

century England, which was snuffed out before it had much chance to develop.

The advantage of such a scheme is that it encourages scholars to pursue investigations in all time frames, from the longest (humanity itself) to the shortest (a single generation). It does not anticipate constants, but allows one to correlate those that seem to be emerging, however tentatively.

See also **Typology**.

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## HOBOES

The hobo subculture of the United States is now largely a thing of the past, as it flourished when the railway was the only means of travel over long distances, and began to decline when the automobile and the truck shifted America's transport to the roads and highways. The best studies of this marginal subculture were done at the end of the nineteenth century and in the first two decades of the twentieth. There seems to be no precise European counterpart, though the vagabonds known from late medieval times constitute an anticipation.

The hobo was a permanently unemployed vagabond who lived by begging and had mastered the art of life "on the road" with a variety of schemes and tricks. Characteristically the hoboes lived along the railway lines, taking refuge in unguarded freight cars or nestling in the grass near watering tanks. The hobo subculture originated in the western United States and spread eastward. Recruited at first from the ranks of Civil War veterans who could not adjust to peacetime existence, the hoboes were joined by adolescents who had left home in search of freedom and adventure, by unsuccessful crimi-

nals reduced to beggary, and also by alcoholics who had lost their jobs and families and had reached "the bottom of the heap."

In this society of the lower depths—vividly, though reticently recalled in Jack London's memoir *The Road* (1907)—homosexuality largely took the form of pederastic relations between adult hoboes and their teen-aged companions. The youth, known as a "prushun," was obliged by the unwritten law of the hobo fraternity to be the virtual slave of the "jocker," his protector. The "prushuns" were generally between 10 and 15 years of age, occasionally older or younger. In every town the pair visited the "prushun" had to beg for their keep, and lack of success brought him harsh punishment from the older male. The boy was periodically beaten by his protector in a manner that was but an exaggerated form of the discipline then customarily meted out to the young, though the modern observer would perceive sado-masochistic undertones in the liaisons.

The sexual aspect of the relationship usually consisted of interfemoral intercourse, sometimes of anal. The passive partner is described as enjoying the physical side of the contact. Men who engaged in these relations generally preferred a "prushun" to a woman. Those who had served in the army or navy and then made their way into hobo life are mentioned as likely to be exclusively homosexual in their preferences. A few hoboes are said to have adopted homosexuality because of the scarcity of women in their milieu, as they were outnumbered by men a hundred to one. The gruff masculinity of the older partner was usually matched by a femininity in the younger one—a phenomenon of the sexual culture of the lower class in general. The male hustler also appeared as a denizen of this underworld. The jails of the period reflected this side of hobo life, and boys incarcerated in them were forced to submit to the older inmates. When the boy grew old enough to fend for himself, he

would be emancipated from the "jocker" and would then seek a boy of his own in turn. On the other hand, if a boy became a source of embarrassment or jeopardy for his protector, he could be abandoned or simply murdered.

The hobo subculture had its own argot, changing from year to year but always kept alive by the oral tradition of the "old timers" in its midst. This language was a colorful commentary on the mores of the hobo, and ignorance of it instantly betrayed the newcomer. So the novice would sit by the campfire, listening quietly while absorbing the unfamiliar words and expressions.

The onset both of the criminal subculture spawned by Prohibition and of the modern welfare state in America led to the end of the hobo as he was known before the 1920s. The casual young traveler was more likely to hitchhike by automobile, a mode of travel not exempt from sexual opportunity, but lacking the element of camaraderie that rail yards and freight cars had offered. Yet the homoerotic side of hobo society, as one part of the American underclass, was perpetuated in the mores and practices of the prison subculture, where forms of homosexual dependence and subordination thrive at the present day.

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### HOCQUENGHEM, GUY (1946-1988)

French gay liberationist, filmmaker, essayist, and novelist. Hocquenghem was born in suburban Paris and studied Greek epigraphy at the Ecole

Normale Supérieure. Swept up in the May 1968 rebellion, he became a militant leftist, though the French Communist Party expelled him because of his homosexuality. Hocquenghem joined the Sorbonne gay activists and was one of the first males in the Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire (FHAR), which was formed in March 1971 by a group of lesbians who split from Arcadie (Mouvement Homophile de France). In 1971 Hocquenghem created a sensation at a forum of *Le Nouvel Observateur* (a left mass-market weekly), which later interviewed him. He also participated in writing the manifesto "Trois milliards de pervers."

Hocquenghem's *Le désir homosexuel* (Homosexual Desire; 1972), followed by *L'Après-Mai des faunes* (1974) and *La dérive homosexuelle* (1977), provided a radical theory for French gay liberation. Like Mario Mieli in Italy, Hocquenghem attempted to bridge Marx's class and Freud's libido in understanding gay love. He did this through an analysis of the privatization of the anus, the foundation in his view of both capitalism and homophobia.

Like Jean Genet, Hocquenghem was an early defender of the Black Panther Party and vigorously opposed white supremacy and racism. His *La beauté du métis, réflexion d'un francophobe* (Immigrant Beauty; Francophobe Reflections; 1979) traces the hatred of foreigners (in France: Arabs) and of queers to the same cultural uptightness. He likewise attacked sixties radicals who joined the establishment in his stinging *Lettre ouverte à ceux qui sont passés du col Mao au Rotary* (Open Letter to Those Who've Gone from Chairman Mao to Rotary Clubs; 1986).

As a child of the sixties, Hocquenghem understood the importance of publicity. He attacked the mainstream media in a delightful *Minigraphie de la presse parisienne* (1981), an updated commentary on Honoré de Balzac's nineteenth-century philippic. In 1977 he became a regular columnist for *Libération*, a leftist