

encourage "trade" behavior by working-class males are a more accepting attitude toward any activity done for income (such as prostitution), a greater familiarity with jailhouse sexual mores, and a lesser interest in sophisticated categorical schemes ("sex is sex; if it feels good, who cares what you call it").

In the 1940s Alfred C. Kinsey and his associates found significant distinctions of this kind among men based on educational level, which he found the best objective test for class status. His data indicated the highest incidence of homosexual activity among males who had attended high school but not college; at the same time he found the highest levels of **homophobia** in the same group. This may be explained by the difference in conceptual models referred to above, under which males could experience what Kinsey called a "homosexual outlet" without thinking of themselves as homosexual, and while looking down on their sexual partners. But since a substantial proportion of the lower-class male interviewees were prisoners, the data cannot be considered wholly reliable.

The Kinsey Institute data for females, which are more reliable (though not per se applicable to men as well), show that the percentage with homosexual experience to orgasm rises with educational levels; at age 30 the females without college had a cumulative experience level of 9 or 10 percent, while those who had attended college had 17 percent and females with some graduate school education had 24 percent. However, when data are limited to the period between adolescence and age 20, the girls with the lowest education show the most homosexual activity and the future college students the least.

Beginning with the sexual revolution of the 1960s (together with rising incomes) substantial changes occurred in sexual behavior in many sectors of the population, and class allegiances would have been unlikely to have deterred these

shifts in the way that, say, religious conviction did. Premarital sex became more accepted among heterosexuals, while some homosexuals seemed willing to experiment in a broader range of sexual practices, even including "way out" activities such as fisting.

It has been suggested that there are some variations in preferred sexual practice among classes, with lower-class men being more likely to prefer anal over oral sex, and middle-class men the opposite, but there are few hard data to support or contradict this hypothesis, which is based on anecdotal evidence.

Some homosexuals tend to eroticize a class other than their own. In England and France, for example, many educated upper-class men have sought their partners exclusively among the **working-class** men, whose perceived overt masculinity is much prized. Conversely, some men of working-class background find great satisfaction in being accepted in jet-set circles. In white men attracted to blacks or the converse, the element of crossing class lines may be central.

Class boundaries in modern industrial societies are more fluid than in times past, and this fluidity in turn has impacted on sexual behavior, though the consequences are not always easy to assess. Further shifts may be expected.

*Wayne R. Dynes and  
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### CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (CA. 150–CA. 215)

Greek church father. Born in Athens, probably of pagan and peasant ancestry, he is not to be confused with Clement, bishop of Rome, author of the **New Testament** epistle. After his conversion, Clement of **Alexandria** traveled widely to study under Christians, finally under the learned Pantaeus in Alexandria. Of the early Fathers, he had the most thorough knowledge of Greek literature. He quoted Homer, Hesiod, the dramatists,

and (most of all) Platonic and Stoic philosophers. Sometime before 200 he succeeded Pantaenus, whom he praised for his orthodoxy, as head of the catechetical school at Alexandria, but in 202 he had to flee the persecution unleashed by the emperor Septimius Severus and perhaps died in Asia Minor. Although most of his works are lost, the chief ones form a trilogy: *Hortatory Address to the Greeks*, written ca. 190 to prove the superiority of Christianity to paganism and philosophy; *Tutor*, written ca. 190 or 195 about Christ's moral teaching as it should be applied to conduct in eating, drinking, dress, expenditure, and sex; and *Miscellanies*, written ca. 200–2 in eight books proving the inferiority of Greek to Christian philosophy. Minor works include *What Rich Man Shall be Saved!* which urges scorn of worldly wealth.

Although Clement's Christianity has been criticized as being too Hellenized, his serene hope and classical learning helped convert the upper classes. His pseudo-Platonic doctrine that homosexuality was particularly noxious because it was "against nature" served to combine that strand of classical philosophy with Hellenistic Jewish homophobia, most trenchantly exemplified by the Alexandrian philosopher Philo Judaeus (20 B.C.–A.D. 45), to justify persecution of sodomites. He thus preceded and stimulated the homophobia of the Christian emperors, from Constantine's sons to Justinian, and of the two most influential Fathers, John Chrysostom and Augustine of Hippo.

See also *Patristic Writers*.

William A. Percy

## CLERGY, GAY

One of the central paradoxes of the history of homosexuality, as well as of the history of Christianity, has been the role of gay clergy in the government and the functioning of an institution that outwardly condemned any form of sexual expression between members of the same

sex. The question of gay clergy extends beyond the bounds of Christianity (the focus of the present article) to many religions, including those of primitive peoples, as seen in the *berdache* and *shamanism*. This broad diffusion tends to confirm what Edward Carpenter claimed early in the twentieth century, that there is a psychological affinity between religious ministry and homophilia.

*The Early Centuries.* Almost from the beginning, Christian clerics have been suspected and denounced by pagans, atheists, and anticlerical propagandists for homosexuality even more than the facts themselves merit. Among Greek and Roman orators, accusations of having prostituted oneself to other males or of having taken the passive role in adulthood became standard fare—deserved or not. Although there is no confirmation of the assertion that St. John, identified as the *beloved disciple* (John 13:23), was Jesus' sexual partner (as an anonymous Venetian and Christopher Marlowe claimed in the sixteenth century), pagan polemicists of the second and third centuries routinely accused Christians of ritual murder and cannibalism, incest and orgies both heterosexual and homosexual, notably in connection with the mass. As *celibacy* increased, especially among the monks who seemed particularly uncouth and threatening, such charges became more common, and the writers of the *monastic rules* took care to legislate in such a way as to prevent homosexual activity (see, e.g., *The Rule of St. Benedict*, chapter 22). Indeed hermit monks, who had been accustomed to an individualistic way of life, were herded into the monasteries where they could be watched and regulated to reduce opportunities for vice and occasions for slander. Fasting and vigils were imposed to reduce libido. The space allotted to homosexual acts in the *penitentials* confirms that monks often sinned with their fellows and engaged in masturbation. The penitentials aimed at clerics ministering to Celtic and Germanic laymen indicate frequent homo-