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JANUARY 1958

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WOLFENDEN REPORT:

Reaction of the Public to the Press Reports

EVELYN HOOKER, Ph.D.:

Conclusion of Study on The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT
1957 INDEX





THIRD ANNIVERSARY ISSUE



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London Daily Express



THIRD ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mattachine Society, Inc.

REFLECTIONS ON A THIRD ANNIVERSARY

IT SEEMS ONLY YESTERDAY that the first issue of Mattachine Review came grudgingly off the press, ground out almost reluctantly by a machine none of us really knew how to operate.

But that was January 1955—three full years, 32 issues and more than 66,000 magazines ago. It was impossible then to visualize the day when we could announce the beginning of the fourth year of publication—admittedly still a minor milestone. That day, however, has arrived at last.

On the Review's third anniversary, the staff realizes more than ever that the surface of our educational project has been barely scratched. Some progress has been made, we hope. And the job ahead is vast and challenging, that we know for sure.

With this anniversary, the foundation of the magazine appears more secure than at any time in the past. By that, we mean that the growing subscription list, sources of material and interest of readers is higher than ever.

On the other hand, this doesn't mean that all is smooth sailing ahead. Growing pains have not all subsided, nor has the Society found any magic formula to raise the constant flow of funds necessary to keep such a project going.

That requires us to repeat a statement made many times in these pages before: Upon our readers we depend for continued existence. From them must come a great share of the money, manuscripts and promotion of the magazine which means growth and improvement in our job of telling the public about the true aspects of human sex behavior.

Every reader who assumes a share in helping on this can take assurance that his help, however great or small, is a vital contribution toward attainment of a principle Mattachine goal of creating more understanding about the long-dark subject of homosexualism, and preventing unnecessary human waste, tragedy and unhappiness among those touched by it.

Whatever progress to date the magazine has made in its field is due largely due to the faith and generosity of its readers and friends. There would be no anniversary without your dollars and other material assistance. You who have helped-take a bow. We hope you can take genuine pride in your magazine-for that's exactly what it is. We are counting on you to help us make it better in 1958



MATTACHINE BOARD WILL MEET IN NEW YORK CITY

Semi-annual meeting of the board of directors of the Mattachine Society, Inc. will be held February 1-2 in New York City, the Chairman has announced. Sessions will be conducted in the offices of the Society at 1183 Avenue of the Americas (4th floor).

ONE, INC. ANNOUNCES DATES FOR INSTITUTE

The 1958 Mid-Winter Institute and 6th annual meeting of the board of directors of ONE, Inc., will be held in Los Angeles January 31-February 2, it has been announced. A debate, panel discussions, luncheon, banquet and a dramatic presentation will be featured.



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REVIEW

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MATTACHINE REVIEW is published monthly by the Mattachine Society, Inc., 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, San Francisco 5, Calif., a non-profit, non-partisan organization founded in the public interest for the purpose of providing true and accurate information toward the solution of problems of human sex behavior, particularly those of the homosexual adult. The REVIEW is available on many U.S. newsstands.

as a distinct personality type, are homophiles so different?

of the male overt homosexual

By EVELYN HOOKER, Ph.D

Unfortunately, space requirements in the December issue of Mattachine Review made it impossible to carry the complete report of Evelyn Hooker on the adjustment of the male overt homosexual; in fact, it was even necessary to break the article in two at a point where Dr. Gooker was explaining her system of rating and matching homosexual and non-homosexual

sexual matched pairs used in the study.

The following pages complete Dr. Hooker's first report of tentative findings, as published in The Journal of Projective Techniques, Volume 21, No. 1, 1957, and reprinted here with permission. This concluding installment should be read alongside the first part published in December Review for best understanding of the article as a whole.

PART TWO

Let us turn now to the TAT and MAPS. These were administered as a single test, the selected MAPS items following the TAT. Altogether, 12 pictures were used: 3BM, 6BM, 7BM, 12M, 13MF, 16, and 18GF of the



CHANGES OF ADDRESS

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TABLE IV-Adjustment Ratings on MAPS-TAT

		Ratings			
	(Top)				(Bottom)
Group	1	2	3	4	5
Homosexual	0	9	15	6	0
Heterosexual	0	7	19	3	1
Total	0	16	34	9	1

TAT; and from the MAPS, the Living Room, the Street Scene, the Bathroom, the Bedroom, and the Dream. It was hoped that the TAT and MAPS would be helpful in revealing current conflicts. The MAPS was used in addition to the TAT because of the opportunity it gives the subject for the selection of figures together with backgrounds with different situational pulls of particular importance in this study. Very fortunately, Dr. Shneidman agreed to analyze the MAPS and TAT protocols of the 60 subjects, using the same categories for analysis and overall adjustment as did the Rorschach judges. The service he performed, in terms of sheer energy alone, may be suggested by the fact that he began the task on week-ends in February, when the first fruit trees in our California garden were in bloom, and barely escaped before fruit appeared in July. The problem of identifying the homosexual protocol from this material was essentially a much easier one than that encountered with the Rorschach, since few homosexuals failed to give open homosexual stories on at least one picture. The second task given the Rorschach judges, of distinguishing the homosexual from the heterosexual records when they were presented in matched pairs, was therefore omitted. In every other respect, however, both with respect to task and procedure and including the recording, the TAT-MAPS judge proceeded as had the Rorschach judges. In the first 30 records the TAT and MAPS protocols for each man were analyzed together, with judgments given about overall adjustment rating and the other categories, such as methods of handling aggression, etc. In the second 30 records, the TAT protocols were analyzed in succession, with judgments given, and then the MAPS—the judge not knowing which MAPS protocol corresponded with which TAT. This was done in an effort to prevent a "halo" effect, since homosexuality was openly revealed in some TAT records and not in the MAPS (for the same man), and vice versa. Some very interesting results were obtained, to which I shall refer later.

Table IV shows the data on the adjustment ratings. The results are essentially the same as for the Rorschach. The homosexuals and heterosexuals do not differ significantly in their ratings: Chi square = 2.72, df = 4, p = > .70. This judge does not place a single subject in Rating 1, and he places only one in Rating 5 (a heterosexual). Determining the degree of agreement between the ratings on the Rorschach and TAT-MAPS constitutes a difficult problem, since two variables are involved: the judges and the test materials. A Tschuprow coefficient between either Rorschach judge and the TAT-MAPS judge is 0.20. Perhaps a more meaningful way of looking at the material is that between one Rorschach judge (Judge "A") and the TAT-MAPS judge there is exact agreement in 15 of the 60 cases (8 homosexual and 7 heterosexual); for Judge "B" there is agreement in 16 cases. When the ratings of all three judges are put together, there is agreement on 14 homosexuals (approximately one-half of the group) as being 3 or better in adjustment, and 14 heterosexuals.7

A paper on "Homosexuality in the TAT and MAPS," which will contain the full report, is in process of preparation.

Let me turn now to some qualitative descriptions of the homosexuals from the projective material. Perhaps even better than do the quantitative results, these will convey the problem. Man #16 is described by one judge in summary fashion as "an individual who has the most superb and smooth mastery of intellectual processes we have seen. Intellectualization is his major defense, although there is no compulsive flavor. On one side there is isolation of aggression. But essentially he is submissive, and since he is so sensitive and responsive, he cannot give in to the submissive seduction. His dependency needs are filtered and sublimated. He is the ethical type. Intellectual introspection must be his major preoccupation. He is really balanced on a razor's edge. An extremely clever person." He was correctly identified by this judge, who gave him a rating of 1, and incorrectly by the other judge, who placed him in Rating 2. The latter describes him in the following terms: "He gives an original twist to ordinary things. For him it is very important not to be conventional. He avoids it like the plague. He tries to keep it cool. I get the feeling that he wants to deny dependency. He has passive longings, but these would not fit in with his ego-ideal of being strong, superior, and wise. He would be able to be very rewarding emotionally. He does not wish to expose his aggression ordinarily, but would in relation to manly intellectual pursuits. I think he is heterosex-

This man is described on the MAPS and TAT as being "the most heterosexual-looking homosexual I have ever seen. Up to the last two stories on the MAPS, I would say confidently, "This is a heterosexual record.' His attitudes to sexuality are fairly moral. He has refined, quiet relationships to people. I would give him a rating of 2. The unconscious conflicts are very deep, but they are not disturbing clinically. No idea of clinical label. I would not have known he

is a homosexual except for a 'give away' on two of the MAPS stories."

This man is in his early 40's and holds two master's degrees in different artistic fields from one of the major educational institutions of this country. He had a long career as a college teacher-long, and apparently successful. He was caught in what was, to the police, suspicious circumstances with another man, and in the space of a few minutes his entire professional career was destroyed. He now is the manager of a magazine. Although in his early life he passed through the "cruising" stage, he now has highly stable personal relationships, including a "homosexual marriage." If one brackets the fact that he is a homosexual, one would think of him as being a highly cultured, intelligent man who, though unconventional in his manner of living, exhibits no particular signs of pathology. He has never sought psychological or psychiatric help. He has been a homosexual from adolescence, with no heterosexual experience or inclination.

Let me describe another (Subject #50) of these individuals who was placed in adjustment categories I or 2 by both Rorschach judges and misidentified as being a heterosexual. One judge described this man "as being so ordinary that it's hard to say anything specific about him. His impulse control is very smooth. He uses channelization rather than repression. Except for a little too much emphasis on conquest in heterosexual relations, he is well adjusted and smooth. His aggressive impulses are expressed in phallic gratification. Good fusion of tenderness and aggression, though he subjugates tenderness to phallic gratification. He must be a heterosexual. I would really have to force myself, to think of him as not heterosexual." By the second judge this man is described in the following terms: "He must be a very interesting guy. He must convey comfort to people. He takes essentials and doesn't get lost in details. A solid citizen, neatly and solidly integrated, with no specific defenses. Neither aggression nor dependency is a problem. I think that this man is heterosexual."

Man #50 is twenty-seven. He works in the electronics industry, in a very large firm in which he has a supervisory job. He lives alone in an apartment, though in an apartment house in which other homosexuals reside. His homosexual pattern involves rather a large number of homosexual partners. He is thoroughly immersed in the homosexual way of life, but apart from this I see no particular evidence of disturbance.

The TAT was analyzed first, and on the TAT he talks about homosexuality, thus revealing that he is a homosexual. The judgments to which the clinician comes are essentially that he is a promiscuous, driven person; that there are compulsive elements; that he goes from one relationship to another, not even aware of what he is seeking, a fairly lonely man, although with an adjustment slightly below 3. The first four stories of the MAPS were described by the judge as being definitely heterosexual. On the last story, the Dream, I should like to quote the judge directly: "I am surprised, because what this means is that this is the record of a homosexual; and it means that I had not seen this at all up to this point. It means, also, that he doesn't show it except over the jealousy and rivalry of homosexual partners. The record is clean psychiatrically up to this point. It wasn't especially rich, but it would certainly pass. I don't want to do fancy equivocation and say I see it all now, because I don't see a damn thing now. The Living Room is fine; it is as heterosexual as any story we have read in the entire series. The Street Scene simply shows the derogatory and disdainful attitudes that many heterosexual men have toward female sexuality. It is not the exclusive approach of the homosexual, though it is consistent with it. It has a heterosexual flavor. In the Bath, the privacy of the

father is interrupted, but this, if anything, would be heterosexual. The Bedroom is as normal a heterosexual story as I have ever read." The judge re-reads the story: "This is almost an encapsulated homosexual. I don't know if I am just being fancy, but we talk about a guy sometimes who functions fairly well until you mention 'Republican' or 'Communist', then you plug in a whole series of paranoid and delusory material; at this point the guy is just crazy. This guy has an encapsulated homosexual system. If I had not been shown the Dream story, I would have bet 85 to 15 that he was heterosexual, and maybe even more. I also feel that this guy is a male homosexual. He plays the aggressive, masculine role. But I am puzzled. I can hardly speak intelligently of the dynamics of the homosexuality when, until the last moment, I thought of him as heterosexual. I would give him a rating of slightly better than 3. Not a rich record; not creative and imaginative. It's a rather perfunctorily heterosexual record. I am amazed at this record. He has intense involvement with people. He is not a promiscuous homosexual. There is strong affect. He practically acts like a husband and father. One of the statements about him is that he is a normal homosexual. I mean it's like a guy who has a tic: ordinarily we say he must have a very serious problem. Maybe he does, but if you examine the material of lots of people who have tics, you will find some people who look pretty good, if you think of normal functioning. Then, after you have said this, someone tells you, 'Yes, but he is one of the guys who tics.' And you say, 'Well, he looks clean to me.' And that is what this record looks like. This record is schizophrenic like I am an aviator. If you want proof that a homosexual can be normal, this record does it."

Man #49 is described by Judge "A" as follows (Rating 1): "This record presents less problems of any sort than any other we have seen. The mental

type is very clear-cut, calling a spade a spade. Looks like a well-integrated person. Impulse control really smooth, because he permits all impulses to express themselves in a context - both dependent and aggressive. Of all the cases, the best balance of aggression and dependency we have seen. No problem, clinical or otherwise. Relations with others skilful and comfortable." Judge "B" (Rating 2; if not 2, a 1): "Able to integrate well with all stimuli. Effective functioning. Heterosexual adjustment. Defense used: some repression. Not an 'acter outer.' Avoids intense emotional stimuli because they are disorganizing to him."

The TAT and MAPS were analyzed separately. In the first four stories of the TAT, the subject was described as being a thorough-going heterosexual. In 13MF the judge comments, "Here we have a fairly straightforward heterosexual story." In the blank card in the TAT, the judge says, "Here this guy opens up more than on the others. He is a sleeper. This is one of the best-adjusted and, in a sense, one of the most paradoxical records I have seen. What is here is indecision and a schizoid feeling. So this is not in any sense a superior personality. There is some withdrawal and some aridity. This is not an outgoing, warm, decisive person. It is a constricted, somewhat egocentric, somewhat schizoid, perturbed, a little guilty fellow. Even so, it is not a tormented record and is not necessarily a homosexual record. He talks about this quite casually and has a fairly good adjustment to his homosexuality. This guy is a very interesting person and quite a complicated guy. In many ways he is both well adjusted to his homosexuality and the kind of guy who could almost be heterosexual in a way that other homosexuals could not be. I don't think he would be swishy or over-masculine. He would pass. I find him very difficult to rate. I can't rate him as 1 or 2. To call him average is innocuous. He doesn't merit 5 or 4. I don't know. I will call him

3, but it doesn't give the flavor. I don't know what to do."

At another time the same judge analyzed the MAPS protocol, in which no homosexual stories are given. The judge comments: "I want to comment on his insistence on the normal situation and his freedom to use the nude. I think this is a very healthy guy, in a somewhat barren way. I have a feeling that this is a kind of emancipated person who has not made an issue of being independent but is able to stand on his own two feet. The fact that he doesn't have rich dynamics robs him of being interesting, creative, and unusual. I rate him as a 2 for sure. I don't know what a 1 would be. He handles hostility and sexuality easily. One shortcoming in the record-not pathological-is the conventionality; and I imply by that a touch of emptiness. He is able to love and to dislike. He is a good father and husband and would be a steady employee. I could see him as having a better-than-average job. He would not be a creative or imaginative person. I don't mean a Babbitt, but he would not take the risk of loving deeply. He is a middleof-the-roader. This is as clean a record as I think I have seen. I don't think he has strong dependency needs. He is comfortable, and in that sense he is strong. I imply that this is a heterosexual record specifically."

This man is 37, and he works in a ceramics factory doing fairly routine work. He has a "homosexual marriage" of some six years' duration. He tried very hard to change his sexual pattern but was unsuccessful and has now accepted the homosexual "life." He has not had heterosexual experience.

Out of the 30 homosexual men, there were seven who were placed by one or the other judge in rating categories 4 or 5. Since these individuals have what is probably the more expected personality picture, I should like to describe several. One of these is #6. He was rated by one judge at a 5 level and by the other judge at 2.

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Compiled by CARL B. HARDING

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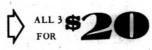
1957

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By the judge who places him at 5, he is described as a "pseudo-normal, nearpsychotic, with brittle personality organization which is fairly stabilized. His reality testing is uncannily sharp, but he is almost autistic. His chief defenses are projection and intellectual control. There are strong castration fears, strong orality, and the aggression is projected or transformed into irony. The emotional needs are with-

ered away.'

Man #52 is described by one judge who places him in the 4 category, as "a personality which is basically pathological. An anal character, with a strongly destructive flavor. Anal-sadistic. A past-master of intellectualization, though superficially socializes it. Just enough reality testing to be clinically normal. Impossible to separate the hysterical and paranoid elements. Dependency needs are repressed or crippled. Very narcissistic and incapable of guilt. A cloak of righteousness over it all." The second judge describes him in the following terms: "There is too much unconscious breaking through. Some ideational leakage. A chronic situation to which he has made an adjustment. He is not paranoid, but obsessive in a paranoid structure. On the surface he operates smoothly. Emotional relationships will lack in depth and warmth. Uses overideation as a defense. His primary method is intellectualization. His dependency needs will make him appear demanding. Essentially a character picture."

Of a somewhat different nature is #28, who is placed by both judges at the bottom level of adjustment. Described by one judge as "very defensive; every impulse ego-alien. Uses denial, intellectualization, and repression. High level of narcissism. Regresses easily into the infantile. The most unbalanced record one could find." By the other judge: "This looks like a clinic record. An anxiety state, pre-psychotic. Is more scared of his own fantasies than the world. People present too many problems; he tries

to preserve distant relations. Doesn't want to see sex in people. Sex is very repulsive."

Thus, there is no single pattern of homosexual adjustment. This had been anticipated. The richness and variety of ways in which the homosexual adjusts are as difficult to summarize as to summarize 30 full, qualitative pictures of 30 individuals. If I were to read pictures of heterosexuals with the same level of adjustment, the pictures would be essentially the same, with the exception of the bottom range, where one does not find the marked anal-destructive characterstructure or the emphasis on "femininity" (which may occur at other

levels, also).

That homosexuality is determined by a multiplicity of factors would not now, I think, be seriously questioned. That the personality structure and adjustment may also vary within a wide range now seems quite clear. It comes as no surprise that some homosexuals are severely disturbed, and, indeed, so much so that the hypothesis might be entertained that the homosexuality is the defense against open psychosis. But what is difficult to accept (for most clinicians) is that some homosexuals may be very ordinary individuals, indistinguishable, except in sexual pattern, from ordinary individuals who are heterosexual. Or-and I do not know whether this would be more or less difficult to accept-that some may be quite superior individuals, not only devoid of pathology (unless one insists that homosexuality itself is a sign of pathology) but also functioning at a superior level.

But before we accept this hypothesis as a plausible one, we must look carefully at the limitations of the evidence. We have already spoken of the necessity of caution in accepting as valid the results of "blind" analyses of projective test protocols. As clinicians, we are also cautious about accepting an analysis which is not "blind." It may be that the primary psychological defect, if there is one, in the homosexual lies in a weakness of ego-function and control and that this cannot be adequately diagnosed from projective test protocols. As one psychiatrist puts it, the material produced in the Rorschach is like that produced on the analytic couch. Two men may produce very similar material on the couch, but the difference between them is that one-the normal -gets up at the end of the hour and resumes his normal functioning, while the other does not. Another way of looking at the data from the projective tests may be that the homosexual "pathology" occurs only in an erotic situation and that the homosexual can function well in non-erotic situations such as the Rorschach, TAT, and MAPS. Thus, one could defend the hypothesis that homosexuality is symptomatic of pathology, but that the pathology is confined to one sector of behavior, namely, the sexual.

As I listened to each of the three judges analyze the 60 records, I was very much impressed with the usefulness of the projective tests, when interpreted by expert clinicians. Often, the picture of the personality which emerged bore such a striking resemblance to the man as I knew him from many hours of interviewing and testing that it was difficult to believe that the judge did not have detailed personal knowledge as well. Of course there was great discrepancy in some cases. The full report of the material will contain all of the evidence of the congruency or lack of congruency between the life-history materials and the projective analysis.

When I speak of the life-history materials, I am highly conscious of the fact that these have not been objectively rated for adjustment. This presents a problem for the future similar to that of the TAT and MAPS, only more so because of the difficulty of controlling for theoretical bias in judging open homosexual material. Final conclusions cannot be drawn until this is done. It can now be said with some certainty, however, that at

least in one respect the life-history data from the two groups will differ: namely, in the love relationships. Comparisons between the number and duration of love relationships, cruising patterns, and degree of satisfaction with sexual pattern and the lovepartner will certainly show clear-cut differences.

A question also arises about the size of the sample used. It is possible that much larger samples-for example, 100 in each group-would show differences. But would we not, in this case, be dealing with a different question, namely, "How many homosexuals, as compared with heterosexuals, are average or better in adjustment, and how many are worse than average?" It seems to me that for the present investigation the question is whether homosexuality is necessarily a symptom of pathology. All we need is a single case in which the answer is negative.

What are the psychological implications of the hypothesis that homosexuality is not necessarily a symptom of pathology? I would very tentatively suggest the following:

1. Homosexuality as a clinical entity does not exist. Its forms are as varied as are those of heterosexu-

- 2. Homosexuality may be a deviation in sexual pattern which is within the normal range, psychologically. This has been suggested, on a biological level, by Ford and Beach
- 3. The role of particular forms of sexual desire and expression in personality structure and development may be less important than has frequently been assumed. Even if one assumes that homosexuality represents a severe form of maladjustment to society in the sexual sector of behavior, this does not necessarily mean that the homosexual must be severely maladjusted in other sectors of his behavior. Or, if one assumes that homosexuality is

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a form of severe maladjustment internally, it may be that the disturbance is limited to the sexual sector

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REACTION

to the Wolfenden Report

December Review told of the reaction of the British press to the Wolfenden report. Naturally the publication of the recommendations with the varied shades of editorial presentation brought forth a lively flood of comment from readers in Great Britain. Herewith is another chapter in the Wolfenden Report Story: Reader Reactions.

The tabloid DAILY MIRROR ("The Biggest Daily Sales on Earth," it proclaims) would certainly have shocked its New York counterpart with its front page headlines, "VICE: OFFICIAL. The Mirror says: Don't Be Shocked by This Report. It's the Truth, It's the Answer. It's LIFE. No

whitewash, no prudery, and no hypocrisy."

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This paper asked its readers to answer the following question: "Do you agree that homosexual acts in private between men over 21 should not be a criminal offense?" Of the first 7000 replies analyzed, a strikingly large minority supported the question-3449 against, to 3352 for it-a full 49% recording themselves as in favor of the recommendations, prior to any extended discussion of them. This contrasts with the Gallup poll which, in the same period, found only 38% for the recommendations, 15% undecided, and 47% against them. But even these percentages show a far more favorable reaction than many people anticipated.

Although it is a temptation to indulge in the popular parlor game of reconciling discrepancies between poll reports on the basis of how they were conducted and therefore how representative they can be presumed to be, we will mention only one possible factor that should not be overlooked in interpreting the high percentage of "Daily Mirror" readers who favored the recommendations. It would seem likely that the first replies would have come in from people living in or close to London, with the more rural areas to be heard from at a later date. The "provinces" in England are considerably more anti-homosexual than the urban areas—you will recall that the incarceration of Peter Wildeblood occurred in part because a local law enforcement officer was overly zealous—and this contrast is highlighted by the disparity in approach between the "Manchester Guard-

ian," a virtually international newspaper, so wide is its subscription list, which generally accepts the Report, and the local "Manchester Evening News," an infinitely more local newspaper, which has been featuring the strongly anti-homosexual letters to the editor and terming the Report "An Affront to Healthy Right-Thinking People."

Letters of this sort do give us at least a glimpse of what the public is thinking, partially distorted though that glimpse may be as a result of the selectivity every editor exercises in choosing which letters are to be published. One G. R. Brown of Glasgow wrote to the "Manchester Guardian" and the clipping of it was forwarded through two friends of the Mattachine Review who commented "Very Important" and "Wonderful Letter!" as they sent it on. It is a literate and articulate expression of the writer's pro-homosexual viewpoint, but unfortunately his topic of "whether homosexuality is sinful or not" is quickly lost. Instead he veers off to justification on the basis of the acceptance of homosexuality in ancient Greece and Rome—surely a poor argument unless we are prepared also to embrace the violence and mayhem of those social systems as well. One does note, however, the refreshing absence of any mention of Michelangelo and Shakespeare!

Diana M. Chapman of New South Wales (Australia) writes more cogently on this topic in a letter to the "New Statesman":

SIR,—Now that the Wolfenden Committee has published its report it would seem a good time to amend the law relating to homosexuality. Instead, I have no doubt that—especially among vote-happy Conservatives—there will be mumblings about Sodom and Gomorrah, and shaking fingers will be pointed at the fall of the Roman Empire and the decline of Greek civilisation. The air will resound with cries

of 'moral degradation' and so on.

To most twentieth-century Britons, the only kind of morality is sexual morality, and the word 'immoral' has only one meaning. For this the church is largely to blame. In 1938 the Archbishop of Canterbury forced a king off his throne in the name of sexual morality, but said not a word against the Nazi regime. Today the Archbishop of Canterbury is outspoken about divorce, but far more reticent concerning Apartheid. For at least the last hundred years the Old Testament has been flapped in our faces whenever we might have been in danger of thinking about cruelty or exploitation or social intolerance—or any of the hundred and one sins that are besetting the modern world.

In our huge overpopulated modern civilisation the Church wants us to conform to a set of rules which were laid down for small nomadic tribes whose very existence depended on a good supply of children and freedom from internal strife. That, incidentally, is the origin of the condemnation of both homosexuality and adultery.

Today we are obsessed with sex. A deviation in a

man's sex life can ruin his career and blacken his name. But if a man is honourable what does it matter whether he is homo- or heterosexual, whether he has a wife or six mistresses? If he brings happiness to those with whom he associates then no one has the right to stand in judgment on him, because that is the only criterion for sexual matters.

DIANA M. CHAPMAN

The question of whether homosexuality is a sin or crime, however, attempts to balance two inequalities. When the law makes any action a crime, every citizen is subject to that law; but only voluntary members of a religious organization are subject to its designation of an action as sinful. The individual may choose to remain within the church and accept its edict of his sinfulness or he may leave it. Any attempt to remove the concept of sinfulness must, in the final analysis, be successful within the churches themselves. Discussion of it in any other connection appears to this commentator to be a little extraneous to general publications except, of course, when specifically religious—as opposed to legal or moral—aspects of the problem are being discussed as such. Such a letter was later printed in the "New Statesman" endorsing Miss Chapman's comment:

SIR, - Thank God for Miss Chapman's letter. It is one of the few comments on the Wolfenden Report which are not marred by smugness or pomposity. I liked particularly the section:

But if a man is honourable what does it matter whether he is homo- or heterosexual, whether he has a wife or six mistresses? If he brings happiness to those with whom he associates then no one has the right to stand in judgment on him, because that is the only criterion for sexual matters.

It looks startling put like that, but I think it is very much what Christ was trying to tell the Pharisees, especially in the case of the 'woman who was a sinner'. If, as I assume, Miss Chapman's conception of 'honour' includes integrity, tolerance, and consideration, then I am in complete agreement with her. On this basis it is certainly not wrong, and may be very right, for two men or women who are homosexual to live together as partners. On the other hand, it might very well be wrong for a homosexual to marry, since there would be a barrier between man and wife which the wife would not understand. And yet by traditional standards the latter course of action would be right, and the former wrong and perhaps criminal.

Adultery is, I think, very often wrong in that it may cause terrible bitterness and misery in the other partner of the marriage. But circumstances vary enormously, and I believe that Miss Chapman's criterion for sexual matters is very much better than the concept of a universal natural law. Sin can enter into any human relationship, including one based on sexual contact. By sin I do not mean something that ought

to provoke disapproval and the clicking of tongues, but a falling short of the best of which one is capable.

It will be a long time before the variety of human nature, and the responsibility of each individual to order his own sex life, will be widely appreciated. One hopes that in time the church will take a lead in the process of enlightenment.

A. HALLIDIE SMITH

But perhaps the most refreshing viewpoint came from a man in London (W2), who wrote the "New Statesman":

SIR,—The £8,046 Wolfenden Report doesn't seem to go much further than the opinion, said to have been expressed many years ago by Mrs Patrick Campbell: 'I don't care what they do as long as they don't do it in the streets and frighten the horses'.

T. St. JOHN BARRY

And in the motorized world of this New Year, we might point out, there are few remaining horses to be frightened. How much longer must people continue to put themselves in the position of "frightened horses"?

READERS write

REVIEW EDITOR: I wish I could send funds for a subscribing membership in order to help you. Unfortunately, our authorities allow only the exact amount of the magazine subscription. It is such a comfort to feel that in other countries—however far away you may be—there are "brothers" also fighting for independence and recognition. Let me wish you all success in your fight against prejudice and incomprehension. I am convinced that some time we shall gain equality and it will be due to your fine work and tenacity.—Mr. E. B., Paris.

REVIEW EDITOR: By all means I should like to see more of the interesting historical articles by Marc Daniel.-Mr. H. H., Calif.

REVIEW EDITOR: Do put more articles by Marc Daniel in print. I liked them, so did my friends. I'm enclosing my renewal to add another year to what I have got coming.—Mr. A. L., Illinois.

REVIEW EDITOR: Have you done anything about the vice squad's habit of perjuring themselves on witness stands,

and making false reports to bolster their position?-Mr. C. H., Los Angeles.

EDITOR'S NOTE: First, thanks for the generous donation enclosed. Second, if readers have proof of perjury and false reports by police officers, then it is suggested that they consult an attorney, or a public official such as the district attorney or police commissioner, for advice on procedures to take in having the matter investigated or brought to trial in court.

REVIEW EDITOR: In the past I have appreciated the ideology and direction of your publication, also the diverse and selected stories and articles, including recent book references. Your magazine has helped me accept many things, including myself in this existence of modernism. As a result, I have been able to "spread the word" more comprehensively—especially a more liberal attitude among many close "majority" friends. This has been an experiment in human relations and an interesting personal adventure.—Mr. L. K.

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