an automatic disqualification for either intelligence work or high civil service positions in England between 1939 and 1945. Even in 1948, when the exclusion policy of positive vetting of known homosexuals was put into effect by England’s national security agencies, it was never fully enforced. No middle class intelligence employee was likely to jeopardize his job by questioning the moral qualifications of upper-class civil service and intelligence applicants who, by reason of birth or wealth, were automatically granted the choicest of governmental appointments as well as rapid upward career mobility. Even if a whistle-blower was willing to risk his job by blackballing an upper-class bugger as a security risk, his recommendation could be over-ridden by his superior or by Whitehall. This was one reason why once the Soviets had established their “rich-boys” spy-mole network at Oxbridge, the numerous Marxist cells were able to wreak so much havoc on Britain’s (and America’s) intelligence services.⁴⁸

When it came to gathering intelligence of a scientific nature, the Soviets found that flattery and the promise of greater power and influence was a

more powerful hook than sex. As English writer Rebecca West has pointed out in her many excellent works on the subject of treason, prominent foreign scientists were lavishly wined and dined and treated with a feigned deference by Stalin.⁴⁹

In connection with the cases of convicted atomic scientists and Soviet agents Alan Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs, West noted, that “Little can be said in defense of this policy of trying the criminal in a manner which concealed the nature of the crime from the public which had suffered from it. It helped the Communists, enabling them to present the scientist Communist spies as starry-eyed altruists who imparted secrets to other powers just because they were scientists and wanted their fellow scientists to have the benefit of their own discoveries, and were so unworldly that they did not know that they were doing any harm, and hardly knew what ideologies were about. This was the picture the world got and it was as untrue.”⁵⁰

May was a well-known Marxist and a radical member of the Cambridge branch of the Union of Scientific Workers and Klaus Fuchs who betrayed atomic secrets directly to the Soviets was a long-time Marxist ideologue who was deep into the Communist network, said West.⁵¹ These men had an exaggerated sense of their own importance and power, she said, because their knowledge was tied to weapons of mass destruction and therefore people could be blackmailed into submission.⁵² Their uniform defense, that “science is reason, therefore it cannot know treason,” and that “scientists can do no harm because they are scientists and science is right,” she concluded, was patently false and subversive to truth and to the nation.⁵³

“Sexpionage”—The Soviet Honey and Drone Trap

The linking of sex with spying goes back to biblical times, but Stalin honed sexual entrapment into an art form. The Soviet sex hook proved particularly valuable in connection with securing military, national defense and political intelligence, and as a weapon to bring down political opponents of the Soviet Union.

In his 1976 exposé, *Sexpionage—The Exploitation of Sex by Soviet Intelligence*, David Lewis described the complex, costly and utterly dehumanizing training of Soviet “swallows” (female agents) and “ravens” (male agents) who were generally recruited by the KGB from respectable, middle class families and had professional backgrounds.⁵⁴

In addition to basic ideological, political and technical training, the sex agents were subject to a thorough process of sexual desensitization prior to their formal instruction in all forms of sex acts including homosexuality and sadomasochism.

Lewis reported that the Soviets kept a large stable of homosexuals as full-time agents whose varied targets included foreign diplomats and

tourists.⁵⁵ These men were usually young male prostitutes who were given a “choice” of working for the KGB or being imprisoned.⁵⁶ According to a “graduate” Lewis interviewed from the Verkhonoye sex center near Kazan who used the name “Dimitri,” these homosexual prostitutes were exceedingly handsome and some were “very young.”⁵⁷ They were kept separate from the other KGB recruits, he said. “They seemed to suffer a great deal from the dehumanizing training methods, and two of them committed suicide during my stay there,” Dimitri told Lewis.⁵⁸

In 2001, Jamie Glazov, *FrontPage Magazine’s* managing editor, revealed one of the Soviet’s most innovative homosexual sting operations.

The Soviet target was John Watkins, Canadian ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1954 to 1956.⁵⁹ Glazov reported that during his assignment in Moscow, Watkins, a homosexual with known Marxist sympathies, routinely sought out anonymous sex partners. One of his Russian acquaintances named Alyosha, an employee of the Soviet Foreign Ministry with whom Watkins formed a close friendship was none other than the famed KGB spy recruiter Oleg Gribanov, whose legendary success at homosexual entrapments had secured virtually all of NATO’s classified documents for the Soviet Union.⁶⁰

According to Glazov, while posing as Watkin’s friend, Gribanov set up the hapless ambassador with a KGB plant in a Moscow hotel. The two men were captured on film in flagrante delicto. Gribanov promised to run interference for Watkins if the ambassador could bring himself to “warm up” to the Soviet ambassador to Canada, Dimitri Chuvakhin, when he returned to Ottawa that spring. When Watkins completed his posting and returned to Canada, he made no effort to inform the authorities that he was being blackmailed. He was offered the job of Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs and there he remained until his retirement, said Glazov.

In the meantime, in the United States, between 1961 and 1964, no less than three high-ranking Soviet defectors informed the CIA that a homosexual Canadian ambassador to Moscow was being blackmailed by the Soviets. In August 1964, after an investigation of suspected candidates, Canadian officials ordered the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to hoof over to the Watkins’ residence and pick him up for questioning. During the RCMP interrogation Watkins was reported to have suffered a fatal heart attack which brought a quick and tidy end to the distasteful affair. It remains unclear, whether Watkins did or did not act as an “agent of influence” for the Soviets before his untimely death. For the record, as reported by Glazov, the new Canadian Ambassador to Moscow, David Johnson, who replaced Watkins, was also reported to be a homosexual.⁶¹

It was the Soviet’s experience, however, that many of their most successful homosexual traitors recruited from the West needed no elaborate sexponage scheme to induce them to treachery.

British and American Intelligence Services

As we have already observed from England's attempts at penetration of Catholic seminaries in France during the Elizabethan period, the English were not slouches when it came to spying and intelligence gathering.

By the late 1700s, the beginning of a formal structure for Britain's secret service was set into motion with the creation of a Home Office and Foreign Office within the Department of State. In the decades that followed, Britain's vast complex of foreign embassies provided the cover for an expanded secret service abroad and a domestic service that specialized in code breaking and infiltration of enemy intelligence services especially those of Russia and Bismarck's Prussia.

Britain's modern Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) known as MI6, was founded in 1909. It was attached to the Foreign Office and directed British espionage work abroad. During the First World War, it concentrated on the infiltration of Germany's espionage units. After the war, the SIS was instrumental in assisting the United States in developing its own intelligence network. The British and the United States also entered into a secret agreement for sharing counterintelligence information which later gave Stalin another major avenue of intelligence gathering especially in relationship to the development of the atom bomb.

One of the SIS' most valuable anti-Soviet operations was the 1927 raid on the London offices of the All Russia Cooperative Society Ltd., (ARCOS), the Russian trade delegation, from which the British secured thousands of secret documents on Communist activities and agents in England.

The raid was staged by MI5, the British Security Service attached to the Home Office and dealt primarily with homeland security including the capture of foreign spies, terrorists and insurgents on English soil. Its nuts and bolts activities included the maintenance of a Central Registry for tracking suspected enemy agents and a specialized intelligence Black List. Other specialized subsidiary intelligence units existed both within and without the framework of MI5 and MI6 including the famous Government Code & Cypher School, that broke the German code (ULTRA) during the Second World War.

In 1941, the British created an ultra-secret security division that operated in the Western hemisphere, British Security Coordination (BSC), as a legal cover for all of its other intelligence units including MI5 and MI6, Special Operations Executive (SOE) and the Political Warfare Executive.⁶²

The structure of United States domestic and foreign intelligence services closely mirrored that of the British system. Up until the end of the First World War, the responsibilities for gathering and interpreting enemy diplomatic, military and political secrets were divided between the State Department with its systems of foreign attachés and embassies, and the military intelligence services of the Armed Forces that included the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) and G-2, the War Department's Military

Intelligence Division. During World War I, both the Army and the Navy had established separate offices to decipher and read foreign and enemy communications. In 1920, the American military intelligence secret cryptologic section known as the “Black Chamber,” broke the Japanese diplomatic cipher, a major espionage achievement. However, Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, shut the code-crackers down in 1929 with the admonition that “gentlemen do not read each other’s mail.”⁶³

On July 11, 1941, in an effort to reduce the growing friction and competition between the various United States intelligence sectors, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed William “Wild Bill” Donovan as the coordinator to a new centralized, civilian wartime agency, the Office of Information modeled after the British SIS and based at the White House. Donovan was a Columbia Law School graduate, a World War I hero and a member of the liberal Eastern Establishment from which he drew much of the OSS leadership. The Office of the Coordinator of Information (COI) was charged with intelligence gathering and assimilation of matters touching upon national security. COI opened its London office in November 1941.

In June, 1942, Donovan’s COI underwent a major reorganization. Its staff and budget was divided into two sectors—an Office of Strategic Services (OSS) directed by Donovan, but placed under the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) with its own overseas counterintelligence secret service (X-2), and the Foreign Information Service (FIS) that was placed under Roosevelt’s direct supervision at the newly created Office of War Information.

The overall purpose of the OSS was to support military operations in the field by providing research, propaganda, and commando support. Donovan filled the OSS’ Research and Analysis Branch (R&A) with well-known elite members of the Eastern Establishment, while the Special Operations Branch (SO) that ran paramilitary and psychological warfare operations in Europe and Asia represented a more multi-talented, multinational force that assisted Allied and partisan forces during World War II. The OSS also established a Secret Intelligence Branch (SI) under Princeton-educated SI station chief, Allen W. Dulles, who operated out of the American Embassy in Bern, Switzerland.

Professional military intelligence officers convinced Roosevelt that General Donovan and his OSS should be denied access to top secret Allied deciphered communications from Japan using the decoder system nicknamed MAGIC as well as decoded messages from Germany using ULTRA. However the OSS’ counterintelligence branch, X-2 which shared its intelligence with British SIS, did have access to German ULTRA intelligence. This proved to be a fatal error.

By the end of World War II, the OSS dubbed “Oh So Social” by its critics, had been infiltrated by at least 15 Soviet spies as well as other criminal elements from the Sicilian Mafia which meant that not only was the OSS

an expensive, internally-corrupted and ineffectual “secret service,” it also became a dangerous source of Soviet disinformation and of post-war infiltration by Soviet agents. In short, the OSS was the most deeply penetrated of the United States intelligence services. None had so many Soviet moles as the OSS.⁶⁴

On October 1, 1945, under the Truman Administration, the OSS was officially dissolved. Its R&A sector was transferred to the State Department and all other OSS branches including Secret Intelligence and X-2 were absorbed by the War Department. Two years later, Truman, with the approval of Congress, authorized the creation of the Central Intelligence Group (CIG), later renamed the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), under the National Security Act of 1947. Like the OSS, the key posts of the CIA were filled by academics and politicians with all the proper Eastern Establishment credentials—a veritable Old Boys Club not unlike that which spawned the Cambridge spies.⁶⁵

Domestic counterintelligence, however, remained the task of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) headed by J. Edgar Hoover, the ONI and G-2.

The Genesis of the Cambridge Spy Ring

It has been reported by various Soviet defectors to the United States and England, that when Ivan Maisky, the Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain initially proposed the novel concept of recruiting young English radical upper-class highfliers as Soviet intelligence agents before they entered the corridors of power, both Stalin and Lavrenti Beria, head of the NKVD, were skeptical that such a plan could work.⁶⁶

When they learned that many of these potential recruits were confirmed pederasts and homosexuals they were even more incredulous. However, since the GRU was already well established in London and legal and illegal residents were in place to serve as controllers, Stalin gave the go ahead to Soviet Foreign Ministry officials to set the plan in motion. The year was 1932. Soviet intelligence under Comintern cover began the process of identifying, cultivating, evaluating and ultimately recruiting liberal-minded, anti-Fascist candidates from Oxbridge.

Much to the Soviets’ amazement, the scheme worked like magic. It appeared that Cambridge and to a lesser extent Oxford, Britain’s two senior university centers were already well primed to become the epicenters of the greatest Soviet espionage success of the 20th century.⁶⁷

For more than a century, the religious beliefs of faculty and students at England’s premier educational institutions had been undermined by Oxbridge’s literary and intellectual elite. Christian morals had succumbed to the aggressive assault of neo-pagan Hellenism. The few remaining loyal servants of the King’s religion found they could no longer even defend what little was left of the emasculated religious beliefs they had settled for against the rising tide of Modernism in its own clerical and secular ranks.

The British satirist, George Orwell (Eric Blair) once observed:

Culturally ... the English intelligentsia are Europeanized. They take their cookery from Paris and their opinions from Moscow. In the general patriotism of the country they form a sort of island of dissident thought. England is perhaps the only great country whose intellectuals are ashamed of their nationality. In Marxist circles it is always felt that there is something slightly disgraceful in being an Englishman and that it is a duty to snigger at every English institution, from horse racing to suet puddings. It is a strange fact, but it is unquestionably true that almost any English intellectual would feel more shamed of standing to attention during "God save the King" than of stealing from a poor box."⁶⁸

The 1930s recruitment of liberal-minded intellectuals and scientists at Oxbridge as "sleeper" agents represented the final phase of subversion by the Soviets that had begun decades earlier with attacks on England's class system and the penetration of Britain's trade unions and Labour Movement. Communists "sold the sizzle" to Oxbridge's young idealists, that is, the idea of making the world safe from the menace of Fascism. However, Marxism found it difficult to compete with the popular Fabian Socialists, the more genteel of the collectivist movements.

On campus, avowed Communists including economics dons like Maurice Dobb who helped found the Cambridge Communist Cell, Piero Sraffa, an associate of the Italian Communist leader Antonio Gramsci, and Roy Pascal, Professor of German at Cambridge, brought a generation of Oxbridge radical undergraduates into the Soviet's orbit of influence.

The Marxists were also aided and abetted by a vast network of quasi-Masonic secret societies that pervaded upper class Britain as a whole and Oxbridge in particular. The most famous and exclusive of these secret campus societies was Cambridge's "Conversazione Society" known simply as "the Society," and its members as "Apostles."

The Apostles, Homosexuality, and Marxism

The Conversation Society based at King's College began in 1820 as a small, private club of Cambridge undergraduates founded by George Tomlinson from St. John's College. Tomlinson later became Bishop of Gibraltar.⁶⁹ The all male, 12-member society gathered every Saturday night to discuss the philosophical issues of the day within the anti-authoritarian context of the liberal Broad Church Movement that had found an uneasy home in the Anglican Church.⁷⁰

Among the earliest "Apostles" were the young Victorian poet Alfred (later Lord) Tennyson (1809–1892) and his dearest friend Arthur Henry Hallam (1811–1833). Conspicuous by their absence were undergraduates who excelled in the scientific field, since by the 19th century the "two cultures" of the sciences and the arts had decided to go their separate ways.⁷¹

By mid-century, the Apostles had developed into an elite secret society with heavy homoerotic undertones, a distinctively aggressive agnostic flavor, and politics that were decidedly liberal and pacifistic. According to Richard Deacon, author of *The Cambridge Apostles*, their agenda embraced “the laicization of the University and the abolition of religious tests for undergraduates and graduates.”⁷² Spiritual rot was afoot. Deacon also reported that members like William Johnson (Cory), Lord Rosebery’s tutor, had already taken to recruiting other active homosexuals into the New Order.⁷³

Understandably, since homosexuality as well as agnosticism and atheism and anti-imperialistic sentiments were generally unwelcome in Victorian life and an obstacle to career advancement, the growing emphasis on secretiveness was both logical and necessary.

According to Andrew Sinclair, another expert on the Apostles, the Society was a kind of “Cambridge Mafia...all members when accepted into the Society, had to swear a fearful oath that their souls would writhe in unendurable pain for all eternity if they were to betray the society to anyone not a member.”⁷⁴

For many of its socially alienated members, the Society functioned more as a family than an organization—a place where these perpetually adolescent “misfits,” in love with their own sense of superiority and importance, didn’t have to worry about competing in the real world for either women or commercial jobs or social position.⁷⁵

By the turn of the century, members with decidedly pederastic desires such as the congenital bachelor Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, a well-known disciple of “Socratic love,” were recruiting qualified “embryos” based less on their intellectual qualifications than on their good looks and physical attributes.⁷⁶ The new “High Church” of the Apostles now aggressively warred against Christianity. It boasted its own line of “Apostolic succession” and mystical hierarchy as well as its own dogma, religious services, and blessings, all of which served to mock Christian doctrine and the Sacraments.⁷⁷ It replaced Sacred Scripture with a new “bible” that touted the virtues of the “Higher Sodomy.”⁷⁸ The fact that a significant number of Apostles engaged in sexually criminal behavior buttressed their sense of mutual dependency and loyalty toward one another not merely during their university years, but for a lifetime.

The Bloomsbury Connection

It would be impossible to understand the inner workings of the Apostles and the Society’s connection to the Cambridge spy organization without at least a brief reference to the Bloomsbury Group to which many of its most influential members were intimately tied. This exclusive and influential cultural coterie developed out of a series of friendships between the well-to-do literary and artistic Stephen children—Vanessa, Virginia, Julian Thoby and Adrian—and their Cambridge friends that included such promi-

ment Apostles as John Maynard Keynes, Lytton Strachey, Duncan Grant, and E. M. Forster.⁷⁹ Novelist D. H. Lawrence's pointed description of "Bloomsberries" as "little swarming selves" reflected the self-absorbed, queer character of the group that held court on Thursday evenings at the Stephen residence at 46, Gordon Square in the bohemian Bloomsbury section of London.⁸⁰

Bloomsberries were agnostic, politically liberal, pacifist and sexually liberated. Sexual partnerings were of primary importance within the closed Bloomsbury collective. All affairs, homosexual, bisexual and heterosexual, were in a constant state of flux and reconfiguration.

For example, Vanessa Stephen was married to the wealthy coal heir Clive Bell, but had a child by the handsome Scottish-born painter artist Duncan Grant who was attracted to Vanessa's brother Adrian, but who also had a string of homosexual affairs with fellow Apostles Keynes and Strachey who had been engaged in a bitter tug-of-war over the Society's new acquisition Arthur Lee Hobhouse, who had fallen head over heels in love with Grant, who later formed a menage-a-trois with Vanessa and Grant's new lover, David Garnett.

When World War I began and young eligible men became in short supply, some of the Apostle-Bloomsbury "buggers," as Virginia Stephen Woolf used to call them, began to console themselves with female companions and a few even discovered "the joys of domesticity."⁸¹ For instance, the outrageously promiscuous Keynes, whom the jealous Strachey once referred to as "safety-bicycle with genitals," later in life, fell in love with, and much to the alarm of his fellow Apostles and Bloomsberries, actually married, and successfully so, Lydia Lopokova, one of the greatest dancers of Diaghilev's Russian ballet.⁸²

Given the overall importance and great influences of the Apostles and their Bloomsbury intimates on Cambridge university life in the late 1920s and early 1930s, it was logical that the NKVD's efforts at recruiting rich upper-class young men for their expanded spy ring at Cambridge would have included plans to exploit both groups.

As related by Andrew Sinclair in *The Red and the Blue—Cambridge, Treason and Intelligence*, the actual take-over of the Apostles by the Soviets proved to be a relatively uncomplicated operation. By the late 1920s, "the affinity for Marxism" had become as important a requirement for membership in the secret society "as good looks and intelligence."⁸³ Sinclair reported that of the 26 Apostles elected between 1927 and 1937, 20 of them, that is 75% of the new membership "were either Socialists, Marxist sympathizers, Marxists, or committed Communists." "This in a student body that was no more than a fraction of one percent Marxist," he emphasized.⁸⁴

The active hostility of the Bloomsbury Apostles toward Christianity and traditional morality and their clandestine network of criminal and illicit sex,

when combined with the equally forbidden and subversive agenda of Marxist World Revolution, made for an explosive mix, that when fully activated, would prove a deadly one for the British nation.

Anthony Blunt—A Treasonable Life

On May 5, 1928, the first man of the Cambridge Ring of Five, 19-year-old Trinity undergraduate Anthony Frederick Blunt was accepted into the inner sanctum of the Society as Apostle no. 273.⁸⁵ Blunt's immediate predecessors in the "Apostolic line" of the Society were Alister Watson and Philip Dennis Proctor, both of whom either were or became Soviet agents.⁸⁶ In the fall of 1928, the enthusiastic Marxist revolutionary, Julian Bell, Vanessa and Clive's son, followed his lover Blunt into the Society. Julian, who was killed in the Spanish Civil War, was not a particularly attractive young youth, but the short-lived affair gave Blunt an entrée into the art and homosexual world of the Bloomsbury Group, that is to say, Julian proved useful to Blunt, and "useful" people were Blunt's forte.

Anthony Blunt was born on September 26, 1907, in the small provincial town of Bournemouth, Hampshire into an affluent upper middle class family with strong roots to the Church of England. Blunt's fraternal grandfather had been Suffragan Bishop of Hull. His father, Reverend Arthur Stanley Vaughan Blunt, also a well-known Anglican cleric, was appointed chaplain in 1912 to St. Michael's, the British Embassy church in Paris where Sir Francis Bertie was serving as Britain's ambassador.⁸⁷ It was in Paris that young Anthony was first exposed to his lifelong passion of French Renaissance art.

According to Miranda Carter, one of Blunt's more contemporary biographers, the young boy's claim to fame came from the maternal side of the family tree. His mother, Hilda Violet Master Blunt, of the 16th century landed-gentry Masters of Barrow Green, was second cousin to the Earl of Strathmore, the father of the future Queen Elizabeth II.⁸⁸

In the Blunt family constellation, "little Anthony" was the runt of the litter and his mother's favorite, said Carter. Hilda doted on her very bright, pretty, blue-eyed son whose "delicate" health demanded extra solicitous care and attention. Anthony in turn formed a life-long attachment to his oldest brother, Wilfred, with whom he shared a nascent "artistic temperament" and attachment. This left middle brother Christopher out in the cold, said Carter.⁸⁹

As each Blunt boy reached boarding school age, he was sent back to England to receive his education at Marlborough, one of Britain's "Great Schools" that catered to the sons of clergymen.⁹⁰ Anthony arrived at the prestigious public school in January 1921 at the age of 14 thoroughly prepared to light up the school with his academic brilliance and sense of noblesse oblige. Alas! It was a rude awakening for the young man to discover

that at Marlborough, athletics were all, and he was neither physically or temperamentally inclined toward organized sports. Further, upper-classmen who served as prefects ruled over all aspects of campus life.

Robert Cecil, a former classmate of Blunt's reported that young Blunt was able to beat the system by catering to the sexual needs of senior boys and prefects.⁹¹ Cecil's statement was backed up by other former Marlborough, boys including academic John Hilton who noted that by his senior year, Blunt had had a number of serious homosexual affairs and a stable of favorites who were sometimes referred to as the "Elect."⁹² Hilton along with Blunt and the future poet Louis MacNeice, another cleric's son, formed a "Wildean aesthetic" trio behind which the lads were able to disguise their rejection of their religious heritage.⁹³ Hilton described Anthony in his later years at Marlborough as "an austere hedonist... living for gratification of the senses, with an eye for social esteem and seeking anchorage in a system of scholarly detail."⁹⁴ Young Anthony was apparently a rebel with a cause at a relatively young age.

Some contemporaries recalled that Blunt was notorious for his vindictiveness and personal vendettas. Others recall his reptilian coldness. All agreed that he was exceedingly conceited about his intellectual abilities which, in fact, were very good. There is one word that never appeared on the lips of Blunt's friends, of which there were a few, or foes when describing his character—that word was "kind." Blunt was a totally self-absorbed, selfish individual.

In October 1926, Blunt entered Trinity College, Cambridge on a Marlborough scholarship. When his efforts to gain honors in Mathematics failed, he switched to Modern Languages with a specialty in French.⁹⁵ In the meantime his interest in art grew apace, although here he met with another source of frustration. Blunt was very intelligent, but, according to Art Master Christopher Hughes, "he had little artistic ability himself."⁹⁶ The creatively impotent Blunt soothed his wounded ego by later becoming an art historian, critic and cultural revolutionary.

One of Blunt's closest friends was Knox Cunningham (later Sir) who attended Fettes Clare College in Cambridge. Cunningham, was to later go on to a distinguished political career in Parliament and served as Private Secretary to Prime Minister Harold Macmillan from 1959 to 1963. He also held important positions in the Orange Order and the Masonic Province of Gloucester as well as various Ulster Unionist posts in Northern Ireland. According to Irish-born bisexual writer and full-time gossip, Robin Bryans (pseudonym Robert Harbinson) who became part of London's up-scale homosexual clique in the mid-1940s, Cunningham was known as a "muffle queen" who liked to be "screwed by young boys."⁹⁷ Bryans said that Cunningham remained in contact with Blunt after his Cambridge years and later became a frequent visitor to Blunt's London home.⁹⁸

By 1928, Blunt's connections to Bloomsbury's art critics Clive Bell and Roger Fry, and to Trinity don and art authority Andrew Gow gave him an entrée into London's prestigious art circles.⁹⁹ At the same time, his membership in the Apostles gave him access to Cambridge's most influential secret society and homosexual network.¹⁰⁰ That Blunt was also a confirmed Marxist by this time has been confirmed by a number of reliable sources including Louis MacNeice.¹⁰¹

In 1932, Blunt was elected a Trinity fellow. He remained on campus where he tutored in French and began to carve out a career in art history with a special passion for the work of Nicolas Poussin.

Somewhere between 1933 and 1934, either before, during, or immediately after an academic "tour" of Moscow, Blunt was officially recruited as a paid Soviet agent.¹⁰² He was given the Code Names YAN, JOHNSON, and TONY.¹⁰³

It remains somewhat of an irony that, had Blunt ventured out of his down-town Moscow hotel to engage in a little "cottaging," during his trip, he might have noticed that the sexual pickings were rather lean except, of course, for KGB-trained male "ravens" who regularly monitored public urinals and other haunts frequented by foreigner homosexuals. This dearth of available young Moscovites was due to the fact that in early 1933 Stalin had given the OGPU (political police) permission to begin a round-up of Moscow homosexuals who were shipped for use as slave labor to prison "workcamps" like that at the "Third Watershed" on the Baltic-White Canal that housed about 3,000 Moscow homosexuals.¹⁰⁴

There is no evidence, however, that Blunt ever expressed any objection to Stalin's purges of sodomites in Moscow once the news became public knowledge to London's homosexual underground. Nor that Soviet sexual entrapment either in Moscow, London or Cambridge ever played a role in inducing Blunt to betray his country. He did it out of sheer pleasure.

Thanks to his many influential patrons and close friends including the trend-setting socialite Victor Rothschild, Blunt's influence in the art field grew. From 1937 to 1939 he worked on the staff of the Warburg Institute of the University of London, a "progressive" and "revolutionary" art research center, and produced his first book on Renaissance art, *Artistic Theory in Italy, 1450-1600* which was dedicated to his dear friend, Guy Burgess.¹⁰⁵

According to Charles Saumarez Smith, a book reviewer for *The Observer*, among Blunt's severest critics was Rebecca West who knew Blunt in the 1930s, and "regarded him then as intellectually lightweight, a known Communist, always sporting a red tie and frequently drunk."¹⁰⁶

When England entered the Second World War, Blunt volunteered to serve in the British Army, was commissioned an officer, served briefly in the Military Security Police in Military Intelligence and then was ordered by the Soviets to join MI5, the British Security Service.¹⁰⁷

It should be noted that prior to Blunt's entry into MI5, he had used the influence of his brother, Christopher, to enter Minley Manor in Hampshire to take an Army staff college course on counter-intelligence. His commander at that time was Colonel Shearer who told Blunt that he had received orders from the War Office in London that Blunt was not to be assigned to intelligence work.¹⁰⁸ However, the departmental recommendation was overridden when a highly placed senior civil servant intervened on his behalf. The Ministerial official was none other than Dennis Proctor (later Sir), an Apostle and Soviet agent, who served as private secretary to former Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin.¹⁰⁹ Blunt also got assistance from Victor Rothschild who was working for MI5 and Guy Burgess who was assigned to Section D of MI6.¹¹⁰

Captain Maxwell Knight, a homosexual, who joined MI5 in 1925, warned MI5 officials about that "bugger" Blunt, but his lone voice was ignored. Unfortunately, Knight was never far out of the woods himself given his occult connections to Satanist Aleister Crowley.¹¹¹ Knight was also personally compromised by his passionate obsession with Tom Driberg (Lord Bradwell), a lover of Burgess and MP, who served the Soviets as a paid agent for 12 years.¹¹²

Tom Driberg's "arrangement" with the Soviets went way back when he solicited sex from a man at a public urinal on one of his visits to Moscow. The man turned out to be a KGB agent of the SCD second Chief Directorate.¹¹³ After Driberg was confronted with photographs of his sex acts with the Soviet "raven," he started to serve Moscow using the Code Name AGENT ORANGE. The Soviets used Driberg to gather political intelligence on the Labour Party and to promote active measures in political circles within his sphere of influence.¹¹⁴ The KGB also had photographs of Driberg engaging in homosex with Guy Burgess.¹¹⁵

During the five or so intervening years between his recruitment and his activation by his Soviet controller in 1939, Blunt had already proven to be a valuable "spotter" and recruiter for the Soviets, although, contrary to popular opinion, he did not recruit the three other known members of the Cambridge team—Guy Burgess, Donald Maclean, or Harold "Kim" Philby.

Despite his increased professional responsibilities as a double agent, Blunt managed to carry-on a satisfactory and relatively open sex life that included a string of affairs with other Cambridge homosexuals of his own class including John Lehmann, an Etonian who became a Soviet underground courier, and Blunt's long-time lover, Peter Montgomery, second cousin of British World War II hero Field Marshall Montgomery. Peter Montgomery became a musical director at the BBC and later a wartime army-intelligence staff officer. The reader may want to put a mental check mark after his name as we shall be revisiting Peter Montgomery, and his brother, Hugh, again in greater depth at the end of this chapter.

In terms of sexual partners, however, Blunt preferred rough trade, partners who were both his intellectual and social inferior and over whom he could exert his desire for power and dominance. This desire for power was a trait that was not lost on the Cambridge Soviet talent scouts who found in young Blunt all the characteristics of a successful traitor—a superior, but “underappreciated” intelligence, ruthless ambition, solipsism to the nth degree, homosexuality, a vice that could be exploited, and an ability to compartmentalize his life and play out many roles. Psychoanalysis aside, perhaps book reviewer David Pryce-Jones writing in the *New Criterion* best summarized the essence of Blunt’s “being” in his simple yet poignant epithet, “Blunt was a shit through and through.”¹¹⁶

Guy Burgess—The “Conspicuous Spy”

In his autobiographical reminiscences, fellow Cambridge spy Kim Philby once remarked that, “He (Burgess) must have been one of the very few people to have forced themselves into the Soviet special service... (He) was a very special case.”¹¹⁷ While the Soviets “were clearly anxious to recruit him,” wrote Philby, he himself, was of the opinion that Burgess’s unrelenting capacity for “making himself conspicuous” would compromise him as a secret agent. In the end, however, Philby and his Soviet controller “Otto” correctly concluded that it would be better to bring Burgess into their spy circle than leave him out in the cold, especially as he was likely to break the door down anyway. Thus it was that in the summer of 1934, Guy Francis de Moncy Burgess entered the annals of history as the most “conspicuous” member of the Cambridge spy ring. His Code Name was MÄDCHEN, German for girl.

Guy Burgess came from good military stock. Born in 1911, in the West Country’s famous naval port-city of Devonport, Plymouth, Guy was the eldest son of Naval Officer Lt. Commander Malcolm Kingsforth Burgess and Evelyn Gillman Burgess. He had a younger brother, Nigel.¹¹⁸

The young Burgess had just entered Eton in January 1924, at the age of 13, when his father died. About three years later, his widowed mother remarried, but the spoiled and cosseted Guy and his stepfather Colonel John R. Bassett D.B.O., a retired British Army officer, did not hit it off well, so it was off to military school with him.

Shortly after his 16th birthday, in keeping with his family’s maritime tradition, Guy was sent to the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth, but he never graduated. Thirty-three months after his entrance to the Naval College he abruptly left and returned to Eton, ostensibly because of failing eye sight. The suddenness and circumstances of his departure, however, gave credence to the theory that Burgess was privately dismissed from Dartmouth because he had attempted to sexually seduce other cadets into homosexual liaisons.

So it was back to Eton, where the extremely bright and handsome Burgess captured both the Rosebery and Gladstone History Prizes and a scholarship in History to Trinity College, Cambridge which he entered in October 1930.

Not surprisingly, his Adonis good looks and personal charm, keen intelligence, love of young men and anti-fascist, pro-Marxist sentiments which he enthusiastically wore on his sleeve, quickly brought him to the attention of Soviet infiltrated Apostles. He was initiated into the Society along with his close friend Victor Rothschild, one of the few scientists ever accepted into the Apostles, on the evening of November 12, 1932. Burgess also joined the Cambridge University Socialist Society (CUSS) that was gradually being taken over by the Communists.

In June 1934, Burgess visited Germany. He was in Berlin during Hitler's political purge—the "Night of the Long Knives." Next, Burgess joined a small Cambridge "tour" group to Moscow that included Anthony Blunt and Burgess' friend Derek Blaikie, an Oxonian Communist killed in World War II.¹¹⁹

One of the many stories told about Burgess' stay in Moscow, was that he was found by the Soviet police dead drunk in the Park of Rest and Culture and inside of his coat pocket the police discovered letters of introduction to prominent Russian scholars and politicians from members of the Astor family.

Burgess later claimed that while in Moscow, he had a long secret interview with Nikolai Bukharin, a powerful member of the Soviet Politburo and editor of *Izvestia*.¹²⁰ All things considered, it was probably in Moscow where Burgess and Blunt were given their final vetting by Stalin's agents. Guy Burgess had successfully fought his way into the ranks of the Cambridge spies.

Although Burgess was fired up politically, his greatest passion was passion, that is, homosex. Seduction, especially of older men was his forte, although any man who walked upright was a potential target for a sexual overture.

His Cambridge classmate Goronwy Rees, explained that Guy regarded sex "as a useful machine for the manufacture of pleasure ... and at one time or another he went to bed with most of his friends."¹²¹ Rees said:

He (Guy) was a kind of public schoolboy's guide to the mysteries of sex and he fulfilled his function almost with a sense of public service. Such affairs did not last long; but Guy had the faculty of retaining the affection of those he went to bed with and also, in some curious way, of maintaining a kind of permanent domination over them, long after the affair was over he continued to assist friends in their sexual lives, which were often troubled and unsatisfactory, to listen to their emotional difficulties and when necessary, find suitable partners for them. To such people he was a combination of father confessor and pimp and the number of people who were under obligation to him must have been very large indeed.¹²²

Among Burgess's earliest sexual conquests at Cambridge were Anthony Blunt who was besotted by Burgess, the effeminate bisexual Donald Maclean who was recruited at the same time as Burgess, and even the notorious womanizer, Kim Philby, who assisted in Burgess's recruitment. Burgess, like Blunt also pursued sex with working-class young men and recommended them to his Cambridge homosexual friends as a means of releasing them from their "bourgeois" hang-ups.¹²³

Jackie Hewit was one of Burgess's live-in partners who bed-hopped between Guy and Anthony. Years later, after Burgess fled to Moscow and British intelligence services interviewed Hewit about his relationship with Guy, Hewit told them that Guy kept all his love letters not for blackmail, but "as proof to himself of his own power to make men love him."¹²⁴ Although it is clear that the naïve Hewit would not have been privy to if or how Burgess's controllers used the love letters, Jackie was right on the money when he noted that Burgess's homosexual affairs were part of a "power-game" that Burgess used to control other men. Hewit was also correct when he told the SIS agents that "to the mostly heterosexual MI5 and MI6 agents, the dynamics of the gay world of the 1930s must have seemed an incomprehensible web of interlocking relationships."¹²⁵ Unfortunately for the British, the Soviets did comprehend the scope and exploitability of the Homintern on a worldwide scale and put that knowledge to excellent use against their enemies in England, the United States and Europe.

Kim Philby—Master Spy

Of all the Cambridge traitors, Harold Adrian Russell Philby, by way of his parentage and background, most likely would have been voted "the most likely to succeed" in the spy business.

Born on New Year's day, 1912, in Ambāla, India where his father St. John Philby served as a high ranking civil servant in the Indian government, Philby was nicknamed "Kim" after Kipling's young hero. When Sir John was stricken with wander lust and abandoned his Protestant faith to follow Mohammed along the lines of T. E. Lawrence, his wife Dora took over the rearing of Kim and his three sisters. Sir John's prolonged absences from home, which apparently his wife did not mind, and his strict sense of discipline and lack of warmth towards his own children when he was at home, created family tensions that were to leave an indelible mark on his young son. The sensitive and serious Kim developed a stutter early on in his childhood that he retained for life. The negative influence of father upon son can also be seen in Philby's self-centered cynicism that came to characterize his relationship toward his fellow creatures, especially women, as well as his instinct for duplicity and self-preservation at all costs so necessary in the espionage game.¹²⁶

On September 18, 1924, the 12-year-old Kim entered his famous father's alma mater, Westminster. Academically he excelled, winning the Marshall

Memorial Prize for History, and he eventually developed some competency in sports. Emotionally speaking, however, he remained stunted. His speech impediment grew into a major source of embarrassment. His antipathy toward Protestant religious observances at the school increased his sense of religious and moral conflict. As an underclassman he was subject to sexual exploitation by seniors and prefects — “I was ‘buggered’ and ‘bugged.’” at Westminster he would later admit.¹²⁷ But perhaps, most telling, was the charge that was brought against young Philby during his third year at Westminster. One of Kim’s tutors by the name of Luce reported to school officials that Philby had developed a propensity for untruthfulness, that is, he had lied or cheated on a serious matter.¹²⁸ Indeed, among his own classmates, Kim had already acquired a reputation for deceitful behavior. In the end the matter was set aside, no doubt due to Sir John’s influence and Philby was allowed to continue at Westminster. He graduated the following year with two scholarships, one for Christ Church, Oxford and the other for Trinity College, Cambridge.¹²⁹ At his father’s insistence, he selected Trinity. Kim was 17 when he went up to Cambridge in the spring of 1929.

Although he was originally drawn to a career in politics, Kim’s disappointing academic performance in his history exams forced him to switch his major to economics in October of 1931.¹³⁰ His personal interest in politics continued, however. Given Sir John’s affinity for Socialism, it was not surprising that his son should eventually be drawn further left to the more daring and revolutionary tenets of Marxism. For starters, that summer, Philby joined and later became an officer of the Cambridge University Socialist Society.

Through Dennis Holmes Robertson (later Sir), Kim’s Director of Studies in economics who was also a closeted member of Cambridge’s circle of homosexual academicians, Philby was introduced to the campus’s most sought-after stud, Guy Burgess. The two men formed a strong friendship that was reinforced when Philby joined the Apostles in 1932, the same year that Guy Burgess had entered the Society.¹³¹ Although Philby was not a homosexual, given the relentlessness with which Guy pursued his sexual quarry and Kim’s adventurous temperament, his rebellious attitudes towards Establishment mores and heavy drinking, it is possible that the two men did engage in a brief and transitory affair at Cambridge.¹³²

Immediately after graduating from Trinity in the summer of 1933 with a second-class degree in economics, Philby filled out an application for the Foreign Service. That fall, he set off for a vacation trip to Europe where he mixed romance with his growing interest in the Comintern.¹³³ On the suggestion of Professor Maurice H. Dobb, a Marxist recruiter at Cambridge, Philby met Communist leaders in Paris including Willi Münzenberg, a recruiter for the NKVD.¹³⁴ The Paris committee provided him with Communist contacts in Vienna where he met and on February 23, 1934 married, Alice “Litzi” Friedman, a 23-year-old Polish Jewish divorcé who was a

member of a number of revolutionary groups including the Zionist Socialist Movement and the Revolutionary Socialists that were working against the Dollfuss government.¹³⁵ Litzki confirmed Kim's commitment to Marxism.

Upon returning to England the following April, Philby immediately met with Dobb. He also visited Communist Party headquarters on King Street, London. He told Party officers that he and Litzki wanted to join the CPGB, but he was instructed to wait. Soon afterwards, Philby was put in touch with "Otto" who had been assigned as his case worker and controller. Kim was informed that under no circumstances was he to join the Party, as this would hinder his entrance into the Foreign Service. Instead, Philby became a Soviet spy and mole.

One of Philby's first assignments was to spy on his own father whom the Soviets suspected was a British spy. Dutifully, Kim went through Sir John's papers at his London residence.¹³⁶ In the meantime Philby began to make out his list of potential recruits. At the bottom of his list was Guy Burgess. Near the top of his list was Donald Maclean.

Donald Maclean—The Deadly "Innocent"

The crest of the clan Maclean bears the words "Virtue Mine Honour." Cambridge spy, Donald Duart Maclean (1913–1983) however, upheld neither the "Virtue" nor "Honor" of his Scottish ancestors.¹³⁷

Considered to be the quintessential young diplomat on the rise, Donald Maclean (Code Names WISE, LYRIC, HOMER and STUART) was the younger son of Sir Donald Maclean, a staunch Presbyterian, successful solicitor, Liberal Party MP who served as Minister of Education under Stanley Baldwin's National government and as President of the Board of Trade in the Ramsey MacDonald's National Coalition Government of 1931.

Young Donald's physical features and temperament—thin, blond, effete and gentle—reflected his mother's beauty and kindly demeanor rather than his father's aggressive and imposing features. Following in the footsteps of his elder brother, Ian, Donald was educated at the elite Gresham's School at Holt on the Norfolk coast. The vast majority of Gresham's alumni annually moved on to top British universities including Cambridge, Oxford, Balliol and Christ Church. Maclean was no exception.¹³⁸ Unfortunately, by the time Maclean left Gresham's for Trinity Hall, Cambridge in 1931 at the age of 18, he had contracted two revolutionary viruses—one political (Communism) and the other sexual (homosexuality).

The winsome Maclean soon found himself in the company of Burgess, Blunt and Philby—the former soon added Donald to his long list of sexual conquests while the latter helped recruit him as a Soviet spy.¹³⁹ Although the gung-ho Maclean was intent on immigrating to the "Worker's Paradise," he was finally persuaded to take the Civil Service exam in order to secure a position in the Foreign Office, which he succeeded in doing in October 1935, largely on the reputation of his recently deceased father.

Maclean's first posting with the Foreign Office was Secretary of the Western Department with responsibility for the low countries, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal, but the "Old Boys' Network" at Whitehall, as the Soviets had anticipated, soon promoted him to the Office of Secretary at the British Embassy in Paris.¹⁴⁰

From here Maclean began to supply Moscow with diplomatic secrets and information on British foreign policy. It was in Paris that the sexually ambivalent Maclean met and married the American heiress, Melinda Marling. At the start of the Second World War, Maclean and his new wife, who was informed by her husband that he was a Soviet agent, returned to England where he continued to supply Moscow with top secret documents while he awaited his next diplomatic appointment.

Cambridge Moles Burrow in For Maximum Impact

In 1935, when Stalin issued orders that Communist agents abroad go underground or if necessary fake a conversion to Fascism, the Cambridge spies were forced to change their political spots and burrow deeper into their holes. It was great fun.

When we last left Blunt, he had joined MI5 where he had begun making his way up the intelligence ladder. Between 1940 and 1945, and even after the war was over, Blunt continued to pass on to Moscow top secret documents from both MI5 and MI6 as well as German coded messages that had been deciphered at Bletchley Park, some 17,000 pieces of classified materials in all, that included invaluable information on vital Allied post-war policies with regard to Poland, Latvia and Czechoslovakia that enabled the Soviets to bring down the Iron Curtain in Europe.¹⁴¹ Blunt also provided the Soviets with the names of thousands of Russian expatriates living in Britain, many of whom, along with their wives and children were forcibly returned and systematically slaughtered by Stalin under the provisions of the Yalta Agreement.

Blunt (and Philby) provided the Soviets with details on the Allied landing at Normandy in the summer of 1944 as well as on various MI5 operations like "XX" (Double Cross) that involved "turning" both German and Soviet agents including Anatoly Gorsky, the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in London who just happened to be Blunt's controller.¹⁴²

In addition to sending thousands of foreigners to their death, Blunt, who had an almost photographic memory, was proud of the fact that he had passed on to the Soviets the name of every MI5 officer.¹⁴³ He also had access to the security vetting files of MI5, information from which was also sent to Moscow.¹⁴⁴

According to intelligence writer, John Costello, author of *Mask of Treachery*, Blunt was the personification of the "agent of influence." He helped thwart later internal investigations within MI5 and MI6 by laying false trails

away from Burgess, Maclean and Philby “while they were still operational, and even after they had defected to Moscow.”¹⁴⁵

Blunt also recruited a number of important Cambridge academics including the brilliant linguist, John Caircross, who is sometimes referred to as the Fifth Man in the Cambridge spy ring, although there were probably more than a dozen Oxbridge Soviet agents who could have claimed that title including a handful of MI5 and MI6 officers. Blunt also recruited Leo Long, an Apostle and military intelligence officer posted to MI14, who specialized in code breaking and signal intelligence.¹⁴⁶

Just before the war ended, King George VI sent Blunt on a highly secret mission to Germany. Although the exact nature of this mission that lasted through 1947 remains shrouded in mystery, though not for want of theories, we do know that Blunt was aware of the contents of the private papers he was instructed to retrieve, and that he probably passed that information on to his Soviet controller.¹⁴⁷ According to Costello, his success in procuring the so-called “Windsor files” later proved to be “a gold-plated insurance policy” against prosecution for treason over the next 34 years, indeed, for his entire lifetime.¹⁴⁸

After the war, Blunt continued his dual career as an art historian and critic and as a traitor. From 1945–1979 he held the position of Surveyor of the King’s (later Queen’s) Pictures, in which capacity he administered the Royal Family’s extensive collections.¹⁴⁹ In 1947, he was appointed director of the Courtauld Institute of Art. Three years later, he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy and in 1960, he became Professor of Art History at the University of London. He was knighted in 1956.

In his “salad days,” Blunt became somewhat of a fixture at Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle where he maintained offices. It became somewhat of a standing joke that when Blunt walked down the halls, the Palace guardsman would quip about the necessity of putting “their backs to the wall,” said Costello.¹⁵⁰ Obviously, homosexuality was no detriment to employment by the Royals, and never had been. Homosexual personal valets and courtiers in the Royal household, like homosexual diplomats in the Foreign Office, had distinct advantages over family men who, by necessity, were “distracted” by the cares of daily life. They could afford to be overly solicitous with their time and attention and were always on call. Some Royal valets and attendants were also known to sexually service their masters.¹⁵¹

Blunt and Burgess did much of their “entertaining” of MI5 and MI6 officers and staff at their 5 Bentinck Street flat, a three-story maisonette building with recording and photograph facilities that was owned by Victor Rothschild. Their guests included Major General Sir Stewart Menzies head of MI6 from 1939 to 1952; Sir Dick White, head of MI5 from 1953 to 1956 and later director of MI6 from 1956–1968; Sir Roger Hollis, dubbed “Mr.

Inertia” and reputed to be bisexual who headed MI5 from 1956–1965; and Captain Guy Maynard Liddell, a Deputy Director of MI5.¹⁵²

The fact that Liddell and Hollis spent so much time in the company of homosexuals like Blunt and Burgess on a regular basis later made Liddell and Hollis candidates for MI5’s Fifth Man or “super mole” contest.¹⁵³ The criticism leveled against Hollis and Liddell, however, applied to virtually all of the upper echelons of British intelligence during the 1940s and 1950s—that is, no director of national intelligence services had a right to be so gullible and trusting.

Blunt was also on friendly terms with Sir Dick White and they used to spend Christmas together with Victor Rothschild in Rothschild’s house in Cambridge. The Baron Rothschild and his second wife Teresa “Tess” Mayor, a former British intelligence employee, would also visit the Bentinck flat from time to time.

In essence, Blunt knew everyone who was worth knowing. His privileged education and contacts produced a large number of highly placed and influential friends and protectors. But it was his knowledge of London’s high and low homosexual society, and the multiple networks that each represented and how they could best be exploited, that was of particular value to the Soviets.

According to Costello, among the homosexual haunts frequented by Blunt and Burgess and fellow high-class buggers was the Pakenham, a pub centrally located to Whitehall, Buckingham Palace and the barracks of the Household Cavalry and the Guards.¹⁵⁴ The Irish writer, Robin Bryans, whom Burgess picked up at Oxford in 1944 and who later became a regular of the Blunt-Burgess circle of buggers at Pakenham, reported that Blunt was very proud of his royal connections and all his important interlocking associations and talked openly about them at the pub.¹⁵⁵ Blunt also used to host after-hours homosexual orgies at the Courtauld Institute that always drew a large crowd of handsome, aspiring sexually and politically exploitable young artists and post-graduate students.

It appears that the Soviets were more than willing to indulge the sexual eccentricities of the Cambridge spies as long as it was profitable to do so, but it was highly unlikely that the Communists ever really trusted any of them. None of the spies was ever given a position of substantive import in Soviet Intelligence Services after their defection. Philby remained a colonel in the KGB in name only. Blunt suspected this would be the case which is why, in the end, he refused to trade in his plush director’s flat at the Courtauld Mansion or his offices at the Palace for a dreary Moscow suburban flat like Maclean, Burgess and Philby did.¹⁵⁶

The Metamorphosis of Guy Burgess

One of the most remarkable aspects of Burgess’s life as a sot, a homosexual, a Marxist and a traitor was that he never lacked for a job or a patron.

Late in 1934, after Burgess had failed to make the grade as a don at Cambridge, Victor Rothschild, hired the uncouth goy as a “financial consultant” at £100 per month. Never mind that Burgess was a history major and that Rothschilds were a legendary banking dynasty going back three generations.¹⁵⁷

This elaborate and thoroughly transparent ruse, of course, was designed to facilitate the transformation of Burgess from that of a known Marxist to that of a neo-Fascist pro-Nazi sympathizer, as per Stalin’s directive that Soviet agents go underground and if necessary change sides.

Rothschild and Stalin, it should be remembered, shared the same ostensible enemy—Hitler. Where Stalin’s interests corresponded with his own, Rothschild appeared willing to cooperate with the Soviets against Nazi Germany and even the United States.

In 1936–37, Rothschild made Burgess the titular editor of a new business and investment newsletter that specialized in German finances. Then the baron hired a German Communist, expatriate, and homosexual named Rudolf “Rolf” Katz, who was also a Comintern agent, to professionally ghostwrite and edit the publication.¹⁵⁸

The newsletter, along with the well-planted “rumor” that Burgess had undergone an ideological conversion following his trip to Moscow, facilitated Burgess’ entrance into the Conservative Party and other right-wing Parliamentary circles.

Burgess targeted a number of bisexual and homosexual MPs who were known to frequent the Café Royal, the famous watering hole of Oscar Wilde and Lord Alfred Douglas. One of his most successful seductions was Conservative MP, Harold Nicolson, who became Burgess’ guardian angel. The pair dined together regularly at the Reform Club, a respectable British establishment that became an important target of Soviet subversion. Nicolson was a married man with a family, but he apparently felt the need for homosexual liaisons to spice up his life.

Burgess obliged and was rewarded with more influential contacts within Parliament and the Foreign Office including Sir Joseph Ball, the Conservative Party’s director of research and Archibald Clark Kerr (Lord Inverchapel) a married homosexual with a large collection of homosex porn and a Soviet valet named Yevgeny Yost.

Archibald Kerr served as Britain’s Ambassador to the United States from May 1947 to May 1948, and became a nemesis of FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover.¹⁵⁹ Obviously, though homosexuality was still illegal in England, sexual deviancy appeared to be no drawback to diplomatic and political advancement for members of Britain’s Old Boys’ Club regardless of the danger of compromise and blackmail by the Soviets and other foreign agents.

It was through men of influence like Rothschild and Nicolson and Ball, that Burgess was able to penetrate the pro-Fascist Anglo-German Fellowship created by Hitler to improve relations between England and Germany and to advocate for an alliance of the two countries against the Soviet Union. The president of the Fellowship was Eton-educated Charles Edward, Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha. Its membership included a number of influential English aristocrats with German sympathies.

Although he did not gain a post in the Conservative Party central office, Burgess did succeed in becoming secretary and “personal assistant” to the Conservative MP (Tory) John Robert MacNamara, known to his friends as “Captain Jack.” The 32-year-old former guardsman was a member of the Fellowship and a homosexual who quickly fell under Burgess’ charms. This affair, in turn, led to another important sexual conquest for Burgess—that of the Venerable J. H. Sharp, the Anglican Archdeacon for Southeastern Europe.¹⁶⁰ In the spring of 1936, Burgess accompanied MacNamara, Sharp and Tom Wylie, a young official at the War Office, on a fieldtrip to the Rhineland sponsored by the Foreign Relations Council of the Church of England. They were to escort a group of pro-Fascist school boys to a Hitler youth camp.¹⁶¹

At a stopover in Paris, Captain Jack introduced Guy to Monsieur Edouard Pfeiffer, a close friend of Édouard Daladier, the future Prime Minister of France. According to Costello, “As a connoisseur of homosexual decadence, Pfeiffer had few equals, even in Paris. As an officer of the French boy-scout movement, his private life was devoted to the seduction of youth.”¹⁶² The two men became intimates and Pfeiffer visited Burgess in London when he was in town, recorded Costello. In 1938, when Pfeiffer obtained a leading post in the Daladier government, Burgess was able to pump him for critical information on the French Cabinet’s position on Nazi Germany.¹⁶³

The wealthy American Michael Straight, another of the Apostles recruited by Blunt, recalled that during a dinner conversation with Burgess one night, Guy told him that he accompanied Pfeiffer and two members of the French Cabinet to a male brothel in Paris one evening. “Singing and laughing, they had danced around a table, lashing a naked boy, who was strapped to it, with leather whips,” Burgess told Straight.¹⁶⁴

As Burgess played out his multiple roles—a courier for Rothschild—a Soviet mole—a neo-Fascist—a lover of important men, his connections to the emerging Homintern on the Continent rapidly expanded. So did his running list that the Soviets had him keep of potential recruits and influential persons that could be sexually compromised.¹⁶⁵

Burgess’ tart, Jackie Hewit, a keen observer of the operations of the International Homintern described it as a kind of “gay intellectual freemasonry.”¹⁶⁶ He likened it to the five concentric circles of the Olympic ring. “One person in one circle knew one in another and that’s how people met.”¹⁶⁷

Burgess Enters MI6

In 1936, Burgess got a job as host on a weekly British Broadcasting Company (BBC) radio show that included interviews with members of Parliament.¹⁶⁸ He was appointed by fellow King's man, George Barnes, the deputy director of Talks, who was rumored to have kept both a "boyfriend" (Burgess) as well as a "mistress."¹⁶⁹

Using the British airways, Burgess was able to promote Moscow's propaganda line especially with regard to its intervention in the Spanish Civil War that had just broken out. On occasion, he brought Blunt in for an interview.¹⁷⁰ Through the contacts he made at his BBC post and his Old Boys' Club connections, Burgess secured entry into Britain's Secret Intelligence Service, Section D of MI6 in 1939, notwithstanding the fact that Burgess had just been arrested by the London metropolitan police for homosexual solicitation in a public lavatory at Paddington railway station.¹⁷¹

One of his assignments in the European Propaganda Department of MI6 involved working with Poles whom the British were training for sabotage in Poland and the Soviet Union. Rebecca West reported that these men were by and large brave, virile and pious Roman Catholic patriots and anti-Communists who were willing to risk their lives for their nation. She was incensed by the thought that the Brits would hand them over to a flaming homosexual and (possible) Communist, like Burgess.¹⁷² As for Burgess, he methodically added all of the Polish patriots' names to his list for Moscow. After the war, that list became a death sentence for many of these Poles and their families who were repatriated behind Stalin's Iron Curtain. When Section D was abolished in July 1940, Burgess found himself without a job, but not for long.

Burgess returned to the BBC and resumed his work as a journalist, until June of 1944, when he landed a job in the Press Department of the Foreign Office. Then by a stroke of luck, Guy's close friend Hector McNeil MP became the Foreign Secretary in the Labour government. McNeil asked Burgess to be his private secretary. In 1946, when McNeil moved up to the second spot in the Foreign Secretary's office, the new British Minister of State took Burgess with him. The upward-bound Burgess served McNeil for two years during which time he had access to virtually all of Britain's national security files as well as diplomatic secrets.¹⁷³ Burgess provided the Soviets with full reports of various Parliamentary committees and Ministry of Defense classified documents.¹⁷⁴

Next, Burgess went over to the Far Eastern Division of the Foreign Office where he got into hot water as a result of a drunken pederastic spree while on official assignment to Gibraltar and Tangier. The disgraceful incident should have ended Burgess's government career and would have, had Burgess not been a protégé of Hector McNeil who was now Secretary of State for Scotland. So rather than firing Burgess outright, Foreign Office officials decided to bump him upstairs. The "problem boy" was promptly

posted to the United States as Second Secretary of the British Embassy in Washington, D.C. to serve under Sir Oliver Franks who had replaced the queer Archibald Clark Kerr as Britain's Ambassador to the United States.

And here Burgess remained, until May 1951, when he was suddenly recalled to England, and then "mysteriously disappeared" along with fellow spy Donald Maclean. British Intelligence would not see either of their faces again until February 12, 1956, when both men resurfaced in Moscow at a KGB-arranged televised press conference at which time they declared their allegiance to the Soviet Union and denounced Western Imperialism.

The Soviets knew that they were taking a gamble when they brought Burgess into the Cambridge ring, but it was a gamble that paid off in the end. During his 12 years as an Establishment figure in the British Foreign Office, Burgess became one of Moscow's most productive spies and agents of influence.¹⁷⁵

Burgess had successfully manipulated the outcome of a number of policies in the Foreign Office in favor of the Soviet Union. He gave the Kremlin the inside track on all Anglo-American policies and strategies.¹⁷⁶

While in the United States, Burgess passed on to the Soviets vital details on the critical opening of the Korean War.¹⁷⁷ According to Costello, Burgess took tons of documents to the Soviet embassy in Washington, D. C. to photograph. Cable and diplomatic pouches were used to transfer other valuable information to Moscow.¹⁷⁸ While working at the British embassy in the United States, Burgess provided the Soviets with top-secret data on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and American nuclear research.

It was reported that when MI5 agents arrived at Burgess' flat on New Bond Street to search the premises, among the things that Burgess had left behind was a box of letters from his former sex partners.¹⁷⁹ Burgess was sending British intelligence a message, but MI5 remained clueless.

Philby's Foreign Adventures

Kim Philby's life as a Soviet mole (Code Names SÖHNCHEN, TOM, and STANLEY) took a somewhat different turn in the road than that of Burgess and Blunt once he had returned to England in the summer of 1934 with his new bride.

His Soviet controller had decided that Philby could best serve Moscow by trading his Communist cloak for a Fascist one and by taking up a career in foreign journalism where he could make use of his linguistic talents.

Philby took a low-paying job as an assistant editor and review for the down and out liberal publication *Review of the Reviews* while he took some linguistic courses at the London School of Oriental Studies.¹⁸⁰ By the time the *Review* collapsed in 1935, Philby's transformation from "leftist" to "rightist" was sufficient to secure him membership in the Anglo-German

Fellowship and a promised position as editor of a new Anglo-German trade journal that never materialized.¹⁸¹

When the Spanish Civil War broke out in 1936, Philby received press credentials as a foreign correspondent from several British papers including the London General Press.¹⁸² He departed from England on February 3, 1937, ostensibly to cover the warfront as a reporter, but his real reason for going to Spain was to arrange for the assassination of General Francisco Franco, the opposition leader to the Popular Front.¹⁸³

In the end, Franco was not assassinated, but by a strange turn of events, Philby managed to get himself the Spanish Red Cross of Military Merit for bravery that was pinned on the covert Soviet agent by Franco himself.¹⁸⁴

In 1939, at the outbreak of the Second World War, Philby was posted to the British Expeditionary Force in France as a seasoned war correspondent. Kim managed to get himself ingratiated with the British Secret Intelligence Service by providing them with valuable information on various German enterprises—information that the NKGB had supplied to him for just such a purpose.¹⁸⁵

Although Philby's loyalty to Moscow was strained by the Stalin-Hitler Pact and news of Stalin's purges that included the killing of some of Kim's former NKGB friends, he remained in the Communist fold and went on to become a "master spy" for the Soviet Union.

In July 1940, Philby entered Section D of the SIS and was assigned to work under Burgess. Shortly thereafter, a new sabotage and subversion agency, the Special Operations Executive (SOE) was formed and it absorbed Section D. Burgess was fired, but Philby was retained thanks to the influence of his father's old friend Colonel Valentine Vivian, a counter-espionage officer in Section V. The SOE was responsible for carrying out covert operations against the Nazis in occupied Europe.

In September 1941, Philby was assigned to MI6's Section V where he was put in charge of covert counterintelligence operations on the Iberian Peninsula and the Atlantic Islands.¹⁸⁶

In the meantime, Philby had supplied the Soviets with a nearly complete list of MI6 operatives around the world as well as MI6's world-wide organizational and operational charts and manuals.¹⁸⁷ Among the more curious and esoteric reports filed by Philby was one on homosexual orgies, drug use and Black Masses in high English society.¹⁸⁸

Socially, the sign that Philby's star was on the rise was an invitation to join the Athenaeum, one of England's most prestigious clubs preferred by Whitehall and England's clerical elite.¹⁸⁹

In the summer of 1944, Kim Philby, Soviet spy, was made head of a new intelligence department, Section IX of MI6 responsible for Soviet Counterespionage! Once Philby took office, the chance of catching Soviet spies was virtually nil unless the NKVD deliberately wished to sacrifice the agent. Philby had become a very dangerous man.

In August, 1945, KGB Colonel Konstantin Volkov, the newly assigned Soviet consul to Turkey, went into the British Embassy in Istanbul and asked for asylum and money. In return, he offered to reveal the names of two Soviet spies in Britain's Foreign Office (Burgess and Maclean) and one in British Counterintelligence (Philby) among other pieces of intelligence. Volkov was put on hold while embassy officials called home. British intelligence was alerted to the defection and MI6 Director Steward Menzies then assigned Philby the task of debriefing Volkov. After alerting Soviet intelligence, Philby delayed his arrival in Turkey in order to give the Soviet SMERSH time to kidnap Volkov and bring him home to Stalin who ordered his execution.¹⁹⁰ SMERSH is derived from the acronym of "smert' shpionam" — "death to spies."¹⁹¹ Soon after his arrival in Istanbul, Philby dutifully informed his superiors at MI6 that the case was dead.

Four months later, on November 20, 1945, Philby informed his NKGB contacts that Elizabeth Bentley, one of the Soviet's most important agents in America had defected and was in the hands of the FBI.¹⁹²

In August of 1949, after spending two years as Head of Station, Turkey, where MI6 had assigned him to collect Soviet intelligence that might affect Britain's oil interests in the Middle East, Philby (and the Soviets) got their big break. Philby was informed that he was to be posted to Washington, D.C. as MI6's Liaison Officer to the CIA and FBI.

Prior to his leaving London for America, Philby was briefed on the VENONA Codex, the most guarded intelligence secret of the Allies during the Cold War. Since there are a large number of references to VENONA in this chapter, a brief explanation as to its history, scope and its significance should prove helpful to the reader.

In February 1943, the U.S. Army's Signal Security Agency (SSA) started up a very small and very secretive project that was later given the arbitrary code name VENONA. Its purpose was to decipher Soviet diplomatic cables which the Army had been collecting since 1939 when Stalin and Hitler signed their Non-Aggression Pact. Unfortunately, the complexity of the two-part deciphering system did not permit the SSA to read the cables until 1946, after the war had ended. It was at this time that the SSA realized that of the 750,000 intercepted cables thought to contain mundane diplomatic and commercial trade data, just under half were actually secret Soviet communiqués, that is, Soviet spy messages between the NKVD (Soviet Secret Police) and the GRU (Soviet Military Intelligence) and their Soviet operatives in the United States and around the world.¹⁹³

Today, we know that prior to receiving Philby's report on VENONA, the Soviets had already planted a mole at the SSA. His name was William Weisband and he was a NKGB agent (Code Name ZHORA).¹⁹⁴ This meant that by 1949 the Soviets were already in the process of changing their code. However, they could do nothing about the cables sent prior to the change, that is, cables sent between 1940 and 1948. These cables revealed the code

names of hundreds of Americans who spied for the Soviet Union, before, during, and after the Second World War, most of whom were recruited by the Communist Party—USA.¹⁹⁵

Philby in the United States

Once Kim and Aileen (Furse) the second of his four wives, got settled in their beautiful Washington, D.C. home at 5228 Nebraska Avenue, the Philby residence became famous for its glamorous, liquor-flowing parties where top-level CIA and FBI agents (and their wives) were entertained and, while under the influence, let drop occasional tidbits of agency news for Philby and Moscow.¹⁹⁶ Among those that befriended Philby was CIA Counterintelligence Chief, James Jesus Angleton.¹⁹⁷

In August 1950, when the British Foreign Office dumped Burgess on the United States, Guy moved in with Kim, Aileen and their young family. Although Burgess's disgusting behavior and anti-Americanism became legendary in CIA and FBI quarters, his well-honed image as a homosexual drunken lout prevented his identification as a Soviet agent. He simply did not fit the profile of a Russian spy.

At one of the Philby parties in January 1951, the drunken Burgess came in uninvited and drew an obscene caricature of the wife of the guest of honor, Bill Harvey, the FBI's resident counterintelligence expert. A scuffle ensued and Libby Harvey left the affair followed by her irate husband. Harvey never forgot the incident, but interestingly, his nemesis became Philby not Burgess.¹⁹⁸ The next morning, a stay-over-guest, Professor Wilfred Basil Mann, a British-born nuclear scientist later identified as a Soviet agent, said he saw Philby and Burgess in bed together with a bottle of champagne, but conveniently, he did not mention the incident to Angleton at the CIA until one year later when Burgess was safely in Moscow.¹⁹⁹

In the meantime, the treachery continued.

As early as 1946, Philby had learned that British Intelligence Services were interested in initiating covert operations against Stalin in Eastern Europe as part of its Cold War strategy. This meant that Philby (and the Soviets) were in on the ground floor of the SIS-CIA jointly-conceived invasion of Albania. This series of tragic misadventures led by Albanian guerrilla-forces between 1949 and 1953, led to the death, gaoling, torture and forced labor of several thousand Albanians.²⁰⁰

In September of 1949, just prior to his departure to America, Philby had been briefed by MI6 on the general details of the Albanian mission which he passed on to his Soviet contacts before leaving London. The Soviets in turn alerted the Sigurimi, the Albanian secret police and its Soviet advisors, that the British and Americans were preparing to send native, anti-Communist insurgents into the country.²⁰¹

From 1949 to 1951, Philby, as “joint commander” and liaison for the American Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), the anti-Soviet subversive operations arm of the National Security Council (NSC) that spearheaded the top-secret covert Albanian mission, provided the Soviets and the Sigurimi with names, types of weapons carried, dates and landing locations of the small bands of Albanian operatives. Wherever and whenever the insurgents entered Albania—by sea, overland or by parachute—the secret policy and security forces were always waiting for them. Many of the volunteers, including the legendary Zenel Kadrijal, Captain of the Royal Guard of the exiled Albanian King Zog, were shot on the spot, or tried and then sentenced “to suffer death by the cord,” or imprisoned from seven years to life.²⁰² Their relatives and friends were picked up for interrogation. Some were shot outright, others left to rot in jail or sent to Siberia where many of them, including children, died of malnutrition. The Americans smelled a rat—a rat named Philby.

In June 1951, two months after Burgess and Maclean’s mysterious “disappearance,” Philby was also recalled to London. Despite demands from CIA chief Walter Bedell Smith that Philby be removed from intelligence service, and despite all the years of accumulated evidence that Philby was a Soviet mole, he was permitted to take a semi-retirement until 1953 when he was reassigned to another intelligence posting. Ironically, many of his MI6 colleagues believed that Philby was a victim of American “McCarthyism” and had been unjustly demoted.

Although the British and Americans were fully aware that their Albania mission had been compromised from the very beginning, the covert operations continued until 1953. The results were predictable enough. The Albanians never trusted the West again. British and American Intelligence were set at each other’s throats. And Philby continued his espionage activities for the Soviets including advising them on the day-to-day status of VENONA. It was all in the day’s work.

In later years, Philby would disclaim the notion that he was ever a “double agent.” “All my life I’ve worked for only one intelligence service—the Soviet service,” he told his Russian wife Rufina.²⁰³

Maclean—The Model English Diplomat

The reader’s last contact with Maclean, was when he had returned to London from Paris at the start of the Second World War. He arrived in the company of a new wife and was patiently awaiting a new posting that reflected his high-station in life. His patience paid off. Despite his increased drinking and known homosexual liaisons, his connections to the Old Boys Club saw him through.²⁰⁴

In 1944, Maclean preceded Philby and Burgess to the United States as a First Secretary to Lord Halifax, at the British Embassy. In 1946, Lord Inverchapel, one of Burgess’s older homosexual protégés with decidedly

pro-Soviet views, had replaced Ambassador Halifax. The Soviets could not believe their good fortune! Maclean's new post would give him (and Stalin) access to all vital military, scientific, political and diplomatic secrets of the United States as well as those of the Allied Powers in the critical post-war era. Maclean did not disappoint.

As World War II was drawing to a close and the Cold War was heating up, Maclean provided the Soviets with all U.S. military plans in Europe including the fact that American troops would stop east of the Elbe River giving the Soviets first access to Berlin. He sent the Soviets all cable communications between Winston Churchill and Roosevelt and later Truman and Churchill. He notified the Soviets that VENONA had broken their wartime code and he reported every message that had been deciphered. Thanks to Maclean, Stalin knew in advance what the Allied positions at Yalta and Potsdam Conferences would be and how hard he could push for post-war territorial and political concessions from the Allies including the forced repatriation of thousands of Russian citizens and soldiers who had sought refuge in the West. Stalin was confidently able to bluff his way to victory in post-war Europe because he knew, thanks to Maclean, that U.S. as yet had no atomic bombs in its military arsenal.

In 1947, Maclean was appointed the British representative to the Combined Policy Committee on Atomic Development with full access to U.S. Armed Services and Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) classified information "without escort," a privilege that even FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover was denied. Later on, Maclean gave the Soviets data on the U.S. purchase of uranium from Canada and the Belgian Congo. This information enabled the Soviets to approximate the number of atomic bombs the United States was producing.²⁰⁵

As late as 1948, when Maclean was preparing to return to London, he continued to feed the Soviets top U.S. and Allied secret documents that included plans for the formation of the North American Treaty Organization (NATO), a 12-nation mutual defense pact in Europe created in April 1949.²⁰⁶

When Maclean rejoined the Foreign Office in London, he was assigned to head the American Department where he continued to monitor NATO activities for the Soviets. In 1950, he helped formulate Anglo-American policy for the Korean War. It was Maclean who told Stalin that the United States had made the decision not to use atomic weapons except in the most extreme circumstances, information that proved critical in China's decision to intervene in the war.²⁰⁷

As for the gap in Soviet intelligence left by Maclean's departure to England, it was soon filled, as described earlier, by Philby, and later by Burgess.

Thus it was that in the spring of 1951, when FBI and CIA officials informed British Intelligence that Maclean was a Soviet mole, he and Burgess were able to make their escape to Moscow with the acquiescence

of the SIS who were told not to interfere with their flight by Whitehall under direct orders from the Royal Family, who did not want a scandal and public trial.

In the meantime, Philby, who had also come under immediate suspicion as a result of his long association with Burgess and Maclean, was able to hold out for another 11 years. Finally, on January 23, 1963, while on SIS assignment in Beirut, he too was permitted to escape to Moscow aboard a Polish ship destined for Odessa on the Black Sea.²⁰⁸

Blunt managed to hold out the longest. After Philby's defection Yuri Modin, Blunt's controller, offered him a one-way ticket to "a comfortable life" in the Soviet Worker's Paradise. Blunt cut the conversation short by asking—"No doubt you can also guarantee total access to the Chateau de Versailles, whenever I need to go there for my work?"²⁰⁹ Working for the Soviet Union was one thing—living there was another. Modin said he was left "speechless."²¹⁰

The SIS finally got around to picking Blunt up for interrogation in the spring of 1964. Blunt invoked the Official Secrets Act.²¹¹ The British government offered him immunity from prosecution on two conditions. First, that he had terminated his services for the Soviets after the Second World War ended. Blunt lied and said he had. Second, that he would agree to provide details of his long service for the Soviets. This he never did. Nor did he ever express any regret for betraying his country.²¹² It was not until he received full immunity that he "confessed." Afterwards, he underwent six years of tedious and useless debriefings. Blunt knew enough of the Royal family's darkest secrets to keep him safe from harm. He was permitted to keep his title and position as Curator to the Queen's art collection and the directorship of the Courtauld Institute until his retirement in 1972.

The official cover-up of the Blunt disaster by Sir Roger Hollis head of MI5 with at least the tacit, if not official approval of Whitehall and the Royals, included keeping many Cabinet-level officials in the dark as to the extent of Blunt's treachery and the damage he had done to national security.²¹³ Before he left office in 1965, Hollis ordered that the hundreds of hours of recordings of Blunt's testimony be destroyed leaving only summary reports behind.²¹⁴ Britain's strict libel laws helped for a time to keep the press off Blunt's doorstep.

Yuri Modin later expressed the opinion that Queen Elizabeth wanted the whole scandal squelched because of Blunt's former close relationship with her father, George VI. Modin stated that she gave Blunt a de facto secret pardon.²¹⁵

The public was kept in the dark about the entire affair until November 15, 1979, when Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher took the floor of Parliament and confirmed circulating press reports that Blunt was the Fourth Man in the Cambridge ring. A finger-pointing debate took place on No-

vember 21, 1979. Only then was Blunt's knighthood revoked. Blunt died of a heart attack at his country home on March 26, 1983. He was 75 and a millionaire.

His closest friend, Burgess had a more difficult time of it in Moscow.

One night as Burgess prowled around the city's streets in his English tweeds looking for a male prostitute, he lost "half his teeth to some Soviet stilyagi who wanted to show this Angliiski golden boy what real men did to zvolochi like that."²¹⁶ In the end, the Soviets provided Burgess with a live-in lover, but this did not appear to ease his homesickness. He died of liver disease on August 19, 1963. His younger brother, Nigel, flew to Moscow to attend the funeral and returned with an urn of ashes that was buried at the family plot at St. John the Evangelist Church in Hampshire, England.²¹⁷

On March 6, 1983, Donald Maclean died of a heart attack in his Moscow apartment. He was 69. Maclean, the most ideologically driven of the Cambridge spies, was homesick for England. Like Burgess, his body was cremated and his ashes returned to England for burial.

Philby, fared somewhat better in his adopted homeland. Like Burgess and Maclean, he was awarded a lifetime pension. The KGB assisted him in his writings on spycraft and gave him a minor role in intelligence affairs. In 1970, after a serious bout with alcoholism, depression and an attempted suicide, he met and later married his fourth wife, Rufina, who was by his bedside when he died on May 11, 1988. At his burial at Kuntsevo Cemetery, west of Moscow, that was traditionally reserved for generals, his casket was attended by a detachment of KGB guards although as Modin noted, contrary to reports in the West, Philby never obtained the rank of general in the KGB.²¹⁸

Victor Rothschild— The Elephant in the Living Room

It might seem impossible, although many writers on the subject have actually done so, to engage in any study of the Cambridge spies without at least a cursory examination of the role played by one of their most intimate and active patrons—Victor Rothschild of the famous Rothschild banking dynasty.

Nathaniel Mayer Victor Rothschild, the Fourth Baronet and Third Baron was born on October 31, 1910. He was one of four children, the only son of Charles and Rozsika Rothschild of the London Rothschilds. Charles, had inherited the family fortune but not the family title. This went to his eccentric, unmarried elder brother Lionel Walter. Both brothers preferred science to banking—a trait that Victor and his older sister, Miriam picked up.

Victor, who was not particularly close to his parents, was just approaching his 14th birthday when his father committed suicide on October 12,

1923 after a six-year bout with the then incurable sleeping sickness.²¹⁹ As he grew into manhood, Victor adopted the non-observant secular Jewish sentiments and pro-Zionist sentiments of the Rothschild clan that was committed to the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine and other sundry revolutionary pet projects.²²⁰

Rothschild came to Trinity College, Cambridge, from Harrow. He was later elected a Fellow of Trinity. Science, specifically zoology, was his game and he was as good at it as he was at cricket.

While at Cambridge, his occasional tutor in French was none other than the young, debonair Anthony Blunt.²²¹ Like Blunt, Victor was a chosen Apostle even though the Society traditionally passed up young men of science no matter how talented. This was also the year that some spectators suggest Rothschild became a member of the British Communist Party, a secret he supposedly kept from his family, although one wonders why he bothered.²²² Considering he hired Comintern agent Rudolf “Rolf” Katz to ghost write for Burgess, there is no doubt that Rothschild was closely connected to Communist networks on the Continent and within the Zionist Movement.²²³ For the record, in 1940, Katz was “ordered out of England due to homosexual contacts with British Naval personnel,” Costello reported.²²⁴

He was also reported to have been working closely with the Haganah, the Zionist underground resistance force and secret intelligence network — the precursor of the Central Institute for Intelligence and Special Duties (Mossad Letafkidim Meouychadim) commonly known as the Mossad, to which Rothschild is said to have been later attached.²²⁵

Rothschild’s intelligence triumvirate was completed when he secured a post in the Commercial Espionage Unit of Section B of MI5 in 1940, at the start of the Second World War. Victor had aided Burgess in getting his job at MI6, and later, Burgess through his friendship with Deputy Director Guy Liddell helped get Rothschild a posting in MI5. Victor was privy to the progress of the Enigma project at Bletchley Park thanks to his older sister, Miriam who worked there. His second wife, Teresa “Tess” Georgina Mayor, also worked for British intelligence.

Over the years, Victor Rothschild became a regular visitor to every British intelligence office and wined and dined every MI5 and MI6 Director and Deputy Director including Guy Liddell at his family mansion at Tring Park, along with an assortment of past and current prime ministers and members of Whitehall, Parliament, the Royal family and, of course, the Cambridge spies. After the war, in 1948, the Rothschild mansion at Whaddesdon Hall in Hertfordshire was used by British military intelligence to analyze more than 400 tons of documents that had arrived from the Allied Documents Center in Berlin.

With unlimited financial resources and unlimited social, scientific and political connections there were few State secrets to which Rothschild was not privy nor any door leading to the corridors of power in England that was closed to him.

As noted earlier, Rothschild kept his dear friend and fellow Apostle Burgess on retainer and used him and Blunt as errand boys on the Continent. Victor had introduced Burgess to Robert Vansittart, an Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office who acted as MI6's watchdog.²²⁶ He also arranged Guy's sojourns into "Conservative" political circles, especially those with Nazi connections. It was Rothschild who had recommended Blunt for a position in MI5 and Kim Philby for a post with Section D in MI6. When Kim Philby was in Paris he stayed at the Rothschild's Avenue Marigny house.²²⁷ When Philby drew up his original list of possible Comintern agents, not surprisingly, Victor's name was on it.²²⁸

The Rothschild house at 5 Bentinck Street, which was home to Burgess and Blunt, was a blackmailer's paradise.²²⁹ Every revolutionary worthy of the name passed through its doors at one time or another.²³⁰ The famous Cambridge author and Catholic convert, Malcolm Muggeridge (1903–1990), whose wife Kitty was related to the Mayors, once visited Rothschild's basement flat and said the company of "displaced intellectuals," reeked of "decay and dissolution."²³¹ "Muggers" was particularly offended by Guy Burgess whom he considered to be the equivalent of "a moral leper."²³²

After the war, Muggeridge, who had served in the Army Intelligence Corps, was in Paris and attended a party given by Victor at his mansion on the Avenue Marigny. He reported that he engaged his host and another guest, Kim Philby, in a debate on the merits of Churchill's decision to withhold from Stalin vital Enigma data (most of which Stalin already had access to). Muggeridge, who was one of the few British writers to report on Stalin's purges and induced famines, said that the Russian dictator could not be trusted. Victor and Kim, who were quite liquored up, argued that the Soviets should have open access to all German decoded messages.²³³

Between the time that Burgess and Maclean defected to Moscow in 1951 until Philby's escape to Moscow and Blunt's exposure as a Cambridge spy, Rothschild was interrogated no less than 11 times by British intelligence including the Serious Crimes Squad of Scotland Yard. As with Blunt, these "chats" produced nothing.

According to former MI6 agent James Rusbridger, Peter Wright and another MI5 source, Rothschild was fed information in 1962, which ended up "in the wrong place" — namely with the KGB inside the Soviet Embassy in London. But like much of the evidence against Rothschild it was considered circumstantial. In the end, Victor Rothschild walked away from the scandal, but for the rest of his life he remained under a cloud of suspicion that he was the "Fifth Man" of the Cambridge spy ring.²³⁴

Britain's Espionage Woes Continue

Between 1951 when Burgess and Maclean ensconced to Moscow and 1979 when Blunt was publicly exposed as a Soviet spy, Britain was hit with a succession of espionage scandals that suggested Whitehall and Britain's intelligence service remained "criminally negligent." Virtually all of these cases were related to national defense.

First came the Portland Spy Case that featured Konon Trofimovich Molody, alias Gordon Lonsdale, a Soviet illegal resident operating in London and his spy crew; Harry K. Houghton, a naval clerk and known security risk who was posted in 1952 to Britain's top secret naval nuclear submarine project at the Portland Harbor base; and his paramour (and later wife) Ethel Gee who had a high-security clearance at the base. A Polish defector to the CIA, Michael Golenewski identified Houghton as a spy. This led to the apprehension, trial and conviction of Lonsdale, Gee and Houghton as well as that of Helen and Peter Kroger alias Morris and Lona Cohen, a KGB communications team who had also spied in the United States.²³⁵

The next Soviet spy to make his public debut was George Blake. Blake, who identified himself as a "cosmopolitan" Dutch Jew, was a career MI6 officer whose father had fought for the British during the First World War. Blake attended officer's training at the Royal Navy Reserve where his exceptional linguistics skills attracted the attention of the SIS, although as Rebecca West pointed out, there was sufficient evidence of his Communist connections to militate against his appointment to MI6.²³⁶

Initially, Blake was assigned to spy against the Russians in East Germany. He was then brought back to London to learn Russian at Cambridge. His next posting was head of the MI6 office in South Korea at which time Blake decided to "change sides" and work for the great humanitarian dictator, Stalin. The year was 1951. Blake said he thought it "better for humanity if the Communist system prevailed."²³⁷ It was at this point that the media myth that he had been 'brainwashed' into becoming a Soviet spy took form.

Blake's MI6 credentials gave him a ground floor seating at the Anglo-American Berlin Tunnel negotiations—a daring project designed to secure high-level Soviet and East German military and KGB communications. This meant that the Soviets were on to the elaborate and expensive scheme of Operation Gold (Berlin) and Operation Silver (Vienna) at the earliest planning stages. Blake's greatest contribution to the Communist cause, however, was the inside information he provided on MI6 agents and world-wide operations that led to the death of 600 British and American agents and their contacts and informers.²³⁸

Clues from the collapse of the Lonsdale cell eventually led to Blake's capture and conviction and a sentencing on May 3, 1961 of 42 years—the longest prison sentence ever handed down by a British court. His incar-

ceration was cut short when in 1966 a group of “peace activists” helped him escape from the Wormwood Scrubs prison to Moscow where he eventually joined Lonsdale who had been traded by the Brits for one of their own businessmen-spies. Although he appeared to be satisfied with the treatment accorded him by the Soviets in Moscow, Blake was never given a posting in the KGB. Except for the fact that Ethel Gee was desperate for a man and latched on to the compromised middle-aged Houghton who had kept a Polish mistress while stationed at the British Embassy in Warsaw early in his naval career, sex did not appear to play a major role in either the Lonsdale or Blake spy episodes. This state of affairs, however, rapidly changed with the Vassall and Profumo sexpionage cases that quickly followed these revelations.

John Vassall—The “Miss Mary” of the Admiralty

William John Christopher Vassall, born on September 20, 1924 in London, came from solid Anglican stock. His father was an Anglican cleric and his parents had upper-class roots, but without the money that went with it. This may account for young Vassall’s personal vanity and snobbishness and his insatiable instinct for social climbing and ingratiating himself into the circles of the rich, the famous and the influential. He was an ambitious, effeminate “camp” young man with plenty of charm and a multitude of interests, talents and social graces.

Nevertheless, without title or wealth, he was forced to begin his professional career at the low end of the totem pole. His first civil servant job was a Grade II clerk and photographer for the Royal Air Force. Later he went Navy and worked for a time with the War Registry, the Admiralty’s chief communications center.²³⁹

In his private life, he was a much-sought-after sex partner by London’s active upper-class homosexual coterie. On occasion he traveled abroad in the company of wealthy homosexuals and was passed around from one host to another much like Burgess had passed Jack Hewit around to his influential associates.²⁴⁰ Vassall believed his “bedroom eyes” and pert girlish looks attracted men to him.²⁴¹

In 1954, much to the surprise of his friends, Vassall announced that he had taken a position as clerk in the Naval Attaché’s office in Moscow—a job considered hardship duty in a country where sodomy was a prosecutable crime. In fact, the Moscow appointment brought Vassall an entirely new source of revenue along with some great sex.

Within days of his arrival in Moscow, the KGB was alerted to Vassall’s spy potential. The informer was most likely Sigmund Mikhailsky, a Pole and KGB agent, who worked under-cover, literally and figuratively, at the British embassy as a jack-of-all trades, general “fix-it” man, and supplier of heterosexual and homosexual favors. The enterprising Sigmund was reported to have been trained at the Soviet sexpionage center at Verkhonoye.²⁴²

The British knew of course that Mikhailsky was a plant—virtually all Soviet-supplied employees at foreign embassies were—and had warned its staff against having any personal dealings with him. Vassall paid no heed and quickly took Mikhailsky on as a lover. Despite the fact that a Miss Wynne had filed a report with embassy officials stating that Mikhailsky had confided to her that Vassall was one of his four assigned targets, the affair was permitted to continue uninterrupted. There was also evidence that Vassall was engaged in sex with another diplomat at another embassy in Moscow.²⁴³

The Soviets waited until the winter of 1955 before they allegedly sprung their trap. General Oleg Gribanov, then chief of the Second Directorate of the KGB was put in charge of the “entrapment” of Vassall. This fact alone indicated the importance that Soviet intelligence attached to Vassall.

The KGB captured the intoxicated Vassall on film in flagrante delicto with several men at a party hosted by Mikhailsky at the Hotel Berlin.²⁴⁴ At his trial, Vassall insisted that the Soviets threatened to withdraw his diplomatic immunity and throw him in jail for sodomy if he did not cooperate with them. Vassall’s story, however, did not jibe with his past record that clearly demonstrated he betrayed his country willingly and with great skill and enthusiasm. The alleged blackmail photos that Vassall produced at his trial were said to have looked too staged. Vassall’s head was always in view. The more likely scenario was that the Soviets won Vassall over by appealing to his vanity, feeding his resentments and providing him with plenty of cold, hard cash. The KGB gave Vassall the Code Name MISS MARY.

Blackmailed or not, Vassall was soon squirreling away top-secret documents from the Naval Attaché’s office in his brief case to be photographed by the Soviets and then returned to the files the following morning. No one at the embassy appeared to notice that Vassall’s life-style had suddenly become luxurious. And so, his daily espionage activities at the British Embassy in Moscow continued until July 1956, when he returned to London and his new posting to the Admiralty’s Naval Intelligence Division.

In 1958, Vassall was appointed assistant private secretary to Mr. Thomas G. D. Galbraith, the Civil Lord of the Admiralty and a member of Parliament for the Hillhead Division of Glasgow.²⁴⁵ The flow of classified information to the Soviets continued including research reports from the Admiralty’s Underwater Weapons Research Establishment at Portland.²⁴⁶

In October 1959, Vassall received a substantial promotion to the Fleet Section of Military Branch II. The Soviets had struck gold! Vassall now had access to highly classified British Navy and NATO intelligence that included information on the Admiralty’s world-wide fleet including its operations and naval communications systems, and the latest breakthroughs in anti-submarine devices and radar technology.²⁴⁷ Vassall also provided the

Soviets with details on the latest development of the British Royal Navy's Invincible class aircraft carriers.

By now, Vassall had become so adept at his craft, that he was able to photograph the thousands of top-secret documents he brought home by himself, which cut down on the time necessary to transmit the classified materials to the KGB Center at 2 Dzerzhinsky Square in Moscow.

In the meantime, no one at the Admiralty questioned how Vassall could afford his expensive new flat on Dolphin Square that was exquisitely furnished with costly antiques. Nor how Vassall managed to afford custom-made suits, shoes and accessories on a clerk's modest salary.²⁴⁸

Unfortunately for Vassall, in 1961, British Intelligence was put on "Red Alert" by Soviet defector Major Anatoli Golitsion, who reported that there was a mole in the Admiralty Office in London.²⁴⁹ Eighteen months later, in September 1962, Vassall was arrested by Special Branch officers on espionage charges after he was apprehended leaving his office with an attaché case filled with classified documents. When his apartment was searched, intelligence officers found 176 top-secret documents hidden in a secret drawer in his desk along with sophisticated photography equipment. Unlike the Cambridge spies, Vassall made a full confession that included a statement that he was motivated to spy for the Russians because he felt that his talents were under-appreciated by his superiors.

At his trial, Vassall played his "blackmail" card and, by coincidence, he had the photographs mentioned above to prove it. He then threw himself on the mercy of the court, but the presiding judge was more impressed by his bulging bank account, which pointed to old-fashioned greed as the real motive behind Vassall's espionage career.

During the hearings, it was revealed that a backlog in Naval Intelligence had prevented the "positive vetting" of Vassall. One of the letters of recommendation found in his file from an elderly lady friend hinted that the young man did not appear interested in the opposite sex, but this illusion to Vassall's homosexual proclivities apparently went over the head of the veterans at Whitehall. At work, his deceptive milk-sop demeanor made him an object of amusement and gossip, but not suspicion.

Fleet Street made its own unique contribution to muddying the truth by portraying Vassall as an ineffectual "pansy," "a homosexual wimp" and a "perfect idiot," forgetting, of course, that for seven years this "perfect idiot," had in the words of Rebecca West, "neatly weaved his way every evening down Whitehall to his flat on Dolphin Square, with an envelope in his overcoat full of secret documents, spending fussy and capable evenings photographing them nicely for the Soviet government, and every morning neatly weaving his way up Whitehall to the Admiralty again, to spend five minutes fussily and capably replacing the documents in their files."²⁵⁰

Later investigation revealed that at the Military Branch where Vassall worked, the security cupboards were operated by common keys and highly

classified material was not separated or stored in more secure environments.²⁵¹ Vassall had his own suite key. The security guards stationed at office entrances rarely conducted random checks of the 9,000 employees that went through the Admiralty's doors every day.²⁵²

In the end, Vassall was found guilty of offenses against the Official Secrets Act and sentenced to 18 years in prison by the Lord Chief Justice, but he was paroled after serving only ten years. John Vassall died on November 18, 1996.

Inevitably, the question of blame came to the forefront. After the Burgess, Maclean and Philby spy spree, the public was convinced that Vassall had the protection of some influential official or officials at Whitehall. The opposition Labour Party who was having a political field day with the Vassall spy debacle suggested that Lord Peter Carrington, the First Lord of the Admiralty should resign.

The Kennedy Administration contributed its two-cents worth to the Vassall case by naively suggesting that Prime Minister Harold Macmillan fire all known homosexuals that were connected with government posts related to national security and defense. Macmillan, all too aware of the large numbers of high-ranking homosexuals at Whitehall, the Foreign Office and British Intelligence Services, fired back that he would not sink to McCarthy-like tactics.

Prime Minister Macmillan, however, did reluctantly appoint a formal Tribunal headed by Lord Radcliffe, Lord of Appeal, to conduct a thorough investigation of the circumstances in which Vassall's offences had been committed as well as other allegations that involved ministers, naval officers, and civil servants said to be connected with the case.²⁵³ Of particular interest were the 23 letters that were found among Vassall's belongings from Mr. Galbraith to Vassall that were written in 1957. For what reason would a Minister of the Crown be privately corresponding with his assistant secretary?²⁵⁴

However, the Tribunal's primary interest appeared to be tracking down two newspaper stories on the Vassall spy case that claimed 1) that Vassall had two sponsors in the Admiralty who had shielded him from important parts of the vetting process and 2) that Vassall sometimes wore women's clothes on West End trips.²⁵⁵ When Reg Foster of the Daily Sketch and Brendan Mulholland of the Daily Mail who filed the original stories refused to reveal their sources, Foster was sentenced to six months in jail and Mulholland received a three month sentence for contempt of court.

Soon it was back to business as usual at the Old Boys' Club.

Macmillan and his Conservative government managed to survive the Vassall scandal, only to be taken down by the Profumo Affair that was simmering in the wings. The well-publicized 1963 sex scandal did not involve homosexuality, at least directly. I have, however, included a brief synopsis of the affair because it will introduce the reader to Dr. Stephen Ward, who

like Peter Montgomery, mentioned earlier in connection with his lover Anthony Blunt, will figure prominently at the conclusion of this chapter on the Vatican connection to the Cambridge spies.

The Profumo Scandal—Pimps, Call Girls and Spies

For all its world-wide publicity, it was basically a gal meets guy affair with one major complication. The “guy” was the very married, very distinguished, Harrow-Oxford graduate and former MP, John “Jack” Profumo, the British Secretary of State for War. The “gal” was a young beautiful showgirl and part-time hooker named Christine Keeler, who came from the stables of the well-known socialite-osteopath-pimp, Dr. Stephen Ward. And the “complication” was Captain Yevgeny “Eugene” Ivanov, an officer in the GRU (Soviet Military Intelligence) posing as a naval attaché at the Soviet Embassy in London. Keeler was also sexually servicing Ivanov. The whole affair probably would have been swept under the rug, like so many of the other tawdry affairs of prominent Establishment figures with girls many years their junior, had not Profumo made the unforgivable mistake of—no, not committing adultery and possibly imperiling national security—but, of denying the affair in a speech before the House of Commons.

Profumo was forced to retire in disgrace, but later managed to salvage some self-respect by conducting charity work in the East End for which the Queen awarded him one of the nation’s highest honors, the Commander of the British Empire. Keeler got a nine-month prison sentence for an unrelated perjury charge, loads of publicity, and numerous lucrative scandal-sheet contracts for revealing her “story.” Ivanov was called back to Moscow, after having successfully brought down the Macmillan Government, and was never heard from again.

Stephen Ward, who was responsible for introducing Profumo to Keeler, fared the worst. He allegedly took his own life under suspicious circumstances on July 30, 1963, the last day of his trial for pimping. The British Establishment could sleep much better at night now that Ward, the keeper of their dark secrets, was dead.

By the time titillation of the Profumo case wore off and the Vassall Affair became a distant memory, Philby had made it safely home to Moscow while Blunt was still freely roaming the halls of the Courtauld Institute.

The Cambridge Spies— A Final Assessment

It is impossible to discern which of the Cambridge spies was the most important to the Soviets or did the most damage to the national interests of Great Britain and the United States and their allies. Each, in their own way, contributed to the wholesale destruction of the West’s intelligence services that hemorrhaged for more than 30 years. There is no question today that for Stalin, virtually every intelligence secret Britain and the United States had was an open book.²⁵⁶

The record is clear. The Soviets knew every major intelligence operation run against them from 1945–1963. They knew every wartime movement the Germans made (in advance) thanks to their penetration of Bletchley Park where the British code breakers broke the German Enigma machine. They knew the exact date of D-Day—a secret that Churchill tried to keep from Stalin. They had access to every electronically transmitted verbatim communication between Roosevelt and Churchill, and later Truman and Churchill. Soviet scientists had sufficient scientific data to build an atomic-bomb. Stalin had previewed diplomatic agendas for all the Big Four Conferences on post-war Europe, and on and on, thanks to the Cambridge spies.

The Cambridge spies not only sent thousands of their own countrymen to their deaths, but American and other Allied forces as well. Yet none went to the gallows for their treachery. Nor did a one spend a single day in jail. It is a matter of public record that Whitehall did its part to make the life of Burgess and Maclean in Moscow as financially carefree as possible by granting the traitors “emigrant status” which enabled them to draw sterling from their private accounts with the Bank of England through the Russian State Bank.

Indeed all the evidence points to the fact that Burgess, Maclean and Philby were permitted to escape behind the Iron Curtain in order to avoid a public scandal. If Whitehall and Buckingham Palace wanted them caught—they would have been caught. British security laxity was criminal, but whose fault was that?

The famous spy novelist John le’ Carré, who like Rebecca West and John Costello, share a realistic view of traitors, once called MI5 and MI6 “sanctuaries for male misfits.” In intelligence work as in all British political life, top positions and rapid advancement was based foremost on class. There were many highly qualified MI5 and MI6 employees who were untainted by corruption, but high posts and rapid promotions were the exclusive prerogative of Britain’s ruling class—political leaders, high government officials and influential members of Parliament. That some were confirmed pederasts and/or Communists mattered not.²⁵⁷ It was a system that guaranteed British intelligence would self-destruct and it did with the Cambridge spies. The next step was to attempt an Establishment cover-up to protect the Old Boys’ Club and hide from the British public the extent of the damage done to the nation by the Cambridge spies. The age-old instinct for survival kicked in. When in doubt or difficulty, sit tight and say nothing and hope the disaster will blow over; was the “Law of the Club.”²⁵⁸ The Soviets depended upon it and they were not disappointed.

Lessons for the Catholic Church

In addition to offering a concrete example of the development and colonization of the emerging Homintern in the West during the first half of the

20th century, the betrayal of Britain and the British people by the Cambridge spies offers other insights that are applicable to the current situation in which the Roman Catholic Church finds itself besieged by the clerical Homintern.

As the late John Costello wrote, "If there is one lesson to be drawn from the career of Anthony Blunt and his Cambridge co-conspirators, it is that the ethics of conspiracy and the motivations for betrayal, are not merely ideological, but timeless and never-ending."²⁵⁹

Was the official cover-up by the British Establishment of the horrendous deeds of the Cambridge spies so very different from the American bishops' cover-up of the criminal deeds of its pederast and homosexual clergy and religious? Is not the Catholic clerical Homintern as capable of inflicting as great a harm on the Church and the faithful as that inflicted on the people and government of Britain by the Cambridge spies under the direction of the Communist Comintern?

Although the issue of the Communist infiltration of the Vatican and American Church as a factor in the rise of the Homintern in the Church is taken up in Chapter 18, "Twentieth Century Harbingers," some general observations based on the Cambridge experience are worth noting here.²⁶⁰

First, no effective action can be taken against the Homintern Network within the Roman Catholic Church unless that network is acknowledged and well understood. "Subversion and treason from within" combined with "attack from without" is as near perfect a prescription for disaster for the Church as it was for Britain during the era of the Cambridge spies.

The fact that the Catholic seminary, priesthood and religious orders are relatively "closed" societies is no guarantee they can't be effectively penetrated and colonized by hostile forces. After all, Japan was a relatively "closed" society during the 1930s and 1940s, and yet it was effectively penetrated by one of Stalin's greatest spy-masters, the Russian-born Richard Sorge. His Japanese espionage ring penetrated the highest levels of the Japanese intelligence that was thought to be impenetrable by foreign agents.²⁶¹

Careful vetting is as essential to the Catholic priesthood and religious life as it is to national intelligence services, even more so, since the stakes for the former are eternal. The current sex abuse scandal in the Catholic priesthood and religious orders in the United States and abroad is ample demonstration of this.

As in the secular order, prevention is the best cure for moral disorder. Once the moral cancer of homosexuality metastasizes a seminary or house of religious, half-measures are generally inadequate to bring the disease under control and the whole institution must be shut down.

However, as in the specific incidence of Cambridge traitor Anthony Blunt, competent vetting can be undone by corruption of those who exercise ultimate power and authority. The American bishops have their ver-

sion of the British Old Boys' Club—the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops—and as it is currently constituted, it has been thoroughly compromised and corrupted by the Homintern.²⁶² The homosexual network at the USCCB operates no differently from the homosexual network at Cambridge, London, and Whitehall that made the Cambridge spy ring possible. The Old Boys' Club protects its own.

There is a similarity between a secular traitor's hatred of the Social Order and nation that nurtured him, and the homosexual priest's hatred of the Roman Catholic Church with its moral absolutes and restrictions and authority figures. Once the homosexual priest or religious is absorbed into the Homintern, his allegiance and subservience to it supersedes all other former loyalties. His devotion to his family and his faith is atrophied.

As Father Rueda has charged, this new allegiance is capable of functionally dissolving the normally stronger bonds of religious affiliation. Homosexual priests and religious not only foster dissension within the Church in matters of sexual morality, they also use the Church and its resources to spread the teachings and propaganda of the Homintern.²⁶³

Neither the State nor the Church can afford to ignore the presence of vice in its midst. Britain's upper-class winked at the violation of the moral law with regard to homosexuality and paid a heavy price for its folly. Likewise the Church cannot be indifferent to vice within its priestly ranks and expect to escape unscathed from the consequences of its actions.

The treacherous exploits of the Cambridge spies resulted in the massive hemorrhaging of intelligence to the Soviets and untold damage to Britain's national interests. The treacherous exploits of clerical pederasts and homosexuals in the Church has resulted in the massive hemorrhaging of fidelity in the Church and a feeling of betrayal in the hearts of every loyal Catholic layman and priest.

But even more damaging than the foul acts of a handful of moral miscreants in the priesthood and religious life, has been the cover-up by the American hierarchy of these betrayers of the Faith including those in their own ranks. Like the secular traitor, the homosexual-pederast bishop should be condemned as a moral pariah by his fellow bishops and scorned and ostracized by them. The Vatican should at the very least, remove the offending bishop from any position of authority, and where warranted, defrock and return him to the lay state.

Dame Rebecca West when commenting on the sentimentality generally associated with traitors like the Cambridge spies noted that "Everybody knew that they were Communists, but very few people really believed it," she said. For many, West continued, "Communism is like a dream, something you can recollect about...a feature of a vulgar district in the world of fancy...and that it seemed quite ridiculous to think of it as a real threat." "Now even the media as well as the papers, with the day to day reporting of the Maclean and Burgess affair realized that this international conspiracy

of Communism was as real as the railway accidents they were reporting and a lot more dangerous to the nation," she concluded.²⁶⁴

Likewise, today, virtually everyone in the Catholic Church today knows that there are active homosexual-pederasts in the priesthood, religious orders, national hierarchy and the Vatican, yet very few people actually believe it. Not until the secular media started to expose actual court cases involving clerical sex abuse by Catholic clerics did Catholics begin to realize the real threat to the Faith and the faithful posed by the clerical Homintern. All may not be lost, however, if to paraphrase the words of Dame West, Church leaders are willing to "trade in" their humiliations and wounded pride for "some much needed wisdom."²⁶⁵

The Cambridge Spies and the Vatican Connection

The Vatican connection to the Cambridge spies is best approached indirectly through the central character of Dr. Stephen Ward, to whom the reader has already been introduced in connection with the Profumo Scandal. For more than a decade, Ward played the sex-broker for a large number of wealthy and influential members of the British Establishment. He also provided high-class call girls for the British Intelligence Services some of whom were used in various honey-trap schemes or to fill the sexual needs of visiting dignitaries.²⁶⁶

Ward, as one might guess, was not your typical money-grubbing pimp. Rebecca West described him as a court jester who took vicarious delight in heterosexual matchmaking for his high-flying clients whose homes he inhabited—most notably Cliveden, the fabled English estate in Buckinghamshire of the Anglo-American Astors that was an exclusive gathering-place for London's wealthy, well-connected individuals—politicians, diplomats, policy analysts and peers. John Profumo's affair with Christine Keeler, a Ward creation, began at the Cliveden swimming-pool, and British Intelligence sometimes used the Astor residence to accommodate foreign hosts.²⁶⁷

A man of varied talents, Ward was a successful American-trained osteopath by profession, an outstanding bridge player and a professional portrait artist whose clients included members of the Royal family. He attracted a large number of upper class patients to his up-town Cavendish office including members of the Churchill family and other high-level government officials, peers, well-known vice-racketeers and international celebrities. Ward was also known to do abortions on the side.²⁶⁸ His fourth talent was pimping and the organization of exclusive sex parties that catered to the sophisticated sadomasochist and occult London crowd.²⁶⁹ Among Ward's close friends was Bill Astor, eldest of the four Astor boys, and one of Ward's wealthy and powerful patrons who had unconventional sexual tastes.

A lesser-known facet of Ward's quasi-secret world was his connections to London's upper class homosexual and lesbian networks that included prominent diplomats and clergy, Whitehall officials, and members of Oxbridge and London's literary and artistic circles.

One of Ward's most intimate relationships was with Bobbie Shaw, Bill Astor's stepbrother by his mother Nancy's first marriage. An active homosexual and alcoholic, the handsome and charming Bobbie was drummed out of the Blues, the Royal Horse Guards, for being drunk on duty and was later arrested and imprisoned for homosexual offenses. He died by his own hand.²⁷⁰

Among the prominent British homosexual diplomats and civil servants with whom Ward cavorted was Sir John Gilbert Laithwaite, the first United Kingdom Ambassador to Ireland and Deputy Under Secretary of State in the Commonwealth Relations Office for India.

Laithwaite was a prominent member of the elite Travelers' Club that catered to travelers of distinction and where London's upper-crust homosexuals shared drinks, ideas and gossip.²⁷¹ Sir Gilbert maintained his homosexual connections with numerous Foreign Office officials scattered around the world as senior diplomats. He, like Bobbie Shaw, was indebted to Ward for introducing him to young homosexual partners that were brought to Cliveden.

Ward was also on friendly terms with the dynamic Cambridge homosexual trio of Guy Burgess, Anthony Blunt and Peter Montgomery, Blunt's young lover and closest friend and confidant.

Peter Montgomery was born in 1909 to a distinguished Irish family with important connections to the Protestant Orange Order and a large estate at Blessingbourne, Fivemiletown in Northern Ireland.²⁷² Like many Irish upper-class gentlemen, he was a product of the English public school system that included Wellington College and Cambridge. A handsome, rather shy young man with girlish looks, the artistically-inclined Montgomery remained the submissive and adoring partner of Blunt throughout their short-lived romance and life-long friendship.

At the start of the Second World War, to the surprise of all his friends, Peter decided to follow the Montgomery family tradition and took up a career in the military with the Royal Intelligence Corps, 21st Army Group.²⁷³ In 1945 he was made aide-de-camp to Archibald Percival Wavell, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.²⁷⁴

After the war ended, Peter drifted back to his first loves, art and music, and to Irish politics.

A talented musician and accomplished conductor in his own right, he was appointed to the BBC's General Advisory Council (1952-1971) and became President of the Arts Council of Northern Ireland where he served from 1964-1974. In 1964 he was made High Sheriff of County Tyrone and later, Her Majesty's Vice-Lieutenant of County Tyrone.²⁷⁵

Although, in his later years, Peter Montgomery went on record as telling British Intelligence, who was investigating Blunt's Soviet connections, that he never had any secrets from Anthony, it remains unclear if he ever shared any classified information, knowingly or unknowingly, with Blunt while in the Army.

When in London, Peter stayed with Anthony at the Courtauld Institute and was introduced to Blunt's Royal connections at Buckingham and Westminster and to Blunt's young "gay" party guests.²⁷⁶

In turn, Blunt occasionally visited Peter at the family estate in Northern Ireland where the Cambridge spy was introduced to the Irish "country-house" homosexual circuit.²⁷⁷ It is possible that Peter and Anthony were provided with young Irish boys from local orphanages or welfare centers like the Kincora Working Boys' Hostel in East Belfast. In 1980, the Kincora Pederast Scandal broke into the news.²⁷⁸ The orphanage's "housefather" William McGrath, dubbed "The Beast of Kincora" was arrested, tried and convicted for rape and sodomy of minors under his care. One of the dark secrets that came to light during the trial was that McGrath, who had served as an MI5 operative and was active in Ulster paramilitary adventures, had been financed up until mid-1976 by none other than Sir Knox Cunningham, Blunt and Peter Montgomery's mutual friend and fellow homosexual from Cambridge.²⁷⁹

Hugh Montgomery and Battista Montini

What little is known about Hugh Montgomery, Peter's brother, has come to us largely from the Irish writer Robin Bryans, who, although himself from humble origins, eventually became part of the London homosexual clique that included all of the above mentioned characters. Taken as a whole, Bryans' observations, and recollections have proven to be quite accurate and he has kept a large correspondence to back up his memories.

According to Bryans, Hugh Montgomery, like his brother, Peter, was a member of Ward's homosexual clique. Hugh's one-time lover was Sir Gilbert Laithwaite who sponsored him for membership in the elite Traveler's Club.

During the mid-1930s, Hugh Montgomery, as a young and upcoming member of the British diplomatic corps, served as the Chargé d'Affaires under Sir Alec Randall, the British representative to the Vatican. It was at this time that Hugh met an equally ambitious and upward-bound Vatican diplomat by the name Msgr. Giovanni Battista Montini. Later, Hugh converted to Catholicism, entered Beta College, and was ordained a Catholic priest. Harbinson said that Hugh told him that at one time he and Montini had been lovers.²⁸⁰

Was Hugh Montgomery telling the truth about his relationship with the future Pope Paul VI or was he exaggerating the degree of intimacy of their friendship? Did Hugh discuss his alleged affair with Montini with

his brother, Peter? If so, had Peter relayed the story to his lover Anthony Blunt, who, most assuredly would have passed the information on to his Soviet controller for possible blackmail use? In short, is there a connection between the Cambridge spy network and the Vatican? These are important as well as intriguing questions that will be fully explored in Section V that includes a detailed analysis of the charges of homosexuality that have been leveled against Pope Paul VI.²⁸¹

Notes

- 1 Claire Sterling, *Octopus: The Long Reach of the Sicilian Mafia* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1990), 314.
- 2 John Costello, *Mask of Treachery—The First Documented Dossier on Blunt, MI5, and Soviet Subversion* (London: William Collins Sons & Co. LTD, 1988), 8.
- 3 Rueda, 249–250.
- 4 Martin Dies, *The Trojan Horse in America* (New York: Arno Press, 1977; reprint, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1940), 224. The endnote is a paraphrasing of Dies' classic commentary: "The enemies within a country constitute a peril as great as any foreign force—treason from within aided by invasion from without."
- 5 Radosh and Milton, Introduction.
- 6 Alexander Orlov, *Handbook of Intelligence and Guerrilla Warfare* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1963), 25. Before WWII, Orlov was one of the chiefs of Soviet Intelligence. After his defection to the West, he lectured widely on Soviet tactics and strategy of intelligence and counterintelligence. In 1936, Orlov wrote a manual used by the newly created NKVD schools for undercover intelligence officers and for the Central Military School in Moscow. In 1963, he was commissioned by the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor to reconstruct that manual.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 94.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 95.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 Victor Ostrovsky and Claire Hoy, *By Way of Deception—The Making and Unmaking of a Mossad Officer* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 98.
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 H. Bradford Westerfield, ed., *Inside CIA's Private World—Declassified Articles from the Agency's Internal Journal 1955–1992* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 79–80.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 80.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 75.
- 15 *Ibid.*

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- 16 Statement of Atomic-bomb spy Klaus Fuchs as recorded in William Stevenson, *Intepid's Last Case* (New York: Villard Books, Random House, Inc., 1983), 169. See also Radosh and Milton, 30. Compartmentalization is the hallmark of a spy as well as a homosexual. Atomic bomb spy, Klaus Fuchs, stated he used his "Marxist philosophy to establish in my mind two separate compartments: one compartment in which I allowed myself to make friendships ...to help people and to be in all personal ways the kind of man I want to be ...I knew that the other compartment would step in if I approached the danger point. ...I had succeeded in the other compartment of establishing myself completely independent of the surrounding forces of society. Looking back, it seems better to call it a controlled schizophrenia." Similarly, Harry Gold (Golodnitsky) a graduate from Xavier University and a U.S. convicted industrial and atomic spy for the Soviet Union, testified that in order to deal with the tremendous tensions and inconveniences of living a life as a Communist agent he developed a dual personality. He said that when he went on a spy mission, he totally forgot his normal life, his home, family, work and friends, and just became a single-minded automaton. When he returned home, he swung into reverse gear and he would bury all that he had done that night or on that particular mission.
- 17 Westerfield, 75.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 80.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 75.
- 20 Zvi Y. Gitelman, *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics—the Jewish Section of the CPSU, 1917–1930*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Press, 1972), 117. The author's research was carried out under the auspices of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs, Columbia University. See also Louis Rapoport, *Stalin's War Against the Jews* (New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1990).
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 *Ibid.*
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 *Ibid.*, 118.
- 25 Radosh and Milton, 23–25.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 338–339.
- 27 Rueda, 127.
- 28 William R. Corson and Robert T. Crowley, *The New KGB—Engine of Soviet Power* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1985), 14.
- 29 Bray, 19.
- 30 See Andrew Boyle, *The Fourth Man*, (New York: Dial Press/James Wade, 1979), 221.
- 31 John Barron, *KGB The Secret Work of Soviet Agents* (New York: Reader's Digest Press, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1974), 207. See Chapter X, "Treasures from the Vault" for an extraordinary tale of espionage.
- 32 Gerard J. M. van den Aardweg, Ph.D., *The Battle for Normality—A Guide for (Self-) Therapy for Homosexuality*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997), 68–69.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 69.
- 34 Deacon, *The French Secret Service*, 17.

- 35 Ibid., 17–20.
- 36 David Lewis, *Sexpionage—The Exploitation of Sex by Soviet Intelligence* (New York, London: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976), 25.
- 37 Chapman Pincher, *Inside Story* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), 28.
- 38 For an excellent analysis of Stalin’s massive purges see Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror—A Reassessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- 39 Phillip Knightley, Bruce Page, David Leitch, *The Philby Conspiracy* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968), 14.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 For a credulous new analysis of the origins of World War II see Ernst Topitsch, *Stalin’s War* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1985).
- 43 Orlov, 15.
- 44 Ibid., 17.
- 45 Ibid., 15.
- 46 Ibid.
- 47 Costello, 216.
- 48 Reference to lax British intelligence vetting policies of known homosexuals in sensitive government and intelligence positions taken from Andrew Hodges, “The Military Use of Alan Turing” available from <http://www.turing.org.uk/publications/mathswar3.html>.
- 49 West, 172.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid., 103.
- 52 Ibid., 142.
- 53 Ibid., 173.
- 54 Lewis, 44–45.
- 55 Ibid., 36.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Ibid., 56.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Jamie Glazov, “A Homosexual and Naïve Canadian Ambassador to Moscow: A Serious No-No in the Cold War,” *FrontPageMagazine.com.*, July 25, 2001 at <http://www.frontpagemag.com/Articles/Printable.asp?ID= 993>.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 West, 216.
- 63 Lewis, 4–5.
- 64 See John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *VENONA: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; 1999). For further insights into the Soviet infiltration of the OSS see <http://members.iglou.com/jtmajor/Venona1.htm>. For information on the role of the Sicilian Mafia in the OSS see Sterling’s *Octopus*.
- 65 The OSS trained many of the early leaders and personnel of the Central Intelligence Agency including four future Directors of Central Intelligence: Allen Dulles, Richard Helms, William Colby, and William Casey. James Jesus

Angleton, CIA Counter-intelligence Chief, began his espionage career in the OSS working with his father in Italy. Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks in *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1974) described the CIA's Old Boys' Club thusly: "Its holy men are the clandestine professionals in the Central Intelligence Agency. Its patrons and protectors are the highest officials of the federal government. Its membership, extending far beyond government circles, reaches into the power centers of industry, commerce, finance and labor. Its friends are many in the areas of importance—the academic world and the communications media. The cult of intelligence is a secret fraternity of the American political aristocracy." How closely the CIA is tied to the liberal Eastern Establishment, (that works closely with the "conservative" Right-wing groups) is demonstrated in the minutes of a private meeting of former and active CIA members at the Harold Pratt House, home of the quasi-secret Council on Foreign Relations, that took place on January 8, 1968. The purpose of the gathering was to discuss the role of the CIA in "covert-action" abroad. It is interesting that the meeting did not take place at the CIA's official headquarters in Langley, Virginia. The nature of this elite meeting composed almost exclusively of WASPish (white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant) Establishment figures reflected the prototype of the CIA's leadership since its creation in 1947. The confidential minutes of the 1968 meetings were discovered in 1971 when a group of radical students ransacked Harvard University's Center for International Affairs and found the document among the papers of Center associate William Harris.

- 66 Corson and Crowley, 193. See also Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield—The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 57.
- 67 It is true that the GRU had several other independent-operating spy rings in place in Britain. However, all of them, including the Oxford spy ring lacked the equivalent of the clandestine powerhouse—the Apostles—that made the Cambridge spy carousal go round and insured automatic access to the corridors of power and rapid advancement to the top of the intelligence and governmental heap. Members of the Oxford Soviet spy ring included Patrick Day; Phoebe Pool, a courier for the Oxford Ring and a colleague of Blunt's at the Courtauld Institute who committed suicide by throwing herself in front of a train; Peter Floud, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum; Bernard Floud, a senior Labour MP who was recruited by James Klugman and committed suicide in 1967; Herbert Hart who married a Communist agent (Jennifer Hart)—Herbert shared his MI5 office with Blunt; Sir Andrew Cohen, a senior diplomat who died of a heart attack following an intelligence interrogation; and Arthur Wynn, who was active in trade union circles and joined the civil service and Sir Peter Chalmers Mitchell of Christ Church College. VENONA also gave the Code Names of other British spies including DAN, LEAF, JACK, and the intriguing team of DAVID and ROSA implying that there was a broader net of British spies acting for Soviet interests than hereto suspected. See <http://www.trinity.ox.ac.uk/ian.yeung/spy.htm>. Goronwy Rees, a Fellow of All Souls and Oxford scholar, was a close friend of Blunt and a confirmed Marxist, but he did not accept Blunt's offer to become a Soviet agent. Costello related that after 1939, Rees helped British intelligence. In 1956, Rees authored a sensational series of anonymous articles for *The Sunday People* that charged that blackmail and homosexuality had

contributed to extensive Marxists penetration of the British security system. According to Rees, Blunt was a kind of Grey Eminence behind Burgess and other disciples most of whom belonged to the Apostles, and he manipulated his friends through the agency of the Mosca-like Burgess. Among the advantages that Cambridge had over Oxford in terms of high-level recruitment was, of course, the Apostles. Cambridge also had the Cavendish Laboratory, one of the world's leading research centers in physics. In 1921 Stalin sent the Russian scientist Pyotr Kapitza to Cambridge where he founded the Kapitza Club, that encouraged scientific "sharing" apart from any ideological differences. When Kapitza was ordered by Stalin to return to Moscow he took all his Cavendish equipment with him including the clocks and wall fittings that were packed and shipped for his new Soviet lab. To evade British intelligence there were three separate ship loadings of the materials. The information provided by Soviet spies in Britain and the United States pales in comparison with the "vast materials gleaned openly at the Kapitza Club," claimed Andrew Sinclair. Stephen Spender agreed that, "these Communist scientists were victims of a kind of moral blindness which had long characterized science, but was not to be excused for that reason."

- 68 George Orwell, *The Lion and the Unicorn: Socialism and the English Genius*, Part I, "England Your England," (London, 1941) available from <http://www.k-1.com/Orwell/lion.htm>.
- 69 Richard Deacon, *The Cambridge Apostles* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1986), 1. Although Deacon's research on the Apostles as a group is excellent, his political opinions are less objective. For example, he referred to Senator Joseph McCarthy's "virulent and ridiculous anti-Communist campaign," when in fact, McCarthy's charges were anything but ridiculous, as confirmed by the VENONA revelations. See also Dennis O'Keefe, "Cambridge, Right or Wrong," from a *World and I* review (May 1987) available from <http://www.worldandi.com/public/1987/may/bk5.cfm>.
- 70 Robert Skidelsky, *John Maynard Keynes*, Vol. I, "Hopes Betrayed 1883–1920," (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1986), 116.
- 71 Deacon, 3.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 40.
- 73 *Ibid.*, 55.
- 74 Andrew Sinclair *The Red and the Blue—Cambridge, Treason and Intelligence* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1986), 39, 144.
- 75 Skidelsky, 119.
- 76 Costello, 143.
- 77 Michael Holroyd, *Lytton Strachey—The Unknown Years 1880–1910*, Vol. 1, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 167.
- 78 *Ibid.*
- 79 John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946) attended Eton and King's College, Cambridge. As recorded by his principle biographer, Robert Skidelsky, in February 1903, Keynes was initiated into the Apostles as no. 243. For much of his early adult life at King's as an undergraduate and later fellow, Keynes led a very compartmentalized existence between his private and public-professional life. Skidelsky states he had many casual homosexual affairs including trysts with rough trade during his university days, at least one of which led to his being blackmailed. Among his "great loves" was Trinity

freshman, Arthur Hobhouse, whom Keynes later brought into the Society. After World War I, Keynes played a key role at the Paris Peace Conference. Over his lifetime, he held many key government economic posts and became chairman of the National Mutual Life Assurance Society that “put him at the center of England’s financial oligarchy.” Giles Lytton Strachey (1880–1932) was a sexual rival of Maynard Keynes. According to his biographer, Michael Holroyd, Strachey was a sickly and nervous child with a clever intellect. He went on to become one of Trinity College’s most notorious homosexuals. From 1904 to 1914 he was a literary reviewer for *The Spectator* magazine, but his most prominent written work was his 1918 classic *The Eminent Victorians*. The artist Dora Carrington fell into a one-sided love affair with Strachey and cared for him until his death even though she was married to Ralph Partridge. On March 14, 1932, seven weeks after Lytton’s death, she took her own life. Carrington was one of a number of what homosexuals today refer to as “fag hags” — women who attach themselves to known homosexuals in unrequited relationships. Duncan James Corrowr Grant (1885–1978), a leader of the English Post-Impressionist painters was a much sought out sexual partner among the Apostles and Bloomberrys. He was born into a prominent Scottish family at his ancestral home Inverness shire on January 21, 1885. A seasoned traveler to India and Burma by the age of nine, he was educated at Hillbrow Preparatory School, Rugby, and later attended the Westminster School of Art, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Lytton Strachey was Grant’s cousin. The “great love” of his life, according to his biographer, Douglas Blair Turnbaugh, was Paul Roche, whom Grant met in 1946 when Roche, a newly ordained Roman Catholic priest, was serving at a parish in Chelsea. Grant also loved Vanessa Stephen Bell who was his confidant for more than 50 years and by whom he fathered a daughter, Angelica (Bell). He died at the age of 93 and was buried beside Vanessa in the little churchyard at Firle. David “Bunny” Garnett, who was one of Grant’s partners, married Angelica Bell in 1942. An important but more peripheral figure on the Bloomsbury scene was writer Edward Morgan (E. M.) Forster (1879–1970). He was born in Dorset Square, London, to middle-class parents. His father died when he was one year old and he grew up in a household dominated by females. He attended boarding school at Tonbridge Wells, which he hated. In 1897, he went up to King’s College, Cambridge, which he loved. He became an Apostle with the aide of another King’s undergraduate, H. O. Meredith and was an avowed homosexual. Although he had a distinct weakness for lower class youth, he never confused “loving working men individually with loving the masses,” that is to say, he was not a Marxist. His most lasting works were *A Room With A View*, *Howards End* and *A Passage to India*. One of Forster’s protégées was the young writer and playwright, Joseph Randolph (J. R.) Ackerly (1896–1967) who was studying law at Cambridge when the two met. Ackerly’s autobiography *My Father and Myself* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1968) contains some of the most memorable insights into homosexual promiscuity ever written. Ackerly wrote that his early solitary and group masturbatory activities began at Rossall Preparatory School and continued through public school at Lancashire. His later sex life at Cambridge and afterwards resulted in sexual contact with hundreds of working-class youth and uniformed soldiers. Oddly enough, Ackerly said he was monogamous not promiscuous, but he had simply had “a run of bad luck....” looking for his “ideal friend.” In his relations with guardsmen, who Ackerly said were prone to robbery and violence against “twanks,” “prossies” and “bags” like him, the writer said he deliberately

selected boys who were of “colorless character” or “no character at all.” In the mid-30s he began to keep a day-to-day diary of his nocturnal ramblings, but it was so boring he gave up writing in his diary about them. Ackerly said that some 15 years later he chanced to come across the diary and he “saw it as something evil.” “The evil was in the misery,” he said. “It contained no single gleam of pleasure or happiness, no philosophy, not even a joke; it was a story of unrelieved gloom and despondency, of deadly monotony, of frustration, loneliness, self-pity, of boring “finds,” of wonderful chances muffed through fear, of the latchkey turned night after night into the cold, dark, empty flat, of railings against fate for the emptiness and wretchedness of my life. It contained, the saddest thing of all, my critical comments upon my first meeting with that Welsh boy, now dead, his dullness and smelly feet.” Happiness came to Ackerly in the form of an Alsatian bitch, named Tulip. He said she gave him “the constant, single-hearted, incorruptible, uncritical devotion” that his sex life never brought him. His “ideal friend” turned out to be “man’s best friend.” Ackerly, however, did not give up his homosexual life altogether and still went looking for sexual adventures as the occasion provided especially when he went abroad.

- 80 Other Bloomsbury members included millionaire country squire, Trinity graduate and art critic for the *New Statesman and Nation*, Clive Bell (1881–1964) who married Vanessa Stephan in 1907; Trinity educated, civil servant in Ceylon, writer, publisher Leonard Woolf (1880–1969) who married Virginia Stephan; Trinity man and Apostle, and long-time civil servant in the British Treasury, Saxon Sydney-Turner; King’s College man, prominent art critic and lover of Vanessa Stephen, Roger Fry (1866–1934); and editor and journalist Desmond MacCarthy (1877–1952) and his wife Molly. MacCarthy attended Trinity College, and was a member of the Apostles. He was a close friend of the philosopher George Edward (G. E.) Moore (1873–1958), whose revolutionary work *Principia Ethica* (1903) had an important influence on the Bloomsbury group. Moore was a student of Apostle Bertrand Russell.
- 81 Skidelsky, 329.
- 82 *Ibid.*, 193. The author recorded that Strachey said Keynes kept an inordinately filthy engagement book of homosexual affairs during his Cambridge years at King’s College. For a look at Keynes new found love see Polly Hill and Richard Keynes, eds., *Lydia and Maynard—The Letters of John Maynard Keynes and Lydia Lopokova* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, NY, 1989). It seems to this writer that no person of good-will and normal intelligence who reads the delightful correspondence and love letters between Keynes and his future wife between 1918 and 1925, can hold the view that homosexuals can never change the object of their sexual desires.
- 83 Sinclair, 189.
- 84 *Ibid.*
- 85 There has always been a debate among intelligence writers on the Cambridge spy ring as to the order of recruitment and the relative importance of Anthony Blunt, Guy Burgess, Kim Philby and Donald Maclean and the mysterious “Fifth Man” about which there has been endless speculation. My preference is to list them by birth dates beginning with Blunt, the oldest traitor and ending with Donald Maclean, the youngest, but by no means the least of the Apostles.
- 86 Costello, 145. After leaving Trinity, Alister Watson worked for the Radar and Signals Establishment of the Navy before becoming head of the Submarine

- Detection Research Station at the Admiralty Research Laboratories where he had access to many secrets but was subsequently transferred to a less sensitive post when MI5 discovered his Marxist beliefs. He never confessed to any wrongdoing. See by Andrew Hodges, "The Military Use of Alan Turing," at <http://www.turing.org.uk/publications/mathswar3.html>. In 1965, Dennis Proctor served as Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Fuel and Power. As a senior civil servant he was instrumental in overriding MI5's recommendation that Anthony Blunt be excluded from British intelligence work based on his Marxist affiliations including a trip to the Soviet Union. This is an example of the Soviets having the right man in the right place at the right time.
- 87 Biographical information on Blunt's early years was taken from a number of sources including Miranda Carter, *Anthony Blunt, His Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002).
- 88 *Ibid.*, online version.
- 89 *Ibid.* Wilfrid Blunt reminisced about his childhood and early homosexual yearnings and life as a schoolmaster in *Married to a Single Life—An Autobiography, Years 1901–1938* (London: Michael Russell Ltd., 1983). Unlike his brother, Anthony, Wilfrid appeared to be a kindly, simple soul with a good sense of humor and a conscience (albeit, an agnostic one). He was a partially sublimated pederast who remained somewhat of an "innocent" throughout his life.
- 90 *Ibid.* Under the Marlborough tuition system, sons of clergymen paid only 60% of the fees paid by laymen.
- 91 Costello, 60.
- 92 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 77–78.
- 94 *Ibid.*, 77.
- 95 *Ibid.*, 130.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 86.
- 97 Bryans comments on Cunningham were recorded in Chris Moore, *The Kincora Scandal* (Dublin: Marino, 1996), 89.
- 98 *Ibid.*, 88–89.
- 99 Clive Bell's son Julian was one of Blunt's lovers.
- 100 Costello, 147.
- 101 See David Pryce-Jones, "A complete moral void," a critical book review of Miranda Carter, *Anthony Blunt: His Lives* from *The New Criterion Online*, Vol. 20, No. 7, March 2002 available from <http://www.newcriterion.com/archive/20/mar02/blunt.htm>. As Pryce-Jones points out, Carter was uncritical of Blunt's treachery and would have liked to have "rehabilitated" him if she could.
- 102 *Ibid.* That Blunt along with Burgess, Maclean and Philby were well paid for their treachery was confirmed by Oleg Gordievsky, the former KGB resident in London and the highest ranking KGB officer ever to defect to the West. He said that it was part of his duties to keep the record of payments to the Cambridge spies.
- 103 *Ibid.*
- 104 See Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia—The Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001),

185. Also Conquest, 317. In March 1934, the Supreme Soviet made the urban sodomite purge official when it reinstated Russia's anti-sodomy laws as an "anti-fascist social hygiene measure" to curb pederasts who "corrupt" Soviet youth.
- 105 World Revolution in art as in politics costs money, and the Warburgs had sufficient wealth to finance both. Aby Warburg (1866–1929) founded the Warburg Institute in Germany. It was transferred from Hamburg to London in 1934. Aby's brothers financed World Revolution—both Nazism and Marxism. Paul M. Warburg, a partner in Kuhn, Loeb & Company, was a representative of the Rothschild banking dynasty in England and France who helped finance the Bolshevik Russian, and brother Max Warburg was head of the Warburg banking consortium in Germany and the Netherlands. See Anthony Sutton's masterpieces *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*, (Virginia: Arlington House, 1974) and *Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler* (Ill.: Bloomfield Books, 1976).
- 106 See Charles Saumarez Smith, "Scholar, gentleman, prig, spy," *The Observer*, 11 November 2001. This review of Miranda Carter biography of Blunt is found at Guardian Unlimited Online—<http://books.guardian.co.uk/whitbread2002/story/0,12605,842777,00.html>.
- 107 Costello, 369.
- 108 Nigel West and Oleg Tsarev, *The Crown Jewels—The British Secrets at the Heart of the KGB Archives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 132.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Costello, 369.
- 111 Ibid., 368.
- 112 Ibid., Also Christopher Andrew, *Her Majesty's Secret Service—The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (New York: Viking Press, 1986), 403.
- 113 Andrew, 403.
- 114 Ibid., 401.
- 115 Chapman Pincher, *Their Trade is Treachery*, Revised ed. (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1982), 245.
- 116 Pryce-Jones. The myth that Blunt was corrupted in his personal and espionage life but honorable in his professional role as an art historian and authenticator is put to rest by Igor Golomstock in "The Forger and the Spy," *Commentary*, May 1999, available from http://www.findarticles.com/cf_0/m1061/5_107/54561433/print.jhtml. Golomstock revealed that, Eric Hebborn, an English-born painter, homosexual and former lover of Anthony Blunt, who maintained his own private art gallery in Rome, had a number of certificates of authentication issued for his forged masterpieces that were sold to famous art galleries around the world. When his crime was discovered and his intimate relationship with the Soviet spy revealed, Hebborn insisted that he never asked Blunt to authenticate any of the forgeries he had brought to England from Italy. According to Golomstock, however, there were several passages in Hebborn's memoirs that confirmed that Blunt did in fact play an important role in certifying the painter's fakes as genuine. Hebborn died in a Rome hospital in January 1996 shortly after he was found in a public park in Rome, the victim of a violent attack.

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- 117 Kim Philby's comments concerning young Guy Burgess were reported by his wife, Rufina, in Rufina Philby, Hayden Peake and Mikhail Lyubimov, *The Private Life of Kim Philby* (New York: Fromm International, 2000), 230–231.
- 118 Unlike the other Cambridge traitors, early biographical data on Burgess including his family life and early childhood is conspicuously absent from the records. The author obtained some information on his early life from the Dwyer-Laye Family website at <http://www.geocities.com/layedwyer>. The website was created by Patrick Paskiewicz who teaches English at Henry Ford, Oakland, and Schoolcraft Community Colleges.
- 119 Yuri Modin, *My 5 Cambridge Friends, Burgess, Maclean, Philby, Blunt and Cairncross* (New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1994), 72. Yuri Modin, the KGB controller for the Cambridge spies including Guy Burgess from 1947–1953, confirmed the details of Guy's Moscow visit in his recollections of the Cambridge spies.
- 120 Deacon, 119.
- 121 Barrie Penrose and Simon Freeman, *Conspiracy of Silence: The Secret Life of Anthony Blunt* (New York: Farrar Straus & Giroux, 1987), 319–320.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Costello, 203.
- 124 Penrose and Freeman, 320.
- 125 Ibid., 206.
- 126 For an excellent portrait of Sir John Philby and his son see Anthony Cave Brown, *Treason in the Blood* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994). Also Phillip Knightley, Bruce Page, and David Leitch, *The Philby Conspiracy* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co. 1968) and Phillip Knightley, *The Master Spy—The Story of Kim Philby* (New York: Alfred A. Kopf, 1989).
- 127 Brown, 133.
- 128 Ibid., 134–135.
- 129 Ibid., 135.
- 130 Ibid., 138.
- 131 Ibid.
- 132 Ibid., 140.
- 133 Modin, 49.
- 134 Ibid.
- 135 Rufina Philby, Peake, and Lyubimov, 404.
- 136 Ibid., 407.
- 137 Clan website at <http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/m/maclean2.html>
- 138 Well known literary artists and homosexuals W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood were Gresham's School alumni.
- 139 See Costello, 307. Also, Rufina Philby, Peake, and Lyubimov, 406.
- 140 See Dr. Diana M. Henderson, "Scots at War/Secret War/Soviet Spies," available at <http://www.scotsatwar.org.uk/secret/soviet.html> Trust, Edinburgh, Scotland.
- 141 Pryce-Jones. The figure 17,000 is based on information from the Soviet archives recently made available to scholars from the West. Burgess, Maclean and Cairncross were each said to have transferred three times that number to Moscow.

- 142 Costello, 432, 412.
- 143 E. Michael Jones, "Homosexual as Subversive: The Double Life of Sir Anthony Blunt," *Fidelity Magazine* (May 1988): 29.
- 144 Costello, 372.
- 145 *Ibid.*, 606.
- 146 *Ibid.*, 407.
- 147 Among the various theories that have been put forth as to the exact nature of Blunt's royal mission are; (1) It involved the retrieval of some romantically indelicate letters belonging to the Royals; (2) That Blunt and the Royal librarian from Windsor Castle visited the old Kronberg castle in May 1945 to secure from the U.S. Army officials stationed there two crates that supposedly contained secret documents, but were in reality valuable gems; and (3) That they were ordered to retrieve Nazi records that involved a possible secret alliance between Germany and England against Stalin.
- 148 Costello, 369, 443–471.
- 149 *Ibid.*, 4.
- 150 *Ibid.*, 465.
- 151 *Ibid.*, 466.
- 152 See Vivian Bird, "Homosexuality in Britain gets Increasing Acceptance," *Spotlight*, 29 February 29, 1988.
- 153 Guy Liddell, a Deputy Director of MI5 in charge of "B" the Counterintelligence Division, was in the midst of a disastrous marriage when Blunt befriended him. Like Blunt, Liddell had some distant aristocratic connections. His father was reported to have been a stern military-type and his mother a doting. According to intelligence writer John Costello, Liddell also harbored a philistine view of British society. His "incautious" friendships and "unfortunate" wartime associations with known homosexuals made him an exploitable commodity for the Soviets, said Costello. The fact that his early performance at MI5 was fraught with so many "mishaps" and irregularities, and that Moscow's penetration of British counterintelligence reached its peak under Liddell, said Costello, indicated one of three things—either he had "unconceivable bad luck" or he was "totally incompetent to the point of criminal negligence" to hold office or he was a Soviet mole. In any case Costello noted, compromised and "passive" spies can be "every bit as damaging as active ones." Hollis was a different story. Born in 1905, Roger Hollis was like Blunt, the son of a clergyman. He was educated at Worcester College, Oxford where he gravitated toward liberal politics. Among his Oxford friends were Claud Cockburn, a dedicated Communist; Maurice Richardson and the notorious homosexual and later Communist agent, Thomas Driberg. Hollis worked at the Standard Bank in London for a time and then went to China where he made contact with the dedicated Communist, Agnes Smedley. The thrice-married Hollis was regarded as somewhat of a womanizer and "a retailer of risqué stories." Hollis' record of incompetency as General Director of MI5's was legendary. According to Chapman Pincher, Hollis was "a disaster" in the Fuchs spy case and grossly mishandled the Profumo Scandal as well as the critical interrogation of Philby. He was in office when Commander Lionel Crabb the navy frogman was murdered and his headless body washed ashore following a mismanaged espionage trip against a Soviet vessel in Portsmouth. At one point during his stint at MI5, Hollis attempted

- to destroy the diaries of Liddell that gave a full record of MI5 activities during the war. Interestingly, the allegations that Hollis might be a Soviet spy originated from his own colleagues inside MI5. When Hollis was later interrogated he gave a poor accounting of himself, but no issues were ever settled. Like Liddell, Hollis' general incompetence appeared to be no detriment to his promotion and eventual knighthood. His was a charmed life. It should be noted that Costello and Pincher and other intelligence writers and researchers believed that there was prima facie evidence that a super-mole existed in British intelligence outside of the Cambridge spy network.
- 154 Costello, 466, 27. One of Blunt's sex partners was former guardsman, John Gaskin, with whom Blunt had a long-term rocky affair that ended when Gaskin fell over a balcony to his death.
- 155 Ibid.
- 156 Ibid., 561.
- 157 Rothschild claimed his Hungarian-born mother had put Burgess on her payroll to advise her on finances.
- 158 Costello, 305.
- 159 Ibid., 660–663. Donald Gillies' biography of Inverchapel, *Radical Diplomat: The Life of Archibald Clark Kerr, Lord Inverchapel, 1882–1951* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), makes no mention of Inverchapel's homosexual proclivities except for a passing observation that the aging diplomat preferred male company, "particularly young, intellectually energetic talkers" to that of his young and beautiful wife, Tita, nearly 30 years his junior, whom he "remarried" after a two-year divorce. Donald Maclean was one of the upcoming, but still lowly, First Secretaries at the British Embassy in Washington, D.C., who served under Lord Inverchapel. John Costello was more critical than Gillies of Inverchapel's pro-Communist politics, his enchantment with Stalin and his low, blackmailable morals. According to Costello, during Kerr's early diplomatic years he formed a number of intimate attachments with known Soviet agents including Stig Wennestrom who he met during his ambassadorship to China and who turned out to be a major general in the KGB and a Soviet military attaché. If not an outright spy or informer, Lord Inverchapel was, at the very least, an effective Soviet "agent of influence," concluded Costello.
- 160 Costello, 300.
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Ibid., 315.
- 163 Ibid., 318.
- 164 Michael Whitney Straight, *After Long Silence* (New York, London: W. W. Norton and Co., 1983), 142.
- 165 Andrew and Mitrokhin, 61–62.
- 166 Jones, 27.
- 167 Ibid.
- 168 Robert J. Lamphere and Thomas Shachtman, *The FBI-KGB War—A Special Agent's Story* (New York: Random House, 1986), 167.
- 169 Costello, 317.
- 170 Ibid., 318.

- 171 Ibid., 333.
- 172 Rebecca West, 225.
- 173 Lamphere and Shachtman, 235.
- 174 Modin, 143.
- 175 Costello, 473.
- 176 Ibid.
- 177 Ibid., 537.
- 178 Ibid., 474.
- 179 Pincher, *Their Trade is Treachery*, 141.
- 180 Rufina Philby, Peake, and Lyubimov, 406–407.
- 181 Lamphere and Shachtman, 233. Also Rufina Philby, Peake, and Lyubimov, 407.
- 182 Lamphere and Shachtman, 23.
- 183 Also Rufina Philby, Peake, and Lyubimov, 408.
- 184 Lamphere and Shachtman, 233.
- 185 Ibid., 24.
- 186 Ibid., 235.
- 187 Rufina Philby, Peake, and Lyubimov, 412.
- 188 Knightley, Page, Leitch, 316.
- 189 Ibid., Costello, 421.
- 190 Lamphere and Shachtman, 235.
- 191 SMERSH was part of the Ninth Division of the KGB, a military counter-intelligence agency dedicated to terror and diversion. See <http://search.yahoo.com/bin/search?p=SMERSH>.
- 192 Rufina Philby, Peake, and Lyubimov, 414.
- 193 The recent declassification of the VENONA Project, one of the Cold War's best kept secrets, has laid bare the extent of Soviet espionage and influence operations directed against the U.S. That project, the work of dedicated cryptographers, succeeded in breaking the coded communications back and forth between the Soviet establishments in New York and Washington and Moscow, mostly during the years 1943–47. In all, only about 3000 messages were completely or partially decrypted over a period of years. More than 100 Soviet agents were uncovered, many identified only by code name, some of whom have not, to this day, been positively identified. Most had been recruited through the Communist Party. See Hayden B. Peake, "The VENONA Progeny," (summer 2000) available at <http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/Review/2000/summer/re2-Su0.htm>.
- 194 In 1949, Weisband complained to Moscow that they had changed codes so abruptly that it well might have been suspected that there was a spy in the code breakers' ranks. See <http://members.iglou.com/jtmajor/HaunWood.htm>.
- 195 For additional information on VENONA see Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev, *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era* (New York: Random House, 1999; Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995; John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *VENONA: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (New Haven: Yale

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University Press, 1999; and Herbert Romerstein and Eric Brindel, *The VENONA Secrets* (Washington, D.C.: Regency Publishing Co., 2000). Professor Harvey Klehr was kind enough to respond to a number of the author's queries on VENONA. There is an interesting footnote to the VENONA story. In their 1992 book *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself*, written before academics were given access to VENONA, Library of Congress historian John Haynes and Emory University history, Professor Harvey Klehr, wrote that although "American Communists owed their first loyalty to the motherland of communism rather than the United States...in practice few American Communists were spies." They went on to conclude that viewing "the American Communist Party chiefly as an instrument of espionage or a sort of fifth column misjudges its main purpose." These opinions, however, were altered when Haynes and Klehr studied the VENONA cables and discovered that "Not few, but hundreds of American Communists...abetted Soviet espionage in the United States" in the 1930s and 1940s." See <http://www.nwc.navy.mil/press/Review/2000/summer/re2-Su0.htm>. Haynes and Klehr's work on VENONA remain the most objective book written on the subject to date.

- 196 When Aileen and Kim Philby married on September 25, 1946, she was pregnant with the first of their five children. In September 1956, Philby started an affair with Eleanor Pope Brewer. After Aileen died in December 1957, Philby married Eleanor on January 24, 1959. According to Chapman Pincher, when Philby heard that Aileen had died he was at a cocktail party where he raised his glass and said, "You must all drink to the great news. Aileen's dead!" After Philby defected to Moscow, and while Eleanor was on a visit to the United States, Philby began a fling with Maclean's wife, Melinda. In 1965, Eleanor left Moscow and Philby, who was in a hospital bed, and never returned. Philby's fourth wife, Rufina was of Russian-Polish origin. Philby had four grandchildren.
- 197 James Angleton (1911–1980) began his intelligence career working with his father who was in the OSS in Italy at the end of WWII. Early in the game he developed close ties with the leaders of the Zionist underground that later developed into the Mossad, Israel's secret service. As head of CIA's counter-intelligence unit, he specialized in foreign spies and moles. Although he wine and dined Philby on a regular basis and appeared to be on friendly terms with the MI6 representative, Angleton had suspicions that Philby might be a Soviet agent and conveyed those suspicions to his superiors who blithely attributed them to Angleton's alleged "paranoia" and "obsession" with moles and double agents. When William Colby took over as CIA in 1974, Angleton was basically put out to pasture and eventually resigned. Colby then dismantled the counter-intelligence branch of the CIA. This turned out to be a grievous error confirmed by the devastation wrought by Aldrich Ames and Robert Hansen who spied for the Soviet Union. See <http://www.angelfire.com/dc/1spy/Angleton.html>.
- 198 Costello, 539–540.
- 199 William Stevenson, *Intepid's Last Case* (New York: Villard Books, Random House, Inc., 1983), 187.
- 200 This ill-fated joint SIS-CIA operation is described in detail in Nicholas Bethell, *Betrayed* (New York: Times Books, Random House, 1984).

- 201 Bethell, 111.
- 202 Ibid., 202.
- 203 Rufina Philby, Peake, and Lyubimov, 275.
- 204 The FBI had monitored Maclean's homosexual prowling in the United States.
- 205 Lamphere and Shachtman, 235.
- 206 Ibid.
- 207 For additional information on Maclean's activities in the United States see Knightley, Page, Leitch.
- 208 As early as February 1962, the Royals and Whitehall had decided not to charge Philby with treason. Rather, the plan was to offer him immunity for disclosing all the details of his Soviet-KGB connections. If he refused to cooperate, the powers-that-be determined it would be better to give him an opportunity to "defect" to Moscow than have to face the specter of a security scandal and public trial.
- 209 Modin, 222.
- 210 Ibid.
- 211 According to Penrose and Freeman, both the Official Secrets Act (OSA) and Britain's libel laws were designed to protect Britain's governing class, "that interconnected group which traditionally dominated the civil service, politics, the universities, the City, the arts and sciences." The original OSA was passed in 1889, but it was the 1911 law that was rushed through Parliament that began the attack on the peoples' right-to-know. The law makes it an offense for any civil servant to reveal any information obtained in the course of their employment, without authorization. It also makes it an offense to receive such information, even unintentionally. There is no "public interest" defense. Without a confession or without the arrest of a spy in the act of passing secret information to a hostile power, espionage is a very difficult crime to prove.
- 212 Pincher, *Their Trade is Treachery*, 150–151.
- 213 One of the theories as to why Blunt was never prosecuted is found in *War of the Windsors—A Century of Unconstitutional Monarchy* by Stephen Prior, Clive Prince, Lynne Picknett, and Robert Brydon (Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh, 2002). The authors claim that Blunt may have been the bastard child of the amorous King George V and Blunt's mother. However, when one considers Hilda Master's upbringing and strong religious convictions, this scenario appears to be highly unlikely. A more plausible theory would have been that Blunt managed to sexually compromise a member of the Royal family. Costello, for example, reported that Harbinson (Bryans) told him that the Duke of Kent, the black sheep of the Royal family had a drug problem and was attracted to partners of both sexes. Blunt was introduced to the Duke of Kent via Prince Chula Chakrabongse while at Trinity College. If Blunt was sexually involved with Queen Mary's youngest wayward son, this would have been sufficient to keep MI5 and MI6 wolves from his door. The tall, fair-haired Duke was killed in a Royal Airforce crash in 1942.
- 214 Ibid., 152.
- 215 Modin, 241.
- 216 This incident is recorded in a book review by Joseph T. Major of Stephen Koch, *The Terrible Secret* (New York: Free Press, 1994) available from <http://members.iglou.com/jtmajor/2Lives.htm>.

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- 217 Private communication with Patrick Paskiewicz. Nigel once described his brother as “an extraordinary mixture of loathsomeness and charm.” See Verne W. Newton, “The Cambridge Spies,” at <http://members.iglou.com/jtmajor/2Lives.htm>.
- 218 Modin, 268.
- 219 Roland Perry, *The Fifth Man: The Soviet Super Spy* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1994), 27.
- 220 As soon as the State of Israel was formed, Rothschild assisted Chaim Weizmann in setting up a top-secret nuclear program in Rehovoth. In 1947, at the United Nations, both the Soviet Union and the United States voted in favor of the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. The “Kibbutz” was Israel’s contribution to the Socialist-Communist experiment in the new nation-state.
- 221 *Ibid.*, 36.
- 222 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 223 *Ibid.*, Costello, 305.
- 224 *Ibid.*, 293.
- 225 In addition, according to former Mossad member Victor Ostrovsky, Rothschild’s banks act as “bank sayanim,” that is, they assist the Mossad by providing financial assistance at any time, day or night for emergency situations at no charge.
- 226 Modin, 77.
- 227 Costello, 249.
- 228 Rufina Philby, Peake, and Lyubimov, 436.
- 229 Sinclair, 85.
- 230 *Ibid.*, 89.
- 231 Malcolm Muggeridge *Chronicles of Wasted Time—The Green Stick*, Vol. 1, William Morrow & Co., 1973, 107.
- 232 *Ibid.*
- 233 *Ibid.*, 109.
- 234 VENONA communications indicate that Code Names David and ROSA could possibly have been Tess and Victor Rothschild. Was Victor Rothschild the so-called “Fifth Man” of the Cambridge spy ring? In my opinion, the question is wrongly phrased. If Rothschild did collaborate with and provide the Soviets with British and American secret intelligence before, during and after the Second World War, he did not do so as a servant of the Soviets as was the case with Burgess, Maclean, Blunt and Philby. Rothschild was not one of five. He was in a class by himself. His relationship with the Soviets as with all the modern shakers and movers of World Revolution with whom he collaborated operated on a completely different level and scale. Perhaps the question had been better put—whose interests did Victor Rothschild represent and in what hierarchy of order did he place his loyalties. Certainly these interests embraced those of his family, his financial dynasty, his race, and the creation and survival of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Unlike his Cambridge friends, Rothschild was not driven by any claptrap about the supremacy of Communist ideology. Nor did he suffer under any illusions as to the nature and outcome of Stalin’s war against the Jews as documented in Louis Rapoport’s book by the same name (*Stalin’s War Against the Jews* (New York:

Maxwell Macmillan International, 1990). Rather, Victor Rothschild's "arrangement" with the Soviets would have been likely a strictly pragmatic one—secret intelligence and scientific, military and political data from Britain, America and elsewhere in exchange for 1) Soviet support in the United Nations for the creation of the Socialist State of Israel. 2) the securing of atomic weapons to defend the new State in a hostile Arab environment and 3) the release of Russian Jews from behind the Iron Curtain for resettlement in Israel. Scientific knowledge, weapons of mass destruction, superior intelligence, international support, money and people were all necessary for Israel to survive. Rothschild provided all of these in generous amounts, even when doing so meant going against British interests. That the Rothschilds and the Israeli government were quite capable of such actions was demonstrated in the Pollard Case that involved the selling of highly classified American intelligence to the Soviet Union by Israeli agents. In 1986, an American Jew, Jonathan Pollard who worked for U.S. Naval Intelligence was caught spying for Israel. On the day he was apprehended he had sixty classified U.S. documents in his possession. The Israelis were giving American intelligence to the Soviets and Eastern Bloc nations in exchange for the release of Jews from those countries. As for Rothschild's other interests, it is fascinating to note that when the Cold War ended, Victor Rothschild, as if on cue, took up a rather curious cause—the so-called "population explosion." The war against Communism had turned into a war against the proliferation of people and Rothschild stood ready to lead the charge in the next phase of the continuing march of World Revolution. See Richard Deacon, *The Cambridge Apostles* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1986), 178.

- 235 See Gordon Lonsdale, *Spy: Twenty Years of Secret Service, Memoirs of Gordon Lonsdale* (New York: Hawthorn, 1965). Also http://intellit.muskingum.edu/uk_folder/ukspycases_folder/ukspycasesb&l.html.
- 236 Rebecca West, *New Meaning of Treason*, 297.
- 237 See PBS interview at http://www.pbs.org/redfiles/kgb/deep/interv/k_int_george_blake.htm. See also George Blake, *No Other Choice: The Cold War Memoirs of the Ultimate Spy* (London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1990).
- 238 "George Blake, the last survivor of the legendary KGB 'moles,'" Pittsburgh Press, 16 January 1992. After the Blake debacle, the Radcliffe committee was set up to examine security measures in the public service. The committee's final report stressed "the need to know" principle but apparently MI5 and MI6 did not get the message. The door was left open for further foreign espionage activities against the British government and the Crown.
- 239 Rebecca West, 316. See also Rebecca West, "The Vassall Affair," *Sunday Telegraph*, London, 4 July 1963.
- 240 *Ibid.*, 317.
- 241 *Ibid.*
- 242 Lewis, 18.
- 243 Rebecca West, 320.
- 244 Lewis, 89.
- 245 *Ibid.*, 90.
- 246 *Ibid.*

- 247 Rebecca West, 321.
- 248 The Soviets reportedly made monthly payment to Vassall of £700 pounds that doubled his income from the Admiralty.
- 249 Pincher, 75. Actually Golitsin reported that there were two moles in the Admiralty, but after the Vassal trial, British Intelligence ignored that warning.
- 250 Rebecca West, 323.
- 251 *Ibid.*, 328.
- 252 *Ibid.*
- 253 See “The Warren Commission from the Procedural Standpoint” with notes on the Radcliffe Tribune by Arthur L. Goodheart, *New York University Law Review*, Vol. 40 (May 1965): 404–423, available from http://karws.gso.uri.edu/JFK/History/WC_Period/Legal_views_of_WC/Goodheart—from_procedural_standpt.html.
- 254 *Ibid.*
- 255 *Ibid.*
- 256 Ernest Volkman and Blaine Baggett, *Secret Intelligence—The Inside Story of America’s Espionage Empire* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1989), 161.
- 257 Costello 182–183.
- 258 Andrew Boyle, *The Fourth Man* (New York: Dial Press, James Wade, 1979), 450.
- 259 Costello, 615.
- 260 See Communist Party member Harry Hay’s description of the organization of early homosexual networks in the United States in Stuart Timmons, *The Trouble With Harry Hay—Founder of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1990).
- 261 Richard Sorge was born in the Caucasian state of Azerbaijan, a former Soviet republic. His father was German and his mother Russian, but Richard was a Russian through and through and a dedicated Bolshevik. He spied for Stalin in Shanghai and then went to Tokyo where he passed himself off as a reputable German journalist. He then formed a strong friendship at the German Embassy in Tokyo with Lt. Col. Eugen Ott, liaison officer with Japan’s Third Artillery Regiment. He was a heavy drinker and womanizer and was vocal about his anti-Nazis views. Yet, acting through his friend Ott, he was able to secure access to extremely valuable military and diplomatic intelligence and coded messages from both the Germans and the Japanese. Sorge was eventually apprehended by the Japanese government. He believed that the Soviets would trade him or exchange him for another prisoner, but they did not. He was executed as a foreign spy on November 7, 1944 in Sugamo Prison. Twenty years later, on November 6, 1964, Sorge was made a hero of the Soviet Union. See Gordon W. Prange, *Target Tokyo—The Story of the Sorge Spy Ring* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984). In his essay “The Business of Deception,” Professor Revilo P. Oliver noted that thanks to intelligence supplied by Sorge, Stalin was able to achieve important military victories in World War II by withdrawing his huge armies massed along the Manchurian border and using them against the Germans. Oliver observed that Sorge was able to effectively mask his espionage activities behind an outward veneer of high and fast living. In short, he made himself into a “character” who was “ostentatiously addicted to “social” pleasures, rather than to political

- interests." See
http://www.revilo-oliver.com/rpo/Business_of_Deception.html.
- 262 Rev. Paul J. Shaughnessy, "The Gay Priest Problem—What Needs to Be Done, and Why It Won't Be," *Catholic World Report*, (November 2000), 54–58. Father Shaughnessy, a Marine Corps and Navy chaplain wrote, "I define as corrupt, in a sociological sense, any institution that has lost the capacity to mend itself on its own initiative and by its own resources, an institution that is unable to uncover and expel its own miscreants. It is in this sense that the principal reason why the action necessary to solve the gay problem won't be taken is that the episcopacy in the United States is corrupt, and the same is true of the majority of religious orders. It is important to stress that this is a sociological claim, not a moral one." The full text is available from <http://www.sdnewsnotes.com/ed/articles/2000/1200ps.htm>.
- 263 Rueda, 78.
- 264 Rebecca West, 237.
- 265 *Ibid.*, 99.
- 266 Stephen Dorrill and Anthony Summers, *Honeytrap—The Secret Worlds of Stephen Ward* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987), 48.
- 267 *Ibid.*
- 268 *Ibid.*, 52.
- 269 *Ibid.*, 28.
- 270 *Ibid.*, 36–37.
- 271 Penrose and Freeman, 254, 484.
- 272 Peter Montgomery's father was Major-General Hugh Maude de Fallenberg Montgomery. His uncle was Field-Marshal Sir Archibald Montgomery-Massingberd, Chief of the Imperial General Staff. His second cousin was Bernard Montgomery, the legendary Second World War commander.
- 273 Penrose and Freeman, 284.
- 274 It was probably through his familial connections that Peter gained his position with Wavell in India. None of the Wavell biographies mentions Peter Montgomery by name.
- 275 Chris Moore, *The Kincora Scandal* (Dublin: Marino, 1996), 88.
- 276 Carter, 384.
- 277 Costello, 466.
- 278 The Kincora boys' home was opened in 1958 to serve as a transitional refuge for troubled teens and orphans from the Belfast area. The warden chosen for Kincora, Joseph Mains, was an active homosexual pederast. He was joined in 1964 by Raymond Semple, another "boy lover." The two men turned the residence into a living hell for many young boys who were placed at Kincora by the State for safe keeping. When William McGrath joined the staff in 1971, the hell at Kincora was complete. On January 24 1980, Dublin reporter Peter McKenna of *The Irish Independent* wrote an article that charged that an official cover-up of the sexual abuse of young boys and teens at the Kincora Boys Home had been going on for more than 20 years. Further, McKenna reported that various public agencies in both Northern Ireland and Whitehall as well as British Intelligence had been informed of the criminal activities at Kincora and had done nothing to halt the abuse. Chris Moore, author of *The*

Kincora Scandal, has insisted that although the boys of Kincora were raped and sodomized by McGrath, Mains and Semple—all of whom received stiff prison terms after their December 1981 trials—there was no prostitution ring that operated out of the home. McKenna, however, reported that there was an organized pederast ring that operated out of Kincora and that some boys were taken from the orphanage to nearby Birr Castle to serve as sexual fodder for prominent Belfast and London upper-class pederasts and homosexuals. We know that McGrath, was a MI5 operative in Northern Ireland as well as a leader of the Orange Order prior to his arrest. We know that he was also a frequent visitor to London and moved in high political circles. However, British Intelligence (MI5) closed down their investigation before the alleged Belfast and British pederasts could be identified and questioned. The fact that Blunt's friend and fellow sodomite, Sir Knox Cunningham, who died in 1976, was closely connected to McGrath lends support to the possibility that Kincora boys were sexually abused by men other than McGrath, Mains and Semple. Until such times as the Crown or Whitehall or the British Parliament decide to reopen the Kincora Case, it is unlikely that the full truth shall ever be revealed to the Irish and British public. What information about Kincora, if any, Blunt shared with his Soviet paymasters is also likely to remain buried. In addition to the Moore book, Labour Party defender Paul Foot has provided additional information on the Kincora scandal in *Who Framed Colin Wallace?* (Macmillan, London, 1989).

279 Moore, 88–89.

280 Dorrill, 38. In the text, Dorrill, who interviewed Robin Bryans, aka Robert Harbinson, mistakenly states that Montini became Pope John Paul I rather than Pope Paul VI.

† The Leonine Prayers

Instituted by Pope Leo XIII in 1884

Hail Mary (3 times)

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee.
Blessed art thou amongst women and
blessed is the Fruit of thy womb, Jesus.
Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners,
now and at the hour of our death. Amen.

The Hail, Holy Queen (Salve Regina)

Hail, Holy Queen, Mother of mercy,
our sweetness, and our hope!
To thee do we cry, poor banished children of Eve.
To thee do we send up our sighs, mourning and
weeping in this valley of tears.
Turn then, most gracious advocate, thine eyes of
mercy toward us.
And after this exile, show us the blessed
Fruit of thy womb, Jesus.
O clement! O loving! O sweet Virgin Mary!

V. Pray for us, O holy Mother of God

R. That we may be worthy of the promises of Christ.

Let us pray. O God, our refuge and our strength, look down in
mercy upon Thy people who cry to Thee, and by the intercession
of the glorious and immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God, of
Saint Joseph her spouse, of Thy blessed Apostles Peter and Paul,
and of all the Saints, in mercy and goodness hear our prayers we
pour forth for the conversion of sinners, and for the liberty and
exultation of our holy Mother the Church.
Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

Saint Michael the Archangel, defend us in battle;
be our protection against the wickedness and snares of the devil.
May God rebuke him, we humbly pray: and do thou,
Prince of the heavenly host, by the power of God,
thrust down to hell Satan and all wicked spirits,
who wander through the world seeking the ruin of souls.

R. Amen

V. Most Sacred Heart of Jesus,

R. Have mercy upon us. (3 times)

PRAYERS

† The Prayers of Fatima

O my Jesus, forgive us. Deliver us from the fire of hell.
Lead all souls to Heaven, especially those in most
need of Your Mercy.

O Jesus, it is for Your Love, for the conversion of
sinners, and in reparation for the sins committed
against the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

My God, I believe, I adore, I hope and I love Thee!
I ask forgiveness for those who do not believe,
do not adore, do not hope and do not love Thee!

Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, Holy Ghost
I adore Thee profoundly and offer Thee the most
Precious Body, Blood, Soul and Divinity of Jesus
Christ, present in all the tabernacles of the world,
in reparation for the outrages, sacrileges, and
indifferences by which He is offended.
And through the infinite merits of His Most
Sacred Heart and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary,
I beg of Thee the conversion of poor sinners.

† Prayer for Priestly Vocations

O God, we earnestly beseech Thee to bless Thy Church with
many vocations to the Holy priesthood: **men** who will serve
Thee with their whole strength and gladly spend their lives for
Thy Church, and to make Thee known and loved. Amen.

Mary, Mother of priests, obtain for us many holy priests.



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About the Author

Randy Engel, one of the nation's top investigative reporters, began her journalistic career shortly after her graduation from the University of New York at Cortland in 1961. A specialist in Vietnamese history and folklore, she became the editor of *The Vietnam Journal*, the official publication of the Vietnam Refugee and Information Services (VRIS), a national relief program for South Vietnamese war refugees and orphans based in Dayton, Ohio. She recorded for the Voice of America and Radio Saigon. In 1970, she received the Distinguished Service Medal for "exceptional and meritorious service to Vietnam."

In the mid-1960s, in addition to her writings and relief work on behalf of the VRIS, Randy Engel developed an intense interest in pro-life issues including population control, abortion and eugenics, putting her on the ground floor of the emerging Pro-Life Movement. In 1972, she founded the U.S. Coalition for Life, an international pro-life research and investigative agency in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

The USCL *Pro-Life Reporter's* four-year study on the eugenic policies and programs of the March of Dimes titled "Who Will Defend Michael?" quickly put the USCL on the map as the finest pro-life research agency in the U.S., and led to the establishment of a pro-life alternative to the March of Dimes, the International Foundation for Genetic Research, popularly known as the Michael Fund in 1978.

Her investigative findings documenting the rise of the federal government's anti-life programs at home and abroad served as the basis for her testimony before Congressional hearings in the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate. Randy Engel's groundbreaking investigative findings related to the United States Agency for International Development's abortion and sterilization programs in Latin and South America, Asia and Africa were instrumental in bringing about major pro-life changes in USAID's foreign assistance programs.

Many of her original research publications for the USCL including "A March of Dimes Primer—the A-Z of Eugenic Abortion," and "The Pathfinder Fund—A Study of US/AID Anti-Life Funding" have become pro-life classics and continue to enjoy wide circulation.

In 1995, the veteran pro-life researcher exposed the long-standing eugenic abortion record of Dr. Henry Foster, President Bill Clinton's nominee for U.S. Surgeon General, resulting in the Senate's failure to approve the nomination.

Sex Education—The Final Plague, Randy Engel's first full-length book on the sexual conditioning of Catholic school children, was pub-

lished by Human Life International (Baltimore, MD) in 1989 and later by Tan Publishers (Charlotte, NC). Her second book, *The McHugh Chronicles* was published in 1997, while she continued to conduct research and interviews for *The Rite of Sodomy*.

Over the last forty-five years, Randy Engel's articles have appeared in numerous Catholic publications including *Liguorian Magazine*, *Our Sunday Visitor*, *The Wanderer*, *Catholic Family News* and *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*. She has received numerous awards for excellence in investigative journalism including the prestigious Linacre Quarterly Award for Distinguished Writing by the Catholic Medical Association.

Meticulous documentation and references and easy readability are the hallmarks of Randy Engel's investigative writings, and *The Rite of Sodomy—Homosexuality and the Roman Catholic Church* is no exception to the rule. This work, now available in serial format, reads like a top-flight mystery thriller—except that it is not fiction—it is true.

A native New Yorker, Randy Engel resides in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where she continues to write and lecture on traditional Catholic themes. For a listing of her current articles and books including "Sisters in Rebellion," and "Pope John Paul II's Theology of the Body—A study in Modernism" go to

www.newengelpublishing.com.

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