

Sexual anomalies : the origins, nature and treatment of sexual disorders. A summary of the works of Magnus Hirschfeld, comp. as a humble memorial by his pupils. A textbook for the medical and legal professions, ministers, educators, psychologists, biologists, sociologists and social workers, criminologists and students in these fields.

Contributors

Hirschfeld, Magnus, 1868-1935.

Publication/Creation

New York : Emerson Books, [1948]

Persistent URL

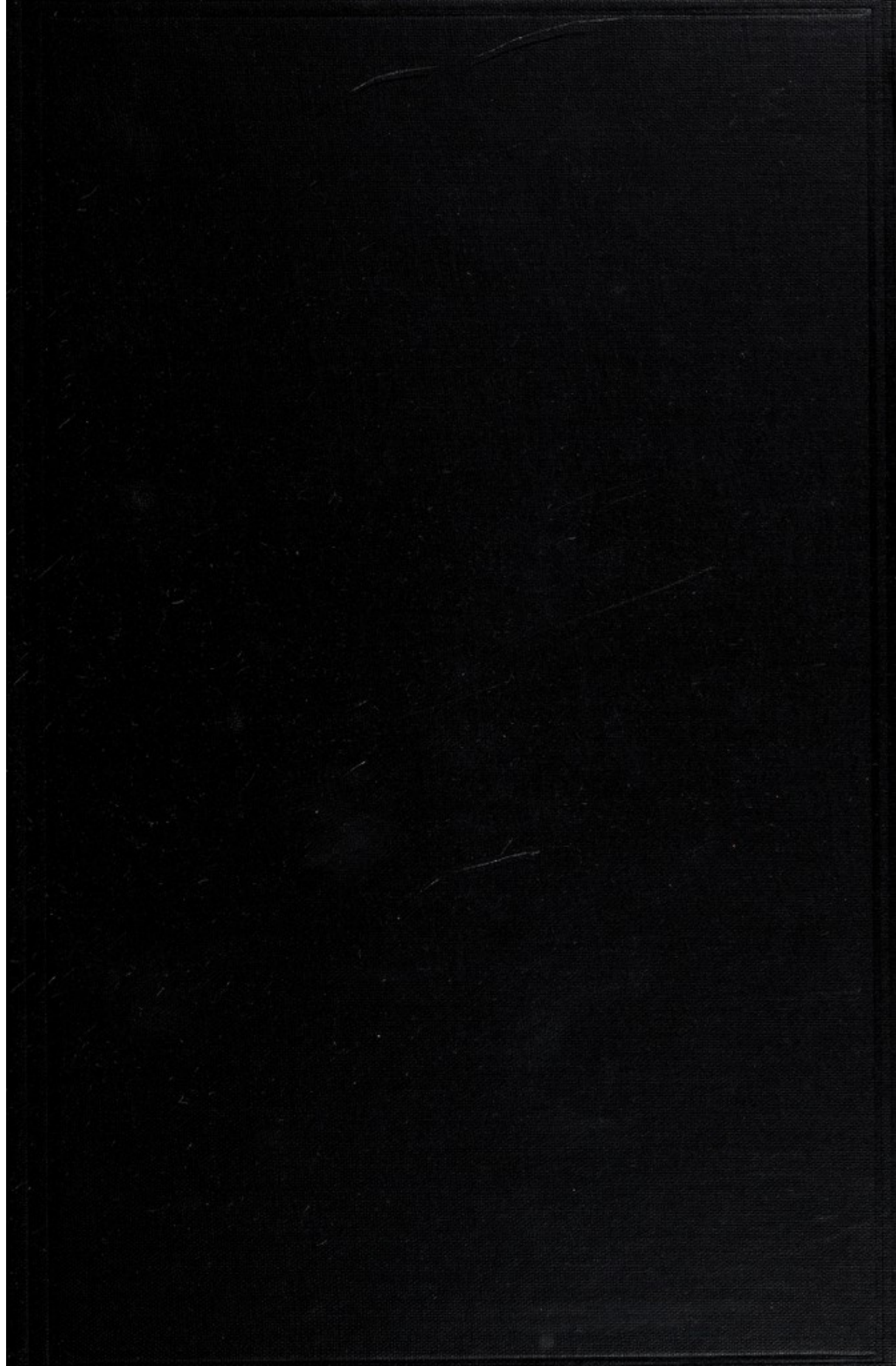
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SEXUAL ANOMALIES

Opinions from Medical Journals

"An exhaustive study of abnormal behavior in the field of sex. As a psychological study it is undoubtedly one of the supreme contributions to the subject. . . . This book can be highly recommended to the criminologist, the sociologist and the social worker as well as to the physician."—*Urologic and Cutaneous Review*.

"A textbook for those whose professional duties render a knowledge of sexual pathology necessary. It represents the life work of this distinguished authority."—*Ohio State Medical Journal*.

"As a reference book for students, psychologists, criminologists, probation officers, judges, and educationists, it may be recommended."—*Quarterly Review of Biology*.

"A knowledge of Hirschfeld's work is obviously an asset to the practice of medicine. . . . Each chapter is full of valuable information which we did not learn in medical school. In fact, I do not know of any other volume which has as much to contribute in the field of sexual disorders as that of Hirschfeld."—*Connecticut State Medical Journal*.

"It is largely the duty of the medical fraternity to explain, and if possible find out the causes of such abnormalities. . . . This book is well written, easily understandable, and can be recommended."—*Northwest Medicine*.

MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD, M.D.

Dr. Hirschfeld, after extensive preparation at five universities, and several years of general practice, became one of the first physicians to specialize in psychosexual diseases. In 1918 he founded the famous Institute of Sexual Science in Berlin, which was shortly thereafter taken over by the government as the Magnus Hirschfeld Foundation. In succeeding years the Institute was visited for research and study by thousands of physicians and scientists from all over the world. In connection with the Institute, Dr. Hirschfeld set up the first German Marriage Consultation Bureau, which became the pattern for similar institutions in many other countries.

In addition to his other activities, Dr. Hirschfeld was a medico-criminal expert of note, specializing in cases that involved aberrations of the sexual instinct.

[For a fuller biography of Dr. Hirschfeld, please turn to the Foreword, beginning on page vii.]

SEXUAL ANOMALIES

THE ORIGINS, NATURE, AND TREATMENT
OF SEXUAL DISORDERS

A SUMMARY OF THE WORKS OF

MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD, M.D.

ERSTWHILE PRESIDENT OF THE
WORLD LEAGUE FOR SEXUAL REFORM, DIRECTOR OF THE
INSTITUTE FOR SEXUAL RESEARCH, ETC. AUTHOR OF *SEX-
UAL PATHOLOGY*, *SEX IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS*, ETC. . . .
COMPILED AS A HUMBLE MEMORIAL BY HIS PUPILS. . . . A
TEXTBOOK FOR THE MEDICAL AND LEGAL PROFESSIONS,
MINISTERS, EDUCATORS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, BIOLOGISTS, SOCI-
OLOGISTS AND SOCIAL WORKERS, CRIMINOLOGISTS, AND
STUDENTS IN THESE FIELDS



NEW YORK

EMERSON BOOKS, INC.

1948

1822215

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The courts of our country have wisely and generously sanctioned rational sex education. In the Stopes case (United States District Court) Federal Judge John M. Woolsey stated: "The book before me here has as its whole thesis the strengthening of the centripetal forces in marriage, and instead of being inhospitably received, it should, I think, be welcomed within our borders."

In the Dennett case (United States Circuit Court of Appeals) Federal Judge Augustus N. Hand found occasion to declare: "The old theory that information about sex matters should be left to chance has greatly changed. . . . It may reasonably be thought that accurate information, rather than mystery and curiosity, is better in the long run."



PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Some time ago printed sheets of this book were shipped to the United States from England. The Customs authorities were notified, and were requested to examine the book and pass upon its admissibility under the provisions of the Tariff Act.* The attention of the authorities was called to Dr. Hirschfeld's position in the world of science, and to the fact that he ranked with Havelock Ellis and Sigmund Freud among those who had charted new fields of knowledge within the last few decades. Upon examination the Customs Bureau stated that no violation of any provisions of the Tariff Act had been found.

This was not surprising. Dr. Hirschfeld devoted a lifetime to the study of sexual deviations, and wrote a number of authoritative works. *Sexual Anomalies* is probably the most significant of these because it exhaustively summarizes virtually all the results of his intensive researches in the field of sexual science.

It may fairly be said that the book has a threefold importance. It is an invaluable biological treatise. It is a contribution to sociological literature because it deals with sexual phenomena in their relation to society. It is a practical manual for all those who have to deal with and be informed about the problems that sometimes arise from one of the most profound of human urges.

* Certain provisions of the Tariff Act prohibit the importation of matter deemed obscene or otherwise objectionable. These provisions are substantially the same as the corresponding sections of the United States Code dealing with the interstate shipment or mailing of such matter and are similar to the obscenity statutes of the various states.

FOREWORD

[The Publisher's Preface, substantially as it appears in the British edition, is reprinted below, in the belief that it will contribute to a fuller understanding of the life and work of the author, the distinguished medical scientist Magnus Hirschfeld.

[THE AMERICAN PUBLISHERS]

Sexual Anomalies, which is hereby offered to students, criminologists, educators, and others to whom the subject may be of professional interest, is a summary of the life work of the late Magnus Hirschfeld, M.D., and is issued as a modest memorial to a great scientist and a warm-hearted, courageous man.

In order to appreciate the work of Magnus Hirschfeld, it is necessary to recall that sexual science was really born in the second half of last century and that its early exponents had to contend with all the difficulties represented by social hypocrisy, misrepresentation, and persecution. The nineteenth century was a period of great scientific progress, both as regards research and as regards the application of its results. Yet the objective analysis and classification of sexual anomalies, which in both their origins and their effects constitute a social as well as a physiological problem, was taboo. The hypocritical morality of the nineteenth century refused to notice the existence of these phenomena, and placed every conceivable obstacle in the path of the courageous workers who were determined to study them.

One of the first pioneers in the systematic investigation of sexual aberrations was Dr. Kahn, a Ruthenian physician who, though living in straitened circumstances, with few opportunities for research, nevertheless enriched the science of sexual pathology by many important discoveries. Another pioneer who deserves recog-

nition was August Forel, who in his monumental work analyzed sexual aberrations with the same objectivity and attention to detail that he applied to his work on ants. Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* is still an inexhaustible storehouse of cases, to which modern investigators return again and again, in spite of the immense amount of more recent material. Havelock Ellis in his classic work dealt with the physiological determination of sado-masochistic phenomena, while Moll, Schrenk-Notzing, Féré, and Bloch, the great sexual physiologists of the late nineteenth century, were already able to lay the foundations of a general theory of the sexual sciences.

All these pioneers were punished, to a greater or smaller extent, for daring to seek the truth and to proclaim it. Havelock Ellis was long regarded as a pornographic author and for decades was not allowed to publish the results of his investigations in his own country. Krafft-Ebing had to contend with a like measure of prejudice.

And even Magnus Hirschfeld, whose life work represents a culmination of the work of the psychophysiologists who preceded him in the investigation of sexual anomalies, did not escape persecution. It is fitting that we should give here a brief history of his life and work.

Magnus Hirschfeld was born at Kolberg, on the Baltic coast, on May 14th, 1868. His father was a prominent and prosperous physician who lived only for his profession and inculcated in his son his own noble principles. Hirschfeld, senior, discussed his most important cases with his son, took him with him to his patients, and did everything in his power to foster the young man's interest in medical science. He impressed on young Magnus that although the experienced physician must be able to diagnose from the patient's appearance and general constitution, such intuitive diagnosis must be confirmed by objective facts. Magnus Hirschfeld, even at the height of his career, remembered his father's dictum, which must have influenced him in evolving his theories and in seeking the origin of sexual aberrations in irregularities of the

physiological processes rather than in the erratic nature of the moral consciousness.

But although Magnus Hirschfeld's early training seemed to predestine him for the medical profession, he took a wide *détour* before entering it. He began by studying philosophy and philology, though not in any Freudian spirit of revolt against his father's authority and profession. The explanation is far simpler. Magnus, like every talented young man during the years of puberty, had a literary urge and wanted to become an author, like Heyse or Sudermann, the demigods of the time. That he was not entirely mistaken will be clear to anyone who has read his books, which apart from mere precision of style afford aesthetic enjoyment and are sometimes brilliantly written.

In the end, however, Magnus Hirschfeld became a doctor, securing his diploma in the year 1893. But he could not bring himself to start a practice and settle down and, rationalizing his restlessness, he started to travel. He came to America and visited the model scientific institutes founded and maintained by wealthy men; but while he admired the gigantic dimensions and the rapid pace of the New World, he realized that the apparently iron-nerved big business men were in reality neurotic. He also visited Africa, where the hedonistic outlook and loose morality of the more primitive races definitely convinced him that the sexual prejudices of the civilized world were only social conventions, and implanted in his mind the idea that the persecution of people who satisfied their sexual impulse in a certain manner, such as homosexuals, was contrary to justice and humanity. Then he traveled to most of the big cities on the Continent, and established personal contact with the greatest authorities of his time on sexual pathology.

Finally, in the year 1910, he started a practice in Magdeburg. However, soon after he moved to Charlottenburg, with the firm resolve to specialize in the treatment of sexual aberrations, not only because his interest was centered in this group of pathogenic phenomena, but mainly because he realized that people so afflicted

were not treated with the understanding which the nature of their affliction demanded.

Hirschfeld was not only a doctor but also a friend to his patients.

He wrote a series of books recording the experiences he had in his extensive practice. His first book, *Sappho and Socrates* (1896), dealt with the psychological background of a homosexual army officer's suicide, his terror of discovery—and made Hirschfeld's name famous at one stroke. Thereafter his various essays, such as *Natural Laws of Love, Homosexuality*, etc., appeared in rapid succession, followed by his *Sexual Pathology*, in three volumes. One of his most important works was his monumental compendium of sexual knowledge (five volumes, three thousand pages), in which Hirschfeld summarized and classified according to his own method the results of sexual research. There is hardly an aspect of any sexual manifestation that is not dealt with exhaustively in this work.

His scientific and practical work confirmed Hirschfeld in his conviction that the social ostracism and legal persecution of homosexuals was senseless, inhuman, and unjust. In 1897 he formed a society to champion the cause of the unfortunate people who were afflicted with such congenital handicaps. Later he started a political movement and presented a petition to the Reichstag in an effort to obtain the revocation of the notorious paragraph 175 of the Criminal Code, directed against homosexuals. The petition was signed by many prominent men of the time, including Krafft-Ebing, List, Bebel, Dehmel, Gerhardt, Hauptmann, etc. But it was years before the movement started by Hirschfeld bore fruit. German public opinion failed to appreciate the nobility of Hirschfeld's motives.

The immediate consequence of the movement was that Hirschfeld's name became known all over the world. The younger generation of sexologists recognized him as their master and his consulting rooms were sometimes almost stormed by crowds of patients. His house became the research center of sexual pathology. The results of his own investigations, as well as the essays of his

collaborators, were now published in his own periodical, the *Monatsschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, which he founded in 1908 with the sexologists Rohleder of Leipzig and Kraus of Vienna. The official medical world could not continue to ignore the work of these courageous men, particularly because there was already in existence an Association of Sexual Pathologists, formed and headed by the most eminent representatives of the science of sexual pathology, including Hirschfeld, Ivan Bloch, Eulenburg, and Körber.

The most striking proof of Hirschfeld's noble idealism is presented by the circumstances in which the Institute for Sexual Science came into existence. Hirschfeld purchased with his own money one of the finest palaces in Berlin, and after endowing it with his collection of scientific material and equipping consulting rooms and laboratories in the building, he presented it to the German nation.

The "Institut für Sexualwissenschaft," before it was closed down by the German government under Hitler, was not only unique of its kind, but was also a pattern for other scientific institutes. It was a clinic and a free university under one roof. Medical advice was free, and popular lectures by the specialists of the Institute were open to the public. The library contained the whole of the extensive literature on sexual pathology, which was easily accessible to everyone interested in the subject. In 1919 a so-called Marriage Bureau was opened at the Institute, which was consulted by thousands of people. So successful was the Marriage Bureau that it was copied in many other countries.

Under the aegis of the Institute for Sexual Pathology and the Association of Sexual Pathologists, a whole series of scientific periodicals was started, and Hirschfeld was their life and soul.

The scientific discoveries of Hirschfeld and his followers added urgency to the question of sexual reform. In order to discuss the matter, Hirschfeld in 1921 convened an international congress, which was later followed by several similar congresses in Copenhagen, London (under the chairmanship of the famous English sexologist, Dr. Norman Haire), Vienna, and elsewhere. As a re-

sult of these congresses the World League for Sexual Reform was formed which, under the Honorary Presidency of Havelock Ellis, worked for the realization of Hirschfeld's humanitarian ideas.

For Hirschfeld was, above all, a humanitarian. He was also a champion of truth and justice in questions that were outside the sphere of his immediate interests. Thus he fought against alcoholism, and made the connection between the effects of drink and sexual anomalies the subject of close investigation. During World War I he raised his voice in protest against the orgy of murder and destruction and studied, with despair in his heart, yet impartially and objectively, the psychosis of war. During the years after the débacle he was the first to advocate the establishment of a Ministry of Health.

But even his versatile scientific and practical activities did not exhaust his energies. His passionate sincerity and his powerful personality were most impressive when he had to justify his principles in public. As the forensic medical expert of the Berlin courts he fought fiercely in hundreds of cases for people charged with sexual offenses, and in many cases it was due to him alone that prisoners afflicted with sexual abnormality escaped the degradation of a jail sentence and even the gallows. Hirschfeld therefore pioneered in putting into practice the theory, so widely accepted today, that sexual offenders should be regarded primarily as persons requiring medical treatment rather than prison sentences, which so frequently led to repeated offenses upon release from imprisonment.

Who can deny that humanity owed a debt of gratitude to this man, who devoted all he had and all he was to a great ideal whose realization removed the brand of shame from hundreds of thousands of unfortunate people all over the world? Yet his only reward was the satisfaction of his achievement. The world, including many for whom he had fought throughout his life, repaid him by a symbolic destruction of his life work, by persecution and, finally, exile.

With the advent of Hitler, the Institute for Sexual Science was closed down, Hirschfeld's collection destroyed, his collaborators

imprisoned or driven into exile. His valuable books were publicly burned as something unclean.

Fortunately, Magnus Hirschfeld was already in Paris by the time these things happened; otherwise his life of unremitting labor for the outcasts of society might have ended earlier. As it was, he had to taste the martyrdom of exile. Yet old and ill as he was, his spirit remained unbroken, and he continued to work and teach until the day of his death.

Before the rise of Hirschfeld, medical science regarded the abnormal manifestations of the sexual impulse as constitutional phenomena arising from the individual's physical and psychic make-up. The physical symptoms accompanying sexual abnormalities were recognized, defined, and classified; sexual perverts were divided into types and the connection between constitution and character was determined. The scientists responsible for these theories—Sigaud, Chaillou, MacAuliffe, also Moll and Kretchmer—worked on the basis of psychophysical parallelism, believing that constitution and character were manifestations of the same vital principle, as though nature were expressing the same idea by two different media. This hypothesis is undoubtedly true, and those who evolved it made only one mistake; they were too deeply absorbed in the mechanical mode of thought of the nineteenth century and applied their theory too rigidly in an unjustified belief in the strict consistency of nature.

Hirschfeld at the beginning of his career naturally accepted the valuable conclusions of his predecessors, but he brought within the range of his investigations the hormone theory, one of the most important medical discoveries of modern times. On the basis of this theory Hirschfeld and his followers evolved a now widely-held concept of the chemistry of sex. The essence of Hirschfeld's teaching was that he traced the development and manifestation of sexuality to the action of the hormones on the germinal glands and, while not rejecting the theory of psychophysical parallelism evolved by his predecessors, he formulated it with greater precision and gave it a firmer basis.

Hirschfeld's achievement from the scientific point of view may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. He discovered even before Steinach that the quantity and distribution of the sexual hormones (andrin and gynecin) exercise a decisive influence on the development of the entire sexual personality (theory of sexual phases).

2. He proved that all sexual anomalies are caused by irregularities in development.

3. He applied the results of the psychoanalytic school to sexual anomalies of physiological origin.

These teachings are today accepted by sexologists, and even orthodox psychoanalysts recognize them as the basis of the science of sexology, both as regards normal and abnormal sexuality.

The present work was originally planned by Magnus Hirschfeld himself. He intended it to be a textbook for those whose professional duties render a knowledge of sexual pathology necessary or useful, such as students, criminologists, judges, probation officers, educators. It was he who supplied the material, he who planned the arrangement of the text, as well as the form of the work. Unfortunately, he died before he could put the final touches to this summary of his life work. In fact, it was in the corridor of our Paris office, on his way to discuss with us certain points relating to this matter, that he had the seizure which resulted in his death.

His pupils then undertook to finish the work as a modest memorial to their great teacher. They have done so anonymously, for their share was only that of a plasterer who puts the final touches to an edifice that is otherwise complete, and they therefore thought it fitting that the present work should bear the name of Magnus Hirschfeld.

The arrangement of *Sexual Anomalies* is a logical, graduated presentation of the material.

Book I deals with the *normal development of sexuality*, phys-

ically and psychologically, from the embryonic phase to the phase of sexual death.

Book II describes the *quantitative irregularities of sexual development*, that is to say, the anomalies arising from the under- or overdevelopment of the physical and/or psychological sexual impulse. This volume therefore contains chapters on *infantilism*, *premature sexual development*, *castration*, and *hypererotism*.

Book III is devoted to anomalies due to a *deflection of the sexual impulse*, that is to say, a deviation from the normal direction. Self-love or *narcissism*, *hermaphroditism*, *androgyny*, *transvestitism*, and *homosexuality* all come under this head.

Books IV and V deal with sexual anomalies caused by the *independent development of component impulses*, which normally merge with and become subservient to the sexual impulse. The most important of these anomalies is the group of phenomena collectively defined as *sadomasochism*, to which a separate book is devoted on account of the great extent of the material to be dealt with. *Book IV* thus contains chapters on *sadism*, *masochism*, *sexual murder*, and *necrophilia*.

Book V describes other anomalies of the same basic type, such as *fetishism*, *exhibitionism*, and *scopophilia*, all of which arise from the independent development of component impulses.

It is the publisher's sincere hope that the present work will prove to be a worthy memorial to Magnus Hirschfeld and the great humanitarian movement which he initiated.

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BOOK I

NORMAL DEVELOPMENT OF SEXUALITY

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF SEXUALITY

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We know that the physical development, the growth in length for example, of the human body, is uniform from its embryonic state until it is fully developed. From the moment of conception the human body grows uniformly, though ever more slowly, till it reaches its full length, which happens roughly in about the twentieth year of life, when its development is complete.

The sexual development of the human body, however, does not run parallel with its development in other directions. Phases and periods in which the sexual development makes practically no progress alternate with periods when various transformations and changes in the sexual organs, as well as in the sexual mentality, take place.

To enable us to form a clearer idea of the sexual development of man, we will examine separately each alternating phase in this development; and we must emphasize at once that any disturbance of the normal course of these phases causes the sexuality to differ from the normal.

The following are the important phases in the life of man as regards the physical and psychological development of his sexuality:

- (1) The phase of embryonic development
- (2) The phase of quiescence
- (3) The phase of puberty
- (4) The phase of fully developed sexuality
- (5) The phase of the climacteric
- (6) The phase of sexual death

As we have said, the development of physical and mental sexuality in these phases is not uniform, a fact which is borne out by a closer examination of the individual phases.

We have called the first of these phases of development the *embryonic phase*. This definition is not altogether happily chosen, in so far as this phase of development ends a few weeks *before* birth, and thus a part of the embryonic period must be included in the next phase of development. The birth itself plays no part in sexual development.¹

On the other hand, the moment of conception itself is of the greatest importance in sexual development, for we know that the fundamental question as to whether the being in course of creation is to be male or female, is decided at the moment of conception. But in spite of this, the sex of the rapidly growing and developing embryo cannot be discerned for some time. It is only in the fifth week, when the general outlines of the body are already in existence, that the sexual organs begin to develop. This period, then, is the first quiescent phase of sexuality when, as we have already said, the body is developing, but we are not in a position, with our present scientific methods, to discern a development of sexuality. Thus, while we know that it has already been decided whether the future being is to be male or female, and therefore that its sexuality is present in a latent state, we are unable to de-

¹ The psychoanalytic school, of which we shall hear more later, refers indeed to a "birth trauma," and also to an embryonic trauma. This is, however, all hypothetical and in any case not scientifically provable, so that we need not take it into consideration here.

termine which it is to be, and for this reason these first five weeks may be called the embryonic latency of sexual development.

After the first five weeks of the embryonic period, the sexual organs begin to develop. This second period is of greater interest to us, for one of the most important laws of development, a knowledge of which is essential in tracing the origin of so many sexual disturbances, consists in the fact that the sex organs of the male and female are not differentiated before this period. They develop from a common anatomical origin which is the same in both sexes, and not until the next, or third, period, do they develop from this common origin into the male or female sex organs.

It may be said, therefore, that the embryonic phase of sexual development is divided into three subperiods:

(1) Period of embryonic latency (in which the presence of sex organs in the embryo cannot be proved).

(2) Period of undifferentiated sex organs (in which the anatomical basis of physical sexuality develops, being the same in the male and female embryo).

(3) Period of sexual differentiation (in which the male and female sex organs develop from the common anatomical structure).

Sexual differentiation takes place in such a manner that some parts of the original common structure become atrophied *without, however, completely disappearing*. Others, on the contrary, grow stronger, forming divisions and clefts which remain in one sex and close up again in the other. Thus both the male and female sex types are evolved from the same original structure.

We will now illustrate the foregoing by a few examples.

The most important sex organs in the male are the testicles, and in the female the ovaries. Both these organs originate in the same undifferentiated basic structure in the abdominal cavity. From this basic structure are evolved the female ovaries, which remain permanently in the abdominal cavity, and the male testicles, which remain there for a time, but which afterwards, still during the embryonic period, slowly sink down, until they occupy their final place in the scrotum. This sinking down of the testicles is most important, and we shall see later that certain disturbances originate

here and may produce very serious consequences. All the other sex organs are evolved in pairs, both in the male and in the female, from the same origin. The most prominent organ in the male sexual system is the penis. This evolves from the same embryonic structure as a small female organ, the clitoris, which is thus actually an undeveloped penis. The clitoris is situated between the inner lips above the opening of the urethra and is shaped like a miniature penis. Apart from the difference in size, it also differs from the penis in that it is not pierced by the urethra, or rather, that it does not surround the urethra opening. The young embryo presents a structure from which it cannot be foretold whether a penis or a clitoris will evolve. In the case of the male embryo this structure now begins to grow rapidly and to surround the urethra; in the female embryo growth is much slower and the urethra opening remains unenclosed by this small organ. The lips of the vulva and the scrotum similarly develop from a common structure. This common structure consists of two folds of flesh divided from one another by a cleft. In the female the cleft remains, while in the male the two folds of flesh grow together in the center, and later a single large fold of flesh is evolved which expands into a pouch, into which later the testicles sink down. It would take too long to enumerate all the various sex organs and we will only mention here that the foundations of a vagina and womb are present in the male embryo as well, but remain undeveloped and stunted. These undeveloped vestiges may, however, be observed even in a grown man; they are in the wall of the upper urethra, into which they debouch. Sexual disturbances may arise even during the developments which take place in the first embryonic period, leading to so-called congenital physical anomalies.

The period of sexual development, or rather of the differentiation of the sex organs, lasts several weeks, and once the male or female sex organs in the embryo are differentiated another phase in the process of sexual development, which we have called the *phase of quiescence*, begins. During this phase only unimportant changes in the sexual organs take place. While the embryo continues to mature and is finally born, while the suckling is develop-

ing into the small child, during all these years of general physical and mental development the sexual organs are in a state of almost complete quiescence, interrupted only by the third phase, that of puberty.

Even though the phase of quiescence is unimportant as regards physical sexuality, it is of all the greater importance in the development of psychological sexuality. Indeed, the psychoanalytic school goes so far as to say that this phase is decisive as regards the entire development of psychological sexuality.

As, however, we are in the present chapter concerned with the physical basis of sexuality, we will discuss the psychological aspect in more detail in the second chapter.

The third phase of sexual development, i.e. puberty, is characterized by the awakening of sexual development from the state of quiescence. This awakening is induced by the action of the chemical substance known as "hormones," which the sex glands—the testicles in the male, the ovaries in the female—then begin to produce, and which reach the organism through the blood stream.

However, before we proceed to discuss the nature and action of these sex hormones, we would point out that the sex glands produce not *only* hormones, i.e. a substance carried by the blood stream, but also the *semen* in the male and the *ova* in the female.

The function of the sex glands which leads to the production of the substance carried by the blood stream—the hormones—are called the *internal* or endocrine secretions of the sex glands. Their other functions, the production of semen in the male and ova in the female, which are not carried by the blood stream, are called the *external* or exocrine secretions.

The germinal glands begin to function in both these directions at puberty. At this time, the glands, previously quiescent, begin to form semen or ova, and to produce hormones. The mechanism by which they are led to do this will be discussed later.

It has been known for a long time that the germinal glands not only produce semen and ova, but are also of decisive importance to sexual development and the differentiation of physical and

mental characteristics. The first indications of this were gained through the age-old practice of castrating male animals, and also through the even older practice of castrating individual men. It was observed that castrated men and animals lost not only their reproductive capacity but also a number of physical and mental characteristics that are proper to male animals and men, and acquired new physical and mental characteristics that are proper to females.

The first scientific attempts to explain these phenomena were undertaken in the middle of last century. However, the results, as is so often the case with important discoveries, were disregarded. It was not until the end of last century, when the French scientist Brown-Séquard expressed the view, which he endeavored to support by experiments, that the testicles produced a substance—today known as hormones—which is responsible for physical and mental virility, that scientific inquiry into the internal secretions of the sex glands began. It was then soon found as a result of important experiments by several investigators, among whom Steinach was prominent, that *the testicles and the ovaries do produce a specific substance, i.e. hormones, which are responsible for physical and mental masculinity and femininity.*

The testicles consist of minute canals called seminal tubes, which produce semen cells. Between these tubes small islands, composed of cells, are distributed; these cells produce hormones, i.e. the *male sex hormones*. A similar process takes place in the female ovary, where tiny follicles contain the individual ova, the walls of these follicles producing a hormone each, i.e. *the female sex hormone*.

As early as the year 1912, when hormones were as yet not really known, Magnus Hirschfeld recognized their importance. He designated the male hormone as "andrin" and the female as "gynecin." During the last fifteen years research in connection with these hormones has made considerable progress. Recently they have even been represented in crystalline form, their chemical structure has been discovered, and hormones have been produced synthetically by a chemical process. Today the female sex

hormone is known as "folliculin" or "estrone" and it is recognized, as the result of numerous experiments on human beings and animals, that physical and mental femininity actually depend on these hormones. Another hormone discovered in the female organs is called "progesterone" or *corpus luteum* ("yellow body"). On the alternations of these two hormones—estrone and progesterone—depend the periodicity of feminine sex life, the external manifestation of which is menstruation, of which more will be said later. In the male, only one sex hormone is known so far, which is called "androsterone."

What, then, are the effects of the male and female hormones? The answer lies, on the one hand, in the physical and mental changes which occur on the appearance of these hormones in the organism at puberty, and, on the other hand, in the deficiency phenomena which are observed when the hormone-producing sex glands are missing or after they have been removed. We shall revert to these deficiency phenomena later; at this stage we are interested only in the changes that take place in puberty. In addition to the *formation of semen and ova* which, as has been stated, sets in with puberty, a number of physical and mental phenomena are to be observed at this time. We are chiefly interested here in the physical phenomena. In the male these consist mainly in a *greatly increased growth of the internal and external sex organs*, most evident in the penis and testicles. Further, a *growth of hair on the body* is observed, chiefly in the genital regions and the armpits, but later also in other parts of the male body—face, breast, arms, legs, etc. In the female also there is a growth of hair, in addition to an equally increased growth of the internal and external sex organs—but the growth of hair differs from that in the male. The growth of hair in the female is confined entirely to the genital regions and armpits, while the other parts of the body, namely the face and breast, are usually free from hair. But the growth of hair in the genital regions in the female also differs from that in the male in that it ends in a clear horizontal line above the genital region, that is toward the abdomen, while the hairy growth of the male in this part forms an upward jag, which ends

in a narrow, perpendicular line of hair reaching to the navel, or losing itself in the hairy growth of the abdomen. On the other hand, in the female the hair of the head is usually more plentiful and thicker than in the male. Further changes in the female consist in the *development of the breasts*, but the *whole figure* of the female at puberty begins to differ more and more from that of the male. The fatty tissues are differently distributed, and are usually more abundant, causing the female form to be more rounded. The hips are generally wider in the female than in the male, arising partly from the necessarily greater breadth of the bony pelvis in preparation for pregnancy and childbirth, and partly from the greater abundance of fatty tissues in the hips and buttocks. On the other hand, the male figure is narrower, less rounded, and the bony and muscular systems are more developed, and the height greater. Also the larynx or voice organ develops differently in the two sexes, the consequence of which is the difference between the male and female *voices*. In the female, puberty marks the beginning of the *periodicity of sexual activity*, which manifests itself by the monthly flow from the uterus through the vagina.

The points of difference between the two sexes enumerated here have been divided into groups according to their importance, and are referred to as primary, secondary, tertiary, and quaternary differences. The *primary differences* include the differences in the structure of the various internal and external sex organs—the penis, scrotum, testicles, and certain associated glands in the male, and the inner and outer lips, the clitoris, vagina, womb, and ovaries in the female. *Secondary differences* concern those organs which, although not actually sex organs themselves, are nevertheless connected with propagation. In the female, these consist of the breasts and the greater width of the bony pelvis, and in the male the corresponding lack of these. *Tertiary differences* are all those which have no connection with propagation, such as hairy growth, distribution of the fatty tissues, different development of the bones and muscles, and finally the difference in the voices. *The quaternary differences* between the sexes are the psychological, which we shall discuss in the next chapter.

Magnus Hirschfeld has suggested an alternative division of the sexual characteristics, which we shall take as the basis of this book:

- (1) The sex organs themselves
- (2) Other sexual physical characteristics
- (3) The sexual instincts
- (4) Other sexual psychological characteristics

It will be noted that the first two categories are concerned with the physical and the last two with the psychological characteristics.

Another fact that must be mentioned here is that the rudiments of all male characteristics are to be found in the female, and of all female characteristics in the male, a very significant law of nature which was observed by the great forerunners of sexual science, *Darwin*, *Weissmann*, and *Hegar*. Thus Darwin laid it down that in some, and probably in all cases, characteristics of each sex are latent or quiescent in the opposite sex, ready to develop under favorable circumstances. Weissmann also emphasizes that the presence of latent sexual characteristics of the opposite sex in all sexually differentiated beings must be regarded as general. Some examples of this, in addition to the previously mentioned survival of the sex organs of the opposite sex in an undeveloped or stunted form (the clitoris in the female and stunted vagina and uterus in the male), are the nipples in the male and the occasional appearance of increased hairy growth in the female (face, arms, legs).

What is the cause of these phenomena? We have already seen that the male and female sex organs develop from the same anatomical origin, and that in the male as well as in the female the rudiments of the sex organs of both sexes were originally present. Later research showed that male hormones, though only in small quantities, are present in the female, and that female hormones, in small quantities, are similarly present in the body of the male. That the presence of these hormones of the opposite sex may be regarded as the cause of the appearance, in certain circumstances, of more marked characteristics of that sex, is proved by the fact that in animal experiments the injection of hormones of the opposite

sex may cause the characteristics of that sex to develop to a marked degree. (Steinach and others.)

Although we have hitherto referred only to the internal secretions of the germinal glands, this does not mean that other endocrine glands are without influence in the development of the sex organs.

We have already raised the question as to how the hitherto inactive germinal glands become concerned in the formation of sex cells and hormones. Modern research into the subject of hormones has answered this question also. There is another endocrine gland, called the pituitary gland, whose function is the production of hormones. This gland lies in the undersurface of the brain, in a bony hollow, and produces several important hormones, only one of which interests us here, that which first appears at puberty and causes the activity of the germinal glands. *If the pituitary gland is removed in animals before puberty, or if, either in men or animals, it becomes diseased or is injured before puberty, then puberty does not take place and the germinal glands remain inactive.* If on the other hand, the pituitary hormone is injected into an animal which has not yet reached puberty, the signs of puberty at once appear in the animal.

While the germinal glands of the male produce a specifically male hormone and those of the woman a specifically female hormone, the pituitary gland of both sexes produces the same hormone: the ovaries and the testicles are thus activated through the same pituitary hormone. The pituitary hormone concerned is thus sexually undifferentiated. The phenomena of puberty are produced through this hormone, but not directly, solely through its influence on the germinal glands. If the germinal glands are missing or badly injured through disease, the pituitary hormone is powerless and puberty does not result, in spite of the presence of an active pituitary gland.

A second question that arises here is: If the pituitary gland causes the activity of the germinal glands and therefore the onset

of puberty, what causes the pituitary to produce its hormones? But so far science has been unable to answer this question.

However, the function of the pituitary is not by any means exhausted by the introduction of puberty; its influence over the germinal glands continues. Just as the germinal glands can attain their activity at puberty only through the hormones of the pituitary, so they may continue this activity only through the same agency. Should the pituitary be removed or seriously injured after puberty the activity of the germinal glands immediately ceases. They produce neither sex cells nor hormones; they deteriorate and become atrophied.

The pituitary is therefore the chief regulator of sexual activity.

Another endocrine gland whose functions are connected with sex life, is the adrenal gland. This small gland, which also only produces hormones, lies above and close to the kidneys. The connection between the activity of this gland and the sexual functions is not yet fully explained, but we know that the adrenal hormones have an important effect on the development of the sex organs and on the secondary sexual characteristics, chiefly those of the male.

With the complete physical maturity of the individual the puberty phase comes to an end. The combined action of the above-mentioned sex hormones now ensures the sexuality of the mature individual, introducing the phase of *complete sexuality*.

With advancing years the germinal glands gradually suspend their internal and external secretions, and this phase of slowly advancing deterioration of the glands is called the *climacteric*.

In the female, the phase of the climacteric occurs somewhere between the 40th and 50th years of life. The cause of the deterioration is to be found in the suspension of the activity of the ovaries. At the climacteric these organs cease to produce ova and hormones, and as a result the power of conception, the monthly menstruation periods and, in most cases also, mental sexuality, all cease.

In some instances there is even a partial change in the secondary characteristics in the direction of masculinity (growth of hair on the face, deepening of the voice, etc.). However, none of these deterioration phenomena appears suddenly; they come slowly and gradually after some fluctuations.

In the male the deterioration proceeds more slowly and gradually than in the female. Here also it ends with the suspension of the activity of the germinal glands, chiefly the testicles. The age when the male climacteric occurs varies with the individual more than in the case of the female.

When the process of deterioration in the activity of the germinal glands is ended, there begins the last phase in the development of human sexuality, that of *sexual death*.

In the next chapter we will deal with the psychological factors of the entire process of development.

II

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS OF SEXUALITY

PHASES OF PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT—THE "SOUL" OF THE EMBRYO—AWAKENING OF THE SEXUAL IMPULSE—SEXUAL STIMULI—INNER URGE—FREUD'S THEORIES—INITIAL AND FINAL ORGASM—COMPONENT IMPULSES—ACTIVITY AND PASSIVITY—INFANTILE SEXUALITY—ROLE OF THE ORAL, ANAL, AND URETHRAL ZONES—OTHER SOURCES OF EROTIC PLEASURE—CRUELTY—THE OEDIPUS COMPLEX—PSYCHOSEXUAL FACTORS IN PUBERTY—MASTURBATION—POLLUTIONS.

Whereas the different phases of physical sexual development are easily distinguishable, for the reason that they are always connected with external, recognizable, physical modifications (development of the sex organs, secretion of the glands, etc.), the individual phases of the psychosexual development are not so easily grasped. Hence the various scientific schools of thought hold different opinions as to this development, and Magnus Hirschfeld has rendered a great service in that the theory evolved by him provides a common denominator for the apparently contradictory results achieved by the most important of these schools.

It is self-evident that the *embryonic phase* can be of no importance in psychosexual development. Naturally there can be no question of mental sexuality until the mind comes into existence, and the idea of attributing mind to the embryo seems to us much too absurd to warrant discussion of the problem here. Some pupils of Freud (for instance, the lately deceased psychoanalyst, Fer-

enczi, of Budapest), insist upon the recognition of an embryonic psychosexuality and of a "birth trauma"; we, however, consider this assumption as belonging to the realm of fantasy.

So far, therefore, as psychosexual development is concerned, the first or embryonic phase does not count.

If we were to begin our inquiry with the mental equivalent of physical sexuality, we should have to start with the third phase, that of puberty, because this equivalent, which we call the *sexual instinct*, first makes its appearance at puberty, and is under the influence of the sex hormones which, as we have seen, are first produced during this phase.

But this appears to be in direct contradiction with the views of many scientists—to mention only Freud, Havelock Ellis, Stanley Hall, A. Moll—who maintain that sexuality exists in early childhood, during the period of quiescence.

What is the significance of this contradiction?

To answer this question we must examine more closely what is termed the *sexual instinct*, dividing it up into its component parts. By sexual instinct in its simplest form we understand the instinct which induces men and animals to achieve physical union of a particular kind (the sexual act: Latin, *coitus*, cohabitation) with a member of the opposite sex, involving the insertion of the penis into the vagina. The sexual instinct of the male differs from that of the female in that the male has a *penetrative* urge, while the female has a *receptive* urge.

However, this mutual desire of the male and female—the sexual instinct itself—is not permanently in an alert state, but is aroused by *stimulation* of various kinds, which may be external—in normal cases conveyed by sight, touch or smell.

For the comprehension of the sexual perversions which will be discussed later it is important to note that *sexual excitement may be induced not only by actual stimulation but also by the recollection thereof*.

In addition to external stimulation, which may be conveyed through the five senses, there is also internal stimulation, *an inner*

urge, which depends on the activity of the sex glands. In the case of excessive hormone secretion, which generally occurs when the sexual act has not been performed for some time, a desire for coitus may be experienced without external stimulation. On the other hand, repeated external stimulation will also arouse the inner urge. This urge produces a *sexual tension*, the character of which it is not possible to describe more definitely: its physical results are rigidity of the penis and moistening of the vagina in the man and the woman respectively.

Thus the sexual instinct consists above all in an impulse or desire (*libido*) directed toward a partner of the opposite sex.

We have seen by what internal and external stimulation sexual desire, the first component of the sexual instinct, comes into being. The second component of the sexual instinct is the urge to release this desire or impulse, which is achieved by the mutual stimulation of the membranes of the penis and the vagina respectively by the sex organ of the other partner—i.e. by the sexual act. This mutual stimulation of the membranes at first produces initial orgasm, which rapidly rises by reflex action to a peak of gratification, culminating in ejaculation in the case of the man and in orgasm in the case of the woman and accompanied in both cases by final orgasm.

To sum up: The sexual instinct has two component parts: (1) The sexual desire (*libido*), aroused by internal or external stimulation; (2) the urge to release this impulse by mutual stimulation of the membranes.

Optical, tactile, and other external stimulation, as we have seen, arouses both in the active and in the passive partner a desire for sexual intercourse. But optical stimulation does not necessarily involve the sight, nor tactile stimulation the handling, of the *actual* sex organs. The sight of *other parts of the body*, particularly those representing secondary sexual characteristics (the female breast, the female figure, sexual hair growths, etc.) may also arouse sexual desire. The same applies to tactile stimulation which may be effected by touching these parts, and indeed any part of the sexual partner's body.

In addition to the skin and membranes of the genitals, there are certain other parts of the body which are particularly responsive to stimulation. These include some parts which enter into sexual intercourse and, curiously enough, others which have nothing to do with it. These parts of the body are called "*erogenous zones*" (Freud). In the first group of these zones may be included the mucous membrane of the lips and the region of the nipples. In the second group, among those regions which play no part in normal sexual intercourse, are included the mucous membrane of the anus and the interior of the lower urethra. These are called oral, mammary, anal, and urethral zones. However, it should be noted that the division of the erogenous zones into those which play a part in normal sexual life and those which do not, is somewhat arbitrary. It often depends on cultural and other conditions whether an erogenous zone is or is not used in sexual intercourse. We need only point to the fact that certain peoples do not practice kissing, so that as regards these peoples the mucous membrane of the lips is not included among those erogenous zones which are connected with sexual life, or, to put it in a different way, these peoples have not yet discovered the erogenous nature of the mucous membrane of the lips. The same may apply to other erogenous zones.

The sensation of pleasure achieved by stimulating these erotic zones is in the nature of initial orgasm; final orgasm and satisfaction *can only be attained through the genital zones*.

In addition to these erogenous zones, we must also refer to the so-called *component impulses* (Freud). We have defined the sexual instinct as a desire for physical union of a particular kind. In addition to this main instinct, there exist certain collateral instincts which are partly connected with the erogenous zones. These arouse a desire to bring certain erogenous zones or any parts of the body of the sexual partner into close contact with the subject's own erogenous zones or with other parts of his or her body (kissing, embracing, touching, caressing, etc.). Further component impulses arouse a desire for the sight of the sex organs, the secondary sex characteristics and in fact any other usually concealed part of

the body of one of the opposite sex (scopophilia), and the opposite to this, the desire to show these parts of the body (exhibitionism). These impulses, in turn, are regulated by cultural and other circumstances, and their manifestation therefore depends on which parts of the body are usually covered. Those which, in accordance with custom, are habitually exposed, do not usually arouse these impulses; while on the other hand even those parts of the body which are not connected with sexuality may arouse the scopophile and exhibitionist impulses if, in accordance with custom, they are usually covered (calves, shoulders, etc.).

Other component impulses are connected with the activity of the male and the passivity of the female in the sexual act. Male activity includes penetration of the female sex organs, assault on these organs, and subjugation of the female body. However, this activity, which is connected with the primary instinct, may be extended to other forms of attack and subjugation, so that cognate component impulses may appear, directed to subjugation (sadistic component impulse). The contrary holds good as regards female passivity: there is therefore no need to discuss here the opposite component impulse (masochistic).

In Chapter I we observed that the physical sexual characteristics of one sex are also present in the other sex. We explained this by the fact that the male sex hormones are present in small quantities in the organism of the female, and vice versa, traces of the female sex hormones are present in the male organism.

The same principle holds good as regards mental characteristics, and it is therefore not surprising that a certain tendency to passivity or a passive masochistic component impulse should be present in the male, and a certain tendency to activity or an active sadistic component impulse in the female.

It should be noted here that it was Freud and his pupils who first drew attention to the role played by the erogenous zones and component impulses in sexual life.

While the actual sexual instinct leading to union of a particular kind (coitus) with the sexual partner first appears during puberty,

the erogenous zones and component impulses play an important part during the phase of quiescence, that is, before puberty. The psychoanalytic school calls the sexuality of this phase "*infantile sexuality.*" We on our part wish to leave the question entirely open as to whether or not this infantile sexuality is a true sexuality, and would even point out that the erogenous zones and component impulses need not necessarily be regarded as phenomena of an *originally* sexual character. Even though such impulses are invariably present in children and are always of a pleasurable character, it does not follow with certainty that this pleasure is equivalent to a genuine sexual libido. It is an undoubted possibility that these phenomena are not linked with sexuality till after the onset of puberty.

The reason we discuss these infantile component impulses here is that it is necessary for the understanding of certain sexual abnormalities.

Thus in tracing below psychosexual development during the *phase of quiescence*, we are in the main relying on Sigmund Freud and Wilhelm Stekel.

The first erogenous zone which plays a part in the life of the suckling child is the *mouth*, attention to which is drawn by *suckling*. The act of sucking is apparently accompanied by a kind of erotic pleasure, and the child is therefore led to produce this pleasurable feeling of its own accord by sucking its fingers or other parts of the body, as well as inanimate objects.

According to Freud, the evacuation of the bowels and the passing of urine are also accompanied by similar pleasurable sensations, so that the anal and urethral zones assume some significance. According to Freud again, this goes so far that the small child in some cases will hold back the stool till "by accumulation it causes strong muscular contractions and in passing through the anus may cause stimulation of the mucous membrane." (Freud.)

In order not to be misunderstood, we emphasize once more that the above phenomena, as also the play of the small child with its own genitals, need not necessarily be regarded as genuinely sex-

ual. At the same time, they *may be* of decisive importance as regards the subsequent sexuality. Freud says: "It may be taken that it (sucking) is practiced by those children in whom the erotic significance of the lip zone is constitutionally strong. Should this remain so, these children as adults will become adepts in the art of kissing, have a tendency to perverted kissing or, if men, develop a strong inclination to become heavy drinkers or smokers."

Small children have further sources of pleasure in the stimulation arising from their general care. Stekel writes: "It is, of course, natural that the mother should carefully cleanse the parts of the skin soiled by feces and urine, and protect them from eczema and skin troubles. This washing and drying of the genital and anal zones, the rubbing and powdering, the soaping of the genitals and anus in a warm bath, act as a strong sexual stimulant and are often accompanied by erection in the boy and by onanistic rocking movements in the girl." However, we must observe here that the sexual nature of this stimulation is by no means acknowledged by all the experts, nor are the erections mentioned by Stekel the rule, though it happens that ignorant nurses try to soothe a crying child by stimulation of the genitals. *The genitals are certainly capable of stimulation before puberty*, and the genital erogenous zone is operative in the child, though *it plays no greater role than the other zones*. The chief point is that *before puberty only an initial erotic pleasure may be achieved even in the genital zone*. The genital zone assumes the leading role, the capacity for ultimate erotic pleasure, only with puberty. The stimulation of the erotic zones induces in the child an initial orgasm that is different from that of the postpuberty period, in that the infantile initial orgasm is not combined with tension. This is a further indication that the pleasurable sensations of the infant are not sexual.

It follows from this that the so-called "masturbation" which takes place before puberty is of quite a different character from that practiced after puberty. During the infantile phase, therefore, "masturbation" in connection with the so-called erogenous zones plays the same part as masturbation on the genitals, and neither the one nor the other has an exciting effect in the sexual

sense of the word. It only exercises a soothing effect, and may be compared with smoking rather than with sexual activity in the adult.

The *component impulses* discussed above make their appearance in early childhood, and are not connected with sexuality. Freud says that the desire of infants to see others and be seen, as well as their cruelty, is due to component impulses. However, these phenomena only become linked with sexual life proper at a later period. The desire to see others and to show themselves is explained by the curiosity and lack of shame of small children. "As the opportunity to satisfy such curiosity can usually only be obtained through the performance of the two excretory functions, these children become scopophiles, eager spectators when others pass urine or evacuate." (Freud.)

As regards *cruelty*, a primeval instinct is involved here, which in the early stage of development of the species (phylogenesis) was employed for alimentative purposes. At all events, this instinct is innate in man, and is modified by the gradual development of compassion. How this instinct becomes linked with sexuality has already been mentioned.

Another group of phenomena, according to Freud, is concerned with the relationship between children and parents. These relationships, considered as erotic by Freud, may occur in connection with either parent; in boys, however, it occurs usually with the mother (*Oedipus complex*) and in girls usually with the father (*Electra complex*). It is not necessary to go so far, however. It is perfectly natural that the child should be bound closely to the mother, the person who cares for it, who is always near it, and concerned with its welfare. It is also often the case that a child feels itself drawn more to the parent of the opposite sex, but none of this need have any connection with eroticism or sexuality. We mention these relationships simply because these childish ties sometimes become too strong, in which case they may assume

importance in later life, and in some circumstances even in the later sexual life.

This is especially the case if, as may certainly happen (though it is exceptional), the tenderness between mother and child assumes more or less erotic character. In literature there are several examples of such relationships (Stendhal). The *true Oedipus situation* may thus arise. The eroticism of the mother is unconsciously projected on the child, and her excessive tenderness stimulates and hastens his psychosexual development.

Finally we often find in small children a certain amount of *curiosity as regards the genitals* of children of the opposite sex. They have the opportunity in this way to observe that persons of the opposite sex possess genitals which differ from their own. This curiosity may lead to mutual play with the genitals.

To sum up the phenomena connected with infantile "sexuality":

(1) Certain emotions and urges, which in adults are usually or almost exclusively connected with sexuality, appear in the child before puberty. These are concerned with the erotic zones and component impulses.

(2) There are certain relationships between the child and persons in its immediate environment which may influence the character of the later relationships to the sexual partner.

(3) There are also more or less isolated phenomena which may be regarded as traces of the true sexual instinct.

The *phase of puberty* always extends over a number of years. In the case of young men it often lasts for nearly a decade, approximately from the 12th to the 22nd year. During this period the personality undergoes considerable change, owing to the development of masculine or feminine sexual characteristics of the second, third, and fourth categories, governed by the internal secretions and determining the build, sexual instinct, and mental life. Although it is only the physical and intellectual tendencies already

present in the child that now come to the surface and unfold, this is the first time that they invade the consciousness, increasing the self-respect, self-reliance, and also the egotism of the child and bringing out more and more clearly the features which constitute his personality.

The girl, hitherto perhaps boyish, gradually develops womanliness, while the girlishly soft young man reveals his masculine characteristics with increasing distinctness. At one and the same time "the boy proudly withdraws from the girl," and the girl shyly withdraws from the boy, though only outwardly—inwardly they desire each other all the more intensely. Feelings of pride and shame become intensified, sentimentality and excitability increase; and the young person is dominated now by dreams and enthusiasms, now by enterprise, a desire for adventure or boastfulness.

Reverting to the phenomena which are closely linked with psychosexuality, we find that puberty brings a fundamental change, which is characterized by the appearance of the true sexual instinct. The appearance of this instinct is naturally not sudden; some traces of it occasionally appear before puberty. And from these traces the sexual instinct develops slowly and gradually, assisted by the child's growing knowledge of sexual processes.

What are the characteristics of the sexual instinct?

The chief characteristic, that the sexual instinct arouses a desire for physical union of a particular kind with a member of the opposite sex, we have already mentioned. From this it follows that the normal sexual instinct can no longer be characterized as "autoerotic" nor as "alloerotic," that is to say, pleasure will no longer be sought in the subject's own body nor in persons of either sex or of any age, *but in the body of a member of the opposite sex* (object of the sexual instinct). The normal sexual instinct may thus be described as "heteroerotic" or "heterosexual." It also follows that the sexual instinct takes a form with the male different from that with the female. *The male desire is directed toward activity, the female toward a passive experience.*

A further important acquirement of puberty is the capacity for the final orgasm. We have already remarked that this ultimate erotic pleasure is only attained through the genital erogenous zones, and then only after puberty. At the same time, *the genital erogenous zone achieves its primacy over the other erogenous zones*. From now on these zones are no longer a sovereign source of pleasure; their stimulation only serves to awaken actual sexual desire and to increase the sexual tension. The same may be said of the component impulses. *All these now become subordinate to the primacy of the sexual instinct.*

What form does the sexual life take during puberty? Here the phenomena as regards the male and the female must for the most part be considered separately.

At first glance the sexual life of the half-grown boy would appear to present a complete contradiction to the above. We spoke of the heterosexuality of the normal sexual instinct, yet the most frequent form of sexual activity during puberty is masturbation. However, masturbation cannot be regarded as autoerotic in the proper sense of the word. It now merely represents compensation for sexual union which, as a result of cultural conditions and also on other grounds, cannot immediately be achieved. Masturbation in normal circumstances is not an end in itself, and is usually practiced with an accompanying fantasy of sexual intercourse. When masturbation is no longer a compensation, but becomes an end in itself, we are confronted with pathological masturbation, which we shall discuss in a later chapter.

A further phenomenon are the nocturnal emissions which are accompanied by erotic dreams, and always occur when sexual activity cannot be carried out. The receptacle of the male semen is filled with the semen produced and this leads to certain phenomena induced by pressure, causing an ejaculation by reflex action.

With the completion of puberty, somewhere between the 18th and 20th years, there is usually opportunity for the sexual act to be achieved, and from now on the sex life of the man generally follows a normal course.

The years of puberty are somewhat different in the case of a girl. Although she matures much earlier, her inhibitions are much stronger, and she therefore frequently exhibits a negative attitude toward sexual intercourse. The inclination for the same sex—which is also usually present in boys from 10 to 14 years—is fairly strong in girls. Between the 13th and 16th year the sexual impulse, according to Stekel, becomes intensified, and on this account it is at these ages that the greatest number of seductions takes place. In the years that follow, inhibition again becomes stronger.

In girls also the sexual instinct is often diverted to the practice of masturbation. This occurs either through stimulation of the clitoris or the insertion of a finger or foreign body in the vagina, and finally through rhythmic compression of the thighs.

In the female, the four-week sexual period begins at puberty, bringing with it not only a physical but also a psychological periodicity into the life of the female.

Nothing need be said here with regard to the phase of complete sexuality.

As regards the climacteric, during this phase an intensification of the sexual instinct, which is of psychological origin, frequently occurs. Many men and women feel that they want to make use of a last opportunity when it is offered them during this phase. Hirschfeld has found an apt designation for this phenomenon; he calls it the "*lockout panic*." It is in this sense that this phase is referred to as the "dangerous age."

BOOK II

IRREGULAR SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT.
QUANTITATIVE IRREGULARITIES



III

IRREGULAR SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

IMPEDED DEVELOPMENT OF SEXUAL GLANDS—ABSENCE OF SECONDARY SEXUAL CHARACTERISTICS—CASES FROM HIRSCHFELD'S COLLECTION—UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF THE OVARIES—ABSENCE OF PITUITARY ACTIVITY—GIANTS AND DWARFS—GENITAL INFANTILISM—PREMATURITY—SEXUAL GIANT AGED FOUR—IS IMPEDED DEVELOPMENT CURABLE?—STEINACH'S GRAFTING OPERATIONS.

Having dealt, in the previous two chapters, with the normal development of physical and psychological sexuality, we will now consider those irregularities which exert an inhibitive influence on these processes of development.

The inhibitions to be dealt with here may appear during any of the three phases of sexual development, i.e. in the embryonic, quiescent, or puberty phases.

1. In the embryonic phase the inhibitions are naturally of a physical character, as at that phase there can be no question of a psychological sexuality, so that the inhibitions concerned relate to an organic irregularity in the formation of the individual sex organs.

2. The irregularities occurring during the period of quiescence are—apart from external influences or illness—mainly of a psychological character, as it is during that phase that the peculiarities which may become fixed for life and which Freud designates under the collective name "infantile sexuality," are evolved.

3. Finally, during the puberty phase irregularities of both a physical and a psychological character may occur, as this phase

is equally important to the development of physical and psychological sexuality.

However, in whatever phase the disturbance occurs, and whatever its nature may be, the result is always the same—the normal process of sexual development is hindered and the individual concerned fails to attain complete sexuality. As we shall see, the sexuality of such people stops at an infantile stage, and they are unable, for physical or psychological reasons, to pass beyond the stage at which the disturbance occurred.

With regard to the embryonic phase of development, we know that the development of the sex organs commences after the fifth week of this phase. First the basic sexual organ, which is the same in male and female embryos, develops, and it is only later that male and female sexual organs respectively, together with the corresponding sexual glands, evolve from this sexually undifferentiated unit.

We will confine ourselves here to consideration of the disturbances in the development of the sexual glands, leaving similar phenomena in the other sex organs to be dealt with in the chapter on androgynism.

We already know that the sex glands produce a chemical substance called hormones, so that if the normal development of these glands is disturbed, the disturbance naturally affects production of the hormones. As, however, hormone production of the sexual glands begins only at puberty, the consequences of the disturbance will become apparent only at puberty. Thus the disturbance in the development of the sexual glands referred to here occurs in the embryonic phase, but the effect of the disturbance does not manifest itself until the puberty phase.

As regards disturbances in the development of the germinal glands, the following three are the most important:

1. Complete absence of the sexual glands. In this case no testicles at all appear in the embryo and the scrotum remains empty. This phenomenon is called *anorchism*.

2. The testicles are present, but do not develop to full maturity. This is called *hypoplasia* of the testicles.

3. Finally, disturbances may take place if the testicles are normally constituted, but are held up during their descent from the abdominal cavity into the scrotum and, owing to their unnatural position in the duct through which they ought to descend, they become partly or wholly atrophied. This condition is called *cryptorchism*.

In the case of cryptorchism the greatly diminished testicle lies in a fold of the inguinal duct or above the duct.

The causes of these three disturbances are as yet unknown to science. Perhaps they may be due to a hereditary taint.

As regards the consequences of these disturbances in development, it is only natural that the affected gland should be incapable of performing its double function of producing semen (external secretion) and hormones (internal secretion). The absence of external secretion results in barrenness, while the absence of internal secretion entails the total absence of secondary sexual characteristics, since, as we know, the secondary sexual characteristics are formed by the action of the hormones; if no hormones are formed or their formation is incomplete, then the development of the secondary characteristics either fails or only occurs in an abnormal manner.

Here are two examples from Magnus Hirschfeld's ample collection:

The first case concerns a man whose parents were both suffering from rupture. This indicates an inherited weakness in the inguinal duct, as a result of which cryptorchism occurred in the patient. Magnus Hirschfeld describes the case as follows:

There is nothing remarkable to record concerning A.'s childhood; it was practically the same as that of his brothers. It was only when he reached adult life that the great difference, until then ignored by himself as well as others, became apparent—A. showed not a single characteristic of sexual maturity. When, at the age of 30, A. first called upon me, his sex organs showed the following condition, which has not changed since. In place of the scrotum there was a loose,

wrinkled swelling, both halves of which were empty. His member is like that of a boy of 4 years. In the slack state it is 2 cm., in the erect state 5 cm. long. A. induces erection by means of masturbation, which he has been carrying on since the age of 12, having then been seduced to this by other boys. No discharge of semen has ever occurred, yet he derives intense erotic pleasure from masturbation, so that he has been unable to give it up.

As regards his other physical qualities, the following is to be noted: He is 6 feet tall, and bigger than his parents and brothers and sisters. Nevertheless, his arm spread is 7 feet, i.e. even greater than his length. His shoulder, bust, and waist measurements correspond to the feminine average. The skin of A.'s body is completely hairless; only under the armpits and at the base of the penis are there a few hairs. There is not the least trace of facial hair. The hair of the head comes down rather low over the forehead, which has horizontal wrinkles. His face is also deeply furrowed, giving him an appearance of age, while his smooth, white skin suggests youth, so that it is difficult to guess his age. The distribution of fat on his body is very characteristic. There are considerable deposits of fat in the region of the breasts, which therefore bear a feminine character (gynecomastia). The same applies to the abdomen, buttocks, hips, and thighs. His face is also fat, and he also has the characteristic fatty elevations on the upper eyelids. The entire outline of his body, owing to the deposits of fat, is more rounded than is usual in normal men. His muscles are weak and flabby, and A., like most men without testicles, complains of lack of strength and endurance.

A. has a strikingly high voice. Accordingly, the larynx is hardly visible on his throat, while the vocal cords are one-third shorter than is usual in men of the same age.

A most remarkable feature of A.'s case is the fact that he possesses a perfectly normal sexual impulse both as regards direction and intensity, which does not usually happen. On the contrary, sufferers from this irregularity, who are called *androgynes* or *eunuchoids*, generally have no sexual impulse or only a weak one. A.'s sexual impulse is probably due to the fact that in his case endocrine activity of the testicles is not entirely lacking. In other words, he is suffering from a high degree of cryptorchism, in which

the testicles are nevertheless not completely atrophied. The germinal glands are incapable of forming semen cells, but have preserved to a certain extent their capacity to produce hormones.

The second case, also from Hirschfeld's collection, concerns a man in whom the sexual glands are entirely absent (anorchism):

Although the patient is 27 years of age, the secondary sexual characteristics have failed to develop. His entire body has remained at the stage which a normal male reaches just before puberty. He gives the impression of a boy of twelve. He has a high-pitched, childish voice, a daintily built body—he weighs barely 85 pounds—and childish movements, all of which contrast strangely with his intelligence and superior education. Owing to his youthful appearance, he has had difficulty in securing a situation consistent with his attainments.

In this case, naturally, no sexual impulse is present, yet the patient is regretfully aware that he is deprived of a certain happiness which is rated highly by normal people.

In the case of *women* a congenital defect of the ovaries leads in most cases to a childish, undeveloped appearance. The physical symptoms are as follows: A small womb, short, narrow vagina, slack, withered external sex organs, frequently without any hair at all, and, above all, atrophied ovaries. Naturally, such women are barren, and their secondary sexual characteristics are either completely undeveloped or badly developed. The breasts remain at the childish stage, with smaller nipples and areolae than is consistent with their age. There are no deposits of fat, and the shoulders and hips therefore lack roundness. The pelvis is narrow. There is, of course, no trace of menstruation.

As regards the sexual impulse, this is either entirely lacking or exists only to an insignificant extent. On the other hand, women thus afflicted show no intellectual defects.

It may also happen that while the sexual glands are normally developed and have reached their normal position, they are subsequently damaged and become atrophied as a result.

As we have already explained, the pituitary is the supreme regulator of sexual activity, in that it produces a hormone which induces activity in the germinal glands, thus causing the onset of puberty. The germinal glands maintain their predominant role throughout puberty, in that it is the germinal glands that spur the sexual glands to activity. If the pituitary ceases to function, the germinal glands also cease to function.

In view of this, it is obvious that a disturbance in the functioning or underdevelopment of the pituitary may seriously impede sexual development, such as an underdevelopment of the sexual glands (hypoplasia), which has been dealt with above. These pathological symptoms may be congenital, but may, on the other hand, be due to an underdevelopment of the pituitary. In such cases puberty is either retarded or appears in an incomplete form.

If pituitary activity is entirely lacking before puberty, then puberty does not appear at all. The individual concerned remains sexually infantile and either ceases to grow or is afflicted with abnormal obesity (dystrophia adiposogenitalis).

On the other hand, an affected pituitary not infrequently leads to an abnormal acceleration of growth. Brissau even thinks that every giant bears an infantile impress. A badly developed genital apparatus is characteristic of such giants.

In the case of two of the biggest giants who appeared at a Berlin show, Magnus Hirschfeld found that the genital apparatus was at the childhood stage.

All those cases in which sexual maturity is not attained at all, or only to an inadequate extent, owing to underdevelopment of the sexual glands or the pituitary, are designated as *infantilism*, since sexual development in such cases stops at the childhood stage.

Hirschfeld's classification, which we wish to follow in the present work, is as follows:

1. Genital infantilism
2. Somatic infantilism

3. Psychosexual infantilism
4. Psychological infantilism

We have already dealt, in the present chapter, with genital infantilism (inactivity of the sexual glands and the pituitary), and its consequences, i.e. somatic infantilism, (absence or underdevelopment of secondary sexual characteristics), and will consider the two remaining infantilisms at a later stage.

The counterpart of infantilism is *prematurity*, i.e. when puberty appears before the tenth year of life. Here, too, we may retain the basic classification, as follows:

1. Genital prematurity
2. Somatic prematurity
3. Psychosexual prematurity
4. Psychological prematurity

Genital prematurity has been frequently observed both in males and females.

There are even cases on record in which menstrual discharge appeared before the completion of the first year of life. Moreover, menstrual discharge may appear even before birth. Well-developed breasts and a distribution of fat characteristic of adult women, together with hirsute growth on the genitals and under the armpits, have been observed in children of from two to four years of age.

Naturally, such phenomena may also appear in boys. A boy may have fully developed genitals, a hairy growth on the body, and sometimes a masculine voice. Magnus Hirschfeld has recorded a case of this type:

R. I. learned to walk and speak at the age of one year. His teething was normal. During his first year of life hair began to grow on his genitals, and when he began to speak his voice was extraordinarily deep. From his second year he grew rather rapidly, but the growth of his genitals was far more rapid than his general physical development, and he even had erections. Intellectually he was not backward, and preferred to be in the company of adults. At the age of four his

genital organs were as large as those of a youth of 18, his voice was deep, and he had hair in the region of the genitals, in the armpits, and on his upper lip. No evidence of a sexual impulse was present.

What was the cause of these remarkable phenomena of *pubertas precox*? They may have been due to factors that accelerate development, or to the absence of impeding factors. The accelerating factors—the endocrine glands, such as the germinal glands and the pituitary—have already been discussed. In cases of prematurity, tumor-like growth on the ovaries and testicles has been observed, accompanied by an intensification of internal secretion, i.e. a premature and excessive supply of hormones to the blood. Removal of these tumors by an operation leads to an almost complete disappearance of the phenomena of prematurity. But a tumor-like growth on the pituitary may also induce genital prematurity. In such cases a premature production of the pituitary hormone which induces puberty occurs and the germinal glands are prematurely actuated to produce sex hormones. Finally, genital prematurity may also be caused by a growth on the adrenal glands.

Where prematurity is due to the absence of impeding factors a new endocrine gland, called the pineal gland, enters into the production of the irregularity. Like the pituitary, the pineal gland is in the brain, but whereas the pituitary is located in the lower surface of the brain, the pineal gland is on the upper surface, in the cavity between the cerebrum ("big" brain) and the cerebellum ("little" brain). This endocrine gland, whose function is not quite clear, produces a hormone that *impedes the activity of the sexual glands*. With puberty this impediment abates. But if this gland becomes affected it ceases to produce its hormone and, owing to the elimination of the impediment represented by the hormone, prematurity may occur.

As we have seen, genital prematurity always goes hand in hand with *somatic prematurity*, as the secondary sexual characteristics also become affected.

In the case of *psychosexual prematurity* the physical character-

istics are *perfectly normal*, yet literature records instances of small children performing coitus and other unmistakable sexual acts. As, however, there is here no physical basis of prematurity, such phenomena must be attributed to instruction by adults or the like.

Is underdevelopment or absence of the germinal glands curable? The possibilities in this connection are as follows:

1. Transplantation of the germinal glands of other individuals, or of "man apes." Naturally, the germinal glands thus transplanted will never be capable of producing semen, so that the patient's barrenness cannot be cured in this way. On the other hand, it has been observed that the transplanted testicles have preserved their hormone-producing capacity, so that the deficiency phenomena caused by the absence of hormone production can be eliminated. Unfortunately the effect is of short duration, as the transplanted germinal glands cannot function for long in their unnatural location and are usually absorbed in a short time by the body.

Transplantation of testicles has also been effected for purposes of rejuvenation. Voronoff transplanted the testicles of apes into old men, but the glands were quickly absorbed by the body and the rejuvenating effect passed.

2. Injection of sex hormones taken from animals. Such injections are also capable of mitigating or eliminating the deficiency phenomena. But the effect of the injections is naturally of short duration and they must therefore be repeated at frequent intervals.

3. *Steinach's operation*. This can only be carried out where the testicles are present and in a sound condition, i.e. where their activity has slowed down *solely for reasons of age*. Steinach's operation consists in *applying a ligature to the exit of the seminal ducts*, as described in connection with sterilization, where we have pointed out that *the semen-producing part of the testicle is incapacitated* in the process. In consequence of this the hormone-producing parts thrive better, produce larger amounts of male sexual hormones and supply the blood stream with them more amply. The regression phenomena are thereby mitigated in the whole organism.

As regards the therapy of cryptorchism, in particular, we are today in a position to cure this condition in early childhood by means of an operation or injections of pituitary hormones which cause the testicles to descend.

IV

CASTRATION

ORIGIN OF CASTRATION—EUNUCHS AND HAREM GUARDS—"MORTIFYING THE FLESH"—CASTRATION FOR MUSICAL REASONS—CONSEQUENCES OF CASTRATION—CASTRATION IN YOUTH—MEN CASTRATED IN WAR—CASTRATION IN THE THIRD REICH—STERILIZATION.

In the previous chapter we dealt with the absence of the sexual glands in cases where this condition arises in the embryonic phase owing to a pathological disposition, that is to say, a congenital defect. As, however, the sexual glands commence their activity only at puberty, the consequences of this congenital defect do not become apparent until that phase is reached.

But what happens if the sexual glands—particularly the germinal glands, i.e. the testicles or the ovaries—develop normally, and are normal at birth, but are subsequently removed in an artificial manner?

The process is known as castration and it, as well as its effects, are the subject of the present chapter.

Castration deserves attention principally for biological and historical reasons, and to a smaller extent on account of its low incidence at the present time. Castration is probably the oldest operation carried out by man on animals and humans. The origin of castration is lost in the dim and distant past, and it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty how primitive man came upon the idea. Emasculation in this manner was probably first inflicted as a punishment for rape and other moral delinquencies, and when it was discovered what fundamental changes castration induced

both in the body and in the mind, destruction of the sexual glands was also effected for other reasons. In the case of animals it was done in order to obtain beasts of burden and for fattening purposes, for it must have been easy to observe how animals after the loss of their sexual glands became tamer and also fatter, as well as more tasty as food. In the case of men there were other reasons. Tribal chiefs and other leading personages came to regard it as desirable to have men in their households in whom they could repose complete confidence without having to consider the danger of sexual disloyalty. This led, particularly in Asia, to the introduction of eunuchs, who by virtue of their loyalty, taciturnity, conscientiousness, and versatility sometimes rose to influential positions. While Mohammedans castrated for practical reasons, Christians did so for the sake of religion. The ideal of "mortifying the flesh" in the first millennium of our era, particularly in the Eastern Roman Empire, led many Christian priests to have themselves castrated. In certain religious sects castration is still practiced as a "mutilation that is pleasing to God." Another reason for removing the male germinal glands before maturity was the effect of this operation on the voice. The art of the castrated Italian singers was famous throughout the Middle Ages, and even later. As late as the eighteenth century more than 2,000 children were castrated each year in the Papal States for this purpose. Some of these castrated singers achieved world fame. At present castration in Europe and America is carried out almost exclusively for therapeutic, prophylactic, and race hygienic purposes. Therapeutic castration is carried out for various diseases (tuberculosis, cancer, etc.) of the sexual glands.

The consequences of castration vary according to whether it is carried out before or after puberty. This is only natural, for if castration is carried out in childhood, then the sexual glands will have had no opportunity to function at all, as their functioning commences only at puberty, and the individual concerned will develop no secondary sexual characteristics whatever. But if the

operation is carried out later, when the sexual glands have already functioned, so that the secondary sexual characteristics and the sexual impulse have already developed, then the consequences of castration must be different from those of the prepuberty period.

As regards castration before puberty, we need not go into details here, as the consequential phenomena are the same as in the case of congenital absence of the sexual glands (*anorchism*), with which we have dealt elsewhere. In both cases the sexual glands are absent, so that a sexual impulse cannot develop, nor can the secondary sexual characteristics appear. The whole body preserves its infantile character, the genitals remain small and atrophied, the infantile tone of the voice is retained, while the breasts in the case of the female and the beard, etc., in the case of the male, fail to develop. On the other hand, in the case of the male, secondary characteristics typical of the normal female, such as well-developed breasts, rounded hips and buttocks, appear; while the female develops masculine characteristics, such as a deep voice and a growth of facial hair.

These phenomena have already been explained in Chapter I, where we have pointed out that traces of masculine hormones are present in the blood of the female and traces of feminine hormones in the blood of the male. As, owing to castration, the glands characteristic of each sex, i.e. the testicles and the ovaries, are lacking, they are naturally incapable of producing hormones, and the hormones of the opposite sex act all the more intensively. This explains why a castrated man develops feminine characteristics and a castrated woman masculine characteristics.

If castration is carried out after puberty, i.e. at an age when the sexual glands had already functioned for a shorter or longer period of time, then phenomena of a different kind appear. The sexual impulse and the secondary sexual characteristics have already developed, psychosexuality has become firmly rooted, and the unfolding of complete sexuality has already taken place. The removal of the sexual glands and the absence of hormone produc-

tion affect the individual concerned as a shock, and it will be readily understood that the entire organism must suffer as a result of this shock.

We quote a few cases from the records of the Institute of Sexual Science to enable the reader to form an idea of the physical and psychological changes that take place in a castrated person.

Magnus Hirschfeld describes a case in which castration took place comparatively soon after puberty, and the consequences of castration were practically the same as if it had been carried out before puberty:

The case concerns the soprano singer B., who at the age of 21 had had a homosexual affair with an American. The latter, probably from jealousy, had mutilated him by stabbing him in the scrotum with a stiletto several times. The two lacerated testicles were later removed by a surgeon. Ten years later B.'s condition was as follows: The skin of his entire body is uncommonly thin and transparent. The hair has almost completely disappeared from his body, his muscles are soft and slack, he lacks elasticity and therefore also endurance and virile strength. On the other hand, he has developed ample deposits of fat and, in particular, a pair of breasts. The growth of hair on his face, which was strong before castration, has almost completely ceased. The larynx is small. B. possesses a beautiful feminine singing voice (soprano), which still continues to develop. He also appears to be feminine in his movements, habits, and inclinations. His sexual impulse has been completely extinct since his castration, but instead of this he has maternal urges. He has an extraordinary love for children, and would like to bring a child into the world himself. From the intellectual point of view B. is highly receptive and versatile in his interests.

That the intelligence of castrated people may sometimes rise above the average is proved by many historical examples (the Roman General Narses, the Prelate Origenes, the Portuguese statesman Brocchi, etc.).

Accidental loss of the sexual glands in the case of adults occurs most frequently in war. Like head wounds, wounds in the scrotum

have proved, by the deficiency phenomena arising from them, the connection between these organs and the rest of the body.

The consequences of castration are most instructively described by Falta in a case in which a man's testicles were removed on account of a tubercular complaint when he was 26 years of age:

Since his castration the patient, who is now 49 years of age, has put on weight to the extent of some seventy pounds. His sexual capacity (*potentia coeundi*) has remained, though he cohabits with women but rarely as his sexual impulse has considerably diminished. His moustache and body hair have become sparser, the hair on his genitals ends in a horizontal line as in women, and his member is only 3 cm. and 4.5 cm. respectively in the slack and erect states. There are deposits of fat on his chest, hips, and abdomen.

Another case concerns a man of 49 who was at the age of 46 castrated at his own request. His reason was an irresistible urge to excessive masturbation and perverted inclinations, on account of which he had already been sent to prison on two occasions.

After castration the patient became a great deal fatter. He had particularly large deposits of fat on the chest, abdomen, and hips. The hair that had previously covered his chest disappeared almost completely after the operation, and the growth of facial hair also became less. His member showed no change, and occasional erections, unaccompanied by sexual excitement, continued to occur. Before the operation the patient was violent and irritable; after it he became gentle, even sentimental. He is frequently sad and quiet.

This case shows that removal of the sexual glands even after puberty is apt to weaken and sometimes completely eliminate the sexual impulse. There are, of course, exceptions, and a great deal of reliable information is available showing that sexual desire, combined with the capacity of performing the sexual act, have been proved in castrated men. Naturally, the sexual act in this instance can have no fertilizing effect, as the sexual glands are absent and no semen is therefore produced.

As in the case of men, the sexual impulse in women does not show a uniform course after removal of the sexual glands. In the majority of cases both the desire for intercourse (*libido*) and pleasure during intercourse (*orgasm*) are very considerably reduced, though not infrequently both remain at their former level, and even intensification of the libido after removal of the ovaries has been observed.

The following losses, regressions, and changes have been observed after removal of the ovaries:

Menstruation and the concomitant physical phenomena cease. The genital organs deteriorate, the womb contracts, the vagina shrinks, the dimensions of the pelvis are reduced, and the voice generally becomes coarser, deeper, stronger, and more masculine. The skin becomes generally whiter, the brown color of the nipple court, and the sexual and anal regions disappears. On the other hand, there is an unfeminine growth of hair on the face and chest (round the nipples). After castration the breasts usually become smaller, flatter, and harder. Peculiarly enough, however, after castration the breasts sometimes swell and secrete milk and frequently the fat deposits increase very considerably. In many cases nervous and psychological disturbances substantially consistent with the climacteric have been observed.

Both in men and women the degree of the deficiency phenomena depends in considerable measure on the age at which castration takes place, or at which activity of the sexual glands ceases. As we have seen in the cases quoted above, the deficiency phenomena are most complete where the disturbance appeared before puberty. In cases in which castration takes place after puberty, the deficiency phenomena may be compared with those of hypoplasia, which phenomena have already been described in the previous chapter. The effect is the greater the earlier sexual gland activity ceases. If, however, the loss occurs at a late period in the subject's life, the physical and psychological deficiency phenomena become more vague and indeterminate, though they are never wholly absent. From this point of view we may distinguish between prepuberty and postpuberty loss of sexual glands.

There is also a natural process whereby the activity of the sexual glands becomes eliminated, i.e. the climacteric. The consequences are not comparable with those of the deficiencies occurring at an earlier age.

A few words on prophylactic castration and castration for purposes of race hygiene. Prophylactic castration is employed where the subject has an excessively strong, pathologically orientated sexual impulse leading to crime or other grave acts. In such cases castration, as already stated, weakens the sexual impulse, but does not always alter the pathological tendency.

In race hygiene castration is employed for the purpose of preventing the production of undesirable descendants. However, this does not necessitate castration, as sterilization meets the case adequately. Sterilization consists in applying a ligature to the exit of the seminal duct but leaving the testicles intact. The semen cells cannot escape from the testicles, and the resulting accumulation destroys the part of the testicle which produces the semen (exocrine secretion). The hormone-producing parts (endocrine secretion) remain intact, and even function more strongly. Consequently, a sterilized person will display no castration symptoms, apart from sterility. Nevertheless, sterilization very frequently leads to important psychological changes, but these are not a direct consequence of sterilization and arise from the subject's psychological reaction to his condition.

Sterilization of degenerates and the insane, with a view to preventing tainted descendants, has recently been legalized in parts of the United States and in Germany.

However, we hold that in the present state of scientific knowledge on this subject compulsory sterilization cannot be advocated. Owing to the complicated nature of the problem, the laws of heredity have not yet been adequately investigated, and animal experiments—most of the principles of heredity are based on animal experiments—cannot be applied to humans without qualification. In particular, we do not know with any definiteness whether the diseases in question are hereditary.

THE ETERNAL CHILD

PSYCHIC INFANTILISM—CASES FROM HIRSCHFELD'S COLLECTION—BOY OF 50—AVERSION TO BODY HAIR—IMPEDIMENTS OF THE SEXUAL IMPULSE—CASES AFTER STEKEL—FIXATION ON THE URETHRAL ZONE—EXHIBITIONIST URGE IN CHILDREN—ADULTS PLAYING SCHOOL—"MOTHER" LETTERS—SEXUAL ORIGIN OF SUCH GAMES—CASE OF A GUARDS OFFICER—PEDOPHILIA—HIRSCHFELD'S OPINION ON A TEACHER CHARGED WITH INDECENCY TOWARD GIRL PUPILS—GERONTOPHILIA—CAUSES OF INFANTILISM—ESCAPE INTO ILLNESS—POSSIBLE CURES.

The chapter on castration constitutes a necessary digression, and we will now return to our main subject.

In Chapter III we spoke of genital and somatic infantilism. We have seen that people who, owing to congenital defects, do not possess completely developed sexual glands, remain at an infantile stage as regards physical sexuality and can never develop complete sexuality either in the physical or the mental sense.

In the present chapter we propose to show that the development of complete psychological sexuality may be impeded not only by physical factors—such as the complete loss or underdevelopment of the sexual glands—but may also be interrupted regardless of the sexual glands.

In this connection we distinguish two forms of infantilism, namely, psychological and psychosexual infantilism, the principal difference between the two being that in the former case no sexual impulse develops, while in the latter the sexual impulse remains

at a stage that is inconsistent with the subject's physical development.

Let us take psychological infantilism first. Instead of complicated definitions we will only mention the characteristics of this phenomenon, which consists in the fact that an individual retains throughout his life the psychological attributes which are normally found in children before or during the process of maturity.

In order to make these characteristics clear to the reader, we quote a few cases from the records compiled by Magnus Hirschfeld:

H., draper's assistant, is 24 years of age. Although tall, he gives the impression of a youth of 16. His movements and gestures are wholly consistent with that age. His voice is like that of a boy in pitch and modulation; hair growth on the face is slight. He loves ribbons and bows, and is particularly interested in perfumed underwear lying in the wardrobe. He adores flowers, and is particularly fond of kissing them and of drinking water out of a rose. He sews neckties, cushions, and caps for himself, and down pillows for his brothers. The following statement of this patient is characteristic: "It is particularly distasteful to me to be addressed as 'Mr.' It depresses me, and I must be alone for some time afterwards before I recover and my spirits are restored; I do not feel a man, and I intend to wear my next new suit with knee breeches, so that people should not address me as 'Mr.' " We have here a symptom that is frequently encountered in people afflicted with infantilism—they are averse to regarding themselves as grown up and dressing as such.

These infants derive a great deal of pleasure from the "baby balls" occasionally organized in Germany after Lent, at which nearly all the adults appear dressed as children and carrying dolls or hobby-horses and other toys.

The following case is also from Hirschfeld's collection:

N., 50 years of age, feels happiest when wearing a boy's sailor suit. At such times he imagines that he is a boy of 12. At home in the evening he wears a boy's suit—he has seven—and sits in front of the mirror. This induces sexual excitement, but he does not touch himself as

he "is too young." He likes to play school with "other boys." On Sunday afternoons he goes with them to the fair ground and sits on swings and roundabouts. N. performs no sexual acts, either with adults or children. When he has played for a long time with his "comrades" on a Sunday afternoon, and then spends the evening at home in his boy's suit, he experiences a sexual relief that completely satisfies him.

Most infantiles have an instinctive aversion for any sort of hair on their bodies:

A 41-year-old infantile is in the habit of shaving off the hair from his genitals, as well as from his body and from under the armpits. He has had himself photographed in a boy's suit with knickers, three-quarter stockings—he attaches special importance to having his knees bare—and with an open-neck sailor blouse. On these photographs he looks a boy of 10, although he has inherited an important works which he manages successfully.

The chief characteristic of this type of infantilism is the total absence of the sexual impulse or its presence in a considerably weakened form.

The position is very different as regards psychosexual infantilism, where a sexual impulse is present, though it stops and remains at an infantile stage of development, the stage which Freud defines as *infantile sexuality*, and which we have considered in Chapter II, where we said that:

(1) Infantile sexuality is distinguished from adult sexuality by the fact that in the former sexuality is linked not with the genital zone but with other erogenous zones. In the infantile subject this fixation on the "other erogenous zones" persists throughout life; a transition to the genital zone which characterizes puberty either does not occur at all, or only in a very mild form;

(2) In infantile sexuality there is no sexual impulse proper, but only component impulses, and these component impulses remain the subject's sexual guiding principle throughout his whole life;

(3) In the period of infantile sexuality the objects of sexual desire are usually either children or considerably older persons; the sexual impulse of the infantile subject remains fixed for life either on children (*pedophilia*) or on older people (*gerontophilia*).

Naturally, the foregoing is not to be so construed as though all three phenomena appear in combination in every infantile subject. One may be a pedophile, the other a gerontophile, a third may concentrate his sexuality on the urethral zone, while a fourth may be dominated throughout life by the component impulse of exhibitionism.

Let us consider the three forms of psychosexual infantilism in the light of actual examples.

As regards the cases that come under (1), we have mentioned in Chapter II that infantile sexuality is generally linked with the oral, urethral, and anal zones, and it is characteristic of this group of infantile subjects that their sexuality remains fixed on these zones for life.

Stekel records the following cases:

A. W., a girl of 28, occasionally suffers from wetting by night, as well as by day. By night the wetting is accompanied by an erotic dream of some kind. She has masturbated since early youth, and has done this with the aid of her bladder. She holds the urine back until the need for relief reaches its peak, then she goes to the lavatory and presses with all her might against the bladder, in order to prevent the escape of the urine. At that moment intense orgasm occurs.

A certain author, aged 38, has been masturbating since youth with the aid of the bladder. He holds the urine back until he loses control of the bladder. He frequently urinates into his trousers, and this induces the most intense orgasm.

In both these cases the fixation of the subjects relates to the urethral zone. Here is a case of fixation on the anal zone, also from the collection of Stekel:

The patient says that he has retained many infantilisms to this day. He goes to a hotel, urinates and evacuates into the bed, and next day

he says he had had a fit and pays the cost of this peculiar pleasure. "I know of no greater pleasure than lying in a bed sheet wet with urine and full of feces. At such times I wear very tight trousers, and drawing the sheet up between my legs I wrap myself up firmly, so that I have the illusion that I am a baby with a napkin round me."

As regards infantile subjects in whom the normal sexual impulse is replaced by a *component impulse*, as we have explained in Chapter II, the component impulses exert considerable influence on infantile sexuality during the quiescent phase. The child's desire to see "indecent" exposure and its counterpart, i.e. infantile exhibitionism, are frequently apt to induce pleasurable sensations in the child. We spoke of scopophilia and exhibitionism.

At the same place we pointed out that sadism and masochism are also very frequent component impulses during this infantile period.

In infantile subjects, as we have seen, the component impulses may become fixed for life and may dominate their entire sexual life.

Scopophilia, exhibitionism, sadism, and masochism will be considered in detail in another part of this work, and we will only deal with them here in so far as they arise from an infantile fixation. It should be noted here that according to Hirschfeld it is difficult to decide whether a case of sadism, masochism, scopophilia, or exhibitionism is due to infantilism or to other causes, but that a certain degree of infantilism enters into these afflictions.

Hirschfeld's view appears to be confirmed by the statements of many experts who have had frequent opportunities to express an opinion on exhibitionists. They find it remarkable that exposure so frequently occurs before *children*. In the case of the infantile subject it also happens that the urge to expose himself is combined with an urge to use obscene words, *particularly before children*.

As regards masochism in particular, the Freudian school holds that this is *always* based on an infantile fixation on a component impulse, and that in certain children blows on the buttocks induce, in addition to the sensation of pain, a sort of erotic pleasure through

the indirect stimulation of the anal, urethral, and genital zones.

However, at this stage we shall only deal with scopophile, exhibitionist, sadistic, and masochistic phenomena in so far as they are undoubtedly based on *psychosexual* infantilism.

A case recorded by Hirschfeld demonstrates these connections very clearly:

R. K., aged 40, beer bottler, was a very sickly child and a bad scholar. Despite his great affection for his mother, he developed a bent for high-spirited boyish pranks—that is, when he was not confined to bed. He states that even in his earliest childhood he found it particularly desirable to be chastised for such pranks. At the age of 13 the sexual character of this bent was revealed through a chastisement he received from his teacher, for the same night he went over the experience in his imagination and had the first erotic sensations accompanied by a discharge.

This first sign of incipient puberty was followed by other phenomena of sexual development, such as the breaking of his voice, facial hair growth, conscious sexual impulse, etc. Upon the completion of maturity a certain sexual differentiation appeared, in that his active sexual inclination was directed toward adult women.

The directionally normal sexuality could not develop to full maturity, as the urge to remain a child forever had impressed the stamp of permanent infantilism on his sexuality, so that he has never been able to obtain really satisfying normal sexual relief.

Psychologically the patient shows an infantile character and immaturity in all respects. He covers his intellectual needs from children's books, fables and fairy stories of the simplest type. At Christmas he writes out a long list of presents he desires, asking for toy soldiers, hoops, balls, etc., and also to be "taken to the cinema once a week." The greatest desire of this 42-year-old man is to be able to wear boys' clothes and to be taken for a boy. He himself is not aware how closely his sexual emotions are interwoven with this infantile personality. His sexuality finds relief without any actual sexual activity merely by mingling with boys and particularly by a feeling that he is inferior even to them and more childish than children. This explains the pleasure he derives from having his very unsatisfactory writing exercises corrected and being reprimanded and even chastised on account of them.

His playing school in itself is quite harmless and has an erotic character only in the mind of this masochistically tinged psychosexual infantile. Subjectively, however, this childish game is to such persons equivalent to the sexual act, though to the youthful participants it is nothing but a game.

A typical case of this kind is quoted by Hirschfeld:

G. comes of a legal family, has himself studied law, but has passed no examinations. Today, at the age of 36, he is a clerk earning 100 marks per month. He is very alert mentally, but he lacks the will-power and patience to concentrate with calm conscientiousness on a task he has set himself. As regards his physical appearance he looks like a lanky college boy of 18, though he is exactly twice that age. G. says he feels 16, particularly in the company of old women whom he likes. In his diary he writes: "I need a woman who would see a 16-year-old boy in me, a spoilt, obstinate, capricious boy who has to be educated. Such a woman would exert a powerful influence on me if she used my erotic fantasies in achieving her aim. For instance, I am unruly during a walk. If she describes in a striking, vivid manner the chastisement I am to receive, that would fascinate me in the real sense of the word. The same would happen if I had to undress in front of her, while she herself is fully dressed." Another passage reads: "I would like to do school tasks which I would carry out so negligently—by inattention, errors, etc.—that a woman would have to punish me. The punishment would consist in my face being slapped, and in my being threatened with chastisement on my bare buttocks. In this connection the use of the words 'blows, weals, bottom,' etc., plays an important role. While the governess is using such words I cannot bring myself to look at her. Above all, she must forbid me the evil practice of masturbation. She herself may carry it out on me."

A similar masochistic group is represented by subjects who write "mother letters" and regard their sexual partner as their own mother, not merely as the mother of their children, and call her mother in that sense. The classic example of this group is the case of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who was afflicted with infantilism.

This infantile perversion is described in many novels written by masochists for masochists. We quote below an extract from Julian

Robinson's book, which is highly valued in such circles. One day the author is with Gertrude, his mistress, and he experiences a need to urinate. The procedure that follows is described in the book as follows:

"Oh, mummy," I said, "please, please, I don't know how to say it, but I've got to do something." "You must tell me what it is!" "I can't." "But you must!" "Well, ever since lunch and throughout the train journey I couldn't withdraw, nor can I here, as there is no suitable place. It's so awful to have to tell this to a woman." "I can guess what you have in mind," said Gertrude roguishly, "baby wants to be held over the chamber." "Yes," said I, blushing. "Well, mummy, can I have the chamber before you punish me?" "Oh, Gertrude," cries Julian. "Gertrude?" replies the woman. "How dare you, sir!" "Please, mummy," Julian corrects himself, "I only wanted to ask you to allow me not to say the word." "You must say it, otherwise you shan't withdraw. You must choose." "And so I was obliged to say the ugly words to my lovely Vivina"—concludes Julian Robinson—"and I hid my face while saying them, which appeared to give her immense pleasure. But I must have looked very natural and attractive, for she kissed me."

Such are the games and fancies in which these infants take pleasure.

Hirschfeld records a case of a similar kind:

The case concerns a young officer who had been shell-shocked in the field. The patient stated that even before that occurrence he had frequently had sexual fancies that forced themselves upon his mind, but which he succeeded in shooing away. Since his war injury he has been unable to do so. His fancies were of an entirely infantile character and he described them as follows: "The most intense erotic sensations are induced in me when I see a children's nurse attending to small children, particularly to little boys, and it gives me the greatest pleasure to imagine myself in the child's place. It also excites me to see little children being spanked on their buttocks. I myself could never take an active role as regards children; the very thought of it makes me feel uncomfortable and sick; all my sensations arise in my capacity as a passive spectator. I always go to the places where children's nurses attend to small children in the aforesaid manner.

I fix my gaze on the girl who thus attends to a child's requirements. This causes sexual excitement in me, and later I go home and revel in the recollection of the scene. Phrases that particularly excite me are: 'Will you be good!' 'Shall I get the cane?', 'Shall I spank you?' "The patient is 25 years of age, yet he likes to dress as a boy.

This case presents a combination of infantile scopophilia and traces of sadism and masochism.

The third category of psychosexual infantilism, in which the individual thus afflicted seeks the object of his sexual desire either among children (pedophilia) or among older people (gerontophilia) represents a perpetuation of that phase of infantile sexuality in which children engage in erotic play with their like or in which a strong fixation on the mother, father, or another older person is present.

We will illustrate this form of infantilism with a few examples, the first of which is the following expert opinion given by Magnus Hirschfeld before a court of law:

D. was a weakly, but not exactly sickly, child with a number of neuropathic characteristics, the most remarkable of which was the fact that until his 14th year he used to wet his bed. At the age of 19 he entered college where he failed completely in mathematics, and it was only by strenuous application that he succeeded, after four years instead of three, in passing his final examination with barely adequate marks. Having acted as teacher at two schools, he became the successor of the master at C., whose daughter he married.

Before and during his marriage he occasionally, though only at intervals of several weeks, had sexual intercourse, until at the age of about 40 a considerable loss of virility supervened, so that he could carry out the sexual act only at long intervals and with the greatest difficulty. In the following years, "particularly after strenuous intellectual work, he had a violent urge to play with the genitals of little girls" and this led to offenses for which he was convicted. According to his own statement, when this urge seized him while he was teaching, he was as though possessed and he acted under an irresistible compulsion which he did not understand.

A physical examination of D. produced the following results: The external sex organ is normally developed, but both testicles are considerably atrophied or rather undeveloped. Also, they do not lie in the normal position in the scrotum but in the inguinal duct (cryptorchism). A microscopic examination of the semen showed a complete absence of spermatozoa.

The psychological symptoms, combined with the typical physical characteristics, indicate beyond doubt that D. is heavily tainted and is a degenerate. His mental development has never passed beyond the infantile stage, and he is afflicted with a clear case of infantilism, which is probably connected with the impeded development of his sex organs. (The size and build of a man's penis has no decisive significance with regard to his sexual potency.) His entire sexual development and personality depend in the first place on the germinal glands (testicles) which provide the internal secretions which induce activity in the sexual center of the brain, determining physical and psychological sexual maturity.

But it is precisely these decisive sex organs that are considerably atrophied in D. and have never reached complete development. They have been held up in the inguinal ducts, are abnormally small (as in a boy of 10), and their secretions do not contain even a trace of the most important components, the masculine reproductive cells or spermatozoa.

In accordance with these symptoms, the secondary sexual characteristics—body hair and voice—whose development or modification similarly depends on the internal secretions of these germinal glands, are very imperfectly developed as compared with the normal male type.

His spiritual love for his wife, in whom he sees the support of his helpless existence, naturally—and as a matter of habit—persists, but his sexual inclinations have become vague and groping like those of a child. Thus his criminal acts were in reality, and their correct psychological perspective, sexual games of a child with other children, but—and this is decisive from our point of view—they were the dangerous games of a seriously afflicted person, who in view of his mental deficiency arising from infantilism, and his severe neuropathy, suffers from a complete lack of mental power to repress his pathological urges.

Another case:

M., 29 years of age, musician by profession, described his inclination as follows: "The difference between a schoolgirl and an adult woman has always been so tremendous in my eyes that others could hardly conceive it. How wonderful, how enthralling, how dainty are the figures of schoolgirls and how fat, plump, and coarse are the figures of grown women. Are normal people blind? One finger or the ear of a nine-year-old girl excites me more than several nude women. My urge for schoolgirls, which I am unable to satisfy on account of the law, I have hitherto tried to compensate in this way: when I have a schoolgirl near me or walking with me, I take hold of her by the hand, or place a hand on her neck or leg, and masturbate without the girl noticing anything. After masturbating in the presence of the girl I have a feeling of elation. I feel light, fresh, alert; there is something wonderfully harmonious in my whole being, something that I have never experienced and will never experience with adult women. After such an act of masturbation I feel satisfied for weeks, and the sight of adult women nauseates me."

The patient proceeds naïvely to explain that it is the grown-up women who are to blame for it that a man must not love a schoolgirl. "Owing to their sense of inferiority," he writes, "they conceal a fierce jealousy under the cloak of morality."

In contrast to the predilection of certain infants for undeveloped children, another group of infants, known as gerontophiles, have a sexual fixation on older persons. There are many cases on record in which youths of 20 conceived a violent affection for old women. Hirschfeld records the cases of an engineer aged 22 years who married a widow of 63 with a large number of children, and of a workman aged 19 who married a woman of 65 for love. Another infantile—who suffers from single cryptorchism—states that his erotic fantasies always included an image of his grandmother.

In order to elucidate the nature of gerontophilia, let us digress for a moment to what Freud calls the Oedipus complex. As we have already said, an excessive fixation in childhood on the parents or other adult may influence the future selection of a sexual

partner and also the relationship between the partner and the subject. Here is a most instructive case in this connection, recorded by Stekel:

Miss J. L., aged 26, only falls in love with old gentlemen who have snow-white beards. She had her first affair with an old man, whose mistress she was for two years. He died in her arms of apoplexy. An interrogation of the girl revealed that she had lost her parents at an early age and was brought up by her grandfather. Until her twelfth year she used to sleep in the same bed with her grandfather, who frequently played with her genitals.

An examination of the cases quoted so far shows that psycho-sexual infantilism is in the majority of cases accompanied by an impeded development of the sexual glands. In some of the cases cryptorchism was present, while in others an absence of spermatozoa was established. It is therefore absolutely correct to assume that infantilism is a consequence of physical underdevelopment. We have also seen cases in which infantilism was due to a fixation on a component impulse, which is characteristic of the infantile sexuality of most people. The difference between a normal person and a sufferer from infantilism is precisely this, that in the case of the former there is a transition of the sexual impulse to the genital zone, whereas in infants it remains fixed for life on certain secondary zones. The question now arises: how is it possible, where healthy development of the sexual glands is present, that the sexuality of one person will develop normally and that of another stop at an infantile stage?

Science presents several attempts to explain this phenomenon. However, the most probable explanation appears to be the one advanced by Hirschfeld, to the effect that there are many physical diseases in which no specific, anatomically apparent cause can be determined. For instance, of two apparently healthy persons living in the identical environment close to tuberculous patients, one will contract the disease, while the other remains unaffected, despite the fact that a 100 per cent chance of contagion exists in the case of both. Similarly, of two operatives working with the

same materials one will contract a disease like cancer, while the other, who works under identical conditions, will remain healthy. *It is therefore reasonable to assume that in each case the affected party has a hereditary disposition for tuberculosis and cancer respectively.*

Where no other physical explanation can be traced, Hirschfeld—and latterly also the psychoanalytic school, which had always disputed this—assumes the presence of a hereditary physical disposition.

Finally, there is a further type of infantilism whose principal feature consists in the fact that although both the internal and external sex organs are normally developed and *the sexual impulse also develops and functions normally*, there is, after a shorter or longer interval, a sudden regression to an infantile stage that had already been passed. The modern psychological schools (psychoanalysis, individual psychology) describe this process as follows:

It frequently happens in life that an individual finds it difficult to adapt himself to reality, and sometimes sees no other way out than to escape to a point that is far removed from danger. That point lies not in space, but in time; the individual returns to his childhood, a happy time in which, as Freud expresses it, "happiness without sorrow" was possible.

This is a somewhat complicated psychological process, in elucidation of which we quote a case recorded by Stekel:

Mr. G., a strong man, appeared in the consulting room in charge of his mother. She led him to a chair and said: "Drink, my child, so you can speak." The big man thereupon took a feeding bottle from his pocket and drank some milk with evident enjoyment. The mother then explained that her son had become ill three months before, previous to which he had been perfectly well, occupying a very well paid situation, and behaving as an exemplary individual in all respects. At the moment he was so weak that he must take a sip of milk and eat a bite of bread every quarter of an hour, or else he would collapse. A closer investigation revealed that G., who had previously carried on normal intercourse with women, had gradually become more and

more bashful, had again begun to masturbate, had got into the habit of staring in front of him, and had finally become incapable of dressing himself. He became childish, sometimes muttered unintelligible words like a child and smiled to himself. A psychological analysis of the case revealed the following: G. has a brother who, in contrast to him, is a waster. He does not work, and always demands money at home. The two brothers had not been on speaking terms for years. G. idolized his mother, on whom he had a strong fixation, and handed her every penny he earned, whereas the brother was always rude to her. It was only when G. saw that his brother, in spite of all his misdeeds, was allowed to stay in the house and continued to receive the mother's love, that the reaction occurred. The thought arose in his mind that as his own virtues were not rewarded, he would fall ill and turn lazy like his brother.

In the above case *neurotic infantilism* arose from the following sources: (1) Fixation on the mother, which facilitates regression; (2) a psychological experience which was, in fact, connected with this fixation (jealousy of the brother); (3) the desire to be ill and receive special attention and consideration. G., in order to obtain these results to a greater extent, played the part of a sick child.

"Escape" into illness is just as frequent in people affected by infantilism as escape into childhood, and the mechanism is the same. Naturally, the illness is not a physical, but a neurotic illness.

HYPEREROTISM

EXCESSIVE SEXUALITY—SENILE LIBIDO—HYPEREROTIST AGED 85—
 GEORGE ELIOT—NINON DE LENCLOS, LOVED BY THREE GENERATIONS
 —THE SEXUAL RHYTHM—SATYRS AND NYMPHOMANIACS—HIRSCH-
 FELD'S REPORT ON A PERVERTED HYPEREROTIC—OTHER CASES—A
 NYMPHOMANIAC WOMAN—INTENSE SEXUAL EXCITABILITY IN
 WOMEN—MODERN MESSALINAS IN WORLD WAR I—COITUS HALLU-
 CINATIONS—PRIAPISM—ITS CAUSES—LOSSES OF SEMEN—"FRIC-
 TIONISTS" IN THE UNDERGROUND—TREATMENT AND POSSIBILITY OF
 A CURE.

Hypererotism is excessive sexuality, and in order to recognize this condition it is necessary to know what is the normal degree of sexuality. However, opinion in this connection is sharply divided. One hundred and fifty cohabitations, i.e. three per week, is regarded by one author as excessive and by another as moderate or, at least, as not excessive during a person's best years. The intensity of the sexual impulse, both in men and women, varies so considerably that it is even more difficult here than in other sexual respects to draw the line between the physiologically normal and the pathological. There are people whose requirements in regard to sexual activity are very moderate, but there are just as many men and women in whom the sexual impulse can hardly be satisfied. Thus one of Hirschfeld's women patients complained that during the first eight years of her marriage her husband performed the sexual act with her four or five times every day. In another case an unmarried man reliably stated that he had had normal intercourse 1,000 times in one year.

Cases are by no means infrequent in which the sexual impulse retains a like intensity in later years. There are women, particularly widows, who for many years after the climacteric complain of intense sexual excitement and, particularly in men, a *senile libido* frequently occurs. A German painter in Rome, aged 85, assured Hirschfeld that he was still able to carry out the sexual act once a week. Like many old men, including King David, he was convinced that intercourse with young women had a rejuvenating effect. In another case an old man acquired his first gonorrhea at the age of 72.

In the case of women, in particular, it has been established beyond doubt that the internal secretions do not cease with the external. The cases of George Eliot, who at the age of 60 married a 30-year-old husband, and of Ninon de Lenclos, with whom three generations fell in love and had their love returned, are by no means unique of their kind. It is credibly recorded that Ninon "seduced" Monsieur de Sevigne when she was 34, his son when she was 50, and his grandson when she was 76. The latter affair took place shortly after the great tragedy of her life, which consisted in the fact that a young nobleman who did not know that she was his own mother, fell violently in love with her, and when, to curb his passion, Ninon revealed the truth to him, he stabbed himself fatally in her presence.

The duration of desire and capacity is subject to no less violent fluctuations in men than in women. Loewenfeld thinks, in view of his own experiences, that virility in men generally becomes extinct between the sixtieth and seventieth years and mostly toward the end of the sixties, but that cases in which sexual desire and potency are clearly manifested even in the seventies are not rare. Historical examples in this connection are not lacking. Goethe, for instance, fell in love when he was more than 80. Rubens was in the late fifties when, in 1630, he married Helen Fourment, who in the following decade bore him five children. Another case is recorded in the December, 1919, issue of *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*:

A man who will be 80 years old next January is suing his 44-year-old wife for divorce, owing to her obstinate refusal to cohabit with him. The wife declares that the husband, who looks 60, is sexually so strong that he demands cohabitation every day; in spite of his advanced age, he is in fact capable of carrying out cohabitation in an absolutely normal manner. The wife is refusing to perform her conjugal duty partly because the husband is otherwise unkind to her, but mainly because she is afraid of becoming pregnant, as he refuses to use a contraceptive. The wife also states that the husband is in the habit of satisfying his sexual urge in a perfectly normal manner, and unaccompanied by any perverted acts.

The *sexual rhythm* is a most important factor in judging the intensity of the sexual impulse. Both in men and women there is a periodic growth and abatement of the sexual impulse, entirely in accordance with the alternation of all other physical functions between rest and activity. Just as the healthy organism cannot remain completely at rest for a long time, and is at intervals subject to an irresistible urge for activity, so the uninfluenced sexual impulse is subject to the rhythmic growth and abatement of the sexual impulse, governed by the ebb and flow of the sex hormones. To what extent the sexual impulse is influenced from outside depends on the nature of the temptation; it is impossible to avoid erotic stimulation altogether, unless one withdraws from the world, and even then there is a "danger" of sexual fantasies at the periodic resurgence of the sexual impulse.

If we accept the sexual rhythm as the average standard, then *excessive sexuality or hypererotism is represented by a degree of libido at which sexual desire reawakens immediately or shortly after sexual relief.*

This condition, particularly when it is not confined to passion as such, but translated into excessive activity, is also called *satyriasis* in the case of men and *nymphomania* in the case of women, these designations being based on the mythological expressions "satyr" and "nymph" respectively.

Satyriasis is frequently confused with *priapism*, which, however, consists in prolonged erections arising from a pathological

condition of the body and is frequently unconnected with erotic sensations. For reasons of scientific accuracy, the expressions of "satyriasis" and "nymphomania" have thus been dropped and replaced by the collective expression *hypererotism*.

Hypererotism may be monogamous or polygamous.

The polygamous hypererotist lives almost entirely in the sexual sphere, and it may be said that his organism, and particularly his mentality, are nothing but appendages of the genital centers, so that it is not a case of a person with genital organs, but of a set of genital organs with a person attached to it. Such a person is accordingly always engaged in hunting for objects to satisfy his boundless libido. He will not let go until, sometimes by various devices, he possesses the person he desires. He has sexual intercourse daily, sometimes more than once daily, for decades. One woman patient, the wife of a cavalry officer, complained that her husband had "used" her for years eight times per day; when she refused he used to fly into a temper, run out into the street and bring in a prostitute, with whom he cohabited in her presence. Such men usually perform other acts in addition to cohabitation, particularly active or passive oral genital intercourse or *lambitus*, for which many of them have an irresistible urge. One patient writes:

"I have such an urge for *lambitus* that it takes all my will power to restrain myself from performing it on my wife."

But there are also other abnormal varieties of intercourse in this sphere. Shortly before World War I a lady of the Imperial Court in Berlin gave the following description of the sexual demands her husband was making on her:

"Up till now modesty forbade me to discuss my husband's perverted sexual impulse, which is my principal reason for wishing to divorce him. I cannot continue the marriage and remain healthy at the same time, as I have an unconquerable aversion and nausea for my husband's unnatural inclinations, an aversion which in the course of years has grown to an intolerable intensity. From the beginning of our

marriage my husband wanted me to lather his penis when he was in his bath, in order, as he said, to make our intercourse more enjoyable. He reproached me for not having mirrors in our bedroom, so that he could see himself during intercourse with me. Then he pushed the dressing-table in front of the bed, so that he could see in its mirror both our bodies. He was surprised that I did not derive pleasure from this. He frequently asked me whether I could not bring a friend, as intercourse *à trois* was far more thrilling, the friend's part being to lick my sex organs. It was his greatest pleasure to order me, at the moment when he reached the peak in his intercourse with me, to name other men. If I refused, his movements became so violent that they caused me pain. He also asked me frequently to kiss his member during his intercourse with me, and also stood in front of me completely stripped, in a state of extreme excitement, expecting me to admire his member. He also repeatedly demanded a method of intercourse in which he was to kiss my genitals, while I was to take his member into my mouth. Even in our daily life his conversation was full of obscenities, and he also demanded from me descriptions of an indecent character, because, as he said, that was exciting to him. He made a point of passing and repassing shops in whose windows pictures of nude women were exhibited, in order to excite himself. I expect it will be found understandable that I should have thought out ways and means to escape this sort of intercourse many a time. Thus I used to say that I had the menses, or stayed longer than necessary in the lavatory, in order to avoid the constant torment that his demands and actions represented to me. It was only gradually that I came to the realization that my husband's fancies, even if, as I think, they were due to pathological causes, were humiliating and degrading to me, and entirely inconsistent with my breeding and social position. At present my aversion and nausea for my husband's conduct is such that it would be both physically and psychologically impossible for me to return to him. I do not think that, as I had hoped for a long time, my husband could ever change, and I have an idea that his first wife left him for the same reason as I."

In the following case it is not the wife but the husband who has cause for complaint. The details are quoted from an expert opinion:

The man concerned has left his wife after only six weeks of marriage and is now suing not merely for divorce but for nullity. The only reason of the separation is the fact that his wife demands an excessive amount of perverted sexual intercourse, that she is not amenable to reason, that when the husband refuses to carry out the excessive cohabitation demanded by her she flies into a temper and forces him to comply by threats and violence and, finally, that the husband feels that his health is endangered by his wife's excessive demands. The man had considerable difficulty in revealing the details of his wife's demands. The wife, who is 43 years old, is highly excitable and insatiable in a sexual sense, but she is never "finished" if the natural method of intercourse is employed, even after hours of activity on the part of the man, i.e. she never obtains the physiological relief of blood vessel and gland tension which is the object and result of normal sexual intercourse with others. When the husband went to bed after a hard day's work, the woman began to excite him by all sorts of devices, and she did not recoil even from physical aggressiveness, such as the stimulation of his genitals *per os*. She compelled him to engage in the sexual act for hours and when this became impossible owing to repeated discharges, she demanded that he manipulate with his fingers for hours, until, as he says, his arms ached. And after that she would again resort to all sorts of devices, even the most shameless, to excite him again. She took no notice of her husband's exhaustion and disregarded his need for natural rest. In fact, during the six weeks of the marriage the husband had not more than an hour's sleep per night, as the woman always prevented him from falling asleep by various sexual manipulations, so that in the morning the husband started a day's strenuous work in a weakened condition from excessive losses of semen, while the woman stayed in bed till midday. If the husband refused her, she rolled on him, prevented him from falling asleep and tried to excite him sexually in spite of himself. Arguments and remonstrances were absolutely useless, as the woman claimed that the satisfaction of her sexual demands was no more than her conjugal right, and she repeatedly threatened to commit suicide. When the husband attempted to ensure sleep for himself and save his nerves by furnishing a separate bedroom for himself, the woman frustrated him by stealing the key, so that he could do no other than leave her.

As regards *polygamous* hypererotism, this frequently causes serious social conflict. Some married women hypererotics think they are entitled to have affairs with several men simultaneously, and this naturally leads to scenes of jealousy, particularly if the men concerned are also married. Here is, first of all, the case of a polygamous hypererotic man, reported by his wife to Hirschfeld:

Her husband, the son of a wealthy manufacturer, married her when she was 18, against the wishes of his parents, as she was a factory worker. In four years she bore him four sons; then she contracted an abdominal illness, which resulted in the cooling off of her husband's affection. She suffered deeply on account of his neglect, until one day she discovered that not far from their abode he was maintaining another woman, by whom he had already had three children. He had promised marriage to her. The woman obtained a divorce, and in the course of the proceedings it came out that the two women were in the same boat, as the husband was also maintaining a third woman, by whom he had had two children. The father maintained all the children with equal generosity, as he could easily afford it. The reason the wife came to the doctor was not connected with her conjugal troubles, but related to the future of her children. Her sons, though ranging in age from 14 to 18 only, were already leading a regular sexual life. The two eldest boys, as well as the youngest, had regular mistresses, the youngest having already been infected with gonorrhea. The second youngest, a very effeminate boy, was having homosexual relations with a boy of the same age and type.

Analogous cases of excessive sexual excitability also frequently occur in women. If the subject belongs to a poor or destitute family, she nearly always becomes a prostitute within a short time, and girls from well-to-do families also share a similar fate if their unrestrained libido drives them to "taste" a large number of men. Nymphomaniac women give themselves without resistance or discrimination to any man who accosts them in the street.

While genuine exhibitionism, which will be dealt with in another chapter, is comparatively rare in women, hypererotic women sometimes experience an urge to attract men by means of obscene movements, exposure of the genitals, the breasts, or the buttocks,

erotic movements of the hips, rapid licking of the lips, etc. These movements are generally accompanied by obscene language. Hirschfeld's experience confirms Krafft-Ebing's view that these lascivious acts are frequently induced by peripheral prurience. However, excessive sexual desire in a woman is sometimes based on an abandoned nature, as is proved by historical examples, such as that of Messalina, who was nicknamed "Invicta" after she rose "from the embraces of fourteen young athletes," or that of Cleopatra, of whom Marc Antony wrote to his physician, Soranus, that she had had intercourse at a brothel with 106 men. In 1917 a woman in Lodz bragged that in the course of a single day she had had relations with "two companies on a war footing." The example of Cleopatra, Agrippina, Livia, and Poppaea was followed by the Roman ladies who, at the Bona Dea, Priapus, and Saturn Festivals indulged in sexual excesses. Herodotus' statement that the Cheops Pyramid was built with the money which "the daughter of this king received from her lovers for the countless times she surrendered her body to them," is also relevant to this question, while at the same time it shows how opinion on questions of morality and decency change.

In rare cases unsatisfied hypererotism in women may be intensified to the point of *coital hallucinations*. These are always very hysterical women, who actually become ecstatic under the imaginary coitus; their uterus twitches and actually ejects the usual substance under the effect of an orgasmic sensation, exactly as in normal intercourse. Such paroxysms occur during sleep, in a state of intoxication, or in a hypnotic or narcotic condition, and they have actually led to unfounded charges of indecent manipulation and even rape against doctors, employers, and others.

Priapism, which has already been mentioned, is a pathological condition, in which the subject has an erection lasting for days, and even years, without any connection with the sexual impulse. This condition is due to the failure of certain nerves, local ulcers, etc.

This phenomenon is explained by the fact that the spine con-

tains a so-called erection center, which induces erections through the corresponding nerves. Between the ages of 60 and 70 an enlargement of the prostate gland frequently occurs, exercising a pressure stimulation on the nerves in question and producing erection.

In this connection it should be noted that the swelling of the member with which many men awake in the morning also has nothing to do with the sexual impulse, but is brought about by the pressure of a full bladder on the nerves referred to.

A homosexual had six children, with a seventh on the way, although his psychological attitude to his wife was entirely negative. He explained the position by saying, not without a certain pride, that he was making use of his morning erections. These children, therefore, owed their existence not to the sexual impulse, but to a full bladder.

The reputation which certain foods and preparations, such as celery, asparagus, and the cantharides, enjoy as promoters of sexual potency is due only to their diuretic action and irritant effect on the bladder, the genital reflex being an indirect consequence. Many so-called aphrodisiacs are nothing but diuretics. Alcoholic drinks, which are popularly regarded as exercising a certain degree of sexual stimulation, act in a similar way. The main point in this connection is, of course, the fact that alcohol dulls the critical faculties and also reduces the subject's psychological and sensory sensitiveness. Bladder complaints, as well as operations on the penis and scrotum, frequently cause priapism as a reflex, independently from the sexual impulse.

Like the mucous membrane of the urethra, so the adjacent rectum also exercises an irritant effect. For instance, the irritation of the rectum in children arising from worms frequently leads to erection, and this is sometimes the first step toward masturbation. Digital manipulations in the anal region, hemorrhoids, the rectal massage of the prostate gland, as well as blows on the buttocks, may induce a partial or total erection.

Priapism may also be caused by insect bites and diseases of the spine which lead to an irritation of the erection center.

Priapism has also been observed in cases of exhaustion combined with insomnia, or in cases of restless sleep, as, for instance, on a long train journey, as well as a symptom in leukemia (a rapid increase of the white corpuscles in the blood). Other diseases in which priapismus occurs are epilepsy, tuberculosis, and nephritis. In all such cases the erection center is probably affected by toxic influences, as in the case of priapism arising from the consumption of hashish and similar drugs.

However, the persistent erection which we call priapism may arise not only from peripheral or spinal irritation, but may proceed from the brain, as the following case shows:

Dr. R., Privy Councillor, aged 62, has been suffering for about fifteen years from prolonged erections which start every evening immediately after he has gone to bed, last throughout the night, and render sleep almost impossible. The erections are not accompanied by any sexual fantasies or by psychological phenomena of any other kind. The patient's libido, which was perfectly normal previously, is at present very slight. The patient, to whom the erections are a torment, apart from their harmful effect in disturbing his sleep, has tried everything possible to rid himself of them. He noted the erections with increasing anxiety each night and tried to fight them by urinating frequently. In fact, after urination the erection abated for a short time. The result was a growing need to urinate, which, like the erections, was present only at night. Next, the patient underwent all sorts of local therapeutic processes, some at the hands of the greatest authorities. The result was that his attention became increasingly concentrated on the seat of the trouble, the sensitiveness of the entire genital zone increased to a considerable degree, and his priapism accordingly became intensified. The diagnosis was general functional neurosis, particularly in the vascular system; there was no chronic kidney or bladder complaint. It was obvious that it would be a mistake to apply any further local measures. A general treatment of the neurosis was undertaken; atropin in minute quantities was given, in addition to small quantities of bromide and iodine. After about four weeks there was a very considerable improvement, which has since, in the course of several months, continued. The patient is able to sleep six hours a night without being troubled by erections, and the

need to urinate has also abated. Epicrisis: The priapism in this case is the principal symptom of a functional neurosis and a general vaso-neurotic constitution, superposed with intense psychogenic influences which were actually nursed by the local measures. Nevertheless, the active cause of the priapism may have consisted in local changes which may have arisen from an arteriosclerotic irregularity in the circulation in the region of the prostate gland, which was very slight and not provable.

As we have said, priapism may last for hours, and cases have even been observed where it has lasted for days and years. The persistent tension is all the more painful the longer it lasts and drives the patient to despair. Erotic sensations are in most cases absent, although occasional discharges of germinal and genital gland secretions occur, and sometimes also discharges of blood or bloody urine, the member being considerably heated. In most cases there is no desire for coitus, but if it is performed in spite of that, it is accompanied throughout by a sensation of pain, without erotic pleasure. The member does not slacken off either through coitus or through any other measures the patient may take, such as the puncturing of the member, which never relieves the accumulation of blood. Generally priapism becomes worse through cohabitation. Cases are described in literature of attacks of priapism appearing immediately after coitus. The pain, which is in itself intense, is frequently increased by the holding back of the urine. In most cases narcotics must be resorted to, of which morphine appears to be the most useful, while in other cases only surgical intervention affords relief, particularly when the direct cause is a foreign body or a tumor.

In addition to priapism, there is a pathological phenomenon connected with the excessive discharge of semen. Three forms of this condition are known. The so-called *pollution* mostly occurs at night, but sometimes also by day, the member being rigid. On the other hand, *spermatorrhea* usually takes place by day, and very seldom at night, and the member is usually slack. The third form of this complaint is midway between the above, and consists in

a discharge from a semirigid member which occurs, e.g. during horseriding, cycling, or, in easily excitable persons, in a jostling crowd.

As regards pollutions, it has to be determined where the normal ends and the pathological begins. Some hold that pollutions are a physiologically normal phenomenon, representing a natural safety valve, a periodic rejection of germinal cells by persons who do not lead a regular sexual life. Other authors hold that every involuntary discharge of semen is pathological. Hirschfeld is of the opinion that the truth lies midway between these two extreme views and that the decision as to whether pollution is pathological or not depends on various factors.

For instance, a discharge of semen in the case of a sexually *abstemious* person comes under an entirely different heading from that in the case of a person who carries on regular intercourse.

We know that practically every *healthy man* who does not engage in sexual activity has periodic pollutions. Pollutions first appear soon after the production of semen begins during puberty, and has the same frightening effect on young men as the first menstruation has on unprepared girls. It is therefore advisable that parents prepare their children for these phenomena not later than in their eleventh year.

The first appearance as well as the frequency of pollutions depends on various individual factors, but mainly on the subject's mode of life. It would be difficult to determine how many pollutions a man may have without his health being affected, for whereas one sexually abstemious man will have only one pollution every month, another will have one every week, or even several times a week. Sometimes it also happens that no pollutions occur for several days or weeks, then two or three take place in rapid succession. As regards the number of pollutions, it may be said that the individual standard has not been exceeded if the discharges leave behind no objective or subjective aftereffects, or better still if they are followed by a sense of relief and satisfaction. Generally speaking, the pollution intervals in the case of sexually abstemious persons vary between ten and thirty days. Some people consider peri-

odic pollutions useful in relieving nervous tension, but it should be remembered that in forming an opinion about their own pollutions, the people concerned are influenced by autosuggestive and hypochondriac factors. Donner quotes an old physician who, in 1784, recorded that he was once every four weeks tormented by a pain that affected his entire body, until he was relieved by a pollution. He noted the time, and thereafter anticipated the trouble in an obvious manner.

However, it sometimes happens that a pollution is followed the next day by a great lassitude or depression, and an impaired working capacity. If it should be argued that this proves that such complaints arise only when the pollutions are more frequent than the subject's constitution demands, the answer is that this is only true with a qualification, as generally the men so affected are neuropathics whose irritable nervous systems react badly to these nocturnal shocks. Those pollutions which are induced by slight external influences, such as a full bladder, a full stomach, a soft bed, etc., are also due to *hyperesthesia* (pathological oversensitiveness).

There are cases in which the pollutions occur nightly, or even several times nightly. In time the erections cease. These losses are unaccompanied by any sensation, and it is only upon waking in the morning that the patient notices traces of the discharge on the bed linen. Such nocturnal pollutions also appear to be unaccompanied by erotic dreams; at any rate, the patient has no recollection either of a dream or of the discharge. Such pollutions cause considerable weakness and frequently lead to backache, fatigue, heart complaints, nervous asthma, deep depression, and great irritability, and really belong in the category of sexual neurasthenia.

Less frequent, but a more serious sign of irritability are the pollutions occurring by day on the slightest provocation. These arise from slight external friction, such as contact with the saddle, and sometimes even through psychological influences. Thus, for instance, Hirschfeld had a patient who had a discharge of semen when he saw women wearing Russian boots with crossed legs; a more or less involuntary compression of the thighs was the direct cause of the discharge. In recent years many cases have occurred

in which patients complained of pollution when in a jostling crowd on the subway.

Hirschfeld was consulted by a clergyman of a celibate order who informed him that he had previously had erections and pollutions only very rarely, but that since the underground railways had become crowded it frequently happened that feminine buttocks came into accidental contact with his genitals, resulting in numerous pollutions. Those who know the number of "frictionists" are, of course, entitled to query the word "accidental."

A most peculiar type of pollution is that which occurs in some men under the stress of *fear*. These pollutions usually start in early youth in connection with some terrifying experience and are later repeated under similar conditions. Most people who have fear or fright pollutions develop into masochists.

Pollutions which are characterized by the fact that they occur without rigidity and without sexual excitement, mainly during urination or evacuation, are due to the fact that the abdominal pressure extends to the highly sensitive seminal cells and tubules. Such losses often appear in people who have previously suffered a great deal from nocturnal and diurnal pollutions, but they occur just as frequently in persons weakened by acute or chronic illnesses.

This condition, called *spermatorrhea*, is due to local causes, while pollutions arise from more general causes.

The *treatment of hypererotism* must be symptomatic or causal. The former consists in sexual hygiene and prophylaxis, but does not ignore medical and psychic sedatives. The etiological or causal therapy relates to the glands. In severe cases the removal of the testicles is resorted to, though it should be remembered that, as explained in Chapter IV of the present work, a complete suppression of the libido is not ensured by the removal of the germinal glands, no less than by their congenital absence. Hirschfeld has never recommended castration, not for the latter reason, but

because he held that for humanitarian reasons no second person, even a doctor or a judge, is entitled to go so far; but he records with emphasis that hypererotics who have taken this course—and their number is greater than is generally believed—have informed Hirschfeld that they have never regretted this step, and that although their sexual impulse has not entirely disappeared it has considerably abated and has become more amenable to control than before the operation.

Book III

DEFLECTIONS OF
THE SEXUAL IMPULSE

VII

MASTURBATION AND SELF-LOVE

"HUNTING FOR PLEASURE"—CHOICE OF THE SEXUAL OBJECT—CAUSES OF MASTURBATION—ITS EXTENT AND FORMS—ITS HARMFULNESS—MASTURBATION AND IMPOTENCE—NARCISSUS—THE MIRROR MAN—THE MIRROR ACT—MIRROR HALL—NUDE PICTURES—IN LOVE WITH THEIR OWN NAKED BODY—PHYSICAL CULTURE AND EROTICISM—CLOTHES AND SELF-LOVE—DANCING NARCISSISM—SELF-TORMENT—LACE SKIRT BEFORE THE MIRROR—OFFICER IN WOMEN'S CLOTHES—A DOUBLE LIFE—A PSYCHOANALYST'S VIEW—SELF-LOVE AND EXHIBITIONISM—TREATMENT.

We have already mentioned that, according to Freud, the pleasurable sensations induced by children by rubbing the erogenous zones on their bodies, sucking and other similar actions, are sexually accentuated, and up to the second year of life the child's only source for this kind of pleasure is its own body.

After the second year the child's own body is in this respect relegated to the background and in its stead an erotically accentuated fixation on the parents or some other adult takes place, without any differentiation as regards sex, so that the child's selection of an object is nonsexual.

After this follows a stage of stagnation in the child's "hunt for pleasure," as its energy is wholly absorbed in learning the language, acquiring a rudimentary education, and carrying out its duties.

Shortly before puberty, according to Freud, the child's body once more comes into the foreground. The child observes that a great evolution, puberty, is taking place in its body, and its atten-

tion is concentrated on its own sexual self, until with the appearance of puberty the choice of object is transferred from the child's own body to other persons.

Here, again, there are two stages. In the first stage the sexual impulse is usually directed toward *the same sex*. This is the stage of the "great friendships" which link boys with boys and girls with girls, the stage at which boys and girls "fall in love" with their teachers. These friendships and "loves" are not consciously erotic, and only the keen eye of the psychologist will discern behind them a vague seeking, i.e. a new stage in the choice of an object in the "hunt for pleasure."

After this fluctuation the sexual impulse is finally fixed permanently on the opposite sex, and this concludes the aspect of development in question. The *choice of object* therefore passes through several stages, which may be summed up as follows:

1. The child's own body
2. Parents or nurses without sexual differentiation
3. Complete sexlessness
4. The child's own body
5. The same sex
6. The opposite sex

We have already explained in connection with infantilism that in hereditarily predisposed persons the process outlined above may remain fixed at the second and third stages, and we have seen the consequences of such fixation. In this chapter we will deal with those anomalies which arise from the fixation indicated under 4, i.e. with pathological self-love.

Before Hirschfeld came to the fore no distinction was made between masturbation and self-love proper. In order to avoid a possible confusion of these two phenomena, we will first consider masturbation, explaining its true nature quite clearly before we proceed to discuss the pathological choice of object which we have called self-love.

Masturbation is a sexual act in which the genitals or other erog-

enous zones are stimulated, leading to initial orgasm in childhood and to final orgasm in puberty.

As we have mentioned elsewhere, small children frequently play with their genitals. The older authors assumed that this play and the sensations of pleasure induced in small children by evacuation constituted the real source of masturbation. Whether this is always the case need not be considered here, since, in any case, the source of pleasure is only too easily found, as the awakening of the sexual impulse brings with it involuntary, erotically accentuated tensions, and from these there is only a single step to deliberate stimulation. It often happens that pathological changes in the genital region and the irritation connected therewith lead to masturbation. These changes may consist in an affection of the skin or the mucous membrane (urticaria, eczema, etc.), while in the case of girls wandering worms may lead to masturbation. A tightening of the foreskin in boys (phimosis) and a white discharge in girls may also lead to masturbation.

As regards the incidence of masturbation, many authorities have investigated the question. Rohleder writes that according to his statistics 90 per cent of persons under 20 masturbate or have done so. Marcuse puts the figure at 93 per cent, Meierowsky at 88.7 per cent. According to Dukes 90 to 95 per cent of the school children in England masturbate, while Seerly puts the percentage even higher with regard to America. Magnus Hirschfeld's investigations produced the figure of 96 per cent.

By far the greatest incidence of masturbation occurs between the ages of 14 and 18, but the number of masturbants is also very considerable three or four years below or above these ages. The proportion is considerably lower before the age of 10 and after 22, although it occurs even after the 30th year and late into old age. On the other hand masturbation may commence in babyhood—not merely play with the genitals, but real masturbation—but in such cases we are faced with psychosexual prematurity. Donner observed a 2½-year-old boy who slid along the floor on his stomach until he achieved erection and apparent erotic pleasure.

The child induced this pleasurable sensation eight or ten times daily.

The frequency of masturbation in individual cases varies a great deal. Some masturbate five or more times daily for a long time, a large number once daily, and others two or three times per week, once a week, or even once a month.

Whether masturbation is as frequent in women as in men is a much debated question. Magnus Hirschfeld answers it in the affirmative on the basis of his own experiences, though there are differences at certain ages. In puberty masturbation appears to be more widespread among boys, owing to the greater activity of the male sex, but after puberty men have far more opportunities for normal sexual relief than the countless unsatisfied single women, so that after about 20 masturbation is more frequent in women than in men.

For the rest, masturbation is just as widespread as coitus itself, and is practiced under all climes and conditions and by people of all classes, so that its universality suggests an inherent physiological character. Indeed, masturbation has been observed in animals—horses, apes, sheep, cats, etc.—which rub the member against some hard or soft object until a discharge of semen takes place.

As regards the method of masturbation there are three main forms—the manual, femoral (with the thighs), and coital, and each individual adheres to the form which suits him best.

The most widespread of the above mentioned methods is the manual, both in men and women. This consists in stimulating the penis or the clitoris and the inner lips by direct or indirect friction until orgasm occurs. According to Hirschfeld more than three-quarters of all men, and a good half of all women, masturbate in this manner.

The second most frequent form with men is femoral masturbation, which consists in squeezing the member between compressed thighs; this form is also employed by women, who squeeze the clitoris and the inner lips in the same way.

The third form is an imitation of coitus. Men carry it out by

performing coital movements against bed sheets, pillows, etc., or by preparing from cloth an opening like a vagina, or by using an existing hole or aperture. Women carry out the coital form by pushing an object to and fro in the vagina; they use one or two fingers, or an artificial penis made of rubber and containing a bladder filled with milk, or any other object, such as a candle, a banana, a bar of sealing-wax, etc.

Naturally, where other erogenous zones continue to play a role even after puberty, stimulation of such zones by way of masturbation also occurs. We have already mentioned urethral and anal masturbation. It has been observed that many children, as well as adults, work all sorts of objects into their urethra, such as peas, beans, straw, toothpicks, knitting needles, pencils, hairpins, matches, and the like. Such objects have had to be removed operatively in the case of both men and women. These cases do not always represent masturbation, but may sometimes be due to mere play and sometimes to the deliberate self-infliction of pain on an automasochistic basis. It is certainly possible to produce a tickling sensation in the mucous membrane of the urethra, but it is doubtful whether orgasm can be produced in this way (apart from cases of psychosexual infantilism, etc.).

Mammary masturbation is also practiced, the breast nipples being a highly sensitive erogenous zone, particularly in women. Mammary masturbation is usually carried out by rolling the nipple between two fingers, and is used either to increase excitement prior to ordinary masturbation, or continued to the point of orgasm. Naturally, normal orgasm can only be induced in the genital zone, and the latter case relates to impeded development of the type in which another erogenous zone—here the breasts—takes the principal role.

With regard to the harmfulness of masturbation, we would state at once that the usual belief that a shy manner, a dazed expression, rings under the eyes, and sunken cheeks are signs of masturbation in an individual, is wholly erroneous, and this applies also to other alleged signs of this practice. Considering that mas-

turbation cannot be objectively diagnosed from physical signs, and considering also its extent, one is driven to the conclusion that the consequences cannot be so terrible as is generally believed by laymen, and also, unfortunately, by some doctors. The position is very well put in a letter written by Hirschfeld to a masturbant who wrote to him in despair:

"In view of my experience in this field, I can assure you with absolute conviction that you exaggerate the harmfulness and particularly the permanent consequences of masturbation. Masturbation, which is generally practiced during the years of development, is only dangerous in so far as, owing to the ever-present opportunity, it may be practiced to excess, thus leading to unpleasant, but always reparable, disturbances in otherwise highly strung young people. In most cases the exaggerated fear of the harmful consequences of masturbation is far more harmful to health than the act itself. A certain lassitude and inability to concentrate may, of course, be induced by excessive masturbation, but will pass very quickly of itself if the subject's mode of life is natural and normal."

The earlier view that masturbation may lead to "softening of the brain," spinal tuberculosis, etc., is entirely untrue, and even the assumption that masturbation causes a general physical weakness is being disproved daily. The stimulation and weakening of the nervous system is also no greater than in the case of coitus, except that frequent repetition—a relative matter—in the case of neuropathic subjects, and particularly youngsters in the pre-puberty period, may prove harmful. But there is the psychological factor, the sense of guilt, which may disturb the nervous balance of the developing young person.

Masturbation also produces no influence on subsequent sexual potency, as some laymen believe. If impotence does result, it is due to suggestion or autosuggestion. If the masturbant is convinced in his own mind that owing to his indulgence he has lost the capacity to perform coitus with a woman, he may develop an aversion for women and even temporary impotence.

The condition arising through the frequently repeated irrita-

tion of the nerves is irritable nervous weakness or neurasthenia. It is frequently caused by irregularities in the subject's sexual life, including enforced sexual abstinence, interrupted coitus, sexual excess, and all quantitatively or qualitatively inadequate sexual activity, such as masturbation. Neurasthenia is characterized by nervous irritability and fatigue.

The principal psychological effect of masturbation is depression, which may change to melancholia, leading to thoughts of suicide and even to actual suicide. Defenders of masturbation hold that this depression is due not to the practice itself, but to the exaggeratedly fearsome descriptions of the consequences of masturbation. This is only partly true, as there are people who are fully aware that the dangers of masturbation are far smaller than is alleged, and who, nevertheless, suffer mental torment on account of their inability to repress the urge. Although the saying that after coitus man is depressed is not true, it is undoubtedly true in most cases as applied to masturbation. The masturbant's sense of guilt may lead to hypochondria which frequently long survives the practice itself. Some patients attribute most of their troubles to the "sins of their youth" even twenty years after they have ceased to masturbate.

To sum up, *there is no specific disease arising from masturbation, and no physical or mental complaint has been traced to it with certainty. The only probable consequence is neurasthenia—if masturbation has been carried on to excess by a person of neuro-pathic disposition.*

By what means can masturbation and its consequences be prevented? In the first place, the child must be given an objective explanation of the sexual functions and of the effects of masturbation, but *without the least exaggeration of the consequences, and threats must not be employed on any account. The child must not be made to give his word of honor or swear not to masturbate*, as this may lead to serious mental complications in a child with a high sense of honor who finds himself incapable of resisting the impulse. Further, care must be taken that everything that may

irritate the skin or lead to itching and scratching should be removed, lest this should lead to masturbation. Physical exercise is very helpful, as physical fatigue damps the sexual impulse. It is also important that when the child goes to bed he should fall asleep immediately, so that from this point of view it is harmful to send children to bed before they are tired, or to let them stay on in bed in the morning. It must be admitted that all these measures may fail, but even then no other measures, such as wire nets, bandages, etc., should be employed, and least of all such operations as the closing of the foreskin with silver thread, which is still recommended by old-fashioned doctors in cases of excessive masturbation. Even the worst consequences of masturbation do not justify such interference.

If exaggerated fear of consequences is present, the child must be enlightened, as such fear may produce worse consequences than masturbation itself.

It follows from the foregoing that masturbation may be regarded as a normal safety valve, and that there is nothing pathological about it if carried on in moderation. This form of the practice is called *physiological masturbation*. If, on the other hand, an individual masturbates beyond the puberty period, when opportunities for normal sexual intercourse are present, we speak of *pathological masturbation*. Pathological masturbants usually link this act with fantasies that are not realizable in normal intercourse, and are mostly people with a sadistic or masochistic disposition or perverts of another kind. It is fortunate that their sanguinary fantasies are not carried out in reality, but are deflected into pathological masturbation.

Even in *pathological masturbation* the accompanying fantasies always include a second person and *this is what distinguishes both physiological and pathological masturbation from the irregularity called self-love or autoerotism*.

In other words, the autoerotist is sexually excited by *his own* appearance, or a representation of his own figure, so that to him

the only source of sexual pleasure is his own body, and neither in fact nor in fancy does another person play the least role.

It is recorded of the Greek shepherd Narcissus that he fell in love with the beauty of his own face and figure as reflected in a stream, hence the German physician Näcke designated all self-lovers as *narcissists*. Hirschfeld employed the designation *monosexual*, but Rohleder's designation, *automonosexuality*, has become the more current in scientific literature.

To elucidate the nature of this disposition we quote a few actual cases. The following has been observed by Hirschfeld and Burchardt:

A 37-year-old farmer, a tall, strong man, states that he is completely indifferent to women, as well as to men. On the other hand, it has always given him the greatest erotic pleasure to see the reflection of his naked body in a looking glass. This is all the more difficult to understand as he is neither a Narcissus nor an Adonis, but looks rather like Caliban with his untended bushy beard and hairy body. His first spontaneous sexual excitement occurred when, at the beginning of puberty, he saw himself for the first time full length in a mirror. During his examination the following occurred: Having undressed, the patient saw his reflection in a wall mirror. There was an instantaneous erection and he grew excited. Excusing himself, he pressed his lips to the mirror and covered his mirrored lips with kisses. He evidently possessed some practice and skill in avoiding damage to the mirror. After a very short time he pressed his genital against its reflection and ejaculation occurred. He made the following statements in writing: "*I love myself to distraction. My sexual impulse is directed toward myself and to lick my own member would give me the greatest pleasure. I have frequently seen myself in my dreams, and pollutions occurred each time. When I am lying under a mirror, then it is the reflection that is myself and my body another, who is performing the act with me. During the mirror scenes the discharge of saliva is so strong that the whole mirror is covered with it; these scenes are accompanied by a violent shaking of the head and an accelerated beating of the heart. The mirror must be light, narrow, and long, so that I can see myself in it from head to foot and embrace myself. I perform*

the mirror act once or twice per week and have done so for years. It is followed by a pleasant fatigue and sound sleep. I sometimes like to masturbate and do so by moving my finger about in the rectum. It would be my ideal to be able to live naked, particularly out in the open. I love the country, and I think it must be nice to live naked among savages. I like to wear tights, which bring out my figure. During the mirror scenes I am so excited that I have already been afraid that I was going mad."

Similar cases, involving both men and women, are available in numbers, as well as photographs showing monosexual men in intimate contact with their mirrored reflections. In the case of women performing the mirror act it is difficult to determine where vanity ceases and sensuality begins. Thus Ellis quotes a passage from the Spanish author Valera, in which his heroine says: "I indulge in a childish game, which may be harmless or evil; I cannot tell. All I know is that it is a nice entertainment, the disinterested admiration of beauty. It is not coarse sensuality, but aesthetic Platonism. I imitate Narcissus and put my lips on their reflection in the mirror and kiss them."

It would appear that in some cases there is a tendency to exploit excitement induced by automonosexual means for the purpose of normal intercourse with the opposite sex.

Thus in a divorce case it came out that an officer who demanded all sorts of things of his wife, had at the beginning of his marriage fitted the conjugal bedroom with many mirrors, so that he could inspect himself well both before and after the act. The wife, a sensitive woman, was repelled by these practices, but was powerless to stop them.

The mirror is a rather extensively used means of increasing libido, even apart from automonosexual intentions. Cases are not at all rare in which couples like to see all their sexual activities reflected in a mirror, and in particular it excites them to see their reflections moving, though each partner concentrates on the other's reflection.

Mirror halls for erotic purposes are recorded even from antiquity. Seneca records the case of a miser named Hostius Quadra, who lived under the reign of the Emperor Augustus, and who had the walls of his bedroom covered with mirrors, in order to see his sexual acts reflected in them. He mostly arranged for the collaboration of other persons, both men and women, and used to say: "If all parts of my body revel in pleasure, why should not my eyes?" As a special refinement it is mentioned that some of the mirrors were concave magnifying mirrors, so that the reflection of the penis in them was as thick as an arm.

Stekel records the following case:

J. L., aged 39, is only potent when the act of coitus can be seen reflected in a mirror; he is not interested in his partner. He would like to have a room entirely lined with mirrors. He is saving up in order to afford this luxury sometime. In his masturbation fantasies he always sees himself in such a room, and he mostly masturbates in front of the mirror.

He is a proper mirror addict, carries a number of mirrors in his pocket, and looks into them alternately. He spends part of his life in front of the mirror, takes a long time to dress, and combs his hair for a long time, inspecting it from all angles. He would like to be the smartest man in the town. He envies witty people who shine in company. He has collected a number of witticisms, with the idea of using them in company and attracting admiration. He is passionately fond of telling jokes, which he tells as his own. He is a first class social man, possessing a precise knowledge of every social rule which he would be ashamed to break. Once he paid a large sum to an author—despite his miserly nature—in order to see his name in print over a short story. He had not written a single line of it. He sends letters of condolence to all famous persons, is a member of many societies and committees, and does all this in order to see his name in the papers.

He recollects that his mother was very vain and did her hair in front of the mirror for hours. As an only child he was badly spoiled by his parents. When he was 15 his parents died in quick succession. He grew up at the house of an aunt who treated him with indifference. Since then his self-love grew daily, until it reached its present intensity.

Some cases of self-love react not to mirror reflections but to nude portraits of themselves, which they get made in all sorts of poses. The urge to be photographed in the nude—not a rare fancy—presents a certain similarity to exhibitionism, which is confirmed by the fact that patients frequently show these photographs to others and are delighted when they are praised.

However, there are cases in which neither the mirror nor the camera, but the sight of the subject's naked body alone is required to induce sexual excitement, as will be seen from the following case:

A Hungarian art dealer, aged 40, had an athletic body as a result of regular exercises. When anyone remarked on his powerful biceps or his excellent figure, he blushed shyly. The man confessed that his biceps were the only source of erotic pleasure to him, derived by flexing them privately in the bathroom, or caressing them. This induces an erection. He then does exercises on a parallel bar, a violent discharge occurring between the twentieth and thirtieth exercise, without manual contact. We quote the following notes of this peculiar, but highly intelligent man:

"I had my first pollution on a train journey at the age of 12 or 13, and I was puzzled and anxious. Soon after I developed the horizontal bar mania, and I did exercises on it until violent orgasm and ejaculation were induced. I did this on average every three days, the longest interval being fourteen days. Sometimes I did it daily. I attribute my powerful biceps and chest muscles to this peculiar method of masturbation.

"I am ashamed to show my charms. It would be shocking to me if people knew how muscular I am. I only indulge in the pleasure of walking with a springy step when I know I cannot meet an acquaintance. The reason I attach such importance to virile deportment is a childhood experience. When I was six my teacher put his knee against my back while pressing my chest with his hand. It hurt, and I thought he was going to break me. Later I thought of this brief martyrdom with the greatest joy. But at the same moment I suffered humiliation, as a boy of noble birth was praised for his straight deportment. Since that day the words deportment, smart figure, chest, and back have a

sexual significance for me. Sometimes I feel I would like to wear livery.

"To sum up, neither man nor woman excites me sexually, but only my own self, not so much my body as my own conception of it."

In all the cases quoted so far the automonosexual is sexually excited by his own naked body, or part of it, and in this connection it may be mentioned that some patients derive sexual excitement from the expression of their own faces, or from smells and sounds issuing from their bodies (perspiration, wind, stomach noises, the subject's own voice, etc.).

But there is a type of sexually abnormal person who derives sexual excitement *not from his naked, but from his adorned, body*. We are faced here with one of the deepest human instincts, the instinct to make oneself beautiful and attractive by all sorts of devices.

The theory propounded in textbooks on hygiene that the origin of dress was the need for protection from heat and cold does not represent the whole truth, for vanity must have played at least an equally important part.

Just as some normal persons prefer the sexual partner naked, while others are more attracted by him or her when dressed, so automonosexuals are divided between those who adore themselves in the naked state and those whose self-love is directed toward an adorned body.

Automonosexualism may be connected with every other form of perversion. There are autosadists, who indulge in self-torture; and autofetishists who adorn certain parts of their bodies and derive sexual excitement from the sight of it.

Hirschfeld records the cases of two men who bought themselves feminine wigs for automonosexual purposes. They put the wigs on their heads, dressed them, and in this manner became sexually excited. Hirschfeld had to give an expert opinion concerning them before a court-martial, as the hairdresser from whom they bought the wigs denounced them as spies.

Other automonosexuals have an irresistible urge to make up heavily, and in spite of violent opposition from their relations they refuse to give up the practice. A 26-year-old man, son of an abat-toir manager, declared that he would rather die than renounce make-up.

A rare case of automonosexualism was that of a 30-year-old author who used to make himself noses from wax, particularly Greek noses, and put them on. Although his natural nose left nothing to be desired, he indulged in this practice in front of the mirror in the privacy of his room, and became sexually excited in the process. With slight manual manipulation he brought about an ejaculation. He had no sexual intercourse of any kind.

More frequent than the above is the automonosexual who wears a veil or drapes himself in clinging clothes, and performs, in this garb, dance movements before the mirror. Many men and women have confessed that this is to them the only method of sexual satisfaction. Their statements remind the expert of the dancing dervishes, who create the impression that, in addition to religious ecstasy, the sexual element also enters into their frenzied dancing, though they may not be conscious of this. At all events the increasingly transfigured expressions of the dervishes permits of this conclusion. The same applies to the autoflagellants of the Middle Ages. That self-inflicted pain may produce autoerotic sensations is well known. A certain man of good family applied acids to his body, causing severe burns, purely for sexual reasons. In addition, he was a pronounced masochist. Self-torture may be described as *automasochism*, but as the tortured is also the torturer, *autosadism* also fits the case. However, what interests us here is neither masochism nor sadism, but the *autistic* element, i.e. the fact that the subject does not require the collaboration of a second person.

Automasochism is sometimes combined with autofetishism. Thus some subjects of this type tight-lace themselves. A Russian theologian wrote:

"From my earliest youth, from about the age of five, belts used to make a deep impression on me, particularly—as far as I can remember—the Russian belts which schoolboys wore with their uniforms. I endeavored to acquire one for myself, and asked my mother for it, who gave me a blouse and a leather belt, but I was mostly unwilling to wear it. Women's leather belts also attracted me, and when I found one at home I used to put it on. One incident made a lasting impression on me: A little girl tied herself to a chair with a leather strap in an attempt to imitate a dog. I began to lace myself, and the tighter I laced myself the better I liked it and later, though I could not say exactly at what age, tight-lacing was accompanied by erections, though in my childhood I never manipulated my member. I do not know when I began to take an interest in corsets. When I was about 10 we had a nurse who wore narrow corsets. I remember that this made me think and that I tried to steal a corset from her wardrobe and wear it. I was very much afraid that this disposition was abnormal, but I could not explain it, and it worried me. One night, when I was 14, my mother heard me as I got up in order to get a belt, and when she asked me about it I confessed. My parents thought I was masturbating, and spoke very earnestly to me, and they instilled in me a deep aversion to touching or rubbing my member, which I never did until my 20th year. But the result of these talks was that I regarded myself as a masturbant, and suffered deeply from the thought. At the age of 15 I had my first pollution after I had gone to sleep with a belt round me, but I had no sensations whatever; I could not understand why my bed was wet and it worried me. Thereafter pollutions became frequent, and were sometimes accompanied by dreams in which I was wearing a corset. Soon after my first pollution my father enlightened me on sex, warning me against masturbation, and it was then that I first learned that it was possible to bring about pollution by mechanical friction. When I left home I had to promise my father that I would not masturbate, and I tried to bear this in mind and to refrain from tight-lacing. When I became a student, all these scruples went by the board and I bought myself belts, straps, and even corsets."

The patient proceeds to describe how he tried to seek sexual contact with women, partly from curiosity and partly in the hope of ridding himself of his compression urge, and how, despite serious inner conflicts, he succumbed to his passion to compress himself with belts and corsets.

No less peculiar is the case recorded by Hirschfeld of a business man whose sexual yearning was directed exclusively to seeing himself in a starched lace petticoat.

"I take no interest either in women or in men, but when I see myself in the petticoat in front of the mirror I am delighted. I then feel a lady, and know no humility." The patient always rents rooms with long mirrors. In ordinary clothes he feels oppressed and never looks into the mirror; but he does so all the more when wearing a starched lace petticoat, when depression vanishes.

Some automonosexuals put on an entire costume, i.e. disguise themselves, as a means of sexual pleasure. The costume may be consistent with their sex, if not with their age or position, or it may be a costume proper to the opposite sex. Some automonosexuals prefer folk costumes, others dress up as lackeys, pages, sailors, soldiers, pierrots, or tramps, and still others as school children. In such cases automonosexuality is combined with infantilism. (See Chapter II.)

Among *monosexual transvestites* who find satisfaction in wearing feminine dress, some dress up as society women, some as conspicuous courtesans, while others assume the guise of a modest housewife or even a servant.

An expert opinion given by Hirschfeld concerning a monosexual transvestite affords an insight into the double life of these peculiar people:

T. comes of a respectable Rheinland family. Till his 17th year he wetted his bed. He was very reserved, took little part in children's games, and was content to look on, though he was neither timid nor frightened. From an early age he displayed a keen interest in the clothes of little girls. *He repeatedly dreamed that the authorities had decreed that all men should dress as women, and all women as men.* This dream, which later recurred very frequently, gave him considerable pleasure. At the age of 11 he was enlightened on sex by a school-mate, who said concerning another boy with a delicate complexion that he was really a girl, at which the patient was pleased. At the age

of 20, at the instigation of some officers, he visited a brothel, but "saw very little in it."

How the transvestite urge developed from these small beginnings is described by the patient in a vivid and convincing manner:

"I remember clearly that between the ages of 9 and 15, I used to put on my mother's clothes in secret. When everyone was asleep, I used to slip out of bed, steal into the adjacent bedroom, where I found whatever clothes I wanted to put on. I developed a certain skill in manipulating the garments, and, for instance, was able to manipulate my mother's somewhat too capacious corsets so that they fit me. At that time I was content to put on a skirt and a blouse, and every now and then a jacket or overcoat and a hat. I wore my mother's clothes for only a short time, then I took them off and returned to bed, but *with an indescribable feeling of satisfaction*. At that time I wore no feminine underwear, though soiled pieces were at my disposal. The urge to wear feminine clothes was so strong that once, at the age of 15, I slipped into the skirt of a girl whose brother I was visiting.

"The further development of my transvestitism was steady but slow, mainly owing to lack of finance. Later, I started my own feminine wardrobe by purchasing a medium priced corset. Unfortunately, I did not know my exact size and the corset proved to be too tight, yet I put it on now and then over my nightshirt for a short time. Next, I bought a light blue silk blouse, which was also not my size, but I was already in a position to dress in a feminine manner to some extent, and derived some satisfaction from this. My desire to possess a complete outfit grew, and I saved up 200 marks and used this money to purchase a cheap but complete outfit, beginning with hat, boots, umbrella, bag, etc. I dressed up at intervals of about 10 to 14 days, and at the next Rheinland carnival I could appear in the street as a 'lady,' having borrowed a wig and having had myself made up. However, I was not wholly satisfied with my outfit, so that one day, on a sudden impulse, I burned everything.

"Then my fancy for feminine clothes abated, but after an interval it revived with greater intensity and persistence. I then bought good, well-fitting clothes, and several sets of underwear, including everything a woman has, particularly a wig that could be combed and dressed. That was the basis of my present wardrobe. When my clothes get dirty or damaged I wash and mend them myself."

T. also relates how he treated his face with hydrogen peroxide to

prevent the growth of a beard, after attempting the painful method of pulling out hairs with a tweezer. He also obtained from France a bust developer, and claims to have increased his breasts with it, so that he does not need "to stuff himself out" any longer. He used preparations to whiten his throat and make his eyes brighter. He used paint and powder and wore earrings in order to give his face a feminine expression. He continues:

"As I leave my lodgings I walk away quickly, without looking round, a habit of which I had to break myself, as many men are encouraged to join women who look round. Nevertheless, I have been accosted by many men. In such cases I behaved as a woman would and shook the men off by assuming a suitable manner and expression. It would be impossible for me to speak to the accoster, owing to my deep voice, and I have not yet learned to speak in the high-pitched voice assumed by female impersonators.

"For the same reason I cannot travel by tram when dressed as a woman, and must walk when I go out or visit friends where I would ride as a 'man.'"

T. is unmarried, and derives sexual satisfaction by masturbating while "regarding his feminine aspect." He does this once every 8 or 10 days. When he has intercourse with a woman, which occurs very rarely, he must lie underneath, though otherwise there is no question of masochistic submission to a woman.

With regard to the sociability of automonosexuals, in view of the fact that they think almost exclusively of themselves, being uninterested in either sex, and being devoid even of the family instinct, it is understandable that such people should be very retiring and somewhat eccentric. Some of them live in complete retirement, indulging in some hobby, such as collecting more or less rare objects.

According to Stekel, pathological self-love arises in two ways:

1. By excessive spoiling and wrong education in childhood.
2. If the child is deprived of love, in which case its love hunger becomes directed toward itself. People who have a desire to be "spoiled" and cannot have this desire satisfied by a partner, start to "spoil" themselves.

Sometimes both factors enter into the development of self-love.

Self-love may also represent a stagnation at an infantile stage (permanent self-love) or a regression to such a stage (occasional self-love). In occasional self-love the automonosexual character is always discernible in the form of vanity, the urge to shine, fear of getting old or ugly, an inclination to hypochondria and, in particular, coquetry.

As we have said, automonosexuality may be connected with other perversions, such as transvestitism, sadomasochism, and fetishism; but an *exhibitionist* component is inherent in it.

One important characteristic of automonosexuality in any form is the fact that it is harmless to others, in view of its completely egocentric character.

As regards the treatment of automonosexuality, it is necessary, in addition to tracing the nervous and contributory causes, deflecting the subject's attention by intellectual preoccupation, and regulating his mode of life, to decide to what extent the automonosexual urge should be indulged. In this connection there are two things to be considered: Firstly, whether there is any hope of deflecting the urge from the patient's own person to another person—a hope that may be entertained until the middle twenties. And secondly, whether there is reason to believe that the deflected urge will take a normal course, without which, of course, nothing would be gained. If it is found that the urge cannot be deflected and repression would produce serious consequences, then Hartmann's dictum in his *Philosophy of the Subconscious* must be borne in mind, namely, that "the non-satisfaction of an urge is a greater evil to the individual concerned than its full satisfaction." We have no right, nor an adequate reason, to deny a person something that gives him relief without harming others.

HERMAPHRODITISM

HOW IT ARISES—FIRST STAGES—HYPERTROPHY OF THE CLITORIS—JOINING OF THE VULVA IN WOMEN—WHEN THE MIDWIFE ERRS—BOY OR GIRL?—CASES FROM HIRSCHFELD'S COLLECTION—FREDERICA CHANGES INTO FREDERIC—HER HISTORY—MASCULINE AND FEMININE HERMAPHRODITES—"WOMEN" AS HUSBANDS—MENSTRUATING "MEN"—WOMEN AS "FATHERS"—TWO SISTERS CHANGE INTO BROTHERS—NATURE PLAYS JOKES—WIFE BECOMES STEPDAUGHTER'S LOVER AND FATHER OF HER OWN STEPGRANDCHILD—CAUSES—ROLE OF ADRENAL GLANDS—CURABILITY.

It is necessary, at this stage, to sum up what we have said concerning the process of sexual development.

The question whether an embryo will develop into a male or a female is actually decided at the moment of conception, though the sex of the growing embryo remains latent for a time and does not manifest itself in differentiated physical forms. At first no organs that would later be linked with sexuality are discernible. This phase is called the phase of "sexual latency." A few weeks after conception the anatomical basis of the subsequent sexual organs develops, but this anatomical basis is the same both in male and female embryos. This phase is called the phase of primeval sexuality. It is from this primary anatomical basis that the male and female genitals evolve.

The most important sex organs are the germinal glands—the testicles in the male and the ovaries in the female, both of which evolve from the common basis in the pelvic cavity. During this evolution the testicles not only assume an entirely different struc-

ture from the ovaries, but also change their position. In the third month of pregnancy the testicles and the ovaries lie in the identical position in the pelvic cavity; in the sixth month the testicles are already on their way along the interior of the pelvic wall; in the ninth month the testicles enter the scrotum, which is formed of two parts, originally separate, which later grow together. If the normal descent of the testicles does not occur, this condition is called cryptorchism, while if the ovaries descend into the lips of the vulva, we are confronted with a case of labial ectopia of the ovaries (see below).

The second group of sexual organs consists of a system of ducts which convey the semen or the mature ova, and in the case of the female accommodate and deliver the embryo. This system of ducts also evolves from a common, sexually undifferentiated anatomical origin, consisting of the so-called Wolffian and Muellerian ducts.

The Muellerian ducts become atrophied in the case of the male, but continue to develop in the female, forming the tubes, womb, and vagina. The Muellerian ducts remain in the male in a vestigial form, as a small cavity in the prostate gland, as the *utriculus masculinus* (masculine utricle) or masculine "womblet."

Some time after the Muellerian ducts have developed in the case of the female and regressed in the case of the male, the reverse happens with the Wolffian ducts and certain adjacent parts, which regress in the female and develop in the male. In the male the outlet ducts (semen ducts, etc.) of the testicles evolve, while in the female only atrophied vestiges remain.

The third group of sex organs comprises the external genitals. At the beginning of the second embryonic month a small mound of skin rises both in male and female embryos. From this evolves the masculine member in the male, and the clitoris, a small, curved organ, in the female. The difference between these two, the penis and the clitoris, is not merely one of size, but also the fact that the penis encloses the urethral duct, which also serves for the emission of semen, while in the female the urethra ends at the base of the clitoris, between it and the start of the vagina.

Below the basic element of the penis and clitoris there is at first a narrow depression, the so-called sexual canal, which is flanked by two folds of skin. This condition, on the whole, persists in the female, the canal developing into the vulva, into which the urethra and the vagina open. The folds of skin form the lips of the vulva and the inner lips. In the male the two folds of skin develop first into the two halves of the scrotum, which expand to a sac-like shape. The canal disappears when the two halves of the scrotum join up in the middle and form a single scrotum. The testicles then descend into the scrotum.

In the light of the foregoing, hermaphroditism presents no mystery. We have seen how the sex organs of all three categories evolve from a basic organ and how, in the case of a normal person, the parts corresponding to the opposite sex become atrophied, so that at the conclusion of the process only those sex organs remain and continue to develop which are characteristic of the sex concerned.

Now, it sometimes happens that the organs that are characteristic of one sex fail to develop fully, while the other organs, which ought to become atrophied, fail to do so with sufficient completeness. Individuals so affected may almost be said to possess the sex organs of both sexes, and become hermaphrodites, presenting, in view of the comparatively large number of the sex organs in question, one or more of many possible combinations.

Hermaphroditism, then, may be defined as modifications in the primary sex characteristics, i.e. the genital organs, toward the structure that is typical in the genitals of the opposite sex.

Before we proceed to discuss hermaphroditism proper, let us consider some modifications that may be regarded as conditions not far removed from hermaphroditism. *Cryptorchism*, already discussed above, is one of these conditions, and consists in the fact that the subject's testicles, which, like the ovaries, develop in the pelvic cavity, fail to descend into the scrotum. By remaining in the pelvic cavity, as female ovaries normally do, their position approaches that of these female germinal glands.

A similar situation exists in the case of *hypospadia*, which has also been discussed. It is a characteristic of the male sex that the urethral duct pierces the member, while in the female the urethra debouches into the base of the clitoris. Hypospadia is a condition in which the member, like the clitoris, is not pierced by the urethral duct, but has its opening at the base or farther on in the underside of the member, so that a canal is visible in that part of the member.

A further form of vestigial hermaphroditism is represented by a split between the two halves of the scrotum, which is also a feminine characteristic. If this scrotal division is combined with hypospadia, the irregularity is called *hypospadia peniscrotalis*.

Similar transitional forms between the normal state and hermaphroditism also occur in females. The most important of these conditions is *hypertrophy of the clitoris*, in which the clitoris may be as thick and long as a finger. In comparatively rare cases hypertrophy of the clitoris is combined with another defect, such as the partial adhesion of the lips of the vulva or the descent of the ovaries into the lips of the vulva (labial ectopia), which correspond to the male scrotum.

If hypospadia is present in a new-born baby, particularly hypospadia peniscrotalis combined with cryptorchism, then it may be very difficult to answer the fateful question, "Boy or girl?" immediately after the birth with a certainty that would completely satisfy the parents. As the first diagnosis is based solely on the externally visible instruments of the sexual act, the sight of a cleft will at first suggest a vagina and the small penis, particularly if it is covered by the two halves of the divided scrotum, will cause the beholder to regard it as a clitoris. The midwife and the doctor endeavor to pronounce the verdict as quickly as possible, out of consideration for the state of mind of the anxious mother. Many erroneous determinations of sex have been made in such circumstances, with grave consequences.

Various attempts have been made to classify the different forms of hermaphroditism, but none of these classifications meets the

case completely. Perhaps the following classification is the most acceptable:

1. Hermaphroditismus masculinus—masculine germinal glands, i.e. testicles, other sexual organs feminine
2. Hermaphroditismus femininus—feminine sexual glands, other sexual organs masculine
3. Hermaphroditismus neutralis—rudimentary sexual glands that are neither masculine nor feminine
4. Hermaphroditismus dualis—sexual organs that are both masculine and feminine

In groups 3 and 4 there are subdivisions according to whether the other sex organs are masculine, feminine, or mixed.

This classification shows that in hermaphroditism the sex organs of one sex occur in combination with those of the other sex. *Naturally, in determining sex, it is the germinal glands that are decisive, and if these are masculine the subject is a masculine hermaphrodite, and if feminine, a feminine hermaphrodite. Where germinal glands or germinal gland tissues of both sexes are present, the subject is bisexual, while if characteristic germinal glands are absent, the hermaphrodite must be classified as of the neutral sex.*

In addition to the classification based on the nature of the germinal glands, there is a further classification according to the parts in which the anomaly lies. Accordingly, we distinguish between:

1. Glandular hermaphroditism, in which the germinal glands are mixed (Groups 3 and 4 in the above classification).
2. Tubular hermaphroditism, in which the discharge passages, such as the seminal tube, womb, etc., or individual parts thereof do not accord with the subject's sex as determined by the germinal glands.
3. Conjugal hermaphroditism, in which the coital organs do not accord with the subject's sex.

We will now proceed to illustrate the foregoing with a few examples, the first of which is a case observed by Hirschfeld. It concerns a hermaphrodite in whom masculine germinal glands were combined with other genital organs of a female character:

Frederica S. had a normal childhood. In her 13th year a genital hair growth appeared, the breasts remained completely unchanged, menstruation failed to appear. In her 17th year her voice changed. In her 20th year hair began to grow on her upper lip and chin, and she removed it first with the aid of scissors, then with a razor. Comparatively early, according to her recollection before the age of puberty, she began to masturbate by friction applied to the "clitoris." She has continued these manipulations, though sometimes only at intervals of several months, to this day.

The external sex organs, at a *superficial glance*, show a *feminine* form. There are two large, well developed vulva lips which are rather richly covered with hair. In the right lip an organ resembling a testicle, as large as a hen's egg, may be discerned by touch. The left lip is empty, but it is possible to squeeze down an organ resembling a testicle, as large as a pigeon's egg, from the pelvic cavity through the left inguinal canal. The patient states that during intercourse with women, which is carried out partly after the manner of normal coitus and partly by cunnilinctus, a slimy secretion—"about a thimbleful"—is discharged during orgasm, but through another opening than the urethra. The same happens during masturbation. The discharge has been subjected to a microscopic examination by Professor Dr. H. Friedenthal, of Berlin University, and it was found to contain a large number of entirely normal male seminal cells.

The unpierced clitoris is visible in the cleft between the two lips of the vulva. At the tip of this organ there is a shallow depression which merges in a downward direction into a furrow, which in turn merges into the narrow vaginal cleft. There is no hymen, and it is impossible to penetrate the vagina either with the finger or with the probe, as such a manipulation would cause too much pain. An examination under chloroform was also impracticable. When the two lips of the vulva are pulled wide apart, a blood-red vagina is revealed which ends blind at a depth of about an inch.

Thus in the case of Frederica S. we see:

1. Masculine germinal glands which are partly descended.
2. The discharge passages are apparently masculine, as the semen is discharged from the body.
3. The coital organs are basically feminine, but modified in a masculine direction (atrophied vagina, overdeveloped clitoris).

The nature of the patient's sexual impulse is of considerable interest. Hirschfeld's record of the case continues as follows:

The first sexual urges appeared when the patient was 13 years of age. The direction of her sexual impulse has been the same from the outset—it was clearly directed toward the female sex. Her erotic dreams always related to women; she dreamt that she was kissing and hugging a girl and this induced an erection of the "clitoris." She experienced the same phenomenon from an early age when touching or embracing her school friends. Toward men she is sexually indifferent, and she has an aversion for coitus with a man. She has refused four offers of marriage in the course of time. On two occasions she yielded to a man's request to cohabit with her, but experienced intense dissatisfaction after the act, which was carried out between the thighs. In reply to the question what it is about men that repels her, she said: "They don't attract me." She has a particular fancy for girls between the ages of 18 and 24 with full breasts and round arms, and they must be gentle and refined. She has a great fondness for beautiful hands. She has had two liaisons of long duration, about three years each time, and she was very jealous, yet she describes these years as the happiest of her life. The nature of her sexual desire is actively masculine, her sexual impulse is very intense, and after intercourse with a woman she feels refreshed and improved in health. She had thought that she had a homosexual inclination. When she had no opportunity for sexual intercourse with women for a long time, she resorted to masturbation. She often feels very unhappy, and would like to have been born a man.

Another case recorded by Hirschfeld:

Franz K.'s childhood presented no special features. He was not particularly timid, but felt drawn to girls, avoided rough boys' games, and realized at an early age that he was different from other children. In his 15th year evidences of puberty appeared. The hair on his genitals began to grow and, at the same time, his breasts began to develop at a rapid rate, but his voice did not change. It was only in his 20th year that a downy growth appeared on his upper lip. F. K. has a splendid feminine figure. The breasts are two firm spheres. The nipples are rather large and surrounded by a pink court. When feel-

ing the breasts one feels under the skin a tissue that is indistinguishable from the female breast tissue. The patient's expression is neither expressly feminine nor masculine. A first glance at the genitals causes one to wonder what could have led the mother and the midwife to diagnose a boy. The genital hair is typically feminine and there are two well developed vulva lips. It is possible to squeeze down from the inguinal canal a small gland, as large as a pigeon's egg, into the right lip, and another, the size of a hazel nut, into the left lip, but the touching of these glands causes pain. It is impossible to determine by touch whether these organs are testicles or ovaries or a mixture of both. When the lips of the vulva are pulled apart, an organ is revealed that is about three-quarters of an inch wide, and less than half an inch long. During sexual excitement this organ becomes about a fifth of an inch wider and slightly longer. This protuberance shows no opening of an internal duct, but there is a groove on the surface that runs downward, and the urethral opening is at the base of this groove. Below this is the vagina, without a hymen, the vagina being wide enough to be penetrated by a probe as thick as a pencil. At a depth of about five inches the probe reaches the end of this membranous canal, which has no opening that could be regarded as the uterine opening. The patient has never had menstruation, and the patient states that orgasm, usually brought about by masturbation, causes a discharge of whitish slimy matter amounting to about two grams, which he regards as semen. Two microscopic examinations of the seminal fluid failed to reveal any spermatozoa. In contrast to the bisexual mixture of the various sex organs, there is no trace of bisexuality in the patient's sexual impulse. Since his puberty, which appeared in his 15th year, he developed an increasing interest for the male sex, and has never had the slightest inclination for girls and women. The idea of having sexual intercourse with a woman inspires him with a feeling of aversion. His wet dreams always relate to contact with men. At the theater he is more interested in the male than in the female actors. He is attracted by the strong, masculine type of man; delicate, effeminate men, including the majority of homosexuals, leave him cold. He likes uniformed men, particularly soldiers. It is extraordinarily painful to him when others notice the peculiar structure of his sex organs, and he therefore avoids homosexuals in particular, though they are the most easily inclined to have intercourse with him, because they are disappointed when they discover

that he has no penis, and some homosexuals—says the patient—have even been rude to him. The sexual impulse is strong, but coital acts can only be carried out rarely (always with men) and the patient therefore feels unsatisfied and unhappy and desires, if possible, to be changed. When other people talk about sex in his hearing, he cannot help feeling envious.

F. K., who is 32 years of age, has been living as a man all his life; it is impossible to determine his true sex while he is alive, and it is even doubtful whether it will be possible to do so after his death.

Another most interesting case, also recorded by Hirschfeld, is that of Miss T.:

Miss T. was suffering from pneumonia, and was being nursed by a Swedish nurse. Later the nurse mentioned that she had said to another nurse: "I'm nursing an attractive young lady, but I have the same feeling as if I were nursing a young man. Her voice and personality fascinate me, and I am greatly surprised, because I abominate everything to do with homosexuality." During Miss T.'s convalescence the nurse fell more and more deeply in love with her. In spite of the fact that the patient admitted having had intercourse with men and possessing a vagina capable of the sexual act, the nurse had a growing conviction that she was a man, and she sent the patient to a doctor.

Hirschfeld gave an expert opinion on the case, and a few months later the courts allowed an application to have the patient's sex determined. The same day T. and the nurse became engaged, and shortly after they married in Sweden. Although the wife weighs twice as much as the husband, they are happy in their marriage. The former "young lady" carries out her duties as a husband and as an independent business man to the complete satisfaction of his wife.

T.'s development during her childhood was entirely normal as regards physical health, but already at the age of six years she noticed that she was different from other little girls both physically and mentally. She took no interest in the games and preoccupations of the girls, but, on the other hand, enjoyed fighting and playing with boys, and it was frequently observed that she would have made a nice boy. At school she was good and was particularly interested in writing, arithmetic, and natural history. At the age of 13 her voice broke and,

at the same time, hair began to grow on her face and body. Menstruation did not appear and has not appeared since, nor did her breasts grow. An examination of the sexual organs produced the following results: The penis is about an inch long, unpierced, erectile. A sexual groove is present, and examination of the vagina is easy. Vestiges of the hymen can be felt. The vagina is short, and there is a uterine body the size of a walnut. Germinal glands cannot be felt through the vagina. According to the patient, during orgasm a slimy lactic fluid is discharged in ample quantity from the sexual groove. Her inclinations and habits are entirely those of a man. In sexual respects she feels drawn to women alone, with whom she performs the sexual act in a perfectly normal manner, which is quite possible as far as her physical make-up is concerned. Her penis makes it possible for her to satisfy the female partner by the introduction thereof into the vagina and performance of the coital act. Moreover, it is not at all impossible that the fluid discharged during orgasm, although it comes not from the penis or from the urethra passing through the penis, but from the sexual groove below the penis, nevertheless reaches its destination and that E. T. therefore possesses masculine reproductive capacity.

From the purely physical point of view intercourse with a man per vaginam is possible, and E. T. has agreed to such intercourse several times for motives of gratitude and friendly attraction, and also on account of her ignorance as to her true sex. In contrast with results of E. T.'s perfectly normal intercourse with women, these acts, which were contrary to her nature, failed to give her the least sexual satisfaction and left behind nothing but a feeling of depression and discomfort. No doubt, E. T.'s is a case of erroneous sex determination. The persistence of the sexual groove, combined with a total hypospadias peniscrotalis, creates the impression of a vagina and this, in conjunction with the typically feminine swellings by the rudimentary uterine body, produces the appearance of female external organs.

The sexual organs at birth probably looked even more definitely feminine, as the infantile penis, owing to its inadequate development, could at that time easily have been mistaken for a clitoris.

E. T. was a case of hermaphroditismus masculinus, for she possessed testicles hidden in the pelvic cavity, in the position proper to the ovaries, though the external sex organs represent a modification in the direction of the feminine type.

The next case is of particular importance, because it relates to a proved discharge of seminal fluid with perfect masculine spermatozoa from a feminine urethra forming part of normal female genitals. The person in question consulted Hirschfeld because she had fallen in love with a girl. When her parents wanted her to become engaged to a military officer who had proposed to her, she eloped with the girl.

The case concerns Miss M., who is a 5 ft. 6 in. gracefully built person with dark skin, a strong bone structure, moderately developed but firm muscles and very slight fat deposits. Her figure is of feminine outline, although her angular shoulders, arms, and straight, slim legs suggest the masculine type. Further, although her hips are rather prominent, the lateral drop is straighter than is usual in women. The hair on her head is coarse and straight, her adam's apple projects somewhat, and her voice is deep, as against which her breasts are strongly developed, while her hands, feet, ankles, and wrists are dainty and feminine, and the body hair, particularly at the genitals, expressly feminine. Thus the secondary sexual characteristics correspond preponderantly to the feminine type.

The external sex organs show normal feminine development. The vagina, with an intact hymen, the rather large lips of the vulva, the clitoris, and the urethra opening, show no deviation from the normal feminine structure. During a vaginal examination which was carried out by a gynecologist, an undeveloped uterine body of the size of a plum was felt; ovaries or corresponding gland formations could not be traced with certainty.

To the right of the uterus was found a small solid formation, whose connection with the uterus could not be determined owing to the difficulty of examination.

In so far as the physical sexual characteristics affect the psychological personality, they are entirely in accordance with the masculine type. The subject's gaze is steady and calm, her expression serious and determined. Her movements are decided, energetic, her tread long and firm. Her handshake is firm. The firm lines of her handwriting bear expressly masculine characteristics. However, the case is rendered remarkable by three features, i.e. total absence of menstruation, the breaking of the voice, and finally—and mainly—the alleged discharge of a slimy-milky secretion at the moment of orgasm from the urethra.

The latter circumstance was of such fundamental importance to an appreciation of the whole position that it necessarily demanded a thorough investigation, and the secretion in question had to be examined as to its physiological character. Miss M. was therefore requested to supply some of the fluid for examination. She did so, and a microscopic examination of the substance showed that it contained spermatozoa. Naturally, it was impossible to accept this result without further proof, and Miss M. was requested to bring about a discharge of the secretion in question by means of masturbation at the consulting room itself.

For reasons of elementary decency, and also in view of Miss M.'s very credible and understandable argument that no orgasm could occur in the presence of another person not participating in the operation, she had to be left alone in the room. Miss M. thereupon undressed completely and it was ascertained by a thorough examination that there was nothing concealed on her body, after which she was given a clean reagent glass and locked into a room which she had up till then never entered—without any part of her clothes. After about fifteen minutes she called the doctors in. The glass contained about 1½ cm. of milky, slimy fluid and there were a few characteristic spots on the chair on which she had been sitting.

Miss M. looked excited; her pulse beat at the rate of 116 per minute. She also looked irritable and depressed, as usually happens after masturbation, and this was apparent in spite of her effort at self-control. The clitoris was red and traces of the fluid could be discerned on the urethra. An examination of the secretion—which was, in the circumstances, undoubtedly genuine—revealed *a characteristic semen odor while the microscopic view showed the presence of living human spermatozoa, some of which possessed great mobility*. There were other characteristic elements as to formation, so that all suspicion—which in any case would have been improbable—that the subject had concealed the fluid in her mouth, nose, anus, or vagina, finally disappeared. It should be specially noted that according to the result of the examination, the fluid undoubtedly consisted of perfect sperma and was not merely a fluid containing spermatozoa.

Thus, according to the unanimous judgment of all the experts who were present, it was proved with absolute certainty that Miss M. had discharged from her urethra the masculine germinal substance or sperma, so that she possessed glands producing spermatozoa.

In addition to the fact that the experiment was carried out under conditions of strict control, all the concomitant phenomena were such that the possibility of fraud was completely precluded. We need only recall the fact of the characteristic spots on the chair, the acceleration of the pulse, and the subject's appearance after the act.

Thus Miss M., according to her personality as a whole, is a man with masculine germinal glands producing reproductive substances and with a normal masculine sexual impulse, but with completely feminine external genitals and a preponderantly feminine build.

Miss Erna M. secured official permission to change her name to Ernest M., and soon after married a girl friend.

The following case is quoted from Heymanns:

A student, 17 years of age, menstruated regularly through his penis, which was pierced by the urethral duct. The catheter (a surgical instrument) penetrated straight to the bladder, sliding along the rear urethral wall, but it also penetrated into a vagina, beyond which a womb could be discerned. The young man wished to have himself cured of the menstrual discharge from his penis, and Professor Zuckerknadt therefore removed his feminine organs. What is particularly interesting to us is the fact that the surgeon found a uterus, no ovary, but, instead of this, a formation as large as a hazelnut at the internal end of the inguinal canal, which formation showed no trace of feminine germinal cells. The right ovary was normal. However, in spite of the feminine ovary, the patient's sexual instinct was orientated toward women, so that in this respect he resembled a homosexual woman, and his wish to retain his penis but lose the menstrual discharges was understandable.

This is a case of hermaphroditismus femininus in which an ovary was present. In addition to the penis, the patient also had a vagina and a uterus. The vagina debouched in an externally invisible manner, into the urethra, so that it was in the position in which the atrophied vestiges of the vagina are located in a normal man.

Still more interesting is the following case, recorded by Fibiger:

A certain park inspector, aged 47, had three children, though whether they were really his was more than doubtful. During his

lifetime no one ever doubted that he belonged to the male sex. After his death from pneumonia an examination of his corpse produced the following result: Greying fair beard, breasts of the masculine type, delicate, dainty build, external genital organs atrophied (for which reason he had been found unfit for military service); the rather small penis showed hypospadias of the second degree and the scrotum also had a cleft and was empty; a 3-inch-long vagina debouched into the urethra. A 2-inch-long uterus with ovaries adjoined the vagina. The pelvis was masculine, the larynx feminine. The sexual impulse had been masculine, and very strong. Even during his last illness he cohabited with his wife, to whom he had been married for 19 years. The wife even accused him of having been intimate with other women, but she admitted that her three children might have been by other men with whom she had had intercourse. The husband was convinced of his virility, and it was stated that not until after his death had his mother informed the wife that he had not been a man at all. The post-mortem examination, to the widow's astonishment and consternation, confirmed the mother-in-law's statement.

Hermaphroditism occurs very frequently in two children of the same parents. Hirschfeld himself recorded the cases of two such couples and we quote one of these cases below:

Anna Louise Charlotte L. was the second child of her parents, the first being a perfectly normal boy. After her came her sister Gertrude Meta Hilda. In the case of both, the mother, soon after their birth, discovered an abnormality in the genitals, in regard to which she was reassured by the midwife that "it would pass" and that the normal feminine state would then prevail. When, later, Gertrude contracted an intestinal complaint, her parents called the doctor's attention to the malformation of the genitals as well. The doctor examined both girls, but came to no definite conclusion with regard to their true sex, so that the children were for the time being brought up as girls and sent to a girls' school.

During their school years, however, certain phenomena appeared in them which made it very doubtful whether they belonged to the female sex and led to constant molestation and ridicule on the part of the other girls. Charlotte in her 12th year suddenly developed a deep, masculine voice, which was at first attributed to a transitory state of

hoarseness and treated as such, but was soon recognized not as an unhealthy condition but as a natural sign of incipient masculinity. In the case of the younger sister, Gertrude, the deep voice appeared as early as the seventh year, shortly before she went to school. She was teased a great deal at school, the teacher, for instance, calling her "little bear," which caused the child considerable misery. Owing to her deep voice, Charlotte, following upon an examination by the school doctor, was relieved of participation in singing lessons, together with Gertrude.

Simultaneously with the change of voice *a rapid development of the genital organs became noticeable*, and this was combined with a considerable growth of hair. At that time a doctor who happened to see Gertrude at a holiday resort was so struck by her appearance that he interrogated her mother and subsequently also examined the child, but without being able to determine her true sex with certainty. This was first done by a professor who had been consulted on behalf of both children when—*Charlotte being 13 and Gertrude 10*—they developed a strong growth of facial hair. After an examination of the genitals the professor declared that the two girls were really boys, and he suggested the obvious changes. However, upon hearing of this suggestion both children were seized with depression and melancholia, and it was therefore decided, upon the advice of another authority, to allow them to live as girls for the present. This state of affairs continued for several years, but naturally could not be maintained permanently, as the children showed masculine characteristics with increasing distinctness and became involved in so many unpleasant incidents that they themselves realized the necessity of changing into boys. The growth of hair on their faces had become so strong that the mother was obliged *to shave them with a razor daily*. In spite of that, however, they attracted unwelcome attention in public, and were followed everywhere by curious looks, whisperings, and the like. Further, they *dared not speak in public*, as their voices attracted immediate attention. The position gradually became intolerable. "All the joy of life was changed to bitterness for the children, and it was impossible for them to behave naturally in public." Both children therefore expressed the wish to become boys as soon as possible, and from then on behaved and dressed as such.

At present neither of the two boys has feminine breasts, their chests being flat and undeveloped, like those of boys of similar age.

Both Charlotte and Gertrude have a typical masculine member, the former's being approximately two inches and the latter's two inches long. No testicles could be traced with certainty, as both suffer from cryptorchism. However, the presence of testicles is indicated by the fact that Gertrude has repeatedly observed *the discharge of a sticky substance*. There is not the slightest trace of any feminine characteristics in the genitals, either external or internal. There has been no trace of menstruation in either case.

The psychological life of the two subjects is also entirely that of boys of the same age. They are interested in none but masculine pursuits and games and attracted to masculine occupations. Thus the older boy wishes to become a business man, and both children have expressed the wish to become soldiers. Their sexual impulse, in so far as it is present at this stage, is directed toward women and not men.

The authorities naturally acted upon this expert opinion. The outward change occurred in the usual way. The two children changed into boys' clothes and had their hair attended to at Hirschfeld's consulting rooms; they had entered as sisters, but left the place as brothers.

In the case of feminine hermaphrodites the determination of sex is particularly difficult, which is why it so often happens that they provide the greatest surprises after death, such as that they have *changed their sex two or more times* during life.

Whether a feminine hermaphrodite is capable of bearing children is still questionable, although many stories of this kind are recorded in literature. The best known of these is the case of the pregnant monk (at Issoire en Auvergne, in 1473), about whom his contemporaries coined the following alliteration: *mas, mulier, monachus, mundi mirabile, monstrum*. Chroniclers have also recorded the cases of soldiers who, to the amazement of their comrades, were one fine day delivered of a child. Caspar Bauhin mentions the case of a soldier who had served in Hungary and in Flanders and had been married to a woman for seven years when he gave birth to a child. Before a court-martial the soldier concerned admitted having had sexual relations with a comrade.

Skeptical though we are despite the above in regard to the capacity of hermaphrodites to bear children, there is little doubt that *they are capable of fertilizing a woman*. Since the discharge

of living sperma has been proved in many hermaphrodites, even some who were living as women, there is no reason why spermatozoa ejected from the hermaphrodite's genitals into the vagina of a woman should not reach an ovum and fertilize it.

The cases described until now—apart from one exception—related either to masculine or to feminine hermaphrodites. But, as we have said, there are also hermaphrodites who belong to neither sex and are therefore neutral hermaphrodites.

The following case of this type has been recorded by Hirschfeld:

When Bertha D. was born no one doubted that the child belonged to the female sex. She attended a girls' school and was confirmed, as a girl, at the age of 13. After that she was apprenticed to an underwear manufacturer. Already at school her deep voice attracted attention, and she was teased a great deal on account of it, being called "bear," "manikin," "fellow," etc., which made her wretched and often caused her to cry. However, in spite of this it never occurred to her that she would like to be a boy. But when she began to grow a beard that demanded the daily application of a razor, she gradually reached the conviction that it would be better for her to wear masculine clothes and assume a masculine name, so that she should not be exposed to humiliating remarks.

When D. is undressed her sex organs at first produce a completely feminine impression. There is no sign of a penis, nor of a scrotum, though the ample genital hair is of a masculine character. But when D. is seen with her legs wide apart, the position is very different, an organ being revealed that resembles a penis rather than a clitoris. The mother states that this organ, during the first months after birth, had only been a "tiny bud," and only grew bigger and bigger later on. D. states that the stump often becomes rigid of itself, but this is not accompanied by any sexual sensations. There has never been any menstruation. The opening of the urethra is right at the end of the vaginal pocket.

The breasts are entirely masculine, and there is no trace of the mammary gland.

The larynx is also masculine. Her deep, sonorous voice, arising from the length of her vocal cords, was what first attracted attention.

D. has no sexual urges or inclinations, and she is unable to say which sex she finds more attractive. In answer to the question whether she would like to marry a man or a woman, she had at first said, "A man," but now she is unable to give a definite reply. She absolutely denies having indulged in masturbation in any way. Her mother says that she is "very innocent yet." No sexual glands can be ascertained either organically or functionally. In view of the lack of traceable sexual glands it is impossible to determine with certainty whether D. is male or female.

Hermaphrodites belonging to the *hermaphroditismus dualis* group are extremely rare. These persons—as far as science is able to determine—have germinal glands containing both masculine and feminine parts. Such twin glands, with follicles and seminal cells and with a strongly developed testicle in intimate contact with an ovary, have been definitely ascertained both in animals and humans. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether these two parts produce sexual cells and whether the claims of dual hermaphrodites themselves of having begotten and borne children are based on fact. This also applies to the following case, recorded by R. W. Shufeldt:

A young lady, aged 24, was staying at a boarding house in New York, where she entered into an affair with a man of 50, who had a daughter of 18. She became pregnant by him and gave birth to a child. At the same time, she fell in love with the daughter, and started an affair with her. The daughter, in turn, became pregnant by the young woman, and also gave birth to a child. A picture of the young woman shows a beautiful person in a picturesque pose, with long hair, feminine breasts, a wide pelvis, making a distinctly feminine impression. With regard to his examination of the genitals, the author states: "Both testicles and penis in this case are developed and are of large size. Although I have never personally examined this case, I am of the opinion, judging from what I know of its history, that all the internal generative organs of the female are present and functioning."

This case can no more be regarded as scientifically proved than the ancient story about a husband and wife who became pregnant

by each other. Thus, according to Venelle, a young married couple in Paris was in the year 1663 sentenced to death for this reason, but a famous physician named Laurent Mathieu saved them from the stake. That an apparent husband, soldier, or monk should have given birth to a child is quite possible, but how is it possible to prove that the wife was really the father of the child, or that fertilization was effected mutually? It has even been alleged that self-fertilization from dual glands has occurred in some cases, discharged ova and semen having met and combined in the womb in a sort of immaculate conception; but these allegations probably represent no more than a theoretical problem, a play of the imagination, rather than an actual occurrence.

On the other hand, the various statements to the effect that menstruation and discharges of semen have been proved in one and the same person, cannot be dismissed as pure invention, though no doubt deliberate untruths and unconscious errors may have entered into these statements as well. Thus the allegations of the person variously known as Virginia Maura of Rome and Zephthe Aheira of Tunis, whom Hirschfeld had met personally, appear to be unreliable, and Wirchow disbelieved her claim that she had had abortions. On the other hand, in view of the fact that she had a full beard, a 2-inch clitoris, a 3-inch-deep vagina, a hymen, a vulva, a uterus and a left-side germinal gland, with a urethra debouching into the vagina, and considering further that she was married to a man, her claim to have had regular periods and several abortions, and to have given birth to a dead child, deserves no less credit than her claim to have had "perfectly normal" intercourse with women and to have derived even greater pleasure from it than from intercourse with men.

Whereas this case has never been completely cleared up, the same cannot be said of the following case, probably the most closely investigated case of hermaphroditism in modern times:

Catherine Hohmann was born in Mellrichstadt in the year 1824, and died of tuberculosis in 1881, as Carl Hohmann, after a happy marriage with a woman, and as the father of a son. Between these

two dates he lived an eventful life, concerning which the greatest experts argued for a long time whether it was the life of a man or a woman.

Hohmann had a hypospadiac penis, a well developed right-side scrotum and testicle, and atrophied left-side scrotum without a testicle, a comparatively long urethra, into which opened a thin vaginal duct, which was connected with a small uterus. The breasts were well developed and occasionally discharged a whitish fluid. The head hair was of the feminine type, the facial hair slight. The pelvis was masculine.

It was Professor Friedrich, of Heidelberg, who first ascertained in Catherine sperma with living spermatozoa, and he also found periodic discharges of blood. Franque pronounced these as definitely menstrual discharges. Three physicians of the highest scientific standing—the gynecologist von Skanzoni, von Recklinghausen, and von Kölliker—signed a certificate containing the following passage: "The proven presence of both the masculine and the feminine functions in her, is of the utmost interest. A fluid taken from her in the year 1863, and examined by Police Surgeon Vogt, contained spermatozoa. We, the undersigned, have observed a discharge of blood from the urethra which lasted for two days, and upon the microscopic examination of the discharge we found, from the nature of the corpuscles and the admixture of mucus, that it was of a menstrual character."

Catherine had the first pollutions at the age of 15. It was at that time that she began to have intercourse with women, and ejaculation occurred very rapidly. At the age of 20 menstrual discharges began and her sexual impulse then became orientated toward men as well. During intercourse with men she had a discharge of semen, but no erection. She derived greater sexual pleasure from intercourse with women. The urge for intercourse with men was always strongest during the first two or three days after her period.

As regards the *incidence* of hermaphroditism, it is impossible to say anything definite at the moment. Von Neugebauer found one hermaphrodite among about 1,000 persons who passed through his hands, and even he was ignorant of his true sex. At Warsaw, where he practiced, and which then had about 800,000 inhabitants, von Neugebauer knew about thirty hermaphrodites. It

would naturally be unsafe to draw conclusions from such figures, nor do army examinations offer an acceptable basis, as *the majority of masculine hermaphrodites are brought up as girls*.

Certain it is that a large number of hermaphrodites live their lives without having the least idea that they do not belong to the sex to which they are counted, while many of those who know are careful not to reveal the secret.

What is the cause of hermaphroditism? As we know, it is due to an impediment in the process of development. In the development of normal people there is a precise regulating principle which advances or impedes the evolution of masculine or feminine sex organs. A breakdown of this regulating principle leads to hermaphroditism.

How the evolution of the sex organs is regulated, we do not know. It is probable, however, that the adrenal glands play an important role in this connection, for pathologically changed adrenal glands have been found in many hermaphrodites after death. (Fibiger, Marchand, Benda, Roessler, and many others.) We have already mentioned the role of the adrenal glands in connection with sexual prematurity and found that prematurity is accompanied by changes in these glands. We may supplement this with the observation that in cases of sexual prematurity a change tending toward the opposite sex takes place, which appears to confirm the assumption that the adrenal glands have something to do with hermaphroditism.

The ultimate cause of hermaphroditism, that is to say, the reason why the adrenal glands do not function normally, has not yet been established, though it may be assumed that here, as in the case of so many other disturbances in development, hereditary factors are at work. The fact that hermaphroditism occurs with comparative frequency in children of the same parents appears to confirm this assumption.

IX

ANDROGYNY

CLASSIFICATION—"MALE WOMEN" AND "FEMALE MEN"—MEN WITH FEMININE BREASTS—THE BEARDED LADY—DEVELOPMENT OF CONTRARY SEXUAL CHARACTERISTICS—ROLE OF THE GERMINAL GLANDS—STEINACH'S EXPERIMENTS ON ANIMALS—MEN WITH OVARIES AND WOMEN WITH TESTICLES—SEXUAL IMPULSE OF MASCULINE WOMEN—CASES FROM HIRSCHFELD'S COLLECTION—MAN SUCKLING INFANT.

In the previous chapter we considered the phenomena of hermaphroditism. But those are not the only phenomena in connection with a mingling of opposite sexual characteristics. In the case of hermaphroditism it is the actual genital organs that are mixed, but there are cases in which none but the secondary physical characteristics—or even the psychological characteristics—are mixed.

Hirschfeld accordingly distinguishes:

1. Hermaphroditism proper (*hermaphroditismus genitalis*), which we have already considered.
2. Androgyny, i.e. somatic hermaphroditism, or the mixing of other physical characteristics, which we will consider in the present chapter.
3. Transvestitism, or the mixing of psychological sexual differences (*hermaphroditismus psychicus*).
4. Homosexuality, that is to say, a masculine sexual impulse in women and a feminine sexual impulse in men.

The last two will be dealt with in later chapters.

If we examine ancient sculptural representations of hermaphroditism, examples of which practically every museum contains, we will find that what was regarded as hermaphroditism in antiquity does not agree with our conception of that condition. Hardly any of these sculptures show a dual formation of the genital organs; the hermaphrodites of antiquity have masculine genitals, though of extraordinarily small dimensions. This is accompanied by a feminine build, above all feminine breasts, and, in addition, the expression of the face, the hair dressing, the formation of the pelvis, and the attitude, are all feminine. The Greek artists were careful to emphasize that these hermaphrodites were not the products of their imaginations, but living men, and, for instance, the famous hermaphrodite column in Rome, sculpted by *Policlet*, bears an inscription to the effect that it is exactly copied *from nature*.

The present clinical conception of hermaphroditism as understood by Hirschfeld relates to an intimate mingling of masculine and feminine sexual cells or organs, and is therefore unconnected with the original conception.

The ancients employed the word androgyny (man-woman) in the same sense as hermaphroditism (Hermes-Aphrodite), but we will use it to denote a different series of phenomena.

The principal phenomena in androgyny are, in men, feminine breasts (gynecomastia), lack of facial hair, feminine pelvis, feminine distribution of fat deposits; and in women, masculine chest, masculine hair on the body and face (hypertrichosis), masculine voice, masculine build.

Considering that there is hardly an otherwise normal person who does not bear at least indications of the opposite sex, that all men have nipples, that very many women have at least a downy growth on the upper lip, as well as on the arms and legs, it is easy to see that there must be many gradations between the man with feminine breasts and the bearded woman on the one hand, and the complete man and woman on the other. And the latter, though conceivable, are hardly ever encountered. Thus it is not correct to diagnose androgyny if a man looks somewhat "feminine" or if he has hardly any hair on his body and face. On the other hand,

androgyny may be assumed if a man has feminine breasts, a feminine voice, and a feminine pelvis. In the same way, it is incorrect to diagnose androgyny in a woman merely because she has more hair than usual on her face and body, but correct to do so if the facial hair has the character of a regular beard or if the other physical characteristics tend toward masculinity.

While we do not know the causes of genital hermaphroditism, in the case of androgyny we are in a position to speak of some aspects with certainty.

The development of the secondary sexual characteristics depends entirely on the germinal glands, or rather on the hormones produced by the germinal glands. The masculine hormone promotes the development of masculine physical characteristics and at the same time impedes the development of the feminine. In the case of feminine hormones the converse applies. It should be noted that these hormones first appear at puberty, and further, that a small amount of feminine hormone is present in men and a small amount of masculine hormone in women.

In view of the foregoing, androgyny may occur if:

1. The impeding action of the normal germinal glands on the sexual characteristics of the opposite sex is absent.
2. The tissue of the germinal gland of the opposite sex is present and produces hormones.

The latter condition really represents a case of hermaphroditismus genitalis dualis, but it may happen that the hermaphroditism is confined to the germinal glands alone, so that the sex organs, in so far as they are visible or provable, show no hermaphroditic changes. This type of androgyny occurs, in particular, when the sexual gland tissue of the opposite sex appears in extrauterine life, i.e. at a time when the sex organs are already developed.

Cases have been observed in which a hitherto perfectly normal man (Matthias, Bittorf) and, more frequently, a perfectly normal woman (R. Meyer and others), suddenly developed symptoms tending toward the opposite sex. Naturally, in fully developed adults these symptoms could not be particularly strong, and were usually confined to androgynal phenomena, i.e. the appearance of

feminine breasts in a man, or regression of the breasts, a deepening of the voice, etc., in a woman. At the same time, in women thus affected a strong growth of the clitoris has been observed, which is already a sign of hermaphroditism.

Patients showing such symptoms have rapidly developed germinal gland tumors, but the tumors consist of the tissue of the opposite sexual glands, that is to say, the testicle tumors consist of ovary tissue and the ovary tumors of testicle tissue. Removal of the tumor results in the disappearance of the hermaphroditic symptoms.

Androgyny has also been observed where the germinal glands were underdeveloped or had been removed, so that they could not hinder the development of the physical sexual characteristics of the opposite sex. Thus androgynous phenomena may be observed in castrated persons, and to a certain extent also during the physiological climacteric (deep voice and facial hair in older women).

The causation of androgyny has been placed into a clear light by the world-famous experiments of Steinach. The Viennese physiologist castrated male rats aged from three to four weeks. All the physical and psychic sexual characteristics in these castrated animals remained at the infantile stage; but when Steinach restored the extracted testicles to a male rat, no matter to what part of its body he grafted them, e.g. to the abdominal muscles, the animal completely *regained its physical and psychic masculinity*. If the testicles did not adhere to the new position—as often happens in grafting—then the animals continued in their castrated character.

The next question that arose concerned the problem whether the germinal glands were sexually specific, that is to say, do the male and female germinal glands both supply an internal secretion whose action with regard to the development of sexual characteristics is identical, or do they supply a sexually specific secretion which in the case of the male germinal gland leads to the development of masculine sexual characteristics, and in the case of the female germinal gland to the development of female sexual characteristics?

Steinach proceeded on the following argument: If the action of male and female germinal glands is identical, then it is immaterial whether testicles or ovaries are grafted under the skin of a castrated male rat, as the body of the castrated animal would in both cases have to develop to masculinity. But if the action of the two types of glands is different, i.e. sexually specific, then the grafting of ovaries on a castrated male rat would lead to the development not of masculine, but feminine characteristics, while the grafting of testicles on a castrated female rat would bring out masculine characteristics in the originally female animal. Thus, if the action of the germinal glands were sexually specific, it would have to be possible to determine at will the sexual characteristics of a castrated animal by the type of germinal gland that is grafted into its body. It would have to be possible, as Steinach expressed it, *to change a male into a female by castration and the transplantation of ovaries and, similarly, to change a castrated female into a male by the grafting of testicles*. The experiments were carried out with striking success.

The testicles and ovaries of young rats and guinea pigs were cut out, the testicles being grafted into the castrated females, and the ovaries into the castrated males, in both cases under the abdominal skin. The animals used for the exchange were of the same type, and mostly of the same litter. In the case of the castrated males grafted with ovaries, the wound was completely healed within a fortnight. The exchanged germinal parts joined up well in 51 per cent of the experimental animals.

The results were as follows: The *sexual apparatus* of the ovaried males did not develop, but remained at the infantile stage. This means that the hormone which induces masculine growth in the sexual apparatus is not contained in the secretion of the feminine germinal gland.

It was even found that the development of the sexual apparatus of the ovaried males was inferior to that of ordinary castrated animals, an indication that the secretion of the feminine germinal gland contains substances which impede and hinder the development of masculine sexual characteristics. The restrictive action

of the feminine germinal gland on the development of masculine sexual characteristics is also clearly apparent in the influence which the feminine germinal gland exercises on the growth of the ovaried male. *Rapid growth*, a robust figure, and powerful bone structure in these animals—as in humans—are typically masculine characteristics. Thus a normal male rat at the age of about twelve months weighs 53 grams more than a corresponding female. But in the case of ovaried males masculine growth is repressed and the animal's growth is of a feminine character. For instance, when Steinach grafted ovaries into four masculine rats of the same litter, a normal brother after eight months already weighed from 70 to 100 grams more than the ovaried brothers, so that the difference was even greater than between normal males and females. That this was not due to the castration or the operation itself, is proved by the fact that the ordinary castrated rat of the same litter grew considerably faster than the ovaried male. The heads of the ovaried males also assumed a feminine form, in that their heads were thinner. In addition, their chest measurement was smaller than in males or castrates and the length of their bodies was the same as that of a normal female. An X-ray examination showed that the bone structure as a whole, as well as each individual bone, was of average feminine dimensions.

The ovaried males developed fat deposits and instead of long, coarse masculine hair they grew fine, sleek feminine hair, so that an ovaried male could be distinguished from his normal brother by the stroking of their hair alone. Of particular interest is the position with regard to the mammary gland in the ovaried male, which develops after the grafting of the ovaries, both as regards shape and size, as in the normal female. Sometimes the mammary glands in the ovaried male develop better than in the sexually intact female, and produce normal milk rich in fat. "If," writes Steinach, "guinea pigs so treated are placed among young guinea pigs, the latter will immediately recognize and follow them as 'mothers.' And the ovaried male guinea pig will immediately accept the young, and suckle them, displaying during this complicated physiological act a pleasure, patience, and care that is other-

wise only to be found in normal females. The transforming power of the feminine puberty glands changes the original male into a female, a careful nursing mother."

The sexual impulse of the ovaried male also becomes feminine. He shows no trace of masculine aggressiveness and does not pursue the female in heat. On the other hand, he exercises an attraction on the normal males, is pursued and served by them and struggles against this in exactly the same way as the normal females. He is, as Steinach puts it, "femininely erotized."

Parallel with the experiments described above, Steinach conducted experiments on female animals, and with similarly successful results. The transplanted testicles in most cases only adhered in females of the same litter as the male from which the testicles were taken. Here, too, it is only the part called the puberty gland that develops; living seminal cells are not present in the transplanted testicles. *The masculine puberty gland changes the organism of the castrated female in a masculine direction.* The development of the feminine sexual characteristics, such as mammary glands, uterus, and sexual apparatus, remain at a standstill or even regress.

The shape of the body becomes masculine, and the soft feminine hair is replaced by a coarse masculine growth. The animal's entire appearance resembles that of the full-grown normal male, and as regards the size of the head and robustness it even surpasses the male. *The same applies to the sexual impulse, which assumes a distinctly masculine character.* The masculated female instantly recognizes when a female is in heat and when it is not, pursues the one in heat, woos her, and serves her. Toward normal males they behave in a masculine manner. Thus the central nervous system of the masculated female is "masculinely erotized."

In an attempt to ascertain to what extent this antagonism could be influenced, weakened, or even eliminated, Steinach grafted into castrated young males both a testicle and an ovary. Both organs "took" and unfolded their influence in both directions.

Whereas the previous experiments had shown that in monosexual grafting the development of the homologous sexual char-

acteristics is promoted, while the inconsistent secondary sexual characteristics regress, it was now found that bisexual grafting affects these twin functions, for although the consistent sexual characteristics develop, the inconsistent ones are not repressed. *As no antagonistic elimination of the sex hormones takes place, both the masculine and the feminine hormones operate, thus leading to the formation of hermaphroditic characteristics.*

Accordingly, in bisexual grafting the masculine sexual characteristics of the male animals are well developed, both as regards the prepuberty genital and the postpuberty general characteristics, but the typical feminine sexual characteristics also develop out of the otherwise atrophied feminine bases. In particular, the nipples of the breast grow to long teats, and the surrounding courts protrude, and sometimes a periodic production of milk takes place. Steinach writes in this connection: "But in addition to the physical characteristics, the mental characteristics also bear the impress of hermaphroditism. According to the microscopically provable predominance of this or that germinal gland, there are alternating periods of distinctly masculine and distinctly feminine sexual impulses. These experiments have proved the new physiological fact that the central nervous system reacts to fluctuations in the supply of sexual hormones so strongly that it can be repeatedly erotized in an alternating masculine and feminine direction according to the accumulation of the specific hormone. This also explains the origin and nature of the phenomenon, frequently observed by medical investigators, of psychic hermaphroditism."

Steinach's conclusions undoubtedly confirm the view repeatedly expressed by Hirschfeld over a number of years that homosexuality and cognate phenomena represent constitutionally conditioned states of a bisexual character. Steinach's results also confirm Bloch's assumption that homosexuality is connected with "embryonic disturbances of the sexual mechanism."

Experience has shown that physical signs of masculinity in women and of femininity in men are frequently, but by no means always, accompanied by their psychological equivalents. There

are androgynous women who are intellectually and spiritually completely feminine, and androgynous men who are intellectually and in an affective sense completely masculine. On the other hand, there are, notably among transvestites, also men with a completely feminine mentality, but without any corresponding physical characteristics, as well as psychologically masculine women without physical masculine characteristics. However, here again the rule of relativity, which must always be applied in questions of sex, applies. The ratio would be this, that whereas somatically complete men and women show a psychological deviation of about 10 per cent from their own sex, in androgynous men and women this percentage rises to 50 or more.

The so-called androgynous urge often accompanies actual physical androgyny, but occurs not infrequently without this in psychic intersexuals, such as transvestites and homosexuals. The mind becomes instinctively dissatisfied with the unsuitable body and endeavors to correct it. From this point of view the androgynous impulse, like the mannishness of women and the effeminacy of men, which is so often condemned by lay persons, represents a disposition arising from the projection of a (male or female) sexuality conditioned by endocrine secretions. Effeminate men of this type often take the greatest pains to remove every hair that is inconsistent with femininity. Seneca, Martial, and Juvenal have recorded how the effeminate men of their age used resin, pumice stone, and other means as depilatories. Fränkel records about the suicide Blank, who was an effeminate man of this type, that he plaited his hair, destroyed his beard, and stuffed his clothes at the chest and hips.

Masculine women on the contrary, abhor long hair, and their androgynous urge sometimes goes so far that they make every effort to bring about the growth of facial hair. Krafft-Ebing records about Sarolta Vay, who was arrested when wearing masculine clothes, that she performed all sorts of experiments with a razor in an effort to grow a beard. Hirschfeld's collection includes photographs of women wearing smart trim moustaches, stuck on in a most realistic manner. Effeminate men use all sorts of cosmetics

in order to improve their complexions; masculine women, on the other hand, despise cosmetics and are pleased if they can get their skin to look coarser by a great deal of open-air exercise. Feminine men also hate the adam's apple, which the normal, virile man hardly notices.

One of the principal objects of androgynous desire or hatred are the breasts. In regard to this characteristic the wish to alter something that is out of place sometimes appears with especial vehemence. The voluptuous breasts which the virile woman hates, represent the highest ambition of the feminine man, and the flat chest which vexes him represents the peak of her desire. One man wanted to make himself a pair of feminine breasts by means of paraffin injections. Others employ suction apparatus or spend a great deal of money in the hope of otherwise achieving their ambition.

Virile women sometimes go so far as to have their breasts cut off. One girl, aged 25, succeeded in persuading a surgeon and a psychiatrist to cut off her breasts.

The figure, in general, plays an important role in connection with the androgynous urge. Some feminine men wish to have a slim waist and wear corsets, while masculine women refuse even to consider such a procedure. Though they do not always know it, their objective refusal is the interpretation of a subjective desire. The artificial treatment of the voice also enters into the androgynous urge. Men so affected endeavor to heighten the pitch of their voices, particularly in singing, while virile women deliberately make their voices deeper by heavy smoking and drinking.

This peculiar urge extends even to the genitals. Feminine men have frequently asked to be castrated. Virile women, particularly when wearing trousers, attach an artificial penis, not with any intention to carry out the sexual act, but merely to create an illusion that is pleasant to them.

At first glance one is inclined to regard these androgynous acts as abandoned or puerile. The deliberate heightening or deepening of voice pitch, and the excessive use of cosmetics, etc., by men,

is so interpreted, and has been ridiculed by dramatists and others through the ages. Naturally, the androgynous urge, like other urges, is to a certain extent amenable to control by will power, but sometimes the urge is too strong and gets out of control, particularly when the subject's powers of resistance are slight. For this reason androgynists indulge their urge without restraint when they are alone or in congenial company, so that all inhibitive influence is absent. However, permanent dissimulation of the androgynous urge and forcible repression of all manifestation of femininity or masculinity is hardly possible.

In order to elucidate these complexes, which are sometimes extremely strong, we quote a few passages from the correspondence of an androgynist addressed to Hirschfeld:

The patient's parents were 29 years old at the time of his birth, the father being only four months older than the mother. Before the patient's birth the mother had had an intense desire to have a girl, as her first child had been a boy, and she had decided on a feminine name in advance. After the patient two sisters were born, respectively two and five years younger than himself. Both sisters are unmarried, and have no inclination for marriage. All the brothers and sisters are of a comparatively youthful appearance, so that everybody thinks they are younger than their actual years. The parents are happy in their marriage. The father had been strict, the mother indulgent, and the patient likes his mother better. He resembles her physically, and his father mentally. As a child he used to talk a great deal in his sleep. He preferred to play with girls, and would have liked to dress as a girl, as he thought girls' clothes much nicer, and this inclination on his part was remarked upon in his home environment. He absorbed knowledge easily, and had a particular bent for music and geography. He was educated in an austere institution. There was no sexual seduction. He has had an aversion for males, particularly sexually mature males, since early childhood. He had made attempts at masturbation by rubbing the genitals, but this, it is alleged, happened in his sleep, and his parents soon broke him of the habit.

As a child he slept with his brother, who was two years his senior. At about the age of 13 he received a heavy blow in the loins, and inflammation and suppuration of the testicles ensued. The testicles have

remained as small as an apricot ever since. At the age of 17 the patient felt an intense burning and itching in the region of the nipples, and the typical feminine mounds began to appear. Being then inexperienced, he considered this development quite natural, and it was only gradually that the truth dawned upon him, but he kept his secret from everybody. He dreaded the time when he would have to be medically examined for the army, and his description of this experience indicates that it was to him a serious psychological trauma. He still remembers the ironical remarks and strange looks of some of the recruiting board. He was not enlisted. Since then his aversion for medical examinations has been so great that despite his detailed confession in writing, he cannot agree to a medical examination. Till the end of his twenties the patient had no facial hair and even now, at the age of 40, he only has a slight moustache. He does not remember when he first heard about sexual matters, nor when he had his first pollution. He has never had any sexual intercourse, and he gives as his reason that he regarded it as unchivalrous to dishonor a girl, particularly in view of his sisterly regard for all women.

The patient is of medium height, his skin is somewhat sallow, his hair thick and brown, and he wears it parted in the middle. His hair is already greying. His stride is short and quick, his bearing erect. His eyes are greyish brown in color, and have a dreamy look. His hands and feet are dainty, his shoulders gently rounded. The muscles of his body are medium strong, his flesh medium firm. He describes the expression of his face as youthful. He blushes easily. His larynx is only slightly prominent, and he has a high baritone voice.

His breasts are entirely feminine. He describes them as full, magnificently shaped, finely rounded, and firm. They are clearly discernible even in masculine clothes. He could not bring himself to have a photograph taken, but according to his scale drawing he really has fully developed breasts. The patient has never observed secretions from the breasts and, to his regret, has been unable to bring forth a secretion by attempts to nurse a child. Bust and hip measurements are approximately the same, his waist is some 30 inches, owing to his having worn a corset for a long time. His testicles "function badly."

Having abstained from coitus and masturbation all his life, he only has nocturnal pollutions at intervals of several months. He can supply no information as regards the quality and quantity of the semen lost.

The patient's sexual impulse is "very slight," and in case of active

exercise it would be directed toward women. However, it would require a "very strong stimulation" to induce sexual excitement in him. He has never approached any woman. He is only attracted to single women up to the climacteric, provided they are well bred and cheery.

Another essential condition is that they should have a full, and well-shaped bosom. The patient is entirely indifferent to male persons, whether in the flesh or in pictorial or plastic representations. He is steady in his affections and does not like flirting. He is unmarried and is living with a girl, in a sort of erotic friendship. She is the only one whose bosom equals his own, and that is why he loves her, as he says, "with a chaste affection." He watches over her chastity with the greatest care. Mutual care and admiration of each other's breasts occupies the principal place in this erotic relationship. He has no sexual feelings in the true sense for this girl. He feels like a protecting sister to her. In thinking of the time when she would marry—merely for her maintenance, as she says—he imagines her "terrible" position in submitting "her pure body and lovely bosom" to a man's desire, perhaps every day; but finally he consoles himself with a sort of desperate humor. He thinks the girl is homosexual, and having recognized his feminine personality she confirmed him in his feminine activities. The patient completely understands feminine homosexuality, but thinks that the masculine variety is "pathological."

The patient has been indulging his desire to wear feminine clothes at home since his girl friend has been encouraging him to do so; he has been wearing a corset and bodice for years.

He says: "It is precisely the sight of my beautiful bosom that arouses in me the desire for feminine clothes."

He would like to be a complete woman physically and hates his masculine genitals. He has only had sexual orgasm three times in his life, each time during his attempts—at the age of 41—to suckle a baby, and each time the orgasm was accompanied by ejaculation.

In connection with his attempts at emasculation the patient writes:

"Although I am deeply ashamed of it, I must, for the sake of completeness, confess that I have already made an attempt this year to emasculate myself. I had bandages and a disinfectant ready, but when I made the first incision with a pair of scissors into my scrotum the sight of blood frightened me, in case I could not stop it.

"Is my will going to be strong enough in future to overcome my innate aversion for my masculine sex organs? Is there no unbloody

means of destroying in secret this hateful appendage, which is so contrary to my spiritual life? I think I owe you these details, in order to give you an insight into my double life, in which femininity plays the leading role and masculinity is borne with deep aversion, and also into my feelings, which could not be repressed even by the strongest will because they are part of my flesh and blood and find constant fresh nourishment in my beautiful bosom. Perhaps my breasts, which have given me so many happy hours on account of the thought that I possess woman's most attractive feature, are a misfortune in another direction.

"I place these notes entirely in your disposal, to do with as you wish, so that people should not condemn those who differ from the normal.

"When I wake up and touch my breasts I doubt for a moment whether I am really awake and I also find my strangely shaped feminine body rather queer when I bathe. Incidentally, washing and massaging my breasts gives me considerable pleasure, though this does not excite me sexually."

The patient has given his breasts names, calling one Frieda and the other Elvira. In one of his many letters he writes:

"My darlings Frieda and Elvira rule the roost, while he [his masculine self] plays the part of Cinderella. Frieda and Elvira are temperamental. Little more than a year ago I did not know why my nipples stiffened sometimes, until Marie [his girl friend] told me that that comes from feminine sensual excitement."

In another letter he writes:

"My efforts to restore to my breasts their former self-supporting firmness have failed; they are apparently past their prime, and I must resign myself to the fact that, like all aging women, I shall lose the suppleness of my breasts through the desiccation or fattening of my mammary glands. In my case it will probably be the latter, as my breasts are steadily, though slowly, becoming fatter and owing to their weight they tend to drop."

After describing how he is being teased and ridiculed by the inhabitants of the village where he lives, the patient writes:

"If I could only experience a woman's sexual pleasure once! If I could only go through the entire process of menstruation, in order to know that of which I only have a vague idea now! On those occasions when I had pollutions I felt depressed and nauseated after-

wards. The masculine discharge nauseates me, and I have a horror of the clothes on which it has fallen. How happy I should be if I were like my dear girl friends as regards my genitals, for although the female genitals are not so beautiful as I had imagined, they are far more attractive than a man's."

His deepest longing is to nurse a baby. He writes:

"When dressing or undressing, or when I cannot sleep, my hands caress my breasts and nipples, and I am filled with regret that they are no use to a baby. I long to be a wet nurse and I envy every nursing mother."

Finally, his longing is realized. In an excited letter he informs me that, through the intermediary of his girl friend, a woman has handed her new-born baby to him to be nursed. "We are intensely curious to see whether my breasts will give milk," he writes. But later reports as regards the actual suckling are unsatisfactory. In the end he writes: "There has been no milk, so I have been deprived of the greatest happiness I have been longing for. But it is impossible to describe all my feelings while I was suckling the baby. I have been ready for the baby all day long. These twenty-seven days have been a period of the greatest happiness to me, and I wish it would never end."

He had ejaculations on the second, twelfth, and twenty-fifth days, each time in the waking state. His erotic excitement was particularly intense, and on the second and twenty-fifth days the sensation of pleasure and exaltation became so great that he was obliged to put the baby down. He thinks that repetitions of this almost unbearable pleasure would kill him or ruin his health and youthful appearance.

"I have completely failed as a nurse," he writes. "Not a drop of milk! I have tried for weeks, even allowing the baby to go on after it had sucked my nipples sore."

TRANSVESTITISM

CLOTHES AND SEX—TRANSVESTITISM AND HOMOSEXUALITY—
 TRANSVESTITISM IN HISTORICAL FIGURES—HENRY III—PHILIPPE
 D'ORLÉANS—AUGUST THE "HAPPY"—AMBASSADOR IN WOMEN'S
 CLOTHES—MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE—
 SEXUAL IMPULSE OF TRANSVESTITES—SOLDIERS IN FEMININE
 CLOTHES—WOMEN AS SOLDIERS—OTHER CASES FROM HIRSCHFELD'S
 FILES—A FEMALE IMPERSONATOR—DETAILS OF A DIVORCE CASE—
 REGIMENTAL DRUMMER BEARS CHILD—NOTES OF A TRANSVESTITE
 TEACHER—NAME TRANSVESTITISM—OTHER CASES—SHIP'S CAPTAIN
 A WOMAN—FREQUENT SUICIDES.

The androgynal impulse sketched toward the end of the last chapter, that strong desire to possess on one's own body characteristics of the opposite sex, the hatred of beards and desire for breasts of feminine men, the desire for beards and hatred of breasts of masculine women, all stand in close relationship to an apparently much more widespread compelling impulse, to which we now wish to turn our attention. This is the impulse to appear in the outward trappings of the sex to which a person, according to the visible sexual organs, does not belong. We have denoted this impulse as "transvestite," from "trans," "across," and "vestitus," "clothed," and readily admit that this name indicates only the most obvious aspect of this phenomenon, less so its inner, purely psychological kernel. With this impulse, which often seeks exceedingly strong expression, clothes must not be conceived, to use Carlyle's phrase, "as a lifeless thing," but must be considered "as the living home of our existence," as part of our most intimate being, in

short, as a form of expression of our innermost personality.

A transvestite government counsellor once said that in masculine clothes he felt as if he were wearing uniform or a robe of office, while in feminine clothes he felt as if dressed in "mufti." Another transvestite designated "the passion for feminine apparel, for the absolute externals of womanhood," as the desire of his feminine side for expression in a suitable form. "When I cast off everything male and put on the outward trappings of a woman," he continued, "I can perceive almost physically how falseness and violence rush out of me and disperse like fog."

The influence which masculine or feminine clothing exerts on the spiritual life of transvestites is uncommonly strong. In the garb of their physical sex masculine transvestites feel themselves confined, imprisoned, oppressed, they feel that it is something strange, something that does not suit them or belong to them. On the other hand, they cannot find words to describe the feeling of security, restfulness, and exaltation which comes over them in the garb of the opposite sex.

In an entirely similar manner we hear from feminine transvestites that in masculine clothes, or at least when they are wearing men's caps, collars, underwear, and shoes, they feel at ease, well and capable, while in feminine clothes they feel confined, imprisoned.

There are so many opportunities to observe how strongly transvestites are controlled by their peculiar passion that it is astonishing that such a strongly marked phenomenon as this should have remained for so long outside the sphere of scientific knowledge. Krafft-Ebing himself, in his comprehensive work, occasionally mentions cases in which the impulse to assume a disguise played a part, but he remained ignorant of the true nature of the phenomenon. He saw in it, like most authors before and after him, nothing but a variant of homosexuality, whereas today we are in a position to say with every certainty that, just as there are homosexuals who are not transvestites, so there are transvestites who have no homosexual tendencies whatever and feel sexually drawn to the opposite sex alone. Transvestitism, therefore, is a condition that

occurs independently and must be considered separately from any other sexual anomaly.

We cannot in this respect agree with Stekel, who attacks Hirschfeld's view in these words: "Those who draw a distinction between transvestitism and homosexuality do violence to the facts." It may be that in transvestites, as (according to Freud and Stekel) in everybody without exception, the homosexual impulses hidden or repressed in the subconscious can ultimately be dragged to light by psychoanalysis. For clinical consideration, however, latent impulses are not so important as manifest impulses, and there can be no doubt at all that to many transvestites homosexuality is subjectively just as repellent as to the majority of heterosexuals.

In addition to purely heterosexual and homosexual transvestites there are also bisexual transvestites who feel attracted to both sexes. Thus Hirschfeld mentions a happily married transvestite, who was twice unfaithful to his wife with a man, but never with a woman. He gave as his reason that the feminine side of him evolved the idea that he would like someone for once to penetrate his body. As his wife was unable to do this he had sought relief at the cost of considerable pain, through a man. A transvestite woman stated that she was devoted to a juvenile type which she met not only among young men, but also among growing girls; she had, moreover, indulged her libido more frequently in a homosexual than a heterosexual manner. Certainly there are among bisexual transvestites all possible gradations, but on the whole it would appear that an impulse directed equally toward both sexes does not occur so frequently as an impulse directed exclusively or quite overwhelmingly toward one sex or the other.

We cannot at this stage deal with all the historical figures who have to a greater or lesser extent shown transvestite inclinations, from the Babylonian to the Northern Semiramis (Katherine the Great); from the rulers Sardanapalus and Heliogabalus strutting along in costly feminine raiment to Henry III of France, who, like the Chevalier d'Éon, was widely considered to be a hermaphrodite, obviously only because he was frequently seen "*en habit de demoiselle avec tous les affiquets d'une coquette*;" from Philippe of

Orléans, the famous brother of Louis XIV, whom Michelet, in his *History of France*, describes as a "painted, coquettish woman who, made up and wearing feminine clothes, went to balls on the arm of his dear friend, the Chevalier de Lorraine," down to Emil August, the "Happy," as he himself wished to be called. Emil August, Duke of Saxe, Gotha, and Altenburg (1772-1822), one of the most picturesque princes of all time, took over the government of his country in 1804 and carried it on happily for eighteen years during a period of trouble in the rest of Germany. Napoleon I described him as one of the most gifted of German princes, while Jean Paul called him the wittiest German prince of his time. The composer, Karl Maria von Weber, who was very friendly with him, wrote: "There is about his appearance something uncommonly noble and despite his great stature something soft, almost feminine, whence comes his fondness for feminine adornment." He was twice happily married. Through his only daughter, Louise, who married Duke Ernst of Saxe-Coburg, and whose son Albert became Prince Consort of Queen Victoria, Emil August was the great-grandfather of Edward VII. All who knew him personally were struck by his "ladylike" personality. "Once when I called with my aunt to inquire after his health," relates Louise Seidler, the painter and writer of *mémoires*, "he received us lying in bed. During the conversation he rolled the sleeve of his white and capacious nightgown coquettishly up to his shoulder and showed us his arm, which was adorned with a whole row of most magnificent bracelets. A kind of boudoir cap, trimmed with costly lace, covered his head." The rather spiteful Friedrich Förster, after his meeting with him, gave the following description: "A more comic sight than this Serene Highness I have never seen in the whole of my life. At that time he was already a man of mature years, yet he employed the arts of a Paris modiste in order to be considered a feminine beauty. It was known of him that he had once visited the Leipzig Fair disguised as Fanchon, with her Savoyard barrel-organ, and done good business in Classig's Coffeehouse, the 'Auerbach Keller,' the 'Blue Cap,' and other beer-houses."

In the *Arbours* of 1857 (No. vii, p. 93), there is a picture repre-

senting the Duke as a Greek woman lying on a sofa with a lapdog, in a thoroughly feminine pose. How acutely and clearly he himself felt the woman in him is shown by the following words in one of his letters, dated 10th November, 1815, to his close friend Sidonie von Dieskau: "Self-love and self-esteem flared up in me and, feeling stronger and better than before, there soon fell from my Ego the pitiful dross, stuck on with such difficulty, of the manishness forced upon me." To amplify this we may add that the Duke was also an author, poet, and composer of songs and sonatas.

However, the most interesting case we know is recorded by Hirschfeld in his admirable work, *The Transvestites*, which is exceedingly valuable for the appreciation of this phenomenon. It is the remarkable life story of the Chevalier d'Éon de Beaumont, the secret correspondent of Louis XV. From 1755 he supervised in Russia the secret correspondence of the Empress Elizabeth with Louis XV; in 1762 he went to London as Chargé d'Affaires, again acting as the secret correspondent of the French king. When Louis XV died d'Éon journeyed to France, but returned to London in 1784. His *mémoires* are as a matter of fact not genuine, and his adventures, reported by a number of reliable contemporaries, are therefore all the more interesting. But what interests us here is his remarkable sexual life. Of the 83 years of his life d'Éon spent 49 as a man and 34 as a woman. The argument as to which sex he really belonged to was carried on for decades with the greatest liveliness; in England, above all, it raised a lot of dust. It has been reported that in England the wagers on his sex amounted to more than £200,000, while in France £80,000 was wagered on the same problem. Some claimed to know very definitely that he was a man, others claimed him as zealously for the female sex, others again explained that he was a hermaphrodite. D'Éon was born on 5th October, 1728, at Tonerre, a small town in Burgundy. Of his sex life Hirschfeld writes as follows: "His sexual impulse seems to have been extraordinarily weak for a long time after he reached maturity; it is specially pointed out that his 'purity of heart revolted on the threshold of the brothel.' In a letter to Count de Broglie in 1771, when he was 43, he expressed himself as follows:

'It torments me that I am still as Nature created me and that owing to my quiet temperament I have never tasted erotic pleasure; this has given my friends in France, Russia, and England the idea that I am of the female sex.' "

There is no evidence at all that d'Éon was homosexual. It is true that once, when he was living as a woman, it was said that he had a liaison with Beaumarchais, the famous author of *The Barber of Seville* and *The Marriage of Figaro*, but this was clearly an empty rumor spread by the bettors, one of the many legends that, as may be imagined, grew up round his person. On the other hand, erotic affections for beautiful women played a great role in his life. In 1755 we find him in Paris in the house of the Countess of Rochefort, a young widow, who had conceived a more than motherly affection for her "Benjamin," as she called him. He himself wrote at the time in his biography: "The tender white fingers of the careful Countess were playing with my soft, fair hair, when I suddenly began to tremble, overcome at the touch of this feminine hand by a feeling that I had not known till then." On the occasion of a costume fête in Versailles she introduced him at Court. On the advice of the Countess's friends the feminine young man appeared in an elegant dance frock, which she had placed at his disposal from her own wardrobe. D'Éon comments on this: "The very thought of putting on the Countess's dress, of feeling on my skin a garment that had covered the bosom of this adorable woman, and whose material had touched her beautiful body, filled me with indescribable happiness. This dress must be filled with fragrant emanations of the woman who had worn it. It was going to intoxicate me, as even the thought of it intoxicated me. I called early; I had to get myself dressed, for women's clothes give a great deal of trouble. I was handed over to an old waiting-woman, who had grown grey in the diplomacy of the toilet and was beyond the reach of scandal." At the Court ball he attracted the eyes of Louis XV, who had no idea that the beautiful maiden was really a man. There followed an amusing episode. The king had Mademoiselle d'Éon brought to him and withdrew with her to an adjoining chamber. D'Éon was explaining to the gallant king his

mistake about his sex when Madame de Pompadour, the king's favorite, who had meanwhile informed herself about d'Éon, entered, laughed heartily and apologized. Thenceforth the king showed favor to the young, clever, and witty Chevalier and soon after decided—it was the politically agitated period of the Seven Years' War—to send him on a diplomatic mission to Russia to the Court of the Empress Elizabeth, disguised as a woman, in order to reconcile Elizabeth to France. At the beginning of June, 1755, the Chevalier d'Éon, then 27 years old, received from the hands of the Prince of Conti a complete trousseau and set off with the Chevalier Douglas in the costume of his assumed sex. On the way the travelers made a lengthy stay in Neu-Strelitz, where the young, interesting Frenchwoman, whom Chevalier Douglas, her companion, gave out to be his niece, was most warmly received by the ducal family; in particular the young Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, later Queen of England, struck up a tender friendship with the supposed young girl and attached herself to her so closely that the Chevalier Douglas became anxious and afraid, and hastened their departure. The princess gave Mademoiselle d'Éon a recommendation to a St. Petersburg friend, Najda Stein, Maid of Honor to Her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias. This recommendation was to be of the greatest importance to d'Éon, for Najda became the one great love of his life, and the support of his old age. The Empress Elizabeth was charmed by the beautiful Mademoiselle, whom she soon engaged as reader of French documents, and was still more charmed when the latter finally confided to her that she belonged to the male sex. The Czarina was not the only one in St. Petersburg to fall in love with her. Several others fell under the spell of the beautiful Frenchwoman. Among them was Lord Ferrers, Peer of England, Admiral, celebrated mathematician and physiognomist of the Lavater School, who prided himself on his ability to read fluently the mysterious symbolic writing on the human face, an art which, however, failed utterly in the case of d'Éon; for while the intoxicated peer thought of deceiving his wife with the supposed

girl and caused her, "as it was after all so late," to spend the night with his wife, d'Éon punished him by deceiving him with Lady Ferrers. At all events he carried out his mission in Russia with considerable skill. Before he returned home he carried out some other important commissions in Vienna and from there he visited, again in feminine clothing, Neu-Strelitz. Here he fell seriously ill and was nursed with great devotion and tenderness by the Duchess Sophia Charlotte, who had no idea of his true sex. After his recovery he went to Paris, and after a brief stay there joined the army of the Upper Rhine, which was in the field against Frederick II. He took part under Marshal Broglie in the difficult operations of the Seven Years' War, directed at Höxter the transport of the powder supply over the Weser, was wounded in the encounter at Ultrop in the hand and head, distinguished himself at the siege and occupation of Wolffenbüttel, was appointed Captain of Dragoons and Knight of the Order of St. Louis and returned after the conclusion of the campaign to Paris, whence he was soon sent as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James. Louis XV wrote to him at the time (Versailles, 4th October, 1763): "You have served me as usefully in feminine clothes as in those which you are now wearing," and the Marquis de l'Hôpital congratulated him in the following terms: "I wish you luck in your new role as Minister Plenipotentiary. You are suited for any high position and will win yourself honor. You have in you that which elevates men, spirit and courage, and combine with them the qualities that always accompany these two, virtue and honor. You are, Sir, recognized now as a real man. Whatever you may lack physically, the effectiveness of your qualities and the good use of your time are beyond all question."

On 21st May, 1810, at the age of 83, the Chevalier d'Éon died in London. His life story is undoubtedly one of the strangest recorded of a politician. A secret correspondent and Minister Plenipotentiary who can move at Court in the clothes of the opposite sex was unique. Not until comparatively recently has there been a parallel case. It will not surprise the expert to learn that it

was at the Court of William II. The man in question was none other than the Chief of the Military Cabinet, Count Hülse-Haeseler, whose tragic end so suddenly broke up the stay of the Imperial Court at Donaueschingen. Von Zedlitz-Trütschler writes about this as follows:

"During the day, as usual, we hunted the fox. At eight in the evening we had the usual dinner. The really unusual, brilliant, and elegant company was assembled after dinner in the beautiful assembly hall of the magnificent castle, while an orchestra played on the staircase. Suddenly Count Hülse-Haeseler, in the costume of a ballet dancer, appeared. He had also done this on other occasions. He began to dance to the music, and everybody was greatly amused, for the Count danced splendidly and it was also rather original to see the Chief of the Military Cabinet dressed as a woman and performing a ballet dance.

"When the Count had finished a dance he stepped into the adjoining gallery for a rest. I stood four steps from the entrance to the gallery and suddenly heard a heavy fall there. I hurried into the gallery and saw Count Hülsen stretched full-length on the ground with his head in the bay of the window. I was immediately followed by some other gentlemen, and we busied ourselves about the Count, but as I saw at once that the case was very serious I went to look for a doctor. The Emperor was still standing in the hall, in front of the fireplace, talking unsuspectingly with Valentini. I informed him that the Count had just had a fall and was unconscious, that the matter seemed very serious, and that I was looking for Staff-Doctor Niedner. The Kaiser went at once to Count Hülsen. Then began the attempts to revive him, which the doctor continued on the spot for an hour and a quarter in the presence of the Kaiser and of Countess Fürstenberg, who sat crying on a chair. Soon there came a second doctor from the town, who assisted Niedner. To emphasize the tragedy the orchestra continued to play quietly, while the brilliant company was busy round the dead man. When the attempts to bring the Count around were given up at eleven at night it was the doctor's opinion that the Count, who had always suffered with his heart and had already had a serious fainting fit on duty, had had a sudden stroke through the strain of the dance, and was already dead at the moment of his fall."

From the comprehensive data at our disposal we find that about 35 per cent of transvestites are heterosexual and an equal percentage homosexual, while about 15 per cent are bisexual. The remaining 15 per cent are mostly automonosexual, but also include a small proportion of asexuals. We have described a case of transvestite automonosexuality in detail in the chapter on automonosexuality. Here the change of clothing in itself brings a sufficient pleasurable sensation, from which a sense of shame is hardly ever absent. Many of these transvestites suffer from nocturnal pollutions, during which they see themselves in a dream dressed as a woman. One transvestite confessed that soon after his confirmation he secretly put on his mother's cream-colored damask dress, as a result of which he had an erection for the first time, and this was accompanied by the naïve feeling that it was a "sin." Another transvestite states that when he put on feminine clothes in his room and gathered up his skirt in female fashion, he often ejaculated without touching himself. Still another states that it gives him erotic satisfaction to look at himself in a mirror "wearing a corset, dainty petticoat, charming clothes, a hat, veil, bracelets, and necklaces." In another case a transvestite confessed "that his sensuality was directed primarily to the satisfaction of his *costume yearning*, all other desires being relegated to the background." Many transvestites said that they were almost impotent when they had no feminine clothes on, but that if they tried on a new gown and found that it fitted well they immediately had an erection and frequently also a rapid ejaculation. In regard to many of these descriptions we are almost tempted to believe that we are here faced with a splitting of the personality in the sense that the masculine component in the psyche of these men is sexually stimulated by the feminine component and that they feel attracted not by the women outside them, but by the woman inside them.

However, experience shows that this automonosexual trait is no more inherent in all transvestites than homosexuality. There are a great many transvestites in whom the change of clothing itself does not release any erotic sensations; they consider it solely as an expression of their feminine inner life. There are some who are

satisfied if they can take an occasional walk dressed as a woman. They have then neither erection, nor ejaculation, nor the need for sexual intercourse with either male or female persons. They may therefore be designated as "asexual" or sexless.

We shall next, in order to facilitate the reader's comprehension of the phenomenon of transvestitism, which, considering its extent and importance, has so far received little attention, briefly describe a few of a large number of recently observed cases, and we shall have recourse for these to a dissertation on "Military Fitness and Transvestitism," written by Hirschfeld in the second year of World War I.

It is probably little known that during the war it repeatedly occurred that men due for military service appeared before the recruiting boards in feminine clothes. The first two cases took place in Sp. and W. respectively. In Sp. the case was that of a young man who had made himself a name on the variety stage as a "snake dancer," and even off the stage generally went about in smart feminine dress. The case in W. concerned a young man of a well-known aristocratic family, whose remarkable adventures had already frequently occupied the public's attention. Questioned as to how he came to present himself in feminine clothes, he replied that he possessed absolutely no men's clothes; he always went about in feminine clothes made by himself; his hair, dressed after the feminine fashion, was his own; and he also maintained that he requested and received from the police in Berlin permission to go about dressed as a woman. The latter explanation was also advanced by the "snake dancer." Both were rejected as permanently unfit for military service.

In the further course of the war there became known to Hirschfeld, apart from several soldiers who went about in feminine clothes, a total of nearly sixty cases in which men of various age groups presented themselves before the military authorities as "transvestites;" the majority were content to hand over a photograph showing them as a woman. Many of them requested Hirschfeld for a certificate concerning their peculiarity. He complied

with these requests, without anticipating the decision of the military, by a strictly objective description of their condition on the basis of expert investigation of each individual case. By way of illustration we reproduce the essence of a number of Hirschfeld's reports:

The chemist Dr. G. H., born in Berlin on the 18th April, 1884, was for a long time under specialist treatment and observation.

From his earliest childhood his girlish deportment had been noticed. He was constantly pursued by the thought that he was really a girl. "I prayed to God every night," he says in his notes, "to put right the mistake that was made in me and to transform me into a girl." In connection with this feeling of being really a woman there grew ever stronger in him the impulse to put on women's clothes, which he was finally unable to repress.

H. married in the hope that the increasingly intense feeling of womanliness would abate through his intercourse with his wife. This was, however, by no means the case, although intercourse was possible and even resulted in the birth of a child.

His reaction to this occurrence was very characteristic. He envied his wife her pregnancy and her delivery. "With what delight," he wrote, "would I have suckled the child, and how sad I was when I once put the screaming child to my breast and could give it nothing." In a later passage he says: "I could dry, wash, powder, weigh and feed the baby with greater skill than the other women in the house, and it gave me a deep satisfaction." H. adds: "I shall not allow myself to be disturbed in the execution of my maternal duties."

The 31-year-old railway employee, Richard T., of Str., has for a long time been under specialist observation. We quote some extracts from the letters received from T., as they are most characteristic of the peculiar spiritual life of these people who should be regarded not as invalids in the usual sense, but as men-women at certain intermediate stages. Thus he writes:

"My desire to be a woman goes back to my earliest childhood, even before I went to school. Often in secret I used to put on the

clothes of my mother and even of our servant-girl. I hunted out her bodice, which made such a divine figure and spent, all alone, hours that were among the happiest of my life. Even then I eagerly collected women's fashion magazines. Late at night by the light of a candle I fetched them out and studied greedily what girls and women were wearing. If my mother found these books she gave me a stern look, sometimes even a blow, and my treasures went, to my bitter sorrow, into the fire. When I grew older I bought my first bodice, through a servant girl. *The bliss I felt when I put it on and stood in front of the mirror in lace knickers I shall never forget.* Our maid hugged and kissed me as if I were her sweetheart. She often helped me to enjoyable hours when my parents were not at home. *My desire to possess feminine attributes was irresistible.* I have used countless preparations in an attempt to develop feminine breasts, pelvis, and calves. Often at night I dreamt that I possessed an ample bosom; even the desire to become a mother was not wanting. Because not one of my wishes was realized, I became restless, angry. Especially lately this condition has assumed forms bordering on madness. Even the strongest will is powerless against such a natural force. I have often wished for death as the only solution. All this unspeakable misery vanishes as if at the touch of a magician when feminine clothes rustle on me. My heart beats twice as strongly in my bodice. I can wear it narrow with comfort, my waist is 20½ inches. When I presented myself in feminine clothes before my mother and our housekeeper I was as boisterous as a flapper. They exclaimed again and again: 'How graceful! How charming! Just like a real girl!' Involuntarily the song from *Mignon* 'Do you know the land' rose to my lips. They both listened reverently and when I finished with a long drawn out 'piano' they both said in tears: 'Yes, the soul of a woman spoke from this song.' The miraculous effect of feminine clothes still made me tremble next day at my work. Clear, peaceful, and serene the world seemed to me. Intoxicated with happiness, I went gaily to work under the fading stars. With half the expenditure of energy I did the work of three. If I am to become a useful member of society I must be allowed to be a woman outside my profession. Only then can I serve the state with the selfless loyalty I desire, only then will my dormant talents be awakened. My unspeakably good, often misunderstood mother deserves a serene old age. That she can only enjoy if I may be to her son and daughter in one."

We append a few more extracts which refer to persons in whom transvestitism is combined with androgyny and homosexuality. One of these androgynal transvestites writes:

"As long as I can remember I have always felt a girl or woman and have considered my masculine existence only as a disguise. Already as a child and youth I often said: 'I should be happy if I were a girl.' At the age of 13 I secretly made myself a woman's gown from old things of my mother's and went into the street on the arm of a 15-year-old 'bridegroom.' In spite of all punishment I received, I was unable to give up such disguises. If the old clothes were taken from me I made new ones. It gave me great pleasure to look after little children, to push a pram, to hold children to my breast. When I go out dressed as a woman nobody notices this and I make an aesthetic impression, whereas in men's clothes I only have unpleasantness. The worst of it is that on account of my feminine personality I have been mocked at since my school days and wherever I am a group is formed which is prejudiced against my feminine exterior and I suffer a great deal."

The confectioner, T. U., came from a hereditarily tainted family. The father was a drunkard, the mother insane. A half-brother of the father was homosexual. In his childhood T. suffered greatly from headaches, stuttered, lisped, cried much, kept company with girls, and avoided boys' games. At puberty there remained a clear differentiation toward masculinity, but his girlish appearance remained, so that he was often taken for a girl in masculine clothes. His delicate skin, the softness of his hair, the build of his larynx and pelvis, his movements and the expression on his face, but above all his habits, showed unmistakable feminine attributes. He generally dressed as a woman and the effect, as can be seen from several photographs attached to the report, was entirely feminine.

His first wet dreams were about men. The sexual impulse toward women was entirely absent and he has never cohabited with one. His nervous system continued to be affected; he was, above all, troubled by headaches, sleeplessness, exhaustion, and periods of severe depression. Withal his sexual inclinations turned ever more clearly and strongly to the male sex and especially to uniformed men. The following personal statement concerning his condition is characteristic:

"Already as a small boy I went in feminine clothes. My dearest wish, my greatest satisfaction, was to dress as a girl. At 15 I was always taken for a girl, and even when I was dressed as a boy people always said, owing to my appearance, the color of my hair, and my feminine movements, that I must be a girl. It often happened to me that, when I went to a café dressed as a boy, people wagered that I was a girl. I always attracted attention when dressed as a boy, but could go anywhere dressed as a girl without becoming conspicuous. I could have borne anything if only I could have become a girl." Another passage reads: "*My dearest wish would have been to go through what a woman has to go through; I would gladly have borne children, nursed them myself, and brought them up.* I should have liked it best of all to become a housewife, doing her own housekeeping. Not only equisexually inclined, but also quite normal men have frequently been 'sweet' on me. They all sensed that the feminine element was stronger in me than the masculine. My hips are so broad, and my waist so narrow, that I need neither braces nor a belt to keep up my trousers. I am called 'Ottilie.' Every month I have a kind of period. At such times I feel quite weak and have headaches. My friends already know that I have 'my menstruation' and I don't go out while it lasts. During my 'period' I frequently have intestinal bleeding which lasts up to eight days."

In view of all this there can be no doubt whatever that T. U. is a case of *feminism* of a very high degree, a combination of *androgyny*, *homosexuality*, and *transvestitism*.

Especially interesting, however, is the following case. The female-impersonator and former soprano, W., presented a combination of androgyny, transvestitism, and homosexuality. The androgyny in W. showed itself especially in the feminine build of his pelvis and larynx, in his feminine movements, and the feminine expression of his face. His transvestitism consisted in the irresistible impulse to dress as a woman and to lead entirely a woman's life.

His *homosexuality* manifested itself in a spontaneous sexual inclination toward male persons, the exercise of which could not be suppressed, while at the same time he was completely impotent with his wife. His own statement concerning his condition reveals

such a clear picture of his personality that a few extracts from it are worth quoting. W., who may be described as one of the best-known homosexuals in Berlin, writes:

"I come of a Mennonite family, which for religious and financial reasons has practiced inbreeding to a very considerable extent, and I was the youngest of six living children. My mother died soon after I was born, and there was nobody to check my feminine inclinations, which go back for as long as I can remember. I played only with dolls, never with toy soldiers or horses. I embroidered and crocheted, and was proud that my work *was always judged better than that of my elder sisters*. When I was thirteen or fourteen this strange conduct, which had been allowed to pass as childishness, gradually attracted comment, then censure, and finally contempt. I continued to knit and crochet, but only in secret.

"As I grew older and more intelligent I took a great deal of trouble, out of consideration for my distinguished family, to suppress these feminine inclinations, but it was no use. In the upper classes of the Gymnasium I was given a girl's name; my appearance and attractiveness led to this. The elder boys made up to me and embraced me as if I was a girl. Duels were fought for my 'hand.' And, as though that were a matter of course, I gave myself to the strongest.

"The position became worse when, much against the wish of my family, I went on the stage. In evening dress, uniform, or armor I was a ridiculous figure, and the critics wrote of 'the disguised sou-brette.' And once when I played the mute part of a page in an operetta, an invitation to supper from a gentleman in one of the boxes came to 'the lady in page's costume.'

"The time of my conscript service was approaching. I made a final effort and determined to acquire manliness in the army, where it was indispensable. I set my teeth and wanted to be a man, but it was of no avail. My movements, my narrow waist, my broad hips, produced a ridiculous effect: I could not keep pace with my comrades in the execution of my duties and though my superiors recognized my efforts they could not overlook my continuously negative results. In addition, the headaches from which I had always suffered became almost unbearable from the weight of the helmet. This condition could naturally not be tolerated permanently. After some months, when my comrades were already shooting and mounting guard, I

had still not advanced beyond the rudiments. It was a pitiable state for me to be in, for although my superiors realized my incapacity and treated me indulgently I was, nevertheless, terribly ashamed and led a miserable existence. Finally I was sent to Professor Goldscheider, who recognized my position and obtained my immediate discharge as unfit for service. Soon after I became a female impersonator. What the theater could not do for me the variety stage accomplished. I travelled from town to town with increasing success. Luck, which had turned its back on the man, favored the woman all the more. On a hot July night in Russia, I believe it was in Ekaterinoslav, I lost my soprano voice through drinking ice-cold champagne. I came to Berlin with my savings and tried to occupy myself as an author. As this was not sufficient for my livelihood, I now let furnished flats and apartments. I do everything myself. *I mend the linen and make new clothes, crochet curtains and lace, embroider monograms, counterpanes, and cushions, and surround my tenants with an atmosphere of such genuinely feminine comfort that I get prices which astonish my competitors.*"

The majority of transvestites feel attracted to women, though as a rule they prefer the mannish type of woman, who is more masculine in her mental than in her physical make-up. In the coital act they almost all wish to lie underneath: with some this is a condition of potency. With homosexual transvestites the transvestite impulse almost outweighs the homosexual, that is to say, they are much more easily able to forego intercourse with their own sex than the wearing of the clothes of the opposite sex.

A transvestite officer, who is a government official in civil life, has been at the front from the beginning of the war, with short interruptions. He shows a most marked division of his sexual personality. As a man he is completely masculine; as a woman, completely feminine. As an officer he showed outstanding ability on the Eastern and Western Fronts, and received many decorations, yet he spent the greater part of his leave in Berlin as a woman. He had asked Hirschfeld to call on him at home. When Hirschfeld did this one evening he was welcomed at the house by three very well-dressed women: the officer, dressed from top to toe in an elegant and genuine feminine gown, his wife, and a transvestite friend of theirs, who had also been

in the army formerly but had now for years been wearing almost exclusively feminine clothes, in which he carried on his profession as a detective.

Peculiar, perhaps even unique, as the situation was, there was to the unprejudiced expert nothing at all repulsive in the fact that "Frau Edith" spoke of the deeds of our gallant soldiers, in which he had taken so active a part shortly before as a gallant officer.

As far as our German captain is concerned, Hirschfeld learned from his wife, six months after this meeting, that despite, or perhaps more correctly as a result of, the great energy which he had used to suppress his impulse to wear feminine clothes, her husband had finally had a nervous breakdown. The statement of this excellent lady is so clear that we must reproduce some of it. She writes:

"When I first met my husband I suspected nothing of his bent. Only a few months after our marriage did my husband begin to say that women's clothes were after all more attractive and more comfortable than men's. Soon after he put on my dressing gown which, however, did not fit. We then ordered a pink dressing gown with lace trimmings and a lace front, a chemise, knickers, and a petticoat. In addition I procured stockings and patent leather shoes. Only a wig was now wanting. This we ordered, too. I still considered this as a whim on my husband's part. As, however, he apparently felt very much at ease in these clothes and was very nice to me, I had no objection. He always changed on Wednesdays and Sundays, when our maid was out; we did not have any visitors then. One day my husband gave me Dr. Hirschfeld's book *The Transvestites*, to read. I read this book and then I knew in what a plight my husband was. As I love my husband with all my heart, I tried to make life as pleasant as possible for him, and bought him everything that could rejoice a woman's heart. I also called him 'Edith' at his request, when he had changed. He can repress for a long time the impulse to change into feminine dress, but the yearning for it is then correspondingly greater. One day we went out—with my husband dressed as a woman—and we were naturally afraid that someone would recognize my husband, but no one took any notice of us. Thenceforth it was my husband's greatest pleasure to go for a walk in disguise, though, naturally, only in the evenings. Many men looked after us, but not suspiciously, and we could see that the tall and elegant lady impressed them. When someone followed us we preferred to return home in a taxi. Once we were

invited to my mother-in-law's. I suggested to my husband that he should go as a woman, which he did gladly. When I got there I told my mother-in-law and my parents, who were also there, that my husband would come on later, but I had brought a friend with me. I introduced her and we conversed for quite a while, without anyone noticing anything. Finally, we could not repress our laughter, and they were all astonished that this elegant lady was our W. My parents regarded it as a capital joke, but it was not so pleasant for my mother-in-law. She said she had a son and not a daughter. Another time I had a visit from my 'cousin.' My husband had again put on feminine clothes, slipped out, and rung at the hall door. Our maid, who was a very clever person, was always glad when 'Aunt Edith,' as our boy always called the 'visitor,' paid us a visit. My husband was otherwise very strict, *but as a woman he was kindness itself*. Our maid was now making dresses for 'Edith' with great industry. This was not always easy, as she had a very exacting taste. Nothing was smart and modern enough for her. She was very pleased, however, when a garment turned out to her liking, and then one could ask her for anything one wanted. Our maid, as a matter of fact, has never learned that my husband is a transvestite, and she would probably not have understood it, but as 'Aunt Edith' was always so charming she was glad when she came and could make something for her. The maid was with us for three years. She is married now, but is looking forward happily to the time when she will again be able to make something for 'Aunt Edith.' I am sure that she has not spoken to anyone about it, not even to her husband. Our boy, who is now 4½ years old, loves his 'Aunt Edith' more than anybody. He is always lamenting now that she does not come to us any more. To him my husband and 'Aunt Edith' are naturally *two quite different people*. Since the beginning of the War I have been writing to my husband almost daily, but sometimes I write only to 'Edith.' I then describe to him the latest fashions and what would probably suit her best. If I ever want anything I always apply to Edith. I know that there I always find sympathetic understanding. Edith frequently went shopping in the evenings with our boy and the maid, though she did not go into the shops as she was afraid that her shaven chin could be noticed in the shop lights.

"Christmas and birthdays we always celebrated twice, once with my husband and our relatives, once with 'Aunt Edith.' He was not very

interested in the first, but as a woman he was pleased weeks beforehand. His greatest joy was always beautiful lace underwear. Powder and perfume had similarly to be of the very best. His wig I had to brush very often; if even a few hairs were untidy he would not put it on. He is very tidy. He will never go out with a button or ribbon torn off, but will rather change at once.

"When my husband was home in April this year on a week's leave, several days were at once reserved for 'Aunt Edith.' And how well he felt! Otherwise he can never lend a hand with the housework, and can only give orders, but as a woman he takes a lot of work off my hands; he cooks, wipes up, and irons. The long winter evenings, when we did needlework together, were always cheerful. 'Edith' embroidered a table-runner for a well-known woman, whose husband is also a transvestite, and a towel for our maid.

"My husband is a heavy smoker, and can hardly be two minutes without a cigar. As 'Edith,' however, he never has any desire for a cigar, but smokes just one or two cigarettes in the course of a day. He has very good taste in feminine matters. I buy all my clothes in his presence. Even the smallest mistake does not escape him. Recently 'Edith' wrote to me that she had saved money during the war and wanted to buy an elegant lace dress as soon as she returned. I hope the war will soon be over. How hard it must be to suppress these strong instincts for so long. Often he writes quite despairingly and expresses his yearning for beautiful things. He told me that even as a youngster he never went out on Sundays with his parents and brothers and sisters. He always pleaded a lot of homework as his excuse. As soon as he was alone he quickly put on the clothes of his sisters and aunt, who had been staying with my parents-in-law for a long time, and always wore the most modern things. He felt then extraordinarily happy and contented.

"I should also like to point out that my husband's condition is very changeable. When he has worn feminine clothes for a time he is in a state of spiritual equilibrium for a long period. Then the desire to change his clothes stirs in him anew. Now, during the war, when he has had to repress this instinct for so long, he suffers a great deal inwardly and I am sure his nerves will soon give way.

"He has a great love for our boy and he watches him constantly to see whether he has inherited his father's disposition. If this were the case he would be a true friend and counsellor to him later on. As

a man he is rather harsh than tender, but as a woman he is extremely tender to his child, and grants his every wish. On such days he looks after him himself, dresses and undresses him, bathes him, and prepares his food. He feels very happy when he can observe the child's physical and mental development. As a man he never gives way in a quarrel, but as a woman he is all the more conciliatory. As soon as he has changed he forgets the whole quarrel and does everything to make peace. He does not like to see sad people around him and cannot even bear to see our boy crying, even if he has had to punish him previously for some naughtiness. Naturally, the child has noticed this. He loves his 'Aunt Edith' more than anybody and thinks that she will always be good to him and never scold him."

"Women as soldiers" are the counterpart of "soldiers as women." As in all previous wars, so in the First World War, there were soldiers in almost every army who belonged to the female sex; least of all probably in the German army, probably owing to the extreme care with which the drafts were levied and the regular examination of the genitalia. In most cases these women deceive their comrades as to their sex, which is only discovered, as a rule, when they go to the military hospital or become casualties. In some cases their energy enables them to obtain their enlistment. This happened repeatedly in the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies.

From many verbal communications we have received from women with a masculine disposition, we could see how extraordinarily powerful was the yearning of many women to take part in the war as active soldiers. Many felt deeply offended and were dying with envy as they saw the men marching away. We are convinced that if female volunteer regiments had been formed the number of enrollments would have run into thousands. Naturally, they would have included many who were unfit for service, but a really considerable proportion would undoubtedly have possessed the qualities necessary for service in the field. The obvious objection that menstruation would have impaired their fitness for service is refuted by past and present records of female soldiers who were perfectly equal to all the fatigues of warfare. In the

course of time there has been a by no means inconsiderable number of such women. We shall probably come to consider, as our knowledge of intermediate sexual gradations develops, whether and in what way allowance should be made for the warlike instincts which every campaign awakens in certain women.

Psychological hermaphroditism is a factor that has been considerably underrated by nearly all the experts.

A survey and comparison of the statements of transvestites shows that in most cases their feminism does not exhaust itself in the wearing of the clothes of the opposite sex. Very many transvestites have an urge to live in a feminine sphere, apart from clothes; if possible they fit up a boudoir for themselves in feminine style, adorn their living rooms and bedrooms with feminine ornaments and toilet articles and take considerable pleasure in doing needlework. This inclination, like that for feminine games, especially for playing with dolls, is perceptible even in early childhood. "Many products of my busy needle adorn our home," writes a transvestite who, as a boy of 13 and afterward, always gave his relatives needlework done by himself as Christmas and birthday presents. Besides needlework transvestites also favor housekeeping in the feminine style. "All my secondary inclinations are feminine," is a characteristic remark by a transvestite author. "I like all work that belongs to the domain of women, and such work suits me to perfection. My wife acknowledges this to me every day, and it is clearly apparent in our household, as I seek relaxation from my professional work by helping in the kitchen and in the household generally."

In view of this it is quite conceivable that many transvestites should wish to adopt a feminine calling and some actually succeed in realizing this wish. The contrary also occurs. Thus a woman transvestite worked for years as a postman, without anyone, even her official superiors, suspecting her true sex; another worked for ten years in a factory as a packer. A foreign girl on the Franco-German frontier was in danger of being taken for a spy when it was discovered that she was a girl. She had been a private chauffeur in England for years. One of the most remarkable cases of a

woman wearing uniform from transvestite inclination seems to be the one reported in the Berlin newspaper, *Staats-und-Gelehrten-sachen*, in the year 1746, as follows:

A piper in the Count Haak Regiment, which is garrisoned here, who had taken part in both Silesian campaigns, was unexpectedly delivered of a son. Naturally the piper was a woman, and the father of the child was a drummer in the same company in which she served. The father became the regimental drummer and when his son was baptized the most distinguished personages of the Court and other prominent and well-to-do people were present; they gave the mother so many gifts that she was the richer by several hundred talers.

The historian König confirms "the astonishing fact," and adds that "the piper was not only delivered of a son, but also discharged, so that drummer and piper afterward led a happy married life."

Of the cases which have become known during the First World War the following especially impressed itself on Hirschfeld's mind:

At the beginning of the second year of the war a brother and sister, children of simple people in a small town, called on him. The brother, 21 years old, had been in the army for nine months. He had received a serious stomach wound at Tannenberg, and had spent nearly six months in a hospital before he recovered. He was now on home leave and had to return in a few days to his reserve battalion. From his statements it became clear that he was a definite transvestite, who felt utterly confined in his uniform and had the greatest aversion for barrack life, although less so for service in the field. The sister was a year younger than he and resembled him strikingly. Their resemblance was heightened by the fact that both squinted a little. In height and breadth they were exactly the same. In the course of conversation it transpired that *the sister was really the brother and the brother the sister*. In other words, the person in feminine clothes was really the wounded soldier on leave, while the sister was in uniform. They had come to the decision that she should join the army instead of him and do his service. The girl's inclinations were as masculine as the brother's were feminine; as she said, she would have

"gladly become a soldier for life," and she felt more at home in her tunic than in her own clothes.

Another case of intense love of uniform was observed in an old titled woman, whose son was a major. After the outbreak of war she had had a field-grey uniform made, which she wore at home almost every night. She even sat in the uniform on the verandah of her house, without realizing how ill it accorded with the spirit of the time to have passing soldiers think that she was an officer and salute her.

The inclination to be photographed in the costume favored by them is very widespread among transvestites. Evidently they derive intense pleasure from the photographs, which reflect their second or true ego. Many transvestites like to be photographed doing embroidery, sewing, or other needlework; others like to see themselves in a photograph as a servant girl or in ball or wedding dress or even in "undies."

The photographs of transvestites reflect the desire to represent a definite profession or type of the sex which they would like to acquire. Many would like best of all to resemble a respectable middle-class woman, others a distinguished aristocrat; a remarkably large number would like to be the servants, cooks, governesses, or chambermaids of a distinguished lady, or ladies' hairdressers; while others, again, want to impersonate a society woman or a courtesan. In the same way women transvestites strive for every conceivable masculine calling. During World War I many such women felt very happy because they were able to live "normally," wearing men's boots, caps of office, tunics, and trousers, etc., as conductors, drivers, postmen, officials.

The bold imagination of masculine transvestites does not recoil even from the illusion of the most essentially feminine calling, i.e. motherhood. To conceive a child, bear it, nurse it, and care for it seems to many of them the peak of human happiness. One transvestite "took milk from a jug with a teaspoon and let it drip on to his nipples in order to conjure forth the illusion of a mother suckling her child." Another man says: "When I see a mother

suckling her child I sigh; if only I, too, had such breasts and could give milk!" A third transvestite describes with moving vividness and fervor the happy time he spends looking after his landlady's child, cleaning the "dear little creature," dressing and undressing it, and carrying it in his arms.

Still more than in daydreams does the thought of maternal happiness, conception, pregnancy and birth, childbed, and suckling gain form and substance during sleep. Dreams, as is well known, play an important part with all sexually divided people. The sexually satisfied person generally sleeps a deep and dreamless sleep; not so the sexually unsatisfied person, whose sleep is restless. Many whose yearnings are wrecked on the hard rock of reality, experience at least in the land of dreams the bliss of fulfillment. "I only feel really happy in dreams," writes one transvestite. He proceeds to describe his dream experiences—how hopeful he is, how the "labor pains" begin, how the child is born, how happily he holds it out to its father, soothes it and lays it next to him, to find on waking that the place is empty. He is disappointed, but nevertheless contented that his delightful dream-state had brought the tender mystery so palpably close to him.

In fact, there are some transvestites—though not many—who are so dominated by the idea of pregnancy that they dress up to look as if they were pregnant. A 25-year-old teacher, who suffered acutely from this rare fantasy, made the following notes:

"Outwardly I am a man! Inwardly, in thought, in sensations, in my whole being I am a woman! Why? I do not know. I only know that *it has always been thus!* There came a day when I felt that I wanted to have a child! The feeling was beautiful! I can write no more now for I am crying. The feeling came one evening, when I was in bed with influenza. The sensation began in my penis and then it was only a feeling in my heart, I *will* have a child! I *will* have a *child!*

"That evening I cried terribly—and my people thought that I was crying because of my headache. . . . I was 11 or 12 at the time—I do not remember exactly.

"When I felt this sensation for the first time I was still ignorant of masturbation. Soon after, however, I learned it, for every time that

the yearning for a child surged up in me it induced me to press my fist between my legs, the penis then became excited and the various manipulations with it led me to masturbation. But for years, until I was 18, I did not know that that was called masturbation.

"The yearning for a child became ever more frequent and so I often masturbated. In the first period this happened weekly or fortnightly, but when I was 13, or soon after, almost daily or every two or three days. And so it has continued with few interruptions, until today, when I am recording this.

"Soon after the first awareness of my unusual leaning, upon which I naturally reflected but little and about which I was not at all clear, came the wish for pregnancy. I do not know how, the desire was suddenly there. Still less do I know what brought me to the following thought: At midday one day, when my parents and the other children were out, I undressed, tied socks, dusters, and sofa cushions round my body, put on my mother's Sunday petticoat over it all, and thus stood before the mirror. I considered myself a pregnant woman (I naturally did not know the expression 'pregnant'), and had the most blissful feeling. I have repeated this hundreds of times since. Nobody knew of it, and I was careful not to mention it for I should only have gained a sound thrashing, as I knew from the following incident. When I was about 9 I told my younger brothers and sisters and other children that women with big bellies had children. (I had previously heard this from other children.) My little sisters repeated the statement at home and received for this 'lie' a thrashing with a belt. So I kept silent, and this unhappy inclination, which developed without any outside influence, became so deeply rooted in me that there was no escape from it when I was later—very much later and alas! too late—enlightened about my condition."

This case of pregnancy transvestitism again shows us very clearly the transition *from the androgynous to the transvestite impulse*. The feminine feeling is so strong that all possible feminine sensations force their way into the subconscious and conscious mind—whether by autosuggestive or endocrine influences, is a matter of conjecture. Everything about the body that recalls masculinity is perceived with distaste; everything, absolutely everything, that signifies femininity is craved. How often do we

hear the question put by transvestites: "Are there then no means by which I can eradicate my beard?" or "What can I do to change my deep voice?" When transvestites meet they admire one another's narrow waists, full hips, rich, long, soft hair, and small feet. One transvestite woman said: "Is there no preparation to make women grow beards?" We have already mentioned apparatus for making the breasts bigger.

Name transvestitism is closely connected with transvestitism as a whole. It is, of course, natural that a man who cultivates a feminine appearance and works as a woman, should also wish for a feminine name instead of the masculine name with which he was born and which contradicts his appearance. Transvestites generally try to justify this wish on practical grounds; the name on their identity papers reveals their disguised sex and continually brings them into difficult positions. In reality, however, this is not the decisive reason—the truth is that here, too, it is the impulse to express *the inner feeling of femininity* that is at work. Almost all transvestites, even those whose disposition manifests itself only in the form of fancies, not actions, sign their letters with feminine names. Thus Otto calls himself Ottilia, Emil Emilia, George Georgette. Similarly, women transvestites use masculine names; Frieda becomes Fritz, and so on.

It is not entirely without justification that Otto Weininger wrote in *Sex and Character*: "There is a deeper reason than people think, why women authors so often assume a man's name; they actually feel almost masculine, and with women like George Sand this accords entirely with their inclination to masculine clothes and masculine occupations." The motive for the choice of a masculine pseudonym must lie in the feeling that only a masculine name corresponds to one's true nature. It would be incorrect, however, to assume that such a choice of name always indicates other forms of transvestitism as well, though we know about George Sand in particular, that she almost always wore masculine clothes even before she became the friend of De Musset and Chopin and was still known as Madame Dudevant. It is safe to say that nearly all clothing transvestites are also name transvestites, but

that name transvestites are by no means all clothing transvestites as well.

Less frequent than masculine pseudonyms for women authors are feminine pseudonyms for male authors, but it does happen. By way of example we quote the case of the English author William Sharp (d. 1905) who published some excellent books in the name of "Fiona Macleod." Not until after his death was he identified with the well-known "Celtic authoress." While he lived he carefully guarded his secret and often emphasized in conversation that the works of Fiona Macleod, whose identity was unknown, could surely only have been written by a woman.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there appeared, in ten volumes, the *mémoires* of a certain Marquise de Créquy. They contained many moving, heroic, and piquant anecdotes from the time of the old regime, so that they were read by old people, in melancholy remembrance of their youth, with the greatest enthusiasm. The Marquise de Créquy, who in these *mémoires* was represented as a chatelaine who had a deep aversion for everything that happened after 1789, was none other than a certain Monsieur de Courchamps. He had really identified himself perfectly with the personality of the supposed marquise. Once, when his publisher visited him, he found him lying in bed, his head wrapped in a fine lace shawl. "Excuse me," said Monsieur de Courchamps in a weak voice, "I have the vapors (menstrual period) today." He wrote his *mémoires* in a kind of boudoir, surrounded by mirrors, fans, boxes of paint, knickknacks, and unfinished knitting. Here is a brief specimen of his style. The marquise relates how she returned home from the wedding of the Dauphin, which came to such a tragic conclusion; saved as if by a miracle, she was obliged to go home alone. "It was the first time that I had put my hand on the knocker of my back door, and I did not know at all what to do. Oh! my God! how helpless we women are without our lackeys!"

Economically and socially independent transvestites generally find ways and means to get around the difficulties that arise from the incongruity between their dress and their name. Some prob-

ably adopt a neutral name, such as Tony, which is an abbreviation of both Antony and Antoinette, or Gerry, which is an abbreviation of Gertrude and Gerald. Others manage it by having their first name indicated merely by the initial in their identity papers. Often, however, transvestites who are in the professions encounter such difficulties in this respect, that for this reason alone they find themselves obliged to desist from wearing the clothes of the opposite sex.

Many transvestites do not take the trouble to legalize a name that will accord with their outward appearance and inward feelings, but choose one arbitrarily. Then, in some cases it happens that the anxiously guarded secret is discovered and a prosecution for using a false name follows.

That many male and female transvestites nevertheless succeed in maintaining their adopted role unmolested throughout their whole lives, is proved by those not particularly rare cases in which the correct sex is only discovered after death, sometimes under very peculiar circumstances.

The fear, not so much of legal prosecution, as of social contempt and misunderstanding of their inclinations, causes many transvestites to use the greatest reserve in the indulgence of their impulses. Many change their clothes only in secret behind closed and bolted doors, or go for a little walk in feminine clothes on dark nights, or take advantage of Sundays to lead the life of a woman at home. Others content themselves with substitutes, of which the wearing of feminine underwear under the masculine outer clothes is probably the most widespread. Thus a transvestite writes: "Although compelled to appear as a man during the day, I nevertheless wear under my clothes a complete set of women's underwear, corset, openwork stockings, and everything else that a woman wears, also a bracelet and women's patent leather shoes with ornate high heels. When evening comes, I breathe more easily, for the burdensome mask falls from me then, and I feel a woman. Wrapped in a loose house frock of smart design and with rustling silk underwear, I am in the right mood to pursue my hobbies, including prehistoric research, or to undertake hard study or

routine business. A feeling of ease possesses me which is quite impossible during the day in my men's clothes." Especially strange is the effect when a soldier in smart uniform undresses in front of the specialist and suddenly stands there in corset, lace front, and long women's stockings; no less curious, when a woman lets fall her outer garments and presents herself in pants, braces, socks, and a coarse shirt. This too is transvestitism, and actually a form of it which we may describe as "partial transvestitism." It is even more frequent than complete transvestitism, and it should be noted that it is not always merely an expedient. There are a large number of transvestites to whom the *pars pro toto* is sufficient to express the inner feminine feeling. That this is not merely a case of fetishism, is clear from the fact that it is not clothes worn by other persons that are preferred as sexually exciting, but newly bought ones, which *exert their attraction by the impression of their own transvestite character*.

For the expert clothes are not just an accidental outward phenomenon, no lifeless, dumb fabric, but a symbol from which it is possible to draw, at least as well as from handwriting, conclusions concerning the leanings and feelings, the character and conduct of a person.

Those who study the problem of transvestitism more closely and have the opportunity of meeting many transvestites, are surprised again and again at the extent and intensity of this peculiar phenomenon. It was the same with homosexuality, of which it was at first believed that it was a comparatively rare and superficial anomaly, until its extraordinary extent was realized.

Though with many transvestites the urge to wear the other sex's clothing is weak and is more or less confined to the imagination, in others it is extraordinarily intense. Its controllability depends to a great extent on the intensity of the impulse. Undoubtedly many transvestites have great difficulty in bearing the temporary or permanent repression of the impulse to emphasize their femininity. Repression has a crushing and finally crippling effect on their pleasure in creative work and their abilities, and frequently it creates a great inner unrest, accompanied by a feeling of listless-

ness, anxiety, and deep spiritual depression. These effects can grow until they culminate in suicide. "Such a mockery of life is no use," or "I am tired of this eternal dissimulation," are remarks often heard from transvestites. Many a transvestite has in fact thrown away his life in such a mood, or at least tried to do so.

In Dortmund in 1903 a young man committed suicide in a hotel, where he had arrived the previous day. He was a 32-year-old workman from the district of Köslin in Pomerania. When the door of his room was forced open, he was found stretched out on his bed, dressed in a *white bridal dress and veil*; on his head was a garland of myrtle. He had shot himself in the heart. Next to the corpse lay a note in which the life-weary man asked to be buried in his bridal costume.

In 1904 a Captain Tweed, who had for many years commanded a transatlantic ship, was accepted into the Sailors' Home on Staten Island owing to illness. He became worse and one day he was found with his throat cut. The doctor who undertook the *post mortem* discovered that Tweed was a woman. While he lived, nobody had doubted the captain's sex.

In similar circumstances a woman living as a headwaiter in Czernowitz committed suicide in 1909. As headwaiter in one of the chief restaurants in the town, Michael Semeniuk was generally known and popular, and it did not enter anybody's mind that the clean-shaven and obliging man could be a woman. One day he fell ill with high fever. His neighbors, anxious for him, fetched a doctor. When the latter wished to examine the patient, he met with such resistance that he had to leave the sick man without making a diagnosis. Next day the doctor was told that Semeniuk had died in the night. When the corpse was examined, it transpired "with undoubted certainty that the waiter was a woman who had worn men's clothes." During the night, not wishing to survive the exposure of his sex, he had taken poison.

XI

INTRODUCTION TO THE THEORY OF HOMOSEXUALITY

INTERMEDIATE STAGES OF SEXUALITY—THE “VIRAGO”—BISEXUALS
—CONCEPT OF HOMOSEXUALITY—CONTRARY SEXUALITY—THEORIES
OF BANKERT, WESTPHAL, ULRICH, AND KRAFFT-EBING—IS HOMO-
SEXUALITY NORMAL OR PATHOLOGICAL?—HOMOSEXUALITY AND
MORALITY—LEGAL PERSECUTION—MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD’S CAM-
PAIGN—PSEUDOHOMOSEXUALITY—BISEXUALITY—DIFFICULTY IN
DIAGNOSIS—CONGENITAL OR ACQUIRED?

Transvestitism, with which we have dealt in the previous chapter, deserves attention not only as a separate phenomenon, but also on account of its connection with other intersexual variants. It is evident—and experience confirms this—that a man who feels and dresses like a woman, will not be like the masculine type of man as regards the direction of his sexual impulse, either. We have seen that a considerable proportion of these transvestites love women, but only women who possess a certain physical or intellectual superiority. The man with feminine characteristics loves a woman with masculine characteristics, and he prefers the passive role of being wooed to the active role of the wooer. A second group of male transvestites go even further; they seek their sexual complement not among masculine women, but among men of a more or less pronounced sexual type. *This is the transition from heterosexual to homosexual love*, though nothing more than a transition, for we know that in addition to effeminate masculine homosexuals, there is a considerable group who, without being

effeminate themselves, love effeminate men. There are also effeminate homosexuals who incline to effeminate men and virile homosexuals who incline to virile. The same gradation exists in women. The masculine transvestite woman desires an effeminate man and is therefore still heterosexual; the "virago" comes next, who desires not effeminate men but women, and is therefore considered homosexual. Then there are women who, though they themselves are feminine, prefer more or less masculine women to men. Between these categories are the bisexuals, who favor types which occur in both sexes.

Thus there are two large groups of differing sexual inclination; one group represents contrary sexuality and *consists in fixation on the same sex*, while the other *consists in the fixation of feminine men on masculine women and vice versa*.

Contrary sexuality, or homosexuality, has been investigated during the last few decades more thoroughly than any other aspect of the science of sex. Between 1898 and 1908 alone more than a thousand works on this subject appeared. The designation "homosexual" was first used by a Hungarian physician named Benkert, who published a brochure about this abnormality in 1869. Hirschfeld published a new edition of this work in 1905, accepting in essence Benkert's description of homosexuality as "a sexual fixation which renders individuals both physically and mentally incapable of achieving normal sexual reaction and inspires them with horror of the opposite sex, while they are irresistibly under the spell of their own sex." Benkert emphasizes that homosexuality occurs both in men and women and is congenital and unconquerable.

At about the same time as Benkert, the prominent Berlin psychiatrist Carl Westphal published the detailed cases of two transvestites observed by him under the title "Contrary Sexual Mentality" and reached the conclusion that in cases of sexual abnormality it is not only the sexual impulse as such but the entire mentality that is involved.

The expression "contrary sexuality," which has been used by Krafft-Ebing, Schrenk-Notzing, Moll, Havelock Ellis, etc., and

which is more correct than the term homosexuality, has never taken root in the literature on the subject; likewise Ulrich's term "uranism," which was based on a passage in Plato's *Symposium* in which, in the course of the famous dialogue on love, it is mentioned that "those dedicated to the Goddess Urania feel themselves drawn exclusively to the male sex."

Ulrich failed to convince the world, and particularly the experts, that homosexuality was not merely a sexual quality but also a matter of psychological make-up which determined all physical acts, although, after him, Krafft-Ebing adopted the same view. Today, however, the view is universally accepted that in genuine homosexuality the peculiar mentality is an expression of physical constitution, while the peculiar physical acts are the outcome of the peculiar mentality.

Incidentally, homosexuality is an age-old problem, and has been—and still is—the subject of opposing views. Although, as we shall see, medical authorities hold different views concerning the nature of homosexuality, they all agree that it is a pathological condition and not something criminal; but society has so far failed to draw the only logical conclusion from this fact.

Magnus Hirschfeld's life work consisted to no inconsiderable extent in his fight against the prevailing view that homosexuality was a crime that should be repressed. Both in his works and in his capacity as a medical expert at trials, he consistently fought in the interests of the unfortunate people who were persecuted and ostracized for something which they could not possibly help. Hirschfeld himself was persecuted and slandered on account of his championship of scientific truth, but he continued the struggle undeterred right to the end.

As we have said, *genuine homosexuality only exists where the physical acts are an outcome of homosexual mentality.*

Homosexual intercourse without a homosexual mentality is—according to Bloch's definition—pseudohomosexuality. Thus the term pseudohomosexuality relates to *homosexual acts which are not determined by a consistent mentality, but are dictated by aims*

which are outside the sphere of the sexual impulse. In such cases heterosexuality remains an essential trait of the individual's personality, just as the homosexual's essential personality remains unaffected by pseudoheterosexual acts. For there are homosexuals who have intercourse with the opposite sex for private gain, or from pity or gratitude, or because persons of the same sex are not available. To genuine homosexuals all such acts are practically equivalent to masturbation and represent a temporary phase, from which they return as soon as possible to sexual objects consistent with their true sexual mentality.

Many pseudohomosexuals are regarded—and regard themselves—as bisexual. However, if we accept Krafft-Ebing's definition of bisexuality as "*a pronounced mental inclination toward the individual's own sex, side by side with such inclination for the opposite sex,*" the group of genuine bisexuals must be very small. Pseudohomosexuals are not infrequently bisexual and what is called periodic and, particularly, acquired homosexuality, comes in most cases within the category of bisexuality.

The most easily understandable bisexuals are those who *love types which occur among both sexes.* Some of these bisexuals are preponderantly heterosexual and, in the case of males, are attracted by the same type in boys which attracts them in girls; while others are preponderantly homosexual and then are attracted by the same type in girls which attracts them in boys. Cases have been repeatedly reported in which homosexual men became engaged to girls by whose brothers they were attracted, or in which girls became engaged to men whose sisters attracted them. The bisexual man who loves the virile in women and the feminine in men, has his counterpart in the bisexual woman who loves effeminate men and masculine women. Such women are to a certain extent homosexual toward men (as they love effeminate men), and heterosexual toward women (as they love masculine women). This category includes the large number of girls who are essentially attracted to men, but also have a strong inclination for the masculine element in virile homosexual women; they have

their counterpart in young men who are essentially attracted to women, but also have an inclination for effeminate men.

It sometimes happens that a person falls in love with a girl dressed as a man or with a man dressed as a girl. In bisexuals this emotion persists even after the true sex of the other party has been revealed. It has been said of the poet Grilparzer that he only fell in love with a woman once, and she was a young *prima donna* who sang a masculine role in *Figaro*. Such cases are not rare, and it has frequently been observed how deeply transvestite girls impress some homosexuals. A cavalry officer who was very popular among homosexuals in Berlin one day surprised his associates by the announcement of his engagement, but still more by the announcement that he had become completely heterosexual—but his fiancée was a transvestite girl.

Finally, there is among both sexes a type of bisexual to whose feminine component it is beneficial to be loved by an older man or woman, to whom they surrender passively; but who, at the same time, satisfy the masculine component in their natures by loving a young man or woman actively.

Where an attraction to both sexes exists, it often happens that in later years—sometimes after thirty—the originally weaker libido recedes, while the originally stronger libido comes to the fore. The cause is to be found in the general abatement of sexuality. If, for instance, a person were 75 per cent homosexual and 25 per cent heterosexual, and each component of the libido receded 25 per cent of the whole, the heterosexual libido would disappear, while the homosexual libido would remain at the fairly strong level of 50 per cent. Many people with this original proportion of homosexuality and heterosexuality exercise the latter and, in order to cultivate it, they even marry. Then, as they grow older, they realize that the repressed homosexuality is by no means extinct, and if they yield to it they may easily create the impression of *acquired homosexuality*, whereas in fact this is a phenomenon of bisexuality.

Decades of experience taught Krafft-Ebing that “a bisexual disposition was never absent in cases of so-called acquired or

retarded homosexuality" and Hirschfeld also held, on the basis of his observations, that such cases "must be allocated between bisexuality and homosexuality." In this connection it should be noted that bisexuality cannot be arbitrarily steered in one direction or another, and it is incorrect to say that if a person is capable of having intercourse with both sexes he should confine himself to the right sex, for bisexuality is controlled by inherent fluctuations, which are determined by external impressions, as well as by certain periodic influences.

Krafft-Ebing described cases of "acquired contrary sexuality" in which homosexual aberrations always coincided with the exacerbation of prevailing neurasthenia. Hirschfeld was frequently told by persons suffering from periodic neurasthenia that they were homosexually disposed when depressed and heterosexually when elated. The obvious objection that the depression may be the consequence of sexual aberration is met by the ascertained fact that the depression is chronologically the earlier phenomenon, besides which the converse also occurs, namely, that the subject has homosexual inclinations when elated and heterosexual when depressed. In many cases alcohol releases the inhibition of a perhaps very weak homosexual component.

XII

FORMS OF HOMOSEXUALITY

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE HOMOSEXUALITY—FORMS OF INTERCOURSE—
MANUAL—ORAL—FEMORAL—ANAL—INTERCOURSE BETWEEN HO-
MOSEXUAL WOMEN—IMITATION OF NORMAL COITUS—SUBSTITUTES
USED BY FEMALE HOMOSEXUALS—CHOICE OF OBJECT—YOUNG OR
OLD?—PREDILECTION FOR SOLDIERS—COMPLICATED CASES—INTEN-
SITY OF THE SEXUAL IMPULSE IN HOMOSEXUALS—QUESTION OF
RESPONSIBILITY—MASTURBATION—ALCOHOL.

According to German law only those homosexual acts are pun-
ishable in which the masculine member of one partner penetrates
an opening in the other partner's body. Thus no form of feminine
homosexuality is punishable, and the same applies to many forms
of masculine homosexual activity. The principal forms of homo-
sexual intercourse are described below.

It is generally assumed, both by laymen and by many doctors
and lawyers, that there is in masculine and feminine homosexuality
an active and a passive partner both as regards initiation and execu-
tion. There are even countries, particularly in the Orient, but also
in Southern Europe and South America, where only the passive
partner is treated with contempt, but not the active partner. A
contributory factor in the development of this attitude, which
originated in antiquity, is probably the idea that the passive partner
is nearly always effeminate, whereas the active partner may be
heterosexual or bisexual and indulging in homosexual acts by way
of a substitute.

However, the division of homosexuals into active and passive

is not beyond criticism. It arose from the act of anal immission, i.e. the insertion of the member into the anus, and the passive act of susception, and we know today that this is not the usual form of homosexual activity, but, on the contrary, the rarest. How, for instance, is it possible to distinguish between the active and passive partners in the case of mutual masturbation, which is the most prevalent form of homosexual intercourse? Usually it is the party who touches the other who is regarded as the active party; but if we imagine the hand as a substitute for the vagina—as public prosecutors have sometimes done—then the party who uses the other's hand to produce orgasm must be regarded as the more active. The same applies to oral intercourse, where the person who takes the other's member into his mouth is regarded as the passive partner, but is in fact active as compared with the other, who lies still and submits to this act.

Strictly speaking, all sexual intercourse is mutual and there is no exclusively active or passive partner; the two partners have intercourse "with each other," though it may be admitted that activity predominates in the one and passivity in the other. This applies with still greater force in the psychological sense.

As regards the actual sexual intercourse there are four principal forms, practiced both by masculine and feminine homosexuals, i.e. *manual*, *oral*, *femoral*, and *anal*, though in the case of women "femoral" and "anal" apply in a different sense than in the case of men, as will be seen later.

The manual form of intercourse consists in mutual masturbation. The essence of this act is contact between the hand of the one partner with the genitals of the other in the form of stroking and rubbing. In the case of men, the member is so rubbed, and in the case of women the clitoris and vulva, and less frequently the mucous membrane of the vagina. According to data collected by Hirschfeld in his medical and forensic practice, mutual masturbation is the form of intercourse used exclusively by 40 per cent of all homosexual men and women.

In another 40 per cent of cases the oral form of intercourse, i.e. contact of the tongue and palate with the other partner's sexual

organ, is employed by homosexual men and women. Here, too, the form of intercourse may be mutual, but in most cases it is one-sided.

Femoral intercourse is considerably less frequent with homosexuals of either sex, which is all the more remarkable, as this form, in which the passive partner lies like a woman, and the active like a man, resembles normal coitus most. In this form the active partner's member frequently penetrates into the depression formed by the thighs below the scrotum, into which he ejaculates. Sometimes pressure on the scrotal joint produces a sort of pseudovagina, or an imitation vagina from plant or animal tissue is worn. In a case of this kind which came before the courts, the defendant was acquitted, as the law stipulates "immission into the other's body," and not immission into an artificial genital.

In the case of women homosexuals the genitals of the active partner are pressed against those of the passive partner, and sometimes an attempt is made to introduce the clitoris into the vagina. The allegation that women with a large clitoris (representing a penis) are preferred in homosexual circles is not borne out by the facts. Femoral intercourse was used in about 12 of 100 cases of masculine and feminine homosexuality examined by Hirschfeld.

The rarest form, used in approximately 8 per cent of cases of masculine homosexuality, is the introduction of the member into the anus, the so-called *pedication*; in the case of women the rarest form is the introduction of an artificial penis into the vagina. The common feature in these two forms is the preference for an organ resembling as far as possible a vagina and a penis respectively, and from the psychological point of view it makes little difference that in the case of men the substitute for the vagina is part of the body.

In Germany many homosexual women use a penis made from a simple and cheap material. This object consists of a length of wood wrapped in a great deal of cotton wool, which is tightly bandaged with strips of linen or cambric. The active partner fixes this object to a sanitary towel.

As a rule, the active partner, who inserts the member or the

artificial penis, will never take the passive role, while the passive partner will never take the active.

Many homosexuals taking the passive role in this form of intercourse have stated that when the active partner reached orgasm they themselves discharged a secretion within the anus, accompanied by orgasm.

The comparative rarity of anal intercourse is due not so much to its illegality or to thoughts of its unaesthetic nature, but to the fact that there is in most cases no instinctive desire for it, precisely because it is so like normal intercourse. Sometimes there are mechanical obstacles in the way of anal intercourse, such as the narrowness of the anus, which makes the act painful.

For the rest, it also happens that women submit to pedication by other women with an artificial member, and even men have been known to submit to this act by a woman. A society woman inquired whether this act—which is less homosexual than masochistic—was against the law and whether it was a sufficient ground for divorce. The first part of the question had to be answered in the negative and the last part in the affirmative.

It should be noted here that with most men and women, not only homosexuals, the anus is almost as sensitive an erogenous zone as the mouth and even more susceptible to stimulation.

Generally, homosexuals are very consistent as regards the particular form of intercourse, and this extends even to the smallest details. It is therefore natural that homosexuals charged with pedication or *immissio in os*, should offer to produce witnesses who are prepared to prove that they “always” practice mutual masturbation.

There are, however, two exceptions, namely, when the homosexual tries a new form to “see what it is like,” or when the non-homosexual partner refuses to agree, for instance, to pedication, or some other form that may be habitual with the homosexual. In addition, male prostitutes cunningly endeavor to persuade the homosexual client to commit an indictable offense, such as pedication, in order to have him in their power, though he may have no desire for such an act.

Hirschfeld repeatedly endeavored to explain before the courts that the difference between pedication and mutual manual masturbation was very slight, and the form the homosexual employed depended on the degree and type of his erogenous sensitiveness. The more homosexual, so to speak, a man is, the slighter are the contacts which satisfy him.

The conclusions which many authors draw from a classification of homosexuals as *virile* and *feminine* with regard to the direction, form, cause, and curability of their urge, are purely theoretical, and based entirely on the widespread belief that "opposites are attracted to each other." In reality, however, the position is not so simple. Hirschfeld met many male homosexuals who liked to wear feminine clothes themselves, yet loved young, smooth-faced youths, and many virile women who had homosexual intercourse with other women of the same type for years. In the same way, one may encounter homosexual men of entirely virile aspect who take no interest in any man under 50. A 25-year-old homosexual who consulted Hirschfeld looked entirely manly, yet he was interested exclusively in old men with long white beards for homosexual intercourse. Ulrich's view that the sexual desire of the physically and mentally virile homosexual had an active tendency, while that of a physically and mentally feminine one had a passive tendency, is not borne out by experience. But although the direction of a homosexual's desire cannot be determined from the fact that he or she belongs to the virile or feminine type, it nevertheless depends to a considerable extent on his or her general personality. This is confirmed by the fact that homosexuals are generally constant as regards the type they "fancy," and this aspect is often discussed in homosexual company when the taste of one of their number is mentioned.

Hirschfeld classified homosexuals according to the direction of their desire in three groups, on the basis of detailed case descriptions, namely: *ephebophiles*, who are attracted to youths from puberty up to the early twenties; *androphiles*, who love persons between the early twenties and fifty; and *gerontophiles*, who love older men, up to senile old age. This classification was later modi-

fied in the sense that *ephebophiles* and *androphiles* are the two principal groups, each comprising about 45 per cent of all homosexuals; while *gerontophiles* and *pedophiles*—those who love the aged, and those who love children below the age of puberty—constitute two secondary groups. These two groups account for the balance of 10 per cent, probably in equal proportions. A similar classification applies to women. There are two principal groups—*parthenophiles* and *gynecophiles*—and two secondary groups—*corophiles* and *graophiles*—according to whether the object of their desire is a young girl, a mature woman, an immature child, or an old woman.

But predilection for persons of a certain age does not exhaust the differentiation in the homosexual's taste. Within each age group there are a number of physical and mental qualities that are decisive, such as the figure, the color of the hair and the eyes, personality, character, education, and also social position. Classification in this respect is impossible, though certain groups are distinctly discernible, such as men who have a predilection for soldiers and women who specialize in society women.

Another important differentiation relates to the question whether the partner desired is also homosexual or heterosexual. Many homosexuals prefer similarly disposed partners, others incline exclusively toward heterosexuals, and may have an aversion for homosexuals, while a third group is indifferent in this respect.

Finally, there are homosexuals who only love persons of their own social position, others who are attracted by subordinates only, and still others whose desire is for their superiors alone.

Another classification of homosexuals distinguishes between simple and complicated homosexuality, according to whether homosexuality is the individual's only sexual anomaly or whether it is combined with other anomalies.

Perhaps of far greater importance is the classification according to the stability or otherwise of the homosexual's nervous system. There are homosexuals with comparatively stable nervous systems, and there are neuropathic homosexuals. The former may be regarded as healthy, or almost healthy, apart from their abnormality,

while the latter are hereditarily highly strung and hypersensitive and suffer in this manner quite apart from their homosexuality. They are moody, and are predisposed to alcoholism and drug-taking, religious and persecution mania, and particularly to hysterical and hypochondriac conditions. These irregularities frequently run in their families and if, owing to their homosexuality, they are "thrown out of gear," they find the difficulties of life almost insurmountable.

The homosexuals who come before the courts frequently belong to this group, so that the authorities, as well as medical experts, are liable to gain a very one-sided impression.

The question now arises, is the homosexual impulse of men and women permanently controllable, or does it demand satisfaction at intervals? If we consider the actual facts, we find that hardly 5 per cent of all homosexuals control their urge or satisfy it by masturbation. 95 per cent find their urge uncontrollable and seek satisfaction at varying intervals. It would therefore appear that Krafft-Ebing was right when he wrote (in *Homosexuality and the Law*): "The homosexual urge may sometimes enforce satisfaction with such violence that control becomes impossible. It has even been said that the excitements and dangers entailed by the prohibition of homosexual acts may easily intensify nervous and sexual irritability."

Carpenter confirms this view: "Forcing these people to repress their emotions, finally leads to an all the more violent explosion of the inner tension; the English law, which prohibits even the slightest manifestation of affection between youths, is in reality defeating its own object." In practice, the judges accept the existence of homosexuality, but believe that this urge can be repressed, but, in reality, this could be true only if the normal sexual impulse, than which the homosexual impulse is no weaker, could also be permanently repressed. Particularly in the large number of cases where homosexuality is combined with psychopathic factors, there can be no doubt whatever that the individual concerned cannot be held responsible for his actions.

It often happens that a homosexual act is committed in a state

of intoxication by persons who are otherwise entirely heterosexual.

Hirschfeld observed several cases of this kind. He mentions the case of a government official who after a drinking party attacked a baker's apprentice; the case of an apparently heterosexual headmaster who after a drinking bout attacked a waiter; the case of an army officer who, in a drunken condition, asked his batman to give him a clyster and invited him to engage in homosexual intercourse. Hirschfeld declared before the court that the officer could not have been responsible for his actions at the time, as they were contrary to his whole personality.

The following case is recorded by Deutsch:

A 39-year-old, intelligent workingman applied for advice to a welfare center for inebriates. As a child he had suffered badly from rickets and began to walk only at the age of four. As a boy and youth he masturbated excessively and later he had occasional intercourse with girls. He had been married for two years and had two children. Apart from slight accidents he had had no illnesses. He was a moderate drinker and only drank a pint or two of beer at an occasional club meeting. At such times he became intensely excited and had a desire to press against young men and touch their genitals. He had always been able to control this urge, until one evening, after drinking two glasses of beer at a meeting, he met a boy on his way home, invited him to a public house and, after treating him to a glass of beer, touched his genitals under the table. Another customer noticed this, called a policeman, and had him arrested. This made him desperate and only the thought of his wife and children prevented him from killing himself. Since then he had abstained from all alcoholic drink. When sober, his libido was directed exclusively toward women, and he even had a distaste for homosexuality. He did not remember the first time he experienced this urge after the consumption of beer. His family history suggests nothing in this connection, and his appearance is not feminine.

Interestingly enough, the converse, heterosexual acts by intoxicated homosexuals also frequently occurs. Stekel interrogated about a hundred homosexuals as to the occasions when they had

intercourse with a woman. Many hesitated with their replies but in a high percentage of the cases he obtained the desired information. Some said: "I can only do it when I am drunk." Others said: "I was once seduced by a girl when I was drunk." Stekel sees in these cases confirmation of the theory of man's original bisexuality, a subject to which we will revert later.

DIAGNOSIS OF HOMOSEXUALITY

GENERAL PHENOMENA AND DIAGNOSIS OF HOMOSEXUALITY—THREE CHARACTERISTICS—DIAGNOSIS OF HOMOSEXUALITY—SEXUAL ATTITUDE OF HOMOSEXUALS TOWARD THE OPPOSITE SEX—MARRIAGES—ENGAGEMENTS—HETEROSEXUAL INTERCOURSE OF HOMOSEXUALS—GENERAL ATTITUDE OF HOMOSEXUALS TOWARD THE OPPOSITE SEX—HATRED OF WOMEN, FEAR OF MEN—FEELINGS OF COMRADESHIP—LOVE OF THE MOTHER—INDIFFERENCE TO OPPOSITE SEX—PSYCHOSEXUAL DEVELOPMENT OF HOMOSEXUALS—EARLY FIXATION ON THE SAME SEX—PERIOD OF SEXUAL INDIFFERENCE—OCCASIONAL HOMOSEXUALITY OF HETEROSEXUALS AND OCCASIONAL HETEROSEXUALITY OF HOMOSEXUALS DURING PUBERTY—IDEALISTIC EROTICISM OF THE YOUNG—JEALOUSY—HOMOSEXUAL DREAMS—HOMOSEXUALS' FEELING OF SHAME—SIGNIFICANCE OF HOMOSEXUAL ACTS AND THEIR PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS IN THE DIAGNOSIS OF HOMOSEXUALITY.

In genuine homosexuality there is in all cases a trinity of symptoms which must be taken into account. *Firstly*, the *absence of normal sexual affinity*, that is to say, the lack of inclination for the opposite sex, which constitutes the negative side of homosexuality; *secondly*, an involuntary mental and spiritual *fixation on the same sex*, which gradually penetrates the consciousness with increasing distinctness, strives for an outlet in suitable activity, and constitutes the positive side of homosexuality; and *thirdly*, a condition which we may define as an *intersexual constitution*, and which is nearly always combined with a certain irritability of the central nervous system (hysteroneurasthenia).

When the expert is called upon to determine whether a person

desiring his advice is homosexual, it is advisable to begin by *investigating the patient's attitude to normal sexual activity*, i.e. finding out, in the case of a man, whether he has had sexual intercourse with women, since when, at what intervals, and whether with adequate potency; and in the case of a woman, whether a spiritual inclination toward men is present. The patient finds it easier to talk about the negative side of his sexuality, about his or her frigidity as regards normal sexual relations, than about the positive side, i.e. the inclination toward the same sex.

We know a large number of homosexual women who, before they married and had sexual intercourse with a man, were convinced that the deep affection they had for a girl friend was nothing more than a deep friendship. It was only the feeling of discomfort they experienced in the embrace of the husband, when they realized that the sensations it produced in them were the very opposite of what contact with the female friends induced in them, that they suddenly or gradually recognized that the direction of their sexual impulse was toward their own sex. Homosexual men also frequently realize this for the first time during intercourse with women. In this case there is frequently an important additional factor, the physical incapacity to perform coitus, though this is not decisive in the diagnosis of homosexuality. Some men who up to the time of their attempts at cohabitation with women have not been aware of a pronounced inclination for a person of the same sex, at first assume that they are impotent, and only realize their homosexuality gradually. However, in most cases such attempts are preceded by experiences which place the direction of the subject's sexual impulse beyond all doubt. The attitude of homosexuals toward the opposite sex is clearly illustrated by the following cases:

A 31-year-old man writes: "The idea of marriage does not enter my mind, because it is too nauseating. Sexual intercourse with women is quite impossible to me, and I am filled with disgust even when I think of the possibility. I have never attempted to perform the normal sexual act, and will probably never do so, as my aversion is too great. I did not learn to dance because I had a horror of girls."

A 38-year-old Frenchman wrote: "I have never had anything to do with women and I could not have relations with them at any price. I appreciate a pretty face, just as I appreciate a picture. But if I saw the woman naked, I would run away."

In contrast with such more or less impotent homosexuals, there are others who, though with feelings of repugnance, are capable of intercourse with women. A workingman, who is married and has children, writes:

"I engage in sexual intercourse, but I do so with great reluctance, and I feel mortally unhappy during it. I would like to be able to have intercourse with a man immediately afterward."

Homosexual women suffer at least as much through heterosexual intercourse as men. We have repeatedly observed severe hysterical conditions in homosexual women, notably heart neuroses and severe nervous dyspepsia, complete insomnia and a high degree of debility, which could only be cured by protracted treatment at sanatoria after the women in question separated from their husbands, at least as regards sexual intercourse. One homosexual woman gave the following account of her married life:

"My husband is an honorable man and I admire him for his excellent qualities, but I cannot love him. He is a fine man and deserves a better fate, for he is really in love with me. Well, at least I have never let him notice what torments his caresses are causing me, and how unspeakably wretched I feel when I yield to his wishes. Sometimes I say I have a headache, at others that I have a violent toothache, in order to escape his passion."

Of 500 homosexuals whose cases Hirschfeld examined, 417, or 84 per cent, were unmarried and 83, or 16 per cent, married. In reply to the question why they had married, the latter said: "In the hope of ridding myself of my homosexual passion." Or: "I thought that love for my wife would come of itself." Some of the married homosexuals said they had married in ignorance, or be-

cause they had been persuaded to marry, or "to put an end to the talk of relations and friends." Others said they wanted a home, or that they married for the sake of the dowry, or for business reasons, or upon the advice of a doctor. There were 112 children of these 83 marriages; we shall have something to say about the children later.

Homosexual women marry for similar reasons. Some of the women among the 83 said they married in order to be "independent" and several married in order to obtain possession of a fortune that was only to be handed over to them after they married.

It frequently happens that homosexual men and women become engaged, then break off the engagement owing to repugnance upon closer contact with the other partner. One homosexual man whose case is recorded in Hirschfeld's casuistry was engaged no fewer than four times, and broke off one engagement after the other on various pretexts. But the fourth time he became engaged to a domineering girl, who literally dragged him to the altar, although Hirschfeld had previously advised him against marriage. A month after the wedding the man hanged himself.

Homosexual fiancées are also nauseated by the caresses of their fiancés to such an extent that they break off the engagement. A very beautiful homosexual artist told Hirschfeld that she had become engaged three times, but in spite of every effort to bear the caresses of the men, their embraces and kisses made her so "indescribably" sick that she could not bring herself to marry any of her fiancés.

The intensity of the homosexual man's horror of women, or the degree of the homosexual woman's fear of men, is not in itself decisive as regards the possibility of sexual intercourse. 53 per cent of the homosexual men who came under Hirschfeld's notice had never attempted normal sexual intercourse, though this percentage included married homosexuals. The percentage of homosexual women who strenuously resisted every temptation to engage in intercourse with men was even higher. Certain virgins of over thirty whom Hirschfeld examined were either themselves homosexual or had homosexual men.

But even when a homosexual man succeeds in carrying out coitus with a woman, which frequently happens with the aid of homosexual fantasies, the act is qualitatively different from and less satisfactory to the woman than coitus carried out by a heterosexual man. The woman generally senses this instinctively. For the rest, homosexual men are frequently heard to say that it is easier for them to cohabit with a woman than to kiss her, and also that the touching of a woman's genitals costs them a greater effort than the act itself.

In determining whether a sexual act has its source in the sexual impulse, the partners' attitude after the act is of decisive importance. If the act does not correspond to the true direction of the sexual impulse, then it is followed by nausea, aversion, and even hatred. A Bavarian business man wrote:

"The consequence of repeated intercourse with women was severe nervous trouble, sickness and vomiting, and migraine lasting for days. The odor a woman exudes nauseates me; I am now incapable of satisfying a woman, whereas the embraces of a soldier give me unspeakable joy and strength."

The intensity which this aversion may attain is evidenced by the case of the homosexual Duke of Praslin-Choiseul, who, in 1864, strangled his young wife, the daughter of General Sebastiani, after coitus.

A sexual act that is contrary to the direction of the sexual impulse is also characterized by the fact that it does not relieve the sexual tension, but, on the contrary, increases it. Heterosexual male prostitutes hurry to a girl as soon as possible after intercourse with their homosexual clients. Similarly, married homosexuals are excited by heterosexual intercourse to acts consistent with the real direction of their sexual impulse. The position is very different where the act springs from the sexual impulse. Then it gives a sense of relief and elation. All this is lacking where the object of the sexual act is not at the same time the object of the sexual impulse.

Homosexual wives in the course of time develop severe nervous

troubles in consequence of the sexual duties imposed upon them against their will, in addition to insomnia, severe depression, and chronic timidity.

But apart from actual sexual intercourse the attitude of homosexuals to the opposite sex presents some noteworthy features. Some homosexuals are entirely indifferent, while others are pronounced misogynists (woman haters) or androphobes. Many homosexual men say that they do not notice women in the street and elsewhere, and similarly female homosexuals declare they do not notice men. At the theater they look only at the women and regard the male actors merely as "extras." A homosexual Russian—a painter!—once said to Hirschfeld: "I can't distinguish one woman from another, just as I can't see any difference between one Chinaman and another. They do seem to be pretty, but they are all alike, and all expressionless."

In strict contrast with the negative attitude toward the opposite sex based on conscious or unconscious sexual aversion, is the feeling of comradeship and affinity as soon as the sexual element is removed. This appears quite distinctly and entirely by instinct in early childhood, when the homosexual child feels better among children of the opposite sex in the same age group, than among children of the same sex, among whom the child is dominated by a peculiar feeling of strangeness, which frequently persists in adult life. This phenomenon is typical and has been observed in most homosexual children, though not in all. As in childhood, so in adult life, the homosexual woman is more self-possessed than the heterosexual woman in masculine company; she feels equal to man and similar in type; in his company, which she seeks for intellectual reasons, she moves more freely and easily, and it is only when she feels that the man is beginning to see a sexual object in her that she has a painful sensation and cools off. Homosexual men also like to converse with women, with whom they have much in common. In particular, homosexuals are attracted by women of mature age.

There is one woman, however, to whom the homosexual man is particularly attracted, i.e. his mother, and this is analogous to the intimate relationship that exists between the homosexual

woman and her father. The attachment of the homosexual man to his mother is so typical that the Freudian school sees in this "mother complex" a cause of homosexuality. Hirschfeld regards this view as erroneous. The homosexual does not develop his homosexuality because he feels strongly attracted to his mother from childhood, but vaguely sensing his weakness and peculiarity he leans on his mother who, on her part, and also instinctively, makes him her favorite child.

The negative attitude toward the opposite sex is an important, but in itself not a decisive, sign of homosexuality. Those who have read Körber's *Anti-feminism* and the chapter on the "Abandonment of Women" in Ivan Bloch's *Sexual Life*, will know that *the most violent woman haters are not to be found among homosexuals*. The feeling as regards the opposite sex that dominates homosexual men and women is *indifference* rather than hatred. *The heterosexual aversion phenomena are therefore not decisive in the diagnosis of homosexuality, unless they are combined with a positive attitude toward the same sex.*

A careful investigation will show in all cases of genuine homosexuality that before a homosexual act has been engaged in the persons concerned have had a strong spiritual attraction for one another. This involuntary, erotically accentuated fixation of the senses as well as of the mind, is present long before its sexual character as such becomes conscious.

It might be argued that deep friendships between members of the same sex also occur in children who later develop into strictly heterosexual adults, and these friendships frequently persist even for a few years after puberty. They occur very frequently at schools, boarding schools, and similar establishments, so frequently, indeed, that these friendships have been described as a physiological condition during the period of sexual indifference. But homosexual children differ from normal children not only as regards their general character and make-up, but also in their erotically tinged friendships. On the one hand, owing to the vague feeling *that their tendernesses have a deeper significance*, they are more self-conscious, reserved and particular, and, on the other

hand, they are more intense and constant than their heterosexual comrades. Homosexual children are frequently the favorite objects of their schoolfellows, who instinctively sense the feminine element in the homosexual boy and the virility in the homosexual girl. Above all, however, the homosexual activities of heterosexual children are of a more occasional character. After puberty the tendency is superseded by the increasing intensity of the child's love for the opposite sex, whereas in congenitally homosexual children the homosexual tendency at this period becomes stronger, and is finally directed toward the subject's own sex with the same yearning as the impulse of the heterosexual boy or girl is directed toward the opposite sex.

In the same way as heterosexual children between the ages of 15 and 20 sometimes contract firm friendships with members of their own sex, which gives the impression of entirely homosexual affects, homosexuals at this period of puberty also have heterosexual episodes, which do not appear to be due solely to the overwhelming power of suggestion exercised by the example of the grownups and romantic fiction, which always concerns love between men and women. The period referred to is a time of incomplete development, during which not only a clear physical differentiation is lacking, but the sexual impulse is also vague and groping, swinging this way and that, like a pendulum, until it fixes itself on a satisfactory sexual object either gradually or, through a great love affair, suddenly.

It is approximately at the age of 18 years, with slight deviations one way or another, that homosexual men and women, just like heterosexuals, develop that ideal eroticism that manifests itself in exaggerated admiration, serenades, love letters, and love poems, with the sole difference that the object of this "deification" is a member of the same sex.

One of the most unmistakable signs of genuine love, i.e. jealousy, appears early in the manifestations of homosexual love. Homosexual men and women are subject to this unpleasant affect just like normal people. In many cases the jealous urges only concern rivals who are also homosexual, but in a large number of in-

stances homosexual women have been jealous of heterosexual men and vice versa. All sorts of affect-induced acts have been observed in homosexuals, including murder, suicide, and double suicides. These acts of violence go a long way to prove the genuineness and depth of the spiritual affect, for were it merely a matter of performing the sexual act, homosexuals would hardly commit such serious crimes.

There are a large number of homosexual men and women who carry on them pictures of the type they love, and particularly members of that type with whom they are personally acquainted. There are very few homosexuals who do not carry a pocketbook with such pictures. Hirschfeld acted as forensic expert in a case in which the illegal sexual intercourse of the accused had been observed by a blackmailing landlord through the keyhole. During the hearing one of the accused's cuff links attracted attention and upon investigation it was found that the cuff links bore photographs of the codefendant.

The unconscious homosexual mentality reveals itself particularly in the subject's dream life. In the diagnosis of genuine homosexuality Näcke rightly attaches considerable importance to the proved fact that the homosexual's dream life is dominated by the direction of his impulse. A large number of individual investigations confirm this view. In this connection it should be noted that the pleasant dreams of homosexuals are crowded with sexual images even before puberty, and that the painful dreams relate to attempts at normal cohabitation. One homosexual told Hirschfeld, "I often dream that I am engaged or married. It oppresses me and I have an indefinable sensation of fear."

Krafft-Ebing wrote in this connection: "How deeply rooted congenital homosexuality is, is shown by the fact that the erotic dreams of homosexual men relate to men and those of women to women." Of 100 homosexual men who were asked whether their erotic dreams related to men or women, 87 replied, "Exclusively to men." The rest either had had no erotic dreams or could not recall them.

The erotic dreams of homosexual women relate to intercourse

with women. Sometimes the dreamer dreams that she is a man having intercourse with a woman, and at other times that she is doing so as a woman.

One of the most frequent dreams of homosexual women is that they have been fertilized by the beloved woman, and this fantasy also occupies their minds during daydreams.

With regard to the dream life of homosexuals, a booklet by the Petrograd physician Tarnowsky contains some interesting information, as for instance: "With the appearance of puberty the subject has dreams accompanied by discharges of semen. The dreams are at first vague and easily forgotten, but they become clearer and clearer as they recur and frequently strike the dreaming youth as peculiar. He dreams not of caresses from women, but of the handshakes and kisses of grown men, preferably physically well-developed men. The dream orgasm ending in a discharge of semen is not induced by the image of a woman, but by the embraces and caresses of a man. The first manifestation of shyness is manifested not in the presence of women, but in the presence of grown-up men. For instance, the youth is more self-conscious when undressing in the presence of a man than in the presence of a woman."

Tarnowsky also mentions the peculiar nature of the homosexual's feeling of shame. This is, in fact, another important feature in the diagnosis of homosexuality. Usually a person's feeling of shame relates to the sex to which he or she is attracted, and a homosexual man behaves in this respect like a woman, while the homosexual woman behaves like a man. The shyness of some homosexual men is so extraordinary that, for instance, they are painfully embarrassed when having to undress for a medical examination, and suffer the tortures of the damned when, in the army, their genitals are examined. Many homosexuals are incapable of urinating in the presence of other men. The homosexual woman, since she is not affected by repressed libido, is far more frank and open with men than her heterosexual sister. The homosexual woman will undress before a male doctor without a feeling of discomfort or embarrassment. She feels particularly at home in the

company of homosexual men, because she knows that she is then safe from sexual importunity, and assumes that she will be judged objectively, and with understanding. But in the presence of other homosexual women the homosexual woman is far more embarrassed: particularly is this the case when a homosexual woman of the feminine type meets one of the masculine type.

Although a single homosexual act does not in all cases prove beyond doubt a contrary sexual impulse, it helps the diagnosis very considerably and confirms it absolutely where the psychological disposition has already been established.

CAUSES OF HOMOSEXUALITY

HOMOSEXUALITY AS AN ACQUIRED TRAIT—MASTURBATION AND HOMOSEXUALITY—SATIATION WITH OPPOSITE SEX—ORIGINAL BISEXUALITY OF MAN—EARLY EXPERIENCES—THE OEDIPUS COMPLEX—IDENTIFICATION WITH THE MOTHER—HISTORY OF A TEACHER—INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTION—CRITICISM OF THEORIES CONCERNING ACQUIRED NATURE OF HOMOSEXUALITY—HOMOSEXUALITY AS A CONGENITAL TRAIT—DEGENERATION—BLOCH'S ANTHROPOLOGICAL VIEW—NORMAL BISEXUALITY—HOMOSEXUALITY AS THE DOMINANT TRAIT IN PERSONALITY—PHYSICAL AND MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF HOMOSEXUALS—NEUROPATHIC DISPOSITION—HEREDITARY FACTORS—HOMOSEXUALITY IS INCURABLE—HOMOSEXUALITY AND MARRIAGE.

As regards the causes of homosexuality, there are a number of different theories which, however, can be divided into two groups:

(1) Theories according to which homosexuality is always acquired.

(2) Theories according to which homosexuality, or at least certain forms of it, which are regarded as genuine homosexuality, are congenital.

The most primitive among the first group of theories attributes homosexuality to *masturbation*. Strangely enough, Krafft-Ebing at first agreed with this theory, though later he accepted Hirschfeld's view that homosexuality is congenital.

Ziemke holds that playing with the genitals directs the subject's attention to the genitals of his own sex and in all his cases he found

a very early awakening of the sexual impulse, which was of great intensity. The impulse was at first without object, but owing to various experiences later fixed itself on the subject's own sex.

The same view is held by Stier, but strongly contested by Hirschfeld and Burchardt. These authors write:

"It is inconceivable how Stier can attribute to masturbation a specific influence on homosexuality, as owing to its widespread character it could with the same right be blamed for all other sexual abnormalities." Stier holds that masturbation, if started early and practiced for a long time, particularly if it is mutual, is very harmful, "because it eliminates the feeling of shame which persists even in adults in connection with their genitals and manipulation with them." Fleischmann also found among 60 inverts 33 excessive masturbants and came to the conclusion that "masturbation, like alcohol, must have an influence in the development of this perversion." Many of his patients thought that their homosexuality began as a result of excessive masturbation.

Kraepelin also sees a connection between masturbation and homosexuality. He writes:

"The impulse to the development of homosexuality comes, first of all, from masturbation in cases of early sexual maturity, combined with subsequent psychic impotence, then from association of premature vivid sexual experiences, and finally from such association promoted by the influence of alcohol. In combating this sexual aberration, it is necessary above all to deal with masturbation, including mutual masturbation. This can be done by educational measures, hardening of the body, strengthening of the will by physical exercise, the damming of premature sexual stirrings, avoidance of seduction and timely and careful enlightenment. Homosexuality could be restricted by the fostering of comradeship between the sexes, early marriage, and eradication of masculine prostitution."

However, masturbation, in fact, has nothing whatever to do with homosexuality. Those indulging in this practice do so because no women are available to them. It is admitted that mutual mas-

turbation may lead to homosexuality, but then, this ceases to be masturbation, since it is itself a homosexual act.

The former idea that homosexuality is merely "indecent" or the result of satiety with the opposite sex, may be dismissed without comment.

For some time it was also held that homosexuality may arise through disgust with the opposite sex, but that can only happen in the case of bisexual people or homosexuals who for some reason engage in normal intercourse for a time.

In this connection Bloch writes interestingly on the homosexuality of prostitutes:

"Heterosexual prostitutes become homosexual for two reasons. Firstly, through intercourse with their genuinely Lesbian sisters, whose influence is strengthened by the solidarity of all prostitutes. And secondly, through an aversion for intercourse with men which develops in time and is based on experience of men, whom they know only from their brutal side. The constant necessity to indulge the bestial sensuality of blasé men by the most nauseating procedures, finally arouses an unconquerable aversion for the male sex, so that they direct all their tender feelings toward their own sex. Homosexual associations appear to them to be 'something higher, cleaner and more innocent' than their professional intercourse with men."

Krafft-Ebing mentions the case of a man who at the age of 19, after seven years of excessive masturbation, took to normal intercourse with enjoyment. He contracted gonorrhea and was seized with such nausea for women that he was impotent in the brothel. Earlier homosexual-masochistic fantasies awakened again and he soon succumbed to them.

The man was probably bisexual.

Whereas the assumption that homosexuality is connected with earlier experiences is framed in a general way, the psychoanalytic school has evolved certain definite theories with regard to the development of homosexuality.

According to them everyone at a certain phase of sexual de-

velopment is bisexual. This phase occurs during puberty. In the case of most people this bisexual period is only transitory and gives way to heterosexuality, but in others—for certain psychological reasons—bisexuality persists, and in still others monosexuality develops in a homosexual direction.

Thus psychoanalysis has proved that all homosexuals—of both sexes—have had heterosexual inclinations in their youth. There is no exception to this rule. The heterosexual period often continues far beyond the age of puberty. The confessions of homosexuals published by various authors all confirm this fact, and Hirschfeld himself praised the psychoanalytic school for tracing the transitory heterosexual inclination in homosexuality.

The bisexual period which everybody has before and during puberty is, according to Freud, superseded by heterosexuality, which represses the homosexual component, which is also sublimated in the form of friendship, sport, social endeavor, etc. If, however, it is heterosexuality that is superseded, then homosexuality results. In a homosexual the superseded but not repressed heterosexuality develops a disposition to neurosis, and the more completely heterosexuality is sublimated, the more does the homosexual make the impression of normality. He then appears to be like the normal heterosexual.

What are the factors that direct psychological development toward homosexuality? Other than psychoanalyst observers have found that in the case of many homosexuals there was a powerful early sexual impression.

We quote a few cases which explain the nature of these impressions. Ziemke records the following:

Patient is 38 years of age, an ex-officer. Mother said to have been of a nervous temperament. Patient as a child was very timid, and reserved with adults and strangers. Failed twice at secondary school, then attended military school and obtained a commission. After a few years he was discharged from the army for abuse of official authority. Then he went to South-West Africa, became a farmer and carrier, and took part in various small revolts as a volunteer.

His first sexual stirrings occurred in his twelfth year, till when he

knew nothing about sexual matters. At that age he had an experience which called his attention for the first time to sexual life. He was playing a menagerie game with his younger sister and a ten-year-old cousin and sat on the latter's back. As he made riding movements he noticed that his member was becoming rigid and wet and this was accompanied by pleasant sensations. He had no idea of the nature of the process, but was too shy to mention it to anyone. Soon he began to seek similar situations and when he succeeded he also tried to attain ejaculation. At that time he had no affection either for his cousin, through whom he satisfied his urge, or for any other male person, and all he wanted was to attain ejaculation.

It was only later, when he went to secondary school, where he also had an opportunity to satisfy his urge, that he took a fancy to a strong and handsome boy of his own age and began to associate the sexual process with the person of the passive party. As soon as he met the boy the idea came to him that he would like to satisfy his sexual urge on this boy in his peculiar manner. Under some sort of pretext he managed, during a game, to get on the boy's back, and made riding movements until ejaculation occurred. Later he had many opportunities to do this with other boys. After drinking alcoholic liquor he always found it particularly difficult to restrain his urge, and so it happened that he frequently associated with privates, which led to his discharge from the army. In order to cure himself of his unnatural urge he started an affair with a girl, had intercourse with her several times without enjoyment, imagining himself during the act in the position he occupied in his dealings with men. However, he contracted gonorrhea. Later he went to South-West Africa, but continued to indulge his urge, repeatedly abusing young Hottentots, until finally he was sentenced and expelled from the country.

Bloch records a similar case, in which, however, the patient was deliberately seduced:

"Ever since my childhood there has been something girlish about me, both outwardly and inwardly. My sexual urge awoke at a very early age. When I was about 6 I was lying ill in bed when my tutor sat down by me, caressing me and touching my member; the pleasure I experienced was so intense that I have not forgotten it to this day. At school, where I was good in all respects, I sometimes practiced

mutual 'touching' with different boys. I do not know from whom I inherited my intense sexual urge, but I suffered a great deal on account of it even before I was 12, and regarded it as a way of escape when one of my comrades taught me to masturbate. This 'happy' situation only lasted a short time, for when I realized the abnormality of my practices a terrible and unsuccessful inner struggle began.

"I always used to look with envy at vigorous men somewhat older than myself. I thought I was only succumbing to masturbation because I had no opportunity for intercourse with women. Finally, I sought escape with prostitutes, but, naturally, did not find it. I was either incapable of performing the act at all, or only without enjoyment, and I was always afraid of contracting some venereal disease. I had frequent opportunities to start an affair with women, but never did so, and I reproached myself for my timidity and exaggerated sense of honor, leaving out of account the real reason, namely, that I was homosexual and was not attracted by the opposite sex.

"Then one day the sight of a masculine member caused the blood to rush to my head, and I remembered that that had also happened previously, though not to the same extent, and I had to admit to myself that I was not like others. This definite realization filled me with despair. Then a girl fell in love with me, and I started an affair with her which lasted several months, during which time, however, I was unable to repress my inclination for men. The affair was still going on when one day I went to a public convenience where an old man cautiously approached me and touched my member. I was so taken aback and frightened that I ran away and avoided the spot for some time. But my urge to find the man again grew all the more intense and this was not difficult to do. In my unsuccessful struggle against my urge, which must be at least partly congenital, I have wasted the best of my forces, although I know that it is neither unhealthy nor sinful in itself."

In the above two cases a first sexual impression played a decisive part, steering the sexual impulse positively, so to speak, toward homosexuality. In the following case, recorded by Féré, the subject was deflected, negatively so to speak, from heterosexuality:

M.P., aged 41, only son of a man who died at the age of 74 from apoplexy, was brought up by an uncle. Till the age of 12 he suffered

from night terrors and bed-wetting. His mother used to wake him periodically to prevent wetting and when he could not go to sleep again she took him into her own bed. On one such occasion, when he was three, he happened to touch a hairy part of his mother's body, and this suddenly caused him to think of an animal. He jumped out of bed screaming. If we accept this incident as the starting point of his complaint, it should be noted that thereafter when his mother or nurse took him into her bed, he made strenuous efforts not to go back to his cot. He was trying to find the explanation of the thing that had frightened him. He pretended to be asleep while his nurse was dressing and finally, after several months, he discovered the "animal," though he did not know what it was, and his questions were met with stern repression. He ceased to inquire, but the matter worried him. When he was nearly eight he came upon a textbook on anatomy and, in a vague way, discovered the explanation. He understood that all women had such an "animal," but that they did not all protect it as did his nurse. He developed an aversion for contact with women and would not sit on the lap of any woman except his nurse though he climbed on men's knees of his own accord. Girls from 13 to 15 did not affect him in this way and he played with them unselfconsciously. Bed-wetting continued to some extent, but there were no other nervous symptoms, only the desire to discover the reason for his aversion toward women, which worried him. Sometimes he asked questions of a servant or another boy, but the answers only served to intensify his curiosity.

At the age of about 12 he came upon a book dealing with venereal diseases, which enlightened him but did not dispel his aversion. He began to fear contact with his nurse. Bed-wetting had by now stopped. He began to masturbate with some other boys, without, however, any special inclination toward any of them. At the age of 15 he took a violent fancy to a youth of 17, whose sexual characteristics were particularly well developed. Owing to this affection, the patient kept away from other associations. But as the youth had no similar inclinations to those of the patient the relationship between them was only one of friendship. It lasted until they left school, but the patient thinks that his friend never realized the nature of his attachment.

The patient masturbated only at long intervals, but he had frequent erotic dreams in which only boys appeared.

When he was 22 and separation from his friend became inevitable, he began to seek men with well-developed sexual characteristics at public baths and similar places. This induced in him a certain sexual excitement which, however, was never so strong as to lead him to provocative acts. He could find no one with similar inclinations to his own, and had no hope in that direction. He realized that he was different as regards women from other men, but the incident with the "animal," which he thought had nothing to do with his aversion for women, seemed ridiculous to him. He suffered from the thought that marriage and fatherhood were denied to him.

At the age of 27, having by then secured a good position, he decided to test his virility and went to a brothel. He failed with three girls, and succeeded with the fourth only by thinking of his former friend. After the act he felt an exhaustion which was different from that which used to follow masturbation. During the succeeding months he made further attempts, but the exhaustion and depression became ever more intense and prolonged. After that he suffered from certain irregularities, such as a sudden dimming of his sight. At such times he could discern outlines only, as though through a fog, and although he could hear what was being said to him he could not reply. These attacks lasted only a moment, but left a strange feeling behind. The most recent occurrences seemed to him to have happened long ago and he felt he was late for everything he had to do. These attacks occurred about once a month for years.

He worked very hard, in order to avoid sexual excitement, but he nevertheless had erotic dreams in which none but men appeared. Sometimes he was strongly attracted to men, but as he could hope for no reciprocity, nothing came of this.

Some psychoanalysts attribute certain forms of homosexuality to frequent clysters in childhood, which creates a fixation on the anal zone.

In addition to first sexual impressions, there are other factors which may lead to homosexuality. Psychoanalysts hold that homosexuality is in many cases due to the Oedipus complex (see Chapter XX), "love for the mother absorbing all love for the female sex."

The relationship between a homosexual and his mother can

be gathered from the following statement of one of Hirschfeld's patients:

"My mother was everything to me, the alpha and omega of my existence. I had made all sorts of beautiful plans to sweeten her old age. Then the catastrophe happened. My beloved mother died. News of her illness reached me in Ireland and the torment I suffered during the two days and nights that the journey to Germany took is beyond description. People left the compartment because they were afraid I might go mad. . . . I nursed my mother day and night for three weeks. Then she died, and I was alone, broken in body and spirit. It was a blow from which I could not recover. In order to forget I returned to England to my work, but it was all in vain; the pain continued to sear my mind and body day and night. I returned to the home which my family had occupied for a century. I often felt I was going mad, and only calmed down when I visited my parents' grave. As I found no rest, I began to travel. I prayed in every church and chapel for my mother's soul. This perpetual grief over the death of my mother crippled and paralyzed me. I lost the power of thought and became depressed, melancholic, although I made frequent efforts to pull myself together. I gave up all correspondence, as no one could comfort me. The world I had shared with my mother was gone, and life had no further interest for me."

It is, in fact, the case that all homosexuals have a strong attachment to their mothers, lasting beyond childhood to the day of the mothers' deaths. However, it is a far more feasible assumption that this love is the result of homosexuality rather than its cause. Apart from the homosexual's feminine nature, he lacks a normal home, and this ties him to his mother longer and more intimately than in the case of a normal man. In homosexuals who marry the love for their mother is not so pronounced.

Stekel holds that one cause of homosexuality is the fact that the subject identifies himself with his mother. He quotes the following case in confirmation of this view:

Mr. T. B., aged 32, is incapacitated from work. He has started all sorts of things, but never succeeded in anything. His father is an

office worker and in need of T. B.'s earnings, but the latter stays at home and complains of alleged epileptic fits occurring only at night, which are really fits of hysterical terror. His brother is industrious and the favorite of the home, but T. B. flies into a rage when his brother is praised. He hardly speaks to his brother and declares that it is a torment to live in the same house with him. He is, he says, a delicately organized man, and his father's ways, his talk, his table manners, upset him, so that he is looking forward to leaving as soon as he is again fit for work. The mother takes his part, believes in his illness, and gets up at night to nurse him during his fits. The mother alone knows that he is homosexual, and does not interfere with him in that respect, but is jealous when he talks to girls, and goes to the kitchen every night to see whether one of her sons is not visiting the servant girl. She is T. B.'s friend and confidante, and has broken off conjugal relations with her husband long ago. Thus there are two factions in the home, T. B. and the mother, and his brother and father.

In addition, the sick son incurs debts and there are daily scenes. The father advertises, disclaiming responsibility for his debts, whereupon the mother, who earns money by giving piano lessons, leaves the house with T. B., hoping that this separation will cure her son. T. B. is now brought to Stekel for analytic treatment. Two days later Stekel is called to the father's house, T. B. having called there under some pretext and having a fit. He is so ill that he must stay in bed. He says he has been driven to make the call out of love for his father, whom he could not bear to leave alone with his brother.

His fantasies accompanying his fits are explained by the following dream:

"I am lying in bed dressed in a remarkable way, with a lace cap on my head and a green dressing-gown on my body. I look into a mirror and instead of myself I see my mother, with my father bending over her and kissing her. The reflection merges, I feel I am a woman with long, black hair, a white skin and a high voice. My arms are stretched out to embrace a man, and at this moment I wake with terror and palpitations."

Psychoanalysts interpret in a similar manner the following case recorded by Krafft-Ebing:

T., 34, was at the age of 9 taught to masturbate by a school comrade. At the age of 14 he had homosexual relations with his brother. At 17 he changed, in that he began to love not youths but decrepit old men.

T. attributes this to having once heard his already aged father groaning orgasmically in an adjacent room. He imagined his father in the act of coitus and since then old men performing homosexual acts play a considerable role in his wet dreams and in his masturbation fancies. But even by day the sight of old men, particularly senile old men, excites him so intensely that he sometimes has ejaculations. Attempts at brothels have completely failed, and young men do not attract him.

From the age of 22 he had a deep but only platonic love for an old man, whom he accompanied on daily walks, during which T. had ejaculations. In order to free himself of this slavery, T., after several unsuccessful attempts at the brothel, took an old man with him and made him perform the act in his presence. This sight made T. potent, and later he was able to perform the act without this preliminary. Soon, however, he became impotent again.

Stekel describes the following interesting case:

A secondary school teacher called on me because, a few weeks ago, he had been seized with a passion that threatens to destroy his happiness. He is 26 years of age, yet he has not yet had any sexual intercourse, nor has he been in love. A few months ago he met a girl and they became engaged, the marriage being fixed for six months hence. The girl is his sister's friend, whom he had not noticed before, until, during a joint excursion, he fell in love with her. He had been a sexual abstainer from conviction, wishing to enter marriage pure in body and mind. It was at this stage that an event occurred that threatens to drive him to suicide. He describes it as follows:

"There is in my class a very handsome, intelligent youth, who attracted my attention by his knowledge and good manners. I liked to put questions to him when my other pupils failed, because I was sure of correct answers from him, and I have frequently held him up as an example to the class. One night I dreamt that the boy was lying in my bed and I was embracing and kissing him. I woke in

terror, but soon reassured myself. One dreams all sorts of nonsense, I thought. But that day at school I was aware of a certain self-consciousness in dealing with the boy, as I could not help thinking of the dream, and I avoided putting any questions to him. After school, as he had frequently done before, the boy waited for me and asked whether he might accompany me. Our way lay in the same direction and I liked to talk with the boy, as I learned from him what the boys thought of their teachers and this seemed important to me, as I have a high conception of a teacher's mission.

"So I let him come with me on that day also, but I was very absent-minded and taciturn, the dream having destroyed my former friendly and natural manner toward the handsome boy. On my return home I hastened to call on my fiancée, who found me very absent-minded and wanted to know the reason, which, of course, I could not tell her. I tried to excite myself by kisses and embraces, but to my horror, while kissing her I was thinking of the boy, and imagining that I was kissing his lips. I let go of her in alarm, and pleading indisposition I hastened home.

"I was so excited that I could not sleep for a long time and resolved to combat my crazy passion. I had heard about homosexuality, of course, but I had never had any such thoughts myself in connection with a boy or man. I felt I could not continue a teacher, unless I conquered this urge and extirpated the effects of the dream, which was probably the expression of unconscious desires. I vowed to be strict with myself, and to cease favoring the boy or allowing him to accompany me, for it was I who first asked him to accompany me.

"The following day I forced myself not to look at the boy, but could not help doing so, and a single glance drove the blood into my cheeks. He was handsome, like a Greek boy, and his features were so noble, and his eyes so bright that I would have liked to look at him for hours. I recovered from my absorption, which I hoped the class had not noticed, but in order to dissipate any impression my staring in the boy's direction might have created, I called him up. I was strict, unmercifully strict, seeking faults in him and, in view of that fact, finding them. I reproved the boy until he began to cry and it took him some time to calm down. That made me still more angry, and silencing an inner voice which told me that I was being unjust, as the boy could not help my evil thoughts, I became stricter still and shouted at him.

"After school he dare not accompany me, while I ran about for hours like a madman. I reproached myself, and wept over the loss of the intimate relationship between teacher and pupil. I decided to be more just next day, and to take no notice of the boy, but some demoniacal power that was stronger than all my resolutions compelled me to hurt him again, and it was as though I was trying to avenge myself for the trouble he had caused me. I knew that I was really punishing myself, that I suffered through this treatment more than the boy, who became timid, looked poorly, and was obviously suffering through my unjust treatment. I became low-spirited, morose and irritable, and completely lost my balance. I began to avoid the company of my fiancée. It seemed to me that it was a desecration of her love on my part to be in love with the boy. She on her part became cooler and more reserved, as she did not understand the change in me.

"Then, gradually, the position at the school improved. I was able to control myself and was more just. The joint walks were also resumed, and we sometimes walked together for hours and also met on holidays. While I was near him I was completely happy and had no other desire. I enjoyed his beauty and his keen intelligence, and I counted the minutes until our next meeting.

"Then my eyes were opened by a letter from my fiancée breaking off the engagement. It did not fill me with despair, as I had thought when thinking of such a possibility. Now, I thought, I could devote myself entirely to the boy. At the same time I was seized with sexual excitement, such as I had only experienced once before, in my dream. I now realized that I must avoid the boy if I wanted to avoid committing a crime. My first task, then, was to arrange a reconciliation with my fiancée, and the second, to resign from the school, so that I could not see the boy again. But my fiancée remained firm, saying that she was sure I did not love her and had secrets from her. I was on the point of telling her everything and threw myself at her feet, when she remarked that what has been broken could not be mended, etc., and left the room.

"Next day the boy was absent from class and another boy informed me that he had scarlet fever. My fear knew no bounds. A boy had to report to me daily on his progress and I used to walk up and down in front of the house for hours in the evenings. Finally, I heard that he was out of danger and would be back at school in a few weeks. I

had to pull myself together in order to be able to teach at all. My thoughts were always with the absent pupil, and I counted the days.

"This could not go on. I confided in my father, and he sent me to you, saying that you would probably be able to advise and help me."

Stekel adds:

At first I could do nothing, but I let the patient pour out his heart and that alone gave him considerable relief.

Then it turned out that he had only loved one human being—his sister, whom he still loved. His love for his fiancée was a substitute for this love. The fiancée was also homosexual and loved in him only the brother of her girl friend. When, during the engagement, the sister contracted another friendship (evidently from unconscious jealousy of her brother) the fiancée cooled off and was glad of a pretext to break off the engagement. This was soon elucidated, to the immense relief of the teacher, who had severely reproached himself on this account.

The more the fiancée became estranged from his sister, the more indifferent he became to her. But the boy bore a striking resemblance to his sister!

He had never thought of this resemblance before, yet the sister had the same type of eyes, her hair was the same color, and her voice also resembled that of the boy. During the critical period the sister was taking an interest in a doctor, the patient felt that her love was lost to him, and he found a substitute in the boy.

Now he could talk freely to his sister, who possessed the necessary psychological education and could assist him to recover.

The whole excitement died down. Love for the boy changed to a benevolent friendship that did not disturb the patient. He now took his walks with his sister, who frequently called for him at the school. He succeeded in sublimating his love for his sister in intellectual activities as far as possible. All open relationships create an atmosphere of frankness, which makes it easier to overcome incestuous desires than secrecy.

Another view concerning the causation of homosexuality is held by the Adler school of comparative individual psychology. According to Adler homosexuality represents "a training of a dis-

couraged individual from childhood to avoid a normal solution of the sexual problem by eliminating the possibility of defeat, i.e. the opposite sex."

According to Adler homosexuality is rooted in fear of women, caused by a strong feeling of inferiority. According to Adler, there is also another component—the subject seeks to achieve his conquests by the roundabout way of homosexuality. Here is a case recorded by Adler:

"I grew up with my elder sisters, who used me as a toy. One game I remember was particularly painful—I was the cow and was 'milked' by the girls at my genitals. This torture only stopped when I complained to the governess.

"We children liked to ride on the knees of the governess, and still more on the knees of male visitors, and we expressed our pleasure by lusty cries. In my case, however, my member was in the way. I devised another 'horse.' I put a pillow between my legs and 'rode' it round the room for hours. My sisters liked to join into this game, and later we changed the pillow into a baby which we 'suckled.' We also sucked the corners of the pillows, which gave rise to continual trouble with our elders. When my hobbyhorse was taken away, I worked out the connection between this measure and my genital excitation, and then made the strange discovery that I could make my testicles disappear into my abdomen. I tried to do the same with my penis, and succeeded momentarily by strong pressure. As a youth I yearned to be bisexual, that would have enabled me to have intercourse with men as a man, and to dominate them as a girl.

"At the age of 12 I liked to be in the stable with the coachman and stable boys. I often saw their genitals, which in comparison with mine seemed gigantic. One day I saw a stable boy push his arm into the sex organ of a mare, and all these dimensions confused me to such an extent that I began to worry about my future. At the same time, I was not the sort to play a subordinate role. I was very ambitious and obstinate. When I went out with my sisters it was always I who decided the direction, and I even forced the girls to look in a certain direction. One day I seized the penis of a stable boy, who instructed me further, and so I carried out my first homosexual act, of which I was inordinately proud. So it has remained to this day—the power

I exercise over men thrills me. Recently I seduced an oldish staff officer, who has always been heterosexual, to homosexual intercourse. It almost satisfied me to see him entirely exhausted before me."

Adler writes in this connection:

The patient's autobiography shows clearly the basic features outlined by me—preponderance of females in the family, the discomfort of the differentiating genital, the child's uncertainty with regard to his sexual role, the hope of change, and the ambition which seeks its triumphs in a roundabout way.

Another case recorded by Adler concerns a feminine homosexual:

Girl, aged 30, of middle class, strongly religious environment.

She has a number of brothers and sisters, including an elder sister who by her charm and wit put all the rest in the shade.

This fact, revealed at the beginning of the treatment, points to an important cause of the feeling of inferiority which evidently lies at the root of her unwillingness to marry. She persistently refuses to marry because she fears neglect in favor of another girl (originally her sister).

The patient showed early an inclination to evade the problems of life. Reserve, a tendency to isolation, deprecation of others combined with an original respect, reveal her inferiority complex. As, from fear of defeat, she could never do anything well, she came to be regarded as incapable and clumsy. She had no intimate friends and avoided society as much as possible.

At the age of 24 she received a further blow. A young man as weak as herself began to court her. At the objection of his sister he ceased his attentions before the two could "get together."

This was another defeat, and in a most important matter, in which she might perhaps have achieved parity with her sister. This took her discouragement a step further and in such cases we could prophesy that a further deflection from the vital question of love would result. The patient, in fact, lost all interest in men until the treatment began.

Then one day she discovered homoerotic tendencies in herself.

The foregoing constitutes a summary of the most important theories according to which homosexuality is an acquired trait. These theories comprise the primitive ones concerning masturbation and disgust and nausea with women or men respectively, as well as the psychoanalytic and individual-psychological theories.

Masturbation, as we have said, is untenable as the cause of homosexuality, while disgust with the opposite sex is a consequence, and not a cause of homosexuality. The individual psychology school holds that homosexuality is acquired, though in earliest childhood; while the Freudian attributes homosexuality to early experiences combined with congenital factors, such as bisexuality and personal sexual make-up.

Thus the Freudian theory represents, so to speak, a transition to the second theory, according to which homosexuality is a congenital trait.

A number of authors regard homosexuality as a form of congenital *degeneracy*. This is Krafft-Ebing's revised view, a view opposed by Freud on the ground that homosexuality cannot be regarded as degeneracy because:

(1) It occurs in persons who show no other serious deviations from the normal.

(2) It occurs in persons whose capabilities are unaffected or who possess high intellectual and cultural attainments. (And it is undoubtedly true that some of the greatest men of whom we possess records were invert, even absolute invert.)

(3) If we consider the question apart from medical experience and from a wider point of view, we are faced with two facts that make it impossible to regard homosexuality as a sign of degeneracy:

(a) The fact that this inversion was a frequent phenomenon, almost an institution, among old nations at the height of their civilizations; and

(b) that it is uncommonly widespread among many savage or primitive peoples, whereas the concept of degeneracy is usually confined to a high degree of civilization; even among the civilized

nations of Europe climate and race have a decisive influence on the incidence and estimation of homosexuality.

It is mainly due to Bloch that the pathological view of homosexuality has been replaced by an anthropological view, according to which the homosexual is a separate, but not necessarily pathological, type of person.

The theory of homosexuality made enormous progress with the acceptance of the hypothesis of the *normal bisexuality* of man, first made by Gley, Kiernan, and others. According to this, men possess feminine and women masculine characteristics not only in the physical and psychological sense, but also as regards the direction of the sexual impulse. In the course of development the characteristics of the opposite sex are outstripped by those of the individual's own sex. If this process does not occur normally, and the development of the sexual impulse is not consistent with the dominant physical and psychological characteristics, the individual so affected may be homosexual.

The theory of bisexuality, strongly supported by Hirschfeld, is consistent with the psychoanalytic theory of homosexuality, as well as with the contrary theory.

At all events, it is certain that men and women possessing great intellectual powers and a strong will have failed to change the direction of their sexual impulse. The nature of homosexuality is such that it is most intimately merged with the personality as a whole. Homosexuals of both sexes differ from heterosexuals not only as regards the different directions of the sexual impulse, but also as regards *the peculiar nature of their individualities*. This applies not only to effeminate male and masculine female homosexuals, but also to homosexuals of both sexes who are otherwise typical of their sex. Homosexuality is closely connected with the specific constitution of the personality as a whole, which may be defined as intersexual, since it is neither feminine nor masculine, and intersexuality is always combined with a neuropathic constitution.

Many investigators have made the mistake of considering sexual life as a separate phenomenon unconnected with the personality,

whereas in fact the two are inseparable, as Hirschfeld emphasized even in his first communications on the subject. "The homosexual must be considered not only in the light of his sexuality, but in the light of his individuality as a whole. His sexual inclinations and aversions are only symptoms, secondary concomitants; the primary thing is his psyche and his make-up as a whole."

Gynandric signs considerably facilitate a diagnosis of homosexuality, but if it is incorrect to say that the absence of heterosexual characteristics is of no importance in such diagnosis, it is no less incorrect to attribute undue importance to these signs and, for instance, to say that the more homosexual a woman is the more masculine must she look. In actual fact, a conscientious investigation is necessary in most cases to discover the personality differences between homosexual and normal men and women, particularly as the former always endeavor to conceal these differences.

But homosexuality, like normal sexual tendencies, appears in early youth—according to Westphal at the age of about eight years—particularly as regards its psychic features, and these are even more characteristic for early diagnosis than mere inclinations and disinclinations. Every homosexual remembers that he was different from the other boys at school, although at that time he did not understand the nature and causes of the difference.

During puberty homosexual boys and girls show phenomena deviating from the normal. The voice either does not break at all, or the process takes a very long time, sometimes until the age of 19 or 20; many have an inclination, after the breaking of their voices, to sing in a soprano voice, while others, whose voices have not changed, are capable of making it sound deeper by methodical exercises. Young homosexuals are frequently teased on account of their high-pitched voices; in the case of many boys, the voice lacks masculine power.

Homosexual girls frequently acquire during puberty a deeper voice. A 25-year-old girl journalist writes:—"During puberty my adam's apple protruded. I acquired a voice that ranged to C between the third and fourth lines only, but comprised the deep

bass C." Facial hair in the case of homosexual youths grows late and may be slight and uneven. On the other hand a painful growth of the breasts during puberty may be observed, and the hair of the head is of a feminine character. In homosexual girls, the body hair is of a masculine character. Of pathological irregularities migraine and chlorosis—more common in women—are the most frequent in homosexual youths. In homosexual girls puberty anemia is very rare, but menstruation frequently appears comparatively late, particularly in virile homosexual women.

The subsequent life of homosexuals of both sexes follows quite naturally after puberty. In males it is characterized essentially by the absence of distinct masculinity, while in females the development of femininity is not complete, and more or less masculine characteristics appear. All this occurs in very different degrees, so that it is easy to distinguish among homosexual men two groups, i.e. the *masculine*, members of which do not betray homosexuality either in appearance or manner, and the *feminine*, who have a distinctly feminine personality, and many of whom wear feminine clothes or at least feminine adornments. A large number of the latter group also have the facial features, wide pelvis and rounded forms, and particularly the voice of the sex to which they would like to belong. Anyone overhearing the conversation of two members of this group without seeing them, would naturally assume that it is conversation of two women. Krafft-Ebing characterizes the extreme cases as "women dressed as men, with masculine genitals."

Two similar groups may be distinguished among female homosexuals. One group consists of women who look, dress, and behave like men and even give themselves masculine names, while the other group, no less numerous, consists of female homosexuals who differ but little in appearance and conduct from their normal sisters, so that no one would suspect their homosexuality.

The sum of the feminine admixture in male homosexuals and of masculine in female homosexuals varies very considerably, and the same applies to the qualitative mixture of the qualities that are

inconsistent with the homosexual's genital type. Every conceivable combination, and every conceivable gradation occurs. As early as 1864 Ulrichs wrote: "It appears that the following two classes may be distinguished among homosexuals, though each class comprises a thousand variants: (a) Homosexuals in whom the masculine element, corresponding to their masculine build, predominates in all respects, lending their feminine sexual impulse a certain masculine character, i.e. homosexuals with a masculine appearance, mentality, and predominantly active desires; this class of homosexual mostly loves young men and may be called 'viriliores.' (b) Homosexuals in whom the feminine element, corresponding to their feminine sexual impulse, predominates in all respects, both physically and mentally, and whose desires are mainly passive. This class of homosexuals loves not young men but boys. This class may be called 'muliebriores.' "

This classification, in the main, still holds good. As to the proportion of masculine and feminine homosexuals (among men), Ivan Bloch is probably right in saying that their respective numbers are approximately equal. This also applies to masculine and feminine homosexuals among women.

This brings us to the last important point in connection with homosexuality, i.e. *neuropathic disposition*. Although homosexuals cannot be regarded as degenerates, it is nevertheless certain that hereditary factors play an important role in the genesis of homosexuality, which would in any case appear to be eminently probable in such a distinctly congenital phenomenon as homosexuality. The relatives of homosexuals very frequently betray an unmistakable neuropathic disposition or characteristics which are known to be unfavorable to the stability of the nervous system in their descendants.

In Hirschfeld's cases 6 per cent of the homosexuals had parents or grandparents who were blood relations. In 22.6 per cent of the families of homosexuals there were suicides. Taking this figure as 100 per cent, the suicides were due in 16.7 per cent of these cases to homosexual disposition, in 13.9 per cent to unrequited homo-

sexual love, in 11.1 per cent to general melancholy, in 8.3 per cent to delirium, in 16.7 per cent to financial reasons, and in 33.3 per cent to unknown reasons.

In neuropathic natures the inherited masculine and feminine components are less perfectly balanced than in persons with stable nervous systems in whom one or other of these components recedes in favor of the other in a more balanced manner. That is why homosexuality is so frequently combined with nervous instability, though in individual cases it is not easy to decide what part of the nervous weakness was present from the first, and what part is the consequence of homosexuality.

The assumption that Nature makes use of homosexuals to prevent degeneration is borne out by the marriages and descendants of homosexuals. Many of these marriages are childless, but when they are not, the children are mostly of inferior mentality, unless a particularly healthy partner in the marriage brings about a comparative compensation. At all events, from the viewpoint of race hygiene the marriage of a homosexual is a risky undertaking.

Homosexuality in brothers and sisters is comparatively very frequent. Hirschfeld confirms Dr. v. Römer's observation that "homosexuality runs in families in at least 35 per cent of the cases." Homosexual brothers are very frequent, and perhaps still more frequently homosexuals have homosexual sisters, all of which goes to prove that homosexuality is congenital. Hirschfeld handled thousands of cases, some of them for twenty years, and there was no doubt whatever in his mind that this was the case. *No outside influence, neither masturbation, nor impotence, nor yet disgust with the opposite sex, nor seduction, nor Binet's "fortuitous shock," can adequately explain the definite orientation of the homosexual impulse toward a certain sexual goal from the first awakening of the sexual impulse or from the first wet dreams.*

Since homosexuality is congenital, it cannot be eliminated by psychological means, and Kraepelin's claim to have "obtained comparatively good results by hypnotic treatment" cannot be accepted. Hirschfeld knew a large number of homosexuals who had undergone hypnotic treatment, but not one who had been cured.

The same applies to psychoanalysis, in regard to which Stekel, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, writes that he has never seen a complete cure of homosexuality by this means.

The most fatal advice a doctor can give a homosexual is to marry. Forel is right when he writes: "That is the stupidest and worst thing they can do, as their wives lead a life of martyrdom; they feel cheated, despised and deserted. Such marriages end in misery or divorce, and to promote them deliberately is nothing less than criminal. That, and not homosexual intercourse between adult men, should be punished by law." Forel even holds that it is the doctor's duty to threaten to inform the homosexual's fiancée if he persists in his intention. At all events, a homosexual who marries condemns a healthy woman either to barrenness, or to bearing mentally defective children. Similar objections apply to the marriage of homosexual women, and it is in the interests of race hygiene to prevent such marriages.

FEMININE HOMOSEXUALITY

FEMININE HOMOSEXUALITY IN ANCIENT TIMES—PSEUDOHOMOSEXUALITY OF WOMEN—PSEUDOHOMOSEXUAL PROSTITUTES—CAUSES OF PSEUDOHOMOSEXUALITY—SATIETY—PHYSIOLOGICAL BISEXUALITY OF WOMEN—HAREMS, PRISONS, SCHOOLS—PSEUDOHOMOSEXUALITY BASED ON AFFECT-HUNGER—HOMOSEXUAL WOMEN'S CLUB—TRIBADIC RENDEZVOUS—VIOLENT ACTS OF HOMOSEXUAL WOMEN—TRIBADIC PROSTITUTION—TRIBADIC "MARRIAGES"—SEXUAL SERVITUDE AMONG TRIBADIC WOMEN—SEDUCTION OF HETEROSEXUAL WOMEN BY HOMOSEXUAL WOMEN—FEMININE DON JUANS—A CASE OF GENUINE HOMOSEXUALITY COMBINED WITH MASOCHISM—GENUINE HOMOSEXUALITY COMBINED WITH BREAST FETISHISM.

We devote a separate chapter to feminine homosexuality for the reason that it operates differently from masculine homosexuality. This is due partly to the greater frequency of pseudohomosexuality among women than among men, and partly to the fact that physiological bisexuality is more pronounced in women than in men.

This involves a considerable addition to the number of women who engage in homosexual practices, and the question suggests itself why, for instance, feminine homosexuality was mentioned in ancient literature far less frequently than masculine homosexuality. The answer is that women in antiquity played a secondary role in public life and their activities were therefore not recorded by male authors with the same zeal as those of men, but there is

no doubt whatever that Lesbianism was just as widespread in classic antiquity as masculine homosexuality.

As regards *genuine* homosexuality, the causes are the same in women as in men. But these factors only apply with qualifications to the majority of so-called homosexual women, who are in reality only pseudohomosexual.

For instance, the inclination of prostitutes to homosexual practices, which is particularly prevalent at present, is acquired through satiety with normal intercourse. This is confirmed by the fact that the percentage of homosexual prostitutes under 25 to 30 is smaller than at later ages. The total percentage is estimated by some authorities at 25 per cent, by others at 50 per cent.

According to Parent-du-Chatelet, there are few old prostitutes in Paris who are not homosexual; they generally start within eight or ten years of the beginning of their careers. Young prostitutes are only brought to these practices by seduction.

In addition to "satiety," prostitutes are induced to turn to their own sex by the general contempt of men and our "masculine" civilization for prostitutes, who can only meet with esteem and affection among their sisters in the profession.

A further reason for the widespread pseudohomosexuality in women is their more pronounced *physiological bisexuality*. As Forel writes, "kisses, embraces, and caresses in bed seem far less peculiar among girls than among boys, and the normal woman submits to such tenderness with far less nausea. Among men intellectual or spiritual friendship is completely divorced from physical intimacy of any kind, but in women it often arouses a desire for kissing, embracing, and caresses, and produces a sensation of sensual pleasure, though this may not be localized."

This makes it understandable why a normal woman is more easily aroused to sexual intercourse with another woman than a normal man with his male friend, and explains the predisposition of women for pseudohomosexuality.

This predisposition is favored by external circumstances. For instance, single women may avoid normal sexual intercourse for fear of moral persecution, of pregnancy, or of depreciation in

the marriage market. Now, this abstinence from intercourse with men is not combined with total sexual abstinence, as apart from the widespread practice of masturbation, such women also seek sexual satisfaction in Lesbian love, as a *substitute* for normal intercourse.

This applies with even greater force where intercourse with men is in itself difficult or impossible, while intercourse with women is particularly easy.

In harems this substitute appears to have been common from earliest times, and even in the ancient East Indian *Kamasutra*, Vatsyayana said:

"As the harems are guarded, no man can enter, and as there is only one husband to many women, the latter obtain no satisfaction, and seek it among themselves."

Brantôme records a similar state of affairs in Turkish harems. In addition, he states that tribadism was also used by the women of Italy, Spain, and Greece as a substitute for normal intercourse. In his own country, France, he found that Lesbianism was very widespread, but he emphasizes that it was indulged in only as a substitute for normal intercourse.

In women's prisons the position is similar to that prevailing in harems. According to Parent-du-Chatelet, Lesbian love in women's prisons is so prevalent "that hardly any woman prisoner can escape it." Sequestration from men ensures the success of seduction.

According to Lombroso, women prisoners seduce not only their colleagues, but also the wardresses; where women are confined together shamelessness increases to such an extent that the resultant practices defy description.

Lesbian relations between female nurses of hospitals have also been frequently reported, and according to Martineau they often occur also among patients in women's wards.

In earlier years homosexual practices are indulged in at girls' schools, boarding-schools, etc. The inadequate fixation of the sexual impulse favors mutual satisfaction among girls, as it does among boys. According to Moraglia, Lesbianism in girls' board-

ing-schools is a widespread evil. A single girl may seduce the whole school to this practice.

Moll records the case of an American girls' boarding-school where there was a veritable epidemic of Lesbianism, the girls seeking mutual satisfaction by means of cunnilinctus.

Homosexual acts among school girls often occur not through seduction, but by reason of the feminine nature alone, with its ever present desire for stimulation.

Lesbian habits are most easily acquired by girls where they live or work together and association with men is for some reason rendered difficult. This view is confirmed by Ellis, who says that the development of this inversion is promoted particularly by professions in which a number of women are constantly together, even at night, without male companionship. The maids of big hotels are sometimes in this position, and Lesbianism is also frequent in establishments where girl workers live in, and sleep two in a room or two in the same bed.

According to Lombroso, one of the essential causes of tribady is the seeking after new sensations, even unnatural ones.

Eulenburg attributes the development of Lesbian habits mainly to the surfeit from which society women suffer, which is an incorrect view in so far as it ignores the factors of sexual need and seduction, but entirely correct in so far as it confirms that Lesbianism has invaded even the "best" circles.

According to Martineau, tribady is becoming increasingly prevalent among married women and single girls. Bloch says that the clientele of masseuses in the large cities is not composed solely of men, but also comprises women, mainly of the "upper classes," who frequent their establishment for the purpose of indulging in active or passive tribady. Surfeit with men is held by this author to be an etiological factor in tribady.

Ellis mentions the frequency of tribadic acts by white women with Negresses, which is not infrequent in anti-Negro America. This confirms the view that we are here faced with the perverted practices of surfeited women.

According to Taxil, the number of tribadic women who visit

brothels and Lesbian establishments in Paris is "beyond computation."

The foregoing shows that in the case of women homosexuality is mostly pseudohomosexuality, the causes of which we have already explained.

Naturally, the causes do not apply in the case of genuinely homosexual women, whose inversion is governed entirely by the factors explained in the previous chapter.

Here are a few cases which have come before the courts:

In 1909 the lady chairman of a homosexual women's club sued an editor for libel for describing her activities. The editor's statements proved to be true and he was acquitted. The following is part of the report of the proceedings:

A women's club advertised for new members. In this way not only homosexual women, who understood the purport of the advertisements, but also other women were attracted, who thought that the object of the club was cultural and at the same time amusing. Such women were soon expected to participate in indecent practices, the nature of which some of them did not even understand. In addition, young girls were also lured to the club for such purposes. Miss L., the chairman, denied the allegations, but finally admitted that a large number of the members had been expelled for indecent solicitation. However, the witnesses heard in this matter stated that Miss L. herself had behaved in that way and that she had had an affair of that kind for a long time; the expulsions were only a matter of personal jealousy. Some of the details of the trial could not even be reported. The intimacies between the women had led to several divorces.

In the year 1912 a pianist named Anna P. was denounced for singing obscene songs in a basement *locale* to an audience composed of drunken women. During the trial it was revealed that the place was often visited by heavily veiled society women, who usually left their cars at the corner of the next street, and slipped quickly into the basement. The basement was the rendezvous of homosexual women, where such women of all classes met. The

propriess, as well as the pianist, wore men's clothes when she was arrested, while the other women sat at the tables smoking cigars. Anna P. was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, which was reduced to one month on appeal.

After the latter sentence Anna P. was congratulated by the "ladies" present, and drove off in a car.

In one case tried at Potsdam in 1914 one of two girls charged pleaded that she had acted entirely under the influence of the other, who pursued her with her attentions, promising to find a husband for her.

Although such cases are now and then made public, the press is usually silent about practices of this kind.

A few years ago a Berlin periodical received a letter concerning the activities of a feminine bowling club. Hirschfeld described such clubs, whose members are all women of the lower classes, as a Berlin specialty.

Even acts of violence by homosexual women have been reported.

According to Ellis, an older workingwoman in Wolverhampton raped a young girl, who was held down by two other women. A friend of Ellis's reported to him from Guadelupe that sexual assaults by women on colored girls between the ages of 12 and 14 occurred very frequently there, whereas similar attacks by men on boys were rare.

A masseuse in Berlin tried to rape a woman client during massage.

A certain Katherine Veress, according to recent newspaper reports, was in the habit of luring young girls to herself by promising them employment, took them to her hotel and raped them there.

Of twenty-five women sentenced at Turin for immoral acts, nine had attempted sexual intercourse with immature girls.

That there is tribadic prostitution, and that society women make use of it, we have already mentioned. In this connection Eulenburg writes:

The homosexual women who constitute this prostitution are mostly young women of between 25 and 30. They dress smartly but inconspicuously, wearing mannish clothes and short hair and affecting masculine manners. In intercourse they take the active or passive role, as required, and also enter into permanent "affairs," in which they keep a jealous eye on fidelity. Sometimes the partner is a companion, a chambermaid, or a small-part actress, but sometimes she is a good class, respectable girl, whom the tribadic prostitute has seduced, and broken engagements have been known to result from such causes.

Tribadic "marriages" are frequent. The active partner usually plays the role of the husband and reserves full freedom for herself in sexual matters, while the passive partner plays the role of the wife and must not be unfaithful. Sometimes she is in a state of sexual servitude.

Hirschfeld holds that the worst cases of sexual bondage occur in such "marriages." Such cases sometimes come before the courts.

Countess L., who afterwards escaped abroad, dominated her wealthy tribadic partner to such an extent that she was able to rob her of her whole fortune. During the murder trial of Frau Stabernack in 1924, the accused stated that she had had homosexual relations with the victim, who then blackmailed her.

In the Nebbe case (1923) a homosexual woman had her husband murdered by her partner. Six hundred love letters exchanged by the homosexual couple were found.

In many such relationships both partners are congenital homosexuals, but in still more only one partner, usually the active one, is homosexual, while the other submits to the unnatural intercourse for some other reason.

This brings us to another important source of pseudohomosexuality among women, i.e. seduction.

It has been found, and confirmed by many genuine tribades, that their urge is directed not toward women with a similar disposition, but rather toward normal women. Some Lesbians even say that they abhor other Lesbians.

This inclination on the part of homosexual women presents a grave danger to normal girls, as the tribade must first convert

the normal girl to her unnatural practices before she can attain her object with her. Forel writes:

When a homosexual woman wishes to seduce a normal girl, she usually succeeds in doing so by first awakening a spiritual love for herself, which is not inconsistent with feminine nature. Then, by gradual steps, the homosexual woman arouses erotic pleasure in her victim by kissing her breast nipples or rubbing her clitoris. The remarkable feature of such relationships is that the victim is sometimes not quite conscious of the abnormality of the procedure and retains her love for the homosexual partner.

In a case recorded by Forel the tribade approached the girl dressed as a man, but the girl remained in love with her even when her true sex was revealed. According to Forel, it is not surprising that certain affections between women should gradually degenerate into homosexual affairs, in view of feminine nature. "At first," he writes, "the two women understand each other so well, then they give each other pet names, kiss and embrace and indulge in all sorts of tender acts, so that very gradually the whole gamut of amorous actions is gone through, until finally a stage of excitement involving erotic pleasure is reached. In this way a normal woman may be seduced by a homosexual woman, and be in love with her and indulge in the worst sexual excesses, without herself becoming pathological."

According to Forel, the impulse of these tribades is frequently so strong that they become feminine Don Juans. He records cases in which homosexual women have seduced a large number of girls, all of whom were infatuated with the seductress. A Miss Sodowska, a Polish woman doctor, bragged that, in association with a woman artist, she had "seduced more girls and women than anyone else in Poland." At the trial of these two women it was elicited that they even used drugs and interfered in the most cynical manner in a number of marriages.

A young woman who was a member of a hiking association for girls reported that a large number of the girls went in pairs, slept together, and carried on affairs. She herself had been frequently

importuned and on one occasion another girl attempted to rape her. In spite of her violent struggles the other girl covered her with kisses and in her frenzy bit her on the arms and the breast, so that the wounds were visible for a long time. When her parents noticed them they forbade her to associate with the girl in question and complained to the latter's parents, who said they knew about their daughter's unnatural bent, but were helpless. The first girl also said that she had been frequently importuned by her woman hairdresser as well.

Sometimes homosexuality in women is combined with other abnormalities.

Here are a few cases in point; the first one, recorded by Moll, relates to a genuinely homosexual woman:

Miss X. is 26 years of age. At the age of 5 she performed sexual acts with a little boy of 4, with whom she alleges she had "an affair." They engaged in *fellatio* and *cunnilinctus*. At the age of 6 X. was sent to school and soon established intimate relations with other little girls, and with several of them she practiced mutual cunnilinctus. From the moment when she came into contact with the girls all her heterosexual inclinations vanished and she never had any intercourse with a boy after that. Later she gave herself to men, but those were heterosexual acts without any inclination on her part. At the age of 12 menstruation began. At that time she associated a great deal with the children of a family who kept a governess: X. soon established intimate relations with her and they engaged in mutual cunnilinctus. As far as X. can remember, this was the first time she was sexually satisfied. The affair lasted some time. X. differs from other tribades by the fact that she likes other methods of intercourse as well. She soon went from cunnilinctus to anilinctus, and also liked to have other girls water into her mouth. She began to indulge in coprophagia years ago, and this satisfies her sexually to the point of orgasm. She started these acts during the long period of her affair with the governess. She also derived great pleasure from licking the menstrual discharge of other girls, but she says that she only performed these nauseous acts when complete understanding between her and the other girl had been established and the affair had lasted some time. The patient also states that she becomes sexually excited when she is beaten with a rod.

She first heard about this practice from a man who had himself beaten by his former mistress; but such beatings must be administered to her by a woman if they are to induce sexual excitement in her. She had herself flagellated frequently by the governess. X. liked, when kissing the other girl, to have the lobe of her ear bitten, and sometimes this is done to such an extent that she feels pain and her ear swells. Miss X. does not remember ever having had a real inclination for a man. However, after a drinking party a man persuaded her to accompany him to his home, and, partly under the influence of drink, but partly also because she wanted to get to the bottom of her indifference to men, which had made her wonder, Miss X. agreed. But coitus gave her no pleasure at all. Later another man fell in love with her, without any response on her part, but she wished to make another attempt to acquire an affection for a man, and so she had sexual intercourse with him several times, but experienced not the slightest sexual excitement during the acts. Miss. X. then asked the man to perform cunnilinctus on her, and this excited and satisfied her, though she had to imagine that the person carrying out the cunnilinctus was a woman, otherwise it would have given her no pleasure. Miss X. would find it most repellent to carry out the above-mentioned nauseating acts with a man.

In this case homosexuality is combined with masochism, and one is inclined to think that this is a consequence of affect-hunger, which in turn suggests hypererotism.

The following case, recorded by Féré, relates to a genuinely homosexual woman who was a breast fetishist. The cause of this fetishism appears to have been connected with "a first sexual impression," to which many authors attach considerable importance.

Frau C. was born normally, had a good constitution and developed normally in the first months. When at the age of fourteen months she was weaned, it proved difficult to tear her away from the breast, although she was already used to other foods. She only calmed down when in contact with her mother's breast, and at such times she had a strange expression. Her mother had to indulge her in this way several times a day, otherwise she flew into a violent temper. She had to bare both breasts, which the child pressed and kissed. Eight months later the mother, who had become pregnant, realized that this anomaly

must be ended. She succeeded only with great difficulty and determination and her efforts are said to have led to an abortion. Nevertheless, the child continued to be kept away from the breast. Once, when she was three, she happened to enter a room just as her father was helping her mother to undress, and when she saw her mother's breasts she flew into a rage and cried: "That's mine!" It was only with great difficulty that she could be calmed. For months after this she refused to be kissed or even touched by her father. The mother then became pregnant again, and as this kept her constantly at home she succeeded in mollifying the child toward her father. When the time of her confinement was near the mother told the child that she was going to have a little brother, whereupon the child said: "If he has a nurse I'll love him, but if he touches my teaties I'll kill him." When the child was born the mother suckled it herself, but did so in secret and made the girl believe that one of the chambermaids was the nurse or sent her away for many hours at a time. Nevertheless, the girl was suspicious and the mother had to tolerate her caresses repeatedly. The last time the girl made such demands was when she was eight years old.

Shortly before, a servant had revealed to her that the younger child had also been suckled by the mother and the girl flew into a terrible temper and tried to fling herself on the baby; but as the servant had only been in the house a short time it was easy to deny her statement, though the girl saw the surest proof of its falsity in the fact that the baby never caressed her mother's breasts. The patient admits that her passion for her mother's breasts lasted well into puberty, but that she concealed it after the age of eight because her mother's refusals made her suffer. Up to that age, she could not repress her aversion for her father, but then she tried to receive his caresses with less aversion. This dislike was not confined to her father, but extended to all men of whatever age, with the sole exception of very young men, preferably with a feminine appearance. One of her cousins, who belonged to the exceptions, noticed that, when she began to show visible signs of puberty, her love of him suddenly turned to hatred. Intimate talks with her school comrades made her realize that she was different from other girls and the ideas they expressed made her wonder.

At the age of 13½ she began to menstruate without her health being affected or her character changed, then menstruation continued regularly. Puberty did not change her hatred of men, but the

more she learned about sex the more she realized her anomaly and the more she wondered about it. Now she felt a stronger inclination for young girls and longed for contact with them. When she began to dance with her best friends, she noticed that contact of her breasts with theirs caused a most pleasant excitement, accompanied by erection of the nipples. At the age of 16, in similar circumstances, she first noticed that her genitals participated in this excitement and became wet. Thereafter she began to have erotic dreams, always connected with girls. The patient thinks that the school, which she left at the age of 17, contained no other girl with similar inclinations to her own, to whom she could have confided her own feelings.

After leaving the school she met a girl of her own age at the house of some friends, and this girl instantly understood her. She took her to another room and initiated her into methods of stimulating the vulva. The patient had an aversion of these practices and she avoided them, yet this girl always appeared in her erotic dreams. This, according to the patient, was the only occasion when she touched her genitals, but afterwards she frequently experienced erotic pleasure through contact with young girls, and particularly with young married women. She was not at all attracted to young men, but she was actually repelled only by men with pronounced sexual characteristics. At the age of 19 she received a proposal, followed by others, all of which she refused solely on account of this anomalous aversion, which she had not noticed in any of her friends, and of which she was fully conscious. She could imagine herself into the role of a wife and mother and would have liked to marry. Whenever a girl friend younger than herself married, she had a feeling of regret, yet she could not accept any proposal, however advantageous it was.

When she was 22 years old a young man of 28 was introduced to her. He held a good situation but was weakly, with hardly any hair growth on his face, and it was said of him that he had been brought up as a girl and was still not free from his mother's apron strings. It seemed to her that she would never have another opportunity for such a match, which answered the requirements of her family and also the demands of what she called good sense. She immediately accepted the young man and was in such a hurry to carry the matter to its conclusion that everyone was amazed. She felt no sexual attraction, but she thought this young man would help her to fulfill her duty, and she had nothing but respect for her husband.

The sexual act repelled her, and never evoked the excitement which so easily arose when she was in contact with young women.

She has become used to coitus, to which she agrees from a sense of duty, and also from devotion to her husband, whom she loves as a brother, and whose collaborator and adviser she is. She has never felt anything during his embraces, unless she thought of a woman.

BOOK IV

SEXUAL ABERRATIONS ARISING FROM
FIXATIONS ON COMPONENT IMPULSES.

SADISM AND MASOCHISM

The first of these is the fact that the sexual instinct is not a simple, unitary instinct, but a complex of many different instincts, each of which has its own specific object and its own specific mode of expression. The second is the fact that the sexual instinct is not a purely biological instinct, but a social instinct, which is shaped and modified by the culture and the environment. The third is the fact that the sexual instinct is not a purely individual instinct, but a social instinct, which is shaped and modified by the culture and the environment.

Book IV

SEXUAL ABERRATIONS ARISING FROM
EXCESSIVE OR DEFICIENT IMPULSES
FETTERISM AND MASOCHISM

XVI

SADOMASOCHISM

GENERAL

PAIN-CRAVING—MANIFESTATIONS OF AGGRESSIVE IMPULSE—IN CHILDHOOD—IN NORMAL SEXUAL INTERCOURSE—"BEAST OF PREY" IN MAN—BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON MARQUIS DE SADE—LEOPOLD VON SACHER-MASOCH.

Sadism and masochism, by far the most prevalent anomalies in the sexual life of our time, have been collectively defined in the earlier literature on the subject as *algolagnia* or "pain-craving." This expression, coined by Schrenk-Notzing, has been employed to cover all those sexual aberrations in which the satisfaction of the sexual aim depends on the infliction of or submission to pain.

It has been found, however, that the conception of "pain-craving" fails to embrace all those bewilderingly varied phenomena which the words sadism and masochism convey to the lay mind. In particular, such *symbolic actions* as those represented by sexual servitude, the damaging of statues, etc., refuse to be fitted into the conception of *algolagnia*. In these cases there is no question of *physical* pain, but of psychologically extremely subtle, one might almost say *abstract*, forms of *aggressiveness* and *submission*. Indeed, these antitheses correspond more closely to sadism and masochism respectively, than the concept of pain. Thus the infliction of and submission to physical pain are only the most extreme manifestations of sadism and masochism respectively.

Psychologists of all times, from Aristotle to Freud, agree that

the aggressive impulse is one of the primitive human impulses. Whether its biological origin lies in the animal instinct of self-preservation or whether, as Freud holds, it is the manifestation of a transcendental destructive instinct, is a matter of opinion, and is irrelevant to our purpose. What matters here is the tendency to submission, ruthlessness, and cruelty inherent in the aggressive impulse.

The manifestations of this impulse appear in earliest childhood. The child's love of fighting, its desire to prevail, its acquisitiveness, its incompatibility, are all rooted in this primitive impulse. *Upon the appearance of the normal sexual impulse at the age of puberty, a synthesis of the various impulses takes place* (as explained in detail in the introductory chapters), the sexual impulse taking the lead and making all the other impulses subservient to its own purpose.

In our own civilization the male is sexually the active, aggressive party, while the female plays a passive, receptive role. This relationship is clearly expressed by such current terms as "conquering a woman," "taking" or "possessing" her, or when we speak of a woman's "giving herself" to a man.

Thus both the aggressiveness of the male and the passivity of the female play an important role in normal sexual intercourse. Indeed, the normal woman expects a certain amount of aggressiveness on the part of the male, and the quality of aggressiveness is just as essential in man as submissiveness in woman. That shows that sadism and masochism, like other forms of sexual perversion, are to a certain extent inherent in normal sexual life. The aggressiveness of the male and the submissiveness of the female are normal phenomena, and it is only when aggressiveness oversteps its normal limits, or when submissiveness degenerates into sexual servitude, that we can speak of sadism or masochism. It should further be borne in mind that the difference between sadism and masochism on the one hand, and the normal aggressive and submissive impulses on the other, lies in the fact that whereas the latter are a means to an end, the former constitute the end itself. In other

words, where the aggressive impulse or the submissive impulse does not serve a sexual object, but is practiced more or less for its own sake; where maltreatment or submission to maltreatment is a *condition* of the sexual act itself or completely replaces it—in such cases we may speak of real sadism or masochism.

The foregoing implies that sadism is an exaggerated form of a normal *masculine* quality, while masochism is an exaggerated form of a normal *feminine* quality, and, in fact, according to Hirschfeld, genuine sadism only occurs in men and genuine masochism only in women. Feminine sadists and masculine masochists he describes as *metastrophists*.

The psychoanalytic school rejects this theory, and holds that the aggressive impulse—as Hirschfeld himself admits—is a phylogenetic vestige of the “beast of prey” in man, but that it is not essentially linked with the sexual impulse. This is to some extent borne out by the well-known fact that in primitive races the female is frequently far more aggressive in sexual intercourse than the male, and we agree with the view of the psychoanalytic school that the activity of the male and the passivity of the female cannot in all cases be regarded as inherent, but should rather be attributed to education and the prevailing conventions. According to the psychoanalytic school, therefore, an exaggerated aggressive impulse—i.e. sadism—is not exclusively masculine, nor is an exaggerated submissive impulse—i.e. masochism—exclusively feminine.

In the present state of research this dispute cannot be resolved, particularly as Hirschfeld himself, in his more recent publications, admits that in the case of many sadistic women he has been unable to discover either physical or psychological signs of Lesbianism. On the other hand, the psychoanalysts admit that they have found in many a masculine masochist an underdevelopment of the genital organs or of the sexual glands, which appears to confirm Hirschfeld's original view.

The truth, as in so many other cases, will probably be found to lie midway between the two opposing views.

Sadism and masochism are, at bottom, the positive and negative manifestations of one and the same primitive impulse, confirming once more the classic law of bipolarity. Just as exhibitionism always includes a "scopophile" component, so sadism always includes a masochistic component.

Thus it is correct to speak of sadomasochism and, quite logically, many sadists are, simultaneously, also masochists.

In order to provide a clear survey of the multitude of sadistic and masochistic phenomena we will begin by dealing with those acts which are analogous to the normal and occur in milder and more refined forms in normal erotic and sexual intercourse. In a second group we will consider visual affects, fantasies, and symbolic acts, while the third and last group will deal with physical maltreatment and submission thereto.

The logical sequence would be to describe at the end of the section on sadism, and preceding the section on masochism, those acts in which the infliction of pain is continued until the death of the victim (sexual murder) or which are practiced on a dead object (cannibalism and necrophilia), but for technical reasons we are obliged to place these chapters at the end of the volume.

It will be useful, at this stage, to give a brief biographical sketch of the two men, the Marquis de Sade and Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, whose names provide the etymology of the terms sadism and masochism respectively.

The Marquis de Sade was born on the 2nd of July, 1740, or half a century before the French Revolution. He came of an ancient family of Provence and counted among his ancestresses Laura, the woman to whom Petrarch wrote his immortal sonnets. He was educated by an uncle, who was the author of a three-volume work on Petrarch, and after the Seven Years' War, in which he fought as an officer, he married a lovely and gently nurtured wife. However, in the year of his marriage he once created such a disturbance at a brothel that he was arrested. Then, deserting his wife, the Marquis retired to a country mansion with

an actress, and gained almost immediate notoriety by the wild orgies he organized at his new home. On one occasion he lured the respectable wife of a baker to the mansion, where he stripped and cruelly flagellated her. He was repeatedly taken into custody for offenses committed under the influence of drink, but was each time released, owing to his social position. It was only when, at one of his orgies, two prostitutes died from an overdose of cantharides, that the Marquis and his valet were both sentenced to death. The plaint against the Marquis also included charges of sodomy. However, the sentence was changed to one of imprisonment and, through the efforts of his wife, the Marquis was soon set free. Incidentally, he also had an affair with his wife's sister, with whom he went on long journeys. The sister seems to have been the very antithesis of the Marquis de Sade, and was, in fact what is today described as "vamp." The two sisters were the originals of the two characters Justine and Juliette in de Sade's famous novel.

Shortly after the Marquis's reprieve a woman was found unconscious in a secluded house in Paris, following upon a gala supper given by him there. De Sade had cut open her veins at several points, and lacerated her skin all over her body—an incident which he later described in his book with evident satisfaction. He was now taken to the Bastille, and subsequently to the lunatic asylum at Charenton. At the outbreak of the Revolution, de Sade was released and made several unsuccessful attempts to worm his way into the confidence of Robespierre and Marat. Under the reign of Napoleon I de Sade's books were confiscated, and he himself was once more confined to a lunatic asylum, where he finally died at the age of 74.

During his sojourn at the asylum the Marquis conducted himself very charmingly, except for a persistent indulgence in obscene conversation, which caused the director of the institution to petition his superiors every six months to be relieved of the Marquis's presence.

De Sade's principal work is his novel, *Justine and Juliette, or the Curse of Virtue and the Blessing of Vice*. The book is evidently

the work of a dilettante, though not devoid of talent, and consists of a series of sadistic sex scenes, designed to demonstrate the joys of vice and depravity. Typical of de Sade was his mania, which continued to the end of his life, to reproduce obscene processes by the spoken and written word as well as in pictures. De Sade was a 100 per cent pervert, a sort of genius of perversion, whose case provides a striking confirmation of Lombroso's theory concerning the affinity between genius and madness.

Masochism owes its name to Baron Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, whose life and peculiar qualities are highly characteristic of this perversion and represent the prototype of masochism in general.

Sacher-Masoch, like the Marquis de Sade, came of the old nobility. As a baby he was so delicate that a hefty wet-nurse had to be engaged to keep him alive. It has been said that this first childhood experience was a contributory factor in the development of his sexual bent. He was a highly strung, sensitive child, and his early youth fell into a period of great political upheaval. When he was ten years old a revolt of the Ruthenians against the Poles broke out, and the scenes of cruelty which he then witnessed or heard discussed in his presence, may also have contributed to the development of his perversion. The same may be said of the Revolution of 1848, which found him in Prague.

He then studied in Graz, qualifying at a comparatively early age as a teacher of German history. His historical studies provided him with the material for his first big novel, *The Last King of the Magyars*. This work already reveals Sacher-Masoch's peculiarity, as the female characters are energetic and cruel, while the male characters are represented as weaklings. He had his first great sexual experience with Anna von Kottwitz, a dominating, passionate woman several years his senior. Anna von Kottwitz was undoubtedly the original of Sacher-Masoch's *Venus in Furs*, in which his perversion is distinctly evident. Anna von Kottwitz also plays the leading role in his book, *The Divorced Woman or the Erotic Story of an Idealist*. After a number of transient sexual

experiences, which always centered in masochistic practices, Sacher-Masoch met Wanda von Dunajew, who apparently possessed a special gift for the role of "mistress." Under her influence he severed his relations with his entire family, in order to devote himself with her to a life of perversion. In the end, however, he found a certain amount of marital happiness with Hilda Meister, although he could not indulge his perversion to any extent in his marriage. He died in the year 1895 at the age of sixty.

Sacher-Masoch, like the Marquis de Sade, not only described the perversion named after him, but also practiced it in the most intensive manner, and there are large numbers of photographs extant in which he appears with his "mistresses" in attitudes revealing their relationship.

MINOR SADISM

DEFINITION—LIMITS OF NORMALITY—INCUBISM—COITUS IN OS—
 DEFLORATION—SADISTIC FANTASIES DURING MASTURBATION—CASE
 BY KRAFFT-EBING—PORNOGRAPHOMANIA—PORNOGRAPHIC LITERA-
 TURE IN ENGLAND—SADISM AND RELIGION—EXECUTION “SHOWS”
 IN ENGLAND—EFFECT OF PUBLIC EXECUTIONS—THE AMATEUR
 HANGMAN—SYMBOLIC SADISM—CASES—MAN WHO LOVED DIRTY
 WOMEN—FETTERING THE SEXUAL PARTNER—TREADING ON PART-
 NER—MENTAL TORMENT—INFIDELITY—SADISTIC WOMEN AT VARI-
 ANCE WITH SOCIAL ORDER—LETTER BY WOMAN SADIST—OTHER
 LETTERS—SADOFETISHISM—PYGMALIONISM.

The expression “minor sadism” denotes the sum of those affects which, though of a somewhat sadistic character, are more or less general in normal sexual life and cannot, therefore, be regarded as genuine sadism. The term also covers the phenomena known collectively as “mental sadism.”

As regards the manifestations of the aggressive impulse in normal sexual life, these are so varied that it is difficult to define the limits of normality and, indeed, such manifestations are judged differently in different ages and civilizations. As late as the turn of the century the so-called incubism, one of the most frequent forms of feminine aggressiveness, was regarded by experts as an “abnormality”—a view which both the expert and the layman of today would dismiss with a smile. Incubism is the tendency of some women to be “on top” during the sexual act, and to execute it in a riding attitude, themselves assuming the active role instead of leaving it to the male. This inverted form of the sexual act is

as old as sexual life itself, and it was left to a hypocritical age to be shocked by it. None the less, incubism undoubtedly represents a tendency on the part of the female to revolt against her physically subordinate position, and possibly also betrays aggressiveness and the desire to prevail. At the same time, the woman who likes to be "on top" is not infrequently actuated by homosexual tendencies, a factor which we will encounter very frequently when dealing with feminine sadism.

Biting, scratching, squeezing, etc., during the sexual act are sadistic phenomena arising from the aggressive impulse, but such acts are so universal that they cannot be described as abnormal, unless they result in real injury. In this connection Van de Velde's dictum holds good: "Everything is permitted if your partner likes it." The oldest Indian love books, the *Kamasutra* and *Anangaranga*, deal with this matter in great detail and present the question of these accompanying acts almost as a separate science.

Coitus in os, which is also a fairly frequent phenomenon, is rather more difficult to place. The action itself symbolizes very clearly the male's desire for the complete subjugation of his partner. To describe the process as normal would be just as erroneous as to brand its occasional performance, with the consent of both partners, as a pathological perversion. *Coitus in os* is a deviation which only becomes a perversion if it is allowed to degenerate into an *exclusive* form of intercourse in complete substitution of the normal act.

Finally the masculine enjoyment of defloration is also of sadistic origin, not only on account of the physical injury inflicted by defloration, but also—and to the same extent—on account of the psychological subjection and the conquest which it represents. Defloration *mania*, or the pathologically intensified joy in defloration, will be dealt with in the section on the maltreatment of children. Many men reflect this urge into harmless channels by demanding from their partners a pretense of *resistance* and enacting before each sexual act a little comedy of rape. This affords them an opportunity to pose as conquerors and to satisfy their aggressive impulse in a harmless manner.

MENTAL SADISM

We now come to the category of sadists who confine themselves to practicing their pathological impulse in their imaginations. We use the expression "pathological impulse" advisedly, for it would be utterly erroneous to think that the impulses of those whose perversion is confined to the imagination are less well developed and more normal than those of the active sadist. The mental sadist differs from the active sadist not in regard to the intensity of his impulses, but mainly in regard to the intensity and effectiveness of his *repressions*. It is moral repression and a sense of social responsibility that force the mental sadist to confine his lust to his own imagination. He may practice his perversion in various ways—by means of thought, speech, writing, and pictures.

The first of these possibilities includes the masturbation fantasy. The patient, during the act of masturbation, evokes in his imagination the most sanguinary scenes; within his four walls he is a Nero or a Caligula. It will be noted that in this instance, as already stated in Chapter II, masturbation—paradoxically enough—may fulfill a social mission, in that it acts as a sort of lightning conductor, protecting society from the devastation which afflicted individuals might cause.

Krafft-Ebing records a case in point.

Mr. X., a man of 25 with a hereditary taint, experienced sexual excitement from the age of 10, deriving sensual pleasure from the sight of blood. A servant girl cutting her finger or similar sights caused erections. Sometimes he deliberately cut his own finger, experiencing a feeling of exaltation at the sight of the blood. Without any outside influence, he began to masturbate and had visions of bleeding women during the act. He had an almost intolerable craving for the sight of the blood of young women, particularly those whom he found attractive. Frequently he had the greatest difficulty in restraining himself from injuring his two cousins and the chambermaid. He succeeded in repressing these impulses, but thoughts of blood were always present in his mind as a concomitant of sensual excitement. Sensual excitement and visions of cruelty were inseparable. For instance, before

and during masturbation he imagined himself into the role of a tyrant at whose orders the populace are being fired at with grapeshot; or he pictured a scene of an enemy attacking a city, raping young women, torturing, plundering, and killing. In his normal state the patient, who was otherwise a good-natured, morally sound man, was ashamed of and revolted by his sensual visions of cruelty which, for the rest, ceased to trouble him for a time after he had relieved himself by masturbation.

Deflection of the sadistic impulse by means of visions may occur not only during masturbation but also—though less frequently—during the normal sexual act. In such cases the partner of the opposite sex serves solely as a physical source of excitement; on the psychological side an entirely different, sadistic process takes place in the sufferer's imagination.

The *graphic* expression of perverted thoughts has been termed by Ivan Bloch *erotographomania* and by Merzbach *pornographomania*. It usually appears in the form of inscriptions on the walls of telephone booths and public conveniences, though there are cases in which the pervert writes obscene letters to himself or, alternatively, puts his imaginings on paper in words and pictures. Hirschfeld records the case of a German scientist who, some years ago, had a stroke as he sat at his desk painting obscene pictures in bright colors; thousands of similar pictures were subsequently discovered among his papers. This man, who was regarded as a pattern of austere respectability, and in whose presence no one ever ventured to raise the question of sex, left a note on one of his drawing pads stating that he had never indulged in any sexual activity other than masturbation, which he practiced to excess; whenever he was alone one hand was constantly playing with his genitals.

It is the mental sadist who supports the extensive *pornographic literature* existing in all countries.

During the nineteenth century erotic and pornographic literature in England began to assume a preponderantly sadistic character. Pisanus Fraxi, one of the foremost authorities on the history of English sexual morals, wrote in this connection: "It is obvious

that contemporary authors have allowed themselves to be influenced by the vicious, bloodthirsty, unnatural doctrines of the Marquis de Sade, imitating the cynicism, cruelty, and monstrous lewdness which characterize his works. Thus, there has been a fundamental change in the tone and substance of English erotic fiction, which has completely lost its sound character (in so far as the adjective 'sound' is applicable to such works at all)."

Smollet, in his *Roderick Random*, withholds pecuniary success from the author Melopoyne until he produces a sadistic work. "I have earned many a good meal by an atrocity; robbery has often profited me a great deal; but murder has never failed me." This cynical confession might be applied as a motto in the present epidemic of detective novels and thrillers whose sadistic character, like that of the equally popular crime films, requires no proof.

The most popular products of the English sadistic literature of the nineteenth century included *The Pleasures of Cruelty*, a book which its anonymous author described as a continuation of the Marquis de Sade's *Justine and Juliette*. *The Pleasures of Cruelty* was first published in the year 1880. There was also *Revelries and Devilries, or Scenes from the Life of Sir Lionel Heythrop, Bt., etc.* (London, 1867, 8vo, 123 pages, with 7 obscene tinted etchings). This lascivious work was produced by the collaboration of four Oxford scholars and an Army officer of high rank, though, naturally, their names did not appear on the book. *The Inutility of Virtue* (London, 1830, 12mo, 72 pages), *The Romance of Lust* (London, 1873, 8vo, four volumes), and *Experimental Lecture by Colonel Sparker* (London, 1878) are further examples of nineteenth-century sadistic literature. The last-named work contains the following passage, which is highly characteristic of the psychology of sadism: "Sensual pleasure can only be produced by two things, that is to say, firstly, by the conviction that the object of our love approaches our ideal of beauty and secondly, by evoking in that person the most powerful sensations possible. Now, no sensation is more vivid than that of pain; its effect is real and sure; it never misleads like the comedy of sensual ecstasy which is constantly enacted but never experienced by women.

He who is able to make the strongest possible impression on a woman, to drive the feminine organism to the most extreme pitch of excitement, will thereby have obtained the highest degree of sensual pleasure for himself."

The mental sadist contents himself with an imaginary satisfaction of his impulses; the genuine sadist translates them into action. The visual sadist, the "sadist of the eye," occupies an intermediate position between these two. On the one hand he demands *reality*, and, on the other, he is content with the role of a passive spectator, of an irresponsible witness. He haunts places where bloody scenes are enacted. As a child he is always present when the cook kills a chicken or the butcher kills a pig; as an adult he haunts the abattoir and the mortuary and is thrilled to the core by descriptions of crimes and disasters. He belongs to the type of newspaper reader of whom a certain English publisher said that he requires three things in every newspaper report for his complete satisfaction—blood, vagina, and his national flag.

Hirschfeld records a typical experience from the time of the Spartacus troubles in Berlin:

I accompanied a woman to the mortuary where, among hundreds of bodies, some of which were shockingly mutilated or had their throats slit, we discovered her son, who had been shot through the head. In the identification hall an endless stream of people, mainly women, were filing past the unidentified bodies and an attendant who knew me called my attention to some girls who had for several days continually rejoined the queue, evidently because they could not tear themselves away from the sight of the male bodies which lay, entirely stripped, before them. The genital organs of the men—mostly soldiers, sailors, and civilian Spartacists—had, owing to hemorrhages and incipient decay, considerably increased in size and the girls could not remove their gaze from them. To the expert it was clear beyond all possibility of doubt that the behavior of these young women was largely influenced by sexual factors. The expression on their faces was similar to that with which I had seen the women of Madrid and Seville watch the bullfighters in the ring. A few years ago I witnessed

the execution of a murderer. Next to me stood the State Attorney's wife, who followed the horrible scene—the condemned man screamed and fought the executioners who were dragging him to the scaffold—with a heaving chest and ecstatic groans that sounded almost lustful. As the axe fell the woman behaved as though she were passing through the moment of orgasm.

That some women behave in a similar manner at boxing matches must be well known to every boxing enthusiast, nor does it require much proof that the idolization of boxers by women contains sadistic elements.

SADISM AND RELIGION

The connection between sadism and *religion* has already been thoroughly investigated by cultural historians. *Suffering* as the dominant *motif* of Christian mysticism, in all its forms and degrees, from spiritual humility and self-abnegation through the religious practice of flagellation to physical and mental asceticism, provides ample opportunities to the sadomasochist. As is well known, the horrors of the Inquisition, the trials for witchcraft and the burning of human beings at the stake during the Middle Ages, led to a sadistic mass psychosis compared with which all the abominations of the political terrorism practiced by modern dictatorships pale into insignificance. We will deal with sadism as a mass phenomenon in a separate chapter and need not, therefore, enlarge on the question at this stage.

VISUAL SADISM IN ENGLAND

Visual sadism plays a particularly important role in the history of English sexual morals. There were, in the first place, the public executions and tortures which for centuries exercised a sinister fascination on the great mass of the English people, which never missed such an opportunity of enjoying a sensual thrill of a purely sadistic nature. The pleasure that "Merrie England" took in killing and torture is too well known to require a detailed description

here. It is sufficient to refer to the works of Marlowe, Shakespeare, Ford, Massinger, etc., in which the cruelly sensual spirit of that age is only too clearly reflected. It will be useful, however, to quote a few instances of this execution mania from a more recent period. Ivan Bloch, in his *History of English Sexual Morals*, records the following:

Colonel Turner, having witnessed the quartering of the law expert, John Coke, gave certain instructions, as a result of which another condemned man, Hugh Peters, was brought forward by the executioner's assistants and asked by the executioner, who rubbed his bloody hands together as he spoke, whether he—Hugh Peters—was satisfied with their method of work. Characteristically enough, these cruel nobles hastened straight from the scene of the executions to the most abandoned orgies—which proves in the most striking manner the sexual basis of their cruelty.

In the eighteenth century Tyburn, a place of public execution in London, was in effect a place of popular amusement. Seats for the "show" were booked far in advance, in the same way as for a cock fight or a boxing match. No month passed without an execution at Tyburn. In many cases up to fifteen people were dispatched simultaneously, and at such times the attendance was enormously increased. *Lady Hamilton* took special pleasure in attending executions in Naples. Thackeray wrote: "A hundred years back the people rolled up in their hundreds in order to witness the last act of a footpad and crack jokes about it. Swift laughed at him and Gray was inspired to one of his merriest ballads by the execution." . . . Thackeray expressed the opinion that "nowadays such a thing would be impossible." But Thackeray was too optimistic, for as late as the second half of the nineteenth century a public execution was still a popular show in England. *Schlesinger* records the following in this connection:

"'You want to know about our popular festivals?' a highly cultured English lady once said to me in reply to a question. 'You are thinking of church festivals, harvest festivals, and the gay carnivals which in your sunny land are celebrated by the people with wine, music, and dancing?' The lady was evidently not one of those who, out of a false patriotism, endeavor to conceal the defects of their native land, for she continued: 'Well, sir, our people celebrate at Newgate, when-

ever there is a hanging, or in Horsemonger Land, or at any similar nice place outside a county jail. At such times there is a great deal of life and movement at the place of execution from early dawn till the moment when the executioner has carried out his gruesome task. The windows of neighboring houses are let at high prices, platforms are erected, stalls and booths for the sale of food and drink spring up quite close to the scaffold, and there is a ready sale for beer and gin at good prices. People travel great distances, on foot, by horse, and by coach, in order to witness the shameful show. And the front row is occupied by women, my countrywomen, not only the women of the poorer classes, but also gently nurtured ladies. It is disgraceful, but true. And after the event it is the duty of our newspapers, a duty of which no genuine Englishman would be prepared to relieve them, to describe with hair-raising minuteness the last writhings and twitchings of the unfortunate criminal.' ”

This description, which is not in the least exaggerated, was until comparatively recent times true of the execution scenes that took place in the country, as well as in the great cities. Holzendorff in his excellent book on the futility of capital punishment, writes:

“An otherwise good-natured and respectable crowd of country folk revealed its worst side at an execution which took place in a small town and one is therefore justified in arguing that the execution of death sentences not only brings out the evil side of bad people but also affects the better elements. Dymond reports in connection with an execution at the small town of Chelmsford that the country folk who attended in large numbers ‘indulged in a veritable carnival of license.’ On the eve of the execution a banquet was given in honor of the hangman at a local inn, in order to make him talk about his professional experiences. People came from a radius of twenty miles and young men and women made up parties for the excursion.”

This latter fact provides the clearest possible evidence of the connection between the gruesome pleasure in witnessing executions and the sexual factor, so that the appetite for such “shows” may be characterized as specifically sadistic. Under the influence of these shows and their frequent repetition certain individuals developed into execution “fans”—and some of them were persons of “quality.”

The following passage occurs in *Features of the Character of English Eccentrics* (anonymous, 1796):

S., who is otherwise highly respected for his excellent character, derives considerable pleasure from the witnessing of executions. On one occasion, upon being teased by a friend for his weakness, S. wagered that he would not attend the next execution. But on the day fixed for the event S. experienced an irresistible urge to indulge in his favorite pastime, so he rode out to Tyburn and paid the wager. . . . When the regicide Damiens was, in Paris, torn asunder by horses dragging him in opposite directions, S. travelled there for the express purpose of witnessing the scene, and paid the executioner to be allowed to stand quite close. Immediately after the execution he returned to England.

"S." is most probably identical with George Selwyn, one of the most notorious libertines of the eighteenth century.

The most gruesome details of a suicide or murder, the appearance of a distorted corpse, or the sight of dying people, were objects of intense interest to Selwyn, who derived an indefinable, painful joy from such experiences. His friend, Horace Walpole, related many anecdotes concerning Selwyn's peculiar pleasures. When the first Lord Holland lay on his deathbed, Selwyn, who was his intimate friend, insisted on seeing him. When he had left, Lord Holland said to his servant: "If Mr. Selwyn calls again let him in. If I'm still alive, I shall be glad to see him; and if I'm dead he'll be glad to see me."

But execution fans existed in England even in more recent times. Hector France records the case of an English baronet who for several years collected knives and daggers that had been used by murderers, as well as hangman's ropes. Later, in his quest for still stronger sensations, he acted the hangman himself, and became known in Essex as the "amateur hangman." On one occasion, when the official executioner was prevented from carrying out his task, the baronet volunteered to deputize for him, and found the work very much to his liking. After his first experience as executioner he applied to the Lord Sheriff of the county for permission to act on a permanent basis, and, in fact, did so without remuneration and with considerable enjoyment. Within a short time he accounted for three ordinary murderers, two patricides,

two wife-murderers, four child-murderers, and two poisoners. He appeared to derive particular pleasure from the hanging of women, which he carried out with a peculiar cruel smile on his face. This gentleman, who bore a French name and was known as Sir Claude de Crespigny, was a member of the exclusive Army and Navy Club, before whose committee he was one day obliged to justify his notorious activities and defended himself so effectively that he was allowed to continue a member of the club.

Hector France once witnessed, at a sale room in Euston Road, London, a sale of ropes with which criminals had been hanged. Each rope bore a label made out by the executioner, Marwood, stating the criminal's name, the nature of his crime, and the date of his execution. Thus the public could obtain, according to taste, a souvenir of a poisoner, a strangler, or a patricide. The ropes with which killers of women had been hanged were eagerly bid for, and numbers of gentlemen and poetic-looking young ladies fought for the possession of such treasures. One old maid purchased a whole collection of them. The parts of the ropes which had been in actual contact with the neck were in greater demand than other parts.

SYMBOLIC SADISM

We now come to the group of sadists who, in contrast with the groups considered above, indulge their impulse *actively*. However, we are here dealing not with physical cruelty, not with the infliction of bodily pain, but with psychological forms of the aggressive impulse manifested by symbolic acts. This psychological form of the aggressive impulse is characterized by a tendency to the complete domination, subjection, enslavement, and humiliation of the partner.

As these are psychological processes and the psychological relationship between man and woman is to a considerable extent determined by social factors, the manifestations, as well as the symbolic "language" of masculine and feminine sadism differ from each other, in that masculine psychological sadism is in-

fluenced by the concept of man's position in the society in which he lives, and feminine psychological sadism by the concept of woman's position. We shall therefore deal with these two forms separately, and begin by quoting a few examples of symbolic actions of a sadistic nature on the part of men:

A certain landowner sent for his female employees one by one, sat down in an armchair and, in each case made the woman kneel before him and kiss his hand until he had an ejaculation.

This action is clearly symbolic of the urge to humiliate and degrade the partner of the opposite sex. The symbolism of the following case is somewhat more abstract and less easy to interpret.

X., an eccentric with a hereditary taint, who was the husband of a woman of great beauty and charm, was repelled by the clean, delicate skin of his wife and was impotent as far as she was concerned, but enjoyed intercourse with low-class, dirty women. On the other hand, on several occasions it happened that while walking with his wife in a secluded spot, such as a wood or a meadow, he suddenly asked her to lie down, and upon her refusing to do so he threw her down and had his will. The more the woman resisted the more excited he became, and in such cases there was no question of impotence. It was the same in places where there was a risk of their being surprised in the act, as in a railway carriage or in the lavatory of a restaurant, whereas he never desired her on the nuptial couch. (Krafft-Ebing.)

This man's preference for low-class, dirty women shows that his sexual nature was completely dominated by the aggressive impulse and that he required absolute superiority over his partner as a condition of sexual activity. The beauty and delicacy of his wife was a disturbing factor; she was not so far below him as he desired. It was only by humiliating her and degrading her to the position of a street walker that he could satisfy his perverted impulse. The demand for resistance on the part of the woman is

also typically sadistic, as already mentioned in the first part of the present chapter.

Here is a case of symbolic sadism manifested by the desire to bind the partner:

Y., aged 23 years, is able to carry back his memory to the time when he was five years old, and states that even then the binding of other people was a fascinating occupation to him. A clearer consciousness of this bent came to him later, from the age of twelve. At that time the urge to bind others applied equally to boys and girls, but the trussing up of animals also afforded him a certain amount of pleasure. He frequently did this to frogs, but thinks that it was a boyish prank rather than an act of a sexual nature. However, the principal thing to X. was always that the other party should resist, as it was resistance that excited him. In this respect he has remained unchanged to this day, except for a distinct modification in regard to the age of his victims. Although boys and young girls still continue to affect him, he states that immature persons are gradually becoming less attractive to him and that he now only reacts in full measure to women with well-developed busts. However, the method of binding originally employed by him has retained its fascination. He binds the victim's hands behind her back, crossing them, and also crossing the rope, though the shape of the cross does not affect his pleasure either way. X. emphatically states that crucifixion would not excite him in the least. In past years X. has carried out many practical experiments on his schoolmates, and also on schoolgirls. In only one recent case did he bind a mature woman. The incident led to an unpleasant conflict, but produced no consequences. X. had bound the woman in question, with her previous consent, but the woman, when already bound, began to resist and he threatened to stab her. The more she resisted the more was his libido aroused. Later he released her, but promised to come back again, adding that he would do it differently next time and also repeated his threat to stab her. The second time, however, the woman took fright and called a policeman. X.'s assurance that he meant no real harm was accepted, and there the matter ended. A remarkable feature of this case is the fact that X. never had a discharge during these experiments, though he has erections very easily. Nocturnal pollutions, which occurred from time to time, are connected with dreams of various kinds, including, at times, genuinely sadistic

scenes. In some cases, however, a dream vision of a woman who is attractive to him is sufficient to cause pollution. He finds that the aesthetic element also affects him in the waking state and the sight of a pretty woman is sufficient to cause an erection, which is frequently associated with sadistic visions.

In addition, X. is also frequently seized with mild fits of masochism, in the course of which he binds himself. The usual mental associations also occur in other circumstances. It is sufficient for him to read the expression "to bind," to bring about an erection.

The symbolic "language" of this case is particularly effective. Binding is the surest method of rendering the partner completely helpless, as it places the victim entirely at the sadist's mercy, so that he can do with her whatever he chooses—and this knowledge satisfies the sadist.

In view of its eminently symbolic character, binding plays a very important role in the activities and rites of the sadomasochistic world. Usually, however (and in contrast with purely psychological sadism), binding is connected with flagellation.

The symbolic sadism of *women* constitutes one of the most remarkable aspects of sexual pathology. No other perversion is so firmly rooted in the individual's general character or pervades *all* the ordinary activities in like measure as the mental sadism of women. *Feminine sadism is invariably totalitarian*. We have seen that in many cases perversion in men and women affects character to an inconsiderable extent or not at all and is, in fact, a comparatively isolated phenomenon. But the woman sadist is a sadist through and through and her sadism is the dominant factor in her professional, as well as in her social and sexual life.

It follows from this totalitarian attitude that purely symbolic sadism must be far rarer in women than in men. The psychological urge to dominate and subjugate is, in women, rarely satisfied with symbolic acts alone, and generally manifests itself in physical maltreatment and torture. The following case, which concerns a patient of Havelock Ellis, whose sadistic impulse was completely satisfied, to the point of orgasm, by a symbolic act, is a rare exception:

"As a boy of about fourteen, I was once staying with a family who were very friendly with my parents. My principal playmate was the daughter of the house, a strapping, pretty girl some six years my senior, who was an only child.

"The girl was always beautifully dressed and had lovely feet and ankles and was naturally aware of this. Whenever possible she dressed in such a manner as to exhibit her good points to the best advantage, wearing short skirts and small shoes with high heels, and missing no opportunity to display her charms in an amusingly coquettish manner. She appeared to take a certain amount of pleasure in *treading* on things that yielded and collapsed under her feet, such as flowers, soft fruit, acorns, heaps of hay, straw or freshly cut grass. During our walks in the garden, where we were entirely alone, I used to watch her stepping on things and generally teased her on account of this peculiar habit. In those days I enjoyed lying on a hearthrug in front of a good fire, a pleasure I sometimes indulge in even now. One evening I was in this position and the girl—with whom I was alone in the room—walked across the room in order to get something from the mantelshelf, but instead of stretching out her arm over me, she stepped on me, observing that she would show me how 'the hay and the straw feel.' I naturally entered into the joke and laughed. Having stood on me for some minutes, she raised her skirt slightly and, supporting herself on the mantelshelf with both hands, held one silk-stockinged and daintily shod foot close to the fire in order to warm it, looking down at my flushed face and laughing at me. She was a very attractive and natural girl, and I am fairly certain that on this first occasion, although she evidently enjoyed the feel of my body under her feet, she did not realize my condition, nor do I remember anything to indicate that, while I myself was almost crazed with the desire for sexual satisfaction, the girl was similarly affected. I seized her raised foot, kissed it, and, moved by an absolutely irresistible urge, I drew it to my erect penis. Almost on the instant that her weight fell upon it I experienced, for the first time in my life, a complete orgasm. My sensations at that moment defy description; all I know is that the displaced focus of my sexual being was in that fraction of time fixed for ever. After that evening I felt the weight of her dainty slipper countless times and nothing could possibly equal the happiness I derived from contact with her. I know that the girl enjoyed treading on me just as much as I enjoyed being trod upon. She had a fairly generous dress allowance,

and when she noticed that she was giving me pleasure she bought herself many pairs of smart stockings and dainty shoes with the highest and most pointed heels obtainable, which she displayed to me with great delight, insisting that I should lie down, so that she might try them on me. She admitted that she liked to see the heels of her shoes sink into my body as she stepped on me and that she enjoyed the crackling of my muscles when she moved her heels about. On each occasion I drew her foot after a few minutes to my penis. She trod cautiously, but always with her full weight—some 125 pounds—on my abdomen, regarding me with bright eyes, flushed cheeks, and trembling lips as the palpitation of my penis communicated itself to her foot at the moment of pollution. I have not the slightest doubt that she experienced orgasm at the same time, although we never discussed the matter. We repeated this in the course of several years at every favorable opportunity, and after a separation of one or two months, four or five times daily."

In view of the girl's strong sadistic bent, which could only find an outlet for the inherent urge to dominate and subjugate by the symbolic act of trampling on her partner, and then only in the classic pose of defeat and submission—the care she took not to hurt him is truly remarkable. A stamping of her heel would have changed her partner's physical joy to torment; but she was satisfied with an act symbolic of the infliction of pain and was not moved to actual brutality.

In the following case the limits are not so clearly defined. Although the idea of domination and subjugation is paramount, it merges into imaginings of physical chastisement:

I received the following communication from a lady concerning her sexual desires: "I can only find happiness with a smart, highly respectable, and highly cultured man, on whom I can exercise my spleen, and whom I can force to lie at my feet and obey me absolutely. At a sign with my whip he must immediately carry out my commands without the least demur. That is delightful. What I'd like best is to play 'gee-gees' with him. He would lean with both hands on a chair, so that he should look as though he had four legs. Naturally, he would be completely undressed. I would place a table behind him, and a

chair on the table and I would then sit on this chair or box, seize the reins, the other end of which would be in his hands, or in his mouth, tug at the reins a few times, and make a smacking sound with my lips. If this humane method of starting the horse proved unsuccessful, then I would use the whip. The man would have to run, with me regulating the pace.

"I would also want the man to lie down on a bench. I would secure him to the bench, tie his hands together, and give him a good whipping. I would give him a large number of strokes, with definite interruptions and intervals, perhaps three strokes in succession, followed by an interval of one minute, to give the delinquent time to regain his breath. It would be a perfect delight for me to hear him beg me to stop. But I would remain adamant, would not lessen his punishment by a single stroke or make the blows weaker. However, if the man is afraid of this torture it might be omitted. Apart from this, I could be very charming to the man of my choice, but he would have to love me in order to be worthy of my affection."

The author of this communication is 30 years old, a highly cultured, respectable woman of the highest social class in an excellent financial position.

Typical of the mentality of the feminine sadist is the following case, communicated by Krafft-Ebing. Although the patient asserts that she derives *equal* pleasure from the partner's physical and mental torment, her statement nevertheless reveals that the element of *mental* domination and humiliation predominates. This is evident from the fact that whereas her ideas of physical torture are only given in outline, the mental torment of the man is described in considerable detail:

Mme X., 23 years old, married, is a big, powerfully built, apparently healthy woman. She herself describes herself as very capricious. She knows of no taint in her family. She thinks she can trace her perversion back to her fourteenth year. "Because, now that I come to think of it, it strikes me as most peculiar that I should at that time always have had the inclination to contradict men; I never experienced this spirit of contradiction toward women. When a man who frequented our home said something, I was always ready to say or do the contrary." Mme X. has so far had few opportunities to translate her sexual

fancies into practice, except for a few mild attempts in connection with her husband. Modesty, she thinks, forbids her to go further. Up till now nearly all her fancies have remained so, but Mme X. bitterly complains that she is prevented by modern social conditions from seeking sexual satisfaction in her own way. It is her principal wish to torment in every possible way the man to whom she feels attracted. Physical and mental torment afford her equal pleasure. "I would bite the man concerned until his blood flowed, and I have already done this to my husband. When doing this I experience no sense of pity whatever. Indeed, the pain thus inflicted by me would give me pleasure not only in moments of the most intense sexual excitement, but also at other times. I cannot say that I have a particular affection for my husband. I know another man who would excite me far more and I frequently imagine how I would treat this man, whom I like very much. I would make an appointment with him to meet me somewhere and although I would drive past the place, he would have to wait a long time in bitterly cold weather before I came up to him, and then it would give me pleasure to make him feel my power. I would expect complete subjection; he would have to be entirely in my hands. He would have to regard himself as my slave, without a will of his own, and I would torture him with various instruments as and when I liked. I would beat him with a rod or a riding crop and the like, although, generally speaking, this would only give me pleasure if the man in question submitted to the punishment with a certain amount of sensual enjoyment. However, he would have to be writhing with pain, while at the same time experiencing sexual ecstasy and relief. I am afraid that I myself would find no real relief—at any rate, I cannot imagine how that could happen. It is true that, in the course of such maltreatments, I experience a temporarily intensified pleasurable sensation, but I do not think that I could ever experience the satisfaction which I understand is the result of ordinary sexual intercourse, and after which desire passes. In order to find out whether I could derive satisfaction from such intercourse, I should like to try it. Though I am of the opinion that, in order to engage in satisfactory intercourse with me, the other party would have to experience a certain amount of sensual pleasure, I sometimes think that this would at certain moments be unpleasant to myself. I think that my own pleasurable reaction would sometimes disappear if the other party's sensation of pleasure predominated and he failed to experience the

pain with sufficient distinctness. I have observed this in my marriage, when kissing my husband. If I bit him a little and found that he enjoyed it, I stopped it at once, and I think I would fare in the same way in the case of a really satisfactory sexual affair in accordance with my requirements. Whenever I had intercourse with a man I loved he had to treat me as a 'grande dame.' I would give him orders which he had to carry out, no matter how nonsensical they were; and if he failed to do so I would punish him with blows. It is hardly credible what nonsensical fancies I sometimes have. When sitting in my drawing-room I often think how good it would be if the man concerned were there; merely in order to satisfy my caprice, he would have to place a chair on the table or carry a table to another part of the room and at the least contradiction I would punish him with the rod. I would bind him, put him in chains, and when thus shackled I would make him feel my power and I would chastise him all the more if he begged me to desist."

Mme X. thinks that, when meeting her man, she would also attach considerable importance to her dress. It would complete her pleasure if she were sitting on the settee wearing a smart gown or dressing-gown, and particularly smart shoes. "My shoes," she says, "which I otherwise wear with low heels, would have to be high-heeled." She would also change her personality, which ordinarily appears to be very gentle. "The whole scene would have to be dominated by a serious and stern attitude."

She emphatically affirms that the man with whom she engaged in such intercourse would have to be faithful to her. "The man who carried on this intercourse with me would have to be absolutely faithful to me. He would have to belong to me alone, and the least sign of unfaithfulness would make me furious and would lead not only to sadistic acts for my sexual satisfaction but also, I think, to punishment arising from sheer anger. On the other hand, on mature reflection I think I am incapable of loving anyone permanently. I do not think I could be permanently faithful to the man who engaged with me in such intercourse. Perhaps I should be capable of carrying on sadistic affairs with several men at the same time."

The above case shows a number of striking features of feminine sadism. Particularly typical is the fact that the patient regards a spirit of contradiction as the inception of her perversion—

an inclination, as a young girl, always to contradict men, but not women. This phenomenon indicates one of the sources of psychological sadism in women—revolt against the male. The process, which, with Alfred Adler, may be defined as “woman’s masculine protest,” may at first glance easily be confused with a homosexual tendency in woman, but is, in fact, a different phenomenon and of different origin. The homosexual woman is attracted only to women, in regard to whom she wishes to replace the male. The sadistic woman, on the other hand, wishes to *dominate* and as our civilization is based on masculine supremacy, she strives to change the roles. Thus the Lesbian and the woman sadist represent two different types of perversion, though it is true that a combination of the two occurs very frequently.

The demand of the patient whose case is quoted above for faithfulness in the man, without a reciprocal attitude on her part, is also a typical feature of feminine sadism and represents a typical form of the revolt against a social order which tolerates polygamy with a smile, but severely condemns polyandry. This is the psychology of the “vamp,” the cruel woman who mocks at men, does as she pleases, and makes no concessions to the opposite sex. To excite a man and then withhold herself from him is woman’s revenge for a masculine morality that denies equal freedom to women.

The foregoing explains why feminine sadism, as already emphasized, is totalitarian, and why, in contrast to masculine sadism, it affects the whole personality of the woman sadist. *The active, aggressive woman is driven by her impulse into a position of variance with the prevailing social order, and her position determines all her actions and her entire outlook.*

The sadistic woman in her professional life strives above all for independence from the male. She endeavors to raise herself above the level assigned to women by society; she wishes to dominate people in life as well as in love, and the more commanding her position is the more satisfaction she derives from it. Hence the woman sadist likes to become a governess, an artiste, or an author, while in other professions she strives to become manag-

eress or a director, to say nothing about riding and fencing mistresses, masseuses, female athletes, and bellicose amazons of all kinds.

In social intercourse the woman sadist, consciously or unconsciously, is guided by the same principles. Her motto is contained in a popular German song by Bert Brecht, a free translation of the relevant lines being:

If anyone's to kick, it'll be I;
If anyone's to be kicked, it'll be you . . .

(We have seen what an important role "kicking" and "being kicked" plays in the ritual of sadists and masochists.)

In talk and correspondence the woman sadist is terse. She does not request, but commands or forbids; she does not express wishes, but gives orders. She assumes a mannish attitude, not because she is a Lesbian, *but because she identifies dominance with masculinity.*

A grotesque situation arises when a female sadist and a male masochist meet, and that happens fairly frequently, as the two types instinctively recognize each other from almost imperceptible signs. In such cases a "mistress and slave" relationship results, leading to the orgiastic satisfaction of the power complex of the one and the submissive complex of the other. The symbolism and the ritual employed by the two partners are among the most grotesque manifestations in any human relationship. This is evidenced by the following agreement, made between the arch-apostle of masochism, Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, and his first wife, the sadist, Wanda von Dunajew:

"My Slave,

"The conditions upon which I accept you as my slave and agree to tolerate you near me are as follows:

"Unconditional surrender of self.

"You have no will besides my own.

"You are a blind tool in my hands, executing all my commands without the least demur. Should you forget that you are a slave and

fail to give me absolute obedience in all things I shall be entitled to punish and chastise you entirely at my own discretion, without any right of complaint on your part.

"Any pleasure and happiness I may grant you will be an act of sheer *graciousness* on my part, and must be acknowledged by you as such; I am under no debt or obligation to you.

"You must be neither son, nor brother, nor friend, nothing but a slave lying in the dust.

"Your body as well as your soul belongs to me, and no matter how much suffering this will cause you, you must subordinate your feelings and emotions to my will.

"I am entitled to practice the *worst cruelties* on you and you must bear them without complaint. You must work for me like a slave and if I revel in plenty and nevertheless starve you and trample you underfoot, you must, without a murmur, kiss the foot that is trampling on you.

"I may dismiss you at any time, but you must never leave me without my consent, and should you attempt to escape, you authorize me *to torture you to death by every imaginable means*.

"Apart from me you have nothing, I am your all, your life, your future, your happiness, your misfortune, your joy, and your sorrow.

"You must carry out my commands for good or ill, and if I bid you to commit a crime you must become a criminal in order to carry out my will.

"Your honor belongs to me, like your blood, your spirit, your strength; to you I am mistress of life and death.

"Should you at any time feel that you can bear my dominion no longer, that my chains are too heavy for you, then *you* must kill yourself; I shall *never* liberate you.

.

"I undertake, on my word of honor, to be the slave of Mme. Wanda von Dunajew, entirely in the manner desired by her, and to submit without resistance to anything she may do to me.

"Dr. Leopold Baron von Sacher-Masoch."

We have said that women sadists have a sure instinct for recognizing their masculine masochist counterparts. Very frequently, however, the first step is taken by means of newspaper

advertisements. Sadists and masochists have a kind of argot of their own, which is only understood by the initiated. Expressions like "strict governess," "energetic lady," "adaptable gentleman," "English education," etc., which occur in apparently harmless advertisements, tell the initiated at a glance all he wants to know. Hirschfeld records the contents of a correspondence between a woman sadist and a masochist which followed upon the appearance of an advertisement in the *Berliner Tageblatt* in these terms:

"Adam, where are you?

"Woman, highly educated, joyous, full of bubbling temperament and irrepressible spirits, wishes to meet and marry, after a copious exchange of ideas, a man who, like her, is interested in everything that is beautiful in art and in life and who needs a great deal of strength, light, and sunshine."

In response to this somewhat vulgar but apparently harmless advertisement, the sadistic advertiser received shoals of letters from male masochists who had immediately grasped its meaning. The woman subsequently entered into an affair with one of her correspondents. The first letter of the "mistress" to her "devoted slave" was as follows:

"Slave, There is something in your letter that has stirred an emotion that lay dormant in the depths of my consciousness. It rises, expands, and pants—for blood. The panther has awakened within me. Let's go ahead then. Let's start the mad game. I shall be your mistress, and you shall shake and tremble for fear of me. It is not my beauty that will force you to your knees before me, for I am not beautiful; no, it will be the dark mysterious thing that lay dormant in me that will force you into the dust, so that I may set my foot upon your neck and take you as my property, with which I can deal at my pleasure. My teeth shall impress the mark into your flesh that, like a brand of shame, will make you my helpless slave.

"You wish to be generous and will not restrict my freedom? Stupid wretch! As though I tolerated restrictions! *You* shall be put in chains, but I shall be free to do as I like, without any right on your part to ask questions. Pity? I do not know the meaning of pity, at any rate not

toward you. For he who humiliates himself so deeply before a woman that he exposes himself to her kicks, deserves no pity; he is so contemptible that I should like to spit in his face and would pass him over like a repulsive worm. Even his nearness, his touch, would nauseate me, but for the fact that he is a slave without rights who is lower than an animal. Woe to you if you should at any time look upon me otherwise than with doglike devotion. The whip shall then remind you what you are.

"You shall appear before me this day. At 2 o'clock precisely I shall be waiting for you at the Zoo Station. No sign of recognition is necessary. Your slave instinct will tell you that your mistress is near."

A no less documentary letter of the same "mistress" to another admirer was as follows:

"Tell me, my proud lion, was it not an intoxicating hour when you lay at my feet humbly, in slavish obedience? You who claimed to be a lion and wanted to dominate the panther kitten, bent your knee in fear and trembling and kissed with resisting lips the whip that scourged your body when you refused me obedience. Oh, how I had to laugh at you, you weakling! Where is your power? Do you remember the way you whispered in the fever of unrequited passion: 'Be my kitten, a lovely little kitten?' Well, how do you like this kitten that can play with such cruel cunning with the poor mouse? Do you remember how I lay on the divan, with the soft material clinging to my body, how I forced you to play wonderful melodies to me while I bent down to the slave of my choice and kissed his parted lips with consuming passion? Oh, lion, how your eyes glowed! How your hands trembled in nervous torment, and yet had to go on playing because I commanded it. Melodies that made the blood race in my veins, creating an Arabian Nights scene. How came it that a string of your violin suddenly snapped? When, in order to humiliate you still more deeply, I commanded you to arrange my bed and you, oh, lion, gnashed your teeth but obeyed—that was a proud sight! Have I at last tamed and subjugated you? You made it difficult for me, but I will hurt you all the more and make you feel the claws of 'your' panther kitten.

"To-morrow, lion you shall come to me and play dance music,

according to my commands. Meanwhile, dream of it and think of the hour when you kissed the feet of your mistress."

Animal names are very popular in this peculiar game. We have already come across the lion; let us now meet the dog and the bear as well:

"The dog which serves man in faithful submission will be a king of freedom as compared with you. You shall render me complete submission, and the worse you are treated by me, my friends, or my guests, the more grateful must you be. The slightest transgression will be punished without mercy. So take care not to anger your mistress or to look upon her otherwise than with humble devotion.

"Bear, you implore your august mistress to degrade and enslave you, to lower you to a helpless tool, an animal. Well, it is not necessary for you to ask that, for when I first saw you I already knew how you were going to serve me. And if you refused to obey my wishes, which you must regard as commands, I should have forced you to do so against your will. You are broad and mighty of figure and your tread is heavy and powerful. I can see you before me, in the fur of a bear, with the chain about your neck and, indeed, you are an impressive animal. Ah, and how tamely you eat the sugar out of my hand, and how joyously your hair bristles when the hand of your mistress is scratching you; but a look from her makes you tremble and you shrink within yourself in order to escape her anger; and how you try to sway to the rhythm of the bagpipes and to dance to our amusement when I am looking on. And how you try to growl in tune with the music. Oh, bear, you will become a creature of some use. You will be where and when I command you. At night you shall rest at the foot of your mistress's bed, chained to the leg of it, and watch over your mistress's dreams. You will be a faithful watcher, and none will dare to come near me while you are there. You know, Hjördis was also guarded by a faithful bear, which gave its life for its mistress. I want you to serve me in the same way. You shall lick the foot that kicks you when you are in my way and you shall let me lie on you when I fancy sleeping on a living bearskin. You have been mine, oh bear, ever since you entered my house and nothing shall wrest you from my power." (*Letters of Women Sadists*, published by Hirschfeld.)

The symbolic sadistic acts also include the *damaging or befouling of inanimate objects*, particularly of feminine clothing and—less frequently—of statues. The following case, communicated by Garnier, provides an illustration:

B., a 29-year-old business man, married, heavily tainted, has been masturbating with the aid of a pocket battery since his 16th year, has been impotent since the age of 18, drank absinthe for a time after an unhappy love affair; one day he met in the street a children's nurse wearing a white apron of the kind worn by the object of his unrequited love, and could not resist stealing the apron. He took it home, masturbated into it, then, amid repeated masturbations, he burned it. He returned to the street, saw a woman wearing a white dress and was seized with an erotic impulse to spill ink over it; he did so, experiencing sensual pleasure in the act and later, at his home, he reveled in the recollection of the incident while masturbating. On another occasion he saw some women in the street and was seized with an urge to damage their clothes with a penknife. He was arrested in the act on suspicion of being a pickpocket. At other times the sight of spots on a woman's dress was sufficient to bring about orgasm and even pollution. He would also experience the same effect upon burning the clothes of passing women with his lighted cigar.

Garnier traced these cases back to fetishism, and, in fact, the mechanism of fetishism is clearly apparent in those cases where the sadistic impulse is fixed on articles of clothing or footwear, but here each fetish replacing the sexual object serves for symbolic acts of destruction, degradation, and defilement, that is to say, for expressly *sadistic* purposes. These cases may, therefore, be described, with Garnier, as *sadofetishism*. The same applies to the sadistic form of *pygmalionism*, the love of statues which manifests itself in the damaging or destruction of statues. Here, too, we are confronted with a combination of two perversions: the statue serves as a fetish replacing the partner of the opposite sex, and the sadistic impulse is practiced on the fetish.

The impulse to befoul is not confined to clothing, but sometimes also extends to the person of the wearer. Thus there was the

case of the army officer who achieved erection and ejaculation by ordering a prostitute to climb into a vat of oil and then smearing the dirty fluid all over her body.

The besmirching of the partner with *excreta* is also a widespread practice with perverts, but occurs almost exclusively in the passive, masochistic variant. Moll records a case in which a woman was besmirched with masculine semen:

X., 22 years old, business man, gives the impression of extreme nervousness and has many neurasthenic symptoms.

At the age of nine years he was at a boarding-school, where he saw youths of from 15 to 16 years engaging in intercourse with women. At the age of 17 he attempted *coitus*, but had no erection. He had masturbated from early childhood, and still does so. Formerly he used to masturbate almost daily, but now he masturbates only occasionally, particularly at night, when he cannot sleep from sexual excitement. His sexual impulse is extraordinarily strong, but he has a tendency to humiliate women. In this connection he is addicted to unusual acts, but these are invariably designed to humiliate the woman. He is particularly fond of *mulierem cogit, ut immissionem seminis in os concedat*. The patient has no urge to beat a woman, but frequently experiences an inclination *si mulier immissionem in os prohibet, eius faciem semine polluere*, and he has frequently yielded to this. In addition he has an urge *lingua lambere genitalia feminae*. He does this especially when he sees the woman in sensual excitement. The sight of a sensually excited woman induces in him erection and ejaculation. For a long time he had an affair with a woman named Y., whom he used in the manner just described, practicing *immissio seminis in os*. When, as often happened, Y. cried during this act, X.'s enjoyment was all the greater and he practiced *immissio seminis in os* after he had learned that she had failed in loyalty to him.

The desire to humiliate first came to the patient after he had started an affair with the woman Y. His sexual impulse is so strong that he usually experiences sexual excitement within a quarter of an hour after a sexual act, and if no woman is then available he finds himself obliged to relieve himself by masturbation. When the patient wishes to have intercourse with a strange woman he is frequently obliged to exercise his imagination in order to bring about erection. In such

cases, however, he only has to imagine that he is with a woman whom he loves.

This case confirms what we have said in the first part of the present chapter on the sadistic origin of the tendency to *coitus in os*. The essential is that the patient himself gives the humiliation of his partner as the express motive of *coitus in os*, and that he insisted on this form of intercourse particularly when he wanted to *punish* the woman for unfaithfulness. The befouling of the partner's face is to him an additional source of sadistic pleasure.

GENUINE SADISM

PHYSICAL SADISM—ANIMAL TORTURE—CASE BY WULFFEN—SADISTIC COMPONENT FIXED ON ANIMALS—RITUAL OF SADISTIC ACTIVITY—KILLING FOWLS FOR SEXUAL PLEASURE—WOMEN SUBMITTING TO COITUS BY MULES—SODOMY—ILL-TREATMENT OF CHILDREN—EXHIBITIONISM BEFORE CHILDREN—VIOLATION OF BOYS—DOCTOR ASSAULTS CHILD PATIENT—FLAGELLATING CHILDREN—DIPPOLDISM—HARMFUL EFFECT OF SPANKING—TRANSITION FROM PAIN TO SENSUAL PLEASURE—CASE OF A GOVERNESS AND FOUR CHILDREN—FLAGELLANTS AT ENGLISH SCHOOLS—FLAGELLATION AT A GIRLS' SCHOOL—SADISTIC TEACHERS IMITATED BY PUPILS—SADISTIC MOTHERS—WOMAN WHO MURDERED HER ILLEGITIMATE CHILD—THE BIRNBAUM CASE—SADISTIC NUNS—RAPE OF ADULTS—SUBCONSCIOUS DESIRE TO BE RAPED—RAPE FANTASIES—MASTER OF RAPE—RAPE BY SEVERAL MEN—SALE OF VIRGINS IN ENGLAND—STICKING PINS INTO SEXUAL PARTNER—THE TICKLER—RAPE BY WOMEN—CASE OF A WOMAN SADIST—A LONDON RIPPER—"WHIPPING TOM"—FLAGELLATION—IN ENGLAND—ATTRACTION OF FLAGELLATION—INSTRUMENTS USED—FLAGELLATING MACHINES—WOMEN'S FLAGELLATION CLUBS.

In the cases described so far the sadist has confined himself or herself to an imaginary exercise of the aggressive impulse or to a symbolic expression thereof or to acting as a passive spectator. In the following sections we shall deal with the cases where the infliction of physical pain, even to the point of murder, is the essence of sadistic activity. The symbolic sadist is content to inflict mental torment on his partner or to place her in a position which he regards as mentally painful to her; the next category is

that of the physical sadist, who sometimes exercises his lust on animals.

Cases of animal torture occur with particular frequency among children before the age of puberty or before the awakening of the sexual impulse. We are here confronted by unconscious sadistic acts dictated by a sadistic bent which may later merge with the sexual impulse, or may be entirely eliminated with the development of that impulse. The torture of animals is either carried out by the child himself or he may be content merely to watch the process. Wulffen records the following case:

X., aged 33 years, the son of blood relations, otherwise not tainted. Has from early childhood experienced sexual excitement when present at the slaughter of young animals. Later he developed a normal sexual impulse directed to intercourse with the opposite sex, but the sadistic element still continues to play an important role in his nature. Even now the killing of young animals induces in him erection, and even pollution. His nocturnal pollutions are similar to those he experiences in the waking state. He sometimes dreams of intercourse with women, sometimes merely of the slaughter of animals.

In this case we see a compromise between the normal sexuality and the sadistic impulse. The following case, however, is more tragic:

X., 24 years old, born and brought up in the country, is healthy and strong, and is at present employed at an engineering works. Was a talented, keen boy at school and acquired knowledge easily, without being studious. His playmates regarded him as the cleverest boy among them and always chose him as their leader. He never played with girls. His imagination soared to ambitious heights. He wanted to be commander-in-chief of an army, or the like. He maintained no personal contact with his girl schoolmates, but thought of them all the more. He imagined that he was dominated by one of them, who wanted to bind him, torture him, and even kill him, and he felt that he would gladly submit and would even enjoy the experience. These mental pictures sometimes induced a sexual itch, which never led to masturbation, since he knew nothing about the practice. At the

same time, from his early childhood, he used to watch the killing of fowls. He endeavored to find out when the cook was going to kill fowls, and used to make a point of being present. At such times he experienced a powerful sexual stimulation which, however, he was able to conceal. On the other hand, he was averse to killing fowls himself and when he did so it induced no excitement, nor when he saw fowls killed by a man. Similarly he remained unaffected by the killing of other creatures, such as fish, even when carried out by women. He was particularly excited when the killing of fowls was carried out by pretty young girls wearing white aprons. He experienced sexual excitement not only when he saw fowls killed, but also when he saw them bound and carried, head downwards, in the manner customary at markets, but this excitement only came when the fowls were so carried by women. The patient's psychosexuality awakened in these two forms—the desire to be himself tortured by women and the desire to witness the torture and killing of fowls.

After leaving school he entered a profession and had many interests, including sport and nature study, but he anxiously abstained from all intercourse with the opposite sex. At the age of 18 he went to a big city. Up till then he had lived with his parents in the country and was so innocent that he had no clear idea of the sexual act. At that time it did not occur to him that he might be abnormal. Then a friend in the big city took him to a brothel. Yielding to his desire for a girl, he managed, with great difficulty and by means of manual manipulations, to bring about a discharge. That was the first time in his life that he lost semen at all. After that he masturbated at his lodgings, thinking of fowls while he did so, and achieving discharges of semen. Next he obtained books on sexual life which he studied with considerable interest. It now began to dawn upon him that there was something wrong with him. He ceased to masturbate, after having indulged in the practice eight or ten times per month. During his imaginings he was careful not to touch his penis and never reverted to masturbation, but from then on he had involuntary pollutions at night, though these occurred very infrequently, perhaps at intervals of several months. However, as his condition worried him, he consulted a doctor. The doctor advised him to stop daydreaming, as that amounted to mental masturbation, which was just as objectionable as the physical. In order to achieve this, the doctor advised the patient to go to bed completely exhausted, rise early in the morning,

and, above all, seek intercourse with the opposite sex. The patient conscientiously followed this advice. His interest for sport developed into a passion. The result was satisfactory. The mental pictures associated with sexual excitement ceased or, rather, he had no time for them, because he was too exhausted when going to bed and rose punctually. He also sought intercourse with the opposite sex and succeeded in this, though he found it very difficult. He met a girl whom he liked and with whom he had an almost daily appointment. But they never discussed love and even when the girl hinted at it, which happened fairly frequently during the last period of their acquaintance, the patient immediately sidetracked her. After associating with the girl for a year they parted. During his service in the army he frequently associated with women, and even experienced something resembling a desire for feminine company. He also visited brothels, but he never performed the sexual act, though he made repeated attempts. He frequently had to admit that his partner was desirable and though he sometimes experienced sexual excitement, particularly when the woman touched him, he never achieved erection. He was relieved of his imaginings, but they sometimes continued to trouble him in his sleep, resulting in involuntary pollution. Upon waking, the penis was frequently erect, so that he would undoubtedly have been capable of performing the sexual act if a woman had been available at that moment. However, when he had such dreams while sleeping with a woman, which was frequently the case, there was no erection upon his waking up.

His condition is substantially the same today, except that the idea of being tortured by a woman, which formerly used to induce excitement in him, has lost in potency, but the sight of a woman torturing or killing a fowl still continues to excite him in the same measure as before. Although he tries to avoid such sights, he has an irresistible impulse to look out of the window into the courtyard, in case there is a woman killing a fowl somewhere.

In addition, he now feels an ardent desire for women. "I have an incredible longing for love; I'd give everything to be a husband and father. I am seized with envy when I hear others talking about love, and experience unspeakable torment in witnessing their love. I cannot bring myself to realize that I must forego a great deal of what makes life worth living, and I always foster a new hope. People are surprised that I behave so coldly with women and even the women

do not notice that my outward attitude conceals a serious deficiency. Even my family know nothing about it, and constantly press me to marry. This trouble is also affecting my character. I am as vain as a woman, and I am unimpressive in company. In addition, I have recently developed a melancholy outlook. I think constantly of my misfortune, so that when engaged in intellectual work I am absent-minded, and in spite of my talents I am becoming, or perhaps have already become, inferior in a professional sense as well."

Let us subject these two cases to a brief comparative analysis. In the *first* patient the evidently congenital sadistic impulse became associated with the killing of animals, witnessed by him in childhood. The normal sexual impulse which developed later was incapable of disrupting this association. In normal circumstances the sexual impulse exploits the aggressive impulse; here, on the contrary, the aggressive impulse with its fixation on animal killing is charged with a sexual factor. Thus the patient has a dual sexual life, which is clearly manifested by the two different pollution-inducing elements. The fixation of the sadistic component on animals saves the patient from becoming sadistic toward women.

In the *second* case a merging of strong sadomasochistic tendencies with the sexual impulse appears at an early age. From the first, during the presexual period, the aggressive impulse extends equally to animals and young girls. Timidity, which is so typical of the pervert, prevents the patient from approaching the object of his desire and from the active exercise of his lust. In the course of years of masturbation fancies, the desired act becomes specialized more and more (a woman dressed in a certain way performing a specific sadistic act on an animal). The way to normal sexuality is barred to him.

It will be seen that the mechanism of animal sadism is similar to that which we have encountered in the case of fetishism. The hypertrophy of the aggressive impulse, or the sadomasochistic *bent*, is constitutional. The fixation of the impulse on a specific object and on a specific *ritual* is then effected by a traumatic experience. The animal becomes the fetish on which the aggressive

impulse is fixed. The following case, communicated by Féré, illustrates very clearly the action of such a traumatic shock:

B., 37 years of age, a tanner by profession, hereditarily tainted, has been masturbating since the age of nine. One day he was at a turning of a road, which was very steep at that point, with another boy, and just as they were about to masturbate a heavy coach-and-four was passing the spot. The driver was shouting at and beating the horses, which made such strenuous efforts that their hooves drew sparks from the road. This scene induced intense excitement in B., who ejaculated as one of the horses fell. Since then a similar scene has always produced the same result and B. is unable to resist the temptation to witness such incidents or to seek opportunities to see them. Whenever the horses had difficulty in proceeding, but there was no strain and no thrashing, the patient became very excited, but was obliged to seek relief in masturbation or coitus. His sadistic tendency continued even when he became a husband and father,

In the case of *adults* acts of animal sadism are generally specific and associated with a specific ritual. A well-known case, recorded by Hoffmann, is that of the Viennese man who used to excite himself preparatory to the sexual act by torturing and killing chickens, pigeons, and other birds. Lombroso records the case of two men who had discharges when throttling or slaughtering chickens or pigeons. According to Montegazza, the Chinese have a particular predilection for coitus with geese, whose heads they chop off at the moment of discharge. The same author writes of a man who once witnessed the slaughtering of cocks and thereafter experienced an inordinate desire to dig his finger into the still warm intestines of the dead bird, which act gave him sensual pleasure. Pascal records the following case:

A man called on some prostitutes, gave them money with which to purchase a fowl or a rabbit, then ordered them to torment the creature. He wanted to see it beheaded, its eyes gouged out, or its intestines torn out, and when he found a prostitute who agreed to the practice and displayed particular cruelty he was delighted. After the

performance he paid and went his way, without asking for anything else.

Still more remarkable is a case recorded by Dr. Wachholtz:

A certain young man who indulges in masturbation to excess sometimes found that masturbation failed him and at such times he used to seize living birds by the beak, swinging them round in the air so that their wings touched the tip of his penis, whereupon he experienced a discharge accompanied by intense sexual pleasure.

The literature on this subject also contains very strange mixtures of perversions. Wulffen records a case that might aptly be described as "horsetail fetishism":

A pervert in Berlin some years ago cut off and took away the tails of 24 horses in a single night.

Combinations of sodomy and sadistic scopophilia also occur.

African prostitutes, for instance, give exhibitions at the Cairo brothels—mainly for the benefit of English spectators—in the course of which they submit to coitus by mules. Hirschfeld records one monstrous case. A man was denounced to the authorities for making a large dog perform the sexual act on his own wife. He seized the struggling woman and, by threats of punishment, succeeded in stripping her. Then he introduced the dog's penis into her vagina. The dog understood what was required of him and performed the act, while the man stood by. The defendant had committed this crime repeatedly. He was sentenced for "sodomy and indecent assault."

ILL-TREATMENT OF CHILDREN

The crime statistics of all countries show that the sadistic ill-treatment of children is very widespread, far more so than pedophilia (Chapter VI), of which it may theoretically be regarded as a subdivision. In practice, however, it has been found that persons who practice sadistic acts on children cannot, in the ma-

jority of cases, be identified with the infantile type of pedophile. A study of the relevant literature proves that sadists who exercise their lust on children are otherwise attracted in their sexual life not by children but by adults. Thus the source of the ill-treatment of children can, in the majority of cases, be traced back not to a pedophile bent but to other factors. It is evidently the child's complete helplessness, in both the physical and the psychological sense, that plays the decisive role here. The impulse for violence and oppression can be practiced on a child without let or hindrance. In addition, there is the psychological pleasure the pervert takes in besmirching and defiling an unawakened, innocent creature. And finally, the reactions of the victim—cries, screams, and the begging for mercy, for which the sadist has an inordinate desire—are produced more easily and intensely in an ill-treated child than in an adult.

In sadism directed against children we are once more faced with a gradually rising scale of phenomena, *beginning with purely psychological sadism and proceeding through sadistic sexual abuse to physical injury and murder*. We quote, first of all, a case of purely psychological sadism (symbolic sadism directed against children):

A certain 38-year-old artiste experienced sexual excitement only when he saw boys of from 14 to 17 years in a state of anxiety, during their performance, as to whether they would succeed; and he would grow particularly excited when stage fright was reflected in their expressions. In such circumstances he also derived excitement from girls of similar ages. His sexual life was confined entirely to this passive sensation. Formerly he used to carry out the sexual act successfully, but this capacity ceased when his perverted bent came to the surface.

The patient was cured by means of association-therapy.

The next stage leads from sadistic spectatorship to an increasingly active attitude. Experience shows that a child's vulva, still hairless, exercises a particular fascination on the "voyeur." This frequently leads to the touching of the child's genital organ, to

friction of the *clitoris* and the lips of the vulva, and finally to the insertion of a finger into the vagina, sometimes accompanied by injury to the hymen. "As a next step," writes Wulffen, "the man reveals his own member and asks the child to touch it with her hands or, since little girls agree to this very rarely, he himself puts her hands on his penis, rubbing it with them until a discharge takes place. In this case, too, sensual pleasure is brought about in a sadistic manner. The child's fingers are generally clumsy and naturally unskilled in the stroking of the penis; sometimes they are also dirty, etc. Thus it is the cruel thought that such an innocent or at least so young a creature is being forced to carry out his will, that induces pleasure in the man."

In a sense this category also includes *acts of exhibitionism in the presence of children*. The sadistically inclined exhibitionist who exercises his impulse in the presence of children is generally out to frighten them. We have seen, in the chapter on exhibitionism, that the act of exhibition before children is frequently accompanied by a distinctly aggressive attitude; the exhibitionist whispers obscene words to the child, and sometimes he makes requests which he does not really mean ("Take hold of it," etc.) revelling in the child's consternation. The sadistic motive in this procedure is unmistakable. One of the greatest authorities on this subject, State Attorney Wulffen, writes in this connection:

The sadistic tendency in exhibitions before children lies, generally speaking, in the fact that the culprit compels, by the application of psychological or even physical force, a delicate and weak creature to submit to indecent treatment. The culprit establishes a sort of supremacy over the child. In this connection the culprit's awareness that he is influencing the child's mind by force, may perhaps play a decisive role in the excitement of his sexual impulse. The overcoming of a shy, struggling, weeping girl, also excites the sadistic sexual urge. If the girl is pretty her tear-stained distorted face enhances the sadist's enjoyment.

If—and police experience shows that this is by no means a rare occurrence—if it comes to *cunnilinctus* of the child's vulva, then the

masochism manifested thereby may be linked with sadism, for after all the two phenomena, as we have seen, constitute a single psychological complex.

The next stage of the indecent assault is that the man touches the girl's vagina with his penis—mostly in the erect state—and attempts, in the majority of cases unsuccessfully, to introduce it. The introduction of the penis into the child's mouth is attempted but rarely, but it does sometimes occur. Here the sadistic trait is unmistakable. Frequently the pervert compensates himself by rubbing his rigid member to and fro—from in front or from behind—between the child's thighs until a discharge occurs. Such assaults have been made on very young children, even on baby girls of three. In Cologne a business man, 30 years old, has been sentenced for an indecent assault on a baby in arms.

Finally the sadist sometimes succeeds in introducing his penis into the child's vagina to some extent and succeeds in carrying out a process similar to the normal sexual act; and as this act is mostly painful to the child, the sadist's craze for cruelty is easily satisfied. The pain and torture of the victim, which are for this reason intensified and prolonged, enhance the sadist's pleasure and also his purely physiological capacity to distend and tear the vagina with his rigid member. These are similar processes to those which are encountered in cases of rape directed against adult women. Particularly in England, many little girls have fallen victims to such assaults. In France the "supply of fresh goods" to sadists has developed into a trade.

Wulffen deals here only with the most frequent form of the crime in question, namely the assaulting of little girls by male sadists. It is, however, naturally the case that in view of the prevalence of homosexuality violation of *boys*, from seduction to mutual masturbation to the forcible *defloration per anum*, also plays an important role. In the same way sadistic violation of children of both sexes is sometimes carried out by *women*. In previous chapters we have met with many cases in which servant girls have satisfied their sadistic impulse by performing indecent acts on little boys, such as pressing their foot on the child's penis, etc.

Violators of children often resort to all sorts of tricks in order

to achieve their aim. The offer of sweets, coins of low value, etc., by no means exhausts their inventiveness. The following instance shows more than ordinary subtlety on the part of a pervert:

A certain libertine in Hamburg and Altona carried on his nefarious activities in the guise of a doctor. He was about 30 years old and well dressed, and he used to call on families as a doctor instructed by the education authorities to examine girls of school age, alleging that in case of illness the girls would be sent to a holiday camp at the expense of the municipal council. The children had to strip completely for the examination and the stranger, although this always happened in the mother's presence, carried out all sorts of strange manipulations on them; among other things, he pricked the little girls with pins in all parts of their bodies. In between, he pretended to be making notes in a notebook. The man was found to be an agricultural laborer who had already served a sentence of imprisonment for sexual offenses, and he was on this occasion sentenced to six years penal servitude.

In contrast with the above case we quote the story of a doctor who was acquitted by the court when it was proved that at the time he committed the offense he was mentally unbalanced and not accountable for his actions. The case is recorded in an anthology entitled *Sexual Disasters* (Leipzig, 1926), compiled by Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld:

The man in question is a 35-year-old doctor, who suffered from somnambulism and epilepsy from childhood. During his conscript service in the army he was guilty of several acts of kleptomaniac nature. He was a gloomy sort of person. From his puberty until the early twenties, he masturbated rather excessively. From the age of 23 he engaged in sexual intercourse, and from then on his sexual life was normal. Later his sexual impulse weakened, and he completely stopped his sexual relations with his mistress, though he continued to be friendly with her. From then on, however, he had frequent pollutions, sometimes each night. He suffered from insomnia, and took large doses of veronal and other remedies.

At the time of his offense he had severe financial worries, was

greatly depressed, and owing to professional overwork he was in a state of exhaustion. The offense consisted in his committing indecent acts on a 13-year-old school girl, Ilse K., who called on him for the treatment of a skin complaint. "When, after the examination," read the complaint, "the girl had put on her chemise again, defendant sat down on his settee. He held his legs apart, drew the girl between them with her back to him, and after raising her chemise pushed his bared penis against her naked back. Then he turned the child round between his legs, so that she stood facing him, and rubbed his penis against her body until a discharge took place."

The patient himself described his action differently. He had begun to treat Ilse three weeks before for a badly neglected eczema covering her entire body, so that, from the purely aesthetic point of view, the child's appearance was repulsive. In spite of repeated requests by defendant, the girl's mother only accompanied her once or twice. On the fatal day he told the child—who was small and underdeveloped—to undress completely, as that was essential to the treatment. There was still a trace of eczema behind her ears and it was therefore necessary for him to discover whether it had anything to do with vermin in her hair. He sat on the settee, drawing the child's head down to him; during this act her whole body approached his and this induced in him sexual excitement accompanied by erection. He now pressed the child closer to himself. Of the rest of his actions the defendant had no clear recollection. When he came to himself, he was still sitting on the settee, with the child, now in tears, standing between his legs. He felt as though he had just awakened from sleep and he could not understand how the situation had arisen; only when he noticed that his penis was out of his trousers, did he conclude that something must have happened between him and the girl, particularly as he also noticed that there were wet spots on his white overalls. As the child was crying continuously, he gave her a piece of cake. He did not remember having handled a knife with which to cut the cake, and therefore had no recollection of the incident related by the child in the course of which he had stroked his face first and then the child's with a knife. Defendant did not know whether he had treated other patients that day. His mind did not clear until he had reached his flat, when he realized that something very ugly had happened. He felt wretched and crushed.

The expert medical opinion of Magnus Hirschfeld led to the case

being dismissed, because Hirschfeld was able to prove that defendant acted in a state of unconsciousness which precluded the exercise of his will power. Hirschfeld proved that the defendant suffered from psychosexual infantilism of a degenerative nature.

We have quoted these two cases in succession in order to illustrate by the extreme examples of a carefully planned, deliberate procedure on the one hand, and complete unconsciousness on the other, how difficult it is both from the moral and from the criminal viewpoint, to classify perverts. Between complete responsibility and complete irresponsibility there are a great many intermediate degrees and combinations in regard to which it is most difficult to arrive at a clear judgment.

However, in considering the sexual abuse of children we must take into account not only the subjective psychological make-up of the pervert, but also the objective nature of the social environment, and above all overcrowding in working-class neighborhoods, the sharing of a bed by the boys and girls of the family, the accommodation of a lodger who frequently also shares a bed with someone else, etc. The excitement and temptation arising from such unhealthy conditions, in conjunction with the sometimes natural and sometimes lax conception of the proletariat on the question of sex, ought to be taken into account in judging individual cases to a far greater extent than is the case in contemporary legal practice. Hirschfeld and his school have frequently pointed out that sexual perversion is *not only a biological but also a social problem*.

We now come to those sadistic acts against children in which the infliction of physical pain is itself the sadist's sole erotic object. By far the most widespread method of ill-treating children is flagellation.

Ivan Bloch gave an excellent account of the physical and psychological peculiarities of flagellomania both as regards the active and the passive party. Flagellation combines all the sadistic symptoms of erotic intercourse and represents them in an enhanced

form. The flagellant experiences a consciousness of power. The act of striking his victim alone provides a vivid emotional stimulation which intensifies both desire and enjoyment. The infliction of pain satisfies the sadist's desire for cruelty, in addition to which there is the enjoyment derived from viewing the flagellated parts. Remarkably enough, the reddening and change of color which take place in the flagellated parts also play an important role. Red, which is ordinarily an exciting color, is exciting sexually as well. Some investigators are of the opinion that the effect of red is connected with the color of blood. Savage tribes sometimes paint their buttocks red, so that they resemble in this respect the baboon.

The passive flagellant also experiences erotic pleasure, which partly has its source in masochistic factors—about which more anon—and partly originates from purely physiological causes. As we have seen, the buttocks and the seat in general constitute a primary erogenous zone in children. The blows excite the genitals if they fall close to them and therefore affect the spinal cord and the sexual centers in a purely physical, reflexive manner. The sensation of pain undergoes a gradual change and finally merges into sensual pleasure, which may be intensified to the point of ejaculation.

Thus corporal punishment, particularly if applied on the buttocks, is a questionable procedure in the case of children, and is not without danger. Naturally, this does not mean that a few smacks on its behind will damage every child sexually for life; we do not wish to fall into the same error as some analysts and view things more tragically than they really are. It is, however, an undeniable fact that this method of chastisement, particularly if it is applied over a long period, *very frequently* leads to a deflection of the child's sexual impulse. It depends on the child's constitutional make-up, as already repeatedly emphasized, whether it will react to a specific trauma in a neurotic manner, or whether it is able to bear it without retaining the least trace of it. These dangers have been pointed out with considerable emphasis even by older authors, who certainly did not belong to the analytic

school. For instance, Wulffen writes about the flagellation of children as follows:

It must be regarded as an unquestionable fact that such "occasional causes" may tinge the as yet uncertain and aimless sexual impulse of young people with sadistic and masochistic elements. Those who assert that a sufficiently sound spanking obviates the danger of affecting the sexual area, are mistaken. Although the heavy blows may not at first induce erotic pleasure, the initial pain soon gives way to a sensation of warmth which envelops the whole of the seat like a soft, warm blanket, producing a pleasurable sensation and this may easily connect up with the sexual area. Boys after a sound thrashing are often surprised by the subsequent pleasant sensation of warmth in the seat and for this reason they sometimes endeavor to obtain a repetition of the chastisement which may ultimately affect them sexually. Chastisement on the buttocks is therefore in itself a dangerous thing, in spite of the fact that countless children have been and are still being so chastised without becoming sadists or masochists owing to the absence of a basic inclination. Nor is it always a question of a distinct type of sadist or masochist, for it is unfortunate enough if, as certainly often happens, the sexual impulse is in this manner tinged with a mild but perpetual element of sadism or masochism.

It is quite clear from the foregoing how great is the responsibility of teachers, governesses, and parents in this respect. Unfortunately, it is a well-known fact that the most frequent form of sadism practiced on children is found among members of the teaching profession, and the danger this presents is all the greater because it is just as difficult to prove permanent injury to the child as it is to prove the sadistic motives of the teacher which, incidentally, may be wholly unconscious. A classic case in this field is that of the law student and private tutor Andreas Dippold, who was at Bayreuth sentenced to eight years penal servitude for the fatal ill-treatment of his pupil, Heinz Koch. (Hence the expression "dippoldism," which is sometimes employed in German medical literature to denote the flagellation of children.)

Commercial Counsellor Koch, in the spring of the year 1903, went to Italy and placed his two sons, aged 10 and 14 respectively, into

the hands of Dippold, who had been engaged by Frau Koch. Dippold slapped the boys' faces, thrashed them with a thick stick on the knees, thighs, chest, head, or wherever the blows reached them, and he mostly did this at night, waking the boys from their sleep. Then he accused them of masturbation. This accusation is typical of sadistic child flagellants; the fiction of masturbation enhances their own erotic pleasure. Dippold sometimes tied the boys to the bedpost by their hands and feet and frequently he laid them across a table and beat them until the stick broke. On one night he broke seven sticks. Sometimes the three slept in one bed, with Dippold in the middle, in order, as he alleged, to prevent the boys from masturbating. When playing ball the boys were entirely naked, and so was Dippold when they bathed together. At times the sadist would embrace and kiss the children; he seized them in an indecent manner, sometimes so violently that they bled. On one occasion Dippold wanted to stab Heinz with a knife. The boys were compelled to write "confessions," in which they always had to confess to lasciviousness. The day Heinz died, he had been forced to rise early, although he was feeling unwell, and to take a cold bath. The boy became unconscious. Dippold kicked him and forced the two boys to do physical exercises. As Heinz acted clumsily, his brother had to hit him over the hands with a stick. Heinz became unconscious once more. Dippold now put him to bed. The experts declared that Dippold was morally unsound but responsible for his actions.

The following case, communicated by Merzbach, shows very clearly *the transition from pain to sensual pleasure* in the flagellated child and the welding of its sexual life with the traumatic event. The case concerns a masochistic man, the origin of whose perversion is traced back to a sadistic governess:

The patient, at the age of 13 years, was on a visit at an estate, where there was also a boy of the same age and two girls aged 14 and 16 years respectively. The mother of the three children was an invalid and left the education of the three children in the hands of a governess. The governess in question was 28 years old, big and strong, with an energetic face and energetic gestures. One morning the attention of the visiting boy was attracted by the sound of weeping, shouting, and imploring words, and the crash of blows, all coming from the school-

room. He looked through the keyhole and saw that Erna, the 14-year-old girl, was lying across a big table. The governess had raised her skirt and was beating her on her bare buttocks with a cane. At lunch Erna's eyes were red with weeping and she was restlessly fidgeting in her seat; she had difficulty in sitting—the chastisement must have been very severe. The boy then made friends with Erna, who confided to him that the governess took a great delight in beating her and Elsa, her 16-year-old sister, and that she beat them almost daily, either with a cane, a hazel switch, or a birch rod. She used to lay Elsa, too, across the table and, raising her skirt, beat her on the bare buttocks. If the girls complained, the governess accused them of various misdeeds. On one occasion, after such a complaint, she beat one of the girls till she was black and blue. Elsa used to lie quietly; Erna always struggled a little. The visiting boy masturbated practically every evening with his schoolmate. One evening they were surprised in the act by the governess. She locked the door behind her and said: "You're now going to get a good hiding, and every evening for eight days, before bedtime, you're going to get the same." She fetched a stick, laid each of the boys across the arm of the sofa and raising his shirt—all he was wearing—she laid on with the cane until his buttocks changed color. Both boys submitted. "It burned my behind like fire, but at the same time it prickled so pleasantly, so delightfully. And it was the blows that did it; it had never been so nice when we masturbated, which we did again. And later I noticed that the governess's hands, during the now regular chastisements, frequently strayed between my legs and stayed there. So we were glad of the blows and when the happy days were over we longed for them."

The scopophile component in flagellation is discernible with special distinctness in the following case, in which feminine sadism, masochism, visual sadism, and the impulse to procure combine to form a repulsive picture. (After Wulffen.):

A young widow had two very pretty daughters, aged 12 and 14 respectively, and a 15-year-old son. After her husband's death the woman suffered from intense sexual excitements which evoked sadistic tendencies in her. Making the acquaintance of an unmarried man of

mature age, she consulted him in family matters and soon complained to him that her children were misbehaving; they were all indulging in masturbation and the boy was in the habit of spying on his sisters when they were naked in the bathroom. These allegations were probably wholly untrue, but the woman began to ask the friend of the family to chastise the boy, to begin with, for his misdeeds. The friend at first believed all the mother's allegations and chastised the boy, the mother being present on each occasion. She provided rods, riding crops, and whips. The boy had to strip, lie down entirely naked on the sofa, etc. His genital member was overdeveloped for his age, and the friend took a delight in the matter. Later the mother also asked him to chastise the girls, first the younger, then the elder. The two girls had to bend over the arm of the sofa and the mother herself raised their skirts and pulled down their knickers, and a whip with twenty-two thongs was used on them. Later the girls had to strip. When the elder girl refused to appear naked in front of the "family adviser," she was permitted to wear a tiny pair of red bathing shorts which hardly covered her genital organs. The mother held the child, and the chastisement was carried out in such a manner that the girl lay on her back on the sofa and her legs were bent back, toward her head. The mother frequently let the bathing shorts slip off, so that the chastising man could see the girl's vagina. The sadistic mother then invented a still more exciting scene and the two girls, both naked, were chastised together. Finally, she asked the friend, after he had covered the bodies of the three children with red weals, to be chastised herself. She lay down on the sofa and had her wish granted.

Flagellation constitutes a particular danger in the case of orphanages, boarding-schools, educational establishments, etc., where the presence of large numbers of children in puberty or early puberty in any case creates an eroticized atmosphere. A centuries-old tradition in English schools has produced some very remarkable results. As far back as the seventeenth century the English public schools and colleges had a number of sadistic masters whose names became proverbial. Dr. Drury and Dr. Vaughan at Harrow; Busby, Keate, and Edgeworth at Eton; Dr. Gill at St. Paul's, were some of these. They apparently believed, like Poe in a

later age, that: "Children are never too soft for chastisement. Like tough steaks, the more they are beaten the softer do they become." Byron also approved of flagellation:

Oh ye who teach the ingenuous youth of nations,
Holland, France, England, Germany, and Spain,
I pray ye flog them upon all occasions,
It mends their morals, never mind the pain.

Westminster School was particularly notorious at all times.

A rod made from apple tree twigs, with a wooden handle, was used. Two juniors were appointed as "rodmakers" and it was their duty to supply the school with rods. The delinquent had to kneel down on a block, with buttocks bared. The master then gave him either five strokes or the "Biblical" six. At one time a satirical paper called "The Flagellant" was issued at Westminster School. That the masters were not acting solely from educational enthusiasm but partly from sadistic motives, is proved by the case of Dr. Parr, whose supplier of rods was a man who had been cut off the gallows and revived. Dr. Parr always took the rods from this man with "a pleased smile." (Cooper.)

Needless to say, a large number of the scholars were, as a result of this practice, tainted for life. A seventeenth-century poet, Thomas Shadwell, hints at this in his comedy, "The Virtuoso." Snarl, an old libertine, comes to a brothel to be flagellated and is asked by a girl how he comes to have such strange pleasures. To which he replies: "I became so used to it at Westminster School that I can't give it up."

There might have been some connection between the practice of flogging and the immorality and sexual license that, according to Hüttner, prevailed in the eighteenth century at Westminster School and Eton. At the latter school Dr. Keate was headmaster from 1809 onward; his unrestrained passion for flogging gave rise to many stories in contemporary and later literature. There was one *bon mot* going the rounds, according to which "he knew the behinds of his pupils better than their faces." Corporal punishment

ment was, until the eighteenth century, customary even at the universities. It is said that Milton and Johnson were both publicly flogged. (Ivan Bloch, *History of English Sexual Morals*.)

The passion for flogging raged not only in boys' schools but also in girls' schools of all types. Cooper reproduces a letter by a girl describing her life at a girls' boarding-school at the end of the eighteenth century:

'At that time flogging in girls' schools was already diminishing, but Miss Pomeroy firmly believed in it still, and practiced it frequently. When one of us made herself guilty of an offense (and you would be surprised what trifles were regarded as offenses) and was considered to deserve a flogging, she had to go up to the mistress's room and after making a deep curtsy, ask for permission to fetch the rod. Permission was granted with much ceremony, the girl went away, then she returned, without gloves, carrying the rod on a cushion. She knelt down and presented the rod to the mistress, who gave her several blows on her bare arm and neck. There were two kinds of rods, one made of birch twigs, and one made of thin fishbone and bound with waxed thread. The blows from both rods were painful, but we feared the fishbone rod, which we called 'soko' among ourselves, most. The weals it made were like those caused by the cat o' nine tails and went deep into our flesh. 'Soko' was reserved for serious offenses, such as manifestations of disrespect toward the two mistresses. It was a very high-class school, with thirty girls from the most distinguished families. In those days it was not unusual for girls to be left at school until they were 18 or 19, or until a good match was found for them, or until an elder sister got married, so that the younger girl could be 'brought out.' But neither the younger nor the older girls could escape the rod if Miss Pomeroy determined that she should have it. There were so many floggings at Regent House that even the most passionate advocates of the proverb, 'Spare the rod and spoil the child,' would have been satisfied. There were two or three degrees of serious chastisement. The first took place in Miss Pomeroy's room, in the presence of no third party except a servant girl; the second consisted in a public preparation for chastisement followed by forgiveness; while the third was chastisement before the whole school. I am now an old woman, yet I remember the only occasion I received

a flogging in Miss Pomeroy's room as though it had happened yesterday. I was solemnly called upon to take the rod to a room which Miss Pomeroy called her study. The two mistresses were already there and I knelt down before them with the rod, which the older mistress took from me and as she did so it seemed to me that she was passing it through her fingers with considerable tenderness. Then she rang a bell and ordered the servant girl to prepare me. This meant that she simply raised my dress and held my hands. I was terribly frightened for I had never been beaten in my life and shame over this procedure so overwhelmed me that I had a fit of hysteria. Afterwards I became accustomed only too well to feel the rod and to see it used on other girls. I saw girls of marriageable age half undressed and whipped in the presence of their school friends for some trifling offense. One young girl was so chastised shortly before she left the school to get married. I will call her Miss Darwin. At the hour fixed for the event we all forgathered. Miss Darwin was ordered to stand in the middle of the room, then the head mistress announced her offense and what her punishment was going to be. Miss Darwin was a very pretty girl, and in size and appearance entirely mature, yet she stood there as though chastisement by the rod was something quite natural. She was very smartly dressed in a green brocade frock, with white silk pettycoats and a great deal of fine jewellery. Miss Pomeroy rang the bell and said to the servant girl: 'Prepare her!' The girl curtsied and asked for permission to take off her gloves. Miss Darwin bowed, and the process of undressing her began. Then Miss Darwin put on a special dress, worn for such occasions, handed the rod to Miss Pomeroy on her knees, and was then conducted by two mistresses to a form, where her feet were inserted into something that looked like stocks, while her hands were held fast. Then Miss Pomeroy beat her with such force that the girl's white skin was everywhere covered with red weals. After the chastisement the woman was trembling all over, her cheeks glowed, and her eyes were unusually bright. . . ."

Obviously, such shows constituted a special treat for sadistic scopophiles. In a contemporary collection of anecdotes entitled *The Cherub or Guardian of Female Innocence, etc.* (London, 1792), the activities of a scopophile who liked to witness flagellations, are described in a striking manner:

There is a rich old banker in Broad Street who has arranged with the headmistresses of two girls' schools (one in Hackney, one in Stratford) to pay them a large weekly sum each for a most peculiar entertainment. At the time of his weekly visits at each school the children receive their accumulated punishments. The old man stays in an adjacent room and watches through an aperture while the girls, one after the other, are brought in, bared behind, and chastised with the rod.

The most dangerous results naturally arose from the epidemic of flagellantism in coeducation schools, like the English schools for poor children of the eighteenth century, where, on "punishment days," boys and girls thrashed each other with rods—in the presence of the noble patronesses of the school, who were obviously delighted with the show. But even as late as the nineteenth century such gross practices were quite common. Pisanus Fraxi reproduces the following authentic letter, written in the year 1859 by an English friend of his:

"In my childhood it was customary at preparatory schools for boys and girls to be under the authority of a woman and for the rod to be used with the utmost severity. We used to be whipped in the presence of children of both sexes, the girls being laid across the teacher's knees or held under her arm, while the boys had to bend over the back of a servant girl. The servant girl frequently came to our—the boys'—dormitory and played 'schoolmistress'; the school girls did the same. I have a vivid recollection of some extraordinary scenes in this connection which have bred a firm conviction in me that many women indulge in this passion. At the above-mentioned school the woman who acted as assistant to the mistress, was evidently eager to witness the chastisements, although she loved us all and was herself very popular with the boys. This woman made a point of spending a great deal of time with us, and I am afraid she contributed to the premature development of our puberty. She had big breasts and always arranged her clothes in such a manner that when we were being thrashed we could push our hands in and feel her breasts, the heaving of which frequently gave us a pleasant sensation. Many of the boys deliberately earned a flogging merely in order to experience this

sensation. Although forty years have passed since then, my recollection of these incidents is still as vivid as though they had happened only yesterday."

It is not to be wondered at that sadistic teachers and tutors should find imitators among their pupils. Thus, particularly in the public and boarding-schools, a custom developed in accordance with which the older scholars were allowed to chastise the younger boys. The custom matured to a tradition which, naturally, opened the door wide to the worst forms of ill-usage of the younger boys by the older, from simple thrashings to the most refined torturing of the newcomer, who was often induced to participate in mutual masturbation and the like.

The evil of flagellation and the practice of flogging school children has survived in England to this day, despite the fact that they have been made illegal. It is true that severe criticism by competent authorities on child education has led to a diminution of the trouble, but it has failed to eliminate it entirely.

We now come to the most repulsive group of sadistic acts directed against children, the cruelties practiced by *degenerate mothers* on their own children.

The findings of the new analytic school have taught us that like all other impulses, parental and mother-love are also subject to certain psychological laws. Again like any other psychological impulse, these may become inverted, may change from plus to minus, from love to hate. Such emotional relationships, swinging like a pendulum between two opposite extremes and changing according to the circumstances, from one into the other, are described as *ambivalent*, i.e. possessing two values. Such an emotional ambivalence is usually conditioned by unconscious factors. The apparently unnatural acts of degenerate mothers are also governed by these laws. Cases where a mother thrashes and treats her children with cold reason are extremely rare, and maternal sadism is nearly always caused by latent, repressed impulses. The source of such a perversion of the mother instinct is, as we have said, frequently unconscious; the mother may find an out-

her hatred of her husband in ill-treating the child; or she may punish it for having come into the world unwanted; or she may transfer to the child the ambivalence of her relationship to her own parents.

Sometimes, however, the mother's motive is all too conscious and clear, as for instance in the following case. (After Wulffen.):

The wife of a stonemason whose work frequently took him far from his home, supported herself by working at private houses as seamstress. She made various sexual connections and finally took a young, handsome blacksmith home to her flat, where they satisfied their lust in the most shameless manner in the presence of the woman's seven-year-old boy. When the father returned home and the boy innocently told him about the nocturnal visitor, his mother asserted that the boy had dreamt it all. Thereafter the woman made the child's life a hell on earth. She made him drunk with cherry brandy each night and while in a state of intoxication she thrashed him with all her strength, after which she threw him into, and sometimes under, the bed and admitted her lover.

The urge to eliminate the child who stands in the way of a love affair, is particularly frequent. The Austrian author Popper-Schnekeus deals with this *motif* in a short story that is surely important. A young woman is traveling to another city by stage-coach with her young son, whom she adores. At one point during the journey a strange man enters the coach, which is otherwise empty. The woman is so powerfully fascinated by the stranger that, half unconsciously, she opens the door of the coach and allows her sleeping son to fall out. She gives herself to the stranger and, when both come to their senses and realize what has happened, shoots the woman dead, then commits suicide.

More obscure are the psychological motives in the following case, which happened a few years ago in Vienna:

L.G., a master bootmaker, and his wife Anna, had four children, and the woman's two illegitimate children were also in the home. One morning the mother reported to the authorities that her 5-year-

old son R. had died during the night and that she had found him dead in his cot on getting up. The police surgeon found that the child had no fewer than twenty-one fractures in his ribs. There were strangulation marks on his neck and burns on his foot. At the same time, the child suffered from tuberculosis and may have died a natural death. The couple were charged; a few years previously they had already been under preliminary arrest in connection with the ill-treatment of children, but were on that occasion released for lack of evidence. The mother, who was 25 years of age, was a plump, voluptuous woman, neatly and cleanly dressed, with nice but hard features. During her preliminary imprisonment she gave birth to a boy. Her conduct certificate charged her with coarseness. The husband, ten years her senior, was weakly and had a stupid expression. He had a cottage in the country, and did piecework as a bootmaker. The couple denied all guilt in connection with the child's injuries, but became entangled in contradictions. The dead child had been illegitimate and had been brought by the mother into the marriage as such, but had been declared to others to be legitimate; L. G. was not his father. As a pretext for the chastisement inflicted on the child, the mother alleged that he was "unclean." Frau G., years before, had had sexual relations with her own father and the father had been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. The bootmaker admitted that his wife had beaten the boy with the coal shovel and with the poker and that she had frequently knocked his head against the flagstones in the kitchen, had thrown him on the floor, and trampled on him. She had also lifted him by the ears and swung him round, thereby tearing his ears. On the day before the child's death the mother pushed his head into a pail of water and held it there till he lost consciousness. Before the court the woman replied to everything, "I don't know." She was sentenced to four and a half, and her husband to four, years at hard labor.

The psychologist is able to discern without difficulty that in this case the woman hated *her own past*, which the child embodied. Her incestuous relations with her father and the illegitimacy of the child constituted a past which she tried in vain to escape; she suggested to herself that the child was *unclean*—as her past had been. . . .

STEPMOTHERS

The *stepmother* plays a special part in the sadistic treatment of children. The hatred of the stepmother toward the child of her husband's previous marriage is always based on an unconscious sexual motive. It symbolizes her jealous hatred of the dead or divorced first wife. If the stepmother has children of her own, these are given preference to the detriment of the stepchild, and the struggle against the first wife is, in this symbolic manner, intensified. The folk tale, which represents a pure sublimation of mass psychology, is inexhaustible in variants of this situation. The following case (after Wulffen) bears, in its simple gruesomeness, a striking resemblance to that type of story:

A married couple in Hanselbach have been guilty of incredible brutality. Their 11-year-old boy, the woman's stepson, took his little half-sister for a sleigh ride. When the children returned it was found that the girl had lost her sleigh, and the stepmother sent the boy in search of it, saying to him: "Your father'll kill you if you come back without the sleigh." The boy stayed away four days without anyone troubling about him. Then some people, on their way to church, found him hiding in a snow-covered shed. As the boy was unable to walk, his feet were examined, and it was found that they were both frozen and black. The parents kept the boy at home for ten days without making any effort to help him. Finally they roused themselves sufficiently to obtain an ointment, but when they attempted to apply it they found that the flesh was already in process of decay. The boy was now taken to the district hospital, but when they tried to bathe him the flesh peeled off his feet, which eventually had to be amputated.

The most notorious case of the ill-treatment of a child with fatal consequences is the so-called "Birnbaum affair," which at the time created indignation throughout Germany. Here, too, the stepmother complex, the woman's sexual jealousy of her husband's past, was the unconscious motive:

Marie Anna Birnbaum was born in Nuremberg in 1793. She was a harlot by temperament and she ensnared the postmaster Unterstein, a man of weak character who had met her as a prostitute, so completely that he parted from his wife and handed the management of his house over to the girl. Marie Anna soon established a complete domination over Unterstein and when his wife became ill and obliged to live outside Munich, she gave herself out as Frau Unterstein. After this she developed a venomous hatred against the children, Augustus and Elise. The children were whipped daily and were starved. The woman hanged them up by their feet, made them kneel for hours on sharp-edged logs and locked them in the henhouse or the lavatory. On one occasion when Elise, as sometimes happens with children, wetted her bed, the woman tied the sheet round her head in addition to chastising her. The child, with the sheet on her head, was made to stand in the bitterly cold hall until she was almost frozen. To the boy the woman administered many overdoses of various medicines until he died. As he lay dying she snatched him up from his bed and threw him into the lavatory. Thereafter Elise's sufferings were multiplied a hundredfold. At her interrogation the woman admitted having beaten the girl so unmercifully that she had been unwell since 1818. The child's blood had spurted all over the room. She said she persecuted the children out of hatred and aversion, and wanted to drive them to their deaths. Elise perished from neglect and filth. Her clothes were in rags and were thick with blood and pus. The starving child ate greedily from the cat's saucer. On one occasion the woman screamed: "I'm going to kill you. Upon my life, you won't last a year out. You shall perish. And when they've cleared your body away, I'll jump on your grave and curse you with a laugh. Who can if you die!" Another time she tied a scarf round the girl's neck with a rope, making a knot at the back. Then she made her stand on a stool and hanged her on a nail in the door. When the woman saw that the child was going blue in the face, she took her off again, beat her with a poker on the head and the back and inflicted a deep wound on her skull. In 1829 a servant entered the household and assisted the woman. They poked Elise with red-hot press-irons and scratched her on the hands, arms, and feet until she bled. After fifteen years of torture Elise Unterstein died. The woman was not denounced until after the interment. The body was then disinterred and showed evidences of horrible ill-treatment. Some of the teeth were missing, with

other places the gums were inflamed. The body was covered all over with wounds and contusions. No part of it was sound or without laceration. The postmaster said he had never seen his child in that condition, but remorse drove him to suicide. The woman was executed in 1836.

We will now touch briefly upon the connection between the ill-treatment of children and religious mania, having already, at the beginning of the present chapter, referred to the connection between exalted religious and sadomasochistic emotional complexes. James Joyce, in his autobiographical book, *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, gives a striking account of the manner in which the priests at the Irish Jesuit school he attended used to describe the torments and tortures of hell; they did this with such cruel eloquence that the children were sometimes seized with terror. The description of the physical and mental torments of Purgatory given by one of the teachers, extending to about thirty printed pages, is really a masterpiece of sadistic literature. Considering the extraordinary receptivity of a boy's imagination in early puberty, it is easy to see what incalculable harm may result from such excesses of religious fanaticism.

Physical ill-treatment, allegedly for the purpose of "mortifying the sinful flesh," has also occurred fairly frequently at religious educational establishments in comparatively recent times.

The nuns of the Nôtre Dame de Charité at Tours, France, achieved notoriety through their horrible ill-treatment of their pupils. Revelations concerning their practices appeared in the French press in 1902. The punishments thought out by the nuns were of a medieval character. For instance, sometimes the girls had to kiss the feet of their schoolmates or do "tongue crosses"; which means that the girl guilty of some trifling transgression had to prostrate herself before the holy mother and draw crosses on the ground with her tongue. This was done in the refectory, in the kitchen, and sometimes even in the lavatory. If a girl became sick in the process, the lavatory duster was pressed into her mouth. The straitjacket was worn by girls not for hours but for days at a time. Girls sentenced to such punishment had to eat from earthenware pots, with their heads pushed into the

pot. One particularly holy sister sometimes smeared the faces of her victims with mud and even stuffed her own excreta into their mouths. The so-called "water trial" consisted in holding the head of a child wearing a straitjacket down in a basin of water until its throat rattled. The severest punishment was confinement in the "death chamber," a damp cellar in which the dead of the convent used to lie in state.

Unfortunately, such abominations, which sound like the nightmarish fancies of a deranged mind, are not at all rare even today. On the contrary, nearly every month the press of some European country contains revelations of the sadistic ill-treatment of children in government or private welfare establishments, orphanages, and charitable institutions. Particularly well known is the case of the Prussian government institutions; the horrible conditions prevailing in them were revealed about twenty-five years ago and were shown in the famous play, *Revolt at the Boarding-School*. However, later these practices were not left to the private initiative of individual sadistic teachers, but were, with typical Prussian thoroughness, made into a system for the alleged purpose of "hardening the youth of the country." Finally, in France, during the years 1933 and 1934, cases of the ill-treatment of children ("les enfants martyrs") became so common that the government was obliged by the pressure of public opinion to introduce reforms in child legislation.

RAPE AND ILL-TREATMENT OF ADULTS

When, at the turn of the century, the discoveries of modern sexual psychology began to be popular, there was, for a time, a tendency to regard all crime as sadistic and, for instance, common theft was dubbed as erotic kleptomania, arson on farms as erotic pyromania. This presented a danger, which became clearly apparent even in some scientific works, that the science of sexual psychology would be submerged in a welter of guesswork, or would degenerate to a sort of universal panacea. In dealing with the sadism of adults, we will therefore keep within the limits laid down by Magnus Hirschfeld and consider none but those acts

in which a connection between the aggressive and the sexual impulses can be proved, though, of course, the connection may be unconscious.

We will begin by considering those sadistic acts which have a direct causal connection with the sexual act, such as rape, defloration mania, etc., proceeding to aggressive acts of a sexual character with less distinct connection with the sexual act (stabbing or cutting the sexual object), and concluding with the most specific form of sadism, i.e. flagellomania.

With the rape of children we have already dealt in the previous section. As regards the *rape of adults* the question arises whether this act is physically possible. Hirschfeld writes on this subject:

Twenty-five years of practice in forensic medicine has convinced me that no allegation deserves to be treated with greater suspicion than that frequently made by girls, including pregnant girls, that they have been violated or raped. Even the statement that they have been deprived of the power of resistance or rendered helpless by seduction must always be received with a certain amount of caution. Genuine experts on the subject are all agreed that it is extraordinarily difficult, if not impossible, to deflorate a woman or make her pregnant by the employment of sheer physical force, except where the woman's arms and legs are held by others or, as frequently happened during the last war, she is tied down to a piece of furniture or the like. The imagination is frequently inclined to a gruesome elaboration of such processes and to convert comparatively mild attacks into brutality. In the field of sex, rumor is particularly apt to exaggerate, and upon investigation one is surprised to find what detailed and circumstantial stories develop out of some trifling incident. The allegations of young girls that they have been surprised and violated in their sleep are also rarely credible, just as are the allegations of young men, which are by no means less frequent, that someone has carried out *coitus in anum* on them while they slept and that they only awoke as *ejaculation in recto* occurred. During the war, courts martial submitted to me several cases in which soldiers resolutely stuck to their allegation that they had been abused by a superior or a comrade while they were fast asleep. Although in reality the process was in most cases preceded by alcoholic excess on the part of the complainant,

there was no question of unconsciousness. The performance of intercourse always depends on a certain degree of consent on part of the passive party. More successful than physical coercion is psychological coercion, such as—principally—the weakening or elimination of the sexual will by means of hypnosis, suggestions, threats, stupefaction, and narcosis with chloroform.

Such a case of *psychological* coercion is recorded by Hirschfeld from his own practice:

A good many years ago I was consulted in a case where a doctor had assaulted a woman patient while she was in a hypnotic state. Many such occurrences are recorded in scientific literature. The patient was a married woman who suffered from weak nerves, irritability, and hysterical "spasms." As is the case with many hysterical women, she had unlimited confidence in her doctor, who had commenced a course of hypnotism for various neuralgic complaints, her burn, and insomnia. The patient was an excellent medium. It was sufficient for the doctor to lower his upraised hand for the woman to shut her eyes immediately. At the court hearing of the action instituted against the doctor by the husband, the doctor made a full confession and described the suggestions he made and to which the woman automatically yielded, as follows: He ordered her to raise her skirt, lie down, spread her legs, take out his penis, introduce it into her vagina, then, during the act, perform parallel movements until mutual orgasm occurred, which in her case took place in the same way as in the waking state. The woman became pregnant. The potent husband, who had long suspected the doctor, engaged a detective who was able to prove his suspicions. The doctor alleged that he had used the woman for therapeutic reasons. She had, he said, an unhappy life with her husband, and her depression had finally become so intense that she decided to kill herself; sexual intercourse with him had cured her both physically and mentally. He was sentenced for his "therapeutic conscientiousness" with one year in prison.

Easy as rape with the aid of hypnotism may appear to the layman, it nevertheless occurs very rarely. It happens far more frequently that hysterically inclined women who have been hyp-

d or given a narcotic, subsequently accuse the doctor of sexual abuse. Sometimes the motive is blackmail—particularly in America where girls of the golddigger type used to attempt to hook a band or secure "heart balm" in this way—but the patient may be making the charge in perfect good faith, as a result of a hallucination, which arises with particular frequency in the case of psychosis. Remarkably enough, such dream hallucinations, in which, naturally, the unconscious wish is father of the thought, are particularly under light narcosis at the *dentist's*. In consequence of the large number of criminal actions that have been brought in such connections in recent years, doctors and dentists hardly ever put a woman under an anesthetic unless a third party is present.

Hirschfeld relates a pretty anecdote from the war which illustrates the unconscious desire of many women to be violated "innocently." The women and girls of many villages were instructed to keep out of sight during the passage of enemy troops through the locality. The women accordingly stayed indoors, but when the last of the enemy troops had left they rushed out of their hiding places with the bitterly disappointed cry: "What about the violation?"

Criminologists have long ago come to the conclusion, owing to the unconscious desire to be violated which lies dormant in the subconscious minds of many women, particularly if they are hysterical, that charges of alleged violation must be treated with the greatest caution. State Attorney Wulffen wrote in this connection:

The man expects even from the so-called "respectable girl" a certain passive resistance to his urgent lovemaking. Women themselves are imbued with the instinctive feeling that they must not surrender too easily, and that resistance intensifies the man's sexual excitement. As a man will not consider a little sparring on the part of a woman as serious resistance in the sense of the criminal law. Everything depends on whether the woman has made the seriousness of her resistance sufficiently clear, though even then this fact does not necessarily prevent rape. There are girls who, although they wish to be conquered, do not want this to happen without serious physical resistance. They

act in this way partly from vanity and partly from fear of pregnancy, but, at all events, they want a test of masculine strength. Hence in many cases the man has to overcome a resistance which, though considerable, is not seriously meant. But if the girl concerned is asked before the court whether she had resisted seriously she may answer in the affirmative, either from shame or because she lacks a knowledge of her own unconscious motives, and an unjust sentence for rape may result. In such cases, therefore, a most careful sifting of evidence is essential.

After these reservations let us consider a few cases of genuine rape from the very meager literature on this subject. In all cases of genuine rape the sadistic component is clearly in evidence; and there is only one step from genuine rape to sexual murder.

Man, 43 years of age, son of a drunkard, and brother of two moral perverts, hereditarily tainted. Was as a boy of nine set to work in a factory, where he was soon given alcohol to drink and indulged in sexual manipulations. First offense at the age of 17: robbery by blackmail from and brutal ill-treatment of a defenseless young girl. One year's imprisonment. A few months after his release threatened a girl to "do her in," unless she "lay down" for him. Three weeks' imprisonment. A few weeks later, attempted rape of an 18-year-old girl. Three and a half years' jail. After completion of this sentence several thefts, also begging. Mixed sentence of imprisonment and penal servitude. Ten months after release a most brutal attempt to rape a six-year-old girl. Seven years' penal servitude. A few months after release several thefts. Sentence of imprisonment. Six months later indecent assault of a child. A year's imprisonment, owing to the acceptance of his pathological taint and the fact that he was drunk at the time as mitigating circumstances. Last crime, attempted sexual murder of a four-year-old girl at six o'clock on Christmas Day, when slightly intoxicated.

This is a complete example of the congenital sexual criminal. No sensible person can fail to realize that the cumulative infliction of sentences of imprisonment was wholly erroneous in this instance; pathological criminals like this man should, for their own protec-

tion as well as for the protection of society, be treated in an institution.

A "master of rape" has been described by Dr. Voss. The man concerned was 48 years of age. He had been punished many times for importuning, breaches of the peace, wounding, damaging property, threats of violence, resisting the police, illegal detention, and slander. At the age of 18 years he was sentenced to six years' penal servitude for rape. He had himself locked into a stable with the girl, without her knowledge, and had there committed the offense. Later he was again sentenced for rape to four years and three months' penal servitude. In this instance he had attempted to rape three women, two of them married. In 1908 he was sentenced in Hamburg to three years' penal servitude for a fresh case of rape. The documents of the case contain the following passage: "He is evidently an excessively sensual man with an intrinsic bent for physical violence on the one hand, and a sexual excitableness based on a violent beginning on the other. A peculiar feature of his method is the illegal detention, the locking up of the woman selected as his victim." This category is not so numerous as the category of those who seek the satisfaction of their lust by force on highways, in parks, woods, etc.

In the above case we are confronted, in addition to the act of rape itself, with symbolic sadism, manifested by the locking up of the victim. In the majority of cases, however, the ravisher, as we have said, resorts to increasingly serious acts of violence finally bordering on sexual murder.

Frau W. was collecting faggots in the wood near the village of Gross, Lengden, when she was attacked by a young workman and violated by him despite a desperate resistance. Then the maniac poured carbolic acid into her mouth and cut her pulse. The unfortunate woman was later discovered lying in a pool of blood and eventually recovered.

Rape is sometimes carried out by several persons jointly. During the First World War there were frequent cases of a group of soldiers jointly overcoming a woman and raping her, one after the other. The following is a typical case:

Miss K., a working girl, aged 17 years, was in a field outside Berlin, violated by six men, so that she lost consciousness. Hardly had she come to herself when some other young men, who had arrived in the meantime, also abused her until she lost consciousness again. She was found in that condition.

Sadistic rape also occurs in conjunction with other component perversions. Far more frequently than one would be inclined to believe, it occurs in conjunction with *gerontophilia*. Wulffen records four cases of rape practiced on old women by young men, including one in which a woman of 90 was violated by a half-witted farm laborer aged 24 years; the incident took place at the roadside at 12 o'clock on a July day. Subsequently the man stated that he had an erection for the first time in his life when he saw the old woman.

Conjunction of sadistic rape with *scopophilia* is also comparatively frequent.

A 37-year-old man and his 34-year-old wife were jointly charged before the Straubing Court with rape. The charge against the man was that he had violated, in the bedroom of his flat, a girl who frequently called there, his wife helping him by holding the girl's arms. The couple had committed several offenses of this nature.

Finally Ehmer records one of the extremely rare cases of *rape on a man*.

A 26-year-old workman of somewhat limited intelligence, who was a member of a Catholic Youth Society, shunned women and was ridiculed on that account. His comrades carried out the following "practical joke" against him with the assistance of the mistress of an itinerant grinder passing through the village. The man was lured into a stable, where a number of peasant lads and girls stripped him by force and laid him on the naked woman. A girl of 23, who took the lion's share in undressing him, introduced his erect penis into the vagina and the entire company pushed at his buttocks, so that the man had a discharge. As the incident took place in Austria where forcible immorality is only punishable if exercised on women, the accused company was only sentenced for illegal detention.

DEFLORATION MANIA

The so-called *defloration mania* is closely related to rape. The sadistic stimuli are similar to those that operate in assaults on children. The timidity and inexperience of the virgin exercise a stimulating effect on the aggressive impulse. Her pleading, her tears, her pain, all represent intense stimuli. In addition, the sexually mature virgin has the advantage over a child that there is a fully developed sexual impulse dormant within her. To awaken that impulse gives the sadist pleasure in that this satisfies his urge for power. Moreover, in contrast with the case of children, the introduction of the member is here physically possible. The hymen and the narrowness of the vagina enhance sadistic pleasure. From the historical point of view these factors may have played a part in determining the social overestimation of virginity which prevails at present, but which did not exist in all ages and was not held by all peoples.

In connection with the wide prevalence of defloration mania—which might also be described as *hymen fetishism*—the historian Paul English in his *History of European Manners and Customs* writes as follows:

In no other country in the world does the desire for the *virgo intacta* flourish to the same extent as in England. Details of the immoral activities of the upper classes were first brought to the public notice by the revelations published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in the year 1885, which revelations were based on investigations conducted by absolutely reliable men. They established, from information obtained from brothel keepers and procurers that the demand for virgins was undiminished, while, on the other hand, the supply left nothing to be desired. The procurers and procuresses were able to supply any number at short notice. The girls who offered themselves voluntarily were only required to confirm this fact in writing and to state that they are more than 16 years of age, that is to say, over the legal age of consent. But in many cases the girls' consent was not required; they were not even asked for it. They were deprived of the power of resistance by means of a sleeping draught, and once the first involuntary step had

been taken the girls not infrequently continued the journey toward the abyss of their own accord.

The price of a virgin was not high. Twenty years before it fluctuated between 15 and 20 pounds; at the time these revelations appeared the desire for a virgin could be satisfied at the cost of five pounds. The material was recruited principally from among girl shop assistants and seamstresses, though the ill-paid chorus girls of the theaters accounted for a considerable percentage.

It is a matter for surprise that such scandalous conditions could continue for such a long time without interference from the police. The *Pall Mall Gazette* was in a position to explain that fact. The police were the best friends of the brothel keepers. They shut both eyes to the activities of the brothel keepers and procurers because they were in receipt of regular bribes from them, in addition to which policemen had free access to the "temples of joy."

We now come to those sadistic acts directed against adults which have no recognizable connection with the sexual acts, and may either constitute an independent series serving as a *preparation* for the sexual act or a complete *substitution* thereof.

Tarnowsky records the case of a neuropathic doctor who ordinarily carried on normal sexual relations with women, but when he had had some wine he experienced an urge to stab women in the buttocks or make an incision with a lance. When he saw blood and the entry of the blade into the living flesh he had a discharge, with complete relief.

This case shows the role that alcohol may sometimes play in the life of perverts. Naturally, it would be a mistake to regard the taking of alcohol as the *cause* of the perversion, though it may have a decisive effect in bringing out already existing impulses by eliminating the otherwise dominant inhibitions and neutralizing feelings of shame and the sense of social responsibility.

The following case shows another typical feature of sadism:

X., a married man and a father, who was a very prominent business man, was a regular visitor at a certain Parisian brothel, where he was in the habit of engaging three girls. When the girls had stripped he

flagellated them, after which he stuck pins into the breasts of the wretched creatures until he drew blood. That was the only way in which he could achieve erection and subsequently perform the sexual act with one or other of his victims. (Thionot.)

A typical feature of this case is the constant sequence of the sadistic acts, governed by a definite ritual. Here, again, as in most other aspects of sexual pathology, a tendency for a stereotyped process is present, the mechanism of whose development we have already considered in the chapter on fetishism. The sadist in the majority of cases is no less a specialist of perversion and is no less bound to certain specific methods of aggression than the fetishist is bound to his object and the exhibitionist to his ritual. "Thus," writes Hirschfeld, "a stabber will hardly ever thrash or a flagellant stab. It would appear that the sadistic impulse will always return to the path which it has made for its stimulation and relief on the very first occasion."

One specialist of sadism was the *Tickler*, whose case is recorded by Moll:

Frau X., 34 years of age, approached Moll on the advice of her solicitor. She wanted a divorce. Her husband had been tormenting her for years by various subtle devices and as she gradually developed a nervous complaint, the question to be determined was whether and to what extent this was due to her husband's conduct. He probably needed her resistance in order to induce sexual excitement in himself, or perhaps his actions were designed to excite her. At all events, he used to tickle her so long that the woman's health might certainly have become affected. She loved her husband and liked to have intercourse with him in the normal way. He, too, was in love with her, but would not or could not curb his passion for tickling, until his wife changed from a perfectly normal woman into a nervous wreck suffering from insomnia, irritability, and sudden frights. Finally she declared that she could no longer submit to his will.

Feminine sadism against men is mainly dealt with in the literature on the subject in its flagellantistic manifestation, which we will consider later. However, forms of aggression entirely simi-

lar to those practiced by men also occur. The following is a typical case:

A married man called on his doctor with numerous scars on his arms and explained their origin as follows: Whenever he approached his young and somewhat "highly strung" wife, he had to make an incision on his arm; she then sucked the wound and this induced in her intense sexual excitement.

Women, comparatively more frequently than men, have a tendency for a single, spontaneous *sexual assault*. For instance, during the First World War a rumor was current in the Austro-Hungarian Army to the effect that, in a certain southern country the girls lured the soldiers of the army of occupation to themselves and after the sexual act cut off their penis with a razor. Sometimes, so the rumor went, a girl would under pretext of *fellatio* bite off a soldier's testicles. As in all similar cases of widespread rumor, it must be assumed that this rumor was based on one or more actual occurrences. But the ease with which it was believed is explained by the ancient *motif* of sexual assault by women, which already appears in symbolic form in the Biblical stories of Samson and Delilah and Judith and Holofernes. As a curiosity we quote the following case, which happened in Cairo a few years ago:

A well-known "lady-killer" in Cairo who was importuning a Turkish girl, fell victim to an act of sexual revenge devised by her father and brothers. The man was invited to the house and left alone with the girl, who first excited him, then took his erected penis into her hand and bent it so violently that he sustained a fracture of the penis, and was thereby rendered harmless. The girl was sentenced to pay the man monetary compensation. (Fracture of the penis when in an erect state is possible, and consists in the bursting, by sudden violent bending, of the *corpora cavernosa*, or blood vessels, which are filled with blood.)

Another form of feminine sadism, which involves no sanguinary acts, consists in deliberately exciting a man, then *denying him satisfaction*. The literatures of all countries are familiar with this type

of apparently cold, but in reality sadistic woman, who seeks an outlet for her power urge in this passive "feminine" form. It is recorded of the Empress Theodora that she gave herself to any man, except the one she loved. He had been her playmate in childhood and later became her slave, so that he was obliged to witness her orgies without attaining his object himself. Pierre Louy's famous play, *La femme et le pantin*, owes its world success to the same eternal *motif*. The modern film vamp also possesses the characteristics of this type. Stekel in his remarkable work on sadistic women gives an excellent example:

The woman in question was a 28-year-old aristocrat whom Stekel describes as a beautiful, slim woman, with clean-cut features. Six months of the year she spent on her husband's estate, and no one in her circle had the faintest idea of her double life. The rest of the year she spent travelling alone, staying on the Riviera, in Switzerland, and living at luxury hotels or nursing homes. On the day of her arrival she scans the visitors' list and—

"And I can tell at once which of the men is going to be my victim."

Stekel: "Do you mean which is going to fall in love with you?"

"No, I don't mean that. Falling in love—that's nothing. No. I'm a sadist. I select the victim I'm going to whip."

"And you always find him at the first glance? Have you never been at a nursing home where you didn't find a victim?"

"I always find one. Mostly I find several. I have never been to a sanatorium where I didn't find a partner. But listen—I only exchange a look with the men. I inspect them all. My glance is serious, cruel, stern. In some men I notice a dog-like response and I know at once—this or that man is going to be my slave."

"How do you make his acquaintance?"

"That's easy. Sadists and masochists have a secret language of their own, I might say a secret society with secret customs and secret understandings. We talk after dinner and generally arrange the first appointment there and then. We say not a word about that which we're going to do. I tell him sternly: 'Come to my room at 9 o'clock to-night!' I then give him a queenly look and go away, without saying another word to him. If he wants to speak I shake him off like an importunate dog."

"And does he come?"

"He's sure to come at the appointed time. Without fail! Then I make him strip, while I myself remain dressed. I tolerate no approach, no caresses. He must obey. He undresses and throws himself at my feet. I hit him with my riding crop as hard as I can and taking care, as far as possible, that I make no noise. He groans with pain—or with pleasure—and wriggles to my feet. Oh, I have already seen proud and famous men, leading lights in their professions, at my feet, gratefully kissing my shoes for the blows. I hit so hard that the blood spurts."

"Does that give intense pleasure?"

"Of course. But not so intense as later when the man flings himself upon me in an attempt to take me. Then I give him a mocking look and laugh at him. I see him cringe with passion, desire depriving him of the last shred of manliness. He starts pleading with me, to whine, to cringe before me, pray to me. I remain cold and this triumph gives me more intense pleasure than I ever experience in my relations with my husband."

"And he goes away without possessing you?"

"Always."

"Have you never met one who would not submit to that?"

"Oh, yes. Some at first cringed with pain, then they tried to be strong and use force. What a hope! I was stronger than they and threatened to scream if necessary. Some I whipped out and forbade them to come again. Believe me, those men afterwards ran after me like dogs. I could have had anything out of them. They were entirely in my power."

"And have you never succumbed to your own desire?"

"No. The desire—of course, you mean sexual intercourse—doesn't exist. I get that from my husband and now and then from other men. But what is the mild pleasure I feel in normal intercourse as compared with the unspeakable bliss of such a sadistic act? Orgasm attains an intensity that simply could not be surpassed. My whole personality seems to be lifted up; I feel proud and majestic, at one with all my power. And I have found that you can only dominate those men to whom you don't grant everything. All these men are still my slaves and continue to run after me, because they have never possessed me, because they are consumed with passionate desire for me, because they

have experienced my sternness and long to enjoy my tenderness as well."

This brings us to the group of sadistic acts which have no connection with the sexual act, but *replace* it. Here we come to the type of the *criminal sadist*, the *stabber*, the *ripper*, who periodically appears in the great European cities, spreading a wave of terror.

The earliest case known to literature was that of the so-called monster of London, who in the year 1790 wounded an incredibly large number of women. At the trial of the monster, which started at the Old Bailey on the 8th July, 1790, nearly 30 girls and women gave evidence, all of them having been wounded or had their clothes ripped by his dagger. The accused's name was Remrick Williams. According to a contemporary description he was "five feet six inches tall and of slight build. His face was dark brown, he had a long face, a long nose, and a wild look in his eyes. His hair was naturally curly, and his features not irregular." The sentence inflicted on this "tiger thirsting for the blood of women" was surprisingly mild—six years' imprisonment in Newgate, and a surety of £400 after completion of his sentence. The mildness of the sentence is all the more remarkable because the "monster" had caused a veritable mass psychosis.

The nocturnal street scenes between "woman chasers" and prostitutes, which were more common here than in Paris, received a severe blow, for no gentleman was allowed to approach a woman, even a respectable girl, after dark. The woman fled; even the priestesses of Venus, waiting for clients in the street, were chary with words of allurements, for fear that they might be addressing the monster. The "peripatetic" passions vanished; the order of things was reversed, and if a man wanted to be free from the suspicion he was the monster, he had to be accompanied by a woman when he went out after dark. Lady Wallace always carried a loaded pistol for fear of the monster. (Ivan Bloch, *History of English Sexual Morals*.)

In the year 1829, the "ripper" of Bozen gained equal notoriety:

He stabbed girls with a breadknife or a penknife, choosing the lower part of the abdomen for preference. He declared that he was suffering from a sexual impulse intensified to a point of frenzy, and could only find relief by stabbing women. He was dominated by this urge for days at a time. At the moment of stabbing he experienced the same satisfaction as at the sexual act, particularly when he saw the bloody knife. He had had a violent sexual impulse from the age of 10, started to masturbate at an early age and also abused little girls and practiced sodomy. Gradually he evolved the idea what a pleasure it must be to stab girls near their genitals. He experienced neither shame nor repentance. (After Wulffen.)

There was also the "ripper" of Augsburg, a wine merchant named Bartle. Bartle had had sexual urges since the age of 14, but a decided aversion to satisfying them by sexual intercourse, and had in fact a feeling of disgust toward women. It was at this early age that he conceived the idea of cutting women as a means of sexual satisfaction, but he lacked the opportunity as well as the courage to carry this idea into practice.

He cut a girl for the first time at the age of 19 years. During the act he had a discharge of semen and experienced intense pleasure. After that his impulse became increasingly powerful. He chose none but young and pretty women, and generally asked them first whether they were single. In each case ejaculation and sexual relief took place, but only when he knew for certain that he had really injured the girl. After the act he always felt tired and languid, and was also tormented by remorse. Until the age of 32 he wounded by cutting, but was always careful not to inflict a serious wound on the girls. From then on, and until the age of 36, he was able to repress his urge. He now attempted to find relief by only squeezing girls on the arm or neck, but this only induced erection and no discharge. Then he tried to stab with a sheathed knife, but that, too, proved inadequate. Finally he resorted to stabbing with the naked blade, and succeeded in his object, as he thought that a stabbed girl suffered and bled more than one who has only sustained a cut. At the age of 37 he was caught in the act and arrested. The police found in his flat a quantity of daggers and knives. He stated that the bare sight of these weapons and particularly the handling of them, induced intense excitement and erotic pleasure.

He confessed to wounding a total of fifty girls. His appearance was pleasant. He was in a very comfortable financial position, but was a very peculiar, misanthropic person.

There are also homosexual stabbers, though such cases are very rare. One such maniac operated in Nuremberg in January, 1903. He had made six attacks before he was arrested. He wounded his male victims by stabbing them in the region of the knees; his victims included two schoolboys.

A particularly notorious case was that of an individual who, toward the end of the seventeenth century, made the streets of London unsafe for women. Whenever he met a woman he raised her dress and gave her a slap on the buttock. He operated with such skill that popular belief attributed supernatural powers to him. He was known as "Whipping Tom." A whole book, a literary curiosity, entitled as follows, was written about him:

Whipping Tom Brought to Light and Exposed to View: In an Account of Several Late Adventures of Pretended Whipping Spirit. London, Printed for Edward Brooks, 1681.

"Whipping Tom" is described in this book as follows:

Whipping Tom for some weeks past has lurked about in Alleys and Courts in Fleet Street, Chancery Lane, Fetter Lane, Strand, Holborn, and other places, and at unawares seizes upon such as he can conveniently light on, and turning them up as nimble as an Eel, makes their butt end cry Spanko; and then (according to the Report of those who have felt the weight of his Paws) vanishes; for you must know that having left the Country, he has not the advantage of setting Rods, and therefore is obliged to use his hands thereof; His first adventure, as near as we can learn, was on the Servant Maid in New Street, who being sent out by her Master, as she was turning a Corner, perceived a tall black man standing up against the Wall as if he had been making Water, but she had not passed far, but with great speed and violence he seized her and in a trice, laying her across his knee, took up her Linen, and Lay'd so hard upon her Backside, as made her cry out most piteously for help, the which he no sooner perceiving to

approach (as she declares) but he vanished; and although diligent search was made, no person could be found. . . .

We will now consider the most widespread form of sadism, that is to say, flagellation, which plays a most important part in the moral history of the present era.

"It is no doubt correct," writes Ivan Bloch, in his excellent work on flagellomania in England, "that beating, whipping, and scourging as forms of punishment have been in general use throughout the world since ancient times, as well among civilized races as among savage races and tribes; nor is there any doubt that these forms of punishment have, at the same time, also acted as aphrodisiacs or have been employed by the executant from sexual motives. The relationship between active and passive flagellation and the sexual impulse must always have been known everywhere."

Historians and sexologists are unanimous in regarding *England as the classic land of flagellation*. In actual fact, the passion for the rod during the last centuries has nowhere been indulged and developed so systematically as in England, and in hardly any other country was erotic literature under its influence to the same extent. It would appear that every country has its own "national perversion." In Germany it is masculine homosexuality, in France *cunnilingus* and Lesbianism, in England flagellation.

As we have already mentioned, flagellation of a sexual nature was already known in antiquity. This is evidenced by Lucian's story concerning the cynic Peregrinus Proteus, who masturbated in the market place of Athens in the presence of the assembled citizens, asking the spectators to flagellate him during the operation; and also by the whipping of young men at the hands of priestesses which took place as an annual ritual in Sparta. In particular, antiquity regarded flagellation as a cure for sexual impotence and as having a stimulating effect on virility. In Petronius' famous satirical novel the impotent Encolpius is whipped on the genitals with stinging-nettles until the beneficial effect becomes

unmistakable. The Talmud also says that flagellation on the back may lead to a discharge of semen.

The religious flagellation of the Middle Ages was intended to serve a very different object—it was supposed to mortify the flesh and prevent the awakening of carnal desire—but the effect was the same, nevertheless. The English king, James II, was a striking example of the combination of bigotry and sadism; he was a great voluptuary before the Lord and at the same time a fanatical Catholic. His shamefully neglected and betrayed wife, Mary of Modena—as Macaulay has recorded—kept to the end of her life the rod with which he used to chastise her and finally bequeathed the instrument to the Convent of Chaillot.

Erotic literature contains elaborate theories on the question, what are the attractions to which flagellation owes its popularity? We have already dealt with this matter in the chapter on the ill-treatment of children: In flagellation we have a peculiar combination of scopophilia, the desire for pain infliction, and the simultaneous excitation of primary erogenous zones which together enable the sadist “to enjoy the totality of the etiological factors which evoke in him the sensations of sadistic pleasure. Flagellation is therefore, in a general way, best defined as an imitation and conscious synthesis of all the physiologically apparent sadistic phenomena that accompany coitus.” (Bloch.)

As *instruments* of flagellation the following are mentioned in the literature on the subject: sticks, whips (which are the most frequent), and also cord, wire, and thong lashes, hide straps, ox-tails, and birch-rods or canes. Sir Thomas More used to thrash his grown-up daughters with a rod made from *peacock feathers*. *Stinging-nettles*, as already mentioned, have been used as a cure for impotence. During the Rococo period flagellation with *flowers* was considered a specially sensual process. Some cunning flagellants have even repeatedly conceived the idea of having the flagellation performed by *machinery*, preferably by machinery capable of thrashing a number of individuals at the same time.

This idea is mainly of Anglo-American origin. As early as the eighteenth century the English libertine Price proposed to construct a machine capable of thrashing forty people at the same time. Talbot in 1830 actually saw such a machine at a London brothel. The periodical *Society*, in the year 1899, published the following letter from Henry Rowlands on this subject:

I have had in my possession for a long time an eighty-year-old book, which I picked up at a secondhand bookstall in the Rue Montmartre. The book describes a wooden apparatus to which two rods are fixed, and with which it is possible to whip a boy and a girl at one and the same time. To judge by the sketch, it is possible with the aid of this machine to whip a large number of delinquents within a comparatively short time without the executant becoming exhausted or even considerably heated.

In America at the turn of the century there were even electrical flagellating machines.

The parts of the body preferred for flagellation are divided in the secret language of sadists into "superior discipline" and "inferior discipline." The "superior discipline" consists in beating the shoulders, back, chest, and arms; while the "inferior discipline" consists in flagellating the loins, hips, thighs, and, of course, the buttocks. English flagellants have evolved certain refinements in the application of the rod, such as the notorious "cut-up," that is to say flagellation of the genital and perineal regions in a special manner.

As regards *dress*, flagellants are frequently guided by a certain costume fetishism; they dress as monks, nuns, brides, or wear riding-habits, corsets, etc., and each of these "get-ups" has its symbolic significance in the sadomasochistic ideology. Very frequently the partial uncovering of certain parts of the body (buttocks, breasts, etc.) is preferred to complete nakedness.

According to the majority of experts the feminine element predominates among active flagellants, and it appears that flagellation is the most popular kind of perversion with women. In this con-

nection we may once more accept Bloch's view to the effect that men are actuated by an instinctive impulse when performing sadistic acts, while in the case of women, cold, calculating cruelty is a characteristic feature. The Marquis de Sade already pointed out that the role of active flagellant suited women better than men. In describing the shocking flagellation to which Justine is submitted in de Sade's novel, the author represents Nicette and Zulma, the only two women who participated in the scene besides the men, as the most cruel, who inflicted the worst tortures on Justine.

The *history* of flagellomania in Englishwomen goes back to Anglo-Saxon times. The sadistic bent of the women of that period is all the more striking because the Anglo-Saxon laws relating to corporal punishment were extremely mild. Thomas Wright, one of the greatest authorities of the Anglo-Saxon period, regarded the cruelty of Anglo-Saxon women to their subordinates as an extraordinary phenomenon. It sometimes happened that slaves of both sexes were whipped to death by their mistresses. Several pictorial representations of flagellation scenes have been handed down to us from the Anglo-Saxon period.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the flagellomania of Englishwomen became a sort of epidemic. One of the most remarkable manifestations of this tendency was the formation of *feminine flagellation clubs*, whose members were recruited exclusively from the upper classes. The *Bon Ton Magazine*, of December, 1792, gave a detailed description of one such flagellation club, the members of which met every Thursday evening in Jermyn Street:

These feminine members were mostly married women who, being tired of marriage in its normal form and of the cold indifference which after a time supervenes in the conjugal relationship, decided to employ other means to bring back the ecstasy which they experienced at the beginning of their marriage.

The worthy company or "club," of which we speak, never has less than twelve members, six of whom are in each case chastised by the other six. They draw lots as to which group should come first, after

which a lecture or an *extempore* speech is given, describing the effects of flagellation as practiced from the earliest times down to the present day at monasteries, convents, brothels, and private houses. Then the six passive women take up their positions and their active partners strip such parts of their bodies as are not only less easily visible and less easily accessible for chastisement than others, but also—and all the more—sensitive; and the practical work now commences. The chairwoman of the club hands each of the active group a big rod and starts to flagellate, with any variation she chooses, while the others look on.

Sometimes, in accordance with the chairwoman's directions, flagellation begins on the calves and gradually rises to the buttocks, until the whole region which was at first "white as milk," becomes suffused with red.

The most notorious English woman flagellant of the eighteenth century was Elisabeth Brownrigg, wife of the leadworker James Brownrigg, of Fleur-de-Lys Court, Fleet Street, London, who was executed at Tyburn on the 14th September, 1767. She acted as a midwife in St. Dunstan's and also lodged girl apprentices. Outwardly she was an absolutely respectable, deeply religious woman, but in her own home she engaged in the most gruesome sadistic acts on the girls. She "educated" the girls, of whom she had three in her charge—Mary Mitchell, Mary Jones, and Mary Clifford—by means of bloody whippings, administered daily. "She beat the children as a drunken coster beats his donkey." Of the three Marys two escaped with their lives, but the third died under the whip. Soon after Elisabeth Brownrigg, to the great delight of the mob, was swinging from the gallows at Tyburn.

Flagellation brothels during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a characteristic phenomenon of prostitution in London. These brothels served not only to satisfy the masochistic desires of men, but also afforded an opportunity to feminine amateurs to act as "governesses." At the beginning of the nineteenth century a certain Mrs. Collet, who kept a flagellation brothel, enjoyed such a reputation as an exquisite flagellant that even King George IV paid her a visit—and his visit was at that time generally

known. In the sixties of last century a Mrs. Sarah Potter put Mrs. Collet in the shade. She kept a large number of young girls who were ill-treated in various ways by the masculine and feminine clients.

They were flagellated by the most varied methods. Sometimes they were bound to a ladder, at others they were whipped round the room, and now and then laid on a bed. Every idea, every variant that perverted imaginations could conceive, was carried out in order to introduce variety into the orgies, for which the proprietress charged amounts varying from £5 to £15. The revenue Mrs. Potter derived from her "school" made it possible for her to buy a country house and to keep a lover, to the great annoyance of residents in the district.

Even today, however, flagellomania is the most frequent form of sexual perversion in Anglo-Saxon countries. We shall revert to this subject again at the end of the next chapter dealing with masochism.

SYMBOLIC MASOCHISM

MASOCHIST ELEMENT IN NORMAL INTERCOURSE—SEXUAL BONDAGE—SUCCUBISM—YOUTH VIOLATED BY WOMAN—"BULLIES" AND PROSTITUTES—SERVILISM—PUERILE MASOCHISM—ZOOMIMIC MASOCHISM—IMPERSONAL MASOCHISM—CASES—LOSS OF LIBERTY—RITUAL OF SELF-ABASEMENT—MASOCHISM AND RELIGION—ABUSIVE TALK—ABUSIVE LETTERS—GRAPHOMASOCHISM—CASE OF GRAPHOMASOCHISM—LETTERS BY MASOCHISTS—ADVERTISEMENTS—FLIGHT FROM THE MASCULINE ROLE.

We will now proceed to consider the individual groups of *masochism*. As already mentioned, masochism and sadism are sexual perversion which appear in conjunction with each other. Masochism is based on an inversion of the aggressive impulse, and this inversion is called the submissive impulse. Thus masochism and sadism are the two opposite poles of the same primitive instinct, poles with a constant psychological current flowing between them.

The impulse that leads to masochism, that is to say the submissive impulse, manifests itself in two ways—psychologically and physically. It should be noted here that both manifestations of this impulse are present in normal sexual life to a certain degree, with gradations ranging from the normal to the perverse.

The *psychological* element of masochism is in normal sexual life represented by the urge of submission and surrender to the beloved person to the point of complete fusion and the giving up of one's own personality. The next step is represented by sexual *bondage*, which by further stages leads to masochistic self-abase-

ment, humiliation, and, in its extreme form, to the master-and-slave relationship of which the agreement between Sacher-Masoch and Wanda von Dunajew may be regarded as a classic instance. We shall call this group of phenomena, in the same way as in the case of sadism, psychological or symbolic masochism.

The second manifestation form of masochism is physical, and appears in its purest form as an impulse for physical suffering, as a craving for pain. However, this form, which was formerly identified with masochism, is in reality only its *extremest* form. Hirschfeld was right in pointing out that the expression "pain" becomes devoid of all meaning when that which normally causes pain induces in the masochist not pain or a sensation of discomfort, but, on the contrary, a sensation of pleasure. We can avoid this paradox only by adopting, instead of the term "pain-craving," the scientifically more exact term "stimulation-craving." The masochist requires far more intensive affect of his senses than the normal person. His desire for coarse, crude stimulation may apply to all the five senses.

As regards the *sense of touch* the gradations from normalcy to masochism range from erotic pleasure induced by gentle squeezing and pressing to a mania for experiencing strangulation, to "corset discipline" and to flagellation to the point of mutilation. In the case of the *senses of smell and taste* intensification of the normal attraction of the beloved person's smell and the taste of his or her lips, leads to an excessive desire for the smell of the armpits, the genitals, etc., and finally to a mania for the excreta and even to coprophagia (swallowing of excreta). In the case of the *sense of sight* a masochistic exaggeration of scopophilia may take place (masochistic scopophilia), while in the case of the *sense of hearing* there is verbal masochism, the opposite of verbal sadism, which manifests itself in the urge to hear oneself reviled during sexual intercourse.

Naturally symbolic masochism usually goes hand in hand with physical affect-craving, just as the secondary forms of physical masochism referred to above frequently appear in combination.

Thus, in our detailed consideration of the individual groups we shall constantly encounter mixed cases, so that in grouping the individual cases the *principal feature* alone must be decisive, and it should not be regarded as confusing if in the present chapter, which is devoted to symbolic masochism, we quote some very real cases in which this is combined with physical masochism.

We have already seen that normal sexual intercourse shows distinct traces of the submissive impulse. In women every shade of that impulse is represented from their simple pleasure in the physical superiority of the male partner to the sensation of "annihilation" at the moment of highest ecstasy. The poets have repeatedly pointed out that there is an intimate connection between death and sexual ecstasy. Current phrases, such as "I am dying for you," "Kiss me to death," etc., are unconscious symbolic expressions of this fact. The unconscious desire of many women to be violated, which we have considered in detail in the previous chapter, is also relevant to this question.

In the case of men such phenomena occur but rarely, which is explained by man's position in society; at the same time we use the term "rarely" in a very comparative sense. Just as the urge to be "on top" indicates a sadistic component in the case of women, so a preference to lie underneath (succubism) indicates a masochistic component in men. The man who lies underneath wishes to be "taken"; he wishes to be not the aggressive but the passive, submissive party. The concept of under, below, etc., has a special symbolic significance to the masochist. He likes to throw himself at the feet of his woman, to kneel before her, etc.

Moll mentions a typical case of succubism. It concerns a man who had his first sexual experience at the age of 17½ years. His partner was a society woman of heavy build, who simply threw him on the bed and, so to speak, violated him. In addition, and remarkably enough, she had abused him *per anum* with some sort of an instrument before the actual sexual act. The man then had a long affair with an artiste of athletic build, and later with another woman, who, though of slight build, possessed extraordinary strength in her thighs.

He derives sexual excitement from the pressure of the thighs of a woman lying on him during the sexual act.

The next step from the normal fixation on the sexual object is sexual bondage, in which the passive party becomes a will-less tool in the hands of the active party. It was formerly believed that in such cases hypnotic or suggestive influences were in operation, whereas in reality sexual bondage is due solely to an exaggeration of sexual submissiveness, that is to say, degeneracy of the submissive impulse.

It happens with particular frequency that "bullies" exercise such a powerful influence on prostitutes that the latter are "like wax" in their hands and commit crimes upon the instructions of their "lords and masters." A woman in sexual servitude usually also expects physical ill-treatment on the part of her master. Sexual servitude also occurs frequently among homosexuals. Hirschfeld had a patient who stole provisions on the orders of her Lesbian friend, to whom she was in bondage.

Bondage relationships also occur in the case of *frigid* women. In such cases the symbolic manifestation of the submissive impulse completely replaces the normal sexual life.

Hirschfeld records the case of a young woman who was in sexual bondage to a French prisoner of war. She kept him hidden in her room for eight months, and submitted to sexual acts of all kinds, although, as her interrogation showed, she was entirely frigid and experienced no other sensation in the course of those acts than the pleasure of being submissive to her lover.

Hirschfeld introduced a special system into the confusing variety of the manifestation of masochism by defining the various types of self-abasement. His classification is as follows:

(a) Lowering of status (servilism). Men belonging to this category, which is probably the largest, desire to submit entirely to a proud mistress as servants, slaves, or pages. The "slave" and

"mistress" letters reproduced at the end of the present chapter illustrate in the most striking manner the peculiar psychological make-up of these men who "humbly expire in the completest submission to the gracious mistress."

(b) Lowering of age (puerile masochism). Persons belonging to this group wish to be schoolboys, pupils of a strict "governess," or desire to be treated as boys or "immature youths" by a "mother" or "aunt." We have already mentioned this type in connection with infantilism.

(c) Abasement to the animal state (zoomimic masochism). If we did not know it from the direct communications of masochists, the objects used by their mistresses would show us that the erotic self-abasement of these people may be intensified to a point where they assume the role of an animal. Not only do they regard the mode of address by animal names, such as "you sheep, you dog, you pig, you ox, ass, camel," as the opposite of an insult, but masochists representing animals desire to be used and treated as such by their mistresses. For example, a "horse" wishes to be ridden by his mistress, who puts a saddle on his back and a bit into his mouth, digging her spurs into his flanks, cracking a whip over him, and shouting "gee-up!"

In the torture chambers of professional "mistresses" saddles and harness made not for horses but for men have been found, as well as large muzzles which were put on the heads of men who went about on all fours, barking like dogs. Dog leads, dog collars, dog whips, and dog kennels also form part of the collection, which similarly contains large cages in which men have allowed themselves to be locked up, in order to imitate animals "as a symbol of human submissiveness." In some cases a man will run around a beloved mistress cooing like a dove, or crowing like a cock, or even clucking like a hen and pretending to lay an egg. In one case a distinguished gentleman behaved like "an enamored tom-cat," not in any figurative sense, but by actually imitating the love game of the animal.

(d) Abasement to a thing (impersonal masochism). A final form of masochism is represented by the masochist's desire to be

an inanimate object used by the mistress. The man wishes to be a stool upon which the "stern mistress" rests her feet, or a carpet or skin rug upon which she treads. A lady who consulted me about her husband stated that, from the first day of their marriage he used to lie down at her feet in front of the sofa of an evening and ask her at meals to use him as her footstool. At first the woman entered into the joke, which appeared ridiculous to her, but when she noticed that her husband was consistently and insistently repeating this scene, she became somewhat scared and refused so that the danger of a divorce arose; and it was in order to avoid this that she sought my advice. Other men go still further. Like the "woman-mad" men of whom Philander von Sittenwald wrote, they wish to be the seat of the lavatory or even the night pot of their mistress. Others are content to represent inanimate figures, like dolls or marionettes with which the mistress "plays" in any way she likes.

Hirschfeld summarizes here very clearly the typical humiliation crazes of the symbolic masochists. Here are a few cases recorded by Hirschfeld:

I knew a 53-year-old civil servant who, several times per month, dressed up as a boy in knickers and a blouse and, with a slate, sponge, and slate-pencil under his arm, called on his "governess." While walking in the street his peculiar dress was concealed by a capacious cloak. Upon arrival at the "governess'" home he first of all showed her his hands, so that she might see whether they were clean. Then he sat down at a school form and began to spell in his primer, after which he wrote on the slate with his slate-pencil. Each time he took a complete lesson, for which he paid the "governess" ten marks. The masochistic school scene is a characteristic act of sexual substitution, which nearly always affords relief to the point of orgasm, sometimes with and sometimes without manual aid. Actual coitus does not take place in conjunction with this scene.

This case is an instance of puerile masochism and may etiologically be characterized as psychosexual infantilism with a strong masochistic feature. The next case—part of a masochist's con-

fession communicated by Hirschfeld—is also characterized by an infantile fixation:

“One day I was given six hours ‘stay-in’ on account of some offense. The punishment was to be divided into two parts, but I sought out my teacher and asked him to let me stay in for the whole of the six hours at a stretch. Our school ‘prison’ was a small garret room with a barred window. The furniture consisted of nothing more than a table and a stool. As the caretaker was taking me up the stairs to the small garret room I was already experiencing certain emotional stirrings, which reached their peak as he shut the door behind him. I imagined that I was a convict in jail and I was intensely happy to think that I would be locked up for six hours. The primitive furniture, the barred window, and my thoughts of the punishment I was going to receive at home for my offense, intensified my excitement to such an extent that I masturbated. I had been given a number of tasks, but I was so completely absorbed in my masochistic thoughts that I was quite incapable of carrying them out. During my ‘incarceration’ I masturbated three times. When, at the expiration of the six hours, the caretaker released me I was overwhelmed by a sense of regret that I was now free again.”

The fancy of *loss of liberty*, a very frequent masochistic fancy, is typical in this case, which, as we have said, is based on an infantile fixation. In fact, there is a series of associations leading from the conception of dependence, submissiveness, and servitude to ideas of imprisonment, fettering and binding (in the literal sense). In order to express the intensity of a sexual relationship these and similar terms are frequently employed in a figurative sense—a man is enthralled, spellbound by the beauty of a woman. The symbolic masochist takes all this literally, because as far as he is concerned *the state of servitude is not merely an aspect of the sexual relationship but its very essence*. The masochist actually allows himself to be fettered, put in chains, tied to an object and imprisoned, according to whether he plays the role of a slave, an unruly schoolboy, or a criminal.

This represents the transition to that remarkable and sometimes very romantic masochistic ideology which manifests itself in

self-accusation of crime or sinfulness in a religious sense. A classic example of this type is represented by the mason in Dostoievski's *Crime and Punishment*, who confesses to a murder committed by Raskolnikov. He tries to "take on the cross," wants to suffer on behalf of the whole of humanity—a *motif* which also occurs in the works of Tolstoi and other Russian authors of the Tsarist regime, that is to say, of a cultural period in which religious mysticism was associated with the grossest sadomasochistic practice. It is a well-known fact that the Russian woman of the prerevolution period regarded it as a proof of her husband's love if he thrashed her. Sexual masochism and the religious craving for suffering combine here no less clearly than in the orgiastic flagellant processions of the Middle Ages.

Hirschfeld records the case of a man who repeatedly denounced himself as having had indecent relations with others. Finally, he was charged with blackmail. He had written blackmailing letters without any foundation in fact, for the sole purpose of having himself arrested and sentenced. The following is a literal transcription of the notes he made in his cell:

"I only discovered quite recently, through meeting a sadist woman, that I possess a strong masochistic tendency. That explains many sensations that are otherwise inexplicable to me. For instance, I am now here in prison, and I sometimes wish that my imprisonment should last for months. When I lie hungry in bed of an evening it gives me pleasure to think of tasty foods, and in this way I torment myself always. *I only feel happy when I am feeling unhappy.* I have had this tendency ever since I can remember. I frequently experience a desire to have to bear violent pain or to be seriously ill. The action with K., in which I was sentenced for the first time, stimulated me to the highest pitch. I was glad to be in the dock and now I sometimes wish to be involved in a big law case which would create a great sensation. After my sentence it gave me the greatest pleasure to inform all my acquaintances that I had been in prison. Every danger that I court excites me all the more if I know I am going to get into trouble. I struggle against these sensations, but I am unable to repress them. I left my parents' home twelve times. Each time I passed through an

awful inner struggle during my flight, and was tormented by real homesickness; but in spite of that I ran away again and again."

The patient's *impulse to prevail*, which according to Alfred Adler is a primary symptom of neurosis, is a striking feature of this case.

The mania for self-abasement and humiliation sometimes manifests itself in the most remarkable rituals. Comparatively simple is the case of the man who on certain days for years called on a certain girl at a certain brothel, had himself undressed and fettered by her in a certain strictly prescribed manner and after remaining alone in this condition for half an hour left the place completely satisfied. It is easy to trace in this case the mechanism of fancied loss of liberty combined with a special fetishist ritual. The same applies to the man in Paris who enacted a comedy with his mistress, in the course of which he attempted to kiss her on the shoulder, whereupon he was kicked downstairs by a hefty manservant specially engaged for that purpose. It is extremely difficult, however, to penetrate the unconscious psychological mechanism in certain cases which appear to be so silly that one would be inclined to think in connection with them of comedy rather than of sexual irregularity but for the evidence provided by medical practice. Thus Wolffen records the following confession of a homosexual blackmailer:

"Another man, who took me home with him, had a wooden clip which he fixed to his nose. Then he asked me to pull at a string attached to the clip, so that it became compressed and squeezed his nose. While doing this I had to say: 'I hope his nose is going to be so big that everybody will be surprised at it.' I did so and the man masturbated during these proceedings."

This is one of those cases where only the psychoanalyst, after prolonged and patient work on the subject, can find his way in the labyrinth of subconscious symbolism and trace the bizarre symptoms back to their psychological origins.

We have seen that masochism may manifest itself in various fields—religion, crime, etc.—and in the most varied masks. According to Hirschfeld and other investigators, excessive jealousy is also of masochistic origin. Self-torment, which is the essence of jealousy, is nothing but the expression of an instinctive urge to suffer mental torment through the sexual partner. The dictum of the German philosopher, Schleiermacher, which has become a proverb, expresses the position quite clearly:

Eifersucht is eine Leidenschaft, die mit
Eifer sucht was Leiden schafft.

Talk and correspondence—as we have seen in the previous chapter—play an important role in sadomasochistic intercourse. The psychological impulse may manifest itself in its purest symbolic form by these means. The perverts revel in the verbal or written expression of their imaginings, completely unhampered by personal shame and social inhibitions. "In verbal masochism," writes Bloch, "the humiliating word plays the role of the humiliating hand." Verbal masochism is the counterpart of verbal sadism. In sadism it is the saying of the word that induces sexual excitement; in masochism it is listening.

According to Krauss, among the southern Slavs the men before the sexual act make their women abuse them in the foulest terms. In brothels and massage establishments verbal masochism and sadism are employed as sexual stimulants. The following case, recorded by Bloch, is typical: A woman had excited her husband to fierce anger and had even been driven out of the house by him. The woman went to a friend and asked her whether she had had a similar experience. When the friend replied in the negative the caller said: "Try it; excite your husband; it is magnificent to be face to face with a man who is foaming at the mouth with fury and to hear his angry outbursts."

GRAPHOMASOCHISM

Writing is far more frequently employed as a sexual stimulant than words. This category includes, above all, *pornographomania*,

which has been substantially dealt with as regards its history and extent in the chapter on sadism. We will, therefore, confine ourselves here to quoting a few of the very typical masochistic letters.

It is by no means the case that these letters must always come from another person. It happens comparatively frequently that masochists write obscene or humiliating letters to *themselves*. An extreme instance is recorded by Stekel. In that case the patient *did not know* that he himself was the author of the letters. The following is an extract from the patient's notes. He was a professor of philology and after a course of treatment extending over a period of seven months he handed the notes to Stekel:

"Before I approached you I had been treated by two psychoanalysts who possessed very little experience, and that had been gained from the reading of books on psychoanalysis. Thus, two years ago I submitted to analytic treatment by Mr. N. My most important symptom was an unconquerable fear that my students might boo me, that they might make a 'racket' by meouwing, crowing, etc.

"During the treatment my condition became worse. One day I received an anonymous letter which was full of foul abuse; most of the terms referred to urine and lavatory sexuality. (Lick my a . . . I sh . . . on you. . . . Son of a whore . . . damned beast. . . . We'll give you what for. . . . You a professor? You're a common sh. . . .) The letter bore no postage stamp. I found it in the letterbox fixed to the front door of the Institute.

"You can imagine my consternation. Anna, my wife, was of the opinion that this could only be a boyish prank. The writing was disguised. It was all in capitals, like this:

"YOU . . . BEAST . . . LICK . . . ME.

"I thought the letter could only have been written by one of my pupils. My suspicion fell on a hefty lad whom I hated in any case, for the reason that he was the tallest and strongest of my pupils, whereas I am unfortunately small, weak, and ailing, a fact which intensified my inferiority complex.

"A few days later another letter arrived, then a third and fourth. I went to the rector and demanded a close investigation. I also approached the police, and, in addition, engaged a private detective. During the time when my letterbox was being watched day and

night the daily newspapers received a shoal of abusive letters libelling and ridiculing me. The letters were all written in big Roman caps, but in the Russian language. They contained protests that a man like me should be allowed to be professor at the high school, and alleged that I had become weakminded as a result of sexual excesses and was neither worthy nor capable of instructing the youth of the town.

"I now launched a counterattack. I accused the above-mentioned student, had him summoned before the rector and said to his face that he was the author of the anonymous letters. He obstinately denied the charge. An expert graphologist thought he detected certain similarities between the handwriting in the letters and the lad's handwriting, but was unable to arrive at any conclusive result.

"The investigation produced no result, but I was so upset that I was obliged to apply for leave, which was granted. I then began to study graphology myself.

"Gradually the terrible discovery began to dawn upon me that I myself had written the letters. I was puzzled as to why I had done this. I might add that during the first analysis I repeatedly pretended to be insane and was sometimes really on the edge of insanity."

An abbreviated analysis of this extremely interesting case occupies in Stekel's work 40 closely printed pages. The patient shows practically the entire scale of masochistic perversions. We will encounter his peculiar fancies in another connection in the further course of this chapter.

Masochistic correspondence reveals the most interesting and instructive symbolic manifestations of masochism. We have already touched upon this subject in the chapter on sadism where we dealt with Sacher-Masoch's agreement with Wanda von Dunajew, with the advertising method of initiating sadomasochistic relations, etc. We now quote a few typical masochistic letters. The classic document in the literature of this subject is the following letter, first published by Krafft-Ebing, which expresses the sexual-masochist ideology in its crassest form:

"My beautiful, beloved Mistress,

"I have not yet enjoyed the favor of seeing you, oh, Mistress, face

to face, yet I am already under your spell. Your two letters, which I have read over and over again, have already placed me completely in your thrall. Every single word makes a shiver of joy course down my back. I have already thought out some of the most magnificent things we shall do together in your sweet love-nest and torture chamber. But tell me, oh gracious Mistress, why must your slave languish for so long? Why should we postpone for so long the hours of joy and the intoxication of love? Why should we not take now that which has been given us? Beloved Mistress, your slave has such an insane desire for you, he would like to see you, kneel down before you, adore you, serve you as a faithful slave. Call me, oh Mistress, and I shall hasten to you. Surely my Mistress is not so ignorant of the high art of love that she should have to learn from these probably highly interesting and extremely instructive works how to treat her slave. I make the following proposition, my Mistress: You order your slave to call on you within the next few days; we get acquainted and if the books [the writer is referring to erotic masochistic works] have arrived, we shall read them together, or the slave shall read them to his beautiful Mistress, and we can then immediately test in practice the specially interesting and fascinating passages. That would surely give us some very pleasant hours. Does my beautiful, beloved Mistress agree to this proposition? I beg her to do so. Dear Mistress, I am tall and strong, and well-developed in every way. It is only in the presence of a beautiful woman who understands my character that I am defenseless, powerless, disarmed. You will soon know, oh beautiful Mistress, that your delicate little hands can do with me just what you like. For I am looking for a Mistress who shall rule me, whom I may serve. I particularly like the passage in your letter in which you say: 'After the chastisement I want you to be kind, gentle, and loving.' Yes, Beloved, that is just what I like. The slave will kiss the Mistress's back, impressing kiss after kiss up her back, till the Mistress's body is aflame with pleasure, and then, oh Beautiful Mistress, when your senses are sufficiently aroused, you will start tormenting your slave in the most horrible manner. He will have to lie at your feet naked and you must wear the smartest possible shoes (very high heels, at least three inches high). Now you render your slave defenseless. You tie his feet together and his hands behind his back; the sign of his virility rises. . . . Now the slave, filled with pain and desire, rolls on the floor at the feet of the Mistress, who now calmly sits down at her dressing table

and makes herself still more alluring for what is to follow; she powders her beautiful, delicate face very heavily, paints her eyes black and her lips blood-red; then, in her fascinating beauty the Mistress seizes the hide whip and chastises her slave in any manner she chooses and the slave has no right to decide or wish for anything; I assume that my torments will give my beloved Mistress pleasure, satisfaction, and erotic bliss. Is this assumption correct? Very well. You beat your slave with the whip over the back and buttocks as long as you like. If the slave permits himself to cry out or to groan, then the Mistress will simply gag him—with her knickers. The slave will then be obliged to inhale the lovely smell. When the Mistress has satisfied her desire, nay, intensified it to the highest pitch, then she will loosen the slave's fetters and the Mistress will sit in a comfortable chair. Like a beast released from captivity the slave will now fling himself upon his beautiful tormentor, pressing his hot body, covered with blood-red weals, to the magnificent body of his beloved Mistress and raining kisses on her, on her hair, her eyes, the lovely, delicate hands. The Mistress now checks his ardor and commands him to kneel down before her, until she almost dies for joy. She again seizes the whip, it comes down again and again on his naked, sore back, and goads him to fresh passion. But that is not all. The Mistress puts her lovely legs on the slave's back, belaboring his flanks and back. Only when both are almost out of their minds with erotic pleasure does the Mistress order the slave to give her all, and forgetting everything else, our flaming bodies merge."

We have already mentioned that England is the classic country of flagellomania and "strict education." How widespread a knowledge of this fact is, is proved by the following letter, which Hirschfeld received from a governess who taught English in Moscow up till the outbreak of war. She advertised in the Moscow papers that she was prepared to give "English lessons" and, to her great bewilderment, she received a number of letters similar in contents to the following:

"Dear Madam,

"Since, as I learn from your esteemed advertisement, you have spent eight years in England, you are no doubt acquainted with the English

method of education, that is to say, the habit of English ladies to use the stick and the rod frequently on boys, youths, and even men. I myself was educated in Cambridge, where, as you no doubt know, the method of education is particularly strict, and even at the age of 20 we young men received from ladies a sound thrashing with the rod for the least negligence. I think I am right in assuming that you also know that through this method of education most young people of the Anglo-Saxon race have acquired a distinct taste for chastisement by women. I myself, despite the fact that I have been away from England for six years, have retained this tendency, and I request you, should you be prepared to give me the cane or the rod several times a week—which refreshes one both physically and mentally—to let me know on what days I may call upon you, and also what you would charge for a session of about fifteen minutes each time. I am always disengaged after 6 p.m.”

In the above letter an English national peculiarity is hinted at; the following letter refers to a German national peculiarity. It reflects the pedantry and the bizarre mania of the German civil servant for thoroughness with exquisite though unconscious humor. Note how the masochist ritual is combined with Prussian conscientiousness:

“Dear Lady,

“Being on a journey (I live in a Thuringian city not far away), I have read your advertisement and take the liberty of making you an offer. Discretion for discretion! Confidence for confidence! Although I am already 57 years old (unmarried), I am healthy, big, imposing, with a full growth of hair, respectable, jolly, without any ties at all. As a Government secretary I have a good income and am entitled to a pension and my widow would receive a widow’s pension. In addition I own some property and a life insurance policy. I am therefore not looking for money, but only for a good-natured yet energetic woman.

“I have only one stipulation to make, and I hope your lack of prejudice will enable you to agree to it, the more so as all else depends on it. I once committed a serious wrong against a woman and I made a sacred vow to marry none but a mature woman who is prepared to punish me without mercy at our first meeting. I must come to you

soon and serve you for 100 hours (four days and four hours), in feminine clothes, as your maid, rendering you absolute obedience; that is to say, I must perform all domestic tasks, even the roughest (scrubbing, washing, cleaning of rooms, kitchen work, also sewing, knitting, etc.), so that I have to work from early morning till late at night. I shall have to be chastised with a cane and a rod, and in case of disobedience I am to be locked up in a dark room and given nothing to eat. As my usual accommodation I am to be given the simplest possible room, with a table, a chair, and a simple bed. For my food I am to receive during the time of my punishment, in addition to water, some porridge three times per day and a little lukewarm water in a bottle with a rubber feeder. I am to receive nothing else. After the expiration of the time of punishment, which must neither be shortened nor interrupted, and during which I am to be addressed in the second person singular, whereas I must address you as madam, my clothes must not be returned to me until I have given you a promise of marriage in writing. If you agree to this matter, I shall let you know all the details immediately, so that I could start the punishment at 10 o'clock a.m. on Tuesday, finishing it at 2 o'clock p.m. on Saturday. Everything would be all right then, and I can assure you that you would find me a thoughtful, obedient husband who has been longing for a peaceful home for a long time.

"I would add that I could supply the stick and rod, and the fetters with which I am to be bound during chastisement, as well as my food and—in case you do not possess one—a maid's cap. On the other hand, the feminine clothes, such as chemise, knickers, corset, petticoat, dress, and slippers, would have to be ready for me, as well as a feeding bottle. I should refund your expenses. Looking forward to your earliest reply, [Signature].

"Postscript: Have you a dark room (cellar or the like) that can be locked?"

The following two cases are remarkable on account of the identity of the correspondent. The first letter came from an artist. It will be noted how poetic creativeness breaks through in spite of perversion, endowing the perversion with an almost spiritual character and raising it to a higher level. Otherwise, of course, such letters are characterized by their voluptuous tone.

"The boy is longing for the great women in red with every fiber of his heart. That is why I am attracted so much by the figure of Pierrot, with his flaming red lips, his burning, yearning black eyes in his white face, which make him look like a voluptuous, erotic girl rather than a man—a creature made to be the plaything of his mistress. That is why I love Bayros so infinitely.

". . . What a pity that there are no costume festivals these days—I can put my soul into such things. To some, particularly at the present time, all this may appear vain and senseless; outwardly, as people often assert, it certainly isn't. After all, to the unmusical even music appears to be useless and, strangely enough, to me clothes and outward appearance is not only a matter of the eyes, but also a matter of the emotions, whether I see the clothes on others or feel them on my own body.

". . . I want to belong to a single being, to whom I can devote my whole love, my whole ego, as a slave—no, the word is hateful, for it reminds one too much of the old-fashioned Sacher-Masoch, with whip and Russian boots—no, a boy, no, a plaything. . . ."

". . . I am quite sure you will not disappoint me, that is why the boy is already on his knees before you, and begs his great, great goddess for much, very much indulgence. He is by no means the great artist of whom she may be dreaming, but a stupid little boy who is far, far below her and knows nothing, understands nothing, apart from a slight knowledge of the world and of men, except how to adore a great woman, how to pet her, serve her, how to surround her with a great ardent love. . . ."

The above letter was written by an artist, the next, by a dragon, whose description of himself certainly does not tally with the layman's idea of the appearance of a masochist:

"Gracious Mistress,

"The slave wishes to kiss, humbly and on his knees, the whip which the proud mistress has applied unmercifully to his naked body. Mistress! You shall now debase the slave physically and morally to nothing. Let the full force of your wrath strike me. I am terribly crushed, make a helpless creature of me, which shall serve your caprice and pleasure. Mistress, be brutal to the slave, torture the slave both physically and mentally. Inflict the worst pain upon me for the satisfaction

of your wild joy; fetter me with straps, so that the slave shall be incapable of movement and then—the unmerciful whip. His whining shall give you joy; cruelty shall give Mistress pleasure. Debase me to your maidservant, deprive me of my manhood outwardly as well, put me into feminine clothes, tighten a corset on my body; punish me for my sins, Mistress.

“I thrill at the thought of feeling the warmth of my mistress’s body through the soft, pliant silk. I am enraptured by masculinity in woman and I love to see the mistress’s figure in tight silk breeches, such as are worn by men.

“And now let me describe my appearance. I am very tall, and was file leader in the army. My hair is dark, I wear a closely cropped mustache, and my cheeks are furrowed all over by old scars of sword wounds. Otherwise I am of good build, somewhat on the lean side, but fairly muscular.

“It is as yet very uncertain when I shall be able to come and kiss the mistress’s feet. Mistress, be gracious to the slave.

“With deep humility, your humble slave.”

Finally we quote a letter which illustrates the remarkable, but by no means rare combination of masochism and buttock fetishism. The reader will note the bombastic, high-flown style that is so typical of the outpourings of perverts.

“Most Gracious Lady,

“I beg your pardon, in complete humility and submission, for venturing, slave that I am, to write to your Highness.

“At half-past three yesterday, Saturday, afternoon, I saw your Graciousness on the balcony of your home, wearing a white bodice and a brown dress. The sight of your impressive, majestic appearance enslaved me completely. I was, however, entirely overwhelmed when your gracious hands reached behind you, pulling together and raising the brown dress over your proud behind, so that the outlines of your proudly voluptuous hips and your mighty, energetic and severe behind were revealed in a most exciting manner. And when your adorable chest bent over the rail of the balcony in the direction of the church, where a wedding was being celebrated, and your revered, truly majestic and impressive behind projected backwards, your brown dress became tauter still, the sight of your behind which com-

mands absolute obedience, was simply intoxicating. There in the street I was seized by a longing to kneel down with a feeling of servitude and submissiveness before your gracious behind, and to kiss the same with the deepest reverence and respect as your obedient and submissive servant and slave. Should you, gracious Mistress, be angry with your servant, who is abysmally below you, on account of this letter, I beg you with deep humility and submissiveness to chastise him severely and without mercy. For every slap I will kiss your gracious hand most humbly, and for every kick I will lick your adorably energetic foot."

We may conclude this bizarre collection of degrading aberrations of the human spirit with the final sentence of a letter written by one of Hirschfeld's patient's:

"I am never happy except when I am deprived of all human dignity."

In the final cases of our casuistry, which showed masochism in its extreme symbolic-theatrical form, we have only dealt with male patients. This kind of symbolic masochism is, in fact, just as preponderantly *masculine* as the analogous forms of symbolic sadism are typically *feminine*. The male slave and his symbolism are the exact opposite of the feminine mistress and her ideology. In the same way as the totalitarian character of psychological sadism in women arises, as we have been able to prove, from her protest against the prevailing social order and against the passive role prescribed for her, the male masochist is actuated by a protest affecting his entire character against the role of the active, aggressive and superior part which society prescribes for him. The male masochist in his relationship with women endeavors to embody the exact opposite of those attributes which he possesses in his "lord-and-master" role. Hence the remarkable symbolic language, the mania to perform degrading "unmanly" work, to become an animal or an inanimate object, to be deprived of his liberty, in a word, to create situations in which he is the opposite of "lord and master."

This *flight from the masculine role* should no more be confused with homosexuality than the woman sadist's masculinity with genuine Lesbianism. In both cases it is *not the heterosexual partner that is rejected, but the conventional power relationship between the sexes*, which is therefore reversed. At the same time masculine masochism very frequently coincides with homosexuality, though not so frequently as feminine sadism coincides with a tendency to Lesbianism.

PHYSICAL MASOCHISM

OPTICAL AND ACOUSTIC MASOCHISM—PICAZISM—CUNNILINCTUS AND FELLATIO—ANILINCTUS—URINE DRINKERS—FECES EATERS—CASES—GIRL'S UROLAGNIC FANTASIES—MAN WHO ATE FECES—ORIGIN OF THESE PERVERSIONS—AUTOFLAGELLATION—TORTURE CHAMBERS IN ENGLAND—QUEEN OF FLAGELLANTISM IN ENGLAND—WOMAN FLAGELLANT—STRANGULATION—CASE OF KOTZWARRA—HANGED FOR PLEASURE—MUTILATING THE GENITALS—LONGING FOR DEATH.

Having dealt with the psychological manifestations of masochism, we will now consider the physical manifestations of the submissive impulse.

We have seen from the introductory remarks to the present chapter that the individual types of physical masochism can best be summarized by the expression "affect-craving," which means a craving for more powerful stimulation of the various senses. We have also seen that this "affect-craving" may be concentrated on any of the five senses and, accordingly, leads the various special categories of masochism.

Optical and acoustic affect hunger need not detain us here, as we have already dealt, both theoretically and casuistically, with masochistic scopophilia, as well as with verbal masochism, in the two preceding chapters. We shall therefore proceed to consider two other groups of physical masochism, namely the masochistic aberrations of the senses of smell and taste (picazism, coprolagnia, and urolagnia), after which we shall deal with the masochism of

the sense of touch, or rather the stimulation and pain craving of the subcutaneous nerves, such as passive flagellantism, strangulation, self-mutilation.

Picazism means the sexual urge to lick and sniff. Like all sexual aberrations, it has a normal basis in the physiological attraction exercised by the exudations of the sexual partner's body and in the urge to kiss him or her, that is to say, in the tendency to employ the senses of smell and taste in sexual activity.

The next step is characterized by a specialization of these acts, particularly in the form of *cunnilinctus* and *fellatio*. Both these acts, if we consider the matter without prejudice, will be found to be practiced to a fairly considerable extent by all classes, and for that reason alone they cannot be pronounced as perversions without qualification. In this connection we accept the point of view of the newer school of sexual investigators who do not regard acts of this type as perverted, unless they cease to be desired by both partners as *occasional* methods of increasing sexual pleasure which serve to *introduce* the sexual act proper, and are practiced for their own sake, that is to say, instead of the normal coitus.

It is, however, undeniable that in both these acts sadistic or masochistic components are frequently present. We have already pointed out the sadistic character of *coitus in os* in the previous chapter. Conversely *cunnilinctus* and *fellatio* may betray masochistic tendencies.

Fellatio is very frequently practiced as a desirable act by women in sexual bondage. Some women of this type experience, at times, an irresistible desire to drink the masculine semen.

Cunnilinctus, on the other hand, plays a prominent role among the practices of male masochists. Whereas the sexually *normal* person may sometimes indulge in this act, in order to induce intense excitement in the beloved woman, thereby, in a sense, doing her a *favor*, a favor which indirectly increases his own pleasure, in the case of the masochist it is always an act of self-abasement. To him *cunnilinctus* symbolizes complete doglike devotion and submission. There is, in addition, the association of ideas arising

from the position of the excretive organs, i.e. the organs which perform the "lowest animal functions."

The next degree is represented by *anilinctus* and the smelling and swallowing of human excreta.

Hirschfeld writes:

The masochist does not recoil from any of these degrading acts. Not only does he like to lick the beloved woman's saliva, but he even asks her to spit into his mouth, so that he may swallow the saliva. I had a case—which is by no means rare—of a man who made a prostitute chew and mix with her own saliva, the food he ate. The licking of a woman's perspiration and lacteal glands, the desire to obtain access to the discharge of the ears and the nose, and finally the sniffing and licking not only of the *cunus*, but also of the *anus*, are no rarities in the sexual life of the masochist. The next step leads to the placing of excreta from the organs on the masochist's own body, as when the masochist allows another person to befoul him with them, or when he smears himself with them, or inserts fruit into the vagina or dips it into menstrual blood and thereafter consumes it. The extreme is in this connection represented by *coprolagnia* and *urolagnia*.

Urolagnia occurs more frequently than *coprolagnia*. The term *urolagnia* denotes the urge to witness urination, to have the warm urine thrown over one's body, to smell and taste urine. Below we quote a few cases of this perversion.

Wulffen records the case of a 31-year-old business man who, in the year 1894, was caught in Chemnitz in the act as he stood at the back of the ladies' lavatory at a place of amusement, letting the urine run into a vessel he held in his hand. He said that he was suffering from the awful urge of the urine drinker and that medical treatment had proved useless.

A pendant to the masculine urine drinker is the case of an 18-year-old girl, recorded by Merzbach, who was so excited by the smell of masculine urine that she used to loiter in the vicinity of conveniences for men and sometimes masturbated in public, being repeatedly

arrested for this. At her home she masturbated, holding a bottle of masculine urine under her nose during the act. She had no normal sexual intercourse.

Wulffen records a number of still more drastic examples. A homosexual man reported that one client ordered him to urinate on his penis while his trousers were undone in front. A 50-year-old hairdresser made a girl urinate on his hands, deriving complete sexual satisfaction from this. There are urine drinkers who drink up to a quart of feminine urine per day.

In conclusion of this series of examples we quote below the typical daydream of one of Stekel's female patients, whose comment on the matter reads as follows:

"Daydreams of this kind are so awful that it seems to me as though I were practicing treachery against myself in putting them into writing. I am ashamed of myself; I never ought to have tolerated them. One dreams of such things in secret, but when one sees them black on white one is amazed and feels degraded and depressed."

And now the daydream itself:

"I am in a wood or in a narrow gorge, with some exposed points; often there is a pond or flowing water close by. It is summer. I am lying in the grass on my back. The stranger comes. Although he is a stranger, I feel that he is nice. He sits down by me and talks to me, but at first I only listen absently, because I feel that his presence induces a vague sexual sensation in me, which I am unable to resist. He seems to sense what is happening within me. Morality and convention cause a woman to be afraid to admit that she expects something from a man, but as this is a secret daydream I frankly confess that I desire that he should urinate upon me. He senses this and expresses an intense desire to do this, but I must undress, in order to feel the flow on my naked body and also in order not to wet my clothes. This is somewhat repulsive to me, but he helps me, and his touch makes me shiver. The more clothes I take off the more helpless I feel, but the stronger does my sexual sensation become. Finally, when I am quite naked, I try to hide in the grass; I feel at a disadvantage and un-

comfortable. He is dressed, and that underlines his masculine superiority, while my nakedness accentuates my feminine inferiority. This intensifies my sexual excitement, which is based mainly on the difference between the sexes. He does not seem to be in a hurry. When he touches my thighs and his hand lingers on them, I shudder with pleasure. Then, lying in the grass and half hidden in it, I await the moment when he is going to start. This critical moment has never been imagined to its conclusion clearly even in my daydreams. I have never dared to finish it in my imagination. I can quite imagine that in such circumstances a degree of appreciation of the phallus might develop.

"I imagine the stranger in various positions—standing, kneeling, reclining, always in a position to enable me to enjoy the benefit of the warm, soothing flow. He turns me round, so that I can feel it everywhere; it is sheer delight; I feel it on my breasts, on the thighs, the arms. Sometimes I imagine him naked, then he stands barefooted on me, or straddled over my thighs. Sometimes I am standing, while he is standing or kneeling, and he puts his hand between my thighs and this intensifies my pleasure. The peak of pleasure is reached when I am lying face downwards and he pulls my legs apart, then kneels down and urinates into my vagina. Sometimes he does it in such a way that I am obliged to look into his face; it is the peak of emotional stress and I want more and more. The sensation in itself is sweet, then there is the fact that the precious fluid flows out of him over me. In these daydreams I have olfactory hallucinations. I can smell the urine, although I know that it is an hallucination. In my daydreams I also like to see the way the fluid comes out, although this vision counts for very little as compared with the joy I feel when the urine splashes over my naked flesh."

But the most extreme perversion in this field is *coprolagnia*. Real *coprolagnia*, that is to say, the actual consumption of excreta, is a comparatively rare phenomenon, but thoughts of that act and of feminine excreta in general, play a considerable role among the sensual imaginings of masochists. Hirschfeld was consulted by a man who had an irresistible urge to clean his wife's anus after she had relieved herself and actually did so. Others have the urge to watch the act of defecation with or without the knowledge of the other party. There was a smartly dressed woman in Paris,

known as *la femme pétomane*, who exhibited herself on the stage, at fairly high prices of admission; her act consisted in letting out one flatus after another.

Anilinctus is the first step in genuine *coprolagnia*. It occurs more frequently than one would be inclined to believe. In popular parlance the invitation to anilinctus, which is clearly expressed though not meant, is probably the most widespread form of abuse. Recently there was a case in Bavaria of a man who was sued by his neighbor for slander after having used this symbolic expression. The man was acquitted on the ground that the phrase in question, which was even quoted by Goethe, was so current that it could not be regarded as in any way offensive. There is hardly any doubt that this colloquial phrase attributes to the act itself not a sexual but a degrading, humiliating character. Hence the masochistic predilection for it where the urge for self-abasement and degradation seeks an outlet through the senses of smell and taste. In addition, there is the fact that the anal region is one of the favorite erogenous zones before the age of puberty, and anal manipulations of all kinds are very widespread among children—and, as we have already pointed out in the introductory chapter—there is a connection between masochism and infantile regression.

The mechanism of regression to infantile stages of sexuality is clearly discernible in the case of the professor—Stekel's patient—from whose extensive biographical notes we have already quoted. The man was a sort of universal masochist and while in the quoted passage he records some remarkable acts of self-denunciation, in the further passages we reproduce below he describes his picazistic-coprophagous tendencies. The Marescha mentioned in his notes was a physically dirty servant girl who abused the patient in his early boyhood:

“ . . . On one occasion I was looking at a photograph taken by myself. I said to myself: ‘You look like shit!’ Yes, I am a mysophile. In my imagination I loiter at places where there is filth, mud, and decaying things, places where it stinks. I also wear my underwear until it stinks and becomes very dirty. I excuse this to myself by saying that

the underwear gets dirty too quickly. I argue that the paper in the lavatory is not good enough, but I know that I like the smell of the excreta and that is why I do not clean myself properly. In my dreams I am even coprophagous.

"Let us get back to Marescha. Why the devil do I avoid this subject? Well—she was dirty, but her buttocks and her *mons veneris* were 'all right.' She had soft hands. What was it I did between her legs? We had no other wish than to play forbidden games with each other. She was a woman and still young, and at that time I was not afraid, nor did I have any inhibitions.

"I am not particularly keen on naked women. It is a much greater pleasure to raise a woman's skirts and see how her leg grows fatter and fatter the higher you go. Then the dark, warm, cozy, furry nest . . . with its warm and ruttish slime within. Your hand creeps higher and higher. . . . I feel everything, smell everything, including the sweetish-sour smell that intoxicates me. I see myself between Marescha's legs, I smell her anus. . . . I lick.

"What the devil! All my recollections are vague, foggy. Nothing is distinct. Everything is 'perhaps.' Now I can see a scene. She is playing with my penis and testicles and brings about my first erection. I smell . . . and now I know why the smell of my wife nauseated me. This nausea has now vanished completely. It was a repression. I realize now how easily nausea may change into desire. I could now . . .

"In my imagination I quaff even my own semen. Why was it that oysters gave me nausea? Now I know what was behind that nausea. [Here follow verbose fantasies on cunnilinctus and anilinctus which cannot be reproduced even in a scientific work.] Now I know why Marie, at the boardinghouse where I was first staying, induced such intense sexual excitement in me. She was unwashed? All the better. I don't want her in a clean condition. If everything is washed off there is no fragrance and no sweetness left. I hope she never bathes. That was what attracted me in the dirty Chinese women.

"I protest against the habit of men and women who take so many baths. Of course, you never believe you have eaten the full allowance till the last moment of your life. There should always be a certain amount of good, clean dirt, just as there should be a bit of garlic rubbed into your food, though a great deal of it would be disgusting. I am beginning to see why I have such a disgust for a bit of black or

a spot of any kind in my food. My poison complex is mixed up with cunnilinctus and fellatio in this way: The belief that I might get poisoned by the penis or cunnus is a defensive measure or protection against my impulse to carry out these acts. In reality, of course, fear of venereal disease is a perfectly good reason. But why should I be any more afraid of exploring with my tongue the dark, luscious recesses of her cunnus than those of her mouth? I am eager to have it over, and yet eager to go on with these delightful fantasies. Marescha was a considerable erotic influence right at the beginning. She was to me both mother and Marescha. She mothers me, is of uncertain origin, and is doubtless cunnilinctable, if you will allow me to add a new word to the extensive pornographic vocabulary to which I have already introduced you. I believe I would have made a good teacher of pornographic language. But this will do for today. I hope I can be decent today while getting over his infantile debauch with Marescha."

Women also sometimes carry out anilinctus, as is proved by the following case, recorded by Stekel:

A patient informs me that he has a beautiful mistress, a 24-year-old teacher, who is quite normal, but who would not agree to coitus before she has kissed and licked him all over his body and carried out anilinctus with great enjoyment. It happened to the same patient that two sisters carried out anilinctus and fellatio on him simultaneously—according to him, for payment—the sisters having accosted him in the street, promising him something extraordinary in the way of pleasure.

We now come to *coprophagia proper*, that is to say, the actual consumption of excreta. Since, as we have said, this extreme form of perversion is rather rare, only few examples are recorded in literature. An oft-quoted case is that of the Russian grand duke who made his mistress relieve herself onto his chest; that was the only way in which he could attain sexual excitement. Another masochist attained sexual excitement and ejaculation by making his mistress relieve herself into his mouth. She had to live exclusively on marzipan. The following extraordinary case is recorded by Merzbach:

Dr. X., a well-known young man-about-town, spends a great deal of money on women. Owing to his liberality, he is well known in the smart set of the *demimonde*, but so is his perversity, which is frequently discussed both by these ladies and his friends. For Dr. X. carries with him a tiny saucer and spoon made of pure gold. He makes a girl relieve herself on to this saucer and eats the fresh feces with the spoon. I heard of a similar case recently: It concerns a man who sometimes locks up his wife for several days, gives her only certain kinds of food to eat, and then consumes her feces.

In conclusion, we quote the following extract from the confessions of one of Stekel's patients:

"Recollecting the descriptions of Krafft-Ebing, I wrote letters to Anastasia asking her to increase the degree of abasements. Even the writing of this pornographic letter roused an insane desire in me for degradation; I trembled as I wrote and never read what I had written, for I did not want to think of it in my rational state. Anastasia treated me as I wanted to be treated; indeed, she understood the whole business very thoroughly. She received me with all sorts of complaints, made jealous scenes and slapped my face. I had to undress, lie down under the bed so that my head was outside, and she placed her bare foot on my mouth, commanding me to lick her toes. Her feet did not smell of perspiration and were always rather clean. Finally, she used to push half her foot into my mouth. Then I had to lick her vagina, a process which she liked very much; she sat over me in a crouching position and brought her genitals close to my face.

"Next I had to walk in the room on all fours, with her riding me, and she flagellated me on the buttocks during this scene. In most cases I collapsed under her weight, but that did not prevent her from goading me on with blows. After this she urinated into my mouth and I drank the urine until I began to feel sick, when she attempted to relieve herself into my mouth, though she never succeeded in this. While she was urinating I had to masturbate and it was only when she was about to relieve herself that ejaculation occurred. With ejaculation came an immediate nausea. I was overcome with shame at the realization of the insane nature of my practices; but this realization did not prevent me from indulging in this procedure several times at night."

Unnatural and terrible as the perversions dealt with here appear to be, they are nevertheless deeply rooted in human nature and are governed by certain laws. Mythology and folklore, as well as early childhood experiences, provide ample proof of this statement.

In mythology and religion there have been special scatological deities. Venus Cloacina was in Rome the patroness of public conveniences and their frequenters. The Assyrians, ancient Mexicans, Moabites, Israelites, Hottentots, etc., also had similar deities. The worship of the Israelitic Baal-Peor is said to have consisted principally in a combination of the act of defecation with sexual debauchery. The witchcraft lore of both savage and civilized races is particularly rich in ideas and acts connected with coprolagnia. In the Middle Ages the celebration of the Black Mass centered in the enjoyment of urine, feces, the kissing of the buttocks, etc.

But defecation, micturition, and flatus also play a considerable part in the folklore of civilized modern nations and are nearly always connected in some manner with sex, that is to say, they are not merely mentioned in a coarse way, but also discussed in an obscene sense. Even in folk songs and folk tales we meet with sexual-pathological references. (Bloch.)

In accord with these ontogenetic origins, it is also possible to prove a phylogenetic period of the scatological tendency in man. Babies and young children not only display the liveliest interest in the process of excretion and the products thereof, but frequently also a tendency to put these products into their mouths. In all these manipulations pleasure is a distinct feature. But even at a later age children who are deprived of proper supervision display a bent for picking up all sorts of filth, both at home and in the street, and putting it into their mouths. Such children have an urge to gaze at the nauseous excreta of other people, dogs' feces, etc. They also eat the mucous discharge from their own noses and carry out all sorts of anal manipulations on themselves and others.

It will be seen, therefore, that the excessive craving for the stimulation of the senses of smell and taste which we have put

down as the physiological source of the perversions under consideration, is also covered by the mechanism of infantilism or regression to childhood. Stimulation-craving, submissive impulse, and infantile regression, are only the various aspects of the same condition, individual accords in the polyphony of perversion.

The most extreme forms of masochism are those based on a desire for *manual* or *instrumental* stimulation of the sensory nerves of the skin. Here, too, erotic pleasure is, at the same time, derived from the psychological humiliation involved—to be kicked or beaten has always and everywhere been regarded as the worst humiliation; but the emphasis lies equally on the stimulation of the sensory nerves of the skin, which induces erotic sensations. Easily affected are parts of the buttocks, the perineum, the anal region, and the region of the genitocrural nerves and, still more so, the skin of the genitals. But the tactile stimulation of other parts of the skin and the muscles, such as the kicking and beating of the back and chest, the pulling of the ears and hair, pinching of the cheeks and arms, and the scratching of the head and neck, produce an all the more pleasurable effect the more the masochistic component of the person concerned is stressed.

Among the instruments of chastisement the bare hand and the shod foot occupy first place. We have already mentioned the masochist's passionate desire to be kicked and the psychological association that enters into this act. Another form of instrumental chastisement is the so-called "corset discipline," the lacing up of the male or female masochist in a fishbone corset until difficulty in breathing and internal contusions appear. This remarkable practice, which bears the stamp of fetishism, and to which the older authors attached so much importance, is today almost extinct—for Dame Fashion is powerful enough to influence even the manifestations of perversion.

But the mania to be beaten with the bare hand, or preferably with a whip, stick, or rod, that is to say, *passive flagellomania*, continues to be as widespread as before. The passive flagellant is filled with "a mystic emotion composed of sensuousness, imagined subjugation by a stronger power, projection of his per-

sonality into childhood, and intense shame and pleasure at the ill-treatment inflicted upon him."

In the chapter on sadism we have already dealt in detail with the various aspects of flagellomania, and have also pointed out the special role allotted to passive flagellantism in the earlier alleged cure for sexual impotence. A very clear description of flagellation as practiced in the eighteenth century brothels on impotent libertines and old men, is contained in a publication by Doppet (which we quote from Bloch's *History of English Sexual Morals*):

"Let us now imagine ourselves at one of those places where erotic pleasure is for sale. Here we shall have frequent opportunities to observe that one must often resort to flagellation if one intends to give battle to the God of Love. As soon as we enter the temple of Venus we notice instruments of various kinds. The priestess of love shows you a bundle of rods held together by a very pretty bow. Then she conducts you to a whip, every cord of which has a gold or silver tip, while the handle is made of rosewood and is covered with most expensive cloths. If you, as a plain man from the country, ask her what these weapons are used for, she will reply with childish simplicity that they are used to give pleasure. No prostitute disdains to employ this instrument; indeed, she offers it to you, for she does not despair of its efficacy even if the client is an old man of 70.

"I myself once witnessed a peculiar scene which proved what strange things can happen in connection with 'love.' During my stay in Paris I was once called to one of the many harems in the rue St. Honore, in order to render medical assistance to one of the priestesses of Venus who had fallen sick in the course of her profession. As I entered her room I heard from the adjacent room the voice of a scolding female. The woman who expected my aid gave me no time to ask the meaning of the noise, but asked me in a whisper to keep quiet and cautiously raised the curtain dividing the two rooms. Through the crack I could see a scene of the most ridiculous kind. The scene, which I understood was enacted regularly twice a week, was as follows: The leading lady, a charming brunette, stood with her legs and buttocks bared. She was surrounded by four old men wearing impressive wigs. Their dress, attitude, and facial expression caused me

to bite my lips in a desperate effort to repress an outburst of merri-ment. These grey-haired libertines were playing 'school' as boys sometimes do. The prostitute held a bundle of rods in her hand, chastising the old fellows one after the other. The weakest of them received the most blows. The old men kissed their mistress while she was engaged in mortifying their unchaste flesh and the comedy did not come to an end until the strength of the participants failed. My patient was vastly amused to see my surprise and told me several funny stories that were current in her 'convent.' 'We,' she concluded, 'probably fill the most important office in Paris, as we enjoy the privilege of caning some of the most prominent members of the clergy, as well as of the official and commercial world.' "

At that time there was even an electrical flagellating machine in Paris: it was used to cure sexual impotence and was the invention of a Dr. Roubaud.

Passive flagellation was also extensively employed for curing feminine frigidity and sterility. Thus, according to a story handed down to us, Princess Leonora Gonzaga of Mantua had herself beaten with rods, in order to show warmth under the conjugal embrace and to conceive.

England, as already mentioned, always had an extraordinarily widespread sadomasochistic prostitution. It reached its highest development in the person of Theresa Berkely, the "Queen of her Profession."

This queen of flagellantism, who in the first half of the nineteenth century had a famous establishment at 28 Charlotte Street, was a past mistress of her art, i.e. the commercial exploitation of the masochistic inclinations of the "upper ten." Bloch writes about this woman:

She possessed the first great requirement of a courtesan, namely, lasciviousness. For without being herself libidinous, a woman cannot long retain an inclination for such a profession, and it is soon observed that she will only move a hand for the sake of *£ s. d.* But this woman was cheerful and jolly, and she was in the habit of finding out and satisfying every idea, every caprice, every wish of her clients, pro-

vided she was sure of commensurate remuneration. Her instruments of torture were more numerous and varied than those of other "governesses." She had an extraordinarily large stock of rods. These instruments were always kept in water, in order to keep them green and pliable. She had whips with a dozen thongs, a dozen cats o' nine tails which were studded with needle points, various kinds of thin, flexible switches, leather straps as thick as harness, curry combs, and tough hide straps hardened by years of use for flagellation. The latter were studded with tintacks. She also had prickly palms, brushwood brushes, and brushes made from a prickly evergreen known as "butcher's bush." During the summer Theresa Berkely always kept Chinese vases filled with green stinging-nettles, with which she sometimes brought the dead back to life. Thus anyone who carried an ample supply of money into the establishment could be beaten there with rods, whips, riding-crops, and straps; he could be pricked with needles, half strangled, brushed with various prickly brushes, currycombed, flagellated with nettles, and even have his veins cut open, to his heart's content.

Theresa Berkely earned special credit in her profession by inventing the "Berkely Horse" or "chevalet." She invented this apparatus, which was used for the flagellation of men, in the spring of 1828. It consisted essentially of an adjustable ladder which could be drawn out and to which the user was secured, with his hand and genitals protruding. Among Mrs. Berkely's papers an etching was found representing the "horse" in action. It shows Mrs. Berkely herself whipping the posterior of a man secured to the "horse," while a scantily dressed girl sitting on a stool in front and below him is giving him a "friction."

The new invention brought Mrs. Berkely a large number of new clients and enormously increased revenues. When she died in 1836 she left a fortune of £10,000, all of which she had made in the previous eight years. Her memoirs also contained a pictorial representation of another specialty of her establishment, which was a set of pulleys on the first floor, by means of which a person could be hauled up by the hands, in order to be flagellated in that position.

A most interesting insight into the eccentricities of her masculine clientele is provided by the following letter addressed by a flagellomaniac to Mrs. Berkely and published in *Venus's Schoolmistress*:

"Dublin, *January*, 1836.

"To Mrs. T. Berkely,
28 Charlotte Street,
Portland Place.

"*Dear Madam,*

"I am a 'naughty boy' and absolutely incorrigible. The most famous London governesses have already tried their skill on me, without succeeding in breaking my recalcitrant spirit. A gentleman known as de Brunswick referred me to a Mrs. Brown who, he said, possessed great strength in arms. Another man recommended me Mrs. Wilson, of Marylebone, who is supposed to be still less delicately built. The old hotel-keeper Jaunay, of Leicester Square, advised me to go to Mrs. Calmers, who, according to him, possessed considerable practice in the use of the stick. I was then invited to dinner by this lady, and she received me in her smartly furnished flat. However, it was all in vain, for despite her imposing figure and the strength of her arms she was unable to make a lasting impression on me. Someone else advised me to try Mrs. Jones. But she, like the others, strained herself in vain in her efforts to belabor my back with a stick. Captain Johnson insisted that I must visit Betsy Burgess, who, he said, was a clever governess. The bookseller, Brookes of Bond Street, gave me a card of Mrs. Collett and Mrs. Beverley, but their united efforts failed to make an impression on me.

"Finally, dear Madam, I received a recommendation from your intimate friend, the Earl of G——, which made me almost dance with joy, as I have heard about the horse which is supposed to be designed to punish us naughty boys.

"I am going to pay you a visit at the beginning of February, when I shall be in London with my friend, the Earl, to attend to our parliamentary duties. But in order to obviate misunderstandings between us, here are my conditions:

"(1) I must be firmly secured to the horse with the chains which I myself will bring.

"(2) One pound sterling for the first drop of blood.

"(3) Two pounds sterling if the blood runs down to my heels.

"(4) Three pounds sterling if my heels are covered with blood.

"(5) Four pounds sterling if the blood runs on the floor.

"(6) Five pounds sterling if you succeed in causing me to lose consciousness."

"I am, dear Madam,
Your entirely incorrigible
FROBENIUS O'FLUNKEY."

Passive flagellantism in *women* is less frequent as a perversion and far more frequent as a mass phenomenon than in the case of men. Particularly among the peasant population in the Slav countries, on the Balkans, etc., "a sound thrashing" is regarded and desired by women as an indispensable proof of their husband's love even today.

Similarly, prostitutes who are in sexual servitude to their "bullies" regard physical chastisement as a source of extraordinary pleasure, and sometimes as the only source of sexual satisfaction. In the same way as many women nurse an unconfessed or unconscious desire to be violated, women in all classes of society have an unconscious masochistic urge to be thrashed by a man. A peculiar example, which holds good for many, is recorded by Hirschfeld:

A very beautiful young woman, happily married for a short time, seemed to return in a sexually excited state from her outings with her husband, even by day. It is not possible to determine whether the sexual stimulation proceeded from her husband or from other men whom they met on the way, or whom the woman had only seen. At all events, her husband noticed her sexual excitement on several occasions upon the return from an outing. One afternoon this beautiful young woman, for no reason whatever, started a violent scene as, after a walk, the couple were mounting the stairs to their flat. Contrary to her habit, she used swear words, taunted her husband and finally gave him a push and slapped his face. Then she suddenly became frightened, burst into tears, and screamed and after taking off her hat she threw herself, in her smart walking costume, on the carpet and demanded to be chastised and beaten for her misbehavior. The inexperienced husband was speechless with amazement and did not know what to do or say, and the woman implored him to thrash

her with the dog-whip that lay handy. She herself proceeded to raise her skirt and peeled off a pair of lace knickers which her husband had not seen before. The knickers were quite short and the upper part of the thighs, above the silk stockings, was visible through them. The husband, vaguely sensing the meaning of his wife's behavior, mechanically seized the dog-whip and stroked with it her buttocks, whose fleshy roundness, which contrasted somewhat with her otherwise slim figure, the husband claims to have noticed for the first time on that occasion, as well as their delicate coloring. His wife begged him to hit harder and he eventually complied, until her buttocks were covered with red weals and the woman writhed with erotic pleasure under the whip. When this happened a second and a third time, the husband consulted a doctor, who enlightened him.

The masochist's craving for more intensive stimulation than flagellation can provide leads through regular torturing to serious physical injury and self-mutilation. Here too, prostitution supplies the demand of perverts in the most cunning manner by the provision of regular torture chambers. Wulffen describes the interior of such a torture chamber, which a German business man had had equipped by a prostitute for his own exclusive use:

The woman had to furnish and equip a torture chamber whose walls were entirely covered with black cloth. A set of pulleys was suspended from the center of the ceiling. There was in one dark corner a crude scaffold that ran on casters. A leather belt with buckles, a thick rope, dog's collars, dagger sticks, lengths of bamboo cane, a pair of heavy handcuffs with screws and keys, and a magic lantern hung on the walls. The room was supposed to be the court. The masochist had himself hauled up by the pulleys; that excited him and while he was suspended he went blue in the face and had a discharge. He used the scaffold to have himself secured to it; at such times he imagined that he was about to be executed. [Another masochist, whom I know, frequently dreams, owing to a similar sexual bent, that he has been sentenced to death and is about to be beheaded.] The woman had to force the masochist to do the most nauseating things, and if he refused, she had to stop his nose, stick needles into the soles of his feet. She also had to lock him into a wardrobe, with a chain round his neck,

so that he could not move. Another masochist had himself hauled up on a suspension apparatus and remained hanging in the air for hours at a time. On one occasion the "mistress" went out shopping and forgot about him. When he was found he was half strangled and it required prolonged efforts to revive him.

The *motif* of strangulation recurs again and again in extreme cases of masochism. In the year 1791 the death of the musician Kotzwarra, which was a direct consequence of his masochistic practices, created a terrific sensation. We quote a detailed contemporary report of the case by J. W. von Archenholtz:

A very strange case occurred in London recently, leading to a criminal action. There lived in that city a musician by the name of Kotzwarra who came from Prague. He was a man of extraordinary talent in his profession and could play thirteen instruments, on some of which he was a virtuoso. I knew him personally, and frequently admired his talent. The famous musicians Bach and Abel, who scored such great successes in England, regarded him as the best big bass player in Europe, and he had, in fact, put all his rivals in London, Paris, and Venice in the shade as regards that instrument. In the years 1769 and 1770 the above-mentioned musicians frequently invited him to collaborate in the concerts they gave in Hanover Square, paying him princely fees. However, the man soon began to neglect his talents and led a dissolute life. He became a voluptuary of the first magnitude and was always thinking of ways of intensifying erotic pleasure by artificial means. He had been told that a hanged person experienced for several minutes a very pleasant sensation, owing to the accelerated circulation of the blood and the distension of certain vessels. According to the evidence of witnesses he had frequently tried this experiment, always in the rooms of prostitutes, whom he paid for the assistance they rendered him in carrying out the operation. In September, intending to do this again, he called on a prostitute not far from Covent Garden and asked her to hang him, loosening the rope after five minutes. The poor girl at first refused to participate in this queer joke, but the man succeeded, by the offer of money and persuasive talk, in enlisting her aid.

The girl hanged him, fastening the rope on the door, and at the expiration of the prescribed five minutes she loosened it. But Kotz-

warra gave no sign of life and although everything possible was done, he failed to revive. The girl, Susanna Hill, was arrested for murder as a result of the verdict of a coroner's jury, who sat from five o'clock in the afternoon till two o'clock in the morning before they arrived at their decision. The members of the jury debated the matter for nine hours and finally came to the conclusion that they must make an example of Susanna Hill, with a view to frightening other girls who cooperate in such debauchery. The poor girl had to stand trial for her life at the Old Bailey, but she was acquitted, because the court regarded her action not as murder but as accidental manslaughter, which was the only common-sense view of the matter. The girl was immediately released, and took with her resolutions for a better life. The facts revealed during the trial were so extraordinary, and also so detrimental to modesty and good morals that the court not only requested the women in the audience to leave, but also ordered that the records of the trial and all the documents relating to it be burnt.

Susanna Hill's evidence, which is printed in the above report, was as follows:

That on the afternoon of the 2nd September, between the hours of one and two o'clock, a man whom she had never seen before and who was identical with the deceased, came to the house where she is staying, the street door having been open. He asked her whether she would like to have a drink with him. She wanted porter, he brandy and water, and he gave her money to fetch the drinks, as well as some mutton and beef, which she also purchased. After a time they retired together to a back room, where several most indecent acts took place. In particular, he asked her to split his genitals into two parts, but she refused to do this. Then he said he would like to be hanged for five minutes and, while giving her some money to buy a rope, he observed that this would increase his pleasure and produce the desired effect. She then fetched two thin ropes which she placed round his neck. He pulled himself up on the door of the back room, pulling up his legs, so that he hung very low. After five minutes she cut him off and he immediately fell to the floor. She thought that he had become unconscious and called a woman living opposite to her assistance . . .

As stated above the accused was acquitted.

Finally, we quote the following case of *self-mutilation*, recorded by Hirschfeld:

A shepherd began to masturbate at the age of 15 and did so on an average of fifteen times per day. It frequently happened that owing to the excessive irritation, blood was discharged instead of semen. Until his 26th year he only used his hands for masturbation. Then he conceived the idea of introducing thin pencils of wood into the urethra. He did this very frequently over a period of sixteen years, so that the urethra became calloused and insensible. To normal sexual intercourse the patient always had an unconquerable aversion. He was very depressed, neglected his work almost completely and spent most of his time making slight incisions in the glans (the extreme end of the penis) with a penknife. This operation induced erotic excitement and a discharge of semen. From then on he repeated these incisions regularly, always with the same result. When the patient had performed this self-mutilating operation some 1,000 times, his penis was divided into two equal parts. He stopped bleeding by rubbing the outlets of the *ductus ejaculatori* with bits of wood. Having carried on with this manipulation for a further ten years, it happened on one occasion that a small stick of wood slipped into his bladder. The intense pain resulting from this caused him at last to consult a doctor, who made an abdominal incision and removed the stick, which had lain in the bladder for three months. Three months after the operation the patient died.

The above is a typical case of hypererotism, combined with an unquenchable craving for stimulation, a craving for increasingly intense and crude stimulation, which leads to veritable paroxysms of self-mutilation and finally to self-destruction. One more case:

A young man frequented at night the cafés of the prostitutes' quarter in Berlin and used to accompany to her home one of the girls who sat about there. At the girl's room he became intensely excited, then suddenly he took from his pocket a sharp razor and demanded that the girl should cut out his scrotum. He promised her a large sum of money if she carried out her task of mutilation without fear. Although he made the same offer to many girls and the matter was discussed by

the prostitutes among themselves, none of them dared, partly out of humanity and partly for fear of the consequences, to comply with his demand.

This case typifies an extreme form of masochism which has existed in many countries and ages—the urge for self-emasculation. Certain religious sects have practiced self-castration from antiquity down to the present day as an expression of religious ecstasy. This act is a frenzied manifestation of the desire to “mortify the flesh” which may sometimes be linked with homosexual components but is essentially rooted in a primitive human impulse, the mystic prototype of the masochistic submissive impulse. We are referring to the impulse of *self-destruction* which we encounter in Freudian psychology. The masochist’s death fantasy, which may manifest itself in thoughts of suicide and execution, is the neurotic expression, the distorted form, of the eternal death *motif*, the *longing for death* which plays a prominent part in the literature of all races and times and whose intimate connection with the sexual impulse similarly finds expression both in literature and in neurotic affections. That explains why physiological erection in men executed by hanging, which is in itself a repulsive process, has always exercised an irresistible fascination on the imagination of the people. In the case of strangulation mania, a few instances of which we have quoted in this section, this association of ideas, the primordial association of erotic pleasure and death, appears in a pathologically exaggerated form. The comedy of hanging—which may lead to a sort of deliberate accident and death—is nothing but the neurotically distorted, perverted parody of the same eternal *motif* which is expressed in the purest poetic and musical works, such as Wagner’s “Tristan” and Bach’s cantatas: the mystic connection between sexual intoxication and death.

SEXUAL MURDER

THE URGE TO KILL—PSYCHOLOGICAL DEFECT—ALL SEXUAL MURDERERS ARE MENTALLY ABNORMAL—CASE OF SYMBOLIC SEXUAL MURDER—DESIRE TO KILL AND MURDERER'S PROFESSION—CASE OF A SEXUAL MURDERER—THE NECROPHILE MURDERER—WHAT IS SEXUAL MURDER?—FEMININE SEXUAL MURDERERS—THE POISONER.

The urge to kill is one of the primitive impulses of prehistoric humanity. Nevertheless, it cannot be said without qualification that sexual murder is a direct, ultimate intensification of sadism, for the sense of social responsibility which compels the individual to curb his primitive instincts, is not merely an external, legal bar, but an organic inhibition rooted in the mind itself. *The inhibitions are psychological realities, like the impulses themselves*, only of later origin in the historical sense. Inhibitions may even be unconscious, just like the impulses.

Thus sexual murders are due to a grave psychological defect in the murderer, the permanent or temporary suspension of his psychological inhibition mechanism. In such cases, therefore, we are confronted with a most serious disorder, such as, to quote Hirschfeld, "could hardly ever, one might safely say never, occur in a person of sound intellect. All sexual murderers so far examined by real experts have been found to be psychopaths with a high degree of degeneracy, principally epileptics or persons afflicted with a high degree of idiocy."

Consequently, real sexual murders are far less frequent than murders due to a psychological urge to kill. The urge to kill is

present in many sadists in the form of a more or less conscious and more or less highly developed vestige, but even in the highly perverted sadist the inhibitions are adequate to prevent the commission of the crime. Where the impulse is so strong that there is a real danger of its prevailing, then the psychological "defenses" see to it that it is eliminated from the consciousness or repressed. Thus this mechanism of repression, the discovery of which is one of Sigmund Freud's greatest services to humanity, plays a very important part in the protection of human society. It represents, so to speak, the power of the State in the consciousness of the individual, which it purges of antisocial elements.

We have already mentioned that this struggle in the mind of the individual may on both sides take place unconsciously, that is to say, both the antisocial impulse and the repressive forces are unconscious and act, so to speak, on a darkened stage. A classic example of this most important process is recorded by Stekel. It is a case in which sexual murder is prevented; it might also justly be described as a case of *symbolic sexual murder*:

F. N., army officer, 34 years of age, has a queer way with prostitutes. As far as his wife is concerned he is sexually impotent and he is prevented by an unconquerable aversion from entering into an "affair." From time to time he experiences an irresistible urge to visit a prostitute. At such times he is indescribably excited, everything within him trembles and vibrates with excitement. As he walks to the brothel he is always resolved to have normal intercourse "this time" and to conduct himself normally. But as soon as he finds himself alone with the prostitute he is seized with a strange, inexplicable fear which is stronger than he. He is afraid to be alone with her and tells her that he would rather have relations with her in the presence of one of her colleagues. Another girl is then called in. Sometimes this reassures him, particularly if the spectator is powerfully built. But, if the second girl is weak and delicate, he asks for a third girl. Then he carries out a coitus without any particular orgasm, pays, and leaves the brothel in a state of depression, unsatisfied, and ashamed of himself.

This peculiar behavior is not to be attributed to the desire to organize an orgy (pluralism). [Although a number of such overtones probably form part of the libidinous desire, since pluralism is one

of the strong, and just as strongly repressed, manifestations of sexuality, the significance of which is proved by the fact that it still exists in savage races.] The man, as his dreams prove, is a sexual *murderer* who is afraid of himself and fears that he might throttle or stab his partner at the moment of orgasm. He needs the spectators for the protection of himself as well as his partner. That is why he is not satisfied unless the second girl is strong. The patient never remains alone in a room with a woman. If he does, he is immediately seized with a fit of nervous trembling which he finds inexplicable, since he has no idea of his disorder. Also, he is one of those who do not remember their dreams. All he knows is that he wakes every morning with a heavy head and in a befuzzled condition. At first he has no sense of direction. He staggers to the washstand and throws some cold water over his head. He feels giddy and thinks that he is going to collapse. Till late in the forenoon he is tortured by a violent headache. Such phenomena occur in everyone who do not watch their dream life and do not wish to know what happens in their dreams.

Such people often say that they never dream, which is, of course, nonsense.

Everyone dreams uninterruptedly throughout the night and starts dreaming the moment he closes his eyes, in most cases even a few minutes earlier (hypnagogic images). Dreaming continues for a while after waking, frequently for several seconds or minutes (hypnopompic images). However, those who yield to their savage, repressed impulses, particularly of a criminal nature, in their dreams, make strenuous efforts in the morning to forget their dreams (the Freudian repression). They must first come to, shoo away the images of the night, and make the thoughts of the day triumph over them. This repression then produces the symptoms of pressure on the head. They experience a sensation as though the head were encircled by a steel band; as though something were striving to come out; as though the skull were about to burst, etc.

Our patient had similar symptoms, but he could say nothing about his night dreams. Now, the observation of one's own dreams requires a certain amount of training. Most people have dreams which they note very cursorily and forget by the morning. When they are asked by their doctor to note their dreams, they wake up at night, go over the dream in their mind, and say to themselves: "You need not write that down; you've made a good mental note of it." And by next day

the dream is completely forgotten. It requires a great deal of will power to remember a dream when the entire psychological apparatus is intent on forgetting and repressing it immediately.

However, our patient had an iron will. He decided to watch his dreams and started a "dream hunt." It was more difficult than he had imagined. In the end, however, he succeeded and a series of dreams was unfolded to me. I had said nothing to F. M. about his complaint, nor had I told him what I suspected behind his peculiar behavior at the brothel. The first dream he communicated to me as follows:

"I was alone with a girl in her room. She was lying in a pool of blood, stabbed to death. I was afraid that I might be taken for the murderer and I ran out of the room. A policeman saw me and said: 'Why, your hands are bloody.' I defended myself by saying that I had killed a chicken. He looked at me suspiciously, then he let me go."

Further observations showed that all his dreams were of the same type. They were always about a murder, the murder of a prostitute, there were always criminal trials in which he had to prove his innocence. Finally, he brought up childhood recollections which confirmed the assumption that it was a case of thoughts of murder in his childhood. He used to cut dolls open with a knife, imagining that their blood was running on his clothes. As a youth he had fancies by day of cutting out the genitals of women. He was one of those children who always want to know what people look like inside. That question had always been in his mind. He became a doctor and would have liked to become a surgeon. But he fainted in the dissection room. He could not see suffering or blood. Since his early youth there had been a powerful repression of his sadistic impulses, resulting in a reversal to a deep aversion to blood and nausea for everything connected with it. He could not eat bloody beef, and could not bear to see a chicken killed. In spite of that, however, after the expiration of his year of service in the army, he secured a commission and was placed on the active list. I saw him immediately before the war, to which he went with indescribable enthusiasm. He was now able to place his sadistic impulse in the service of the fatherland.

As early as three weeks after the first battle he returned, presenting the typical symptoms of war neurosis—lassitude, depression, debility, insomnia, excessive sensitiveness to light and sound, a tendency to weep.

After the first engagement, in which he distinguished himself, he could not sleep. Evidently, his conscience could not bear the libidinous nature of his actions on the battlefield. In his short dreams he saw himself again and again in the act of plunging his sword into the belly of his opponent, and he was pursued by this image even by day. After three weeks these symptoms passed and he calmed down. He became an instructor, and probably rendered his country no less valuable services by training recruits.

He had lost his fear complex when visiting a prostitute, and had long ceased to ask for a witness. His was one of those few cases in which a short course of treatment and enlightenment suffice to bring about a cure. He saw immediately that I was right, and at the conclusion of the treatment he handed me a wonderful Norwegian knife with an extraordinarily keen blade.

"Allow me," he said, "to offer you this knife with a confession, as a mark of my esteem to the tamer of murderers. I always used to take this knife with me when I called on a woman. Of course, I had a motive for this, for I might have had to defend myself in case of attack by a 'bully.' Today I know that this was the weapon with which I might have committed the murder. Now that I know myself, I require neither a weapon, nor the protection of a witness."

Stekel's fortunate patient concludes his confession with the words: "Now that I know myself . . ." The majority of sexual murderers commit their first murder precisely because they do *not* know themselves. The sexual murderer does not know the sinister, bestial desire to kill that lies dormant within him, to come to life at the first unfortunate opportunity. It may be brought to the surface by a sexual act, but this is not always the case. State Attorney Wulffen, one of the greatest authorities on this subject, writes in this connection:

In the murderer Schilling we encountered an individual who was evidently excited by the contact of his hands with the soft, warm flesh of his victims. He experienced a powerful urge to put his hands round the neck of a woman, to squeeze it, and finally to throttle the woman. The psychological path from throttling with the hands to

stabbing and slashing with a knife, is very short. The victim screams and struggles, and the murderer's pleasure and energy are thereby immediately intensified. The more strenuous physical effort also intensifies the psychological urge and the desire to see the victim's blood suddenly surges up. Reflection and consideration, of which such people are not easily capable even in ordinary circumstances, come far too late to stop them. The victim is dead by then.

Again, there are murderers who are driven to kill, not by having their hands in contact with another person's neck, but by the mere sight of the warm flesh. Thus many a tyrant could not look at a bare neck without thinking how nicely it would respond to the sword. The sight of the naked flesh arouses both erotic desire and the desire to kill. The touching of the warm flesh may arouse the desire to see the blood that is circulating under the warm skin. A mental picture of the redness of the blood may also induce sexual excitement. At the moment of the highest erotic exaltation a man may be driven to dig his fingers into the flesh of his partner. For instance, a brutal man may try to go as deep as possible into the vulva of the woman, as though he were about to slit her open. From that to the digging of his fingers into the bleeding intestines of his victim, to the tearing out of the intestines, is but a short step. Such murderers are mentally weak people. They may sometimes kill someone by accident, and it is only when the deed has been done that they discover the horrible joy they may derive from killing.

The desire to kill may be evolved by reason of the subject's profession. Butchers and hunters are frequently represented in the list of murderers. In the course of their profession they lose the aversion to killing that the normal human being experiences, and in the act of killing animals they discover, in most cases by accident and to their own surprise—a usual feature in the acquirement of sexual perversions—that killing gives them pleasure, and this arouses in them the desire to murder. Murderers whose desire to kill evolves by reason of their profession, frequently employ their professional skill at murders. One butcher severed a girl's carotid arteries by two regular incisions on the neck. A young hunter killed the newborn child of his mistress by stabbing it in the nape of the neck, which is the method of killing a wounded deer.

A man afflicted with this desire to kill is described in Emile Zola's *Bête humaine*. It is said that Zola used as his model the French murderer Eusebius Pieydagnelle, who was tried in the year 1871 for four murders. In the speech he addressed to the jury, a record of which is extant, he begged the jury to sentence him to death. He said he would have killed himself but for the fact that he believed in a Beyond, and did not want to add a further sin to his score.

Pieydagnelle told the jury that he came from highly respectable parents and had had an excellent education. Unfortunately, opposite their house in Vinuville there was a butcher's shop kept by a M. Cristobal. "The smell of fresh blood, the appetizing meat, the bloody lumps—all this fascinated me and I began to envy the butcher's assistant, because he could work at the block, with rolled-up sleeves and bloody hands." Then, in spite of his parents' opposition, he persuaded them to apprentice him to Cristobal. Here he drank blood in secret and wounded the cattle. He derived the greatest excitement when he was permitted to kill an animal himself. "But the sweetest sensation is when you feel the animal trembling under your knife. The animal's departing life creeps along the blade right up to your hand. The mighty blow that felled the bullocks sounded like sweet music in my ears." Unfortunately for him, his father took him away from the butcher, and apprenticed him to a notary. But it was too late. He was seized with a terrible depression, a deep melancholia, and since he could no longer kill animals, he began to kill people. Six times he committed murder under the compulsion of the same urge. He tried to isolate himself from the world and lived in a cave in a wood. But it was all in vain; his impulse was stronger than he. His last victim was his first employer, M. Cristobal. The murderer then gave himself up. His first victim was a girl of 15, and he describes his sensation when he killed her as follows: "As I looked at the lovely creature my first thought was that I should like to kiss her. I bent down . . . But I paused—a stolen kiss is no use. But I could not bring myself to wake her up. I looked at her lovely neck—and at that moment the gleam of the kitchen knife that lay beside the girl struck my eyes. Something drew me irresistibly toward the knife."

Neurasthenics and degenerates when they see a knife experience a compelling urge to kill someone, even if it is a loved relation. (Wulffen.)

Genuine sexual murders are far rarer than one might assume from newspaper reports. Most murders that are at first regarded as sexual murders prove after close consideration and investigation to be due to other motives. Very frequently the victim is killed accidentally as the killer is attempting to overcome her resistance. Thus Heider and Ritter, who murdered some boys, and whom Hirschfeld had occasion to observe, said that they had not killed their victims deliberately. They said that while they were abusing the boys the latter screamed and put up a violent resistance, so that anger and fear affects were added to their sexual excitement, depriving them of the power of thought, and inducing them, almost unconsciously, to obviate the danger of discovery while continuing the act of abuse to the point of ejaculation; it was for this reason that they had squeezed the boys' throats so hard, unintentionally killing them. The dismembering of the corpses, which was carried out in this case as in so many other cases, was, the murderers said, due to no other motive than the desire to dispose of the bodies without a trace. Hirschfeld describes these statements as credible.

In these and similar cases the killing is not the sexual aim itself, as in the case of genuine sexual murders, but only a means to an end, and not even a deliberate means. Hirschfeld quotes a further example confirming this view. The body of a girl was found sewn in a sack in the river Spree. The body showed marks of violation, and it was later discovered that the girl had been raped by several sailors in the cabin of a freighter. It was supposed that this was a case of sexual murder, but closer investigation revealed that it was an accident. The girl had been suffering from heart disease, and had died from a stroke, when, after several acts of rape, a particularly brutal sailor pressed his hand over her mouth to prevent her from screaming.

Conversely, killing may not be an end in itself but a means to an end in the case of a *necrophile* murderer, who can only carry out the sexual act on a dead body. We shall have more to say on this subject in the final chapter.

When a female prostitute is killed during or after the sexual act,

the case is very frequently put down as sexual murder. In reality, however, in these cases the motive is usually robbery and has nothing to do with sex, except that the intimacy of the situation and the absence of witnesses are favorable to the murderer. There are, however, cases where sexual murder is combined with robbery, and neither the law nor the murderer himself is able to define the boundary between these two motives.

Finally, there is the apparent sexual murder, stage-managed by the murderer in order to mislead the police. A well-known case is that of Frau U., the wife of a working man, who on the afternoon of 9th November, 1897, called for her 7-year-old daughter at school, and taking her to a stone quarry, suffocated her by stuffing grass into her mouth. The woman's real motive was that she wanted to leave her husband, who continuously ill-treated her, and it was necessary for her to be rid of the child, but she would not leave her with her brutal father.

After the murder the woman pierced the child's hymen with her finger, pulled her legs apart, and left her lying with her genitals exposed, in order to create the impression that the child had been the victim of a sexual murder.

All these are neither genuine cases of sexual murder, nor mixed cases. By "genuine sexual murder" Hirschfeld means cases in which the murderer obtains sexual satisfaction by murdering or fatally injuring another person. Hirschfeld writes:

As this act is in most cases committed under an intense affect, deliberate intent is usually absent. By its very psychological nature, the act cannot have been deliberately planned in advance, but is committed in a state of sexual frenzy, if not sexual stupefaction, so that, looking at it objectively, it must be regarded as manslaughter. In a crime pronounced as sexual murder, the type of injuries is of considerable importance; the most frequent are mutilations of the genital organs or the cutting out thereof; next come disembowelling, the plunging of a stick or umbrella into the vagina or anus, the tearing out of the hair, the severing of the breasts, and throttling. Wulffen is correct in asserting, on the basis of numerous cases of sexual murder

analyzed by him, that the act of coitus itself, with its physiologically inherent exaltation and violence, may bring out sadistic urges that may lead to the killing of the partner. This applies particularly to weak-minded degenerates with a low degree of virility, in whom the fatal affect may be produced just as frequently by anger over inadequate erection, as by fury over the victim's resistance, both of which factors render the execution of the sexual act and the obtaining of pleasure difficult. Wulffen records that the leather worker Paul Dietrich, a sexual murderer declared to be insane, became intensely excited whenever he met a woman in a lonely lane. His heart began to beat so violently that he could hardly breathe or think lucidly. He perspired profusely, went hot and cold, and this condition worsened to the point of unconsciousness if he met with resistance in attaining his object, i.e. the sexual act. In such cases he only came to when the victim was already dead.

In genuine cases of sexual murder the killing replaces the sexual act. There is, therefore, no sexual intercourse at all, and sexual pleasure is induced by cutting, stabbing, and slashing the victim's body, ripping open her abdomen, plunging the hands into her intestines, cutting out and taking away her genitals, throttling her, sucking her blood. These horrors, which surpass in frightfulness everything that has been committed by human beings even under the effect of war psychosis, constitute the—so to speak—pathological equivalent of coitus.

A typical case is that of the sexual murderer Verzeni, recorded by Cesare Lombroso. Verzeni almost strangled four women, killed a 28-year-old woman, and throttled a 14-year-old girl. He dragged the latter's body to a field, tore out the intestines and the genitals, bit the thighs in many places, sucking out the blood. He even tried to roast a piece of the calves. He was a man of normal intelligence, but addicted to masturbation. In committing his murderous acts he always experienced an indescribably pleasant sensation. He had never had normal relations with his victims. The act of throttling induced erection and ejaculation in a higher degree than masturbation. Whether the woman was old or young, beautiful or ugly, did not matter to him. As soon as he touched a woman's throat he experienced sexual excitement and, as he throttled her, ejaculation occurred. If he was relieved early, he did not kill the woman, but if ejaculation was retarded, he killed his victim in order to achieve it. He also derived considerable

pleasure later in touching the victim's clothes and intestines. He seldom looked at or touched the genitals. After the deed he always felt particularly comfortable. He never experienced remorse. He does not appear to have had any normal sexual urges. At the age of 12 the throttling of chickens gave him erotic pleasure.

History also knows of *feminine* sexual murderers, though they are extremely rare. Corvin records a case from the forties of the nineteenth century concerning a London nursemaid who confessed that she had killed animals and children for no other reason than that it gave her a peculiar, indescribable pleasure. She derived sexual satisfaction from the sight of her victim's death agonies. She had indulged her urge to kill for years before her crimes were discovered, and had made many victims in secret.

History also records the case of the "Bloody Countess Bathory," wife of the Hungarian Count Nadasdy, who lived in the early seventeenth century. She killed more than 600 girls, saying that she was only killing them in order to bathe in their blood and thus acquire perpetual youth.

Similar cases occurred among women slave owners on the American plantations before the Civil War. But, as we have said, such cases are very rare. Wulffen is of the opinion that the typically feminine equivalent of sexual murder is *poisoning*:

The poisoner is actuated by inherent sexual-sadistic motives. Women poisoners frequently take pleasure in their nefarious activities. Psychologically this is explicable, as the need for secrecy and methodical procedure in obtaining the poison, the preparation of the potion, and anticipation of the result involve considerable preoccupation and may therefore give satisfaction. For instance, Margaret Gottfried, who poisoned a number of people, confessed that she experienced considerable pleasure in poisoning. When a little girl wished her "many happy returns," she gave her a poisoned piece of bread and butter. It was she who said: "I could do evil with pleasure." Poisoning is a feminine specialty, among other reasons, because it can be carried out in secret and involves no bloodshed. According to Bloch most of the professional women poisoners, like Mesdames Jegado,

Ursinus, Brinvilliers, Gesche, Guinness, etc., were sexually excitable or debauched women, so that the assumption that poisoning may represent a sexual equivalent is justified.

The great majority of sexual murderers, like "Jack the Ripper," who murdered and mutilated many women in the East End of London during the years 1887 to 1889, are, in spite of the number and audacity of their crimes, never caught. This is all the more surprising because those who have been under observation proved that none but psychopaths are capable of such crimes. For instance, Lombroso describes Verzeni as follows: "Verzeni was microcephalic (small-headed), had an asymmetrical skull, enormously developed jaws, only one testicle, the other being atrophied. In addition, he squinted and had no hair on his face. Two of his uncles are cretins, a third microcephalic. His father is suffering from *hypochondria pellagrosa*, and one of his cousins is a kleptomaniac. The whole family is very greedy, but very bigoted in a religious sense."

As State Attorney Wulffen, an acknowledged authority on this subject, writes: "It is clear that sexual murderers are all more or less psychopathic." In spite of that, however, many of them have been executed, like the Frenchman Vacher, who between the ages of 25 and 28 years (1894-97) committed no fewer than eleven sexual murders. The medical expert expressed the opinion that "Vacher's crimes are the acts of an antisocial, bloodthirsty sadist who thought he was at liberty to commit his horrible crimes merely because he has escaped punishment for previous crimes." This opinion, like so many others in this connection, was evidently dictated by moral sentiment rather than by a knowledge of psychiatry.

A very similar case was that of the sexual murderer Menesclou, who was *declared sane by three psychiatrists*. After his execution it was found that various parts of his brain showed pathological changes. Another sexual murderer, the 22-year-old typesetter Paul Mirow, was an *epileptic*. In the year 1907, he was confined in the asylum at Herzberg on account of his epilepsy, and he confessed that six months before he was sent there he had stabbed

three little girls with a knife in one day, and that one of them died as a result of her injuries. At first no one would credit his self-accusation, but later, when he was able to supply details which only the children's families and the police could have known, the truth of his statement had to be acknowledged.

This case shows that the two principal arguments raised by judges in cases where insanity is pleaded, namely, the systematic nature of the criminal's procedure and his power of recollection, by no means preclude a pathological condition. The disagreement between jurists and pathologists in this respect came out in a particularly striking manner in the case of the epileptic sexual murderer Tessnow, who in spite of the evidence of a number of psychiatrists was sentenced to death, but was not executed, because he had an epileptic fit on the way to the scaffold.

"I did not know Tessnow myself," writes Hirschfeld, "but I discussed the case very thoroughly with several colleagues who had been called at the trial and were firmly convinced that Tessnow was *sentenced to death for being seriously ill*, which unfortunately happens only too frequently in all countries. These savage cruelties spring from a deranged mind and the only question to be answered in the individual case is whether these hereditarily tainted people are capable of opposing sufficient resistance to their pathological impulses. In the great majority of instances this question should be answered in the negative, and sexual criminals ought therefore to be sent not to penal establishments, and much less to the scaffold, but, in view of the danger to the community which they undoubtedly represent, to criminal lunatic asylums, such as already exist in England and in some other countries, and to some extent also in Germany. At Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, not far from Reading, in whose jail Oscar Wilde served his sentence, I saw a large number of such murderers disporting themselves in a securely fenced garden."

A CASE OF SEXUAL MURDER

THE CRIME—CONDITION OF THE TWO BODIES—THE MURDERER—HIS DESCENT—HIS CHILDHOOD—DIRECTION OF HIS SEXUAL IMPULSE—HISTORY UP TO THE CRIME—HIS SEXUAL LIFE—IN THE WAR—SEVERAL ENGAGEMENTS—MASTURBATION—IMPOTENCE—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS AT COITUS—THOUGHTS OF SUICIDE—AWAKENING OF IMPULSE TO MURDER—FIRST ATTEMPT—DESCRIPTION OF THE ACT BY THE MURDERER—MURDERER AND VICTIMS MEET—ALCOHOLIC EXCESS—IN THE VICTIMS' HOME—HARMLESS PLAY—MURDERER'S HAND ON FIRST VICTIM'S THROAT—PRESSURE—MURDER—SECOND MURDER—VIOLATION OF CORPSE—ARREST—CONFESSION—SCIENTIFIC OPINION OF THE CASE—MASTURBATION—HYPOCHONDRIA—IMPOTENCE—SADISTIC INCLINATION—ON THE QUESTION OF SEXUAL MURDER—QUESTION OF FREE VOLITION—ALCOHOLIC EPILEPSY—THE QUESTION OF RECOLLECTION—FINAL RESULT.

We quote the following expert opinion by Hirschfeld from *Sexual Tragedies, in extenso*, in order to present to the reader as clearly as possible all the more important aspects of sexual murder. After the usual stereotyped official introduction, Hirschfeld proceeds to describe the crime, committed by Police Sergeant Bruno G.:

The charge presented to the State Attorney stated that both women, Ella H. and her mother, Ella T., were the victims of a sexual murderer. This conclusion was evidently drawn from the fact that in both cases the genitals were exposed. Frau H. was covered with only a blanket and towel over her chest, and was completely naked, most of her clothes having been found under her back.

The shoes and stockings of the murdered woman were scattered all over the kitchen. When the blanket and the bloody towel had been removed, a knife was found to be buried in the left breast, with about half an inch of the haft protruding. On the right breast there was a wound evidently caused by biting. There was a wire loop round the corpse's throat. The face at the base of the nose was swollen, apparently from blows with the fist. In the corner of the right eye there was a slight stab wound, while a wound caused by biting was discovered below the right calf.

In the living room next to the kitchen lay the body of the murdered Frau T. Her dress was torn from her throat downward, so that her breasts were bare, while her skirts were turned up and her knickers torn, so that her genitals were exposed. Near the body a pair of pocket scissors was found. On a chair near the body lay a chopper. The throat of the murdered woman showed clear signs of strangulation.

The bed was in disorder. There was a spot on the sheet, caused by vomiting, and the chamber under the bed also contained a discharge of this nature. There was no sign of a search having been made for money or valuables; nothing except a lady's watch was missed. According to the post-mortem carried out by the police surgeons, Frau H. died of strangulation and internal hemorrhage resulting from stab wounds in her heart and lung, while the older woman died of strangulation. Her genitals were also injured, apparently by scratching.

There was no certain evidence of sexual assault. Bruno G., a police official, was arrested for the murders, and he confessed having accompanied the two women to their home and having murdered them.

1. Accused's Early History

Family History:

G.'s father and paternal grandfather were dipsomaniacs and highly excitable.

His paternal grandfather, his mother, and one of his uncles suffered from epileptic attacks.

His mother was highly excitable and nervous.

His maternal grandfather received sentences totalling 18 years for assault and poaching; an uncle committed suicide, allegedly during an epileptic attack.

2. Psychobiological Questionnaire

In order to form an opinion concerning the accused, we placed before him our psychobiological questionnaire, impressing upon him the necessity for strict truthfulness. The following answers are the most important.

1. My father is still living, my mother died of consumption at the age of 54.

6. Physically I resemble my father, mentally my mother.

7. I have three brothers and three sisters.

11. I always got on with my brothers and sisters, as well as with others.

13. My father and brothers, as well as several of my relatives, are addicted to drink.

20. As a child I was physically well. I only had a slight headache when reading or learning something by heart. Until my 16th year I wetted my bed.

21. As a child I was very timid, but later I changed.

23. I participated only in pronouncedly boyish pursuits like wrestling, running, military and Indian games, etc.

24. As a boy I lacked a spirit of gaiety and as I was frequently reproached for depressing others by my quiet demeanor, I gradually withdrew from the company of other boys. My sisters teased me for staying indoors too much, and called me a dreamer.

25. In my early years my mother often told me that I looked like a girl, but for my short hair.

26. As a child I often had nightmares. I was pursued by a pair of eyes, staring at me with a terrible expression. I could not get rid of that face even in the waking state. I was always afraid of going to sleep.

29. My conduct was such that I did not deserve chastisement from my parents or teachers. My father chastised me frequently because I refused to buy drinks for him on the instructions of my mother.

30. I was brought up at the house of my parents.

35. From my tenth or eleventh year I masturbated nearly every day about three times. I do not know how this began.

With regard to his present condition, G. gave the following information:

39a. I am 5 ft. 8 in. tall, and weigh 154 pounds.

39b. I love small women.

41. I like hard physical work best; the strength and endurance of my legs are greater than those of my arms. I prefer weight-lifting, etc., to free exercises.

42. My tread is firm and my stride long.

42b. I like a short stride in women.

44a. My skin is of a light, somewhat ruddy color.

44b. In women I like a clear, pale coloring.

45a. The hair on my head is thick but soft. My arms, chest, and legs have only a slight growth of hair. The same applies to my face.

47. My sensitiveness to pain is slight.

48. I like small hands and dainty feet in women.

50. My body is slim, with full shoulders. My hips are narrower than my shoulders. The shape of my skull is oval and long.

52. I have a full chest, with small nipples.

53. I like women with full, round breasts.

55a. I prefer the odor of the rose to all others.

55b. I like women to use creams and perfumes.

56. I dislike strongly spiced foods, but like strongly sweetened foods.

58a. My larynx is normal. My adam's apple protrudes only slightly. My voice is naturally low.

58b. I like natural speech, an attractive, insinuating voice.

60. I am not left-handed.

61. I sometimes suffer from so-called depressions and feel as though the ceiling were going to crash or something else of an extraordinary character were going to happen. I am very forgetful, and have practically no memory for figures. I blush easily, even at harmless talk. At the age of 10 I once fell on my head when sliding down the banisters. The consequence was slight oppressiveness, headache, and nose bleeding. I do not know whether my recurring headaches are due to this or not.

63a. I am of a soft temperament.

63b. I am yielding and conciliatory, the way I like women to be.

64. I feel pain and pleasure like other people, with this difference, that a small present or unexpected pleasant news brings tears to my

eyes. On the other hand the more serious and sad I feel, the more I try to conceal or shoo away my troubles with a laugh. My relations have frequently called me heartless on account of this. This laugh sometimes comes without rhyme or reason, and I do not know myself why it rises to my lips. This laugh lasts a long time, and is of a convulsive character, so that my former colleagues nickname me the "Laughing Prince."

65. I am erratic; I am alternately gay and depressed, and laugh and cry almost in the same breath.

67. The more excited my environment is, the calmer I am. I always try to reassure and calm others. When I am angry or excited over something I find relief in words, then I am calm again, as though nothing had happened.

70. I am very ambitious. I mostly overestimate my knowledge and capabilities. I am very receptive to admiration and applause. I have no desire to dominate others.

71. I am curious, taciturn, and credulous, but not easily accessible. I am not interested in gossip.

72. I have been a believer since childhood.

74. I am tidy and very punctual, but somewhat easy-going and extravagant, though I do not live above my means.

76a. I am weak-willed, but know no fear.

76b. I like strong-willed, energetic, fearless women.

78. My requirements are modest in everything; I cannot exist without work, but prefer hard physical to intellectual work.

79a. I have been a smoker (cigarettes) since the age of 16. In my early years I drank very little, and then only on special occasions. Later, as a soldier and policeman, I drank more. I could not stand much, and was entirely drunk after drinking a pint of beer and one or two liqueurs.

79b. I do not like women who drink or smoke.

80a. My memory is weak. I can only vaguely remember events that took place long ago. On the other hand, events of a sexual character remain more distinctly in my memory. I have a very lively imagination. I have frequently related insignificant experiences of my own after embroidering fact with fiction. The more romantic or horrible such a tale turned out to be the more satisfied I was. When I saw at the theater or the cinema people who performed foolhardy acts, I always imagined myself in their place. For instance, when I saw a

screen detective perform a bold act, it gave me immense pleasure if, in my capacity as a policeman, I was able to do something similar. As a participant in raids I had very frequent opportunities for this, and I preferred such tasks to others.

80*b*. Women whom I love, and who satisfy my taste in all respects, are capable of influencing me very considerably. I am a man who voluntarily subordinates his will to the will of others who are stronger. Left to my own resources, I am undecided, and need someone to lean upon.

82. I read a great deal, without discrimination, though I prefer detective stories and particularly erotic matter.

85. I like women to be able to sing and play an instrument.

86. I am interested, apart from my profession, in sport, athletics, and swimming, and also in wrestling and boxing.

89. I was very satisfied with my profession, and I worked at it with pleasure.

90*a*. I dress simply, like close-fitting clothes but dislike high collars. Apart from engagement and signet rings, I do not like jewelry. I have no preference for any particular color, but for my clothes I prefer blue cloth.

90*b*. In women I like close-fitting clothes which show up the shape of the body.

92. I generally keep myself to myself. A large company depresses me. I prefer the quiet life of a small town.

93*b*. I suffer from a lack of energy and will power. Also from sexual impotence.

94. I have sexual urges, and I am of a passionate nature.

95. My sexual impulse is directed toward women.

97. I love women who are of the same type as myself.

98*a*. I feel drawn to people who are intellectually above me and who are kindly and gentle.

99*a*. The half-clothed body stimulates me most.

99*c*. A soft, plump skin has a special attraction for me.

99*d*. All exudations of the skin (perspiration, etc.) repel me.

101. My sexual impulse is directed toward women of the pronouncedly feminine type.

102. In my dreams I am only concerned with the female sex. Mostly my dreams relate to the sexual act, but frequently to mutual masturbation. I have also said to myself: "If a woman were to lie still and

indifferent until I made my member rigid through masturbation, then I could perform the sexual act."

103. In public my attention is attracted by women, but in company I feel easier and less self-conscious among men.

104. I am interested in pictures of nude women, and had a fairly considerable collection of them.

105. I am self-possessed with other men. My feeling of shame is deeper when confronted with women.

106. I am constant in my affections. I do not like flirting.

113. My behavior during intercourse is active in the masculine manner.

120. At the moment of ejaculation I used to press my partner convulsively to myself, pinching her arms and breasts in a manner that caused pain, and ruffling her hair with my hands. I also tried to bite, but always bit the pillow or the quilt.

122. From a boy I had a predilection for fine feminine underwear, and used to masturbate while looking at it. Later I asked women friends whose hair I liked for locks of hair, and used them for the same purpose.

133. Up till now I have never been able to confide in a doctor; I was too ashamed. Years ago I received treatment by correspondence from a Swiss sanatorium, but there was no result.

134. I felt I was the unhappiest man on earth. Frequently when I was in the company of gay, vital people, I was so overwhelmed that I attempted to commit suicide. I was filled with nausea for myself for being unable to control my unhappy urge for masturbation, for I saw in masturbation the chief cause of my impotence. In addition, I had betrayed my faith in God by living aimlessly and not having the strength to throw overboard all that was oppressing and tormenting me. I felt useless, superfluous.

3. Career Previous to Crime

When he filled in the questionnaire, I asked G. to write a coherent account of his life, with special regard to his sexual life. This account is as follows:

I was born on the 18th August, 1897, at Bromberg. I was born before my parents were married. I can recollect no special event from

my childhood at Bromberg. Later, my parents moved to Berlin, where we occupied a living room and a kitchen at my grandmother's flat. There were 12 children, seven of whom, four brothers and three sisters, are still living. As my parents moved very frequently, I cannot tell whether this or that event took place at this or that flat; in particular, my memory does not reach back far enough for me to be able to say anything about my school days. We children slept in pairs in the same room as my parents. My father, who had had a bootmaker's shop in Bromberg, was a building laborer in Berlin. He was very kind to us, though strict, and only when he was drunk did he have a temper. As he beat my mother, as well as all the children, I did not like him so much as my mother. She was an affectionate, forgiving woman, and she tried to make good all the injustices my father committed. Owing to the recurrent quarrels and her terrible worries to provide food for the family, she sometimes spoke about suicide and said she would gas herself and the children. Some nights, fearing that she might carry out her intention, I put the key of the gas meter under my pillow. One day, after a quarrel with my father, my mother attempted to hang herself in the lavatory. Disquieted by her long absence, we went after her and found her hanging from the lavatory door. With the aid of my father, whom this had sobered up, we brought her into the room and revived her. For many years I could not forget that moment, and I was haunted by this scene in my dreams. When my father went to bed drunk, he slept restlessly, stripped himself in his sleep, and sometimes he lay almost entirely naked. My sisters and I used to watch him at such times. When our parents had sexual intercourse, this was not hidden from us children.

As a child I was willing, obedient, but extraordinarily timid. I loved my mother very much, but I became more and more estranged from my father, owing to certain happenings in the home, particularly when he beat my mother. I could not forget the injustices he committed against my mother and us children. When I reached school age I went to the municipal school, where I was an attentive and quiet scholar. My favorite subjects were religion, history and general knowledge. I was a good average scholar, except that I had difficulty with mental arithmetic. I also had bad marks for singing, mainly because I was too shy to sing in the presence of others.

I went up regularly, except once, when a foot wound caused by a broken tumbler necessitated my going to the hospital, and I missed

the examination. Once I was severely punished during drawing class, for painting another boy's face to look like a Red Indian.

I do not know how I came to start masturbating. For years I slept in the same bed with one of my sisters. On one occasion, during a lesson in gymnastics, I was sliding down a pole, and as my member rubbed against the pole I experienced for the first time a curious sense of pleasure. Also, at the lavatory at school I saw boys touching each other. We also masturbated mutually with my sister, but I do not know which of the above events happened first. When I was about 12 it happened one night that my brother, who thought I was asleep, called my sister and performed the sexual act with her on the edge of the bed, before my eyes. As long as my sister and I slept together we masturbated nearly every night. One night we tried to perform the sexual act, but failed, because my member was slack, and we made no further attempts. Once I observed an older boy playing "doctors" with a little girl, and examining her anus and genitals with a piece of wood. I asked my sister about all these things, and I often got hold of pamphlets and books which my parents kept under lock and key.

I masturbated on an average three times per day. At first I did it for the pleasure it gave, and I do not know what I was thinking during the operation. Later I took away feminine underwear, chemises, knickers, etc., kissed the parts covering the feminine genitals, and masturbated.

I do not know when the first discharge took place. However, at the age of 14, I must have been weakly built, because when the time came for me to choose a profession my mother advised that I should apprentice myself to a tailor, as she did not think a more difficult occupation would suit me. I myself wished to become a druggist, but the continuous unemployment of my father and a severe illness of my mother made this impossible. I had to earn money, and I therefore took a job as errand boy to a druggist in West Berlin. During the three years I stayed in this job, I earned the satisfaction of my employer, and here I finally found the explanation of all I wanted to know.

While out on errands in summer I used to walk behind lightly-dressed women wearing transparent dresses, masturbating through my trouser pocket, or I used to stay in the basement of the shop, and tried to look under the skirts of women standing in front of the shop window, masturbating the while.

When delivering goods, I generally dealt with servant girls, and I had many opportunities for intercourse, but I blushed easily, and was shy with women, so I talked to them no more than was necessary. Although I would have liked to have an affair with one of these girls, who often became importunate, I was far too shy.

The money I earned I always handed over to my mother, and she gave me some pocket money on Sunday. I did not spend much on myself. I drank but little, and then only stout, or soft drinks, such as ginger beer. But I had already taken to smoking at that time.

One Sunday I visited with some other boys a tavern where customers were served, but although the women offered themselves, I had no dealings with them.

On one occasion, returning from a boating trip, a friend and I went home with a prostitute, who had accosted us. My friend performed the sexual act with the girl before my eyes. When my turn came I had no erection. This was my first attempt. My failure was due, I think, to my friend's presence, but perhaps my excitement and the fatigue of rowing also had something to do with it. For a long time afterwards I made no further attempts, because I was afraid that I might fail. Also, my friends teased me a great deal, so that I gradually severed my connection with them.

After three years my employer let me go, because I had tried to rob him. Then I worked for several firms before I was called to the colors. Nothing particular happened during this time. My last job was at a chocolate factory, where I met a girl whose quiet temperament attracted me. An intimate and undisturbed friendship developed, but no intercourse took place, except that we kissed several times in the course of our friendship. I was introduced to the girl's family and carried on a regular correspondence with her until her marriage. In March, 1916, at the age of 19, I was called to the colors, and was sent to an infantry regiment in East Prussia. I was glad to be a soldier. I found military service easy, and I always behaved fairly well.

I wanted to go to the front as soon as possible, and had myself transferred to a machine gun corps in Königsberg, whence, after a short course of training, I was sent to the Eastern front.

There I stayed until the Revolution, without participating in any major engagement or sustaining a wound. I had leave three times, and always stayed at the home of my parents, visiting my own rela-

tions and those of the above-mentioned girl, with whom I was still carrying on a regular correspondence.

At barracks, and also in the field, I had frequently seen my comrades masturbate. I had no sexual intercourse with women either during my leave at home, or in the occupied territories of Lithuania and Esthonia. I kept myself to myself, in so far as this was possible among the lower ranks. My comrades were mostly older territorials from East Prussia, and I was the youngest in the company. In December, 1917, I was decorated with the Iron Cross, second class, though I had done nothing in particular. Shortly before the Revolution I received three days C.B. because the group to which I belonged refused to clean the machine gun immediately on their return from sentry duty.

At the outbreak of the Revolution I and several comrades joined a voluntary organization designed to protect the troops returning from the front, and ensure the safe return of materials. The generous pay I received enabled me to visit theaters and traveling cinemas, as well as brothels, but I had no intercourse with the women. For some time I managed the officers' mess as the subordinate of an officer. One day I tried to have intercourse with the Lithuanian woman who had been engaged as cook, but here again I had no erection. During the night I spent with her I made several vain attempts. This was my only attempt in the field. Several of my superiors, whom I later met in the police, were struck with my depressed appearance, and asked me what was the matter with me. I used to sit for days, brooding, but I cannot explain even now what I felt like at such times.

In Olita I had an experience that I shall never forget. We had to evacuate the place in face of a superior force of Bolsheviks, and when we re-took it a few days later and went in search of quarters, I came upon the bodies of dead and mutilated comrades in a dark corner. As I turned my torch on them they seemed to move, and I was seized with a feeling of horror, such as I had not known before. Later, when the voluntary corps returned to Königsberg, I secured my discharge, and returned to Berlin, where I lived with my parents at first. Then I found a job at a munitions factory, where my father was also employed, and as sleeping in the same room with my sisters was distasteful to me, I began to look for a furnished room.

Since my return from Russia I had no other wish than to cure my impotence. I was making money, but I could not bring myself to consult a specialist. Then, as a result of an advertisement, I ordered

a book entitled *Neurasthenia and Impotence* from a Swiss sanatorium. I answered a questionnaire, in reply to which I was informed, to my great relief, that my case was not hopeless. I was also sent some tablets and a liquid for bathing the scrotum, both of which I used as directed, but without result. In an attempt to force a cure I took more of the tablets than the prescribed dose, but the only result was that I fell in a faint. My father saw this. Then I read about charlatanism and quackery, and was afraid that I had made my condition worse by using the preparations. In my own mind I nursed the hope that nature would help me in the end. I withdrew from all social intercourse, and would not be persuaded to take part in any party or the like. I also stopped drinking and smoking, but I ate well.

But in spite of all my resolutions I could not give up masturbation; in my loneliness I even indulged in it to excess. One day I lost control over myself and touched my sister, who was lying in the next bed, in an indecent manner, and I then immediately carried out my former intention of leaving the house. I rented a furnished room not far from where my parents were living. Shortly before this I had called on Miss S., a relation whom the parents of both of us wanted me to marry. We were given many opportunities to be alone together, and on this occasion, after some kissing and hugging, I tried to have intercourse with her, but again failed to have an erection. I was ashamed of myself, and parted from the girl, never to see her again.

After a year at the munition factory the firm was liquidated, and all the workers discharged.

During my visits to the home of the girl I met at the chocolate factory, I made the acquaintance of her sister, who was my ideal woman, and with whom I fell in love. After six months we became engaged. After leaving my last job I was unemployed for a fortnight, so I applied for employment in the police force. I was accepted, and it was a real relief to me that my duties, which I carried out with pleasure, gave me no time to think about my condition. As an unmarried constable, I lived at the police barracks.

My fiancée was of a passionate nature. She often visited me at the barracks when I was alone, and she must have formed her opinion of my strictly moral conduct. I finally resorted to lies, telling her that I had previously lived somewhat too carelessly, in order to mollify her. In the end I came to the conclusion that she would seek elsewhere what she could not get from me.

I never tried to have sexual intercourse with her, and in the end I came to the conclusion that it would be best for both of us to break off the engagement, yet I could not decide to do this, as I loved the girl too much. Then one day she told me that she had been unable to control herself and had given herself to a childhood friend. Although I perfectly understood, I nevertheless broke off the engagement, though it made me suffer. After that I took no interest in anything but my profession. I gave myself very little leisure, in order to prevent myself from constantly thinking of my trouble, which had made me the unhappiest man on earth. Even on my days off I stayed at barracks, and visited my parents for only a few hours and very rarely. I was mostly on the sports ground or at the swimming baths. I read all sorts of books without discrimination, though I preferred erotic books. Gradually I bought myself a collection of nude studies, and looked at them while masturbating. I very rarely met other people.

I frequented a teashop with my brother for a long time, and there I met a girl who by her gay and vital personality cheered me up and tried to dispel my sad thoughts. With this girl I tried unsuccessfully to have sexual intercourse on several occasions. I found a way out in mutual masturbation, which we practiced several times, and at the moment when my discharge occurred I used to kiss her on the right breast. Once, when she made merry over my impotence and turned away from me, I attempted to shoot myself, but was prevented from doing so by my brother, who was also present.

With another girl, whom I met later on, I never had any normal intercourse, either. We masturbated mutually at my barrack room, without undressing, and while doing so I pressed against her body. We usually excited ourselves in advance by reading obscene books or by looking at a few pictures in my album. In this case, too, I kissed the girl's breasts, which were full and firm. During my intercourse with her we read together *The Sexual Criminal*. It is possible that I had intercourse with this girl in other ways as well, because she persuaded me to drink, and I had no recollection afterwards of anything that might have happened between us.

Then, when I met my present fiancée, I broke off this relationship. I met my fiancée in the course of my duties on the beat. Her serious, modest, reserved personality attracted me. The fact that our relation-

ship gradually became more and more intimate was due not so much to her personality as to her faith in God. I had already found my Saviour when I was 12, and was then a junior member of the Salvation Army and also a member of the band. But the evil of masturbation had turned me away from God. In this religious girl I found someone who brought me back to my Saviour again, encouraged and comforted me. She sustained me, and showed me that it is easier to reach one's goal with patience and perseverance, than if one charges with one's head against a wall. Later I was introduced to the girl's family, and gradually regained my tranquillity and peace of mind in this environment. Later I became engaged. Frequently, when the meetings held in the house lasted far into the night, I slept at my fiancée's home. I slept on a sofa in the same room as the girl and her parents.

Peculiarly enough, she was the first woman with whom I was able to have intercourse in the normal way, eventually at any rate. This may have been due to the fact that she came to me as I had frequently wished it, or perhaps to the fact that, at first, we only had intercourse at night in bed, so that I was able to overcome my shyness. We slept together twice a week, and during the course of the first night we had sexual intercourse three or more times; later, I was content with one or at most two acts. I had regular discharges, though at first I ejaculated at the first coital movements. At the moment of discharge I could never refrain from kissing her on the mouth and breast. I often attempted to bite her on the mouth and breast, but when I noticed that it hurt her, I bit the pillow. Now that I was certain that I was no longer impotent, I had the idea of attempting sexual intercourse with another woman. Then, when I met Miss A. L. at the hairdresser's at the police barracks, I thoughtlessly made friends with her and ceased to call on my fiancée for the time being. I had no intention of breaking off the engagement; I could not control myself, and all my thoughts were concentrated on the desire to try sexual intercourse with another woman. After an acquaintance with A. L., who visited me every evening, I ventured to make the attempt. But I had no erection. During my affair with her we made three or four attempts, but the result was always the same. We always lay on the bed fully dressed, and she earnestly forbade me to look at her uncovered genitals during the attempts. She also refused my request to undress entirely, or at

least partly. On the contrary, she wanted the room to be in semidarkness, so that I could not see her charms. Otherwise nothing noteworthy happened between us.

Meanwhile, my fiancée, owing to my absence, and also because my affair with the other girl had been revealed to her by my colleagues, broke off the engagement. I continued my friendship with the other girl, was introduced to her family, and frequently visited her when off duty. She told me that she had already been engaged, and that her fiancé had left her in the lurch with a child; she also confessed that she had been in the habit of masturbating for years. I described to her the consequences of masturbation in a terrifying manner, and also read to her some chapters out of the book I had received from Switzerland. That I myself was in the habit of masturbating I never mentioned anywhere, and in this case too, in reply to questions as to my impotence, I explained that I had been a cocaine taker and that I had previously led a dissolute life.

This girl was the first member of the opposite sex whom I knew also to be addicted to masturbation, and I regarded her as a fellow sufferer and our relationship became firmer and more intimate. But my impotence did not improve. In view of my experience with my second fiancée, which showed that in certain circumstances I was potent, I now had an aversion for masturbation or any other substitute for the sexual act. It was my desire to have intercourse in the normal manner, and I persuaded myself that I could do this with another woman if, like my second fiancée, she met my wishes in all respects.

I also thought that if a woman behaved quietly, lying down without looking at me, I should again be capable of carrying out the sexual act.

Then one evening, after a visit to my girl, I entered an establishment opposite the police barracks, in order to have a drink. Here I renewed my acquaintance with a working girl, who had been engaged to a colleague some years earlier. I celebrated our reunion by treating her to various drinks and accompanying her, before I was due for duty, to her rooms. I knew about this girl, through other policemen, that she was not very particular in the matter of morals, which was, in fact, the reason why her engagement had been broken off. I intended to go up with her for the purpose of sexual intercourse, and told her so. We stopped at the front door and chatted for a while, when I suddenly, without any reason whatever, seized her by the

throat, and holding one hand over her mouth, began to choke her. The woman fell to the ground, and I let go of her in terror, with the words: "Forgive me, there must be a devil in me." I begged her in tears not to cause me trouble. I myself did not understand why I had done what I had done, and I am not clear even today as to the cause of my actions. But I do know that afterwards we attempted sexual intercourse, though I am not certain whether this happened in her room or in the corridor.

Then I wandered about in the street for a long time. It was not till dawn that I returned to my quarters and went to bed. Upon waking I noticed bloodstains on the sleeves of my overcoat and I could not rest until I had called on the woman and asked her what had happened, for the events of the night before were very blurred in my memory. However, when I was face to face with her, I was so ashamed of what had happened that I did not ask her anything.

4. The Crime and After

On the 2nd February, 1924, at about 11 p.m., after a visit to my girl, I entered a tavern in the Gneisenaustasse, where I had been several times before. I ordered a glass of beer, and sat at a table in the bar parlor reading a paper. In the adjacent saloon someone was playing the piano. I drank my beer and some liqueurs, then I laid the paper aside and went to the lavatory. I had to pass through the saloon, and on my way back I stopped at the door watching the dancers, and talking to the proprietress. Before this, my attention had been attracted by Frau H., who was in the bar parlor persuading customers to order more drinks and generally behaving in the manner of a prostitute. This woman now invited me to dance with her. I refused, saying that I could not dance and that, in any case, I was in uniform. Thereupon the woman asked me to stand her a drink by way of compensation for my refusal. She demanded rather than requested this. Her whole behavior led me to think that she was a prostitute. We then went to the bar parlor, where I ordered some beer and liqueurs, and stood talking with her at the counter. I do not remember what we talked about, apart from a few questions put to me by the woman as to where I was serving, where I lived, and whether I came to this place frequently. I also remember that in the course of conversation Frau H. pointed to a table near by which was occupied by an old

lady, saying: "That's my mother, with whom I'm living." At closing time, when the proprietress asked the customers to leave, I left the place with Frau H. and her mother. I do not know whether I had asked their permission to accompany them. Shortly before we came to another public house, Frau H. asked me whether I had enough cigarettes on me, and I replied in the negative. We then entered the place, and in order not to appear to have come in for the cigarettes alone, I ordered a beer and a liqueur for each of us. I also bought a package of cigarettes. I cannot remember anything else that may have taken place at this establishment. I must have paid and left, for I remember finding myself in the street with the two women. I do not remember what direction we went in, and what streets we passed through. I only remember standing in front of a door which Frau H. must have opened. Here, or in the entrance hall, the mother became ill and fell down, and I raised her and, with the aid of Frau H., carried her to the door of the flat. As we entered the flat I remained alone with the mother in the passage, while Frau H. went into the kitchen and turned on a light. Then she came back, took her mother by the arm and led her to her bed, while I took off my cap and coat and belt in the passage. Then I entered the kitchen, where I sat down at a table and smoked a cigarette. Frau H. had put her mother to bed and had taken off her hat and coat. She now came and sat on my knees and embraced and kissed me. She asked some questions relating to my financial position, and it was obvious that she would only consent to intercourse for payment. This hint depressed me, and in any case, now that she was so close to me I saw that she was old, in addition to which her clothes exuded a smell that repelled me, and so I decided to go home, particularly as I feared that I might fail to carry out the sexual act. I got up, picked up the key that lay on the kitchen table and made for the kitchen door, in order to put on my things in the passage. Frau H. threw herself into my arms with the words, "I shan't let you go," and tried to take the key away from me. A playful, harmlessly meant struggle developed, and the woman hugged me and pressed her body against me with erotic meaning. Contact with her body, her renewed attempts to kiss me, and her unpleasant smell, caused me to let go of the key, but I still hoped that she would let me go. But she hid the key in her dress and ignored my threat that I would leave in spite of that. She begged me not to go, saying that now that I was there I ought to stay. In order to free myself at last, I pushed with both hands

against her breasts, and I must have done this rather roughly, and I thought she was going to scream, though I do not know whether this was so. I then seized her throat with both hands and choked her. She shut her eyes and slowly collapsed. I knelt down beside her with my hands still round her throat. Owing to her coital movements while she was on her feet, I had had a slight erection, but this passed while I was choking her. Now a desire to attempt the sexual act on the woman lying before me rose in me. I tore her clothes off, took off her shoes and stockings, had a good look at her body, then bent her right leg back and bent over her, hoping to induce an erection. But this did not happen. Owing to my failure I flew into a terrible rage which exploded in my subsequent actions. Naturally, I am unable to describe these actions in the order in which they might have happened. I know that I picked up a knife which must have lain on the kitchen table and buried it in her left breast, and also that I hit the woman with my fist. I also remember that I put a wire sling round her throat.

I do not know which I did first after choking her, as I do not remember. I do not remember the moment when I bit her, and I only have a very vague recollection of having encountered a resistance with my mouth. Then I know that the light went out and that I lighted an oil lamp; that I returned to the corpse and dragged it by the legs out of the pool of blood to the window, during which time the stab wound bled more profusely; and that I then covered the body with the garments that were lying around and with a towel. I do not know how many times I tried to perform the sexual act on the body, nor whether I did anything else besides the above. I also do not remember how I got from the kitchen into the bedroom. I remember that I choked Frau T. who must have been sleeping there, but I do not remember how I did it. Nor do I know how she came to be on the floor, or whether I attempted to perform the sexual act on Frau T. I do not know how long I lay with Frau T.; all I know is that when I woke up I was lying beside her. I then got up, lighting the passage with a match. As I was putting on my coat it occurred to me that I could not get out of the house, as I had no front door key. I remembered that Frau H. had hidden the key in her dress, and I therefore returned to the kitchen. I made no light, as the kitchen was sufficiently illuminated by the moonlight, and I could see everything clearly. Beside the body of Frau H. I saw the key and the watch. I took away both and quickly left the flat. Then I went to the police barracks. As I

entered my room I found that my comrades were asleep. I undressed, had a wash, and went to bed, and I must have fallen asleep immediately.

Until the day of my arrest I carried out my duties at the barracks. I tried to wash the bloodstains off my clothes, but did not succeed. My superiors and comrades noticed my excited demeanor, and I was spoken to several times on account of my inattention. The day after the murders I threw Frau H.'s keys into a lavatory, but found myself unable to part with the watch, which I carried in my trouser pocket. I could not bring myself to give myself up to the criminal investigation department. That suspicion would fall on me, I assumed from the fact that I had mentioned my name at the public house where I met the women.

Then, on the following Sunday, one of my roommates mentioned the case, and I was almost on the point of confessing to him that I was the murderer. I could not bring myself to do this, but could not refrain from telling him that I had been together with the women the day before the murders were discovered. On the day of my arrest I was on duty at the barracks. In the morning two commissars of the murder squad called, and asked to see the officer in charge. I myself was ordered to take them to the officer, and on the way to his office I struggled with the idea of revealing myself to the commissars as the murderer, but the thought that it might perhaps not have been me caused me to keep silent. Having carried out my task, I returned to the guard room and immediately afterwards I was called by telephone to the main office of my division, where I found the commissars in the act of examining my personal documents. They asked me whether I had been in the company of the murdered women on the critical night, to which I replied in the affirmative, but I denied having murdered them. Then a roommate was shown my pocket scissors, which had been found on the scene of the murders, and he recognized them as my property, whereupon I was taken by the commissars to the police presidium. Here I strenuously denied having committed the murders, insisting that I had not accompanied the two women into the flat, but had parted with them at the front door. Then, in the evening, I heard that my locker had been searched and the officers also brought away my civilian clothes, so I revealed myself as the murderer, but asked to be allowed to change as I could not make a confession in uniform. As I was changing the watch of Frau H. fell out of my trouser pocket. An officer who was present picked it up.

At sight of the watch it depressed me to think that I must now part with it. In reply to the question, as to whom the watch belonged to, I said that it belonged to one of the murdered women, and that I had taken it as a mascot, a souvenir. I then described my meeting with Frau H. and her mother at the first public house, but could not remember what had happened at the second public house. When I was told that some other customers had heard me say to the older woman, "Mother, you don't mind if I sleep with your daughter?" I said to myself that they must have been more sober than I and agreed that I had said something of the kind.

During my interrogation there was present, in addition to the interrogating commissars and several other gentlemen, a female typist, who took down what I was saying, so that my only thought was to get it over as quickly as possible. As the talk about the sexual details in the presence of the typist was painful to me I admitted many things which I did not recollect, but which were shown in the photographs taken on the scene of the crime. For the rest, I had an idea of committing suicide in an unguarded moment, but this had been foreseen by the authorities, and I was carefully guarded, even during my interrogation. I gave all the facts I could remember, as stated above, but as I could not talk about the attempt at sexual intercourse in the presence of all those people I admitted certain things without feeling that they were true. I am sure I would never have made some of the statements, and would have described the procedure differently, had not the interrogating gentlemen called my attention to motives which they said I had been guided by. When I was asked why I killed the older woman, I said that when I was in the passage, about to dress, I thought I heard her snore and that it occurred to me that she might give me away. I then decided to eliminate her. I pronounced this self-accusation with a certain disgust for myself, and I heaved a sigh of relief when I was told that from the criminological point of view my description was the only correct one. Nothing would have been more painful to me than to be accused of deliberate lying in the presence of all those people, or if my statements had been doubted. I hoped that my confession would bring the interrogation to an end. In view of the scratches on the older woman, I allowed myself to be persuaded to say that I had attempted sexual intercourse with her. I knew that I had lain in the older woman's bed, but I did not know how she came to be on the floor, and I said that she had slid off the bed and

I had then laid her on the floor. While describing these things I saw myself doing them and I continued to work out in my mind what must have happened next, being guided in the process by the endeavor to make everything appear credible. I was in a suicidal mood while describing these things, and nothing mattered. I never withdrew any part of my confession. The reason for the self-accusation that I had killed the older woman with premeditation was that I was being treated far more gently than I had expected or deserved. I could not do otherwise. I had to do something in order to punish myself for my crime. Also, I did not think that I would ever have to answer for my actions to an earthly judge. I did not drop my suicidal intentions afterwards, either. When, after my mother's death, I came to regard myself as her murderer also, it gave me an inner satisfaction to have accused myself in this matter. My mother's death strengthened me in my determination not to withdraw anything. The longer I kept saying to myself that everything had happened as I described it, the more I came to believe it. Later, when I became reconciled with my fiancée, I thought otherwise.

SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS

From the scientific point of view this case presents a number of problems. They relate partly to the murderer's previous history, and partly to the crime itself. As regards the murderer's previous history, his masturbation, his impotence, and his reading of sex literature are the most important. With regard to the crime itself, the question of sexual murder and the effect of alcohol on sexual life must be considered.

1. *Masturbation*

The accused says that he began to masturbate at the early age of eight years. He thinks that his sexual impotence is due to masturbation. In this connection it should be noted that the effects of masturbation on the masturbant's physical and psychic condition are exaggerated by most people. As is well known, mastur-

bation is a very widespread practice. The majority of experts assume that more than 95 per cent of people have masturbated at one time or another. There are physically strong and intellectually entirely sound people in whose past this practice has played a considerable part. In particular, experience shows that sexual potency is affected only to a very slight degree by masturbation. Although in the case of G. the practice was indulged in to an excessive extent, even that is not sufficient to account for his impotence. It is extremely probable that G.'s nervous weakness was not even due to masturbation, but was rather the cause that led to masturbation. It is precisely in neuropathic subjects that masturbation to this extent occurs. In the case of G. another frequent consequence of masturbation must have arisen, that is to say,

Masturbation Hypochondria

There are many people who constantly reproach themselves for not being strong enough to control themselves from backsliding again and again. They are therefore greatly depressed, are afraid of the consequences of masturbation, and think that they are hardly likely to be capable of normal intercourse. They also think that others can tell by their appearance that they are masturbating. In this way they develop a reluctance for normal sexual intercourse, combined with the fear that they might "make a mess of it," which amounts to sexual "stage fright." Such people very frequently appeal for advice to all and sundry, except a doctor. They lack the courage to reveal their affliction to a medical man. G. also submitted to correspondence treatment. He represents a complete case of genital hypochondria.

I think it is quite possible that his repeatedly mentioned fancy that he would like it best if he could have intercourse with an indifferent, supine woman is based on this fear. The idea became fixed in his mind that he would succeed more easily with such a woman, firstly because she would not notice the slackness of his member, and secondly because he could achieve an erection by means of masturbation undisturbed by her.

2. Impotence

It is highly probable that lack of self-confidence in regard to sex promoted the accused's impotence. The fear of failure may in fact lead to failure by a process of autosuggestion. Certain it is that G. is suffering from a pronounced inhibition impotence. There is no organic trouble either in his central nervous system or in his sexual organs, which could account for it. The direction of his sexual impulse is also normal, as G. is attracted by a full grown, healthy woman of about his own age. Thus he is not suffering from psychological impotence, either, that is to say, the direction of his sexual impulse is not deflected. Further, his impotence is only conditional, because he is not impotent with a woman who, like one of his fiancées, knows how to handle him, and facilitates intercourse for him, although this woman was the only one with whom he was able to have normal intercourse.

However, in addition to the habit of worrying about his sexual powers, G.'s impotence may be due to his general nervous condition, his neuropathic constitution. Just like masturbation, sexual impotence is frequently a sign of severe nervous disorder. Finally, we must remember in this connection the effect of alcohol. In my *Sexual Pathology* I wrote in connection with impotence:

The effect of alcoholic drink on sexual potency is undoubted, although after a small amount of drink an apparent intensification of the sexual impulse appears, because the alcohol diminishes the inhibitions and the judgment to a greater extent than does the sexual impulse. This explains, as Forel writes, why so much venereal disease is contracted by individuals who are under the influence of a small amount of drink, and why so many women commit the first act of adultery in the same circumstances. Alcohol may also produce fatal consequences because it damages the germinal cells and therefore exercises a degenerative effect on any children born from such unions. In the case of a higher degree of alcoholism, both in the acute and chronic state of intoxication, as well as in delirium, the sexual impulse and capacity diminish to the point of impotence.

Georg Hirth, in speaking of *alcoholic impotence*, advises that no alcohol should be taken to induce erection, because alcohol intensifies desire but reduces the capacity to satisfy it.

Impotence has a still more depressing effect than masturbation. This depression is particularly severe when a man is being urged by a woman to have intercourse with her and he knows that he is incapable of doing so. The contrast between strength and weakness is felt all the more intensely by a man who by reason of his profession, his uniform, etc., poses to some extent as a hero.

3. *Sadistic Bent*

Violence during sexual intercourse is more often due to weakness than to an intensification of the sexual impulse. People of low potency endeavor to induce a more intense excitement in themselves by increased activity. They think they can fan their impulse into flame by hard squeezing, violent movements, and more intense behavior. Intrinsically, the sexual attack is to a certain extent an act of violence. Thus, for instance, the piercing of the hymen constitutes a physiological injury, while the coital movements are like an assault. The sadistic acts, from tight gripping and biting to choking, represent a more or less pathological intensification of a physiological phenomenon.

G's. previous history shows that he had such inclinations in his sexual life. This inclination may partly have been based on his impotence. But here again, his acts were those of a neuropath, and were of a convulsive character, occurring during sexual intercourse, and particularly during orgasm, in the form of biting, choking, etc. In this connection we refer to the case of the woman whom he choked and threw to the ground.

4. *Erotic Reading Matter*

The influence of books and pictures dealing with sexual conditions and processes, which played such a fatal role in the history of the accused, is of less importance than his disposition. The notes

handed to us by G. include his observations on Wulffen's book, *The Sexual Criminal*, about which he writes:

"When I first saw the book, my curiosity was sufficiently aroused for me to buy it, so that I could read it and look at the pictures at leisure. I thought I would be sure to find in the book something I did not know. Also, the certainty that the pictures of the murdered persons were those of nude women, and were faithful pictures, contributed to my decision to acquire the book. I read the book with great interest from cover to cover, including the histories and descriptions of the murderers. The ultimate result was not that I decided to perpetrate a similar crime; I laid the book aside with the knowledge that I had obtained an insight into matters of whose existence I had not even dreamed until then."

It is true that practically all sexual criminals who are apprehended are found to possess books describing acts similar to their crimes. That is why a search of the accused's home is always made in such cases, and the authorities rightly draw conclusions from the books found with regard to his disposition. It is another question whether such literature should be regarded as entering into the causation of the abnormality or whether it is one of the consequences of already existing impulses. There is an urge in everyone to obtain information concerning vague emotions within them of which they are afraid. This applies particularly to sexual urges, which most people are reluctant to confide to anyone else, or which are of a kind that they cannot be so confided. In this way nearly all sexual criminals come to read literature dealing with their own sexual peculiarity. No doubt that was how G. came to obtain Wulffen's book, which he had seen in the police library.

5. Concerning Sexual Murders

We now come to the question whether this is really a case of sexual murder, as originally assumed. There is no doubt whatever that the sexual factor played an important role in this double

murder. When G. accepted Frau H.'s invitation to accompany her home, there must have been a mutual intention to engage in sexual intercourse. It sounds quite credible that Frau H. had urged the reluctant sergeant to have intercourse with her quickly. The press described the case from the first as a sexual murder, but it is more than doubtful whether it was sexual murder in the strict sense of the term. In my books *Sex and Crime* and *Sexual Pathology*, I have enlarged on the concept of sexual murder on the basis of a large number of examples. It will be useful to quote some passages from these works:

In dealing with one of the most horrible forms of intensified sexuality, cases of which shock the public from time to time—the so-called sexual murder—the horrible nature of this act should not deter us from investigating the peculiarities of the perpetrator and his motives. It will then be found that killings which appear to be sexual murder and are reported as such in the press, do not really deserve the name. For instance, it may sometimes happen—in the case of people suffering from heart disease—that one partner dies from intense sexual excitement, and the surviving partner, in order not to be accused of murder, endeavors to destroy all traces of the accident. I have had to investigate such cases repeatedly, as for instance in the case of the sailor who sewed in a bag and threw into the water the body of a prostitute who had died while he was having intercourse with her in his cabin.

Genuine sexual murder is a murder which is committed in a state of sexual intoxication and serves to relieve sexual tension. And here, too, the conscientious expert will soon discover that such murderers are mostly weak-minded or epileptic, who commit the crime in a daze brought about, in their weak-minded state, by the sexual affect.

Another passage:

It is frequently very difficult to overcome the comprehensible resistance of public prosecutors, judges and juries as soon as the defense raises the question whether the murderer was responsible for his action, in view of the horrible and often apparently deliberate and

subtle cruelties that are discovered in sexual murders. This resistance goes so far that the courts have frequently passed sentences of death where all the experts testified on oath that the crime was the outcome of a mental derangement which precluded the possibility of deliberate action on the part of the murderer. This happened in the case of the epileptic sexual murderer T., who escaped execution only because he had a severe epileptic fit on the way to the scaffold.

In addition to the brutality of the murder, it is usually the circumstances, the cunning way in which the victim is lured on, the clever concealment of traces of the crime, and the manner in which the murderer attempts to secure an alibi, which lead the courts, in spite of admitted mental derangement in the criminal, to pass a death sentence. In this connection the courts overlook the fact that the murderer's deliberate and calculated procedure is already *part of the deed itself*, which, once the inhibitions are lacking, is carried out in a calculated manner *compulsively*. The precautions which the murderer takes to escape a prosecution arise from his instinct of self-preservation, which even the worst sexual criminal does not lack entirely.

That a systematic procedure which creates the impression of having been deliberately planned is possible even where the power of reflection is lacking, is shown by many observations of minor or major crimes committed under the influence of alcohol or in an epileptic daze. Thus pronounced epileptics not infrequently create the impression of intellectually normal people when committing long-drawn criminal acts. But sexual intoxication is very similar to other kinds of intoxication; in both cases the brain is affected by chemical substances, the only difference being that in the one case these substances reach the blood stream from without, and in the other case from within.

It is not inevitable, as is frequently assumed, that recollection of the acts committed without free volition should be entirely lacking, or that only the essential points should be remembered. Apart from the fact that the statements of the accused which constitute the verbal reconstruction of the act need not be entirely true, experience shows that alcoholics, as well as epileptics and hypererotics, remember and are able to reproduce the exact particulars of their crimes, approximately in the same manner as one is able to remember the details of a dream, which, very similarly, represents a mental process that is independent of the human will.

The following is reproduced from *Sexual Pathology*:

Wulffen in his *Sexual Criminal* defines sexual murder as a murder whose motive lies in a degenerated sexual impulse. It would be more accurate to say, "a murder in which the murderer's sexual tension is released through the infliction of physical injury or death." As this act is generally committed under the influence of an intense affect, deliberate intent to murder is usually absent. According to the whole psychological character of the act, it cannot be described as deliberately planned, but rather as an act committed in a state of sexual frenzy, if not in a state of stupefaction, and must therefore be objectively characterized as manslaughter. In a crime that deserves to be described as sexual murder the nature of the injuries is of considerable importance; the most frequent injuries are mutilations or severance of the genitals, then the ripping open of the abdomen, the tearing out of the intestines, the tearing out of the hair, severance of the breasts, throttling, and the pushing of walking sticks, umbrellas, and other objects into the vagina. Wulffen is right in saying, on the basis of many cases of sexual murder analyzed by him, that the coital act alone, with the erotic pleasure and violence inherent in it, may arouse sadistic urges in the criminal and lead to the killing of the victim. This particularly applies to weak-minded men with low potency, in whom the fatal affect may be aroused just as much by the lack of an erection as by the resistance of the victim.

In genuine cases of sexual murder the murder takes the place of the sexual act. Thus there is no sexual intercourse at all; it is the slashing and tearing of the victim's body, the ripping up of the abdomen, the grubbing in the intestines, the severance and removal of the genitals, the throttling of the victim, and the sucking of her blood that produce sexual pleasure. These horrors, which surpass everything that human beings practice in the way of violence, constitute, so to speak, the pathological equivalent of the sexual act.

6. *Alcoholic Epilepsy*

As regards the amount of alcohol consumed by G. before the act, there is some discrepancy in the data, and the accused himself has supplied no consistent information. We therefore assume the quantity stated in the charge, that is to say, a pint of beer and a

brandy, a small beer and a glass of sherry, then two sherries. In view of the above-mentioned effect of alcohol on the spirits and mind of G., we are forced to the conclusion that this quantity of alcohol was sufficient to induce in the accused the state in which he had repeatedly suffered from pathological dazes.

The accused's complaint may be briefly described as alcoholic epilepsy. This diagnosis is based on his intolerance of alcohol. He can bear very little, and is affected by small quantities, which is mostly the case with alcoholic epileptics. When slightly intoxicated he is elated, while the physical symptoms are convulsive laughter, the gnashing of the teeth, and other phenomena. How severe the gnashing of the teeth at night must be is shown by the evidence of people in his environment (his comrades were awakened by the noise he thus made), but can also be proved objectively, for surfaces of the middle molars in the right side of the jaw are considerably worn. This is a very rare phenomenon, and only explicable by convulsive gnashing of the teeth. When entirely intoxicated G. had quasi-epileptic attacks, was dazed, and was alternately dull and excitable. Accordingly, the accused's condition was no ordinary intoxication, but a pathological intoxication, i.e. his epileptic disposition is mobilized by alcohol.

7. *Recollection*

The anamnesis is particularly important in the present case, because unconsciousness in the sense of the relevant act can be denied for the reason that the chief criterion of unconsciousness, i.e. the absence of the power of recollection, has not been established.

It should further be noted that the most eminent psychiatrists who have in recent times investigated the question of the recollection of acts committed in an epileptic or alcoholic state, have very considerably limited, and in some cases entirely abandoned, the former view. In this connection I must first of all refer to the essay of the eminent Berlin psychiatrist, Bonhoeffer, "Epileptic Derangements of the Consciousness with Power of Recollection." As the title shows, Bonhoeffer thinks that it is by no means impos-

sible for a patient to remember acts committed by him during an epileptic fit. Professor Stertz and Dr. E. Siemerling are of the same opinion.

The most important of the more recent works on the subject is Paul Schilder's essay, "Psychology of Exceptional Conditions in Epileptics with Special Regard to Memory," published in the *Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie*.

Schilder comes to the conclusion that total absence of recollection does not exist. The mental impressions (engrams) never disappear, and the inhibitive reluctance to recollect, which occurs after the dazed state, can be removed by suggestion or hypnotism. Schilder did this repeatedly in cases of amnesia after genuine epileptic derangements of consciousness. From this he draws the conclusion that amnesia is not a criterion of the hazy condition. Frequently details are retained in the memory, but not logical, coherent sequences. These are "reconstructed."

Schilder's view is confirmed by my own experiences. As regards the "reconstruction" of a coherent sequence from scrappy recollections and items of evidence, G.'s case is a classic example. In this connection the fact that he is a policeman plays a not unimportant role.

CONCLUSION

1. G. is suffering from an inherited psychopathic constitution of an epileptic character combined with intolerance for alcohol (alcoholic epilepsy).

2. That the accused was in a dazed state arising from alcoholic epilepsy at the time he murdered the two women, is shown by the following facts:

- (a) The fact that it has been proved that the accused had previously consumed a sufficient amount of alcohol to produce such a dazed state.

- (b) The uncritical manner in which the accused followed Frau H., who had accosted him, despite the fact that he had

previously spent three hours with his "fiancée," and Frau H., who was much older than he, was by no means the type he liked.

(c) The discrepancy between the causes which led the accused to commit the murders (Frau H. would not give him the key, she had a bad smell, he thought she was going to scream, he now discovered for the first time how old she was, he was ashamed on account of his impotence, she wanted him to pay), and the berserk rage, which manifested itself not only impulsively but explosively as he throttled and stabbed her (burying the knife to the haft). In his frenzy he bit her and tore off all her clothes, after which he murdered the mother lying in the adjacent room. The accused says that he then dragged the mother to the floor and attempted to perform the sexual act on her—a woman of 63—and also that he slept on the lifeless body for a long time.

3. It may be assumed that the condition in which G. murdered Frau H. continued while he murdered her mother. Experience shows that dazes like G.'s usually last a long time. There is nothing to show that the affect intoxication had worn off before G. proceeded to commit the second murder, not even his own self-accusation that he had gone from the kitchen to the room with the intention of eliminating an incriminating witness. For these reasons it is most improbable that the murder of the two women occurred in two separate processes, one of which was carried out while the murderer was not responsible for his actions and the other while he was so responsible. Rather could it be assumed, theoretically, that the state of alcoholic and epileptic intoxication was intensified by the killing of Frau H. through two other kinds of intoxication which, though not so severe as the former, were apt to intensify rather than diminish these, that is to say, sexual lust and blood lust.

The detailed description given by G. does not contradict the assumption that the crime was committed in an alcoholic-epileptic state. Even if we were to assume that this description is based on genuine recollections, it should be noted that according to recent

investigations it is not possible to conclude from the presence of recollections that consciousness was also present. Unconsciousness can only be concluded from the accused's behavior in the course of the crime itself, and from the previous history of G.'s affliction.

Accordingly, our opinion is that the accused, at the time he committed the murders, was in a state of unconsciousness which precluded free volition on his part. There is no proof whatever that he was accountable for his actions.

The sentence was promulgated in the middle of June, 1926. G. was acquitted. In view of the expert opinion of the psychiatrists, the court came to the conclusion that the accused was not responsible for his actions when he committed the murders and could not be made responsible for them.

NECROPHILIA

EXTREME FORM OF AGGRESSIVE IMPULSE—DEATH AND SLEEP—MORTUARY SCOPOPHILES—VIOLATION OF DEAD BODIES—HELPLESSNESS OF CORPSE—ATTEMPTS OF HIRSCHFELD, KRAFFT-EBING AND EULENBURG TO EXPLAIN PHENOMENA—THEORIES OF MERZBACH AND BLOCH—BRIDEGROOM OF A CORPSE—SERGEANT BERTRAND'S DESECRATIONS OF GRAVES—PEDERASTIC ACTS ON CORPSES—STATISTICAL DATA—SUPERSTITION—ATAVISM—FOLKLORE—OTHER CAUSES—VAMPIRES—CASES—LATENT TRACES OF THIS IMPULSE—ANOTHER CASE OF VAMPIRISM—WOMEN BLOODSUCKERS—PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SADISTIC-ATAVISTIC COMPONENT IMPULSE.

Having dealt with the aggressive impulse down to its most extreme form, the killing of the sexual partner, we now come to the most horrible association of Cupid and Death—the perversions which begin where life has ended, that is to say, on a dead object.

Dead bodies have always exercised a sexual effect on certain natures. We shall see how deeply this *motif* is rooted in mythology and legend. The association-mechanism between death and sleep is, as Hirschfeld has found, an important element here.

The old saying that "death is the brother of sleep" has a significant application in this connection because a corpse, like a sleeping person—and I have met more than one sleep fetishist on whom none but a sleeping person produced a sexual effect—may induce fancies and sensations of a more or less consciously sexual nature. This may be the basis of one of the most horrible sexual anomalies, i.e. necrophilia, though fetishist factors, connected with the color and texture of the

skin or with certain parts of the body, such as the breasts or the genitals, also enter into this perversion. Anatomical specimens, as well as mortuaries, play an important part in the activities of the necrophile. In addition to fetishism, the sadistic impulse also enters into this perversion, inasmuch as the association of ideas between death and killing is inevitably present in the pervert's mind.

Necrophilia, or the violation of corpses, occurs in two forms. It may follow immediately upon a sexual murder, in which case the murderer abuses the corpse of his own victim, or the necrophile obtains "ready-made" corpses, digging them up from their graves or stealing them from a school of anatomy and indulging his horrible urge on them.

What we have said about sexual murderers also applies to the first category of necrophiles. Here the necrophile act is only the consistent sequel of a series of affect actions arising from a frenzied intensification of the aggressive and destructive impulse. The murderer is not satisfied by merely killing his victim; he also wants to possess her and destroy her beyond death.

Of the second category of necrophiles Krafft-Ebing writes: "It may be that a remnant of moral scruple deters them from the thought of cruel acts on a living woman, or it may be that their imagination misses the sexual murder and fixes itself directly on its result, i.e. the corpse. Possibly, too, the idea of the corpse's helplessness enters into it." Eulenburg assumes that the mentally weak necrophile imagines that it is possible to inflict pain on the corpse because, in his own fancy, it is still alive, or because he holds that "the effect of violation extends beyond death and the grave. In addition the erotic sensation of the sadistic necrophile may be stimulated and enhanced by the megalomaniacal fancy that he is above all human and divine laws, as well as by the gruesome and shocking nature of the act itself." Merzbach also attributes necrophilia to a type of sadism which does not regard the killing of the victim as its ultimate object. The necrosadist derives his sexual pleasure from the defenselessness of the corpse, from the fact that it is completely at his mercy.

Bloch includes a masochistic moment in the etiology of necro-

philia. Thought of the corpse is associated with the idea of the necrophile's own death, and its smell with the idea of his own decay. Here again we see the confirmation of the complementary character of the sadomasochistic impulses, their ambivalence and interchangeability as well as of the process by which the active party identifies himself or herself with the passive party, which we have already pointed out repeatedly in the course of this work.

Finally, with Wulffen, we may accept the factor of *opportunity* as one of the causative elements. A long repressed sexual impulse will seek satisfaction on all sorts of objects. Monks and other persons who have kept vigil over the dead, as well as soldiers in war, have violated female corpses, despite the fact that no original perverted impulse could be proved against them. It also happens sometimes that a bridegroom whose bride suddenly dies wishes to carry out the sexual act with her at least once. In all these cases it is not so much a perverted disposition as the fatal element of "faute de mieux" that constitutes the motive for the necrophile act. Wulffen records the following cases in this connection:

In Bajalatina, near Caserta, there lived in a small, isolated house a man who used an assumed name. It was later discovered that his real name was Giuseppe Alessandro. His strange life aroused the curiosity of the peasants, and they began to watch him. Watching him from a tall tree opposite his house, the peasants on one occasion saw him passionately kissing a female corpse, which lay on a bed. The corpse had fair hair and was dressed in a silk gown with a wonderful rope of pearls round its neck. The revolted peasants forced their way into the house, but Alessandro held them at bay with a revolver and succeeded in getting away. It was subsequently discovered that he had disinterred the body of his dead fiancée, Elvira Skarlingi, in a neighboring village. The girl's parents had cancelled the engagement owing to the man's peculiar nature, but she nevertheless continued to meet Alessandro. One evening, while waiting for him at the open window, she contracted pneumonia, and during her illness she refused all attention, saying that she was glad to die as she could not live without her lover in any case. After her interment Alessandro had dug up the heavy coffin and carried it singlehanded across the mountains first to Cuma, and thence to Baja. The man's diary, which was later discovered,

contained a vow, dated on the day of the girl's death, that she would be united to him at least after her death. The diary as a whole showed that the man was in a psychopathic state.

The position of the *genuine necrophile* is very different from the above case, in which the *occasion* played a decisive role. The classic instance of genuine necrophilia, recorded by Épaulard, is that of Sergeant Bertrand:

Bertrand was born in 1822 at Voisex (Haute-Marne). He came of a respectable peasant family. A hereditary taint was indicated only as regards an uncle, who died insane. B. himself never suffered from illness. As a boy he was very wide-awake and highly irritable. He attended a seminary, was then conscripted into the army, and was regarded as a good soldier. He got on very well with everyone. He was religious without being bigoted and despised obscene conversation. He was courteous, even chivalrous, toward women.

At the age of 8 years he began to masturbate, the act being accompanied by the fancy that he was surrounded by naked girls, whom he tortured, killed, and then violated.

At the age of 24 he began to ill-treat animals in a sadistic manner. On three occasions he caught a dog, killed it and tore out its intestines while masturbating. He had already dealt in the same manner with "ready made" animal bodies. "At the end I was always terribly ashamed and resolved not to do it again. But the impulse was always stronger than my will power. Thus I have mutilated the corpses of animals from horses to cats and small dogs."

At the age of 25 he disinterred the first human corpse. He describes this act as follows:

"At midday I went for a walk with a friend. It so happened that we came to the garrison cemetery, and seeing a half-filled grave I made an excuse to my friend and left him, to return to the grave later. Under the stress of a terrific excitement I began to dig up the grave with a spade, forgetting that it was clear daylight and that I might be seen. When the corpse—a woman's—was exposed I was seized with an insane frenzy and, in the absence of any other instrument, I began to beat the corpse with the spade. While doing so, I made such a noise that a workman engaged near the cemetery came to the gate. When I caught sight of him I lay down beside the corpse and kept quiet for

a while. Then, while the workman was away in search of the police, I threw some earth on the corpse and left the cemetery by climbing over the wall. Then, trembling and bathed in cold perspiration and completely dazed, I sat for hours in a small spinney. When I recovered from this paralysis I felt as though my whole body had been pounded to a pulp, and I felt weak in the head."

Two days later, this time on a rainy night, he dug the grave up again with his hands. His hands were bleeding, yet he continued to dig until the corpse's abdomen was exposed; he tore it to pieces, then filled the grave again.

There followed, at longer or shorter intervals, necrosadistic acts. On five occasions he masturbated two or three times, while touching with his left hand the intestines or another part of the corpse. This happened in June and July, 1847. Then, in November, 1847, after a long period of abstinence, he disinterred and performed the sexual act on a corpse for the first time. It was the corpse of a 16-year-old girl. His exaltation was intense. For a full quarter of an hour he tried on the corpse all the arts he had practiced on his living mistresses, exactly as though it were alive. Then he mutilated the corpse, like the others. "I cannot describe what I felt during that time. But all my enjoyment with living women is nothing at all as compared with it. I kissed the girl all over her body, I pressed her to my heart as though I wanted to crush her; in short, I did everything to her that a passionate lover does to his mistress. Having enjoyed the body for about a quarter of an hour, I cut it up and, as in the case of my other victims, tore out her intestines." In March, 1848, he performed the sexual act on four women. His impulse manifested itself in new ways. He slit the mouths of the corpses, cut off their extremities, leaving no part of their figures whole. He even lacerated and twisted the severed limbs. ("I wanted to annihilate them completely!") And at the end he always masturbated again.

On November 6th he was shot as he was climbing over the wall, but he nevertheless pursued his object.

For the first time he cut out the genitals and slashed the left thigh.

"My pleasure was greater than ever before." After the latter incident—though it was soon followed by his arrest—B. said that the impulse abated.

He had disinterred many male corpses, but this, he said, was only by accident, particularly when he went to the suicides' cemetery in search of female corpses. On one occasion he had disinterred twelve or fifteen men before he found a female corpse. In his anger he struck the male corpses with his sword, but he never masturbated in such cases; on the contrary, he felt nauseated.

He denied that he had ever bitten the corpses, as one of the experts asserts.

An interesting feature of the case is that, in addition to and in spite of his necrophile activities, B. entertained relations with girls wherever he was stationed, and completely "satisfied" them. Several girls wanted to marry him. When the impulse manifested itself, which happened at intervals of about a fortnight, heralding the attack by a headache, he pursued his necrosadistic pleasures. And nothing could deter him. Even shots fired at him by sentries, traps laid for him, the most inclement weather, such obstacles as a pond which he had to swim in the middle of winter, the need to lie motionless in wet clothes in icy cold weather—none of these things deterred him. Finally, he was so severely wounded by a trap shot while climbing over the cemetery wall that he could not escape arrest, thereby providing an explanation of the many desecrations of the cemetery that had become known. Under the influence of the surgeon Maréchal de Calvi, under whose treatment he was, B. freely admitted everything, stating that he was not sure that he would not do such things again. He also declared that the important thing for him was the act of destruction, not the sexual act.

His attitude to women is rather interesting. He said:

"I have always loved women to distraction. I have never allowed anyone to offend a woman in my presence. Everywhere I had young and charming mistresses, whom I have been able to satisfy completely and who were devoted to me. This is proved by the fact that some of them, although they came from well-to-do, distinguished families, wanted to follow me. I have never touched a married woman. I always disliked obscene talk. If such talk was started in my presence, I endeavored to turn the conversation to a different subject. I had a strictly religious education and have always loved and defended religion, though I am not a fanatic.

"I have always loved destruction. In my childhood my parents

would not give me any toys because I smashed everything. In later years I could not keep anything, even a penknife, longer than a fortnight; by then it was smashed up. It sometimes happens that I buy myself a pipe in the morning, and smash it up in the evening or next morning. In the army I once returned to barracks drunk and smashed everything I could lay hands on."

The last paragraph of Bertrand's confessions illustrates in a particularly striking manner the totalitarian, universal character of the destructive impulse. It is probable, for the rest, that Bertrand carried out his necrosadistic acts in the course of epileptic fits.

Literature records a number of other cases of necrosadism. Of a distinctly fetishist character was the case of a man named Beyerlein (recorded by Kulmbach) who abused a dead woman, slit her abdomen, and cut out her breasts and genitals, which he *carried in his coat pocket* until the following day.

Pederasty is also sometimes practiced on dead bodies. Friedrich records the following case:

A 10-year-old girl was found murdered in a wood. She lay face downward and her anus was considerably distended. The murderer confessed having introduced his member into the anus and having thus satisfied his lust.

As we have already mentioned, opportunity is frequently a contributory cause in necrophilia. It is obvious that, assuming a perverted bent in the subject, a favorable opportunity is capable of bringing out an existing impulse. Thus, necrophiles include many people whose professions bring them into contact with dead bodies. Whether the original bent is a contributory factor in the choice of profession, or whether, on the contrary, the perversion is a result of the professions concerned, can only be determined from case to case, if at all. The twenty-three cases of necrophilia quoted by Épaulard of Lyons in 1901 belonged to the following professions:

	I	II	III	IV. Remarks
1. Undertaker's Assistant	coi.			
2. Mendicant Friar	coi.			
3. Priest	coi.			
4. Nobleman	coi.			
5. Idiot, 27	coi.			
6. Medical Student	coi.			
7. Nobleman	coi.			Father of six children
8. Gravedigger	coi.			
9. Medical Student	coi.			
10. Gravedigger	coi.			The "Vampire of Muy"
11. Farm Laborer, aged 23	m.	coi.		
12. Attendant at School of Anatomy	m.	coi.		
13. Tramp	m.	coi.		
14. Soldier	coi.	sad.		
15. Marshal of France	coi.	sad.	cann.	Gilles de Ray. Pedophile. Necrophilia preceded by sadistic acts on liv- ing children.
16. Writer	m.	sad.		
17. Gardener	m.	coi.	sad.	
18. ?	m.	coi.	sad.	
19. Jack the Ripper	m.	sad.		
20. Tramp	m.	coi.	sad.	
21. ?	coi.	m.	sad.	cann.
22. Vintner, aged 24	coi.	m.	sad.	cann.
23. Idiot	m.	sad.	cann.	

The acts are given in the order in which they were carried out.

coi. stands for coitus.

m., the murder of the victim.

sad., for mutilation of the victim.

cann., murderer consumed part of victim's flesh or sucked her blood.

It will be noted that the twenty-three cases include two medical students, one attendant at a school of anatomy, two gravediggers, and one undertaker's attendant. (After Stekel.)

Superstition may also lead to sexual necrophile acts. In Southern Hungary a widow had a hermaphrodite child who wore feminine clothes but performed male labor and smoked. When the hermaphrodite wanted to marry, his mother took the creature to the cemetery one night and conducting him to the grave of a recently interred virgin ordered him to lie down beside her in the coffin. The hermaphrodite complied and also performed

the sexual act on the corpse. This was supposed to "put his sex in order."

Hellwig relates (in *Crime and Superstition*) other cases of necrophilia due to superstition. In July, 1905, it was discovered in Naples that the head of a little girl had been severed in her grave. Investigation showed that the bones of the skull had been pulverized for various necromantic purposes. In the Posen district a few years ago, a cottager severed the heads or legs of several corpses. He hung the legs of a woman in his curing chamber and hid several heads in his stable. He was convinced that this would bring him luck. A certain landowner disinterred corpses at cemeteries and mutilated them. He used their limbs in pronouncing adjurations in his stable, with the object of exorcising evil spirits and foiling witches, thereby curing his cattle of disease.

Silberer similarly emphasizes the importance of superstitious ideas:

The belief in the magic powers of innocent, or even unborn, children, has led to gruesome acts, particularly in earlier times. Thus, for instance, a peasant in an ancient collection of *Most Terrible Murder Stories* relates how two footpads compelled him to hand over his pregnant wife to them, and how, after tying her to a tree, they began to cut open her abdomen, being caught in the act, and being subsequently broken on the wheel and tortured with white-hot tweezers. At their trial they confessed that they had already eaten the hearts of two unborn children and would have been rendered invisible had they succeeded in eating a third, so that they could have acquired riches and could have performed all sorts of miracles. The primeval belief in the magic power of blood and human sacrifice has been preserved to this day among the people in certain forms, as for instance in the credulity of the masses as regards the repeated rumors concerning "ritual murder."

Generally speaking, necrophilia is not so rare as people believe. According to Herodotus, it was a widespread practice in ancient Egypt. According to Ploss-Bartels, it is still a racial custom among

the Kikambas in Africa; and in some parts of Germany it was the custom, till a few decades ago, that upon the death of a bride the bridegroom spent a night with her. The old legends concerning the fertilization of dead women, as well as the entire necrophile saga, which Heinrich Heine embodied in his immortal poems *Gespensterbraut*, *Nächtliche Hochzeiten*, etc., come within this sphere.

All this leads one to believe that Stekel is right when he says: "We must assume that there was a phase in human development when these impulses (cannibalism, necrophilia, and vampirism) were frequent phenomena. The cases that recur in our civilized age must be regarded as atavistic relics. These impulses frequently appear in the imaginings accompanying an epileptic fit or in the dazed condition after the fit. But the parathic subject who has no epileptic fits also frequently finds himself obliged to struggle against such impulses, which he then expresses in the form of fear and nausea. Many people become vegetarians because meat eating reminds them of "corpses." Others cannot visit a cemetery without feeling sick. In contrast to such people, there are those who are sexually stimulated by cemeteries. I had a patient who experienced a high degree of sexual excitement after a funeral. Another patient preferred to masturbate in a cemetery. The same type of affect causes a love of statues and leads to the brothel comedy when a prostitute shams dead and lies in a coffin. There are men who can only attain the highest degree of orgasm if the woman lies motionless as though dead, others who can only perform the sexual act on a sleeping woman (symbol of death), or who fall in love with and marry girls who are dangerously sick and become impotent if their wives afterwards recover. There are also other psychological disorders approaching paralogy which betray an atavistic cruelty. Our folk tales contain many cannibalistic and necrophile scenes—the sublimation of ancient events. The legend of the vampire has never been entirely absent from the popular consciousness. The various religions still contain relics of blood sacrifice, so that we must not be surprised if sadism also draws

within its sphere these acts, which are inexplicable to a civilized being."

We will now quote a few cases of cannibalism and vampirism:

In the year 1897 in Saxony, an unemployed journeyman cabinet-maker, who was born in 1870 and had been convicted fourteen times, attacked a 10-year-old girl and stabbed her in the throat. He cut off the ears, arms, feet, etc., of the corpse, opened the abdomen, tore out the heart, stomach, etc., and improvised in a wood a fireplace, on which roasted human flesh was later found in a frying pan stolen by the man after the murder. The murderer alleged that he had begged for food and had been refused, and he killed the child and cut it up because he wanted to eat her, in order to satisfy his hunger. The experts were of the opinion that such a motive is possible. The murderer's alimentive instinct was very highly developed. Without biting or masticating, he was in the habit of swallowing large quantities of food. Here, too, sexual murder could not be proved. (Ilberg.) Nevertheless, it may be assumed—unless the experts were altogether mistaken—that there was a sexual element in the motive of the murder.

As in the case of all perversions, cannibalism may also occur solely as a latent instinct which is never translated into action. Stekel records such a case of "symbolic cannibalism." It concerns a doctor of philosophy, who suffered from periodic impotence. Analysis showed that the cause lay in unconscious, repressed sadistic impulses. (Compare with "symbolic sexual murder" in previous chapter.) He had been a convinced vegetarian for years. Meat dishes reminded him of dead animals. He possessed certain infantilisms which betrayed distinct cannibalistic origins. He was in the habit of chewing his fingernails and constantly bit his hands and lips. Both hands were bitten sore at the same spot. He used to bite off particles of his own skin and eat them.

Vampirism, like necrophilia, is also frequently mentioned in mythology, as well as in the folk tales of all European nations, and is probably of primeval origin. Vampire spirits are mentioned in the Greek and Roman mythologies. The Germanic races called

the vampire werewolf. In Scotland and Ireland there is a belief that some corpses cannot decay in the grave, are obliged to chew their own flesh, and leave their graves at night in order to suck human blood; it is also believed that their victims must die and become vampires themselves. In several horror films of recent years this belief has been presented with the aid of modern technique.

The most notable case of vampirism recorded in literature is that of Victor Ardisson, who was born in 1872. Ardisson masturbated and consumed his own semen. He licked up the urine of women from the ground, masturbating at the same time. He acted in his native village as a paid fellator. Sucking was his principal method of obtaining sexual satisfaction. He also had a predilection for sucking at the breasts and genitals of women and was a breast fetishist. He also performed normal coitus, but he selected a mistress with huge breasts. As he was a gravedigger by profession, he soon developed necromania. He disinterred female corpses, from little girls of 3 to women of 60, sucked their breasts and performed cunnilinctus on them, and in rare cases also coitus. He ate cats and rats, and drank their blood. He repeatedly deserted from the army. He desecrated a large number of female corpses in the manner described, and in each case sucking was the principal act. He took the corpse of a 3-year-old child with him and abused the corpse, even when genitals and intestines were already a decaying, stinking mass. The head of a 13-year-old girl, which he had cut off and taken home, he mummified in some manner and kept it for a long time. He used to kiss it and call it "my fiancée."

Naturally, the vampire must also be content, in the main, with symbolic acts; but the sucking of living human blood, in mild forms, nevertheless occurs. A case in point is that of the wife, mentioned in the chapter on sadism, whose husband had to cut himself slightly before each sexual act, and allow his wife to suck the wound, as this was the only way in which sexual excitement could be induced in her.

In the case of men vampires the sucking of menstrual blood sometimes constitutes an acceptable substitute, as the following case shows:

F. J., physician, 24 years of age, is conscious of his sadistic attitude toward women. Nothing except the sight of blood induces sexual excitement in him. To bite a woman and drink her blood would give him intense pleasure. He has only one opportunity to realize his desire: he carries out cunnilinctus on menstruating women. A prostitute whom he frequently visits for this purpose has informed him that she has several other regular customers who indulge in the same act. As regards his early history, it is a noteworthy fact that he was sexually excited by the smell of his mother's urine. At the age of five he tasted her urine, and later tasted it with particular pleasure when it was mixed with menstrual blood. Already as a young child he endeavored to catch young chickens and twist their necks. He also attempted to tear them to pieces. He drank the blood of the chickens several times.

It is an interesting feature of the case that he is always thinking of death. He has written his own obituary hundreds of times, and also the obituaries of other members of his family. When he dissected for the first time at the anatomy class, he noted with consternation that he was having a sudden erection because the corpse was naked. He had an urge to dissect the genitals first, but did not do so, because he was ashamed to yield to this urge in the presence of his colleagues. These erections still occur when he watches a surgeon or a woman doctor at an operation. The sight of large wounds also stimulates him sexually.

Finally, we give an extract of a case concerning the "ideal vampirism" of a woman, described by Dr. Craven, Stekel's assistant:

Mme. Z. has been referred to me by Dr. Stekel for analytic treatment because she is "terribly nervous." Her nervous excitement has become increasingly worse during the last eight months, and at present she has no peace even for an hour a day. She sleeps badly, cries often by day, and is depressed. She has occasional outbursts of temper, during which she uses insulting language toward her husband and child. Her spirit, as she herself says, "is incarcerated in a black cave inhabited only by slimy creatures; there is an occasional gleam of a blue light, and the sinister silence is only broken by bestial grunts." The patient's appearance fits the atmosphere which she so graphically describes: she is snakelike, with reptilian eyes and movements. In

other words, she really looks like the general conception of a vampire. We will now enter the cave of a vampire, explore it, and liberate the spirit that is imprisoned in it.

The patient is a professional singer and dancer. She is 30 years of age and is the child of an Indian mother. She was born in England, and her father was of Portuguese-French extraction. No hereditary taint, no previous serious illnesses. Soon after her birth her parents moved to a West Indian port. Her mother died when the patient was three years old.

She married a man in whose past she took no interest. Her marriage was a bad one. Her husband was himself extraordinarily parathic and his parathy only intensified that of the patient. He was a misanthrope, and his attitude to other people reacted on her, so that her abominable misanthropic impulses were intensified. She was extraordinarily jealous. She told me that she had always been afraid that she might meet her husband in the street with another woman, in which case she could not have controlled herself. On one occasion she actually did meet him with a woman. She controlled herself until she reached home; but then she had a frightful outburst of temper. She felt she could murder her husband, "smash his head and tear out his brain." She was so excited that she had the sensation that she was "swallowing blood."

This brings us to her vampiric nature—the desire to drink or suck blood, as the expression denotes. Her fantasies are "bloodthirsty" and they "make the blood run cold;" they revel in cruelty and thoughts of revenge against a hateful world. I quote here the most varied fantasies which I have brought to light from the depths of her soul.

Her thoughts and daydreams mainly concern the subject of blood; she thinks and feels in bloody metaphors. She talks of blood as the symbol of love, hate, anger, passion. She reflects on the question in what way animal blood differs from human blood and asks herself mentally what blood would look like if it were decolorized, whether it would then be a watery fluid, etc. One frequent problem is what the body looks like when all the blood has been removed—does the body become pale and at the same time cold, does it become smaller, etc. When it is raining she imagines that it is raining blood. A mental picture of blood streaming down from the sky in bright sunlight intoxicates her. She likes to suck and swallow blood, but she dare not do this, lest she cause pain to others, and contents herself with a taste. She

cannot drink red wine, owing to its similarity to blood, but she is passionately fond of blood oranges.

She engages in mental play with a preserved embryo or the body of a baby. She has read about a woman who after an abortion placed the embryo into a glass vessel. She had similar thoughts at the time of her pregnancy. Now she feels guilty on account of her wish to have an abortion, as abortion to her is equivalent to murder. She thinks the reason she does not like her seven-year-old son is that he does not resemble his father. Her hatred of the child sometimes leads to murderous thoughts. At such times she feels she wants to kill the child not with a knife, but "by twisting his neck with her own hands."

She has a similar criminal impulse toward her husband. She wants to murder him, to strangle him, and keep the body in her room. She had similar fantasies in connection with her relations and her past lovers. It would be very desirable for her to possess the dead body of her father, but her mother's skull would give her the greatest possible happiness. She had various plans with the bodies of her husband and her lovers: to chew their raw flesh, but not to swallow it, in order, as she says, to feel the taste of their blood. She would also like to suck the fluids out of the bodies, to cut or tear out the eyes, and roll them in her mouth in order to feel their roundness and softness. Then she would like to fill the caverns of the eyes with blood. She wonders what color the eyes are after death.

She prefers the sucking of blood, particularly from the cavity of the collar bone, to normal coitus. During orgasm she thinks she is going to die, that is why she lies motionless like a corpse during the act, only wishing that it were over. The penis seems to her like a dagger, and the act as though she were being pierced. She likes best to perform anilinctus, particularly on old men. She is afraid of fellatio, because at such times she occasionally has an urge to bite off the penis and the testicles. She has frequently had the idea of cutting off her husband's penis and burning it. Sometimes she loves her husband passionately; this is the case when he is "submissive like a baby in arms." Usually she likes to be treated badly before the sexual act, as this induces intense sexual excitement. The following is a typical fantasy: She imagines that one of her former lovers is before her and she squeezes and beats his face to a pulp with her hands, but she does not cause a wound. Then she throws him to the floor and beats and kicks him violently. Finally, she performs fellatio and anilinctus on him. Then she desires

that he should tear the clothes off her body and beat her violently; that he should throw her to the floor, fall on her with devastating force, and finally perform cunnilinctus on her.

She says that only in this way could she be satisfied by a man. That is why she has an inclination for Lesbianism. At the same time, she is suffering from frightful sadistic impulses. She is not content with manipulating the feminine genitals, pushing her hand "up to the wrist" into a vagina, but connects these "harmless" acts with the most horrible fantasies. Sometimes she must suddenly stop, because she is afraid that she might be overwhelmed by her impulses. She wonders anxiously what she might do if a young girl fell into her hands and behaved with gentle submissiveness. She says, literally: "First of all, I'd like to kiss her breasts . . . then tear them or bite them off . . . and eat them. I would tear out her vagina, her womb . . . and her rectum. All that I want to eat, and also the inside parts of the thighs, close to the genitals. Then I want to slit her open completely, and caress her intestines—take them out and put them back. I should like to feel their warmth. Finally, I should like to suck her blood at the side of her neck." The patient has often had the idea of killing a girl and doing all this to her—but she has never had a clear idea as to the manner of the killing. During intercourse with a young girl she repeatedly lost consciousness as the thought came to her: "Tear out everything—tear her to pieces!"

Frequently she has the fantasy: "I'd like to go into the womb or into the rectum, lie there for a while, then break into the abdominal cavity where I should like to tread on the intestines with my feet. In the end, I should find my way to the heart and drink the blood from it—then I would tear out the heart and perhaps eat it. In the case of a man I'd like to go in close behind the testicles. I should like to grub about in the belly, then go up to the chest and drink the fresh blood from the heart."

When all the machinations of the demon that occupied her spirit like a cave had been revealed, and also that hatred was draining away her vitality like a dragon, spreading misery and despair within her, she reflected. Her fantasies had driven her into insanity. Shortly afterwards she left her parathic husband, and since then she has been able to support herself and her child by appropriate work. She is reconciled with life and promises herself great happiness if she should meet an acceptable old gentleman. The monster, the vampire within

her has been tamed and rendered harmless. Here ends the story of our meeting with the spirit of a vampire.

We have already observed that in the present phase of civilization such crass sadoatavistic lusts can find an outlet only in symbolic substitute acts. The luxury brothels of the European capitals have not only torture chambers, but also "mortuaries," in which prostitutes lying in open coffins submit to coitus and ill-treatment by necrosadists. Bloch describes in detail the equipment of such a "death chamber" in a Paris brothel. The walls are covered with black cloth. The room is dimly illuminated. Candelabra with burning candles and other signs of the death ritual are arranged near the coffin. The prostitute, dressed in white, lies in the coffin. She has previously made her skin cold with the aid of cold compresses and painted blue spots—"death spots"—on her body, so that she really looks like a corpse. "The necrophile, a prelate in his vestments, entered, knelt down in front of the 'dead' prostitute, murmured inarticulate words that sounded like a prayer, then suddenly flung himself on his victim, who played the part of a corpse throughout."

However, in most cases the motives of the symbolic actions are unconscious. Veiled necrophile tendencies frequently appear after the death of a beloved person and lead to a grave cult and other symbolic acts. Thus the analysis of a man who, even a year after his wife's death visited her grave daily, making these visits into a cult accompanied by something like a ritual, showed that during his vigil by his wife's bier he had the tensest erections, and had to flee from the room for fear that he might succumb to the temptation to possess her again. There are also numerous historic examples of men and women who were unable to part with the coffin of their dead spouse and even carried the coffin with them on journeys.

In such cases we are frequently confronted with *unconscious*, *symbolic* forms of psychological necrophilia. Even the daydreams of sadists are not clearly conscious to them or are so quickly repressed that all recollection of them vanishes from their minds.

We would have to revise our view of our civilization in many respects if we were acquainted with the fantasies of all sadists. Fortunately, there is a yawning chasm between such fantasies and reality that is never bridged. Below we quote, by way of example, some fantasies of a woman suffering from melancholia (after Stekel), who had herself psychoanalyzed on account of her condition. It took months of analysis before these fantasies became conscious to the patient. The woman was 34 years old and unhappily married. She saw the passing of her youth and beauty without her expectations from life being fulfilled. The following are some of her daydream fantasies:

"When I read about cannibalism I asked myself whether I could eat human flesh. At such times I felt violently sick. Now I often imagine that I am eating human flesh and experience the same nausea. I should prefer to become a vegetarian. I cannot help thinking of the dead animals.

"Sometimes I get a feeling that I could bite my child. As a child I frequently bit when I was angry.

"I often think of cemeteries, the way the bodies are decaying in the graves. I should like to have myself cremated.

"I should like to cut off a dead man's penis and have it sewn on to myself. I should like to be a man. I should like to steal the soul of a dead man before it goes to heaven, and become a man. I would then seduce every woman.

"I would like to taste every man and every girl, to see what they tasted like. [This is meant in a sexual sense, but expressed ambiguously.]

"I am a vampire. I come at night and suck out people's brains. I sometimes think that a vampire has sucked out my blood and my pleasure in life.

"I should like to pummel corpses. I always want to be stronger than others. I know that corpses cannot defend themselves.

"I should like to torture people, even when they are dead."

Those who take the trouble to investigate will find that all persons suffering from melancholia have similar thoughts. Frequently they are more veiled, and frequently they do not rise

to the consciousness at all. But hatred always lies in wait in the depths of their souls. It is a peculiar fact, however, that their dreams are the contrary and may be gay and harmless.

The analysis of such cases proves again and again what an important role this atavistic component of cruelty plays in the structure of perversions. Now and then the world hears of a "Jack the Ripper," a Haarmann, a Kürtnier, and is shocked that "such things can be." The analyst and the nerve specialist, however, know countless people who are "like that," but are fortunately stranded in the realm of fancy. "Between the realm of fancy and reality," writes Stekel, "lies the vast empire of the parapathies. A small screw becomes loose—and all the civilized inhibitions go to the devil."

BOOK V

OTHER PARTIAL IMPULSES

OTHER PARTIAL RESULTS

XXIV

FETISHISM

GENERAL

DEFINITION—PARTIAL ATTRACTION—FETISH AND ANTIFETISH—CAUSES—BINET'S THEORY—FREUD—HAVELOCK ELLIS—HIRSCHFELD'S THEORY—SELECTION OF FETISH—HAREM CULT—HIRSCHFELD'S CLASSIFICATION.

The word fetish denotes magic, idol, an object of reverence. Accordingly, sexual fetishism signifies a peculiar kind of erotic idolatry, the object of which may be a particular portion of the loved person's body, his or her clothes, or other belongings, sometimes of the strangest kind.

Every perversion has its pendant in normal life. In a purely quantitative sense, a perversion is only an exaggeration or an intensification of tendencies inherent in the normal person. Every normal person is "a little" scopophile; but in pathological scopophilia the desire of seeing certain things becomes an obsession. Similarly, every normal person in erotic intercourse derives a certain amount of pleasure from the act of uncovering the body, but to the exhibitionist, uncovering is the end itself. Fetishism also has its roots in normal sexual life, and only becomes a perversion when exaggerated to an independent practice.

Even in absolutely normal people the attraction of the desired or loved person does not emanate from his or her personality as a whole, but always from certain physical and mental qualities. It even happens very frequently that the love of a person is at-

tracted by a single predominant quality in another person. Faults and deficiencies may at first exercise an objectively disturbing effect, but subjectively they will be overlooked for the sake of that one quality. How easily, for instance, do women forgive a great tenor his corporation for the sake of his magic voice.

Krafft-Ebing called this partial attraction "individual fetish attraction" and regarded it as "the germ of all physiological love." This applies to normal fetishism, the opposite of which is pathological fetishism, which manifests itself in its most extreme form in the fact that the patient derives a high degree of sexual excitement from an object that is entirely separate from the loved person, such as a hank of hair or a shoe. Between the normal partial attraction, upon which the great law of sexual selection is based, and the pathological partial attraction, which is confined to an isolated peculiarity, lies the wide realm of these passionate loves which connect the fascinating detail with the person to whom it belongs or of whom it is a part, but overestimate this detail to such an extent that it is not so much the person possessing the quality concerned who is desired, as the quality with the person who happens to be attached to it.

Binet, who was the first to investigate this problem, accordingly distinguishes two kinds of fetishism—*minor* and *major* fetishism. In the case of minor fetishism the effective detail is the center of attraction, but does not completely overshadow its possessor, to whom the fetishist's love is gradually transferred. In the case of major fetishism, on the other hand, no such transference takes place, but a complete substitution—*pars pro toto*—in which the fascinating detail or object entirely supplants the loved person. The genuine fetishist does not desire a sexual partner but is content with a symbol. The symbol, as we have said, may be a part of the body (hair, fingernails, foot, the hair on the genitals, etc.), or an inanimate object (clothes, corsets, shoes, brushes, prostheses, irrigators, etc.).

The pathological nature of this condition manifests itself both physically and psychologically. Psychologically it is expressed by a concentration of the subject's thoughts, desires and passion

on the fetish; and physically by the fact that relief of sexual tension is usually sought and found not by means of coitus with the possessor of the fetish, but through all sorts of manipulations with the fetish itself. In the case of easily excitable persons it is sufficient to see the fetish or touch it with the hand to bring about orgasm and ejaculation. Usually the major fetishist carries out all sorts of manipulations on the fetish, caressing and squeezing it, touching it with the lips or the body, and sometimes, though not always, bringing it in contact with the genitals. Thus the fetish supplants the sexual partner in all respects.

The antithesis of partial fetishism is partial aversion or antifetishism, which stands to fetishism as does the negative to the positive or hate to love. The antifetishist aversion follows the same inherent laws as fetishist attraction, comprises the same range of objects, from parts of the body and bodily qualities to inanimate things, and may be transferred to the whole personality in the same manner as fetishist attraction. According to Hirschfeld, antifetishism is in reality only "fetishism gone wrong," in which the feeling of aversion arises from the *absence* of pleasure-giving sensual perception. For instance, the antifetishist aversion of many women for a full beard has its origin in their love of a clean-shaven face. Stekel complements this view in the sense that the antifetishist attitude to given object has its roots in a *love* of the same object which has been repressed or inhibited for reasons of morality or convention. A man, out of his desire to remain normal, will struggle against an overwhelming inclination for a certain type of fetish, and thereby converts this inclination into the contrary—the partial love changes to partial hate, the repressions having proved stronger than the original impulse.

We have endeavored to trace antifetishism to fetishism as regards its causation, but this has not led us to an elucidation of the cause of fetishism itself. What then, is the origin of fetishism?

As we have already mentioned, Binet was the first scientist to investigate fetishism scientifically. According to Binet's theories, which with insignificant modifications were also accepted by Krafft-Ebing, Merzbach, and Moll, fetishism is based on an exter-

nal event experienced by the person possessing an inclination for this type of perversion. The first sexual impression merges forever with the sexuality of the person concerned, so that nothing but a recollection of that first impression is capable of inducing sexual excitement in him. For instance, a boy sees his female teacher's breast and has an erection. He becomes a breast fetishist and always seeks a repetition of this first impression.

Psychologists will perceive at first glance that Binet, by virtue of this theory, was in reality a forerunner of Freud. The theory of the "first experience" is a simplified form of the Freudian theory of the "traumatic shock," whose mechanism we have considered in detail in the previous chapters. Remarkably enough, Freud and his pupils did not accept this theory so readily as one might expect. Freud himself stresses, precisely in this special connection, the congenital, constitutional component in the development of perversions. His pupils, Stekel and Adler, lose themselves in a jungle of theories which, in spite of the extraordinarily valuable material they have collected in evolving them, have so far failed to produce a clear, satisfactory result. The following extract from Stekel's book on fetishism shows how very much in the dark research in this connection still is:

Havelock Ellis also stresses the atavistic basis of foot fetishism which is in accord with the perspiring foot theory of Freud and Abraham. I on my part would rather support Alfred Adler's hypothesis concerning foot fetishism, namely, that those who suck their big toe in babyhood become foot fetishists. This would appear to confirm my own assertion that the fetish corresponds to the fetishist's own erogenous zone.

The relatively most satisfactory result in connection with fetishism is provided by Hirschfeld's theory. Briefly, it is as follows:

Hirschfeld takes as his starting point Binet's theory of "*accident agissant sur un sujet prédisposé*" (accident acting upon a predisposed subject). In this phrase two concepts are clearly distinguishable, that is to say, predisposition, or the congenital component determined by heredity, and the accidental element, or the

accidental, arbitrary influence of the environment. Thus Binet admits that the shocklike experience can produce a lasting effect and can turn the person concerned into a fetishist only if a congenital disposition and congenital inclination for the disorder are present. In the case of the congenitally normal person the shock passes without leaving a trace. But what must be the nature of this congenital disposition in order to cause the individual to react by contracting the disorder? According to Binet, a general nervous hyperesthesia is sufficient. Hirschfeld, on the other hand, represents a more differentiated attitude. According to him, it is not *any* sort of events, but only certain definite types of events, that are capable of arousing fetishism, and it is not a general nervous disorder but a specific psychological make-up that constitutes the predisposing cause in the physiological sense. The individual reacts with the necessary intensity and permanence only to external events that inwardly "agree" with him. In other words, Hirschfeld substitutes for Binet's general disposition theory the congenital, individual make-up of the sexual receptive organs in the nervous system, the specific nature of the central nerve organs and the specific condition of the "sexual chemistry," that is to say, the functioning of the endocrine glands.

Naturally, this must not be interpreted to mean that according to Hirschfeld a liking for the smell of perspiration, corsets or artificial silk knickers is congenital and inherent. What is congenitally established and inherent in the constitutional chemistry is *the disposition to react* to certain categories and experiences and not to others. If, therefore, a certain detail—the eyes, the hands, the corset, the shoe—exercises a particularly stimulating effect, that is due to the fact that the detail concerned touches a chord in the particular disposition, corresponds to the type of disposition and is felt by the subjects as a concentrated symbol.

"Thus fetishism is founded not on arbitrary coincidence, but partly also on the subjects' psychosexual make-up. It is, however, far more difficult to fix etiologically these involved associations than an impulse fixation on sex, type, or individual."

Naturally, the connection between the particular fetish and the

congenital disposition only consists in an association of ideas. But this bridge is not produced as Binet thought, by a random factor, but always by etiologically determined thoughts, though these may sometimes be unconscious. It is the germ of an existing disposition, conditioned by the functioning of the endocrine glands, that accepts or rejects the external shock. Fetishism, then, according to Hirschfeld, is *based on a conscious or unconscious associative absorption of a sensual perception that is in accord with the individual psychosexual constitution.*

To illustrate this theory we shall compare its mechanism to the tuning of a wireless receiving set. The congenital disposition, the chemistry of the hormones, plays the same role as the approximate adjustment of the set to a certain category of wavelengths, say between 1,500 and 2,000 meters, to the exclusion of all other wavelengths. The external event or traumatic shock is comparable to the precise adjustment of the set to a particular wavelength.

After this brief summary of the general theory of fetishism, we proceed to describe its various forms and quote some examples from the rich casuistry of this subject.

As regards the general viewpoints which enter into the selection of the fetish, it should be noted that aesthetic considerations play hardly any part at all. The fetishist, of course, attaches the greatest importance to the specific qualities or properties of the fetish. An eye fetishist, for instance, does not react to eyes as such, but only to eyes of a specific shape, color, and set, such as eyes with long lashes, etc. But this condition is purely subjective and has no connection with the objective sense of beauty. Thus for instance the great French philosopher Descartes showed a great preference for squinting women, and was not interested in women without a squint. We shall also find in the course of our casuistry that deformities, humps, crutches, foul smells, etc., all of which are repulsive to the normal aesthetic sense, have been used as fetishes.

A further peculiarity that is common to genuine fetishists (by "genuine fetishists" we mean the major and not the minor fetishist of Binet's definition) is their so-called polygamy. The sexually

normal person is at least periodically monogamous; the fetishist is always polygamous. The pigtail fetishist keeps a "harem" of pigtails, the corset fetishist a "harem" of corsets, and the shoe fetishist never ceases to add to his stock of shoes.

Stekel gives the following further characteristics of the genuine fetishist:

The fetishist suffers from psychosexual infantilism which finds an outlet in his masturbation fantasies.

The tendency to experience again the forbidden infantile pleasure leads him to many impulsive acts, and fetishists are often kleptomaniacs, exhibitionists, etc.

The fetish gradually absorbs the fetishist's entire sexual activity.

The fetishist frequently displays antifetishist tendencies. He atones for the pleasure which he regards as forbidden in all the other aspects of his life.

The impulsive acts, in the same way as with the exhibitionist, though not to the same extent, are carried out in a sort of daze. The fetishist is a daydreamer whose dreams merge with reality.

In the majority of genuine fetishists it is also possible to prove a sadistic component.

The fetishist develops his cult to a complicated religion, an elaborate ritual which he observes with punctilious devotion.

All these are common features of genuine fetishism. We shall deal with them in detail in connection with the cases we quote in the following chapters.

Hirschfeld bases his classification of fetishist phenomena on two principles. As each part of the other person's body may be the source, and each part of the fetishist's body the receiver of fetishist stimulations, the classification may be effected both according to the source of stimulation in the object and—so to speak—the target of stimulation in the subject. The receiving stations of fetishist sexual affects are distributed over all the senses, so that there are optical, acoustic, olfactory, gustatory and tactile fetishisms.

As regards the classification of the fascinating objects, Hirschfeld distinguishes *inherent* and *adherent* fetishes. The former

group includes the individual parts of the body, as well as certain physical qualities, such as the tone of the voice, gait, gestures and physical defects, while the latter relates to clothes, personal effects and all other objects.

PARTS OF THE BODY AS FETISHES

A HAIR SNIPPER—HAIRDRESS AS STIMULANT—A CASE FROM ENGLAND—WHITE HAIR—WIG FETISHISM—THE BEARD—EYES AND NOSE AS FETISHES—BODY FETISHISM—LOW-CUT GOWNS—CASES BY HIRSCHFELD—CASE OF A DOCTOR—COITUS INTER MAMMALIS—LETTER OF A NAVAL OFFICER TO HIRSCHFELD—GENITAL FETISHISM—GENITALS AS ANTIFETISHES—NATES—CASE BY KRAFFT-EBING—LOVE OF LIMBS—CASE OF CALF FETISHISM—THE FIVE SENSES AS FETISHES—OPTICAL IMPRESSIONS—BODY NOISES AS FETISHES—COLD FETISHISM—PREDILECTION FOR CRIPPLES—THERAPEUTIC SUCCESS BY KRAFFT-EBING—A CRUTCH FETISHIST.

Further consideration of the countless individual fetishisms will lead us to a classification which, though no less external than the classification according to bodily details and belongings, is just as practical and workable, namely, a classification according to the principal regions of the body; this method distinguishes three main groups of fetishists, i.e. head, trunk, and limb fetishists.

The part of the head which most frequently affects the fetishist is the hair. This is, in the first place, an optical fetishism, though the senses of smell and touch are also involved to a considerable extent. A frequent type of fetishist is the hair "snipper." The most famous hair snipper was probably the Hamburg student S.; after one of his arrests a search of his quarters revealed thirty-one pigtails, all trimmed with colored ribbons and labeled with the date and hour when he had cut them off. We quote below extracts from the records of the Hamburg police in connection with this case, published by State Attorney Wulffen:

S. made the following statement concerning his sexual life, providing a complete insight into the pathological condition of the hair snipper. Formerly he had no clear idea at all what it was that induced him to snip off the hair of women. He only loved the hair, but not the person to whom it belonged, and he therefore understands why he used to cut off his sisters' hair. From an early age he has dreamed of hair and pigtails, and still does so frequently. He does not know when he experienced a sexual sensation for the first time during the act, nor was there any sexual consciousness in him when he cut off a woman's hair the first few times. It was probably more of a physical urge to which he yielded, without knowing what it was all about. It was only in the course of his first trial that he received enlightenment on sexual matters. He had never had sexual intercourse with a woman, and becomes estranged from and feels an aversion for any man as soon as he learns that he has had intercourse with women. He is particularly revolted when he hears such matters discussed in an obscene manner. That is why he has joined the Ethos Society of Public Morality. After his acquittal at the town of B., S. firmly resolved not to yield to his unnatural urge again. He succeeded in carrying out his resolve for a year, but in June, 1907, he fell a victim to it once more, and he says he is afraid that he will not be able to resist this fateful impulse in future. He is prepared to accept help, from whatever quarter it may come. He says he feels safe here at the Institute, but he has found no peace. He keeps wondering if peace will enter his disturbed spirit. During the summer term of 1907 he was all on his own at B., and thrown entirely on his own resources, and he became worse. He was afraid that he might easily snip off the hair of a few women during a certain popular festival, and the thought of this occupied his mind and tormented him for weeks before the festival. Since he had returned from Berlin he had not had in his possession a pair of scissors, not even nail scissors. Some fourteen days before the festival he went to a shop on two occasions and walked up and down in front of it, struggling with himself whether he should or should not buy a pair of scissors, but finally he succeeded in controlling himself. A few days later, however, he bought a pair of scissors after all, and that, he says, was his undoing, for now his excitement grew more and more intense. Several times he wanted to throw the scissors away, but always decided not to do so, in order to show himself that despite the scissors he would resist his impulse. On the day

of the festival he wandered about the streets alone, looking at nothing but hair, and deliberately avoiding acquaintances he happened to see. In spite of his great excitement, he succeeded in controlling himself that day. But the next day he succumbed. In the evening there was a great gay gathering in front of the castle and he snipped off several locks of hair. The first plait of hair was very thick and he did not succeed in cutting it through entirely; the second came off at a single snip. Then he came across a big girl with wonderful long hair cascading down her back and reaching down to her knees. He was intensely excited. But as he cautiously passed his fingers through the hair, the girl suddenly pulled the whole of her hair over her shoulder, in front of her. That was a bad blow for S., but he nevertheless remained on the spot, hoping that the girl would put her hair back where it had been. In the end he pulled her hair back over her shoulder and snipped off a lock. Toward the end of the festival he was frightfully agitated, probably with anger over his failure to obtain the whole of that wonderful hair. S. was obviously excited as he made these revelations to the expert and even the next day he complained that now that his recollection had been stirred up he could not help thinking of that wonderful head of hair. He saw the hair constantly before him as he lay in bed, he could not sleep, was disturbed by erections, and kept wondering whether such long and thick hair was really possible. He mentally measured the hair against his body and, he said, had visions of the girl lying before him asleep, and of himself going up to bed, taking hold of her hair, and after feeling its wonderful thickness, pressing it against his mouth and nose and inhaling its fragrance, and finally cutting it off with a pair of scissors. The excitement and the inner struggle would not let him sleep; he had tried to lie on his back, then on his side, but it had been all in vain. Then, in the darkness, he had visions of countless locks of hair, including the real ones that he had known, as well as those he had imagined; his excitement had grown until it became intolerable and although he had forced himself to lie still and motionless he could not sleep. The old fantasies had kept returning. He saw the castle, girls with long hair were brought before him, whole cities were denuded of feminine hair—Berlin, Hamburg, Braunschweig, London, Stockholm. All the beautiful heads of hair were cut off; girls were caught in the street and at school and abducted. The hair was carefully combed, plaited and tied at the top and bottom with pretty ribbons. Each plait was

labelled with the name and age of the owner, and the label also stated the parents' birthplace and the color of their hair, and whether the girl's hair had been previously cut. This description represents the hair fetishist's typical method of preserving his sexual symbols. S. said that he sometimes had the sensation that his pillow was stuffed with plaits of hair and that fragrant locks of hair were strewn all over him. He imagined he was burying his hand in masses of hair and that locks of hair were swinging about his face, arms, and chest, fanning him. Then he masturbated, after which he felt weak and dazed, and it was only a long time, sometimes hours, afterwards that his excitement abated and he was able to fall asleep. He also said that burying his face in the hair that excited him was sufficient to bring about a discharge.

Relief of the tension through the fetish itself, entirely detached from the person, which is a feature of the above case, distinguishes pathological or major fetishism from physiological fetishism. S. was acquitted both in Berlin and Hamburg, because the severe sexual disorder was accompanied by serious inhibitive disorders, so that free volition was out of the question. A few years after his trials in Germany, S. emigrated to Buenos Aires, where he was arrested for cutting off the pigtails of a girl in a tram. Unfortunately for S., the girl was the daughter of a foreign diplomat and was accompanied by her brother. After a sensational trial S. was finally, at his own request, sent to a lunatic asylum. His case shows nearly all the characteristic features of "major fetishism," including the patient's "polygamy," his ascetic tendency, the sadistic element, and finally the patient's dazed condition while perpetrating the act.

The hair plays a very considerable part in fetishism not only in the form of locks and plaits but also as the covering of the head itself, as the following case shows:

When the patient (a highly placed civil servant now aged 50) was seven years old, it happened one night that when he was already in bed the maidservant, who was leaving, came up to him and embraced him.

The patient still remembers quite clearly how he pushed his fingers through her hair. At the age of puberty he began to experience sexual excitement whenever he saw or touched nicely dressed hair. But from then on, excitement was only induced by the hair of men; the hair of women exercised no effect whatever on him, and even in men he was only interested in sleek, dark brown hair, which had to be brushed right back. The patient prefers timid young people, but they must behave naturally. He derives particular pleasure and sexual excitement from dressing other people's hair. He executes this operation in the following manner: He stands behind the other man, applies hair oil, which, together with combs, he always carries with him, then he combs the hair back. As the comb reaches the top of the head, ejaculation takes place, but the same result is also obtained by merely stroking the other man's smooth hair, particularly when the patient is standing behind the other man and slightly touching him with his body. In such circumstances he does not expose the genitals, but he declares that it would give him greater pleasure if he did so; he is prevented by a feeling of shame from attempting this variant. He himself wears his hair drawn back and dresses his hair very frequently, though it gives him greater pleasure to dress another man's hair. When he sees another man's hair in the street he runs after him and accosts him. When, as a young military officer, he visited a girl in order to have intercourse with her, he dressed his hair very carefully; at the decisive moment he thought of his own well-groomed hair as the highest symbol of his sexual emotions. The patient cannot comprehend that anyone should cut off another person's hair as a souvenir or under compulsion, but he can quite easily conceive that if a very dear friend of his lay dying and the patient knew that he was about to lose him for ever, he would take a lock of his hair as a souvenir.

The sight of a nicely dressed head carried him back, by a predominant association of ideas, to the happy times when he was in a position to dress the hair of young men, and those acts live in his recollection as "the highest expression" of his "world of thought and emotions," in which he moves "as though in a closed circle, the center of which is a firm, nicely brushed head of dark brown hair—the focus of a universe in which life is only represented by a little light." The patient, whose behavior has frequently attracted attention, is known by the nickname of "The Hairdresser" in the establishments fre-

mented by him. For the rest, the establishments concerned are not in keeping with his aristocratic origin and high social position, but are places of the popular type and he feels very well in them.

A similar case is recorded by Archenholz from England:

I knew an Englishman who was a most respectable and charming man, but who possessed a very queer bent which, he assured me, was rooted in the depths of his mind. The greatest pleasure to him, and the only way to induce sensual pleasure in him, was to comb the hair of a pretty woman. He kept a charming mistress for no other purpose than this. Love and loyalty did not enter into their relationship; he was only interested in the woman's hair which she had to let down at the times fixed by him, so that he could pass his fingers through it. This manipulation induced orgasm in him.

The color of the hair plays a most important selective role; sometimes it is fair hair of various shades and sometimes black hair that attracts or repels the fetishist. This is in considerable measure due to the mass-psychological factor known by the scientifically not very precise name "fashion." We need only refer to the recent epidemic in connection with the platinum blonde cult.

Even iron-grey and white hair may be a fetish. Hirschfeld had a patient whose wife had to wear a white wig during the sexual act. The wigs of English judges and barristers often exercise a fetishist effect on young girls. Ordinarily, of course, a wig exercises a repellent or antifetishist effect, as in the following nullity case (after Hirschfeld) which contains a great deal of humor:

In a nullity suit in which I gave expert evidence, the husband stated that after the wedding his wife suddenly removed the magnificent head of hair which had given him a great deal of pleasure during their engagement. She lay down on the nuptial couch almost bald-headed, and as he had had no idea that she wore a wig he was badly startled and turned away from her. His previously erect member immediately collapsed and from then on all chance of sexual intercourse with his wife was precluded. He contested—with success—the validity of the marriage on account of the concealment of the fact that his wife had false hair.

In this case the young husband's disappointment was, of course, in the nature of a shock and it would be incorrect to speak of "pathological antifetishism." As we have already pointed out, it is most difficult to draw the line between the normal and the pathological in sexual life.

The effect of masculine facial hair on women is almost as strong as the effect of feminine hair on men, and a mustache may very often become a fetish. Here, too, mass-psychological factors play an important role. German girls of yesterday were obsessed with the ex-Kaiser's notorious mustachios; more recently they were "mad" about Hitler's toothbrush mustache, originally "invented" by Charlie Chaplin.

A rare case is that of the man, quoted by Krafft-Ebing, who loved bearded women. When his first wife, who was a well-known "bearded lady," died, he did not rest until he found and married another lady with an imposing beard. This is a typical example of fetishism arising from a deflected homosexuality. Intercourse with the bearded woman is naturally intended to compensate for the forbidden intercourse with men. On a similar basis many sexologists see the homosexual tendencies of a decadent age in the present preference for clean-shaven men on the one hand, and for women possessing a slender figure on the other hand. Needless to say, this theory must be taken with a pinch of salt.

Eye and nose fetishism is rarer than hair fetishism, but not so rare as one would be inclined to believe. Thus eyebrows grown in a continuous line are frequently the object of the fetishist's obsession, and this applies even to eye defects, such as myopia, the soulful look of a person suffering from Basedow's disease, or blindness. As regards blindness, where pity, the power complex and a deflected sadism are undoubtedly important factors, it is difficult to say whether fetishism is present at all.

Binet records the following combined case of eye and nose fetishism:

X., 34 years of age, secondary school teacher, suffered from convulsions in babyhood. At the age of 10 years he began to masturbate,

experiencing erotic pleasure, but this was associated with strange fantasies. He was in love with feminine eyes, but as he was intent on creating for himself an image of the sexual act, and was entirely ignorant in sexual matters, he evolved the idea—in order to remain as close as possible to the eyes—of transferring in his own imagination, the feminine genital organs to the nostrils. From then on his very keen sexual desire centered in this fancy. He made drawings representing the correct Greek profiles of women, but with such wide nostrils that *immissio penis* should be possible. One day in a bus he saw a girl, in whom he believed he recognized his ideal. He followed her to her home and immediately asked her to marry him. He was, naturally, shown the door, but he came again and again, until he was finally arrested. X. has never had normal sexual intercourse with women.

In cases of fetishist predilection for big noses an unconscious phallus cult is sometimes a contributory factor. This cult arises from an old popular belief, which, of course, has no foundation in fact, that the size of the nose is indicative of the size of the male member. An old German proverb says: "A man's nose betrays the size of his member; a girl's mouth the width of her vagina."

In literature nose fetishism is represented by the immortal character of Cyrano de Bergerac, in Rostand's play of the same name. Also, there is the poem, quoted by Krafft-Ebing of an English nose fetishist:

Oh sweet and pretty little nose,
So charming unto me;
Oh were but I the sweetest rose,
I'd give my scent to thee.
Oh, make it full with honey sweet
That I may suck it all;
T'would be for me the greatest treat,
A real festival.
How sweet and how nutritious your darling nose does seem,
It would be more delicious than strawberries and cream.

No wonder that the author published this poem without his signature.

A case of mouth fetishism is also recorded in the fetishist casuistry. It concerns a lawyer whose sole sexual activity consisted in pressing his lips to those of another person. He did not even go as far as the "tongue kiss," yet this act always resulted in an ejaculation. Thick lips exercised such a powerful attraction on him that he did not care whether they belonged to man or woman; they represented the peak of his desire.

There is, in addition, an ear fetishism, a chin and cheek fetishism, a tear fetishism (which comes within the sphere of sadism) and even a saliva fetishism, which manifests itself in the urge on the part of the fetishist to have the beloved person drip saliva into his mouth. Many cases have been observed of women who were attracted by certain men because they were able to "spit in such a strong, manly way." Here again the associative mechanism of fetishism reveals itself, for just as the nose is regarded as the symbol of the penis, so spitting appears as the symbol of masculine ejaculation.

The most effective fetishist stimulating points on the trunk are the breasts, hips, and genital organs. But apart from these principal zones, the trunk is almost as rich in fetishisms as the face. Neck fetishism belongs to this category. The short, thick neck, as well as the long, slim neck, have their fetishist admirers. The bare throat, as in the case of sailors and women wearing low-cut clothes may also be an object of fetishism. Hirschfeld had a patient, a teacher, who had an urge to put his hand into the blouses of girls wearing sailor suits. As a result of this compelling urge he became involved in an action for assault. Another of Hirschfeld's patients was fascinated by the *seventh* "key" of the collarbone. He fixed his eyes on it whenever he could.

The base of the throat, the round shoulders of a woman, as well as the "bull neck" of a man and the breasts of both sexes are all objects of fetishist attraction. Many women are enamored of a hairy male breast, while conversely many men derive the most intense fetishist stimulation from the female breasts, by far the most important of the secondary erogenous zones, with all its details, from the erectile nipple to the pinkish-brown "court"

that surrounds it. Even the fine hairs on the breast sometimes exercise a fetishist fascination. Although the feminine breasts are capable of exercising a powerful influence on the masculine senses, particularly in an optic and tactile way, it nevertheless happens sometimes that a man develops an antitropic aversion for the breasts, as the following case shows:

The subject is a 35-year-old doctor, married, entirely heterosexual and strongly libidinous. He has an aversion for the female breasts. This aversion is so strong that even expressions like "breast," "bosom," "mamma," etc., make him feel uncomfortable. It costs him a considerable effort to pronounce the word "breast," and he tries to avoid it as far as possible. This aversion for words is a common, as well as a characteristic feature in antifetishists, and corresponds to the verbal attraction in fetishism. The patient further stated that his wife frequently sings the lovely song by Heine, "When I look into your eyes." When she reaches the line: "When I lean against your bosom," etc., he trembles and is overcome with shame before his wife, who is ignorant of his aversion. He heaves a sigh of relief when the ominous passage is over. The patient says that the bare thought of a drop of milk issuing from the nipple—not the sight of it—causes him to feel sick. He is nauseated at the sight of a woman in a low-cut gown, a nursing mother, a woman with a large bust, or pictures like Titian's Venus. The windows of corset shops he regards as the peak of obscenity. In his profession as a doctor this irrepressible aversion has repeatedly caused him difficulties. Thus he can only carry out the percussion and auscultation of the female chest from the back. A woman consulted him on account of a carcinomatous nodule in her breast; the patient found himself incapable of touching the breast, and referred the woman for examination to a specialist. In order to see the hated part less frequently he became a specialist in children's diseases. He can give no explanation of his strange and highly embarrassing antipathy.

We shall not be far wrong in assuming, even without a detailed knowledge of the case, a repressed, unconscious homosexual component in the allegedly heterosexual patient, and interpreting his hatred of the breast in that sense. Generally speaking, the fe-

male breast has a highly accentuated fetishist effect; it may become a fetish in all its forms, from the barely perceptible incipient breast to the hypertrophied flabby breast. A specific fetishist form of sexual intercourse is *coitus inter mammalis*, carried out between the compressed breasts.

There are also fetishes of the region between the chest and the waist, and particularly of the latter. The "wasp waist" of the era preceding World War I played a considerable part in this connection. A typical case is described in a letter addressed to Hirschfeld by a 30-year-old naval officer:

Till the age of 15 years I was entirely ignorant of my peculiar bent. At that time one of my aunts talked contemptuously about the "wasp waist" of my sisters. I thereupon looked at my sister and found that her waist was heavenly. From then on I always had an erection when my sister put on her corset, and the erection was particularly tense when I was able to help her. However, at that time I had no sexual impulse in the ordinary sense. In my 16th year I went to sea, and my peculiar urge vanished for years. In my 27th year I married my pretty and very slim cousin. A few years after my marriage my predilection for very slim people with thin waists returned again, and this urge has remained with me to this day. If I see such a person, particularly if he or she is smartly dressed, I immediately experience a sense of erotic pleasure. In my relations with my wife, who is an excellent, kindhearted, practical woman, I am content with the thought that she is very tightly laced, as I should very deeply regret to hurt her, and it would surely hurt her if she knew about my mania. I am sure she would then leave me at once, taking our boy with her. For this reason I have never dared to engage in perverted intercourse with her. What induces me now to take energetic steps against my sexual disorder is the fact that since June last I have developed a fierce desire for my 15-year-old niece. I was on furlough in June, and saw the girl again after a long interval. The way she was dressed was completely in accord with my ideal in this respect, and I was so enthralled by the sight of her that I instantly fell in love with her. I always tried to be alone with the girl and had a pollution each day if I was near her for as little as a quarter of an hour. By strenuous effort I succeeded in controlling myself and refraining from acts which might

have become fatal to me. The picture of the secretly loved girl which I have received now serves to excite me during masturbation. Otherwise I am as fit as a fiddle; all my friends who haven't seen me for some time say how splendid I look. And yet . . .

We now come to genital fetishism. Naturally, we do not mean the graduated reflex leading to the ultimate object of the genitals, the entirely normal urge to establish contact as the sexual aim, but the exclusive, monopolizing fixation—whether in the attractive or repellent sense—on the masculine or feminine sexual organs. Some investigators, including Krafft-Ebing, deny the possibility of genital fetishism, while others, like Bloch and Hirth, represent the opposite view. We are of the opinion that this is nothing more than a terminological argument whether cases of exclusive fixation on the partner's genital should be described as fetishism or not, and we therefore quote the following two cases (after Moll and Hirschfeld respectively) without comment:

The daughter of a local high official has an interesting abnormality. An acquaintance of mine, who used to visit the girl's family, soon saw that the girl did not conduct herself as an 18-year-old daughter of a highly respectable family should, and persuaded her to visit him at his flat. But as he was about to perform the sexual act the girl suddenly took his member into her mouth. There was nothing very peculiar about that, but the girl, who had not been intact for years, said that no other method of sexual intercourse gave her the slightest pleasure, whereas this method she found intensely enjoyable. Cunnilingus did not interest her, either.

And now the counterpart of this case:

The manufacturer Karl S., born in 1867, has been, except for brief intervals, under constant observation and treatment at the Institute of Sexual Science. At his own request, we give the following opinion, based, in addition to direct observations, on the opinion of Professor Pfister, dated 29th July, 1919. The patient has been convicted for attempting and also for carrying out illegal operations in a total of three cases. He states that in carrying out the acts in question the thought of bringing about abortion was far from his mind, and that he only made

the women believe so in order to attain a sexual aim, namely, to see and touch their genitals. In all cases he employed an entirely unsuitable instrument, and did not apply them in a manner conducive to abortion. In two of the cases in question the women were not pregnant at all, but entirely normal. In the third case abortion did take place, but not through his own manipulations, as he used an entirely unsuitable squirt, and even that he held to the entry of the vagina in such a manner that the small quantity of water it contained could not be squirted into the vagina; he held the pipe of the squirt in his right hand, while his left rested on the woman's abdomen. The gist of his statement is that in two cases the subjects were unsuitable for an illegal operation, while in the third the instrument employed was entirely useless for the purpose. In none of the cases was there any intention on his part to bring about an abortion, and still less a deliberately planned procedure to realize any such intention; he had misled the women into the belief that he would help them to an abortion, being himself fully conscious that he neither could nor would do this. The reason he misled the women was that he wanted to use them for his own sexual purposes without their knowledge. This sexual purpose, he said, was of a peculiar kind, and consisted solely in looking at, touching, and playing about with the female sexual organs. He achieved this object in all three cases, a discharge of semen having taken place each time. The patient states that he is completely impotent as regards normal sexual intercourse. He neither demanded nor received any money from the women for his manipulations.

If the above cases are capable of being described as genital fetishism, which, as we have said, is merely a matter of terminology, then we are entitled to hold that genital fetishism does exist. There are many men who are attracted by women, and nevertheless have an inexplicable and unconquerable aversion for the vulva and the vagina; they say that they are just as violently repelled by contact with this organ as if it were "a slimy beast." Hirschfeld was once consulted by a man who had separated from his wife, and was intending to divorce her because she absolutely refused to take hold of his member. If the impulses are otherwise normal, this condition is amenable to skilled hypnotic or psychotherapeutic treatment.

A subdivision of genital fetishism is scrotum fetishism. To many women the testicles are a fascinating "plaything" by which they are irresistibly attracted. There is also a foreskin fetishism; a patient declared that the exposed *glans penis* made all intercourse impossible for him as he regarded an uncovered penis as "highly indecent." Fetishism of the clitoris and the lips of the vulva, particularly when somewhat hypertrophied, is frequent. The majority of clitoris fetishists also practice cunnilinctus. A peculiar case in this connection was observed by Hirschfeld. It concerned a hermaphrodite fetishist. The patient had himself photographed sitting on a woman in such a manner that the upper part of his body appeared to merge with the lower part of the woman's, thereby producing the illusion that he was a pseudohermaphrodite. Genital fetishism sometimes relates to the strong exudations of the genital organs of both sexes, in which some people take an intense pleasure amounting to fetishism, while others regard it with antitropic disgust. Anus smellers, who eagerly seek this smell of their favorite zone even in the garments that are in contact with it, suffer from their unfortunate urge all the more as they are otherwise extraordinarily finicky and tidy people. Their love of the anal region may become so intense that although they are conscious of the abnormality of their urge, this does not prevent them from carrying out anilinctus with passionate eagerness; the erotic jargon of all languages has special designations for this act.

This brings us to the last of the trunk fetishisms, the fetishism of the buttocks. In this connection there is available, in Krafft-Ebing's collection a most revealing confession by a 30-year-old doctor, which we reproduce in full on account of the excellent self-observations contained in it:

"I am 30 years old, and have been a doctor for six years. I have healthy parents and healthy brothers and sisters—two of each. My parents are simple, phlegmatic people, but my eldest brother is neurasthenic. Both he and my other brother are undoubtedly still masturbating. My sisters are both married and are apparently very sensual. Of my younger sister, who is now 27, I know that in spite of her marriage she still masturbates. Two months after her marriage I saw her

through the crack of the door indulging in such an act. This is all the more remarkable, because as far as I know, her husband is very virile, and is deeply in love with my beautiful sister.

"I myself am perfectly healthy and strong. I only suffer from a very slight degree of hypospadias. I was a precocious child, and was much admired; at the age of five I was able to read and write, and knew the small multiplication table. I passed my examinations with flying colors.

"My sexual impulse stirred early, and my recollections in this respect go back to my seventh year. At that time I used frequently to lift the servant's skirts in an attempt to see her buttocks. I think I came to do this through seeing, shortly before, my mother's buttocks as she was urinating in my presence. At all events, I know that the sight made a deep impression on me. At the age of nine I dreamed that I was at a girls' school, and had to undress upon the instructions of the mistress. At the age of 14 I was taught about masturbation by a schoolmate and tried it, without, however, experiencing any particular pleasure. At the age of 15 I began to masturbate, without using my hands, by rubbing my penis against the bedsheet. Since then I have never entirely given up masturbation. Sometimes I masturbated a great deal, perhaps as often as three times per day. Nevertheless, I succeeded in abstaining for months before my examination. For years I continued to carry out the act of masturbation by rubbing my penis against the bedsheet. Later I evolved the idea of covering my penis with soapsuds and carrying out the operation with my hand, which always gave me a high degree of erotic pleasure. I had no sexual intercourse with other boys, nor, until the age of 17, with girls. From then on, and until I went to the university, I used to go to prostitutes, but ejaculation mostly took place immediately after I inserted my penis into the vagina.

"Having until the age of 21 led a sexual life lacking in any remarkable features, I began to develop special inclinations. My interest in the female buttocks which, as I have already mentioned, was first aroused in me by the sight of my mother's buttocks, finally became a decisive factor in my choice of girl friends. The female breasts do not excite me in the least, but my blood is instantly set on fire when I see a woman with hard, well-rounded buttocks bending down, even if she be dressed, or ruffling up her skirt and causing the shape of the buttocks to stand out in relief. In the street I find myself unable to re-

sist the impulse to gaze after every woman possessing a good figure and mentally caress her buttocks. At clinical demonstrations, when I saw buttocks I became similarly excited. I attach considerable importance to facial beauty, yet even an ugly girl, unless she is downright repulsive, excites me far more if her build is after my taste than a thin girl with a beautiful face.

"As an undergraduate in Leipzig I had several affairs. I was, and still am, extraordinarily virile, and met my mistress for the time being from two or four times per week, performing the sexual act up to four times in one night. In the intervals I nevertheless masturbated, though not very often, especially when I was reading an exciting book. With one of the girls in Leipzig my intercourse was only normal at the outset. I noticed after a short while that the girl, who was 20 years of age, became only slightly excited during the sexual act, even when it lasted long, but became intensely excited when I rubbed her clitoris. As a result of this discovery I began to carry on with her mutual masturbation, and nothing else. The same girl one day expressed the wish to carry out fellatio on me, but fearing that my hypospadias, slight as it was, might nauseate her, I did not agree to this.

"One day a colleague told me that he preferred cunnilinctus to all other sexual pleasures. He described this act in such alluring terms and, in particular, painted the woman's exaltation in such a drastically vivid manner, that I was immediately seized with curiosity and a desire to try this form of sexual intercourse, which had been unknown to me until then. Nevertheless, when I first had an opportunity to make the attempt, thought of the obscenity of the act prevented me from doing so. Finally, a prostitute persuaded me. The woman was pretty, and full of passion and erotic cunning. She had fitted a mirror on the ceiling, so that she might enjoy with her eyes as well. She first of all asked me to bite her in the armpit, an action I have never heard of, either before or since, as a means of producing sexual excitement. But I complied with her request, and noticed undoubted signs of excitement in her. Then she asked me whether I had ever practiced cunnilinctus, and when I replied in the negative she said she would teach me—she had already taught many other students. I made the attempt, but had to stop soon, as I was beginning to feel sick. In the end I performed the normal sexual act.

"Later, however, I trained myself, so to speak, in the art of cunnilinctus. As I observed in the course of further attempts how tremen-

dously it excited the woman, I gradually began to derive pleasure from the act, and very frequently at the moment of the woman's most intense excitement I myself had an ejaculation. Today, provided the woman is clean, cunnilinctus not only does not nauseate me, but gives me considerable pleasure. However, with me it is only a means of exciting the woman, and if I notice that it does not induce any particular excitement in her I immediately stop.

"At a certain university town I had a great deal of intercourse with a prostitute who was more sensual than any other woman I have ever met. She actually trembled as soon as I came near her. When I spent a whole night with her we practised coitus and cunnilinctus alternately. During this act the woman always asked me to allow her to kiss me, and although I have no great inclination for this passive pleasure, I always have to give in, so that *positione ad hoc facta eodem tempore lambebamur. Semen meum magna cum cupiditate devoravit*. This woman also derived great enjoyment from normal coitus, and I was all the more surprised when she told me that she had a girl friend whom she loved very much, and on whom she sometimes performed cunnilinctus. One day I met this friend at her house and performed cunnilinctus on both, and finally the two of them performed a tribadic act in my presence, the first-mentioned girl playing the active role.

"In Berlin I have been having an affair with a widow for four years. She is a woman who suits my taste both intellectually and physically. I meet her regularly twice a week, and on each occasion coitus takes place from two to four times.

"With her I have only tried cunnilinctus once, otherwise our intercourse is normal. I am mostly induced to practice cunnilinctus on women I have just met or whom I have not known for long. Despite my regular intercourse with the widow, I therefore seek another woman every ten days, in order to do "special" things. They are mostly streetwalkers.

"Gradually I have come to indulge in an act that arises from my love of feminine buttocks. I know of no greater sexual pleasure than the following: I find in the street a voluptuous woman with fine buttocks. If I go with her I usually have an erection on the way. On the stairs I can hardly refrain from pinching and handling her behind. Arrived in the room, I undress with feverish haste, and can hardly wait for the woman to get undressed. At first she must keep on her

knickers. I pull the slit apart, revelling in the view of her buttocks and covering them with kisses. Then I let her undress and lay her on the bed so that her back is half turned toward me, with her right leg drawn up. This position excites me particularly. Then I lick her along the spine, which excites some women very much, and finally I do the same along the division of the buttocks. I then gently insert my finger. Finally I go for the anus in a sort of frenzy and lick it. Usually I have an ejaculation while doing this. A little smell not only does not repel me, but is, on the contrary, pleasant. Often the scene ends with *coitus a posteriori*.

"This kind of sexual intercourse is at present what excites and satisfies me most. As I have said, I indulge in this every ten days, and when the time comes I can think of nothing else—except my practice—and as though under compulsion I keep imagining this act. On such days it does not help me even if I go to my widow and perform coitus several times. I must perform the other act. I enjoy it more than cunnilinctus. This is only a means of exciting the woman, but the other act excites me even if the woman remains indifferent, though my enjoyment is intensified if the woman also enjoys it. I have found many who were intensely excited by it. Such women usually turn round and urgently demand cunnilinctus or coitus. Some—not always prostitutes—have told me that it was not so much the act that excited them, as the thought that a young man was so deeply interested in those parts of their bodies.

"That an inclination like mine is not very rare, I know partly from experienced prostitutes, and partly from my friends, with whom I have exchanged confidences.

"Fortunately, I have never had the slightest inclination to eat feces, and I hope I shall never do so, but I could not answer for myself in this respect, because I should also have regarded as impossible ten years ago what I am doing today.

"In view of the above it might be assumed that I am afflicted with some sort of masochistic bent, but I myself do not think that my urges have anything whatever to do with masochism, and I believe I am in a position to prove this. Firstly, it makes no difference to me whether I am dealing with a proud, commanding woman or a gentle, submissive, devoted type. I am attracted solely by the woman's form. Secondly, if for instance a woman representing the ideal of a masochist were to order me *nates et praesertim anum lambere*, the com-

mand would give me no pleasure beyond the thought that the woman concerned has an erotic desire for it. Thirdly, I have never had the desire to be enslaved, bound and beaten by a woman. On one occasion I met a street walker who was a specialist in serving masochists and had a not inconsiderable clientele of such people. In my opinion she was an excellent actress, who was able to satisfy all the requirements of the masochists by her impersonation of a "mistress." However, as far as I was concerned, her attitude failed to impress; to me she was nothing more than a woman with a comely behind. When, of her own accord, she struck me with a rod on the buttock, I experienced no erotic stirrings, only a sensation of pain, and ordered her to stop it at once.

"Hence I think I am right in not calling myself a masochist. *I am of the opinion that I am only a fetishist, the object of whose fetishism are full feminine buttocks, and which, as already stated, was present from early childhood.* To this must be added a very powerful libido, which is satisfied, apart from abnormal methods of intercourse, by frequent coitus and also by masturbation. I would therefore describe myself as a case of sexual hyperesthesia combined with a fetishist bent for the feminine buttocks."

The fetishist finds a number of most important fixation points on the arms and legs. On the upper extremities it is the hands, and on the lower the calves, that occupy first place in this respect. In the case of men the biceps, the muscles of the upper arm, are an irresistible attraction to many women.

The following confession of one of Hirschfeld's patients is typical of the hand fetishist:

"I have an uncontrollable passion for beautiful, slim, finely shaped hands that are not fleshy and have delicate lines, in addition to being well cared for and clean. I have an irresistible desire to caress such hands. When I touch a hand that fascinates me I experience considerable relief, whereas after coitus I feel exhausted."

The fingernails with all their details form a fetishist chapter to themselves. Some years ago there was a sensational trial in Berlin. It concerned the murder of a foreigner of aristocratic birth, who

had a passion for dirty fingernails. This passion drove him frequently to the worst slums, where he was finally murdered by the "bully" of a prostitute.

The thighs, both male and female, are the center of the sexual desire of many fetishists. The same applies to the calves, particularly those of young, undeveloped girls. In particular, exhibitionists frequently have a fixation for the calves of little girls, as the following case shows:

On the 15th October, at half past eight o'clock, the defendant R., went to the public telephone booth in front of No. . . . The box was engaged, and he waited outside, where a girl of about eleven whom he did not know was also waiting. The little girl entered the booth first, while the defendant continued to wait. "When a quarter of an hour had passed," the defendant states, "it seemed improbable to me that the little girl was still speaking, so I opened the door and heard that she was wanting to speak with her cousin without knowing his number, and was refusing to accept the assurance of the exchange that that was impossible. The girl made a somewhat bold, yet charming impression. I asked her to let me have my turn, to which she agreed, and while I was phoning she knelt with one leg on the chair. When I saw this—her legs were bare up to her knickers—I felt an irresistible urge to expose my genital member, and it cost me a tremendous effort not to do so. I then left the telephone booth together with the girl. I asked her where she lived, whereupon she pointed to No. . . . in . . . Street, and went in before me. The girl's finely shaped legs exercised such an attraction on me that I was repeatedly impelled to expose my member to her, and I followed her in, crossing the courtyard with her. I was feverishly hot and trembling all over my body, until I suddenly exposed my member. I must have been beside myself at that moment, and I did not know what I was doing." The defendant alleges that the girl then began to manipulate with his member without any request on his part. "When the witness, T.," he continues, "arrived, I was overwhelmed with shame and tried to run away."

In dealing with the parts of the body that serve as fetishes we had to follow the anatomical division of the body or *object*; in con-

sidering the fetishism of the bodily qualities, however, classification according to the sense of the *subject* will ensure greater clarity.

Among *optical* impressions it is particularly the movements and gestures of the loved person that act as fetishes. "The tripping walk of women is just as fatal to a large number of men as the firm, elastic tread of men is to many women," writes Hirschfeld. During the First World War I once passed through The Hague, the streets of which were crowded with thousands of English soldiers wearing attractive uniforms. Their rapid, light tread attracted my attention, and when I remarked upon it to my companion, an aged Dutch scientist, he said, "That gait has caused many hundreds of Dutch girls to become mothers."

Acoustic fetishism applies, in the first place, to the human voice. We have already mentioned the strongly fetishist effect produced by opera singers, particularly by tenors, on women. A witty sexologist remarked concerning a certain type of feminine opera fans that "they listen with their clitoris." Defective voices may also figure as fetishes. One of Hirschfeld's patients, a very effeminate business man, derived sexual excitement only from deep feminine voices.

"One of the most peculiar cases of acoustic fetishism," writes Hirschfeld, "was described to me by a man of 60, who informed me that ever since he could remember nothing has excited him sexually so much as 'belly noises.' One old lady became sexually excited when she heard the clatter of soldiers' boots on flagstones. In the seclusion of her flat she used to listen for such noises and the nearer they came the more excited she became. The rhythmic march of a company of soldiers passing her house caused her to masturbate."

A fetishist development of the *sense of smell* may fix itself on the various exudations of the body, such as perspiration, the fragrance of a typical perfume, the breath (the tobacco smell of heavy smokers has a particularly exciting effect on some women), etc. We have already mentioned the role of genital exudations in this connection. The fetishism fixed on individual articles of

clothing, with which we deal further on, is frequently determined by the smell attaching to the garment concerned.

The object of *tactile* fetishism is the quality of the skin, e.g. whether it is soft or firm, delicate or coarse. Thus the caressing of the hair, and in the case of women the stroking of the beard, frequently induces sexual excitement. The temperature of the skin may also be an object of attraction or revulsion. One of Hirschfeld's patients was obsessed by the desire to sit on a seat immediately after it had been vacated by a woman. The warmth of the seat frequently induced erections in him. On the other hand, he could not bear to sit in a seat previously occupied by a man. At hotels and other places he liked to go to ladies' lavatories, thereby involving himself in many unpleasant incidents.

A remarkable case of *cold* fetishism is described in the following statement of a patient:

"The thought and sight of chilly dress or pictorial representations of it induce in me considerable erotic pleasure. My wife naturally has no idea of my abnormal sensations in this respect, and when I make a drawing of the type with which you are familiar, say, a drawing representing a girl with bare arms and shoulders, and dressed only in the flimsiest of undies, on the ice in the skating rink, she always regards it as a joke, for she naturally does not take seriously the exaggerations in which my imagination revels. Such fantasies, accompanied by masturbation, have frequently come to me at times when sexual intercourse with my wife has been impossible for physiological reasons. These fantasies were confined to a single subject—immature girls wearing the lightest clothes in winter."

In this case the sadistic component in the patient's fetishist bent is unmistakable.

As we have already mentioned, the selection of the fetish is not influenced by aesthetic considerations, and even run counter to them. This applies particularly in cases where a physical defect or deformity serves as the fetish. The most frequent anomaly of this kind is a predilection for limping women.

Brantôme, in his book, *Vie des dames illustres françaises et étrangères*, relates that Anna of Bretagne, the wife of King Charles VIII of France, who was a very beautiful woman, had one leg shorter than the other to a noticeable extent. The author had seen many beautiful women possessing this defect, as, for instance, the Duchess de Conde. He holds that the nature of the movements resulting from the different lengths of the legs is most fascinating, a quality that is lacking in the movements of normal women.

Krafft-Ebing records a most interesting case in this connection. It is one of those rare cases in the literature of sexual pathology in which a therapeutic success has been achieved:

X., aged 26, of independent means, and possessing artistic talent, comes of a tainted family. Even as a child he felt extraordinarily deep pity for lame and limping people. It gave him pleasure—for the time being not sexually accentuated—to walk about secretly in a room with two brooms as crutches, or to limp in a deserted street. Gradually, this was accompanied by the fantasy that he, “a pretty lame boy,” was meeting a pretty young girl and attracting her sympathy. The sympathy of men would have been repellent to him. X., who was educated privately in an aristocratic home, states that until the age of 20 he knew nothing about sex and sexual intercourse. His fantasy, which up till then did not seem suspicious to him, consisted in imagining that he was sympathizing with a lame girl or that he himself was lame and receiving the sympathy of a pretty girl who was physically sound. These fantasies were gradually accompanied more and more by erotic sensations, and at the age of 20, X. was, on one occasion, so carried away that he masturbated, which he repeated frequently afterwards. Then he gradually developed sexual neurasthenia, and his excitability became so great that the sight of a limping girl in the street was sufficient to bring about ejaculation. His masturbation, as well as his nocturnal pollutions, were naturally also accompanied by such visions. X. himself was struck by the fact that he took no interest in the limping girl herself, and that his interest was concentrated entirely on the limping foot. Up till now he has never attempted coitus with a woman possessing the peculiarity that was his fetish. He has no emotional inclination in that direction, and he is

also doubtful as to his virility. His fantasies in masturbation center on the foot of the limping girl. Sometimes he forces himself to think that he might win the love of an innocent limping girl and that such a girl, touched by the fact that he loves the very thing that represents a defect in her, would free him of his fetishism by "guiding his love from the spirit of her foot to the foot of her spirit!" He regards this as a way of escape, feeling most unhappy in his present state.

This case ended happily, for the man in question later began to take an interest in a lady who regarded his perversion with considerable understanding, and the two became husband and wife. The lady not only did not limp, but she was also normal in other respects and highly intelligent. She knew how to "educate" her husband, in that she sometimes indulged his perversion and pretended to be limping, but nevertheless succeeded in curing him of his obsession. This happy result was due solely to the high ethical principles of both husband and wife.

The predilection for limping women is by no means rare, and is well known to prostitutes. Sometimes it is rumored among them that a certain man is afflicted with this perversion, and when he is seen to be approaching many prostitutes start to limp, in order to attract him.

Even the stump of an amputated leg may serve as a fetish. In the region of the Great Boulevards in Paris there is a one-legged prostitute who has been plying her trade there for years, and who has a steady clientele, mainly composed of Englishmen. Lydston also records a case of a man who carried on a love affair with a woman, one of whose legs had been amputated. When they separated the man eagerly searched for another woman possessing the same defect. The newspapers of all countries contain comparatively frequent matrimonial advertisements seeking for women who have lost a leg by amputation or through accident.

One of the most remarkable cases of defect fetishism is that of the *crutch* fetishist recorded by Hirschfeld:

Dr. S., author, 30 years old, of Dutch extraction, has been induced by his wife to consult me. He expects her to use crutches during their

conjugal intercourse, and take the crutches to bed with her, as he himself was in the habit of doing. The patient states that his first sexual stirrings were connected with his seeing, at the age of 5, a boy with crutches. Since then the sight of crutches has always had the effect of erotic fascination upon him. Women as such did not interest him as sexual beings for many years. Since puberty he has revelled in thoughts of crutches, and has even bought some several times, but threw them away after a time from a sense of shame and nausea. But shortly afterwards he bought a new pair. He experienced particular pleasure when going out with crutches secretly of an evening. His idea was not to attract the sympathy of other people; what excited him were the crutches themselves with their soft, upholstered arm rests. Until his marriage he had not had sexual relations with women. His present wife is thirteen and a half years older than he and, in addition to her personality, she originally attracted him because she always wore rich furs, which also have an erotic effect on him. At first she treated him with full understanding. It made him particularly happy when his wife supported him under the armpits owing to his physical weakness, or when, going up the stairs he supported her in the same manner. Recently, however, his wife has come to regard her husband's predilection for crutches as a reflection on her own erotic value, an attitude frequently taken by the wives of men who are fetishists.

The patient is tall, has a slight stoop and is rather weak, but his nervous system shows no particular symptoms. Psychologically he is soft, sensitive, easily offended, with a fine poetic and highly impressionable mind. Treatment by suggestion produced good results of a temporary kind.

The crutch fetishist himself—by no means the only case of the kind I have observed—writes as follows:

"I was born on the 19th May, 1890. My father was then about 46, and my mother about 33. As far as I know, both were normal. When I was five and a half years old the family moved to R. where I daily saw a boy of 12, who on account of his crippled right leg walked with a crutch, playing in the street in front of our window. I was unable to remove my gaze from him and experienced an urge, which at that age I naturally could not understand, to watch the boy. I also remember when my mother took me out I frequently saw a well dressed man who walked with the aid of crutches, but as far

as I can remember he was only pretending, just as I have done.

"After my father's death my mother moved to Berlin. It was then, at the age of 11, that I made my first attempts to walk on crutches. However, I cannot be quite certain of the time, and this may have happened when I was 15. In fact, I think it was more probably at the latter age. At all events, it is only from that age—at the age of 14½ I had passed through a serious brain illness—that I can clearly recollect abnormal actions. From then on, at long intervals, I made myself crutches from broomsticks and the like, and walked on them secretly in my own room. Later, as a student in Kiel, and on three other occasions, I bought myself a pair of crutches and went for walks with them late at night. I did not do this during the period before I met my present wife, for at that time—in the winter of 1917—I had overcome my shyness of the public to such an extent that, for instance, when I was a court official in L. I walked on crutches by day for a whole fortnight, except for the few paces before I entered the court.

"Until the age of 26 I had never had any sexual relations with a woman, nor had I been aware of the least homosexual tendency. On the other hand, I was always afraid of normal sexual intercourse, partly from an innate timidity, partly from fear of infection, and partly also because my pocket money was always too limited to enable me to pick up a "mistress" in the street. I therefore masturbated, usually once a night, and sometimes twice. As an excitant I imagined beautiful women wearing furs and walking on crutches. During the three months of my engagement, when I was already living at my fiancée's house, but without having any relations with her, I made a terrific effort and broke myself of the habit of masturbation. The tendency for it vanished, or, at any rate, my will has proved stronger than the impulse for it. On the other hand, I cannot help having an erection whenever I see well dressed people, particularly women, walking on crutches. This never happens when I see beggars or people with amputated legs. I also get erections when I touch furs, but this only happens when I help my wife on with her fur coat, or when I cover her up with a fur rug for her 'forty winks' in the afternoon, and, finally, when I turn up the collar of my own fur-lined coat.

"Since my marriage both my abnormal urges have been confined to my wife, whom I love above everything else, and whom I won after a hard struggle. Furs and crutches! My wife is thirteen and a

half years older than I, but we have tested each other, having twice separated in anger and having been driven back to each other each time. And we are happy together. There is only one thing between us, and hence my confession. It is not a sexual urge that sometimes causes in me a yearning to walk on crutches, but a feeling of physical exhaustion, such as I experience when I have to stand in a tram for a long time, or when, being a journalist, I have to walk long distances. This yearning in my mind is stronger than I and sometimes torments my nerves to the point of excessive irritability. Then there is another factor. My wife has told me that she herself, owing to a rheumatic complaint, once walked on crutches at Aachen for several months. And now, as she is by nature very anemic and weakly, I always think of those days, and have a burning desire that she should appear before me with crutches and wearing her furs, and should go for a walk with me like that.

"In conclusion, there is one other thing. I am not so virile as a normal man should be, and so far as I and my wife are able to establish, my testicles are somewhat atrophied. I am unable to perform the sexual act more than once, or at most twice, within an hour. It also frequently happens that I require a long time before the discharge takes place. This is particularly the case after I have spent the day in strenuous intellectual effort. At such times, in an effort to assist me, my wife literally gives me 'a lift' by placing her hands under my armpits, or talks about the time when she used to walk on crutches. And that helps nearly always. Nevertheless, in spite of all her love for me, my wife is unable to penetrate into my thoughts and desires. Above all, it makes her feel unhappy if I have an erection during a talk about furs or crutches. She is, despite the difference between our ages, sexually the stronger, and she thinks that through these thoughts I am involuntarily depriving her of part of my love. Yet this is not true.

"But my wife is nearly forty-four years old. Fortunately—for otherwise the difference between our ages would have deterred me—I am not strong sexually, and I shall be able, in ten years time or even sooner, to live abstemiously in this respect, and I believe that later, when my wife's sexual impulse begins to weaken, she will be more amenable and will agree to use crutches. However, that is of no interest to me at the moment. It is now, while we are both young, that we ought to be happy and live in mutual understanding and be all in all to each other. That is what my spirit craves.

"For my sake my wife has bought herself a long, soft sealskin coat. But I still yearn for the crutches! I cannot take it upon myself to hurt her by using crutches myself, while she cannot bring herself to behave as she did at Aachen. The last two sentences sum up my whole sad destiny."

INANIMATE OBJECTS AS FETISHES

FASHION AND SEXUAL LIFE—CULT OF NUDISM—CASE BY MOLL—
COSTUME FETISHISM—NIGHTCAP AND STUD—UNDERWEAR—CORSET
AS FETISH—MAN WEARING FLANNELETTE—SHOE FETISHIST—
TREADING AND BEING TROD UPON—CASUISTRY—FETISHIST OPENS
SHOE SHOP—WAS GOETHE A SHOE FETISHIST?—A BOOTBLACK—FUR,
VELVET, SILK—CASES—CRYSTAL AS FETISH.

The connection between fashion and sexual life has engaged the attention of historians of all times, and we ourselves have repeatedly touched upon this connection. Among other things, fashion has created artificial sexual characteristics, particularly in regard to women who readily follow the vogue for no breasts, hips, or waists, or their accentuation. In the case of men even the primary sexual characteristics have at times been concealed, as, for instance, by the "trouser flap" and "modesty cap" of court dress in the Middle Ages.

Since in the social life of the present age nudity plays an insignificant role and man is used from early childhood to regard the body and its coverings as a single unit, it is only natural that clothes should be a factor of the first importance in sexual life. Particularly in the case of men, the idea of sexual attraction is associated with feminine clothes. For instance, a young man seeing a nude woman for the first time may find the sight not only strange but even somewhat terrifying. The association between feminine sexual attraction and feminine clothes may then become indissoluble, the fully dressed woman being permanently

preferred to the nude woman, if the young man concerned happens to be afflicted with a sexual abnormality which hinders him in the natural satisfaction of his sexual impulse.

Hirschfeld wrote to 1,000 men asking whether they preferred the female body to be entirely nude, seminude, or fully dressed. The replies were as follows: 350 wrote that they were most strongly attracted by the nude body; 400 voted for seminudity; while 250 expressed a preference for the fully dressed body. This explains why knowledgeable prostitutes are careful to wear attractive "undies" and why certain types of men have a similar tendency.

The alarming fact that in Hirschfeld's symposium 65 per cent of the men expressed a preference for the fully dressed or half-dressed body, as against complete nudity, shows what devastation a hypocritical civilization has wrought in man's sexual life, for there is but one step from this to the pathogenic clothes fetishism. Moll records the typical case of a man who could only perform the sexual act with a fully dressed woman:

X., 35 years of age, has become engaged, but is troubled as to his virility, because he is suffering from a nervous weakness in sexual intercourse. X. has had a great deal of intercourse with prostitutes and still continues to do so occasionally, but is always impotent if the girl is undressed. While she is undressing and particularly when she is lying beside him, even the tensest erection passes instantly, whereas his virility leaves nothing to be desired if the woman is fully dressed. However, in his dreams, which are often accompanied by pollution, naked women play a considerable role. He thinks that it will be the same in his marriage, and that he will only be able to perform the sexual act if his wife is dressed. I suggested that he could not expect any woman to agree to this. He admitted that that was so, and that he would think it over whether he should not break off the engagement. A few days later the patient returned and said that he would marry after all, as otherwise his fiancée would be badly compromised. He hopes to persuade his fiancée to be fully dressed during their intercourse. At the same time his feelings for the girl are less intense than before.

X. used to masturbate, but only after consuming alcoholic liquor. He has no fantasies whatever during the operation; to him masturbation is a purely physical act.

Clothes fetishism may also manifest itself as a predilection for a particular type of dress. Merzbach records the case of a temperamental Englishwoman who did not experience orgasm except when her lover performed the sexual act in a dinner suit and black tie. Many men have a *mourning dress* fetishism, and are specially attracted by black clothes. It is not absolutely certain whether or not disguised sadism is a factor in such cases. Some fetishists have a predilection for girls in nurses', chambermaids', etc., uniforms. The military uniform probably plays the most important role in costume fetishism. Sometimes, particularly among the women of the lower classes, this type of fetishism assumes epidemic proportions. Naval uniforms, in particular, fascinate both homosexual and heterosexual fetishists. Hirschfeld records the case of a patient who became involved in a scandal because he had repeatedly made sexual overtures to boys and girls dressed in sailor suits. The wife of this patient, as well as his 12-year-old son and his 11-year-old daughter, were compelled to wear sailor suits. The large brothels in Paris all keep wardrobes, so that the prostitutes may be in a position to appear before their clients dressed as nuns, Spanish dancers, widows, or whatever is desired.

In regard to costume fetishism, nearly all the authors agree that Binet's theory concerning the directive force of the first sexual impression must be accepted.

Garment fetishism—where the fetish is a single garment—presents a rather more difficult problem. The extreme differentiation in the selection of the object confirms once again quite clearly that *fetishism as such* cannot possibly be congenital. It is only the *capacity to react*, in the sense defined by Hirschfeld, that can be congenital, and it is this that selects its object, through association, from the multitude of external experiences.

In connection with garment fetishism Hirschfeld follows the same sequence as in regard to the fetishism of the body, commenc-

ing with headwear. A most extraordinary case of this type, which we quote after Charcot and Magnan, was one of *nightcap* fetishism:

A certain man who comes of a family of eccentrics, had his first erection at the age of five years, when he saw a 30-year-old male relation, with whom he was sleeping in the same room, put on his nightcap. The same happened shortly afterwards, when he saw the family's aged servant tie the strings of her nightcap. Since then the mere thought of an old woman wearing a nightcap has been sufficient to induce an erection. Sometimes when he touched a nightcap the erection became intensified almost to the point of ejaculation. The patient has kept away from masturbation and had no sexual intercourse till the age of 21, when he married a beautiful girl of 24. On the wedding night and for several nights thereafter, his virility failed him, until in his predicament he came upon the idea of imagining his wife as an old woman with a nightcap. That made cohabitation possible. He has now been married six years, during which time he has always made use of this device. This burdensome and nevertheless indispensable fantasy is causing him a great deal of mental torment, as he thinks that it is "degrading" his wife, as well as his marriage.

A similar, and probably rare curiosity is the case of the lady who suffers from *collar stud* fetishism.

Her basic sensation is a violent fetishistic hatred of collar studs and she is deeply irritated when she sees one, or even its impression on the throat of a man. She is also afraid to touch a stud. But if a man arouses in her intense sexual desire, then her aversion changes to intense curiosity to see the otherwise detested object, and she experiences a desire to take it into her mouth and, if possible, destroy it.

In contrast with such rarities, there are countless cases of underwear fetishism. As we have already mentioned, the body smell of the wearer is an important contributory factor in such cases, but, though less frequently, fetishist attraction may also extend to new, unworn underwear. Underwear fetishists sometimes steal the object that fascinates them, and some fetishists of this type are

kleptomaniacs, stealing feminine underwear wherever they can lay hands on it, from shops as well as from clothes lines. Sometimes they even go as far as burglary. Wulffen records the following cases:

A certain 45-year-old bootmaker, without any signs of degeneration, has been stealing feminine underwear since he was 13. At night he used to put them on in bed, thinking of women, and having a discharge. A search of his premises once revealed 300 articles of feminine underwear. Another man had an urge, from the age of 11, to put on his elder sister's chemise, and in later years his practice led to ejaculations. In adult life he repeatedly bought chemises and derived erotic pleasure from wearing them. A third man had a discharge when tearing up feminine underwear. A fourth masturbated at the age of 15 years at sight of a pinafore hung out to dry. Later he experienced erotic pleasure whenever he saw an apron, whether worn by a man or a woman. The apron probably conjures up sexual associations by reason of the part where it is worn. One garment fetishist stole white skirts or petticoats from the wash-houses and derived sexual pleasure from trying them on; he also wore them when cohabiting with his wife. He stated that for years he had had no sexual intercourse without wearing a skirt. He endeavored to use a new, i.e. recently stolen skirt each time, as his sexual pleasure was less intense when he wore an old skirt. Another fetishist erected a circle of stakes in a field, hung petticoats on them, then went around caressing and embracing some of the petticoats. Suddenly he flung himself upon one of them, ardently pressed it to himself, and masturbated. He stated that his urge, which appears periodically, is irresistible. Sometimes, in the middle of the night, he jumps out of bed, hastens to an open space with a petticoat and relieves himself. At such times he is so dazed that he does not know where he is or what he is doing. When he comes to himself he finds himself in a field or wood.

A petticoat fetishist mentioned by Rohleder used to follow women in the street in the evenings, and if one of them happened to raise her skirt slightly, so that her petticoats became visible, the fetishist experienced intense excitement. Sometimes he bent down quickly, as though he had lost something, and touched a petticoat, and this frequently led to an ejaculation.

O'Monroy records an interesting and instructive case of chemise fetishism. A certain husband fell in love with one of his wife's chemises and transferred some of his "infatuation" to his wife. The lady was delighted by the somewhat tardy reawakening of her husband's affections, but when she noted that his caresses were confined more and more to the chemise she was wearing, she gave it to her maid. The result was that the husband thenceforth transferred his affections to the maid.

This case shows very clearly the contrary mechanism of the fetishist relationship. It is not the "radiations" of the loved person that affect the fetishistic desire, but on the contrary, it is the "radiation" of the fetish that renders the person concerned desirable.

Corset fetishists were comparatively common at the turn of the century; at present they are on the way to extinction. Here again, we are faced with the intimate association between fetishism and fashion which, however, does not contradict our theory. For although fashion does exercise an influence on the congenital tendency, that only means that the mass-psychological factor affects to a high degree the *associative* process whereby the selection of the fetish is effected.

To what maniacal obsession, to what tragicomic acts garment fetishism may lead even an otherwise perfectly normal man, is illustrated by the following case, recorded by Hirschfeld:

A woman in a divorce suit stated that, from the beginning of her marriage, her husband had expected her to wear flannelette knickers during their sexual intercourse. It was with great reluctance that she had complied, though she regarded it as a slight on herself. "Now, if he had asked me to wear silk!" said the lady. "But a common material like flannelette!" As the husband in question had before his marriage told me about his peculiar fixation on flannelette and had mentioned this to his wife, I was called as an expert in the action. The marriage proved to be past hope. I quote the following from the wife's very instructive evidence:

"After my confinement everything went on as before for a few weeks, until one day my husband asked me to wear a flannelette

petticoat or knickers during the sexual act, and buy some if I did not have any. On the ground floor of the house where we lived there was a shop and such articles were exhibited in the window. I naturally asked my husband why, and wherefore, whereupon he said that flannelette was nice and soft. I shrugged my shoulders and said I did not understand. At that time I was frequently unable to interpret his morose behavior. Today I know that it could have been due only to my refusal of his request. Then one day he arrived home with a pair of flannelette knickers and asked me to wear them during the act. I refused, whereupon my husband wore it himself. This went on for about a year, and each time I expressed my resentment over his peculiar habit, which caused him to become morose and irritable. One day I did away with the knickers, and when I told my husband about it he made a terribly angry face, but I did not worry. I recollect as I write that my Christmas gifts, which my husband himself purchased, were a petticoat and flannelette for a bed-jacket. I attached no importance to this, except that I found it strange that my husband should have bought these things himself; apart from that I thought my husband had the cold weather in mind. Later I was to learn the real purpose of these gifts, for one evening he asked me to wear the petticoat in bed and, apart from that, he was strangely inquisitive as to how long I was going to make the bed-jacket. He wanted it to reach my knees and I laughingly protested that you could not make a bed-jacket as long as that. He expected me to wear the bed-jacket in bed as well, and I admit that in cold weather I did so. Our bedroom was against the main wall, the room could not be heated and so my linen nighties were sometimes too cold. Naturally, when I saw what he meant I ceased to wear the bed-jacket at night. For the next three years the petticoat was always in use during the sexual act and, as in the case of the knickers during the previous period, I always expressed resentment at having to wear the petticoat, and he was always offended. Finally, I hid away the petticoat as well. Then I went to Hamburg to see my mother and stayed seven weeks. Upon my return I found a flannelette blanket on my husband's bed, which in itself was nothing out of the ordinary. I thought that perhaps his mother, who had visited him in the meantime, had forgotten it, but when I asked him about it he said he had bought the flannelette blanket. It was really superfluous, as there were two woollen blankets over, but he said that flannelette was softer. Soon after he bought another flannelette petticoat and a

pair of knickers, both for the purpose I already knew. I would mention here that at that time my husband repeatedly said that he wanted to occupy the woman's place during the act, having been advised to do so by a doctor. On one occasion I agreed, but the next morning I was in such a state that I could neither sit nor stand. At that time my husband bought me a flannelette dressing-gown, which I was also to wear in bed, in addition to all day. He told me that since his early childhood it gave him considerable pleasure to handle flannelette, and that his mother knew about this. At Christmas time their servant was given a flannelette petticoat, which was also put on the Christmas tree. My husband further said that before our marriage he had had relations with one of their servants, who wore flannelette during the act. I still refused to wear the things he bought for me, so he put them on. This was in October. By Christmas the things lost their softness and he wanted new ones. One evening we passed a shop where flannelette things were exhibited, and my husband wanted me to buy him some as a Christmas gift. (It was sufficient for him merely to see flannelette to make him tremble all over.) I acted as though I had not heard, and talked to the boy; the result, naturally, was that my husband became morose. He repeated his request on Christmas Eve, as I was going out to do some shopping. Naturally, I did not comply, and took no notice at all of his ill-humor, as I knew its cause, and I was particularly nice to him that evening. Soon after Christmas my husband bought another flannelette blanket, and wanted me to have it over my quilt, so that he could always feel it. That, too, I resented, because I felt that when he came to me *he was really attracted by the stuff and not by me. I always felt miserable after cohabitation throughout my marriage, from beginning to end*, so miserable that I went from one doctor to another. They always said, 'Your nerves, Madam,' etc., until one doctor asked me whether I was happy in my marriage. From the beginning of our marriage I always had a feeling during cohabitation without the presence of flannelette, that my husband's mind was elsewhere, and I sometimes told him that he probably had another woman.

"Since the 9th December, 1914, we have had no sexual relations with each other. In February, 1915, we agreed to be divorced after the war, and I naturally assumed that no intercourse would take place. When, in April this year, my husband made overtures to me I asked him in surprise whether that was consistent with our agreement. He

said he did not wish to molest me, and only wanted to be allowed to lie beside me. I refused. In July of this year he again made overtures and I again refused. I had noticed that my husband frequently spent a great deal of time in the dark corridor without carrying a light. One morning I wanted to find out what he was doing and found that he was fumbling in the wardrobe where I had hidden the flannelette bed-jacket. It is sufficient for him to touch the stuff. Is it not natural that I should have come to resent his behavior more and more? In the circumstances it would be quite absurd to trust my boy to the guidance of my husband."

Next to the hair snipper the type of fetishist best known to the lay public is the shoe fetishist, and in fact he represents the most frequent form of the fetishism relating to articles of wear. At the same time, shoe fetishism is differentiated and specialized to an amazing extent. The heels, laces, soles, and even the nails in the soles are all objects of fixation to the fetishist. The type of shoe (dancing shoes, walking shoes, etc.), as well as the material of which it is made (silk, patent leather, etc.) also play an important part. Even color is a determining factor.

In the case of shoes intimate contact with the feminine body is not present to the same extent as in the case of underwear, but, on the other hand, they present a ready association with *treading* and being *trodden on*, that is to say a sadistic and masochistic association. That is why shoe fetishism in literature is sometimes dealt with under the same head as sadism and masochism.

We quote two cases of shoe fetishism with clear indications of masochistic tendencies. The first is the classic case quoted in all books on sexual pathology of a man who arranged with a woman to wear a pair of smart shoes fitted with spurs and dig the spurs into his naked sides; during this performance he fancied that he was a circus horse and the woman his rider. The second case was communicated to Hirschfeld by a lady who had been married for a year.

"My boots always had to be black, with very long shanks and high heels, which had to be set with small black buttons. He liked to have

these pressed against his face. My stockings and knickers also had to be black. He liked me to be tightly laced, and even tightened the laces himself. During the act I always had to wear a corset, Russian boots, and stockings, otherwise he was incapable of intercourse with me. Also he always lay underneath during the act. Before he came to me he wanted me to bandage his member with a small strap, rub it with eau de cologne, then step on it with the heels of the Russian boots. All this was rather 'too thick' for me."

The love of the footwear in this instance meant submission. Conversely, in the category of fetishists who are colloquially known as "stampers," it is possible to prove a sadistic component. Häussler records a case of this kind from the year 1822. A 17-year-old student at Osnabruck had trodden on the feet of a large number of young girls during a certain week. This "stamper" seized any pretty girl in the street and trod on her toes so unmercifully that some of them had to stay in bed afterwards. Häussler at the time explained the strange phenomenon as a tactile urge arising from the transition period of the youth's sexual development.

Charcot and Magnan record a remarkable case of shoe fetishism with a sadomasochistic component:

It concerns a man who was sexually excited by the sight of the *nails* in feminine shoes. In the snow or on soft ground he used to search for the impression of feminine shoes. He revelled in the fantasy of "nailing a woman." He masturbated while thinking of shoenails. One day he masturbated publicly in front of a boot shop. He used to stand, absent and exalted, in front of shop windows showing women's shoes. If a girl acquaintance happened to touch him with her shoes, particularly with a nailed heel, he had orgasm.

However, it is by no means the case that sadistic or masochistic components can always be proved where shoe fetishism is present. If it is possible to trace the complaint back to an early childhood experience, one inevitably comes to an event in which footwear was importantly involved. The association thus acquired is then nursed and consolidated by constant masturbation fantasies. This

mechanism is illustrated with particular clearness in the following case, recorded by Hammond:

X., 24 years of age, member of tainted family (maternal uncle and grandfather insane, sister epileptic, another sister suffering from migraine, both parents highly irritable), had convulsions several times during teething. At the age of seven he was induced by a servant girl to masturbate. X. experienced pleasure during this manipulation for the first time when the girl touched his penis with the sole of her shoe. That action created in the boy an association which later caused him to become excited and have an erection at the bare sight of a woman's shoe, and finally at the bare thought of one. He masturbated while watching, or even only thinking of, a woman's shoe. At school he was immensely excited by the teacher's shoes and any other feminine shoes that were hidden by a long skirt. One day he could not resist the urge to seize the teacher by her shoe, experiencing intense sexual excitement through this act. In spite of repeated chastisements he was unable to cease these acts. Finally it was realized that there must be some unhealthy motive behind his conduct, and he was placed in the charge of a male teacher. He now revelled in his recollections of the shoe incidents with the female teacher and had erections and orgasm while doing so, and also from his fourteenth year ejaculations. In addition he masturbated with a feminine shoe before him. One day he evolved the idea that it would intensify his pleasure if he were to use the shoe itself for masturbation, and thereafter he frequently took shoes in secret and used them for that purpose. Apart from that women had no sexual effect on him; the very thought of coitus repelled him. He was also uninterested in men.

At the age of 18 he started a shop, dealing, among other things, in ladies' shoes. He derived sexual excitement from fitting women customers with shoes or from manipulating with the shoes that had been worn by them. One day he had an epileptic fit during such a manipulation, and shortly afterwards a second while he was masturbating in the usual manner. It was only now that he realized the harmful nature of his sexual acts. He controlled his urge to masturbate, ceased selling ladies' shoes, and tried to repress the unhealthy association between women's shoes and sex. The result was that he now had very frequent nocturnal pollutions accompanied by dreams of feminine shoes, and his epileptic fits also continued. Although he had no interest in the

female sex he decided to marry, as this appeared to him to be the only cure.

He married a pretty young woman. In spite of tense erections when he thought of his wife's shoes, he was entirely impotent when he attempted sexual relations with her, as his aversion to coitus was far stronger than the excitement induced by his thoughts of the shoes. The patient consulted Hammond in connection with his sexual impotence. Hammond prescribed bromide for his epilepsy and advised him to suspend a shoe above the bed, fix it with his eyes while performing the sexual act, and also imagine that his wife was a shoe. The patient was cured of his epilepsy and regained his virility, so that he was able to cohabit with his wife approximately every eight days. Further, his sexual excitement at the sight of women's shoes gradually abated.

However, shoe fetishism does not always assume such an extreme form. As we have already emphasized in several places, there is no clear dividing line between the barely perceptible fetishistic components in normal sexual life and perverted fetishism; the boundaries are fluid and vague. Even Goethe, who was certainly no pathological shoe fetishist, at the age of 54 wrote to Christiane Walpius, who later became his wife, the following words, which would probably give pause to any sexologist:

"Send me at the next opportunity your latest dance slippers that have been thoroughly 'broken in,' and of which you wrote that they would be something belonging to you that I might press to my heart." (Geiger, *Goethe and His People*.)

There are many fetishists who derive intense sexual excitement at sight of shoes put out for cleaning at hotels. One patient stated that he masturbated when he saw a pair of heavy masculine boots, preferably military boots with spurs, side by side with dainty feminine shoes outside a door. He used to slink to the two pairs of footwear in order to caress, smell, and kiss them. This man had repeatedly bribed hotel employees to allow him to clean the visitors' shoes in the morning. Although his condition was extremely painful to him, he was unable to control his passion for

shoes. Hirschfeld met with a similar case in Constantinople. He was shown, in the Pera Street, an old, very serious and dignified-looking bootblack, who had formerly been a highly respected man in his English native town, but had some decades earlier emigrated to Turkey in order to be able to indulge his peculiar passion unrecognized. The smart Turkish ladies who patronized him had no idea that the old man's zeal in shining their shoes was really an erotic act.

As a last case of shoe fetishism we quote the following, recorded by Merzbach. This case shows that the fetishist sometimes obtained the desired reaction by the visual perception of his object from a distance:

Merzbach observed at a Berlin café a man, no longer young, who was watching with wide open eyes and sensually flushed cheeks the coquettish play of a prostitute who was constantly raising her smartly shod foot at another table. The author could see in the course of this rather prolonged game all the passions of the fetishist reflected on his face. Pleading, tender supplication, disappointment, reproach, excitement to a point that one expected that the fetishist would immediately dash up to the woman and do something violent—all these things were there.

Krafft-Ebing has defined as a separate type of fetishism the passion for furs, leather, velvet, silk, and other fabrics, as we are here faced with a predilection not for certain garments but for the material itself. For instance, Sacher-Masoch records that by merely touching a piece of fur he became sexually excited. In his notorious novel, *Venus in Furs*, Sacher-Masoch tries to explain the exciting effect of fur by its physical properties, such as its warmth and electricity. In fact, in oversexed people the tactile sensation when stroking silk, velvet, and soft fabrics may exert a direct erotic effect, which is sometimes intensified by the acoustic perception of the crackling and swishing of the material. In the case of leather olfactory perceptions also enter into the effect.

Although it is certainly conceivable that certain sensual perceptions are sometimes capable of inducing *direct* genital excite-

ment, usually a psychological element is an accompanying factor. Apparently, we are here faced with "secondary associations starting with shoes or gloves, or other wearing apparel, and passing to the material of which these objects are made." Thus we again meet with the association mechanism which runs through the whole of the present chapter and which may be clearly traced in the following case:

It concerns a leather glove fetishist who acquired this aberration by drawing over his member, and inducing orgasm by means of, a piece of chamois leather in his boyhood. Thereafter he became a collector of feminine glacé gloves, with which he used to caress his face and genitals and carry out other similar manipulations. He was only capable of normal sexual intercourse if his wife had a pair of her gloves by her head.

We quote the following further cases from the literature on the subject:

In a certain Viennese brothel a certain man was known as "Velvet." The man used to dress a prostitute selected by him in a black velvet dress and stimulated and satisfied his sexual impulse solely by caressing his face with the hem of the dress, without establishing contact with the prostitute in any other way. (Krafft-Ebing.)

Tarnowsky records the following case:

A boy of 12 experienced intense sexual excitement when he happened to cover himself with a fox skin. From then on he began to masturbate, using a piece of fur or taking a small furry dog with him to bed. Ejaculation was sometimes followed by a fit of hysteria. His nocturnal pollutions were associated with dreams that he was lying on and was completely wrapped up in fur. The charms of men or women left him entirely cold. He became neurasthenic, developed a mania that he was being watched and that everyone knew about his sexual abnormality, and finally went insane. He came of a severely tainted family and had irregularly formed genitals and other signs of degeneracy.

Fetishism for other inanimate objects than those dealt with above are rather rare, and it is therefore superfluous to give a separate classification of such cases. Besides, in this connection the word fetishism is frequently meant only in a figurative sense, as when we speak of a woman's "jewelry or pearl fetishism." In the following case of *crystal fetishism*, described by Hirschfeld, it is also difficult to define the boundary between erotic abnormality and mere platonic sentiment:

"Since my earliest childhood," writes the patient, a woman, "I have surrendered myself to the joys of crystal. How and by what means this love of crystal was first aroused in me I cannot say. Before I transferred it to the crystal objects in our home, I had already had sweet dreams of crystal palaces which I thought must exist somewhere on earth. Later I used to sit for hours over pictures I found in books, representing ice grottos and fantastic structures, and lost myself in fancies of the play of light on the crystal formations. For some time the cruet was to me the nicest thing on the table. Throughout dinner I looked forward to the compote because it was served on crystal plates and when at last it was in front of me I was too excited to eat, for the refraction of the light on the crystal round the rim of the juice was something divine. The fact that they were served in crystal has contributed a great deal to the enjoyableness of many foods and drinks, and there are some things that I could only eat out of crystal. On one occasion I found on the field near our house the prism of a candelabra, wrapped in a piece of paper. As I unrolled the paper and the sun fell twinkling and shimmering on the crystal, I became intensely excited and masturbated. I used to watch a candelabra with crystal prisms very often with deep absorption, intoxicated with the play of light and colors. I studied the candelabra in the various phases of daylight. I always knew when the sun would strike it and I never neglected to go to the candelabra at that hour. The light radiating in all directions gave me tremendous pleasure. I felt as though gold dust were seeping through my blood. I felt ripples of heat vibrating through my whole body, until I was exhausted with it. I often went to a shop and asked the price of all sorts of crystal plates, glasses, jugs, etc., merely in order to be able to handle these objects, touch them, feel the way they were cut, and, above all, feel their weight. The weight of precious crystal gives me particular

pleasure. On one occasion, when I was 20, I caught sight in a shop window of a crystal saucer of extraordinary beauty. It appeared to be mysteriously veiled, so that the refracted light was vague, and the object was all the more fascinating to me. Every day thereafter I felt I had to go to that shop window again in order to see the miracle; I dreamt about the sort of rooms in which it ought to stand, about queer little tables with a precious stone tray for the saucer, about colored silks on which it ought to stand, reflecting their delicate colors. But my favorite fancy was the crystal saucer on a tray of tarnished silver, cool and simple, without any reflection of other colors. Then I imagined it in the middle of a room on some tall, slim stand. The room was dimly lit; there were only a few candles on the walls. I then poured oil into the saucer, an oil that was clear as water, but thick and heavy, so that the crystal should reflect strange colors and its base should twinkle like stars. Then I would throw a ruby into the oil. There was no end to my dreams of the wonders that would be revealed to me. I went into the shop and asked what the crystal saucer cost, although I knew in advance that I could not afford it, but it gave me a chance to handle the thing and feel its weight. Afterwards I turned it over in my mind whether I could not after all obtain possession of it. Then one day I found that it had disappeared from the window and I was certain that it had been sold. I went in and asked about it, and when my fears were confirmed I became deeply depressed."

As we have said, there is some doubt as to whether this case belongs to the category of "sexual perversion." At all events, it should be noted that the girl in question never had any sexual urges involving either men or women, and that she experienced genital excitement, to the point of masturbation, only in connection with crystal. Hirschfeld failed to discover the origin of this peculiar tendency.

Still more remarkable—or still more poetic, if you will—is the following case of *rose fetishism* (after Moll):

X., 30 years of age, possessing a university education, comes of a family which is said to be free from nervous disease or insanity. X.'s father has been dead for a long time, but he certainly did not die of

a nervous disease. X. has many relations, but the closest investigation has failed to reveal the least taint anywhere. X. himself is a refined, sensitive man, and is particularly good-natured toward others. At school he was not particularly brilliant. He has always been interested in music.

Although during his school years frequent attempts had been made to persuade him to masturbate, he did not do so. Moreover, whereas other schoolboys had sexual relations with women already at the age of 14 or 15, he never experienced a tendency in that direction. Even at the age of 19 and 20 X. had no urge to touch or even kiss a member of the opposite sex. On the contrary, X. recollects that he had an aversion for contact with women and attributes his dislike of dancing to that fact. On the other hand, he was also not attracted by men.

He has always been interested in flowers and even in his childhood it happened sometimes that he kissed flowers. However, he is unable to recall any erection or other conscious sexual urge when doing so. But a change came later. At the age of 21 he met a young girl who wore several large roses on her jacket. From that moment the rose has played an extraordinary role in X.'s sexual life. He became secretly engaged to the girl in question. There were never any sexual acts or even unchaste contacts between the two. During the time X. was in touch with this girl—about seven years—he had no sexual intercourse with other women, either. In the course of those seven years he masturbated sometimes, but only very rarely, and even when he did it it was, according to his statement, a purely physical act, unaccompanied by any fantasies, whether of a human being of either sex, or of a rose. Apart from that, however, roses occupied a prominent place in X.'s consciousness. He bought roses whenever he could, kissed them, took them to bed with him, but did not put them close to his genitals. While kissing the roses X. frequently had erections, but as far as he is able to recollect it never came to ejaculation.

During the time of his engagement he had frequent nocturnal pollutions, which were sometimes accompanied by dreams in which roses played a prominent part. A few times a woman was included in his dreams, but X. remembers quite clearly that in his sexual dreams he never thought of a woman without roses, and that frequently the dream related to roses alone. He had sometimes had nocturnal discharges before he met his fiancée. He remembers that during that

period he had never dreamt about roses; pollution occurred at once if a woman approached him. Whether in these cases he was dreaming of coitus he is unable to say with certainty. It should be noted, however, that it also happens to normal men that the mere approach of a woman, in their dreams, without coitus, induces pollution. During the years when X. dreamt about roses, the woman in the dream played a secondary part. As far as he is able to recall, the discharge of semen occurred as a result of the strong fragrance emanating from the rose, which caused him to see the flower in indescribable glory. The sexual dreams occurred particularly when he had taken a rose to bed with him and had become sexually excited thereby.

Throughout his engagement he bought quantities of roses and kept them as long as possible, labelling them with the date of purchase, etc. Gradually X. and his fiancée cooled off and finally they became estranged from each other and broke off the hitherto unannounced engagement. X.'s fetishist thoughts of flowers immediately vanished. His health, however, was seriously affected by the breaking off of the engagement; he developed melancholia and sometimes he also felt tired of life. Gradually he recovered his balance, and the improvement was particularly noticeable after about a year, when he met another girl and became engaged to her. After his parting with his first fiancée he performed the sexual act several times, and that without any accompanying flower fantasies. From then on he never thought of roses, either in his dreams or in his waking state.

The pathogenic symptoms were far more distinct in the latter case than in that of the crystal fetishist. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the rose fetishist was also unable to remember a childhood experience that might have led to a fixation. On the contrary, the cult of flowers appeared in the patient's earliest childhood, as a sort of primary, pregenital urge, and the roses were not a symbolic substitute for the opposite sex, but, on the contrary, the patient's love of roses appears to have been transferred to his fiancée. Then, when the female sex began to play its normal role in the patient's life (second engagement), his predilection for roses disappeared.

One is tempted to characterize the last two cases quoted here as a nature and flower cult respectively originating in some innate,

atavistic factor. The twinkling of the light as it refracts on the crystal, which excited the girl to the depths of her body and soul, down to her genital tract, shows a remarkable resemblance to the erotic sun worship of prehistoric times; similarly the repeated pollutions during dreams relating to roses of "indescribable glory" recall certain mythological stories concerning love for trees and springs impersonating dryads and naiads. That tree-worshippers exist is proved by the case of another of Hirschfeld's patients, who carried on "an affair" with an old oak tree in Grunewald, near Berlin. He said he "idolized" the oak tree and used at night to press his naked member against the bark of the "idol" in a sort of mystic ecstasy, until ejaculation took place.

Whether the fantastic thought processes which we reproduce here with every reservation would bear precise scientific examination must be decided by experience in that direction. It is undoubtedly true, however, that the tracing back of such sexual anomalies to their roots frequently reveals such atavistic origins as, for instance, the ancient phallus cult in the case of exhibitionists. Infantile regression, i.e. regression to childhood, is closely associated with atavistic regression, i.e. regression to the prehistoric era. Freud, the great master of psychology, was the first to analyze these vague connections; but only precise scientific examination will be able to annex this terra incognita of the human mind to the realm of ascertained fact.

EXHIBITIONISM

GENERAL—CASE BY HIRSCHFELD—PERIODICITY OF THE IMPULSE—WOMEN EXHIBITIONISTS—EXHIBITIONIST AT THE WINDOW—IMPRESSION ON THE VICTIM—ACCOMPANYING ACTS—HIRSCHFELD'S EXPLANATION—EXPERT OPINION IN A COURT CASE—OTHER THEORIES—EXPOSURE BEFORE CHILDREN—CASE BY STEKEL—"MAGIC"—EXPERIENCE WITH STEPMOTHER—OTHER EXAMPLES—CURSES—INFANTILE REGRESSION—FURTHER CASES.

Exhibitionism is a pathological urge to obtain sexual satisfaction by exposing the sexual organs or other intimate parts of the body in the presence of persons who are erotically attractive to the subject. This anomaly occurs far more frequently in men than in women, and is comparatively widespread, as evidenced by the fact that exhibitionism accounts for approximately one-third of all sexual crime.

The literature on the subject is accordingly very extensive, and contains hundreds of accurately described clinical cases; yet according to Magnus Hirschfeld it has not been possible so far to clear up the precise nature of this anomaly. The majority of the available cases are court cases, as exhibitionists usually consult a doctor only when they have come into conflict with the law. As a rule, they are timid people of exaggerated modesty, whose prudery contrasts strangely and significantly with the shamelessness of their actions.

In the majority of cases it is the masculine member, in the erect

or normal state, that is exposed, though exposure of other parts, such as the buttocks, also occurs.

An essential feature in the behavior of the exhibitionist is his eager enjoyment of his victim's reaction. The reaction is, in fact, the source of his erotic pleasure, and the exhibitionist's satisfaction is complete or incomplete according to whether the victims' reaction is intense (fear, blushing, escape), or whether they deliberately ignore the exposure. All the exhibitionist wants is to evoke strong emotions, so that other acts accompanying the exposure are only of a secondary character. When, as often happens, the exhibitionist uses obscene words, or invites the victim to "take hold," etc., his sole purpose is to call attention to the exposed part. Some exhibitionists achieve this by coughing or whistling during the act of exposure, while others throw sweets or coins to children.

In the majority of cases the exhibitionist executes various movements with the exposed member, such as shaking or rubbing it, or he moves his body in imitation of the coital act. These accompanying acts frequently lead to ejaculation, but ejaculation may occur without them, though in very many cases it does not occur at all.

But whereas obscene words used by an exhibitionist during the act of exposure are only of a secondary character, such talk may constitute the sole act of exhibitionism. Since, as we have said, the exhibitionist's enjoyment essentially consists in the reaction he evokes, it is possible for an exhibitionist to indulge his urge by merely saying obscene words to women or young girls. This type of exhibitionist is called a *verbal exhibitionist*, and is, of course, far more rare than the ordinary type. The verbal exhibitionist sometimes uses the telephone for this purpose, in which case the victim's indignant tone is sufficient to produce the desired effect in the exhibitionist.

The exhibitionist generally haunts parks and open spaces—Hyde Park in London, the Bois de Boulogne in Paris, etc. Sometimes an exhibitionist will take up a position along a railway line and expose himself to travelers in passing trains. Such acts are also committed in the trains themselves. Some years ago the case of

a Berlin judge who acted in cases of sexual crime created a considerable scandal. The judge in question showed no mercy for sexual criminals, and was accordingly feared by them. Then one day he was himself arrested in a suburban train for exposing his erect member to a girl with whom he was alone in a compartment. His sternness on the bench was probably due to an overcompensated sense of guilt.

Exhibitionists also haunt doorways, staircases, and the precincts of girls' schools, and acts of exposure further occur at theaters and even churches. During a performance of "Parsifal" at the Viennese Opera House, a man stepped to the front of a box completely naked, having undressed at the back of the box.

Many exhibitionists dress in such a manner as to facilitate exposure. There is the "exhibitionist overcoat." Many exhibitionists go for a walk with their member hanging out under their overcoat.

In addition to ordinary and verbal exhibitionists there are also psychological exhibitionists, whose exaggerated urge for frankness causes them to reveal to all the world weaknesses which other people endeavor to conceal. Classic examples of psychological exhibitionism are the confessions of Rousseau and the memoirs of Frank Harris.

Before we proceed to discuss the scientific aspect of exhibitionism, we will quote a few typical cases of this anomaly. Perhaps the most interesting is the following case, one of 157 cases of exhibitionism dealt with by Magnus Hirschfeld in his practice. It is presented in the form of a confession by the patient, an absolutely respectable workingman, apart from his affliction.

The patient describes in detail his early youth. He was an extremely shy child, who felt lonely and oppressed in a poverty-stricken home, among a large number of brothers and sisters. But the patient's confession contains no record of any particular event from which conclusions could be drawn as regards the causes of his affliction. There was no transition, no preliminary phenomena; the affliction appeared quite suddenly:

"With the appearance of puberty, and before I had been seduced

to masturbation, I became aware of a peculiar urge to expose parts of my body which it is not usual to expose, and in thus exposing myself I experienced a desire to be seen by a person of the opposite sex. I cannot say that the urge was overwhelming from the first, but I think it was due to my timidity, and I wanted by this means (unconsciously, of course) to bring my sexual life in contact with the female sex.

"My first timid attempts at exposure occurred very rarely until, in 1904, I came to Berlin. I became a warder at Charité. In the spring of 1905, it suddenly overwhelmed me like a fever. Something drove me out into the street, forced me to hasten through the streets with my genitals hanging out through the slit of my trousers. I had no desire to masturbate in the sight of girls; it was sufficient for me to see that they were looking at my genitals and taking notice. When I thought I saw amusement on their faces, my sense of satisfaction was heightened. If they ignored the matter I was depressed.

"During the act of exposure I only masturbated when I was in a state of intense excitement, but I mostly did so when I reached home tired and worn out. Just as a normal person's desire for coitus may be described as constant, so I must confess that my desire for exposure was constant; and just as a normal man's attention is deflected from sexual activity by physical and mental work or an absorbing interest in some other matter, so my desire for exposure was deflected by the same causes. And yet my urge becomes periodically overwhelming and there are times when it obscures every other thought and emotion within me. When I am in that state all my nerves are in a condition of vibrant excitement, and I feel as though every fiber, every tissue of my body, were in a state of turbulence. Reflection and deliberation is then impossible. My whole organism screams for satisfaction.

"Nothing can deter me, I recoil from no danger. Hunger and thirst, heat and cold, even physical exhaustion is incapable of curbing my passion. I have now been afflicted with this passion for 15 years. During this time I have only been half successful in everything I have undertaken. Every time when my work or my studies had progressed to a point that promised success, I was overcome by this infernal power, and I had to be out for days, and even weeks."

This case reveals certain characteristic features of exhibitionism which we will also encounter in other cases:

1. The patient, apart from his exhibitionism, is perfectly normal.
2. His childhood was particularly difficult.
3. He has no idea of the motives of his actions.
4. He attaches special importance to the reactions of the witnesses of his exhibitionist acts.
5. An irresistible compulsion to carry out his acts and a kind of stupefaction during the process.

We will deal with the significance of these features later on. Meanwhile, let us consider some general, fundamental aspects of exhibitionism. What leaps to the eye in this connection more than anything else, is the fact that the literature on the subject contains hardly a single clear case of feminine exhibitionism. Also, in daily practice medical men have to deal almost exclusively with men. Hirschfeld says that "pathological exhibitionism in women is extremely rare, and has hardly ever come before the courts. It would appear that in the case of women the exposure and shaking of the breasts is the act that corresponds to the exposure of the genitals in men; but it is not at all certain to what extent such acts are pathological in individual cases, apart from possible imbecility."

Stekel, with surprising superficiality in a scientist of his standing, explains the rarity of feminine exhibitionism by the "more strongly developed sense of shame in women than in men" and also by the fact that "fashion and social custom allow a woman to indulge in a certain degree of exhibitionism" (low-cut gowns, short skirts, etc.). Such hypotheses contribute nothing to the scientific solution of the problem, and are of less value than a frank confession of ignorance.

To return to the casuistry of exhibitionism, the following case, recorded by Stekel, shows that the case of Jean Jacques Rousseau, who describes in his confessions how he was once seized with a demoniacal impulse to expose his buttocks to a group of washerwomen, does not stand alone:

A highly respected author consulted me on account of attacks of exhibitionism, which had almost brought him into conflict with the

criminal law. Every two or three months he had an irresistible urge to push his naked buttocks out of the window. He does this mostly on dark nights, and has no erection in the process. Afterwards he is overcome with despair and a crushing sense of shame, so that he feels like killing himself. He says that during the attacks he is in a dreamlike condition, and only wakes up after the act. A denunciation by an old woman living opposite produced no result. The woman was accused of having invented the whole story and apologized to the patient when she learned that he was the famous author X. He wanted to be cured of his affliction by hypnotism, but refused to be psychoanalyzed in an attempt to trace the root of the trouble. He says he is frequently in a dreamlike state, during which he is entirely absent-minded, and it is in this state that he creates his best works. Suddenly, in the middle of his work, he starts exposing himself. He knows that his father frequently chastised him on the buttocks, and that his mother also liked to punish him in this way. For the rest, he shows slight masochistic inclinations and a pronounced homosexual component, which is partially sublimated through many friendships with men.

Stekel comments on this case: "An important feature is that these people expose the same erogenous zone as they seek in others. Exposure of self and the desire for exposure on the part of others, go hand in hand." However, Stekel's dictum must not be taken too literally, as it only applies to the fundamental psychology of exhibitionism and not to its obvious manifestations.

In cases of exhibitionism practiced through windows, as in the above case, the spectator is far more frequently to be blamed than one would be inclined to believe. This is proved by the following case (after Hirschfeld):

In a small town in Württemberg a middle-aged business man was denounced for creating a public nuisance in that he exposed his erect member while lying in his bed. The complaint was made by a 40-year-old single woman, a schoolteacher, who lived in a garret flat in the house opposite. The accused admitted exposure, but denied the charge of having committed a public nuisance, because the teacher, in order to see him, had to climb on a rather high chest of drawers. He had

lived opposite her for 11 years, and as she so far had not been shocked by his action he had come to think that he was doing her a favor in carrying it out. The investigation confirmed the argument that the man could not be seen except from the top of the chest of drawers, and the accused was acquitted. Apart from the latter discovery it also came out that the lady had not only stood on the chest of drawers, but had also used a pair of opera glasses. Why, after so many years, she suddenly turned moral and denounced the man, remained a mystery.

Incidentally, the story of this case has since gone around the world in the form of a humorous anecdote, and several variants have appeared in most humorous journals.

We now come to the scientific explanation of exhibitionism. By way of introduction we reproduce the following extracts from an expert opinion given by Dr. Hirschfeld in his capacity as medical expert in the action against Lieutenant T.:

There are a number of authors who are of the opinion that such a senseless act as the self-exposure of the genitals in front of witnesses already bears the impress of something pathological. It is argued that reserve, intimacy, and privacy are essential to the very nature of sexual activity and if a highly cultured, ambitious, and respectable man of good family—which T. undoubtedly is—offends against public morality in spite of himself, so to speak, by letting his genitals hang out, then there must be something wrong with his psychic life, that being the only explanation of what is otherwise inexplicable.

But even if we leave this conclusion, the logic of which cannot be disputed, out of account, the case presents every indication that we are here faced with a pathological impulse, a so-called compulsive act. Everything that is regarded as pathognomic, as proof of a pathological character, in so-called obsessions, is present to a pronounced degree in these exposures of the genitals. There is the rising restlessness, the sense of oppression, the inner pressure striving with increasing intensity for release, then the incapacity to resist the impulse, the execution of the act in a state uninfluenced by volition and finally the sense of relief immediately after the act; the disturbed nervous system regains its equilibrium, as though it had been relieved

of a heavy load. All this is part of a pathological compulsive act, and all this is present in a high degree in exhibitionism.

But exhibitionism is not a disease in itself, but only a symptom of a general disease of the central nervous system. There are three groups of diseases in which it has been observed. This deliberate exposure occurs firstly in the weak-minded, including those suffering from senile dementia or infantile idiocy, and "silly" persons whose development has stopped at the infantile stage.

Secondly, exhibitionism occurs in epileptics, in whom it takes the place of an epileptic attack. The third and largest group is composed of seriously neuropathic persons, many of whom also have other nervous compulsive fantasies. The urge to expose parts of the body is based on such a fixed idea, and is sometimes so overwhelming that all the inhibitions are swept away.

That is the case with the accused. That he is a severely neuropathic subject is clear from his reported history; besides which we have been able to establish that he exposed his genitals under a compulsion that was stronger than his will.

One might be inclined to think that reflection and resistance are possible to exhibitionists, since they are capable of taking certain precautions. One exhibitionist will look round to see whether he is not being observed by a man; another—as alleged about T. by a girl witness—screens himself with his coat or umbrella when people who are not to see the exposure suddenly appear. Every experienced psychiatrist knows that even in the worst state of "twilight sleep" an apparently consistent, deliberate, and useful act is no rarity and this applies all the more here, where, although the consciousness is dazed, it is not completely eliminated. The pathological aspect in this case is precisely a compulsion directed toward a special aim to which the subject's will power is not equal, a compulsion whose intensity defeats natural restraints and inhibitions. But that does not preclude other manifestations of the will that do not relate directly to the act of exhibitionism.

In another expert opinion Hirschfeld writes:

In view of these findings and the general condition of his nerves I consider that Mr. R. is of a severely neuropathic constitution. The urge to expose his genitals is obviously only a component phenomenon

which, together with the other nervous symptoms, has arisen from an inherited degenerative tendency. . . .

. . . There can be no question of a congenital or acquired weak-mindedness, much less of low morality; on the contrary, the accused is otherwise scrupulously moral, and regards this urge as something strange, inimical, that is poisoning his life. Thus none of the chronic mental derangements are present of which exhibitionism is a symptom, nor is he epileptic.

It should be noted that the first of Hirschfeld's expert opinions quoted here was given in the middle of the First World War, in the Prussia of the ex-Kaiser, that is to say, in an atmosphere of prudery and hypocrisy, which regarded sexual problems with a complete lack of understanding. That Hirschfeld nevertheless succeeded in securing the accused's acquittal, shows the great authority and indomitable objectivity of Hirschfeld, who was the first to champion the cause of sexually ill people, these pariahs of society before the Prussian courts.

From the scientific point of view Hirschfeld's expert opinions represent an intermediate attitude between that of the older authors like Féré, Lasègue, and Krafft-Ebing, and that of the modern psychoanalytic school. According to the older authors exhibitionism is a compulsive act performed by degenerates. They emphasized the connection between his anomaly and epilepsy, or considered that it was confined to imbeciles and people suffering from senile dementia. Hirschfeld, on the other hand, held that exhibitionism was due not only to organic but also to functional or psychogenic causes. This represents a transition to the psychoanalytic view, which, while admitting the physical basis of exhibitionism, concentrates on the psychological process whereby the anomaly develops.

Below we give Stekel's view, without, however, identifying ourselves with everything he says. In order to familiarize ourselves with his procedure, we quote a detailed case from Stekel's casuistry, in which, in accordance with the psychoanalytic method, a great deal of space is devoted to the patient's childhood:

The patient is a 39-year-old photographer and artist, who is accused of having exposed his erect penis before a girl of ten. A witness of the scene informed a policeman, who took the exhibitionist to the police station. The first hearing produced no result, as the witness was not to be found. But the patient called on me, and implored me to cure him.

The patient comes of healthy parents. No one in his family is insane or abnormal. He is of good build and shows no sign of degeneracy. He developed normally. When he was six, he lost his mother. He loved his father with extraordinary intensity; his father was good to him, whereas he suffered a great deal through the caprices and strictness of his stepmother. It was all the more surprising to him that she was not ashamed to wash in his presence, undressing completely, and even walking up and down in front of him naked; this excited him very considerably and hastened his sexual prematurity. He does not remember having masturbated before, but as a result of these excitements he began to do so at the age of 12.

He was not quite 13 when his stepmother began to be intimate with him. When the father was away on business, she lay down in his bed and even played with his member and gave him practical information, saying that he would soon be a man and a man must know everything. Finally, they had sexual intercourse, the woman sitting on him. He experienced an intense orgasm and had a strong ejaculation the very first time. After the first occurrence he vehemently reproached himself. He could not look his father in the eyes, and he determined to resist all further temptation. But as soon as he was alone with his stepmother she came into his bed and excited him so much that he lost all power of resistance. She almost always chose the above-mentioned position, so that he played a passive role. But it also happened in the course of this affair, which lasted a year, that he occupied the normal position and behaved actively.

At the age of 14 he left the house and was trained as a waiter. He did not seek intercourse with girls. He was always thinking of his pretty stepmother, and made every effort to go home and have intercourse with her, in which he sometimes succeeded. He knew no other desire. He found satisfaction in masturbation accompanied by fantasies of his stepmother. The information he was given by his colleagues also contributed to exciting his imagination, without, however, in-

ducing him to follow their example and visit brothels or associate with girls.

He had always had a bent for mystic occupations, and wanted to become a magician. He trained himself accordingly, so that today he makes a living as a magician. He always had an idea that he was endowed with supernatural powers and that he could do more than the other boys. When his stepmother excited him by exposing herself, he had wished that she should come to him, and when she did so he attributed this to his magic powers. Thus he came to believe in the magic power of his wishes and his appearance. His stepmother had admired his figure, and had said that he had a "wonderful member," with which "one could not help falling in love."

At the age of 17 he joined the army as a volunteer, and served for seven years, rising to quartermaster-sergeant; then he served a further three years in the First World War, or a total of ten years, without incurring any punishment. He was decorated several times, which proves that there was no question here of a "psychopathic inferiority" which, owing to intensified and incalculable effectivity, would have entailed repeated punishments.

The further development of his sexual life is interesting. He masturbated since his 12th year, and is still obliged to masturbate when the exhibitionist urge rises in him. It is his only means of escape from an actual offense.

He was interested in mature women, and also in girls, but he was shy and dared not approach them. He alleges that he had no opportunity, but this is not true. He always had the image of his stepmother in mind and actually avoided every opportunity. He could not escape her.

When he was 19, his widowed stepmother remarried. That appears to have turned him against women. Suddenly he developed an unconquerable nausea for women, hated the whole sex, and regarded himself, like so many artistes, as "homosexual," though he never had the courage to perform a homosexual act.

When he was 20 his heterosexual impulse returned, but he was now interested only in very young girls. Even a girl of 18 was regarded as too old for him as a sexual object. Girls of from 8 to 14 excited him most when he could see their bare feet and their knickers. The urge came over him while he was at work, and it was so overwhelming that he was unable to resist it. The whole process took place while he was

in a dreamlike state. The patient describes this condition as follows:

"I realize the enormity of my passion completely, and I am the unhappiest man on earth, because I know no means of ridding myself of this awful mania, and the only way out as far as I can see is to throw away my spoiled life. I often make the best resolutions and determine never to do it again, but all my good resolutions come to naught when, for instance, I see a girl after my taste (short frock, socks, knickers, etc.) in the street. Afterwards I feel mortally unhappy, and I regret my action, I, a man who would not hurt a fly, and who, without bragging, has no faults of character. It is like a curse on me. This passion has often been an obstacle to my progress, and I could have advanced much further without it. This mania pursues me everywhere; even at work I must get up and obtain relief by masturbation when obscene pictures rise in my imagination. This happens every day or two. My sole hope is in God and science; perhaps I shall be cured and able to start a fresh, happy life."

He is prepared to make any sacrifice to rid himself of his passion forever, and he asks whether castration would free him of this evil.

Let us begin by seizing on an apparently insignificant point in this story, namely, that the patient "always wanted to be a magician." As a boy he wished his stepmother to come to him and when she did so, he regarded it as a result of his magic power. This apparently childish fantasy is a particularly striking example of the "faith in the omnipotence of thought" which is so very typical of neurotic subjects. The patient unconsciously believes in the magic power of his wishes and his appearance; the stepmother admires the beauty of his member—and he believes in the magic power of his member. This brings us to one of the roots of exhibitionism—the belief in the beauty of his genitals, which he regards as irresistible. This overestimation of the subject's own body has been advanced by psychoanalysts as an explanation of various medieval processes of love magic, in which the active party had to strip. This *motif* goes back even further, to the phallus cult and phallus worship of antiquity. The Romans often had only their heads and members carved into their gravestones.

Older authors noted this connection and they saw in exhibitionism an atavistic relic of the ancient phallus cult.

However, exhibitionism represents not an atavistic but an infantile regression. Early childhood in the life of the individual represents

the primitive age of humanity. The child is a small savage at a primitive stage of civilization, with as yet uncivilized instincts. And just as primitive races carry on a phallus cult, so the small child carries on a sort of cult with the genitals, as Freud and his pupils have proved. It is not only the child's own genitals that exercise an irresistible attraction on him as a remarkable, magic toy, but he also wishes to see the genitals of the adults, and an accidental view of the father's member arouses an almost cultlike admiration. Mutual exposure and exhibition of the genitals is also usual, unless careful supervision and education have already become effective at that age. Originally, and intrinsically, every child is an exhibitionist.

The exhibitionism of the civilized adult represents a regression to uncivilized childhood. During the attack the exhibitionist is again a child, and he thinks he is doing a favor to the witnesses of his act; that is why he mostly exposes himself before children.

Thus we have recognized two factors in the psychological mechanism of exhibitionism, that is to say, the subject's faith in his magic powers, which is linked with hunger for reaction on the part of the witnesses, and infantile regression.

But what is the process whereby the exhibitionist reverts to childhood, experiencing an hallucination in the waking state? The explanation is this. Sexual neurotics are people who, owing to their peculiar development, can find no satisfaction in normal sexuality, and they are engaged in a perpetual hunt for the lost paradise of their childhood. They are irresistibly attracted by the infantile sources of pleasure. They daydream, and these dreams lead to compulsive action, in the course of which the exhibitionist relives, by a sort of waking hallucination, the pleasurable sensations of childhood, which to him appear in a magic light.

The patient himself has no idea that the source of his compulsive act lies in that entirely forgotten or repressed childhood experience, yet this is the focus of his affliction. In the case of our patient the early experience is his first affair with his stepmother, for which he bitterly reproaches himself, and which he endeavors to repress. But the experience is indelibly engraved in his impulses, and his fate is thus sealed. The seduction was preceded by exposures which excited the boy intensely, and the patient now performs them himself, by a process of *identification*, i.e. he identifies himself with his stepmother when exposing himself. At the same time, the mechanism of his faith

in the magic power of his wishes, and in the effect his member is capable of producing, is a contributory factor.

We will not deal here with other aspects of the case, such as the patient's homosexual period, as they are outside the scope of this chapter, but these aspects once again confirm the truth that there is no absolutely clear-cut case where sexual abnormality is concerned, and that sexual anomaly is never confined to a single affliction.

We have mentioned that exhibitionists sometimes select for their acts the most unlikely places, such as theaters and churches. These and similar peculiarities are also explained, at least tentatively, by the psychoanalytic school. Here is an example:

Z. P., 42 years of age, entirely healthy, without any sign of degeneracy whatever, consulted Dr. Stekel because he had a violent urge to expose himself at church and use obscene language during the act. He therefore avoids all churches, which causes him considerable suffering, as he is deeply religious. We learn that his mother was an incorrigible drunkard and had to be sent to an institution. It is a well-known fact that women of that type do not restrain their impulses and surrender to them when in a state of intoxication. Thus the patient witnessed many painful scenes at the house of his parents, as his mother had several lovers. When he was 12½ years old, he saw one day, through the keyhole, what his mother was doing with one of them, an army officer. She stripped completely, so that the patient could see her whole body. But he also witnessed the entire scene, including coitus and other details, and it remained indelibly engraved in his mind. During severe attacks of depression he always relived this love scene.

The cause of his exhibitionism was now clear. A mother ought to be something holy to a child. The patient's mother was called Mary, and in his mind she and the Virgin Mary merged to a single psychic unit. He had a period between the ages of 13 and 15, when he felt a compulsion to utter blasphemies, and these mostly related to the Virgin. It was transparently clear that a displacement of affect was involved here. The blasphemies were really meant for his mother. What was remarkable—and to him incomprehensible—was the fact that he loved his mother, and this love alternated with hatred for her.

Finally, he succeeded in forgetting his sad experiences with his mother. But it was not real forgetfulness, but only repression. In his subconscious mind the image of his mother persisted, and the awful scene when his mother and her lover had undressed completely, strove for repetition through his impulse. In his repetitions he relived the scene, now in the role of his mother, now in that of her lover.

The above was a somewhat complicated case; but the following classically simple case illustrates quite clearly the "normal," typical mechanism of the exhibitionist's infantile regression.

Z. T., a 24-year-old lawyer, consults Dr. Stekel. He had an urge to expose his member before girls and to persuade them to touch it. He also has an urge to undress children and touch them at the lower part of their bodies. He realizes the pathological nature of his condition and asks to be cured of this terrible illness, which threatens him with ruin. The last time he had escaped arrest and prosecution only by a rapid escape.

Ordinarily he is a very shy, timid man, and he leads a very lonely existence. He used to masturbate between the ages of 11 and 18. He has never had intercourse with a woman, because he has principles in the matter and wishes to enter into marriage in a pure state. He takes part in every temperance movement, and neither drinks nor smokes. He is also a vegetarian. His only passion that is stronger than himself is his exhibitionism. Nearly every month the urge overcomes him once and at such times his personality changes. He becomes impudent and provocative, as he used to be in his early boyhood. He goes to dark corridors in girls' schools and small institutions, but particularly at music schools, because these are less carefully watched and are generally in private houses. Then he waits in a corner, exposes his member, and asks a child to touch it. In some cases the children are willing to accede to this request. But at this moment he runs away, and wakes up from his dreamlike state. He states that he always has the same dream, a stereotyped dream which is often repeated and ends with a pollution. The dream is approximately this:

"I am playing with a strange little girl. She raises her chemise and shows me her vagina. I expose my member and put it into her hand. She takes it, and at that moment I wake up and have a pollution."

We will record only the most important factors from the analysis.

The patient is very self-conscious and *he believes in the omnipotence of his thoughts*. He is in love with himself and very often stands in front of the looking glass entirely naked. He also frequently looks at his penis in the looking glass, and is glad it is of a good size. He is more strongly built than any of his friends and acquaintances.

After prolonged analytic treatment the repressed original experience was brought to the surface. It was a scene of which he always knew, but of which, characteristically enough, he had never thought. This scene now floated to the surface like an island from the depths of the ocean.

He has a sister who is two years his junior. In his childhood he had continually enacted the scene of which he dreamt with this girl. It is this scene which he is trying to relive during his exhibitionist acts. He can only become a boy again by a complete psychic regression, such as takes place during his critical periods. He then only needs a partner, a symbolic substitute for his sister, whom he seeks at schools and other similar places, in order to enable him to re-enact the scene.

Exhibitionism is not confined to any particular age, but it occurs with particular frequency, and suddenly, in old age. This may be due partly to organic changes in the brain, which changes the subject's character, so that the inhibitions are eliminated. A considerable proportion of cases of exhibitionism in old age is due to incipient senile dementia. In any case, old age is distinguished by a tendency to regress to childhood. Thus exhibitionist urges appearing at the beginning of senility must be regarded as symptoms of psychic regression, due to the failure of the inhibitions which have hitherto functioned satisfactorily.

XXVIII

SCOPOPHILIA

NORMAL DESIRE TO SEE CERTAIN THINGS—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THIS NORMAL DESIRE AND PATHOLOGICAL SCOPOPHILIA—CHARACTERISTICS OF SCOPOPHILIA—A TYPICAL CASE: THE HOLE IN THE WALL—A LITERARY PARALLEL—CAUSES OF SCOPOPHILIA—IMPOTENCE—SADISTIC COMPONENT: RAPE WITH THE EYES—SCOPOPHILE IN A LADIES' BATHS—MASOCHISTIC COMPONENT: FAINTING BEFORE THE OBJECT—HOMOSEXUAL SCOPOPHILES—LAVATORY SCOPOPHILES—LOVERS OF CHILDREN—THE SCOPOPHILE IN THE PARK—PASSIVE SCOPOPHILES: SCOPOPHILIA AND EXHIBITIONISM—"BEAUTY CLUBS" AND BROTHELS—"POSTURE GIRLS"—HUSBAND FORCES HIS WIFE TO BE UNFAITHFUL—A CASE OF CRIMINAL SCOPOPHILIA—SCOPOPHILIA AND PSYCHIC TRAUMA—THE ANALYTIC SCHOOL—SUMMARY.

One of the most widespread and comparatively least harmful anomalies of sexual life is the so-called scopophilia or "love of seeing." The term covers, in the widest sense, the viewing or observation of any acts or processes for the purpose of deriving sexual pleasure.

But here again, it is impossible to draw a definite theoretical line between the normal and the pathological. Just as everybody is an exhibitionist up to a point, so everybody is a scopophile up to a point. A woman who shows off her charms to the best advantage is certainly not an exhibitionist; and a man who derives erotic pleasure from the sight of a pretty woman is certainly not a scopophile. Yet the transition is too vague to allow of an accurate delimitation.

In practice, however, it is possible to judge with a fair amount of certainty where the real or the normal ends and where perversion begins. One of the principal criteria of pathological scopophilia is the *dominant* character of the urge, its compulsive force, which frequently leads the subject to commit crime; another feature is the predilection for certain specific sights which have no direct connection with sexual life, like that of the lavatory scopophile, who derives excitement from the sight of the process of evacuation; and a third characteristic of pathological scopophilia is the substitution of the sexual act by the scopophile act, so the process of observation is not a preparation for the sexual act but is practiced for its own sake.

The following case (after Wulffen, from *The Sexual Criminal*) provides an extreme example of pathological scopophilia:

The headwaiter of a large hotel bored a spy-hole in the communicating door between a room which was usually let to newly-married couples and an adjacent room. The hole was at a height greater than that of a man and was not easily noticeable. The headwaiter used to stand on a chair, and was able to survey the whole room, particularly the double bed and the washstand. When the room was let to a honeymoon couple, he was able to arrange matters so that the adjacent room remained empty. The man kept a regular record of the "first nights" he observed in the course of years. He classified the couples on the basis of whether, according to conclusions based on his observations, the woman lost her virginity on that occasion or whether this had happened earlier. He kept a separate section for cases where the sexual act was preceded by cunnilinctus or fellatio, etc. When the bride undressed completely, this was indicated by the letter N. During his observations the watcher frequently masturbated, and sometimes he had a spontaneous discharge. In order to intensify his sexual excitement still further, he took a young waiter into his confidence, stood him on a chair, so that the boy could look through the spy-hole and become excited; meanwhile, the headwaiter looked through another hole lower down, and at the same time played with the erect penis of the boy, taking it into his mouth. Eventually the matter was brought to light.

It is pertinent that, for decades after this case, silhouettes of these scenes were circulated in the underworld of sex in Germany, England, and other countries. Indeed, the pleasure with which many people collect and gloat over pictures of this kind represents a not unimportant aspect of pathological or quasi-pathological scopophilia.

Remarkably enough, the above case of sexual crime shows a striking similarity to *Hell*, a novel by the late Henri Barbusse which had an enormous success shortly before the First World War. The novel is written in the first person singular, and contains the notes of a young man who watches the proceedings in a room in a small Paris hotel through a spy-hole. Young and old lovers, homosexuals, and even children are described, their actions and conversation being recorded in great detail, without, however, rendering the novel in any way obscene. The novel illustrates with striking clarity how actions that would appear as nothing but obscene, rise to a higher sphere when observed with understanding. Today sexual anomalies are so regarded by the majority of enlightened people, but the law often lags behind enlightened opinion, and many unfortunate people afflicted with sexual abnormality are needlessly driven to ruin and destruction, instead of receiving the medical and psychological help they require.

Pathological scopophilia may arise from different causes. According to Hirschfeld and Havelock Ellis, masculine scopophiles are nearly always sexually impotent, either for reasons of age or for psychological reasons. But scopophiles are frequently impelled to indulge their urge by sadistic or masochistic component causes. The sadistic factor is present particularly in cases where the scopophile watches women and girls, without their knowledge, during their most intimate activities. His erotic pleasure shows a distinct aggressive tendency, though not in the sense of physical violence; he enjoys the knowledge and feeling that a strange woman's intimacy is at his mercy, that he has her "in his power," though it be only the power of his eyes. The psychologist will see no exaggeration in the expression "rape with the eyes" in

such cases. The following case (after Wulffen) is typical of this category of scopophilia:

The proprietor of a baths bored a spy-hole from his room to an adjacent cabin, which was always allotted to very young girls, mainly schoolgirls. The spy-hole looked on the part of the cabin where the girl undressed and on the wooden steps leading into the water. In order to induce the girl to stop in an alluring attitude on the top step, he had erected at that point a signboard with the inscription: "Before entering the water stop here and wash the upper part of your body."

It is, of course, impossible to estimate with any precision the extent of each component factor. In some cases the aggressive impulse predominates, while in others it is the masochistic impulse that preponderates. The masochistic component consists in the subject's feeling that he cannot possess the woman spied upon, that he is powerless in regard to the object.

Homosexual components also frequently enter into scopophilia, as in the following case, recorded by Hirschfeld:

A doctor, a specialist for sexual diseases, consulted me because he had an irresistible urge to visit public conveniences in order to watch, through tiny holes which had in the majority of cases been bored by other scopophiles, what was going on in the adjacent cubicle. It excited him particularly when the occupant was playing with his genitals for the purpose of masturbation, which, incidentally, according to the unanimous opinion of scopophiles, happens very frequently in public conveniences. The most remarkable feature of this case is the fact that this man who in his professional capacity had to see so many masculine members each day, was only excited by the sight of a phallus nonprofessionally. In another case a patient was in the habit of throwing condoms over the partition into the adjacent cubicle in a public convenience, and then lay in wait, in order to see what the finder would do with them. He was particularly excited if the finder tried them on over his member.

There is a category of scopophiles who are only attracted by children. People so afflicted generally loiter in parks and children's

playgrounds, in order—sometimes after hours or even days of waiting—to find an opportunity of seeing the genitals of a crouching girl or to catch a boy in the act of responding to nature's call. "Such scopophiles," writes Wulffen, "come from all classes and all professions. If the police of the big cities kept a list of them, many a capitalist, officer, judge, artist, etc., would be surprised to find his name on the list."

Parks and open spaces are most popular with scopophiles, who are frequently not content merely to surprise courting couples, but proceed to acts of violence and blackmail on the basis of what they have seen. The Paris press reports almost daily cases of young people, mostly foreigners, who have had to pay dearly for an amorous excursion to the Bois de Boulogne. The scopophiles are frequently equipped with torches, which they suddenly turn on a couple discovered in a bush. On the other hand, there are scopophiles who indulge their urge in a less romantic and, so to speak, more respectable manner. Such people enter into agreements with prostitutes, whom they provide with clients. They bring them soldiers, sailors, workingmen, students, etc., whom they offer to pay for their visit to the prostitute, on condition that they allow a witness to be present. "Such offers," writes Hirschfeld, "are far more frequently accepted than rejected."

In addition to active scopophiles, there are passive scopophiles, who wish to be seen while performing the sexual act. As Stekel says, "Exposure and the desire to see others exposed go hand in hand. The exhibitionist is always a scopophile as well, and vice versa, though one component is sometimes repressed and is only recognizable in the perspective of the basic neurosis." At the same time, there is a shade of difference between the exhibitionist proper and the passive scopophile, in that the latter's erotic pleasure does not depend to the same extent on the act of exhibitionism.

Naturally, both exhibitionists and scopophiles are catered to by private and public brothels, "beauty clubs," and the like. Particularly in the *maisons closes* of Paris, the satisfaction of the scopophile urge is a taken-for-granted hors d'oeuvre for the cli-

ents. The luxury establishments of this type have their own small stages, on which entire revues, comprising coitus and associated acts, are performed. The actors are the inmates of the establishment, who when playing masculine roles wear artificial phalli, but sometimes a "real" man is included in the cast.

Such performances were also popular at one time in England. In the eighteenth century some of the English prostitutes specialized in exposing certain parts of their bodies, and were known as "posture women" or "posture girls." Hogarth depicts one of these posture girls in the series "The Rake's Progress" in the exercise of her art.

The *tableaux vivants* and "plastic attitudes" which had been raised by Lady Hamilton to an artistic level, also degenerated to simple acts of exposure for the satisfaction of scopophiles and were performed as such at certain establishments.

Since the rise of the film industry sexual perverts have been making use of the screen for the satisfaction of their abnormal urges, and there has been for a long time an underground film industry which caters for this type of audience. In some cases the indecent acts depicted on the screen are genuine enough, but in the majority of cases they are the result of trick photography and—strange but true—the actresses who collaborate in the making of these films frequently do so without the least idea of the nature and purpose of their acting. These immoral film shows are visited not only by perverts, but also by young society women who are out for a "thrill."

In the luxury brothels of Paris and other Continental cities it is quite common for male visitors to be accompanied by their wives or mistresses. In most cases they only have drinks and enjoy the "show," but in the "big houses" in Paris it happens quite frequently that the female spectators—the overwhelming majority of whom belong to the upper classes—are induced by their husbands or lovers to perform the coital act with other men, in order to satisfy the scopophile urges of their menfolk.

A case in point is described by Magnus Hirschfeld:

Some time ago I was consulted by a lady from a Rhenish city. She said she had been married for many years. Soon after her marriage her husband made a request to her, to which she yielded only very reluctantly after a great deal of supplication on his part. The request was this: The husband would invite one of his foreign business connections to dinner. The wife was to receive the guest in an alluring, diaphanous gown and tell him that her husband had been called away by telegram. After a good meal, in the course of which particular attention was to be paid to some good vintage Moselle, the wife was to play something to the guest on the piano, following this up by "advances." The husband gave the wife detailed instructions with regard to her conduct, but he did not really intend to go away. He was going to watch the entire scene from a cleverly arranged crack in the door. The main thing was—according to the husband's instructions—that the guest should have no idea of his presence. Gradually, both she and the guest would reach a stage of mutual tenderness, and finally they would perform the sexual act on the divan in the room. Immediately after this the wife was to pretend to be disquieted and ask the guest to leave, as it was not late and her husband might after all return. All this was done, and as soon as the guest had left the husband rushed forth from his hiding-place and carried out the sexual act with his wife with passionate ardor. There was a 15-year-old boy of this marriage. The lady said that whenever she agreed to her husband's request, he was kindness itself, but when she refused he made her life a "hell on earth." The lady, who suffered a great deal inwardly, wanted to know whether her husband's behavior was due to some disease and whether it was true that if she were to sue for divorce she would be declared to have committed adultery, as her husband had threatened. The first part of the question had to be answered in the affirmative, the second part in the negative.

It will be seen how scopophilia may lead the subject to commit a crime—in the above case the husband was guilty of procuring.

As a final example of scopophilia we quote another typical case from Hirschfeld's collection:

At several exclusive hotels in Berlin young married couples, in the course of a considerable period of time, received typewritten letters describing in great detail the most intimate processes that had taken

place between husband and wife several nights earlier. A number of the indignant addressees approached the managements of the hotels in question, who in turn informed the police. However, in spite of strenuous efforts, the police failed to discover the culprit, until one night a visitor who had suddenly left his room in his pajamas discovered a small man wearing a black mask and black tights in the space between a set of double doors. The visitor seized the little man, who was immediately arrested and was found to have in his possession some instruments suitable for drilling. At the subsequent hearing the accused, a man of about 40, stated that he had always satisfied his sexual impulse by witnessing the sexual acts of others, and never by performing coitus himself.

In dealing with scopophilia Magnus Hirschfeld, as always, takes as his starting point the physiological basis of normal scopophilia, i.e. the normal urge of men and women to look at each other as a more or less necessary preliminary to the sexual act. Stekel, the most important representative of the psychoanalytic school from our point of view, deals with scopophilia only cursorily, emphasizing, as we have seen, the dialectic connection between it and exhibitionism. He deals in this way with a case of feminine scopophilia, which, characteristically enough, he includes in the chapter on exhibitionism. The case concerns a woman who had an urge to loiter constantly in the vicinity of conveniences for men, observing the men as they left the place and arranged their clothes. She was particularly keen on exhibitionist acts and on two occasions she was "lucky" enough to see such acts. After loitering near the the conveniences she went home and masturbated in front of a mirror with an artificial member, which she had obtained as a result of an anonymous advertisement in the press.

During the woman's treatment by Dr. Stekel it came out that *at the age of seven she had been assaulted by her own father*. The man had repeatedly placed his member into the child's hand, and had on one occasion even attempted an immission into her vagina, desisting only on account of the painfulness of the process to the child.

The case shows clearly the *traumatic mechanism* of the patient's

affliction. According to the psychoanalytic school, all sexually afflicted people who, owing to their urges, come into conflict with society and its laws, are constantly engaged in a tormenting quest for an infantile experience, a situation of their childhood, mostly without being conscious of it. In this case the patient could not escape from the memory of her father's member. She was engaged in a constant hunt for a repetition of that painfully pleasurable experience, which she wanted to relive. She was particularly happy when she saw an exhibitionist act, because that was similar to the scene in question.

To sum up, scopophilia is one of the most widespread and—in its milder forms—one of the least harmful sexual anomalies. But although in the case of most people who indulge in scopophilia solely as a means of stimulating their dulled senses it is no more than "licentious," it is a distinctly pathological affliction in people who practice it in grosser forms.

A purely physiological explanation of scopophilia has not yet been attempted on a strictly scientific basis, nor is it probable that a satisfactory solution could be found on this basis.

The analytic school has so far devoted but little attention to this anomaly, which Stekel attributes to traumas.

Thus, with regard to the causation of scopophilia, we possess no definite guide that could be relied upon in all cases.

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