

Secure in his own gay identity, confident that he was correct and puritanical society wrong, Cernuda's primarily autobiographical poetry explores his own isolation and suffering. He sought to recapture his lost youth in that of young sexual partners, and his *Forbidden Pleasures* and *Where Oblivion Dwells* are openly pederastic; he was the first to publish on such topics in Spain. In addition to his verse, which was well received in literary circles, Cernuda was a frequent contributor of critical essays to literary magazines. He published a lengthy essay on André Gide, from whose writings he learned that others felt as he did and that suffering could be expressed and alleviated through literary creation.

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### CERVANTES, MIGUEL DE (1547-1616)

Spanish novelist. Cervantes, probably of Jewish ancestry, is the last major representative of the Spanish humanism that was extinguished by the Counterreformation. That Cervantes might have had homosexual desires and experiences was first suggested in print in 1982 and restated more explicitly in 1987 (Rossi). There is much to support this suggestion: his teacher Juan López de Hoyos, to whom he remained close until his death in 1583, called him "my dear "beloved disciple"; Cervantes subsequently spent a year in Italy, of which he always kept fond memories and wished to return. For five years he was a captive in Algiers, where he was on surprisingly good

terms with a homosexual convert to Islam; he refers several times in his writings to the pederasty that flourished in the Ottoman empire; on his return from Algiers he was accused of unspecified filthy acts. His marriage was unhappy, and women in his works are treated distantly. Like Manuel Azaña, he put a very high value on freedom.

While Cervantes presented the male-female relationship as the theoretical ideal and goal for most people, the use of pairs of male friends is characteristic of his fiction, and questions of gender are often close to the surface. In his masterpiece *Don Quixote* (1605-15), which includes cross-dressing by both sexes, the middle-aged protagonist has never had, and has no interest in, sexual intercourse with a woman. A boy servant who appears fleetingly at the outset is replaced by the unhappily-married companion Sancho Panza. The two men come to love each other, although the love is not sexual.

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### CHASTITY

See Asceticism; Celibacy.

### CHICAGO

At the beginning of the twentieth century, America's chief Midwestern city achieved a remarkable economic and cultural eminence. At that time a homosexual subculture with its own language, dress, mores, and institutions began to take shape

on Chicago's south side. This development was owing largely to the tremendous influx of both foreign immigrants and native-born Americans from rural and small town areas who came not only for economic betterment but also to find personal freedom and anonymity by escaping from a more traditional society. Taking root in the 1910s, this diverse subculture flourished openly throughout the 1920s, went underground during the 1930s, and resurfaced in the 1940s, especially after World War II.

One of the first written descriptions of Chicago's homosexual subculture appears in the Chicago Vice Commission Report of 1910, which indicated that the increase in cases of sexual perversion was so great that the existence of whole "colonies" with their own world of meeting places had been uncovered. The report then gave a lengthy description of an investigator's visit to a local bar frequented by homosexuals who were being entertained by female impersonators performing "explicit" musical numbers! The commission also noted the alarming increase in male homosexual solicitation on Chicago's streets and in its parks, especially Grant Park which served as headquarters for a homosexual street gang known as "The Bluebirds."

This subculture was primarily located in two geographical locations: (1) the bohemian area known as "Tower-town"; and (2) the hobo zone south of the Loop around West Madison and State streets. Although these areas overlapped and their physical boundaries constantly changed, each had a distinct identity and flavor to it. Chicago's bohemia attracted mostly persons of the middle class who were either artistically inclined or at least intellectually stimulated through association with the artists. Here one could find various restaurants, bars, studios, and cabarets that at least tolerated, if not welcomed, the sexual outcast as an equal. One important place was the Seven Arts Club owned by Ed Classy, a well-known homo-

sexual. What little information that has been found on the Seven Arts Club points to the fact that it served as a point of entry to the homosexual underground for many people.

On the other hand, "hobohemia" attracted a transient male population, many of whom were homosexuals from the working class. Here a large amount of homosexual prostitution existed as well as Turkish bathhouses, cheap hotels, "pig pens" (homosexual brothels), and the sleazier bars. One peculiar and popular "hobohemia" meeting place was Jack Jones' Dill Pickle Club which sought to promote a free exchange of ideas by presenting speakers on current controversial issues. One of the most successful presentations was on the pros and cons of sexual perversion. Another colorful hobohemia "institution" was Dr. Ben Reitman, the Hobo Doctor, who freely accepted homosexuals as his clients and friends and wrote one of the first medical studies on venereal disease among homosexuals.

An important tradition in the early decades of Chicago's homosexual community was the masquerade or "drag" ball held annually on or around Halloween. Fun-filled and outrageous, these gatherings gave individuals a chance to interact with a diverse underground and thereby develop a sense of commonality and community. Although sanctioned by neither public nor private agencies, the city government gave police protection to those persons in attendance and suspended, for this occasion only, the law against crossdressing in public.

Although Chicago's homosexuals remained largely apolitical, it is Chicago that justly claims to be the birthplace of the first known homosexual organization in the United States. Inspired by the German homosexual rights movement, Henry Gerber and several other men formed the Society for Human Rights in 1924 in hopes of improving the life of homosexuals by drawing attention to their plight and to serve as a social group where homosexu-

als could find support and friendship. Short-lived due to the harassment and arrest of all its members, the Society, however, managed to produce two issues of a magazine (*Friendship and Freedom*) of which no copies are now known to exist. The ideals of these early pioneers later served to inspire the post-war homophile and gay liberation movements.

Although perhaps not as conspicuous as its counterparts on either coast, Chicago's gay/lesbian community began to increase rapidly in the hectic days of World War II and even more so in the postwar prosperity of the following decades. By the early 1950s, the community began to assert a quiet, low-key presence, benefitting from the fact that Illinois became the first state to decriminalize homosexual conduct between consenting adults (1961). This continuing Midwestern approach to political activism has allowed a thriving, openly gay and lesbian community to make permanent inroads in changing the political and social atmosphere in one of the America's major cities. A sign that the gay community had reached political maturity came on December 22, 1988, when the Chicago City Council adopted a gay rights ordinance, 28 to 17, over the opposition of the Catholic archdiocese, after all the major candidates for mayor had endorsed the proposal. Two of them, incumbent Mayor Eugene Sawyer (who had voted against a gay rights bill in 1986), and Cook County State's Attorney Richard M. Daley, son of the legendary mayor "Boss" Daley and eventual winner of the election, vied with each other in lobbying for the ordinance.

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**CHILDREN**  
See *Pedophilia*.

## CHINA

The civilization of China emerged from prehistory during the first half of the second millennium B.C. in the valley of the Huang He (Yellow River), spreading gradually southwards. Over the centuries China has exercised extensive influence on Korea, Japan, and southeast Asia. Inasmuch as Chinese society has traditionally viewed male homosexuality and lesbianism as altogether different, their histories are separate and are consequently treated in sequence in this article.

*Zhou Dynasty.* As with many aspects of Chinese civilization, the origins of homosexuality are both ancient and obscure. The fragmentary nature of early sources, the bias of these records toward the experiences of a tiny social elite, and the lack of pronouns differentiated by gender in ancient Chinese all frustrate any attempt to recapture an accurate conception of homosexuality in China's earliest periods. Only with the Eastern Zhou dynasty (722-221 B.C.) do reliable sources become available.

During the latter part of the Zhou, homosexuality appears as a part of the sex lives of the rulers of many states of that era. Ancient records include homosexual relationships as unexceptional in nature and not needing justification or explanation. This tone of prosaic acceptance indicates that these authors considered homosexuality among the social elite to be fairly common and unremarkable. However, the political, ritual and social importance of the family unit made procreation a necessity. **Bisexuality** therefore became more accepted than exclusive homosexuality, a predominance continuing throughout Chinese history.

The Eastern Zhou produced several figures who became so associated with homosexuality that later generations invoked their names as symbols of homosexual love, much in the same way that Europeans looked to **Ganymede**, **Socrates**, and **Hadrian**. These famous men included Mizi Xia, who offered his royal lover a half-