DR. EDWARD BRONGERSMA

LOVING BOYS VOL. 1

INTRODUCTION BY
VERN. L. BULLOUGH

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY
STUDY OF SEXUAL
RELATIONS BETWEEN
ADULT AND MINOR MALES

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LOVING BOYS

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DR. EDWARD BRONGERSMA

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Introduction

by Vern L. Bullough

ALMOST no subject of scholarly investigation arouses more controversy than the subject of paedophilia, i.e. erotic relations between adults and minors. It almost immediately brings to mind an image of a man with a huge penis trying to shove it into a tiny orifice of a mortally terrified child. Inevitably the frightened child is scarred for life, unable to adjust to a normal sex or family life. Undoubtedly there are some men who literally rape small boys (or girls), and there are children involved in sexual relations with adults who are emotionally if not physically wounded for the rest of their lives. But man/boy-love, at any rate, is a far more complex subject than a simple horror story. It has a long history, and sometimes, as among the ancient Greeks, it was regarded as the highest form of love.

More to the point, there are people and organisations today who still regard paedophilia as an ideal form of sexuality, benefiting both the boy and the adult. Obviously such a belief is debatable, but each person has to arrive at his or her own conclusions. Personally I belive a child is not mature enough to make a decision for himself or herself about sex with an adult, and it would be very difficult for many young people to avoid coercion if confronted with such a situation. Still, it is not clear when a young person becomes adult enough to consent to sexual activity. Probably most of us in society feel quite different about two teenagers engaging in sex with each other than we do about an adult involving himself or herself with a teenager ten or twenty years younger. We draw more of a distinction, however, between an adult male having sex or being otherwise involved with a teenage boy than we do with a teenage girl and we are more likely to punish the case of boy-love than

girl-love (girls, for example, are commonly allowed sex with other females and can sometimes marry as young as fourteen—boys must wait until 16, 18 or 21 years of age for *any* legal sex).

Some people feel that there should be no distinction between sexual activities involving a boy and sexual activities involving a girl, and it is this inequality of outlook—in other words, discrimination against boys—which this book seeks to change. From experience I know there is a large audience for such a sex book, since there are many people out there who have felt ostracized and cut off form society and have gone underground rather than confront a hostile society. Few of them regard themselves as the vile, dirty, dishonest adults so often portrayed in the popular media. Yet no one seems willing to defend them. Obviously this book speaks for them and to them, but it would be unfortunate if they are the only readers of this book, since there is a real need for all elements in society to know more about the motivations, the drives and the impulses of those who identify themselves or are identified by others as paedophiles.

This book attempts to do just this. Its author is a distinguished Dutch lawyer, a retired member of the Dutch Parliament who in 1950 was arrested, tried and convicted for having sex with a 16-year-old boy. He spent 11 months in prison as a result. Unlike many convicted of such activities, he managed to put his life back together on his release, win reinstatement to the bar, re-election to the Dutch Pariament, and in 1975 as a reward for his services, the Queen made him a Knight of the Order of the Dutch Lion. He is, however, still a paedophile and he has spent much of his life in writing about and researching the subject. The final result of his scholarship is this book.

It is what might be called a lawyer's brief. It is not a dispassionate look at both sides of the case, but instead the brief of a committed advocate trying to establish his cause. Negatives are recognized, but deaalt with. Definitions are closely drawn such as the difference between pseudo paedophiles and true paedophiles, the first turning to youth when there is no other alternative, the second truly interested in boys and not necessarily for sexual purposes. He emphasizes that relations between adults and boys can be beneficial to both, that it is not necessarily traumatic, and that genuine love is involved. He is most concerned with teenagers, primarily with those who in America would be in high school or junior high.

Brongersma builds his case by a thorough search of the social sciences and legal literature, he brings poetry and fiction to support him, and finds justification in the biological and medical sciences. Since he reads all of the Western European languages, his command of the literature and his bibliography are impressive. I would recommend the book to those who want to learn more about the subject: the motivation, the desires, the attitudes of those who could be classed as paedophiles. Hopefully it will throw light on a

subject that too often either has been ignored entirely or been subject to hysterical statements. Certainly those of us who deal with paedophilia in therapeutic situations will be well served in reading it if only because to do so will make us more dispassionate counselors and teachers, better able to serve those with whom we come into contact.

Vern L. Bullough, R.N., PhD.

Author's Preface

OVER ten years ago (1970) the publisher Lichtenberg in Munich brought out a German book of mine upon which they bestowed the alarming title of *Das verfemte Geschlecht* (The Damned Sex). It has long been out of print and it soon became high time that a new edition be considered.

However, as I re-read the text it seemed impossible to limit myself to a simple revision. During the intervening years I had been active in the formation and growth of both the Dutch and the German action groups for paedophile and youth emancipation. I had corresponded with men (in 27 different countries) who loved boys; from many of them I had received substantial documentation (both written and visual) of their love lives; I had become personally acquainted with many of them. I had also travelled a great deal, heard much and seen much. I had read many new books touching on or devoted to the subject. So it seemed I had to write a completely new work. Of course it would repeat many of the essential thoughts of *Das verfemte Geschlecht.*

I am deeply grateful to all who have helped me write this book, who gave me their observations and confided in me the most intimate details of their live stories. I particularly want to thank Walter Koch, Frank Torey and Mark McHarry for their most valuable corrections and criticisms of my manuscript.

A man who, as member of Parliament for eighteen years, has involved himself deeply in so-called "public morality" matters; who, as a lawyer, defended many clients prosecuted for having had sexual affairs with boys; who himself suffered imprisonment for being involved with a 16-year-old boy (under a law now repealed because the legislator himself finally came to see

that it as unjust); who, over 25 years, has published many books and papers about sexual relations with children and participated in conferences on this subject in his own country and abroad; who created a foundation to further studies in this field—such a man would make a fool of himself if he pretended to have only an academic interest in this phenomenon. Quite obviously his interest is personal, and when this was suggested in an interview with me (Bibeb in *Vrij Nederland,* 2 Sep, 1978), and during a program on Dutch television (30 Oct, 1978), I didn't deny it. As a result one journalist wrote in a nationally distributed Dutch newspaper that my professional written work in this area could be dismissed because it was obviously coloured by personal preference (Van Vlodrop, 1980).

What curious reasoning! Arguments, then, should no longer be tested on the basis of their validity, or met with counter arguments. To dismiss them one only need say that they were put forward by an "engaged" author.

Are matters really as simple as that? Must a book on marriage be suspect if written by a married man or woman, a book on religion dismissed if written by a monk? Or doesn't a personally engaged person have some unique opportunities to see the living reality of a phenomenon and so gain better insight into it, especially in the case of a hidden, often inaccessible aspect of human life, a secret or semi-secret subculture? Won't he have talked more frequently and more openly with members of this subculture? Might he not have been welcomed in homes where the door remained closed to others? And, in any case, isn't it more honest at least to hear him out and evaluate what he reports before pushing aside all he has to offer as being suspect?

This book deals with boys and their erotic attraction, with boys as subjects of love and as partners in love relationships. This is not exclusively a matter of sexuality: much more is implied, as we shall see later on. But at the same time we will see how true are the words of a philosopher from Greek antiquity who, in referring to the relationship between an adult man and his young friend, said, "It's not just a matter of sex—but it's not without sex, either!" (Buffière 1980, 651)

Now, it is precisely this sexual aspect which provokes disgust in our Western culture. If a teacher, youth leader, friend of the family is nice to a boy, devotes his spare time to him, troubles himself with the boy's problems, the parents are grateful and appreciative. But the moment the man gives physical expression to the relationship—fondling him or allowing a sexual contact to take place (and it doesn't matter whether man or boy is the instigator)—most parents react with extreme indignation. The law, in criminalizing such physical behaviour, obviously reflects the feelings of the majority of Western adults.

And so, in this book, we will stress just this forbidden, condemned aspect

of boy-love. Yet it must be stated clearly at the outset that such emphasis upon the physical does not really correspond to the balance of deeper feelings in many of the men to whom this book is dedicated. I am reminded of one Englishman who wrote me, "If I had to chose between a casual contact implying sexuality and a deep, lasting relation without it, I wouldn't hesitate a moment in preferring the latter." One of the most sympathetic boy-lovers I ever met, the late Michael Davidson, an English journalist, says in his autobiography, "My highest, most intense pleasure or happiness is of the *mind;* and comes from seeing, being with, touching, looking into the mind of, a boy who, emotionally, mentally, rather than bodily, is *simpatico;* and from visually absorbing the multiple delights of his nakedness. Any sexual *acts* which may, and generally do, accompany, follow or precede this mental joy are adjuncts—prologue or epilogue to the essential monograph of the mind." (Davidson 1962, 19) Not everyone shares this opinion. There are men—and boys, too—who wish to limit their relationships to the sexual. But many others will certainly agree with Davidson and my English correspondent.

So, although the spiritual aspect of man/boy relationships is often very important, it will not occupy us very much in the following pages. Our examination will focus upon the sexual aspect and its physical expression, with what is forbidden, damned and rejected—with shocking things, if you will. This is significant, because sexual activities between men and boys, between older and younger boys, are not at all exceptional; they are not rare, indeed they are quite common and thus of utmost importance in the boy's development.

Few people who haven't delved into these matters have any idea of its extent and importance. Recent enquiries among male adults, and especially college students, have shown that as many as a quarter, or even a third, had had at least one sexual experience with an adult during boyhood (Corstjens 1975; Landis 1956). It is, then, a statistical probability that all parents with two or more sons, and a near certainty that all pedagogues, teachers, youth leaders, children's doctors, childrens' court judges, etc. have the responsibility of dealing with boys who have had or are currently having a sexual affair with an adult. As for sex play and other sexual activities among boys themselves, this is even more common: according to Kinsey (1948, 170) 30% to 53% (depending upon the social environment) of male youth had engaged in it before reaching puberty.

So the subject of this book should concern not just those people who love boys, who are having erotic relations with them or wish they were, but also every man and woman involved in the education, socialization and upbringing of male youth. Many may initially find the subject painful and prefer to pass it by in silence, to avoid it. But how can one prepare young people for the reality of human life if one closes one's eyes to a significant part of this reality,

one which, moreover, these young people themselves perceive as being extremely important?

What is the meaning of sexuality? What can we say about the mystery of sexual attraction of one sex by the other, of a certain age group? Along what lines do the physical and psycho-sexual development of a boy run, and what are the possible outlets for his impulses? What are the real or imagined negative aspects of an intimate relationship between a younger and an older partner—and what are the positive possibilities? What are the means by which the partners give physical expression to their feelings?

We will try to answer these questions here, without making the slightest bow toward prudishness. We will be making our points from many sources in the older and newer literature (mainly in the English, French, German and Dutch languages), from non-fiction and fiction alike, from recorded individual experiences, from our own research with nearly fifty young men and boys, from examples taken from both Antiquity and from modern ethnology. Traditional moral and pedagogical ideas will be continuously confronted with our findings. We will illustrate our ideas with over 400 quotations from case studies and fiction. In all of this we will be led by the conviction that sexual behaviour that truly respects one's fellow-man is to be welcomed as a creative power, an expression of love, a source of pleasure and a primordial force of nature.

This book is certainly not suitable reading matter for everyone. I have already suggested those whom it should concern. It is only fair, then, to enumerate those who might better leave it unread:

those who believe that a totally benevolent and all-wise god created this universe—but at the same time believe that sexuality, a very important and dominant aspect of this creation, is vulgar, disgusting, dirty and bad;

those who claim to venerate aesthetic beauty and exhalt nature—but become timid and avert their faces with shame when the natural beauty of a young body is revealed in its complete nudity;

those who fly high a banner emblazoned with "Love Thy Neighbour"—but, in fact, foster aggression by denying and repressing natural impulses of sex;

those who preach humility and modesty—but refuse to face creation as it is, or learn about it and from it, preferring to impose upon it their own preconceptions;

those who pretend to love young people—but want to overlook everything young people pursue and experience in the realm of lust and pleasure.

And now to the facts!

Chapter 1.

Why Sex?

A harried teacher is trying to explain to his pupils something they find very difficult to grasp. Finally one desperate student says, "I think I might understand it if you'd just stop explaining it."

The reader of this book would probably have the same reaction if we tried to burden him with one more definition or description of what "sexuality" is. He is likely to do as well or better without it.

Rather than give long, meandering answers to "What is it?", we had better ask ourselves "Why?" What ends does sexuality serve? Why does one behave sexually? We have to distinguish between several possibilities, several ends, and throughout this book we will be dealing with at least four of them. It is often said, for example, that "children aren't yet mature enough for sexual activity". It is impossible either to agree or disagree with such a statement as long as it isn't clear what kind of sex the speaker is talking about. It is possible that a child at a certain age is not mature enough for one kind of sex but quite able to handle another kind. It is easy here to be talking and arguing at cross-purposes.

Such distinctions are also important in making moral judgements about certain sexual activities. What is condemned in many cultures as highly immoral may in another culture be considered quite ethically acceptable—and even exalted in its religion. Western society rejects boy-love, rejects religious prostitution as a sacrifice to the gods, rejects the orgy in honour of a deity. But what modern Greeks call depravity their ancestors held in high esteem. Morality has changed with the times, and shifts in moral outlook

bring about alterations in secular laws as well: traditionally legal behaviour may suddenly be criminalized and severely punished. On the other hand recent homosexual history shows how a crime, subject to the death penalty, may at a certain moment quite quickly be removed from our penal codes.

We must now examine four possible answers to he question, "Why sex?" One: The purpose of sex is procreation. Two: Sex is a means of expressing emotions. Three: Sex is simply meant for pleasure. Four: Sex unites us with Nature, is a way of experiencing our link with the Divine.

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF SEX

1. Sex for Procreation

Let us arbitrarily begin with the concept that the purpose of sexuality is procreation. As puberty is reached the male body starts to produce seed, the female eggs. During intercourse the male member is introduced into the female vagina in order to deposit the seed which, under the proper circumstances, meets the egg and fertilizes it in order to produce a child. Thus the activity is necessary for the conservation of the human race, and the lustful sensations which accompany the sexual act may be seen as a kind of reward for duty accomplished.

Among the Ancient Greeks it was the older Plato especially who elaborated this theory, which appears again in the writings of the Roman Musonius (Buffière 1980, 426, 430-433, 501). Procreation is seen as the only moral justification for sexual intercourse; it is the lustful feelings which accompany it that make the activity abominable and an infringement on human dignity. For the Spirit is called upon to raise itself above Matter, above all things of this earth, which, after all, are only a shadow, a reflection of the reality of the all-transcendent Idea. Sensual pleasure, then, presses us down, fixates us upon Matter. Thus, for example, it is noble and good to admire the beauty of a naked boy, to let it inspire one and guide one to the Idea of beauty itself; but it is bad and unworthy to unite oneself in lust with the naked boy. Sexual activity, then, should be strictly limited to the bare minimum sufficient to assure procreation. These teachings had little or no influence during classical Antiquity.

We also find no traces of this pagan doctrine in the words of Jesus and the gospels; nevertheless it came to dominate European culture and its extensions for many centuries. Shorn of its veneration of the boy's body, it entered history as "Christian sexual morality", but all its elements were already present in Plato: celibacy is ethically more highly esteemed than marriage; youth should be inured against the temptations of lust by means of exercise and sport (Buffière 1980, 432, 503). Christian doctrine brought

nothing really new; it simply helped the Platonic theories acquire a belated ascendency.

From the start these teachings conflicted with the common human conviction that sexual lust is far more important than a mere adjunct to procreation. They have led to a profound ambiguity in Western culture and acted as a continuous internal menace, for a good culture should be constructed in harmony with nature, use its properties and laws constructively and not attempt to deny them.

The protagonists of this now-traditional morality make a laughing stock of themselves when they appeal in all seriousness to "nature" without expending even a minimum of effort to study natural realities or take into account the relationship and distinction between nature and culture. They condemn as unnatural (or even anti-natural) all sexual activities which do not have procreation as an objective (e.g. intercourse using contraception) or where procreation is impossible (e.g. homosexual acts). In the former case they overlook the fact that it is characteristic of cultures that they do distinguish between desired and undesired consequences of an activity and take measures to avert the latter. More importantly they overlook the manifold examples where nature itself has taken precautions against its own doings, generously providing means of defense as well as of attack. In-built frustrations of natural processes form an important part of nature. As for the second example, to declare homosexuality unnatural and say that a man engaging in it sinks below the level of the animals would have been an unpardonable error even in Antiquity. The Greeks observed and described homosexual behaviour in animals (Buffière 1980, 518-519). Contemporary research has multiplied such examples from the entire animal kingdom many times over: a book is needed just to enumerate them (Celli 1972; Hite 1981, 352). Nature is full of homosexuality, just as it abounds in seemingly senseless, unproductive sex.

Seemingly unproductive. Nowhere do the protagonists of this traditional view of sex-as-procreation reveal the essentially materialist, rationalist and unspiritual character of their morality more clearly than in their compulsion to see homosexuality and intercourse with contraceptives as unproductive behaviour.

1 To counter this claim I will first quote from a voluminous autobiography given to me in confidence by a highly talented man who is now nearly seventy years old. Onno is a university graduate, exercised important functions in society, has now retired and devotes himself to the study of religion and philosophy. As an adolescent he had a very beautiful and graceful body, as well as extraordinarily strong sexual impulses which were directed exclusively toward adult males. For many years he gave his body to a great many men, eagerly participated in nearly every conceivable kind of sexual activity, posed nude for painters and photographers, gave nude shows and dances

before groups of spectators. We will come back to Onno and his autobiography many times in the course of these pages. He writes:

"I am forever grateful to the man who introduced me into these circles. He taught me to reject all taboos and follow freely the course of my true and individual nature. This made my life unbelievably happy and gave me marvellously good health. And I wasn't the only one to profit from this: the same thing happened to the men with whom I slept. For years I was the source of inspiration for an artist. Another man found in the joy I was able to give him with my body the energy to comply with an unusually large burden of social duties. The butler of one important industrialist told me, 'You came, and now the boss is singing again!' Still another man, who had apparently grown cold and austere by being isolated in a high position, suddenly amazed his acquaintances by expressing his feeling much more openly; his relationship with me even inspired him to start writing poetry." (Personal communication)

"It is certain that by means of a homosexual love many humans have been liberated to a truly spiritual fertility which otherwise would have been impossible." (McNeill 1978, 117) We might recall the words of the Greek poet Cavafy (1863-1933) who, after a furtive homosexual meeting, wrote (1982, 91):

But how the life of the artist has gained.
Tomorrow, the next day, years later, the vigorous verses
will be composed that had their beginning here.

Any person who is not limited in his thinking to the purely biological aspects of sex cannot be blind to the fact that sexual pleasure contributes enormously to happiness, to a sense of well-being, to mental and physical health, and is, therefore, indirectly a source of energy and inspiration (Borneman 1978, 589, 645, 659). In Hindoo literature we find the idea of "creative sensuousness" (Majapuria 1981, 162). What Diotima, the wise woman from (the younger) Plato's *Symposium,* says about love between man and boy could be applied to all sexual pleasure: "It's fruits are more beautiful than children because they never die." (Buffière 1980, 418)

Limiting sexual activity to procreation is rationalistic (Banens 1981, 51) and in conflict with nature. There is not a single culture in existence where men and women entirely confine their sex life to procreation. As Father John J. McNeill, S.J. rightly points out, "an overemphasis on procreation can be seen as leading potentially to a seriously immoral and dehumanizing form of sexuality." (1978, 112) Procreation cannot be the only reason why children already have a well-developed appetite long before they reach puberty (Freud 1920, 49, 115; Borneman 1978, 445). The bond between sex and procreation is

much less strong in the higher primates than in the lower animals. In the animal kingdom there is an evolutionary gradation from the lower levels, where sex hormones predominate, to the higher levels, where the cerebral cortex becomes more and more important. As this happens the sexual activity of animals is freed from the constraints of a rutting season. This is equally applicable to the younger, immature individuals where not only heterosexual intercourse begins, but also self-stimulation and homosexual behaviour. Thus an "infantile" sex life can already be observed in anthropoid monkeys. The sexuality of man, who stands in the top tier of evolution, becomes increasingly independent of procreation (Borneman 1978, 399, 1290).

In matters of sex, nature is incredibly prodigal. The human male produces in one single ejaculation an average 280 million germs of life, of which only one could normally fulfill a fertilizing destiny (Hotchkiss 1944, 112). If a man or boy emits his semen a few hundred times without depositing it in the organ of a fertile female we can hardly call this contrary to nature's way. Moreover, nature itself, in the case of about 80% of male youth, provides involuntary nocturnal emissions (Kinsey 1948, 517-530)—biologically speaking, sheer waste.

According to Hotchkiss (1944, 93-94), a healthy young couple wanting a child and not using any means of contraception will have intercourse, on average, 202 times for every occurrence of pregnancy. And, in the course of nature, many pregnancies are spontaneously aborted.

In fact it is rather exceptional for a man and a woman to have intercourse for the sole purpose of producing a baby. Perhaps this happens within a marriage of convenience, or a royal marriage, or where an unmarried woman wishes to have a child who will be completely her own, or where a husband proves to be sterile and a friend is invited to come and fertilize the wife. The latter practice was common in ancient Sparta with its social ideal of racial up-grading: an elderly husband was praised if he allowed a younger, warrior-like man to lie with his wife occasionally (Buffière 1980, 66).

Slave-owners didn't just leave the multiplication of their stock to chance. They often carefully controlled their sexual activities. On Curaçao (Netherlands Antilles) tourists are shown, on a mansion terrace, a little house where a young black servant, carefully selected by his master, used to be locked in with a girl in order to quicken her with child. When the transport of captured slaves from Africa became too risky for the profit derived, some plantations in America specialized in the breeding of blacks. Athletic, well-built young men served as "studs" (whose services were also sometimes rented or loaned out to neighbouring farms); the slaves were forbidden intercourse not commanded and registered by their owners.

A characteristically contemporary example of sexual activity intended solely for procreation is men masturbating for sperm banks. A number of

young men currently earn pocket money as donors of seed.

Of all the meanings of sex, exclusive procreation is the most animal-like, and the least human.

2. Sex as Expression of an Emotion

A) POSITIVE

Clearly, even in heterosexual intercourse, procreation as a reason for sex has now given way to a far different justification. In the Gonado investigation only 14.1% of married men stated that they had married primarily because they wanted to have children (Pietropinto and Simenauer 1977, 264). It is true that a few religious communities clung for a very long time to the old Platonic-Augustinian ethics and permitted sexual activities only with the intent to procreate, but in the end even they had to submit to quite different standards when Western culture was submerged with the ideals of romantic love: the coupling of two bodies was increasingly viewed as the expression, first and foremost, of the emotion of love.

The sex-for-procreation protagonists, on principal averse to sexual lust, struggled against this evolution as long as possible. And no wonder: the consequences, from their point of view, were disastrous.

For if love justifies sexual intercourse it is no longer clear why this should apply only to married couples. It is no accident that two very different evolutions in social life began at the same time and spread with surprising speed. First of all, within a very short time, premarital sex between lovers was largely accepted, not just by youth but also by parents and religious communities: marriage had lost its monopoly. Second, homosexuality came to be accepted in the Western world to a larger degree than ever since Christianity had become dominant. Virginity, once for girls the equivalent of virtue, lost its meaning and the double-standard morality born out of practical need (sex between a woman and a man was considered shameful for the former but condoned in the latter) was rejected for what it had always been: blatant injustice. Of course this view of sexuality as an expression of love tended to loosen marital ties. Why stay together after a formerly intense love had died, or had gone out to another person? Divorce became a mass phenomenon.

Technical developments tend to adapt themselves to human needs. New freedoms arising from the decline of sex-for-procreation-only ethics might have been limited to homosexual contacts had not anti-conception made such rapid progress. Now there were solutions to the heterosexual problem of pregnancy other than the disagreeable and unreliable method of withdrawal before ejaculation; contraception had become cheap and accessible to everyone.

A great deal of recent research into the sexual habits and opinions of young people make it evident that the vast majority approves of premarital intercourse and feels that it is morally permissible—but only if a real love relationship unites the partners. Kruithof and van Ussel (1963) found this to be true in Belgium, Hertoft (1968) in Denmark, Schofield (1965) in England, Giese & Schmidt (1968) and Sigusch & Schmidt (1975) in Germany, Kooy (1976) and Noordhoff (1969) in The Netherlands, Zetterberg (1969) in Sweden, Sorensen (1973) and Yankowski (1965) in the U.S.A. The most important requirement, said the majority of their subjects, was to make the partner happy. That which was good for the other partner was at the same time considered morally right. One was to find one's satisfaction in abandoning oneself lovingly to the partner; this would bring the supreme delight. Thus performed, sexual union would become the expression of a personal emotional relationship, a revelation of one's soul, like a religious confession: "Lovers confess with their bodies and absolve each other in the act of love" (Borneman 1978, 21).

Let us not forget, however, that the ideal of a unique and all-surpassing love, excluding every vestige of promiscuity, may be characteristic of our Western culture but is certainly not shared by humanity as a shole. Monogamy is rather the exception than the rule. The ancient Greeks saw the dominating force of Eros, against which even the gods were powerless, rather as a menace. A young man belonged to the community in which he lived; that he was lustful and wanted sex was good, but to be monopolized by passion was bad. Like the modern Samoans, a people remarkable for their sexual tolerance and good mental health, the Greeks tended to view romantic love as an illness (Borneman 1978, 18, 53, 235, 339-340, 641). If we are to judge the value of an ideal we would do well to recognize its relativity.

B) NEGATIVE

Love is not the only emotion which is expressed through sex. While the male member may be the instrument of a positive human contact, man can also put it to destructive use, as a weapon to subdue, inflict pain and humiliation—and in the process derive a great deal of sensual pleasure. It is much to the credit of feminism that the adherents of this movement have placed this aspect of sexuality right in the arena of discussion. It had not gone unnoticed before, however, that with his phallus man can dominate and impose his will. He can exercise a phallocracy which is not limited to the extreme case of rape and indecent assault. Not a few men experience mixed emotions about this: they may find a certain resistance on the part of the beloved, be it man, woman or boy, exciting and provoking; on the other hand they would shrink from having recourse to real violence.

Perhaps the first to deal deeply with this problem was the Danish author Thorkill Vanggaard in his remarkable book *Phallós* (1969). He tries to find a psychological explanation of why sexual activity can be inspired by hate, by enmity and take the form of torture. In ancient times people were already well aware of this. Priapus, the god with the enormous erection, was the guardian of Greek and Roman gardens; he frightened off fruit and vegetables thieves by threatening punishment by penetrating them orally or anally with his phallos (Priapeia). During the First World War when T. E. Lawrence ("Lawrence of Arabia") fell into the hands of his Turkish enemies he had to submit to anal rape. In every war women and boys in occupied territory are raped by the victors. As in the cases of rape in prisons and reformatories still so frequently reported, this practice would seem to be inspired more by hatred, desire for revenge and to demonstrate superior power than by lust. Floyd Salas' reformatory novel, *Tattoo the Wicked Cross* (1967) is wholly devoted to the theme of a boy raped by a gang of inmates. In criminal youth gangs new member candidates often have to submit to anal intercourse by the chief as part of their initiation (Buffière 1980, 59).

These are extreme cases. But even in apparently normal circumstances the same thing may occur in a more or less disguised form. Prof. Frenken, a Dutch sexologist, delineates three prerequisites for sexual pleasure in different kinds of people: first, there are people who see in a good and satisfactory sexual relationship a measure of the extent to which an *emotional* connection has been established (if sexual satisfaction diminishes the bond lessens too); second, there's an approach more frequently found in women than in men: the strength of the sensations of lust is determined by the extent to which an *intimate* connection has been established; third, there are people for whom the contrary is true: emotional coldness, contempt, even hate for the partner is a prerequisite for sexual pleasure. This latter kind of man is impotent with the loved and adored woman (the madonna) but often displays an enormous sexual capacity with the whore whom he holds in contempt (Frenken 1980, 247). An essential element in the makeup of such a man is that sex itself is seen as something animal, low and dirty, thus one can only have it with a female who has sunk very low herself. We will have more to say about this deformation of the mind in later chapters and show that it is caused by a strict moral up-bringing which includes a very negative evaluation of sexuality. Religions with a positive view of sex and cultures which operate close to nature do not cripple the souls of their people in such a fashion.

3. Sex Just for Pleasure

There is one common element to the aspects of sex so far discussed: it is the positive emotional (love-) or the negative emotional (subjugation-) rela-

tionships between the partners that gives the sexual activity its essential meaning. For a majority of people in our Western culture, young people included, it is love which justifies the sexual act. Without love a sexual contact seems to them to be something morally inferior (Hite 1981, 379).

However, the protagonists of a third view of sex ask why. Why should it be necessary to "justify" sex in some way? Isn't this just a remnant of the Victorian horror of sex? Isn't sexual activity itself something quite neutral, and thus doesn't the ethical value which is to be attributed to it depend upon the circumstances in which it takes place? Are procreation and love the only things which can give it a positive value? Do lust, joy, the pleasurable relief from tension have no positive value? Is recreation less necessary to humanity than procreation? And what kind of valid objection could you make if two individuals agree to give each other joy and pleasure with their bodies in a way that doesn't hurt anyone else? Horror of sex and the negative evaluation of lust have distorted our culture long enough and caused enormous destruction. We will return to this theme in Chapter Five.

Borneman, the foremost Austrian sexologist, sees relief of tension rather than procreation as the biological purpose of sex. Sex exists to regenerate the body, to give it energy and health (Borneman 1978, 322, 645, 1068). Its principal function is individualistic; only indirectly is it social. And even its social function is not restricted to the perpetuation of the human race, for it serves humanity in quite another way, as was shown by the American child psychologist James Prescott.

Prescott (1975) compared a great number of different cultures from all over the world and found a direct relationship between, on the one hand, repression of sexuality and deprecation of lust feelings and, on the other hand, cruelty and criminality. Children who grew up in sexual freedom were not only far happier and healthier, they were also gentler and more peaceful. Those brought up in sexual abstinence were harder and more cruel, more quickly provoked to violence and crime. Prescott was convinced that (sexual) pleasure was society's best prevention against violence.

The ethical value of an activity does not depend upon how much sex is involved but upon its degree of free consent and respect for the partner as a human being. Looked at this way a short, passing episode may also be good and beautiful. A manual for teachers charged with sex instruction published by the Swedish government affirms, quite rightly, that a sexual activity integrated into an intimate relationship between two persons is more meaningful and causes more happiness than a rather impersonal, accidental contact. Thus a closely-knit union is worth striving for. But the manual also, and with equal discernment, adds that the persistence of a relationship over many years does not guarantee real intimacy and love—as witness the married life of all too many couples—and that a casual meeting may well be tender and

loving (Linnér 1980). A one-time-only contact may even achieve great intensity, often by the very realization that it will not be repeated. Many men can never forget the hour of physical communication they had on visit to a distant land with one of its inhabitants. The joy of it was so intense and perfect! There is surely nothing shameful or objectionable in this.

Girls, however, differ from boys in this respect. For boys, love more often ensues from sex rather than precedes it: attachment grows from the keen pleasure experienced in the embrace (Borneman 1978, 779). We will return to the matter in Chapter Three.

But even if this doesn't happen and the sexual activity has no other purpose than the delight it produces, it is difficult to see what reproach could be made. Is it immoral to eat sweets because they taste good, even if they don't contain any nourishment for the body? Or is it immoral to inhale the perfume of a rose simply because you like it? Or is it immoral to enjoy the sight of an abstract painting if it doesn't teach us any lesson? Is it immoral to enjoy a beautiful piece of music? If not, why then should it be immoral to seek the delight of that other sense, the sense of touch, by caressing an attractive, naked body or to feel a gentle hand on our own? Why should the pleasure we can experience and produce with our sexual organs become suddenly immoral if there is nothing to "justify" it? Why this exception for one of our senses?

The Roman poet Horace was able to confess without shame, "When the indominable impulse of nature sets me on fire the first naked body on which I can lay my hands is all right for me to satisfy my lust upon by lamp light, just as long as it knows how to wiggle its arse." (Borneman 1978, 867)

In truth, everything that delights the senses—a sweet morsel, a fine perfume, a beautiful sight, good music, the orgasm of sex—all bear fruit in beautifying our existence, in making us happy, in vitalizing our lives.

There is only one valid precondition to sex: one must respect everyone's right to dispose of his own body as he wishes, to decide freely if, with whom, how, where and when he will have sex. Nothing can be permitted without consent, and in the special context of sex this consent may be withdrawn at any time —even during the act itself. This liberty to decide for himself about himself is a sacred right of every individual regardless of gender and age. Yet the penal codes of the so-called civilised nations do not protect this right very well—and this is truly immoral. In The Netherlands, for instance, a husband cannot be punished if he rapes his own wife, while at the same time the freedom to give his consent to sexual activity is denied a fifteen-year-old (Penal Code, sections 242 & 247).

The theory of this right to sexual self-determination is clear enough; the practice at times is much more difficult. It is compounded by the playful aspect of sex. The courted individual may act as if he were rejecting the

approach he really covets. An inexperienced person, somewhat afraid of the unknown, is often grateful for a gentle push across the threshold of consent. In such cases the reaction after the act is much more important than the apparent attitude before. Here tact and psychological intuition are needed in order to avoid making mistakes.

4. Sex in Surrender to the Forces of Nature

We cannot approach the fourth aspect of sexuality without a certain amount of trepidation. Once it was part of our culture. But for many centuries now it has been so strongly condemned that modern man no longer has any understanding of it at all. We have lost the cults of the gods of love and fertility. We have lost the idea of surrender to the primordial forces of nature. It has become strange for us to see intercourse as a sacrifice, and thus something to be performed in a temple. We have forgotten the Dionysian ecstasy and the orgy and the bacchanal. The ancient Greeks knew about this; so did the Romans, and among so-called primitive tribes it is still very much alive today.

High on a mountain above Corinth we can visit the ruins of the Temple of Aphrodite, goddess of love. Once girls and boys stood for the inspection of pilgrims on its porch, completely naked or covered only by a transparent veil. The pilgrims had made a difficult and tiring ascent. "Not everyone has the good fortune to reach Corinth," a proverb said (Scholte 1958, 383). The visitor made his choice, paid a donation and then had intercourse with the girl or boy who pleased him the most. In the orgasmic spasm he abandoned himself to the power of the deity.

There, and in numerous other places in Greece, in Sicily, in Babylon, in Persia, in India, in many African countries, in Mexico, etc., religious prostitution was wide-spread. Mankind still understood the truth that "sacrifice" was not the same as denial or pain, that it was essentially a surrender of the ego. —and that such surrender may be positive and lustful, too.

The Greeks strived for "theolepsy", direct divine inspiration, communion with the deity. Thus wine and dancing took on religious significance, since they could induce a loss of self, an opening to divine influence. In the Dionysian rapture of the bacchanal sexual appetites were liberated from all inhibitions, every restraint. Participants tore the clothes from their bodies, displayed their nakedness and united themselves freely with the first person at hand. This experience was discussed and written about with reverence, as something noble and exalted (Partridge 1958, 9-37; Licht 1926, II 97-102).

Sexual intercourse was carried out in accordance with the divine will. The "little death", the momentary loss of consciousness in orgasm, was seen as a revelation. In it man became an instrument of the god and he experienced

in his own body the divine ecstasy of creation (Borneman 1978, 1410-1415).

Many peoples living close to nature still partake in this experience. During certain rituals, liquor, music and rhythmic dancing produce an intoxication which becomes more and more sexually coloured. Males dancing naked support incredibly strong and continuous erections, permitting repeated coital couplings before exhaustion is reached. Human seed is sprinkled in abundance—until not one man or boy can produce another drop. In semi-darkness one unites oneself with persons who in ordinary life are strictly taboo: the son couples with the mother, the brother with his sister. This is possible because the sexual activities have been completely depersonalised, reduced to a pure phenomenon of nature (Edwardes & Masters, 1963, 163-169; Ellis 1913, VI 218-221).

Western missionaries and explorers considered such rituals horribly indecent, morally corrupt; only recently has the religious significance of these rites gradually dawned upon us, permitting some thinkers to recognize the cosmic aspect of sexuality (Van Lier 1968; Ricoeur et al 1960; Schubart 1944). It was a Roman Catholic priest, professor of moral theology, who suggested that our Western ethics, concentrating so one-sidedly upon the personal love relationship between two partners (the union between "I" and "you") overlooked the cosmic element which is present in every sexual experience. Some day we may again be confronted with these aspects of sexuality which we thought we had long ago put away forever: sex for sheer pleasure and sex as a cosmic force (Beemer 1980, 69).

Perhaps this day is dawning already. In fact, at any given moment, much of the sexual activity which goes on in the world is done for pleasure and for pleasure alone. As for the cosmic, impersonal form of sex, recent American studies have uncovered some surprising information. In a *Playboy* research among students (1976) 7% said that they had experimented with group sex and 5% affirmed that they had found it very fine indeed. Not less than 47% said they would like to try it. In 1972 Hunt concluded that 16% of his male respondents had participated in group sex. And in the Gonado enquiry comprising 4066 men of 18 years and over, 11% claimed to prefer this type of sexual activity. On a list of sexual preferences, 14% claimed to long for group sex most of all. It seemed, moreover, that 4.5% of all men fantasized about group sex during intercourse (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 65-66).

A few years earlier, twelve young Danes, men and women, experimented with group sex, afterwards discussed their feelings about it and then published their discussion (Reitzel, 1969). They carried it out both with blindfolds (in order to prevent them from knowing who was doing what to whom) and without. Each session lasted some six or seven hours. Most of the participants thought the experience "fantastically beautiful" and claimed to have learned a lot from it.

1 (Continued) Onno had in his youth a very intense and varied sex life. It included meetings with a group of 8 to 10 adult men on a sundeck where everyone went naked, their tanned bodies carefully oiled. There all sex acts were allowed. Sometimes it was just a mélange of jerking, intertwining limbs and heads and torsos. One kissed and licked indiscriminately, never knowing whose mouth or hand was on one's genitals. Suddenly Onno felt someone grabbing him and penetrating him. "With a furious passion he hammered away at my body; helpless, I was swept away as if by a raging hurricane. The others drew back from us and watched. When it began our mood had been light and merry: people had laughed and joked. Now they grew silent in deep respect for this outburst of primordial force." (More details will be given in Chapter 6.)

That word "respect" comes up time and again in accounts of such happenings. One evidently touches the mystery of life, some hidden power. In an essay on Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* Dr. R. J. van Helsdingen notes, "During sexual contact, and especially during orgasm, two people become united in such a manner as to surrender completely their own egos. The 'I' becomes absorbed in the 'we', and the 'we' absorbed in the Cosmos, causing the most intense ecstasy." Along the same lines, Freud spoke about an "oceanic experience", characterized by lustful sensations uniting one with one's environment, transforming it into pure living existence (both quoted by Marlet 1979, 69)8.

2 But this primordial cosmic power may be experienced in a more simple manner, as the following example of Leo shows. Leo is a boy with a fine muscular body of which he is justly proud, and thus he likes to go to a nudist beach where he can show it off. He has become so used to being naked among naked people that this seldom excites him. One day he is on the beach with a group of other youths and makes the acquaintance of a girl he finds very attractive. She also seems interested in him, so they decide to go for a walk in the dunes. Now, this is officially forbidden, and one result is that, once in the dunes, they find themselves virtually alone. As soon as this happens Leo becomes highly aroused and shows it with a strong erection. This he enjoys, the mute language of the body telling the girl what he desires. She looks at it and answers with a smile. When they come at last to a suitable spot she lays down willingly and they become one. To Leo this is one of the most beautiful sexual experiences of his life: "We're lying on this hot white sand; the sun makes our bodies glow; the sky is blue; the sea seethes; a bird cries flying above us; the wind gently touches our naked skin while nature works in our bodies in their close embrace. You feel yourself one with nature as never before, and never before did lust rise to such an intense climax. You feel your body was made for this; it's something you have to do." It is an experience of exaltation Leo will never forget. (Personal communication)

I. WHY SEX?

THE ASPECTS OF SEX IN RELATION TO CHILDREN

How, now, are these four aspects of sexuality related to our subject: the boy as a sexual partner?

1. Sex for Procreation

In view of our contemporary culture's expectations of the father of a family, it is clear that an adolescent boy should not beget children. We are justifiably disturbed by a newspaper story telling of a twelve-year-old French girl having a baby by a twelve-year-old father (Duvert 1980, 18), and by the report that every year around 800 girls eleven years of age and younger give birth to babies in Cook County, Illinois, USA (Hearings 1977, 9).

A few centuries ago things were different. Thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds could marry and do what was expected of them as husbands. In many primitive societies this is still so today. In a pastoral culture a boy of fourteen may have learned everything a good shepherd should know and may even be better able to perform his tasks than many adult men. No reason, then, to delay marriage. But that's not the case in our modern technical world. Before a man is completely educated and trained to become a full-fledged worker, able to earn a livelihood for wife and children, ten or even more years will have passed since he entered puberty. This prolonged period of education keeps the adolescent boy mentally infantilized and so quite unfit to bring up children of his own.

But these are precisely those years when his sexual appetite imposes itself upon him with the greatest intensity. Nature uses many things (spontaneous erections, nocturnal emissions, etc.) to force the newly adolescent boy to make active use of his now easily excitable sex organs.

In postponing more and more the age of marriage, social evolution has created an enormous and obvious conflict between the traditional ethical insistence that sex be used only for procreation (thus that sexual abstinence be maintained until the wedding night) and the demands of nature. One might have expected that the Christian churches, with their belief that nature was created by God and is an expression of his divine will, would have protested and fought against this trend. But exactly the contrary happened: the churches conformed to the social evolution and, instead of protesting, allied themselves to the secular authorities in their drive to repress youthful sexuality or—even worse—deny its existence.

The sexual appetite of unmarried youth was, from the standpoint of state and society, not only superfluous but also quite a nuisance. In the Middle Ages popular wisdom held everywhere that sexual abstinence was most unhealthy for a boy in puberty. As recently as two centuries ago boys were still

regarded as sexually "loaded". But adults of the industrial world sought to free themselves of this embarrassing view of their adolescent offsprings by substituting for it a sweet accommodating image created wholly by fantasy—that of the innocent, i.e. asexual, child. This child was called pure. Logic would seem to demand that adults, then, were impure, but again the insulted adults did not protest but eagerly welcomed this newly invented concept which seemed to solve for them so many problems.

The churches, here obedient servants of the world, zealously helped spread this false idea. It became so widely accepted, so deeply imprinted in people's minds that its unmasking by Freud and his followers, later confirmed by Kinsey's sociological research, provoked widespread and deeply felt indignation and highly emotional reactions.

Today public opinion has gradually accommodated itself to these facts. Children have regained the paradise of their own sexuality. People now console themselves with the conviction that child sexuality is in any case very different from adult sexuality and, therefore, the twain should never meet. In our third chapter we will see what is true and what is false in this conviction.

The idea that the sole purpose of sex is procreation seems to have lost its hold. According to the Gonado research, only 0.7% of American males still adhere to it (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 82). For those few the implications of our theme are clear: sexual activities of boys among peers or with adults must be rejected as immoral. A boy must not be allowed to use his genital organs until he is lawfully married, and even then he should practice the greatest restraint.

2. Sex as Expression of Love

We have just cited the Gonado research. Of the males that were questioned, 11.4% thought that sexual intercourse was acceptable only if the couple were united in love (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 82). The objection that boys and adolescents are unfit to have children was swept away by the possibilities of contraception. But is a boy capable of loving another person? Or is he still too immature for this, as is frequently suggested?

It cannot be denied that puberty not only changes the body but also causes a mental revolution. After puberty young people have a different outlook on the world and on their fellow men. This influences their capacity to love. As long as a person lives this evolution doesn't end; changes continue to appear in one's love feelings which, one might hope, will make them progressively deeper. In general, adolescents clearly possess the capacity to love and to demonstrate this emotion by means of physical tenderness. Tony Duvert (1980, 76) is right in affirming that the desire for love and its expres-

sions is actually never more strongly felt than in those who have just matured.

And what about the immature? Isn't it curious, when children are generally expected to love their mothers and their fathers, to be deemed at the same time incapable of loving a friend? Freud (quoted by Shérer 1974, 124-127) had quite a different impression. In an open letter to Dr. Fürst he claimed to have found in children well below the age of puberty all the psychological symptoms of love-life well developed (tenderness, affection, jealousy), often accompanied by the physical symptoms of sexual excitement. This linking of emotional and physical response is quite clear to the child itself. "At the age of about five the child possesses in relation to its own body and that of others every element of sexual life excepting only the function of procreation," Freud noted in *Die Zukunft einer Illusion.* All of which makes the French child psychologist and pedagogue Prof. René Schérer exclaim with justifiable fury, "Why the devil do we deny the child the love it is so capable of experiencing, as the child well knows?" (1974, 130)

In the human being, body and mind are so closely united that it is no wonder love can never remain purely on a spiritual level but always demands that the body participate in it, too. Is there really an age below which it should be forbidden to love and to show this love? Is love something which must be "reserved for later"?

Even if we suppose that a child up to a certain age might not be capable of loving, we might still question whether that child is equally incapable of experiencing the acceptance of love. Let us postulate an adult who loves a child dearly and feels the urge to express this emotion in physical tenderness. Would the child really lack the intuition to experience his tender touch as moved by love, and to understand it as such? Can we really seriously contend that this experience of feeling loved will be harmful to the child, will traumatize him? The literature on criminality and mental disturbances abounds in case stories of adolescents and adults whose childhood was deprived of this experience of being loved.

We might make it impossible for a boy to build up a relationship in which he can demonstrate his love by means of sex. In revenge he might well practice sex only for the sensual pleasure in it, and so impoverish his mind (De Brethmas 1980, 14).

3. Sex Just for Pleasure

For with this third aspect of sex, which is directed entirely upon the pleasure of the moment, everything becomes a lot simpler. In the Gonado investigation 4.2% of the male respondents said they had intercourse only for pleasure (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 82). This is the most primitive side of sex and therefore is the side children most easily understand. Asked what sex

means to him primarily (procreation, love or pleasure), nearly every boy will answer pleasure. Only older adolescents and those having a steady relationship may give priority to love.

We have already discussed the view that sex for pleasure only is immoral or inferior. The decisive question here is whether physical lust, physical pleasure in itself is something good or something bad. He who thinks it is bad because sensual pleasure constitutes a threat to the higher part of the human being, is in the company of great figures like Plato and a number of Christian philosophers. But the opposite view, that lust and delight are marvellous gifts of nature and its creator, given to man to make him happy and therefore to be enjoyed with gratitude, would seem a better approach to one's deity. For with this view one comes abreast of the mysticism of India and Islam. The Arabian author of a book on the variations of sexual intercourse opens his first chapter with thanks to Allah for the pleasure he put into the sexual organs of men and women (Burton 1963, 71). Such a concept is certainly more conformable and harmonious with nature than the condemnation of lust as sin.

For the human body is made for sexual pleasure. Even before birth male foetuses have been shown by the latest scientific equipment to have spontaneous erections about five times a day—that is, as frequently as in adult sleep (Calderone 1983). At birth the body is quite able to experience sensations of lust which we may consider sensual. "Since the discoveries of psychoanalysis it can no longer be denied, even in our culture, that sexual tensions manifest themselves from the first days of life on. Masturbation, for example, is a general habit early in baby life and in the very young child." (Pacharzina & Albrecht-Désirat 1978, 7) Spitz showed that an early commencement of sexual behaviour (auto-eroticism) is indicative of a positive relationship between mother and child and a good intellectual development (Kentler 1970, 133). Borneman (1978, 92) confirms this: "In all cultures in every part of the world, babies and little children try to obtain sensual satisfaction by stimulating the surface of their skin. The genital organs are also one of the preferred zones of the body. This we call masturbation in babies. In flat contradiction to what was thought until recent times, children are quite capable of experiencing orgasm at the earliest age." (See also Sarphatie 1982, 43.) "Individuals who didn't masturbate in childhood generally will have considerable difficulty in finding satisfaction in normal intercourse. (...) They will need more time to get used to it." (Borneman 1978, 939)

Van Ussel put it very aptly: "Children are mature for sex at birth; they become mature for procreation only later." (1975, 100)

The visible and audible reactions of even the smallest child should tell the people around it that it is able to distinguish certain sensations as agreeable, others as disagreeable.

The experience of lustful, sexual feelings is something a human being

cannot easily do without. He most certainly needs them. In the Gonado investigation, 61.2% of the male respondents declared that sex was an extremely important factor in their lives; to another 19.8% it was the *most* important. Only 1.7% agreed with the statement that there are more important things in life, while 1.4% thought sex was not very important (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 82). If adults desire this pleasure so intensely, you must come up with very convincing arguments to advance successfully the idea that it should simply be denied to those who aren't yet adult.

Not only are such convincing arguments conspicuous by their absence, but no attempt has even been made to come up with a logical reason. On the other hand there are many arguments against enforcing abstinence upon youth. We will meet them again and again in the course of this book, especially in Chapter Five.

In rejecting the sexuality of children and adolescents, our traditional culture is rather exceptional when compared with others — and it isn't even as traditional as is commonly supposed. The rejection is a distortion of formerly recognised truths, caused by the socio-economic changes of the last two centuries. The concept of the child as an asexual being quite different from the adult is a recent phenomenon.

Romeo and Juliet, our most famous pair of lovers, were children. Our ancestors used to fondle the genitals of their children in order to please and to pacify them, and the adults were amused if the small boy responded with an erection. Young children were also encouraged to play with the genitals of grown-ups (Dasberg 1976, 35-36; van Ussel 1968, 45). At the Court of Versailles the young Dauphin was taught to show his "little thing" to the ladies and to let himself be caressed there. King François I (1515-1547) considered every boy over 14 who had not yet had intercourse to be a sad case. The 14-year-old crown prince, later to be Louis XI, captured Château-Landon in 1437 from the English. Having thus proved himself a man, he requested that his parents allow him to sleep with his even younger bride, Margaret of Scotland. In the event he made such brutal use of his male "rights" that the girl had to keep to her bed for some days thereafter (Dasberg 1976, 36; Breton 1956, II 11-13, 184).

The Municipal Council of Ulm in Germany had to issue in 1527 an order to prohibit boys under the age of 14 from visiting brothels; it seemed that the sheer number of 12- and 13-year-old clients in these houses was disturbing the adults (Deschner 1978, 397; Kemmerich 1910, I 146). The rector of a Dutch school in the Fifteenth Century likewise put brothels out of bounds for his pupils and had 11-year-olds publicly whipped for breaking the rule. (Dasberg 1976, 43) The authorities in London were much more tolerant: as late as 1800 a yearly average 30,000 boys of this age were visiting the town brothels (Fuchs 1911, II Erg. 193). Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469-1536), the famous humanist,

wrote a treatise on sexual pleasure in the form of a conversation between a young man and a whore—and dedicated this to the six-year-old son of a friend (Van den Bergh). William Shakespeare (1564-1616) deplored the fact that youths between 10 and 23 had nothing better to do than importune old people, steal, fight and make girls pregnant *(The Winter's Tale* III, 3). A rich English lady, Grace de Saleby, only came to experience properly the joys of sex in her third marriage: she was then 11 years old. Another English aristocrat, Elisabeth Bridge, wasn't married until she was 13 and stated publicly that she was very disappointed that her 11-year-old husband John hadn't immediately deflowered her (Dasberg 1976, 37-38). The Dutch poet and painter Karel van Mander wrote about 1600 that his 12- to 14-year-old pupils were behaving very lewdly; thus he was advising them to have intercourse in order to avoid headaches and so that they could concentrate better on their studies. (Dasberg 1976, 36)

Only in the last century (1886 in The Netherlands) did legislation make consensual sexual activities with children criminal. Thus, from a historical perspective, this has been a rather recent addition to our own penal laws; in other cultures it is quite unknown, even inconceivable (Killias 1979).

Even if we agree to place a higher value upon sex-only-for-love than upon sex-only-for-lust, we must not lose sight of the fact that a boy can only perfect the physical expression of his tenderness to the degree of freedom he has been allowed in nudity and lust. The body must be trained and exercised in this function as in any other. Only when a boy has had sufficient opportunity to abandon himself uninhibitedly to sexual pleasure and to experiment with sex will he acquire the ability to give, later, the greatest satisfaction to his partner in loving intercourse.

The sex-only-for-love apologist might object that hedonistic sex sometimes leads to a great deal of frustration. This is true. Those who look for more in sex than pleasure, with all the limitations that implies, may even feel repelled by it. Janus (1981, 296) quotes a boy, saying: "To me there's a big difference between making love and fucking someone. I have fucked people and gotten nothing out of it. I mean, I might as well be on the toilet, jerking off."

3 A boy received no affection from his parents; between his fourteenth and seventeenth years he tried to find the love he missed in very passionate relations with a teacher, and later with other men. He ultimately realized that these men only wanted him for his beautiful adolescent body and didn't really care for him as a person. He felt disgusted and deceived (Schwarz 1949, 50).

4 The same kind of betrayal was felt by a man who for five happy years had had a happy love relationship with a boy. When the boy's family migrated to

another country they were separated. The man desperately tried to distract himself while he was away on a holiday trip in Spain with boys who bartered their sexual services with him, but he soon discovered that this kind of commercial contact only made him more unhappy and increased his aching feeling of emptiness. (Hennig 1979, 156)

But that needn't be the final word on casual contacts. In other cases the one-night-stand, sought only out of lust, may turn out to be a big surprise, an unforgettable experience, bring to the participant the most intense joy. Tony Duvert (1980, 155) says, "The casual pleasures have their own erotic qualities and may elicit feelings just as intense as the more lasting ones—like the *haikai,* the short Japanese poem which may tell as much as a long tale. We may be amazed at the extreme, almost crushing power of such an experience. We may be afraid of it or pretend indifference. But the fact remains that to those who attempt to experiment with it the effects are convincing. We shouldn't maintain that longer lasting friendships are better than the shorter ones, or that the latter have less value, for the two are quite different entities. When we recall these casual contacts they may gain in our minds a perfection, an intrinsic value which proves this beyond doubt. The power of such experiences is inexhaustible, like a painting you've seen for just two minutes but, because it moved you then so deeply, lingers evermore in your memory."

5 It was just such a casual meeting which drew from André Gide one of his finest passages. Gide had suppressed his erotic feelings for boys for many years. He had even tried to deny them, until one night in an Algerian oasis when Oscar Wilde brought him together with a young Arabian flute-player: "Now, at last, I discovered what was normal for me. No longer was anything forced, hurried, uncertain; nothing clouds the memory I retain of that night. My happiness knew no bounds. It couldn't have been more perfect if it had been an expression of love. But how could there have been love? How could desire have disposed of my heart? My lust was completely without reflection. It knew no fear of being bitten by conscience. But what name could I give to the delight I felt as I held this perfect, wild, hot, lascivious, ambiguous little body in my arms?... Long after Mohammed had left me I remained in a condition of trembling bliss, and although I had already reached a climax of lust five times when coupled with him I renewed this ecstasy repeatedly. After I returned to my hotel room I extended its echoes until the return of daylight..." (Gide 1955, 338-339)

6 Likewise, such a casual meeting may prove to be an incomparable and unique experience to the younger partner. Nils, a Swedish school boy, met, during his summer vacation, a nice man sunning himself on the side of a swimming pool. They started playfully wrestling with each other; both got erections which they could feel inside one another's trunks. "Wouldn't it be

nicer to do this *really* naked?" the man asked. Nils agreed eagerly and accompanied the man to his home where they continued their wrestling, now stark naked, on a bed. Suddenly the man hugged the boy very tightly in his arms, thrust with his hips, moaned with pleasure and spurted his seed. "I can still remember," Nils told me thirty years later, "how I ran home skipping and singing, enormously proud and happy that my little body could provoke such a strong passion in an adult." (Personal communication)

7 One of the best books I ever read on sexual instruction for adolescents was published in New Zealand—*Down Under the Plum Trees,* by Felicity Tuohy and Michael Murphy. In it there is the story of a boy who, at the birthday party of one of his teachers, got talking with a very nice man. "He gave me his name and address and said, 'Ring me'. That was Saturday night. I rang him Sunday night and he told me to come in and meet him at his flat in town. I went in about eleven o'clock in the morning. We got into bed and he screwed me and then let me screw him. He was so good. He treated me so well and he was really good at screwing. It was an incredible thing for me because at home everyone was hostile to each other and at school I had no friends. Here was this guy showing me kindness and gentleness and it was an amazing experience. I went back Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and that was the last week of the school holidays. Then I went back to school and never saw him again." (1976, 212)

There are boys who long for a love relationship; to them the sexual aspect may be important but it is certainly not the most important element. There are other boys who, for whatever reason, prefer the casual meeting. Sometimes a boy just simply wants to make sure that his body can excite an adult, that it functions alright in sexual activity. (Hennig 1979, 165)

8 So it was with the Austrian boy of fourteen who got to know a boy-lover at a swimming-pool. The boy seduced the man, and they had a number of additional sexual contacts. Slowly the man began to develop love feelings for the boy, so he invited him to see a movie with him and then go to a good restaurant afterwards. But the boy flatly refused. "Oh, no, I don't want any of that," he said. "I come here to get fucked and for nothing else!" (Personal communication)

4. Sex in Surrender to the Forces of Nature

Finally there is the fourth aspect of sex: a bonding with nature and its expressions; impersonal sexuality. Psychiatrists like Westerman Holstijn and Rümke think that the "oceanic experience" is most easily obtained by someone passing from one phase of life to another, and especially in puberty. (Marlet 1979, 69)

9 Later we will have more to say about the Siwa oasis in Egypt, close to the Libyan border, where boys at puberty used to be "married" to adult men. Robin Maugham witnessed here a festival in which some two dozen *zaggalas* (workers in the palm groves) took part: "lithe smooth-cheeked boys, stocky Berbers with shaved scalps, gigantic negroes..." They drank fermented palmwine and began to dance. Their monotonous chanting grew louder and louder. *"Ya Haoul Illah"* "Oh power of God." Quicker and quicker beat the drums. The faces of the men flamed with passion. "Tearing off their clothes, dancers flung themselves into wilder movements. A boy would break away to perform a frantic solo belly-dance until pulled back into the jerking circle by his friend. (...) Men's bodies as well as their eyes soon revealed rising passions. They quivered with the intensity of their excitement. *'Ya Haoul Illah. Ya Haoul Illah.'* The chant was bellowed now, as if it were a protest against all restrictions, against the need to work and the need to live in bonds of flesh and the need to grow old and to die. It was a plea for release from human bondage. The zaggalas were pouring their virility into the dance as a libation to freedom. Tomorrow might be painful, but tonight they could experience the culmination of joy." Afterwards they all lay together, utterly relaxed. "But on their faces was an expression which at first I found it hard to decipher. Later in the evening I understood the reason for it. They were devoid of any feeling of guilt, the cross of western civilisation, and therefore they were free from our worst worry. They were careless." (1950, 114-120)

SUMMARY

If we were obliged to put age limits to our preceding exposition of the different aspects of sex, we could say that a boy is mature for lust, for hedonistic sex, from his birth on; sex as an expression of love becomes a possibility from about five years of age; puberty is the best time for the "oceanic", the mystic experience and for using sex to unite one with nature. Procreation should be the privilege of the adult man.

Chapter 2.

Sexual Variety in Men

SEXUAL VARIETY IN MEN

One of the most striking findings of sexology is the incredible variability of all human sexual aspects—the physical as well as the mental. This is sorely neglected in sexual education and instruction.

1. Anatomical: The Organs

In the Brongersma Foundation there are several thousands of pictures of naked boys and men; the outward appearance of their genitals is as varied as their faces. The male member may be very small or very big, very thin or very thick; the scrotum long or short, the testicles puny or remarkably large. The shape of the glans varies enormously. There are magnificent genitals which ornament the body, as well as ugly ones, just as in the case of faces.

2. Physiological: Function of the Organs

Some penises change very little in length from flaccidity to erection while others grow to nearly twice the relaxed length and girth. The erected member of one individual feels like rubber; in another it is as hard as a piece of wood. Under excitement, some penises erect rapidly, in a flash; others grow only very gradually. One male will need but a few seconds to attain climax, another requires several minutes or even half an hour. The places most sensitive to

sexual stimulation are not the same in every male. In pre-pubertal orgasm no seed is expelled, but in some boys there is already a secretion of clear mucus (product of the Cowper glands). This mucus, provoked by sexual excitement, is never secreted by some males, while in others its flow is abundant. The volume of ejaculate in and after puberty may be small, but it may also be as much as 8 or 9 cubic centimetres. The number of spermatozoa may vary from 20 to 540 million per cc (Hotchkiss 1944, 139-140). At climax the ejaculate in some individuals wells slowly out of the glans while in others it is forcefully squirted for a distance as great as a few metres. The physical manifestations of orgasm may be nearly invisible in some people but other males pant, cry out and go through convulsions. Some adolescents can ejaculate again 20 seconds after the first climax; some are capable of intercourse six times a night—but some need a few weeks rest before being able to perform again. The need for relief of sexual tension in some is so strong that it demands an orgasm several times a day for a sense of emotional well-being; in others this need is almost completely lacking.

All these examples fall comfortably within the conventional framework of natural behaviour. Moreover, such variations aren't always just between individuals; often they occur in one individual at different periods of his life. One shouldn't speak lightly about "normal" and "abnormal". Nature has drawn its boundaries very far apart.

3. Psychological: Attraction

What has been said about the shape and function of the male genitalia, the physical side of sexuality, applies even more forcefully to its psychical aspects: sexual tendencies and preferences. We now enter very mysterious territory.

What in older literature was called "the sexual impulse" is defined in contemporary sexology as "the sexual appetite". (de Boer 1978, II 68; Borneman 1978, 104, 129, 337, 514, 516; Gagnon & Simon 1973, 15; Haeberle 1978, 131) But de Boer adds that many people, especially males, experience their sexuality as an impulse and this representation becomes so accurate that we come across it again and again. In this book about boys and men the two concepts will therefore be used.

Now there is nobody whose sexual appetite or impulse is excited or provoked by every human being he meets. Physical properties, personality characteristics which to one individual are highly exciting may leave another completely indifferent—or may even seem repellent. How this fixation on particular properties originates remains obscure and unexplained. Perhaps it is inborn (or at least a disposition to be attracted to certain traits is inborn); perhaps it is partly acquired after birth. But if it is acquired it happens nearly

always so early in life—perhaps at an age of 3 to 5—that it is very difficult to ascertain. Consequently this fixation will appear to the individual himself as something natural, innate, an inseparable part of his being. One perceives it as having been there from the beginning; it is impossible to imagine oneself without it.

This, however, poses a major problem to human society. A man may be quite able to *conceive* that his neighbour gets sexually excited by things other than he does himself, but this doesn't mean that he *understands* it, will be able to discover similar feelings in himself and by so doing be able to vividly empathize with his neighbour's feelings. A sexual attraction to which someone is not himself sensible remains mysterious and strange. Fantasy fails to help us (Haeberle 1978, 140).

This helps explain why an overwhelming majority of paedophiles and homophiles, though belonging to a small group which is rejected and often cruelly persecuted and tortured by the society in which they live, still don't want to get rid of their "tendencies", even if there were an easy way to do it (Bell & Weinberg 1978, 124; Bernard 1979, 76; Carpenter 1912, 128; Jouhandeau 1981, 11-12). Masters and Johnson (1980, 348) learned to distrust the sincerity of even those who claimed they wanted to be changed. For one may be able to understand intellectually that the satisfaction of his sexubal appetite in another direction (for instance with an adult partner or with a partner of the opposite sex) could give him the same pleasure and be as delightful as the satisfaction of his own variant appetite —and that this might be much more acceptable socially and less dangerous—but one cannot really feel this, much less imagine what it would be like. Fantasy lets him down; ultimate change is perceived as an irreparable loss: he will lose what he now loves and in exchange will get something he cannot conceive of as being equally worthy of love.

Thus we remain circumscribed by our knowledge that other people feel differently from the way we do. To forget this is to be narrow-minded and stupid. But if we raise such stupidity to dogma and proclaim that only *our* inclinations are "normal" and all others abnormal, perverse and disgusting, we become intolerant and immoral. Doing this we base our ethics upon our lack of imagination.

A) THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTNER'S SEX

In man, as in sexually differentiated animals, the sexual appetite—with rare exceptions—is directed upon individuals of the same species. Humans desire humans and are sexually excited by humans. But, as we have already said, not by every human being.

"Gentlemen prefer blondes," the song tells us. There are, however, also

gentlemen who prefer brunettes. Why? An insoluble mystery. Some people's sexual excitement is strongly dependent upon one single peculiarity; the person who lacks it lacks all attraction. In others the limits are more generously drawn: various peculiarities are able to excite them sexually—sometimes even contradictory ones, for example, platinum blond as well as pitch-black hair. These people's liberty of choice is wider. But in no person is it unlimited.

Obviously the sex of a possible partner is an important element of attraction. Our society even likes to split mankind into those who love the other sex *(heterophiles)* and those who prefer their own sex *(homophiles).* Cultural history shows, however, that this was not always so, nor is it so everywhere today; recent sexological research has concluded that the fact of being either male or female is in reality less important in provoking sexual attraction than our traditional Western culture assumes.

The clear demarcation between the majority of heterophiles and the small minority of homophiles made by researchers into homosexuality in the second half of the last and the first half of the present century has become dubious since Kinsey's sociological investigations. The situation in reality seems to be much more complicated. Kinsey studied the sexual activities of American men and boys, and when in 1948 he published his findings they caused a sensation. Of 4275 white men between the ages of 16 and 55, only 50% had never had sexual contacts with nor experienced a sexual interest in a partner of the same sex; 13% had experienced erotic feelings in response to other males, although this had never led to sexual contact. From the age of 16, and continuing for a period of at least three years:

> 5% had had occasional homosexual contacts carried to the point of orgasm;
> 7% had had more frequent homosexual contacts;
> 5% had had just as frequent homosexual as heterosexual contacts;
> 3% had had more frequent homosexual than heterosexual contacts;
> 2% had had almost exclusively homosexual contacts;
> and 8% had had only homosexual contacts.
> Of all males, 4% had had only homosexual contacts during the course of their lives. (Kinsey 1948, 650-651)

The Kinsey findings were later confirmed in The Netherlands by Kooy and Sterken, by Giese and Schmidt in Germany (Sanders 1977, 14). Similar figures were found in Barrington's sample of 2500 males (age 16-75) in the United Kingdom (1981, 22-23). Kinsey concluded that the assumed division between heterosexuality and homosexuality was not absolute; it was rather a matter of polarity. If one constructs a scale with one extreme 100% heterosexuality and the other 100% homosexuality, various gradations, complemen-

tary proportions of either end member will occur between. Every human being, then, would find his place on this line, on this sliding scale. The man leading an entirely bisexual life would stand in the middle.

In most people there is a lack of self-knowledge, incomplete insight into their internal landscape. Consciously they may vigorously deny certain elements which really are there. Two cases can show us how completely a man can deceive himself about what really lies in his sexual makeup.

10 An officer in the French army was sent to a lonely outpost in the Algerian desert. Up until then he had only had intercourse with women and in it had felt quite satisfied. But there the other servicemen cautioned him against going with the local females who, they said, were dirty and unattractive. Moreover, starting something with a girl was very dangerous, as it would be perceived as an insult to her honour and provoke violent revenge by her father or brothers. Much better to follow the general custom, he was told, and do it with boys; these were cleaner and parents didn't have any objections. At first the idea of having sex with a boy made him feel sick to his stomach. Gradually, however, his sexual appetite grew more and more difficult to deal with; masturbation wasn't enough. One day his work kept him in the barracks longer than usual; when he left all the other soldiers had gone. Waiting at the gate was a boy; the boy smiled at him—he had particularly beautiful black eyes. Suddenly the soldier decided to have a try. He followed the boy into the dunes outside the oasis. When the boy shook off his djellaba and pressed against him with his naked body, the man was amazed at how delightful it felt to take this firm, smooth body into his arms and to caress it. The sexual intercourse which ensued satisfied him completely. He soon discovered that he felt much better if he used a boy from time to time and that his health in consequence improved. Eventually be came to like it so much that he desired nothing else, and intercourse with boys became his preferred sexual activity.

11 Henry went to sea at the age of 15, looking for adventure and sexual freedom. On board the ship he shared a cabin with Eric, three years his senior, and soon they were close friends. Eric slept stark naked and masturbated openly every night looking at pornographic magazines which he shared with Henry. In the first port they visited, Eric took Henry to a girl he knew well and had intercourse with her with Henry looking on. Then they changed rôles and Henry had intercourse for the first time in his life, helped in the act by the instruction of Eric lying beside him. They both enjoyed this three-way scene so much that they repeated it in every port where their ship called, always together going with the same woman. This went on for months, until one day their ship came to a port where dark-skinned native boys dived for coins which the seamen threw overboard. Henry watched this in amusement for a while, then went to his cabin and got a big shock. Entering, he found Eric engaged in intercourse with a naked black boy. The

faces of both were distorted with passion. The sight seemed so disgusting and loathsome to Henry that he ran to the lavatory and vomited. For days he was unable to say a single word to Eric; whenever he was around Eric he was taken by nausea. Very gradually Eric succeeded in re-establishing a kind of communication. At first Henry only railed at him. A week passed before he was able to listen to Eric's explanation, which was that a *real* seaman is open to any kind of pleasure and ought to try everything. With these boys it was a question of refined salacity, giving the most exquisite pleasure. Henry's curiosity was excited at last. Eric's opinion was confirmed by others too, and when, a month later, they came back to the same port, he decided to try his luck—and was rewarded by a superlative orgasm. In the years that followed he never passed up a chance to have sex with native boys. (Similar to case 44 in Stekel 1921, 277)

These two stories show how little aware many males are of their own impulses and potentials. Some activity which is strongly rejected as loathsome and disgusting may beneath it all belong comfortably in one's own natural field of action. There can be little doubt that people would be healthier and more honest if they didn't repress their potentialities and acknowledged clearly their position on the sliding scale between the heterosexual and homosexual poles. A society which opposes and condemns homosexuality renders this, of course, much more difficult. Thus the cultural rejection of homosexuality is unhealthy and immoral; it gives rise to dishonesty, distortion and hypocrisy.

Kinsey discovered the relative scale between the poles of homosexuality and heterosexuality while examining the sexual *outlets* of his respondents. The psychological background of these activities were for the most part left out of consideration. His research didn't go into tendencies or attitudes; it limited itself to acts concluding with orgasm. Considering the fact that the North American society in which Kinsey performed his investigation imposes an extremely heavy taboo on homosexuality, we must assume that the percentage of homophilia (or the sexual *preference* for individuals of the same sex) must be substantially higher than the percentage of homosexuality (or same sex *activity).*

This is all the more likely since this taboo is maintained with such emotional violence. The American psychiatrist Wainwright Churchill (1967, 163-164) attributes the emotional coldness of so many of his fellow-countrymen ("hard boiled businessmen") to the horrible custom which forbids a father to show any tenderness toward his adolescent son. He's not even supposed to touch him, or he'll be suspected of having homophile tendencies. No inclination is ever rejected with so much emotion if it isn't one which requires much effort to suppress. Adorno rightly stressed the truth that taboos grow in strength in proportion to the subject's own unconscious desire

to do what is forbidden. The greater the homophilia in a man the stronger must he fight it, deny it to himself in order to conform to the social obligation to be "normal", thus the more emotional he will be in rejecting homophilia (Sengers 1969, 172). The same could be true about societies as a whole. If so, it is significant that the anxiety over homosexual behaviour in Western civilisation "is a unique culture trait which cannot be found in the rest of the world" (Trumbach, quoted by Sprague 1984, 35).

Professor Verveen (University of Leiden) carried out a research project among his students on the relative strength of their erotic responses toward members of their own and the opposite sex, and from the results it appeared that the preponderance of heterophilia over homophilia in his average subject was surprisingly small. Of course, this group was hardly representative of the Dutch population as a whole, but perhaps in this instance that was an advantage, for, as many investigations have shown, people with academic backgrounds generally view sexual phenomena which deviate from traditional norms in a more liberal and open-minded manner (Kinsey 1948; Meilof-Oonk 1969; Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979; etc.) Moreover, the answers of these subjects could not have been given without deep introspection. Verveen concluded that human sexual appetite is directed upon *humans,* with a slight preference for humans of the opposite sex (1980, 318, 321). It is well to recall Goethe's *Venetian epigrams:*

I love boys, but I prefer girls. If I have my fill of a girl I can turn her around and use her like a boy. (No. 31)

Regrettably, not everyone has such clear understanding of his own sexual nature as Goethe did, or is so willing to reveal it. Nevertheless in a French investigation no less than 53% of the subjects claimed they believed every person may be attracted by both sexes, while 21% had doubts about this point and only 26% asserted that an individual was attracted either to men or to women (Baudry 1982, 233).

As we have seen, most individuals fight the homosexual component and repress or suppress it (Van der Zijl 1976, 340). Today many sexologists accept the premise that nearly everyone has a disposition toward *bisexuality* (MacDonald 1981, 23; Churchill 1967, 271-272; Nasledníkov 1981, 141), and Freud long ago pointed out that heterosexuality is no more self-evident as a phenomenon than homosexuality (1920, 22). Bisexuality might well be the original condition of the human race.

There are, however, only a few men who lead a really bisexual existence, such as the Roman Emperor Commodus who is said to have had a harem of 300 girls and 300 boys (Armand 1931, 116; Borneman 1978, 304-305). An 18-year-old English youth told me, "I'm crazy about girls and mad about

boys," and, indeed, he was most actively involved with both sexes. Falk, a sexologist who worked for 12 years in Africa, found this condition prevailed among the young blacks he studied: 90% of them had intercourse with both sexes and enjoyed each equally (Italiaander 1969, 111). "Normal" men often envy such bisexuals, for their hunting grounds are more extended. The "normal" man's jealousy often expresses itself in deriding those who run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. They forget, however, that everyone has his sexual limitations: although to the bisexual the sex of the partner may make little difference, he will be conscious of other restrictions instead. (Duvert 1980, 107)

The striking bisexuality which Verveen uncovered among his students may astonish people who grew up in the Judeo-Christian culture. Yet in every culture which has a positive view of sexuality, men are accustomed to have intercourse with women as well as with members of their own sex: exclusive heterosexuality is as rare as exclusive homosexuality, and if we were more tolerant we would probably find the same was true in our own society (West 1977, 136, 163). We only have to go back to the records left by the ancient Greeks and Romans to be transported to a world where sexual differentiation had only a minor importance in the erotic practices of men. In discussions of the pleasures they found in young bodies, and in poetry on the same subject, boys and girls tend to be mentioned in the same breath, though often, as in Horace, with an evident preference for boys (Brusendorf 1963, 68).

Processions by the cult of Dionysos carried through the streets an enormous wooden phallus and sang the words, "Phallus, thou, companion of Bacchus, thou rake, hunting housewives and boys in the night...!" (Stoll 1908, 657) When a besieged city fell into the hands of a victorious army, according to historians of the time, all the women *and boys* were raped. For example, when the citizens of Kroton in southern Italy conquered Sibaris, both the girls and the boys were all exhibited stark naked so that each soldier could make his choice. (Peyrefitte 1977, 345, 56)

On the departure of his friend Flaccus to Cyprus, the Roman poet Martialis hoped that he would "find there a handsome boy just for him alone," and that he would "excite the lust of an entirely chaste girl." (XI 91) Horace exhorts an acquaintance: "When salacity makes your penis swell, why risk an explosion if you have a slave girl or boy at hand on whom to spend your raging desire?" (I-2, 116-118) Solon, Athens' great legislator, declared that a poor man was luckier than many a rich one if only he is in good health and has "from time to time the chance to enjoy the youthful beauty of a boy or a woman." (Buffière 1980, 243) In Rome rich people could keep harems of young slaves of both sexes with whom to amuse themselves. Martialis (XII, 87) waspishly comments upon such a sexual Croesus: "How pitiful, to be the owner of thirty girls and thirty boys and have only one cock "which, more-

over, refuses to stand up!" The less well-to-do had to make use of brothels; there the visitor could peep into cubicles "where a boy or a girl smiles upon you." (XI, 45)

Now, man is certainly a taboo-making animal, and so the Greeks also had their sexual taboos (i.e. irrational interdictions), but they were quite different from ours. With us the taboo weighs heavily upon homosexuality, while with them the sex of the partner with whom a man satisfied his sexual needs was of little concern. Instead they attached the greatest importance to the status of the participants: was he free-born citizen or slave? The free-born citizen was allowed to have sex with a male or female slave. The slave, on the contrary, was severely punished or even put to death if he had his pleasure with a free-born boy. Additionally, there was another taboo which was no less important: once a free-born boy had passed his eighteenth year and thus attained adulthood, he was totally dishonoured if he took the youthful, or passive, role in oral or anal intercourse (Buffière 1980, 204, 605-611, 621; Dover 1978, 48, 60).

But this taboo did not apply to younger boys. From some indeterminate time before puberty until the onset of late adolescence, let us say from 12 to 17 years of age, a boy was allowed to let himself be penetrated by a man. This could even bring him honour and enhance his reputation. On the island of Crete boys who had had intercourse with a man wore specially coloured clothing and had honoured seats in a special section of the theatre.

In the *Anthologia Graeca* collection of ancient Greek verse, many poems deal with the age at which boys were thought most fit to be the sexual partners of men. Straton (XII, 4) wrote:

When a boy is twelve he gives me pleasure
And when he's thirteen he'll attract me more.
At fourteen he's the sweetest blossom of love,
And when he turns fifteen the lust with him is keener yet.
Boys of sixteen are for the gods, and I wouldn't touch
A boy of seventeen because he's only fit for Zeus.
If you're looking for older boys the game is off
Because it's obvious you want him to do the same to you.

Another epigram (XII, 228) by the same poet fixes the limits more precisely:

If a budding boy sins through inexperience
This casts shame upon the friend who seduced him.
If a boy past the proper age suffers a man to love him,
His willingness magnifies the shame two-fold.

II. ADULT LOVERS

But Moiris, my boy, there's a stage when it's no more and not yet shameful
And that's where we are now, you and I.

In summary, to be the active partner, be it with men, be it with boys, was perfectly normal to the Greeks. Their bisexuality showed a pronounced preference for boys over girls. To be the passive partner was permissible in pubertal and adolescent boys but thought shameful in adult men. Free-born people could satisfy their desires with slaves at will; slaves were not allowed to be the active partner with a free citizen.

This Greek view is far from being exceptional in human society; it recurs later in Islamic culture. The Arab poet Abu Zayd says of his own penis (Burton 1885, VIII 348),

Dealing to fair young girl delicious joy,
And no less welcome to the blooming boy.

In Arab literature we find the same sentiments about sex with older boys being improper. Abu Nuwas relates how a boy, after discovering down on his cheeks, refuses to be kissed: "Master, I've become a man, and now I find it objectionable to do it with a man. What happened during youth is over. Don't keep on pestering me." (Wagner 1965, 186)

It can now be stated quite generally that homosexuality is universal in the human race. Earlier explorers and anthropologists wrote that this tribe or that primitive people was totally free of any trace of homosexuality. Later investigators have revealed, however, than in all such cases the earlier writers had been mistaken; their enquiries were too superficial (Herdt 1981, XV 11). Where there are men there is homosexuality.

We went into some detail about the Greek sexual taboo system in order to contrast it with that of our contemporary Western culture and in so doing show that all such systems are relative and of transient importance. They are invented in their entirety by man and change with the times. Their origins may be understandable to a greater or lesser extent or they may remain shrouded in mystery. But once a taboo establishes itself somewhere people become subject to its interdictions. It becomes an idol demanding human sacrificial victims. To venerate it human life and human happiness are destroyed.

One can see why the pastoral people of the Old Testament, with its ideology of blood and soil, placed such a high value upon numerous offspring: they were needed to occupy the Promised Land and exterminate its original inhabitants. Anti-conception practices like that used by Onan (withdrawing from intercourse just before ejaculation in order to shed his seed upon the floor) was thus strongly taboo. The necessity to exclude homosexuality was even more urgent, since it also served to differentiate the Chosen

People from their neighbours, who accepted and practiced homosexuality and even included it in some of their religious cults. The struggle against homosexuality was in part a struggle for tribal purity.

In no way, however, can one justify the elevation of this taboo of a pastoral people, however understandable its origins may be, to a postulate of ethics in our present-day Western society. We don't want to increase our population. We don't want to isolate ourselves in the world. That century after century people breaking this taboo were cruelly tortured and sentenced to be burnt alive *was* unethical. And it *is* simple immorality that modern society, despite decades of more liberal laws, is still, every year, condemning hundreds and hundreds of innocent men to death by suicide as the direct effect of its discrimination and naked loathing.

B) THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTNER'S AGE

We have already seen that for the ancient Greeks the sex of the partner was of minor significance, even if there was a preference for boys: they loved boys *and* girls, the youngness in and of both sexes. The age of the partners was more important than their gender.

Now if it is true that the sexual appetite of most people is directed rather more to one sex than the other, it is also true that there will be a preference for a certain age or age range. One of my correspondents wrote in a letter that he could love every human male between zero and sixty years, but he would certainly be an exception.

Charting attraction by age would be a much more complicated proposition than placing a person on the scale of human affectionate response we previously proposed between pure heterophilia and pure homophilia. This is because of the diversity of age groups. Moreover, where a real love relationship has been established, a sexual partner may keep his appeal for his lover long after he has grown out of the preferred age group. Limits, therefore, tend to be blurred.

There are people who prefer greybeards while to others a man in the prime of life is the most beautiful. Others find their ideal in adolescence, in puberty, in pre-puberty and finally there is a group of men who are particularly excited by very little children.

Science has looked for explanations of this, just as it has for homophilia and heterophilia. It has been proposed that the gerontophile in his love for greybeards is searching for a father-figure, the lover of children for his lost youth, wanting to offer to the small child the tenderness he himself found lacking in his parents. Some scientists are convinced that one is a homophile or a child-lover from birth. Others assume the inclination is acquired later in life, even if this can only happen in a person who is innately so disposed. All in

all we know no more about the origins of a man's heterophilia than about his homophilia—or whatever other "-philia" society may tell him he has.

This battle of the theorists, however, has little importance in the daily lives of the individuals involved, for even if such inclinations are acquired rather than innate, this acquisition has already occurred by the end of the first years of his life by some process which has yet to be convincingly explained. By the time a child is five or six years old his sexual inclinations are fixed so firmly as to be almost impossible to dislodge (Churchill 1967, 214; Klimmer 1968, 93; Van der Kwast 1968, 118; Sengers 1967, 144; Wolfenden 1957, Section 68; Wyss 1967, 44-45). In puberty or even before puberty the individual becomes conscious of being sexual and by then his inclinations are simply fact, linked so closely to his whole sense of being that they appear completely natural, in the sense that he always had them. Neither social acceptance nor rejection can alter his sexual preferences, although environmental attitudes toward it may have the greatest importance in determining his peace of mind or his worry, his happiness or misery. A moral system which wishes to contribute to human happiness should take this into consideration; it must insist on sexual tolerance. This isn't just a question of morals, moreover; it is a question of justice, for the direction of a person's sexual inclination is not consciously and freely chosen; nobody can be held responsible for his own sexual nature.

Inclinations found only in a minority of people are often labelled "unnatural", "abnormal", "perverse" or "deviant". There is little sense in this. Feeling attracted to boys, for instance, is no more unnatural than feeling attracted to persons with red hair (Righton 1981, 36-37). People having these less common inclinations are often supposed to experience an overwhelmingly greater pleasure in satisfying them than "normal" people do. If this were the case we could point to the popular castigation as being rooted in envy, but it isn't the case at all. The homophile having sex with a man or the boy-lover embracing his young friend experiences on average no more and no less pleasure than the heterophile having intercourse with a woman (Allen, quoted by Pieterse 1978, 66).

There has been a lot of research on homophilia. Unfortunately the subject of sexual preference for certain age groups has received much less attention. Probably some kind of scale like the one we proposed between homophilia and heterophilia could be used to analyse the sexual age preferences of a given population. Most likely it would reveal a cluster in the childhood and adolescent years. For most men and women characteristically think children beautiful, attractive and loveable; children arouse tender feeling in them. Clearly these feelings are of the utmost importance for the preservation of the human race. No living creature is more helpless than the human baby, and so in need of love; no creature is, for its physical well-being, dependant to

such a degree on nursing and care; no creature is for its psychological development so completely committed to living in a community with adults. If, in response to these needs, there exists in adults an inclination to love children, this is enormously valuable.

Let us do as we did with the scale between heterophilia and homophilia: make one end a 100% preference for children and the other complete indifference to children (this end could also be attraction to elderly people, or gerontophilia). Every woman and every man, then, could place himself somewhere on the scale between. Every human being is to a greater or lesser degree paedophile (the psychiatrist Maas, quoted by Rogier 1973, 36). We will return to this theme in Chapter Four.

But this idea, despite the truth in it, meets with the most violent opposition. Many people will raise the objection that it mistakenly equates the sexual, the erotic with the bestowing of loving care upon a child in the process of bringing him up. For to admit to oneself the erotic element of *this* human activity is in our culture enormously more difficult than in the case of homophilia. And the reason is that Western society has been deceitfully indoctrinated during the last two centuries in the concept of children as "innocent" and "pure"—i.e. asexual creatures. Creatures, therefore, who should be carefully guarded against any contact with sexuality. Within the ethics of sex-only-for-procreation it is immoral enough for a man to approach a fellow male with sexual intentions; it is much, much worse if he does so with a child.

Conscience is to a large extent ruled by the idea that anything which shouldn't be simply isn't. In order for him to accept consciously that his attraction to children has also its erotic and sexual aspects, modern man has to overcome a taboo which weighs upon him like lead—and most men are unable to do this. In the real world, however, the erotic and sexual elements are legion, in the child as well as in the adult.

We will have more to say about the child in the next chapter. Let us for the moment only stress the pronounced pleasure skin contact causes in the child from the moment of his birth on, and his delight in tenderness, in being fondled, his desire to crawl into the bed of his parents and other adults, to be naked against a naked body; later his joy in romping ("horsing around"), touching other bodies. That a boy involved in such activities often gets an erection proves how strong the sensual element in him is.

It is a well known fact that young mothers experience lust feelings while suckling their child. This can be so strong as to bring on a complete genital orgasm. And for the adult, the fondling, kissing, touching, "rough housing" with the child will have an undercurrent of lust. It is not unusual for a man taking a child on his knee to "ride the horsie" to find himself getting an erection (Stekel 1922, 312).

II. ADULT LOVERS

And this is a good thing. Once, as a defence lawyer, I was in court defending a youth leader who had been in charge of a group of 12- to 15-year-old neglected boys in a youth home. After he had been there for six months he finally gave in to the desires of three of the boys for some intimate tenderness; when he came into their bedroom to say goodnight he stroked their naked bodies and in so doing casually touched their penises. He made no secret of this, even discussed it with his colleagues, so that the powers that be were quite aware of what he was doing. At first they raised no objections. Later, however, a disagreement with the management arose over completely different matters and he was dismissed. This caused a revolution among his boys. "At last we got a good leader and now they sack him!" they complained. The management needed more ammunition to support their dismissal, so they lodged a complaint for "indecent conduct" with the police. I told the judge that these boys had been starved of affection, had not received much physical tenderness in their upbringing, that my client's behaviour, thus, had been quite commendable.

"But," the judge interrupted me at this point, "in doing so the accused experienced sensations of lust!"

Now, to men of the law, lust feelings can only be viewed with horror, for they taint with indecency any activity in which they occur. The physician who touches a naked body during examination is not supposed to experience arousal—and as long as he doesn't he remains outside the purlieu of the law. But every man who enjoys touching a naked body other than that of his lawfully wedded wife is acting indecently. The judge thus supposed that I, as defence council, would vigorously deny the imputed lust feelings of my client and object that there was no proof whatever of this. Instead I replied, "Yes... and thank heavens he did!"

Evidently amazed, the Judge asked, "What do you mean?"

I then explained that a child is gifted with a marvellous sense of intuition. If he gets the impression that a grown-up in charge of him feels dutifully obliged to stroke his hair, kiss him, cuddle him simply because the books say he should, he will hate this and interpret it as a kind of insult. What makes a caress a caress, tenderness tenderness, is precisely this intuitional certainty about the pleasure which he who caresses experiences in giving the caress, the joy he feels in this intimacy.

Sigmund Freud brought a storm down upon his head by speaking plainly about the sexual content of the relationship between the child and the adults who care for him. But the sexual feelings are real, on both sides. The communication between the child and all persons who care for him is an infinite source of sexual excitement for him, extending into all the erogenous zones of his body. And all the physical expressions of love which adults offer to the child are borrowed from their own sexual lives where they are used to

excite the sexual appetite of their partners (Freud 1920, 92). Man simply knows no other way.

The French philosopher Schérer (1979, 176) goes so far as to suggest that one reason there is such heat and fanaticism in the battle to preserve the "nuclear family" is that nowadays this is the only institution which offers socially acceptable opportunity for adults and children to have affectionate, directly sensual relationships with one other.

It is unfortunate when the sexual element in these relationships is not conscious and consciously accepted, for the fear of recognizing it leads to behaviour on the adult's part which may seriously traumatise the child. If parents avoid touching the genitals of their offspring, are embarrassed by any mention of these organs, the child can only conclude that this part of his body is ugly and dirty—and certainly can have no connection with love and tenderness. And so a fundamental attitude is acquired which will dominate the child's thinking forever more: love is essentially separate from sexuality. This can have fatal consequences. If the child seeks in the companionship of persons outside of his family the love and tenderness they have withheld, and if he finds it, he is fortunate indeed. But for many this escape route is hopelessly cut off (Möller 1983, 96).

ATTRACTION TO CHILDREN

A Common Phenomenon

As early as 60 years ago psychoanalyst Wilhelm Stekel (1922, 311, 320) wrote of the sexual attraction to children, "My experience has taught me that this is very nearly a normal component of the sexual impulse. Almost everybody will, at one time or another, discover himself thinking such thoughts, rejecting and condemning them, however, with all the emotion of moral indignation. Many people of high moral and cultural standards have confessed to me that such sinful thoughts have been inspired in them by children.... We hardly realise how constantly present paedophilia is in men and women."

Sixty years later the well known German sexologist Professor Sigusch found it much less difficult to deal with these "sinful thoughts". According to him adults have problems if they *don't* desire tenderly sexual relations with a child (quoted by Bendig.1980, 9). In France, Gabriel Matzneff (1977, 80) calls the absence of child-love "a bad symptom" and in England Rosemary Gordon (1978, 44), a psychoanalyst follower of Jung, wrote in 1976, "Paedophilia, the love and sensuous experience of child and youth, is a normal and universal phenomenon." "When these factors are considered it is clear that the sexual preferences of the paedophile are not so far removed from those of the normal man as they might at first appear." (Wilson & Cox 1983, 126)

II. ADULT LOVERS

It is now technically possible to make laboratory tests of what images excite a man sexually. The penis of the subject is introduced into an apparatus which measures the degree of its swelling and records it with an instrument called a plethysmograph. The Clark Institute of Psychiatry in Canada wished to so examine "paedophiles" in order to distinguish their responses from "normal" males. Pictures of naked children were shown to laboratory subjects of both groups. The outcome was surprising: the so-called "normals" reacted with a penile swelling equal to that of the paedophiles! It appeared that one simply could not establish in this way any difference between them and men who had had sexual contacts with children. (CAPM 1980, 38)

English investigators, using this method at Broadmoor Hospital and Wormwood Scrubs Prison, were equally puzzled by the "overlap between normals and detected paedophile offenders" (West 1980, 220).

The French psychiatrist Françoise Dolto claimed that many fathers and mothers act like paedophiles toward their children. In one investigation into parent/ child relations a mother said of her son, "As for his body and physical contact with his father, they like to romp like lunatics with each other, stark naked. They give each other massages and do all kinds of things together. There is a lot of sensuality between father and son." (Schérer 1979, 176)

In this field, all distinctions and categories must be relative. But even keeping this in mind, we must not lose sight of the fact that there are those men and women for whom eroticism with children has a very special significance or importance. There are many intermediate positions between being poor and rich but this doesn't keep us from designating a certain group of people as wealthy. Thus we can define as child-lovers (paedophiles) those people in whom the (universal) attraction to children is more pronounced than in the majority of their fellow beings: it is so clearly pronounced, in fact, that it takes on the greatest importance, dominates, colours and gives direction to the sexual side of their lives (de Groot 1981, 4; Nationaal Centrum 1976; Rouweller-Wutz 1976, 5). Jacques de Brethmas (1979, 64) defines himself as one of these in declaring, "If someone would speak about me without mentioning my boy-love he wouldn't give a complete picture; it would remain the picture of someone else. To a very large degree, all my emotions, feelings, all my preoccupations, my whole life is directed to, consecrated to, staked out on what lies closest to my heart: boys."

It was in psychoanalytic literature that the proposal was made to define such people as those who "require the co-operation of a child-partner of the same or opposite sex in order to achieve sexual gratification." (O'Carroll 1980, 60) To them the child is the human being at its most attractive and beautiful. The presence of children excites them and makes them happy. They are always looking for the chance to be in the company of children. The choice of hobbies and professions is often guided by such sexual tendencies (teacher,

youth leader, pediatrician). Their erotic dreams and masturbation fantasies are filled with naked children.

Other distinguishing characteristics seem to be lacking. No external features separate the child-lover from people in whom this inclination remains in the background. Only one person can make a sure diagnosis, and that is the person himself. For only he knows what he feels, what he dreams of, what he fantasises. No one else can tell.

We must strongly stress that the actual sexual activities of an individual give only a poor indication, never proof, of his sexual tendencies. There are non-paedophiles who have intercourse with children. This is easy to understand, since there is a certain percentage of paedophilia in every human being. On the other hand there are paedophiles who never dare to touch a child. Neither the sexual activities with a child nor their absence is decisive proof, or counter-proof, of paedophilia.

Schofield (1965) and other investigators following him have offered convincing proof that the homophile individual is distinct from other human beings only in his preference for partners of the same sex and in no other respect. In my experience the same applies to child-lovers. In them, as in homophiles, a tendency common to human nature is more pronounced than in the average human. That is all. If it seems that we find in both of these groups a somewhat higher percentage of strange personalities, this might be more due to the stress placed upon them by a society which persecutes, punishes, insults, ostracises and despises them than to some innate character defect.

The Different Forms of Child-Love

Adults especially attracted to children can be either male or female; their appetites can be directed chiefly along homosexual or heterosexual lines. Thus there are four possibilities. Three of these we will deal with now, briefly, to confine ourselves for the rest of this work to the fourth.

MAN/GIRL

Since the enormous success of Nabokov's famous novel *Lolita,* this kind of relationship has received a great deal of attention and open discussion. Of males sentenced for sexual acts with children, the number who have had contacts with girls is always considerably higher than those who have had relations with boys (Wegner, 53; Janus 1981, 222; Linedecker 1981, 191; Baurmann 1983, 137, 217, 491; Hearings 1977, 358). A Swiss investigation, for example, reveals that 52% of the accused had had relations with girls, 21.8% with boys, 5% with both girls and boys, while 20% had committed incest,

mostly fathers with their daughters. (Wyss 1967, 11) In general, Baurmann (1983, 137) states, "the victims in criminal cases are 70-90% girls and 10-30% boys". It shouldn't be forgotten, however, that criminal statistics never present a true picture of sexual activity endemic in society. Parents are certainly more prone to inform the police in cases of sex contacts with young girls than with young boys, and this introduces a bias into the statistics. Moreover it appears that boys on the whole respond more positively to sexual approaches by adults than do girls and are therefore less inclined to tell their parents about them (Finkelhor 1979, 70). Research among students about their childhood experiences hardly give the impression that girls are much more exposed than boys to sexual approaches by adults (Kirchhoff 1980, 285-286). Sexual violence against little girls is not so much committed by child-lovers as by "normal" heterophiles having recourse to the child as substitute for the woman they really desire (O'Carroll 1980, 59).

Recently a German author living in Holland, H. S. Scheller, has dealt with this subject in a series of "paedophile" writings.

It is not unusual for the initiative to originate with the child. Stekel (1922, 323) cites the case of a nine-year-old girl seducing a man in the most sophisticated manner. In the archives of the Brongersma Foundation there is one tape recording made by a man during intimate play between himself and a twelve-year-old, and a second, recorded later, with an eight-year-old girl-friend. It is evident that the children enjoy this play very much; one can hear how they insist on more advanced sexual activities and implore the man to insert his penis, which he refuses to do. Of course, in smaller girls insertion is often impossible (Janus 1981, 276 gives an example).

According to O'Carroll, many thirteen- and fourteen-year-old American girls have complete sexual intercourse with men and like it (1980, 124, 126). A fourteen-year-old French girl wrote in her diary in 1978, after having slept with a 47-year-old man, "This was the most marvellous day of my life, the most beautiful Christmas gift. Everything I did was deliberate, and everything that happened was at my initiative." Unfortunately the girl's parents, after reading these pages, succeeded in having the man who gave their daughter this wonderful experience sent to prison. The feelings of the child were of no importance (Schérer 1979, 269).

In another period and in some other cultures this would hardly have created a sensation. According to tradition, one of the Prophet Mohammed's wives was no more than six years old at the time of their first intercourse (Simons 1977, 171). The English social reformer John Ruskin loved a girl of ten (CAPM 1980, 37) and the German poet Novalis had sex with one of twelve (Leonhardt 1969). Theodor Storm and Dostoyevski were also enamoured of twelve-year-olds (Matzneff 1977, 16-17). "Thomas Jefferson once wrote to George Washington that two fourteen-year-old girls would be available for

sexual relations if he came to visit." (Janus 1981, 18) Charlie Chaplin married Lita Corey on her 16th birthday, but he had been courting her ever since she was seven *(Canard Enchaîné* 28.10.81).

It is also true that it is in this kind of relations that the worse of what can be done sexually by an adult to a child occurs most frequently: violence, rape and, more traumatizing still, abuse of authority to compel the girl to tolerate sex activities which she abhors. The *Pall Mall Gazette* revealed in 1885 that in London the deflowering of ten-year-old girls had become a popular and frequent sport. As it proved impossible to satisfy professionally the increasing demand for "fresh girls", women specialists were employed to sew up the maidenheads of the unhappy creatures after they had been used (Stoll 1908, 555; Dühren 1912). It is typical that such a disgusting excess would have happened in the prudish Victorian Age, permeated as it was with negative feelings about sex.

WOMAN/GIRL

The first studies of homosexuality only dealt with men. It was a long time before lesbian women began to break through this conspiracy of silence and speak openly about their loves and their sexual pleasures. Queen Victoria is reported to have been convinced that women were incapable of wanting and doing such horrible things and this is the reason why English penal law still makes no mention of female homosexuality. The same mentality is shown by the contemporary German feminist leader Alice Schwarzer (1980), who doubts on principle that women can really be paedophiles "because sexuality in women is not an exercise of domination".

It is quite crude, of course, to place paedophilia willy-nilly on par with "exercise of domination". Ada Schillemans, a Dutch woman psychologist, flatly contradicts her, and even goes so far as to say, "Women not paedophiles? In the true sense of the word, I think nearly all of them are." Ms. Schwarzer's contention that literature, with the exception of court cases involving "sodomy" (Everard 1983), doesn't mention lesbian love-relationships with young girls comes closer to the truth. But until recently literature was just as silent about all forms of lesbian love even though this has always been a very common phenomenon (Borneman 1978, 1149).

There is only one exception: Plutarch mentions that in Sparta not only men loved boys, but "beautiful and noble women" likewise loved girls (1921, I 142). In March 1984 the Belgian paedophile monthly *L'Espoir* published seven reports written by women. A Dutch publisher announced a book by a sixteen-year-old girl who was in love with girls between six and ten years of age (Vandenbosch 1984).

Recently—at last—descriptions of love between an adult woman and a

young girl have begun to be published. Beth Kelly's moving story *Speaking Out on Woman/Girl Love, or Lesbians Do "Do It"* was published in 1979 and told about her relationship as an eight-year-old girl with her great-aunt. Another woman, Sky, starts her story with: "Although my best friend called me a 'lesbian' at age 9 when I tried to sit very close to her, I didn't consider myself a lesbian until I was 11." At that time she met some lesbian friends of her mother (CAPM 1980, 28-30). Leïla Sebbar (1980, 292) mentions a similar case, and Dagmar Döring (1980) tells about "so much love, tenderness, exuberance and savageness" in a "long- lasting, also sexually rather intense relationship with a girl". Other examples are given by Kraemer (1976, 30-35). Pieterse (1982, II 104); Möller (1983, 95) and O'Carroll (1980, 88-90), and Borneman (1978, 1149) describes paedophile lesbian prostitution.

It has been suggested that attraction to children of the same sex is less common in women than in men (West 1977, 212). Kinsey (1953, 486) is of this opinion and Bell & Weinberg 1978, 94) found that almost none of their adult female respondants had a partner under 16 years of age. Perhaps this is because the physical differences between a girl and an adult woman are much less pronounced than those between a boy and a man (Sebbar 1980, 65). The boy-lover feels himself attracted by characteristics of the young body which are absent in the adult male. But it is the exceptional woman who is particularly attracted by those characteristics which make a girl different from an adult female.

This kind of love has been magnificently celebrated by the French author Pierre Louys in his *Chanson de Bilitis.*

WOMAN/BOY

Two female researchers of child love, Loes Rouweler-Wutz (1976, 4) and Monica Pieterse (1978, 24), could find no reason to believe female was more rare than male paedophilia. It should be stressed, however, that the female form has much wider social acceptance (Plummer 1981, 228; Janus 1981, 263; Gordon 1976, 43). The traditional role of women as caring for children with a great deal of physical tenderness offers her greater freedom (Califia 1980, 20; Howells 1981, 62; Righton 1981, 34). A woman cuddling and kissing a little boy in public is thought of as a dear soul; a man doing the same thing is likely to be looked upon as a child molester. It is generally believed that women's sexuality is not as genitally focused as is men's. Therefore far fewer women than men are brought to court accused of "indecent assault" upon children. Only about one in every 200 such court proceedings are brought against women (Walters 1975, 118).

Recently an English judge even went so far as to say in his decision that for a woman to have sexual intercourse with a boy between 12 and 15 was

perfectly legal and normal (O'Carroll 1980, 92). According to an investigation among students in Michigan, 18% had been introduced by older women to sexual intercourse before the age of 15 (Kirchhoff 1979, 284), and in Sweden 31% of the boys have their first intercourse in this way (Zetterberg 1969, 31). Havelock Ellis (1913, III 221) refers to the special attraction the "innocence of the young boy" has for many women (see also Borneman 1978, 734), Schofield, however, found the incidence much lower in England, only 2% of the boys he studied having had an adult woman as partner on the occasion of their first intercourse. He said, "The proselytizing older woman in search of virgin boys is either a myth, or very unsuccessful" (Schofield 1965, 61). In The Netherlands P. Vennix found that among boys who had had sex with adults, 25% had had it with women (KRI 1984, 23).

For the most part the bigger, more mature boy is, of course, a very willing "victim" in seduction (Walters 1975, 127). The official Dutch Speijer Report made the point that he is often waiting to be seduced. "Seduction" therefore is the wrong term; what happens is an initiation, an introduction into the use of the genitals (1970, Sect. 7.1 & 7.3.6).

Initiation by an experienced woman may be a big help for a boy as he progresses toward adult sex life. The Danish author Carl Erik Soya describes in detail the practical lesson a married woman gives to Jacob, the handsome hero of his novel *Sytten* (Seventeen). Jacob is at loose ends; he fervently wishes to switch over from masturbation to actual intercourse but is reluctant to make this clear to his female cousin, Vibeke, whom he adores. After his initiation by the married woman he rushes to realize his dreams, first with Vibeke and then with other women. It is a modern version of the famous classical pastoral of Daphnis and Chloe (Longus). Daphnis, too, didn't know how to satisfy his desire for Chloe; a merciful woman taught him how it was done.

12 Sylvain, a French youth, had belonged to a naturist youth group ever since he had been a little boy and had camped and played sports naked with the other children. Sex play was common there, and Sylvain also had sexual contacts with his older brother Denis, who likewise was a member of the youth group. At 14 Sylvain went on a holiday trip with the leader of the group and his wife. The three of them shared a bedroom, and Sylvain had sex both with the man and the woman. At 15 he got to know a young woman who became infatuated with him as soon as she discovered what a skillful sexual partner the young sportsman was. Now every afternoon she picked him up in her car when he left school, and he quit the naturist group to spend all his spare time with his new lover (Personal communication).

It is hardly unusual for a mother to feel attracted to her son, and complete intercourse may well be less rare than public opinion supposes

(Walters 1975, 127-128). These contacts can start at an early age.

13 A 35-year-old mother told Gauthier, "When he was only 18 months old my six-year-old son was having erections as soon as he touched me. He would mount me and make the motions of intercourse; I thought this was nice and disarming."

In his justly famous movie, *Souffle au coeur* (Murmur of the Heart) Louis Malle shows an affair leading up to intercourse between a young doctor's wife and her favourite 14-year-old son Renzo; this starts him off in the direction of sexual activity with girls of his own age. For both mother and son it is a beautiful secret. Guyotat (1967, 222-228) shows a similar sensitive understanding where, in his admirable and horrifying novel *Tombeau pour 500,000 soldats* (Tomb for 500,000 Soldiers), he describes the first intercourse of young Serge: it is with his youthful stepmother. She enjoys his artlessness and inexperience. Until that moment Serge has known no other sex than masturbation and his intercourse with Emilienne makes him feel he has entered a whole new world. "You have liberated me," he says gratefully.

Most older boys have the same feelings when they are "seduced" by an older woman: she helps them overcome their shyness in approaching a girl.

14 A 15-year-old boy told me how a married woman, in whose garden he was working, invited him inside to have a cup of coffee with her. She sat in such a way that he could see far up under her skirts, and he became highly excited. She then asked him whether he liked what he saw, for the direction of his quick looks was unmistakable. He immediately said yes. "Would you like to see it all?" He nodded enthusiastically. She asked him to follow her to her bedroom, where she undressed completely and asked him to do the same thing. Then she drew him to her, took his erection and inserted it in herself. The invitation was extended several times thereafter, and the episode repeated, but gradually his interest diminished because he was now starting to have sex with girls and with them he felt more at ease than with the woman. (Personal communication)

15 "My first serious relationship was with a much older woman. She was twenty-six and I was thirteen, but she thought I was fifteen. It was in the summer in New Hampshire. She was an artist, and she really loved me. We were very serious. I loved her a great deal too. I couldn't believe anything so big could happen to me." The boy's father discovered, however, what had happened, and put an end to the summer romance. "I never, ever saw her again, never talked to her again. I still think about her once in a while." (Janus 1981, 294)

In Latin and Arab classical literature we come across discussions between women about the advantages and disadvantages of boys as sexual partners. In Burton's translation of the *Thousand Nights and a Night* a woman praises the beardless boy for his smooth skin and artlessness, but her friend protests, "How shall I spread-eagle myself under a boy, who will emit long before I go off and forestall me in limpness of penis and clitoris; and leave a man who, when he taketh breath, clippeth close and when he entereth goeth leizurely, and when he hath done, repeateth, and when he pusheth poketh hard, and as often as he withdraweth, returneth?" (Burton 1885, V 165)

Not all experienced women share that opinion, and some take to boys just because of their youthful potency. About the Roman Empress Theodora (527-565) it is said that she liked to seduce beardless youths. "Many a time she would go to a community dinner with ten youths or even more, all of exceptional bodily vigour who had made a business of fornication, and she would be with all her banquet companions the whole night long, and when they all were too exhausted to go on, she would go to their attendants, thirty perhaps in number, and pair off with each one of them." (Procopius IX, 8-15) A lady who played an important part in the French Revolution used to become sexually excited by travelling in a mail-coach. Therefore on long journeys she took along a 14-year-old boy who was able to satisfy her appetite at every halting-place (Breton 1960, XI 300). In the Eighteenth Century such relations even became a fashion; many women "preferred the adolescent boy—pretty, unthreatening—to the mature male" (Walters 1978, 209).

Ernest Ernest published an extensive collection of sexual inscriptions (graffiti) found in French public lavatories. There were some in which a woman tries to attract boys: "Big woman with enormous tits wants to meet young, inexperienced boys to initiate them." (1979, 35) A 29-year-old woman told Gauthier, "I'm crazy about very young boys who have never done it yet. I like the idea of making them familiar with my body and with their own. Rather frequently, however, it is all a sham. They hold much too stubbornly to their preconceptions of what they are supposed to do." (1976, 150)

16 Each of three brothers individually confessed to a man with whom they also had relations that he had been initiated into sexual intercourse at about the age of fourteen or fifteen by a married neighbour lady. Despite great pride in this adventure, each had carefully kept it secret from his brothers. (Personal communication)

17 Sociologists interested in what went on in a lake region near Amsterdam where water sports were popular discovered that a number of prostitutes from the red light district near the port were spending their holidays there. It seemed it was their special pleasure to initiate sexually mature but inexperienced boys into sexual intercourse. Used as they were to older, often unap-



petizing clients, these fresh, handsome, sportive boys held for them a special attraction; the "pupils'" clumsiness in their first sexual adventures was highly pleasurable to these prostitutes and appealed to their mother instinct. Perhaps in some cases there was a sadistic impulse present to destroy the "innocence" of the boys. (Personal communication) Other instances are mentioned in Sonenschein (1983).

Such an experience can be very beautiful and enriching for the woman as well as for the boy (Borneman 1978, 341). If the woman acts with tenderness and tact and does it right the boy may be grateful for the rest of his life. Such episodes stimulate the imagination and evidently give rise to fantasies which are exciting to a lot of people, as witness the abundance of American porn books passing themselves off as scientific studies of sex between women and boys—and even between mother and son. The frequent moralizing tone fails to hide the real feelings of the author.

One classic is *Les amours du Chevalier de Faublas* by Jean-Baptiste Louvet de Couvray; another, dealing with incestuous relations, is Arthur Schnitzler's *Frau Beate und ihr Sohn.*

Of course the manner and circumstances in which such an important and memorable thing happens to a boy may strongly influence his subsequent evolution and have lasting consequences (Wegner, 26-27).

18 A boy on his way home from boarding school for his Christmas holidays shared a railway compartment with a beautiful woman. They struck up a conversation, and when it grew dark and they settled down to sleep the woman started to press one of her feet against his lower stomach and genitals. Intensely excited, the boy jumped into her arms and had intercourse for the first time in his life. Pleasure and happiness swept through him like a hurricane. She kissed and caressed him tenderly. He was now madly in love with her. The next morning the train arrived at its destination. With cries of joy, the woman ran into the embrace of—her husband who, with their three children, had come to meet her. A casual smile for the boy with whom she had spent the last night of passion, and she was gone. The boy stood there, utterly shattered, convinced that no man should ever trust a woman's honesty or fidelity.

It is likewise unfortunate when a boy, overwhelmed by his sexual urgings, or on the insistence of comrades, has his first experience in a brothel (a favourite theme of many novels!) or receives practical instructions in a cold and businesslike atmosphere. It is worse still if he is subjected to violence.

19 Karl-Eduard, fourteen, was sent on an errand to a certain Mrs. T., forty-five. When they were alone she undressed completely. The boy said afterwards, "She pressed her big tits into my face with so much force that I

nearly suffocated.... Then she pushed me into her bedroom and into her husband's bed.... 'Let me go!' I repeated. 'I don't want to do this until I'm older and I'm married.' But she threw me on my back on her husband's bed, tore my trousers off me and exposed my penis. Then she bent over, took it in her mouth, bit it so hard it hurt me and I cried out. I tried to stand up again, but Mrs. T. pinned me down. Then she squatted on me so I couldn't move. She sucked on my cock until I shot my sperm, which she swallowed, smacking her lips loudly. Then she made me get up and told me I could always return if I wanted to.... But I never came back and told my parents all about it afterwards." (Stieber 1971, 16)

20 Clarence Osborne was the Australian boy-lover who documented his sex relations with some 2500 boys between the ages of 13 and 20. One of them told Osborne that he had literally been raped by a young woman. She invited him to have sex with her, but he refused because he knew she was very promiscuous and he was afraid of catching from her some kind of venereal disease. But she got two men to grab him and hold him down, and then she rubbed his penis until it stiffened, inserted it and rode upon him. "And I spurted all my seed into her belly". (1977, 12)

Of course, the initiative sometimes originates with the boy himself:

21 "My first real honest to goodness (oh so good) sexual experience was when I was a freshman in high school in Davenport, Iowa. I had a six-month-long 'affair' with a widow on my paper route. She was an 'older' woman of thirty-five and I was a youth of thirteen or fourteen. I always liked older women." (Hite 1981, 360)

22 Sutor (1964, 297) tells of a servant named Demba in a French African colony who saw that his mistress was waiting in vain for the officer she loved. "The negro boy, who was a very handsome lad, with eyes like a gazelle, and a form like an antique faun, but already a man, so far as the size of his genital apparatus was concerned, though he had not yet arrived at the age of puberty, ventured to enter the chamber where the lady was still fretting over the absence of her lover. I cannot describe here, in full and realistically, the scene in which Demba showed the lady, proofs in hand, that he was in love with her, and that he was of a size to satisfy her desires."

Where there is demand there is always supply, and therefore prostitution. Paul Léautaud writes in his diaries of boys who told him about their female clients in the Bois de Boulogne: the women gave handsome tips to be licked by them (Beurdeley 1977, 214). I heard the same tale from a Dutch sailor boy in Hamburg. And a handsome Portuguese bell-boy, who was willing and able to satisfy male as well as female clients, complained of overwork during the holiday season when he had to tend to his hotel duties all

day long and then spend the night having sex with French or English female tourists. He did, however, make a lot of money this way.

MAN/BOY

Now we come to the kind of relationship which is the real subject of this book.

It should not be equated with the others just discussed. All of human history and even the precursors of human behaviour in the animal kingdom, suggest that we are dealing here with a much more important phenomenon. In one of his conversations with Chancelor Friedrich von Müller, Goethe stressed that "Boy-love is as old as humanity, and thus we could never say that, though it is contrary to nature, it nevertheless conforms to it." (Burkhardt 1870, 138) Dr. Wainwright Churchill confirms that in the Animal Kingdom "The cross-species and cross-cultural data also reveal that homosexual contacts occur most frequently between a younger and an older male rather than between mature males of the same age. Often there is considerable disparty between the ages of partners.... Fully developed males usually regard each other as sexual rivals rather than as sexual partners. On the other hand, an encounter between a younger and an older male, especially if the younger male is not fully mature, may lead instead to sexual responsiveness on the part of both. Younger, less physically developed males of course are not as differentiated as females in either appearance or temperament, and they are usually more passive and less aggressive than older males, making sexual union easier and more successful between the two. At the human level these biological factors may be no less important, but in addition psychological factors seem to play a big part." (Churchill 1968, 85-86) The Dutch scientist A. Kortlandt filmed chimpanzees in the African jungle; he observed that older males had anal intercourse with younger males nearly as frequently as they mated with females. American researchers like Maslow and Count found a similar behaviour pattern in other species of monkeys in their natural settings, even in the presence of females (Schlegel 1967, 154-155).

In general one can affirm that homosexuality is found most frequently in the higher mammals, the brains of which are closest in development to those of human beings. Male dolphins rub their penises on the soft belly of younger males, the same thing they do when trying to arouse females into copulating with them (West 1977, 115-117).

Strato (d 270 bc) made mention of the homosexual play of young dogs; since his time homosexuality has been observed in nearly every vertebrate animal species, among fishes even, and in the mammals from bats to dolphins, from the elephant to the horse, and especially—as we have already observed—in monkeys. Most commonly the young animal tries to establish a

non-aggressive relationship with the older one by presenting himself in the attitude the female adopts for coupling. The older animal then mounts the younger and makes the motions of intercourse (Borneman 1978, 584; Buffière 1980, 433, 518-520; Celli 1972, passim; Ford & Beach 1968, 144-146, 149, 276; Gide 1925, 72-75; Morris 1976, 84; Schérer 1974, 189). The stock breeder who wants to have sperm from a bull can excite him, make him mount and ejaculate on a bull calf (West 1980, 117).

The young animal is recompensed with protection, caresses and often with food. Here is the prototype behaviour of what we also observe in humans. Every claim that boy-love is not in harmony with nature is undermined by what actually takes place in nature itself.

Ancient Greek mythology contains a great deal of keen psychological truth. It is striking how many stories deal with gods enamoured of beautiful boys and having sex with them—while there's not a single instance of a goddess loving a girl (Peyrefitte 1977, 53, 62). Everywhere and at all times on earth there has existed a special bond between men and boys, and like ever other deep human relationship it strives for physical expression.

Man/Boy Relationships

BOY-LOVE AND PSEUDO BOY-LOVE

Now it must be stressed that not every sexual activity which takes place between a man and a boy can be placed in the category which we recognize as boy-love. Neglecting this was one of the fatal mistakes scientists have made until very recently in dealing with this phenomenon—a mistake which distorted and made worthless nearly everything they wrote.

We have already seen that affection for members of his own sex, as well as attraction toward youthful individuals, is present in each human male to a greater or a lesser degree. This makes it possible for every man to have sex with a handsome boy. Any "normal" man may suddenly find himself sexually excited by the sight of a boy (Geiser 1979, 93-94). This is supported by evidence that there were periods in the past, and certain cultures in the present, where it was or is considered normal, or even a duty, for men to have sexual relations with a boy. Later we will see examples of this, but for the present it is enough to observe that the naked body of a beautiful boy radiates a kind of exciting sexiness perceptible by every normal man.

23 One of my correspondents worked for a large company in Amsterdam. He was sentenced to two months of imprisonment for sex with a boy. But he was an excellent worker and his boss wanted him back. A canvass was taken in the section where he had been employed and, as he had been a very pleasant

colleague, the general feeling was that he would be welcome again. Gradually, after he returned to the office, his fellow workers grew accustomed to the idea that this man 'did it' with boys, and they even started to crack jokes about it completely void of venom. He began to speak openly of a nice 15-year-old who was his dear friend. The day came for the annual office excursion; every man was to bring his wife or girl, and his colleagues said to him, "Why not bring your friend?" The boy agreed and came to the gathering. He was handsome, friendly, nice, lively and an enthusiastic football player; everyone liked him at the party. The next day an older colleague approached my correspondent and said, "Something extraordinary happened to me yesterday. As you know, I'm married and the father of two adult daughters. I have never felt the least attraction from other directions, but as I observed your young friend during our excursion I was suddenly seized by the thought, 'How nice it must be to have such a person in bed with you and to do it with him!'" (Personal communication)

During the first phase of research into homosexuality, every sexual act with a partner of the same sex was considered syptomatic of homophilia. Soon it was found, however, that some homosexual acts were carried out *faute de mieux,* in substitution for preferred, but for some reason unavailable, heterosexual opportunities, that there existed a kind of pseudo-homosexuality. Males considered "normal", that is with an overwhelming preference for women or girls, resorted to sexual activities with male companion in the absence of the more desirable female partners (as in jails, prison-of-war camps, labour colonies, during exploring expeditions, on shipboard). In prisons half of the inmates have homosexual contacts (Pacharzina 1979, 151). In the great majority of males the sexual appetite is so imperative that it demands some kind of satisfaction, and if the preferred object is absent it is compelled to make do with a less desirable one. In labour camps Chinese coolies divided themselves into two groups, active and passive; those who were active during the first week had to be passive during the next (Stoll 1908, 957).

If a man has such experiences occasionally, or even over a longer period, he will not be changed by them into a homophile. For a man is a homophile only if he prefers homosexual acts above all others and would turn to a male partner even when females are readily available to him.

Patzer (1982, 63-64) lists the following motives for homosexual behaviour: 1) sexual attraction to persons of the same sex (homophilia); 2) lack of opportunity for heterosexual intercourse (emergency homosexuality); 3) sexual experimentation in youths (developmental homosexuality); 4) desire for tenderness in sentimental friendship (mostly in adolescence); 5) social activities within social institutions (as in initiation during puberty rites); 6) symbolic demonstration of superior power (aggressive homosexuality). Quite

obviously, these forms are very different. Boys may take part in all of them.

These facts are generally recognised now in literature which deals with homosexuality, but in research into paedophilia they are only very slowly being accepted. Later in this chapter we will see the fatal impact of this failure to make the proper distinctions upon the popular concept of "the" paedophile.

It is not difficult to understand how the predominantly heterophile male, when no girl or woman is available, will find greater satisfaction with a smooth-skinned, soft-cheeked substitute boy than with an adult substitute man. Lawrence (1980), an American researcher, even thinks that in human evolution there was a natural selection process favouring those hunters who were best able to satisfy their sexual needs with the boys who accompanied them and were thus most strongly motivated to deal lovingly with their training and education. The first picture in Karsch-Haack's well-known study *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Naturvölker* (1911) (Homosexual Life of Primitive People) is of two young black boys, "male concubines of soldiers among Sudanese negroes", travelling in the rear of an army expedition. Among those blacks brought to Johannesburg to work the mines in 1915 a number of females were reported. However further investigation revealed that these people were confined in all-male camps and the "women" were really boys playing the female role (Bullough 1976, 25). Regarding New Guinea, Bullough (ibid 26) quotes a local informant: "Women are seldom available on the larger plantations and in the towns, and the older labourers, already accustomed to indulgence, are forced to take youths as lovers instead. A boy's behind is said to be a not unsatisfactory substitute, though everyone from Wogeo prefers the real thing, and is thankful on his return to go back to it." In the pages of Havelock Ellis' book devoted to the habits of American tramps, a man tells how he enjoyed his life with a woman "much more than his intercourse with boys. I asked him why he went with boys at all, and he replied, "Cause there ain't women enough. If I can't get them I've got to have the other."" (Ellis 1913, II 362) Among the Azande people in the Eastern Sudan, "much of the male population between 25 and 35 was reported in 1932 to be organised into *vura* —or groups of men—and denied access to women. During this period in their lives they were supposed to fight for the chief or in the absence of war, work on his land. Boys were, however, available, many of the men bringing boys with them." (Bullough 1976, 27)

From time out of mind ship's boys have known that their duties were not limited to sailing tasks.

24 Flashman, a Rugby Old Boy, told of his adventures on board a sailing ship in 1848. On one of the first days of the voyage he was in his cabin, ill, when entered "a nimble little ferret of a ship's boy" who immediately proposed,

> "I'll get in bed wiv yer for a shillin'". "Get out, you dirty little bastard," says I, for I knew his kind; Rugby had been crawling with 'em. "I'd sooner have your great-grandmother." "Snooks!" says he, putting out his tongue. "You'll sing a different tune after three months at sea an' not a wench in sight. It'll be two bob then!" (Fraser 1972, 48)

Healthy heterophile men may satisfy themselves from sheer necessity with a boy, returning afterwards, once back in society, to women. But there are also unfortunate, abnormal people who are unable to establish contact with the adult partners they would prefer because of some psychic insufficiency and so seek out children.

Of course, for the most part these children are girls. It has been established that in cases of criminal abuse of girls (instances of rape, indecent assault, coercion) the offender is mostly an ordinary heterophile (O'Carroll 1980, 59). Heterosexual contacts with children, moreover, are much less objectionable to the general public than homosexual activities (The Gay Left Collective 1981, 57). Boys are very rarely victims of violence, but it is hardly exceptional for men who really prefer sex with a woman or even another male, but who are unable to get it, to turn instead to boys, trying to persuade them without recourse to violence to have sex with them. As such contacts do not completely satisfy some individuals, their sexual needs may increase to a craving, and thus we get the wretched personality who is unable to restrain himself, is obsessed with the desire to handle a boy's penis irrespective of whether its owner is six months or sixteen years old (Borneman 1978, 1387). The public calls such people paedophiles, but they aren't by any meaningful definition of the word.

The inability to establish the preferred kind of contact may be caused by a lack of vital energy (Stieber 1971, 157), or by an inferiority complex, when, for example, a man is ashamed about the small size of his genitals or about being impotent. He may be afraid a woman would sneer at him and hope a child would be less critical.

In other males the universal paedophile impulse is rather strong but either it has never come into consciousness or it is repressed. Stress or excessive use of alcohol may remove the inhibitions in such people, often to their complete surprise and dismay, and lead to an explosion of pent-up lust. But we shouldn't call these men paedophiles either, because paedophiles, by our definition, are people whose sexual appetite is so strongly directed toward children that it colours and guides their whole life.

25 Such was the case of a young man who arrived at the home of his fiancée after a hard day at work eagerly looking forward to having sex with her. She wasn't there, however, and in his extreme disappointment, overwhelmed by

> salacity, he ran to the bedroom of her 14-year-old brother and raped him (Krafft-Ebing 1903, 334).

On the other hand there are true paedophiles who, for one reason or another, never touch a child and so avoid being recognised as one (Pieterse 1982, I-27).

Paedosexuality (that is, sexual activity with a child) can thus be consummated both by paedophiles and non-paedophiles, and so it is important to make a distinction between the paedophile and the pseudo-paedophile.

It is not to be assumed that the paedophile, being attracted to children, invariably behaves well toward them, or that the pseudo-paedophile is always the infamous and detested child molester, resorting to violence. Among paedophiles there are saints and sinners, just as among heterophiles or homophiles—or any other -philes you might mention. That is, there are among them people whose intent is first and foremost to serve the interest of the beloved child as well as people who only want to satisfy their own lusts. And if a pseudo-paedophile is a gentle and kind person he will deal gently and kindly with the child when using it as a substitute—but probably we will find among true paedophiles a higher percentage of men willing to adapt their sexual desires to the sexuality of the child (Schérer 1979, 91). Many a paedophile will think shared feelings more important than sexual contact itself (Corstjens 1980, 273).

In his detailed investigation of a large number of male sexual delinquents in American prisons, Gebhard and his co-workers at the Kinsey Institute had the bright idea to ask their paedosexual subjects not only the age of the child with whom they had committed their offences but also the ideal age of an ideal partner. The results were surprising. Among 244 males found guilty of sexual activities with children under the age of 12, only 2 said they really preferred a partner of this age. Among 269 males found guilty of sexual activities with children from 12 to 15 years, only 17 said they preferred a partner in this age bracket. In the control group, comprising 759 people never sentenced for sexual offences, one person said he preferred a child under 12 and 45 preferred a child between 12 and 15; all the others claimed they preferred an older partner.

Gebhard therefore concluded, "Since society is so deeply concerned about adults who engage in sexual activity with children or young people in their early or middle teens, it is worth noting that the problem is not so much one of a predilection for youth as it is one of lack of discrimination against youth. Thus our data show the great majority of so-called 'child-molesters' would prefer sexual activity with adults, but are willing to turn to children if adults are unavailable or if the man is intoxicated or under stress." (Gebhard 1965, 666, 681)

Objections have been raised to this opinion that Gebhard's study dealt with prisoners, and prisoners are subject to greater than normal temptation to give the "socially acceptable answer", hoping thereby to make a favourable impression upon those who control their destiny (Zwerus 1977, 93-97). But this objection is not very convincing. Kinsey Institute researchers have a great deal of experience, gained over many decades, in eliciting truthful replies to confidential questions and in testing for veracity. They were apparently aware of the possibility of factual distortion (West 1977, 11). That they succeeded in obtaining reliable answers can be seen by the fact that many of the prisoners told the Kinsey researchers they really were guilty of the acts for which they were imprisoned, after having persistently denied it at their trials. Even more impressive is the great number of "socially non-desirable answers" these prisoners gave Gebhard and his co-workers. The men opened up in such extremely taboo areas as oral-genital contacts and anal intercourse with their wives; men who were not homophiles talked about homosexual contacts; men who had not been sentenced for sexual offences talked about their desire for sex with boys; men found guilty of sexual offences against adults confessed to having had sex with children not known of by the police. Even bestiality (sex with animals) was admitted by people imprisoned for other kinds of criminal offences. The people interviewed by Gebhard were confident that their answers were to be kept absolutely secret and knew that no prison director or judge would ever learn of them or make use of them in making decisions regarding their release. Therefore the suggestion that Gebhard's data were so distorted as to render their enormous statistical weight invalid is quite unfounded. We may, then, take it for granted that the majority of these prisoners sentenced for paedosexuality were not really paedophiles.

Somewhat later, in 1967, the Swiss psychologist Wyss came up with similar data but didn't perceive their logical significance. Among 160 sentenced sexual delinquents, he found that only 10 were clearly attracted to children. Four of the subjects had sexual desires for "ephebe-like boys of 13-14 years of age", and in them he clearly saw "an aesthetic fascination with their physical characteristics, not the least important of which were their genitals." With these men, "both their minds and their fantasies were involved. And it was precisely these four who had carried on long-lasting relationships with boys who appealed to their tastes." (Wyss 1976, 67) These, then, were the true paedophiles, set apart by their commitment to boys from the pseudo-paedophiles.

The problem of the "socially desirable answer" was skilfully avoided in the same year by the American sociologist Charles H. McCaghy. "Since this study dealt with persons officially labelled as child molesters, their own statements concerning the meaning which children had for them prior to the offence might well be biased." To avoid this distortion, McCaghy put his

subjects into categories "measured by the range of interaction which adults had with children: the extent to which their life patterns were occupied by contacts with children"—that is, occupational and leisure activities and so on. In so doing he established substantial differences between those belonging to the category where social contacts with children were frequent and enriching and those in other categories. The men who had many social contacts never used any form of coercion; a non-sexual relationship usually preceded the sexual activities which, moreover, were usually restricted to passive or active fondling of the genitals. These were the men whose lives bore witness to a special attraction to children; in other words, they were paedophiles (McCaghy 1967).

Paedosexuality (or sexual activity with children), therefore, is no sure indicator of paedophilia. A man can only be considered paedophile if, for him, children are the most important elicitors of sexual arousal. On the other hand, the fact that a man may never have had sexual relations with a child is hardly proof of the absence of paedophile tendencies in him. For there are paedophiles who, for one reason or another, never touch a child.

The importance of this difference between paedophiles and pseudo-paedophiles wasn't recognised until a few decades ago but today it is stressed by nearly all modern commentators (Baurmann 1983, 312, 408, 713; Bendig 1979, 33; Fisch 1971, 13; Geiser 1979, 32-33, 83; Gagnon & Simon 1970, 10; Haeberle 1978, 273; Hart de Ruyter 1976, 430; Howells 1980, 28; Ilken 1982, 1, 13; Kerscher 1978, 154; Möller 1983, 42; O'Carroll 1980, 61, 69; Pieterse 1982, I-1; Righton 1981 25-26; Rouweler-Wutz 1976, 5, 22; Rubin 1984, 284; Sandfort 1980, 185; Schillemans 1983, 135; Sengers 1970, 47; Swanson 1968, 677; West 1980 142-143, 152, 220; Yaffe— 1981, 79; Zeegers 1977, 205). Nicholas Groth makes a similar distinction between "fixated" and "regressed" paedophiles (Illinois Legislature 1980, 32-33), a terminology to be rejected as too suggestive for scientific use. The writers of Golden Age Islam recognised it eight centuries ago. El-Tifachi (1184-1253) pointed out that some men have sexual relations with boys not because they're particularly attracted to boys but because it is fashionable and considered elegant: with them it is the brain and not the body which impels them to embrace boys. He adds that the act of love with a boy is an exercise for the mind, a discipline for one's character and magic for the intellect, since it demands both insight and understanding (1970, 157).

BOY-LOVE AND PEOPLE WITH DIFFERENT ORIENTATIONS

How much understanding is there of boy-love in people who don't share the erotic feelings of the paedophile?

II. ADULT LOVERS

The typical *homophile male* himself has little appreciation of the charms of boys in his preference for the fully developed male body, complete with facial hair (beard) and hair on the body—both of which boy-lovers particularly abhor.

On the other hand, the boy-lover seems to possess more characteristically male qualities than the average adult-loving homophile. Gebhard (1965, 289, 316, 642-643, 652) and Schofield (1965, 42, 66) observed that feminine behaviour and appearance as well as homophile mannerisms were much rarer in the paedophile. Kurt Freund claimed that the least effeminate of his homophile subjects were those who preferred boys of 13 to 16 years of age. The most masculine were most strongly attracted to slim younger partners with little body hair (1969, 62, 69, 71). The typical boy-lover is not, then, a homophile (Geiser 1979, 78; Italiaander 1969, 101; Möller 1983, 32; Pieterse 1982, II-10; Wolfenden 1963, 45).

For many years, now, the homophile emancipation movement has disparaged and even expelled boy-lovers (Madru 1983; Sandfort 1980). Many a homophile has thought, and still thinks, that he and his fellow-sufferers would have a far better public image if these damned "boy-rapers" weren't around giving homophiles and homophilia a bad reputation (Baudry 1982, 113; Kraemer 1976, 7). This is more than slightly naïve for the great public majority has never really liked sexual minorities. The sight of one persecuted minority begging for tolerance and understanding while at the same time condemning and despising a still smaller minority is hardly inducive of sympathy. Fortunately in the last few years there has been a big shift of opinion; for example, the major Dutch homophile organization, COC (1980), after a long debate, finally came to the conclusion that the emancipation of homophilia cannot be completed without a parallel emancipation of paedophilia. In France a leader in the gay rights movement told me, "We will never get anywhere as long as minors cannot receive an education in which homosexuality is declared to be a completely natural and fully satisfactory element of sexual desire."

Recognising that boys, especially mature boys, are sexually attractive is much easier for the *heterophile female,* since, finding an adult man an acceptable sex partner, she is often capable of identifying with the experience of both participants in a man/boy relationship. Thus any rejection she makes of boy-love is likely to be the result of cultural conditioning and so may assume a less emotional accent than in men. Many a boy-lover has found he can better discuss the intimate side of his relationship with the mother of his young friend than with the boy's father. Women capable of independent thinking, who don't permit themselves to be guided by culturally indoctrinated prejudices, may even come to a deep understanding of boy-love only exceptionally equalled by the heterosexual male. Perhaps this is why some of the finest

novels ever written about love between an adolescent boy and an adult man have been penned by women. To mention some from the last few decades: Marie-Claire Blais' *The Wolf* (1974); Isabel Holland's *The Man Without a Face* (1972); Iris Murdoch's *Henry and Cato* (1976); Mary Renault's *The Persian Boy* (1972); Christiane Rochefort's *Printemps au Parking* (1969); Marguerite Yourcenar's *Mémoires d'Hadrien* (1951); Ursula Zilinsky's *Middle Ground* (1968). The sympathy might be mutual. Baudelaire must somewhere have written that the appreciation of intelligent women is a prerogative of the boy-lover.

The "normal" *male heterophile,* whose sexual longings are mainly directed toward females, may also perceive the seductive qualities of a boy and enjoy pleasurable sex with him. For the boy—with his fresh complexion, his shining, silk-like hair, his radiant long-lashed eyes, his soft, ruddy cheeks, his full sweet lips, his smooth-skinned hairless body with its rounded curves, his slim waist—has so many properties in common with a woman (Aristotle quoted by Peyrefitte 1981, 148; Back 1910, 610; Borneman 1978, 590, 973-975, 1001; Bullough 1976, 495; Fischer & Howells 1970, 625; Freud 1920, 21; Freund 1981, 162; Montherlant & Peyrefitte 1983, 19; Righton 1981, 36; Voltaire I 25-26; West 1981, 256; Wilson & Cox 1983, 19, 126; Yaffé 1981, 79-80). Havelock Ellis (1913, II 286) wrote, in phrases typical of that period, "A sexual attraction for boys is, no doubt, as Moll points out, that form of inversion which comes nearest to normal sexuality, for the subject of it usually approaches nearer to the average man in physical and mental disposition. The reason for this is obvious: boys resemble women, and therefore it requires a less profound organic twist to become sexually attracted to them." This, however, doesn't usually ameliorate the situation; it only complicates matters, for, as we have seen, our culture condemns man/boy relationships with much greater ferocity than it does man/ man relationships and teaches every man that he shouldn't foster such feelings, that they are ignominious and scandalous. Now there is a mechanism in the human mind which tells us that anything that shouldn't be simply doesn't exist. So the male, not allowed to be physically excited by boys, tries to convince himself that, even when he is, he isn't. Every positive response toward a boy's sexuality is energetically disavowed—and the stronger the response the more forceful is the disavowal. The emotional intensity with which a man rejects the idea of boy-love can well be an indicator of the degree to which this tendency is present in him. Dr. Benjamin Karpman observes in his book *The Sexual Offender,* "Since normal people have the same mechanisms as sex offenders, coping with them only through strong repression, they react emotionally to such offences, projecting repressive mechanisms on the offender." (1954, 607) And Leist (1981) quotes Adorno saying that a taboo functions most strongly wherever the man subordinated to it unconsciously wishes to commit the forbidden act himself.

Therefore the heterosexual male gets terribly upset when the borderline between unconscious and conscious desires threatens to break down, and this happens every time he finds himself confronting the phenomena of homosexuality and boy-love. He cannot identify with such creatures because he cannot permit himself to realise how much he has in common with them. Günther Schmidt and Volkmar Sigusch (1967), studying "the problem of prejudice towards sexually deviant groups", concluded that an overwhelming majority of the people they questioned thought that a prostitute, a homophile, a lesbian, an exhibitionist, a man who has sex with animals or a sadist was more "sympathetic" as a person than a paedophile.

All those who cry loudly that the paedophile ought to be castrated, who would like to strangle him with their own hands, who think he should be shot or put in jail for the rest of his life are themselves highly suspect of paedophilia (Karpman 1959, 299; Rhyxand 1978, 266). Blüher (1953, 255-256) put it quite accurately: "In prosecuting paedophiles, a man struggles against the suspicion that he could be one himself and, seeking reassurance, he exteriorises his own inner battlefield". He attacks boy-love, suppressing his own real feelings. As contact with an attractive boy threatens to bring these feelings to the surface again, the presence of such a boy becomes irritating. This condition stimulates aggression against the boy. Blüher observed repeatedly "that leaders, having just delivered thundering speeches with foaming mouths about morality—particularly in the guise of Christian belief—are in the very next moment caught red-handed committing clumsy and senseless assaults on boys." Boys are undoubtedly subjected to many cruelties, to many hard punishments, as a consequence of the love feelings of their torturers, suppressed and thereby turned to hatred. In education, the severe disciplinarian is always suspect! (Sadger 1921, 190)

If the normal heterophile male were only a bit less contorted, a bit more free, more accepting of his own inclinations, he would be struck by the fact that the woman he loves always tries to heighten her beauty by attempting to keep her appearance young, or in rejuvenating it. The "normal" man simply loves what is youthful (Duvert 1980, 102). Having been brought to recognise this, the next step would be to bring him to understand that he could also love boys.

In our world only very superior individuals have the courage to admit this. We have already quoted Goethe's confession that he made love to boys. Thomas Mann, having created such a wonderful picture of boy-love in his novella *Death in Venice,* wrote in his diary how delighted he was about "Eissi", his 13-year-old son Klaus: "He is so very handsome in the bath. I think it's perfectly natural to fall in love with my son." On October 17, 1920 he wrote, "There was a big commotion in the boys' bedroom, and I surprised Eissi standing stark naked, clowning, in front of Golo's bed. His pre-

adolescent, brilliant body made an enormous impression on me. I felt shattered." (Quoted in *Du und Ich,* Nov 1972, 52)

HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY OF BOY-LOVE

The citizens of *Classical Greece* had no difficulty understanding this. They disliked homosexuality, which they considered unaesthetic, for to them the hairy body of the adult male was ugly (Patzer 1982, 61). The smooth boy's body, however, with its graceful curves was likened to that of a woman (Buffière 1980, 7; Patzer 1982, 59). The philosopher Theodoros of Kyrene affirmed: "A woman and a boy are equally beautiful. Why do they possess this beauty? To provide men with sexual pleasure." (Buffière 1980, 480) Nevertheless it was the budding virility which especially attracted Greek men: effeminate boys did not appeal to them; vigour, endurance, youthful ardour did. Physical exercise, gymnastics, running and hunting were encouraged. Young grace had to be grounded in muscular strength (Foucault 1984, 221).

The beauty of boys was an important subject of discussion. Plutarch describes the joy of looking at their bodies and, according to Aristotle, only someone who had been born blind could ask why one would love boys. Athenaios wrote that many men prefer boys as sexual partners to women (Buffière 1980, 131, 261, 309). This is echoed in poetry and in the famous vase paintings of the time, where boys honoured with the adjective "kalos" (beautiful) appear twice as frequently as girls (Dover 1978, 9; Marcadé 1965). Often we see the bearded suitor caressing the chin of a boy, an artistic shorthand indicative of love (Steinberg 1970, 281). In religion this was also apparent. Buffiére (1980, 331-332) observes, "Eros is the god of male passion for boys, Aphrodite the goddess of male-female intercourse. Eros involves affection, Aphrodite the sensations of the flesh; Eros is spiritual, Aphrodite carnal; Eros brings happiness, Aphrodite pleasure. He who is inspired by Eros seeks the well-being of the beloved; he who is inspired by Aphrodite seeks procreation." Meleagros taught that Aphrodite was defeated by her son Eros: he was the stronger of the two (Dover 1978, 63). Plato was likewise cognizant of his power. His philosophy championed the equality of the sexes, but all pedagogical love was reserved for boys: nowhere do girls come into the picture (Buffière 1980, 333, 413-415, 637). Although he taught that the genitals should only be employed for procreation, he showed great understanding of the lover who used them with boys as well.

Thus the "normal" Greek wasn't at all hesitant to admit to his sexual activity with boys. Sexual intercourse was considered a natural activity which one shouldn't be ashamed of, and this applied as well to sex with a boy (Ungaretti 1982, 10). In his famous speech, Aischines violently attacked his political opponent Timarchos for his dissipated, immoral style of living; he

did not, however, try to deny that he himself loved boys (Dover 1978, 92). The sexual aspect of boy-love was perfectly honourable (Patzer 1982, 56). Socrates asked the Sicilian manager of a very handsome young cither-player performing in a festival whether he slept with the boy. The man replied calmly, "Oh, yes. Every night, and the whole night through." The sculptor Phidias engraved in the thumb of his gigantic statue of Zeus in Olympia a dedication of love to his young friend: "Pantarkes is beautiful" (Buffière 1980, 154). Here, in the facade of the Temple of Zeus, one could gaze at a group sculpture in which a satyr was introducing his phallus into a boy's bottom (Peyrefitte 1977, 25). Gods and demi-gods were setting the example (Borneman 1978, 602). Young Heracles was asked to choose between Sensuality and Virtue. Sensuality promised him "boys with whom he would like to have sex". Heracles chose Virtue, but this didn't prevent him subsequently from having affairs with twenty-four lover-boys. Not only was his muscle-power enormous, so was his many-sided sexual potency: as well as loving boys he deflowered the forty-nine daughters of King Thespius in one and the same night (Borneman 1978, 651; Peyrefitte 1977, 483).

On the island of Thera (Santorini), in the area where the temples stood, religious invocations were engraved in the rocks. Some dealt with the sexual initiation of boys: for example "Krimon fucked here a boy, the brother of Bathykles" (Buffière 1980, 58-59; Moll 1921, 385). The attempt of Dover (1978, 123), the well-known British authority on Ancient Greece, to explain this as boasting, slander or insult, isn't very convincing (Brongersma, in *P.A.N.* No. 15, 1983, 27-28; Patzer 1982, 84-87). Passive anal intercourse was only improper for an adult man, not for the adolescent boy.

The beloved boy was called *paidika,* which literally means "boyishness" (Buffière 1980, 605; Dover 1978, 64), for it was this that was loved in him: the quality of being *pais,* a boy. A modern author, Jacques de Brethmas, sharing the same feeling, put it well: "The most important quality in a boy for me is his boyishness. I desire a real boy, very manly and very natural." (1979, 66)

A young male was considered a *pais* until he was 19 or 20 years old, or as long as his body remained smooth and he was beardless. In their boy-friends, men found and loved this vision of the *paidika.* Or, as the French novelist Saint-Ours put it so nicely, "This vision always carries the name of the boy into whose body I insert my member". (1973, 41)

For the Greeks, paidika and girls were among the common joys of life—the paidika perhaps even more so than girls. From the social point of view, boy-love was more important than heterosexuality; sheer sexual delight was found with boys, not with women (Borneman 1978, 12, 607). By comparison, married intercourse was rather a duty to the commonwealth. Thus only married men were allowed to assist at the gymnopaideia, ritual dances performed by naked boys (Borneman 1978, 210). Boy-love didn't need any

explication to the Athenian: its niceness was self-evident (Bethe 1907, 442). If a sleeping man had a wet dream he was supposed to have dreamed of a paidika (Dover 1978, 65). In Megara boys held kissing competitions, in Elis beauty contests and, as Dover rightly observes, to admire physical beauty, whether we like it or not, was and remains a sexual act (1978, 181). The Greeks were highly susceptible to this veneration of beauty, and not the least bit timid about nudity. The male genitals were exhibited without shame. At the Olympic games of 715 BC the victor Orsippos of Megara lost his loincloth during the race, and from then on official rules obliged the athletes to perform stark naked. Peyrefitte, a profound student of this period, writes that the public would comment on the size of the competitors' genitals and often gave the athletes nicknames inspired by the configuration of their members. Images on vases and plates often showed satyrs with gigantic erections and in the streets of every city the way to bath-houses and brothels was pointed out by Hermes columns topped by a bearded bust of the messenger god and for the rest a quadrangular column smooth except for a male member in erection.

In this society youthful beauty was highly appreciated. Plutarch tells a revealing story. During a street fight in Sparta, Isodas, a big, handsome boy in the bloom of early adolescence, came running out of his home without taking time to put on his clothes and joined the battle with spear and sword. His naked beauty proved more of a protection than his shield, however, for no foe dared to maim such a fine body and he remained unharmed (Buffière 1980, 84).

The genitals were a part of the boy's beauty. Aristophanes claimed that the superintendent who must inspect the young citizens takes a particular pleasure in looking at their genitals. And the poet Strato thought that Paris would have turned away from the three Graces if he could have compared them with the stiffened member of Diokles, the poet's favourite (Buffière 1980, 180).

When a teacher got an erection during wrestling exercises with his pupils, the spectators were only amused (Peyrefitte 1977, 308, 415). It was commonly recognised everywhere that men needed sexual satisfaction and got it with boys. Xenophon refers to an official army regulation which allowed every soldier to take a boy with him. Athens' lawgiver Solon (640-558 BC) saw boy-love as a quite natural phenomenon (Gide 1925, 119-120). He decreed, "You shall love boys in the charming bloom of life, desire their thighs and soft mouths. You shall love boys until fluffy hair covers their faces, love their sweet breath and thighs." (Eck 1969, 42) Girls married at an average age of 15, young men only at 30, so it was natural that an opportunity be created for them to satisfy their sexual appetites. It was the intent of Solon's laws to guarantee to all free boys of the city-state the liberty to decide for themselves whether or not they wanted to abandon their body to a free citizen. To adult

male slaves, by contrast, active relations with a free boy were strictly forbidden. To prevent them from occurring, parents sometimes had the slave to whom the education of their son was entrusted (the "pedagogue") castrated. Likewise, the slave boy was entitled to no free choice; sexually he must always be at the disposal of his master, who could also order him to satisfy the lusts of his guests (Buffiére 1980, 204, 244, 620-622; Peyrefitte 1977, 551-552).

On the whole, Athenian fathers were not very much in favour of sexual relations between their sons and adult men, and they tried to guard against them. In Elis, in Lakonia and Boeotia, where the Dorians were in power, it was, on the contrary, considered nice and morally good for a boy to give happiness to his lover (Bethe 1907). When Telemachus, in his search for his father Ulysses, visits old Nestor in Elis, the king offers him his own son as a bed-companion, and Homer tells us that the boy fell in love with the noble guest and wanted to go with him on his journey (Borneman 1978,F 997). On Crete tradition demanded that the lover abduct a boy forceably. This was a faked rape—faked because the family of the boy was informed in advance and, if the man was acceptable, their defence was only a comic pretence. During the next two months the boy accompanied the man everywhere, and they shared their pleasures. At the end of this period the man brought the boy back, presented him with armour, a coat of honour and an ox which the boy must sacrifice to Zeus. At the sacrificial ceremony the boy had to declare solemnly that the sexual intercourse had been to his taste. Now he was considered to have reached majority, had a seat of honour in the theatre and wore a coat of a special colour (Buffière 1980, 53-55, 623).

Solon gave to his city brothels where girls served their clients, fearing that otherwise the Athenian youth would come to know only homosexual intercourse. Sparta's lawgiver Lykurgus had quite different fears: he put a ban on female brothels in order to promote sex between males (Peyrefitte 1977, 156, 656). The obedient Spartan citizen had to use boys (Borneman 1978, 972, 977, 987) and men were even punished for neglecting this obligation (Patzer 1982, 89). As soon as a boy was twelve a respectable young man was designated as his lover (Bremmer 1980, 282).

Sex with boys also found its place in religion. In the sanctuary of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx (nowadays Erice) in Sicily boys served as prostitutes in the temple precincts. On Delphi every four years, at the opening of the Pythian Plays, naked boys danced in front of Apollo's temple. This was the ceremony of the Gymnopaideia, the memory of which inspired the French composer Eric Satie (1866- 1925) to write such wonderful music. It was followed by a ritual the original meaning of which became completely forgotten in the course of time: a boy, also stark naked, entered from one side, overturned one of the tables laden with food, set fire to a tent and ran away. Men chased and caught him, then whipped and raped him, just as people used

to do with runaway slaves (Peyrefitte 1977, 123, 527-528).

As well as this sacral prostitution, there was, of course, in every city of Grecian and *Roman antiquity,* the secular variety. Emperor Augustus decreed that brothel boys should have an annual holiday on a fixed date (Verstraete 1980, 231). The wealthy had their slaves. Soldiers who exhibited outstanding courage on the battlefield were often rewarded with the present of a boy (Vilbert 1979, 127).

The Roman practice was profoundly different from the Greek in its absence of the pedagogic intent. Beautiful boys were a luxury, and as such they were bought or imported, especially from Egypt (Nubia). The Greeks wanted their beloved boys to distinguish themselves by good behaviour; the Romans liked them impudent, vulgar and provoking. There were exceptions, of course. The passion of Emperor Hardian (117-138) for Antinous is well known, and there are tender boy-love passages in the writings of Catullus, Cicero, Horace, Martialis, Ovid and Tibulus (Lever 1985, 27-28, 32).

At all times, in every country, men have had sexual relations with boys. We will give some examples in what follows of free and institutional boy-love outside of Greece. But it is important to point out already here that this "Greek love" and all other similar expressions are quite far removed from the relationships of lust and love to which this book is dedicated. For wherever sex with boys is a cultural tradition in which "normal" males also participate, we do not find men and boys uniting in mutual lust; it is rather a situation where the man is bent on attaining his own satisfaction, and for this he uses the body of the boy—or it is a practice believed necessary for the boy's physical development. Most commonly the corporal union is modelled on heterosexual intercourse: the man is expected to insert his member in the boy's anus or to move it between the boy's thighs. What the man gives in exchange to the boy—at least to the free-born boy—may be considerable: care, affection, education, an example of virility and virtue, physical exercises and character training—and all of this to such a high degree that we find the Greek philosophers tempted to regard boy-love rather as the privilege of personally distinguished and virtuous citizens. Lukianos says, "Marriage is for everyone; to love a boy is reserved for the sage," (Amar, quoted by Beurdeley 1977, 11) for it demands more character and sacrifice than the average citizen is capable of giving. In his treatise *Menschliches allzu Menschliches,* Nietzche stated that probably in no time in human history were boys treated with so much affection, love and careful consideration for their well-being as then, but this doesn't alter the fact that a sexual activity which repays a man his devotion remains a one-sided affair: what to the man is a satisfaction of lust is a sacrifice on the part of the boy. Classical Greek love, then, was characterized by three things: 1) it was a relationship between an adult and a boy; 2) the sexual activity was never mutual—the man had to be

the active partner; 3) the practice was justified by its educational intent (Patzer 1982, 105; Banens 1981, 16). For this reason Ovid, an avowed expert on love-making, rejected it: "I don't like a copulation which doesn't bring both partners to orgasm." *(Ars Amatoria,* II 683-684).

For slaves the situation was much worse. Rich Roman fathers provided their adolescent sons with a handsome servant upon whom they could exercise their sexual powers and satisfy their lusts. In one marriage song, the festive companions sing quite openly about how the bride insisted on the slave-boy being deprived of his beautiful long hair and sent to work in the fields; thenceforth the groom would have to devote this potency to her womb (Stoll 1908, 189, 190). We are reminded of Hans Blüher's opinion that even today many men are trained through boy-love to be good hetero- or homosexual lovers (1966, 33).

The Greeks and Romans disapproved of a man who indulged in practices with his boy-friend other than active anal and intercrural (between the thighs) intercourse (Patzer 1982, 47 96, 115). Greek vase paintings often show the man touching the genitals of a boy, but the boy never has an erection: it was just a solicitation by caressing, and never went beyond that. A man masturbating a boy to orgasm received a lecture for such abuse (Martialis XI, 22), and it was far beneath male dignity to suck a boy's penis.

Of course, in those times there were also paedophiles for whom the pleasure of a boy was indispensable. But if this came to light they were derided and despised. Martialis sneered at one man who left the door and curtains of his room open while inserting his penis into a boy's bottom. Whoever likes to be observed in such an act, the poet maliciously observed, will certainly behave in a thoroughly scandalous way behind closed doors (VII, 62).

A similar situation prevails wherever sex with boys is unexceptional, belongs to the customs and manners of society. For example, *the Etruscans,* before the rise of Rome the most powerful nation on the Apennine Peninsula, used to be served by stark naked boys at their banquets. When the guests had partaken to their full of food and drink, the young servants laid themselves down at the side of the men who then, quite without shame, took their public pleasure with them until everyone was quite exhausted. Then strong young slaves were summoned, kitchen boys, sedan carriers, athletes to perform "live shows" for the spectators and unite themselves with the servant boys (Athenaios 517 I; Buffière 1980, 35; Peyrefitte 1981, 495-496). In later years the Roman Emperor Domitian similarly provided the guests he invited to his banquets with a boy (Borneman 1978, 617).

The *Germanic tribes* celebrated marriages between men and boys. The Gauls used their wives only for procreation, sleeping at other times with their young companions. Prostitution was considered a meretricious occupation for boys. The Gauls liked slender bodies: if a boy grew too fat he was punished

(Peyrefitte 1977, 681). Among the Celts sex with boys was frequent (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 34-35, 1980, 79; Gide 1925, 105). The hardy Norsemen also took young boys under their wings to nurture and train in the warrior arts—and to use as bed-partners (Linedecker 1981, 106).

Christendom was not able to abolish boy-love immediately. Johannes Chrysostomos (340-407) complained bitterly about people only going to church to stare at handsome boys (Bullough 1979, 194, 331; Deschner 1978, 393). A well-known bishop in the XIth Century openly confessed having shared his bed with both sexes (Bullough 1976, 371).

This continued into the Middle Ages. About the year 1000 it was "the most wide-spread vice in all classes of society, among princes as well as serfs, among bishops as well as monks." (Chardans 1970, 128-129) An anonymous Ninth Century poem postulates that the inhabitants of Orleans preferred boys. Archbishop Baldricus of Dol (1046-1130) wrote love poems celebrating boys as often as girls. Abélard's famous pupil Hilarius of Poitiers (about 1125) consecrated some very sensual poems to boys, affirming that he would like to have sex with them. In the Thirteenth Century a bishop in the south of France actually absolved himself of sin whenever he wanted to go to bed with a boy or girl. A sect of evangelists pressured young boys to submit to sodomy (Cleugh 1963, 92). And in 1303 Fra Giordano da Rivalto lamented the practice of fathers selling their comely sons to wealthy boy-lovers in the hopes of assuring for them a prosperous future (Kuster 1977, 42, 47, 52, 54, 55). Certain medical writers recommended sexual intercourse with a boy ("usus et amplexus pueri") as beneficial for good health (Burton 1886, X 247). This belief persisted even into the 17th Century, when William of Orange (later King William III of England) received from his physicians the suggestion "that he sleep with one of his pages in order to absorb some 'animal spirits' from a healthy body. Since the patient was known to enjoy sleeping with his pages, the prescription was easily followed." (Haeberle 1978, 373)

During the Renaissance, awakened interest in classical antiquity gave renewed impetus to boy-love. In Venice, boy-love became so common that prostitutes were ordered to sit at their windows with their breasts exposed in order to tempt men away from using boys (Borneman 1978, 1145; Deschner 1978, 405, 482). In Florence there was Savonarola "thundering from the pulpit against that unspeakable and abominable sin, the love of beardless boys." At his excecution in 1498, "a member of the governing body of the city is said to have announced with sardonic satisfaction to his colleagues, 'and now we can practice sodomy again'." (Walters 1978, 112) The poet Ariosto (1474-1533) claimed that all men in all parts of Europe indulged in boy-love and that nobody lived a completely heterosexual life (Williams 1967, 48). Michelangelo, on the contrary, maintained in a poem to his favourite Tommaso Cavaliere that boy-love was for connoisseurs only and wasn't suitable

for ordinary people (Buffière 1980, 155). This same Michelangelo had a father bring him his son, asking the great painter to accept the boy as his pupil and explicitly insisting that he should sleep with the lad, so the boy should love and obey him the better (Beurdeley 1977, 82). Caravaggio (1573-1610) no longer made angels out of his young models. "No hint of idealizing softens their sex appeal; they openly proposition the spectator." (Walters 1979, 1876)

Shakespeare's famous contemporary, Christopher Marlowe, declared "all thei that love not tobacco and boyes are fools" (dall'Orta 1983, 231). In the Sixteenth Century boy-love and girl-love were put on equal terms (Bullough 1976, 474-475, 478). "Pornographic literature and scandal-mongering accounts of the behaviour of particular groups (particularly the nobility, priests and nuns) suggest that semi-covert flouting of the official rules was always fairly common, even when the penalties for exposure were extraordinarily severe. The facetious treatment of the topic in the theatre suggests that pederasty, though officially a high crime, was always a commonplace vice and to ordinary people a subject of derision more than horror." (West 1977, 128)

In 1671 Liselotte van der Pfalz reported from Paris that in the whole royal court she could not find six men who didn't love young males. Some had sex with boys of ten and eleven, but the majority preferred bigger boys and adolescents (Foral 1981, 191). The habit became more and more accepted, and in 1738 someone observed that there was no more secrecy about making love with a boy than with a woman (Rey 1983, 204).

Even today there are places where sex with boys is very much in the air. In the *United States,* Baltimore had this reputation. Tom Reeves reported in 1978 that in a certain section of the city 50% to 70% of the teenagers had sexual relations with men and that nearly as many men had intercourse with boys. This situation had prevailed for 75, perhaps 100 years. The boys also had sex with girls; afterwards they married, fathered children—and often satisfied themselves in their turn with boys. Even the police joined in the game and allowed boys to have a ride in their patrol cars in exchange for sex.

Mr. Helmuth A. Lill (Weidenstetten, Germany) who lived many years in *Albania* has kindly furnished me with particulars about marriage ceremonies in that country between Greek Orthodox men and boys. They still take place today—but rarely and in secret, for they are illegal. In addition, Mr. Lill provided me with extensive private documentation of a custom at one time widespread but nowadays practiced only in the region bounded on the south by the lake of Ochrid and on the north by the Metohijo at the Montenegran border with Yugoslavia. This is the so called *gjanelidhja* (seed alliance). An adult reserves for himself, after conferring with the parents, a child as sexual partner—either a boy or a girl, no distinction being made. The child associates only with this particular man until the time he or she is fully mature. A Gjanelidgja is taken very seriously and respected by everybody. The adult is

considered to have become a member of the child's family and is responsible for its food and clothes. For this alliance to be valid it is considered mandatory that the girl or boy suck the man's penis and wholly swallow his seed (gjane)—and this fact must be confirmed by witnesses. Von Hahn (1969, 91) gives a less favourable picture of boy-love in Albania. Adolescents at sixteen start to have steady relations with boys of twelve and older. Their union is blessed by the priests in church, both partners receiving the eucharist (Bremmer 1980, 289; Näcke 1908, 325-337).

All major cultures furnish examples of this kind of intimate relationship. The only exception seems to be ancient Egypt, where boy-love was generally condemned, yet even here there is conflicting evidence (Bullough 1976, 64, 67). In pre-Hispanic *Guatemala* the Spanish conquistadores stated that "it was customary for fathers to provide their adolescent sons with a boy whom they could keep and use as a wife." (Stoll 1980, 955)

Many tales in *The Thousand Nights and a Night,* in verses of Abu Nowas, El-Tifachi and other well-known poets show how greatly boy-love was part of *Arab culture.* El-Tifachi describes a night of passionate love when he shared his bed with a boy and a slave girl. He claimed he preferred the boy: "He is a better comrade, in the company of others he is more entertaining, and when you're alone with him he is like a lawful wife." (1970, 179, 316) Abu Nowas was of exactly the same opinion; just as in Ancient Greece and Rome, one and the same man used now a boy and then a girl (Bullough 1976, 224; Burton 1885 VIII 348; Wagner 1965, 47, 76, 165, 175, 177, 302, 308 and especially 121 and 167). Abu Nowas thinks of his beloved boy and has a wet dream (Wagner 1965, 320). Many battles against the Christian infidels were only fought to capture the handsome white slave-boys for whom there was a special market in Constantinople. Under Osman rule such favourite Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian and Hungarian boys, circumcised and forcibly converted to Islam, could rise to the highest official positions (Stern 1903, II 213-215). The Koran, it is true, forbids this kind of sex (VII, 81; XXVII, 55), but on the other hand it holds out to the faithful the prospect of being served in paradise by beautiful youths whose bloom never withers, and this can be interpreted to mean that sex with boys on earth is only an illegal advance on the bliss of beatitude.

A study of contemporary youth in Morocco shows that the active role in anal intercourse is, from the moral standpoint, only slightly objectionable. The passive role is unacceptable if a third party might come to know about it; kept strictly secret, it is a different matter (Eppink 1976).

Information about the culture of *India* seems to be limited. Homosexuality is said not to be prevalent. But this is sharply contested by de Becker (1980, 81, 86, 88-89, 92), and Sutor (1964, 172), working there as a physician, found boy-love rather common. Dr. Rustan J. Mehta, a citizen of the country itself, writes: "Male prostitution together with sodomy and pederasty is very com-

mon here in India. Special brothels are to be found in all the big cities; but sodomitical practices are popular even among the primitive native races." (undated, 1934)

The major treatise on sexual practices, the famous Kamasutra of Vatsayayana, observes only that males who are too fat, whose sexual appetite is extinguished and who aren't excited by women, have their members sucked by nicely adorned slave boys who are very proficient in this act (Schmidt 1922, 172). De Becker observes that in India there are no moral, social or familial objections against homosexual practices, and that there is a tendency to prefer oral activities to anal activities. Krishna Gopal, an anthropologist in Bombay, gave this assessment: "Masculine and sexually active men are always actively looking out for feminine, slender young men and boys. Boys and feminine men preferably choose older friends. The men of Northern India and Afghanistan, known for their extraordinarily strong sex drive, are very passionate, but also jealous and nearly always prefer young boys." (1967, 167)

In pre-revolutionary *China,* boy-love was prevalent everywhere. It had a long tradition (Bullough 1976, 302, 304-306). All towns had their boy-brothels. A visit to them was a very common occurrence. If a stranger asked someone in the street for the way to the nearest brothel, it was pointed out to him with the utmost courtesy (Aron & Kempf 1978, 31; Karsch-Haack 1906, 16). In 1860 a city like Tientsin counted no less than 35 brothels where boys from 8 to 17 years of age were offered to clients. Boy-love was systematically cultivated, formally organized, developed to a high degree and was common at all social levels. Distinguished Chinese citizens weren't embarrassed to show themselves publicly in the company of their favourites, and high government officials didn't hesitate to confess openly that they loved boys (Karsch-Haack 1906, 26, 48, 51).

A French missionary was completely bewildered when, in 1780, he observed "that the *Japanese* man unites this tendency with the love of women" and that monks, on whom celibacy was imposed, "had a curious way to compensate themselves for this constraint". Those who loved boys and adolescents enjoyed the reputation of being more virile; only weaker men preferred women. Adultery incurred capital punishment but homosexuality was perfectly legal for young men. From the time of the Middle Ages and right up until the Eighteenth Century, rural inns used to provide travellers with a boy they could "refresh" themselves with, i.e. suck out their seed. In the beginning of the Seventeenth Century a Shogun (commander-in-chief) declared that the services of boy prostitutes were indispensable. The distinguished author Ibara Saikwaku (1642-1693) wrote *The Big Mirror of Boy-Love* which championed and idealised relations between the Samurai knights and their pages. The German ethnologist Karsch-Haack, source of these particulars, wrote in 1906 that he had been told by an eye-witness: "Even today

pederasty is widespread in the Japanese army and navy as an inheritance from the Samurai, and it played an important role in their victory, which surprised the whole world, in the recent war with Russia." (1906, 121; Krauss 1969, 86-88) An American living in Japan told me in 1970 that parents are pleased when their son has physical intimacy with his teacher, and that on school excursions the boys draw lots to determine which of them may sleep with him.

Patzer (1982, 25) lists a great many cultures in which boy-love is socially acceptable. Attention was first called to the prevalence of boy-love in all parts of the world among *peoples who live close to nature* by Karsch-Haack in his *The Homosexual Life of Primitive Peoples* (1911), a standard work on the subject which has still to be superseded. Later his findings were confirmed by the Americans Ford and Beach (1968). Here we can give only a few of the more striking examples.

First of all, however, a distinction should be made between two quite dissimilar institutions. In the first, *shamanism,* the boy is devirilised, turned into a woman, in which role he thenceforth lives, highly honoured and performing various religious functions. In the second, on the other hand, boy-love is seen as a virilising force: it is considered indispensable for a boy to ingest the seed of an adult man in order to grow up big and strong.

An example of the first, shamanistic practice we find in a report on the *Pueblo Indians* in California dating from 1850. Every year one of the handsomest and strongest boys was selected to become a *mujerado* (womanized male). Every day he was masturbated for hours on end, and during the same period made to mount a horse bareback so that his testicles were continuously squeezed. Thus his genitals were kept in a constant state of irritation. In the beginning sperm and slime constantly dripped from them, but finally the glands and penis shrivelled. After thus being rendered impotent, the youth adopted feminine dress and performed feminine tasks. He was held in great respect: during the spring religious sex orgies all men had sexual relations with him; during rest of the year this privilege was restricted to the tribal chiefs (Karsch-Haack 1911, 358-362; Stoll 1908, 955-956). The same is told of the Majave and Illinois Indians (Devereux 1963; Italiaander 1969, 99).

Religious rituals in which boys serve as temple prostitutes also occur in the African *Hereros* (Borneman 1978, 327). The practice of bringing up some selected boys as girls, according to Borneman, flourishes in "innumerable cultures" (1978, 1431)—for example, among Indians in Canada, Wyoming and Montana, in Kamchatka and among the Tatares in the USSR, where the Soviet administration wasn't able to put an end to it (Borneman 1978, 127-128, 132, 145; Ploss 1884, II 529).

The second sort of practice is for us the easiest to understand: its basic premise is that the boy needs sex, especially the consumption of male sperm, in order to become a real man.

It is shared by many primitive tribes in *New Guinea.* With the Marind, every adolescent residing in the tribal lodge for youths gets a "godfather", usually a married man. At night the two lie together side-by-side and at any hour the boy must be available for sexual intercourse. During religious ceremonies these steady relations are suspended and replaced by a general sexual freedom between men and boys (Jensen 1933, 82). With the Marind, homosexuality is actually more common than heterosexuality (Borneman 1978, 591). In some tribes the seed which the boy needs is anally ingested; this is so with the inhabitants of the island of Kiwai and the Keraki of the mainland. For a year after the period of his initiation, the boy is subjected to anal intercourse. From then on until he marries, he, in turn, has to be the active partner in anal intercourse with younger boys (O'Carroll 1980, 41). In other New Guinea tribes the seed must be swallowed. This is the case with the Kukukuku of the interior and the Etoke, probably identical with the natives described by Herdt in his magnificant study *Guardians of the Flute.* (He gives them the fictive name "Sambia" in order to keep secret their exact location.) Starting at eight or ten years of age, and continuing until they are about fifteen, boys must every night suck the penis of the older adolescents and young men (in the 15-25-year bracket) who haven't completed their initiation process, and swallow their seed. At first they tend to dislike doing this, but soon they come to enjoy it. Special friendships and personal preferences arise through the relations and continue over many years. For the older partner this is officially considered a sacrifice, a duty, for a male is thought to receive only a limited amount of sperm at puberty which can never be replenished and will ultimately be exhausted (Bleibtreu-Ehernberg 1980, Herdt 1981, 232-292).

Boys of the Big Namba culture of the *New Hebrides* are subjected to extremely painful initiation ceremonies. The boy then chooses an adult friend as his *nilagh sen.* The man thereby obtains absolute authority over the boy, is allowed to use him sexually and sell him for this purpose to other men, but only for short periods. As a result of this convention, every chief has a number of boys at his disposal—and often has little to do with his married wife any more. The anal intercourse the boy experiences and which, in contrast to heterosexual intercourse, must be performed standing, is thought to enlarge and strengthen his penis. Thus the father, at the end of the initiation rituals, presents a gift to the nilagh sen. The relationship between the boy and his nilagh sen is very close. They are always together, and if one of them dies the other will mourn him deeply (Bullough 1976, 37). The other men with whom the boy has sex give him some precious gifts, which he then transmits to his nilagh sen (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1980, 96-97) "Among the Marquesans men have sex with boys because they think boys are 'soft and girlish'." (Lawrence 1983, 14)

In former times the *Australian Aborigines* used to perform an extremely painful operation on the male member during the course of puberty rites. In Chapter Three a more detailed description of this will be given, but here we should note that it is the future father-in-law who performs the operation, and for a certain time afterwards he is entitled to use the boy sexually (Sche—rer 1974, 177-178).

With the Aranda in central Australia, a young man, following his initiation, chooses a 10-12-year-old boy to share his life with him for several years and serve him as a woman until he marries (O'Carroll 1980, 41). In Western Australia there are formal marriages between men and boys (Borneman 1978, 1431). In East Bay "a father will put his seven- or eight-year-old son sexually at the disposal of a friend; the child has to obey and his consent is not asked. He will, however, get some little gift." (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1980, 57).

When the Batak boys in Sumatra *(Indonesia)* reach puberty they leave their parents and dwell in a bachelor's lodge until they marry. Here the older adolescents masturbate them and have anal intercourse with them. Oral intercourse is strictly taboo. After his wedding night a groom is bound to return to his former comrades and tell them in great detail all about his sexual intercourse with his wife in order to give them a clear picture of what lies in store for them later (West 1977, 135-136).

One Peter M. Ladiges spoke about his travels in *Afghanistan* on a German radio programme in 1980. *Gay Journal* (September, 1980) gave a summary of his talk: "Homosexuality is common and is found to be a solution everywhere. Moving to the summer pastures the herdsman never takes his own son along with him but the son of one of his friends. This boy is his apprentice, serves him and gets instruction from him about things a good nomad has to know. These male relationships are carried on through life, even though the two will see each other less frequently after the boy marries. About the Chuckchee in Northern Siberia it is reported that sex with boys is considered normal and in no way kept secret. Young, handsome boys adorn themselves and flirt openly with their admirers. This is all the more striking because nothing impedes sex with girls and the boys themselves start to have heterosexual intercourse from ten years on."(Wrangel, quoted by Erman 1871, 164)

Among the Eskimos of *Greenland,* man/boy marriages are also traditional (Borneman 1978, 1254).

Magnificently illustrated volumes made the Western world familiar with the Nuba tribe in *Sudan,* their beautiful body-painting and their favourite sport—the ferocious gang boxing fights of the muscular warriors. In this tribe of strong, virile people, boys and men customarily go about naked; only the sick and the old cover their bodies with clothes. The men have sexual

intercourse with the boys and "marry" them (Leyten 1978, 300; Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1980, 60; Riefenstahl 1973 & 1976).

Patzer mentions man/boy marriages in Algeria (1982, 88), Italiaander (1969,107-108) among the Bantu tribes. In some societies like the Nyakyusa, young males are sexual objects for other young males; in others like the Azande the elite have boy wives. The boys, accustomed to exclusive homosexuality, graduate to "husband" roles when they are older and themselves take "boy wives" from a new generation (Murray 1984, 46). In the Egyptian *Siwa Oasis* near the Libyan border, already mentioned in the first chapter, all men have anal intercourse with boys; if one doesn't follow this practice he is considered very peculiar. A father marries his adolescent son to one of his friends, who then has complete control of the boy. He may prohibit the boy from having sex with others but may also lend him out for sexual purposes. The people are convinced that a boy will not grow up properly if he isn't regularly used by a man. This will also enlarge and strengthen his penis (Bullough 1970, 31; Cline 1936). Until 1926 such man/boy marriages were even legally recognised (Maugham 1982, 122). Edwardes & Masters (1962, 246-247) reported that the government had by then declared them illegal but that the traditional ceremonies nevertheless still take place. After circumcision the boys enter the league of Ez-Zeggaleh (The Beserks). "During a *Zegl,* or orgy, the men and the boys strip each other naked and, inflamed by stimulants, attack one another passionately. Having effected anal penetration, the active partner rotates his penis as energetically as possible; at the same time he masturbates his passive lover (...) Each partner assumes an alternately active and passive role. The same pederastic pattern may be found throughout the oases of Libya and Egypt, in the Sudan, and along the old slave routes to Timbuktu."

Tobias Scheebaum (1969) lived like a native with a naked tribe of Indians in the *Peruvian* rain forest. He tells how affectionate and intimate men and boys were there to each other, and how these close relationships as a matter of course found their expression in sex.

Summing up, we may conclude that men having sex with boys is an omnipresent human phenomenon. The motives may differ: sometimes it is done to facilitate education and strengthen character, sometimes to reinforce the boy's sexual potency, or to strengthen and develop his body; sometimes simply to satisfy a man's lust. Thus it has been, in all nations and in all ages. Goethe was right in saying that boy-love is part of the nature of man. Only the ignorant could call it unnatural or deviant.

In so saying we voice no opinion about its morality or immorality. Moral kindness as well as immoral cruelty are present everywhere in mankind; each is as integral a part of human nature as boy-love. Its morality or immorality has nothing to do with its frequency; it depends entirely upon the good it

brings to boy and man or the harm it inflicts upon them. These are problems we will take up in the second volume of this work.

BOY-LOVERS IN RELATION TO WOMEN

There have always been "normal", i.e. predominantly woman-loving, men who have sought sex with boys. Their counterpart is the boy-lover who seeks sexual intercourse with women. In the U.S.A., no less than half of the boy-lovers are said to be married (Rossman 1976,6). The possibility of using a female as a substitute for an adolescent boy was recognised in the Old Testament Book of Genesis: the men of Sodom lay seige to the house of Lot, where beautiful young strangers had been taken in as guests, because they wanted to have sex with them. Lot tried to save face as host by offering his daughters, virgins still, to the mob (XIX: 1029). Of course, we find, as always in the domain of sexuality, many variations on this theme.

To some paedophiles, especially those who are drawn to small children, the sex of the partner has little importance: the age is the decisive thing (Pieterse 1982, I-26). But it is hardly unusual for even those who prefer more mature boys to feel drawn to women as well.

Jacques de Brethmas (1979, 12) confesses: "Thinking about boys will give me an immediate erection. If a woman is to produce the same reaction she must take my penis in her hand. It's quite possible for me to spend a night with a woman, and from time to time I do. But during the day the presence of a woman becomes intolerable and I feel much happier in the company of a boy." For de Brethmas, a woman was the best substitute he had yet discovered when boys were unavailable. A similar picture is developed in the Dutch novel *Stadsgezichten* by A. Moonen (1978). The German anarchist Peter Schult tells how he shared his bed with a mother and her fourteen-year-old son and had sex with both of them in turn. On another occasion he did the same thing with a woman and her young brother (1978, 49, 66).

Much deeper are the ties and passions described by an author like Gabriel Matzneff. Matzneff followed the example of the Roman poet Catullus who, when his tempestuous relationship with Clodia (Lesbia) had run its course (remember Carl Orff's delightful *Catulli Carmina!),* tried to find consolation in the embraces of Juventus, handsome scion of a patrician family (Bullough 1979, 140-141). Matzneff had likewise a long-lasting relationship with a young woman. When at last it came to an end he was shattered and he turned for comfort to a thirteen-year-old boy. He concluded: "I am acquainted with both kinds of love. The relationships which society approves of are not the happiest." (1977, 47-48, 129)

No wonder, things being what they are, that many boy-lovers are married; the *married boy-lover* is hardly exceptional (Geiser 1979, 79; Rouweler-

Wutz 1975, 31). But the circumstances of these marriages can vary enormously. Some wives are quite unaware of their husbands' attraction to boys, some have their suspicions, some have been well informed. In the first two cases it is common for a feeling of uneasiness to arise, as most women intuitively perceive that something is lacking in their relationship. The man may feel guilty about keeping silent about something which is such a central element in his life and which prevents him from showing in his sexual relations with his wife the kind of passion she feels entitled to. He may feel threatened by the risk of discovery and the catastrophe that could bring to his marriage and his children Sexually he could be driven to the point reached by one of Stekel's patients, about whom the famous psychoanalyst reported: "Daily he had intercourse with his wife, often even several times a day, and nevertheless nearly every day he had to masturbate as well, even immediately after coitus, the reason being that intercourse was never able to satisfy his real appetite" (1922, 325). In the case of other individuals, quite the opposite happens, and their desire for intercourse fades completely away.

Sometimes we find a man marrying a woman because he is in love with her younger brother to whom she bears a striking resemblance.

26 An 18-year-old Moroccan told me he used to spend weekends with the family of his future wife in another town. Before going to sleep he was permitted to carry on some petting activities with her but had to stop short of intercourse because she wanted above all to enter marriage as a virgin. The petting, of course, put him in a state of violent tension, a fact which his future wife and her family readily understood. The problem was solved by letting him later share the bed of her fourteen-year-old brother on whom he could satisfy his passion. The boy, who was on very good terms with his future brother-in-law, liked this immensely.

Where the woman is or becomes aware of the fact that her husband's appetite is mainly for boys, she can react in many different ways, from deep hatred resulting in divorce to complete tolerance and understanding. The first was the tragedy of Oscar Wilde and occurred in the life of André Gide. In one revealing story by Rudolph von Abele (1962), apparently inspired by the marriage of Gide with his niece Emmanuele, we find a heart-rending description of the horror his wife experienced when she discovered her husband having sex with a hotel servant-boy. On the other hand there are wives who help their husbands collect pictures of naked boys, who invite young cousins or sons of friends in order to please their husbands, and who will tell you, one way or another, "If he were unfaithful to me with a woman I'd never forgive him, but his relations with a boy I accept with equanimity for that is quite a different matter," (Barrington 1981, 133, 136) This is hardly a new idea. The ancient Greeks said that the great singer Orpheus, wishing to remain faithful

to his lost wife Euridice, satisfied his sexual needs with boys (Bullough 1976, 105). In practice, however, it may become very difficult to maintain such tolerance under all circumstances. It can also happen that the attitude of the wife may change during the course of marriage. Once she becomes a mother, the fear of her husband's adventures being discovered and disaster being brought down upon her and her child might make her more and more opposed to his other life style. Marriages of boy-lovers are seldom successful (Pieterse 1982, II-5). In his well-known study on prostitution (1887, 373), Carlier, however, reported that he knew of no less than five cases in which such a marriage went well: the wife liked boys too and shared with her husband their favours in a happy threesome.

A divorced or unmarried mother who falls in love with a man whom she knows to be a lover of children will often willingly grant him a great deal of liberty with her son, firmly convinced that this is a good way to win him over for herself and so "convert" him. She might let him shower with the boy, or even sleep with him. Of course, she will also try to sleep with him herself—and often succeeds, for many boy-lovers are able to have sex with an attractive female companion. But sooner or later disappointment will be bound to set in, and grow enormously as she realises with astonishment and horror that her own child is triumphing over her in the battle of love, and thus she distances herself from the man more and more. At the very best, this leads to a breakdown in relations, leaving an embittered woman, a lonely, unhappy, bewildered boy helplessly manipulated by two adults, and a man who had thought he dwelt in paradise now cast into hell. At worst, the case can be turned over to the police. Such arrangements never work out well.

VARIETY IN AGE PREFERENCES

In his affectionate relations, a boy-lover nearly always prefers a certain age-group (West 1977, 211; Wilson & Cox 1983, 17-18, 124). Those who claim to like "every human being with a penis between his legs, from zero to seventy-five years of age" are exceptional. Most boy-lovers find their sexual preference in one of the following age categories:

a) Small children up to about 10 years of age.
b) Prepubertal boys, from 11 to 13 or 14 years of age.
c) Boys in puberty and adolescence, 13 to 16 years of age.

According to criminal statistics, those who prefer girls are most strongly attracted to children of six to eleven years of age, while those who prefer boys are more commonly attracted to youngsters 12 to 15 years old (Pieterse 1982, II 10-12). Criminal statistics, however, seldom give a reliable picture of the phenomenon they supposedly depict.

As far as is know, men whose sexual preferences lie in the first category

are few in number In Pieterse's investigation, they made up 16.6% of respondents. Bernard found that only 4% of his paedophile subjects prefered prepubertal boys exclusively (1979, 89). Baurmann (1983, 678) analysed all criminal sexual cases in the German state of Lower Saxony between 1969 and 1972 —all in all 8058 cases. Of these, 108 concerned boys under the age of six (compared with 464 girls), 426 boys from 6-9 years (compared with 2026 girls), 343 boys from 10-13 years (compared with 3017 girls). (The remaining 1584 cases concerned girls from 14-20 years.) In evaluating these figures it must be kept in mind that the younger the child is the more likely parents are to lodge a sexual assault complaint with the police, and this distorts the statistics, increasing the percentage of lower-aged partners. In any case, in the small boy-lover social minority, those loving *very young boys* make up, again, a very small minority. Moreover, they are usually not sensitive to specifically boyish characteristics. Often they are drawn to both boys and girls, for their love goes out to the small child regardless of its gender (Hoffmann, quoted by Rush 1980, 240-241). Such men almost never discuss their feelings openly, with the result that next to nothing is known about them.

27 An exception was Boisrobert, a close friend of the famous Cardinal Richelieu. He once told a group of young men that he was exhausted, "having screwed twice, first with a little girl, then with her brother. She was a virgin, and I had to pay twenty pistoles. The brother cost me only two écus. However, I had more pleasure with the brother than with the sister." (Lever 1985, 125)

The most beautiful, intense picture of a love relationship between an adult man and an eight-year-old boy was given by Tony Duvert in his novel *Quand morut Jonathan* (1978).

As for the *two other groups* (the lower limit of attraction varying from 8 to 12 years, the upper limit from 14 to 16), the specifically boyish characteristics are decisive, and thus the strict chronological age is not so important. The production of fertile seed is the usual test of having reached maturity, but this event has long been in the making and, mentally, it has for some time been clamouring to announce itself. The age at which puberty finally arrives, the day orgasm is accompanied for the first time by the ejaculation of seed, can vary greatly within the limits of normal development. We see healthy, strong boys of 15 still speaking with the high, clear voices and retaining the small, undeveloped, hairless genitals of childhood. The next moment we seen an equally healthy, strong boy of eleven carrying a male member of such size and thickness as to make many an adult man envious: excited to orgasm, he produces an abundant quantity of thick, opalescent ejaculate; his pubic region and thighs are covered with black hair and he addresses you in a bass voice.

For this reason statistics about the age-preferences of boy-lovers are completely unreliable: subjects are classified, numbers grouped, graphs drawn with blithe facility, giving the impression to the less critical student that he is learning something concrete, while actually he is not. It is easy, for example, to pretend that boys attain their peak of attractiveness for boy-lovers at age thirteen. Why thirteen? Because thirteen is the average age of attaining physical maturity. People who like immature boys will therefore say they prefer boys of 10 to 13, and people who like mature boys say they prefer boys 13 to 16. So when we add these two groups of people with really divergent tastes, we come up with an illusory peak which only obscures understanding. Such a graphic representation conceals the heterogeneity of the sample population (Bernard 1979, 88). It would be much better if research was founded upon a qualitative rather than a quantitative definition of preferred age. Or the question might better be asked as to whether the subject felt more attracted to a partner with small or large-size genitals.

A good example of the former would be Michel Tournier, who noted in his famous novel *Le roi des Aulnes* (1970): "A boy of twelve has come to a point of perfect poise and bloom which renders him the masterwork of Creation. The beauty of face and body at this age is so intense that all other forms of human loveliness are but a distant, pale reflection. And then—disaster! All the ugliness of the male: this hairy squalor and livid colour of adult flesh, the rough cheeks, this disfigured, stinking, exaggerated donkey's pizzle: they all burst in upon the little prince and pull him down from his throne."

Some authors have advanced the opinion that puberty is not suitable to use as a dividing line between age groups because boys may experience orgasm long before production of sperm. This observation, in many cases, is quite true. Kinsey found that about 80% of smaller boys were able to stimulate their penises to climax of lust feelings even though their members stayed dry or, in the last phase of prepuberty, produced a few drops of clear, sperm-free slime from the Cowper glands (1948, 176; Abraham 1969, 121; Van Stockert 1956, 24).

Thore Langfeldt, after questioning a number of boys on this subject, concluded that lust feelings in orgasm remain more or less the same from the years of childhood on into adult life. "The onset of puberty did not seem to have an influence on the sensation, fantasy, or masturbatory patterns in those boys in the author's study who had started masturbating before puberty."(1981, 39, 67) His opinion is shared by Hertoft (1983, 70). The Dutch psychiatrist Lochtenberg, however, thinks this most improbable because, with increased experience and the onset of sexual relations, voluptuous sensations are bound to change (1981, 16).

28 Professor Schérer was told in a conversation with Alcide (18 years): "Sex with others? Yes, I began having it very early, and I felt much closer to the people I slept with than to my mother and father, even though my relationship with my parents isn't especially bad. I started doing it with my little female cousin when I as nine; later, at eleven, it was with a man. In the beginning, in the relationships, I was mainly interested in tenderness (...) As for sexual pleasure, at first that was maybe less important than it became later (...) I like t sleep with someone and to be caressed." Schérer then asked him, "Do you have any thoughts about something which has always been poorly understood: the sexual feelings of immature children?" Alcide replied: "The physical excitement of sleeping with someone is the same, absolutely the same, at all ages, before and after maturity. I don't believe that my desire is stronger now than it was earlier (...) In those days I didn't ejaculate, but the feeling was equally good. I got a hard-on and liked being touched." (1979, 262-263)

29 A subject of Ellis (1913, III 337), however, tells of a case of a boy where, at age 12, after attempted intercourse with a girl of the same age, "the hand flew to the phallus and worried it, and orgasm came on at once—the childish orgasm consisting of well-spaced spasms of the ejaculators, without the poignant preliminary nisus of the adult orgasm."

30 A German boy of fifteen telling a psychologist about his sex relations with a man which started when he was ten, said: "I came to like it more and more. At twelve, for the first time, seed started to shoot out. After that the pleasure was even more intense." (Unpublished report, 1980, in the archives of the Brongersma Foundation)

Whichever may be true, the dry orgasm of the immature boy is strikingly similar to that of women in its capacity to be immediately repeated almost indefinitely. There is, however, a minority of boys unable to attain this orgasmic experience because of an itching sensation in their penises which becomes so intolerable they have to give up the attempt. Such boys only learn in puberty how to really enjoy their sexual potential.

But even if every immature boy were able to experience a full-blown orgasm, it would be naive to assume from this that there was no *difference between mature and immature boys* as sexual partners. It would show a lack of knowledge about modern sexology which rightly doesn't consider the attainment of orgasm the exclusive aim of sexual contact. It would also reveal a lack of understanding of the findings of psychology which point to revolutionary changes brought about by puberty in a boy. He who makes such an assertion has certainly never himself had a lasting intimate relationship with a boy, and accompanied and observed him as he passed over this threshold.

Boy-lovers who have had such a relationship and discussed it with me have all said that their young friends acted quite differently after puberty.

31 A good example of this was communicated to me by a Dutch railway official: "I met Max for the first time when he was eleven. He wasn't lacking in sexual experience: even since he'd been seven he had masturbated every night with his four-year-older brother who had taught him how to do it. With me, he was soon doing the same intimate things; we shared the same caresses, and in the course of the next year we went on to oral and anal relations as well. He finally came to prefer anal intercourse, which in itself could bring him close to orgasm. In my home, where he was a frequent visitor, he felt most at ease when he could go about stark naked, and he never refused sex when I asked him for it. But there was one thing which often drove me to the brink of despair: during our sexual relations he always wanted to look at television and his thoughts and conversation were far removed from my tender activities. I would be fondling him and trying through passionate lovemaking to guide us both to a peak of joy, when suddenly Max would come out with something about his homework or his rabbits. This situation persisted until, at thirteen, he went into puberty and began to ejaculate. His behaviour then changed completely. Now it was he who took the initiative in starting our sexual play —and he did it more frequently than I ever had. His sexual appetite was very strong and urgently needed satisfaction. The sense of sexual bliss overwhelmed him so completely that his eyes and ears were often impervious to everything around him. Intense pleasure glazed his eyes, and even if I shouted something he wouldn't react. I have never experienced such a perfect sexual expression of love as I did with Max." (Personal communication)

Michael Ingram, a Dominican friar and youth counsellor, in a report on 91 cases he investigated of such relations with immature boys, wrote: "It was quite clear to me that while some boys allowed the man to masturbate them, they did so solely for the gratification of being fondled. I received a number of reports of boys starting to engage in other activities as the man became more sexually excited, eating, fiddling with the dials of the radio, engaging in unrelated conversation, etc." (1979, 516) Casimir Dukahz sketched a similar situation in his amusing *The Asbestos Diary* (1966). He was having the most passionate sex with his boy-friend—and the boy wanted to discuss the exact height of some mountain...!

After puberty the boy seems to have forgotten all his physical experiences and has to rediscover and reinterpret his feelings, experiences and gender specifics. A new start is made in which, of course, earlier experiences still influence his later evolution (de Regt 1980, 13-14).

It's not just physically and emotionally that puberty makes a big change in a boy; its effects are mental and intellectual, too. A child may love music,

appreciate a landscape, be pious, behave nicely to peers and friends. At puberty, however, this all gets a new dimension: deepened artistic appreciation, enthusiasm for nature, religious reflection, community with his fellow-beings—all undergo a great qualitative change and take on new depth. Sexuality, of course, is no exception. Rouweler-Wutz says (1976, VI): "My studies of youthful sexuality have left me convinced that after puberty experiences are assimilated in quite a different manner than in the preceding period." And Straver (1977, 256) writes: "Only at about the time of puberty does a child begin to reflect about himself, acquire a special sensitivity to how other persons look at him, begin to experience tension in his relations with other people. A child may be affectionate; only the adolescent can be 'involved with another' (...) Childish interaction is interaction, just as infant speech is speech. And in the same limited way childish sexuality is sexuality. But these words at once express the continuity as well as the caesura. Childish behaviour lacks something, and the adolescent understands this very well." Up until now, skin contact has simply produced an agreeable sensation in the boy: fondling and kissing were fine. With puberty, however, as Lemaire (quoted in Jans 1977, 245) points out, the skin develops a new sensitivity. Much more clearly than before, one consciously feels the skin to be a surface upon which one may meet another person in touch and caress. Nudity thus acquires new erotic significance, symbolised by the penis: what in the child was just an unseemly protuberance, is now a big organ, dangling conspicuously as one walks, attracting the eye of the observer not just by this spontaneous movement but also by its colour and surrounding growth of hair.

During sexual activities the small child is mostly passive. With mature boys behaviour may be active as well, depending on the boy's character and the inhibiting effect of social taboos. In any case, his sexual appetite is now more imperious: hitherto the attaining of orgasm—if possible—was just pleasant play; now the glands have begun to function and a regular expulsion of their accumulated products becomes necessary for his well-being. As one 17-year-old told me, "Without sex I couldn't feel happy and healthy." The urge simply to stimulate his genitals is much more pronounced in the mature than in the immature boy.

The foregoing has suggested that those men with a pronounced preference for prepubertal boys seek subjects who are not just physically but also mentally very different from those of men attracted to boys in and immediately after puberty (Sebbar 1980, 89-90). Schérer (1979, 235) stresses the psychological difference: the relationship with the small child is simple because the little boy doesn't talk about love and lust; with a bigger boy, on the other hand, you can discuss such matters and think about them.

These groups of boy-lovers should thus be distinguished from one an-

other, without, however, forgetting that there are never clear-cut limits in the domain of sexuality. Tony Duvert defines those who love immature boys as "paedophiles" and the others as "pederasts" (1970, 21). The picture is complicated, however, by the fact that an affectionate, close relationship tends to continue after the boy has passed the upper age limit which the man finds attractive. A "pederast" will rarely be satisfied with an immature boy; only under exceptional circumstances will he be induced to have sex with such a partner. But it is not at all exceptional for a "paedophile" to continue having sex with his young friend for some time after the boy reaches puberty. In the case of men looking less for casual pleasure with some attractive boy than for a lasting love relationship, the upper age limit is thus very flexible. The same holds true for "pederasts", for with them it is frequently difficult to decide where boy-love ends and adult homosexuality begins (Wilson & Cox 1983, 116).

29 (Continued) In Max's case the bond between him and his adult friend was so deeply rooted that even after he lost his erotic appeal for the man, "sex still took place from time to time, even when Max was a married man of twenty-four."

The ancient Romans were fully aware of this phenomenon and Petronius quotes the proverb: "Who has carried the calf may also carry the bull" (Cap XXV). "Paedophiles" and "pederasts" don't differ so much in their actual sexual behaviour or their sexual potentialities as in their personal preferences.

From time immemorial, the *growth of body hair* rather than chronological age has defined the border between boy-love and homosexuality. With the appearance of the beard and increased hair growth on the lower abdomen and legs, "a boy ceased to be an object of aesthetic appreciation and sensual desire," observed Bloch (1912, I 412-413). In Epigram 220 of the *Anthologia Graeca,* Prometheus is made responsible for the "horrible beard" and the hair which comes on boys' legs; it is only right that he be punished by Zeus, the poet sighs. In epigram 195 he laments, "As summer heat kills precious flowers, so hair soon destroys beauty." It is an ever-recurring theme. Epigram 31:

Pamphilos, I swear it by Themis and by the wine in the cup
Which makes me unsteady: short is the time for love.
Look, your chin and your thighs are downy already
And other lusts will confound your senses tomorrow.

Likewise, Martial sends best wishes to friends, hoping that their young slaves may preserve the smoothness of their skin as long as possible (IX, 56; II,

48). Greeks and Romans alike used depilation to prolong the attractiveness of older boys (Borneman 1978, 85-86).

On this point they shared the same view as all other peoples among whom boy-love has been generally accepted. In Arab poetry the beloved boy is always designated "beardless" (Wagner 1965, 183). The Persians said when the first hairs of the beard sprouted: "The cheeks mourn the dead beauty" (Burton 1885, V 161). According to Krauss, the Japanese called the beloved boy *takenoko,* i.e., bamboo shoot. Bamboo shoots are only edible when they are young and free of hair (1907, I 315, II 222-223).

In antiquity young slaves were sometimes castrated (by extraction or squeezing of the testicles) to preserve their smooth skin, just as boys were later castrated in papal Rome to preserve their soprano voices for the choir of the Sistine Chapel.

LASTING FRIENDSHIP AND CASUAL MEETING

According to Loes Rouweler-Wutz, men loving girls have for the most part casual, passing contacts, while those loving boys strive much harder for lasting relationships (1976, 24). Monica Pieterse's study confirmed this. Most boy-lovers long for a long-lasting friendship, and where they are successful in attaining this the average duration is a strikingly long 33 months (Pieterse 1982, II 13-14).

On the other hand, one-time-only contacts are frequent; under certain conditions they may attain for both partners a striking intensity and depth and in every way take their proper place within the limits of a healthy sex life. Immorality resides in arousing false expectations. But when man and boy agree to offer each other the mutually desired delight and relief of shared sex, laying no other claims upon one another, this is completely justified. Older boys tend to have more understanding of sex practiced purely for pleasure than do younger boys (NISSO Report 1973, 21). The French author Jouhandeau (1981, 122, 20-21, 79) wrote a striking apology for the anonymous one-night-stand: be satisfied if you have had sex once in your life with a boy you loved, for such perfection cannot be reached a second time. When you have sex with an unknown individual he is two-fold naked: stripped of his clothes and stripped of his personality. As soon as you know your partner's identity it immediately becomes more difficult to surrender yourself to blind instinct.

Occasionally a man and boy will hit it off at once so completely and naturally that sexual intimacies occur quite spontaneously within minutes of their first meeting. On the other hand the idea of a lasting friendship in which sexual desire only gradually awakens and the ensuing activities follow after a considerable lapse of time is far from being an over-idealised fantasy.

32 An English youth leader came to know Owen when the boy joined his group at age twelve. Over the next three years their friendship became more and more intimate. Owen often came to the man's home. Then one night when the boy was fifteen they had a long conversation about sexuality during which the youth leader confessed that his appetite was directed wholly toward boys. Owen's immediate reaction was rejection; he voiced all the usual prejudices, but just as the man thought it would be best to drop the subject the boy suddenly stood up and said, "Well, let's have a try," and proceeded to undress. The man, even though he had had lots of experience in these matters, was now taken completely by surprise. Owen had always seemed a rather reserved, introverted boy, but now he was suddenly caught up in an outburst of the hottest passion and abandoned his body to his older friend time and again until they both were completely exhausted. The intensified friendship which followed lasted for years and included frequent sex. (Personal communication)

In boy-love treatises this sort of gradual evolution of mutual feeling ultimately crowned by sexual union is often given as typical. The psychologist Sandfort (1981, 90) may well be correct in attributing this to the attempt to render such relationships more acceptable to outsiders. Thus it must be stressed that a short circuiting of such a process is rather common, and, contrary to what it is feared outsiders might think, this is certainly not always bad.

Questioned about their one-time-only contacts over the preceding five years, 20% of the subjects in Pieterse's investigation (N : 148) claimed to have had many, or very many while 80% said they had none or very few; 62.8% liked to have such casual contacts concurrently with their steady friendships, while 26.4% didn't; 49.3% preferred to have only one steady relationship at a time, 35.1% to have several simultaneously, while 14.9% had no opinion (Pieterse 1982, II 15-17).

In any case, it is quite senseless to divide boy-lovers into categories of the morally superior (having steady friendships) and the morally inferior (preferring one night stands). In putting a taboo on boy-love, society itself made it impossible for many men to built a steady relationship based on pedagogical eros without placing themselves and their young friends at great risk from the aggression of their fellow-citizens or the forces of justice. Penal law is almost powerless to prevent the sexual activities it criminalises from taking place: sexual appetite is just too forceful. Not that the legal dispositions are completely ineffective: they actually favour the casual, pedagogically valueless, even objectionable, contacts at the expense of closer relationships with their manifold opportunities. We are therefore justified in concluding that these legal prohibitons actually work against the best interests of society. (Chapter Four will take up this subject in greater detail.)

II. ADULT LOVERS

This being the case, the *behaviour* of an individual boy-lover doesn't justify jumping to conclusions about his *tendency* to promiscuity. Research statistics on this score tell us more about the social conditions in which boy-lovers live than about their real proclivities.

ABSENCE OF RELIABLE RESEARCH

Our hostile, taboo-ridden laws have yet another effect: they make proper research into boy-love and boy-lovers next to impossible. Science is unable to study a group which is treated by its social environment with so much hatred, contempt and fear that it renders itself open to punishment if it acts in accordance with its innate tendencies.

After the work of Lombroso many years ago, criminology had to abandon its hope of describing "the criminal". Previously this had seemed a simple job: you only had to analyse the characteristics of penitentiary inmates. It became apparent, however, that the penitentiary contains only a small selection of people who have committed the most serious crimes: petty delinquents, much more numerous, escape with fines or probation. Moreover, the question was raised as to how much a man might change by being caught, arrested, questioned, forced to face a judge, sentenced, jailed with other prisoners and excluded from society. In other words, is prisoner A still the same person as criminal A at the moment of his offence? At last, research into the extent of the so-called "dark numbers" (the figures for unknown, undetected crime) turned up the astonishing facts that more than 90% of young men are guilty of criminal activities (Buikhuisen 1969, 74). I once calculated, for a speech I gave in the Dutch parliament, that in a total of one million offenders guilty of serious criminal activity, only 260 will ultimately go to jail. The inmates of a prison, therefore, are in no way representative of the "typical criminal", supposing such a creature really exists.

The environment in which research into criminal behaviour takes place is downright ideal when compared with that in which paedophile research must be carried out. For, originally, no distinction was made between paedophiles (men and women whose erotic feelings are directed mainly towards children) and pseudo-paedophiles (men and women whose erotic feelings are directed mainly towards adult partners but who use children as substitutes). The error which so completely invalidated older studies of homophilia was once again repeated here: "paedophile" subjects were sought among patients in psychiatric hospitals and people sentenced by the courts. Everyone who had committed an "indecent assault" upon a child was labelled "a paedophile", just as, formerly, everyone who had had intercourse with a partner of his own sex was labelled a homophile (Bullough 1979, 15; Taylor 1981, x; West 1977, 32). Freud, too, saw only pseudo-paedophiles (Fraser 1976, 119). Implicit was the

assumption of these authors that sexual behaviour was always indicative of one's innermost sexual desire, as if the act rather than the configuration of his erotic instinct defined a man as a paedophile. Sexologically, this is an untenable simplification.

Albrecht (1964), Baurmann (1983), Crawford (1981), Freund (1981), Gebhard (1965), Howells (1981), McCaghy (1967, 1971), Möller (1983), Newton (1978), Sandfort (1979), Schorsch (1973), Socarides (1954), Swanson (1968), Wegner (1953), Wyss (1967) and other authors mentioned earlier in this chapter made it clear that among the so-called sexual delinquents there was only a very small percentage of real paedophiles. The great majority are people who, through some inability to establish human contact, thus suffering from an inferiority complex, cannot establish relations with an adult partner. Wegner found many war invalids among them and noted the frequency of alcohol abuse; drinkers, according to him, took more easily to boys than to girls (1953, 43, 51), although this latter finding was not substantiated by Baurmann (1983, 439).

By mixing the few real paedophiles with the large mass of these unhappy individuals in the same cauldron, earlier researchers created a porridge which they tried to analyse with the instruments of their science. How biased these learned men were is clearly revealed in their terminology: their subjects were "offenders", "criminals", "delinquents", "molesters", "convicts", etc., the young partners were always "victims", their activities together was "abuse". The findings of these researchers inevitably conformed to their preconceived opinions (Howells 1981, 72, 86-87).

Tootbert & Jones portrayed in *The International Journal of Psychiatry* (1959) their 120 convicts as sexually unsatisfied people suffering from contact inadequacy, guilt feelings and hypersensitivity to the judgement of other people; they were weak, had strong feelings of inferiority and thus took refuge in identifying with the physically weak and emotionally less corrupted child. Niemann (1974, 67) detected among 173 sexual delinquents 68.8% with contact inadequacies. Michael Schofield (1965, 150) published a survey of the opinions of many authors. According to Fitch the "typical paedophile" comes from a bad environment or a broken family. Frosch & Bromberg believed him to be lonely, a social misfit; Mohr & Turner agreed. Wyss called him a shy man with weak impulses, uncertain of himself. Wilson & Cox (1983, 122) claimed that he was shy and non-competitive. Schofield mentioned Bromberg, Bowman & Freedman who declared that the paedophile was generally impotent. Swenson & Grimes asserted that his profesional activities were qualitatively below average. Mohr & Turner and Virkunen felt the same applied to his intelligence and athletic prowess; mentally he was immature. Alan P. Bell and Calvin S. Hall (1971) described their subject as a very infantile personality. Kurland (1960) was convinced that a man who has sex

with children must be very disturbed—and even suggested that he suffered from a kind of schizophrenia. Mohr & Turner (1967) proposed a schizoid introversion and Karpman (1964) shared their opinion. Socarides (1959), on the contrary, felt that such sexual contacts as these men had with children were their safety valve, preventing an otherwise inevitable outbreak of psychosis. Albrecht (1964) and De Wind (1969) found that many were feeble minded. All of these authors found paedophilia a severely pathological condition: the adult male who had sex with children was a "sexual psychopath" and possessed all the characteristics of this anomalous group.

We will have more to say about the "sexual psychopath" in our fifth chapter. Let us observe in passing that the image of him in the mind of the public has not the least correspondence to reality. He is not the bestial brute people believe him to be. Research reveals him as a man with extremely strong moral convictions, particularly with regard to sexual matters. Often he is very religious, a faithful church-goer. The age at which he begins his sexual activities is far later than average because his sexual inhibitions are stronger than in healthy individuals. His sex contacts therefore are relatively few. In 59 cases of indecency with children analysed by Albrecht, 29 of the offenders had had no sexual relations at all, 7 only a few times per year, 10 only once or twice monthly and only 10 regularly or frequently (1964, 91). Shame is strongly developed in the sexual psychopath who is, moreover, shy and uncommunicative. What makes him a sick person is precisely this exaggerated sense of morality, which places a crushing burden upon him until every so often he collapses under it and his dammed-up impulses break out in an explosion driven by despair. Less serious explosions lead to such acts as exhibitionism, graver ones to sexual assault, rape or even torture-killing. People who approach moral problems with a somewhat lighter touch, who can quietly accept their own personal weaknesses, have less difficulty controlling themselves and don't let their behaviour run to extremes.

The picture drawn in these out-of-date publications of "the paedophiles" is horrifying. When I compare it to the over 400 practicing boy-lovers I personally know or with whom I exchange letters: I see clergymen of various churches, psychologists, authors, univerity professors, accountants, teachers, physicians, journalists, social workers, youth leaders, sculptors and painters, musicians, poets, army officers, public notaries, lawyers, civil servants, labourers, office managers, actors, publishers, employees, white collar workers, diplomats, photographers, mathematicians, stock brokers, bankers, librarians, estate owners, members of the landed gentry, farmers, engineers, psychiatrists, janitors, architects. Some are good workers at jobs on a low social level; many occupy important or very important positions and are recognized as men of outstanding character. Among them are citizens of many nations, social misfits as well as highly intelligent men in the public eye.

Some are tedious and boring, others vivid and fascinating in their conversation; some are shy and peculiar, others energetic and obstinate; some are very religious, some freethinkers; their ages vary from 17 to 70, the frequency of their sexual activity with boys from hardly ever to every day; some lead a monogamous life, others change their partners continually; some have had sex with countless boys without having any trouble from the police; others were arrested and punished at their first attempt; there are married men and bachelors among them.

When the Dutch authorities, shortly before World War II, suddenly launched a campaign against long-tolerated boy-love in The Netherlands East Indies (now Indonesia), among the victims were the mayor of the capital city, a Roman Catholic bishop, the medical superintendent of Java's largest hospital, nearly all artists living there and several journalists (Rovsing 1959, 171).

The contrast between reality and the ridiculous picture emerging from the supposedly scientific specialist literature would be laughable were it not for the enormous amount of misery, injustice, immorality and damage the latter has caused. As we have already pointed out, by mixing a low percentage of healthy boy-lovers with an overwhelmingly larger percentage of often mentally troubled pseudo-paedophiles, the results couldn't be otherwise. A technical research sampling error—with fateful results.

Its echos are resounding in some scientific publications—and still reverberate loudly in public opinion and the sensationalist press. More recent research, however, has come to very different conclusions. And new opportunities appeared when, beginning in 1970, paedophiles in various countries started to organize and come out in the open. They saw that "self-definition has been central to building identity for all oppressed people, and it is not the same as stigmatic labeling." (Reeves 1983, 17) Nothing short of epoch-making was the study of the Dutch psychologist Frits Bernard who, in 1973, distributed a printed questionnaire during an international congress on paedophilia in Breda, and continued to do this at later meetings. His successors were: in The Netherlands, Rouweler-Wutz (1974) and Monica Pieterse (1981, 1982) who, likewise, distributed different sorts of questionnaires among members of the various paedophile workgroups and their acquaintances; in England the Paedophile Information Exchange, which carried out a "survey of members" (published in 1976); in France, Léonard des Sables (pseudonym) with an enquiry among the members of Arcadie, a male homophile group (published 1976-1977).

Now, neither the paedophile workgroup of the NVSH nor the English P.I.E., the German D.S.A.P. and A.K.P., the Swiss S.A.P. nor other similar organizations have ever managed, in their composition, to be really representative of paedophiles. Almost without exception, their membership was

boy-loving male; the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) even explicitly so limits itself. Only Pieterse's research sample (N = 148) was less one-sided: although the large majority of her subjects (79%) loved boys, 9.2% preferred girls and 11.8% loved both sexes (1982, II 9).

The reason that boy-lovers predominate might well be that they are less inhibited in confessing their tendencies than are males loving girls (Mohr & Turner 1967, 363). French feminist Leïla Sebbar explains the absence of women through female sexuality being closer to the eroticism of children and farther removed from the goal-oriented sexuality of men. Thus women might be expected to be less interested in legalising paedophilia (1980, 293).

Since our study is concerned only with male boy-love, this one-sidedness of "paedophile" organizations and the research carried out among their members is, for our purposes, no real disadvantage. But the bias in all contemporary research is caused not so much by the bias in the interests of the subjects as by the bias in their social selection. This has certainly influenced results.

For, inevitably, members of an organization fighting for the emancipation of a group of people subject to strong discrimination, and the abolition of laws directed against their activities, are not average citizens. The man who has a great deal to lose if his innermost erotic tendencies are discovered by the people surrounding him will be reluctant to join such a group, and will be even less inclined to turn up at its meetings. The fear of discovery, however, disappears after his cover has been destroyed by arrest. Among the paedophiles present at the first Breda meeting, Bernard found no less than 54% who had been sentenced by the courts (1979, 76). The number of those who had had less serious collisions with justice, collisions which didn't result in conviction (not investigated by Bernard), might have increased this percentage considerably, because in The Netherlands the public prosecutor is free to not bring a case to court even if there is sufficient proof of guilt—and prosecutors tend to take full advantage of this discretionary power. Among Bernard's subjects who had never been convicted, 20% had been or were still under psychiatric treatment, another indicator of conflict with the human environment in which these people existed.

Men lacking in fighting spirit, or having no desire to meet people with similar interests, or who haven't been able to come to terms with their personal situation independent of the views of the surrounding majority—these men simply don't join such work groups. Emancipatory movements are always made up of the fighters, the lonely independents and the intellectuals—hardly a cross-section sample of any society.

In the introduction to their report on male sexuality, Anthony Pietropinto and Jacqueline Simenauer share the opinion of Alexander Pope that he who wants to study mankind should go to man, not to psychiatric patients, to

members of an organization or to his correspondents (1979, 16-17). Weinberg's statement (quoted in Levine 1980, 255) that public stigmatisation makes it impossible to compose a representative sample of homophiles, is even more applicable to paedophiles, labouring, as they do, under a far heavier burden of stigmatisation. Taylor points out that one simply cannot generalise from a sample taken from a paedophile work group (1980, XI).

Quite obviously, an active fighting spirit, independent judgement, and an unwillingness to submit to the moral values of neighbours, will not fail to influence sexual behaviour. The Kinsey reports as well as the investigation of Pietropinto & Simenauer established a relationship between intelligence and both the frequency of sexual activities and the form they take. This implies that a member of an unusually combative and intelligent emancipatory group will on average behave differently from his non-member counterpart. Therefore, all statistical data about sexual activity, promiscuity and sexual intentions deriving from members of paedophile action groups have only limited value. This likewise applies to Bernard's findings concerning the supposed lower level of neuroticism of his subjects. Wilson, Green & Siegelman come to similar conclusions in their analysis of a group of lesbian women: its members were on average less neurotic than a heterosexual control sample. But here as well, the selection may have been decisive (West 1977, 185). Marinkelle had already discovered (1976, 286) that, with respect to neuroticism, deviant groups are undistinguishable from heterophiles.

This is not to say that the work of these researchers is worthless or useless. It gives us a picture of the membership of previously uninvestigated organizations. But every temptation to generalise from these findings to paedophiles at large should be resisted. One appreciates the fact that P.I.E.'s English report modestly describes itself as a "survey of its members"; Léonard des Sables likewise published his study as "an enquiry among a group of boy-lovers". Bernard's research suffers in comparison by not being representative even of the action group as a whole: it includes only those present at a meeting and thus his sample is but a selection of a selection.

Rouweler-Wutz correctly and repeatedly maintained that the group she analysed was not representative (1976, 40, 44-45). Monica Pieterse criticised Bernard on this point: he was swept away by his enthusiasm as a pioneer and couldn't resist the temptation to generalise unduly from his findings by using such phrases as "*the* self-image of *the* average paedophile", etc (1978, 54).

The paedophile, however, doesn't exist, any more than *the* heterophile or *the* homophile (Möller 1983, 30). The object toward which his sexual appetite is directed may be of immense importance to the person concerned, but as long as his desires go out to another human being it is not that being's sex or age which form and characterise the personality of the lover. During the years prior to World War II it could still be believed that the homophile was a man

with certain character peculiarities which distinguished him from "normal" people. Since then, thousands and thousands of homophiles have been carefully examined and it gradually became evident that *the* homophile in no way differs from the "normal" (i.e., the majority) man except with respect to the object of his sexual desires (West 1977, 33). I'm convinced that a more systematic study of paedophile individuals will lead ultimately to the same conclusion, that is to say, they have no essential characteristic qualities which distinguish them from those about them save the predominance of children as objects of their erotic feelings. Taylor (1981 XIV) and Wilson & Cox (1983 57, 65) were of the same opinion: West said we knew nothing about boy-lovers (1977, 251) —or just as much as about any other subdivision of mankind.

PERSONALITY TRAITS OF BOY-LOVERS

The Dutch psychiatrist Veenstra once rightly observed that one thing which characterises the sciences dealing with man and his society is that they usually cannot prove their most important theses—and what they *are* able to prove is mostly unimportant (N. R. C. Handelsblad 21 Feb, 1981). Research and statistics thrust upon us an image badly corresponding to reality but conforming instead to the individual tastes of the investigator—an image decorated or disfigured with pleasant or unpleasant attributes. In the case of paedophilia, this has obscured the only important generalization one can make about people whose sexual appetite is predominantly directed upon children: to wit, that all the world's vices as well as all the highest human virtues are to be found in them. History has shown them to be capable of the most savage sadism as well as sublime self-sacrifice.

The American Dean Wayne Corll, who, about 1973, killed 27 boys in Houston after fettering and raping them, torturing and maiming their genitals, was a paedophile (Gurwell, 1974). Likewise, Haarman, the "werewolf" who between 1918 and 1924 killed at least 24 boys by biting their throats during sexual intercourse (Lessing 1925). But on the other hand we read of the Greek Episthenes imploring General Seuthas to let him be executed in place of a beautiful boy Seuthas had sentenced to death (Buffière 1980, 621). Likewise the socially prominent Dutch client of mine who chose to tell the police everything they wanted to know, thus destroying himself socially, rather than see his beloved boy tormented by police questioning. As the former Chairman of the English Paedophile Information Exchange has attested, this response is far from exceptional: many boy-lovers have similarly sacrificed themselves (O'Carroll 1980, 100).

As boy-lovers are men like all others, we may encounter them in any age group and in *all social classes.* Jacques de Brethmas rightly observes that a man may be publicly known as a boy-lover and function as television produ-

cer, head of a government department, pope, archbishop, singer, diplomat, general—but it is nearly impossible to be appointed clerk at the town hall, become a traffic policeman or a subordinate employee at a bank if you're suspected of having "bad morals" (1979, 72-73). In 1980 the newspapers reported that two lovers in Sicily, a 25-year-old man and a 15-year-old boy, had persuaded a 13-year-old friend to kill them with a gun because they could no longer stand the persecution of the people with whom they had to live. This couple had learned from experience how cruel heterophiles can often be....

Nevertheless, it seems that the majority of boy-lovers *don't feel unhappy* about their peculiarity *per se*. They wouldn't want to change the object of their attraction even if this were possible. Many are proud of their special talent for dealing with boys, helping them, getting on confidential and intimate terms with them (Wilson & Cox 1983, 45, 48).

Investigations of boy-lovers should be limited to what is peculiar to their particular situation. In part the situation they find themselves in is artificial, a product of our culture, and might therefore change if society dropped its prejudices in exchange for better knowledge, gave up those tenets of its moral code which impose an unnatural negation of sexuality and adopt instead positive tenets in harmony with human nature. The persecution of boy-lovers by the forces of "bourgeois decency", the law and a kind of psychiatry which views adaptation to social norms rather than mental health as the aim of therapyall place on this group the same heavy mental and emotional burden which other people put on groups they fear by means of continuous threats, expulsion from society, injustice and repression. Could this be the reason why Wilson & Cox (1983, 56) found them more introverted than average?

Apart from these culturally acquired characteristics, there are some traits which are inherent in the specific condition of being a boy-lover. The sharp observer who writes under the pseudonym of Casimir Dukahz remarks: "Boy-lovers are not remarkable for their longevity... indeed, because of their youthful élan vital even beyond eighty, most who have passed away can be said to have died young." (1966, 9) De Brethmas likewise affirms that the boy-lover is more child-like (1979, 83). He *retains his youth* longer than other men (Wilson & Cox 1983, 117). It certainly can be said that the more child-like he is the more successful he will be in dealing with young people. He will like to be surrounded by children and adolescents, and this may determine his choice of profession (teacher, pediatrician, etc.) or how he uses his spare time (youth leader, sport club manager)(O'Carroll 1980, 59). In his relations with youth, exuberant spirits, playfulness, trust, carefree behaviour, light-heartedness, informality and other such qualities will increase his popularity (Thorstad 1980, 33). This is not to say that *the* boy-lover possesses more of these assets than other people do. I have seen some who are depressed and characteristically go about with their faces clouded with gloom, putting boys

off and constantly complaining about their lack of success.

Many homophiles are mortally afraid of old age, when their *physical charms* have withered and they will be faced with loneliness. The boy-lover has less reason to fear in this respect, for boys aren't really very interested in the looks of their adult friends. When a boy likes a man it is not for his physical charms. Some men possess a kind of aura, exercising a magnetic attraction on nearly every boy they meet. I will never forget a rather ugly man who, even in countries where communication was frustrated by his ignorance of the language, had boys simply running after him. Another, well up in his sixties, kept writing me how amazed he was that one strikingly handsome boy, who was hardly short of admirers, returned to him time and again to abandon himself in sexual pleasure as soon as they were naked together. When my correspondent looked at his old face and worn body in the mirror he simply couldn't understand it. As this theme kept recurring in his letters, I finally got fed up and sent off a telegram: "Smash the mirror". In the letter that followed I explained: "Your friend is not fascinated aesthetically by your body; he is—justly—fascinated by your selfless care, your affection, your knowledge, your understanding, your generosity, and this enthusiasm he communicates with his body to your body, because at his age this is the most perfect way to express himself."

Stenbock beautifully portrayed such a situation in his story *Narcissus* (1894). The radiant, classically beautiful face of a man is horribly disfigured when a jealous woman throws acid on it. As a result of this catastrophe he becomes socially very withdrawn, until one day a blind boy crosses his path and they become intimate friends. He protects, looks after and loves the poor child. Finally he finds an ophthalmic surgeon who operates to restore the boy's sight. Then the dreaded day comes when the bandages are removed and the little friend will see for the first time the man's repellent face. But the boy looks at him and exclaims, "You're the most beautiful person in the world!" (Fraser 1976, 181)

Are boy-lovers more tender, *less aggressive* than other people? Statistically it is evident that they very seldom resort to violence against the objects of their desires. Rape and assault on boys are most exceptional, much more rare than with men loving girls or women (Baurmann 1983, 304; Pieterse 1978, 92). In his study, Bernard (1979, 109) observed that the participants at the Breda conference showed a reluctance to dominate. Is this the reason for the low incidence of violence, or is it that the boy by his behaviour reveals himself less fit to be victimised? (Baurmann 1983, 322)

Bismarck, the German imperial chancellor, held homosexuality a menace to the social order because it bridged "the distinction between classes ordained by God" (Fontanié 1980, 652; Gury 1980, 655). Blüher (1966, 60-61) says it is "a well-known fact that refined and less rigid people show a strong

attraction to simple, robust natures. They spontaneously choose the objects of their love from among the common people." One seeks his opposite in the beloved. Since a homophile cannot do this with gender, he may look for his *opposite in social class* or race; men in uniform may excite him, or the polarity of sado-masochistic relationships (Gagnon & Simon 1974, 256; Tripp 1975, 157-158; Galloway & Sabisch 1982, 36, 48). This magnetism of opposites—the prince and beggar-boy of so many fairy tales—is frequently observed in boy-love. It is as though the contrast in age is not enough: social differences are valued as well (Abraham 1969, 321; d'Arch Smith 1970, 191-192; a Barrington 1981, 68, 150; Oskamp 1980, 47; Tournier 1975, 333; Tripp 1975, 158). As poet Paul Verlaine put it (1868, 176):

Mes amants n'appartiennent pas aux classes riches,
Ce sont des ouvriers faubouriens ou ruraux,
Leurs quinze et leurs vingt ans sans apprêts, sont mal chiches
De force assez brutale et de procédés gros.

(My lovers aren't found among the rich; they are working people from the suburbs or the country. They carry their fifteen or twenty years without finery, and they don't hesitate to act brutal and coarse.) In the same poem he praises their powerful sex and dancing buttocks. There are: Charles, a choir-boy developing into a rough youth; Odillon, still a child but endowed like a man; François the supple, with the legs of a dancer and such a fine cock!; Auguste, so handsome when the poet first came to know him but every day, now, growing more adult...

In a special boy-love issue of the magazine published by the Belgian homophile action group "De rooie vlinder", a boy-lover laments the *short life of most relationships:* "It is possible to dream, in theory, about steady relationships—in practice, however, there are only two possibilities: either casual sex in a doorway or the lasting friendship in which one is sexually very reserved (...) Most boy-lovers have to limit themselves to the first—casual sex in a doorway. Many suffer from having this as their only option; others are avid consumers and find it normal and healthy. But many would prefer more continuity. Most relationships are very superficial: one nearly never meets the same boy twice. This is the big sorrow of most boy-lovers. I wonder if the boys themselves wouldn't like to meet one a second time." (1977, 21). The investigation carried out by Pieterse has shown that, at least for The Netherlands, this picture is too gloomy.

I am acquainted with one boy-lover who, during his whole life (he is now well over sixty) had sex with only two boys—but with these two frequently and intensely. Another declares, equally creditably, that at least 800 boys have shared his bed and brought him to orgasm. After the death of the

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Australian court recorder Clarence Osborne, photos, notes and recorded tapes were discovered documenting the sex he had had with some 2,500 boys (Wilson 1982). Are these three men very different types, or was it mainly different exterior circumstances which made their life styles so different? This is the kind of question upon which research should now be directed. How do boy-lovers meet their partners? How do they approach the boys? How to they talk to them and what about? How often are they successful? How do they relate to the parents of their boys? Do they often discuss sexual matters with their young friends? How important is the sexual aspect in their relationships? What are their experiences with boy prostitutes? Do they participate in group sex? What do we know about father-son incest? All of this, and much more, must be studied.

It is also important to know more about how relationships end. Saint-Ours, a French author, claims boy-love is a preparation for loneliness: only until he reaches a certain age does the boy possess his erotic attractiveness for the loving man and thus sex inexorably comes to an end (1973, 202). In the final analysis, this is the only fundamental problem common to all boy-love relationships. We will come back to this theme in later chapters. The fact that many boy-lovers have relationships with a number of boys, one after another or several at the same time, is connected to this.

Another consequence of the fixation of the boy-lover's eros upon the fleeting boyishness of the partner is that we often find he has taken up the hobby of *photography:* the beloved and admired boy is frequently photographed, mostly naked, to preserve a lasting image of the transient glory of his body (Hennig 1979, 153-159).

For boy-lovers share with the ancient Greeks their admiration of the young male body. The simple presence of a handsome boy, the chance to look at him, contemplate him, may, just in itself, make the boy-lover happy. And he would certainly agree with French author Jouhandeau (1909, 75) where he observes: "To me no boy is naked enough." One wants to see everything, uncovered, to study every secret. Some men will keep their beloved jealously concealed from the eyes of fellow boy-lovers; others want to bring their boys to the point where they can go about nude in the company of their friends without feeling shame.

An American feminist who has written excellent articles on man/boy love, Pat Califia, was of the opinion that boy-lovers in having sex show more *concern for the pleasure of their partners* than does the average heterophile (1980, 20). Now, it comes naturally to human beings in sexual intercourse to be excited by the partner's symptoms of delight; imagining his or her pleasure normally reinforces one's own. What everyone wants, as William Blake observed, is to see "the lineaments of gratified desire" in the face of a beloved (Friday 1981, 74, cf. page 68). In the NISSO research among 140 boys aged 15

to 17, only 1% thought it unimportant to excite a girl's lust feelings during intercourse, 2% thought this "rather pleasant", 36% found it "pleasant" and 60% "very pleasant" (De Boer 1978, 2A-G-2-10). Not without reason are frigid women taught to simulate sexual excitement in order to give their men greater satisfaction. In man/boy contacts, however, this aspect seems to be especially important. For many men, the chief source of delight is experiencing how the boy's naked body jerks in orgasm, hearing how he pants in high excitement, feeling in embrace his muscles strain spasmodically, listening to the quickened beat of his heart. Saint-Ours (1973, 194) declares: "Why try to describe my own lust? It has no meaning except as an echo of the lust I procure." Michael Davidson writes: "And even during actual bodily play, my pleasure—beyond the mental joy of seeing and touching, which is intense—comes from a consummate privity to *his* pleasure; if that's absent, the whole process seems absurd and pointless. My own orgastic conclusion may happen as a mere afterthought, if it happens at all—that too depends on *his* desires." (1962, 31) Eglinton: "Much of the excitement in sexual contact (...) comes from observing one's partner's reactions—squirming, delighted squeals, sighs, endearments, other obvious manifestations of pleasure—and from knowing that one is giving one's partner such delicious sensations" (1964, 152). Tom Reeves, spokesman of the North American Man/Boy Love Association and who has slept with hundreds of adolescents, says: "I have never cruised a boy. They come to me. And if I was with a boy and he showed on his face that he wasn't interested I wouldn't be able to function" (quoted by Rose 1978, 18). Jouhandeau: "My delight is only my delight if first it was his delight" (1969, 13).

One might be tempted to suppose that this applies only to relationships of profound love, but that is not the case. Even in sex with prostitute boys the same holds true: the client's dearest desire is to produce orgasm in the boy.

33 Janus (1981, 216) reports the words of Tony, a fifteen-year-old New York boy with three years of experience as a prostitute: "My teacher introduced me to a couple of other men who were very nice and didn't really ask very much except to suck my penis. I used to wonder what they were getting out of it. I was prepared to refuse if they wanted me to start going down on them or anything, but they seemed perfectly happy with that, and they'd take me a lot of places I'd never have got to otherwise, and spent a lot of money on me."

Moroccan and Tunisian boys in their relations with tourists often are only willing to be active in anal intercourse. Laud Humphreys mentions North American cities where if a car stops near certain well-used public lavatories two or three boys instantly appear at the window, even before the driver has had time to get out. "Got a dollar, mister?" a boy of about thirteen

will say. "I'll let you suck my cock" (1970, 98). Albert Reiss (1963) gives a detailed picture of boy prostitution in one American city: innumerable boys are involved and their relations with clients are subject to very strict rules. The client sucks the boy, nothing else being permitted. If the man tries to be tender to the boy, the gang will beat him up. The boy must pretend to feel no pleasure: he is just delivering his sperm in order to get money. The world tennis champion, Bill Tilden, was known to have only had masturbatory contacts, restricting himself to masturbating the boy (Deford: *Big Bill Tilden,* 1976, quoted in Gay Books Bulletin 1, 3: 12, 1979).

This phenomenon of the boy's pleasure having more importance for the man than his own has been noted by many other authors. Pieterse quotes a 55-year-old musician, loving boys 11-15, who says: "I love to give a child a sexual experience; I don't have to reach a climax myself; it often happens that I don't come myself; my pleasure lies in the pleasure of the child. I feel much more satisfaction if the child has felt relaxed and cheerfully satisfied in sex. I myself don't need this liberation. Often, after the child, freed of tension by his climax and delighted with the sensations he experienced, has left my home, I masturbate myself rather quickly" (1982, II 93-94). Weeks (1980/81, 133) mentions this, too. There is one recorded example of the opposite: Redhardt (1968, 77) quotes a professional prostitute who complains about clients being entirely indifferent to his sexual needs.

Many boy-lovers experience the deepest satisfaction in feeling how, in their fondling hands, the boy's soft sex responds to these ministrations and gets hot and hard. Peter van Eeten once remarked that the stiffening sex of a boy is the sweetest of love-songs. In his poetic masterwork *Tombeau pour cinq cent mille soldats,* Jean Guyotat makes an army general day-dream about the boys he has seen helping the cooks in the kitchen: "Oh, to throw myself upon these bodies, so ready for pleasure... and then my hand opens and slips under their sex, and my fingers clutch the glandular globes while the other grasps the shaft and feels it as it grows hard, stretches itself, becomes hot and glowing like red-hot iron... to feel in my hand how the sex throbs..." (1976, 245-247).

Just watching this phenomenon may be enough. Pieterse (1982, II 45) tells of a man who, seeing his beloved boy in orgasm, spontaneously reaches orgasm himself. And Guyotat, describing activities in a colonial boy's brothel, lets one of the inmates, Amour, tell his brother, who is also working there, "Kment, this morning a client came... I was naked on my bed—he didn't touch me... He put flowers and dry leaves on my stomach and asked, 'Boy, bring these flowers and dry leaves to life again...' I jerked off; the client laid his ear on my panting, narrow chest, his face enveloped in the perfume of my stiffening sex; then the seed spurted from it, drenched the flowers and dry leaves. 'Amour, I'm grateful to you. I take them back with me, freshened by your thaw.' He seized my sticky cock, dropped from my trembling hand,

pressed it to his lips and drank the last drops of seed still issuing from it" (1973, 113).

Rhyxand tries to explain such feelings in a man by suggesting that the boy here is a substitute: in him the man sees himself as he once was, and he wants to show him the male tenderness he himself so sadly lacked, and dearly missed, in his youth (1978, 203-204, 209). Geiser (1979, 85) agreed. Dr. Nahman Greenberg of Chicago puts it in a less benevolent way. In plain conflict with the facts he maintains that the paedophile "is usually looking for a very fine, elegant boy, who represents for him the symbol and height of what he would like to have been himself", and then continues, "The paedophile believes he is adoring, indulging, gratifying the boy. He also hates the boy. He envies him, has contempt for him. It's purely jealousy; the boy represents what he would like to have been." (Hearings 1977, 431) Wilson & Cox (1983, 31) believe that paedophiles have for the most part been subject to a more restrictive up-bringing than the average child. A more differentiated approach is found in Walters (1978, 15): "The young boy may serve as a focus of a man's tenderness for his own younger self, or serve as a symbol of the man's dream of himself which incorporates his femininity, rediscovering in himself thereby those qualities prohibited him as a grown man." Schérer (1978, 61) is of the same opinion.

West, too, claims (1977, 103) that a homophile man is often very attached to his mother, even identifies himself positively with her. He wants to resemble his mother as much as possible. In this he will be most successful if he chooses as love object a boy resembling himself and whom he can love in a manner similar to the way his mother once loved him (or should have loved him). A similar opinion is voiced by Levie (1971, 251-252, 254) and Kraemer (1976, 2).

The psychiatrist Morris Fraser, for whom this love is "a sexual disorder", "a deviance", likewise looks for its origin in "a struggle for maternal affection", in "unfulfilled needs in childhood" coming into the conscious mind. If the man marries and fathers children, the tendency in them is often even more evident, either because it is hereditary or—more probably—it results from a lack of good up-bringing (1976, IX 7116, 221, 231).

The question of whether the tendency is inborn or acquired is discussed by Kruijt (1976, 25) without a clear conclusion being reached. But one thing is certain: no man will suddenly turn or be turned into a boy-lover (Abraham 1969, 158).

Quite ridiculous is the explanation of paedophilia that it is the result of fear of an adult partner (for example, Janus 1981, 228, quoting Gould), a fear compelling the frightened male, conscious of his insufficiency, to turn to a child (Taylor 1981, XIII; Möller 1981, 37). As we have mentioned already in this chapter, an inferiority complex may well drive a man to satisfy his sexual

needs with a child, making him a pseudo-paedophile, but no fear ever gives birth to positive love, and it is the predominance of positive attraction that makes a man a boy-lover.

To explain boy-love as the result of "paedophile attitudes displayed towards him by adults" (Lambert 1976, 108, 127) or by earlier sex experiences with an adult when the subject was a boy himself (for example, Pendergast, quoted by Janus 1981, 208) seems equally ungrounded. Pieterse (1982, III-26/27) found, in fact, that only 29.1% of her subjects reported such experiences (and most of these had been agreeable) and this percentage was not much higher than in boys in general. As she point out, the theory of seduction in boyhood being the origin of homophile tendencies in the adult is nowadays everywhere rejected. (We will come back to this in Chapter Four.)

Morris Fraser (1976, 115) quite rightly observes on another page "that shamefully little is known about paedophilia". That does not prevent him, however, from giving a precise psychoanalytical description of its origins. "In the first place, the paedophile has been doubly deprived; his emotional attachment to his mother has been intense, but not fully returned, or not returned at all. The father has been absent, disliked, or despised. As a result, the dilemma which he reaches at the oedipal stage is particularly cruel. To an extent, this crisis is common to all male children; a boy becomes aware of his father's role, and thus of the threatened loss to him of exclusive possession of his mother. The classical defence is 'identification with the aggressor', in which the boy takes his father as his behavioural model; by doing so he hopes to absorb from his father the characteristics that will again capture his mother's affection. But what happens to the boy when his father is absent, or where there is some intense, or even subtle father-son aversion? The practical effect is that his father then cannot, of course, be the male model, and there is no 'aggressor' with whom to identify. Doubly frustrated, the boy turns back on the only love object left: himself. Thus *narcissistic inversion* takes place and, as he grows older, he remains deeply in love with the child he was then. This is impossible, so he must project (i.e. transfer his affection outwards) on to other children of a similar age to this lost child, who thus become love-objects for him." (1976, 20)

Another solution is proposed by Liesbeth van Zijl, a Dutch children's psychologist: "The child has, especially in his first years, insufficient support in finding and assuming his own identity. In addition there may be neglect, in that, on the one hand, the needs and activities of the child are constrained by severe sexual taboos, and, on the other hand, highly erotic, sexually-tinted play goes on between him and his parents, with ensuing growth of guilt and anxiety feelings inhibiting his development. This combination of strong guilt feelings and equally strong erotic/sexual desires leads to the consolation of self-love. The woman becomes, just as does the father, taboo, and what

remains is an attraction for the non-threatening boy or girl." (1976, 352) Rosemary Gordon similarly believes that the paedophile, as a child, was "the object of unconscious sexual seduction on the part of one or both parents" (1976, 46).

Such sublime self-assurance about the lives and personalities of the men I know who are most indisputably boy-lovers! I can only say that I cannot see the slightest connection between theory and the human beings supposedly "explained".

So, at least in its origins, boy-love remains a mystery. And it may well stay a mystery forever—like the mystery of how one becomes a woman-lover or a man-lover. In the early days of research on homosexuality it seemed most important to answer whether attraction to one's own sex was inborn or acquired. Only after a lengthy battle, with proponents on both sides getting quite worked up in their arguments, was hope of getting a clear, unequivocal, decisive answer gradually abandoned. The evolution of a human being from fertilised egg cell to adult is an extremely complicated process, subject to an infinite number of influences. How all this works out to fix the factors which will ultimately excite one individual adult's sexual appetite is at the present time almost completely unknown. It is essential that we avoid tumbling into the pitfall of lazy thinking and assume that the attraction between man and woman is something self-evidently natural which doesn't need explanation. We have suggested already that human attraction is not, essentially, hetero-sexual but rather bisexual. Any specialisation of an individual's appetite, therefore, needs to be explained, and the process or processes through which this specialisation comes about have never been established: only suggestions and suppositions have been made (Masters & Johnson 1980, 429). A very intriguing problem for science, but not very important to the individual, for everyone feels that his own personal appetite is, for him, natural. And no wonder: even if it's not inborn but acquired, the appetite is well established before the child is four or five years old, and this process is not conscious. When the appetite does become conscious it has already been in existence for some time, and by then it has become unshakable, "incurable", and not amenable to treatment (Hanry 1977, 120-121).

THE NUMBER OF BOY-LOVERS

One last question keeps cropping up with the same tenacity: how numer-ous are boy-lovers in the population as a whole? Again, an exact answer can never be given. In the first place, research which will produce reliable answers is simply not possible in a large, representative sample population as long as this sexual orientation is stigmatised and made socially taboo. In the second

place, the concept itself which we are trying to measure is not clearly delimited, for we aren't dealing here with a quality that is simply present or absent but one which occurs to a greater or lesser degree in everyone. Only when it occurs so strongly in an individual that it colours and dominates his whole existence will we call him a boy-lover. The husband who can only bring off intercourse with his wife if he simultaneously fantasises handsome naked boys is a boy-lover. His neighbour, for whom inserting his penis into a woman's vagina brings him to the zenith of bliss but who from time to time buys sex shop magazines with pictures of naked boys because he thinks them aesthetically beautiful, is certainly not.

In former times it was generally supposed that all homophiles were attracted to minors. This idea seems to be losing ground, however. In a recent representative sample of the Dutch population, only 19% still thought so (Sanders 1980, 162). It doesn't require deep reflection to realise how improbable this assumption is. For those aspects of a boy's body which are specifically exciting to a boy-lover are his smooth, hairless skin, rounded curves, etc—precisely those qualities which distinguish boys from men. We have already seen that, in this respect, boy-lovers are closer to heterophile than homophile men, who are drawn to mature male bodies and find the boy's body very much less attractive. Westwood says that among nine homophile adults who experimented with boys, five maintained that they would never try it again (1960, 64).

Hirschfeld, in his pioneering studies, concluded that in every 100 men attracted to members of their own sex, 45 preferred adolescents, 45 adults, 5 elderly men and 5 immature boys. This was mere hypothesis. Curran and Parr in 1957 found, in analysing 100 male homosexuals "that 17 were predominantly attracted to boys" (Fraser 1981, 50). Because 26-35% of all boys experience sexual advances by adult men, Fraser thinks that boy-lovers cannot be rare. Taylor shares the opinion that their number "is larger than commonly supposed" and that the criminal statistics "represent only the tip of an unexpectedly sizeable iceberg" (1981, x). Fraser (1981, 50) and Righton (1981, 24) agree that the "real figure would seem to be about 1% of the total population", but this remains speculative.

To the erotic attractiveness radiating from a boy's body, many more men, of course, are responsive. Rossman (1973, 3) suggests "that one out of every eight men has at least occasional pederastic inclinations, and that the number of normal heterosexual men and boys who engage in such sex play at least once in a while is large." Of the 32% of Barrington's subjects who fantasized during masturbation about men, nearly two-thirds also fantasized about young adolescents seen in publications, in sports, on TV, etc. Of those who wanted male contacts, 19.8% preferred age 12-15, 29.7% age 16-18, 46.2% age 19-24, 49.5% age 25-35, 29.7% 35 and over. The preferences

overlap and are often mingled (1981, 163-164). Scheller (1979, 58-59) points to the subscription figures of paedosexual magazines. A Danish firm had 12,000 subscribers to such publications in West Germany alone, and a Dutch firm 4,000 domestic subscribers. Most of these were certainly men and can be divided into girl-lovers and boy-lovers. Sex shops mostly offer magazines with pictures of naked boys, some showing them sexually active. Thomas, a 30-year-old photographer, told J. L. Hennig, "You see, quite contrary to what people believe, the circle of paedophiles is enormously large, and I think it is getting larger all the time. For example, go to the underground. Almost every day you will see one or two men fumbling with boys. They are much more numerous than people think. Many don't even know themselves they're boy-lovers; they've repressed it. Talk with people in the education field, with teachers or scout masters. The things they tell you are so sad: men who are 100% boy-lover but refuse completely to admit it." (1979, 157-158)

34 "I am sixteen now. I'm no longer a virgin and I'm not queer. I am working in a movie theater as an usher. No day passes by without me feeling the hand of somebody passing on my body. If I sit down during the show, it never fails: there is the hand of a man groping for my sex. It is unsupportable. I don't know what to do." (Rush 1980, 252)

Research among students and inmates of reformatories yielded figures for actual sexual experience which are surprisingly large: 15% of the male students at a Roman Catholic university, nearly 33% of the pupils in an English borstal, had had, as boys, sexual experiences with men (Corstjens 1975, 127).

Clarence Osborne, the Australian who interviewed about 2500 youths on their sexual lives, noted, "I hardly know any adolescent who hadn't received a number of homosexual proposals. I myself was not a specially handsome boy, but I was sturdy and well-built. I cannot expect even my best friends to believe me when telling them how many prominent men made homosexual proposals to me. Among them were a judge, lawyers, doctors, clergymen and prominent government officials. I remember them all well and I could disturb many happy marriages in this city by telling the truth about these people." (1977, I-5)

On the other hand, as we have seen already, there are men who are always followed about by boys, who attract them with a specific kind of magnetism. The same Thomas, quoted by Hennig above, says, "Even when I don't try in the least to make their acquaintance, I am sure that, wherever I may be, as soon as there are boys, they will be flocking around me within a half-hour and striking up conversations." (1979, 142)

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One thing we may be sure of: it isn't always the man who runs after the boy. There is also something in the boy that draws him towards the man. But this is a theme for our next chapter.

Chapter 3.

Boys and Their Sexuality

TO BE A boy means first of all to change. In certain periods of his life this happens with surprising rapidity.

You go with a family of friends to the nudist beach. Their 12-year-old son is along: attractive, vital, exuberant. His hair is white-blond, his voice—continuously shouting and laughing—is clear and high; he is in constant motion, running and hopping among the adults; he is merry, full of the joy of life. When you look at him or speak to him he smiles immediately. Physically, everything is grace and charm: the small appendage underneath his tummy, between his legs, calls little attention to itself and, since the boy is in the habit of going about naked, he is hardly self-conscious of this organ.

Three years later you make the same outing with the same family, and their son agrees to come along, too. His hair is now considerably darker, his voice is deep. He is much quieter, walks beside the adults and enters into their conversation. You see his nice smile much less frequently now, for he's more serious. His body is big and strong, the musculature setting it off beautifully. On his chest the dark nipples stand out in profile. And between his thighs, where coarse hairs have appeared, nature has done everything in the past three years to make his sex conspicuous: the dark bush of hair on the lower abdomen points to it; penis and scrotum, more darkly pigmented than the rest of the body, have grown so big that they dangle of their own weight and, as he walks, take up an independent motion. Perhaps the glans, with its alluring, deep purple shine, protrudes a little from the foreskin. The boy is now quite conscious that, naked, he is displaying himself as a sexual being, that he

carries his maleness in front of him almost as an advertisement. Depending upon the set of his mind, this will make him proud or shy.

It is profoundly symbolic that in the newly born boy the navel is his body centre (he must feed himself and grow) and in the mature boy it is the penis. The long lines of the boy's body all point to it, now: in nature's scheme of things, what he does with his penis will be the most important activities of his entire life.

PHYSICAL MATURITY

Growth of Genitals

From a purely physical standpoint, becoming mature is a very dramatic process. According to the French endocrinologist Bertrand, the preparation for this event begins as early as the sixth year, but for the moment it is outwardly imperceptible (Schérer 1981, 81). The body as a whole increases steadily in height and weight, but the genitals lag very much behind, appearing in the baby proportionally much bigger than in an immature twelve-year-old. Then suddenly the hypophysis starts to pour hormones into the blood and stimulate growth. Testicles and penis now increase rapidly in size, together with those connected organs hidden in the lower abdomen, the prostate and seminal vesicles. The colour of the skin on the genitals becomes darker; the larynx conspicuously enlarges, the voice drops, and coarse hair appears on hitherto hairless areas: the underbelly, around the anus, in the arm-pits, on upper lip, cheeks and finally the chin. Growth of secondary hair increases everywhere on the body: thighs, legs, arms; in some boys it gradually spreads across the chest and elsewhere on the trunk. Axillary perspiration increases and its odour changes. The nipples get more pigmentation and prominence. The hairline on the forehead changes. The complete evolution from the commencement of genital maturation to the adult stage takes on the average slightly less than six years (minimum of five years, maximum over seven). Boys with a long maturation span tend to have larger penises (Greulich 1976, 13-14; Reynolds and Wines 1951, 533, 543). But long before all these processes have terminated the hour of puberty *per se* has struck: the boy's ejaculate for the first time contains live, fertile sperm cells. Hair growth is not a very reliable indicator of sexual maturity: it may precede it but may also come later (Reynolds & Wines 1951, 539). In most boys pubic hair appears prior to axillary hair, but in some this order is reversed (Greulich 1976, 8).

William A. Schonfeld (1942 & 1943), an American army physician, examined the genitals of 1500 healthy white boys and young men, age 0 to 25, in New York to determine their state of maturation. No simple task with these organs! The penis caused particular problems because its length and circum-

ference should properly be measured in erection, which Schonfeld thought impractical. However, he developed methods of obtaining fairly reliable measurements. He had the subject lie on his back and stretched the flaccid penis upwards along the belly: the distance between the fold of the penis where it joined the lower abdomen and the tip of the glans was then taken as penile length. Schonfeld wrote that in a number of males this length was nearly equal to its length in erection (Schonfeld & Beebe 1942), but this claim must be viewed with some skepticism since in one and the same individual the size may be different at different times: cold and disgust may cause shrinking, for example. Kremer (1976, 271) catagorically denies that there is any fixed relationship between the lengths of the flaccid and erect penis. Reynolds & Wines (1951, 536) found, in a sample of 34 cases, the coefficient of correlation between length of flaccid and length of stretched penis to be 0.70.

Lacking more exact and comprehensive figures, we will nevertheless use Schonfeld's data. He sets up six stages of genital maturation:

1. Prepubescent boys without any evidence of active genital growth or of secondary sexual characteristics (i.e. hair growth, voice changing, nipples colouring). Testes volume 0.3 - 1.5 cc.; length of penis 3 - 5 cm., circumference 2 - 5 cm. To this group belonged all boys under 10 years of age, 96% of the 10-year-olds, 76% of the 11-year-olds, 44% of the 12-year-olds, 15% of the 13-year-olds and 6% of the 14-year-olds.

2. Beginning of active growth of the testes, with some growth of penis but no pubic hair as yet. Testes volume 1.75 - 6 cc.; length of penis 4.5 - 9 cm,; circumference 4 - 6 cm. To this group belonged 4% of the 10-year-olds, 12% of the 11-year-olds, 14% of the 12-year-olds, 18% of the 13-year-olds, 15% of the 14-year-olds, 2% of the 15-year-olds and 1% of the 16-year-olds.

3. The penis, too, starts to increase quickly in length and thickness; at its base some dark hairs appear; the nipples get a deeper colour and begin to be more prominent; growth of the larynx influences the voice. It becomes evident to those around him that the boy's maturing process has started. Testes volume 1.75 - 13 cc.; length of penis 4.5 - 12 cm., circumference 4 - 8 cm. To this group belonged 12% of the 11-year-olds, 32% of the 12-year-olds, 38% of the 13-year-olds, 26% of the 14-year-olds, 16% of the 15-year-olds, 9% of the 16-year-olds, 3% of the 17-year-olds.

4. Further growth of the genitals; the shape of the face changes, becomes longer, the chin more pointed; the nipples often protrude considerably, resembling those of girls in their first stage of maturing; on the underbelly

the hair forms a real bush. Testes volume 2 - 20 cc.; length of penis 8 - 15 cm., circumference 4.5 - 10 cm. To this group belonged 10% of the 12-year-olds, 21% of the 13-year-olds, 26% of the 14-year-olds, 22% of the 15-year-olds, 11% of the 16-year-olds, 7% of the 17-year-olds, 7% of the 18-year-olds.

5. All aforesaid processes continue. The larynx gets its final shape, the voice its adult tone. The hair growth on the underbelly is triangular with its peak pointing downwards. Testes volume 6 - 20 cc.; length of penis 9 - 15 cm. Circumference 6 - 10 cm. To this group belonged 8% of the 13-year-olds, 27% of the 14-year-olds, 53% of the 15-year-olds, 59% of the 16-year-olds, 39% of the 17-year-olds, 30% of the 18-year-olds, 26% of the 19-year-olds, 17% of the 20- and 21-year-olds.

6. The genitals attain their final size. Male hairgrowth on the face (beard) and in many cases also on the chest. The hairline above the forehead changes from the one continued childish curve into two half-curves. Testes volume 8 - 25 cc.; length of penis 10.5 - 18 cm., circumference 6 - 10.5 cm. To this group belonged 7% of the 15-year-olds, 20% of the 16-year-olds, 51% of the 17-year-olds, 63% of the 18-year-olds, 74% of the 19-year-olds, 83% of the 20- and 21-year-olds, 100% of the 22-25-year-olds.

In the latest Dutch research, 10% of the boys had full-sized genitals at the age of 13.5 years, 50% at 15.3 years, and 90% at 18.6 years (v. d. Werff ten Bosch 1983, 17).

The penis grows first in length, then in diameter. During early adolescence it "tends, consequently, to be thinner in proportion to its length than it is in the adult" (Greulich 1976, 3). Reynolds & Wines (1951, 530) comment on the "sculpting" of the penis during its development, showing the shape of the glans even when covered by the foreskin. At the same time the colour of the skin darkens. At the end of growth, the skin has, in white boys, a reddish brown colour and is loose, while the sculpting becomes less pronounced. It seems that, in the sixth phase, "the penis size decreases slightly from the immediately post-adolescent peak." (Tanner 1962, 32; Reynolds & Wines 1951, 534) This decrease is clearly visible in some photo series in the archives of the Brongersma Foundation. It seems to be more pronounced in the large penises than in the smaller ones.

At birth, the foreskin often adheres to the glans and cannot be drawn back. This condition disappears spontaneously. In a research project involving 1044 Dutch boys, adhesions were found in 58.3% of the 7-11-year-olds, 51.3% of the 12-year-olds, 33.0% of the 13-year-olds, 25.9% of the 14-year-olds,

11.1% of the 15-year-olds, 3.0% of the 16-year-olds and 0.0% of the 17-year-olds. Thus circumcision is not needed to eliminate these adhesions. Phimosis (a foreskin which is too tight) often corrects itself in time. Of the Dutch boys, 2.6% were circumcised, and of the non-circumcised boys, only 0.8% still had, by the time they reached 17, foreskins too tight for cleaning and intercourse, thus necessitating circumcision (Wafelbakker 1976, 886). In the USA, where nearly all newborn boys are circumcised, an average of 230 babies die every year as a result of this unnecessary mutilation (Szasz 1982, 69).

The characteristic variability of sexual data, which we have already discussed, reaches enormous proportions if we look at penis size, as the figures show. Kinsey, after making some thousands of measurements, found that the average American male had a penile size of 6.3 inches in erection (Burton 1963, 79). Average figures, however, are rather unreliable, because a few extreme cases on top or bottom may influence the outcome considerably. It is better, therefore, to establish median values. If you want to say something, for instance, about body height of 14-year-olds and you have 150 subjects in your research sample, you would do best to arrange them according to their heights, then take the values for numbers 75 and 76. The median height of the sample will be the average height of these two boys. Heights of the shortest and tallest of the group, the dwarf and the giant, are matters of curiosity but give us little real informational value. To make an even better survey we would divide the 150 subjets, still arranged according to their height, into 10 groups of 15 boys each and then take the average height of the two boys either side of the dividing line (first "decile") between the first and second groups (very small boys) and the same for the two boys either side of the line between the ninth and tenth groups (ninth "decile"—very big boys).

The Chart in the Appendix on Page 282 shows Schonfeld's data for penis size in 1500 young subjects (first decile, median, ninth decile) and illustrates how the process of growth is suddenly accelerated.

This sudden growth spurt is even more pronounced in the testicles, the volume of which may increase in a few years from 1.5 to 25 cc. In addition, there is a change in the inner tissue: they will first seem softer to the touch, and later become firmer again.

In about 50% of the subjects the testicles remained equal in size; in about 25% the left one is larger and in 25% the right one is larger.

There is great variation in the phenomena accompanying nipple growth. In puberty they often become extremely sensitive—ticklish, so that the boy doubles up with uncontrollable laughter at the lightest touch, or easily hurt. It is not at all unusual to see the nipples and surrounding tissue swollen like the budding breasts of a pubertal girl. In 80% of the boys this swelling is palpable, in 20% it becomes visible (Wafelbakker 1978, 1484). Later this growth will disappear and the male shape will establish itself: a small to large, deep brown

disk with a more or less prominent protrusion in the centre. The size reduction may take from 12 to 18 months (Greulich 1976, 12).

Ejaculation

At some point during this evolution comes the decisive hour of puberty, when the ejaculate emerging from the stimulated penis contains fertile sperm for the very first time, rendering the boy ready for procreation. Unfortunately it is rather difficult to fix this moment precisely, since it requires an analysis of the first urine produced in the morning (Greulich 1976, 23-38). Whether a given boy is or is not mature, on the other hand, can easily be established by examining a sample of his ejaculate under any low-powered microscope: the countless lively sperm cells, about a twentieth of a millimetre in length, swimming about in the prostatic fluid are immediately recognisable.

Boys tend to consider themselves mature as soon as they start to expel a sufficient quantity of thick white ejaculate with sexual climax. Some authors have suggested, however, that years may pass between this moment and real maturity, i.e. the production of fertile sperm. It is incredible that we are still in doubt about such an important and elementary matter—simply because research hasn't gone into it.

Such a delay in achieving total maturity might explain some phenomena which would otherwise remain a riddle. In the Muria tribe in central India, for example, all the young people in a village, from 5 or 6 years of age up to about 18, sleep together in one lodge, the *ghotul.* As soon as puberty announces itself, daily sexual intercourse is the order of the day for every girl and every boy. Contraceptive media are unknown and the bigger boys ejaculate freely in the girls' vaginas. There is a strong belief that no girl will become pregnant (which would be considered a disgrace) unless she has intercourse outside the ghotul, which is strictly forbidden. It turns out that pregnancy is a rare occurrence. No other explanation has been offered than the hypothetical infertility of the boys: their ejaculate doesn't contain enough vital spermatozoa until, at about 18 years of age, they marry (Elwin 1959).

On the other hand we read in the popular press of numerous instances of 14-, 13- or even 12-year-old boys begetting children. Some time ago there was a news release from Texas about a boy of 14 who had already fathered two children from his 15-year-old girl-friend.

The mystery remains, and may only be solved when the sexual lives and activities of young people can be openly discussed and examined rather than hidden under a shroud.

The scientific literature tends, for the sake of convenience, to identify the age at which a boy begins to ejaculate with that of puberty, and this is easier to ascertain and establish. Borneman (1978, 480) says that girls reach puberty

between 8 and 14 years (mostly 10 - 11) and boys between 9 and 16 years (mostly 11 - 12). Desmond Morris writes: "The first ejaculation in boys does not usually occur until they have reached eleven years, so that they are sexually slower starters than girls (The earliest recorded successful ejaculation is for a boy of eight, but this is most unusual.) By the age of twelve, 25 percent of boys have experienced their first ejaculation and by fourteen 80 percent have done so. (At this point, therefore, they have caught up with the girls.) The mean age for the first ejaculation is thirteen years and ten months." (1967, 54) Recent research in The Netherlands (100 boys) resulted even in a median age below 13 (Wafelbakker 1978, 1484).

One difficulty, however, is that the mean age seems not to have been a historical constant but has lowered considerably in the past hundred years. During this century children in the industrialised countries have grown faster and attained a greater height, with puberty setting in earlier (Visser 1976, 123-124), especially in the cities (Stockert 1956, 21). A hundred years ago boys entered puberty between 13 and 17 years of age (mean age: 15 years and 9 months); nowadays between 9 and 15 (mean age 13 years and 5 months) (Borneman 1978, 95; Schérer 1979, 89-90). According to Bernard (1979, 83) puberty has advanced by four months every decade during the last 120 years. (See also Sarphatie 1982, 50).

Of course we cannot project this trend very far into the future. It is clear that it must come to a halt, otherwise in about four centuries babies would be born mature! Aristotle (384-322 bc) put the mean age of puberty for the Greek boys of his time at fourteen (Buffière 1980, 608)—and he should have known for he slept with them. Most Roman boys were already mature by fourteen (Borneman 1978, 217). The mean age, thus, appears to have fluctuated upwards and downwards and the causes for this we can only guess at. Prof. Saenger of Cornell University, New York, thinks the lowering trend has now come to an end *(Gay Journal,* Aug 1978; Baurmann 1983, 75).

In any case it was unfortunate that this reduction in age of physical maturity went hand in hand with the delay in mental maturity brought about by the necessities of modern education. To be physically adult but mentally infantile burdens many a boy with problems with which he is unable to cope (Heister 1973, 197; Mitscherlich 1973, 207). During the last century protagonists of traditional sex-negative morality, eagerly spreading their horror tales, taught that it was best for a boy to mature late. The precocious were suspected of being more inclined to sexual excesses. Loss of sperm would severely damage their health, and a certain Doctor Gall flatly declared that in a precocious youngster, producing sperm before he had completed his physical and mental growth, "both body and soul perished" (Aron & Kempf 1978, 167). The promulgation of such nonsense, of course, could only impair health and cause misery.

When Kinsey at last examined this relationship he found a positive correlation between early maturation and strength of the sexual appetite. The male who begins to ejaculate early will on average have a stronger sexual urge, be more sexually active during later life and stay so to a more advanced age. The sexually precocious boy will be the most potent (Borneman 1978, 735; Kinsey 1948, 301-307). A subject of Hite (1981, 883) declares: "I have slowed down from six or more ejaculations a day at sixteen to five or six a week at sixty-four." A black male who began masturbation at age six, and at age ten had complete orgasms plus ejaculation, had a phenomenal "staying power" and could hold an erection for as long as five hours and have as many as six orgasms in a similar period (Barrington 1981, 93). Another researcher, Lutz, also found a link between early maturation and intelligence. In his sample, the group with the highest intelligence matured at a mean age of 12.5; those of average intelligence at 13.5 and the least intelligent at 14.5 (cited in Hurlock 1949, 33). Such a correlation had already been suggested by Freud. Sexual curiosity is a symptom of maturity (Borneman 1978, 918). There are striking examples of 10-year-old boys who are very much preoccupied with sex, trying to obtain and study every book on the subject they can (Van der Veer 1983, 71). Such intelligent boys are very likely to begin active, dedicated experimenting with sex while they are still very young. In addition, precocious boys tend to attract greater admiration, even envy, from their peers and thus are generally more self-assured so they can be more aggressively enterprising in doing what they want to do.

Sometimes boys will shave, or trim the first pubic hairs which appear, hoping thereby to stimulate growth so they will be able soon to show off something of a moustache and a luxuriant pubic bush (Tuohy & Murphy 1976, 128). In some regions, North Africa, for example, the shaving of pubic hair is a customary practice of body care and hygiene (Bousquet 1953, 71).

PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

Elements of Cognition

Now we must briefly examine the psychosexual phenomena which accompany the evolution of an infant into a young man—an evolution far more complicated than the physical one. Writers—scientific, political, philosophical and artistic—hardly speak with a unified voice on this subject. In the opinion of some, the difference between the sexuality of the child and the sexuality of the adult is so great that a full-fledged relationship is quite impossible. Others, however, reject just as strongly any reference to "child sexuality", asserting that there is no difference between it and adult sexuality. According to the Gay Left Collective (1981, 55) both are wrong. Certainly

each extreme can be confronted with annoyingly conflicting evidence: the first that all natural processes are gradual and cannot be broken by boundaries—transitions are not abrupt and the final form already lies hidden in the immature; the second that if you play Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, for example, to a five-year-old and a twenty-five-year-old, they will both hear the same sounds but their emotional reactions will be quite different.

This is equally applicable to sex. The little boy and the large adult man may both rub their penises and obtain a sexual climax, but this is no proof that the act has the same significance for both of them.

Let us examine the exposition of this subject made by the Dutch psychologist Theo Sandfort who has delved deeply into this theme in connection with sex contacts between adults and children.

Child and adult differ in "elements of cognition", i.e. what an individual knows and thinks. Emotion (how an individual feels) and elements of cognition interact with one another fundamentally and significantly.

A boy, let us call him Ben, is staying overnight at the home of a friend. It happens there is a neighbourhood fireworks display. His friend John says to him, "Let's go upstairs," because there they will have a better view.

Chris has a love relationship with his young friend Dennis. Their finest and most passionate meetings take place at Chris' home, in his upstairs bedroom. When Chris wants to make love with Dennis he simply tells him so. Dennis, on the other hand, prefers circumlocution: he makes the same point by saying, "Let's go upstairs."

The same phrase, then, laden as it is with elements of cognition, carries a quite different emotional charge for Chris, because of his relationship with Dennis, than it does for Ben.

From the moment of our birth we begin to acquire elements of cognition. For example, the reader of this book will be convinced that men and objects do exist, even where we cannot observe them directly. To the newly-born this is not clear at all, and it will take him two years to learn this. Gradually he acquires knowledge of reality, also of social reality. Part of social reality is that there are people distinct from his own self. At first this isn't clear, either. The baby sucking his mother's breast feels himself a single unit with her. Only very slowly does the mother emerge as something distinct from the "ego".

Much later the realisation dawns that another person has his own feelings, thoughts and motives, all of which may differ from that of the child. The element of cognition implies the ability to see oneself through the eyes of another, to put oneself in the skin of someone else, to understand a different person's point of view.

Only then can a child say, "I like to touch your penis because you find it pleasant."

This brings us to the elements of cognition of sexual life, and these, too,

are only gradually acquired and integrated with one another.

The newborn baby knows nothing. As he explores his own body he will inevitably play with his genitals and so discover—first element of cognition!—that this elicits very pleasurable sensations. And so sexuality begins. As soon as he has acquired this element of cognition he will touch his genitals more frequently. If someone else plays with the baby's genitals, this person is not yet recognised as distinct from the "ego". A sexual relation to this person is therefore excluded and there is no element of shared sexuality.

If the little child now progresses to discover that a prolonged rubbing of his penis brings on intensely lustful sensations he has made another step forward, but he still remains entirely related, sexually, to himself. Even if his overt actions are precisely the same as those of a fourteen-year-old masturbating to fantasies of naked girls, the emotional context of the act is quite different. That another individual may be the object of the child's lust is an element of cognition which it will take years to acquire.

Perhaps, before reaching this point, the child has already taken on another element of cognition, to wit that another person is able to stimulate his penis pleasantly by touching it, as in childhood sex-play. At first these games are entirely centered on oneself, but they may lead to the discovery of another element of cognition: "If I touch John, John will touch me, and that is pleasant."

The following half-step brings a new element of cognition: "Something that makes me feel nice can also make another person feel nice."

The child is still a long way from feeling, "John is an object of my lust; his fine body turns me on; it makes me feel nice to give him pleasure with my body and watch him respond with lust, knowing that he realises how his lust makes me feel happy and excites, in turn, my own." All of these elements of cognition are indispensable to an "adult" sexual relationship, to make of sexuality an escape from loneliness and more than just a rubbing of one naked body on another. "It appears that a necessary component of rational premeditated sex is that the adolescent be well on the way to developing an identity of his own, separate from that of his parents" (Martinson 1981, 33); Borneman, speaking about "the capacity to love another human being selflessly, and this in a sexual sense as well as in the sense of *agape*" adds, "The whole process of human psychosexual development with its cutaneous, oral and genital phase gives birth to this capacity." (1978, 927)

This evolution is in itself already complex enough, but it is made enormously more complicated by the fact that Western society and its teachers refuse to accept the reality of human sexual evolution, in fact, interfere with it, hamper and obstruct it. There are no good reasons for doing so, reasons, that is, based on objective scientific knowledge; it is done simply out of obedience to a moral system which is strongly at variance with our human nature (Hart

de Ruyter 1976, 63-64). The unhappy child is told that his genitals are dirty and disgusting and that he is naughty if he touches them. Can one conceive of advice which is more perverting? He may have to suffer the consequences for the rest of his life. Many men were so effectively instilled with this idea that it is impossible for them to unite the love they may feel for an idealised woman with the supposed sordidness of sex, and so find themselves impotent with the venerated woman and only able to be sexually active with the despised whore.

An upbringing in harmony with human nature, on the other hand, will not only further the *gradual* development and acquisition of elements of cognition in the area of sex, but will also teach the child the vocabulary he needs to talk about his new experiences. We will come back to these matters in more detail in the Fifth Chapter.

Along with an increase in the elements of cognition goes an increase in appreciation, value judgements, opinions about what is agreeable or painful, beautiful or ugly, good or bad, permitted or forbidden. All of these, coloured by social opinions and private experiences, will shape the ultimate sexuality of the adult.

There is a moment in life where the evolving individual links his personal experiences with what he has been taught about sexuality. This is the moment when he becomes sexually conscious. From now on he sees his own feelings as "sexual" and calls them so. He begins to apply the judgements he has internalised about sexuality to his own behaviour.

The foregoing exposition may now serve as background for the following data from youth psychological literature.

The child perceives his relation to others in an essentially different way than does the adolescent (Hanry 1977, 91). Real friendship only becomes possible with puberty. At first moral perceptions are entirely exterior, imposed upon one by authority; only sometime between the years of 12 and 15 do they become internalised and conscious (Straver & Geeraert 1980, 84).

The sexual play of the child is entirely directed upon himself: "It is nice for me". The first wish to have some kind of sexual experience may take place at an early age: 4.5% at age six or earlier, 32% at seven or eight, 35% at nine or ten, 24% at eleven or twelve. This means, therefore, that at nine years of age half of all boys are already randy. Human nature drives the child toward sexual experimentation of some kind: 4.5% at age six or earlier, 12% at seven or eight, 29% at nine or ten, 48% at eleven or twelve (Yankowski 1965, 72). A desire to touch attractive persons may manifest itself even earlier, when the child is three (Freud 1920, 49). Towards an adult partner a child usually behaves passively: he wants to be caressed, and the adult must comply. The adult has to respect the wishes of the child and only do with him what the child himself finds pleasing (Leonetti 1978, 164 & 169).

III. BOYS AND THEIR SEXUALITY

Freud believed he had discovered a latency period, coinciding, roughly, with the years of elementary school, but in his later writings he came to doubt whether this temporary dormancy of sex was really a natural phenomenon or an artificial one caused by the strictures of our culture. Most investigators today feel that it would be wrong to propose a latency period as a general phase of childhood, for no trace of it is found in cultures where children are allowed to express their sexuality openly (Hanry 1977, 32, 80, 82 & 84). Recent research has revealed that in our culture, too, "progressive psychosexual development continues during years five through twelve" (Janus & Bess 1981, 75 & 81).

Only at puberty does sex acquire a whole new dimension; it is no longer merely a matter of "pleasure for me" but also of "my relating to someone else", and so becoming an integral part of such a relationship (Straver & Geeraert 1980, 87). Now the sexual behaviour of the boy becomes more active (Hanry 1977, 97; Leonetti 1978, 169).

At the same time the penis becomes much more sensitive than it was in childhood, more excitable, and this makes the boy more passionate (Pieterse 1982, II 87). The boy's sexual appetite increases sharply and is chiefly directed upon obtaining pleasure. Love is no prerequisite for intimacy: relations are easily established if the boy thinks they will give him sexual pleasure (Everaerd 1980, 253). Once he has passed the threshold of puberty, if he is not timid, human nature will push him into experimentation and he now enters the most sexually active period of his life.

In so doing he will make important discoveries. He will begin to reflect upon his own sexuality. Girls may, on average, reach physical maturity earlier than boys, but boys, being more experimentally active, are sooner conscious of their sexual identity, i.e. their heterophile and homophile tendencies. The boy discovers homosexual sensations at a mean age of 13 (a girl at 16); his being a homophile (if he is a homophile) becomes conscious at a mean age of 15 (a girl at 18) (Sanders 1980, 179).

A second discovery is the difference between sex partaken of purely for pleasure and sex as the expression of a personal relationship.

35 The special issue of *Recherches* entitled "Fous d'Enfance" contains an interview with a young man from Abidjan (Ivory Coast).

"Could you say something about how it was different during the time when you still couldn't ejaculate?"

"There was a lot I didn't know yet. I didn't know you had much more pleasure if you caressed a girl at the same time, but now I know. Every since I've been able to come, I've known. Now when I see a pretty girl on the street I get a hard-on. When I was little that didn't happen. I saw no difference between one girl and another—I could have fucked any girl—the only thing

that mattered was that thing between her legs. But since then I have discovered that there are pretty girls and ugly girls—and with a girl you love your pleasure is stronger than with one you don't love" (1979, 119).

36 Ben had a moving and deeply thought-provoking experience. When he was in grammar school he was a member of a club with some of his fourteen- and fifteen-year-old comrades. Their leader was the son of a local real estate agent, and occasionally this boy would "borrow" the key of an empty house from his father's desk and the little gang would go there on a free afternoon. It was their pleasure to slowly strip off their clothes and then play and rough-house with each other stark naked. Finally they would pair off in couples and go to separate rooms in order to masturbate each other.

Actually, Ben didn't find this all that much fun. Masturbating alone in his bedroom, where he could abandon himself to his own lusty fantasies, was much more exciting and satisfying than having a comrade rub him off. Nevertheless he joined in the sessions, for at that age a spoil-sport is liable to find himself socially ostracised.

For some years Ben had had a bosom friend, Charles, who lived on his street but went to a different school. One day he told Charles, in strictest confidence, about what went on in his sex club. To his amazement, Charles was enthralled with this information; he pleaded with Ben to let him join the club. Ben dutifully presented his friend's request to the club members, and they agreed, providing Charles would put himself to the test by stripping naked while they remained clothed and watched. This he did without any hesitation, and then took part in their naked games. When it came time for the boys to go off in couples, Charles paired off with Ben, of course. Now, the moment Ben felt the hand of Charles, his closest friend, upon his penis, he was swept by the most intense feelings of sexual delight he had ever experienced, and a short time later came to an exquisite climax.

So Ben acquired one more element of cognition: sex with love, all things being equal, is more pleasurable than sex with someone you don't care for. And this increment in his knowledge came about through the best and simplest learning process of all—personal experience. (Personal communication)

Importance of Puberty

Admitting that there is an apparent, even a real, continuity between childhood and adolescence, we should nevertheless recognise that there is an essential caesura at the time of puberty (Straver & Geeraert 1980, 109), one accentuated by the rather remarkable amnesia which sets in—after puberty—for all prepubertal sex activities. People simply don't remember them any longer and so later can come to believe, quite sincerely, that during this part of their lives they were "innocent" (Borneman 1978, 706). Well-recognised

sexologists like Gagnon and Simon call attention to the multiplicity of new elements suddenly becoming active during the process of sexual maturation: "an overemphasis upon a search for continuity with infant and childhood experiences may be dangerously misleading" (1973, 16 & 47). Ben's experiences wouldn't have been possible before puberty, for only after he had crossed that threshold did he acquire the capacity to form a relationship, or, more precisely, the capacity to experience physical contacts and approaches in this manner. Dr. H. P. Nake explains it as follows: "A strongly marked hunger for experience, an excess of physical strength, a powerful need to assert oneself, a mightily increasing sexual impulse, recklessness and lack of deliberation characterise the interior landscape of this evolutionary phase, while the widening separation from the parental home, adaptation to the professional world, confrontation with the matter-of-fact world of adults characterise its outward aspect" (1966, 96).

No wonder the boy at this age behaves capriciously and unpredictably! Shakespeare makes the spirited Rosalind in *As You Like It* call boys and women sheep of the same colour: "changeable, longing and liking; proud, fantastical, apish, shallow, inconstant, full of tears, full of smiles; for every passion something, and for no passion truly anything..." (Act 3, scene 3). She is only repeating the complaint of Pausanias in Plato's *Symposium.*

And yet a boy in love can love at this age with an abandon and an enthusiasm often unequalled by adults.

37 Léonid Kameneff, head of the "Ecole en Bateau," (an experimental French educational enterprise) has in his possession the diary of a precocious eleven-year-old boy. Jerôme went to a boarding school, but on weekends he was allowed to visit his adult friend. Here is what he wrote in his diary:

"Last night, after lights-out in the dorm, I conjured up your image. Here's what happened. Ten o'clock. The light went off. That's when it happened. I closed my eyes and took you in my arms. I caressed your body, all over, from head to toe. I kissed you: I love you. Your hands travelled all over my body—and then you stopped. As for me, I was moving my head down lower and lower, and while I was bringing you to greater and greater heights of passion, your hand was stroking my hair with more and more urgency. I flung my arms around you and you hugged me. I kissed you. Then our legs entwined. I clung in your arms. I kissed you. And I fell asleep, so glad...

"I love him. I want to show him all the love I feel for him. The best way is to do this physically, with our bodies. I want us both to be crying for joy.

"You showed me the way to Paradise. I usually go to you Saturdays. These Saturdays are pure paradise.

"I love to make you happy.

"Jerking off alone—that takes me to the Little Paradise. Then I meet you, and together we go to the Great Paradise, which people can only enter as couples.

"I love you. I adore you. I couldn't live one week without you, because I love you. My body trembles against your body when it feels yours trembling against it. I could shout my love to the whole world! I could weep with it. I love you. I'll say it again, on my knees: I love you!" (Kameneff 1979, 131-132)

THE EXPERIENCE OF MATURATION

The sensational changes taking place in his body within such a short period of time—and at an age when his body is all-important—are very much on a youngster's mind. Where children receive a more natural upbringing, this evolution from child to adult tends to be a matter of pride, cause for rejoicing. But cruelty, cowardice and ignorance on the part of those responsible for the boy's sexual education can turn it into a hell. We will give examples of this.

Penis Size

For the boy, the most important organ in this evolution is, obviously, his penis—in its curious ability to change from limp to stiff, from soft to hard, and as the centre of the most delightful sensations. In a matter of only a few months it grows from a rather unimpressive appendage to a large, mobile, conspicuous organ which, even when tucked away inside his trousers, reveals its shape. As never before, it signals its owner as a sexual being, and is his advertisement. If he has been subjected to an upbringing in which sex-negative feelings, or even a horror of sex, was instilled, this signalling, this advertisement, will only bring the boy pain and embarrassment; it will render him timid and insecure. If, on the other hand, he perceives sex as something beautiful, he will be happy to have others observe his coming-of-age.

38 One day when I was still in school I was paddling around in my canoe and I came across a group of boys swimming. Most of them were rather young, 10 or 11, all wearing swim suits or slips. But one slightly older boy, perhaps fourteen, was naked. While the little boys lay in the shallow water or swam, the fourteen-year-old was constantly springing out of the water, so that his rather large penis and the small bush of hair which crowned it was always visible. He danced around, sang, let his penis dangle, and the smaller boys looked at it with interest. Then all of a sudden a boat filled with bigger boys passed by. The fourteen-year-old at once grew very quiet and made himself inconspicuous; he swam around with the others and so hid his nudity. He was no longer the best-developed male in the picture, the one who had something no one else yet possessed!

III. BOYS AND THEIR SEXUALITY

Freud thought it was almost impossible to talk about "nature" without imputing intentions to it (1920, 58). Well, nature (be it the work of an omnipotent creator, or the product of blind development from primordial matter) strives—anthropomorphically speaking—to make sex very conspicuous in the naked male body. Since man moves about upright, the genital region is more exposed to the eyes of an observer than in the other primates. Moreover, he has by far the biggest penis. Not only is it longer, but it is much thicker, too (Morris 1967, 71). When it is flaccid it doesn't disappear into a fold of skin: it hangs free and dangles in motion with every movement of the body as though it had a will of its own. When stimulated it grows even longer and thicker, reaches out and up from the pubis, disrupting the long lines of the body. At every step it bounces, no longer hiding the revealed sack behind and beneath.

For it *is* an exhibit, with its different skin colour, the heavy bush of pubic hair above it; sometimes the tip of the glans is denuded, slick and shiny with a purplish hue. When James and Veronica Elias questioned 537 women, 75% claimed that they always saw a naked man as "sexual" (1979, 479). The structure of the male body underlines its sexuality far more than does the body of a woman. It is significant that there are primitive peoples where both sexes walk about stark naked; others where the women wear clothing and the men don't, but none in which only the men are dressed and the women remain unclothed (Ford & Beach 1968, 102 & 122). Where nudity is permitted, man wishes to show his things. Man has something to show—and there are even tribes where they do this with outright ostentation. Men of the Massai, a pastoral people in the interior of east Africa, are racially endowed with very large penises, and they actually parade about showing them off, playing with them to attract attention as they talk (Ellis 1913, I-16).

39 (Continued from 1.) One evening Onno was visiting his friend at home—as usual, naked—when a piece of classical music they were playing on the gramophone inspired him to dance. His friend liked what he saw so much that he persuaded Onno to give a little performance for some of his acquaintances. To make the show better, Onno's lover asked a well-known ballet dancer for advice. "The boy should wear a small cache-sexe," said the dancer. "No," replied Onno's friend, "I insist that he be completely naked. Hiding his genitals would be wrong. Anything he wore would only interfere with the natural lines of his body." But the ballet-dancer persisted: "Shame isn't what makes the dancer cover his genitals; he does it only to restrain them. A dancer must have complete control over every part of his body: all muscles, all joints. If you dance absolutely naked there is one part of your body which you cannot control, and that's your bared sex organs. They will be moving to the rhythm of the dance but they will be doing it with a motion of their own which will focus the attention of the audience upon them: the

penis and scrotum will impose their own meaning on the dance and change it." "This is exactly what I want them to do," replied Onno's friend. "We want to make his performance erotically exciting." "In that case," said the dancer, "keep the motions of the dance themselves very simple, for if you want to involve the viewers in its sexuality, complicated steps and body movements will be distracting; they will only divert their attention. Keep everything simple; make the penis dance, bounce—fling it about freely and you'll have an enormous success." He did—and he had.

The fact that the penis seems to have a mind of its own can be very impressive to its owner—as though he were carrying about a part of his body that was somewhat alien. Martialis told of a slave-dealer offering him an especially handsome youth. The price was too much for Martialis' purse and a richer man went off with the spoils. "Now my cock is secretly upbraiding me," he wrote, "and envies this rich purchaser" (I, 58). Alberto Moravia holds a conversation with his own penis in his book *Io e lui* (Me and Him, 1977).

40 (Continued from 39.) Whenever Onno performed he was swept by sensuous feelings. Sensing how he aroused the men in his audience, overhearing their comments about his body, his sex organs, he would find himself getting very randy, his penis swelling. Conversation in the room would stop. There was a feeling of suspense in the air, as everyone watched his penis rise in erection. The first time this happened he was disturbed. "I felt quite defenceless: not only was my nakedness at the mercy of these men, but my penis was revealing to them the state of my desire." Then he sensed their enthusiasm, became aware of how they were complimenting him: "That's magnificent! We love to see you like this!" The last of his timidity over the metamorphosis of his penis vanished and was replaced by feelings of pride and gladness that he could give people so much joy with his performance. "Sometimes it was as if I was exhibiting an alien object," he said. "My naked body was just a pedestal for it."

Many nude photos of boys give the same impression.

The penis is not only independent, it can also be obstinate and come into erection at times when its owner definitely doesn't want it to. This headstrong tendency of the adolescent penis can make teenagers, especially boys in the throes of puberty, hesitant to visit nudist beaches and swimming pools. Whether a boy shies away from nudist exposure or participates enthusiastically in the activities at such places depends a great deal on the attitudes he has been instilled with by those surrounding him during his sexual evolution: did they ignore his developing sexuality, avoid talking about it, or were they joyously positive? For when his penis goes into erection the boy is displaying more than just his body: he is revealing the fact that he feels randy. Only a boy who has been brought up, sexually, in complete openness, will be undisturbed

by this confession his penis is making and will be proud of it. In any case, if there are hesitations, it goes better with age-mates than in the presence of adults.

41 Kameneff (1979, 30) tells about his experiences with the "school in ships" he founded. They were in the Mediterranean. "Once again it is Michel, who spurns the conventional. This morning, in midsea, he strips naked and sprawls on the deck. When he stands up his penis is stiff; he has an erection. He's not ashamed of it; he's happy, in fact. He looks at us and smiles. In normal society an erection is something you are ashamed of. All the others put themselves in Michel's place; they giggle, to hide their own reticence. But Michel isn't shy at all. He says, 'It's normal'."

Boys are very much concerned with penis size. One who is a "late developer" or is naturally not very well endowed, tends to feel embarrassed and ashamed (West 1977, 66). He can be reassured, however, that often the prepubertal boy with a very small penis develops a very large one later in adolescence.

42 The Australian Clarence Osborne quoted a boy by the name of Trevor: "When I was twelve my cock was so small my two older brothers used to make jokes about it." Three years later it measured 19 centimetres! (1977, I-36).

43 An Austrian correspondent told of a similar case. His young friend Lutz suffered enormously from ridicule in the showers by his classmates over the small size of his penis. He was then fourteen. My correspondent procured some kind of hormone preparation for him and—whether this was the cause or not—within a year the boy had a longer and thicker penis than all his erstwhile mockers. He was so overjoyed by this development that he showed it off unabashedly, wore tight jeans through which the outline of this object of his great pride would clearly show. (It is appropriate to observe, however, at this point that hormone pills should only be used on the advice of a physician, for they can have harmful side-effects, such as prematurely halting body growth.)

Most modern sex instruction books observe that penis size is not important and has no influence upon the pleasure of the female partner. This is coming to be more and more accepted by society as a whole. When the Netherlands Institute for Social-Sexological Research (NISSO) studied 840 young males about the state of their sexual knowledge, 46.9% of the 15- to 17-year-olds agreed with the statement, "The pleasure of girls is not increased by a larger hard-on", and 60.3% of the 18- to 21-year-old men agreed. An even greater percentage agreed with the statement, "A big hard-on has no

relation whatever with virility": 63.0% of the boys and 81.0% of the young men (1973,24). Research among women has shown that, in their appraisal of the male body, the penis has little or no importance in enhancing beauty or as an erotic stimulus. Women with a business interest, in fact, rather find an inverse correlation between size and pleasure. Wayland Young was told by a group of London prostitutes, "You know, young men's pricks seem to be getting bigger and bigger. It must be the Welfare State. I hate it, though, it splits me" (1967, 112).

So one is quite justified in easing the mind of an adolescent boy worried about the real or imagined small size of his penis by telling him size simply is not important. This is certainly true in heterosexual relations, but in the gay world of male homophilia it is otherwise (Duvert 1980, 140), and this world extends far beyond the 13% of males who, according to Kinsey's statistics, engage more in homosexual than heterosexual activities. As we will see later in this chapter, nearly all boys in puberty (thus those, too, who will later in their lives be mainly active with girls) display homosexual interests. For them, at that phase of their lives, the configuration of people's penises is very important.

Just how important this is to homophile adults can be seen in the research of Bell & Weinberg. In a list of thirteen possible desired physical attributes in sexual partners, white gay men ranked the configuration of the sexual organs in third place, after body type and face/hair/eyes (1978, 312). Among five themes in sexual fantasy, genital anatomy ranked highest among homophile males while it was not even mentioned by heterophiles for whom change of partner was the most exciting theme (Masters & Johnson 1980, 186). Bieber found the same interest in nearly two-thirds of his homophile subjects (1962, 229, 231, 251-252, 344); the number of them who wished that their own penises were larger was considerably higher than among heterophiles (1962, 180, 228, 231, 336).

47% of the contact advertisements in homophile magazines contain details about the writer's body or the desired body of the respondent (height, weight, etc.), 33% about the penis but far less about other parts of the body. The penis is praised as "exceptional", "huge", "super", "thick and meaty", "well hung", or its length is given (Lumby 1978, 67; Hennig 1978, 199). One of Dr. de Wind's homophile clients boasted, "I don't know how many metres of cock have already passed through my hands!" (1967, 56) In a sociological report about an American male brothel, the author mentions that among the young men working there, those with a huge penis were in especially high demand among the clients (Pittman 1971).

44 (Continued from 40) When Onno was in his thirties he knew a young man in Amsterdam who travelled about all over Europe earning his livelihood by

giving nude shows at homophile gatherings and so putting on display the really gigantic penis with which he had been endowed. The man found this so sexually stimulating that his penis would come spontaneously fully erect during the show.

But even heterophiles are not wholly indifferent in this respect. "Men who go to stag films always want the hero to have a penis of gigantic dimensions (...) In their unconscious identification, they are the star of the movie. They are gigantic, too." (Friday, 1981, 326)

In Indian as well as Arab erotic literature penises are amply described, even divided into classes according to length and circumference (Schmidt 1922, 121-129; Tifachi 1970, 278). And everywhere people are fascinated with records. Quite apart from the fantasies of erotic authors, we can read that the Kinsey Institute has measured a penis of 30 cm (or just under 12 inches) (Simons 1977, 43); Sutor saw in Senegal one of "nearly twelve inches in length, by a diameter exceeding 2-2.5 inches" (1964, 300) and Dickinson's famous *Atlas of Human Sex Anatomy* mentions a maximum of 35 cm. (1949, fig 113). Charpay found the same in a 30-year-old black American. The circumference was 15.2 cm. He estimated that only one in 10,000,000 males might be as large, and one in 8,000,000 might have 30 cm. German measurements on army recruits showed that one man in 250,000 attained 25 cm and one in 5,000 19 cm (Barrington 1981, 167). Among Schangalla negroes, and also in Paraquay, the penis in young boys is systematically stretched so that when they later come to marry the mother of the bride will deem it long enough (Ploss 1884, II 154). Sutor found a large-sized penis was often accompanied by very small testicles (1964, 142).

45 On a visit to Haiti, a student there brought me to a 17-year-old boy who was considered something of a curiosity because of his "record" size penis. It measured more than 26 cm and its circumference was 15 cm. It had earned him a lot of money: because of it he had been invited to visit Copenhagen for a few weeks to pose for photos and act in erotic movies. I asked him if girls weren't afraid of this formidable penis but he said they weren't.

This wasn't the experience of one Englishman who wrote to a popular weekly for advice. He claimed that his 31 cm penis made it impossible for him to have vaginal intercourse. By the time he was 12 his penis had already been spectacularly large and at school boys and girls both were always demanding that he show it off to them. By the time he reached sixteen it had obtained its full size.

Clarence Osborne, the Australian who had relations with over 2,500 boys, confirmed the generalization that a big penis on a boy is greatly admired

by his comrades. There was no school, football or beach club of any importance where competition in this area didn't go on (1977, III-4).

46 The ambivalent feelings boys may have at such occasions are well illustrated in a novel by Campbell: "Gower was a sallow-skinned boy with slanting eyes and a dark neck, and he had the largest organ that anyone had ever seen. It was a truncheon. And it was the object of savage mockery and unexpressed admiration in about equal shares (...) The horrible fact was that Gower had several times smilingly acceded to the request from junior associates in the Upper Dormitory to exhibit his extension. There were cries of 'Gosh!' and 'Ugh!'—again in equal shares—as it spread away across the room." (1969, 19)

Clarence Osborne observed that one couldn't deny the social advantage of owning a penis which stays big even when limp. He was impressed by many pictures of boys with extraordinarily beautiful sex organs, but he thought comparative measurements should always be made between penises in erection. Size of the same penis can vary as much as a centimetre depending upon the strength of the boy's excitement. Osborne himself was able to measure over 500 mature and maturing erect penises along their upper sides and set up the following classification:

Length:
Short: 15 cm or less
Medium: 15.25 to 17 cm
Large: 17.25 to 18.25 cm
Very large: 19.0 to 21.25 cm
Extremely large: over 21.5 cm.

Circumference:
Thin: less than 12 cm
Medium: 12 to 13 cm
Thick: 13 to 14.75 cm
Very thick: 15 cm and over.

Most of the penises he observed in erection and ejaculation were of medium size. He measured only 30 under 15 cm (excluding those of prepubertal boys) and slightly more than forty which exceeded 20 cm. Very thick ones were rare - and valued by their owners; they tended to be either rather short or, on the contrary, very long; in many of these boys the glans was also huge (1977, III-4).

In a study of 2,500 subjects, Barrington (1981, 86, 166-167) found the distribution of penis sizes in erection shown in Table 1. As a generalisation

only he states that black people tend to have larger penises than Caucasian males. In any case, black people are better represented in the large size categories, as can be seen in Table 2, also derived from Barrington's data.

Table 1. Penis Size in Erection (Barrington, 1981)

11.5 cm to 12.7 cm	4.0%
12.7 cm to 15.2 cm	39.6%
15.2 cm to 17.8 cm	42.2%
17.8 cm to 19.1 cm	9.9%
19.1 cm to 20.3 cm	3.01%
20.3 cm to 22.9 cm	0.02%

It is interesting to observe, in this context, that the ancient Greeks had quite the opposite ideal of male beauty: they admired in boys the small-sized penis. We see this depicted time and again on their vases—dedicated to a beloved boy—and in statues. This preference seems to have derived from their social system and their belief that frequent use, especially in puberty, enlarged the organ. Free-born boys, then, should be chaste and of decent behaviour, thus have small penises. In the case of a slave-boy, on the other hand, a lad who had to serve the passions of his master and arouse him sexually, a large penis, as proof of his salacity, was thought desirable. Satyrs were followers of Dionysus, symbolising the luxuriousness of nature and the sexual impulse, and these legendary beings were usually depicted with huge, stiffly erected phalluses.

Table 2. Penis Size in Erection by Race (Barrington, 1981)

Length	17.8	20.3	22.9	25.4 cm
100 black males	23.0%	18.0%	11.0%	3.5%
300 European males	8.0%	4.0%	0.5%	0.0%

But the decent boy had a small penis. Greek belief was adopted by the Romans: sexual activity advanced puberty and enlarged the organ. Juvenalis praises the uncorrupted rural youth:

47 He, a boy with an open face and frank innocence, as would befit every freeborn lad wearing the purple, his voice not husky and his testicles not yet big as a fist; who needn't pluck the hair from his arm-pits, nor, when he goes bathing, cover timorously with a pitcher that which swells between his legs. (XI, 154-158)

Thus it was deemed improper for a boy-lover to play with the sex of his young friend during intercourse. Martialis reproaches a man who goes too far:

48 "When you lie in bed with your naked favourite, clear-skinned Galaesus, you chafe him at his sweet kisses with your stubbly mouth. That is already bad, as everyone will agree. But let this be enough. Don't excite with your lecherous hand his member. Your hand does more wrong to smooth-skinned boys than your penis ever will: your fingers transform them into men all too soon. Thus soon the boy is stinking like a goat, sprouting hair too quickly, surprising his mother by growing a beard, too soon. When you see him in the bath, in full light of day, he's no longer attractive. Nature has given the boy two sides: the front to serve females, the other for men. Limit yourself to your own side." (XI, 22)

Aristophanes said that young athletes should have a strong chest, shining skin, broad shoulders, a short tongue, "big buttocks and a small cock" (Beurdeley 1977, 22). They got that way by being virtuous. In the theatre, on the other hand, comic figures often carried an enormous, thick leather phallus with a red tip—"to amuse little boys," as this playwright put it (Buffière 1980, 128).

This same belief that manipulation will enlarge the penis can be found today in some primitive peoples, although their concept of the beautiful male member is opposite to that of the Greeks and they try to stimulate its growth in the young. As recently as 1908 the Swiss ethnologist Stoll wrote in his book *The Sexual Life in the Psychology of the Nations* that girls' labia could be stretched considerably by continuous manipulation (In Hottentot girls the inner labia may be caused to protrude 14-18 cm (Moll 1921, 245)). Likewise, Stoll said, the penises of boys could be stretched in a similar way. "Those who start masturbation in early youth and continue it over the years usually have an extraordinarily long penis." Also "frequent intercourse from an early age" would have the same result. It is certainly true that in several primitive tribes the mothers are accustomed to pulling frequently on the penises of their baby sons, hoping, by so doing, to increase its length (Stoll 1908, 548). The superstition persists among Moroccan boys that they can make their penises bigger by having intercourse with a female donkey—or perhaps that's just their excuse for indulging in such a practice! (Davidson 1962, 185)

Watching boy-lovers inspecting pictures of nude boys has taught me that a vast majority of those who prefer mature boys most admire a big penis. In the words of the American poet Dennis Kelly: "You know I drool over small possessors of big possessions." (1981, 42) On the other hand, those with a preference for little, immature boys, abhor the oversize phalluses and want to

see the penis small and undeveloped. The literature, however, reveals a strong bias toward the long, thick penis.

49 Jacques de Brethmas's description of his adventures with a 14-year-old Moroccan boy may serve as an example.

"By undressing he permits me to see a cock which is permanently erect and exceeds the usual dimensions by a surprising amount. As the boy is rather small, and as, when he walks around, this huge thing arrives everywhere a quarter of an hour earlier than himself, he resembles a hoisting crane carried along with its lever (...) The thing swings slightly, horizontally, with the movements and the step of its owner, bouncing elastically like a diving-board just after the diver has jumped. I cannot resist taking its dimensions. As soon as the boy sees me approach with the tape measure he starts rubbing it so it will grow to its maximum length. Nineteen centimeters, cross-section 45 millimetres, which yields a circumference of 13.5 cm. (...) All in all the boy seems rather uneasy about this fifth limb, which is carried in front of him like an illness. Moreover he is so thin that one is surprised he doesn't topple over with this thing of his so wildly out of plumb (...) Seeing that this amuses me, Norredin climbs out of the bathtub to put on a show. He sits down on the floor at the side of the tub, encircles his thighs with his arms, bends his body forward and, without any special effort, takes the glans of his penis in his mouth. Now I am jealous, for he is realising what I have always dreamed of and will never succeed in doing." (de Brethmas 1979, 54).

It must be pointed out that the extensibility of the penis varies greatly among different boys. With some, erection results in hardly any increase in length. Often, however, one finds that when a boy strips naked a rather small penis is revealed, only to grow substantially under excitement. Organs which stay very long in the flaccid state often have trouble coming to full erection, attaining this state only seldom or never and normally achieving only a half-hard condition.

Erections

Already at the embryo stage male foetuses have erections, according to Dr. Mary S. Calderone (1983), at roughly 90-minute intervals, and this pattern persists after birth and throughout boyhood.

In puberty the growing penis becomes very sensitive and, as a result of the increasing sexualisation of body and mind, the slightest provocation (often of a character that would leave an adult quite unaffected) may produce an erection.

50 "When I was a teenager, I used to have to go through mental gymnastics (like thinking of my mother) to keep from having a hard-on in church or at the beach, etc." (Hite 1981, 401)

To the boy himself these frequent erections may seem to happen spontaneously, without any discernable cause. Sometimes they can be very persistent.

51 A fifteen-year-old boy told me that twice a week he went on a date with his girl-friend. On each date they would walk from her home to the movie house, which took about a half hour, and, after seeing the film, set forth on another walk, this one of an hour, to a railroad switching yard. There, in an empty freight car, they would have sex. From the moment he met her until he reached his climax about four hours later he always sustained a continuous erection.

A Dutch doctor once told a judge during the course of a criminal trial that he had examined 1750 boys between the ages of 12 and 16. Five or six percent displayed spontaneous erections when they took off their clothes, and 0.5% to 1% of the boys became so excited that they had spontaneous ejaculations as well (Ned. Jurisprudentie 1967, No. 363). These erections during the pubertal years may cause such tension in the penis that it begins to hurt. It is as though nature seizes every opportunity to force the boy to sexual activity.

52 A New Zealand youngster described the situation very well: "You've got a cock like a loaded pistol and you need to use it." (Tuohy & Murphy 1976, 134)

Strong, unresolved tumescence can also cause excruciating pain in the testicles and groin. (Hite 1981, 510, 594)

53 The inexperienced fifteen-year-old hero of James Kirkwood's novel *There Must Be a Pony!* describes what happens when an attractive girl starts to kiss him intimately at a birthday party: "It was a whole new world! After a while we were both getting a little shaky and flushed. I was getting this terrific erection and I kept trying to lean back away from her, but the more I leaned back, the more she'd push her body up against me. Finally, there was no keeping the secret any longer, so I just pressed right back and let nature take its course."

This was repeated several times later as the party went on. "Every time we'd get off by ourselves we'd lock in this terrific embrace and stand there for minutes (...) Toward the end of the evening I was getting this fantastic ache around my groin and associated regions. I was really getting worried. I thought I'd popped a gasket or blown a tube or something—I didn't know what! (...) When Mervin came by for me about twelve-thirty I could hardly make it out to the car. I was hobbling like some old man who'd just gotten off a horse after about eighty consecutive years of riding (...) I was in such pain I could hardly talk." (1971, 153-154)

This pain is caused by a swelling of the *paradidymis,* a structure between the body of the testicle and the top of the *epididymis*. Under prolonged sexual excitement not relieved by ejaculation, the paradidymus may swell until it achieves the size of the testicle itself. This swelling is caused by the back-up of accumulated spermatic fluid (Borneman 1978, 1021).

Everywhere, petting with girls may cause in boys unbearable tumescence, only to be relieved by ejaculation. A boy from a tribe in Central India, where girls were not allowed to pass the night with their boy-friends, said, "After the girls go home, we feel forsaken and unsatisfied, and so we seize our cock and milk it like a cow until the seed spurts out. This is our pleasure." (Elwin 1959, 271) An American boy of 16 told his teacher, who had asked him about dating girls, that he was not very much interested in doing that. "He said that trying to get laid was such a big hassle, that his balls ached so after necking and not getting laid, that he jerked off while driving home in his car." (McBoyd 1981, 117)

"You know very well there is no virginity in childhood: it's a period of extraordinary voluptuousness," someone says in a novel by Marie-Claire Blais (1974, 81). "Children are intensely sexual beings with an erotic life that is expressed in both activity and fantasy." (Janus 1981, 234)

The sexual appetite is never so strong as in the years immediately following the attainment of maturity. This is, of course, accompanied by a "vehemence of sexual activity such as will never be repeated later in life" (Stockert 1956, 27). How can anyone prepare a young boy or girl for the intense eruptions of emotional and sexual energies in adolescence? Something is going on in their bodies they don't understand. The overload of sensation in the nerve endings is frightening. Many young people report that their first orgasm made them think they were going to die." (Friday 1981, 503) And as Lucrese already stated, when sexual activity appeases the desire in young bodies "the pause is only brief. The rage returns, phrenetic longing invades them anew, and they themselves don't understand what they want." (Burnet 1984, 135) It is derisive of nature when culture attempts to deny or suppress this need. Jacques de Brethmas writes, with justified anger, "One half of all France's sexual energy resides in the sex organs of boys, and they are officially forbidden to employ it." (1980, 13)

The Gonado research made it clear that 18- to 19-year old youths wished, on average, they could have sex twice as frequently as they actually were able to obtain it: 13.1% wanted it more than twice a day, 25.3% wanted it daily, 34.6% wanted it every other day (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 73-74). For boys, of course, the situation is very much more difficult. The fact that their despair receives no public recognition doesn't render it any less real. A 14-year-old once declared that he would like to organize a demonstration of thousands of boys publicly masturbating in front of the government buildings

as a plea for law reform and a demonstration of their distress (de Brethmas 1980, 13).

It is to boys of precisely this sexually excitable and active age that the majority of boy-lovers find themselves most strongly attracted. No wonder sexual contacts come about so easily!

Ejaculations—Wet Dreams

A second event of utmost importance to those concerned is the production of ejaculate, beginning, as already noted, at a mean age of 13.4 years (Broderick 1971, 89).

Even today some boys are simply not prepared for their first seminal emission: parents, teachers and peers, for some reason, have failed to inform them. It can be quite frightening if it happens during sleep or, say, while play-wrestling with a friend: "Something got burst in my belly and now I'll die soon!" one lad thought. "The suffering thus caused may be keen and prolonged." (Ellis 1910, VI-60)

54 A New Zealand boy relates, "I remember having a dream and feeling it happen in the dream and thinking to myself, in the dream, 'What the fuck is happening to me!' I could feel the spasms. It was such a body shattering experience it really changed my mind. It was something very different. I had just no idea what had happened. In the morning I was all sticky in my pyjamas as if I'd cut myself. I looked down and it was all sticky, white creamy stuff. I thought it was some sort of discharge. A sickness or something. But I was too scared to tell my mother, because it was around my genitals and I knew it must be dirty. The thing was, I had my next wet dream almost a month later. I thought, 'Oh, Jesus.' I sort of knew women had a monthly cycle and I started thinking, 'God, oh God am I a boy or a girl.' Maybe this was a man's monthly cycle that nobody had bothered to tell me about. I'd never been told about periods, it was something I had just worked out. I was petrified. I thought about going to a doctor but thought, 'No, he'll tell my parents.' I was sure that if they somehow found out I was unclean they'd lock me up or commit me or something." (Tuohy & Murphy 1976, 136)

55 Hite (1981. 605-606) gives quite a number of examples, among others:

"At ten I was masturbating and I came. I thought it was blood. Punishment from God for doing this filthy and unnatural thing. When I turned on the light, I saw this funny creamy white stuff."

"Age fourteen. I thought something had broken inside but it felt wonderful."

"Age twelve. I was riding my bike and I came. I thought I had damaged myself."

"At thirteen. I had a wet dream. I was frightened. I thought my insides were coming out or I was dying. No one had told me what to expect, even though Father was an M.D.!"

"I was horrified when this thick fluid came out of my penis in spurts. I thought I had harmed myself and was very distraught."

"When I first masturbated, I thought I had killed myself."

"I orgasmed, and this sticky gooey whitish stuff spurted all over me and the bedclothes. I thought that whatever had felt like it was breaking, had broken. I'd ruined it forever. I was scared and felt guilty and sinful."

56 One of Dr. Stekel's patients had started masturbating when he was thirteen. Soon, however, he tried to stop it and suppress his desires, since he had been taught that this practice was reprehensible and unhealthy. He told Stekel, "Nobody had the least inkling of the lacerating feelings I suffered; nobody, not even my parents, suspected my agony. Then the 'nocturnal pollutions' began and these convinced me that I was very sick, possibly past the point of recovery. I was too shy and too ashamed to confide in anyone; instead I guarded my 'secret' very closely. When I was alone I begged God in my childish faith to heal me, to free me from these pollutions which I believed to be dangerous, life-shortening effusions. I wept in secret, implored, wrung my hands, raised them to God, promised Him never intentionally to defile myself again and waited in vain for an answer. Then I began to doubt God's goodness. I started to brood, and soon I turned into a dedicated atheist."
(Stekel 1925, 447)

How frequently it happens that parents fail to prepare their sons for this important event can be seen from the research Hertoft carried out in Denmark. Only 48.7% of the boys in his sample had been prepared; 18.2 had been mortally frightened; only 15.5% had had the courage to discuss it with their fathers or mothers. Nearly 80% of the boys Hertoft studied had carefully concealed the beginning of a process which, with a natural upbringing, would have been cause for rejoicing (1968, II-31). In a random sample of university students Shipman found that only 6% had been pleased with their ejaculating the first time this occurred. (quoted by Winkel 1972, 18).

The source of so much boyhood misery is the idea, derived from the Old Testament, that the emission of spermatic fluid during sleep is dirty, a "pollution" (Leviticus 15: 16-18). The individual to whom this happened was ritually unclean. Thomas Aquinas, greatest Christian theologian of the Middle Ages, "argued that devils in the form of succubi seduced males and thereby received their semen" (Bullough 1976, 422). English medieval church penetentiaries considered nocturnal emission a sin (Bullough 1976, 358).

This widespread neglect of parental duty is of course not the result of evil intent but of the fact that these parents are themselves victims of a sex-negative, chastity-oriented morality which has made them shy away from

discussing sex openly with their children. They often don't even know what words to use. The unintentional cruelty they inflict upon their sons, their breach of duty, must be blamed upon the unfeeling preachers of this morality which still today tortures so many innocent victims.

57 How different things are for the boys in Leonid Kameneff's "School on Ships"! Kameneff is a French pedagogue who takes on children for one or two years, detaches them for that period from their families and puts them on his sailboat, or on one of his donkey caravan expeditions in the Sahara or with a bicycle group visiting the lands of the Mediterranean sea. His education is anti-authoritarian. Kameneff noted that on board ship boys tended to fall into two categories: the real children of nature and those who had already been largely shaped by the way adults live their lives. The latter cannot do without their cigarettes, their transistor sets playing pop music, their Coca-Cola, television and movies. They are embarrassed by nudity, are sexually rigid and secretive. The children of nature, on the other hand, who are by far the most promising pupils of this school, happily throw off their clothes as soon as the ship has put to sea and they have left land and its society behind. Weather permitting, they work naked and often masturbate openly while sunning on the deck. They are frank about their sexuality which they shamelessly accept as a beautiful gift of nature. One day Michel, already mentioned in No. 31, presented himself proudly and happily before his group leader and told him, "Just now I got seed for the very first time in my life!" (Kameneff 1979, 31)

58 In the collection of the Brongersma Foundation there are a number of reproductions of drawings made by Sicilian working class boys, aged 12 to 17. They were frequent visitors in the home of a German artist living in Italy, and when they saw him at work they wanted to make drawings themselves. He gave them paper and pencil—and four-fifths of the sketches they produced dealt with sexuality, often in a most fanciful way. One fourteen-year-old wanted to make the same announcement that Michel had made in Kameneff's school. He sketched a large, stiff penis, drawing it, however, rather lightly; what was emerging from its tip, however, was boldly accented to make it the most important part of the picture: big, thick drops. And proudly Filippo wrote next to it "Nuova novità!" (the latest news)!

59 "When I finally ejaculated at thirteen, I felt great! Hooray, I'm a man! The world was complete."

"At eleven after masturbating I came. I felt now I was a 'man' and could do anything."

"With my first ejaculation at fifteen. I thought of it as a big thing, quite macho. Something to brag about with the guys."

"After I came while masturbating, I thought I was a great guy who was gonna lay every chick in sight." (Hite 1981, 606)

60 Erik, one of Sandfort's adult subjects, had had relations with many different boys. He observed "that it is a problem for the immature not to have an ejaculation. You have it, and they don't. They're terribly curious about the experience, what you feel when you come, if the sensation is different. When André finally had an ejaculation it was cause for real celebration. He was wildly delighted. And from that moment on boys feel they are full-fledged partners: now they are just like you; they can take part in sex with you completely. And they like this very much. I have noted this not just with André; with other boys it is just the same." (Sandfort 1979, 213).

A boy's first ejaculation is usually brought about by masturbation; more rarely it occurs while he is asleep and is accompanied by some kind of erotic dream. Only rarely does it happen during intercourse.

61 The Negro boy from Abidjan, already mentioned in No. 35, had intercourse for the first time when he was eleven with a girl of twelve. After this a long time passed without his having any sexual adventure. But one evening he found himself with a girl who already had mature breasts. She showed him a book with erotic pictures.

"As I looked at them my cock went stiff. I had more courage now, as I was a little bit older. I said, 'Do you want to do it?' She said, 'Yes, but where?' We went to the back of the house; she laid her loin-cloth on the ground and we lay down upon it. I threw my clothes off, and as soon as I was naked we started. Suddenly I felt something unspeakably nice coming from my back. I can't really describe it, but it was so delightful! And then, suddenly, it was over. I thought it ought to have lasted longer, it was so fine. Then I pulled my cock out of her, and, as I went to pull my trousers up, I touched my cock and saw it covered with sticky slime that was clear like water. Then I thought, this is the wet stuff big boys are often talking about. I grew scared that I might have made the girl pregnant." (A.D. 1979, 121)

It is often said that a boy who has his first ejaculation in the course of love-play with an older friend feels thenceforth a particularly close bond with him.

62 One of the men whose history is told in detail by Ellis was nearly fifteen when the big event occurred. He had once again sought contact with a man ten years his senior with whom he had been intimate when he was only five years old. "He put me into his bed while he undressed himself and came toward me in perfect nudity. In a moment we were in each other's arms and the deliciousness of that moment intoxicated me. Suddenly, lying on the bed, I felt attacked, as I thought, by an imperative need to make water. I leaped up with a hurried excuse, but already the paroxysm had subsided. No discharge came to my relief, yet the need seemed to have passed. I returned to my companion, but the glamour of the meeting was already over (...) On a

second occasion, one day, I seemed involuntarily about to transgress decency, but again, as before, separated myself, and remained ignorant of what it was on which I had verged in my excitement. At another meeting, however, I had been allowed to prolong my embrace and to act, indeed, upon my full instincts. Once more I felt suddenly the coming of something acutely impending; I took my courage in my hands and went boldly forward. In another moment I had hold of the mysterious secret of masculine energy, to which all my years of delirious imaginings had been but as a waiting at the threshold, the knocking on a closed door." (Ellis 1915, II-155)

Not all beginners have the sense of responsibility shown by the black youngster from Abidjan who worried about making his girl-friend pregnant.

63 In *Down Under the Plum Trees,* which is an excellent sexual source book for adolescents, a 13-year-old New Zealander is quoted, "I didn't use to worry about shooting in a girl—it just didn't worry me. Normally I never used contraceptives (...) Actually, the idea of getting a girl pregnant was quite exciting—an ego trip." (Tuohy & Murphy 1976, 177)

It is most exciting, especially for the more intelligent boy, to look at his own ejaculate under magnification and see the swarming life he has produced. Many boys find this deeply moving. A young Belgian said, "I immediately brought the first sperm I produced to the microscope; I felt very rich indeed when I saw all those entangling spermatozoa." (Kruithof & van Ussel 1963, 84).

Many immature boys are able to repeat their sexual climaxes almost indefinitely, one following immediately upon the other, just as can girls (Hertoft 1983, 70) . Kinsey cites instances in which immature boys attained orgasm ten times within ten minutes, and twenty times within a half-hour. With one 11-month-old baby 14 orgasms were observed in a space of 38 minutes; with an 11-year-old boy 19 in an hour's time; one 13-year-old boy had 26 orgasms in one day (Kinsey 1948, 179-180). But the capacity to ejaculate puts an end to these multiple orgasms of childhood.

64 (Continued from 31) When Max, at the age of seventeen, was questioned about his sexual evolution, he said, "When I was six my eleven-year-old brother taught me how to masturbate. He showed me pictures of naked women whom I thought were very beautiful, and they excited me, too. But back then I wasn't able to get a climax. That happened the first time when I was ten—a dry climax, of course, without sperm. From then on I was indefatigable, rubbing my cock every day and having up to twelve orgasms one right after another. That multiple climaxing came to an end when I started to emit sperm when I was thirteen or fourteen. Since then I usually masturbate about ten times a week.

"At first I was afraid it would damage my health, and I had some guilt feelings, but soon it just became a habit that I didn't worry about any longer. And then, too, sex was always being talked about at school, so I knew all the other boys were doing the same thing."

65 A patient of Dr. Stekel reported, "At fourteen I couldn't resist the temptation any longer, so I started to masturbate to excess. I masturbated every night; I did it continuously, without stopping, until about 2 or 3 a.m., always lying on my stomach and imitating intercourse (...) During the day I also masturbated in the lavatories (...) It was a big relief when at last I had that first ejaculation which I had so eagerly looked forward to for so long. This great event took place in the lavatory and my first seed fertilised the basin. I felt myself liberated and greatly relieved (...) After that first ejaculation my excessive masturbation ceased." (Stekel 1925, 144)

66 A fourteen-year-old told his doctor "that he decided to test his ability to jerk off the previous night. He professed the achievement of 13 separate orgasms from masturbation using his hand 'and plenty of vaseline'." (Marcus & Francis 1975, 7)

67 René, 16 years: "Nowadays doing it once or twice completely satisfies me. The second time is still pretty nice, but the first time, of course, is the most delicious. Previously (that is, before there was any seed) it didn't make any difference whether it was the first time or the fourth: the feeling was always the same. In those days I liked it too, of course, but now, when I come, I feel a lot more satisfied. The pleasure is much greater. That's the difference." (Sandfort 1979, 214)

This "dry orgasm" which the immature boy is able to repeat almost indefinitely, is quite distinct from the phenomenon of double orgasm first described in adolescents by Kahn and Kinsey. Kinsey found that in 4,000 subjects there were 380 who regularly had more than one orgasm during a single sexual contact: "In a fair number of cases it is habitual for a male to ejaculate two or more times in continuous intercourse and while maintaining a continuous erection." (Kinsey 1948, 215)

68 "Walter, a fifteen-year-old hairdresser's apprentice, accompanied me into the dunes to go sun-bathing. He took all his clothes offand immediately got a hard-on which simply wouldn't go down. 'I always feel sexy when I'm naked,' he said. Then he told me about the Wednesday nights he always looked forward to because his mother, a widow, went to choir practice and he and his brother, who was a year younger, became temporary masters of the house. They always invited girls in. They began first with dancing, then gradually got rid of their clothes until at last all four of them were naked. He envied his brother who, despite his younger age, had a much bigger cock.

> Finally they went to their beds to have intercourse, but there his brother was rather clumsy and several times Walter had to help out, guiding the younger boy's cock because he couldn't find the 'hole'. To avoid pregnancy Walter would withdraw his penis right at the last moment before he spurted, but then insert his cock again for about fifteen seconds, after which he would take it out again just before he climaxed and ejaculated a second time. He was firmly convinced that the male could fertilize only during climax. I told him this was a dangerous misconception and explained why, promising to bring him a book with more factual information the next time. But I was also interested in his ability to have double ejaculations and told him he was the first boy I had ever met who had that capacity. 'Want to see it?' he proposed eagerly. 'If you jerk me off it'll happen in a hurry.' I did so, and after a few minutes Walter, breathing deeply, turned slightly on his side so that his sperm wouldn't splatter on his stomach. Then it spurted out, a good quantity of it, white and creamy, and I thoughtlessly let go of his penis. Immediately Walter cried, with near hysteria in his voice, 'No, no, keep doing it!' So I resumed my rubbing, and, sure enough, after about twenty seconds the boy had another discharge, with the same force and just as voluminously as the first." (Personal communication)

This capacity of doubly ejaculating, "to forge two nails on one fire" as it is sometimes called, mostly disappears at the end of adolescence. Only very few young men still possess it; older adults never do.

With the onset of puberty many boys start to have nocturnal emissions, "wet dreams" with voluptuous images provoking orgasm. Kinsey found a few eight- and nine-year-old boys were already having this experience; after ten years of age the percentage steadily increased until with fifteen-year-olds it stood at 40%; by twenty years of age nearly 80% of the male population had experienced nocturnal emissions (Kinsey 1948, 522). Hertoft found somewhat higher percentages in Denmark: 7.8% began at twelve or younger to have wet dreams, 27.1% of the thirteen-year-olds had them, 52.4% of the fourteen-year-olds, 67.7% of the fifteen-year-olds, 76.7% of the sixteen-year-olds. Finally 85.3% of the male population had had such experiences (Hertoft 1968, II-31).

The average frequency is once in three weeks, with a maximum in some fifteen-year-olds of twelve times a week (Kinsey 1948, 243).

There has been almost no research done into this phenomenon, which is surprising. It seems that the penis is in erection one fifth of the time one is asleep (Vanggaard 1969, 170) and that the erections occur at intervals of about 90 minutes, according to Dr. Mary S. Calderone (1983). It has been estimated, moreover, that 12% of the dreams which young men have deal with sexuality. In 14% of these dreams only the image of the desired person will appear; in 30% the dreamer makes some kind of sexual overture to someone;

in 11% he kisses and fondles someone; in 18% he handles someone's sex organs and in 27% full intercourse is attempted or takes place (Bell & Hall 1971, 22). It seems that the dreamer often touches and rubs his penis during sleep. Orgasm usually awakens him.

If we were to impute intentions to nature, we might suggest that the purpose of wet dreams is to draw the boy's attention to his sexuality and to seed his mind with the desire to achieve awake and in actuality the lustful scenes conjured by his sleeping mind. In any case, nature misses no opportunity to provoke a boy's salacity.

We might also suppose that, physiologically, the chief purpose of wet dreams is to get regularly rid of the accumulated products of the sex glands. Nature "irritates the swollen organs with much seed," as Lucrece said (Burnet 1984, 81). But this mechanism doesn't function in every male. Some boys never attain orgasm during their sleep. And those who deliberately try to stop their wet dreams by relieving themselves adequately by masturbation or shared sexual activity are often unsuccessful. According to Gagnon & Simon (1973, 96) orgastic dreams are not less frequent in males with an active sex life. This proves that a purely physiological explanation is insufficient.

A variable with great importance for a boy's "male pride" is the force with which his penis spurts his seed. Friday (1941, 47) records the masturbation fantasy of a subject who imagines himself totally nude in front of six or eight fully dressed women: "After a while I spread two sheets of newspaper lengthwise on the floor and then kneel at one end and the women place their marks on the paper and place a bet on how far I can ejaculate and the one that comes closest wins the bet. I then proceed to masturbate while they watch and cheer me on."

Just before orgasm, at the very last moment, the various sexual glands release their fluids deep into the urethra, where they become mixed to form the familiar ejaculate. With the onset of orgasmic climax muscles around the root of the penis squeeze this out. With some boys it seems to well up rather quietly from the slit on the tip of the glans; in many it comes out in jets synchronised with the spasmodic contractions of the ejaculating muscles.

Commonly there are three or four jets following each other at intervals of 0.8 seconds (Verveen 1977, 22). There are indications that the number of jets increases when an individual feels less inhibited and more excited and that at such times the individual experiences a prolongation and deepening of orgasm as well. In an amateur home movie I once saw a German fifteen-year-old produce no less than seven powerful jets. The record might be eight (Osborne 1977, I-19).

The distance travelled by these jets of ejaculate usually is no more than 15 to 25 cm, but measurements have actually been made of sperm throws up to 1.65 meters (Baker 1977, 25). "I have been known to spurt far enough to hit

my sex partner in the eye at a distance of five to six feet," a subject of Hite (1981, 589) declares. An Amsterdam boy-lover once showed me encrustations on a china lamp-shade: the carefully preserved traces of seed from his fourteen-year-old friend. The lamp stood at the head of a settee on which the boy had lain as he was brought to climax; the distance between lamp and penis tip was more than two metres!

Orgasm

As we have already seen, most boys are able to attain orgasm long before they mature. Among the male subjects of the Yankowski investigation, 3.5% had experienced their first orgasm at ten years of age or younger, 77.5 did so between the ages of eleven and thirteen (Yankowski 1965, 81).

After puberty orgasm is reached more quickly, as the penis now becomes considerably more sensitive. Orgasm can often be produced by rather incidental events, for example the physical exertions of sports.

70 An eleven-year-old tells about climbing exercises in the school gym: "When you are high up on the pole and shut your eyes because you're so tired, suddenly something starts to throb between your legs. This goes on for quite a while; you can't resist it, it's so pleasant and tickling. For those seconds while it's happening you just can't move; you have to wait until it's over. When everybody's climbed down again you can immediately pick out the kids this same thing has happened to: they have a wet spot on the front of their shorts—only a little spot usually, but you can see it." (Stieber 1971, 81)

71 "I had my first orgasm before I was aware of sex in any form (I led a very sheltered life) at about age twelve as I was climbing a tree. For almost two years I 'made love to trees' in that I would climb trees just to get that good feeling. I was about thirteen before any juice would come out. To keep from staining my pants, I would go into the woods where no one was around and take off my clothes and climb around trees until the juice came. I didn't know what the juice was, but I knew that I wasn't just leaking pee. In the wintertime, I would go into the bathroom, take off my clothes, and pretend that I was climbing a tree by hanging on the closet door and pressing my penis against the edge. I would juice within several minutes of this activity and would experience a delightful sensation all over my body." (Hite 1981, 602).

It seems that after puberty orgasm is a more overpowering experience than before. A few boys even faint for a moment when it grips them at its peak. With other boys the whole body is seized by spasmodic twitching, all muscles knotted in tension. Belly muscles are contracted, as the stomach is drawn deeply in; this is most pronounced as climax is approached. The scrotum on the other hand loses its spontaneous movements; its wrinkles

disappear and the testicles are pulled upward towards the abdomen. The nipples of some boys erect and grow hard. The heart pounds heavily, its beat accelerating sharply (Verveen 1977, 21-22). Breathing turns into panting, at times spasmodically interrupted. Increased saliva production necessitates swallowing of the salivary flood. Especially striking at this time is the facial expression: eyes become glazed with an absent look as the lust feelings increase and overwhelm all outside perception. The mouth falls open or is, on the contrary, so tightly shut that the teeth may gnash together. Every bodily sensation seems to be concentrated in the penis. During some people's climax the face may be twisted in tension, as though its owner was writhing in agony: a number of photos in the Brongersma Foundation collection clearly illustrate this phenomenon. The cries uttered by males at this moment may also resemble the cries of pain. (Borneman 1978, 1443).

On the other hand, some males give little visible evidence that they are having a climax. They could win hands down at that party game English officers used to play in colonial India. At dinner they would sit around a table under which a native boy was hidden. The lad would creep around down there, open the trousers of one of the guests, pull out the penis and suck on it until it ejaculated. The man suffering—or enjoying—this attention had to behave in such a way that nobody could guess what was going on. Should he betray himself, however, by change of expression, bodily spasm or the lightest gasp, and he was found out, he had to pay for the next round of drinks (Peyrefitte 1968, 290).

The peak of orgasm usually lasts about eight or ten seconds, but this may be increased to 20 seconds or even a minute by expert manipulation (Verveen 1977, 20).

Even when a boy is well practiced in attaining orgasm, so that the feelings are hardly new to him, the sensations which may sweep through him the first time he has complete intercourse—provided, of course, he does this with his own free will and is not subject to any kind of anxiety—may surpass everything he has felt before:

72 As a New Zealand boy said, "She helped me in and it wasn't hard. I went in easy. I knew what to do and everything. I just moved in and out slowly until I came. When I came it hit me really hard. I mean, sometimes I used to get so carried away when I masturbated that I'd get cramps in my legs at orgasm, but that was mild compared with this. When I came I sort of cried out..." (Tuohy & Murphy 1976, 190-191).

THE BLOOM OF YOUTH

With all these physical changes and the new hormones which begin to course through his body, a period opens up in which the boy becomes radiant in a certain characteristic way and which is rightly called his "bloom". The "new-mown hay" fragrance of prepubertal boys gives way to the more prickly, sharper bodily odors of the adolescent. Tatius in the fourth century A.D., wrote, "The sweat of a handsome boy smells sweeter than any female perfume." (Fontanié 1979, 528).

"John Davis", an English teacher observed, "It might be as well to remark here that this may often be a time of extreme physical beauty. The boy has lost the prominent tummy and seeming outsize head of childhood, but not yet gained the unbalanced proportions of adolescence: he appears to be in a timeless drift." (Toynbee 1961, 85)

It is a pity, however, that this bloom, like all others, lasts such a short time.

73 When the Venetian boy Amadeo offers himself to Frederick Rolfe ("Baron Corvo"), Rolfe writes in a letter to a friend, "Amadeo is just ripe, just in his prime. I know that type so well. A year ago that day when he came to take the 3rd oar in my pupparin, he was a lanky uninteresting wafer. Since then, the work of dancing up and down planks with heavy sacks has filled him out, clothed him with most lovely pads of muscular sweet flesh, sweated his skin into rosy satin fineness and softness, made his black eyes and his strong white teeth and his mouth like blood glitter with health and vigour, and fixed his passions to the heat of a seven times heated furnace. He'll be like this till spring, say 3 months more. Then some great fat cow of a girl will just open herself wide and lie quite still, and drain him dry. First, the rich bloom of him will go (...) Given a boy, a fine strong healthy boy, who does actually enjoy the love of a male with all its naked joys, who burns for it, seeks it, flings himself gleefully into the ardent strivings of it with no reserve, with utter and entire abandon, offering himself a willing sacrifice or operating in turn with equal and greedy unreservedness, is it not a fact that such a one keeps his youthful freshness and vigour infinitely longer than the ordinary lad who futters the ordinary lass from puberty on?" (Rolfe 1974, 36-37)

The Arabs had their own way of describing the boy in his bloom. Maarten Schild composes the following picture from the works of various poets: "The face is like a shining full moon, chasing darkness from the earth. He has big, dark, gazelle-like eyes, enchanting as sparkling jewels, lethal as two razor-sharp swords, intoxicating as the most heady wine, eyes that shine like the sun's rays. His cheeks are like blooming roses, shining like scarlet coral, blushing like red blossoms, at times exquisitely adorned with a dark

tâche de beaute–. His teeth are pearl-white and his lips red and oh so sweet. His kisses and the moisture of his mouth are like delicious wine and sugar-sweet honey; his breath, scented like perfume, intoxicates you. His voice is soft and sweet, made still more attractive by its nasal quality and lisping. His hair is long and curly and coal-black. His neck is long and muscular and at the same time frail and vulnerable like a slender spray. Finally there are his adorable buttocks, chubby and soft like a dune, a mountain of sand." (Schild 1983, 4-1)

What deep longing is revealed in the Greek myth wherein Zeus grants the request of beautiful young Endymion to put him eternally to sleep in order to preserve his youth forever and prevent him from aging into ugliness! Only at night can the moon come down and make love to him (Scholte 1958, II-749).

69 The American poet Dennis Kelly devoted a whole volume of poems, *Size Queen,* to the sexual organs (and what they got up to) of his students at school and his young friends. He describes the same phenomenon in one Gary:

> *Gary Cumstock must be nine inches soft.*
> *One time after I proposition him in the*
> *locker room, it gets 11 or 12 miles long...*
> *...One time he tells*
> *me how many million sperm I've just*
> *swallowed, as I milk his tool of its*
> *last drop. Then he doubles it, with*
> *a nice big double load. It's tasty.*
> (1981, 103)

RITES OF INITIATION

In Ethnology

Puberty is traditionally thought of as the time of life when a boy changes into a man. For most of those peoples whom we, from our lofty cultural perspective, define as "primitive", it is therefore the occasion of great ceremonies and celebrations at which the boy coming of age is taught the mysteries and traditions of the tribe. Initiation at this time marks the emancipation of the boy from his parental, especially maternal, authority (Morris 1976, 189).

For hunters and warriors it is of the utmost importance that they be hardened against pain and injury. Thus the young candidate aspiring to adult male dignity is subjected to all kinds of trials. He is often required to endure excruciating pain without complaint, and without shedding tears.

Often his genitals are tortured. During this period their growth and development are uppermost in the boy's mind; they are of utmost importance

to him as a source of pleasure, and, moreover, they are more sensitive than at any time in his life before or since. Being soft, they lend themselves well to transformation. Operations on the genitals, therefore, are most impressive and awe-inspiring.

It would be impossible to do justice in a brief summary to all that has been discovered about puberty rites and initiation in all the tribes of the world. Many volumes have been filled with descriptions and reflections. A few examples may serve to take measure of this field.

Boys who have just reached puberty are generally separated from their village community for a shorter or a longer period, sometimes up to several months. Often they receive a new name, are instructed in the traditions of the tribe and are taught—if this is still necessary—how a man can best satisfy the sexual needs of a woman. The Mangaina of Polynesia for instance show the boy how to delay his orgasm and the various positions of intercourse; the following nights he must practice. At first his preference runs to experienced women, for they can give him greater pleasure. Later he tries out ten, perhaps even sixty or seventy, different girls (van Ussel 1975, 91-92). In one New Guinea tribe the encampment where boys are initiated is equipped with dolls having gigantic sexual parts, male and female, which the boys have to handle. They are also taught to excite themselves frequently by inserting certain lianas in the urethral opening on the penis tip (Jensen 1933, 85).

In many tribes the instructor or other men have sexual intercourse with the candidates, who may also be trained to perform sexually enticing dances. Often the boys must endure hunger or thirst or are prevented from sleeping; stripped naked they may be exposed to the cold of night or thrown on a hill of biting ants. Between these trials they may be scolded or beaten up at unexpected times. They may be frightened by tales of magicians or mythical beasts coming to take them by surprise and devour them. Some New Guinea tribes mix male sperm into the boys' food, or give them slices of coconut spread with adult male seed (Jensen 1933, 86; Bühler-Oppenheim 1947, 2194).

The Poro community in Sierra Leone forbids the boys, during the months they pass in their initiation camps, to wear any kind of clothing. It is also strictly forbidden for them to touch their penises or let them be touched by another person (Should they disobey this stricture the penis will fall off!). Since intercourse is practiced from an early age among the children, all candidates have become quite accustomed to receiving regular sexual relief; this suddenly imposed abstinence, then, soon becomes a torture and results in intense, persistent erections. Sexual tension makes it almost impossible for the boys to listen attentively to the instruction they receive. When an instructor sees that a particular boy is not listening he makes him stand up. A comrade sits down opposite him and looks at the boy's penis standing stiffly on end. Two other candidates take up positions behind, each holding a sprig;

now they use it to tickle the neck of the inattentive boy. Gradually the tickling turns into light switching, then harder whipping, descending along the back, until at last the boy is so excited that he has a spontaneous orgasm and ejaculates, after which the observing candidate signals the others to stop. In this way detumescence is achieved without a touch to the penis. The boy thus treated remains standing rigid for about a minute. Then, after a piercing cry of pleasure, sits down among his comrades. (Personal communication by a traveller in Africa; Gervis 1957, 90, 101, 112, 252)

In the mountains of Central India mature boys carve a kind of vagina cleft in the stem of a plant. They make this cleft slippery with their spittle, and then the younger boys, who are stripped naked, have to take turns inserting their penises in it while at the same time they are beaten with a stalk (Elwin 1959, 94).

In a large majority of primitive peoples initiation culminates in *painful operations* on the genitals, usually in the belief that this bestows upon the organ increased power and vitality (Bettelheim 1962, 78). A rare example is the Tongan practice of excising of one of the testicles: with a sharpened piece of bamboo the left side of the scrotum is opened, the testicle pressed out and cut off. This is supposed to prevent the birth of twins and keep one from getting sick. A traveller to the Tonga Islands reported, "Boys when they reach 12 or 14 egg one another on to go to the 'surgeon'; there, each demands to be the first operated on, thus showing his courage." (Stoll 1908, 539) With the Mahalbi, a Sudanese hunting tribe, boys are made to dance naked until they go into a sort of trance. Then a man wrapped in leopard skins appears and throws himself upon the boys, wounding them "especially in the genitals, so that they will bear scars from this for the rest of their lives. Some pretend that one of their testicles is torn out (...) Some reports stress the fact that one of the testicles is smashed or crushed." (Jensen 1933, 45)

In Tonga boys wish to beautify their genitals by having their glanses tatooed with ornamental designs, a process which must be exceedingly painful (Stoll 1908, 75). Into the skin of the glans are scratched symbols which appear in their full glory only during erection (Treffz 1972).

Of the pre-Columbian peoples of Mexico it is said, "They cut their genitals and make a cleft between skin and flesh, creating a hole large enough to allow the continuous passage of a thick rope for as long as the penitent desired or could stand it. At times they pulled through ten yards, often fifteen, and if someone fainted as a result of the excruciating pain, or from loss of blood, they said this proved he had already had relations with a woman. For it was girls and lads still thought to be chaste who had to make this sacrifice with their genitals. (...) On other occasions boys performed the most horrible and painful sacrifices tied together in the temples. They stood in a row. Each pierced his male member from side to side, and through the hole so made they

pulled as long a cord as possible, so that finally they were all laced up together with this cord. With the blood pouring from their genitals they anointed their idol, and he who did this most lavishly was considered the most courageous. The boys started with these rites when they were still very young, and it is dreadful how they were addicted to them." (Stoll 1908, 543, 954)

Even today the Pasum of New Guinea make blood offerings with their penises. During initiation the boy's foreskin is pulled back and tightly tied in this position. The boy then must stand patiently until the congested blood has swelled his glans to its maximum. Then an uncle of the candidate rips the skin of the glans with an opossum tooth; the blood which gushes forth must fall in the shape of a bird's nest on a specially prepared spot. The uncle himself commences the sacrifice by inserting a blade of grass into his urethra and pulling it in and out until he is bleeding (Schmitz 1969, 129-130). We will come back to this theme in Chapter Four.

All of this is intended as an offering, but the Batak on Sumatra, who also pierce the penis, do it for quite another reason: it is to thicken it so it will excite the woman more during intercourse. Schadt reported, "The Bataks made incision in the skin of the penis and insert little stones therein. Some males have quite a number of these, arranged in a spiral around the shaft." (Stoll 1908, 921). (The same kind of practice is reported among Sierra Leone Negroes by Gervais (1957, 113)). It is years before a youth who has undergone such an operation can once again perform complete intercourse. In the meantime he must satisfy himself by masturbation, which boys do in groups in their common house. He nevertheless proudly displays himself as 'a hero of love play', showing by tatoos on his body just how many 'knobs' he possesses (Treffz 1972).

The Dajaks on Borneo accomplish the same thing with their "ampallang", a four-centimetre-long metal stave carried diagonally through the glans. The incision through which the ampallang is thrust is made upon the arrival of puberty (Borneman 1978, 54). The glans is first flattened for two days between two discs of bamboo lashed together, while cold compresses are applied to the penis tip. Then the glans is pierced from side to side by a bamboo awl just above the urethral opening. A pigeon's feather, made smooth with oil, is inserted in the hole and every day thereafter changed in order to keep the passage open. Cold compresses are continued until the wound is healed, at which time, when the boy is ready for intercourse, the ampallang is substituted for the feather (Stoll 1908, 921). In the age of Alexander the Great the same operation was traditional in India (Peyrefitte 1981, 296).

The most terrifying mutilation of the male member is carried out by the Australian aborigines. To perform the so-called *mica operation* as safely and easily as possible, a pointed kangaroo bone is inserted into the urethra and

pressed down until it pierces the penis and comes out again just in front of the scrotum. A man then sits down upon the boy and, turning his back to him, grasps the penis and pulls it upwards to stretch the urethra. Then the tribal doctor approaches him and with a sharpened piece of flint splits the urethra its full length from scrotum to glans (Bettelheim 1962, 17, 100; Karsch-Haack 1911, 68-73). Not infrequently young adult male spectators spontaneously advise that the cut go a bit deeper (Stoll 1908, 526-528). A slightly different description is given by Ashley Montagu (1946, 427-428). "After the operation the young men may go about perfectly naked, which they are forbidden to do previously. They are now permitted to marry (...) In the moment of erection the penis is broad and flat and the sperm is ejaculated outside the vagina (...) Among some 300 natives there were only three or four who had not been operated, and it appeared that upon these devolved the duty of insuring the propagation of the tribe. One of these, who had been no doubt specially selected for the purpose, was a splendid specimen of humanity, fully six feet two inches in stature." (Sutor 1964, 265-266). Intercourse is strictly forbidden to boys who have not yet been operated upon; they copulate only with older friends who have already received the operation. The older boy lies on his back, with his penis on his belly, and the younger puts his member in the penis-groove of his friend, moving it to and fro until climax is achieved (Karsch-Haack 1911, 78).

According to Bettelheim, the practice of subincision is actually spreading, not decreasing, and the same applies to circumcision in Africa and Australia (1962, 68). *Circumcision,* in which the foreskin is incised or removed completely, is the most wide-spread mutilation of male children.

The opposite practice, artificial enlargement of the foreskin, is seldom encountered. The Bakari Indians in Brazil, who used to live completely naked, make their boys at puberty start wearing a loincord. "The penis is carried upwards along the body under this cord in such a way that the top of the foreskin is pinched off. This practice begins as soon as the boy is showing frequent erections. He tries to sustain this stretching of his foreskin for days. The irritating pubic hair is pulled out." (Stoll 1908, 493). In ancient Greece and Rome, where nudity was natural in the public baths and at sporting events, it was considered improper to show an uncovered glans. Athletes therefore used to tie up their foreskins with a small string before wrestling. Jews and other circumcised men covered their penises in the baths with a metal or leather case (Stoll 1908, 496).

Many reasons have been advanced for circumcision. The removal of the foreskin is supposed to result in a more hygienic penis, as smegma, a whitish secretion that collects under the foreskin, product of small glands, and other matter may accumulate in its fold, causing inflammation and even cancer. Then, too, circumcision is supposed to make masturbation more difficult and

even prevent it. Finally, the uncovered skin of the glans becomes rougher and coarser and thus less sensitive; the result is supposed to be that the male will need a longer time to reach orgasm and will give his female partner more pleasure.

Nicholas Carter in his book *Routine Circumcision, the Tragic Myth* (1979) writes that none of these arguments can stand examination. A boy should better be taught how to keep this part of his body clean. As to prevention of masturbation, there is no reason to do this; besides, circumcised boys are no less addicted to this activity than the uncircumcised. The prolongation of intercourse can be acquired more effectively by learning its techniques.

Sutor was convinced that the foreskin, compressing the glans, "interfered with the free development of the young boy's organ" so that circumcision would help the penis grow (1964, 247; likewise, Laroche 1938, 46). Westermarck suggested that the operation was performed to make the penis more attractive (Ellis 1914, IV-159). The operation makes the boy a man and gives him the appearance of sexual maturity (Ashley Montagu 1946, 425). It is, of course, a matter of personal taste whether a circumcised penis is more attractive than an uncircumcised one. Ellis is certainly wrong when he calls "insistence on the naked sexual organs as objects of attraction (...) comparatively rare, and confined to peoples in a low state of culture." (1914, IV-158). Homophiles in the civilised parts of the world, too, consider the appearance of a man's penis an important factor in evaluating his beauty.

In some cultures circumcision is not an obligation but a matter of free choice, so that some boys are circumcised and others still possess their foreskins. It is a fact that girls tend to prefer the circumcised. Explorers "commented on how rapidly circumcision is spreading among the African Asande because the women prefer it. Circumcision is a recent introduction; it is, however, tending to become general in the Congo and is spreading in the Sudan... it has no religious significance, but is insisted upon by the women, who like it. A thirteen-year-old African Sebeyi boy told Bryk that everybody wants to be circumcised because it is beautiful and because the women reject uncircumcised men as sex partners." (Bettelheim 1962, 99; Bryk 1928, 60) In his study of the blacks living on the Ubangui in Central Africa, Vergiat describes how uncircumcised boys are always teased by the *ganzas,* the circumcised ones, who call them cowards and idiots. Often a boy is driven to tears if his father will not permit the operation (1951, 68).

74 While the Congo was still a colony, the Belgian authorities tried to ban circumcision among the Asande because for a few weeks after the operation the boys were incapable of working; violators were punished by a severe beating. On the request of an ethnologist, one local commander asked for three circumcision volunteers so that the explorer could take photographs.

III. BOYS AND THEIR SEXUALITY

> Although they realized that the operation on their fully mature and well-used penises would be extremely painful, candidates competed with one another to be one of the lucky three (Czekanowski, quoted by Bryk 1931, 50).

Sometimes, in some cultures, boys circumcise themselves , or friends do it to each other. (cf. Gervais 1957, 118)

The operation is performed in various ways. "The most rudimentary form of male circumcision is a simple gash of the prepuce (...) In Tonga the operation is performed by the simple process of tearing the prepuce with the hand (...) Among the Somali, Masai, Wajagga, and a few of the Kikuyu, a similar cut is made on the upper part of the glans, and the resulting flaps of flesh allowed to hang down." (Gray, quoted by Loeb 1974, 13; Ashley Montagu 1946, 427)

On Serang in Indonesia it is done "without any festivity and only at the urgent request of the girl to whom the young man is betrothed. It is believed that it will increase the pleasure for both of them during intercourse. The operation is performed when the first pubic hair appears. An old man, the so-called *Tukaano,* pulls the foreskin forward, inserts a piece of wood in the aperture, puts a sharp knife upon it and gives it a blow with a second piece of wood, so that the split skin hangs down on both sides. Immediately afterwards the boy hurries away from the place of circumcision, which is outside the village, goes to his girl and introduces his wounded member into her vulva. He and his girl stay in this position for two days so that the wound may heal. If it is difficult to insert the penis because the foreskin has been cut too deeply, the girl asks one of her friends whose vulva has already been widened through childbirth to take her place until the bleeding has stopped." (Stoll 1908, 509)

Most often the foreskin is removed completely. Merker tells of the Masai Negroes, "Some weeks before this happens you see boys carrying a lot of ornaments, dancing, singing in their own corrals or in their neighbours' and so expressing great joy that they will soon attain the privileged rank of warrior." On the day of the operation "all the boys to be circumcised come before sunrise to a place near the corral which has been chosen by the three or four men required to perform the circumcisions. At the same time the warriors make their appearance. Because the operation is so painful it is performed during the coolest part of the day. The boys sprinkle each other with cold water to lessen the sensitivity of the flesh." Stoll adds, "The operation is performed by professionals, old men who roll back the foreskin and cut it in a circle at its base below the glans. They then split it downwards so that the two pieces of skin hang down in their length on both sides. Half of this is removed with a knife, the rest being left to shrink over the next two weeks as it heals to form a uvula-like appendage. Boys who have not yet been

circumcised often want to appear as if they had, out of vanity. Thus they rub into their glans the stinging juice of the spurge plant; the swollen tip prevents the foreskin from returning to its usual position and the boys walk around with their glanses uncovered imitating their circumcised comrades."(Stoll 1908, 510-511)

With the Aranda tribe in Australia the witch doctor removes the entire foreskin with a stone knife (Treffz 1972).

André Drooges, in his doctoral thesis (Amsterdam 1974) gave a detailed description of the very complicated rites of initiation as they are still performed by the Kisangani of Zaïre. Prior to the operation the boys dance on the roofs of their homes so that they can be seen by everybody. They make thrusting motions with their hips in imitation of intercourse. As they do this they take off their loincloths to show the swinging of their penises. Each boy now declares, through gestures, whether he wishes to be circumcised with a single cut or whether he has chosen the much more painful three-stage operation (which brings him general admiration). The circumcision itself is performed on the river bank, accompanied by a roll of drums to drown out any cries of terror and anguish. Until 1970 a simple kitchen knife was used; now it is done with a surgeon's scalpel. The witch doctor examines the length of the foreskin, pulls it forward and, quick as lightning, cuts the part extending beyond the glans. If the boy, to prove his courage, begs to receive the three-stage circumcision, an assistant takes the remaining layer of skin which is turned toward the glans, tears it lengthwise, while the witch doctor cuts the pieces off on the right and on the left. If the boy shows no signs of pain or fear the men surrounding him shout loudly with joy and beat the river's surface with sticks. Most of the boys have their wounds dressed on the spot; only two remain unbandaged and have to walk naked through the village with their bleeding penises visible for all to see. After this the wounds are nursed in a camp outside the village. The boys are much more afraid of this 'cure' than of the circumcision itself, for now various caustic substances are rubbed into their wounds—red pepper, and nowadays also the medications of our civilisation: tincture of iodine, mercurochrome, potassium permanganate and pure alcohol. Many a courageous knight of the three-stage operation, who stood his circumcision unblinkingly, is now reduced to screams, so terrible is this torture. The initiated sleeps face-downwards on a wooden bed with a hole in its centre through which the penis hangs down. Throughout their whole stay in this camp the boys are tormented by the men in various ways in order to harden them. They are also taught songs celebrating intercourse with 'a nice hairy cunt' or with lines like 'Balls and cock are in violent motion. Oh, cunt! Oh cock!' Usually two weeks suffice for recovery. Immediately afterwards the boy, under the guidance of his godfather, has to copulate with a woman he is not destined to marry. As soon as he has accomplished this it is announced

publicly. (Drooges 1974, 91-92, 114-115, 117-118, 149, 152, 154, 165, 170, 175, 211) Among the Kikuyu in western Africa, "the newly circumcised boys, in groups of fifteen or twenty, attack and rape old women and finally kill them" (Bettelheim 1962, 93).

The most horrible way of circumcising a boy is practiced by the Yesidi tribe in Yemen. "The patient (...) is placed upon a raised ground holding in right hand a spear, whose heel rests upon his foot and whose point shows every tremour of the nerves. The tribe stands about him to pass judgement on his fortitude." (Burton 1886, XII-91; Ashley Montagu 1946, 429) The operation is performed when the boy is 15 to 20 years old, in the presence of his bride, who may repudiate him if he screams or weeps (Bryk 1931, 114). A barber with a razor-sharp dagger approaches the victim, who is stripped naked. "First he makes a shallow cut, severing only the skin across the belly immediately below the navel, and similar incisions down each groin; then he tears off the epidermis from the incisions downwards and flays the testicles and the penis, ending with amputation of the foreskin. Meanwhile the spear must not tremble and in some clans the lad holds a dagger over the back of the stooping barber, crying, 'Cut and fear not!' When the ordeal is over, he exclaims, 'Allaha Akbar!' and attempts to walk towards the tents, soon falling for pain and nervous exhaustion, but the more steps he takes the more applause he gains. He is dieted with camel's milk, the wound is treated with salt and turmeric, and the chances in his favour are about ten to one. No body pile or pecten ever grows upon the excoriated part which preserves through life a livid ashen hue." (Burton 1886, XII-91)

The Poro girls of Liberia are "circumcised" too: their clitorises and labia minora are removed, cooked and given to the boys to eat; similarly, the foreskins of the boys are cooked and eaten by the girls (Bettelheim 1962, 94). The Oveherero, a black warrior tribe in Africa, used to amputate the genitals of conquered enemies, cook them and give them to the circumcised boys as body-building food (Jensen 1933, 53).

Nearly everywhere, those manhood rites which include circumcision are concluded with a celebration in which everyone has unrestrained public intercourse; the newly-circumcised boys receive preferred attention from the women (Jensen 1933, 27).

In Western Society

Why have we gone into such detail about traditions far removed from the experience of youth in our society?

It would seem that people of our Western civilisation, where nations do battle with napalm and nuclear weapons, have less need to harden their boys against pain and injury than do people of the primitive warrior and hunting

tribes, threatened as they frequently are in lonely spots by dangerous animals or the spears and arrows of enemies. Among such peoples courage is suffering pain without flinching; our courage, on the other hand, is demonstrated by hurting others (Borneman 1978, 1037). But it isn't the courageous bearing of pain which is crucial to our thesis; rather it is the quite positive attitude in such primitive societies towards sex. When a boy suddenly begins to ejaculate semen, gives evidence of being randy, his family and the whole neighbourhood rejoice. Everybody talks about this great event and is glad. Part of the rites is instruction in how the boy should make the best use of this male organ of his which has suddenly grown so dramatically. He is taught the best ways to give pleasure to women; everything is done to smooth his path in this learning process. And it's all closely linked to the natural evolution of his body: the sensationally rapid growth and increased sensitivity of the penis, the sprouting of pubic hair, spontaneous and ineluctable erections, erotic dreams, all drawing the pubertal boy's attention to his newly acquired sexual capacities. Thus boys eagerly and joyously look forward to the initiation which will make them officially men, accepted as full members of the tribe, despite the pain and suffering which accompanies it (Schérer 1978, 53). We never hear of their taking their own lives out of fear of the coming trials, while in our own youth-loving occidental civilisation a wave of adolescent suicides takes place every examination time in our schools and universities (Morris 1976, 190-191). Western Germany reports that every spring about 500 youngsters between 11 and 19 years of age commit suicide out of fear of bad marks or failure at school (Wafelbakker 1978, 1487).

What our civilisation has substituted for traditional tribal initiation is not just meagre but is actually harmful.

Loving parents are usually proud of their children's development: the baby's first smile, so sweetly sung in Latin poetry, was the inspiration of a fine essay by the leading Dutch psychologist Buytendijk. Many a mother has kept a 'baby diary' in which she carefully records baby's first steps, first words, first phrases. Later there is progress at school: the first writing, the first book the child has read for himself, awards at sports. The child learns to swim, ride a bicycle. Each step on the way to adulthood is noted with pride by father and mother.

And then, suddenly, an even greater event occurs, one which the child perceives as uncommonly important—the growth and maturation of his genitals—and it is passed by in embarrassed silence.

Children are extremely sensitive to the real underlying feelings and attitudes of those who bring them up; they are more impressed by these than by what is actually said. Fine talk about the sublime mystery of procreation or the sanctity of matrimonial love cannot hide parental embarrassment over sexuality and is hardly a substitute for sexual discussion. The son responds:

the bulge in his trousers, the visibility of his erections, semen stains on his bedsheets and underwear are cause for anxiety.

Until about two centuries ago children were in no need of special sexual instruction. The entire family, including servants and guests, generally slept together in one big room. Nakedness at home was as common and accepted as in the bath houses of the time. Even as late as the 17th Century one could see women going about bare-breasted in the centre of the towns, and even naked men entering the bath-houses (Dasberg 1975, 35). Petting, intercourse, birth and death all took place in the common room; children learned the 'facts of life' by observation (Schérer 1974, 141-143). All this changed with the rise of the bourgeoisie. Soon it was only in the country that children could watch the sexual activities of animals and so come to at least a partial understanding of how it went with human beings.

75 A New Zealand farm boy says, "We used to laugh at the city kids. They would come on holiday—relatives of neighbours. And they'd come over to my uncle's to get milk and every time they saw a bull fucking, especially the boys, they'd stop and they'd crack a fat themselves. We'd be busy in the shed and we'd see them leaning on the rails watching this bull fucking and cracking a fat while they were watching." (Tuohy & Murphy 1970, 135)

In bourgeois society, under the fatal influence of Rousseau (Kentler 1970, 105-106) children became for the first time a separate caste of humanity to which was attached the label of "innocence"—meaning ignorance of and being untouched by anything sexual. A revised code of ethics was constructed to conform to this new philosophy; the pious were persuaded that it was Christian and traditional. If one criticised this sudden and terrible distortion of human nature, one's doubts were thought to be inspired by the devil himself!

Ever since, the protagonists of these ethics have grimly opposed every sort of sexual instruction for the young. Sporadically and locally their battle continues. Some people still cling to the astonishing opinion that in bringing up a child this extremely important event is best skipped over in silence, that one should keep youth ignorant in order to prevent "bad thoughts". Actually, such opinions aren't limited to Christians: the influential Soviet Russian pedagogue Makarenko voiced exactly the same ideas (Grassel 1967, 144). All spiritual and secular dictatorships, in their zeal to keep young people ignorant and repress their sexual outlets, meet easily on this particular plane.

And where, here and there, the idea of sexual instruction has overcome societal resistance, it has gained for the most part only a Pyrrhic victory. In sex education classes in school the mechanics of procreation are more or less amply illustrated. Now, it goes without saying that this is an interesting

subject, but for children it is no more important than information about digestion, say, or blood circulation. And not a word is said about the most important accompanying phenomena: the sensations experienced during intercourse and other kinds of sexual activity. The child is told nothing about what he soon will feel, or feels already: sex hunger and lust. Besides, all of this, he is told, is not for him; it is reserved exclusively for adults. Abstinence is hammered home with the severest of threats: there's the danger of pregnancy, the peril of venereal diseases.

76 Father to son: "Did they give you sexual instruction at school?" Son: "Yes. Three times. First came the doctor who told us what we shouldn't do. Then came the preacher who told us why we shouldn't do it. And finally the headmaster, who told us where we shouldn't do it." Little boy to his chum, after having had a lesson about sex: "It seems to be awfully complicated!" Other boy: "Yes, and you're not even supposed to laugh!"

In this and many other ways, our civilisation imposes upon its young people a horrible loneliness about sex. What primitive people see as a source of joy and pride, we pervert into a source of frustration, anxiety and worry. It is part of the strange, materialistic views of our civilisation that physical torture is seen as cruel while mental torture is easily reconciled with our humanitarian ideals: it is cruel to cut off a thief's hands, but it is humane to lock him up for years in a lonely prison cell. Readers who were shocked by our description of puberty rites should think about the cruelty our civilisation imposes upon most boys by deliberately keeping them sexually ignorant and thus in a continuous state of inner turmoil.

The purpose of the transitory pains and tribulations of primitive initiation rites is to make the boy a better sexual partner, so that he can give and receive more pleasure with his sex contacts. The repressive attitudes endemic in our civilisation, on the contrary, often not only turn puberty into a torment but reduce forevermore a person's chances of marital happiness and sexual pleasure, as Frenken's research (1976) so convincingly demonstrated. Only unhappiness is the result.

There is a way out, even in our society. There are some discerning parents who understand not only their own private sexual needs but also those of their children.

77 A Dutch boy, well prepared for what soon would happen, ran in great excitement to his father to tell him that for the first time he had ejaculated during masturbation. The parents threw a small dinner party for him, inviting a few trusted friends; everyone drank to the boy's health and congratulated him.

78 Another Dutch family celebrated the first intercourse of their son in the same way.

79 The fifteen-year-old son of an Amsterdam workman came home late for dinner one night. His mother began to scold him, but the boy broke in to explain that just as he was about to leave the home of one of the girls in his class—they had been doing their homework together—she had informed him that they were alone in the house and she wished to show him her bedroom. At this point the youngster's 12-year-old brother began to snigger. Soon the parents were laughing, too, and the father said, "You're forgiven. It would have been silly to have missed such a chance. Fucking is good for your health!"

80 In the living room of a fourth family, ardent naturists, all, hangs a picture of their fifteen-year-old son on a nudist beach. Quite obviously the photographer had taken care to feature conspicuously in the foreground the boy's large penis. The boy is proud of this photo, invariably draws attention to it when his classmates, boys and girls both, come to visit. When he goes to a party or out on a date his mother reminds him, "Don't forget to put some condoms in your pocket."

81 The editor of an American periodical which included descriptions of gay sex received this letter from a man who had discovered his son reading old copies of the magazine in his basement: "Now I know why he's been walking around with a hard-on most of the time. It also makes me wonder now why he's been taking the young kid next door down in our basement so often. You have a most wicked and delightful publication." (McDonald 1981, 189)

Wouldn't it be wonderful if all parents could be as proud of their son having strong, large, well-formed genitals as of him having a fine mind and physique?

82 A German mother once showed me photos taken at a nudist camp that she and her fourteen-year-old son had visited for a few weeks. She observed, "Thorsten's penis was bigger than any of the other boys'. He gets that from his late father, who had a large one, too. Thorsten likes people to admire it. Whenever he and his school-mates have a party here at home he tries to get them to play strip poker—and then cheats in order to lose so he can be the first to cast off his clothes!"

In another German home, the father presented his thirteen-year-old son to a visitor. As the guest marvelled at how big and virile the boy had become, the father replied, with a smile, "Yes, he's incredibly developed for his age. I don't know where he gets that from, but his penis is already much longer and thicker than mine."

Boys brought up in such an atmosphere will certainly have little difficulty discussing their sexual desires and thoughts, and any problems which might come up, with their parents. But others, hearing their parents say, "You can talk about anything with us—you can be confident that we will give you any information you need", sense the real reluctance, the fear, the timidity underlying such a declaration. And such parents are far from being the worst: many never even touch upon the subject of sex and are visibly shocked at any allusion to it. How difficult, then, it is for the boy to develop a well-conducted and fully human sexual life. Many never do, thanks to the highly moralistic upbringing by their parents.

THE BEGINNING OF SEXUAL RELATIONS

The commencement of sexual activities with others cannot be considered peculiar to puberty. Where nature is allowed to take its course, things begin to happen much earlier, which is consistent with the fact that mankind has reached the highest level of evolution. Kerscher stresses "that the relationship between sexuality and procreation is already much less pronounced in the higher primates than in the lower animal species, and that mankind in this respect has attained the highest plane of development, in which the influence of the cerebral cortex becomes more powerful than that of the sex hormones. Where this happens animals are equally sexually active outside of the rutting season. When this evolution goes as far as it can go, such behaviour occurs in the young, immature individuals as well." (Kerscher 1979, 12-13) Sex play has been observed in all young mammals, but there are differences, and it is striking that the higher the development state of the species the more sexual play occurs (Ford & Beach 1968, 22 & 273).

"Among the Australian aboriginies, whose society is one of the most primitive known to us (...) the physical relations between men and women are spoken of freely, without embarrassment and with obvious pleasure, even in front of children. From an early age, native children are familiar with copulation. Sex is considered a normal, natural, and most important factor in human life. There is no attempt to keep anything about it secret from young persons. The Berndts describe how children are allowed to indulge sexual desires without criticism. They may be invited by another, older brother or sister, or some other person to have sexual intercourse with an adult or a child of the same age standing nearby. Their sexual organs may be played with or their sexual potentialities discussed at length and in detail in their hearing by older persons. At an early age they learn of the sexual act by direct observation, and they imitate adult sexual activities among themselves, publicly when they are very young and somewhat more privately when they become older and more self-conscious." (Bettelheim 1962, 64)

III. BOYS AND THEIR SEXUALITY

"A kind of rudimentary sexual intercourse between children, as Bloch has remarked, occurs in many parts of the world, and is recognised by their elders as play. This is, for instance, the case among the Bawenda of the Transvaal, and among the Papuans of Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land (Papuan New Guinea), with the approval of the parents, although much reticence is observed. Godard noted the sexual play of the boys and girls in Cairo. In New Mexico W. A. Hammond has seen boys and girls attempting a playful sexual conjunction with the encouragement of men and women." (Ellis 1913 VI, 36-37) Malinowski's famous book on the sexual life of the savages describes a similar situation among the Trobriand people (Melanesia) whom he studied in such detail (Malinowski 1929). On the Marquesas Islands and in India, children from about nine years of age commonly attempt intercourse (Sarphatie 1982, 42).

One sees the same pattern in other primitive tribes. The African Chewa believe that their sons will never be able to beget children unless they exercise their sex organs from the start (O'Carroll 1980, 40). Droogers, who told of the circumcision rites in Zaïre, observed boys of five and seven publicly performing intercourse, and their behaviour showed that they were already quite experienced (1974, 60). The Ifugao of Luzon (Philippines) have separate dormitories where unmarried individuals live from early childhood. "It is customary for each boy to sleep with a girl every night (...) Boys are urged by their fathers to begin sexual activities early, and a man may shame his son if the latter is backward in this respect." (O'Carroll 1980, 40)

The same kind of dormitories are used by a mountain tribe of central India, the Muria. In every village there is a separate building. Flanking the entrance to every dormitory are two gigantic wooden statues of a man and a woman, each with prominent genitals and, in the case of the male, a large erection. The little girls are sexually trained by the older boys, the little boys by the older girls. At night they all pair off to sleep together as couples so that every boy copulates every night with a girl. In some of these dormitories the boy must always bed down with the same girl (and in such villages the number of unhappy marriages and divorces is considerable), in others the boy is obliged to change his partner after, at the most, three successive nights (and in these villages marriages prove to be more harmonious and divorces are rare). Verrier Elwin, the missionary who studied this institution in great detail, was impressed by the freshness and health—mental as well as physical—of the Muria youth. The boys were strikingly cheerful, helpful, energetic, industrious, and criminality among them was much lower than among the adults upon whom strict monogamy was imposed (In this respect the situation is exactly the reverse of our civilisation, where boys have a much higher rate of criminality than adults.) (Elwin 1959).

In virtually all those societies where children are allowed sexual freedom,

nervous diseases and mental troubles are virtually unknown, or, in any case, much less common than in our sex-negative civilisation. The French social pedagogue René Schérer comments on how a system such as the Muria's facilitates the integration of tenderness into sex and promotes a harmonious sexual life (1974, 133).

Where their spontaneous impulses are not crippled, children in our Western civilisation are also active sexually at an early age (Broderick 1971, 19; Ruweler-Wutz 1976, 7).

83 In a poor district of a large American city, one mother commented on how children there matured at a very early age. "Infants of five or six know just as much about fucking as I do. My six-year-old son has already fucked two or three children, and I am showing my four-year-old how to become a woman-chaser, too. I don't have to pretend: what they can get they see going on every day, in every stairwell, on every floor or in every elevator around here." (Broderick 1971, 17-18)

This has a long tradition. Ellis, in 1913, cites a writer who saw New York boys and girls of three and four "attempting a playful sexual conjunction (...) in the presence of their parents, with only a laughing rebuke." (1913, VI 37)

There are many reports, too, of homosexual activity beginning at an early age. "Mounting behaviour as well as presenting behaviour in human infants have been observed in both boys and girls from about two years of age, without any indication of learning (...) It has been observed that children of both sexes present themselves to males they are sexually interested in. One of the most characteristic patterns during mounting behaviour is the pelvic thrust movement (...) Unpublished observations in kindergartens and from interviews with parents seem to show that pelvic thrust movements in pre-pubertal boys engaging in sex play with other children are mostly accompanied by penile erection. Analysis of films of boys engaged in sex play in groups shows that penile erection mostly occurs when the boys exhibit mounting behaviour. When the boy presents himself to another boy he normally loses his erection. These observations are confirmed by reports from sexual interactions between young boys and adults (...) In most cases when the children start sex play with children around the same age, they usually require a mutual role exchange as an agreement before they are willing to accept the cross-gender role at all. This need for mutuality in the homosexual interaction has been observed in four-year-old boys (...) One factor that seems to influence the requirement of mutual roles is the age difference between the two partners. Probably in all cultures the older boys mount the younger ones, and the youngster seems to accept this passive rule pattern." (Langfeldt 1981, 104)

Freud was well aware of the sexual activities of babies and infants, but supposed that the sexual appetite went into hibernation, became "latent",

during the elementary school years, or from about five to twelve. He did, however, also suggest that this latency observed in the West might be culturally conditioned and thus artificial and not natural. "This conclusion is supported by various anthropological studies. Children in sexually permissive, primitive societies do not give up their sex play in late childhood." (Haeberle 1978, 146) It is, on the contrary, an important ingredient of their daily life (De Bruijn 1972, 8). As Freud said in his *Untergang des Oedipuskomplexes,* "It is intimidation from the outside which causes children to be sexually no longer active" (quoted by Scheller 1980, 57).

84 In 1974 a Rotterdam teacher wished to give the 11- and 12-year-old boys and girls in his class an honest and open sex education lesson. I suggested that some days later he ask each of the students to write a theme on the subject so that he could correct misunderstandings and mistakes. The collection of papers is in the archives of the Brongersma Foundation. One is struck by the frequency with which the children, especially the boys, voice their sexual desires. René (11 years): "I'd very much like to fuck a nice woman myself." Aad (12 years): "If I had to write a book about it I would ask, 'Why aren't children of twelve years allowed to have sex while adults are?' I think that a child of twelve should be permitted to have sex. I would like to liberate all kinds of sex in The Netherlands. There should be a declaration that sex is healthy. If they write this in the newspapers everyone will want to do it. I'd like to do it myself; it's healthy. I myself have not yet actually fucked, but I want to. It must be a really wonderful feeling." Leo (12 years): "I think every country should permit kids of 12 or over to have sex, because sex is normal. I've never done it (fucking), but I'd like to."

Marga Reniers, who taught sex education in another school, told her students that many people find it difficult to talk about this subject. One (11 years) exclaimed in surprise: "But sex is just something human, isn't it?" (Reniers)

Anyone who is tempted to consider this a typically modern corruption of childhood innocence should recall that people in medieval Europe married and had intercourse at the age of eleven. The most famous of all lovers, Romeo and Juliet, were 14-year-old children. In Chapter One we have already noted examples of how common and socially accepted early sex was in former times.

It seems incredible that adults have such little knowledge of children's sexuality, since they had all obviously once been children themselves. Borneman proposes a "postpubertal amnesia syndrome": apparently pre-pubertal sexual events are systematically repressed from conscious memory during the course of adolescence (Leist 1980, 8-10). More poetically, Guyotat says that a boy kills his own childhood with his first successful intercourse (Guyotat 1967, 322-325): he kills it so thoroughly that it remains forevermore forgotten.

Pat Califia, the American feminist author, was amazed to find that all speakers at one legislative hearing considered it self-evident that any confrontation with sexuality, in any form whatsoever, would horrify every child (Califia 1980, 20). An English psychiatrist, Morris Fraser, says without further ado that "to be with an adult who has temporarily abandoned control of his emotions—either to anxiety, to alcohol, or to sexual desire—is about the most frightening experience a child can have." (1976, 51)

The *Nieuwe Revu* study conducted by Professor Kooy in The Netherlands in 1981 reveals a more nuanced picture. To the question, "Do children under the age of eight experience sexual feelings?" 54% of the 21- to 24-year-old men and 60% of the women in the same age group answered affirmatively. However, a substantial majority responded that it was best not to pay any attention to such feelings; only 12% of these men and 3% of the women advocated their suppression, while 10% of the men and 28% of the women felt that these feelings in the child should be stimulated *(Nieuwe Revu* 7-8, 1981). In the United States there are also groups of people with open minds about child sexuality who consider it something which should be encouraged (Martinson 1979, 489-491). Acceptance of sexual activities between children varies greatly, however, in different countries. A Gallup survey of 1981 resulted in "tolerance notes" for European nations running from a low of 142 to a high of 470 in the following order: Ireland, Great Britain, Spain, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, France, Denmark, Netherlands (Lacombe 1984, 33)).

Psychologists Nobile (1978, X) and Bernard (1979, 119) might well be correct when they say that "paedophilia" is "outdated" as a perversion: once the existence of childhood sexuality is accepted the label can no longer be applied. Of course there will always be women and men whose sexual appetite is preferentially directed toward children, but when we accept the fact that children are just as sexual as adults it is no more necessary to maintain a separate category for people who love children than it would be for people who love red-haired or left-handed partners. What is the difference between a bank director of 70 marrying a 20-year-old beauty and a man of 43 in love with a girl of 13? asks Nobile (ibid). Some people find themselves attracted by one particular variation in the range of human body types, or by a special characteristic of the human mind. When those who possess this special body type or this characteristic mentality are fully capable of experiencing lust during the course of intimacy, there is little reason to stick a special label on their relationships or on their desires.

THE OUTLETS

Masturbation

For most boys, masturbation is their first experience with sex.

The ancient Greeks saw it as a divine invention. Hermes (Mercury) taught it to his son Pan. The cynic Diogenes masturbated publicly, in full sunlight, in the market place, declaring, "How nice it would be if you could rub your hunger away just as easily!" (Buffière 1980, 462)

We have already seen that masturbation in babies is a normal phenomenon. "Infants of both sexes may be observed rubbing their sex organs against the bed, the floor, or some toy in a thrusting motion, and there is no doubt that they derive physical pleasure from it. For some time, they are still unable to coordinate their movements and to use their hands for a more direct stimulation. However, after a while, they may learn to do so and begin to masturbate. Quite often such deliberate masturbation is carried through to the point of orgasm. A child's orgasmic capacity increases with advancing age. But by their fifth birthday, more than half of all boys have reached orgasm, and for boys between 10 and 13 years of age the figure rises to nearly 80%." (Haeberle 1978, 153, 156) It becomes a fixed habit (unless adults try to repress it), as it is a natural activity: all mammals have been observed doing it (Ford & Beach 1968, 202; Borneman 1978, 1258). Thrusting movements of the abdomen similar to those made during intercourse are observed in eight-month-old boys, but only when they feel safe and protected. Intercourse imitation starts in both sexes, if the child feels free, at the age of two years (Hertoft 1983, 70).

Among the Hopi in Arizona and the Sirian in Bolivia, childhood masturbation passes without anyone taking notice of it, at least until puberty. The Kasak-Kirgises in Central Asia think it is quite normal for little children to stimulate their genitals. In Indonesian Timor the Alorese infant boys masturbate without interference. The Pukapuka in Polynesia pay no attention to sexual play in children: boys and girls masturbate in public freely and unhampered. Nor do the Nama-Hottentots make a secret of childhood masturbation. In the New Hebrides, the Seniang see no reason to interfere when the older boys masturbate. On Tikopia in the Pacific, little boys manually induce erections in themselves and adults either take no notice or only reprove them lightly (Ford & Beach 1968, 201-203, 206). Sioux Indian fathers even teach their little sons how to rub their penises—and encourage them to do so regularly (Sarlin 1975, 377).

In the South American nation of Colombia, the virginity of girls has to be strictly maintained. Any male who deflowers a girl outside of marriage runs the risk of being killed by her father or one of her brothers. Thus parents are

terribly afraid that their adolescent sons, while courting, may go too far. In the Cartagena region this anxiety, coupled with the conviction that boys absolutely need to satisfy their sexual drives, has led to the institution of the donkey-man. On certain, fixed days a man walks through the streets of the village singing the praises of his female donkey. Parents encourage their sons to follow him. Man, donkey and a trail of boys retire to the woods where the boys undress and take turns having intercourse with the beast (or, perhaps we should say: masturbate with the help of the donkey's vagina!) while the others form a circle about him and watch. Nobody is in the least embarrassed. When a German living in the area got to know some of the local boys, heard about the institution and asked if he could film the scene, he was cordially invited to do so. The Brongersma Foundation possesses a copy of this film.

In our own culture, masturbation is the rule with infant boys; it is in no way exceptional. Child psychiatrist René Spitz established a close connection between children's tendency to play with their genitals and their relationships with their mothers. Where this relationship was excellent the little boy was found playing with his penis already in the first year of his life; where the relationship was difficult he did this much less often; where the relationship was either bad or didn't exist at all, genital play simply didn't take place (Clower 1975, 111; Kentler 1970, 133). Niels Ernst, a Danish psychologist, thinks it interesting "that it is just those well-developed and mentally healthy children who obviously enjoy masturbation." (Hertoft 1983, 71) The German professor of education Helmut Kentler observes, "Mothers should really be happier over the first genital play of their babies than the first smile, for genital play is proof-positive of a satisfying mother-child relationship and the basis for a sound development."

DETERRENCE

From puberty, masturbation is for boys (not for girls!) the first conscious sexual habit (Kirchhoff & Kirchhoff 1979, 292); 55% learn the art from comrades, 36% discover it by themselves (Hertoft 1968, I 111).

Not all parents, however, accept this with the same equanimity as parents in the "primitive" nations above mentioned. There are records all through history of masturbation being confronted by threats. Already in the *Knights,* one of the surviving comedies of Greek playwright Aristophanes (444-385 BC) we can read that if people rub their penises their skin will drop off (Peyrefitte 1977, 99).

The Greeks and Romans believed that sexual activity would damage the voice of singers and the strength of athletes: such individuals, therefore, were compelled to abstinence (Peyrefitte 1981, 268-269). They found a simple way of preventing masturbation: after drawing forward the foreskin as far as

possible, it was laterally pierced with a white-hot awl, a silver wire laced through the holes, bent into a ring and soldered (Stoll 1908, 496). Even fathers did this where they wanted to preserve until puberty the chastity of their little sons. Martialis (IX, 27) wrote about a randy boy who, with his swelling penis just liberated of its fibula by the blacksmith, willingly follows a man who has promised to suck him off. Christian as well as Indian monks have employed the same device to ensure their own sexual abstinence; at times they have even displayed their virtue with rings as large as 15 centimetres and weighing 125 grams (Deschner 1978, 82).

Some young slaves were kept only for sexual purposes. The same operation was performed upon them, but in place of a fixed ring, a kind of clasp was inserted with a lock which could only be opened by the master (or mistress!). In this way young males were made sexually safe companions for wives and daughters without castrating them, and their sexual passions could be accumulated until such time as their owners wished to make use of them (Dingwall 1925, 21).

Martialis, the Roman poet quoted above, disapproved of masturbation too, but for another reason: "Do you really think, Porticus, it doesn't matter that you never fuck but let your left hand be your wife? Believe me, that is an enormous crime—you cannot realize how serious it is. Horace fucked only one time, and in doing so begot three heros; Mars, too, fucked just once and Ilya gave birth to twins. What would have become of us if both had satisfied their lusts with their own hands? Know well what nature teaches: what you waste with your fingers, Porticus, is a human being!" (IX-42)

Jewish tradition, too, denounced the habit, and there is even a text in the Talmud demanding the death penalty for anyone who so satisfies himself (Szasz 1982, 96). (This Talmudic author, had he had his way, would thus have exterminated his own people!)

However the Greek physician Galenus (ca. 130-200) taught "that masturbation was sometimes necessary and healthy, because unreleased sperm could become poisonous" (Haeberle 1978, 377, 464). His opinion was shared by a number of his colleagues during the ensuing middle ages (Van Ussel 1968, 212; 1975, 105), and Moslem theologians regarded masturbation as a Christian vice (Ellis 1913, I-278). Although some Muslim authors condemned the habit, most of them condoned it: "It is your own juice; you may spill it"—"Our forefathers taught it to their sons to keep them from fornication." (Bousquet 1953, 58) For many centuries we can detect no concern in European culture (Haeberle 1978, 2, 185) about this habit so assiduously practiced by male youth in all times and all nations. "The Church had always regarded this activity as sinful in adults but had been tolerant of it in children." (Jackson 1982, 46) Even those who thought it improper were inclined to see in it something understandable that could best be prevented by the natural

substitution of intercourse. And against intercourse there was, as we saw in the first chapter, no serious objection at all.

All of this changed suddenly in the second half of the 18th Century. Tissot, a physician and medical adviser to the papal court (Simons 1977, 145), published in 1758 his sensationalistic book *De l'onanisme* (On Masturbation). In it he informed his readers that the inevitable consequences of masturbation were "a weakening of all the bodily senses and all talents of the mind, the loss of fantasy and of memory, and debility. Shame and dishonour follow. All functions become disturbed, cease at times and become painful. Long-lasting, troublesome, strange, horror-inducing illnesses set in, with sharp and continuously recurring pains. During the years when a man should be most vigorous, all the infirmities of old age become apparent. One loses the capacity for every human activity and becomes debased to a useless burden of this earth." (quoted by Aron & Kempf 1978, 62)

As confessor and spiritual guide of a masturbating and healthy crowd of young people, every priest must, of course, have known that all of this was complete rubbish, a fiction from A to Z. Not once, however, did the Catholic Church raise its voice against these lies, despite their fatal effects and the damage they caused. On the contrary, it adopted and reinforced them with ever-increasing enthusiasm, until it ultimately stigmatised masturbation as a mortal sin which, if not confessed and expiated, would irrevocably condemn its practiser to the eternal torments of hell (Van Ussel 1968, 44, 223, 238). J. C. Debreyne, priest and physician, recommended in 1842 the adoption of the following "sound" pedagogy: "We should threaten such boys with shame, with contempt, with dishonour, with all imaginable terrors, with the most painful, the most debasing, the most shameful diseases, and finally with an early death, followed by everlasting punishment." (quoted by Aron & Kempf 1978, 233). Evidently the intent was a pedagogy like that defined, in another context, by the American psychologist Friedenberg: a process whereby many youngsters are sickened and terrified, their pride destroyed, and are convulsed with humiliation so that control may be restored at a less than human level (Friedenberg 1959, 144). Moreover, the victims were physically attacked as well: "They were circumcised or infibulated." (Szasz 1982, 72-73) In the 19th Century their sex organs were burned or blistered, the nerves of the penis were severed (...) When operating techniques improved still further, the testicles (...) were surgically removed. In sum, eventually, medical treatments of masturbation became so drastic that they began to resemble the medieval tortures which they once had been supposed to replace." (Haeberle 1978, 372)

The first doubts were voiced in France. A Dr. Christian expressed the opinion in 1881 that masturbating *children* would certainly lose their brains, their health and their life, but that from the age of 16 years on the habit became innocuous, because "nearly everyone does it" (Aron & Kempf 1978,

182-184).

This didn't, however, prevent a certain psychologist Lorulat from publishing as late as 1928 a book in Paris in which he stated as well-established fact that masturbation weakens memory, intelligence and health: the digestion becomes troubled, which often causes diarrhoea; the chest remains narrow, which often results in tuberculosis; the heart is overstrained, hence palpitation; the excess of blood pressure in the brain impairs eyesight; moreover there arise nervous inflammations, spinal consumption, insomnia, spasms, streaks of pain. The penis atrophies and becomes very small, with only the glans staying large: this enables one to recognise the masturbator immediately. Other symptoms are the way he avoids looking you in the eye and his uncertain gait. Of course, he gradually becomes impotent, and during this process he becomes a coward, egoist, liar, hard-hearted, lazy and permanently depressive. "Despair is often so strong and causes such sadness that the unfortunate who abandons himself to this habit finally takes to suicide in order to escape from his misery." (De Brethmas 1980, 101).

The truth of the matter is that such pedagogues—honoured and praised by their society—all too often managed, with their lies, to hound young people to death, to cause, themselves, the very suicides which they attributed to the habit of masturbation (Kentler 1970, 69).

This went on until 1948, when the Kinsey Report put a stop to it. Now, finally, massive, painstaking research established what priests as confessors had always known but carefully kept secret: almost every boy masturbates, and most of them do it intensively. After Kinsey, no one could watch a school football or basketball game without laughing at the myth that masturbation impaired the health of boys.

Liberated from moralistic inhibitions, medical science now developed quite different opinions: positive values were attributed to masturbation; the absence of masturbation was considered an abnormality (Green 1974).

In a Dutch family medical manual, Dr. O. M. de Vaal advises parents to pay more attention to the sexual hygiene of their adolescent son: by his bed they should provide a box of tissues or some handkerchiefs so he can tidy up after ejaculation. De Vaal assumes that most parents don't need to encourage their son to masturbate, as most boys discover how to do it themselves or are taught by their mates, but if a boy older than 14 still isn't doing it, his father should have a serious talk with him (De Vaal 1968, 247-249). Along the same lines, an American psychiatrist, Alayne Yates, mother of 13 children (her own and adopted) says in her book on sex education that if a boy at puberty isn't already masturbating, he should start with it now (Yates 1979, quoted by O'Carroll 1980, 96).

A child psychologist, Professor Beets, is equally positive: "Before they praise youngsters who successfully ban everything sexual from their lives,

perhaps moralists, confessors, educators and others should ask themselves just what they are doing. Is the vegetable a proper ideal for mankind?" He notes that the boy who lives in abstinence, "when he grows older will give the impression of coldness, of being non-committal (....) Should such a child be intelligent he may succeed in passing through life without self-pity. He will neither admire nor hate himself; he will never become passionate over anything. He will never know what it is to be admired by others, to praise somebody; he will never be enthusiastic. He will not allow himself to be shocked or crushed. He will never see a reason to weep, thus he won't weep. The idea of running away, of fleeing, will never cross his mind. He will never be torn by desire, one moment being on this side, the next on the other, like the boy who has experienced orgasm, and longs for orgasm, but wishes at the same time not to feel this lust." (Beets 1964, 138-139)

As early as 1876, as a matter of fact, a psychiatrist by the name of Oskar Berger wrote that in his opinion 99% of all young men masturbated, and a physician of the famous Rugby School in England supposed the percentage to be 90-95% (Ellis 1913, I-235-236). "Several scientists before the time of Freud advocated childhood sexuality and masturbation as both normal and healthy (Forberg, 1824; Kind, 1908), but these authors were kept silent and had problems getting their books published." (Langfeldt 1981, 99) Thus it was hardly precedent-shattering when a medical congress in 1912 declared masturbation a normal activity and "its absence among boys at adolescence a sign of disturbance" (Francis & Marcus 1975, 13). Since then this view has prevailed. "Clinical experience teaches us that if masturbation begins too late or is totally absent, this generally is a bad omen (excepted only the cases where regular intercourse is started at an early date). Masturbation is indispensable for a healthy adolescence." (Eissler, quoted by Kentler 1970, 76). Borneman considers masturbation the sexual activity best suited to children before and at puberty. It should not be seen as any kind of substitute. Repression of the habit makes a boy ill. Those who have not masturbated as children will later have difficulties in getting satisfaction from intercourse (Borneman 1978, 1425, 680, 939).

With today's conviction that masturbation is innocent, or even necessary, we may be tempted to smile with pity at that episode in our cultural evolution when horror tales were spread about the dire consequences of "self abuse". It's easy to be amused at all those apparatuses invented by crafty businessmen with which alarmed parents burdened their son to prevent "secret sin": it was made impossible for him to touch his penis, or iron wires pressed into the flesh in case of an erection, or an electric bell sounded in the parents' bedroom as soon as a disaster occurred.

But when we realise what all this nonsense meant to those it concerned, our laughter passes away. The inner struggle against his sexual needs which

adults demanded from every "nice" boy, and the precautions they imposed upon him under the influence of moralists and physicians, had but one immediate and inevitable result: to concentrate all his attention and thought upon his sexual feelings, exciting them and making them obsessive. Hunger renders the desire for food an obsession; imposed abstinence does the same with the sexual appetite. A healthy boy with a free upbringing, when feeling "horny" from whatever cause, will rub his penis to get rid of this tension, and afterwards he will resume his play or his work. Another boy of the same age who has imposed upon himself the obligation of "chastity" is continuously troubled by lustful desires; he will try to distract himself, but this only concentrates his thinking more upon what has been forbidden. Finally he gives in when the natural impulse becomes too strong, but immediately afterwards he feels desperate, depressed and worries about the consequences to his health or spiritual salvation. This kind of masturbatory pattern is quite obviously inimical to mental and physical well-being. Sexual education based on these principles breaks down the personality and fills youth with distress.

GUILT FEELINGS

How terrible these miseries can be we can read in boys' diaries published in 1955 by a youth leader and clergyman (who wanted to give an edifying example!) named Wolfgang Fischer (Dasberg 1975, 91) and from autobiographies like that of author James Joyce (1973) (which makes us understand why Joyce's later books deride so mercilessly the religion in which he grew up).

85 A New Zealand boy tells how he was torn apart: "I used to be so worried with guilt because I used to really enjoy pulling myself off. It got compulsive. I just couldn't do without it. That caused problems. We used to have confession on Thursdays and I'd go and confess all, then try not to masturbate before Sunday Mass. Otherwise I'd have a sin on my soul and didn't dare to go to communion, and my parents would say, 'Why aren't you going to communion?' Of course I'd never make it through to Sunday without wanking. I'd lie in bed in mortal trepidation knowing I'd have to go to communion or my parents would spring me, so feeling as if the lightning bolt was just inches away from my head, I always went to communion." (Tuohy & Murphy 1976, 136)

This text shows clearly how such pedagogics aren't only disastrous for youthful joy of life, but also for real religious and moral feelings. That they have continued in existence for such a long time is due to that unholy trinity of clergymen, physicians and quacks for whom they provided submissive sinners, patients and buyers of the most absurd medicines to cure the "hidden sin".

The discovery by a mother that her son masturbates is a test of her own sex life. Where it has been happy and healthy, where she has loved men and been loved by them, she will exclaim, "Thank heavens, we're finally there! I have produced a man." And she will let him masturbate as frequently as he likes, without thinking this abnormal or being tempted to intervene (Borneman 1978, 489). Still, there are few parents who "recognise masturbation as a mighty force for independence" (Friday 1981, 43).

Fortunately, today it is a rare boy who is concerned about sinning or impairing his health this way. Yet 42% of the young Danish men Hertoft interviewed in 1968 told him they had seriously, but vainly, struggled against the habit. In sport clubs, coaches and trainers frequently advise their players not to waste their energy in this useless fight against a natural impulse, but to relieve themselves regularly. In a 1976 German broadcast for schools, a physician advised one boy to masturbate in order to overcome the nervous affliction which had victimised him as a result of his self-imposed abstinence. Physicians also feel it is best that uncircumcised boys rub their penises in order to break up any adhesions of the foreskin to the glans (a not uncommon occurrence). Where the opening in the foreskin is too narrow (as many as 18% of the 15- to 17-year-old boys made this complaint in a NISSO investigation—1973, 36), its regular retraction over the swollen glans will usually cure the problem, allowing pleasurable penetration in vagina or anus and avoiding surgical intervention. (It is not true, however, that such stretching will always succeed.)

84 (Continued from 64) Max learned masturbation from his eleven-year-old brother when he was seven, and practiced it assiduously thereafter—frequently twice a day—and every time he pulled his foreskin back in order to clean his glans. Nevertheless he was forced to have himself circumcised when, at seventeen, he wanted to have intercourse with girls.

Insufficient sexual instruction (where any is given!) can frequently cause worry. A teacher in an American school got from fifth and sixth grade boys questions like, "Will playing with yourself cause problems with intercourse?"; "Will it hurt your athletics to jerk off?"; "How many boys do it? How often?"; "Why do some boys masturbate when it's so easy to get girls to lay? (in our crowd, anyone who masturbates is queer!)"; "When and where can you masturbate safely?"; "Do girls play with themselves or jack off as often as we do?" (Calderwood 1963) There are always a few boys who carefully catch their semen and drink it to prevent "waste of energy" (Stoll 1908, 913). And worry due to sex-negative surroundings certainly diminishes pleasure during masturbation (Winkel 1972, 17-18).

III. BOYS AND THEIR SEXUALITY

But dangers arise from another quarter, too. It goes without saying that the pleasure boys experience in the act is their main incentive, especially for those who start sexual activity early (Giese & Schmidt 1968, 132). The boy is out to get pleasure from his body, especially from his genitals. There is nothing wrong with this; it is only natural and healthy. This phase is even inevitable if, as soon as love comes his way, he is to give to this emotion its best physical expression. Yet it will deepen not only his sense of humanity but also the pleasure of his lust if he moves beyond sex-only-for-pleasure and can develop those feelings of love which can make sexuality so much more richly coloured and warm.

We must make a distinction between a sexuality directed upon the body and a sexuality directed upon the person. Rock music, such a marvelous Rosetta stone for deciphering the preoccupations of contemporary youth, has shown—in its presentation, lyrics and the life of its idols—a shift from person-directed to body-directed sex (Moore, Skipper & Willis 1979, 481-486). At the same time we hear complaints from many sides that sex is degraded to an obligatory performance. Applying this specifically to the boy: the subculture of youth demands that his penis be strong and often erect; he mustn't hesitate to shove it in a girl's cunt; the more girls he does it to the better; he must be able to repeat the act quickly... Such demands are in blatant contradiction to those made by the official ruling culture, but they have the same sex-negating effect: many boys become shy and secretive and lose their courage. In the youth subculture hypocrisy flourishes as exuberantly as in the domain of the apostles of chastity: boys boast, with imaginary adventures, of their heartless conquests, of their enormous potency. The old taboos are replaced by compulsive sex (obligatory consumption) (Wagner 1979, 108).

It doesn't really matter whether he is deterred by the official sex instructions given him by adults or by the unripe attitudes of his contemporaries, instilling fears about the arduous tasks imposed upon him. The effect is the same: many a boy is constrained for some time from having sexual intimacy with a partner and is thrown back in solitude upon his masturbation—but now this may be tainted with feelings of guilt, of not doing what is expected of him.

The right information given at the right time may prevent many of these problems. But even this cannot cancel out all misgivings. Orgasm is such a shattering experience, an interruption of consciousness, that it can easily make a boy afraid of insanity or even death (Francis & Marcus 1975, 29). The masturbating boy abandons himself to mysterious, inscrutable forces (Frenken 1976, 93). In his masterly, unsurpassed analysis of pubertal masturbation, Professor Beets shows how a boy at this age may feel that it carries him far beyond his circle of family and friends and transports him into another world altogether. This can give rise to guilt (Beets 1964, 86-88). The situation gets

even more complicated if the boy, without being completely conscious of what he is doing, fantasises persons or images with incestuous overtones and repents of them (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 184-185, 291-292; Sarphatie 1982, 42). The result is anxiety, even if the boy knows beyond reasonable doubt that masturbation in itself is healthy and meets with parental approval. Hass, questioning 307 teenage American boys, found that 6% thought masturbation unpleasant, 64% rather pleasant, 30% very pleasant; he also records what some of these boys with guilty feelings said (Hass 1981, 100). And so, in various ways, masturbation can become obsessive, as even Reich feared: to masturbate, he knew, was better than to abstain, but in the long run the absence of a loved object may render it unsatisfactory and guilt-ridden (Hanry 1977, 108).

FANTASIES—METHODS—FREQUENCY

Another well spring of worry can be dried up by adequate information. Not a few boys fantasise their male friends and their genitals while masturbating, and the thought that this means they are essentially homophilic may cause considerable anguish. It is thus necessary to explain to a boy, as soon as masturbation commences, that such *fantasies* are universal and normal and are indulged in by people whose later orientation will be wholly heterosexual. The same may be said of sadistic imaginings, also common at this age (Hanry 1977, 111; Launay 1969, 23; Rümke, quoted by Karpman 1954, 562). Not all sexual fantasies should be regarded as suppressed wishes. Sado-masochistic fantasies especially may be entertained by people who would never wish, or even be mentally able, to realise (Friday 1981, 55). It would seem to be sound advice to tell the boy not to spasmodically repress the fantasies which obtrude upon his mind, but to deliberately and calmly abandon himself to them (Beets 1964; 108-111; Moore 1975, 265). An amusing example of acceptance can be read in a novel by Tournier wherein a schoolboy on holiday sends this postcard greeting to his close friend: "I just emptied my seminal vesicles to your health!" (Tournier 1975, 89)

87 In his fantasies, Jethro (17 years of age) is a sadist. "All my fantasies deal with someone being raped by me or someone else (...) The victim is always a boy." The boy is naked, tied spread-eagled on a bed. Jethro, naked himself and with a steadily hardening penis, is torturing his victim: he spits in his face, pulls his hair, sits on his head. Soon he has a firm erection. "The boy struggling beneath me makes it even harder. I force his mouth open and shove my prick in as far as it will go (...) I can see and hear him choking and gagging and this and his efforts to get up are just about making me go crazy, but I don't let him up until I've shot my whole load down his throat and made him swallow every drop. I then sit back and look at his face dripping with my

come (...) I let my balls fall all over his face, jamming my prick into his nose and eyes, making him beg me to stop." Eventually Jethro pisses and shits on the face of his victim. "I often fantasise about watching a group of two or three boys raping a young boy (...) They fuck, shit on, piss on, force to suck and degrade the boy, all to my arousal. Sometimes I fantasise about being raped with way I rape the boy (...) In all my fantasies it seems as though I am brutally hurting the boy, yet in real life I would never think of beating anybody or causing any kind of physical harm. In real life I am in love with another boy at my high school. I would do anything for him. It seems strange but I would never dream of doing the things I do in my fantasies with him." (Friday 1981, 412-414)

In an investigation of German boys 12 to 18 years of age, only 13% admitted to have ever masturbated with homosexual fantasies and only 3% said that they mostly did so. Heterosexual fantasies, on the other hand, occupied the minds of 95%, and with 73% this was mostly the case. 81% had used pictures or written stories to stimulate their fantasy: 19% used them most of the time. 38% had masturbated looking at their own naked bodies in a mirror and 1% did this regularly (Giese & Schmidt 1968, 80).

In the archives of the Brongersma Foundation are the results of an unpublished survey made by a psychologist (1980) of 74 grammar school boys in a southern German city. The boys, aged 9-17 years (median 13.9), were selected in that only those whose parents consented to their sons' participation were questioned. Only the six youngest (9-10 years) denied that they masturbated. This is the first investigation, to my knowledge, in which boys have given detailed information about the content of their masturbatory fantasies. Many boys mentioned more than one theme. Two boys (twin brothers) said they had no fantasies at all. With 46 boys their fantasies were exclusively heterosexual; with 14 exclusively homosexual; with 6 they were mixed. Fantasy content and themes mentioned were:

Heterosexual:
my girl friend, a girl (10); naked women (13); (big) tits (16); a (naked, hairy) cunt (19); fucking (11); arse-fucking (3).

Homosexual:
my friend, a boy (7); a (stiff) cock (and big balls) (9); jerking off (8); rough-housing with a boy (1); seeing a boy jerking off (3); arse-fucking (1).

In their sexual fantasies, males shake off the burdens of civilisation imposed upon them by parents and society and become once again uninhibited animals, says Nancy Friday (1981, 261). Her inquiry into men's sexual fantasies resulted in an interesting collection of them from some 3,000 sub-

jects, including a number of teenage boys. A few examples from her book: Virgil, 13, together with his best friend, assaults a girl he knows. At first she resists, but finally she wants to be fucked, which both boys do (319-320). Clark, 14, has a powerful urge to have sex with someone. He invites a 14-year-old Arab schoolmate to sleep with him. The Arab boy has a penis 8 inches long and rather wide, and he puts this in Clark's anus and fucks him endlessly through the whole night. Later the Arab boy brings Clark other boys and a 30-year-old man, also with an enormous penis: they all fuck him. Clark starts body-building with these people and so earns the respect of the girls at school. He has sex with the most beautiful of these girls (380-381). Sherwin, when he reached puberty at age eleven, first had romantic dreams about girls. When he turned fourteen his fantasies shifted to incest, rape, paedophilia and even incredibly gory sadistic themes (522). Andrew, 14, can look through holes into a swimming pool changing room and so sees "a lot of cunts and tits". His fantasy is to masturbate in underpanties soiled with vaginal juices. The lady whose underpanties he uses invites him to have sex with her. Or he visits a whore house (526-527). Arthur, 15, is drawn to boys his own age. He fantasises being stripped by his comrades in a locker room. When they see his huge erection they are stunned. He is made to suck one of them off, and then he fucks another. He would like to realise this fantasy (408-409). Joe, 15, sometimes masturbates four times a day. His fantasy is to meet a 30-year-old man in the showers. Looking at each other, they both get erections. Finally they suck each other and fuck each other and have intercrural sex. "I'd love to fulfill that fantasy." (414-416) Vernon, 15, "unfortunately a virgin", fantasises about skinny dipping in a pool with a girl and then screwing her (511). Bobby, just turned 15, fantasises about a harem of 50 chicks who "rip my clothes off and make me fuck each of them. All those wet cunts..." and about fucking a girl in the middle of Broadway with everyone watching (520-521). Milt, 15, masturbates an average of two or three times a day, and on some days four or five times, to relieve his pent-up desire. His fantasies "range far and wide, from animals to girls to other guys" (529-530). Jonas, 16, fantasises about a young male who goes down on him after he has gone down on the young male. "I would like this to happen, but not now." (404) Tommy, 16 and very horny, has had sex with both sexes, but prefers well-hung men. His fantasy is about being raped by a good-looking guy who, after sucking him, gets three other friends to tie him down. Tommy is made to suck one man, while another "would shove my hard cock up his ass and go up and down." One man, who has been sucking another, would at the end spit it out all over Tommy (404-405). Red was 12 when he was made to tick the penises of some older boys in the woods. Now, at 20, he fantasises about that a lot. He has had sex with women and men. When he was fifteen he fantasised feeling up males and females, stripping them and posing them in sexual

positions with others. His latest fantasy is about being sucked and raped by a girl (406-408).

It was just to these masturbatory fantasies that the voluminous treatise *Masturbation from Infancy to Senescence,* edited by Marcus and Francis, attributes so much importance. Among the 13- to 15-year-old boys in Sorensen's investigation, 4% said they never had such fantasies, 11% said they had them rarely, 23% sometimes and 55% mostly (Sorensen 1973, 442). But Hanry may well be right when he says fantasies are always present, although sometimes unconscious, unacceptable because of their content (Hanry 1977, 105). Amongst those who masturbate regularly, only 2% are unaware of accompanying conscious fantasising; among those who masturbate only from time to time the figure rises to 6% (De Boer 1978, II-76).

During the 1967 panel on masturbation of the American Psychoanalytic Association, the point was made that the conscious or unconscious fantasies accompanying masturbation during childhood contributed to the development of personality and object relations (Kolansky & Moore 1975, 450-451). The constructive potential of masturbation in the sexual development of a boy is much greater than in that of a girl (De Regt 1982, 47).

It is only very gradually, after puberty, that a well-defined image emerges in masturbatory fantasy of the desired sex partner. For a majority of boys this image is of naked girls; a minority will conjure images of naked boys. At the outset, thoughts about a girl the subject knows well, loves and romantically idealises, will be avoided. The loved one is put on a pedestal, untouchable, even unreachable, by the desires of the flesh. With healthy development, this inhibition gradually disappears.

But we should bear in mind what Beets says about the masturbating boy: "It would be well for us to know what he doesn't dare, or doesn't want, to think about!" (Beets 1969, 145). Feelings of shame and guilt concerning the content of masturbation fantasies, being afraid of sexual excitement and attempts to dispell sexual images from the mind characterise the young victims of a sex-negative culture (De Boer 1978, 88).

Where masturbation anxiety becomes so distressing as to block sexual self-relief, escape may be attempted by dangerous games, reckless driving, risks of all kinds. Or the boy may become accident-prone, apathetic or show a tendency to procrastinate. "Masturbation has an essential function during adolescence without which crucial tasks could not be performed." (Moore 1975, 260, 275). "Masturbation and its attendant conflicts may therefore be viewed as necessary, unavoidable, and even desirable since they serve as a spur to the development of the individual in his relation to his body, himself and his objects." (Bernstein 1975, 73)

No one disputes the fact that exercise and use are essential if every organ of the body is to remain healthy: organs weaken and wither if they aren't made

to function. So it is curious, to say the least, that so few people admit that this applies to the sexual organs as well (Kruithof & Van Ussel 1963, 81). But in our culture everything relating to sex is put into a very special category and treated as if all ordinary rules are no longer valid. Only by disregarding this rather fundamental tendency of nature can one pretend that it harms a boy for him to obtain orgasm on his own and ejaculate his seed. Nature teaches otherwise, that his body needs this exercise. Telling a boy sickening myths, charging him with guilt over his "sinning"—*that* is "corruption of youth"!

And this corruption has not been completely left behind, not everywhere. A recent survey among Swiss boarding school boys (average age 16.9) showed that 16% of them felt guilty about their masturbation, 11% thought of it as a burden and 3% considered it a sin (Biener 1973, 64).

Masturbation allows the boy to get acquainted with the reaction of his genitals to *stimulation,* so he can devise ways to be their master (rather than the other way around!). Later, in having intercourse with a partner, he will profit from having done this. His masturbatory experience will help him shape his ensuing sexual relationships so they are more pleasing to both partners (Everaerd 1980, 260, 262; Hanry 1977, 96).

Some boys are very inventive in devising different ways of stimulating their penises, but simple rubbing with the hand is by far the most common practice. According to an investigation of 12- to 18-year-old German boys, no less than 86% preferred to do it this way; 44% had done it by moving their penises against the mattress (only 9% prefered this method) and 25% had obtained orgasm by pressing their thighs together (a preference of only 3%) (Giese & Schmidt 1968, 79). Very similar percentages were found by Hite (1981, 579, 867). Many try to suck themselves off (auto-fellatio) but, according to Haeberle (1978, 165) only about one out of a hundred succeeds with such acrobatics.

Most important are the methods one can use to prolong the act, and descriptions and recommendations of how to do this should be part of all general sex education. As climax is approached, just before the point of no return beyond which ejaculation cannot be withheld, physical stimulation is interrupted until the feeling subsides a bit, when the movements can be resumed. By so doing, sexual pleasure can be enormously extended and the final climax made more powerful (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 52). In Hite's sample, 60% of the males followed this practice. A boy skilled in this practice will have greater staying power during intercourse and thus be better able to satisfy his partner. There are regions in Italy where adolescents are famed for their mastery of this art. Ellis (1913, VI-617-620) has written of the Oneida community in the United States where young boys were systematically trained by older, post-menopausal women until they were able to postpone orgasm during sexual union for hours. In this case, the purpose was

to satisfy the male by exhausting him, and thus avoid ejaculation altogether as a means of birth control. However, the practice of the Oneida shows to what extent training in this art can teach a boy to prolong the act, to the enormous profit of both partners. In Chapter Five we will return to this subject.

The same goal is still occasionally achieved: in Gauthier's research one 30-year-old and one 55-year-old subject boasted of their capacity to extend physical union enormously by postponing ejaculation. The 55-year-old declared, "I can have fifty climaxes without emission of seed. My feelings are like those of a woman. My pleasure is just as strong as if I had ejaculated; my penis even softens afterwards. But I can start again after two minutes if I want to. And if I don't want to, this means I am satisfied and I can go to sleep." The younger man would continue until he and his partner began to feel pain: "It is a pain I love, directly connected with the lack of need for ejaculation." (Gautier 1976, 214, 309).

This might well be the more healthy way of prolonging pleasure, but the one some boys nowadays prefer is using marijuana (Sorensen 1973, 138), like one of Gauthier's subjects. Leo (see case No. 2) said he liked smoking it before having intercourse; it increased his sense of duration and his orgasm felt as though it went on for minutes rather than seconds and as if he were emitting an endless stream of seed.

Table 3. Masturbation Frequency of 638 German Boys (Ziegler)

Never	3.0%
Once a week	9.1%
2-3 times a week	58.7%
4-6 times a week	18.2%
Daily	7.7%
Several times a day	2.3%

Another fear associated with masturbation which should be put to rest in all sexual instruction is that doing it too *frequently* might weaken one's body. First and foremost, an instructor should stress the extreme variability of sexual behaviour and the great differences in strength of sexual appetite and needs that are to be found among completely normal boys. Every boy should simply let his own natural impulses guide him. As long as his penis responds to stimulation by becoming erect there can be no question of masturbation to excess (Haeberle 1978, 166, 188). "So it is impossible to say even that the individual who masturbates five or six times daily indulges to excess. Rather, it is likely that physical limitations, beyond the individual's control, prevent him reaching a frequency that would constitute excess." (Dort 1968, 33)

Kinsey felt that young males particularly, obeying their own impulses, could have more than daily orgasms (Kinsey 1948," 205). In Giese and Schmidt's investigation of German university students, only 7% had masturbated every day by the age of twelve and 11% by the age of 15 (1968, 76). Ziegler reports the masturbation frequency of 638 German boarding school boys 12 to 18 years of age as shown in Table 3.

Table 4. Masturbation Frequency of 15- and 16-Year-Old Boys (Haas, 1979)

Never	0%
Less than once a month	13%
Once a month	7%
Once a week	29%
2-3 times a week	27%
Daily	17%
More than once daily	7%

Kruithof and Van Ussel found that an important percentage of Flemish students masturbated daily (1963, 78). Hite said the same about her male sample (1981, 865-866). Hass (1979, 89) gave the frequencies shown in Table Four for his group of 15-16-year-old boys. When boys themselves in a Dutch town took on the role of researcher and investigated members of a working-class Catholic youth organization, the frequencies given were much higher: for the whole group the average was 8 times per week (Donkers et al 1980, 67). These figures would seem a better estimate of reality, given the results of the unpublished investigation of the 74 German grammar school boys already referred to: among 31 fourteen- to sixteen-year-olds, 2 claimed they did it "rarely", 5 "from time to time", while the remainder did it 8 to 56 times a week on average. Among the 28 younger boys (age 9-14), the six youngest claimed they never did it, three others said they did it "rarely", nine "from time to time", while the remainder did it from 9 to 23 times a week on average. Of the oldest 15 boys (age 16-17), one did it "rarely", the others did it 12 to 35 times a week on average. Calculating from the total, the over-all average is 9.78 times a week. In the NISSO investigation (De Boer 1978, F-1-4), a relationship was found between educational level and incidence and frequency of masturbation (Table 5).

There are many examples of very high frequencies maintained over long periods without causing any health problems. Kruithof and Van Ussel came across several university students who masturbated to climax several times a day, the last ones "dry climaxes" without any ejaculation (1963, 78). Abra-

Table 5. Masturbation and Educational level (De Boer, 1978)

Educational Level	Incidence	Frequency of more than once a week
Lower level (technical school)	90%	58%
Middle level (normal school)	94%	75%
Higher level (Univ. prep.)	98%	83%

ham mentions more than one case in which orgasm was induced about ten times a day over a period of twenty years (1969, 61). At puberty especially, hormonal changes result in a great increase in sexual responsiveness, and many boys at that age are easily "turned on". (Haeberle 1978, 165).

In the NISSO research, only 52.3% of the 15- to 17-year-old boys thought that masturbating every day was not harmful; among the 18- to 21-year-olds this percentage had increased to 63.1%—but even in this group, one out of three youths was clearly in need of better information (173, 23).

All authors agree that the *incidence* of masturbation is extremely high. We have already seen that it is a common phenomenon in babies (Hoekstra 1976, 314); there is hardly a baby boy who doesn't manipulate his genitals with evident pleasure (Freud 1920, 61). "Some kindergartens report that most of their children masturbate or show masturbatory activity at the preschool level. (...) Only in rare cases do children who have started masturbating stop. Many children try to stop for moral reasons, but very few succeed." (Langfeldt 1981, 105, 107; Hanry 1977, 21)

Although German working class youth express, in general, an aversion to masturbation, 40% of the 13-year-old boys said they had experienced it, 61% of the 14-year-olds and 82% of the 15-year-olds (Schickedanz 1979, 143). An enquiry among French students and schoolboys arrived at 92% admitting experience, 5% denying it and 3% refusing to answer (Hanry 1977, 162). Hertoft found a 93.4% figure among Danish recruits (1968, II-31). Among 636 12- to 18-year-old German boarding school boys, only 19 of them (3%) denied that they masturbated: 11 of the 12-year-olds, 5 of the 13-year-olds, 2 of the 14-year-olds and 1 of the 16-year-olds (Ziegler, *Homosexualität,* 60). An Austrian psychologist put the question differently to the boys he studied. Instead of asking, "Do you ever masturbate?" he asked, "At what age did you start to masturbate?"—and this resulted in 100% of the boys admitting experience with the practice (personal communication). Kinsey's figure (1948, 500), that among 18-year-olds 91.8% had masturbated, provoked one joker to comment: only 8.2% of American boys were liars. Most likely, however, he was wrong, for in this research "masturbation" or "onanism"

wasn't defined and a certain percentage of boys may have assumed it meant only manual rubbing of the penis. There are those who unconsciously touch themselves when half-asleep, or thrust their penises against their mattresses or pyjamas, thus obtaining an emission, and don't call this masturbation (Osborne 1977, II-4; De Boer 1978, II-71). In any case, the findings of the Yankowski investigation (1965, 106) seem to reach a closer approximation of the truth: among the male subjects, 99.3% had masturbated before reaching the age of 17. Barrington found one non-masturbator among 2,500 male subjects (1981, 112). Abraham states simply, "100% of men and women practice masturbation, even if a large number in good faith deny it vehemently." (1969, 125)

BEGINNING

Of Swiss schoolboys, 41% claimed to have discovered the practice by themselves, 25% were instructed by comrades, 3% had read about it or seen pictures, 4% were taught by adult men, 14% couldn't remember how they had begun and 13% denied ever doing it (Biener 1973, 64). In Hite's sample, 60% discovered it themselves, 34% were instructed by friends, 6% by movies or books (1981, 867).

Some examples of discovery:

87 "It wasn't until I was eleven and reading some of my comic books with some erotic pictures and laying on some inflated swimming inner tubes on the floor of the basement, that I had my first climax. For this I could not have been less prepared. I have fantasized what would have happened if I had gone up and asked my mother about what had happened to me. However, I overcame my fears and began a regular practice of masturbation" (Friday 1981, 321).

15-year-old boy: "I woke up once and found I had a hard-on. I wasn't sure what it meant, but I rubbed it and I came."

15-year-old boy: "I discovered it on my own. I just played with it one day and it felt good so I just kept on doing it."

15-year-old boy: "I had an erection one night and I just started to stroke it and it felt good."
(Hass 1979, 90)

Most beautiful is the description of the Japanese novelist Yukio Mishima (1958, 29, 33-34): "For over a year now I had been suffering the anguish of a child provided with a curious toy. I was twelve years old. This toy increased in volume at every opportunity and hinted that, rightly used, it would be quite a delightful thing. But directions for its use were nowhere written, and so, when the toy took the initiative in wanting to play with me, my bewilderment was inevitable. (...) The nature of its tastes had become bound up, not only with my childhood memories, but, one after another, with such things

as the naked bodies of young men seen on a summer's seashore, the swimming teams seen at Meiji Pool, the swarthy young man a cousin of mine married, and the valiant heroes of many an adventure story. (...) The toy likewise raised its head towards death and pools of blood and muscular flesh." One day, perusing a book with reproductions of art, he accidentally sees one of Guido Reni's paintings of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian: "That day, the instant I looked upon the picture, my entire being trembled with some pagan joy. My blood soared up: my loins swelled as though in wrath. The monstrous part of me that was on the point of bursting awaited my use of it with unprecedented ardour, upbraiding me for my ignorance, panting indignantly. My hands, completely unconsciously, began a motion they had never been taught. I felt a secret, radiant something rise swift-footed to the attack from inside me. Suddenly it burst forth, bringing with it a blinding intoxication... Some time passed, and then, with miserable feelings, I looked around the desk I was facing. (...) There were cloudy-white splashes about—on the gold-imprinted title of a textbook, on a shoulder of the ink bottle, on one corner of the dictionary. Some objects were dripping lazily, leadenly, and others gleamed dully, like the eyes of a dead fish. (...) This was my first ejaculation. It was also the beginning, clumsy and completely unpremeditated, of my 'bad habit'."

Other boys needed instruction from books or, more frequently, from friends:

15-year-old boy: "I think I was thirteen, in my parents' bedroom, and was looking through their book *The Joy of Sex,* and I read it and tried it to see what it felt like. It felt very good and I've been doing it ever since."

18-year-old boy: "My older friends told me about it so I tried it. After I came I was scared because I didn't know what the sperm was."

15-year-old boy: "All my friends had always talked about it jokingly because everybody thought you were a fag if you really did it. I had never come before, so one night I tried just like my friends described (up and down) and it worked."

15-year-old boy: "Friends had been telling me about this neat feeling and I had also been checking things out on my own. Eventually a friend and I tried masturbating together and we both found out what it was like."

15-year-old boy: "I discovered it from my cousin. I guess we got crazy and started playing strip poker, and then we went streaking around the room. He told me to spit in my hand and clamp it around my penis and pump. He said it is like the actual thing, making love."

16-year-old boy: "It was during camp and I happened to come into my cabin and saw a guy doing it. So I was curious and tried it later that day."

16-year-old boy: "I discovered it from my cousin. We had to sleep in the same bed. He was masturbating and I asked him what he was doing and he showed me."

16-year-old boy: "My friend showed me. We were sitting there one day and he showed me by doing it himself."

16-year-old boy: "From a girl I was with. When she did it to me I thought I

would do it to myself."

15-year-old boy: "I discovered it from a girl who had given me a hand job."
(Hass 1979, 90, 92-95)

88 "I had my first orgasm when I was twelve. I was playing with my cock and it kept feeling better and better until that indescribable explosion of passion which I shall never forget, though I'm well past fifty (...) Since we lived on a farm I discoverd a unique way of getting my sexual needs satisfied. I began to experiment with cows. First I tried it on the calves about a year old but they were a bit too tight and would not stand still. So I took to fucking older cows, some of which seemed to enjoy it as much as I did. I figured this is what it must be like to fuck a real girl and would fantasise I was doing just that."
(Friday 1981, 259)

A large majority of boys obtain their first ejaculation—proof of puberty—by playing with their penises. The average age at which this happened, for 233 American boys, was 12.9 years (Dort 1968, 36).

89 A New Zealand boy said (Tuohy & Murphy 1976, 134-135): "I was fooling around with my dork. I suppose you'd call it masturbating. Well, I came all over the place. That was the first time. All this sticky stuff everywhere. I pulled all the blankets right down and lay there very relaxed. I looked down at this stuff all over my pyjama top and belly. I thought, 'That's sperm. That's the stuff. It's got hundreds of eggs in it and any one can make a baby.' It seemed really incredible, very, very powerful stuff. I thought, 'All I have to do is find a girl and put some in her and she'll have a baby.' Not that I wanted a baby. Just the thought that I could do it made me feel very important, very powerful. I could do that, make an illegitimate baby, and no one could stop me because even if they did find out it would be too late."

90 At thirteen years of age: "I was lying in bed one day and playing with my prick because it felt so nice (...) I kept playing with it and rubbing the head and all of a sudden I got this wild funny thrill feeling all up and down my spine and my legs twitched and some egg-white-looking stuff shot out of the end of my cock all over my belly and hand! Wow!!! It felt better than anything I had ever felt before. I tried it again and again and finally did it four or five times before I had had enough. These four times were in a total time span of about ten to fifteen minutes at the outside." (Friday 1981, 34)

No wonder boys, if their minds aren't poisoned with shame and shyness, are proud of this newly-acquired capacity and like to demonstrate it.

91 No one has better described such a scene than Günter Grass in his novel *Katze und Maus,* where Mahlke, the most popular boy in school, finds himself on a half-sunken ship in the Baltic, surrounded by his comrades and the girl Tulla. Tulla, who has admiringly watched other boys masturbate to ejaculation, encourages Mahlke to "do it" too. So he pushes down his swimming trunks to his knees. "A few short movements with his right hand and his cock stood up, so much increased in size that the glans emerged from the shadow of the ship's binnacle into the sunlight. (...) Tulla's hands, as always coarse with cuts and calluses, worked in vain upon this thing which, under her probing fingertips, became thicker, the veins swelling, the glans enlarged. (...) Schilling, the one among us with the longest prick, had to bring his out, make it stand up and hold it next to Mahlke's. Mahlke's was, first of all, one size thicker, second, a match-box longer and, third, looked much more adult, dangerous, venerable. So now that he had shown it to us again, he immediately demonstrated something else —pulling it off, as we used to say, twice in succession. (...) Mahlke had hardly spurted the first charge over the rail when he started immediately anew. Winter clocked the time on his water-proof wristwatch: Mahlke needed about as many seconds as it took the torpedo-boat putting to sea to come from the end of the mole to the navigation buoy: at the moment the boat passed the buoy he discharged just as much sperm as he had the first time. And we all laughed like madmen when the gulls swooped down upon this stuff, lurching in the smooth, barely-rippling sea, and cried for more." (Grass 1961, 27-28)

In boarding school dormitories boys may pursue sex as though it were a sport appropriate to their age: pump themselves off together, competing to see who can ejaculate first, who shoots his semen the farthest, who can first put out a candle with his sperm, etc. Of the Danish boys in Hertoft's research, 42% had participated in group masturbation, the majority of them during the years between 13 and 15 (Hertoft 1968, I-133).

"If the boy gives up masturbation prematurely, he automatically deprives himself of a psychophysical process that seems essential to the completion of a developmental sequence that begins with sexualised self-love and proceeds through fantasied homosexual and heterosexual love, culminating in the achievement of masculine identity and choice of a heterosexual love object separate from the primary one." (Moore 1975, 253) We should amend this statement by pointing out that the ultimate choice for some will be a homosexual love object.

In any case, the campaign against masturbation—so often waged with naked sadism upon helpless children—is a fight against the fullness of human potential and the order of creation. He who carries on this battle with the idea that it is pedagogically beneficial inflicts upon the child permanent emotional problems (Levin 1975, 309); he who does so motivated by religion is a megalomaniac bent on correcting the work of the Creator in whom he claims

he believes.

Both fight against pleasure and joy. But the man who has learned to view pleasure positively should value masturbation as one important source of happiness.

Sex With Girls

Masturbation is the best training for intercourse with a partner, as accompanying fantasies have already anticipated it.

Some boys are convinced that they should stop this habit as soon as they start having intercourse.

92 At the age of 14, Helmut fell in love with a 28-year-old female teacher. Occasionally at school he had been able to look up under her skirt, and this he would think about as he later masturbated at home. She was aware that she excited him, and soon she gave him a chance to visit her in her home while she was in bed. Helmut said, "I kissed her breasts until she became terribly excited, and then I quickly took off all my clothes. Then we embraced, and she gripped my penis and inserted it into herself, and I nearly fainted, the feeling was so strong. (...) She was the first woman who had been so sweet to me; it was absolutely delicious, and since then I've never again done it to myself." (Stieber 1971, 67)

On the other hand there are boys who deliberately masturbate to emission before going on a date with a girl in order not to be tyrannised by unwanted erections (Osborne 1977, II-6). Regular intercourse with girls, it seems, does reduce masturbatory activities. In the NISSO research it was found that the percentage of masturbating boys diminished from 98 to 65 for those who had regular intercourse, but even among these 14% still relieved themselves sexually more than three times a week (De Boer 1978, 2A-F-1-3).

BEGINNING

In former times, European boys began to have intercourse at a much earlier age. In ancient Athens they were supposed to do this at fourteen (Borneman 1978, 977). Solon, the legislator, built brothels to meet their needs, and, in lines that subsequently became famous, the poet Philemon sang his praises:

"Of all mortals, you were the first to do this really useful social deed. You saw boys going about with their strongly swelling cocks: to protect the peace of the matrimonial bed from such an excess of male force, you decreed that brothels be built. Now everyone can find a girl ready and willing to come to you quite naked and offer herself. Now when you're troubled by the male

impulse you just pay with a little coin, and without affectation or pretense that there is this or that in you she doesn't like, she will do just want you want, and as you want it done." (quoted by Borneman 1978, 1139; Bloch 1912, 216)

In classical Rome boys could marry at 14, and before they were married they patronised prostitutes. One of their favourite pastimes was to go to the slave market where naked girls were displayed for sale and inspect their breasts and genitals, feeling them with their fingers. Moral authorities like Cato, Seneca and Cicero recommended that boys visit prostitutes. Cato praised a young lad for going to a brothel for relief when he met the boy emerging onto the street (Horace, *Satires* I, 2: 34-35). And Cicero wrote, "If someone professes that intercourse with prostitutes should be forbidden to boys, he may reveal strong moral principles, but he is not in harmony with the moral freedom of our times, nor with that of our ancestors. For was there ever a time when these things didn't happen, when they were forbidden? When were there objections? When were people not permitted to do this?" (Borneman 1978, 721, 1142). The Islamic culture, too, sees no objection to boys having intercourse before puberty (Bousquet 1953, 131).

The European of the middle ages seems to have shared this view: we have already given examples. The city of Nuremburg announced officially that boys of 12 and older were free to visit brothels (Stockert 1956, 54). During the course of the 19th and the first half of the 20th Centuries, adult repression certainly managed to raise the average age for first intercourse. Contemporary research, however, uniformly confirms that a counter-movement set in during the last few decades and that boys now tend to have their first intercourse earlier than did the preceding generations (Zetterberg 1969, 29). They become physically mature at an earlier age, and thus have a stronger sexual appetite at a younger age. In addition they are more self-confident, freer, less inclined to bother about adult admonitions or to postpone the satisfaction of a desire that, all things being equal, is quite natural and healthy. These factors have made intercourse, according to Borneman (1978, 1423) a perfectly normal activity for boys of 13 or 14.

We should never lose sight of the contradictory demands our culture makes of its boys, telling them on the one hand that, if they want to be men, they must pursue girls, but on the other hand that it is immoral to seduce them (Bloch & Niederhoffer 1963, 144). Even sixty years ago Dr. Stekel (1922, 60-61) could write that it was often the most intelligent and energetic boys who first ventured into intercourse. With the manifold methods of preventing pregnancy now available, today's youth finds the official interdictions even more incomprehensible.

93 When asked, "What things would you like to do but which aren't allowed?" 14-year-old Caleb immediately replied, "I'm not free to sleep with

a girl—and won't be even when I'm fifteen." (Schérer 1979, 251)

In his Dutch research, Sanders (1977, 71) came up with some figures for age at first intercourse, and these are compared in Table 6 with those of Sigusch & Schmidt in their book on the German working class (quoted by Schickendanz 1979, 142), Giese & Schmidt in their book on German university students (1968, 140) and those from Biener's study of 531 Swiss boarding school pupils (1973, 63). The percentages are cumulative (i.e. showing what percentage had experience with intercourse at the indicated age).

Table 6. Boys' Experience With Intercourse vs. Age

Sanders	Sigusch & Schmidt	Giese & Schmidt	Biener	Age
1%	4%		2%	13
2%	9%	2%	5%	14
7%	15%	4%	10%	15
14%	25%	7%	18%	16
31%	44%	12%		17

In the United States the number of early starters seems much higher. "On April 25, 1979, the House Select Committee on Population reported that one out of every five American children aged thirteen or fourteen had had sexual intercourse." (Janus 1981, 19) "A 1978 survey of 1,000 teenagers of various ethnic and income groups in New York City determined that 76% of the boys and 64% of the girls had engaged in coitus at least once, most of them by the time they were sixteen." (Linedecker 1981, 118) In the sample of the Hite report (1981, 856), 55.6% of the males had by the age of fifteen experienced vaginal intercourse, and 54% had had anal intercourse with girls; at fourteen, 52% had licked a girl; at thirteen, 52% had been sucked by a girl. There is much divergence between the various ethnic groups, and also with delinquents. For experience with intercourse among the 15-year-olds, Blake (1970, 21) reports: white males 21%, non-white males 56%, incarcerated white males 46%, incarcerated non-white males 81%.

Giese & Schmidt questioned German university students about the main incentive for their first intercourse. It was to express love within a loving relationship for 41%, sexual impulse for 26%, curiosity for 16%, the influence of parties, alcohol, etc, for 10%, being seduced for 4% and prestige for 3% (1968, 157). We can conclude from this that only 14% went along with it more

or less passively while the great majority was decidedly active, moved by love, sexual hunger, curiosity or image building.

94 Twelve-year-old Conny said philosophically, "When the opportunity comes, it will happen." *His* opportunity presented itself when he was thirteen (Personal communication).

The Kinsey Report (1948, 508) made it clear that boys who have attained a higher educational level accept masturbation more readily than do working class youths. Boys who work and earn money are socially more independent and less infantile than those who still go to school. Working class youth is more likely to regard masturbation as an activity unfit for men and to look upon intercourse with girls as the only suitable sexual activity. In factories the adult workers, even "solid citizen" family fathers, often encourage and help their teenage colleagues and apprentices to have sex with females. Such men evidently feel uneasy talking about their sexual adventures and thoughts in the presence of inexperienced boys. Thus they like to see them initiated, with the benevolent conviction that this will help them to become "real men". Masturbation is held in contempt as child's play; they see no way to avoid it other than to look for a girl. When we compare the figures of Sigusch & Schmidt (working class youth) with those of Giese & Schmidt (university students) we see the strong influence of these convictions.

95 One of my own research subjects, a strikingly handsome and youthful looking 18-year-old from Amsterdam, told me, "I knew absolutely nothing about sex when, at fifteen, I became apprentice cook in a restaurant. One night I accidentally dropped a pile of plates, and the chef observed, 'You must have jerked off too many times yesterday to make your hands tremble like that!' Surprised, I asked, 'What do you mean, jerk off?' and he replied, 'To rub your cock until you get that nice feeling.' In bed that night I put it to the test. It was a marvellous discovery. I was so thrilled about it that I immediately woke up my brother, two years younger than I, to teach it to him, too. For the next few months we did it every night for all we were worth. Then suddenly one day the thought occurred to me that masturbating was only a substitute, so I decided, 'This will be the last time; from now on you'll have to do it with girls.' I went downtown and told several girls, without mincing words, what I wanted. One was willing, so I had my first fuck standing up in a dark doorway. It was delightful, and afterwards I felt very proud of myself. A few weeks later I went to work as a waiter in an American military officer's mess in Heidelberg. That was just after the war; almost no German boys or young men were left anymore, so the girls were very hungry for sex. I was prodigiously successful: not a single night passed without one of them sharing my bed."

His only concern was lust and pleasure. For others, love is the incentive, and their number increases as the age becomes older. Among Danish boys who had had their first intercourse at sixteen or younger, 43% said they had been inspired by love, 56.2% by curiosity. Among those who had begun at 17 or older, the numbers were 70.5% and 29.5% (Hertoft 1968, II-38).

With younger adolescents, their love may be very sincere but it is seldom lasting, and this may give rise to deep disappointments on both sides. Nevertheless, the appetite is there, lasting and real, and at times it swells to fever pitch.

96 Guyotat (1967, 76-77) in one of his novels shows his hero Serge, young son of a colonial governor general, in such a state: "Through the whole night, naked, writhing in sweat, he struggles with the pillow between his thighs, under his chest, between his teeth. At first cock's crow he falls asleep, contorted, at the foot of his bed, his male member losing its turgidity, hiding in the shadow of his belly. It grows cold; he rolls onto his back, legs spread out. The air dries the seed on his thighs and in his open fists." Serge awakes before sunrise, goes, naked, to the window, leans out of it and whistles. The sentry sees the naked boy's body—"how smooth and shining it is! The stones are reflected in it. 'When will you bring me to your whores, Nano?'—'I told them about you. I spoke to them about the colour of your eyes, the hue of your body, the trembling of your belly. They've stuck your picture on the wall of their reception room.' (...) 'Bend down.' Serge trembles. He inclines his head toward the soldier, who raises his arm, stretches out his hand to the face of the boy, strokes his cheeks, his forehead... (...) makes it slip over his buttocks, then he draws the boy's head down to his breast and kisses him upon the lips (...) Serge half opens his lips and his tongue touches the lips of the soldier (...) The eyes of the soldier shine and tears run down his cheeks. Serge drinks them."

If only curiosity and the desire for prestige are the motives for his first intercourse, the boy easily carries it out with the brutality and self-centredness appropriate to his age.

97 Agnes, a girl of 16, tells her older friend Roger: "The boys would like to do it but they still don't dare. I remember, when I was fourteen, sleeping with a fourteen-year-old. He'd never yet fucked a girl. But I can tell you he had already been tormented for a long time by his desire."

Roger: "I don't dispute that boys are tormented by it, but they still think football is more important."

Agnes: "No, certainly not, not underneath. They're thinking about fucking all the time. I've read part of Julien's diary, the years when he was twelve, three years ago now. He was in love with me. But, as I was in love with another boy, he wrote, 'Oh, if only he wasn't there, what a wonderful time we could have. Christian and I with Agnes: we could to all kinds of things to her

that would be very nice.' I remember (...) sleeping with him once and he harassed me the whole night through. He wanted to caress me continuously, and so on. But in those days I was much less interested than he was; I didn't fancy it; in fact, I was really quite scared of it."

Roger: "Maybe it was more that he imagined such things were expected of him than that he really wanted to do them."

Agnes: "No, because much later we discussed it and he said, 'I've only rarely ever since had such a feeling of existing as I had that night'."
(Schérer 1979, 247-248)

With disarming candour young Julien here expressed the developmental importance of sexual intercourse for boys going through puberty: the consiousness of "being there", of existing. Evidently Julien had grown up to the point where he could experience sex this way but the girl couldn't yet. At such an age boys simply push on, concentrating with single-minded purpose upon their own needs and not those of others.

When boys discuss their experiences in this area, we often hear some rather unpleasant tales.

98 Some quotations from the excellent sex education book from New Zealand, *Down Under the Plum Trees* may illustrate this. Often boys seem to have intercourse only to feel macho and important, or to dominate and humiliate the girls.

a) "We used to really put girls down by fucking with them. Once we'd fucked a girl we weren't interested in her—then there'd be someone else. The girls who hung round with us all knew that we were just out to fuck. We were tough guys so it wasn't dating, it was just us trying to fuck them, and them trying not to fuck with us and still keep hanging around with us."

b) "One night I was taking a girl home and I was with a friend. I didn't care about the girl, I just wanted to fuck her. I said to her, 'I'll go out with you if you'll let me and Willy fuck you.' She really loved me, she did, you know. She said OK and we fucked her in the toilets. It was raining so we couldn't fuck her outside (...) After I fucked her I hated her for letting me do that to her."

Often the boy is simply carried along by his comrades, without really wanting it himself.

c) "We'd sit by girls in the movies and the big thing was to get your finger up. All the guys would know who was going to sit with who. They'd say, 'You sit with Rangi, have a go. George got two fingers up.' I didn't know why we were doing it. It was a hell of a thing to do—slowly putting your hand up her dress or in her jeans, then trying to get past everything. I didn't like the feeling of a girl's cunt. It was so slimy, it made me feel sick sometimes. The girls didn't like it either. Some got really upset."

d) "When there was a lot of us and only one girl we'd try and get her to splash for us all. We wouldn't watch while the others fucked her—it was a kind of personal thing. One guy fucking one girl while the others were more

or less pretending it wasn't happening. Then another would fuck her. It wasn't a big celebration. It was just each individual wanting a fuck, and there happened to be nine or ten individuals. We would have been a lot happier if there had been nine or ten girls. It made me kind of sick coming at the end thinking of all the other guys being in her and all that sperm." (Tuohy & Murphy 1976, 176-177).

99 In the archives of the Brongersma Foundation are unpublished literal transcriptions of conversations a psychologist had with a number of adolescents about their sex lives (Southern Germany, 1980). Herman, 17 years old, said, "I was 16 when a school friend invited me to a birthday party. The boy, Eugen, had rich parents and lived in a beautiful house outside town. In the attic he had his own disco and everything—a bar with an incredible variety of drinks. Of course, he'd also invited girls, but I was a bit surprised that they weren't our age but slightly older, wore heavy makeup and the craziest short skirts. There was a girl for each one of us. Eugen had it all completely organised. With music and alcohol we soon were feeling great: by midnight we were all pretty drunk. Suddenly the lights went out. The girl who had sat all the time next to me and with whom I had danced, at once started to grope me in the dark. She kissed me, tickled my neck and went gradually down and down with her hands, until she started pawing me between my legs, unbuttoned my trousers and took hold of my cock, which had become real stiff. At first I fought back wildly, but this whore—I later found out that's what she was—had a fairly firm hold on me, and, as I was tipsy, she soon overcame my resistance. Before I knew it she'd undressed me completely. I don't know how she did it, and still less how she took off her own clothes, but suddenly I felt her naked body upon mine. She pulled me to her; I felt her tits; her hands ran over my back, between my legs. Then she pushed me down on the floor, and then my cock was inside her. This was the very first time I ever fucked. I don't know how long it all lasted, because afterwards I fell asleep. Then I felt something cold and wet on my face. I woke up; all the lights were burning again. I was lying naked upon the floor with all the boys standing around me. The girls had already disappeared long ago. Loud laughter greeted my awakening. I'd wanted to be swallowed up and just disappear. At six, still rather drunk, I went home. Since then I hate girls. I didn't feel very much fucking this whore. I don't know exactly what she did with me; I suppose they had put some drugs in that last drink."

DISPARITY BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS OF THE SAME AGE

The main cause of all these unpleasant, harmful and sometimes even dangerous imbroglios is that boys and girls, during the years of their sexual maturation, have characteristically such different attitudes about sexuality that they simply don't make suitable partners for each other (De Boer 1978, II-3).

III. BOYS AND THEIR SEXUALITY

In general, boys come into puberty and start to be able to ejaculate fertile sperm later than girls begin to menstruate. Nevertheless, when we compare the behaviour of both sexes, boys, on average, become sexually active earlier and indulge in a great deal more sexual activity (Giese & Schmidt 1968, 263). This behavioural difference may be due to biological factors: the sex glands of pubertal and adolescent boys continuously secrete substances which accumulate in the various vesicles and ducts and must be voided one way or another. Once a boy has consciously experienced and brought about this evacuation, repetition at regular intervals becomes an urgent need. Girls, perhaps because they don't have to endure a comparable process, seem to be able to tolerate the absence of overt sexual activity far better than can boys (Gagnon & Simon 1973, 252).

Thus with boys, a phase of sex-for-the-sake-of-sex normally precedes the phase wherein love relations become possible (Sanders 1977, 17, 95, 107; Kentler 1970, 25). Their thoughts are often involved with sexual activity of one kind or another (Sanders 1977, 67). Girls masturbate much less than boys, for in order to become erotically aroused they need some kind of personal relationship to focus upon; with boys, images of naked bodies are sufficiently exciting to put them in the right mood for masturbation (Ford & Beach 1968, 261). As boys in general are more imaginative than girls, they develop their fantasies and use them with greater ease and frequency (De Boer 1978, II-71).

According to stereotype, boys are supposed to be more aggressive than girls in the sexual arena, but it is hardly exceptional for a girl to make the first move (Borneman 1978, 340). Girls, however, often don't realise how very willing boys are to engage in virtually any kind of sexual activity (Wilson & Cox 1983, 123-124; Hannan 1979, 26; Fisch 1971, 152), and they are certainly not aware of what raging erotic storms they can cause by even a light touch to a boy's body (Van der Steen 1978, 4). During sexual intimacy, a boy is usually the more willing of the two to strip naked and, with a naked girl, he pays more attention to her genitals than to her breasts, although girls tend to enjoy breast-fondling more than touching her sexual aperture. But 75% of 15- to 16-year-old boys said they were more attracted to the latter: for 45%, touching it was "nice", 30% "very nice" (De Boer 1978, F-2-12). "Boys traditionally note overt sexual features and value these more than do girls, who often say that personality—character and a sense of humour—count more." "Boys, when talking about what attracts them, put much more emphasis on the physical features seen in isolation from each other (breasts, face, buttocks, legs). Girls tend to see the whole person, body and 'personality', together." (Janus 1981, 46, 264)

The boy is always salacious, "on the make", and wonders just how he can make this known to the desired partner: for no less than 73% of 15- to

17-year-olds, this is a serious problem (NISSO 1973, 36; Sanders 1977, 68).

For the boy, more than for the girl, sexual intercourse is an opportunity for getting to know a person better, and perhaps through it, to grow to love her or him (Van Ussel 1975, 183). Sex can cause a boy to fall in love rather than the other way around, while for girls love may lead to sex but is seldom its consequence (Frenken 1976, 126, 171; Gagnon & Simon 1973, 252; Jensen 1983, 127).

It is interesting to compare the motives for first intercourse Schofield (1965, 64) found among English young people (see Table 7).

Table 7. Motives for First Intercourse (Schofield, 1965)

	Boys	Girls
Sexual appetite	46%	16%
Curiosity	25%	13%
In love	10%	42%

Boys are more eager for sex than for girls; girls are more eager for boys than for sex (Frenken 1976, 25; de Regt 1982, 43, 46). We shouldn't, of course, be dogmatic about such a truism: we find "recent studies indicating that girls are not as disinterested in the sexual aspects of a relationship with a boy as was previously thought" (Wilson 1981, 55). But certainly here the exception proves the rule, as can be seen in lesbian and other women's anthologies which rarely touch "the direct, descriptive, explicit subject of sex, in utter contrast to gay (or even straight) men's anthologies" (Wadsworth 1982, 127). In sexual intercourse the girl strives less for the heightening and satisfaction of lust than for feelings which transcend physical sexuality (Frenken 1976, 126). As Nancy Friday (1981, 37) puts it: "By the time young girls and boys meet in adolescence, they have entirely different masturbatory/fantasy histories. A boy may enjoy the idea of strolling in the moonlight with his girl, but when the touch of her breast on his arm gives him an erection, he doesn't want to prolong the moonlight walk. He wants to satisfy that erection. But the girl wants the moment to last forever, to melt into his arms in a romantic kiss, to keep the feeling she got the last time her vagina got moist—which was when she saw Robert De Niro kiss Liza Minelli. What has this lovely feeling got to do with Johnny here, who is grossly putting his hand up her skirt? He's ruining all her lovely feelings! 'What kind of girl do you think I am, Johnny Brown?'"

"Ask the girls in a 'domestic science' training school why they sleep with their boy-friends and the answers you get will nearly never be that they like it

so much themselves. They do it because their boys want it, because they are afraid their boys will start going around with another girl if they refuse; they will lose their boy-friends. (...) Girls are a little frightened of fucking; they always hope that some boy they know very well will be a bit more considerate. For boys it's another story altogether. They would rather have their first fuck with a girl they will never see again, so that if something goes wrong they don't have to be afraid of maybe being laughed at." (Van der Veer 1983, 70-71). In any case, after getting acquainted with a possible partner, boys need less time than girls do to want to proceed with having sex, and boys are more likely to terminate the relationship soon after having had sex (Zetterberg 1969, 31-32).

Thus one can understand why first intercourse is more often disappointing for girls than for boys. The boy simply takes it for granted that sex is physically wonderful; he doesn't perceive that his girl-friend may feel otherwise (Camilla 1983, 7-9). This is admirably shown by Iris Murdoch in her novel *The Nice and the Good.* Fifteen-year-old Pierce is very much in love with Barbara. She scorns him, and he suffers for weeks on end. Finally she gives in, and after their intimacy they have this conversation:

100 "Was that really it?"
"Yes."
"Are you sure you did it right?"
"My God, I'm sure!"
"Well, I don't like it."
"Girls never do the first time."
"Perhaps I'm a lesbian."
"Don't be silly, Barbie. You did like it a little?"
"Well, just the first bit."
"Oh, Barb, you were so wonderful. I worship you."
(...)
"You were so *heavy,* Pierce."
"I felt heavy afterwards. I felt I was just a great contented stone lying on top of you."
"Are you sure I won't have a baby?"
"Sure."
"Do you think I'll get to like it more, to like it as much as you do?"
"You'll like it more. You'll never like it as much as I do, Barbie. I've been in paradise."
"Well, I'm glad somebody's pleased."
"Oh, Barb, darling —"
"All right, all right. Do you think we've been wicked?"
"No. We love each other. We do love each other, don't we, Barbie?"
"Yes. But it could still be wrong."
"It could. I don't feel it is, though. I feel as if everything in the world is with us."

"I feel that too."
"You don't regret it, you don't hate me?"
"No. It had to happen to me and I'm glad it's happened like this."
"I've loved you so long, Barb —"
"I feel I couldn't have done it with anyone else. It's because I know you so well, you're like my brother."
"Barb!"
"Well, you know what I mean. Darling Pierce, your body looks so different to me now and so wonderful."
(...)
"Pierce —"
"Yes?"
"Do you think we'll either of us ever go to bed with anyone else?"
"No, well, Barb, you know we're quite young and —"
"You're thinking about other girls *already!*"
"Barb, Barb, please don't move away, please bring your hand back again. Darling, I love you, good God, you know I love you!"
"Perhaps we could get married after you've taken your A levels."
"Well, Barb, we mustn't be in *too* much of a hurry—Oh, darling, *please* –"
"When are we going to do this again? Tomorrow?"
"We can't tomorrow. I've got to go to Geoffrey Pember-Smith's place."
"Can't you put it off?"
"Well, no. You see there's this chance to have the yacht —"
"What about me? I thought you loved me!"
"I do love you, darling Barb. But yachts are important too."
(Murdoch 1969, 348-350)

Since lust is of such overriding importance to the boy, he will try to satisfy it in a great variety of ways; he is thus much more open to homosexual activity (Gagnon & Simon 1973, 37, 252). The urge, the need to have an orgasm, is felt much more constantly than the need to love another person (Barrington 1981, 219). In the typical boy-girl relationship, many boys want to have full sexual intimacy right from the start, while the girl is not yet ready for it; once intercourse begins the boy wants to repeat it more frequently than does the girl. Among Hass's 15- and 16-year-olds, 68% of the girls and 41% of the boys felt that romantic involvement should be a prerequisite for coitus (1979, 23). Hass found that boys and girls varied widely on the conditions they felt suitable for having intercourse (Table 8).

As for frequency, Kinsey concluded that "the average adolescent girl gets along well enough with a fifth as much sexual activity as the adolescent boy" (1948, 223). The boy's displeasure over his girl's refusal to grant sexual "favours" is the most common cause of quarrels between young lovers. De Boer investigated the attitudes boys and girls had about coitus (Table 9).

Table 8. Conditions Thought Proper for Intercourse (Haas, 1979)

	Boys	Girls
On the first or second date	23%	0.5%
After dating for about 2 weeks	11%	4.5%
After dating about 1 month	15%	8.0%
Only when in love	29%	53.0%
Only when married	0.8%	23.0%

Table 9. Attitudes about Intercourse (De Boer, 1978; de Regt, 1982)

	Boys	Girls
I want intercourse, my partner refuses	18%	0%
I want intercourse, I don't know what my partner wants	13%	1%
Both of us want intercourse	19%	36%
I don't want intercourse, my partner does	5%	31%
I don't want intercourse, I don't know what my partner wants	9%	10%
Neither of us wants intercourse	36%	20%

For girls it is more important to have a personal relationship than for boys. A boy wants girls in general; a girl wants a particular boy, a special boy. In girls desire may be erotic, often romantic, but it is directed toward tenderness and doesn't demand the immediate coupling of the sexual organs. "Their own sexual feelings remain rather weak and unfocused. Instead, they tend to fantasise in a general way about their future roles as brides, wives, and mothers. At other times they dream vaguely about some ideal lover or some romantic situation. In short, they are less concerned with the physical aspects of sex than with its social implications. In contrast, the sexual fantasies of boys are much more specific. They are mainly interested in the sexual activity itself. For most of them, sexual desire and satisfaction are immediate physical experiences quite unrelated to any particular social setting. Their sexuality is detached, private, and personal. Thus, for a while, the two sexes are out of step in their personal development." (Haeberle 1978, 163-164)

We might say that girls arrive sooner at procreational maturity, boys sooner at sexual maturity (Borneman 1978, 964). With females, puberty brings with it a gradual development of sexual consciousness, starting with complex romantic fantasies which are still somewhat remote from any

directly sexual sensations. The pubertal boy, on the other hand, is confronted rather suddenly with a vastly more sensitive penis, one, moreover, which varies capriciously in size and hardness, swelling and stiffening in response to nearly every erotic stimulus, often without his having any control over it whatsoever (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 31).

"This suggests a different evolution of sexuality in women. Girls are evidently in greater need than boys of external impulses in order to take sexual initiatives. Often they only become sexually active themselves after a partner has helped them discover their own capacity for being stimulated through their genitals. The reason may be that, in the male, sexuality is highly age-dependent—put more precisely, its drive is strongly increased at puberty—while for the female it is much more dependent upon loving experiences." Giese and Schmidt (1968, 266-267), from whose book the above passage is taken, quote the confirming opinion of Simon and Gagnon (1967, 251): "One might say that for females the 'discovery' of love relations precedes the 'discovery' of sexuality, while the reverse is generally true for males."

The girl thinks of lasting companionship, and the future; the boy lives for the moment, and in the present (Matzneff 1977, 55). Little wonder, then, that 13- to 15-year-old girls show so little understanding of boys of their age and prefer to socialise with partners some three years older (De Boer 1978, D-1-4). What the thirteen- to fifteen-year-old boy wants seems to them indecent and perverse. The boy complains that his girl-friend doesn't want to touch his penis, play with it, take it into her mouth (Pietropinto & Simenauer 1979, 55). Kentler describes the dilemma of working class girls: "If they give in to the demands of the boys they feel guilty and think of themselves as perverts; if they don't comply with the wishes of the boys they risk losing them. They find themselves in this terrible situation because the boys, once they have a girl-friend, exploit them rather brutally to satisfy their own needs and are totally unable to empathise with the girl's feelings. (...) A boy in my class at an industrial school asked, 'Are there pills to turn women sexually on?' How many frustrating experiences lie behind such a question! 'I always have to run around looking for a girl that's willing. And if one does go with me she just lies there, stiff and cold, doing nothing. It's me that has to do everything.' His dream was to find just one girl who would be spontaneously active with sexual desires like his own, a girl who, for once, would be out to seduce him." (Kentler 1978, 143).

We are generalising, of course. We are speaking of tendencies. But the problem is real enough to make life difficult. One of Dr. Janus's subjects, Michael, said, "The very first time I had intercourse, I was fifteen and the girl was fifteen too, and she was a virgin (...) My mother found out shortly afterward and started asking me about it—she just wanted to make sure that I was using something. She wasn't angry or anything, but she was kind of

concerned." His mother said, "Michael and Anne, his girl friend, were having troubles, and one day Michael came to me in anger and said that adolescence and sex just didn't go together." (Janus 1981, 306)

Michael is probably right: the difficulty is rooted in the nature of adolescence; it may not exist during the pre-pubertal years. Janus quotes a thirteen-year-old girl: "The relationship that meant the most to me was one that I had last summer. We only spent about three weeks together, but I learned a lot from it. When I met him, he was very independent—not shy, just kind of slightly aloof—but he was very innocent. He hadn't ever had sex before, and he was two years older than me—I was twelve and he was fourteen. I really loved teaching him. It was beautiful. I learned an awful lot about people, about myself, and even about boys from him, and I love him for this." (1981, 292-293)

In the ensuing period—puberty and early adolescence—such harmony between sexual partners becomes very rare. In later adolescence, however, with the approach to adulthood, differences and incompatibilities lessen. It remains an open question as to how much of this is biological (gender-dependent) in origin and how much cultural. Lesbians, from the very beginning, are more interested in having an intense and long-lasting "relationship" with a partner than are homophile males (Siegfried 1979, 72; West 1977, 170). In any case, the girl in our society tends to fall in love with a boy and only gradually, out of love for him, becomes willing to permit him the sexual activity he wants, while the boy, having just passed the threshold of puberty, is wholly dominated by his desire for naked coupling and the genital satisfaction of his lust. The voluptuous experience may gradually, or even suddenly, open his heart to love. As a fifteen-year-old boy said to Hass (1979, 18), "Sometimes after sexual contact you feel like you are romantically involved."

Thus for boys more than for girls sexual activity is a means of exploring their own sexual makeup. In one study as many as 46% of homophile boys (against 20% of lesbian girls) were made aware of their sexual preference as a direct result of homosexual activities, while falling in love with someone of the same sex had the same result with 48% of homophile boys—and 80% of lesbian girls (Sanders 1977, 80).

101 In one French gay magazine, "Philippe," a 16-year-old Parisian grammar school boy, told how he always felt disappointed in his father ("the only thing that matters is your marks") and his teachers (who knew nothing about solving problems unless they were math problems). There was no one he could talk with about the problem that was uppermost in his mind: sex. One day he saw a man selling gay magazines on the street. The man had a nice face, so Philippe went up to him and invited him into a café for a beer. Afterwards they went to the man's home, where they undressed and had sex.

"It sounds stupid," the boy reported, "but now I think I've fallen in love with him."

In one NISSO investigation, 15- to 17-year-old boys were asked which of the following were worrisome problems for them:

"How well do you have to be acquainted with a girl before you can have sex with her?"—80.6% said yes.

"How do you make the first move without frightening her?" —73.3%

"How do you behave towards a girl once you've done it to her?"—65.0%

"When you're going to fuck her, should you undress her immediately or caress her for a little while first?"—58.3%

Comparing the concerns of 15 to -17-year-olds with those of 18- to 21-year-olds, we see an increasing preoccupation in older boys with the feelings of the girl:

"Do I ejaculate too quickly?"—mounts from 38.2% to 55.6%

"What do you do if the girl has no orgasm?"—mounts from 50.6% to 65.4%

"What do girls actually feel?"—mounts from 60.8% to 79.4%

"What do you do when a girl is afraid of fucking?" rises from 54.7% to 65.1%

More than 50% of all the boys complained that they weren't deriving enough pleasure from coitus because the girl wasn't participating actively enough. This mounted from 50.3% to 58.7% (NISSO 1973, 36).

All in all, this is hardly a picture of unmitigated joy and pleasure. Many boys are so disappointed that they refuse to have sex even when a girl is quite willing and the opportunity is there. Kirkendall (quoted by Straver 1977, 263) said that no less than 45% of the boys he studied had at some time in the past declined an invitation for intercourse.

Boys come through sex to love, girls through love to sex. Younger boys and girls, those just past puberty, are ill-suited as sexual partners for each other. Since the boy urgently needs sexual experience, he can often better get this first with partners of his own sex and wait, for heterosexual coupling, until he finds an older woman willing to help him or until his female contemporaries are more open to physical approach.

102 Bernard, 17 years of age and one of my own research subjects, told me quite openly about his sex life: "When I was a little kid I used to shower together with my father. We were always physically affectionate with each other, and, starting when I was eleven, our fondling became undisguisedly sexual. We made sex in many different ways. I felt very good about this. We continued with the sex for years, and only in the last few months has it begun to taper off. I'm getting too old, too much of an adult male, for the erotic tastes of my father—and for me the interest has lessened, too, because I find

myself more and more drawn to girls. I'm now looking for a younger friend for my father, to take my place. Dad has absolutely got to have this—I'll do everything I can to help him. I love him very much. Our relationship was the great central joy of my boyhood. My classmates at school began to run after girls when they were fourteen or fifteen. But boys and girls of that age don't work out sexually together: how much misery and how many tears I've seen! And I was saved all these dramas because I was sexually entirely satisfied by the relations I was having with my father. Now I'm 17, and things go better with girls because they're wiser—and we boys are wiser, too. At last we are in tune!"

Bernard's opinion, which he quite independently arrived at through his own experience, coincides with that of the Danish psychiatrist Hertoft (1968, I-133) who concluded from his research among young males that a boy shouldn't have intercourse with a girl before he is seventeen.

Sex With Other Boys

THE "HOMOSEXUAL" PHASE

Human nature suggests a way out. In order to become a good sexual partner, a boy needs experience. But he has no backlog of experience to draw upon when his sexual appetite is no longer stilled by mere tenderness and skin contact but demands, as in the adult man, genital activity involving another attractive body. The original biphilia (attraction to both sexes) he was born with is still very much alive in him, and now it can bear its finest and most genuine fruit.

Let us suppose that the child at birth is sexually an unwitten page, that is to say, equally attracted by every human contact, pan-sexual. Probably this is an oversimplification and there are also certain inborn dispositions. But let us, for the purposes of simplification, forget about this for the moment. The child, then, is like a person placed between two magnets. These magnets are of the same strength, and they attract the pieces of iron he has in his hands with equal force.

Pulled in opposite directions, the person would die on the spot if he didn't have the energy to chose a direction in which to move. He believes—or it is whispered in his ear—that one of the magnets has a nicer colour. He takes a step in this direction. Now it is possible that at just this moment something disagreeable happens to him, or that acquired, vexing inhibitions deter him from going on. So he turns around and now tries to move the other way. The original direction is rejected, cut off as a permissible objective. This can make the person ill—he becomes pseudo-heterophile, pseudo-homophile, pseudo-paedophile.

A healthier scenario is possible: the person moves in the direction of the magnet which seems most beautiful to him or is presented to him as being most beautiful. The force of the other magnet gradually lessens, not because the person is deterred from responding to it but because the first is nearer him and pulls him more strongly.

Thus might we depict the choice of sexual object in male humans. Originally biphile, attracted to both sexes, he moves either toward the female or the male object until he has reached the place where he will stay, somewhere in the force field between the two magnets. In children "at first, their sexuality is rather diffuse, but it becomes more focused as they grow older." (Haeberle 1978, 441). The boy at puberty is somewhere in the middle. He is already aware of which of the two magnets (female, male) attracts him more and what, therefore, would be his first choice. But at the same time he feels the opposite pull (male, female) strongly enough to experience lust in satisfying it.

Along the road from birth to adulthood the sexual appetite grows more and more specialised. The little boy is what Freud called 'polymorphously perverse" (1920, 102). "Young children show an utterly polymorphous sexuality. Before puberty, boys respond with vigorous erections to a great variety of situations, often to situations which arouse any kind of intense excitement. These may include everything from fast rides, getting mad, and seeing big fires to reciting before a class or getting home late —in short, to any combination of fright, anger, or pain that raises tensions and excitement. With the coming of puberty and an increased sex drive, this diversity of response quickly begins to narrow down, first to general sexual situations, then to more specific situations, then to people, and finally to particular kinds of people." (Tripp 1975, 18) Specialisation continues after puberty.

This evolutionary process applies not only to the object of the sexual drive but also to ways of satisfying it. Freud described the process as a contraction of sexual sensibility into erogenous zones: first in the region of the mouth, then the anus, finally on the genitals (Borneman 1978, 1538). "Only gradually, under the influence of social conditioning, do children begin to structure their sexual behaviour in a way that is acceptable to the culture in which they grow up, in other words, they not only learn the 'proper' responses, but also suppress and forget the 'improper' ones. In fact, when they later try to increase their sexual responsiveness, they may spend a great deal of time and energy relearning the very responses they were once taught to suppress." (Haeberle 1978, 146-147).

In comparison with the adult, the sexual imagination of the child is thus much more varied and complicated (Borneman 1978, 2183). At puberty, as we have already seen, the boy is half way along in his sexual simplification, specialisation. Even if, like the majority of boys, he is on the main road to adult heterophilia, he is still quite capable of enjoying sexual intimacy with a

male friend. This capacity is absolutely "normal" (Hanry 1977, 117).

Now, for most boys, access to male friends is much easier than finding a willing girl. Girls are mysterious, different and less enthusiastic about sex. Psychiatrists Sengers and Bieber supposed that homosexuality in adolescents results not so much from homophile attraction as fear of heterosexuality (Sengers 1969, 327). A boy's strong sexual appetite on the one hand, and the lack of specialisation of his sexual instinct on the other, push him toward homosexual activity (West 1977, 247). This tendency is most pronounced in very "macho" boys, those with the most powerful sex drive. In obvious contradiction to popular opinion, it will thus be the most virile boys, those who will later be most active with heterosexual intercourse, who, during adolescence, partake in the greatest amount of homosexual activity. Beech was the first to observe this (Tripp 1975, 31). Males with a low sex drive are most averse to sex with comrades. Giese & Schmidt likewise pointed to the pronounced correlation between a strong sex drive and homosexual activity. They discovered that those boys who had homosexual experiences between the ages of twelve and eighteen were also those who engaged in a high level of masturbation activity. "A strong sexual appetite (or a low tendency to inhibit sexual impulses) is evidently an important factor in homosexuality of youth." (1968, 174-175)

While society pushes a boy toward heterosexuality, it tells him at the same time he mustn't touch girls. "Activities associated with future heterosexuality are more stringently taboo than those associated with homosexuality; this occurs more by default than intention. For whatever reason, adults rarely spontaneously voice explicit prohibitions against sex play among same-sex peers: typically, they do so only when they become aware of homoerotic play." (...) "It is inevitable that homoerotic activity would be a normal adolescent experience in this culture. Limited in the ambisexual explorations of childhood, the opportunities for learning heterosexual self-confidence have been partially narrowed. Burdened with guilt that weighs most heavily upon self-exploration and heterosexual experimentation, early adolescents frequently feel most free to express their newly intense sexual feelings with those around whom they feel most comfortable—their same-sex peers. Such sexuality is certainly not entirely guilt-free, especially the masturbating aspects; it is simply that for many adolescents this is the sexual arena that is least anxiety-producing and least hedged about with taboos." (Gadpaille 1981, 100, 102)

It is the same in all cultures where boys are not allowed sex with girls, but non-Western societies are often more honest and open in their handling of the situation. Some instances are given by Bullough (1976, 28-30, 35, 43): "Similar practices for young boys were tolerated among the Lau in the Fiji Islands. The young Lau boys could not play in mixed groups or in adult ones. (...) The

only emotional outlets for boys of this age is in masturbation or homosexual relations with other *pilos* (prepuberty boys). In many societies homosexuality was acceptable only in certain age groups and not in others. Among the Ngonde, in the 1950s, for example, where boys were confined to boys' villages, homosexual activities were tolerated from the age of 10 to the time the boy was married. When a boy slept with his friend, sexual activity was permissible, provided it was voluntary; the only crime was to force sex upon another boy." (...) "Among the Gond of Central India, sex was not a sin provided relations were with the right people at the right time, in the right place, and in the right way. In the segregated communal dwelling (ghotul) where the young people lived there was freedom of sex, and in the boys' ghotul they played with each other's genitals, rode each other in imitation of the normal sex act, and were often taught to massage the legs of their elders." (...) "One observer believed that homosexuality might have been tolerated among the Makassar, because there were prohibitions against contacts between boys and girls, and the only acceptable outlet for young boys was in homosexuality, but girls were denied this sexual expression." (Bullough 1976, 28-30, 35) "There are known ethnic groups, such as the Batak people of Lake Toba in Sumatra, among whom homosexuality and heterosexuality both are universal customers. They are experienced biphasically. In the first phase, all males are homosexual among themselves between approximately the ages of 9 and 19. During this phase, they sleep in a community house erected specifically for them." (Money 1977, 229-230). "Other societies (e.g. Fang and Marquesas) expect all boys to engage in homosexuality but discourage this behaviour in adults." (Werner 1979, 345).

Rich Roman fathers used to give their adolescent sons a slave boy for their sexual use, and Catullus, in one of his poems, tells how such a slave boy, in turn, molests the local peasant girls (Borneman 1978, 622-723). The Spanish Conquistadores discovered that the same paternal practice existed among the Maya Indians of Guatemala (Bullough 1976, 43).

In ancient Greece, sex between boys was considered normal behaviour for their age.

In having sex with his same-sex peers, the young human male only duplicates what can be observed everywhere else in the animal kingdom. Homosexual play among young individuals has been specifically observed in chicken and monkeys (Kruijt 1976, 27, 35; Langfeldt 1981, 103-104).

Many writers have labelled this phenomenon "the homosexual phase" of boyhood (West 1971, 1), but the term is misleading. Let us first of all recall and repeat that homosexuality and heterosexuality are not mutually exclusive. "Any culture that draws an artificial dividing line between homosexuals and heterosexuals thereby betrays a highly peculiar and very narrow view of human nature. It is a view that has become blind to the gradual character of

human differences, to the shades and nuances of human behaviour, in short, to the natural variety of life." (Haeberle 1978, 235). Both tendencies are present in every human being, therefore in every boy. What happens in puberty is not the emergence of a new tendency, a transitory homosexual phase. It is simply this: at an age when his omnipresent homosexual tendencies, be they strong or weak, are not yet inhibited, when, in other words, his sexual nature is not yet specialised, the boy suddenly has to deal with a greatly increased sexual drive and a much higher sensitivity in his penis, both caused by his entry into puberty. Where the road to heterosexual intercourse is made difficult, or totally blocked off, he has to look for another outlet, and, using his homophilic component still available to him, he enjoys sexual activities with another male. Where the inhibition is weak or absent, homosexual contacts prove to be very satisfying to many individuals (Freud 1920, 98). It is useful "to distinguish between three basic factors:

1. Sexual capacity, i.e. what the individual *can* do.
2. Sexual motivation, i.e. what the individual *wants* to do.
3. Sexual performance, i.e. what the individual *does* do."

(Haeberle 1978, 131). Even if his lust is directed mainly towards girls, the boy can perform with other males, because his sexual capacity is greater than that of adults. Homophilia is not dominant in a larger percentage of boys than of adult men. It is just that the boy's sexual capacity is less specialised, more varied and, for most boys in our society, there is more opportunity for homosexual than heterosexual contact (Hart de Ruyter 1976, 73-74). In a culture like that of the Muria, already mentioned, where every boy is used to having intercourse with a girl every night, the situation is quite different and there is little homosexual activity.

103 In a remarkable book by N. M. Iovetz-Tereschenko called *Friendship-Love in Adolescence,* the diary of a Russian boy called John is subjected to deep analysis. In it John reveals all the wavering feelings characteristic of his age. When he was six, John experienced for the first time conscious sentiments of love for his peers. Shortly thereafter the sight of naked women bathing excited him sexually. But love only became a serious preoccupation when he reached the age of 13 years, 8 months. A half-year later he had his first ejaculation during an erotic dream. Although he had no sexual relations until he was sixteen, he went through long and shorter periods of being in love, first with four boys, one after the other, then with several school girls, then again with a boy; after this it was with two separate girls, then again with a number of school girls, then with his friend Peter, his girl-friend Cleopatra, his friend Karl, his girl-friend Margaret. In different parts of his diary John described his feelings as "an experience of happiness. I would say of beatitude, a peculiar, strange feeling, a pleasant feeling in the breast, an experience of its being something morally positive—more than that, something of a

sublime nature." (1936, 262). There was no conflict between this experience and his religious faith, but there certainly was between it and his sexual desire. He had been brought up to believe that sex was something vile and despicable, and as a result he could not bring it into harmony with his lofty sentiments of love.

Boys who manage to overcome this trauma inflicted upon them by their upbringing, or who learn to accept sexuality as part of human existence, easily resort to sexual play with their comrades during maturation. The earlier they start with these homosexual activities, the less problems they pose (Schmidt, quoted by Schult in *Ein Staatsanwalt sieht rot).* Their bodies and their imaginations drive them toward physical contact with another human; girls are out of reach, strange and intimidating beings; boys are nearer and more familiar (Leonetti 1978, 211). A male comrade is a better advisor than a girl (Gide 1925, 135).

When a boy touches the penis of another boy he knows exactly how the other feels; he knows from his own body exactly what to do to give him pleasure. "A boy caresses much better than a girl, because he knows how he would like to be caressed himself." (Lambert 1979, 211). Masters and Johnson, who observed in their laboratory a great number of subjects between the ages of 18 and 80 perform masturbation and intercourse, were surprised to see that same-sex couples generally had better "love techniques" than anyone else (1980, 221-222).

104 (Continued from No. 28) In this connection, the experiences of 18-year-old Alcide are typical. "Especially when I was younger I had this feeling that it was twice as easy to win over a boy, to get a relationship with him going and to fuck him, as a girl. (...) As a matter of fact, when I first started to sleep with girls I thought it was an enormously difficult thing to do. To begin with, you had to put on this kind of act, which is not at all natural—I really didn't like that. When I slept with a mate it was much nicer: you joked with each other, you laughed, you talked, you told all kinds of stories, you looked at each other's body a little, you compared, you did everything. Afterwards, if you wanted, you just got up and walked away. The first times I slept with a girl—today it's a little different—the fact was I just simply *had* to fuck her, and it was very important to know how to do this or that just right. I found it really a lot better to sleep with a male friend; it was nicer and simpler." (Schérer 1979, 263-264)

Boys and men accept the idea much more easily than females that sexual intimacies may follow directly upon getting acquainted (Leonetti 1978, 140).

Homosexual play with peers is extremely common before puberty. "As a matter of statistical fact, before their tenth birthday boys have more sex play with other boys than with girls." (Haeberle 1978, 156) But data derived from

researching this phenomenon are not too reliable, since cultural taboos make many boys unwilling to confess homosexual contacts. Of Biener's 16-year-old Swiss boarding school boys, only 18% admitted to such experiences—13% with a peer, 5% with an adult (1973, 65). An investigation among 19-year-old French boys came up with a 32% figure. Hanry's own research elicited 30%, but no less than 18% of his male subjects refused to answer the question (Hanry 1977, 11-12, 163). Yankowski organised in the United States two investigations of homosexuality, one among young adults, the second among school boys. The replies of the adults may have been more honest, but they are inevitably more distorted by amnesia. The replies of the school boys relate to rather recent experiences but are more distorted by an unwillingness to admit engaging in such activities. Making a distinction between active behaviour ("Do you remember sexual experiments in which you have touched the penis of another male?") and passive behaviour ("Do you remember sexual experiments in which your penis was touched by another male?"), the adults reported as shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Homosexual Behaviour in Youth (Yankowski, 1965)

	Active Behaviour	Passive Behaviour
At the age of 6 years or younger	2%	1%
At the age of 7 or 8	5%	8%
At the age of 9 or 10	14%	16%
At the age of 11 or 12	40.5%	10%
At the age of 13 or older	21%	51%
Never	17.5%	14%
Seventh grade boys (12 and 13 years old) answered affirmatively:	84%	90%
Tenth grade boys (15 and 16 years old) answered about the period since they were in the seventh grade:	29%	31%
Twelfth grade boys (17 and 18 years old) answered about the period since they were in the tenth grade:	19%	38%

(Yankowski 1965, 69-77)

Table 11. Experience With Homosexual Acts Leading to Orgasm

9-year-olds	0.2%
10-year-olds	0.6%
11-year-olds	2.0%
12-year-olds	6.3%
13-year-olds	13.7%
14-year-olds	24.1%
15-year-olds	31.1%
16-year-olds	36.0%

Kinsey (1948, 168) heard from 60% of his younger subjects that they amused themselves with comrades; this reached a climax at the age of twelve. Dort (1968, 36) interviewed 213 American boys between the ages of thirteen and nineteen about participation in mutual masturbation groups and was told by 11 that they had participated once, by 73 occasionally and by 33 often. Only if we take into account the enormous impact of anti-homosexuality taboos endemic in North American society, especially during the period of this research, so deeply entrenched in education, upbringing and public opinion (Churchill 1967, 49), can the cumulative percentages for the incidence of homosexual activities leading to orgasm be fully understood. They are shown, for middle class boys in Table 11. The cumulative figures reach a peak of 45% by the age of 19 (Kinsey 1948, 624). This only applies to activities which lead to orgasm. "If all types of homosexual contacts are tabulated for the males, it is estimated that the percentage would approach the 100 mark." (Blake 1970, 35) In the sample of the Hite Report (1981, 856), 54% of the males had masturbated with another boy during his pre-pubertal years; the percentages mounted to 81% at thirteen years, 88% at fourteen, 94% at fifteen, 97% at sixteen and 99% at seventeen.

And what boys actually do, of course, lags behind what is actively desired. Yankowski looked into this aspect, too. His subjects reported that they wanted to have the kinds of homosexual contacts shown in Table 12.

In recent research among Dutch university students, no fewer than 17% of them admitted being strongly attracted by homosexuality (Mede & Spee 1983).

As we have seen, among prepubertal boys homosexual play is more common than heterosexual. Play-wrestling, especially popular at this age, has a clear erotic component: the desire to be in close contact with a comrade's body (Borneman 1978, 882). "Among normally developing pubertal boys, verbal exchange of sexual experiences, curiosity about each other's genitals, mutual display, communal masturbation, and homosexual horseplay are

Table 12. Homosexual Desires of Young Males (Yankowski, 1965)

	Active Contacts	Passive Contacts
At 6 years of age or younger	1%	1.5%
At 7 to 8 years	24%	6.5%
At 9 to 10 years	38%	18.0%
At 11 to 12 years	10%	21.0%
At 13 years or older	3%	21.0%
Never	24%	32.0%
Boys in the seventh grade (12 and 13 years of age) admitted such desires	85%	88%
Boys in the tenth grade (15 and 16 years of age) admitted such desires	28%	31%
Boys in the twelfth grade (17 and 18 years old) admitted such desires	30%	45%

exceedingly common. (...) Overt homosexual activity at puberty is particularly common in boys, and most authorities agree that usually this has no great significance for future sexual orientation." Professor West (1977, 16), here quoted, calls the policy of teachers who take "drastic action against the young participants (...) unnecessarily cruel." (1977, 18). The victims and their peers always consider such punishments unjust: in the NISSO research, no less than 73.2% of the 15- to 17-year-olds said they thought it all right for two boys to be physically intimate with each other if they both were willing (1973, 23).

One is tempted to agree with 30-year-old Thomas, who travels around with a famous boys choir, when he claims "that all boys are more or less inclined to such relations" (Hennig 1979, 130).

Where boys are thrown on one another for company, "special friendships" proliferate. Mende, who has investigated the behaviour of young people in holiday camps, found out that, though teachers and youth leaders did everything in their power to keep boys from being physically intimate,

nevertheless "homosexual contacts were so frequent that nearly every boy was involved" (Mende & Dubrovich 1971, 12; Krist 1976, 24).

105 The boys in a big city Belgian Catholic school formed a secret club. Every member had a button on which was a picture of a well-known automobile. If he put this on the lapel of his jacket it was a signal to the others that he wanted to be masturbated, and he would hang around one of the entrances when school let out, waiting for some fellow member to approach him and agree to satisfy his wish. (Personal communication)

106 "One 13-year-old boy described the 'club' that he and a school chum had formed as 'not much of a club—just a bunch of guys that run around together. But we have some fun, too. Whenever someone wants to be a member, we warn him that he's got to go through a tough initiation. If he wants to go through with it we make him promise to keep his mouth shut. Then for the initiation, he has to jack off every guy in the club. After that he has to get his own nut off while all of us watch!'" (Dort 1968, 26)

107 "I was twelve years of age when I began to masturbate. Guys from school, groups of six to twelve, used to go to one guy's house, after school, whose parents worked and didn't get home until about 6 p.m. We had jack-off contests like: who could squirt the farthest, who could last the longest, the tempo of the stroke being set by following the beat of a song on a record. Who could come with the most quantity into a Mason jar; who could come the most number of repeat climaxes in measured time. There was mild homosexual contact: touching another guy, never actually stroking another guy to climax, checking out each other's equipment. Group nudity and checking out asses." (Hite 1981, 607-608)

Such arrangements are hardly restricted to the middle class. Davidson found them thriving among London street boys (1971, 181).

108 At the age of fifteen, Simon, a Belgian boy, was sent to an agricultural school run by priests. The first day he felt completely lost, but during the free evening hours a pleasant boy of his own age sat down next to him and began talking about the daily routine he could expect, and the customs of the school. At ten o'clock Simon, along with thirty other boys, went into their dormitory. A friar came by to see that everyone was in his bed and then put out the light. After some minutes Simon saw, to his surprise, in the dim light penetrating the curtains, white figures sneaking silently from one bed to the other; he heard whispers and half-stifled giggling. Beds creaked. Suddenly somebody was standing next to him: the boy who had talked with him earlier. "Take your pyjamas off," the boy whispered. "Naked is nicer." A few moments later, for the first time in his life, Simon lay in the embrace of another naked boy. He became enormously excited—more so than ever

before in his life. He completely forgot where he was. Quite by instinct, inspired by his enormous passion, he made the right motions that finally brought relief to both of them. Only then did he become conscious of risk. "What if that friar had come back?" he whispered in the ear of his new friend. The other boy just laughed. "They know perfectly well what is going on, but they never make trouble. They pretend they don't know. They would only interfere if some boy complained about violence or being forced. But that never happens. I talked it over once with one of the teachers I'd gone to for sexual information. He said he thought this went on everywhere in boarding schools. It's something you could never stamp out, so you'd better tolerate it, because boys always behave better if these needs of ours are satisfied." (Personal communication)

109 A 59-year-old Englishman recalls: "When I went to Public School as a boarder I found mutual masturbation very common and two older boys fucked me at 17, though before then half a dozen lads had tried to do it but hadn't got right into me. Once it had been done to me I made haste to do it to another lad... In that year I sucked boys off and was sucked off, and fucked and got fucked quite often... The dorm was an orgy room most Saturday nights and two of the young sports masters approved and once or twice picked me out (and other lads!) for 'special tuition'." (Barrington 1981, 214)

While 'special friendships' can be fine, the situation can take a bad turn, too. "One educated ex-prisoner, Heckstall-Smith, has written a lengthy and apparently realistic account of his experiences of homosexuality in English prisons. He blames the influence of ex-borstal boys and inmates of residential schools for delinquents, who have been used to nightly sex orgies in the dormitories, for spreading among prisoners a sordidly uninhibited attitude to homosexual indulgence." (West 1977, 237). An American author was told by a former inmate of a reformatory, "You needed to show them how tough you were right off or you'd be surprised how many cocks you'd have up your ass in one night." (Meers 1975, 429)

110 Figger quotes the words of a 16-year-old boy in a German reformatory (borstal): "We've got here in the institute big boys, and these big boys, they want to be satisfied. (...) In the dormitory at night guys normally shack up together in the same bed to get each other off. Once a boy's done this he'll do it over and over again. Think about a smaller boy—he's only fifteen—and he's lying with the big guys—that're jerking off: he's got a pretty face and he isn't stupid, so all the big boys like him; they tell him all sorts of things he'd never hear outside. Then one night everyone is almost asleep. They've barely shut the door on us and someone's jumped on the bed of this kid and lays down beside him. Now, even if the kid wants to yell and fight he's got to stay shut up, because he's the youngest; he's scared of the bigger boy, even though the bigger boy is just being nice to him, pretending all he wants is to tell him

> something. But pretty soon the big boy just can't hold off any longer. He grabs the kid's hand and puts it where he wants it. And the kid will do what he wants. And from then on this happens every night, until pretty soon the kid's neck is all spotted with love bites and kisses; from then on he's all right, the favourite kid of the big guys." (Figger 1977, 201)

Jean Genet described similar scenes in French reformatories. Of a Dutch reformatory it has been written, "Sexual intercourse flourished exuberantly. From 13 to 21 years of age they all slept helter-skelter. Sometimes a younger boy was booked up by the older ones two or three nights in advance." (Hoekstra 1969, 953) Havelock Ellis mentions a boarding school where "all the older boys had younger accomplices in mutual masturbation. (...) One very precocious boy of fifteen always chose a companion of ten, because his hand was like a woman's." (Ellis 1913, I-240)

On the condition that no force or coercion is used, such relations should be looked upon as beneficial: "Homosexual friendships between the inmates of reformatories may contribute to their emotional stabilisation." (Kerscher 1977, 8)

The attractiveness of members of his own sex is so strong during these years that it colours even a boy's heterosexual relations, as we have already seen. Many a boy is pushed into the embrace of a girl not because he really wants sex with a female but rather to impress his comrades and prove to them his virility. Adolescents "may want to live up to the standards of their peer group, and thus try to 'go all the way' simply because they hear that 'everybody's doing it'." (Haeberle 1978, 173)

In one very true-to-life novel about young French people in Casablanca, a fourteen-year-old boy is taken by a slightly older friend to a woman who is drawn to young boys and left there alone with her. He becomes completely passive. She pulls off his trousers. "At one point I almost pushed her away; I wanted to get up and put my clothes back on. But then maybe she'd tell my friends: I'be be sure to fall in the eyes of Jacques, and even Daniel." (Daniel was his age-mate with whom he had been having sex which he liked very much.) So he submits to the desires of the woman. (Decrés 1982, 73)

111 A boy of fifteen tells about his first experience two years earlier. He was with a group of 16-year-olds talking with a girl of nineteen. They told her he was only thirteen. "She said I didn't look that young, and then she said, 'You know, I really think it would be great to do it with a guy your age.' 'Really?' I said. A couple more of my friends overheard this and started coming over. She said, 'You know I'm propositioning you?' 'No shit!' I said. I really didn't want to do it with this girl. For some reason, something just told me you shouldn't do it, but these guys were all saying, 'Oh, my God, this girl just propositioned Mark!' So they talked me into it. They really talked me into it.

III. BOYS AND THEIR SEXUALITY

> I wanted to do it slightly, but it was mostly the curiosity or being able to say, 'Wow, you did it, Mark, you're a man, wow!" (Janus 1981, 286)

Professor Kentler agrees: "Just as in the big cities of the USA, the heterosexuality of boys on the lowest social levels and in marginal groups here has the highest degree of homosocial significance." (1978, 145) "How some gangs intimidate new members before admission is well known. So is the custom that to pass muster, a boy must join in the group's common cohabitation with one or several girls." (Bettelheim 1962, 34) In Paris a gang of eleven- to fourteen-year-olds was found led by a twelve-year-old boy and a thirteen-year-old girl. The girl, very elegantly dressed, said she considered herself a very lucky woman, for she had ten such perfect husbands for intercourse (Bloch 1909, 700).

One of Hertoft's subjects told him that in his opinion you have to be 18 or 19 before you can really enjoy intercourse. "When you're younger, you do it only to have done it, just so you can boast about it with your friends; you have no tender feelings at all." (1968, I-299). Hanry shares this view: "When the adolescent boy thrusts his penis between the tightly pressed thighs of a girl, or over her vulva, or inside her vagina, he is looking for an erotically pleasant discharge similar to what he gets by masturbating. (...) He will tell his comrades what has happened; he needs to do this in order to increase his standing within the group." (1977, 124)

112 One of Sorensen's subjects had his first coitus at fifteen with the daughter of one of his mother's friends: "She came up to my room and she started doing this whole number on me—*on me*. I was really scared. I was petrified. I almost wanted to cry. She just started talking to me and all those other things, and we just had sex. It was always something I wanted to do, but I wanted to back out at the last moment with her. (...) It was pretty incredible. I don't know for sure how I felt. It was quite like not knowing what to do. That was the whole overtone of the thing. It wasn't a beautiful or relaxing thing, but I told everybody it was great and I had to tell everybody." (Sorensen 1973, 195)

This kind of forced heterosexuality carried out during a transitional phase in a boy's life when he isn't really ready for it, coupled with sex-negative moralistic indoctrination, may explain why feelings of depression so frequently follow first intercourse. Sorensen's subjects felt, at their first experience: 17% afraid, 9% worried, 3% guilty, 7% embarrassed, 1% sorry, 7% foolish, 3% disappointed (1973, 203).

In still another way may homophilia mask itself as heterosexual behaviour. In imitation of Alexander the Great and his friend Hephaistion, two

male lovers may have intercourse, one after the other, with the same woman.

113 A 17-year-old boy was deeply in love with his 15-year-old cousin, but, as the younger boy was always talking about girls, he didn't dare reveal his feelings. However, being on the verge of manhood, he did manage from time to time to find a girl willing to go to bed with him, something his younger cousin couldn't yet manage to do. He would insist, however, that the girl also lie with the other boy. When he succeeded in these arrangements he was able to have the pleasure of watching his handsome cousin strip naked and become aroused, and then look on while the younger boy made love. This spectacle was so exciting that it enabled him to carry off intercourse with the girl immediately afterwards. While so engaged, his eyes would be fixed upon his naked cousin lying satisfied, at his side. The realisation that his penis inside the girl was sliding in the sperm of his beloved was enormously thrilling (cf Stekel 1921, 172-173).

Boys who are strongly attracted to girls but still lack the courage to make the necessary approaches, may discharge their lust with a friend. One fine, sensitive book written by a 17-year-old French grammar school student, Didier Gerval (1957) describes two boys practicing with each other the acts they later hope to perform with girls. The tone and mood of the book is typically adolescent: the desire to conquer, to experiment, the curiosity about "techniques", the almost acrobatic approach to sexual activity, a touch of cynicism but at the same time a feeling of purity and horror of compromise—all come in to play as Silvère tries out on his friend Etienne everything he dreams of doing with his beloved Liliane.

These examples show how close the connection can be at this age between heterophile and homophile tendencies. To experience this calmly and consciously, and to give physical expression to it, can only be beneficial to a boy's mental health and psycho-sexual development.

SPECIAL FRIENDSHIPS

There is another important aspect of all of this. Deep, sensual friendships often spring up between boys of different ages (Schérer 1978, 183). These are the *amitiés particulières,* the "dangerous intimacies" which meet with such implacable disapproval in many boarding schools. The love of two pupils provoking the jealousy of their teachers is a classic theme of literature (Roger Peyrefitte, *Les amitiés particulières* (1945); Henri de Montherlant, *La ville dont le prince est un enfant* (1967) and *Les garçons* (1969); James Kirkwood, *Good Times, Bad Times* (1968)). It is interesting that in Montherlant's novel the boy's mother actually prefers him to make love to another boy (she

perceives this as a passing phenomenon—it therefore doesn't arouse her jealousy) than to lose his heart to a girl.

Every day there are tragedies resulting from the way adults repress, often with naked cruelty, the sexuality of young people. In criminal procedures involving sexual acts upon 10- to 14-year-old children, adolescents are conspicuously over-represented in number (Kerscher 1978, 152).

114 Hans Blüher writes in his autobiography (1953, 218-219), "When I was in the last form at the Steglitz grammar school, the 'erastes' system flourished—or, rather, we made it bloom into a conscious culture where heretofore it had lain dormant. In the first place, all of us—and I don't mean just Rudi and me—had our favourites, or *eromenos*—whom we also called 'Dédé', from a sentimental Belgian novel by Achille Essebac. In our arms and on our lips would hang these beautiful fifteen-year-old blossoms of boyhood, who in the first gush of their youthful vitality, found in us their first lovers. They were better off with us than they were at the dancing lessons. It was a distinction for every well-brought-up youth to have his own boy. We didn't just help them with their homework, we also participated in their family lives, gave them support and counsel. We virtually impregnated these young beings with all that was in our minds. Teachers and parents couldn't praise us enough and fell all over themselves extolling our virtue and altruism: how dear they were! We would certainly have been ashamed if all of this had been done out of virtue and altruism alone! But I didn't hear of one single instance where this boy-love led to salacious molestation. For us it was simply good manners not to touch a boy before he came into puberty. We totally despised bourgeois morality, yet our ethical standards far exceeded its demands. Yet anything which we ourselves permitted we carried out exactly the way we wanted to. (...) Among ourselves, on the other hand, the erotic relationships were much more vigorous; here a fully inflamed Eros had us in his grip and swept us away through every kind of darkness."

"Does there anywhere exist a more delicate and noble feeling than the friendship, at the same time passionate and timid, of one young boy for another? The one who loves dares not betray his affection by a caress, a look, a word." So wrote Jacobsen sixty years ago (quoted by Gide 1925, 136). But there isn't always so much restraint on the part of the older boy—nor would the younger always welcome it himself.

115 In my first book (München 1970) I told the story of a Frenchman, the source of which is a letter written by him years later when he was a married man, the father of a daughter and a son. Maurice, as we shall call him, met while he was in boarding school a somewhat younger student, Roger. For one whole year their mutual attraction was only expressed by ardent looks, sitting hand-in-hand at the movies and by a furtive kiss one night on a

deserted playground. But gradually Maurice became conscious of the strong sexual overtones in his affection for his friend.

"Normally I always started with sex first, and then later got attached to a comrade. But of course it had to be the other way around with true love!"

Finally one night he just couldn't hold out any longer, and he stole into the younger boys' dormitory with a burning desire to touch Roger's body. "I looked at him as he lay there asleep. I was transfixed. The beauty of him! His relaxed face, his closed eyes with the deep shadows around them, his full lips half opened, his tousled hair... The covers had slid down and only partially covered him. I lifted the sheet cautiously, bent over him, and saw that his right hand covered his cock, hiding it from me.... But the heavy, pungent smell of sperm rising from his sleeping body told me very clearly what the darling lad had been up to earlier that night... His whole body smelled sweetly of love and desire, but, strangely, my own desire vanished, as though daunted by the idea of violating him... Suddenly I realised the big risk I was taking. If I was caught here I would be expelled from school and I would never see Roger again. Oh, no! I bent tenderly over the sleeping boy and pressed my burning lips to his mouth." Days passed. "But now the flesh was demanding. I had many boys willing to amuse themselves with me; in fact at that time there were more of them than ever before. But I wanted Roger, and for myself alone. I knew if I waited too long someone else would beat me to it and break him in. I desired his body, his cock; in my nose still lingered the scent of his seed and his sweat as it had emanated from his sleeping body, so delightfully soiled, that night."

On their homeward journey at the beginning of Easter holidays, Maurice and Roger managed to find a railway compartment where they could be alone. "As soon as the train left the station we lay in each other's arms, mouth upon mouth, drunk with joy and passion." Maurice pressed his body against Roger's so the younger boy could feel, through their trousers, his erection. "'I love you,' Roger whispered, his eyes brimming with passion and his eyelids twitching with excitement. 'I love you,' I replied softly. 'Do you feel how much I love you, what you've done to me... down there?' He looked straight into my eyes, very seriously, and said, 'I feel it, of course—and I think it's wonderful.' 'Roger, do you want to do it too?' 'Yes. I want it. I've been waiting for this forever, I've been longing for it. You can do everything you want!'"

Still Maurice hesitated for about a quarter of an hour before he dared go on and undress Roger. When at last he took Roger's penis in his hand, the younger boy heaved a big sigh and whispered, "'That's for you, only for you—for you alone. Nobody else has ever touched it. And when I stroke it myself I always imagine it's your hand doing it.' 'Won't you feel bad about this, later?' 'Of course not. You can do anything you want with me.'"

Now Roger wrapped his fingers around Maurice's erection and they brought each other to climax. With typical schoolboy romanticism, Maurice decided they should mix their sperm together and drink it. "With an intoxicating kiss I shared with Roger the gift of our intimately mingled seed." Later

that night still more intimacies ensued and, as Maurice's finger explored the anus of his friend, Roger said, again very seriously, "'If you want, you can take me this way, Maurice. You can do it to me, even if it hurts—even if it hurts a lot.'"

It wasn't long after Maurice came home that his mother realised what kind of friendship her son had with Roger. She saw how deep and serious the feelings were that united the two boys; she did nothing to hinder them. She even helped Maurice by inviting Roger to stay over one night after they had seen a movie together, and she arranged for the two boys to sleep in the same bed. And so it came to anal intercourse, in which Roger courageously suffered the initial pains but only with difficulty was persuaded to take the active role himself: in his mind, only the passive position was suitable for the younger partner. Their relationship lasted for over two years, until Roger's family moved to the south of France and the German occupation cut off their communications.

Today, the adult Maurice values his boyhood friendship with Roger as one of the treasures of his life, and he is happy to see that his own son, now fifteen, has a sexually expressed intimate relationship with another boy; Maurice has made it plain to his son how heartily he approves.

This phenomenon of love between boys of different ages reveals itself in all cultures and in every period of history. In a primitive tribe in India, the Ho, all the boys sleep together in a dormitory, and it the custom that the smaller boys must serve the mature boys as if they were girls (Elwin 1959, 272). A fine description of two boys, 13 and 10 years of age, awakening to conscious sexuality in their mutual love, is given by Nigel Downsbrough in his novel *Paedomorphs I* (1978). Whether or not sexual intimacies actually occur, a strong erotic element always underlies such relationships, offering enormous educational advantages. "It is evident that the first unfolding of a strong attachment in boyhood or girlhood must have a profound influence; while it occurs between an elder and a younger school-mate (...) its importance in the educational sense can hardly be overrated." (Carpenter 1912, 78-79). And this benefits both partners. The younger feels protected; the elder sets him an example; he is much more willing to let himself be guided and counselled by him than by most adults. The elder learns how to take responsibility; although at this age he may often behave ruthlessly and brutally, he will spontaneously treat his young friend with tenderness and consideration. When society in its all-pervading fear of sex tries to break up such relationships—because, so often, they quickly progress toward a sexual expression of intimacy—it deprives itself of a powerfully constructive pedagogical force and brings down on its younger members untold misery.

For these friendships can be the source of such intense happiness that they can reconcile a boy to a very hard lot indeed.

116 A Belgian who had never known parental affection and passed his whole boyhood as a poor, rejected child in poor orphanages and boarding schools where life was drab and dreary in the extreme, lamented in his diary, "Mérovie—oh, Mérovie, what a wave of longing sweeps through me as I remember your gloomy, dim walls, your bleak, stupid people! What nostalgia I feel for your red and grey buildings, the joyless playing fields—this horrible boarding school where I passed so many dark months! Oh, god of my misfortunes, I would gladly sacrifice all those twenty years between then and now; yes, I would sacrifice the rest of my days if only I could return again to Mérovie, reverse mortal time, just to be with my friend again, as he stood guard in front of the cubicle where I slept embracing a young body. Then, in those long-lost years, I could love. I could have sex: sometimes without repenting it, sometimes repenting it. I could be pure and impure without restraint." (Personal communication)

117 At the age of fourteen Lothar lost both parents in a traffic accident and was taken in by the large, affectionate family of an uncle. There he was to share a bedroom with one of his cousins, Stan, who was about his own age. All during the first day Lothar put on a brave act, but in his bed that night, with the lights off, he broke down and began to weep. Stan heard this and, feeling sorry for the lonely and lost boy, went over to him, kissed him, stroked his hair and finally lay down beside Lothar to try to console him. It was a hot night; both boys were sleeping without pyjamas, and the contact of their naked pubertal bodies soon brought them both into an intensely aroused condition. Stan had already experienced some sex with an adult man and so he knew how to satisfy his desires. Now that first tender and compassionate approach to Lothar quickly led to an impassioned, raving act of love. For Lothar it was a ride into completely unknown realms; he was overwhelmed, but it was so enormously beautiful and made him so happy that afterwards he fell into a deep and untroubled sleep, convinced that he would be accepted and loved in this house as he had been in his own. From that night on the two cousins became inseparable friends. (Personal communication)

A boy on the verge of puberty is insatiably curious about what it means to be physically mature. Nothing could be more natural than for an older friend to demonstrate. Scenes of couples so engaged are often touching in the extreme: you see the evident pride with which the older male exhibits his manly, naked body, his full-sized penis, with an arm protectively and lovingly thrown over the younger boy's shoulders; you observe the equally frank curiosity and admiration in the face of the latter. Together they form a tableau of the most intimate alliance and closest friendship. During group masturbation, so common at puberty and early adolescence, the immature boys are always fascinated by the shooting sperm of the older ones. Sexual prowess thus makes the mature boy very popular with his younger comrades.

118 "At about the age of ten, I made friends with a boy of fifteen who became quite friendly with me (...) Every opportunity, he exposed himself when urinating, or just showing me his hard-on. It was twice as big as mine, and I guess I was a little envious. He talked to me about sex things (...) One day about six months after we started running around together, we were out at our local park (...) We were talking sexy things, and he had his hands in his pockets (...) He stopped, turned, and opened his coat. He had a royal hard-on sticking out of his trousers. It was red from rubbing it, and the head was wet (...) He said to take it out and show it to him. I took it out and we looked at each other's penis for a time (...) He started masturbating. He told me to do the same (...) I did like he said, as he said it would feel good. Well, it sure did. The feeling was just starting for me when he started coming, and I watched as the sperm shot out onto the grass, and his hand was flying up and down to make it come again. The sperm was white and thick over his hand and penis, as he worked towards another one. Just about the time in my excitement that I was coming and my little hand was flying up and down, along came these two old ladies from behind us. They had seen us, and came over to see what we were doing. I quickly started to put mine away, but stopped when my friend kept doing it, and when the old ladies exclaimed, 'My word!' he said, 'Mind your own business!' and started coming almost at their feet. I was so excited seeing him shooting, and I had kept flogging mine, I started to come. It was something I will never forget, it was great. We finished together as the old ladies walked away in a huff babbling to each other." (Hite 1981, 39-40)

119 At the home of friends in Sri Lanka I once met a strikingly handsome, healthy and sparkling boy of fifteen who, I was told, had a very strong sex drive, needing at least three climaxes a day to satisfy it. His greatest delight was in initiating younger, inexperienced boys into the joys of sex. He drew them like a magnet; wherever he went there was always a crowd of young admirers swarming around him.

Love between boys, be they of the same or different ages, can sometimes be very passionate.

120 Carpenter (1912, 139) gives an example from India: "The boys—who were about sixteen years of age—were both at the same school, and were devoted friends; but the day came when they had to part. One was taken away by his parents to go to a distant part of the country. The other was inconsolable at the prospect. When the day arrived, and his companion was removed, he soon after went quietly to a well in the school precincts, jumped in, and was drowned. The news, sent on by wire, reached the departing friend while still on his journey. He said little, but at one of the stations left the train and disappeared. The train went on, but at a little distance out, the boy ran out of the bushes by the line, threw himself on the rails, and was killed."

FEAR OF HOMOSEXUALITY

But even in this paradise of youth a demon lurks: our culture's fear and horror of homosexuality (Hanry 1977, 190). At about the age of twelve, boys begin to fall prey to anti-homophile indoctrination, and between their thirteenth and fifteenth years most of them, for the first time in their lives, hear homosexuality discussed (Hertoft 1968, I-254). They talk about it among themselves and in so doing intensify each other's repugnance. Now the group will consider boys having sex with one another very abnormal (Langfeldt 1981, 42). Of course the desire to conform is strong at this age—everyone wants to do what the others do. This is related to the inner uncertainty of this transitional phase.

Such fears are entirely unjustified, as "early homosexual experience does not automatically lead to adult homosexuality. (...) Homoerotic and incestuous fantasies seem to occur in almost all children and do not seem to distinguish homosexual from heterosexual children." (Langfeldt, 1981, 41) We may well remember Alcibiades, the most handsome youth in Athens of his time, who was said, as a boy, to have lured away all the husbands from their wives, and, as a young man, all the wives away from their husbands (Foucault 1984, 208). Psychiatrists are aware that "perverted behaviour during adolescence may be a development step". Homosexuality, sex with animals, trying to spy on other persons engaged in sexual intercourse, or feeling sexually excited by articles of dress or other objects (fetishism) "can appear in adolescents who give promise of good psychological health." (Markey, quoted by Karpman 1954, 53). Hite (1981, 36) found "No correlation between whether a boy had had sexual experience with other boys and whether he considered himself 'homosexual' or 'heterosexual' in later life. Many 'homosexual' men had never had relations with other boys in youth, and many 'heterosexual' men had had such relationships." In Sorensen's research, 50% of the boys agreed with the statement, "There isn't anything in sex that I wouldn't want to try, at least once." (1973, 60)

"Panic reactions on the part of communities or parents, with the communication of this sense of panic to children, is certainly not positive. (...) It may well be a fact that scare techniques that induce panic cause more widespread interference with children's psychosexual development than do overt abnormal sexual experiences." (Rabinovitch, quoted by Karpman 1954, 556)

The most important result of homophobic indoctrination is hypocrisy. Where a group is not so indoctrinated, nearly every boy may prove willing to participate in homosexual activities and enjoy them thoroughly.

121 A big, healthy and highly gifted German boy of fifteen told me that he went on a camping trip to Corsica with 16 other boys, aged twelve to

eighteen. "On the first day it was already obvious that we had a pair of lovers in our midst: a sixteen-year-old and a thirteen-year-old boy who were absolutely inseparable. Naturally, we started to tease them, but our kidding remained good-natured, never became malicious—and it didn't bother the lovers at all. That night they shared one sleeping bag. It wasn't completely dark inside our tent, as there was a moon outside. The rhythmic movements in the bedroll and the audible panting of its occupants made it pretty obvious what was going on within. In the morning we awakened to see them still sleeping locked in a tight embrace; a tube of vaseline lay beside them. That day the teasing increased; it was a lot more pointed than before, but, again, it never really got nasty; as a matter of fact there was an overtone of envy in it. When finally, at the end of a marvellous day filled with play and sports, we went to sleep, it was obvious that more couples had been formed, and these boys enjoyed themselves just as openly as the first couple had. The third night everyone slept with somebody else. There were couples who remained together for the whole holiday, other boys changed their partners every night. But there wasn't one single boy who didn't join in with these activities, and I know we all enjoyed ourselves immensely. I'm sure, however, that if, on that first day, some senior had really put down that first pair of lovers, none of this would have happened. Nobody would have dared defy him and do what all of us really found so completely delightful."

Sometimes boys evade social repression simply by giving things they want to do a different name. In Langfeldt's studies "boys in such groups seldom considered themselves to be homosexuals, inside the group the homosexual activity was legitimised and considered as play or training, while the same activity outside the group was considered as homosexuality." (1981, 68). Davidson (1971, 181) wrote that in London "there's one kind of emotional attachment very common among working-class boys of the middle teens: a deep unquestioning friendship between two boys, founded on unshakable loyalty and interdependence which neither would recognise as 'love' and which is summed up in the phrase 'me and my mate'. These friendships mean an absolute partnership and concurrence in everything, including sex: one of such a pair wouldn't think of masturbating 'without me mate'." De Brethmas (1980, 26) ascertained that many Parisian boys liked to suck the penis of a comrade, but got quite angry if you'd call this homosexual. It is characteristic that in De Boer's research a substantial number of boys participating in the written questionnaire (where they remained anonymous) admitted they were sexually attracted by males, but that more than half of them denied this afterwards when they were talking face to face with the researcher (1978, II-66).

Boys like to have sex with each other, but usually it has to remain playful ("fooling around" they often call it) and must not become serious.

122 A New Zealand boy declared: "Me and the other guys used to suck each other in the toilets. It was really good and I was always trying to get someone to do it with me. But when we got to the fourth form I think they started to realise that I liked it more than most. At first they just wouldn't talk about it. But after a while they started to gang up on me. They'd trip me up and write 'queer' on my back in chalk. Later it got quite nasty and I got bashed up so bad I had to get stitches. After that I went to another school that wasn't so bad." (Tuohy & Murphy 1976, 187)

The homophobia inspired by society, combining with the strong drive to get sexual relief through same-sex contacts normal to this age group, leads to hypocrisy, self-deception and cruelty. Games are devised where, just as in ancient Greek wrestling competitions, the loser has to abandon himself to anal penetration by the victor, and so can pretend that he didn't give of himself of his own free will but was "raped". Quite literally, this enables him to suffer defeat gladly. Richey's novel *Near Fatal Attraction* (1977), builds its plot around this theme.

123 West (1977, 105-106) quotes a psychiatrist whose client was "a particularly submissive minister of religion". "His early sexual experience consisted of wrestling games with an older boy during which he was regularly over-powered and 'forced' to suck his friend's penis."

It is this inner uncertainty which can make boys of this age so uninhibitedly cruel, as Golding (1954) showed so brilliantly in *The Lord of the Flies.* "The cruelty of children, however, never has the quality of premeditation, or irrevocability, that a righteous conscience and lust for power can give to the cruelty of adults." (Schérer & Hocquenghem 1976, 58)

Their minds are filled with images of violence and domination. Among Sorensen's subjects, quite normal adolescents, their masturbation fantasies revolved mainly around "sex with someone who is forced to submit, sex with more than one female, group sex, sex when one is forced to submit, varying degrees of violence to the other person, oral and anal sex." (1973, 137)

The desire to have homosexual relations with comrades, coupled with the desire to act "macho", drive many 13- to 17-year-olds to sexual aggression, often expressed in fighting and outright sadism. The aggressor, however, suppresses from his own consciousness the lustful sensations he experiences from such behaviour, because if he recognised them they would suggest that he might be "queer". The truth, of course, is that he probably isn't "queer" at all—he is just effecting a separation of sensuality and tenderness which may have fatal consequences for the development of his personality (Kentler 1970, 183-184). Sadism caused by inner fear (Mitscherlich 1973, 217) is the central theme of Musil's famous novel *Die Verwirrungen des Zöglings Törless* (1906).

124 Linedecker (1981, 288-289) tells the story of a man who was thrown out of his home in California when he was thirteen "and began living in a tent in a field. He depended for his meals on handouts from a nearby food co-op, where he met an older youth who was a male prostitute. Healthy, blond, tan, and muscular from lounging at beaches and lifting weights, the prostitute offered the boy a home. Soon after that they became lovers, and the younger boy also turned to prostitution. Almost a year later the teenager had his first experience with a girl about his own age. His life changed abruptly. He moved out of the older youth's apartment and began doing everything he could to prove to himself and to others that he was manly. He joined a street gang and fought with other teenagers."

The aggressive veneer over his own homosexual behaviour may fully convince both his fellow-gang-members and himself that he performs anal rape only to demonstrate his virility, to dominate and humiliate his victims. Thus the prevalence of "gang-bangs", brutal, deliberately cruel rape of a younger or weaker individual by a pack of boys. The violent penetration of one penis after another, often deliberately unlubricated even with spit, causes excruciating pain and injuries to the anus; in the end the victim may be left bleeding and unconscious. Flinders (1971) and Salas (1967) gave vived description of such scenes. According to official American sources, no less than 9% of all men and boys in penetentiaries become victims of this kind of rape. It is a sad commentary on North American culture that homosexuality outside of jail is often severely punished, even where both partners are willing, but prison authorities characteristically do little to stop homosexual rape of the men entrusted to their care: "It doesn't matter, it just happens!" (Den Bouwmeester 1981, 29-30; Davis 1968).

French teenage gangs are often bonded by sex. "Sometimes there are a few female members with whom all the boys in turn have intercourse. However, homosexual activities are more frequent. During a sort of initiation ceremony, every new member of the gang is anally used by its chief. Homosexual contacts between the chief and individual gang members take place according to his sexual needs."(Roumajon, quoted by Schlegel 1962, 205-206)

Where it doesn't find its outlet in violence and cruelty, homosexual fear can lead to the suppression of tenderness. Many boys are so inhibited by it that they cannot give any physical expression to feelings of closeness to a friend so characteristic of their age. This greatly diminishes their happiness and stunts the healthy evolution of their personalities.

125 The strongest theme in Richey's over-charged novel (1977) was the relationship of the two main characters, Roger and Tom. As boys they once camped together alone in the woods. That night they nearly had sex together, but were each too inhibited. The trauma of this unsatisfactory experience

pursues them even into adulthood, so that many years later, as family men, fathers even, they decide to repeat the experience but this time to do it right and satisfy their mutual desires. But it is not successful; it is too late. For Roger, resolution to this dilemma only comes when he meets Tom's young son and the boy calmly, confidently, as though it were his mission, completes the sex his father had begun so many years before and brings the man to climax.

The taboo on homosexual lust places a heavy burden on youth. A physician charged with giving sexual instruction in the Rotterdam schools always told his students that if a boy had intimacies with one of his male friends and derived a lot of pleasure from it, this didn't indicate at all that he was homophile or would become homophile. At this point the doctor invariably heard sighs of relief among his listeners and saw many faces full of happy surprise. Every person giving sexual instructions to young people should follow his example in order to dispel unjustified fears which prey on boys' health and diminish their joy of life. Of course it should also be pointed out, clearly and emphatically, that there is nothing bad or evil in being a homophile and that homophilia is a completely acceptable, fine, loving tendency which, to a greater or lesser degree, is present in every human being. Furthermore, they should be told that sexual orientation comes about quite independently of a person's free will, and it is therefore just as unfair and cruel to taunt a boy for homophilia as to do so about the colour of his skin.

But as long as society in general persists in its stupid and wicked practice of making life miserable for the homophile, it won't be easy to keep young people from parroting the slogans and imitating the sick behaviour of their elders and convince them that a gay male can shape his life as happily and usefully as a "straight".

Homophobia even sours the life of heterophile boys, as a number of males in Hite's research (1981, 20) attest: "In high school and college, when our friendships got too close, it was uncomfortable. We did not know how to deal with our feelings, so we let the friendship go. The taboo or fear must still be with me, because from time to time I have been attracted to a good-looking man and the feeling terrifies me." Another: "The closeness became uncomfortable and so we pulled apart. That is sad. (...) I think we were all afraid of seeming to be gay." Another: "Men are just so uptight about their bodies and out of touch with their emotions and so incredibly afraid (bring out the cross and silver spike) of homosexuality. I must admit I'm uncomfortable myself about it."

If homophobia thus destroys elevating feelings and fine relationships, impairing happiness, among heterophile youngsters, it can make it hell for that minority of their brothers who gradually become conscious that their ultimate orientation will be toward other males.

126 Pieter was very popular at school because he excelled in all kinds of sports and he remembers that sexual games with other boys were rather frequent and enjoyable. At the age of 17, however, Pieter started to realise that his enjoying these sexual games much more than he did the occasional petting he had done with girls could mean that he was a homosexual. He immediately withdrew from all contacts with other boys and men that could lead to anything resembling sex. He lost his popularity and his interest in sports, became isolated "and finally was on the verge of suicide." (Schippers 1983, 363)

In their novel *Special Teachers–Special Boys* (1979) Pete Fisher and Marc Rubin give a vivid picture of the terrifying inner struggle of a teenager who at first, fighting his own sexual inclination, beats up the schoolmate whose physical presence has so strongly aroused it, and who only at the end is ready to acknowledge, *I am this way; this is my nature.*

Here we can see, as in so many other examples, how degrading, corrupting of our culture this aversion to sexuality is. Having your fling, giving vent to youthful homosexual whims, doesn't slow the evolution toward heterosexuality in that majority of boys for whom it is the natural orientation. Quite the contrary. The French sexologist Meignant pointed out (1974, 11) that males should first realise their homophile tendencies, present in every individual, before they can construct the right kind of relationship with a woman. The Roman father who gave his son a young male slave so the boy could satisfy his lust and improve his "technique" until he got married showed sound insight into human nature. Sex play with a partner whose genitals are similar is relatively easy; one doesn't have to be so adroit. Homophile couples, on average, are more expert in making love than their heterophile counterparts, as we noted already from Masters and Johnson's observations (1980). Mutual masturbation, however, does require some learning and practice, for every boy has his own preferences and ways of doing it. Emerging from the solitude of private masturbation, the boy gets used to being seen naked and aroused by someone else in his pursuit of lust and orgasm. All of this increases his self-confidence and self-assurance in sexual situations; it will be a great help to him later when he makes his first approaches to a girl.

Giese and Schmidt found that those youths who, between twelve and eighteen, had had homosexual experiences, were having intercourse with girls almost as often as their fellow students who hadn't. Their success in seducing girls and their "refinement in the techniques of intercourse were even slightly greater" (1968, 177).

Nature has given to maturing boys the capacity to function with both sexes. "It is certainly surprising to discover from my own research and case-histories just how high a proportion of boys 14 to 16 are already leading a

bisexual life with homosexual contacts-to-orgasm more frequent at that age than contacts to orgasm with girls or women." (Barrington 1981, 84)

126 A black man of 21, Jamaican, acting in erotic movies in part because of his exceptional 9-inch erect penis, had already "had" 23 girls by the time he was fifteen. "But he'd also discovered his own bisexuality by 13 and had had many white male friendships with gay and bisexual men by 17." (Barrington 1981, 43)

127 "I was shown how to masturbate by a similar-age friend and we made many sexual experiments together till I was 15 and I fell in love with a young man of 25 who loved me. He introduced me to every form of homosexual activity, and we had a four-times-a-week sex affair till I was over 16 (...) I fucked a girl-friend many times before I was 16 and was 12 the first time. Other and older girls also let me fuck them, masturbated me and sucked me off. Before I was 16 I developed strong guilt feelings about sex with men and also certain acts with girls, so I stopped going to Confession or taking Communion." (Barrington 1981, 207)

128 An Englishman of 20 writes: "I've got twin brothers of 16 and one of them comes to visit me at the school and joins in with the other kids for sex in the store. He has had only three screws with girls and still prefers girls but like me says it's best to take your sex where you can." (Barrington 1981, 39)

129 Another Englishman, 34 years: "From the age of 10-and-a-half I had a fuck-affair with my cousin, a girl of 14, for two-and-a-half years (...) Linda showed me about everything one can do with a woman. (...) I got hard alright and did everything she wanted, but I was just pleasing her and passing the time. I didn't ejaculate or get real orgasms till I was nearly 12. I came more in wet dreams than I did with Linda. Those dreams were all about Tim, a boy at school. He was 17 and lived in the next street. I told him about Linda, of course. When he showed me how to wank at 13 he also sucked me off a few days later. Then he used my come to fuck me. We did that sort of thing a lot that summer as well as girls. (...) I fucked a few local girls at 14 and 15, but wasn't very excited by it and when I met Chris in the school showers we stared a friendship like I had had with Tim. Then three other boys saw us in the showers. They were friends of Chris's and they made me suck them off and then another day they all fucked me in the showers. That sort of thing went on for a few weeks. I loved it but to them it was all a joke." After another love affair with a boy at school, he went to sea and there had sex with many men. "Most of them prefer cunt to sex with guys, but at sea life is different (...) I've shown 6 boys and 9 teenagers sex acts, mostly just sucking (...) At sea and in foreign ports I've had sex with maybe 100 guys 18 to 30, and about the same in London, Liverpool and Southampton. I like one-night stands and I don't mind paying young guys for sex. (...) I know the game and was paid by guys up to 26, from when I was 17 to 28. (...) I've tried sex about

six times with women in ports, mostly because I was with guys I really fancied and I had to join in, since I was 20. If I'm with a guy I really fancy I can screw a girl happily, but I couldn't do it alone. Not anymore. I love watching guys I want fucking a girl, and if they'll let me I like to suck them as they do it. A couple of times I was screwed by a guy while I screwed a chick, and that was terrific!" (Barrington 1981, 126-127)

130 Luke grew up under the most disadvantageous conditions. He was the sixth of seven children. Both parents worked and had good positions, and they lived in one of the better neighbourhoods of a Dutch town. Their children, however, were neglected, not just by lack of love but even in material things. One by one, each left home as soon as he or she was able and totally severed family contact. On the day his adult friend brought Luke to my home for the first time, it was freezing outside and the boy was shivering because he didn't own an overcoat. Luke was a constant truant from school, with the result that now, at fourteen, he sat in a class with ten-year-olds. Two years earlier the child protection authorities had at last become aware of his truancy and intervened. They didn't perceive its cause and the extent of his neglect (such a respectable family, such a decent home!); they were only concerned with his violating the compulsory education law and so sent the recalcitrant boy for three months to a remand home. There Luke heard and learned a lot: how to masturbate at night under his bedsheets, and that there were men willing to exchange money for sex with a boy. So, enriched with this knowledge, Luke returned to his parents. One day when he was thirteen he told his mother, "I can't go to school any longer because my trousers are nothing but rags." His mother gave him some money—about half as much as he would need to buy a reasonable replacement pair—and sent him to the local shopping centre. As he was standing in front of a shop window, a man approached him and, smiling kindly, said, "If you come home with me you can earn 25 guilders." In his whole life Luke had never had so much money in his possession, and what he had heard in the remand home made him immediately aware of what services were expected of him. That night he came home with a very fine pair of trousers indeed—and enriched by experiences which had given him an enormous amount of pleasure and cried out to be repeated. But he was still rather small and naive and he soon fell under the influence of an 18-year-old pimp who took him to various clients and "saved" his earnings for him.

As time went on Luke began to feel more and more lost and lonely, although he liked the sexual activities. One of his clients later told me that little Luke used to fondle and kiss adult male genitals with undisguised passion. One night in a bar he met a sympathetic man and confided in him his misery. The man more or less took him under his wing. When he finished school, Luke went to live with this friend and they developed a close love relationship. For the first time in his life Luke knew what it was like to be loved and to have a real home. But in the meantime his sexual appetite had grown very strong and he found that one sexual partner wasn't sufficient to

satisfy it. So he had sex with other men, and with boys, too, and his adult friend didn't object. I once asked him—he was fifteen at the time—what kind of sexual activity he liked the most, and his answer was, "to be fucked in the ass by a boy about two years older than me." Two years later I put the same question to him, and now he replied, "to fuck the behind of a boy my own age." So now he was more active than passive. Later he slowly became bisexual: at eighteen he claimed to prefer boys, but he could get it on with a girl if she was rather boyish. After a holiday trip to the Costa Brava (Spain) he boasted that he had met two young couples from Holland and had had sex with all four of the people within one week. Then came a birthday party in Amsterdam with some of his young friends: there was no real group sex, but after midnight a number of couples openly made love in the same big room. Luke first had sex with a fourteen-year-old girl and shortly thereafter let himself be penetrated by a sixteen-year-old boy. Two years later, at 21, he was sharing his home with a young woman, and since then his sex life has been exclusively heterosexual. He has carefully avoided contact with his former male friends.

Such histories show how right Jesuit Father McNeill was in assuming that a man can never be certain before he is 25 whether his homosexual activities really express the predominant side of his sexual nature or belong only to a transitional period of his life (1976, 174).

Sex With Men
AN IMPOSSIBLE LOVE?

As can be expected, most homosexual activities of pre-pubertal boys take place with their own age-mates. This is also often the case with boys going through puberty (Reiss 1967, 66). Nevertheless, not a few boys prefer an adult partner. In his fine novel *Antinous, Geliebter,* Ulrich Stöwer has the philosopher Epictetus make this sad commentary about love between boy and man to Emperor Hadrian, "Usually it is the youthful body, the guileless laugh, the open-mindedness, the handsome face, the fresh skin which the man loves... As long as he is young himself he will easily find a friend who also desires and loves him. But, while his special attraction to youth persists, the man grows older, and now the potential for a profitable, that is to say equivalent, friendship, diminishes more and more, his successes becoming increasingly rare. For the vanishing appeal of youth he must substitute remedies and devices: the arts of the hairdresser, bath-superintendent, masseur; by pretense, persuasion, seduction; by exciting youthful curiosity; even by violence—and only exceptionally by the superiority of his mind. But none of these can restore what is most important: the radiant, vital, attractive body.

III. BOYS AND THEIR SEXUALITY

The relationship between man and boy becomes the more equivocal and fragile the more they differ in age and the longer the bond between them has existed. Each has to resort to new forms of mutual deception, and even their brief moments of shared lust cannot dispel the painful certainty that one day soon they will have to separate." (Stöwer 1967, 237)

Plato, in his belief that love is based upon the veneration of beauty, similarly denied that the boy can love the man, because the man was ugly (Buffière 1980, 402). He could have learned better from Anakreon who, in one of his poems, has a boy, flinging him self into the arms of his lover, cry out, "He is a greybeard but beautiful, really beautiful, and he loves to enjoy himself in bed!" (Peyrefitte 1979, 145)

Is it really beauty that a boy is looking for in a partner? Peter Schult, drawing upon his rich experience, says it isn't. "Children simply don't have this aesthetic judgement about bodily beauty. It's always a source of wonder for me, because I myself have a kind of horror of my body, suffering as I do from the advance of wrinkles, the development of middle-age spread. So I am always frightened of losing my partners, the youngsters, because of this. But although they may sometimes say something like, 'Oh, man, what a paunch you've got!', I've nearly never seen in children of twelve to fifteen this fear of ugliness or old age or experienced rejection because of it. They see the personality rather than the body or the beauty of the body." (1982, 105) What they do expect from the adult partner is pleasure (Nichols 1971, 15)—and more: in 1979, on a program of the Dutch evangelical broadcasting system "Ikon", a fourteen-year-old was interviewed about his sexual relationship with Jan, an adult man. The interviewer asked at one point, "What is there in Jan that is so attractive to you? Do you find him handsome?" The boy appeared confused by the question—it seemed that the idea had never occurred to him. After a moment he replied, "No, but with him I feel safe, protected."

Aesthetic feelings about physical attraction develop in boys only in a later stage. Only then is the ageing boy-lover faced with the dilemma of the Greek poet Dinos Christianopolous of whether to leave the light on or off as he makes love:

i don't know which I prefer –
in the darkness my ugliness disappears
in the light your beauty glows.

(translation: Kimon Friar, *Gay Sunshine Journal* 47: 173, 1982) With younger boys it doesn't matter.

131 Nineteen-year-old Albert declares, "When you're very young your sexuality isn't yet differentiated. You're not attracted by just one type of gay

> person. I remember that if they'd presented me with forty different people when I was ten I'd have been willing to sleep with every one of them no matter who..." (Max *et al,* 1980, 71, 76)

In homophiles there is often a nearly pathological fear of growing old (Baudry 1982, 78). "For 'normal' gays, however, there are no common remedies to conquer with bravura the inevitable barricades of getting old. But the pederast, whose sexual impulses are exclusively concentrated on half-grown boys, is paradoxically safe from this fear of old age: scientific research has proved that for 12- to 15-year-old boys having sexual relationships with an adult man the exterior of the partner is not of any importance. The older partner is idealised by the boy for his knowledge, for his professional status, his car, his wallet or—very frequently—for his human understanding. The symptoms of old age or flaws like baldness are only very rarely thought troublesome by pubertal bedfellows. A fifty-two-year-old boy-lover said, 'My whole life through I only slept with heterosexual boys between 13 and 16 years of age. For them I'm friend, father and lover united in one person. And for me they have the same honest (eventually dishonest) feelings, regardless of whether I'm an 18-year-old Apollo or an 80-year-old fairy king.'" (Ziegler, *Homosexualität,* 11)

It can even happen that a boy is fascinated by a man's ugliness. This is the theme, for example, of Peyrefitte's novel *Roy* (1979) and of Isabel Holland's novel *The Man Without a Face* (1972). The German artist Hildebrandt *(Au plaisir des dieux)* draws with evident relish scenes of beautiful, slender adolescents being chased by ugly, satyr-like old men, to whom they willingly abandon themselves.

In his research among 2500 male subjects, Barrington (1981, 180) even found "a large percentage (perhaps as high as 12% or more) of bisexual and homosexual youth and young men who prefer sexual contacts with older men, 50 to 65+."

Sigmund Freud stressed the fact that the first sexual object of the child's desire is an adult and not an age-mate (Schérer 1979, 92). The beloved adult is generally, of course, the mother or the father. However, as the child grows and becomes more and more perceptive of his surroundings, he is faced with two contradictory commands: Love your parents! Don't desire incest! Faced with such a dilemma, the child develops feelings of guilt toward the parents, for whom this is quite a satisfactory development, for it makes their son meek and submissive.

But now, suddenly, a boy-lover crosses his path, and both are touched by Eros. In the eyes of the boy this man is an adult: that is, he belongs to the undifferentiated category of people over 25 years of age. Thus he is similar to his father and can therefore be a kind of substitute—but a substitute with

whom sexual love is possible without committing incest. The boy-lover, then, offers a solution to his inner conflict.

THE PARENTS

Most parents react violently when they discover that their son is being intimate with a boy-lover. Often they have equally well-developed incestuous desires for their son (desires which they abhor and don't wish to acknowledge to themselves and therefore suppress) which now, filled with hate, they project onto the individual "child molester" who "abused" their son (Krist 1976, 66). They thus act as if the child were their property, something belonging to them, which a stranger is now trying to entice away. Times may have changed since Aristotle wrote that "a son or a slave is property, and there can be no injustice to one's own property", or since the Romans granted fathers the right to kill their offspring (Linedecker 1981, 115), but there is still a strong residue of these sentiments lurking in contemporary society. Moreover, during the last hundred years the position of the child in the family has changed. In former times families were larger, and thus parental ties with each individual child more superficial, a tendency re-enforced by the high child mortality rate of the times. Today the tie between parent and child is a lot stronger and this makes for much greater resistance to intimate friendships with other persons (Lochtenberg 1981, 31).

Every individual's sexuality lies somewhere on the scale between pure heterophilia and pure homophilia. That is to say, it integrates a certain percentage of homophile tendencies. It is a great help, then, to his self-awareness if the boy who is evolving into a predominantly heterophile man discovers and investigates this other side of his sexuality. If, by so doing, he reaches the conclusion that homosexual activities give him less pleasure than he feels with a girl, he will thenceforth have nothing to repress and suppress when he begins going around exclusively with women. It will only make him a better balanced, more liberated heterophile than the man in whom the latent desire for homosexual activities was never satisfied or was repressed into the unconscious.

Predicting the final orientation of a boy is impossible. One has to shake one's head in wonder at the easy assurance of some people who believe they can see the "unmistakable signs" of homophilia in a ten-, twelve- or fifteen-year-old boy.

And then, too, many parents experience this as a challenge to their authority. They usually feel, with keen parental intuition, that a change has taken place in their son's relationship with them the moment sexual intimacies with a boy-lover begin (Lotringer 1980, 4).

They are indeed right: a change has occurred, but this doesn't mean that

they should react defensively in response to slighted pride and ego. For no child is ever the property of its parents; it is, rather, a person entrusted to their care on his way to independence—that is, to its own personally stamped destiny. Possessive love is, in the final analysis, no love at all (Plack 1967, 52). Such a reaction is also short-sighted, for it violates an old biblical truth which applies not only to one's own soul but to the soul of another as well: he who wants to possess it will lose it; he who frees it will keep it.

Parents who look upon the man who loves their son, and is loved by their son, not as a rival or competitor, not as a thief of their property, but as a collaborator in his upbringing, someone to be welcomed into their home, will soon see that the ties which bind parent and child become stronger. This is only to be expected, for the inhibitions and prohibitions which frustrated the boy have now vanished and he can relax without ambivalence in his affection for a father and mother who understand and approve of his most profound feelings and desires. Parents who realise that their authority over the child is not granted to them as a self-interested, unlimited, everlasting right, but is a power to be used only for the child's own well-being, gradually to be reduced as he matures, will have fewer worries about this increment in the boy's independence. Actually they retain much more influence over their son if they are involved in this relationship with his adult lover. If they take their share of responsibility for what happens within it and so can exercise some control over it and, when necessary, help or advise the boy, or even interfere (Möller 1983, 81, 85). Parents who react with hostility, forcing the boy to keep everything secret from them, lose control completely. To positive-minded parents, the friendship and sexual activities which unite their son to a person outside the family are not disasters to be postponed as long as possible; they are simply milestones on the road of his evolution to the point where his own knowledge and experience can guide him. They are, thus, a cause for rejoicing. The kind of authority which sets itself up in opposition to human nature will gradually be eroded by repeated, miserable quarrels, leaving behind a wasteland of hatred and despair. Authority which gradually reduces itself, acknowledging the natural development of an independent personality, will retain continuity as a loving and recognised source of wisdom and greater experience.

Mothers, it seems, are the more easily reconciled with the idea of their sons having relationships with men, where the erotic bond is temporary and passing, than with girls, which suggests a life-long union (Matzneff 1974, 108).

132 "The mother of a (...) fifteen-year-old boy raised no serious objections when a physician approached her and explained that he and the youngster were lovers. She consented without argument when the doctor said that he was going to keep the boy." (Linedecker 1981, 290-291) A Canadian mother,

who allowed her 13-year-old son to sleep with a man with whom he was very evidently in love, went farther and put forward sound arguments for her decision: "If I say no, he will obey, but at his sixteenth birthday, when the law permits him to fix his own residence, he'll leave me and I'll never see him back. Now, when he reaches that age, he may go to live with his friend, but he'll continue to see me from time to time and I'm sure of his love." (Personal communication) Hetty (40 years) declared, "Yes, in the eyes of a lot of people I may look like a degenerate mother, but I don't care, I'll do it just the same. Look, I don't suggest anything and I don't forbid anything. I leave it up to the boy. This man, Kees, whom my son Menno (12 years) has his relationship with, was in prison once, but I just simply trust this friendship. So why should I try to break it up? I've known Kees for two years, now. After my divorce I had the feeling I was losing contact with my Menno. He had become completely estranged from me. One day I talked this over with Kees, and he said, 'Send the boy to me and I'll talk with him—he can spend the weekend with me.' I thought, well, this will be good for Menno, to have a change of scene. I hoped Kees would have some influence over him. First he went for the day, then for a weekend, and the next weekend, too. Then I thought, poor Kees, he has his own work to do, and now he has the care of somebody else's child, and that's too much, so I told Menno, 'Don't go to him this week.' As soon as Kees heard Menno wouldn't be coming he appeared on my doorstep. He got quite aggressive and said to me, 'Why won't you let him go? It can only be because someone told you I'm a paedophile—child molester, if you don't know what that means.' Now, in grammar school I'd once heard this word, but, it's true, I didn't really know what it meant. Well, since that day Menno has gone off nearly every weekend to Kees. I saw that such great affection had grown up between them that it seemed quite normal that they spend a lot of time together. And I found that Menno was becoming more open towards me. He started to tell me things again. It was amazing how he changed. My oldest boy noticed this, too. Menno had lost his trust in people and he regained it through Kees. I haven't the faintest idea what goes on between them sexually. I've never asked questions about it—quite frankly, I don't need to know. But if something *is* happening, then I believe it is a great advantage for a boy to have a man like Kees to guide him. It seems to me like a sort of natural evolution. If it's based on tenderness and friendship, it can't be wrong, can it? I think it can be a great protection for the child. A security. It certainly is in this case, because I think it's kind of a substitute for the father he doesn't have any more. But Kees isn't a real father figure. He doesn't like to exercise authority; he's not at all dominating. I believe that later, when Menno starts to go out with girls, he will find sex easier, because he'll be more advanced in this area already; he won't be bungling any more. Inexperience can cause of a lot of bitter grief, can't it? Terrible frustrations which stick with you if things at the beginning go badly." (Berkel 1978)

The Ancients knew about the fully consenting parent. At a banquet of

Kallias described by Xenophon a father gives his beautiful son Autolykus, who is about fifteen, and his adult lover the opportunity for an intimate meeting (Buffière 1980, 575-577).

Sandfort investigated 25 cases of man/boy paedophile relationships. (In evaluating the results below, however, one must keep in mind that he was dealing with an especially favourable selection.) In 16 of them the parents of the boys were not explicitly informed about the sexual aspect of the relationship:

In 3 of these cases they weren't even aware of the relationship;

in 6 cases, the adult partner thought that the parents assumed there was a sexual aspect;

in 2 of these cases both boy and older partner thought the parents assumed there was a sexual aspect;

and in 2 cases the parents knew their son's friend was a boy-lover.

In 8 cases the parents knew about and consented to the sexual aspect: the boys said the parents thought it "good", "normal", or "fine".

In 1 case the parents' state of knowledge was unknown.

Where the parents were hostile to the relationships, their sons disagreed with their parents' feelings very strongly. In 5 cases the boys said they could understand them but thought their views "old-fashioned", "out-dated" or "stupid" (Sandfort, 1981, 81-83).

The overall attitude of his parents toward sexuality largely determines whether the boy will discuss with them his friendship, with its sexual aspect, or keep silent. In Pieterse's investigation, 47.2% of the adult paedophiles interviewed said the children would not speak about it, 17.5% thought the children *would* speak about it, while the rest were undecided (1982, II-21-22).

Indignation is most characteristic of those very parents who have been unable to establish the right kind of relationship with their sons. The revelation that their boy has been searching for love and understanding in someone outside of the family comes as an accusation that they have been unable to provide adequately for his needs. In their fury they try to deny this; they want to prove to the world at large (the police, the judge, their neighbours) just how much they take to heart the fate of their child.

Sensitive parents, on the other hand, those with deeper insight into the mind of their son, who have good relations with him, will react more calmly and with better judgement. One father put it well, speaking of his son's adult friend, "You can tell immediately the difference between someone who gives and someone who takes. You just have to look at the boy, because he is your child. You'll be immediately aware of whether he's feeling happy or tense. What's shocking is not the fact that boys have sex with adults, but that afterwards they may feel guilty. And that proves that this particular adult is instilling in him a feeling of guilt." (Hennig 1979, 159)

Parents such as this father will interfere when protection is required. Parents who lack this kind of intuition, and don't have a close bond with their son, would do better to leave the decision with the boy.

ADULT LOVERS VERSUS PEERS

Lycurgus, the Ancient Greek legislator, was of the opinion that no boy could grow up to be a good citizen if he hadn't shared his bed with a man (Borneman 1978, 590). And just recently a German author closed his little book *Ein Leben für die Kalokagathia* with the lines: "The natural partner for the small child is his mother; for the boy, his peer; for the adolescent, a man; for the young man, a girl." (Bielefeld 1975, 28-29). He quotes one boy by the name of Jürgen: "Do I have a friend? Yes, I did, for many years. Martin and I understood each other very well. But when you're fourteen, you are looking for more than what a boy your own age can give you." Therefore Jürgen longed for a man who would take an interest in him. In Pieterse's investigation, 62.2% of her paedophile subjects believed that many children felt the need of such a relationship; only 5.4% of them didn't and the rest weren't sure (1982, II-24).

Sons of the "common man" in the great city apartment building complexes are, to their misfortune, inculcated with and inhibited by the homophobic taboos. But removed from their peers, such boys tend to be open and ready for human contacts that will bring them more than their associations with comrades can (De Brethmas 1979, 23). Tony Duvert claims that many boys are much more interested in the company of adults and the genitals of adults than in being with their age-mates. He calls this "enigmatic", but fifty pages later he explains: "As I have already stated, young boys often do indeed show a very strong preference for men, even—indeed particularly—for older men. No wonder: life makes you afraid; those who have already arrived at where you fear to go shouldn't necessarily be despised... As soon as a boy no longer considers you a villain, all his ageist feelings disappear." (1980, 89, 137)

This explanation isn't very convincing, however. Isn't it rather that the boy, arriving at puberty, begins to free himself from parental authority and wishes to be increasingly independent? But each emancipation process is made miserable by the fact that the individual liberating himself will always try to rush things, while the authority from which he is breaking away will at the same time be putting on the brakes. This leads to those continuous and unfortunately bitter conflicts which characterise both the political emancipation of a colony and the social emancipation of an adolescent.

The boy shakes off the yoke of parental authority and wants to forge ahead with his independence faster than his evolutionary stage permits. He is still in need of protection and guidance but is no longer willing to accept them

from his father. This makes him uncertain and, as Schlegel (1966, 197) rightly observes, he needs the help of someone else. He is looking, then, for an authority he can trust, but his striving for independence will only let him tolerate an authority which is of his own choice, to which he submits of his own free will, which, moreover, it is guaranteed he can shake off the moment it becomes too much of a burden. This is how the boy and the adult friend stand with respect to each other; there is a kind of ambiguity in the origin of such a relationship, but at the same time it may achieve a rare perfection because the bond is not limited to mental exchange but is welded by the heat of physical union.

The crumbling of parental authority and the rapid changes in his own body conspire to make the boy in puberty immensely insecure. There is a desperate need for assurance, and this his peers are quite unable to give him: only an adult can perform this function. That a grown-up loves him, thinks him handsome and attractive, rejoices in his growth and maturation is of utmost importance. And at an age when the physical is so all-embracing, nothing can better convince a boy of the sincerity of such feelings as the mute language of the body: the swelling of his big friend's penis and the way, shaking with passion in mutual embrace, he spurts his seed. What better proof that the boy is attractive and loveable? Such a positive evaluation of self is an indispensable condition for being a lover. One can only love another person in the way one loves oneself, and therefore only *if* one loves oneself. Only if you believe you are loveable can you believe in another's love for you and respond to it. He who despises himself as worthless can only distrust the loving expressions of another person: something must be wrong with anyone who pretends to love me, for I'm not loveable in the least (Frenken 1976, 166-167).

A person who doesn't accept his own body, thinks it ugly or repellent, will be ashamed of showing himself naked to his partner and will often aggressively reject sexuality (Van der Steen 1980, 443).

And so the lover who conveys the conviction that the boy is able to inspire love and excite his partner's lust, that in his sexual behaviour he is beautiful and enticing, pleasing to the eye of an experienced adult, such a lover performs an invaluable service to his boy.

133 "Marcel, the fifteen-year-old son of my host, likes to get up late during his holidays from school. But tomorrow he has an appointment at eleven o'clock. I offer to wake him up in plenty of time. He gives me a mischievous smile, as he knows something of my intentions, but he accepts. The next morning I enter his bedroom at the appropriate time without making any noise. He is only half asleep. One of his eyelids flutters. I draw the bed-clothes aside. He is stark naked: a fine, healthy body with fully developed genitals. I caress his chest and belly, and now he moves his head, opens his

eyes, looks at me, still saying nothing. My hand now touches his knee and slides up the smooth inside of his thigh to the seat of nature's forces within him. His balls are visible in the beautiful curve of his sack. I handle them, squeezing just a bit. 'The sources of life,' I say softly. 'They're big and solid, and that's usually the sign of a strong desire for discharge, isn't it?' Now he grins, feeling flattered but still not saying anything. Serenely he lets me have my own way, and as I take his penis in my hand it soon swells up big and hard. I strip the foreskin down, uncovering the slick top. 'Isn't it beautiful?' I ask. Now he's completely awake, and very interested. 'What do you mean?' 'Well, look at how marvellous this shape is, the shifting of these curves. This is one of the most beautiful parts of your body, and no wonder, because it's your flower, isn't it?' 'I never thought about it that way.' 'But it's true. We embellish our gardens and homes with the sexual organs of plants, yet we hide a boy's flower. Boys at your age are so beautiful they should all walk around naked as much as possible so everyone can enjoy the spectacle of their bloom. You shouldn't cover your flower but exhibit it proudly, because it's a marval, and the seat of your finest pleasure.' " (Personal communication)

The English poet Raile advocated "an aesthetical appreciation of a boy's manly attributes as a highly necessary accompaniment to a successful Uranian (i.e. homosexual) love-affair" (D'Arch-Smith 1970, 116).

Experiencing the rapid growth of his genitals at puberty, many a boy worries "whether everything down there is all right". This stimulates his curiosity about what these parts look like in adults.

134 De Brethmas parked his car near the gate of a well-known grammar school. "I transfixed with my Gaze Number Four the roe-eyes of the passing boys, until suddenly there was a response. It was the fifteenth or twentieth. My prey is still rather young, about fifteen, white blond, sturdy but not squat. 'Hello, are you free?' 'Yes.'" He takes the boy to his home, makes him sit down on the bed by his side, then pushes him onto his back. "'Is this the first time?' 'Yes.' Their reply to this question is always honest. Only an adult could conceive the idea that they would deny this in order to seem like big boys. Youth doesn't boast, has no pride for what it does in bed; they discuss it frankly, honestly, and they hope, by being plain, to facilitate the task of the partner who initiates them. With detachment they commit themselves to the elder who will guide them to what they have heard talked about, to what they have so often dreamed about, but of what they are still a little bit afraid, because of all one has been told about it. 'But you want to do it anyhow?' 'Yes.' This question is quite superfluous, as is clearly proved by the stiff condition of his barometer. At this age, being inexperienced, they still don't know the pleasure of having yourself slowly undressed. If you touch their hard-ons with your hand, this is a signal for them—as the most natural of reactions—to start pulling off their clothes. Alain is no exception to this rule,

while I find a mischievous pleasure in staying dressed. Trusting and filled with pride, he shows his little garden to me, looking at me in questioning suspense to see my reaction. He awaits the result of my inspection, the certificate of being well-shaped, that I, as an expert, have to grant him. This is part of a boy's motive the first time he decides to exhibit his genitals. It explains why he undresses so willingly and why he so easily overcomes his sense of shame. It is like being examined by a doctor. He expects you to tell him that everything is all right, that he is a handsome fellow and that the girls later will run after him. It's a last test before he gets his driving license. Therefore it is absolutely decisive for the boy's future that, even if you find his penis ugly, curved, too short or too thick, you declare that he has the nicest cock in the whole school, the juiciest balls, the most elegant hair growth, the most seducing crotch you ever saw, and that he'll become a real Casanova with such trinkets." (De Brethmas 1980, 93-94)

This inner lack of self-confidence drives "many boys to enter into only a short-term relationship with an adult. Once, or twice, and then they stop. It is a way to prove to themselves that they have a body, that they exist. And afterwards they don't have to grope any longer. At this point the man should withdraw from the boy's life, without pressing him further." This is the opinion of one thirty-year-old boy-lover (Hennig 1979, 165).

With others there's only curiosity: what really happens? As soon as this is satisfied they are no longer interested.

But for many, many boys, intimate relations with a man fill a deeply felt need during puberty and adolescence. This desire, as Freud long ago dimly perceived, is universal (Maasen 1983, 119). Everyone who has done research in this field has met "some adolescents calmly asserting that they themselves made the first move, brought about the first contact, because they had already been dreaming of this for months, because they felt an imperative need for it and found a mental and physical relief in it which permitted them to work better at school or in their jobs." (Baudry 1982, 123). What Plato said about those "wanting to make friends with men and delighted to lie with them and to be clasped in men's embraces" was certainly not only valid for his own time: "these are the finest boys and striplings, for they have the most manly nature. Some say they are shameless creatures, but falsely; for their behaviour is due not to shamelessness but to daring, manliness, and virility, since they are quick to welcome their like. Sure evidence of this is the fact that on reaching maturity these alone prove in a public career to be men." *(Symposium* 191 E-192 D, in the translation of Lamb)

WILLING BOYS

This may explain why so many boys are willing to abandon themselves sexually to a man. De Brethmas, out of personal experience, believed that

among 14- to 20-year-olds 10% have predominantly homosexual tendencies and actively long for contacts, while another 20% would like to try or are passing through a temporary phase of willingness. Thus 30% of all boys would be prepared to have relations with a boy-lover (1980, 40). This agrees entirely with the results of an investigation among 1500 French grammar school students in 1977 performed by Bertrand Boulin: 28% of these 12- to 17-year-old boys declared they were ready to have a homosexual experience (1977, 261). American research came up with much higher figures: not less than 77% of the boy-subjects had consciously desired this kind of sexual activity. More than half of them had intuitively felt that some man had wanted to have sex with them; no less than 48% had been looking for such advances, even encouraged them, and 20% had openly taken the initiative themselves (Bloomingdale, quoted by Williams 1969, 18).

Of 107 German students who had in their boyhood been "seduced" by an adult, only 17 said they had resisted while 90 characterised their behaviour as co-operative (Kirchhoff 1979, 289). There is a striking difference between the reactions of boys—mostly positive—and those of girls—mostly negative—when confronted with an adult's sexual desire (Wegner 1953, 55).

135 Mark and his younger brother Daren (12) "are fooling around in the front room. 'I want to go to bed with someone,' says Mark. 'With a woman or a man?' quips Daren. 'I'm not like you!' says Mark. 'Oh?' says Daren immediately, 'I thought everyone wanted to go to bed with men!' " (Moody 1980, 52)

Men with keen intuitive powers may only rarely be turned down.

136 A Dutch student who gave private lessons to grammar school boys, once told me that in the course of five years, with over a hundred pupils, he had only met with one refusal. It was a seventeen-year-old boy who didn't want to be masturbated by him, and the boy excused himself, saying he had a girl friend and wanted to save his sperm for her.

It is not his age-mate, it is the adult whom the maturing boy really needs. It may be quite fun to amuse himself simultaneously with his school fellows (Pieterse 1982, I-33)—there is certainly nothing wrong in that!—but the adult fills an existential blank (Schérer 1978, 183). The Italian artist Caravaggio showed the depth of his perception by making the young John the Baptist in one of his most celebrated paintings embrace, symbolically, not the lamb but the buck.

If this is true for boys in general, it applies even more to those who are on the road to becoming adult homophiles. "Grownups have a particular appeal to gay kids because the kids can't take the risk of rejection that comes with

making a pass at someone their own age. Johnny might shout it all over high school, but Mr. Smith won't. And for gay kids who are already alienated from their peers, having a grown-up friend can mean access to a whole new world—a place where, among other things, it's no longer disgusting to be gay."

Frank Rose who wrote this (1978, 18) quotes a boy-lover who is about 35 years of age: "Respect is what a lot of these kids are lacking. That's why it is so easy for somebody like me to go to bed with them. (...) But I don't think it is really a father figure they're looking for. It's more complicated than that. A lot of these boys—particularly the ones who are so insistent that they're heterosexual—like and very much want a lot of physical affection. That may be something you associate with your father, but I don't."

Following in the footsteps of the Swedish psychiatrist Ullerstam (1964), Borneman suggests that society, instead of fighting such relationships, should help to find a paedophile for every child who is looking for a father figure (1978, 1359).

It has long been common knowledge among boy-lovers that fatherless boys are generally the easiest to establish sexual relations with. But this hardly puts out of the running those whose fathers are very much present in their homes. For there is "an endless need for tenderness in the arms of an adult in every primitive boy" (Augiéras 1970, 170). And not only in "primitive" boys, for every healthy youngster has something of the primitive, the natural instincts, in him, and the tenderness he thus needs he won't get enough of from his father, even where the father is especially caring and devoted. After one boy once "exploded" at his side in bed, Peter Schult said of the inmates of a boarding school for wealthy boys, "Once again I was surprised by this terrific longing for tenderness hidden under the rough shell of these boys, and by their own stock of tenderness from which they were willing to serve you so generously." (1978, 176)

The most natural way of expressing and experiencing such tenderness is through sex. There are exceptions. For some boys—especially the pre-pubescent—the sexual part of their intimate friendships with a man may remain dubious or even unpleasant (Pieterse 1982, I-20). But in a large majority of those approaching puberty, or who have passed on to that stage of maturation when the sex drive is most intense, there is a hunger for sex, and its satisfaction is an important element in their relationship to an older friend. The boys in Sandfort's research affirmed this with hardly an exception. It is not unusual that in a real love relationship the sex means less to the older partner than to the younger.

137 Let us quote some of Sandfort's adult subjects. Mark: "Between Gerrit and me, obviously, there is a tremendous amount of understanding and love.

Reaching an orgasm and having sex are not really very important. They are simply events in our lives, and beautiful ones."

Henk: "That's the least important part. It is an extra, but if it had never happened we still would have stayed together over these past two years. For me this wouldn't have made any difference. It was a positive thing, a plus. (...) If it would have been without sex it would still have been nice. Yes, now I wouldn't want to do without it, the sexual contact. (...) It may sound funny to you, but after having sex with him you might even say that I love him more than before."

Paul: "The way Christian usually behaves toward me, the responsibility I feel for him, the love he gives me, the interest he shows in me—all this is just so beautiful that I would put sexual satisfaction in second place." (1979, 167-180)

For the boy the sexual aspect may be of paramount importance. The beginner discovers that an adult is more skilled and better able to arouse his lust and bring it to greater satisfaction than an inexperienced age-mate (Sandfort 1979, 221). For a sensitive initiation, a loving adult is the better partner.

In the beginning many boys, especially younger boys, prefer to take the passive role, just letting their friend bring them to orgasm. With time, however, their youthful, imperious sexual drive may transform them into resourceful and talented lovers. Men having regular intercourse with women as well as boys and "whose goal is pleasure frequently report more fun with boys than with wives." (Rossman 1976, 122) "Some boys are extremely imaginative in sex play, and I know of more than one wife who has benefited in bed by techniques her husband learned from his boyfriend." (Eglinton 1964, 441)

138 A "cautious and conservative junior high school teacher we shall call Mike Milkey" had "for twenty years kept his pederastic desires in check, priding himself on having never in his life crossed the line into illegal sexual activity. His many close pederastic friendships with boys had been chaste and platonic until he encountered a boy whose insatiable sexuality broke down all his inhibitions. The heady wine of his unfolding sexual experience with this enthusiastic boy transformed Mike into a sensuous pederast who can write, 'This marvelous experience would be worth twenty years in prison. It has been like a conversion experience for both of us. For the first time in my life I'm open now to all sorts of new erotic sensations. My relationships with women are much more satisfying and my boy is now a ladies' man no girl can resist.'" (Rossman 1976, 28, 29)

We have already seen that in the gay world shape and size of the penis is most important, the larger of the species being the most desired. This is even

more true among boys who haven't yet attained their full sexual development. "The anatomy and functional capacities of male genitalia interest younger boys to a degree that is not appreciated by older males who have become heterosexually conditioned." (Kinsey 1948, 168; cf. Reeves 1983, 21) A man, thus, is more exciting than an age-mate, for everything about him is bigger (Bernard 1979, 18, 21). Children "are curious about all the biological aspects of a man, his erectable penis, his soft balls" (Möller 1983, 93). Tony Duvert: "When I was only a small boy I strongly desired several adult men; on the beach and other places I felt a terrific hunger for them, and I sought substitutes in older boys (...) I fell in love with the smaller ones; my age-mates excited me, and we did all kinds of dirty things together, but it was the cocks of the older boys that thrilled me through and through while their buttocks left me cold. As for handsome men, I would have utterly abandoned myself to them at the slightest touch." "For an immense number of adolescents (and especially adolescent boys) the company of adults and their physical equipment are infinitely more alluring than that of their age peers." (Duvert 1980, 24-25, 89)

And an American: "I never feel that what I am doing is wrong. For one thing, the boys enjoy what they're doing. They may deny it, but they do all the same. A boy is not as choosy as an adult. Some adults have to have a mixture of Errol Flynn and Sean Connery to be happy—a boy is often satisfied with just a big erect penis to play with. It pleases him to handle an organ larger than his own." (Drew & Drake 1969, 213)

A French fourteen-year-old, "Oh, I'd always somehow dreamt about my age-mates, but last year I fell head over heels in love with my English teacher. He looks like you, a little. Then I realised I couldn't get excited about boys my own age any more, but adults, on the other hand... I need adults; I desire them..." (De Brethmas 1980, 79) A Dutch youngster describes fooling around with his comrades at the age of ten: "There was this man, and he started to join in our games. Also sexually. We thought it was quite exciting, to do this with an older man with such a big cock." (Sandfort 1979, 126)

"The erect sexual organ and the way it works have a symbolic meaning for men, and especially for boys. (...) To the boy the man's phallus thus stands for his bigness, his power, his capacity to dominate, his strength, his courage, his wisdom, his knowledge, his mastery over men and his possession of attractive women, to love them and be loved by them. It is the symbol of victory and everything else that impells a boy to look up to a man such as he wishes he were himself." (Vanggaard 1969, 48-49). This fascination with the phallus was never better put than by Michel Tournier (1975, 123). "I'm like the Africans, wanting a black Mother of God, or like the Tibetans, wanting a slit-eyed infant Jesus, and I cannot imagine God otherwise than as a male member, high and hard, erected upon a pedestal of its two testicles, a

monument of virility, principle of creativity, holy trinity, idol with trunk, fixed exactly in the centre of the human body, half way between head and feet just as the Holy of Holies is situated in the Temple half way between transept and apsis, miraculously uniting silklike softness and muscular hardness, a blind, vegetative, dream-like power, but also a clear-sighted, calculating hunter, a paradoxical fountain in its turn ejaculating ammoniac urine, accumulation of all the body's impurities, and sperm, instrument of war, unicorn, catapult, but also trilobate flower, symbol of glowing life."

"When we look at the classic Greek statue the penis seems like a kind of accidental appendage, the innocent part of a body which we otherwise admire for its power and muscularity, the harmony, pose, action and expression which the sculptor has bestowed. Were the penis in erection, however, it would absorb all these qualities into itself, destroying the aesthetic effect of the whole. An erection draws too much attention, and unmistakably sexualises the body. The centre of gravity of the figure shifts to this demonstrative centre, to this raised and tended member behind which the man stands in all his power. It becomes the centre of potency in every sense. In so far as it possesses an aesthetic value, this consists of its frightening and imposing beauty." (Linschoten 1953, 101-102)

Just looking at a penis may make a boy willing.

139 "I was standing behind a tree beside a lonely road playing with my penis, which is very large. A fifteen-year-old messenger-boy passed by on his bicycle and caught sight of it. His face, I saw, immediately got very red. He put on the brakes, stopped, stood as though transfixed, staring at it with bulging eyes. 'Do you want to touch it?' I asked—'Come!' He didn't say a word, but as I turned and walked back into the woods he followed me, pushing his bicycle. Back in the bushes where we couldn't be seen, I brought out my cock again and he took it very carefully, almost with veneration, in his hand. 'Let me see yours,' I said. 'But it is much smaller,' he said, immediately, however, unbuttoning his trousers. I took hold of it. 'You rub mine!' 'Am I doing it right?' Soon my seed shot out of it. 'Wow, what a lot of come!' "(Personal communication)

140 Someone wrote on the wall of a Parisian lavatory, "The first man to fuck me was my gym instructor. I was 15 and he was 30. One day on the playing field I kept staring at his thick cock and his balls, clearly outlined in his small, white slip. He got the message, then he ordered us all to lie down on our backs. And the whole time we were exercising in this position he stood with his legs spread apart above my head, and his hairy cock excited me so strongly that I got a hard-on. When practice was over he asked me to bring a notebook to his study and wait for him there. As soon as he came into the room he locked the door with his key, came over to me and stood by my side, took my hand and rubbed it over his cock. I was terrifically excited; I felt his

cock getting harder under my fingers, and now I began on my own to mess about with this big thing. Tenderly he started to undress and fondle me. When I was naked at last he stripped off his pullover and, taking my hand, taught it to fondle his muscular, hairy breast. His cock was so stiff that its tip peeped out of his slip. Now he took it completely out, and I saw his..." Here the text breaks off (Ernest 1979, 108).

Many a boy's wishes, however, aren't limited to this purely sexual aspect but expand to broader and more lasting components of relations with an adult: affection, being accepted, warmth, feeling protected, status and satisfaction of other impulses (Sandfort 1980, 190; De Brethmas 1979, 19). Boys have an enormous craving for attention; thus it is most enjoyable just to be with an adult who listens to and is interested in what he is saying (Hennig 1979, 157). Baurmann, analysing over 8,000 cases, found that children accepted sexual relations with adults "because the child is lonely and doesn't feel sufficiently loved and understood by his parents; because he is grateful that an adult cares and talks to him seriously; because the child has needs and desires which have been neglected; because the sexual contact may satisfy unconscious sexual desires of the child; because the child hasn't received accurate sexual information and is now curious and wants to know more about sexuality." (Baurmann 1983, 714)

Among the child-lovers studied by Pieterse, 99.3% saw affection as a motive for the relationship; 95.9% mentioned the attention of the adult; 95.3% feelings of being protected, of being safe; 87.8% sex; 76.4% excitement and adventure; 44.3% protest against parents; 42.6% gifts, money, candy and snacks; 38.5% feelings of superiority; 32.4% showing off (1982, II-23). Well-off adults seldom realise the extent to which boys, especially from the lower classes, enjoy being courted by elderly gentlemen: they may even be ready to prostitute themselves in order to bring this about (Kentler 1978, 145).

In a steady relationship the boy will certainly want more than just sex. A purely sexual relationship becomes, after two or three weeks, quite tedious (Hennig 1979, 156-157).

141 Philippe told Jacques de Brethmas: "With you, I've the feeling you're a real friend: there's more involved than just 'doing it'. With others it seems that's all they're interested in. As far as they're concerned I'm just an arse. I remember the second man I went with —I'd already stripped off my clothes and he didn't even know my name! But when I do it with you it's not like we're doing something wrong; we do it just like we do other things, because we're friends not just for that but for everything else, too." (1979, 109)

142 Thomas, whom we have already quoted in conversation with Hennig, says, "A boy likes to get around, to do things. He doesn't want to stay at

home. If he likes being with you it's often because there is some kind of trouble in his family. Perhaps he has no father, or his parents don't pay much attention to him, or they meddle too much in his affairs. The boy wants to get something from you that is different from what he gets at home; there is something he wants to get away from. If you create a family atmosphere in your home, if you tell him to sit down and stay there, if you tell him not to touch some apparatus because he'll break it, forbid him to open the window because he'll catch cold, he may come to your place once or twice but then he'll stop. And he's right. You have to offer the boy something he doesn't get at home. You don't have to be calculating about it, but if you know the rules of the game you'll do all you can to make him happy so he'll keep coming back. I suppose it is a kind of trap, but on the other hand I believe you give him a lot, too." (1979, 156-157)

One of Leonetti's subjects believed that many boys don't dare to get to know boy-lovers until they are fifteen. Since sexual activity reaches its maximum at age sixteen, they are already then very active. Later their interest will gradually shift toward girls. In their sexual relations they are, of course, seeking pleasure, but also, and more importantly, support and security (1978, 224). When a boy really falls in love with an adult, "he'll admire him like a brother, like a father, like the adult he wants to become himself," to quote Thomas once again (Hennig 1979, 154).

It is through just this sexual contact that a boy so often finds the sense of security he desires. Fourteen-year-old André says, "When I lie naked in his arms and he does it to me, I feel so safe, so secure." (Sandfort, 1981, 61) No wonder, for in the act of sexual conjugation the loving man gives all his attention to the boy, demonstrates his respect for the boy's desires and feelings as the two of them work together to excite one another's lust. The sexual act makes the boy more aware of his own value as a human being (Sandfort .1981, 61; De Klerk 1974, 144), and, as it does, brings up to the surface, often unexpectedly, his "stock of tenderness".

143 "Sam was a poor black boy. Fatherless, he spent his boyhood in children's homes where he suffered every kind of racial discrimination. His pride and joy was his muscular physique, very well developed at fourteen, the age when I got to know him. You couldn't roughhouse with him as you could, to their delight, with other boys, because he was too rough and didn't control his strength: without really wanting to, he would pound his partners black and blue. At last he returned to his home and very quickly thereafter he started getting into trouble. I never had sex with him during this period, despite his good looks. Then one day, after he had turned sixteen, he dropped by for a visit. His athletic coach wanted to write an article on karate illustrated with photos of Sam in the various positions. Would I take the pictures? I was happy to, so, stripped down to his shorts, he posed, and I admired his

muscular brown body, sturdy as a boxer's. After I had finished I asked, 'Can we take some nude pictures, too?' 'Yes, that would be nice!' And right away he kicked off his shorts and proudly revealed his large, well-shaped penis. After a few more shots he said, 'Wait a minute, I'll make it stiff—that's even better.' At last he was posing with a full erection, lying prone on the bed. I put my camera away, undressed and lay down at his side. Immediately he took me in his arms, pressed his naked body against mine and started to caress me. Then he went to work on my genitals, taking them in his hand, and now I was really surprised, for nobody had ever done this so softly, so tenderly, touched me with so much refinement as this coarse boxer. He was the last person I would have expected to show such delicacy and consideration. The whole experience left me with an unforgettable feeling of sweetness." (Personal communication)

Not every boy reveals his inner feelings as nakedly as Sam. Some pretend—not just to other people but to themselves as well—that they're only doing it for money or gifts, never admitting how much they enjoy abandoning themselves to the ecstasy of sex and experiencing the tenderness of an adult. But in their behaviour, even the younger boys hardly act like "victims of male lust", as they are invariably and sensationally described in the media (Bender & Blau 1937, 514; Burton, 1968, 88). Certainly wherever feelings of friendship exist, the sexual activity means a great deal more to the boy than the satisfaction of his sexual needs (in itself a benefit!): where the relationship goes beyond the casual meeting and grows into a lasting bond, it is the base upon which love can be built.

In his novel *Antinous Geliebter,* Ulrich Stöwer has Epictetus, the philosopher, write a deeply reflective letter about this to Emperor Hadrian, who has just made love for the first time with thirteen-year-old Antinous: "As for your friend, he just did what every boy of his age would have done. He was asleep, and you awakened him. But he didn't really wake up right away, and for some time he walked at your side as if in a dream. You were his guide, and without you he would have gone on sleeping for a few more years, after which he would have awakened to an average life. As soon as he perceived you as his guide, his immediate response was unlimited trust and gratitude, expressed with what you call love. And it was love, for how else can a child possibly show he's grateful? But, my great friend, you know as well as I do that this childish love is different from the love of adults. Most importantly, it is more fleeting. It decreases as a child grows into a man, as he becomes more and more conscious of his power and opportunities. As he grows up he doesn't think about this, and it would be most unfortunate if he did: it would stunt all human and moral progress. Because he doesn't reflect, he accepts the benefits bestowed upon him, even true love, as things which simply, and rightly, exist, which put no obligation upon him, especially since he didn't ask for them.

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Since to a youth it seems only natural to receive rather than to give, and since real friendship has to be based upon a mutual exchange of the heart, the senses and the intellect, we must ask ourselves to what degree a friendship is possible between two people so substantially divergent in their capacities. You must always keep in mind that you are not not equals and you will never be equals. Your friendship arises from precisely this inequality." (Stöwer 1967, 160-161)

The Ancient Greeks, as we have seen, considered sex between a man and a boy quite normal; they thus recognised the possibility of an adolescent boy fulfilling the two roles of favourite of a man and active lover of a somewhat younger boy. In Xenophon's *Symposium,* Kritoboulos says he is glad he is young enough to attract adult lovers—and then proceeds to describe how much he is in love with his age-mate Klinias. And Plato mentions an adolescent who is so beautiful that all men and boys—even the smallest boys—follow him with their eyes (Foucault 1984, 214-215).

An intimate relationship with an adult, however, has far more importance for a boy than such a relationship with a contemporary, even though its physical expression is the same. The partners engage in the same sort of sexual activities. It is amazing, therefore, to see how obstinately "experts", like most parents, police officers, prosecutors and judges, draw such a sharp distinction here: whatever happens between boys is more or less tolerated today, or given little real importance, but the moment an adult takes the boy's penis in his hand or his mouth, this is viewed with alarm: the act now becomes pernicious (Dolto 1979, 84). There is no reason whatever for making such a distinction (Matzneff 1977, 140; Passay 1979, 44). The handling of a boy's penis by an adult may actually cause a keener pleasure, because older persons are often more intent on satisfying the lust feelings of their partners than are younger people (Max et al 1980, 72).

In an article in *The Village Press*, mention is made of Paul Stanley, a 47-year-old Roman Catholic priest: "He has yet to see proof of psychological damage resulting from man-boy sex that did not involve force, prostitution, physical revulsion, or incest—and, having seen no proof, is loathe to condemn it (...) 'I found the best way to calm down a gay man who wanted to kill a pederast was to probe his own experience. Many of them had had sex with men while they were growing up, and when I asked them about it they said, "It was wonderful. In fact, I was a horny little bastard and I seduced the guy!" ' " (Rose 1978, 18)

So we are now confronted with the problem of who takes the initiative. In his investigation of 25 young partners, Sandfort became convinced that what adult boy-lovers had told him in a prior research project came closer to the truth than what was to be found in the scientific literature on the subject. He makes a persuasive distinction: if the boy is already experienced with other lovers, or has been taught by a more experienced comrade, or has been told

that a particular man likes to have sex with boys, he will often rather easily take the initiative. If, on the other hand, the boy is completely naive, the man then, of course, has to make the first moves (Sandfort, 1981, 48, 91-92).

The Speijer Committee, appointed by the Dutch government in 1969 to give expert advice about a proposed reform in the penal law, concluded that it was wrong, in this context, to use the negatively loaded term "seduction". It would be preferable to speak of "initiation". And we shouldn't forget that this is an initiation which, for the most part, young people expect and consciously anticipate with great excitement and ardour (Speijer 1970, Section 7.9).

The homophobic taboo, however, often forces boys to go through a variety of rather comical acts. Sometimes a boy will pretend sleep, even when the man's penis penetrates his anus and is thrusting in the full flood of passion into it; later he will insist that he never knew what had happened (Valentine 1979, 22-23). Even when not pretending sleep, boys may act indifferent and rather passively allow the man to suit himself without really participating or resisting.

144 "During the rush hours I paw nice boys in the underground. Nearly all of them let me have my way, and I get a hard-on. Sometimes I'm successful in getting my hand completely into their pants and then they ejaculate in my hand." (Ernest 1979, 133)

145 Stan, 20 years of age, tells how one night his father took him to a park to listen to a boys' choir. He was standing close behind a man of about 60 and he felt "how this person's hand went in the direction of my crotch. I got a hard-on, sure, and I let him fondle me for an hour, actually an hour and a half. I pulled down my zipper and let him caress me—yes, the whole time, as I was listening to those sweet little sopranos! Afterwards we went home by the metro, and I thought what a really big joke it was that I had let myself be fondled like that without my father or sister having the faintest idea what was going on right next to them. I was only twelve at the time." (Schérer 1979, 241)

Other boys will delude themselves that what they are doing has no connection whatever with homosexuality, which they find abominable.

146 Every school day two fifteen-year-old high school boys went to the home of a teacher, with whom they were on intimate terms, in order to receive some extra tutoring. They also enjoyed having sex with him. As soon as they were in his house they would strip naked, do their homework with him, and then lie down on his bed, where the teacher had sex one day with one, the next day with the other, while the odd boy out looked on and masturbated himself to climax. One day the two boys arrived on the teacher's doorstep very

obviously upset. They said that while crossing a park they had met "one of those queer bastards" who had propositioned them. "Well, we gave him a good beating up, to teach him *we* weren't queer," they said, at the same time stripping off their clothes for their daily all-male sex games. (Personal communication)

It is hardly exceptional for this inner struggle to be revealed in boys' behaviour. It is often more noticeable in the essentially homophile boy than in the predominantly heterophile youngster (Nichols 1976, 91; Oskam 1980, 41). For the first it is, indeed, a step toward adult sex life as it now begins to shape itself. For the heterophile boy, on the other hand, it is just an experiment, albeit a lustful one, but little more than a casual occurrence. Just as the heterophile is so often shy and hesitant at his first coital act with a female, so the homophile boy may be timid and afraid at his first intimacy with a man. One of Hite's gay subjects said that, if somebody would have tried to touch him when he was about 14, he'd have raced, not walked, away (1981, Dutch edition 686).

147 One of Bloch's subjects had realised since the age of six that he was sexually attracted to adult men. During his adolescence he charmed a girl into falling in love with him and had sex with her, quite aware of the fact that he was driven only by physical lust, not by love. "It was during this time that I saw in a public lavatory an elderly gentleman whose appearance made a deep impression on me. He looked me over, then bent cautiously forward to see my penis. He drew closer to me, moved his lightly trembling hand... and touched my member. I was so shocked, so terrified, that I fled the place, and for some time I didn't dare return. But my desire to meet this stranger grew stronger and stronger, and finally this proved not to be so difficult after all." (Bloch 1909, 547)

148 A fourteen-year-old would always try to look at the penis of the man standing next to him in public conveniences. Often, when he was aware of what the boy was doing, the man would turn so that the boy could have a better view. Then one day a man actually took hold of the boy's penis in his hand. Alarmed, the boy shouted and swore, but even as he was running away he began to regret what he had done. The next day he went back, consciously hoping the same thing would happen again, and when it did he accepted it without any fuss (Leonetti 1978, 194).

Boys who are mainly interested in girls will much more easily accept a casual contact with a boy-lover than those who are predominantly homophile. Schofield (1965, 93) asked a number of heterophile and homophile adults, all of whom had had homosexual experiences, how old they were when they had their first experience. Their responses are shown in Table 13.

Evidently the inhibition is stronger in early adolescence in homophile boys, for they may experience strong desires for same-sex contacts from a very early age. In a research investigation of 1600 French gays (mostly males), 50% stated they had longed for homosexual activities before they were 10 years of

Table 13. Age of First Homosexual Contact (Schofield, 1965)

First homosexual contact	Heterophiles	Homophiles
12 years or younger	25.9%	27.0%
13-16 years of age	55.5%	33.3%
17-20 years of age	7.4%	31.2%
21 years or older	11.1%	8.3%

age, and 70% had had those longings between 10 and 14 (Lacombe 1984, 33). The inhibition is overcome only when the sexual appetite grows too compelling, or when a boy has reached a degree of self-acceptance as a gay male. Then the event is significant and decisive.

149 In a research project carried out by the Institute of Social Psychology at Groningen State University, a 16-year-old declared, "I had sex with a man of 28. It wasn't strange at all, for I was quite aware of being gay... But it was so completely different. You're suddenly swept into a fresh, new world. Immediately I had the feeling, 'This is the real thing; now I'm where I belong; I'm on the right road at last.' " (De Koning & Blom-van Rens 1969, 16, 11)

With heterophile boys the chief inhibition is homophobia—the fear of becoming a "queer" or being regarded as such by his peers.

150 Jacques de Brethmas was in trouble with a gang of nine 15- to 17-year-olds in his neighbourhood. They shouted "Queer!", "Pig!", "Skunk!" at him and threatened him whenever their paths crossed. But gradually, persevering, using all kinds of stratagems, he succeeded, one by one, in enticing each of them to his home. On their own, isolated from their gang-mates, they proved to be pleasant, friendly boys and were soon willing to become sexually intimate with him. In fact the sexual intimacy pleased them so much that they started to bring along friends and younger brothers to share in the fun. Still, with their gang-mates they maintained the utmost secrecy about their intimacies, and the gang as a whole continued to be hostile: only the shouting of insults stopped (De Brethmas 1980, 200).

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BISEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

Misgivings about being converted into a homophile himself may evaporate as soon as the boy has had intercourse with a girl and has ascertained for himself that he functions "normally". If there is sufficient opportunity for heterosexual sex, most boys will look for satisfaction that way; if not they may turn to a male friend.

151 Eric is still occasionally visited by his former boy-friend, now seventeen. "He then wants to have a good round of sex with me, like we used to. This happens when he has played with a girl physically but hasn't made love, and for this he needs me. I don't think with another boy I would go along with such an arrangement, but, because of our former relationship, it seems all right to me." (Sandfort 1979, 177)

152 "While fondling me he's talking about his girl-friend," Saint Ours says of his young friend (1973, 98).

153 "Never underestimate the potency of many 15-year-olds. I knew one who would ejaculate with his girl twice in one evening and then would be at my house within an hour of taking her home, acting as if he were sex-starved," says a boy-lover, quoted by Rossman (1976, 143).

An experienced boy-lover may know quite well that an initial refusal is far from being final, that, in fact, it only serves the purpose of keeping up an appearance of being "normal".

154 A tourist, guided around Lisbon by a handsome boy, invited the youngster, at the end of their perambulations, to a restaurant for a good dinner. Afterwards he proposed that the boy spend the night with him, but the youngster indignantly refused: "I have a girl-friend; I don't sleep with men!" The foreigner accepted this calmly, saying, "Well, let's meet tomorrow afternoon for another walk, then." The boy showed up right on time. They made the excursion, followed it with another dinner. When they had finished eating, the man said, "Well, good night. See you again tomorrow." "No," the boy said, "I'd like to come to the hotel with you!" In the bedroom the youngster immediately undressed without being asked to and, naked, approached the man, proudly pointing to his erection. He was very passionate in his love-making. The key to his behaviour was that sleeping with a stranger would be prostituting himself, but now that the man had shown he valued his company despite the lack of sex, the two were friends, and sexual intimacy with a friend was fine. (Personal communication)

155 (Continued from 142) In a vacation camp, Thomas met 13-year-old François. The boy was big for his age, well past puberty, and was furthermore

extremely intelligent. They got into discussions about literature and philosophy. Thinking François most attractive, Thomas managed to meet him again three weeks later. François saw at once that Thomas was falling in love with him, but he confided that "it" had happened to him once already, with a man, but it had been horrible and he never wanted to have an experience like that again. For the next three months Thomas and François lived in the same building, their bedrooms next to each other. The boy enjoyed kissing Thomas, but that was as far as the intimacies would ever go. Then they went on a trip together and suddenly, in a hotel room, François let himself go. Their relationship continued for two years, and at a certain point François, now fifteen, asked Thomas to take him from behind. At first the man refused, because for him this wasn't terribly important. But François insisted. "It was marvellous, and I believe it was the same for him, because he came at the same moment I did, and this certainly proves that something was going on inside him." (Hennig 1979, 151-153)

Ironically, it is sometimes just the traditional "law and order" upbringing that makes smaller boys so docile towards a sexual approach by adults. It is a well-established fact that the so-called "child-molester" is usually no stranger but in 70% to 80% of the cases a member of the family, a neighbour, a teacher, a friend of the parents, or someone with whom the child has long been acquainted (Albrecht 1964, 2; Baurmann 1979, 103; Gebhard 1965, 817; Kerscher 1978, 152; Lafon 1961, 97; Niemann 1974, 115; De Wind 1969, 78). Now if the child has been inculcated with the belief that he has to be polite to adults, never to contradict them and always to do as he is told, he is likely to put this to practice when an adult he is familiar with asks him to feel his penis or undress (Duvert 1980, 43; O'Carroll 1980, 145). Other parents impart a lesson to their sons quite at variance with its intent: by making all that is pleasant and nice forbidden and evil, the boy easily comes to a most logical conclusion—everything that is prohibited must be nice. Since every child is told not to go with a stranger, he may get the idea that the mysterious stranger has something nice in store for him (De Brethmas 1980, 93). Especially open to such ideas are boys whose sexual education at home has been repressive and to whom "the whole domain of sexuality has been taught to be out of bounds for children" (Van der Kwast 1968, 75-76).

Since in pre-pubertal boys curiosity is a powerful incentive (Groffmann 1962, 165), and since its strength is a measure of intelligence, bright boys are, on average, more willing to be initiated than the duller ones (Gerbener 1966, 88; Niemann 1974, 98; Wegner 1953, 57). On the other hand, they are also better able to defend themselves against unwelcome sexual advances and assault (Hanack 1968, 91).

In some long-term relationships, sexual intimacies may arise only very gradually. They may even be postponed for a long time.

156 A Dutchman used to share a bed regularly with a ten-year-old boy, and in the course of time he came to love the lad deeply. But the child had once been sexually assaulted by a man in a most brutal way and this left him with a mortal fear of sex. Only after a year and a half did the man dare touch his little friend in an intimate manner. The boy accepted this without any problem, and so put behind him his traumatic experience. (Personal communication) This case is quite similar to that of François (No. 155).

But the male sexual appetite is so imperious that not rarely the first opportunity which presents itself is exploited.

157 "A well-known gay writer I know (...) once advertised for sex with teenage boys. He met a 14-year-old who was quite attractive, but my friend was most disturbed when the boy immediately pulled out his own cock and wanted to see and touch the man's cock within moments of getting in his car. The man wanted courting and romance first; the boy wanted to get to the genital point." (Reeves 1983, 21)

In criminal trial records we come across all kinds of "explanations", often rather peculiarly worded, of how the accused managed to make the boy willing—gifts, enticing him to a certain place, asking for a service, pretending to give sexual instruction, using obscene language, showing obscene pictures, presenting himself as the kind of person who could be trusted, as Niemann (1974, 128) lists them. They show rather clearly that threats and violence are nearly never employed, and that the majority of the so-called "victims" don't have to be "made willing" but are spontaneously ready for the experience or have even taken the initiative. As Groffmann, a forensic medical expert, put it (1962, 164), "Many children and young people meet the offenders with affective willingness conditioned by the evolution of their natural needs."

158 In a letter to a friend a British seaman told how on Pitcairn Island in the Pacific (where the famous mutineers of the *Bounty* went to settle) he met a fourteen-year-old white boy by the name of Donald. He told the boy he had some magazines with pictures of naked women, and Donald, who had never seen such pictures, insisted on going on board ship with him. "When this boy saw the nude girl pictures his eyes went like organ stops. For half an hour the boy sat and through these two nudist magazines he went over and over again. And all the time he had a beautiful erection showing through his thin cotton shorts. So I went to work on him. He had never heard of homosexuality or masturbation, but, if it was 'sex' he would like to try it. So he stripped naked and I done everything to this 14-year-old except penetration. For two hours solid we played around and this boy quivered beautifully, especially when he made sperm (5 times) and he was exquisite to kiss from the lips down. After I finished my love-making on him he just lay on my bed, legs apart, and

murmuring over and over again 'Beautiful, beautiful'. And believe me, he was beautiful, to make it beautiful. He requested one more round, we tried but he couldn't make sperm the sixth time round and my jaws and arms just felt like dropping off with wear and tear." This letter was accompanied by four pictures showing a fine, sturdily-built boy with fully developed genitals. (Archives of Brongersma Foundation)

Provoking a boy's heterosexual response is a very common device. The man shows him pictures of naked women, alone or having sex with men or each other, or he projects movies of such scenes, realising that any boy in sexual arousal wants to do more than just watch: his penis will be crying to be handled. An American with a lot of experiences, John Valentine, advises the boy-lover to bring up the subject of sex in conversation: "We'd ostensibly be talking about balling chicks and how to improve one's performance, and I'd describe and demonstrate things that feel good, showing him both how to do them and how they feel. Nothing compromising to begin with, but progressing at a rate established by the boy. Progress was usually total. (Often in a well-directed discussion of homosexuality, a boy will allow as how he'd kind of like to try it, but didn't know how to go about getting it done. But not often enough). (...) It's always good to establish early that (when it comes to it) you don't generally go in for this kind of thing, but such is the strange & powerful attraction this exceptional boy exerts on you that you just can't help yourself. (...) (In this connection, it furthers one to be 'bisexual.' Many boys who'd never bed down with a faggot have no such prejudice against bi's)." (Valentine 1979, 150-152) The man must not appear over-eager—and by no means sentimentally enamoured, because this frightens a boy, as Hirschfeld (1914, 542)% observed many years ago. He should treat the boy neither as a child nor an adult, for he is in a transitional stage (De Brethmas 1979, 76). Valentine recommends that you be "warm and avuncular." "You can seduce a boy by awing him with your wisdom (this is the Guru ploy) or by making yourself the object of his hero worship. (...) You cannot seduce a boy who doesn't admire you. (...) Diffidence is no aid to seduction. If you can't bring yourself to ask for what you want, you're unlikely to get it. (...) The boy must be put at ease before you can begin. He should feel comfortable, and be glad to be with you. (...) It must be obvious that nothing you might do would be disgusting, etc., that you would never hurt him." The man may help the boy in finding excuses, such as a massage. If he has a little alcohol (not even enough to feel it) he can pretend to himself afterwards that he was drunk. Easiest to conquer, Valentine concludes, are the horny ones, the curious, the tired, the poor, those who feel appreciated; more difficult are the frightened, the very insecure, the defensive, the exhausted, the middle-class or rich, the pure intellectuals (1979, 150-155).

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Desire for coitus with a woman can drive a boy who has just become sexually mature into a frenzy. If he has allowed an older friend into his confidence, he might implore the man to furnish him the opportunity he is unable to create himself, thus following the classical example of Theseus who, at sixteen and so fresh looking that people on the streets took him for a girl, seduced old Minos in order to sleep with his daughter (Peyrefitte 1977, 194-195).

159 One of Rossman's subjects told him, "When boys ask why I'm not married, I say because I like both boys and girls and the law won't let me marry one of each (...) When I see a boy who is stunned by this, I may say: 'I'm going to bed tonight with a girl who'd just love to have you join us. You want to make it a threesome?' That's an invitation that's rarely refused. Almost any boy of fourteen to sixteen is likely to go wild at that suggestion no matter what his moral or sex education has been. People who say that one could never persuade a really masculine boy to do this or that have obviously never tried giving him a cute girl to enjoy while doing it." (Rossman 1976, 209)

160 (Continued from No. 104) Eighteen-year-old Alcide: "There's a man with whom I afterwards became very good friends. At the very beginning he used a girl in order to seduce me. I was thirteen at the time, and he knew I sort of wanted to sleep with a girl. So he said to her, I know, 'Look, you entice Alcide to your room, then I'll come to you and sleep with him, and so on.' Thus it was arranged, and I had just started to have sex with the girl when he joined us and we turned it into a threesome. It was a sort of charade we had cooked up together, he and I, to involve a third person in our relationship. But when you get right down to it, we had a love relationship, not just a sexual one. I was head over heels in love with this man. I felt a very close bond with him, just as you always do when you're in love with someone. So when people claim that children of thirteen, fourteen are unable to love and have normal sexual intercourse and so on, I believe they're completely wrong. At thirteen you can have regular sexual intercourse just as well as anybody else, with girls and with men." (Schérer 1979, 264)

Alcide, in retrospect, doesn't complain about this ploy. Nevertheless, such tricks should be rejected on principle. Not only do they end up ultimately frustrating both partners, as Kentler perceptively observes (1970, 173), but they are indicative of a fundamentally immoral disrespect for the younger partner. And the man does not succeed in having the boy really abandon himself to him, only in receiving the boy's sexual favours in exchange for something else (a gift, money, drugs or chance for heterosexual coitus).

A married woman having sex with a boy, her husband finding out and then using the boy to satisfy his own lusts is a theme which in Antiquity

Apuleius wove into a fine story. Boccaccio later incorporated it into his *Decamerone.* Martialis pokes fun at a boy-lover who at first refused to marry Telesina because she was a whore—but made her his wife soon after he heard the rumour that she had a preference for boy-clients (II-49). In other epigrams this poet warns boys that they will have to expiate their intimacies with married women by means of their behinds or their mouths (II-47, 60).

161 Gerbener (1966, 83) reports the case of Reinhold. When the boy was thirteen he spent the summer vacation with a married couple. One morning when her husband was away the woman, who was 31, turned the conversation to the subject of sex and finally asked, "Will we have a try at it?" Reinhold immediately agreed, and they had intercourse. The woman told her husband about this, and the next three nights they had a threesome in bed.

THE END OF THE AFFAIR

Since most boys have the capacity to experience the joys of sex with a man as well as with a girl, this eases the gradual transition from homosexual activities to (exclusive) heterosexuality. Where a real love exists between man and boy, it is an evil hour for the older partner when his young friend tells him, with his face beaming, that he is now "going around with" a girl. This invariably presages the end of their erotic relations: the boy has grown up, and outgrown this kind of relationship. It is no use struggling against the inevitable. Quite the contrary: opposing it can only destroy what man and boy have built together and make a gradual reduction of the sexual bond, which is the best solution for both partners, impossible.

In ideal cases—O'Carroll (1980, 83) gives an example—sexual contact becomes less and less frequent. The boy continues to visit his friend, because this is an established pattern in his life, but it becomes ever more rare that such visits end in bed (Hennig 1979, 158).

In other cases the boy may bring about a sudden rupture, which may be caused by a variety of factors. Don't ask him, however, why he has done it, for no boy can ever explain his own conduct. He may, consciously or unconsciously, feel that his relationship with his girl is threatened (Lambert 1976, 107), or develop qualms about being disloyal to her by having sex with a third person. It might also be that he is so strongly pulled toward heterosexuality that he wishes to put a period behind the earlier homosexual phase of his boyhood. Or it could be just the opposite: he becomes aware that heterosexual activity gives him too little pleasure and sex with a man too much, so suddenly he is worried—is it after all true that you become gay for the rest of your life by having homosexual sex? Better stop it immediately and make yourself "normal" by having intercourse with a girl. Only very rarely will a boy give verbal expression to such feelings and doubts.

162 One sixteen-year-old Belgian boy did, and said to the man with whom he had been intimate for three years, "It is better for me not to meet you any more, because I know when I'm with you I'll want to do it again. Sex with you is so marvellous! It's much more delightful than with a girl. But it's better, healthier for me to limit myself to heterosexuality from now on." He succeeded quite well on his first attempt: he is now a husband and father—and can meet his old friend again from time to time as someone with whom he shares many wonderful memories. (Personal communication)

Another boy is fearful of his comrades' reactions were they to find out about his affair with a man.

163 Schérer (1978, 17) cites the case of a boy who liked to sleep with an adult. He had told his mother about it and she fully supported the relationship. But he became afraid he would draw the derision of two of his schoolmates whom he liked very much.

When a boy suddenly announces that he wants to stop their sexual contacts, the man's reactions are critical for the future of the relationship. His disappointment may be so great that he gets mad and says, "All right, if that's the case I don't want to see you any more." In so doing he destroys, with one blow, all the other good things which exist in their relationship. The boy leaves him, convinced that his big friend never really loved him as a person but only wanted his body as a vessel into which he could expend his lust. The rupture is complete, the separation final, and both feel deeply disappointed.

There is a better solution.

164 Ken lived as a bachelor in a little village some thirty miles outside of London, sharing a house with his elderly mother whom he loved very dearly. When she suddenly died from a heart attack, he was inconsolable: after her burial he became apathetic and just sat in his house staring blankly at the walls, neglecting himself and everything in his home. Suicide seemed the only solution. Now, it happened that, before his mother's death, Ken had frequently visited a swimming pool in a working-class quarter of London where he became good friends with a group of boys who used to meet there regularly. News about Ken's sad condition circulated among these boys, and one fifteen-year-old by the name of Ronny became deeply concerned. Ronny was the typical Cockney boy: strong muscles, an enthusiastic football player, somewhat rude and coarse in his manners but with a sensitive heart hidden in his rough exterior. His family were decent people, his home poor but well kept. Having lost his father at the age of five, he was affectionately close to his mother and sisters. The following Saturday afternoon Ronny hitch-hiked to Ken's village, rang the doorbell and declared simply, "I've come to help you clean up the house after the funeral. Where's the vacuum cleaner?"

When everything was put right and tidy again, he made Ken go with him to the supermarket to buy food. Afterwards they worked together in the kitchen preparing a fine dinner, then looked at television. When it was time to go to bed Ronny, in just as matter-of-fact a manner, stripped naked and crept into Ken's bed and had sex with him, the boy taking the active role. He was already experienced with other men, especially with a certain Jonathan whom he had once accompanied on a holiday trip.

After that Ronny returned every weekend. For Ken these were the high points of his life just then. "Ronny kept me from committing suicide; his love made my existence meaningful once more. I owe my life to him."

That summer I was a guest in Ken's house. Ronny was also there. Their relationship had now lasted for seven months. I saw Ronny looking at magazines with nude pictures and I asked, "What do you prefer, girls or boys?" He smiled, mischievously, and told me, "Boys!" and that he was crazy about the twelve-year-old brother of one of his friends. That evening Ronny willingly posed as a nude model for my camera, sporting a persistent erection the whole time. On my departure I invited Ken and Ronny to pass the Christmas holidays at my home.

They arrived on December 20th. Ken immediately took me aside and said, "Please don't make any allusion to Ronny's sexual past, because that will make him very angry. A month and a half after you stayed with me he suddenly declared that he didn't want to visit me any more, because he wished to put an end to all the sex between us. He had now found a girl. Of course this came as a heavy blow to me. But at the same time I told him I loved him dearly and he would always be welcome, even if there was no sex. Moreover, I promised to respect totally his decision and not try to make him change his mind. He was evidently very impressed by this and since then he has returned regularly for the weekends. At the moment he is somewhat exhausted, since yesterday he took leave of his girl-friend—that is to say they were naked in bed for eight solid hours making love to each other. Even for a boy as potent as Ronny this is quite a feat!"

The firm friendship between Ken and Ronny continued in this fashion for the next two years, devoid of erotic expression. Then suddenly Ronny received a staggering blow. The police accused Jonathan, the man with whom Ronny had been formerly intimate, of sexual activities with boys, but didn't have much solid evidence. Searching his home, however, they had come across Ronny's address and they now hoped to use the boy as their chief witness. Ronny denied everything, but the police weren't so easily put off. His mother and his guardian were informed, and they even forced Ronny to submit to a medical examination. For two months the detectives returned to Ronny's home every Saturday to question him. In their fanatic zeal "to protect children from corruption", they drove Ronny to despair. The boy became mortally afraid of his girl-friend and her family, of the whole neighbourhood being informed, and of himself breaking down under his tenacious lies. The healthy, happy boy changed in a short period of time into a miserable wreck, with pale, sunken cheeks and apathetic demeanour; he

seriously contemplated suicide as the only way out. At this point Ken intervened. With considerable risk and expense to himself, he managed to thwart further police meddling with Ronny. On the night when Jonathan's trial had reached its end, without Ronny being compelled to give evidence, with all dangers having at last been averted, the nightmare finally over, Ronny laughed for the first time in weeks and ate dinner with a hearty appetite; later he went to Ken's bedroom, stark naked, stated serenely, "A little bit of cuddling will be allowed now!" and slipped into bed beside Ken. The next morning Ken told me, "I've never spent a night like that, experienced such tremendous passion. Every time he came he started afresh—he was inexhaustible."

Thus the ultimate consequence of the police meddling was that Ronny resumed his forbidden sexual activities with a man, for from that night on he continued to have sex with Ken rather frequently. The fears which had caused the fifteen-year-old to terminate sexual relations with his big friend were no longer present in the seventeen-year-old who had adequately proved he could function as a full-fledged heterosexual. He now found that the heterosexual expression of his love for his girl-friend was quite compatible with a homosexual expression of friendship and gratitude.

A few years later Ronny married, and Ken was best man at the wedding ceremony. (Personal communication)

This story is rather typical. It is not at all unusual for a boy in such a relationship to suddenly one day put a stop to the sexual activity, but to return to his friend, also sexually, after a period of months, or even years. The only requirement is that the man show understanding and respect, and unchangeable affection.

165 One boy-lover was a close friend of a family with three sons spaced two years apart. The oldest, Didier, was a member of the secret society referred to in No. 105 where schoolboys, by putting an automobile badge on their jackets, signalled each other of their desire for mutual masturbation. When he was in a confiding frame of mind one day, Didier told the man about the sex club. The man said, jokingly, "But you never wear that badge when you come to visit me!" Immediately, with a big grin, the boy put it on and said he had always wanted to to it with a man but had never had the chance. After that Didier came every week to the home of his friend and had sex with him. And evidently he boasted to his brothers about it, for soon the second son, Eric, came to the man with the same desire, and later so did the youngest boy, Pierre, when he was twelve. Their parents didn't have the faintest idea of what was happening until Eric, now fifteen and probably more strongly drawn to homosexuality than were his two brothers, began to worry about his sexual makeup and finally told his mother. The parents were shocked and immediately forbade their sons ever to see the man again. Didier and Pierre vigorously denied that they had had sex with the man. They were so furious

about Eric's treachery that for one whole year they cut him out of all of their activities and wouldn't even talk to him.

About a year later Eric, now sixteen, presented himself on the doorstep of his former friend. At first the man refused to let him in. But the boy asked to be listened to, and when at last they were alone together in the man's room he burst into tears and begged forgiveness. The man replied, rather coldly, that he wouldn't blame him any longer for what he had done. Eric said, "There is only one way you can show me that you really forgive me," and before the man could stop him he threw off his clothes and ran to him naked with a big erection. The rest of their meeting took place in bed, where Eric made love with uninhibited passion. After that he returned regularly.

Didier was seventeen, Pierre fourteen, when a married woman, wife of a neighbour, initiated them into heterosexuality. Both boys then put a stop to sex with their male friend, saying they were now too old for it. But they continued to visit him and confided in him all their heterosexual adventures, discussing them in great detail and often asking for advice. More than a year passed in this manner. Then one night Didier arrived and as he talked he was obviously embarrassed about something, beating about the bush, until he suddenly blurted out, "Would you mind going to bed with me?" The man was quite surprised. "Of course I will, it would be a great pleasure. But I thought you didn't like it any more and only did it with girls." "Well," Didier declared a little coyly, "it's fine with a girl, but in bed they let you do all the work, and sometimes I'd just like to stretch out and let everything be done to me." One month later Pierre came to him, quite independently, with the same request. (Personal communication)

There are even instances of adult, married men returning one day to the intimate companion of their receding boyhood, starting a fitful conversation about the good old days, touching upon moments that had been so intensely enjoyable and finally bursting out with the proposition, "Let's do it for old time's sake, like we used to do it then." Their explanations are usually similar to that of Didier: with women you have to do all the work, and once in a while it's nice to be brought to climax passively.

THE BOY AS SEDUCER

We have discussed boys who were initiated into sexual activity by an adult man. They comprise, however, a small minority, for most have already had other kinds of sex experiences. In Sorensen's investigation (1973, 292) only 12% of the boys with homosexual experience had had their initial sexual contact with an adult partner. And even when the first partner was an adult, in two-thirds of the cases the activity was provoked by the boy himself (Gibbens & Prince 1963, 7). This conclusion was derived from criminal court statistics, and they certainly present a negatively skewed picture of what really goes on.

This will become obvious if we consider that nonconsensual contacts much more easily and frequently lead to judicial proceedings than contacts where the "victim" freely consents. Such statistics, then, are based upon a very biased sample and badly represent the phenomenon as a whole. Gebhard (1965, 293, 320) judged that the sexual activities of boys eleven years of age and younger were freely consented to by the boys, or even provoked by them, in 70% of the cases, and of boys 12 to 15 in 83% of the cases—this in the opinion of the investigating police officers who, in such affairs, are hardly biased in favour of the accused adult!

Many boys show their willingness beyond any possibility of doubt. Socrates in Plato's *Phaidros* describes the beloved boy as embracing the man in swelling desire, quite prepared to fulfill all his wishes (Buffière 1980, 630). Strato says in one of his poems that you have only to crook your finger at Menedemos and he'd say, "Show me the way; I'll follow you." (Anthologia XII, 184) "The youth's admiration for an older, stronger, and socially more effective male, and the man's desire to play the role of mentor and guide may set the scene for emotions that are easily eroticised." (Churchill 1967, 86; similarly Tripp 1975, 75).

"The melting beauty of a boy (...) Lines, curves, landscapes of flesh more exquisite than any female body shows, more graceful and alive, the strength of his beauty—and more than a body for mine to glorify, but a mind of equal beauty wanting always to be taught, to be to my mind what his body is to mine... To fuck a boy's just high-class jerking off; to make love to a boy you have to teach him something." (Valentine 1979, 89)

166 Moll (1909, 120) reports on a boy who even at the age of seven felt attracted to handsome males, especially soldiers, and experienced strong lust feelings when caressing them.

167 A ten-year-old Belgian boy had to make a bus trip of over an hour to visit his big friend. "As soon as I leave home to come to you I get a hard-on," he told the man. (Personal communication)

168 A Rotterdam teacher had given some sexual education to his elementary school class. A month later a big, blond twelve-year-old rang his doorbell and told him, "I'd like to have sex with you. May I take my clothes off?" (Personal communication)

169 A thirteen-year-old American read in a newspaper "that fags hung around men's rooms, so he went to the beach with his parents and hung around the men's room there; his patience was quickly rewarded." (Rose 1978, 18) A similar story is told by the Dutch author Jef Last (1966, 20). His mother warned her son to stay away from a certain Rotterdam park after dark

because "bad men" loitered there. So he went to that park repeatedly, hoping to be seduced, but never met with any success.

170 A fifteen-year-old German schoolboy, Wolfgang Bettge (1974, 2), published a poem in which he fantasises having run away from home. He gets on a train and shares a compartment with a man in his thirties, and soon he is talking confidentially with the man. The man invites him home. "Okay, I'll come with you," the boy immediately agrees, already looking forward to what is going to happen. Once inside the house the man says, "I'd like to sleep with you." The poem continues:

I said "Why not?"
So we went to the bedroom and switched off the light.
He lay down on the bed and said, "No objections?"
I shook my head and pulled off my clothes.
He was lying on the bed,
He looked handsome, and rather nice.
I went to him, he was very hot, and I sucked his big cock
While he was nibbling at the tip of mine
And spittle flowed out of his mouth.
And when I finally came
He went wild, but only for a moment, and afterwards he was paralysed.
There we were lying, the two of us, one with his own thoughts and the other satisfied.
But thinking it over afterwards in peace,
I had to admit it was just plain fun.

Everyone who has dealt with children knows how often their intense interest in sex makes them provoke a sexual response in others. The boys "often appear to be themselves much more emotionally involved than had previously been thought" (Lambert 1976, 88). It follows from "research and studies that the teenage youth seeking relations with older men is probably more often than not the aggressor" (Blake 1970, 39). A Dutch physician not long ago observed with more than a trace of irony that it was time we created a board for the protection of adults from sexual provocation by young people (De Wind 1969, 78). Child molesters no doubt exist, but there are grown-up molesters as well (Hertoft 1971, I-209).

Pre-pubertal boys and young adolescents love rough housing, because it provides them with skin and body contact. This so often leads to more overt sexual activity: a boy starts play-wrestling with his friend, gets an erection and makes sure that his opponent feels it. Or he simply "forgets" to button his fly after going to the bathroom and so draws attention to that part of his anatomy; if somebody makes a comment he might ask, frankly, "Do you want to see it?"

171 A man with a Jamaican father, English mother: "I was shown how to toss-off by a schoolmaster and another black friend at 13. (...) I got screwed by an older man, I've forgotten his age, about 35, I guess, when I was 15. I liked it and we were good friends and had sex for about a year. (...) Even at 15 I had a huge cock, it's 9 inches now. I knew I was bigger than anyone else I'd ever seen. (...) So I was very proud of it and showed it off hard whenever I could, even at 14. That's how the master got interested. I also picked up men and boys in parks and loos by flashing it big and hard." (Barrington 1981, 86)

A teacher at a New England prep school writes, "It's almost bedtime, and Phil appears in ripped pajamas which do little to hide his budding masculinity: 'Why do you always look down there, Sir?' A subtle grin, and the subject is switched to 'a letter I just got from my girl. You wanna see it?' I read the letter absently, kid Phil, run my knuckles down his backbone playfully. 'Do that again, Sir. That feels good...' " (Director of Admissions 1960, 39)

Some boys carefully set up their seduction by conversation:

173 Ted was an appealing boy of 15, one of twelve children from a "problem family" in America's rural midwest. He worked in a drugstore and one day he was dispatched on a delivery to the home of a 41-year-old customer, a bachelor by the name of Marvin. There Ted saw some scale-model ships which fascinated him, as model ship-building was his hobby. Marvin continues the story: "The next time I was in the drugstore, a week or so later, he commented again about the models, and said he would like to see them sometime. I told him to feel welcome to stop by." A few days later he did. "I could see the boy was lonely, and I saw no harm in being friendly toward him. He asked about the models, and sat for an hour or so looking through a couple of books I had on the subject. (...) After that, Ted came by half a dozen times or so, always when he finished work at night. I picked up a fairly simple kit for a boat model, and encouraged him to begin working on it. Other times we would sit and talk about his school work or things of that sort. Once he brought one of his school books with him, and asked me to help with some homework. I did. Most of the time I spent my evenings alone, and it was good for me to have someone to talk to. (...) It was about the sixth or seventh visit that sex came into the conversation. Ted asked if I had a girl-friend or anything like that. I dodged his questions about that, but a little later he asked if I had any brothers. I told him I had two. Then he asked me if my brothers had ever done things with me. I questioned him about this, and finally he told me that his two older brothers (16- and 18-year-olds) had used him at different times for sexual purposes. (...) Surprisingly enough, he didn't seem to mind his experiences with his brothers, even though he didn't care too much for either of them. Nothing happened that evening, but he was back the next, and he hadn't been there more than a few minutes when he asked if I wanted to 'fool around some'. (...) The fooling around, on this initial occasion, was mutual masturbation. On subsequent occasions, acts of

fellation took place, although Ted remained a passive partner in these acts. As to anal intercourse, however, the youth was a willing participant actively and passively, admitting that he had been instructed in the passive role of this act by his two brothers. (...) The relationship continued over a period of three years without any major problems" until Ted joined the U. S. Army (Banis 1966, 39-44).

174 A 14-year-old newspaper-boy started showing a conspicuous interest in the personal affairs of one of his customers "when he called to collect money for the papers he had delivered. He then began delivering the paper personally, instead of leaving it outside the door as formerly; the next step was a series of sly allusions to all the 'girl friends' that the man, a bachelor, must have. This was followed by allusions to his own sexual adventures and attempts to 'get a girl'. There were offers to run errands, excuses to enter the apartment, and the like. (...) Finally the boy one day, when the subject of conversation had turned to sex, displayed through his clothing an erection, calling the attention of the man to it. Sexual relations followed." (Coon, quoted by Eglinton 1964, 457)

175 A 32-year-old married sports instructor, employed at two German high schools, observed, "I'm constantly confronted by quite unambiguous attempts at sexual intimacy by boys, especially by the fourteen- to sixteen-year-olds. On trips and in campgrounds I often get into very difficult situations. I really couldn't reproach any gay colleague of mine if, in a similar situation, temptation got the better of him. I know that even straight men, especially in my profession, become victims of boys' tempestuous instincts." (Werres 1963, 241)

176 In half the cases of this kind, writes Worsley (1967, 124), an English teacher: "it is not the older one who makes the advances. There was one attractive, yellow-haired boy who over a space of time regularly used to barge into my bedroom in shorts and singlet, when he knew I was changing back from games; and when I met him later at a party in London, he wanted to know why on earth I hadn't taken advantage of his arrival. That was what he had come for! And this was far from an isolated incident."

177 Jersild (1964, 216) mentions the case of a Danish boy-lover who didn't dare turn on the lights in his home at night so that they could be seen from outside, because if he did there would immediately be boys knocking at his door wanting to have sex with him.

It is not even rare for a boy to sexually assault a man.

178 An English boy of sixteen, looking back on his first experience a year earlier, said that he knew exactly what he wanted but not how to go about getting it. One day when his family was away from home and he was alone

with his uncle he steered the conversation toward the subject of sex and then asked the man to do it with him. When his uncle refused the boy said he would start to yell for help. At last the man gave in and did what his nephew demanded. Over the next six months they had sex again on several occasions. The boy admitted later that what he had done to initiate the sexual activities might seem most reprehensible, but actually it wasn't so bad, for with sound intuition he had been convinced that his uncle had really wanted it, too, but was afraid to start anything because the boy was so young (Schofield 1965, 32).

On the other hand the inexperienced boy may have longings which at first he cannot clearly understand.

179 In a letter to the Parisian "Service for Children in Crisis", a boy wrote, "I'm fourteen. My parents are rather nice to me, but even so they're making my life awfully difficult. I'm in love with a young man of 22. We have to meet secretly. Our love is intense and enduring. It has overcome all moral, social and family objections. And I can tell you that I most definitely was not seduced by my lover. The seducer was really me."

He had met his friend in a holiday camp. "One night I found I couldn't take my eyes off him... I felt a strong urge to seduce him. He seemed so distant, in his adult world, with his authority. (...) But I didn't hesitate. You can't imagine how full I was with desire and love. Thinking back on it even now I start to shiver. Then one night we went for a walk—it was the first time he really saw me. We discovered each other, we swept each other along in the joy of our lust. And that's how I learned that there was such a thing as lust. My boyhood is going to last such a short time, and I want to enjoy it as fully as I can, but people make this impossible. Yet, when I think of all those things which happen in boarding schools, in holiday camps—all those people who do it secretly and yet are the first to act indignant and denounce others. The bastards! Or pathetic victims. I feel completely normal myself, and I find girls and boys equally nice to look at. Beauty and love are everywhere. But I have to be secretive, when I'd like to shout to the whole world and tell everyone what's so beautiful to me." (Boulin 1977, 40-41)

"No one, I think, will deny that a young boy may be lineally, plastically beautiful; many, however, only hide from themselves that he is desirable. Oddly the boy knows it, and may supplement the effect instinctively, often to an astonishing degree. Many parents neither know, nor believe this. Just how often it is the master who nearly seduces the boy, and just how often it is the boy (yes, nice, like yours) who nearly seduces the master, only someone who has taught at a prep school can tell you." (Toynbee 1961, 84)

Why, then, do most people still persist in talking about "those poor betrayed boys"? Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (1967, 68-69) advances several reasons. Where the boy has liked what happened to him he will keep silent about it,

and so it is much less likely that the people about him, the police and the courts will ever learn about it than in cases where the boy really was victimised, was frightened or traumatised and subsequently complained. And then, too, parents tend to regard their boys as sexually immature, even after they have entered puberty; they are thus usually not aware that their sons are in the most sexually active period of their lives and so don't see them as voluntarily seeking such contacts, especially contacts which they would consider deviant. Upon discovery they will sincerely, if conveniently, explain away the sexual activity by insisting that the child was the victim. Finally, "cases involving a close friend or relative are more likely to be dealt with through informal rather than legal means" which increases the general impression of people, and of the courts, that the older partner is usually a stranger who actually assaults the boy.

180 (Continued from 155) Thomas went to teach in the same boarding school where he had once been a pupil. "The first day a boy sat down by my side and asked, 'Back in your days did you use to fool around the way we do?' I didn't really know how to react to this, but I told him that this sort of thing always went on. Then he immediately brought up the subject of sexual play. I don't remember how this came up... oh, yes, now I remember: his friends teased him and said, 'Who are you going to sleep with tonight?' The boy felt sort of put down, especially because I was grinning, and what he actually asked was: 'What are you laughing at? Were they already doing the same thing back in your days?' I replied, 'Yes, they were.' He said, 'And did you take part in the fun?' I said, "Yes, that happened sometimes.' 'And do you still do it now?' And then I gave him an answer I should never have let out of my mouth: 'Sitting next to you like this, I'm asking myself the same question.' The boy said you don't talk about these things before you do them; you just do them. He took my hand a put it on his crotch. I simply didn't know what to do. I'm hardly shy, but... I found it rather embarrassing. (...) He was ten, maybe ten-and-a-half. (...) Vincent is today a married man." (Hennig 1979, 147-148)

Stories such as Heinz Birken relates in his book *Knabenträume* are not just wishful thinking!

181 "Tony was just thirteen and bore himself with a superb, solitary aloofness that completely disdained law and order (...) He skied all winter and sat in the Mediterranean all summer, and was solid gold in aspect as well as circumstance. In addition he was ravishingly beautiful. (...) To Tony all the instincts of the 'femme fatale' were first nature, and seemed to flow from deep inside him. By turns I suffered cruelly, the soft pedallings of retreat, streaks of an astonishing tenderness (quite years, I would have thought, beyond his age), and shattering tantrums of bitchiness. (...) Compared to Tony's technique, Sylvia's (a divorced nymphomaniac woman) was that of a frigid child; so

much vestigial coelocanth. Tony was no prudish boy. One of his more engaging habits was to hurl himself on to my knee whenever he found me in a chair. Once established he would snuggle down, and being Tony, would take and give a running commentary on the rate and significance of my pulse. I buried my nose hopeless in his hair." (Toynbee 1961, 85-86)

182 The boy's point of view is well depicted in the book *Drei Milliarden Perverse* (X, 1980, 55-56). The narrator was thirteen-and-a-half when he met a young man in a swimming pool and felt strongly attracted to him. They struck up a conversation. "This near-naked young man wearing only a triangular piece of cloth made it clear to me that everything about me betrayed my desire to sleep with him. I was so excited that all at once I asked him, 'What are we waiting for? Why don't we do it in your changing cabin?' He said, 'That's impossible—people would see. But if you come here next Thursday at the same time we'll get a cabin for two.' I dropped my eyes to those thighs, to that little black triangle... The cloth could hardly hide something thick and troublesome. That was all that happened then. We put on our clothes, left the pool together. (...) We talked for a few minutes. Then I boarded my bus. We never met again. Imagine how I felt all the next week. I kept trying to visualise his giant body: I would press myself against it, my head would go down to his belly and I would hide my face between his thighs. I would sniff the salty, crab-like smell of his cock, upon my lips feel the tenderness of its tip, crammed so full and swollen. It would be as though I was a little animal in his nest about to descend to the earth's depths. Was there in all of this—how shall I say it—tenderness, love? (...) Yes, it was love, I have to insist: my fantasies were not vicious; at that time I didn't know, as now, the painful separation between the way of tenderness and the way of sexuality. I would never, for example, have conceived the idea of jerking off while thinking about him. I was mortally excited imagining his naked body, his bronzed skin, his thighs, his mouth upon mine, his arms embracing me, his hands moving from my thighs upwards to my breast and then down again, and his warmth: being paired with him, he to me. How I dreamed about this contact of skin to skin! Would I ever find him again?"

183 Fourteen-year-old Bruno was a run-away from an orphanage. Jacques de Brethmas took him in without any ulterior motive. The boy had been roaming about in the rain, had eaten nothing for the past two days and was desperate. "He kissed me as he would have kissed his father, the father he never had had. He snuggled against me. I comforted him, cuddled him, fondled him like a baby. Then he got a hard-on. This was quite spontaneous, something which I hadn't tried to provoke—which proves how human nature, at this age, always prevails, that there is no boundary between the various phases of friendship and physical contact. (...) I was firmly determined not to make any erotic advance, just to see what would happen. I did nothing to guide his mouth toward mine, to make his hand slide beneath my shirt, over my naked skin. Meticulously I only did to him what he had first

done to me. Now he has loved me; I have loved him—we have loved us. I didn't suggest anything to him. He was still totally inexperienced, and yet he overwhelmed me. For he knew instinctively the meaning of a touch, its capacity to unite. He understood the essence of closeness of two persons. He was as one should be at fourteen: charming, delicate, pubic hair only a silky fluff, figure fine and spindle-shaped, gestures clumsy and graceful at the same time. He surrendered himself because he honestly wanted to give me all he had to give, which was himself. He was from start to finish the author of his own sexual initiation. I didn't ask him for anything; he did everything to me, spontaneously, as a matter of course, as if he had been doing it all his life." (De Brethmas 1980, 46-47)

184 David Thorstad, a 38-year-old American, wrote, "A few years ago, before I had really discovered an attraction for boys, I myself was seduced by a fourteen-year-old boy, without a word being said about sex. (...) I was not used to boys. I was afraid. In this case, if there was any seduction going on, it was he who was doing the seducing. Seduction is not bad in and of itself. Sometimes it's the best thing that could happen. I like what the Canadian lesbian writer Jane Rule has said about seduction: 'the problem is not to protect children from adult seduction, but to make adults easier to seduce'." (1980, 35)

185 One day a very handsome sixteen-year-old came to an artist and suddenly said, "You can draw me if you want."

"Yes, I'd like to very much."

"But I'm ashamed, because it's curved."

"Why? That's the same with every boy—it always hangs down with a curve!"

"No, I mean when it's stiff."

He had given himself away, and now he blushed, afraid. Nevertheless he quickly undressed and revealed a large penis, already erect, bending a bit to one side.

"May I touch it?" the artist asked.

"You can do anything with me you like!"

The artist fondled the excited member and in about two minutes it shot its seed with powerful jets while, at the same time, the boy's face tensed as though in great pain. Later he told the man that with girls, too, he always came that quickly; he had been having coitus now for several months. This boy's upbringing had been strict: his parents had given him very little freedom. But when he was only twelve he was already so sexy that he began to virtually throw himself at men and boys and ever since had been having regular homosexual contacts. Offering himself to this sympathetic artist marked the beginning of a relationship that endured for many years (Personal communication).

186 One of Bernard's subjects told him that, as a boy, he used to put on his smartest and cutest shorts and go out on the streets to attract men with the sight of his well-shaped legs, and then allow himself to be "seduced" by them (1979, 37). Likewise, a Frenchman claims that he has hunted men since he was fourteen: "I always got what I wanted." (Leonetti 1978, 203)

A fifteen-year-old boy even wrote a kind of manifesto which declared, "We, the younger ones, no longer want to be the game from which adult hunters can take their pick: the great majority of us wish to actively hunt men ourselves, and chose such of them as please us." (De Brethmas 1980, 12)

Once the rumour starts to circulate that a particular man loves boys, it may draw them like light does moths. When Jacques de Brethmas published his witty *Treatise on how to hunt boys* (1979) he received many letters, a number from boys. "A small minority call me a big, disgusting pervert abusing their ingenuousness, their honesty and a lot of other qualities they pretend to possess, which are quite inconsistent with the grossness of their insults. But a majority longs fervently to meet me, often backing this up by penning love letters and enclosing nude photos." (1980, 12)

187 In a working class district of a Dutch town the rumour spread that a certain man had been arrested by the police for "indecent assault" on boys. When he was sent home again, with the case dismissed, he was annoyed at how many people whispered about him and avoided him. But at night, after dark, boys came knocking at his door, one after the other. This one wanted his transistor radio inspected, the second had problems fixing his bicycle tyre, and so on—all kinds of excuses to come to him. (Personal communication) A Frenchman similarly reported that, home again after serving a prison sentence for indecent assault on a boy, he was simply besieged by boys hanging around him, loitering to meet him, looking for some reason to talk with him (Leonetti 1978, 223).

Given on the one hand this great willingness of many boys and on the other hand the great psychological susceptibility of men to sexual excitement (Frenken 1976, 49); add to that the fact that the average man is much more inclined than is a woman to become sexually active soon after meeting an attractive prospective partner; add further the social repression which renders long-lasting man/boy relationships especially difficult and dangerous, then it can easily be understood how an energetic, spirited, active man who is enterprising rather than timid, endowed with a strong sexual appetite, may have dealings with a considerable number of boys. Hajo Ortil, famous leader of a German youth group, once declared, "I believe during my life I have welcomed some 800 naked boys into my bed, all willing to be satisfied and to satisfy me. Now they've all grown to adult men. Not a single one of them ever

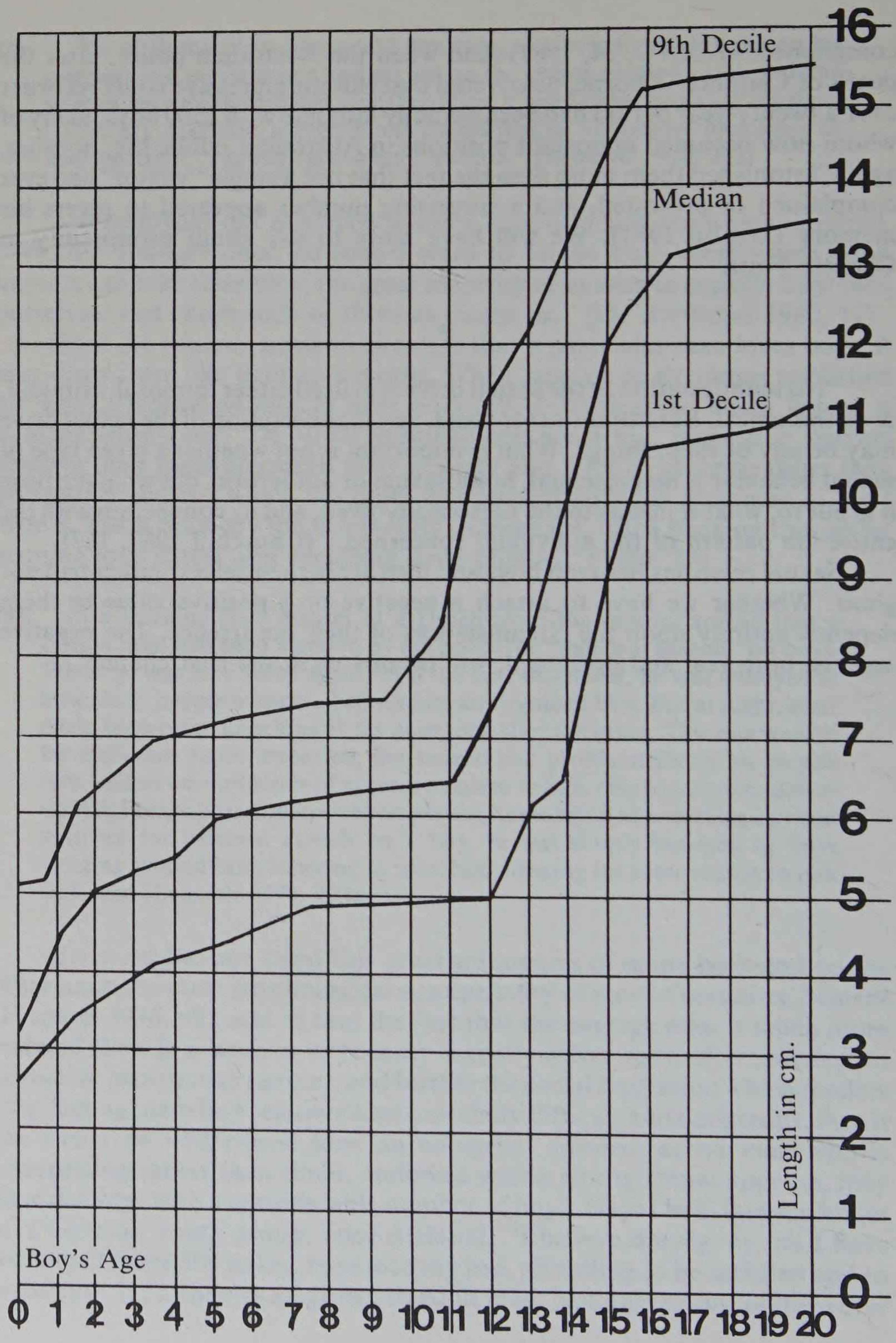
complained." *(PAN* 9, 24, 1981) And when the Australian police, after the death of Clarence Osborne, discovered that this unimpressive court recorder over a twenty-year period had been sexually intimate with 2500 boys, many of whom now occupied important positions in Australian public life, nothing, again, astonished them more than the fact that not a single "victim" had ever complained or protested, and a surprising number appeared to revere his memory (Wilson 1981). We will have more to say about promiscuity in Chapter Four.

★

"No manifestation of the sexual drive is in itself either immoral, criminal, or pathological. But, on the other hand, any manifestation of the sexual drive may be any of these things. What is important is not whether a given type of sexual behavior is heterosexual, homosexual or autoerotic, but what purpose it is put to, what it means to the persons involved, and its connection with the entire life pattern of the individual concerned." (Churchill 1967, 167)

Sexual relations between boys and men are in themselves neither bad nor good. Whether we have to attach a negative or a positive value to them depends entirely upon the circumstances of their occurrence. The negative aspects, both real and presumed, will occupy us in the next chapter.

Appendix A: Penis Development in Boys



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Chapter 4. Negative Aspects of Man/Boy Relations — Presumed and Real

The usual objections:
The child is not yet ripe for sex — He cannot give informed consent — The child will be traumatized — A boy will become homophile for the rest of his life — The partners are so unequal — The boy is dominated and manipulated by the adult.

Circumstances which cause concern
Incest — Prostitution — Posing as a model for nude or erotic pictures — Experience with sadism and masochism — Police investigations.

Collisions with society
Laws on age of consent — Medical attempts to "cure" boy-lovers — Sex with boys is an encroachment on generally accepted norms — The need for secrecy — Over-riding age-group boundaries.

Inherent problems
Boys' affections are often superficial — The bloom of youth is so ephemeral — The sudden end of a relationship — Male promiscuity.

Chapter 5. Sexual Oppression and Sexual Liberation

The effects of sexual oppression
Nervous trouble — Aggression — Guilt feelings — Sexual obsession.

The cultural roots of oppression
Boy-love and sexual liberation — Sexual instruction and education — How to discuss sex — Nudity and shame — Freedom from shame in words and behaviour — Instruction with visual aids — Pictures, live shows — Self-control versus abstinence — Sexual exercise and practice — Casual contacts and love relationships

The benefits for the boy — The ethics of boy-love — Discussion of "The Pedagogical Eros" — An education to love — The boy-lover and the parents — Boys speaking out on man/boy love — Adults looking back on their boyhood

The benefits for the man

Chapter 6. Sex and Eroticism with boys

The distinction between sex and eroticism
The various practices
Active and passive — The preferred acts — Adaptation to the boy's stage of development
Manual contacts — Hugging contacts — Oral contacts — Anal contacts
Surrender to the forces of Nature — The mystical aspect of sex — The orgy — Group sex

About The Author

Edward Brongersma was born in Haarlem, in The Netherlands, in 1911, the son of a medical doctor. He studied law at the University of Amsterdam between 1931 and 1935, and for the next five years worked on his Doctor's thesis on Constitutional Law and wrote articles for a number of legal and general interest publications. In 1940 he received the degree of Doctor of Law at the Catholic University of Nijmegen.

During the war years, and until 1950, he was a barrister in Amsterdam, becoming a Labour Party member of the First Chamber of the States General (the Dutch Upper House of Parliament, or Senate) in 1946. Both careers were interrupted in 1950, when he was arrested, tried and convicted for having sex with a 16-year-old boy, and the next 11 months he spent in prison. Upon his release in 1951 he made a living as a journalist and was also employed as a social worker, becoming in 1956 Director of the Federation for Social Assistance to Problem Families in Haarlem, a post he held for the next three years. Debarred with his conviction, he was reinstated at the bar in 1959 and thereafter carried on a legal practice in Haarlem until his retirement in 1980.

From 1960 until 1968 he was Chief Scientific Collaborator at the Criminological Institute, State University Utrecht, and two years later the Labour Party once again asked him to consider becoming a member of the Dutch Senate. He accepted this call; from 1963 until 1977 he served his second period in the Upper House, from 1968 until 1977 as chairman of the Permanent Committee for Justice. In 1975 the Queen made him Knight of the Order of the Dutch Lion for distinguished service as Member of Parliament. He founded the Dr. Edward Brongersma Foundation in 1979 to receive and preserve his collection of literature and private documents on sexuality and make it available on a confidential basis for responsible research.

Dr. Brongersma has authored numerous articles and professional papers on law, politics, social conditions, philosophy and religion. Able to read virtually all of the Western European languages, he has written books on the Civil War in Spain, Portugal and the Portuguese, Penal Law and social problems. Beginning with his years at the Criminological Institute, he has written extensively in the area of sexology, especially on pornography and paedophilia. His books on these subjects include *Das verfemte Geschlecht* (on boy love, 1970), *Sex en Straf* (Sex and Punishment, 1972) and *Over Pedofielen en 'Kinderlokkers'* (Paedophiles and 'Child Molesteres', 1975). He contributed chapters in *Sex met Kinderen* (Sex with Children, Van Eeten, Ed., 1972), *Sexuologie* (Frenken, Ed. 1980) and *Handboek voor seksuele hulpverlening* (1983).

Since his retirement in 1980, he has devoted his working time to the Brongersma Foundation collection of material on youthful sexuality and to public enlightenment on sexual matters. Always an enthusiastic photographer and avid traveller, he has visited by car nearly all of the European,

Scandinavian and Iberian countries, as well as much of North Africa. Some ten years ago he made a Land-Rover safari with friends down through the Sahara, into Nigeria, the Camaroons, Central Africa, Congo and Angola. He has travelled by plane around the world twice, visiting India, Sri Lanka, Singapore, The Philippines, the USA, the Netherlands Antilles, Dominican Republic and Haiti.

WITHDRAWN

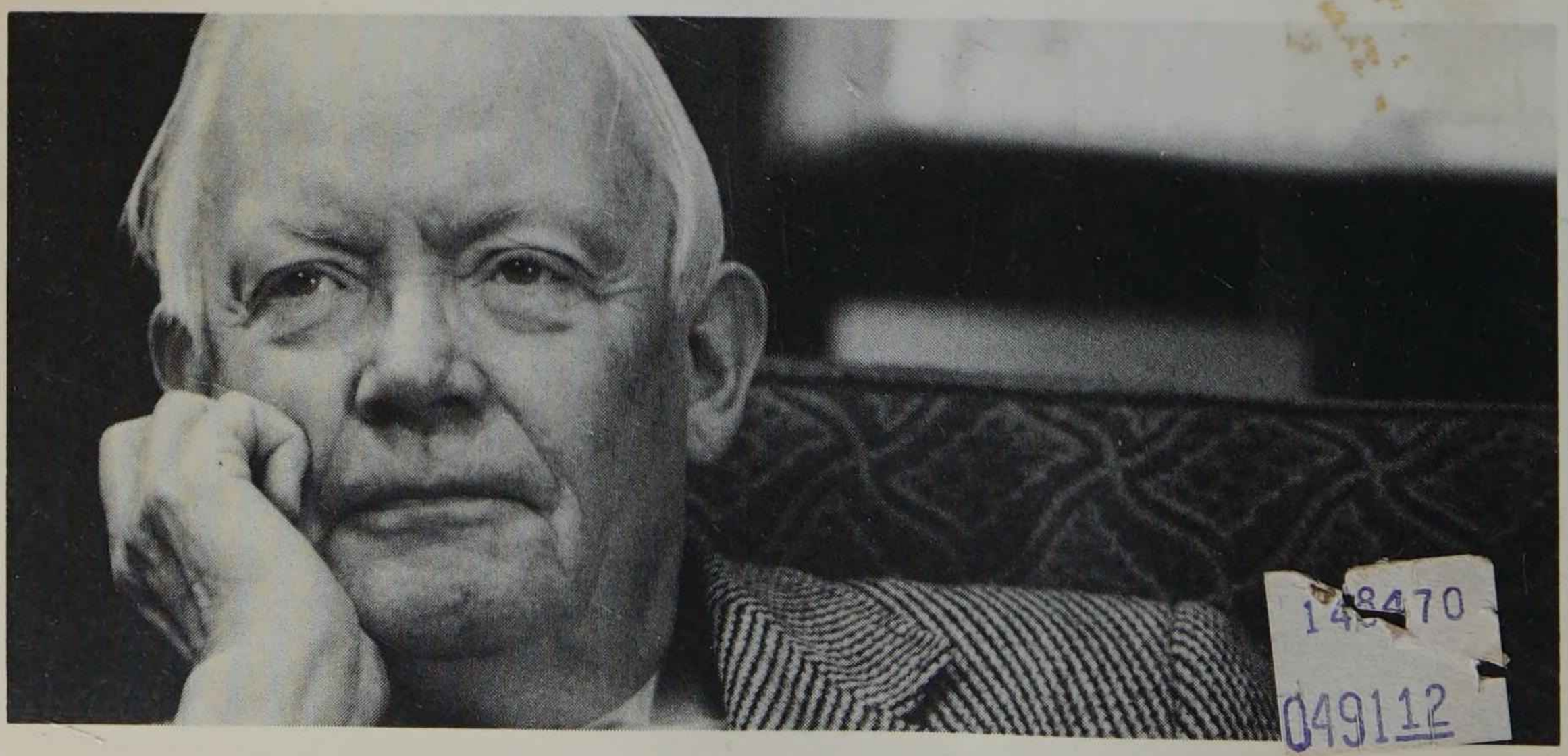
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Loving Boys is the first multi-discliplinary, cross-cultural study of sexual relations between men and boys ever to be published in the English language. The author eschews both the common Judeo-Christian belief that man-boy contacts are morally wrong and the traditional psychiatric premise (never honestly tested) that they are unnatural, perverted and harmful for boys. Instead, he examines ethnological, historical, behavioural and cultural records to show what other peoples (and our own ancestors) thought about this phenomenon at different times: how their societies rejected it or put it to work in a constructive way. He cites nearly 200 examples of man-boy sexual behaviour taken from published sources and private correspondence in English, German, French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and the Scandinavian languages. All of this allows him to expose to the clear light of reason contemporary arguments against allowing men and boys to love each other sexually.

This first volume covers how boy-lovers think of the boys they love, the roles they play in their boys' lives, the sexuality of boys, and how boys in paedophile relationships perceive the friendships and sex they share with their older friends. Volume Two will take up the aspects of man-boy love which cause rational concern, sexual oppression *vs.* liberation, and finally what takes place during sexual contacts between men and boys.

Dr. Edward Brongersma is one of Holland's most distinguished jurists. In 1946 he became a member of the Dutch Upper House of Parliament, or Senate. Four years later he was arrested for having sexual contact with a 16-year-old boy—under an archaic law which he helped repeal in 1971. After release from 10 months in prison, he rebuilt his shattered law career and returned to the Senate in 1963, where he was chairman of the important Judiciary Committee from 1968 until his retirement in 1977. The Queen knighted him into the Order of the Dutch Lion in 1975.



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