

Elizabeths, a large federal psychiatric hospital in Washington, D.C. There he learned psychiatry in a haphazard, inaccurate manner, more from contact with the patients themselves than from any book or teacher. He was greatly influenced, however, by Edward J. Kempf, who had written the classic paper on homosexual panic, named after him "Kempf's disease." In early 1929 Sullivan organized at the Shepard and Enoch Pratt Hospital the special ward for treating schizophrenics where his success elevated him to the status of a prominent figure in American and then world psychiatry. His therapeutic method focused on fostering comfortable interpersonal relationships with these patients that would enable them to return from the psychotic world into which they had retreated.

Between 1929 and 1933 he composed a book, never published, that acknowledged his own homosexuality, and his belief that a prolonged period of active homosexuality in adolescence is necessary if a person is to have sound mental health in later life. This phase is moreover essential for the later development of heterosexuality, and may protect the individual from other psychiatric disorders. Presumably he had stumbled upon the positive aspect of Greek *paiderasteia*, though to the American society of his lifetime his views were totally unacceptable.

From 1931 to 1939 Sullivan practiced psychiatry privately in New York, and underwent psychoanalysis (300 hours in all) by Clara Thompson, who stopped the sessions because she was overawed by Sullivan's intellect. He had ever less patience with colleagues who clung to Freudian concepts in preference to his own. He founded in 1938 the journal *Psychiatry*, and after much bitter quarreling with the other editors made it a personal journal. He also elaborated his "interpersonal" theories to emphasize that society itself needed to change in order to create a healthy environment for its members. In 1947 his

lecture series, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry*, was published in book form and sold essentially on the basis of word-of-mouth advertising. After 1942 he wrote little, but lectured and taught extensively, and after the war ended, he devoted much time to optimistic efforts at decreasing international tension and avoiding another war. He died in Paris on January 14, 1949.

Sullivan did not have a positive attitude toward adult homosexuality. He felt that the therapeutic task in treating a homosexual was to remove the deep-seated psychic barriers that kept him from genital contact with the opposite sex—a goal he himself seems not to have attained. With this irrational dread removed, the patient would no longer seek partners of his own sex but gravitate toward the opposite one. However, his concepts are useful for evaluating and solving the problems of social groups, since they were developed in the context of social settings and expressed in interpersonal terms. He stressed the removal of interpersonal barriers between hostile groups in order to make close, harmonious contact possible. His work therefore has implications not only for the reduction of ethnic conflicts and the gap between generations, but also for coping with the alienation and isolation of homosexuals in a society that has been taught for centuries to hate and fear them. So, however biased his thinking may have been by the tragic circumstances of his early life, he may yet have bequeathed a psychiatric legacy that can contribute toward the reintegration of the gay community into the environing society.

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## SWEDEN

The Scandinavian kingdom of Sweden lies in Northern Europe between Norway and Finland and contains over 8 million citizens, who enjoy one of the

highest standards of living in the world. Having adopted Christianity as its official religion in the twelfth century, Sweden participated in all the social and intellectual currents of Europe. For the earlier centuries of the country's history our information bears chiefly on the legal situation of same-sex conduct. Only after considerable struggle and educational progress was the country's present enviable state of social enlightenment attained.

*Legal Developments.* For a long period in its history, Sweden lacked any specific laws against same-sex relations. The all-Swedish law codes from 1350 and 1442 contained no prohibitions concerning sodomy between men (or women). Instead, the newly established Catholic Church exercised its moral (and economic) power through penitential and local statutes. The bishop of Skara, for instance, proclaimed in 1281 that "a person who sins against nature, must pay a fine of nine marks to the bishop."

Thus, "sodomy" between males was not officially a crime worthy of death (but a sin serious enough) when St. Bridget in a politically motivated attack accused King Magnus in 1361: "You have the most indecent reputation inside and outside this land that any Christian male can have, namely that you have had intercourse with men. This seems likely to us, because you love men more than God or your own soul or your own wife."

Despite such religious and political attacks on heretical sexual behavior, it was in fact not the Catholic Inquisition, but the Protestant Reformation that would impose severe punishment for sodomy between men in Sweden.

The Protestant King Erik XIV in 1563 made a list of crimes that had to be punished by death to avoid the "wrath of God" (which implied not earthquakes but "plagues, hunger, poverty and other troubles"). Among such crimes worthy of death were "bestiality with dumb animals and other such vices."

"Other such vices" were probably interpreted as sodomy between men. But the fact that no such cases were brought to trial in Stockholm until the seventeenth century seems to imply that this vague reference served more as a warning than as effective new legislation.

It was not until 1608, when the Swedish law code was published in a new version, that the climate became really severe. The old laws were not changed, but Charles IX added as an "appendix" to the 1608 lawbook a new list of crimes "abstracted from the Holy Scriptures." The appendix stated in section IV (on "fornication," and other like offenses): "Thou shalt not sleep with a boy as with a woman, for this is an abomination. And they both shall die, their blood be upon them." This text, echoing the prohibitions in Leviticus, was assumed to include sodomy between adult males.

It was, however, bestiality and not sodomy between men that mostly occupied the imagination of rural Swedish society. Extremely few court cases of sodomy between men are known. There is no evidence of a sodomitical subculture in Stockholm at this time, and official campaigns against "sodomites" are unknown.

On the female side, the courts had, as in other European countries, some difficulties with cross-dressing women, who supported themselves as soldiers and even married other women. The fact that the courts failed to see any "sodomitical" dangers in such same-sex marriages, but instead concentrated on marriage legislation and the religious crime of cross-dressing, shows that "homosexuality" as such was not yet the concern of the authorities. (Sodomy between women, according to Swedish courts, demanded some physical hermaphroditical peculiarity in the sex organs.) At the highest level, Queen Christina was involved with same-sex sentiments, if not acts.

From 1734 onwards, the official Swedish policy toward sodomy between

males became one of total silence. The new law code of 1734 contained no such references at all, despite the fact that sodomy in the form of bestiality was still a crime worthy of death. The law commission stated that it was "not advisable to mention more sodomitical sins; it is instead better to keep silent as if they were not known, and if such a bad thing happens that they occur, let them be punished anyway."

This peculiarly lawless state of affairs seems to have led to a paradox: the scope of punishable sodomitical sins widened, and a few very unclear (and very secret) court cases with only one person involved may imply that also individual sins like masturbation from that point on were punished, if found out.

Very few death sentences for sodomitical acts between males are known from this "silent" period in Sweden. And in 1778 King Gustav III, the "enlightened" king who opposed capital punishment as such, issued a new order that all death sentences had to be confirmed by His Majesty. In practice this means that from 1778 on no executions for sexual crimes were carried out in Sweden.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Sweden lacked any laws directly applicable to sexual relations between males (or females), and under the impact of the French Revolution and Code Napoléon, an era of limited and conditional legal freedom for "sodomitical sinners" seems to have begun, and lasted until 1864 (the period is poorly researched, however). There are no traces of a "sodomitical" or "pederastic" subculture, despite this formal freedom. And even if the regime of Gustav III at the end of the eighteenth century, with its Hellenic-classicist ideals, directly or indirectly may have introduced the Greek term "pederasty" into Swedish language, the term surely had lost its Hellenist and poetic overtones by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The "radical" anti-Gustavian military coup in 1809, directed against the

son of Gustav III, was followed by anti-pederastic gossip about the old regime. Such propagandistic gossip of course also discredited "pederasty" as such, referring it to the former sodomitical and "unnatural" context.

Sweden soon also followed the example of many of the German states, which about the middle of the nineteenth century reintroduced old or obsolete laws against "unnatural behavior" between males. A Swedish law commission in 1832 stated that even if bestiality was a disgusting crime, it was not as dangerous to society as "other unnatural ways of committing fornication, when committed between persons." In 1864 (at the same time as the Swedish parliament was reformed and democratized) a new law against "unnatural" behavior between persons was issued. The new law book stated in paragraph 18:10: "If anyone, with another person, engages in fornication against nature, or if anyone engages in fornication with an animal, he shall be punished with hard labor in prison up to two years."

Paragraph 18:10 was also applicable to relations between women, which however was not officially recognized until 1943, when a few women in a lesbian network were sentenced.

*Emergence of Modernity.* During the 1880s, when Stockholm (the capital) reached about 200,000 inhabitants, we have the first signs (police records) of a "sodomitical" subculture in parks and public places. At the same time there are on the cultural level expressions of an emerging homosexual identity. In 1879 the popular and highly respected Swedish philosopher, Pontus Wikner (1837-1888), secretly wrote a pamphlet, called "Psychological Confessions," which demands the right for people of the same sex to marry and to have sexual relations on the same terms as men and women.

Wikner unfortunately never published his pamphlet, but a famous lecture he held in Uppsala in 1880 about male and female "borderline people," "The Sacrifi-

cial System of Our Culture," was a subtle attack on sexual/religious hypocrisy and prescribed **gender-roles**, which caused some alarm in conservative circles.

The author and national poet Viktor Rydberg (1828–1895), who was a friend of Wikner, at the end of the nineteenth century also published poems and essays, where disguised homoerotic Hellenist ideals were brought to a newly formed mass audience of bourgeois readers (who mostly preferred not to understand his homoerotic hints). Vilhelm Ekelund (1880–1949), who was inspired by Count von Platen, wrote brilliant, if enigmatic, poems and essays.

The real "homosexualization" of Sweden does not begin until 1906, when a certain Paul Burger Diether, contact man for the German **Scientific-Humanitarian Committee** in Stockholm, announced a lecture on homosexuality with the title "The Revolution of the Twentieth Century." The lecture was treated as a public nuisance and was silenced. But the revolution was not to stop: a "scandal" in Stockholm in 1907, involving a well-known factory-owner and designer, Nils Santeson, gave broad circulation to the term "homosexuality," providing the homosexual cause with its first public martyr in Sweden.

Artists such as Eugen Jansson ("blue painting" and athletes), Gösta Adrian Nilsson ("GAN": modernistic and cubistic paintings of sailors and sportsmen), and Nils Dardel ("decadent" dandyism) also expressed hidden and open homoerotic sentiments during and after this period.

A sign of backlash was the book of Martin Koch in 1916, *Guds vackra värld* ("God's Beautiful World"), which was a crusade not only against social misery, but also against the "sodomites" who seduced, exploited, and corrupted the young.

In 1916, however, Mauritz Stiller and Axel Esbensen also produced the first film with a homoerotic theme, *Vingarne*

("The Wings"), based on the novel *Mikaël* by the Dane Herman Bang (but having a **Ganymede** statue instead of a painting at the center of the plot). In 1919 the first Swedish sexology book devoted entirely to homosexuality was published by Dr. Anton Nyström, who was a friend of Magnus Hirschfeld.

During the twenties, a vivid discussion about homosexuality took place in the "yellow press" of Stockholm and Göteborg, and letters from homosexuals were published on page after page (with reprimands and corrections from the editors, of course).

Another phase of homosexual emancipation started in the thirties, when lawyers and doctors and radical philanthropic organizations, such as the National Federation for Sexual Enlightenment, demanded revision of the old paragraph 18:10 "in accordance with new scientific findings." The Swedish iron-mill worker Eric Thorsell at the same time returned from a study period at Hirschfeld's Berlin Institute in 1932, and started a one-man movement against paragraph 18:10 with public lectures, newspaper articles, and the like.

The campaigns were successful. From 1944 homosexuality in private was declared legal in Sweden, with some discriminating clauses such as a higher age-limit (18 years instead of 15, in the case of **prostitution**, and 21 for dependent relationships).

*Toward Today*. In 1950, the first homosexual organization in Sweden was founded by the engineer Allan Hellman. At first it was a Swedish branch of the Danish/Scandinavian Federation of 1948, but soon became an organization in its own right, acquiring its present name RFSL (National Federation for Sexual Equality) in 1952.

The fifties, however, also meant a new wave of anti-homosexuality. In Sweden the gay baiters were not right-wing but "radicals" and "anti-fascists." A labor newspaper and the author Vilhelm Moberg

played the role of McCarthy, accusing the authorities of being corrupted by "homosexual leagues." The campaign was in practice an attack on all homosexuals (and on homosexuality as such). But the RFSL succeeded in strengthening itself in the struggle, and in presenting its goals and aims in the press during a difficult period.

The sixties were politically a silent era for the homosexual movement. But they also meant a consolidation of RFSL and the new indoor subculture: the cafés and small dance halls that had emerged during the fifties.

When gay liberation swept in from the West at the beginning of the seventies, gay life in Sweden was vitalized and radicalized. At the end of the seventies, the first sizable gay demonstrations in Stockholm were held, organized by RFSL. They grew from 400 people in 1977 to several thousand in the eighties. The Stockholm Gay Liberation Week held in August every year during the eighties became one of the biggest social and political gay events in Europe.

One of the achievements in the gay struggle during this period was setting the same age of consent, 15 years, as for heterosexual relations (1978). This followed on a statement from the Swedish Parliament in 1973 that "cohabitation between two parties of the same sex is from the standpoint of society a totally acceptable form of relationship."

In 1987 Parliament passed two historic laws. The first forbids **discrimination** against homosexuals by authorities and private enterprises. The second grants homosexuals many of the same economic and legal privileges (and obligations) that unmarried heterosexual couples living together have in Sweden. Thus for the first time a positive homosexual status, *homosexuell sambo* ("homosexual cohabitant"), has been introduced into the Swedish language and Swedish society, after a struggle of more than a century.

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### SYMONDS, JOHN ADDINGTON (1840–1893)

English scholar. John Addington Symonds was born into a prosperous London family; his father was a renowned physician and the young Symonds was educated at Harrow and at Oxford.

Symonds realized that he was homosexual at a very early age. Even as a child, he had vivid dreams of being in a room surrounded by naked sailors: odd dreams, since he had not seen a nude adult male, much less a nude sailor. According to his *Memoirs*, the central theme of Symonds' life was his ongoing attempt to deal with what he felt to be an inborn propensity to love the male sex. His innate timidity and romanticism caused him to be disgusted by the abundant homosexual activity available to students at Harrow. This puzzling rejection (of what he was later to value most highly) culminated in his first adult action on the scene of the wide world: he accused the Harrow headmaster, Dr. Vaughan, of loving one of his pupils, and with the cooperation of his father, procured Vaughan's removal from the headmastership and subsequent exile to obscurity. This malicious act caused several of his closest friends to cut him off for the rest of his life, and he was deeply troubled by the remembrance of it. What, after all, was the difference between him and Dr. Vaughan, except for Symonds' vague feeling of spiritual superiority?

He had already, by this time, read Plato and become enthusiastic about the ideals of Greek pederasty; he was, indeed, in love with an English choirboy named Willie Dyer, with whom he twice exchanged kisses which he would remember to the end of his days. This passionate friendship was terminated on the advice of his father, who pointed out that Symonds