

(1864–1933), who wrote widely on both pederastic (under the pseudonym “Sagitta”) and anarchist topics, prepared the first (and only) biography of Stirner in 1898.

Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876) and Sergei Nechaev (1847–1882) are the most famous anarchist pair of friends. After leaving Russia, Bakunin agitated across Europe in the revolutions of 1848, was captured, shipped to Siberia, escaped (via San Francisco, London, New York, and Paris) and played a major role in organizing the First International (a federation of working-class political organizations, 1864–76), where he engaged in a prolonged struggle with Karl Marx. Using a word learned in San Francisco, Bakunin nicknamed Nechaev “boy.” George Woodcock maintains that the fascination that Nechaev “wielded over Bakunin reminds one of . . . Rimbaud and Verlaine, or Lord Alfred Douglas and Oscar Wilde” (*Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, New York: Meridian, 1962).

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had a personal disgust for homosexuality (Engels told Marx to be grateful that they were too old to attract homosexuals). Marx published full-length diatribes against Proudhon, Stirner, and Bakunin. He used Bakunin’s relationship to Nechaev as an excuse for expelling the anarchists from the International in 1872. Lenin later denounced anarchists as politically “infantile,” just as Freudians argued that homosexuality was an arrested infantile (or adolescent) development.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anarchism became popular among painters, poets, and bohemians as it likewise spread among workers and farmers in Italy, Spain, Greece, and other countries where homosexuality was less persecuted than in Germany, England, and the United States. In England, Oscar Wilde went to prison for his “love that dare not speak his name,” but his anarchist leanings are less publicized. Besides writing the *Soul of Man Under*

Socialism in 1891, Wilde signed petitions for the Haymarket Martyrs (1886) and publicly identified himself as an anarchist. Thomas Bell, a gay secretary of Frank Harris and a trick of Wilde’s, has written a book on Wilde’s anarchism, available only in Portuguese.

During the Third Republic (1871–1940), Paris became a center for those celebrating their political, artistic, and sexual unorthodoxy. Stuart Merrill (who had met Walt Whitman) wrote Symbolist poems and supported the anarchist paper *Les Temps Nouveaux*. Apollinaire’s sexuality was as boundaryless as his poetry, his nationality, and his politics. The Surrealists have a real but unclear tie to anarchism and to homosexuality, but they welcomed Sade, Lautréamont, and Jean Lorain into their pantheon.

In Spain during the Civil War (1936–39), anarchists fought against both the fascists and the communists, and for a time dominated large areas of the country. Many gay men and lesbians volunteered to fight in the war, while others worked as ambulance drivers and medics. Jean Genet, who was in Barcelona in 1933, described a demonstration of queens (“Carolinas”) after their favorite *pissoir* fell in a battle: “in shawls, mantillas, silk dresses and fitted jackets” they deposited on the fallen urinal “a bunch of red roses tied together with a crepe veil.”

American and Contemporary Developments. In the United States, Emma Goldman (1869–1940) and Alexander Berkman (1870–1936) both supported homosexual freedom. Goldman herself preferred passive cunnilingus with either a man or woman to other forms of sexual intercourse. She is unquestionably the first person to lecture publicly in the United States on homosexual emancipation; she firmly supported Wilde against his persecutors. Berkman wrote appreciatively in his *Prison Memoirs* (1912) of men who loved men. Whether from choice or necessity, anarchists have written extensively against prisons and in favor of prisoners,

many of whom either from choice or necessity have experienced prison homosexuality. William Godwin opposed punishment of any kind and all anarchists have opposed any enforced sexuality.

Among the American anarchists, Paul Goodman wrote prolifically on anarchism and homosexuality. Robert Duncan published his 1944 essay on homosexuality in *Politics*, an anarchist publication, and he first met Jack Spicer at an anarchist meeting. Goodman, Duncan, and Spicer had reservations about the *Mattachine Society* because of its conservative positions during the late fifties and early sixties.

While not always formally recognized, much of the protest of the sixties was anarchist. Within the nascent women's movement, anarchist principles became so widespread that a political science professor denounced what she saw as "The Tyranny of Structurelessness." Several groups have called themselves "Amazon Anarchists." After the *Stonewall Rebellion*, the New York Gay Liberation Front based their organization in part on a reading of Murray Bookchin's anarchist writings. The Living Theater embodied many of the countercultural drives of the sixties. Julian Beck, who directed the group with his wife, Judith Malina (both active in anarchist organizations), had a male lover; the theater collective included people of every gender and sexual orientation.

During the seventies, Tom Reeves and Brett Portman were active both as anarchists and as homosexuals. Ian Young of the Catalyst Press in Toronto combined poetry and anarchism in his speeches and writing. In New York, Mark Sullivan edited the gay anarchist magazine *Storm* and organized the John Henry Mackay Society, which has undertaken publication of Mackay's out-of-print works. Both anarchists and gays can be found in the *Punk Rock* movement. Since many anarchists do not really believe in organizations, they can often be as hard to identify as homosexuals once were. During the early eighties at the New York Gay Pride marches,

gay anarchists, S/M groups, gay atheists, NAMBLA, *Fag Rag* and others all marched together with banners as individual members drifted back and forth between all the groups.

Enlivened by the nascent French gay liberation movement, Daniel Guérin (1904–1988) showed the interconnections between *Homosexualité et révolution* (Paris: Le Vent du Ch'min, 1983); Guérin also advanced the notion that interclass homosexuality promoted revolutionary consciousness. In 1929 he wrote a novel, *La vie selon la chair* (Life According to the Flesh), in which he mocks the apostle Paul; in 1983 (in an article in *Gai Pied*) he attacked a Communist party official and poet who publicly denounced homosexuality but privately maintained a harem of boys.

A major question is whether homosexuals are inherently attracted to anarchism or whether homosexuals have been equally attracted to democracy, communism, fascism, monarchy, nationalism or capitalism. Because of the secrecy, no one can ever figure what percentage of homosexuals are anarchists and what percentage of anarchists are homosexual. But only among anarchists has there been a consistent commitment, rooted in basic principles of the philosophy, to build a society in which every person is free to express him- or herself sexually in every way.

Charley Shively

ANDEAN CULTURES

The northwestern coast of South America was notorious for "shameless and open sodomy" according to the chroniclers of the Inca and Spanish conquests (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, respectively). The Inca empire and those conquered by and absorbed into it lacked writing, so that what is known about earlier societies derives from chronicles of the conquerors' conquerors, supplemented by archeological and linguistic evidence.