

The disparaging use of the term in reference to male homosexuals is now less common, and a Los Angeles gay radio program is called (with a quaint air) "Fruit Punch."

Wholly unrelated is the "Sodom apple," a name given to a mythical fruit that is fair to the eye but, once touched, turns to ashes—hence recalling the conflagration of Sodom in Genesis 19. The transformation could be glossed metaphorically as the outcome of vain or illicit conduct. "Through life we chase, with fond pursuit, / What mocks our hope like Sodom's fruit" (J. Bancks, *Young's Last Day*, 1736).

See also Flower Symbolism.

Wayne R. Dynes

FULLER, HENRY BLAKE (1857–1929)

American novelist. Scion of an eminent Chicago family, he gradually slid into genteel poverty and literary obscurity after enjoying early wealth and critical esteem. He used to be remembered as the author of novels which attacked the corrupt plutocrats of Chicago, and it is only in the last few years that attention has been turned to his literary treatment of homosexuality, in which he was a pioneer.

Little is known about his private life. His journals from his teenage days make it clear that he was in love with some dormitory roommates at Allison Classical Academy (1873–74). At the age of 19 he wrote an imaginary personal advertisement in which he says, "I would pass by twenty beautiful women to look upon a handsome man."

The years pass without further evidence until, at the age of 34, Fuller admits to being in love with a 15-year-old boy whose initials are "C.N.," and who had blue eyes and strawberry-blond hair. Five years later, Fuller wrote and managed to publish a very short play, *At Saint Judas's*, about a homosexual who commits suicide at the wedding of his former lover. This was strong stuff for the period,

but today this poorly-written play would be laughed at for its melodramatic absurdities. Nevertheless, it deserves credit as the first American play to deal explicitly with homosexuality.

Fuller did not return to this theme until 1919, when he published at his own expense *Bertram Cope's Year*, a novel about a homosexual love affair between Bertram Cope and Arthur Lemoyne, which ends with Cope turning heterosexual. Critics agree that Fuller lost his nerve while writing this novel and spoiled it by having his hero end up as a conformist. Four years later, the elderly Fuller began an affair with a college student named William Shepherd, with whom he went to Europe. A few years later, Fuller died after Carl Van Vechten had made an attempt to revive interest in his writings. Mention should also be made of the letters that Fuller received in 1897 and 1898 from a homosexual Canadian named Harold Curtis, which reveal the homosexual subculture of Toronto. Fuller saved these letters for future historians.

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Stephen Wayne Foster

FUNCTIONING

Down to the 1950s, psychiatric and psychological opinion held that homosexual behavior in an adult was symptomatic of severe emotional disorder. A detached evaluation of the homosexual personality was rendered even more difficult by the anger, revulsion, and distaste with which many clinicians reacted. The central difficulty, however, stemmed from the fact that for decades the clinical picture of homosexuality had been formed by the observation of subjects found in consulting offices, mental hospitals, or prisons. These groups did not constitute a valid sample of the homosexual population as a whole.

The Hooker Study. In the mid-1950s, recognizing this bias, Evelyn Hooker of the University of California at Los Angeles set out to investigate the adjustment of the overt homosexual. She judged it important to obtain a sample that did not derive from skewed sources. Thus there was a chance of finding individuals with an average psychological adjustment. She also believed it important to obtain a comparable control group of heterosexuals that would not only provide a standard of comparison but also assist the clinician in suspending theoretical preconceptions. Securing both was a difficult undertaking, but in the end she procured two samples of thirty individuals each who were paired for age, education, and intelligence quotient. No assumptions were made about the random selection of either group. The materials used for the comparative study of personality structure and adjustment of these two groups of men consisted of a battery of projective techniques, attitude scales and intensive life history interviews—the standard paraphernalia of the American depth psychologist of the 1950s. Experts in the assessment of personality structure were called in to evaluate the 60 sets of records. The judges knew that some of the subjects were homosexual and some heterosexual, but did not know which; their task was merely to tell as much as the data revealed about the personality structure and adjustment of each subject.

The finding of the study—epoch-making for its time—was that there were no significant differences between the number of homosexuals having a rating of average or better for each judge; two-thirds of each group of subjects received an adjustment rating of average or better. In 42 out of the 60 cases the judges agreed exactly or differed by only one step. The judges themselves commented that the records which they thought to be homosexual were unlike the ones familiar to them from clinical experience. Hooker concluded that healthy skepticism was justified in regard to many of the so-called

homosexual-content signs on the Rorschach test. Moreover, no single pattern of homosexual adjustment emerged; the richness and variety of ways in which homosexuals adjust could not be reduced to a formula. Some homosexuals proved to be quite ordinary individuals, indistinguishable except in their sexual orientation and behavior from other ordinary individuals who were heterosexual. Some were even quite superior individuals, not only devoid of pathology, but capable of functioning at a superior level.

Hooker concluded that (1) homosexuality as a clinical entity did not exist, that its forms were as varied as those of heterosexuality, (2) homosexuality may be a deviation in sexual orientation that is within the normal psychological range, and (3) the role of particular forms of sexual desire and expression in personality structure and development might be less important than hitherto assumed. Even if homosexuality represents a form of maladjustment to a society that condemns it, this fact does not imply that the homosexual subject is severely maladjusted in other areas of his behavior.

Freedman and Others. This study was replicated in 1967 by Mark Freedman with lesbian subjects in a doctoral dissertation in clinical psychology at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio. He even found that the lesbians functioned better than the control group of heterosexual women; they scored higher on autonomy, spontaneity, orientation toward the present (as opposed to being obsessed with the past or anticipating the future), and sensitivity to their own needs and feelings. An earlier study using Raymond B. Cattell's 16 Personality Factor test showed the lesbian subjects as independent, resilient, self-sufficient, and "bohemian," while a third investigator, again using a control group, found the lesbians scoring higher on both goal-direction and self-acceptance.

Freedman made the further point that homosexuals and lesbians, marginalized as they are by conventional society,

do not reject all its standards and mores, but choose among them and so develop new, stable patterns of behavior. The consciousness of alienation can lead to a creative adaptation within a hostile environment, even if not to it. At the same time sexual roles may be more egalitarian and sexuality more expressive than in contemporary heterosexual milieux. There is more freedom to experiment in both couple and group sexual activity. Even the need to hide one's true sexual identity may render the homosexual subject quite sophisticated about the persona of others—the tension between role-playing and covert identity. The range of self-disclosure can also be controlled, and in a friendly setting the homosexual can be more truthful and candid than his heterosexual counterpart. Others pragmatically hide their sexual orientation, adapting as best they can to the social dangers of life as a homosexual, while benefiting from the survival skills that they have internalized.

More recent studies done in a number of countries have confirmed the aforementioned findings. Not only are homosexuals no less psychologically adjusted than heterosexuals, the homosexual identity may be positively correlated with (1) psychological adjustment and (2) support of "significant others." It cannot be judged a psychopathological phenomenon, and such differences as can be demonstrated to exist are those directly related to the sexual orientation itself. The differences in mental functioning for which evidence has been found—higher verbal ability in females, higher mathematical and scientific ability in males—are not disabilities, but correlate with a different locus on the androgyny scale. They correspond to the evolutionary continuum between the sexes that Magnus Hirschfeld stressed in his magisterial work on grades of intersexuality, not a dichotomy divinely ordained for all time.

Anticipations. This recent work on the psychological functioning of the homosexual was anticipated by what had

been learned at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. The first homosexual subjects examined by psychiatrists were seen in the setting of the mental hospital or the prison; usually they were severely disturbed and individuals in conflict with society and with themselves. But when sympathetic psychiatrists were enabled to make contact with homosexuals in everyday life, in their homes and places of work, under conditions that favored a relaxed confidentiality, they reversed their earlier judgment. At a meeting of the Berlin Psychiatric Society on June 8, 1891, the discussion following a paper concluded that homosexuality in and of itself is no mental illness for the following reasons:

- (1) there is no clouding of consciousness or disturbance of the rational mind;
- (2) there is no irresistible impulse;
- (3) the subject has no delusion as to the character of his own sexual organs or those of the partner;
- (4) the subject is aware that his sexual orientation differs from that of the majority of the population.

Papers written later in the decade, when such writers as Moll, Chevalier, and Raffalovich had published their monographs on the subject, argued that an individual who successfully deceives his surroundings as to his true sexual orientation and activity quite as well as does the undercover agent in a hostile milieu cannot be judged mentally ill or lacking in responsibility. The homosexual subject is as responsible, legally and morally, for his sexual conduct as is the heterosexual one. The condemnation of homosexual behavior on religious grounds does not alter the personality functioning of the homosexual in any objective manner. Whether the sexual activity of the population should be exclusively with members of the opposite sex is an issue of sexual politics that falls outside the empirical question of whether or not the homosexual functions efficiently and purposefully in his milieu and in the

face of the obstacles that an intolerant society poses to his quest for sexual gratification.

Conclusion. Beginning with the pioneer study by Evelyn Hooker, modern investigators have overturned the assumption that homosexuals are less able to cope with their life tasks than are heterosexuals, or that homosexuality is in and of itself a pathological entity. The research of the future should address the question of the manner of their adjustment and the subtleties of the interaction between society and the homosexual as a paradigm of survival in a hostile environment.

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FUNDAMENTALISM
See Protestantism.