

sexual to recognize another. Ten years ago a man wearing, for example, very tight jeans would be suspected of dressing in a way that is said to be characteristic of the homosexual, but today a man whose mode of dress might have been considered ostentatious ten years ago would be horrified if it were suggested that he was 'dressed up like a pansy'.

It's become far harder to know who is what. Men's clothes have become so much more free, so that many people on the street look potentially gay, and they're not.

Sometimes the contacts were aware of these trends, but in over half of the cases the contacts found the issues too confusing to be able to give unqualified answers to questions on the prevalence of homosexuality. Another attempt to see if there was any change in the incidence of homosexuality was to compare the age of the very first experience with the age of the contact. The younger contacts tended to start homosexual activities at a slightly earlier age than the older contacts but the difference is not statistically significant (from Table A1/D1b). An additional complication here is that according to some authorities the age of onset of adolescence is becoming lower in succeeding generations. Kinsey (69) found there was a higher incidence of homosexual experience amongst males in whom the onset of adolescence occurred early, and these two factors combined might account for the difference between the older and younger contacts in this group.

Homosexuality was not more prevalent at the schools days of the older by the younger contacts than it was in the school days of the older contacts (from Table A1/P1).

Havelock Ellis (33) and Freud (18) and others (119) agree that homosexuality occurs in all human races and cultures. Mead, (84) Mackwood, (80) Devereaux, (29) and many other anthropologists have found it among most of the primitive communities. Indeed homosexual activities are part of the puberty initiation for boys in some communities. (49) Ford and Beech (36) found that in forty-nine (64%) of the seventy-six societies they studied, homosexual activities were considered acceptable for certain members of the community and in the remainder these activities were very likely to occur in at least a few individuals no matter how strict the penalties directed against such behaviour.

Homosexuality has existed in Great Britain and in all other European civilizations where there has been a historical record, (119) but it is impossible to tell if the incidence has increased at different periods. In Ancient Greece, Renaissance Italy, Elizabethan England, and in the Court of the Louis in France, people made less effort to hide their homosexual behaviour, but there is plenty of

## 5 THE EXTENT OF HOMOSEXUAL ACTS

### A. INCIDENCE

In the newspaper articles and political speeches that followed the publication of the Wolfenden Report, many statements were made and warnings given that homosexuality was on the increase in this country. These assertions did not always make it clear whether they were referring to an increase in the number of homosexual acts (the frequency) or an increase in the number of people who were prepared to indulge in these acts (the incidence).

The distinction is important. Nearly all homosexuals give overt expression to their desires at some period in their lives. Many would like more homosexual experiences than they actually get. If they found the opportunity to increase the number of their experiences, the frequency would increase but the incidence might be the same. The incidence would only increase if individuals who had not previously experienced homosexual relations were persuaded to take part in homosexual activities.

An attempt was made to obtain information about the incidence of homosexuality but the answers to these questions were very unsatisfactory. Despite experiments with the phrasing of the questions during the pilot survey, it became apparent that questions about incidence produced answers of doubtful value.

There are three streams of thought that inevitably confuse the response to these questions. When a homosexual is asked if he thinks homosexuality is on the increase, his judgement is biased by the greater or lesser ease with which he is able to find sexual partners. But this depends on many other factors besides the number of partners available. It will depend upon his age, where he lives, and upon what efforts he makes to find sexual partners.

A further confusion is the increasing knowledge the contact gains about the homosexual world. As he becomes more experienced, he learns about the rendezvous where he can expect to meet other homosexuals, and he becomes more adept at recognizing them and making the right signs so that he is recognized.

The third confusing factor also applies particularly to the recognition of other homosexuals. In the last ten years there has been a marked change in men's clothing, especially in the lower social groups. The tendency has been for young men to wear informal clothes that accentuate the form of the male body. Ironically this has made it more, not less, difficult for one homo-

evidence to show its existence at other periods when these activities were carried on only in secrecy.

Some of the contacts have stated that they make less effort to hide their condition than they did previously and this may make it appear that there are more homosexuals. Today the subject of homosexuality is much more freely discussed than it was fifty years ago but this is not in itself evidence that it is more prevalent. This point is made in the Wolfenden Report: 'Sexual matters in general are more openly talked about today than they were in the days of our parents and grandparents; and it is not surprising that homosexuality should take its place, among other sexual topics, in this wider range of permissible subjects of conversation. Public interest in the subject has undoubtedly increased, with the consequences that court cases are more frequently reported and that responsible papers and magazines give considerable space to its discussion. In general literature, too, there is a growing number of works dealing incidentally or entirely with the subject. All this has no doubt led to a much greater public awareness of the phenomenon and its manifestations. But it does not necessarily follow that the behaviour which is so discussed is more widespread than it was before.'

Kinsey (68) found 'no evidence that the homosexual involves more males or, for that matter, fewer males today than it did among the older generations', and there is nothing in the results of this research to conflict with this statement, despite the increase in the number of homosexual offences known to the police. Radzinowicz (93) in his preface to the Report of the Cambridge Department of Criminal Science on Sexual Offences writes: 'The so-called "dark figure", i.e. crime committed but never brought to light, depends upon a multitude of circumstances. In sexual transgressions it must be enormous, and if one disregards certain classes of very serious offences such as rape, it may be doubted whether the amount of illegal sexual misconduct which is revealed can ever represent more than five per cent. of the actual crime committed.'

It is probable that criminal statistics on homosexual crimes do no more than reflect the intensity of police activity in a particular area at a particular time and has little or no connexion with the actual number of homosexual offences. The criminal statistics for 1956 show a sharp drop in the number of homosexual offences in contrast to the upward trend over previous years. The police heard of 17 per cent. fewer offences than in 1955. Prosecutions dropped by 12 per cent., convictions by 11 per cent., and the number imprisoned by 28 per cent. This reversal of a long-established trend may well mean that the public discussion following the appointment of the Wolfenden Committee has led to a reduction of police activity.

Many of the children who were born just before or during the war were brought up in homes where the father was away for long periods in the armed forces. In Chapter 2 it was found that 21 per cent. of the contacts came from homes where the father was absent and it has often been suggested that the absence of the father may be a causative factor in the development of homosexuality. It would not be altogether surprising, then, if more of the children who are now just reaching adulthood were to show signs of homosexual tendencies.

Allen (2) has shown how wartime conditions can expose a man to homosexual temptations, and the results of this survey not only confirm this but reveal that post-war conscription can be the source of homosexual difficulties even for men who have not had any previous experiences. Nevertheless the findings of this survey produce no evidence to support the popular view that homosexuality is on the increase.

#### B. FREQUENCY

Contacts found it difficult to answer questions on the frequencies of homosexual acts, which were usually periodic and which depended in many cases upon the opportunities encountered. For example, a contact may go for several months without any homosexual experiences, and then he may meet a suitable partner with the result that the frequency of homosexual acts may be very high for a few weeks. Again, a contact may have little or no opportunity for homosexual relations in his home town, but on holidays or perhaps occasional visits to London he may accept the chance to take part in extensive homosexual activities.

The research worker spent some time on this question in order to be sure that the average frequency suggested by the contact was more than just guess-work. The question was asked late in the interview, at a time when the research worker had gained the confidence of the contact, and supplementary questions and later questions on promiscuity provided a further check. It is felt with some confidence that the information gained on frequencies is as near to the truth as it is possible to get with this sort of question.

Thirteen (10%) contacts had no homosexual experiences in the last year and thirty-two (25%) more had only infrequent experiences amounting to less than twelve homosexual acts in the year. Forty (32%) contacts averaged between two and three experiences each month, seventeen (13%) had between four and seven experiences a month, eleven (9%) averaged eight to eleven experiences per month, and fourteen (11%) had frequencies greater than this. For the purposes of later comparisons, contacts with 0.1 frequencies per



month are said to have *low frequencies* (35%), contacts with 2-3 per month are said to be average (32%), and contacts with 4+ per month are said to have *high frequencies* (33%).

The wide difference in frequencies is in accordance with our knowledge about heterosexual frequencies. Kinsey (68) found the same wide variations, but the average homosexual frequencies were lower than other frequencies; comparing the most active heterosexuals with the most active homosexuals, he found 25 per cent. of the entire male population had sexual outlets which averaged more than 3.5 times per week during their most active period, whereas only under 6 per cent. of the males who are having homosexual relations averaged as much as this. In this sample 11 per cent. averaged more than three homosexual outlets per week.

It is easy to understand the low frequencies found here and by Kinsey. The considerable taboo which society places on these activities makes it difficult for homosexuals to find suitable partners, and most of the contacts in this sample wished to have more homosexual experiences than they actually had. Some of the contacts had no knowledge of, or a distaste for, the homosexual coteries, and these people only found homosexual partners through chance encounters, if they found them at all. Consequently they often went for weeks and months without sexual relations.

It's not very regular with me, once a week would be a lot for me. I've got to wait until my mate's on opposite turns and when I'm not working nights myself. Then I might take a walk round, but I've only had sex twice this year. It would be easier if I could ring someone up and see if they're free, but it's difficult for me to go with a chap regular because I work at such awkward times. So mostly it's one-night stands. Sometimes we exchange telephone numbers but nothing ever comes of it.

I have very little sex in England. I'm a lawyer and no fool. . . . At one time more than two years went by without a single casual meeting. Of course I have a lot when Pierre comes to stay—every night, in fact. But there's been no outside people this year.

There are, however, a few contacts who are able to find homosexual partners in abundance. The experienced homosexual who is still attractive physically and knows where other homosexuals are to be found, probably finds it as easy to have sexual relations as the promiscuous heterosexual, but the homosexual is more likely to be restrained by social pressures and personal conflicts.

Of the fourteen (11%) contacts who had very high frequencies, about a third stated that they had homosexual relations at least once a day. But these high figures may not be very reliable, as this sort of man is inclined to boast about his sexual conquests; and it follows that the more promiscuous a man is, the harder it is

for him to give an accurate assessment of the extent of his homosexual experiences.

It has been suggested that an indication of the strength of an individual's sexual drive can be given by determining the age of onset of adolescence. For this reason a positive correlation might be expected between the age of the very first homosexual experience and the present frequency of homosexual experiences, but in this sample there is only a slight tendency for those who start having homosexual experiences at an early age (-13) to have the highest frequencies (4+) when they reach adulthood (from Table D1b/P6  $\chi^2 = 4.35$   $p < 0.05$ ). This is not unexpected as other factors will influence the frequencies, and indeed the assumption that there may be some connexion between the strength of the sexual drive and the age of onset of adolescence may be false; an additional complication is that the age of onset is said to be lower today than in past generations.

Contacts living in London have slightly higher frequencies than others in the group (from Table A2/P6), and this is probably because there are greater opportunities to find willing partners. The influence of opportunity can also be seen by extracting the frequencies of those contacts who live with their sexual partners. Frequencies are significantly higher for these contacts who do not have to find a partner (from Table P6/W3  $\chi^2 = 8.53$   $p < 0.01$ ).

As well as questions about actual frequencies, contacts were asked if they in fact obtained as many homosexual experiences as they desired, and also if they felt the need for a regular minimum of homosexual outlets.

TABLE P6/P7/P8  
*Homosexual Outlets Obtained and Desired*

Outlets	None	0-1	2-3	4-7	8-11	12+	DK
Actual number	13	32	40	17	11	14	—
Desired number	16	6	28	36	19	21	1
Minimum number	78	19	11	9	6	2	2

In a lucky period, maybe once a week. But there are many weeks without. What is bad is fussing about not getting it. The thing is not to fuss.

I have plenty of chances I don't take. I've got to feel very attracted or I'd rather go without. Perhaps I ought to have more. It creates tensions if you don't.

More than three a week would be dull—one wouldn't want caviar for tea every day.

I'm now fifty-three and after a very full sexual life, I'm a little tired. But not mentally. I'm still excited and aroused by the beauty of sex.

Two of the contacts, who are in fact having homosexual experiences, wish they were not,<sup>1</sup> and a large number (61%) do not feel it is necessary for them to have a regular minimum. The advice given to contacts by churchmen and others sometimes implied that homosexual attraction was understandable and even permissible, but homosexual activities were sinful and should be avoided. From the preceding Table it would appear that most homosexuals consider that advice to be practical and possible, but they have chosen not to take it.

Most contacts are having between two and three experiences per month and most would prefer to have slightly more than this (4-7 per month). Taking into account the probable tendency to overstate the number of outlets desired, the reading of Table P6/P7/P8 gives the impression that the homosexuals in this sample were not excessive in their demands, but generally desired more homosexual outlets than they were getting at present. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to expect the frequency of homosexual activities to increase if the law is changed or if social pressures are relaxed, but these findings seem to show that the increase will be slight. Homosexuals who at present have low frequencies are more likely to show an increase than the very promiscuous individuals who probably already know how they can obtain all the homosexual experiences they desire.

#### C. FINDING SEXUAL PARTNERS

As the number of opportunities is the most important factor in the frequency of homosexual acts, it is useful to enquire where the contacts usually find their sexual partners. In order to make the classifications more meaningful, only the place where the contact most often finds his partner is noted. This may lead to a slight distortion because, not unexpectedly, some contacts left it to pure chance and did not actively seek a partner in any particular place. Nevertheless most of these contacts were able to state where they most often had found a partner and others who went out especially to find another homosexual tended to follow a particular pattern, going to favourite places or streets where they had usually been successful in the past.

Thirteen (10%) had no homosexual experiences in the last year and twenty-seven (21%) had only one sexual partner. These forty are left out of the following discussion.

<sup>1</sup> One of the contacts expressed his feelings most forcibly: 'It's murder when Larry comes back from sea. There's no stopping him. But after a week he quietsens down. I suppose over the years, it's worked out less than once a month. I don't want more. I never ask anyone back. I'm frightened they might pinch the lot and fly. Sex doesn't bother me.'

A further twenty-six (21%) usually met their sexual partners in the course of ordinary social communications. Seventeen (13%) of these contacts stated that they were usually introduced to their sexual partners, six (5%) replied that their sexual activities were nearly always with members of their own group (i.e. close friends whom they continued to meet regularly), and three (2%) usually found their partners at private parties arranged by a homosexual friend.

Many (43%) of the contacts in this sample tended to mix largely or exclusively in a homosexual group. As most of their social life was spent in the company of friends who were homosexual, and these in turn introduced them to other homosexuals, it is not surprising that sexual partners were obtained in this way. It is in this kind of social frame that sexual activities are much less casual and the pattern is not altogether dissimilar to heterosexual behaviour—friendship, courtship, leading to a love affair with homosexual relations.

From a sociological point of view the remaining sixty-one (48%) contacts who usually meet their sexual partners in public places are of more importance. Four (3%) usually found their partners at homosexual clubs, eighteen (14%) in bars, another eighteen (14%) on streets and in parks, twelve (9%) in public lavatories, and nine (7%) mentioned other places.

It will be seen that very few of the contacts find their sexual partners in the homosexual clubs, although there are many such clubs in London. The explanation for this is that the clubs act as a social centre but not as a kind of introductory bureau where homosexuals can expect to find new partners.<sup>1</sup>

These clubs are usually in and around the West End, are licensed to sell alcoholic liquor to members only, and are open at the normal club hours. They are no different from the 22,000 registered clubs in the country except that their membership is almost exclusively made up of homosexuals. The proprietor is not always a homosexual and is sometimes a woman.

In these clubs the homosexual can relax, throw off the mask, reveal his real interests and talk in his own vernacular. Many a contact has commented on the relief he feels in these clubs after spending most of the day in normal company where he has had to keep up appearances, watch that he does not give himself away and pretend to feelings he does not have.

The owner of one of these clubs told the research worker: 'I don't often go to the other clubs because I'm not very keen on homosexuals. But I do go for a tour for professional reasons occasionally.'

<sup>1</sup> There is one exception to this, where the club owner allows, and possibly encourages, male prostitutes to frequent the premises.



There must be over twenty of them, ranging from the elegant to the sordid. Their popularity goes in fashions, but I would say there are enough customers to keep most of them going.

Twenty-eight (22%) of the contacts stated that they go occasionally to one or other of the homosexual clubs and twenty-four of the twenty-eight live in London (from Table Az/R1). But there are a number of contacts, including many who live in London, who do not like these clubs.

They revolt me up to a point, but where else can we meet?

I go to the clubs occasionally, just as I go to a museum or an art gallery from time to time—to see if they've changed the exhibits. I haven't been for over six months. They're all so intense.

I only go when friends from the provinces are staying with us and they want to be shown the sights.

Although there is a minority of regulars whose whole social life revolves around the clubs, it seems that many contacts were fascinated by these places when they first discovered them; but later they became bored with them. Sometimes the provincial homosexual is astonished, and perhaps delighted, to find that there is such an establishment where homosexuality is completely accepted, but the fascination dies simply because they do not want to spend the whole evening gossiping and drinking.

I was thrilled by them at first, but now I see the tarnish on the tinsel. In a way they worry me. These men who go there night after night—they seem rather like lost souls.

I don't go to any club now but at one time I spent a lot of time in them. I was so terribly relieved to find there were a number of reasonable and respectable homosexuals. I think it's helped many of us in this way.

The homosexual clubs are an interesting phenomenon. To some people it seems as if these clubs perform a useful function; they keep the homosexuals off the streets and away from the public gaze; and it is argued that the homosexual is less likely to indoctrinate others if he is encouraged to keep in the company of other homosexuals. But to others these clubs are an abomination; they are dens of iniquity where the vice is condoned and irresponsibility is encouraged; the clubs, it is said, give the members a false sense of self-importance derived from belonging to an underworld group and laughing behind society's back.<sup>(18)</sup>

The research worker has made visits to five of these clubs and was told about others by the contacts. It seems that they are an important part of the social life of a few homosexuals; the majority of them seem to be well run and the proprietor, aware that the police make occasional incognito visits, is careful to ban all overt

homosexual behaviour; <sup>1</sup> the main function of the clubs is not to provide a centre where homosexual partners can be found but a private assembly room where homosexuals can talk and drink and stop pretending.

Perhaps the main criticism of these clubs is that the proprietor's income is derived from the proceeds of the bar and not from the membership fee, which is usually low. This means that the members are encouraged to consume as much alcohol as possible, and indeed there does not seem to be much else to do in these clubs.

In this respect the so-called homophile organizations on the Continent provide wider facilities. In Amsterdam the 'Cultuur-en Ontspanningscentrum' (C.O.C.) maintains clubrooms which are open daily; facilities are provided for dancing, table tennis, and television, and regular lectures are arranged on homosexuality and related problems; there is a library, a music room, and a bar for the 3,000 male and female members and there are branches in Arnhem, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Utrecht; members receive a monthly magazine which includes articles, stories, poetry, and book reviews. The best-known homophile magazine is *Der Kreis*, which has been published in Zurich for the last twenty-six years; here there are also club rooms which are used for social meetings, plays, fashion shows, and dances for members. There are also clubs in Brussels, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo, Paris, Bremen, Frankfurt, Berlin, Hamburg, and Basel. In the United States there is an organization for female homosexuals in San Francisco, another for men in the same city that has Chapters in Denver, Los Angeles, and New York, and another club for men in Los Angeles which maintains education and research divisions. 'One Incorporated', the Los Angeles organization, has recently won a legal battle against Post Office censorship that went through all the State and Federal Courts up to the U.S. Supreme Court. But the European organizations seem tolerated, and in some places encouraged, by the police and the authorities. When the Copenhagen police find a homosexual importuning on the streets, they send him (if it is a first offence) to the homosexual club so that he can be with his own kind and not offend against public decency. At the opening of the Amsterdam club thirteen years ago, the police accepted an invitation to be present and since then they have never interfered with the club's activities.

Acting as a co-ordinating agency for all these homophile organizations is the International Committee for Sex Equality

<sup>1</sup> One contact, who is a member of a well-known homosexual club, said: 'I once took a normal friend of mine there who said it might be the National Liberal Club. Everyone was so good-mannered and quiet. He said he wouldn't have suspected a single one of the people there.'

(I.C.S.E.). This Committee arranges a biennial International Congress to which all the clubs send representatives, and at other times it acts as a clearing house for the exchange of information, prepares translations of material of interest to homosexuals, and publishes a monthly newsletter in English and German. The activities of these homophile organizations require a more detailed investigation than was possible in this research, and it is hoped that before long it will be possible to give a fuller account of their establishment and functions.

In England the homosexual clubs seemed to be confined to London, with the two exceptions of Brighton and Blackpool. The research worker has received no information about clubs in any of the large cities where it is known that a large number of homosexuals reside. In these large centres homosexuals tend to meet in public bars rather than registered clubs. It is not certain whether this is because the local police forces would immediately close down such clubs, or whether it is because there is no demand for such places and homosexuals living in the large provincial cities prefer the atmosphere of the 'gay bars' which flourish in many towns. The number of 'gay bars' in London seems to be declining and the research worker was told of several public houses that were 'once gay but aren't any more'.

It is doubtful whether the change from pub to club has been caused by police action. The only result of a police raid seems to be that they move on to another place. Whatever the cause of the trend, there are some advantages of the private club over the public bar. At a club the membership is restricted so that a member of the public cannot wander into a homosexual coterie by mistake. In addition it is easier to make sure that members are over twenty-one, and police surveillance becomes simpler if homosexuals tend to congregat in a few clubs rather than move on from bar to bar. Furthermore, the club proprietor has some control over the membership of his club, whereas the landlord of a public house has less control. A landlord may be embarrassed by a sudden influx of men whose talk, mannerisms, and clothes may offend the regular customers; perhaps the additional takings at the bar may help to console him, but there is always the risk of a police raid—then his new customers will move on elsewhere and his old customers may not return.

There's a pub just round the corner from where I live. I used to drop in now and then for a packet of cigarettes. I'd been going there for years when suddenly one evening I went in and found the saloon bar crammed with homosexuals. I said to the barmaid, 'Where have all these people come from?' She said, 'I don't know. They started coming a few weeks ago.' I've no idea why they chose that pub. After a few months they moved on elsewhere.

If one assumes that homosexuals, like any other unwanted minority, will react by congregating in some place or other, it is probably better for them to collect in clubs where the members are all homosexuals, than to move from bar to bar where they are more likely to offend the regular customers. Furthermore, the bars, unlike the clubs, are more likely to be the sort of place where one homosexual goes to find a sexual partner (from Table Pg/S8).

There are still two or three well-known bars in London, but these seem to cater for the out-of-town visitors and the servicemen who do not know the whereabouts of the clubs; or for the male prostitutes, blackmailers, and the criminal fringe that would be denied admission to a club. West (118) describes this second type of bar as being 'little different from any rough haunt, except for the presence of a sprinkling of middle-class gentlemen'.

Some of those pubs should be closed up. They're full of rough Irish layabouts just looking for queers to rob. They're not queer—just robbers or on the game.

I hate them. Those pubs are full of nasty little bits eyeing you up and down.

One particular public house in London that is very popular at present seems to take on a dual character. On Sunday mornings it is filled with men dressed in colourful clothes with elaborate hair styles, more like a fashion parade than a den of vice; but on Saturday evenings the clientele are less concerned with showing off their latest clothes and more interested in finding a friend for the night.

On Sundays people go there in pairs, but on Saturdays people come singly, hoping to make up a pair.

The M— is like some demented competition with everyone trying to wear jeans half an inch tighter than the next person. I like camping—but really! People in that place take it too far.

To a certain extent the coffee houses have taken the place of the licensed bars, especially among the younger homosexuals. One coffee bar, within a hundred yards of a police station in the West End, seemed to be well known to every London homosexual. Late in 1957 it was raided by the police and now the clientele has moved on to another coffee house. On the night of the raid one of the contacts in this sample attempted to go into the coffee bar but he was stopped by a policeman on the door and was told, 'I shouldn't go in there, sir. It's not the sort of place for a person like you.'

The influence of these homosexual rendezvous requires further study, but contacts in this group give the impression that the main function of the clubs and coffee houses is social, but the pubs are more likely to be places where sexual partners are to be obtained.



The social factors are almost entirely absent in the other places where the contacts found their homosexual partners. These places are not so well defined, but seem to be certain lavatories, streets, and parks where homosexuals go to find other homosexuals. Thirty (24%) of this sample usually found their partners in this way.

The homosexual who is walking about the streets looking for a sexual partner is said to be 'trolling' or 'cruising', while the homosexual who is proceeding from one lavatory to another in the hope of finding someone is said to be 'cottaging'. Contacts who regularly visited lavatories were more likely to be the inexperienced homosexuals who do not know the whereabouts of the bars and coffee houses and those who do not live in London. When one contact from the Home Counties was asked if he had ever visited a homosexual club or bar, he asked, 'Are there such places?' Another asked the research worker to give him a list of clubs and bars.

Public lavatories are the only places where homosexuals can meet. Twenty-five years ago I met a man in a lavatory and we have become friends for life. So, you see, out of evil came good.

There's a toilet [in his home town] known as the Wheel of Fortune. There's a sort of passage with cubicles on either side leading to a circular part and the general public don't know about this part. It's quiet and it's exclusive to homosexuals. It couldn't have been better planned as a meeting-place if they'd tried.

Most homosexuals regard 'cottaging' as very sordid and look down upon those who resort to this method of finding partners. Some contacts maintained it was dangerous for a homosexual to enter a public lavatory no matter how innocent his motives.

I was visiting cottages from fourteen onwards until I came to London and realized how sordid and nasty this was. Now I never go to a cottage. I hate them.

It's very dangerous for an obvious homosexual to go to a lavatory at all. If a policeman is there and hasn't got his quota of cases that day you are his solution and there's nothing you can do about it. It's happened to friends of mine, people who would not be a bit ashamed to tell me if they really were cottage crawling. They are so indignant, not because they've been caught by the police, but because they were doing nothing at the time. If the policeman decides to take you and you look queer, nothing in this world will convince the magistrate that you weren't importuning, so the only thing to do is keep out of public lavatories.

Not so many of them are averse to 'trolling', and quite a few of the contacts who usually find their partners elsewhere will admit that they occasionally 'have a walk around to see if there is anything about'. The favourite places are around Piccadilly and other parts of the West End. But almost every district seems to have its area

which the homosexual regards as a favourite 'trolling-ground' and some maintain that any street will do.

I wonder if you realize the universality of it all. Wherever you go, no matter what country, you'll always meet queers. I hitch-hiked from Venice to London last year and I never paid for a bed or a hotel. Italian, German, Swiss, French, and English, you can always find someone who'll be glad to share his bed with you. It was so easy that I'm going to hitch-hike to Naples this year.

The contacts were asked if they ever went out especially to look for a sexual partner. Perhaps this is not the sort of question that would elicit an honest answer in every case, but over a third of the sample admitted that they did occasionally go out specifically to find a sexual partner. Twelve (9%) said they often went out for this reason, seventeen (13%) occasionally, twenty-one (17%) hardly ever, and seventy-seven (61%) said they never went out especially to find a sexual partner.

The more you look for it, the less chance of finding someone nice. Better to let it come to you.

I've never been picked up since my cottage crawling days when I was at school. Since I've come to London, everyone I've had trade with I've been introduced to, and I've always wanted to get to know them before I let them bed me.

It's a fruitless occupation looking for sex. When the Lord wishes, He sends.

But not everyone is as patient. The reasons why these contacts go out are not always straightforward. No doubt a proportion are only concerned with sexual relief.

Every time I go out cruising I tell myself how silly it is—what a big risk it is and how much I have to lose, but I must admit I go from time to time, say about once every month.

But sometimes the reasons are complicated, sometimes vague. Loneliness, a fit of depression, or a desire to be admired may impel contacts to go out looking for others of their kind.

Sometimes. Not so much to have sex, but at least look at a man and not be by myself.

When my work becomes difficult, I get depressed and feel I must go out. And yet I know quite well I won't get anything from a casual pick-up—after all the only worth-while sex is an affirmation of yourself and another person.

I'm in love with Pierre now and if I can see him often enough, then that's all I want. But before I met him I won't pretend I didn't go through agonies of despair. But if the only place to meet a person is in some nasty-smelling lavatory, then really I'd rather do without.

I go out on odd occasions but when I do, I don't often find it. I get a kind of satisfaction in knowing that I could have had sex but I didn't. I might lead a few people on, but I don't often go all the way.

Most homosexuals have at some periods in their lives been out 'trolling' and many of them admitted to 'cottageing' in their earlier days, especially those who lived outside London where this practice seems to be much more widely established. But it does not seem to be either the most usual or the most successful method of meeting sexual partners.

I never make advances and I've never been to those places.

I've set out a couple of times but turned back at the end of the street. I know I wouldn't enjoy it with a pick-up.

I do get terribly frustrated at times and feel the temptation to go out and look for someone. But I never meet anyone. I don't even speak to anyone. I can't believe that anyone who's worth knowing can be picked up on the street like that.

The question asking contacts where they usually find their homosexual partners has a higher validity than would appear at first sight. While it is probable that the contact who replied that he usually found partners in bars would not turn down an opportunity if it arose, for example, in the underground on his way to a bar, yet it was apparent after further questioning that contacts usually developed fairly set patterns in their search for sexual partners.

TABLE P<sub>9</sub>/S<sub>8</sub>

## Looking for Sexual Partners

Where Partners are Found	Do You Go Out Especially				Total
	Often	Sometimes	Hardly Ever	Never	
Street, park	5	7	4	2	18
Lavatories	4	4	2	2	12
Bars	3	3	8	4	18
Clubs	—	2	—	2	4
Homosexual parties	—	—	1	2	3
Introductions	—	—	3	14	17
Within group	—	1	—	5	6
Other circumstances	—	—	3	6	9
Total	12	17	21	37	87 <sup>1</sup>

Table P<sub>9</sub>/S<sub>8</sub> shows that those contacts who regularly go out looking for a sexual partner most often find one in streets, parks,

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the sample is made up by the thirteen who have had no homosexual activities in the last year, and by twenty-seven who have had only one partner in the last year.

lavatories, and less often in bars. Those who hardly ever go out specifically for this purpose are more likely to find their partners in bars, while those who never set out to find a partner usually rely upon being introduced to another homosexual, but occasionally find their partners in the other places listed. Those who regularly go out in search of a partner only very rarely find one at the clubs, at parties, or through introductions.

## D. THE LOCALE OF SEXUAL ACTIVITIES

Contacts were asked where their homosexual activities usually took place. Some contacts were unable to use their own home for their homosexual activities and they often had to hope that their partners had suitable rooms. Other contacts could not give such a definite answer; if both the contact and his partner had a room available for homosexual activities, the locale would depend upon expedience—the nearest, the safest, the more comfortable. Therefore the distinction between 'own place' and 'partner's place' in the following Table is sometimes artificial, but there is a sharp division between those who insisted on some kind of privacy, and between those who were prepared to have homosexual intercourse in lavatories, parks, back streets, waste land, etc.

TABLE S<sub>9</sub>/00The Usual Locale of Sexual Activities<sup>1</sup>

Own flat/house	64 (50%)
Family's house	2 (2%)
Partner's place	32 (25%)
Hotel, etc.	5 (4%)
Total in private	103 (81%)
Lavatories	7 (6%)
In the open	3 (2%)
Others	1 (1%)
Total in public	11 (9%)

This is often the difficulty as I can never take anyone back and I'm not prepared to give a public performance.

I go to Nottingham about once a fortnight and if I find someone nice I might take him to a hotel. I don't book a hotel room first and then go out to find someone to fill the bed.

I take people on my motor-cycle out into the country.

<sup>1</sup> This Table does not include the thirteen (10%) contacts who had no homosexual experiences in the last year.



I rely on the other person. Only once have I done it outside and it was quite safe. Work it out for yourself. We were miles away in the bracken and I purposely chose to go under a tree where there were some crows roosting. If anyone had come within a hundred yards, they would have made a noise. [This contact's hobby is bird-watching.]

The question was phrased: Where do your sexual activities usually take place? It is therefore possible that contacts who usually had homosexual relations in private might occasionally agree to perform some homosexual activity in a public place. It might be argued that a better question would have been: Have you ever had homosexual relations in a public place? But the answers to such a question would not be as valuable. The case histories reveal that a large number of homosexuals have at one time taken part in homosexual relations in a public place. Many of the earliest experiences occurred in lavatories. Contacts who today would not allow themselves to indulge in any public homosexual behaviour have reported that at one time they believed that the only place where they could meet other homosexuals was in a public lavatory. As they became more experienced, learnt how to recognize other homosexuals, and found out about other homosexual rendezvous, then they would refuse to take part in sexual activities in public places. This emphasizes the point that has been made before (119) that it is not the confirmed homosexual, but the inexperienced who is most likely to come into conflict with the law.

Table S9/00 only shows the usual locale, but most of the contacts in this group would refuse to run the risk of homosexual activities in a public place. Even those who habitually find their partners in lavatories will, in most cases, refuse to take part in homosexual acts in public.

Two groups are exceptions to this generalization. The first group—the inexperienced homosexual—has just been mentioned. The second group is not dissimilar. These are the men who insist on anonymity. A few of the contacts in this group never knew the names of their sexual partners, did not wish to visit their homes, or make any move that would lead to the development of friendship. Above all they refused to make arrangements to meet the partner again and, if they did see him by chance, they would probably go out of their way to avoid him. Many of them are ashamed of their homosexual adventures, and once having reached orgasm, they may be filled with remorse and earnestly desire to be rid of the partner. This compulsion to seek only anonymous homosexual encounters is often the result of strong guilt feelings. Such encounters are often interspersed with long periods of restraint, together with resolutions to give up the habit. These men do not have friends who are homosexual and do not want to mix in a homo-

sexual group. Their pattern of anonymous 'one night stands' means that they are more likely to indulge in homosexual behaviour in a public place.

#### E. PUBLIC INDECENCY

The previous section of this chapter shows that homosexual activities take place in private in the majority (81%) of cases. There remains a minority (9%) who admit that most of their homosexual activities take place in public and, of course, a large number of those whose activities take place in private actually find their partners in a public place. Of the twenty-five (20%) contacts who have been in conflict with the law about a quarter (6%) were arrested for homosexual practices in public. Most of the offences committed in public took place in lavatories and parks. One contact in this sample with a frequency of one experience a month has never had homosexual relations anywhere else except in public lavatories.

Nevertheless homosexual activities in public places are uncommon among the self-confessed homosexuals. Less than one in ten make a practice of this public behaviour and only one in twenty have been arrested for homosexual activities in public. This section will consider other ways in which homosexuals commit 'outrages on public decency' (to use the title of the Act of 1885).

One way a homosexual may offend public propriety is by defacing lavatory walls. Questions on graffiti sometimes met resentment or indignation. A few contacts resented the implication that because they were homosexual it followed *ipso facto* that they were more likely than others to behave in an irresponsible way.<sup>1</sup> But the contacts were satisfied with the explanation that if the research was to be thorough it must enquire into all kinds of behaviour.

Only one contact admitted writing on a lavatory wall, but twenty-seven (21%) said they found these inscriptions interesting and a further seventeen (13%) said they read them sometimes.

They're a bit pathetic. It's something you don't see half so much of when you're abroad. I don't think people would do it if they weren't frustrated in some way.

I'm amused in a way. After all, they are as old as time. There are signs written in B.C. saying that so and so has the most beautiful bottom in Rhodes.

Is there anyone who doesn't read them?

I can never read them. My eyes aren't too good.

<sup>1</sup> Not everyone showed indignation. When one contact was asked if he ever read the writing on lavatory walls, he replied, 'That and *The Times* are the only things I ever get time to read.'

A few inscriptions are a specific request for homosexual partners but there is little evidence to show that these advertisements get much response. Only one contact reported that he kept an appointment made on a lavatory wall and the only person he met at the agreed rendezvous was a policeman in uniform.

There is no way of finding out what proportion of homosexuals contribute to the *graffiti* on lavatory walls and other places. Eighty-three (65%) contacts said they were not interested in these inscriptions. Three contacts claimed that they spent time rubbing them out.

Of the twelve (9%) contacts who usually found their partners in public lavatories three (2%) took an interest in *graffiti* (from Table S8/T12). It may be true that the surroundings of public lavatories and the people who frequent them hold a certain fascination for a small number of homosexuals.

The strong taboo on all homosexual activities may mean that some people find an outlet by writing on lavatory walls and, as Kinsey (69) suggests: 'Many of the inscriptions that deal with male anatomy and male functions are made by males who are not conscious of homosexual reactions and who may not have overt homosexual experience'. One man in his time can cover a great many lavatory walls and there is no reason to suppose that this is a typical homosexual activity.

A further stimulus to homosexual behaviour sometimes occurs when a hole has been made in the wall between two cubicles in a public lavatory. But this type of behaviour seems to be rare, and the passing of notes under the wall of a cubicle, mentioned by one contact, is conduct that nearly all homosexuals would eschew.

Offences against public propriety are caused by a few homosexuals indulging in sexual behaviour in public places, by wall inscriptions and by other indecent behaviour in public toilets. Only a few contacts in this group are involved in this kind of behaviour and this is probably because the experienced and self-confessed homosexual finds other ways to satisfy his sexual desires. Public indecencies of the kind described in this section are more likely to be performed by persons who would not admit to any homosexual tendencies, and by maladjusted individuals who are stimulated by the sordid surroundings and by the dangers involved in this kind of behaviour.

Plain-clothes policemen detailed to watch these places may succeed in detecting such offenders *in flagrante delicto*, but it seems a pity that more practical preventive measures are not tried. The stalls in lavatories might be deeper, the partitions between closets might reach to the floor, the holes be mended, the lighting

improved,<sup>1</sup> and the lavatories redecorated with a stucco effect on the walls which is too rough a surface to allow much self-expression.

Two other kinds of public indecency remain to be considered. The first of these is importuning, which will be examined in the next section, and because this raises the whole problem of the recognition of one homosexual by another, the following section will be devoted to this. The other kind of public indecency is caused by the exhibitionist and effeminate homosexual, and these individuals will be considered in the section following the discussion on recognition.

#### F. IMPORTUNING

The Wolfenden Report (132) states that 'the amount of male importuning in the streets is negligible', but the results of this research suggest that a great deal of importuning goes on which would not be recognized as such by the general public. In a reservation to the Wolfenden Committee recommendations, Dr. Curran writes: 'The idea of male importuning is unquestionably more repellent to the general public than is the idea of female solicitation. But in fact male importuning is far less of a public nuisance than female solicitation. This is not, I think, only due to the much smaller numbers involved. Males seldom importune other males who do not give them encouragement. Their activities are less obvious, and more subtle and discreet, than is the case with female solicitation. Consequently, as I believe, the general public greatly underestimates (as do the criminal statistics) the amount of male importuning that goes on. Further, the number of male importuners who are prostitutes is admittedly extremely small; very few male importuners are out for financial gain.'

According to the law an individual must be *persistently* importuning before he commits an offence. This means that the policeman must follow a suspect for some time before he can be said to be importuning. Sometimes the evidence that a man visited three public toilets in the course of thirty minutes is sufficient to cause his arrest and conviction. The homosexual may not do more than look around in each lavatory to see if any of the men there are possible partners. Although the man may indeed be importuning, it is quite possible that this would be obvious only to the policeman following him and to no one else.

The first stage of importuning is usually a quick enquiring look

<sup>1</sup> The Wolfenden Committee dismisses this suggestion because 'some of the lavatories at which most of the offences take place are particularly well lit'. But here they have been misled by combining arrests for importuning with those for gross indecencies. Homosexuals may importune in well-lit lavatories in central areas of a city, but indecencies are more likely to occur in dark and out-of-the-way places.



in the direction of the other man. If the importuned male fails to respond, the importuner makes no other gesture, but turns his attentions elsewhere. So it is quite possible for one man to importune another without the latter being aware of it.

I'd heard talk that homosexuals were to be found in some lavatories but I'd never noticed any myself. It is amazing to me now that I never did notice, for now I seem to see homosexuality all over the place.

One reason why homosexuals are careful to give only the most guarded indications of their desires while importuning is the fear of *agents provocateurs*. The Wolfenden Report accepts that in the detection of this kind of offence a police officer may resort legitimately to a degree of subterfuge in the course of his duty. 'But it would be open to the gravest objection if this were allowed to reach a point at which a police officer deliberately provoked an act; for it is essential that the police should be above suspicion, and we believe that if there is to be an error in the one direction or the other it would be better that a case of this comparatively trivial crime should occasionally escape the courts than that the police as a whole should come under suspicion.' (132)

Nevertheless fifteen (12%) of the contacts in this group claim that they have been led on by a policeman acting as an *agent provocateur*, and others state that some of their friends have been trapped in this way.

At the age of nineteen I was arrested in a lavatory. The policeman in the next stall stretched out his hand to me. I never moved towards the policeman. I did not move away, but I did not move towards him.

I have a friend in the police who is bisexual and he tells me that they are instructed to avoid being in the next stall to a suspect if possible, but if it can't be avoided, they are not to hesitate to expose themselves to a suspect.

He [a sexual partner and a policeman] says they are told to lead them on so that they can get an arrest.

They'll be using police cadets next.

A friend of mine picked up a good-looking teddy boy in a cottage who turned out to be a policeman. That sort of thing makes one look down on the whole police force.

There was no way of checking the accuracy of these statements. What is more important in this context is that a large number of the contacts believed that the police acted in this way. As in any other minority group there is a tendency for homosexuals to imagine persecutions that do not exist, but the fact remains that whatever the homosexual may or may not have been doing in a public toilet, if he is brought before a magistrate it is usually a question

of his word against the policeman's. Several contacts have told the research worker that in no circumstances would they ever enter a public lavatory, so great is the suspicion against the police.

The Church of England Moral Welfare Council (134) make the useful suggestion that a distinction should be made between soliciting and importuning.<sup>1</sup> In their memorandum on the Street Offences Bill (1959), it is noted that the majority of homosexual offenders dealt with under the Sexual Offences Act (1956, S. 32) 'are in fact guilty of soliciting, often of a not very offensive nature, rather than of importuning. But little distinction seems to be made between these two different forms of behaviour either in charges or penalties'.

In fact very few homosexuals importune in the literal sense of the word, and nearly all the soliciting is directed towards another male who is assumed to be homosexual. Therefore the extent to which soliciting offends against public decency depends to a large extent upon the ability of one homosexual to recognize another.

#### G. RECOGNITION

Some homosexuals are supremely confident that they can recognize all other homosexuals, while at the same time they are equally sure that they are never recognized. This confidence is rarely, if ever, justified. It may be true that they are not recognized by other homosexuals, but when they say they can recognize all homosexuals they mean nothing of the sort; they may be able to recognize some homosexuals who would not be recognized as such by the man in the street, but there are probably many others that even these over-confident homosexuals fail to recognize.

When the contacts were asked if they could recognize other homosexuals, thirty-five (28%) replied that they could often do so, forty-eight (39%) said they were more likely to recognize a homosexual than the ordinary man, twenty-seven (21%) replied that they could recognize the more obvious types, and seventeen (13%) said they were no good at recognizing other homosexuals.

It's just a feel—because some of them don't look a bit camp, but I know. You can nearly always tell. It's the funny look they give other men, even when they're not interested in them sexually.

There seems to be little doubt that many homosexuals exaggerate their ability to recognize other homosexuals. It is an

<sup>1</sup> The Report of the Street Offences Committee, 1928, defines importuning as 'conduct which is insistent and harassing. A person is not "importuned", by a wink or a nod or a passing remark.'

ability one can claim without the opportunity to prove whether one is right or wrong. It is perfectly easy to walk down the street and pick out certain men and describe them as homosexuals, but of course there is no way of checking whether the designation is correct. In the absence of this proof most people assume they are right. But not only may they be wrong about the men they have described as homosexual, but at the same time they may have failed to notice other men in the street who are in fact homosexual. Some of the contacts were aware of this discrepancy.

I think I recognize some others, but how can one be sure? I may recognize ten in a room when in fact there are twenty.

I don't think the queer has any special characteristics. I know a married man and I know he's quite normal but he's very camp.

I knew a person in the R.A.F. who was as camp as could be, but he was a terrific womanizer and he'd probably have kicked you in the teeth if you'd made a pass at him.

Some you wouldn't recognize in a hundred years.

Nevertheless, over two-thirds of this sample felt they could recognize most other homosexuals and, when they were asked how this was done, many of them gave similar reasons. Most often it was the eyes of the other man that were said to give him away. Homosexuals were said to have 'liquid eyes', 'a sadness of the eyes', 'a hunted look', 'searching eyes—almost like a snake's eyes', 'sharing eyes'.

I don't believe in the popularly believed stigmata. They are all misleading. The only thing I believe in is eyes and slightly prolonged glances of mutual questioning which sometimes becomes recognition.

When asked how they recognized other homosexuals, the contacts most often mention the following features and mannerisms: Eyes (mentioned 62 times), gestures (36), 'intuition' (28), walk (25), voice (22), clothes (14), vocabulary (8). (Some of the contacts mentioned more than one feature.)

Many of the contacts were unable to specify any particular feature but claimed that they could recognize another homosexual by some intuitive process. Contacts used phrases such as: 'some odd kind of intuition', 'a sixth sense', 'no tangible way of saying how'. In practice this probably means that it was an aggregate of small observable features which were not consciously noted but, together, made the other man recognizable.

Gestures, walk, and clothes were sometimes mentioned as isolated features that make a homosexual recognizable, and more frequently were used as clues to his sexual interests.

Sometimes their eyes and walk, more often their whole grooming, but I've seen some very effeminate men with girls and when I look back on the men I've had sex with, I'd say less than one in five looked queer.

Contacts who stated that they recognized other homosexuals by the voice or the vocabulary were not claiming the ability to recognize a man instantly. More often these were the contacts who used conversational gambits to find out more about the other man. Another move in this complicated strategy is to make discreet enquiries about the man's wife and family, and if he is over thirty and unmarried, the man is immediately under suspicion.

I once believed if a man was married he couldn't possibly be homosexual. Of course I know better now. One takes a lead from the other person. It's a sort of code—a homosexual-flavoured conversation. He says something and there's a right or wrong response.

For example, just the other day a chap in the office—some chance phrase gave him away.

Contacts also said they recognized other homosexuals by hair-style, clairvoyance, attitude to life, small feet and big hands, the way they sit, the way they hold a cigarette, eyebrow inflection, interest in the arts and 'a tendency not to talk about the opposite sex'.

Readers may feel that this list is exhaustive, but many other people not directly connected with the research offered advice on recognition. One doctor volunteered the suggestion that most homosexuals were left-handed. The conversation of homosexuals was said to be above average, or immature and backward. The research worker was told that homosexuals were usually the only child, or the spoilt child, or the unwanted child. Homosexuals were supposed to like the colour green, or wear dark-grey suits ('A homosexual wouldn't be seen dead in a blue suit'), or wear a club tie, or be instantly recognizable in a variety of different ways.

If the homosexual only importunes those people he believes will respond favourably to the advance, and if his judgement is fairly accurate in this respect, then it is unlikely that he will give offence to the general public, especially as such importuning is nearly always masked and relies upon the other man understanding the meaning of the glances or the words in the vernacular. The evidence from contacts in this group is that most homosexuals are good at recognizing other homosexuals, but possibly not as astute as they think they are. Certain types of homosexuals seem to go unrecognized, and some of the contacts report that they have never been approached by other homosexuals.

No one has ever approached me. I look as miserable as I can and it keeps them away.



The trouble is I look like a policeman. These places empty when I come in.

The important factor is not how many homosexuals the importuners fail to recognize, but how many men they take to be homosexual who in fact are not. For their own good, most importuners seem to be very cautious and rarely go beyond the enquiring glance unless they get some kind of response. As a rule the general public are unaware of soliciting by homosexuals, but there are probably two exceptions to this: (1) There are some men who are not homosexual, and yet are effeminate in dress or mannerisms. Bergler<sup>(13)</sup> calls this passive-feminine type of man 'the Milquetoast' and states: 'Until very recently even scientific literature mistakenly classed the Milquetoast type as homosexual.' (2) The man who is not homosexual, but enjoys pretending that he is, will invite and receive homosexual advances. There seem to be two motivating influences that lead a man to act in this way. Sometimes he makes the first move himself or he responds to the first glance and leads on the homosexual until the intentions of the latter are established beyond doubt; this type of man obtains satisfaction from learning that he is sexually attractive to other men but he will not permit homosexual activities; the personality traits that lead a man to act in this way are too complicated to be dealt with in this report. The other motive is simpler; there are a number of men who hang around the homosexual rendezvous in order to exploit homosexuals; here the aim is robbery or blackmail and this type will be considered in Chapter 8.

#### H. THE EXHIBITIONIST

It is quite possible for a homosexual to be offensive in the eyes of the public although he commits no homosexual act and is not importuning. Repulsion against homosexuality is so strong that the effeminate homosexual arouses disgust in many people even if he is merely walking down the street. However, among the younger generation disgust is more likely to be replaced by mockery or even an ironic wolf whistle.

Jimmy once had a very effeminate friend. He used to come down and stay with him and I used to go out with them. It was horrible—remarks, whistles, everything.

There is a tendency among the general public to think of all homosexuals as 'pansies'. This tendency seems to be becoming less pronounced in recent years but it is still common. To many people homosexuality is a laughing matter and this attitude is encouraged by the music hall jokes and the assumption that all homosexuals

are effeminate. While contacts were discussing their social difficulties, they often mentioned this point.

Normal people think we all wear perfume and swish down the street.

Ninety-nine out of a hundred think we're all like those bitches that go around talking camp as hell and swinging their hips and that.

Many writers have emphasized that a man with a homosexual predisposition does not necessarily possess any feminine characteristics. 'A more elaborate presentation of our data would show that there are a great many males who remain as masculine, and a great many females who remain as feminine, in their attitudes and their approaches in homosexual relations, as the males or females who have nothing but heterosexual relations. Inversion and homosexuality are two distinct and not always correlated types of behaviour.'—Kinsey.<sup>(68)</sup> 'External behaviour is not only an unreliable factor in identifying homosexuals; it is also completely misleading most of the time.'—Bergler.<sup>(13)</sup> 'In some forms of homosexuality, behaviour is in no way related to the behaviour of the opposite sex.'—Rado.<sup>(92)</sup>

In this research ten (8%) of the contacts were judged to have pronounced feminine mannerisms and eleven (9%) had slight feminine characteristics of one type or another. Smith<sup>(107)</sup> reports that 30 per cent. of his group of homosexual offenders were considered to be effeminate in appearance and mannerisms, and the balance typically masculine.

But as Mead<sup>(84)</sup> has shown, the concept of masculinity and femininity varies in different civilizations and the traits that our culture has decided are masculine or feminine are not to be found exclusively in males and females respectively. Slater and Slater<sup>(106)</sup> write: 'There are good reasons to think that the dichotomy into male and female is to some extent a matter of degree even in the anatomical field, and in the temperamental field still more so.'

Nevertheless there are a number of homosexuals who in dress, manner, and gestures act in a very effeminate manner. In a minority of these cases there may be a glandular cause for this, but a medical examination of others will reveal that they have completely masculine bodies. Also in this group of effeminate homosexuals there are some male prostitutes who, like the female prostitutes, find it easier to attract business if they wear a recognizable uniform.

Not only do these effeminate homosexuals invite condemnation from the general public, but the majority of homosexuals deplore this kind of behaviour. Seventy-seven (60%) contacts said they thought these effeminate men were repulsive, fifteen (12%) thought they were funny, nine (7%) said they were interesting, and only one

said he found them sexually attractive. Twenty-five (20%) had no strong feelings about effeminate men.<sup>1</sup>

I resent the reflection they cast on me.

I feel sorry for them—in a rather patronizing way, I'm afraid. But I also regret it, for it gives the tribe a bad name.

They make me feel sick. They degrade themselves and bring others into disrepute.

I don't find them sexually attractive. But they are often amusing and talented people. They do little harm—a great deal less than many others—and come in for a lot of abuse, even from homosexuals.

Ninety-five (75%) contacts said they would be embarrassed to be seen in public with these effeminate homosexuals.

I have walked down the street with one—more out of a sense of loyalty than anything else.

I hate screamers. I care what others think even if they don't and I don't want to be seen talking to them.

I think we are more embarrassed with an obvious homosexual than a normal would be. The obvious ones are more obvious to us, if you see what I mean.

I would be very embarrassed in the company of an effeminate man. I've only felt like this since I realized I was homosexual myself. Until then it didn't worry me and I tolerated them, but now I cannot risk being seen with that sort.

He was a bit camp and I felt embarrassed to be seen with him. But I suppose it is a question of degree because more than one person has been embarrassed to be seen with me.

The frequency of homosexual activities is lower in the group of effeminate men than it is in the sample as a whole (from Table P6/W2). Contacts in this sample confirm the general impression that few homosexuals find them sexually attractive.

I cannot understand it. To me the whole situation is that a man likes another man. If he liked women he would go to them, not to an imitation of a woman.

<sup>1</sup> Contacts sometimes made a distinction between the effeminate homosexual who sets out to ape a woman, and the obvious homosexual who displayed certain characteristics without being effeminate. The distinction was not always clear to the research worker. 'The really effeminate ones aren't so bad as the bourgeois lampshade queens with little shops or who work in picture galleries. Dressed in the height of fashion they're a scourge on society with their cultural pretensions. They're not only useless but harmful in the sense that their cultural influence is very strong and quite depraved.' 'There's a chap called Shelly with lilac-coloured hair. He wears very tight trousers and sandals. Actually he never has sex with anyone. He says he's given up being queer and is now just peculiar. I'd walk down the street with him because he has dignity, but there's another one called Amber with hennaed hair and I wouldn't like to be seen with him anywhere, because he's camp in a tatty way.'

The real music-hall type of pansies are not attractive to anyone. Their behaviour is not meant to arouse sexual desire; it's more like hitting people in the face. It invites antagonism and that's what these people are seeking.

They are outcasts in general society and not welcomed in other homosexual groups. It often seems that their only friends are other effeminate homosexuals. So why do they behave in this way? It is a challenging question, but the explanation would be more suitable in a psychiatric paper than in this survey. Most psychiatrists would agree that it is an act of defiance against society. In this report we are more concerned with behaviour than with causes and it is interesting to note in this connexion that the exhibitionist pansy is less interested in homosexual activities than the average homosexual, and some of them have practically no homosexual experiences at all.

Not many of my friends have much sex, they are all too camp. People are afraid to be seen with the camp ones. I suppose that's why I don't have much sex—not that I want it.

Not only is he not sexually attractive to the average homosexual, but he does not wish to appear attractive. This meretricious display is a substitute for sexual relations. When he does require a partner he is more likely to find a man who is not exclusively homosexual, but who occasionally uses an effeminate man as a substitute when he is unable to find a female partner. Several contacts suggested that the timid and inexperienced homosexuals are more likely to importune the very effeminate man because they feel it is safer and they are less likely to be rebuffed by a man who is obviously homosexual. The bisexuals and inexperienced homosexuals are also the men who are more likely to provide the effeminate male prostitute with most of his customers for the same reasons.

I feel sorry for them. They're shallow but often kind. The average homosexual is dead scared to be seen with them. They're more likely to be picked up by bisexuals.

Why do they do it? It's a mystery to me. They immediately become less attractive to ninety-five per cent. of all homosexuals. I suppose they get the uncertain out-of-town homosexual who would not dare make an advance to anyone else.

There is another kind of exhibitionist homosexual who, far from being effeminate, is excessively masculine. This type of man wears tight clothing or bathing trunks to emphasize his muscles and male anatomy and he is often an enthusiastic body-builder. There seems to be no equivalent in this country to 'Muscle Beach' in California, which is a meeting-place for physical culturists and also has a reputation as a homosexual meeting-ground. But there



do seem to be certain bathing places in London and elsewhere where homosexuals congregate to admire and be admired. None of the contacts in this sample can be said to belong to this narcissistic type, but twenty (16%) said they went to these bathing places to admire the male bodies.

I used to go quite often. Some of them have very beautiful bodies.

I go to the Lido although I can't swim.

I've got a big thing about seeing naked bodies and being naked myself.

To be truthful, I go to display myself as much as to see others.

Bathing trunks become briefer each year and today's fashions in men's informal clothing tend towards the caparisoned. It is possible that most of the men in this parade are out to impress their womenfolk rather than an admiring homosexual, but many psychiatrists maintain that there is a strong element of narcissism in most homosexuals. It is obvious that the exhibitionist and narcissistic element is common to the extremely effeminate pansy and the excessively masculine *poseur*, but it is difficult to judge how far this latter type may offend public decency.

#### I. APPEARANCE

In the previous section we have discussed the effeminate man who is recognized as a homosexual by almost everyone—sometimes without justification. In the section before that we considered the extent to which one homosexual recognizes another. We should now enquire how far the general public is able to recognize a homosexual. Many people seem to think they can, but in reality they are only recognizing the more obvious types who are a minority.

Eighteen (14%) contacts said they were recognized by many people, twenty-five (20%) admitted they were recognized by some, forty (32%) maintained they were recognized only by other homosexuals, and forty-four (35%) declared that no one recognized them.

I've never kept my homosexuality a secret. People must accept me as I am. I dislike the idea of hiding my way of living from a friend and then giving him a shock later. If they don't like the idea then we avoid meeting each other. It's quite simple, really.

Anyone who doesn't know must be dim.

Not by the average square. Sometimes by a gay boy, but usually only because I drop crumbs.

It never crosses their minds that I'm the same as the people they read about in the *News of the World*.

I'm not recognized, I get ample proof of that. I remember one dinner-party, there were six of us and we got talking about homosexuality.

The other two men were violently anti-queer. One of them was F—the M.P., and he addressed me like a father—'You've no idea how many there are about. I've got the knack of recognizing them and if you'd seen as many as I have, you'd be horrified by it.'

Contacts were asked what was most likely to give them away. Table J20/00 shows their answers compared with the answers they gave when they were asked how they recognized other homosexuals.

TABLE J20a/J20b  
Features that Aid Recognition

Features	How they are Recognized	How they Recognize Others
Eyes . . . . .	36	62
'Intuition' . . . . .	26	28
Not married . . . . .	23	8
Gestures . . . . .	19	36
Voice . . . . .	16	22
Walk . . . . .	11	25
Clothes . . . . .	10	14
Locale . . . . .	7	8
Vocabulary . . . . .	4	8
Others . . . . .	7	8

The feature most often cited as an aid to recognition is the eyes. When recognizing others, the contact often mentions gestures, voice, and walk but he is disinclined to believe that these features betray him. He prefers to believe he is recognized by 'intuition'. He very rarely feels his walk gives him away but he often recognizes others by their walk. Many people suspect him of homosexuality because he is not married, but he only rarely suspects other unmarried men of being homosexual. Gestures often give others away, but he is not so often betrayed by mannerisms.

Perhaps it would be a mistake to make too much of these inconsistencies; it is possible for a homosexual to go unrecognized himself and yet be adept at recognizing others. On the other hand it is clear that some contacts claim too much. For example, one contact says he is never recognized ('I'm not obvious'), but claims that he can recognize others 'by intuition'; another believes he is only very rarely recognized ('Quite a few of the queers I've met have said they'd never have dreamt I was queer'), but feels the eyes of a homosexual will always betray him.

Answers to questions seeking to know how far the contact is recognized must be accepted with caution. To many of them it is a prestige question and they would not like to admit that they are

sometimes recognized. Forty-two (33%) of the contacts said they were worried when they were recognized by casual acquaintances and as many as 101 (80%) stated that they took special precautions to avoid recognition, whereas only twenty-six (20%) did not seem to be concerned whether they were recognized or not.

When I was a sub-lieutenant I was extremely circumspect. I didn't make a single move after I'd got my commission. One day I was having tea in Lyons and shared a table with a guardsman. We didn't talk until he leant across and said, 'You like men, don't you?' It was a shattering moment. I was horrified that anyone should know.

If a man is only recognized because he frequents a homosexual rendezvous, obviously he has less to worry about, as he can assume that nearly all the others there are also homosexual. Even so, he occasionally gets a surprise and some contacts avoid these places for fear they will meet people with whom they work. Others assume, with a certain amount of logic, that both homosexuals will keep this knowledge quiet during their business relations.

At this [homosexual] club you can see peers, high-ranking soldiers, politicians and eminent people from all walks of life. I've met a business acquaintance there and we were at a high-level conference the day before. If I meet someone I know, I may nod to him but nothing more. If he wants to talk to me, we can arrange a business lunch, but at the club we do no more than recognize each other's presence.

After the interview each contact was rated on the success or failure of his attempts to hide his homosexual interests. The rating is, of course, subjective in so far as it depends in part on the reactions of the research worker to the contact's appearance; but the ratings also take into account the answers to a series of questions designed to show the endeavours each contact made to avoid recognition.

TABLE X12b/00

Extent of Secrecy	
A Very secret	39 (31%)
B Known only to other homosexuals	44 (35%)
C Known to be homosexual by close friends but not recognized by casual acquaintances or at work	27 (21%)
D Recognizably homosexual	17 (13%)

It seems fair to conclude that well over three-quarters (87%) of this group of homosexuals would not be recognized as such by the general public. But it is not always possible to assume that a man will not be suspected of homosexual tendencies even if he exhibits none of the mannerisms associated with homosexuality.

There's been some comment at work because I've not been seen out with any girls.

People are very aware of homosexuality nowadays and any bachelor with a nice flat is suspect.

I hope I'm not recognized but I think I'm open to suspicion because I'm not married.

When *Society and the Homosexual* (119) was published in 1952, it was stated that the main object of the book was 'to sweep away the prudish silence and superstitious prejudices that surround the subject. The problem of homosexuality must be brought out into the open where it can be discussed and reconsidered.' Seven years later it can be seen that this objective has largely been achieved. Especially since the publication of the Wolfenden Report many people who were at one time scarcely aware of the existence of homosexuality now tend to see it in places where it does not exist. Some men and women now suspect any man over thirty who is not married, and sometimes even younger men come under suspicion because they decide to share a flat with other men for reasons of economy or companionship. It should not be necessary to add that such suspicions are often unjustified.

While it is true that ignorance never solves anything, a state of half-knowledge can also be socially harmful. Since more people have become aware of the existence of homosexuality, more innocent men have become the victims of unwarranted gossip and vague accusations. A wife who finds that her husband is impotent has been known to accuse him of homosexuality; (13) a youth leader gives up his valuable work because there has been talk of his 'unnatural' interest in boys; in April 1957 a novel (122) was published which tells how a teacher is unjustly accused of homosexuality because he tries to help a maladjusted pupil. The novel may be fiction, but how sad it would be if a schoolmaster is discouraged from taking an extra interest in his work from fear of being accused of homosexuality.

The results of this research show that most homosexuals go unrecognized by the general public, and many of them are not recognized by other homosexuals. All the well-known clues are misleading and suspicions based upon them can lead to social injustice.