

the spread of disease, to counter violence or robbery committed on the margin of the activity, and to offer an escape for the runaway who against his own wishes finds himself trapped in a life of prostitution.

Not to be omitted from any serious consideration of the role of prostitution in society are those who are most in need of its services: unmarried men well past their prime, those lacking in their society's standards of beauty, the physically and mentally handicapped, and those with unusual fetishes. For these men, whose access to non-commercial sexuality is severely restricted, the denial of the use of prostitution effectively denies them a sexual life.

With continuing changes in the structure of the labor market throughout the advanced countries, it is likely that prostitution (perhaps redefined as "intimate personal services") will serve as an alternative occupation for those displaced from more traditional careers. Apart from the financial rewards, the successful male prostitute can utilize his contacts with the upper strata of male society as a springboard for later economic advancement, provided that he has proved his reliability and discretion. But whatever the economic situation, the prevalence of unfulfilled homoerotic desires—and of income earmarked for "leisure activity"—will ensure that prostitution continues into the indefinite future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Iwan Bloch, *Die Prostitution*, Berlin: L. Marcus, 1911–25, Bd. 1 and Bd. 2, Hälfte 1; Debra Boyer, "Male Prostitution and Homosexual Identity," *Journal of Homosexuality*, 17 (1989), 151–84; Eli Coleman, "The Development of Male Prostitution Activity Among Gay and Bisexual Adolescents," *Journal of Homosexuality*, 17 (1989), 131–49; Neil R. Coombs, "Male Prostitution: A Psychosocial View of Behavior," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 44 (1974), 782–89; Mervyn Harris, *The Dillyboys: The Game of Male Prostitution in Piccadilly*, Rockville: New Perspectives, 1973; David F. Luckenbill, "Entering Male

Prostitution," *Urban Life*, 14 (1985), 131–53; Paul W. Mathews, "On 'Being a Prostitute,'" *Journal of Homosexuality*, 15:3/4 (1988), 119–35; John Rechy, *City of Night*, New York: Grove, 1963; A. J. Reiss, Jr., "The Social Integration of Queers and Peers," *Social Problems*, 9 (1961), 102–20.

Warren Johansson

PROTESTANTISM

Of the approximately one billion adherents of Christianity, 630 million are Catholic, 100 million Orthodox, 375 million Protestant, and a few million are Copts, Nestorians, and others. Of the 142 million Christians in the United States (60 percent of the population), 52 million are Roman Catholic and 79 million Protestant.

General Features. Late medieval Albigensian, Waldensian, Lollard, and Hussite heretics had criticized the hierarchy for worldliness, greed, luxury, and sins of the flesh, including sodomy. Intensifying these proto-Protestant critiques, Lutherans, Anglicans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists agreed that no Scriptural basis existed for clerical celibacy, which encouraged sexual depravity. Luther himself denounced homosexuality in Old Testament and Pauline terms, condemning penitentials, scholasticism, and canon law for laxly allowing a mortal sin to be confessed and atoned through penance. All Protestant churches and governments continued the Catholic policy of prescribing death for sodomites whom they too considered enemies of God and allies of the Devil.

Protestants elevated marriage above celibacy but condemned simple fornication more than had the medieval church. Harking back to the precedents of Biblical Judaism, they opposed clerical celibacy, excoriating the clergy, including nuns, for indulging in sodomy among themselves and with the laity. In their view, a principal advantage of abolishing monasticism and allowing marriage of priests and bishops was to discourage clerical sodomy. Reformers also tried to abol-

ish prostitution which Catholics before the Counterreformation had condoned as less evil than adultery or homosexuality. But in making that choice less available, they increased the risk of homosexual activity which some of them denounced more vehemently than did Catholics. Lutherans and Calvinists, as well as Dominicans and Jesuits, persecuted Jews, Moriscos, and heretics as well as sodomites to effect conversion or repentance through force and intimidation. Witches were sometimes confounded with sodomites; the *Theologia moralis* (1625) maintained that sodomy led to witchcraft.

Monter's study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Switzerland shows that Geneva Protestants and Fribourg Catholics condemned sodomites with much the same zeal. After 1628, when the Spanish Inquisition quit burning sodomites, Protestants increased their executions. A great persecution in the Netherlands in 1730–31 resulted in the hanging, burning, and drowning of fifty-seven men and boys. In England an average of two hangings a year took place between 1806 and 1836. Most Catholic countries had by then abolished the death penalty, following the lead of France in 1791.

The Lutheran Tradition. The Augustinian monk Martin Luther (1483–1546) condemned clerical celibacy as part of his attack on the efficacy of good works. Only a few, he maintained, could remain continent. Marriage he praised as the foundation of society, begun in Paradise, and endorsed by the Fifth and Seventh Commandments. It eliminated lust. He himself set the example by marrying Katherine von Bora, an ex-nun, and producing five children. Sex he limited strictly to marriage and for procreation. Perhaps influenced by the spread of syphilis that had begun in Western Europe in 1493, he broke with the indulgent medieval church and denounced prostitution.

Regarding sodomy as more heinous than fornication, Luther fulminated against all non-procreative sex: "The heinous

conduct of the people of Sodom is extraordinary, in as much as they departed from the natural passion and longing of the male for the female, which was implanted by God, and desired what is altogether contrary to nature. Whence comes this perversity? Undoubtedly from Satan, who, after people have once turned away from the fear of God, so powerfully suppresses nature that he beats out the natural desire and stirs up a desire that is contrary to nature."

Converting Denmark (1520), Finland (1523), Sweden (1524), and Norway (1534), Lutheranism became the official religion of most north German states as well, with 35 million adherents in Germany and 25 in Scandinavia today. Scandinavian and German immigrants made it one of the most important denominations in the United States with 8 million members in various branches. Over the opposition of Lutheran pastors, Denmark in 1866 abolished capital punishment for all offenses, including homosexual acts, while Sweden mitigated its penalties for sodomy in 1864. Between 1930 and 1948 the Scandinavian countries under Social Democracy abolished sodomy laws in spite of Lutheran opposition. Mostly Lutheran Prussia, however, extended its punishments to all citizens of the German Empire in the infamous antihomosexual Paragraph 175 in the Penal Code of 1871, which was stiffened by the Nazis in 1935. Traditionally subservient to the state, Lutherans became notorious for failing to oppose Hitler, with rare exceptions such as pastors Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Niemöller.

Secularism, which helped undermine clerical power, has not led twentieth-century American Lutherans to accept homosexuality. The moderate Lutheran Church in America at their convention in 1970 stated that "homosexuality is viewed biblically as a departure from the heterosexual structure of God's creation. Persons who engage in homosexual behavior are sinners only as are all other per-

sons—alienated from God and neighbor. However, they are often the special and undeserving victims of prejudice and discrimination in law, law enforcement, cultural mores, and congregational life. In relation to this area of concern, the sexual behavior of freely consenting adults in private is not an appropriate subject for legislation or police action. It is essential to see such persons as entitled to understanding justice in church and community." Three years later the conservative Missouri Synod convention resolved: "Whereas, God's Word clearly identifies homophile behavior as immoral, and condemned it (Lev. 18:22; 20:13 and Rom. 1:24-27); and Whereas, The Law and the Gospel of Jesus Christ are to be proclaimed and applied to all conditions of mankind; therefore be it Resolved, That the Synod recognize homophile behavior as intrinsically sinful. . . ." In 1977 the American Lutheran Church's Standing Committee for the Office of Research and Analysis declared: "We believe that taken as a whole the message of Scripture clearly is that: a. Homosexual behavior is sin, a form of idolatry, a breaking of the natural order that unites members of the human community; b. Homosexual behavior is contrary to the new life in Christ, a denial of the responsible freedom and service into which we are called through baptism; c. God offers the homosexual person, as every other person, a vision of the wholeness He intends, the assurance of His grace, and His healing and restoration for the hurting and broken. Nevertheless, we recognize the cries of our homosexual brothers and sisters for justice in the arena of civil affairs. We cannot endorse their call for legalizing homosexual marriage. Nor can we endorse their conviction that homosexual behavior is simply another form of acceptable expression of natural erotic or libidinous drives. We can, however, endorse their position that their sexual orientation in and of itself should not be a cause for denying them their civil liberties."

Anabaptists and Others. Anabaptists, various continental groups in the sixteenth century who refused infant baptism, including Thomas M \ddot{u} nzer and the Zwickau prophets, and who sympathized with the Peasants' Revolt of 1525, taught the doctrine of the inner light, later adopted by Quakers. The Swiss Brethren, who in Zurich in 1525 reintroduced from Patristic sources believers' baptism (i.e., of conscious adults), taught non-resistance and rejected participation in the magistracy. Their views spread into the Rhineland and southwest Germany. The Brethren took refuge in Moravia under Jacob Hutter (d. 1536) with community of property. The Melchiorites from northwest Germany and the Low Countries learned from Melchior Hoffmann chiliastic expectations. Vigorously denounced by Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Catholics, the Mennonites, reorganized in the Netherlands and Friesland by Menno Simons, strongly emphasized pacifism. Hostility to Mennonites, today numbering 700,000, continues today. Denounced and persecuted by mainstream Protestants, tens of thousands of Anabaptists were probably put to death by the Inquisition, mainly in the Low Countries and in Bohemia—less developed regions where they had sought refuge before being attacked by the Counter-Reformation. Subject to severe persecution, Anabaptists, like the Socinians, early favored toleration.

A place apart belongs to the Socinian sect. Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604), a Siense jurist settled in Venice, the most sophisticated city of the Italian Renaissance, before visiting France, England, the Netherlands, and stopping in Calvin's Geneva, from where he visited Melancthon, Luther's assistant, and Poland, spreading radical ideas. His even more radical nephew, who denied the essential divinity of Christ and the immortality of man, eventually settled in remote Transylvania and then in Krakow, Poland, out of which the Jesuits eventually hounded him. Socinian ideas were among the for-

mative influences in the emergence of Quakerism.

Quakers. First mentioned in Oliver Cromwell's proclamation of 1654 persecuting them for refusal to serve in the military and to take oaths, the Quakers, officially designated the Religious Society of Friends, grew from a wave of religious ferment in seventeenth-century England. Disdaining ordained ministers and consecrated buildings, George Fox proclaimed after 1647 the immediacy of Christ's teachings. After their "yearly meeting" in London in 1675, which established a "meeting for sufferings," Friends have been in the forefront of race relations, penal reforms, social relief, and conciliatory work. Before the Toleration Act of 1689, 15,000 had been sentenced and more than 450 died in prison in Great Britain. In 1682 William Penn founded the British colony of Pennsylvania on Quaker principles. Pennsylvania's law code of 1682 all but decriminalized sodomy for the first time in Christian lands since 342, when the Roman emperors introduced the death penalty.

Quakers have been in the forefront of homosexual toleration. As early as 1963 English Friends published *Towards a Christian View of Sex*: "One should no more deplore homosexuality than left-handedness. . . . Homosexual affection can be as selfless as heterosexual affection, and therefore we cannot see that it is in some way morally worse." Ten years later the influential Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends declared: "We should be aware that there is a great diversity in the relationships that people develop with one another. Although we neither approve nor disapprove of homosexuality, the same standards under the law which we apply to heterosexual activities should also be applied to homosexual activities. As persons who engage in homosexual activities suffer serious discrimination in employment, housing and the right to worship, we believe that civil rights laws should protect them. In particular we advocate

the revision of all legislation imposing disabilities and penalties upon homosexual activities."

Baptists. Largest of Protestant sects, the Baptists have a total formal membership of 30,000,000 that extends to every continent. They look to John Smyth, an English Separatist under Mennonite influence, who in 1609 in Amsterdam exile reinstated the baptism of those believers able to understand and commit themselves to the faith. Like the earlier Anabaptists, he rebaptized those whom the established churches had christened as infants. Members of his congregation established the first English Baptist Church in 1612. As the church grew, attracting some converts from Calvinism, complete immersion became their normal form of baptism. Baptists pioneered religious liberty and freedom of conscience and in the seventeenth century with Independents and Presbyterians formed the three denominations of Protestant Dissenters.

Roger Williams' church in Rhode Island began America's Baptist history in 1639. The Great Awakening in New England (1740) quickened Baptist missionary activity, particularly on the western frontier. By 1980 the 26 million North American Baptists were organized into four major conventions (as well as twelve splinter groups): the Southern, largest and most conservative, the American, and two black ones. Over 66 percent of black churchgoers in the United States, including the late Martin Luther King, are Baptists. Perhaps out of recognition of their own persecuted past, black Baptists have been helpful in the passage of ordinances in New York in 1986 and Chicago in 1988 protecting gay rights. The American Baptists recently proclaimed: "We, as Christians, recognize that radical changes are taking place in sex concepts and practices. . . . [W]e call upon our churches to engage in worship, study, fellowship and action to provide for meaningful ministries to all persons as members of the 'Family of God' including those who are homosexuals."

Southern Baptists, however, inspired by and recently presided over by Bible-thumping Adrian Rogers of the Bellevue Baptist Church of Memphis, who defeated the moderates to become president of that largest Protestant group in the United States (membership 14.7 million), are adamantly homophobic. At their convention in 1976 they passed the following resolution: "Whereas, homosexuality has become an open lifestyle for increasing numbers of persons, and Whereas, attention has focused on the religious and moral dimensions of homosexuality, and Whereas, it is the task of the Christian community to bring all moral questions and issues into the light of biblical truth; Now therefore, be it resolved that the members of the Southern Baptist Convention . . . affirm our commitment to the biblical truth regarding the practice of homosexuality and sin. Be it further resolved, that this Convention, while acknowledging the autonomy of the local church to ordain ministers, urges churches and agencies not to afford the practice of homosexuality any degree of approval through ordination, employment, or other designations of normal lifestyle."

"Fundamentalists" are now purging "moderates" from their colleges and six seminaries, even though these "moderates" themselves anathematize homosexuality. In March 1988 a theological conservative, Lewis A. Drummond, an associate of Billy Graham, was elected president of the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary. Declaring that he would hire only faculty who accepted the Bible as literally true even in science and history, he pledged to carry out the agenda of the conservatives. Of the 25 American states which have decriminalized sodomy, not one is in the Bible Belt in the South—of which Memphis is described as the buckle—where Baptists predominate. Virginia-based Jerry Falwell, who pioneered in the use of contemporary media in his Moral Majority (disbanded in 1989), has emphasized opposition to homosexuality.

Anglicans. Declaring Henry VIII (1509–1547) supreme head of the Church of England in 1535, Parliament instituted a political church close in liturgy and doctrine to the Roman Catholic but abolishing monasteries, whose estates and revenues the king desired, and translating the liturgy into English. In the spirit of Henry's daughter Elizabeth I (1558–1603), who maintained that she did not want "to open windows into men's souls," Archbishop Matthew Parker issued the Book of Common Prayer, beautifully written but ambiguous so that all but extreme Catholics and ultra-Protestants could interpret it to their liking, giving the church a latitudinarianism which it has preserved. It has never executed a single heretic and to the disgruntlement of Puritans rather laxly enforced morality. Trials and executions of sodomites remained rare under Henry VIII's statute of 1533 and Elizabeth I's of 1561, the first being the Earl of Castlehaven in 1631. William Blackstone argued in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–69) that "the express law of God . . . by the destruction of two cities by fire from heaven . . . [commands] such miscreants to be burned to death." A wave of anti-Jacobin nationalism resulted in the hanging of about 60 sodomites between 1806 and 1836; in 1861 English law was reformed to abolish execution for sodomy. The *Wolfenden* Report of 1957, inspired by Canon D. S. Bailey's *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (1955), recommended eliminating the penalties for consenting homosexual behavior, which was achieved for England and Wales in 1967 with considerable church support.

The Church of England (Episcopalian in the United States) claims, by dividing the orthodox into their various national churches, to be second only to the Roman Catholic in size with 70 million members. Not without controversy, it has given support to women's and minority rights, installing the first female bishop in all history in the apostolic succession, Barbara Harris, who is also black, in the

Massachusetts diocese in 1988. Bishop Desmond Tutu combats apartheid in South Africa. In America and the Commonwealth, in all of which the church has had a largely upper-class membership with many only rarely attending services, Episcopalians have been in the forefront of homophile movements, spurred by their active gay organization, Integrity, largest next to the Catholic, Dignity. In 1973 the *Report of the Commission on Homosexuality of the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan* declared that "homosexuals seriously seeking to build such (loving) relationships with one another are surely as deserving as heterosexuals of encouragement and help from the Church and its ministry. . . . Historical studies disclose that persecution and discrimination have been the homosexual's lot in Western society and that the Church bears a heavy share of responsibility for this state of affairs." In 1976 the American Episcopal Church resolved: "that it is the sense of this General Convention that homosexual persons are children of God, who have a full and equal claim with all other persons upon the love, acceptance, and pastoral concern and care of the Church [and] that homosexual persons are entitled to equal protection of the law with all other citizens, and calls upon our society to see such protection is provided in actuality."

Since then, in Britain at least, there has been a backlash, caused by concern over AIDS, but urged on by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who for the first time in history, on January 1, 1988, elevated a rabbi to the peerage in England, Immanuel Jakobovits, Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth, because, some claim, he declared homosexual acts "morally wrong. My creator tells me it is grievously wrong under the heading of immoral acts. I want to cultivate a moral sense in which society will differentiate between what is acceptable and what is morally unacceptable." His views run counter to the official position of the state of Israel, which in March 1988 decriminal-

ized homosexuality. Although on November 11, 1987, by a vote of 388 to 19, leaders of the Church of England rejected a move to expel its homosexual priests, calling instead for them to repent and to be treated with compassion, an Anglican Synod in England has since passed a motion calling for practicing homosexuals to change their lifestyle and turn their back on homosexual activity as contrary to the will of God. In an editorial of January 3, 1988 in the *Sunday Times* Peter Nott, Bishop of Norwich, perhaps angling for Thatcher's support to be designated Archbishop of Canterbury, denied the right of practicing homosexuals to be ordained and called for the reassertion of the normality of the single and the celibate. Church authorities in London have taken legal action to force the closure of the headquarters of the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement at St. Botolph's Church, Aldgate.

The backlash has also had some effect among Episcopalians on the other side of the Atlantic. On November 7, 1987, Episcopalian laity in Boston voted down by 82-140 a resolution approved by a 114-79 margin among the clergy to develop a liturgy blessing gay couples. Shepherded through by the liberal Bishop John S. Spong, in January 1988 the Diocese of Newark voted to encourage its priests to bless gay couples. Spong quoted a proposed rite to bless a same-sex union: "The joining of two persons in heart, body, and mind is intended by God for their mutual joy, for the help and comfort . . . in prosperity and adversity . . . in accordance with God's intention for us." None of the other dioceses or any mainstream Protestant denominations followed suit. Bishop Arthur E. Walmsley of the Diocese of Connecticut denied that Spong spoke for the Church and retorted that "the sanctity of holy matrimony is not a debatable issue in the Episcopal Church." Indeed, despite the 1976 pronouncements of the national church calling homosexuals "children of God" entitled to participate in all church services, three years later it denied practic-

ing homosexuals entrance into the priesthood.

Calvinists. Generally more fanatic than the other Protestants and more prone during the religious wars to torture monks and priests, Calvinists vehemently denounced clerical homosexuality when shutting down monasteries, often looting and always expropriating wherever they could. John Calvin (1509–1564), who published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* in 1536, created a theocracy in Geneva which drew like-minded preachers from all over Europe, sending them out when indoctrinated to establish congregations everywhere. It has been said that paradoxically “Calvin abolished the monastery but made every man a monk.” With his legal training, Calvin in his *Institutes* gave his Church a consistency greater than any other denomination’s. Not going as far as Luther in equating the Sodom story with homosexuality, Calvin followed Thomas Aquinas in condemning all non-procreative intercourse as unnatural. In Geneva thirty sodomites were put to death between 1555 and 1680. Catholic writers published scurrilous writings charging Calvin with pederasty. While these charges are lacking in foundation, those laid at the door of the Reformer’s lieutenant, Théodore de Bèze, are more plausible.

In Scotland, John Knox drove out the lascivious Mary Stuart in 1568 and established the Kirk, henceforth known as Presbyterian because elders governed each congregation. Presbyterians gained a reputation for severity with executions. Scotland with its own criminal law continued to uphold the statute against sodomy longer than England, from 1967 to 1980. In 1976 the 188th General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States, with over 3 million members in addition to those of various splinter groups, declared: “The 188th General Assembly calls to the attention of our Church that, according to our most recent statement, we reaffirm our adherence to the moral law of God . . . that . . . the practice of homosexu-

ality is sin. . . . Also we affirm that any self-righteous attitude of others who would condemn persons who have so sinned is also sin.’. . . [O]n broad Scriptural and confessional grounds, it appears that it would at the present time be injudicious, if not improper, for a Presbytery to ordain to the professional ministry of the Gospel a person who is an avowed practicing homosexual.”

In the **Netherlands**, where the Dutch Reformed helped inspire the Revolt against Spain in 1566, the dour Calvinists of the rural churches were tempered by the suave urbanity of the merchants and seamen of Amsterdam, both joining to dominate the Catholic minority. Anti-sodomite hysteria reached a zenith in 1730–31 with fifty-seven executions and nearly two hundred expulsions from the country, but afterwards it waned. When Napoleon annexed Holland in 1811 the French codes were introduced at one stroke, effectively decriminalizing sodomy. The fight for toleration began as a branch of the German emancipation movement founded in 1897 when in 1911 a clerical ministry passed a bill raising the age of consent from 14 to 21—the first such innovation in modern times. The Netherlands branch of the **Scientific-Humanitarian Committee** continued until the German occupation of the country in May 1940.

Being a minority in a Catholic land, the French Huguenots nevertheless continued to persecute sodomites in the towns they controlled but with less vehemence than elsewhere. After publishing *Juvenilia* in 1548, describing affection for his mignon Audébert, Théodore de Bèze converted, becoming a leader of the Huguenots and succeeding Calvin as leader in Geneva. Catholic polemicists claimed that he remained a sodomite at heart although he married. Following release from his first imprisonment, Bèze’s contemporary Marc-Antoine Muret, although in his youth his writings harshly disapproved of sodomy, was charged a second time with sodomy and of being a Huguenot as well.

Found guilty in absentia, he was burned in effigy. In 1558, this time in Padua rather than France, he was again charged but fled and died a Catholic. In *The Princes* the Huguenot poet Agrippa d'Aubigné accused the royal family, including Henri III, of acting contrary to nature, blaming Henri's problems on his mother, Catherine de' Medici, for encouraging the depravity of her children so that she could rule.

Calvinists, Puritans disapproving all frivolity and strictly enforcing Old Testament morality, failed to rule England under Parliament, Oliver Cromwell, and his son from 1649 to 1660, but in New England they predominated, outlawing sodomy in the colonies that they ruled. In 1629, on the vessel *Talbot* sailing for Massachusetts, "5 beastly Sodomiticall boyes" were examined and after landing in New England sent back by the governor to "ould England" for punishment, where they were probably hanged. In 1642, three of the most distinguished clergymen of the Plymouth colony, founded by Pilgrims rather than Puritans, concluded that the Bible ordained the death penalty for sodomites and executed several. In 1646 William Plaine, accused of sodomy, masturbation, and atheism, was executed in New Haven, where ten years later the Puritans prescribed death for lesbians following the current interpretation of the law against buggery originally promulgated by Henry VIII in 1533. Wealthy merchants from Boston and Salem and increasing Anglican influence lessened homophobia in New England during the eighteenth century. New England Puritans evolved into more tolerant Congregationalists, while those who did not defect to Anglicanism later turned into highly tolerant Unitarians.

Methodists. Formally founded in 1784 by John Wesley (1703–1791), whose *Notes on the New Testament* (1754) and four volumes of sermons form their standard doctrine, Methodists have debated whether ordination was conferred by the imposition of hands, with or without bishops being merely supervisors. Disputes

over discipline and polity have caused offshoots and reunifications, as in 1857 with the establishment of the United Methodist Free Churches in England. The Northern and Southern Methodist Churches, the two main branches in the United States, split before the Civil War but reunited in 1939. The United Methodist Church now has 9.3 million members, with another 4 million, mostly blacks, in splintered churches. Actively concerned with evangelism and social welfare, one of the Church's glories is William Wilberforce's efforts to end the slave trade. Methodists have a worldwide membership of over 20 million and a total community of nearly 50 million.

As an organization, Methodists have generally stood between Episcopalians and Baptists in their attitude to sexuality and homosexuality. Spurred by United Methodists for Lesbian/Gay Concerns, the United Methodist Church published the following manifesto at its Quadrennial Conference in 1976: "Homosexuals no less than heterosexuals are persons of sacred worth, who need the ministry and guidance of the church in their struggles for human fulfillment, as well as the spiritual and emotional care of a fellowship which enables reconciling relationships with God, with others and with self. Further we insist that all persons are entitled to have their human and civil rights ensured, though we do not condone the practice of homosexuality and consider this practice incompatible with Christian teaching." In a retreat from toleration, on May 2, 1988, the General Conference of the United Methodist Church meeting at St. Louis, Missouri voted to maintain its stance that homosexual behavior is "incompatible with Christian teaching" and a bar to the ordained ministry.

Unitarianism. A pupil of Reuchlin, Martin Solarius (1499–1564), in his *De operis Dei* in 1527 became the first exponent of Unitarianism. Juan Valdés, Michael Servetus, and Bernardino Ochino were sympathetic. The first organized

communities appeared in seventeenth-century Poland, Hungary, and England. Rejecting Trinitarian doctrines and the divinity of Christ, Unitarians possess no formal creed, but in the nineteenth century James Martineau in England and Theodore Parker in the United States developed a rational Biblical Unitarianism with reason and conscience rather than tradition as the criteria of belief and practice.

In 1658 the Jesuits suppressed Unitarianism in Poland. England enforced penal acts against Unitarians until 1813. The first Unitarian congregation in America, King's Chapel in Boston, in 1785 adopted a liturgy modified to suit Unitarian doctrines. Descended from Puritan groups, many other Congregational churches adopted Unitarianism in the early nineteenth century. William Ellery Channing and Ralph Waldo Emerson emphasized ethical and philosophical aspects. By 1900 American Unitarians had become very liberal, with great influence at the Harvard Divinity School as reconstituted in 1880 by President Charles W. Eliot. In 1961 the Unitarian Association joined the Universalist Church to form the Unitarian Universalist Association. Unitarians acquired a gay offshoot, Unitarian Universalists for Lesbian and Gay Concerns, and like Episcopalians have assisted gay brethren threatened with AIDS. Unitarians were the first group to establish a lesbian/gay office, eventually merged with their office of elderly affairs. The General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association of Churches in North America in 1970 stated: "1. A significant minority in this country are either homosexual or bisexual in their feelings and/or behavior; 2. Homosexuality has been the target of severe discrimination by society and in particular by the police and other arms of government; 3. A growing number of authorities on the subject now see homosexuality as an inevitable sociological phenomenon and not as a mental illness; 4. There are Unitarian Universalists, clergy and laity, who are

homosexuals and bisexuals; therefore be it resolved: That the 1970 General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association: 1) Urges all people immediately to bring an end to all discrimination against homosexuals, homosexuality, bisexuals, and bisexuality, with specific immediate attention to the following issues: Private consensual behavior between persons over the age of consent shall be the business only of those persons and not subject to legal regulations."

Disciples of Christ. Claiming 1,132,000 members, the Church of Christ (Disciples of Christ) broke off in Kentucky in 1804 and in Pennsylvania in 1809 as Evangelical Presbyterians protesting the decline of fervor and Protestant factionalism. Organized in 1832 in congregational fashion with adult baptism, trying to avoid any ritual or doctrine not explicitly present in the first century of the Church, they claim: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." Highly tolerant, the General Assembly declared in 1977: "It has never acknowledged barriers to fellowship on the basis of dogma or life style. . . . Homosexuals may be included in the fellowship and membership of the community of faith where they are to love and be loved and where their gifts of ministry are to be welcomed."

Mormons. Founded in 1827 in New York by Joseph Smith (1805-1844), who received a divine revelation on golden tablets, the theocratic Mormons (Church of Latter Day Saints; 3.6 million members in the United States) practice adult baptism as well as baptism for the dead. Although the faith emerged from the American tradition of religious pluralism, Mormonism is not a Protestant denomination, but an independent religion. It had conflicts with the authorities for practicing polygamy, officially renounced in 1890. After the lynching of Smith, the Mormons emigrated in the 1840s to Utah, then still Mexican territory, where they founded their own commonwealth. In 1860 they

reorganized their church, abandoning the greater part of their peculiar beliefs and practices except their scripture, the *Book of Mormon*. The ideal Mormon is temperate, hard-working, communal-minded, and implacably hostile to sexual freedom. Affinity, a group of lesbian and gay Mormons, is officially shunned by the church.

Adventists. The Adventists, Christian groups expecting the imminent Second Coming, numbering over 600,000 in the United States, date as a denomination from 1831 when William Miller proclaimed in Dresden, New York, the Second Coming in 1843–44. With combined world membership over three million, both chief branches, Second Advent Christians and Seventh-Day Adventists, emphasize that the human body, a temple of the Holy Spirit, requires strict temperance and mandate abstinence from alcohol and tobacco. They baptize adults with total immersion. In January 1988, the Seventh-Day Adventists asked a US District Court in California to bar a support group for homosexuals, the Seventh-Day Adventist Kinship International Inc., from using the church's name, declaring that homosexual and lesbian practices are "obvious perversions of God's original plan" for the proper association of the sexes.

Jehovah's Witnesses. In the 1870s a Congregationalist draper from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Charles Taze Russell, founded Jehovah's Witnesses, originally called the International Bible Students Association, now counting 1.3 million members, 700,000 of them in the United States. "Pastor" Russell published *The Object and Manner of Our Lord's Return*, predicting the secret second coming of Christ in 1874 and the end of the world forty years later. Through a spate of books, pamphlets, and magazines, including *The Watchtower*, the movement's chief literary organ, which is still published, he attracted a considerable following. Proclaiming a workers' revolution as the prelude to the resurrection of the dead, the Last Judg-

ment, and the reign of the Messiah, when only the "elect of Jehovah" would be members, and denouncing institutional churches, governments, and business enterprises as instruments of Satan, Jehovah's Witnesses suffered persecution not only in liberal Australia and New Zealand but in totalitarian Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. During Hitler's Holocaust thousands of the "Ernstes Bibelforscher" perished in concentration camps. On the other hand, the United States Supreme Court has time and again upheld their rights under the First Amendment, thus strengthening the principle of freedom of conscience and separation of church and state.

Christian Scientists. Of New Hampshire Calvinist background, Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910), believing in healing by prayer alone, claimed to have rediscovered Christ's healing spiritual influence through revelation. Publishing *Science and Health* (1875), she opened her first church in Boston four years later. Christian Science teaches the unreality of matter, sin, and suffering. The Church, wealthy from the bequests of the elderly it exhorts to avoid doctors, publishes *The Christian Science Monitor*, a purportedly liberal newspaper that is as homophobic as the mother church and even in the 1980s purged homosexuals from its staff. Christian Scientists have, however, organized gay groups. Membership has declined from 270,000 in the 1930s to 170,000 in the 1980s and licensed practitioners from 8,300 in 1960 to 3,500 in 1989.

Pentecostals. Splintering from Methodism and other sects in 1901 in Topeka, Kansas, and in 1906 in Los Angeles as a response to the decline of Protestant fervor, the Pentecostal Church evolved from a "holy roller" movement to organized bodies with an informal service marked by hymns and spirit baptism. Standing apart from middle-class mainstream churches, Pentecostalism stresses perfection and lifestyle austerity.

United Church of Christ. Founded in 1957 by the union of Calvinist Congre-

gationalist with Lutheran Evangelical and Reformed Churches, the United Church of Christ features infant baptism and the Lord's Supper with a simple liturgy centered on the sermon. Tolerant, it pays attention to social problems, declaring in 1975: "Therefore, without considering in this document the rightness or wrongness of same-gender relationships, but recognizing that a person's affectional or sexual preference is not legitimate grounds on which to deny her or his civil liberties, the Tenth General Synod of the United Church of Christ proclaims the Christian conviction that all persons are entitled to full civil liberties and equal protection under the law. Further, the Tenth General Synod declares its support for the enactment of legislation that would guarantee the liberties of all persons without discrimination related to affectional or sexual preference."

Orthodox Christians. Often united with Protestants to oppose Catholicism, Orthodoxy with its autocephalous national offshoots has roots in Greece and the Byzantine empire. Based on the first seven ecumenical councils (325–787), during which the Monophysite, Jacobite, Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopian Churches split off, it has celibate monks, bishops, and patriarchs and married priests but does not recognize the authority of the Pope, and assigns a great role to secular monarchs and the state. The majority live in Russia—where ecclesiastical homophobia often eclipsed that of Roman Catholics until the end of Tsarism in 1917. The Churches of Serbia, Macedonia, Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, Russia, the Ukraine, Cyprus, Greece, Lebanon (the Malekites), and Albania, all weakened by centuries of Tatar (1227–1783) and/or Ottoman (1354–1913) oppression, today profess Orthodoxy. All except Greece, Cyprus, and Lebanon suffered under Communist hostility after 1945. Axios is its American gay group, imitating Dignity and the Protestant analogues.

In 1976, before AIDS, in its Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress, the Greek

Orthodox Church, with 3.5 million members in the United States, declared: "The Orthodox Church condemns unreservedly all expressions of personal sexual experience which prove contrary to the definite and unalterable function ascribed to sex by God's ordinance and expressed in man's experience as a law of nature. Thus the function of the sexual organs of a man and a woman and their biochemical generating forces in glands and glandular secretions are ordained by nature to serve one particular purpose, the procreation of the human kind. Therefore, any and all uses of the human sex organs for purposes other than those ordained by creation, runs contrary to the nature of things as decreed by God. . . . The Orthodox Church believes that homosexuality should be treated by society as an immoral and dangerous perversion and by religion as a sinful failure."

Conclusion: A Variegated Picture. In spite of the growing homophobic backlash, some hopeful signs have recently appeared. On December 10, 1987, 150 clergy and religious professionals from the United Methodist, Presbyterian, United Church of Christ, Episcopal, Unitarian Universalist, and American Baptist denominational leaders as well as officials of the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee and individual congregations appealed in vain to the Massachusetts Senate to approve a gay rights bill, opposed by Cardinal Bernard Law. In 1988 after a bitter debate, the United Church of Canada, consisting of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists, voted by a narrow margin to ordain open homosexuals. Moreover, at the end of the 1980s the sex scandals of the charismatics Jim Bakker of the PTL Ministries (who has been accused of homosexual conduct) and Jimmy Swaggart undermined the self-styled "moral majority." In 1988 Jerry Falwell endorsed George Bush rather than Pat Robertson for President, and the failed candidacy of Robertson indicates that the strength and influence of the homophobic New Christian Right may be

waning. But even today, with the exception of Episcopalians, Unitarians, and Quakers, and of course the Metropolitan Community Church founded in 1968 by Troy Perry as part of the gay movement, many American Protestants tend to be as homophobic as Orthodox and Roman Catholics, the last now in full retreat from Vatican II liberalism and reaffirming as perennially valid the thirteenth-century doctrines of St. Thomas Aquinas.

As has been noted, most American denominations have acquired gay/lesbian affinity groups, which provide a sense of fellowship and press for change within the denomination. Perhaps paradoxically, the most successful of these groups in the 1970s and early 1980s was Catholic Dignity, whose membership once reached 7,000, by 1989—after the devastation of two antihomosexual Vatican pronouncements and expulsion from church premises—counted only half as many. Integrity, the Episcopalian counterpart, has had difficulties, though these are less serious. As a rule, these affiliates are found only in English-speaking countries. In 1976, however, Pastor Joseph Doucé, a gay Belgian Baptist, founded the Centre du Christ Libérateur in Paris; its mission subsequently spread to a number of other European countries.

See also Churches, Gay; Clergy, Gay.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Edward Batchelor, Jr., ed., *Homosexuality and Ethics*, New York: Pilgrim Press, 1980; Vern L. Bullough, *Sexual Variance in Society and History*, New York: Wiley, 1976; F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., London: Oxford University Press, 1974; Tom Homer, *Homosexuality and the Judeo-Christian Tradition: An Annotated Bibliography*, Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1981; Malcolm Macourt, ed., *Towards a Theology of Gay Liberation*, London: SCM Press, 1977; E. William Monter, "Sodomy and Heresy in Early Modern Switzerland," *Journal of Homosexuality*, 6 (1980-81), 42-55; John Shelby Spong,

Living in Sin?, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988.

William A. Percy

PROUST, MARCEL (1871-1922)

French novelist. Born to wealthy bourgeois parents at the beginning of the Third Republic, he suffered from delicate health as a child and was lovingly tended by his mother. Despite his partly Jewish origins he aspired to mingle in the high society of a Paris that had entered the *belle époque*, and in 1896 he published his first work, *Les Plaisirs et les jours* (Pleasures and Days), in which an astute reviewer discerned "a depraved Bernardin de Saint-Pierre and an ingenu Petronius."

Plagued by asthma, after the deaths of his parents he increasingly withdrew from social life, and after 1907 lived mainly in a cork-lined room where at night he labored on a monumental novel, unfinished at his death, and ultimately published in 16 volumes between 1913 and 1927, *A la recherche du temps perdu* (Remembrance of Things Past). If the first part went unnoticed, the second, *A l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs* (Within a Budding Grove) won the Goncourt Prize for 1919. The semi-autobiographical novel is superficially an account of the hero's account through childhood and through youthful love affairs to the point of commitment to literary endeavor. It is less a narrative than an inner monologue; alive with brilliant metaphor and sense imagery, the novel is rich in sociological, philosophical, and psychological understanding. A vital theme is the link between outer and inner reality found in time and memory, which mock man's intelligence and endeavor; if memory synthesizes past experience, it also distorts it. Most experience produces only inner pain, and the objects of desire are the causes of suffering. In Proust's thinking man is isolated, society is false and ridden with snobbery, and artistic endeavor is elevated to a religion