

Epicureans, who stressed pleasure rather than virtue as the aim of life.

Almost all earlier Stoics, sometimes labeled the First Stoa, praised homosexual love and shocked most Greeks by claiming that, contrary to the convention that one should cease loving a boy once he sprouted a beard, one should keep one's *eromenos* until he reached his twenty-eighth year. Paenatius and other Greeks introduced Stoic doctrines, which appealed to the Latin sense for *gravitas* and endurance of hardships, to the Scipionic circle in Rome. Perhaps fearing the wrath of old-fashioned *patresfamilias*, who disapproved of Greek love and arranged the marriage of their sons during their teens to girls of 12 or 13, in contrast to the practice of upper-class Greeks to postpone marriage to 30 and then take brides whose ages ranged from 15 to 19, they omitted the emphasis on boy-love. Aristocratic Roman women lived with their husbands and circulated in society, in contrast to Greek women who were secluded, shut away in *gynaikeia* (women's quarters). Aristocratic Roman women thereby attained a far higher status than Greek women had and fostered the emphasis of later Stoics on marriage. Often designated the Second Stoa, most of the later Stoics deemphasized homosexual love and some, notably the Roman Musonius Rufus in the first century, demanded reciprocal fidelity to one's wife. Others, however, like the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (reigned 161–180), remained bisexual. The slave philosopher Epictetus (ca. 50–ca. 135) demonstrated the Stoic doctrine that one's station in life was indifferent, only one's virtue mattered.

Many have seen Stoic emphasis on the soul and on virtue and restraint of appetites as a harbinger of Christianity. Indeed, Patristic writers from Clement of Alexandria (150–215) to St. Augustine (354–430) dressed up Christian doctrine in Stoic phrases to convert the upper classes. But while Stoic philosophers, like pagan physicians, recommended moderation in

sexual activity as in diet and exercise to improve the body and mind, most Christian Fathers advocated complete chastity and total sexual abstinence. Christians wished to transcend nature, while Stoics preferred to live in harmony with it. To control sexual urges, Christians mortified the flesh, often in the deliberate attempt to achieve male impotence and female frigidity, states that Greco-Roman physicians treated as diseases to be cured. Christians condemned sodomy with the Stoic phrase, "against nature." The evolution from uninhibited pagan sexuality through Stoic restraint to Christian asceticism and chastity that some philosophers and historians claim to detect is thus more apparent than real, more superficial than fundamental, one of vocabulary rather than essence.

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STONEMALL REBELLION

This event, which took place in New York City over the weekend of June 27–30, 1969, is significant less for its intrinsic character than as a symbol of self-assertion for the gay liberation movement. So successfully has the symbol been propagated that it has largely, though not completely, obscured the history of the preceding century of heartbreakingly slow and arduous work on behalf of homosexual emancipation. The Stonewall Rebellion was a spontaneous act of resistance to the police harassment that had been inflicted on the homosexual community since the inception of the modern vice squad in metropolitan police forces, but it sparked a much greater, indeed national phenome-

non—a new, highly visible, mass phase of political organization for gay rights that far surpassed the timid, semi-clandestine homophile **movement** of the 1950s and 1960s.

What Occurred. The event began with a police raid on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar at 51–53 Christopher Street just east of Sheridan Square in New York's Greenwich Village on the night of June 27–28. A police inspector and seven other officers from the Public Morals Section of the First Division of the New York City Police Department arrived shortly after midnight, served a warrant charging that liquor was being sold without a license, and announced that employees would be arrested. Over the preceding two decades such raids had become almost routine for the **police**, and they were confident that with a little strong-arm and menace the "queers" would go quietly, as usual. The Stonewall was a dimly lit dance bar in a neighborhood that abounded in homosexuals with flamboyant, unconventional lifestyles, including **transvestites** known as "street queens." Partly because their overt non-conformity gave them little to lose, as the patrons were being ejected from the bar by the police others lingered outside to watch the proceedings, and were joined by passers-by, including many street people. Some were attracted from the nearby MacDougal Street entertainment area. It was the arrival of the paddywagons that changed the mood of the crowd from passivity to defiance. The first vehicle left without mishap, though there came a chorus of catcalls from the crowd. The next individual to emerge from the bar was a woman in male costume who put up a struggle which galvanized the bystanders into action. As if prompted by a signal, the crowd erupted into heaving cobblestones and bottles. Some officers had to take refuge inside the bar, where they risked being burned to death. Others turned a firehose on the crowd, while they called reinforcements which in time managed to clear the streets. During the day the news

spread, and the following two nights witnessed further violent confrontations between the police and gay people.

Underlying Causal Factors. To understand why this riot occurred, and why it came to have such resonance, it is necessary to recall that the nationwide wave of opposition to the American intervention in Vietnam, which had culminated in the **student** uprising at Columbia University on April 23, 1968, and in riots in the streets of Chicago during the Democratic National Convention in the summer of 1968, had replaced the conservatism of the Eisenhower era with a mood of radicalism that through the "youth culture" of the late 1960s fed into the subterranean world of the hippies and **beatniks** of the **bohémias** in the large cities. There was among the young, the outsiders, the aggrieved of the land a sense of mounting opposition to an establishment headed by President Richard M. Nixon that persisted in maintaining an American presence in Indo-China, but also embodied "straight" society and everything that stood in the way of the liberation for which the rebellious generation of the late 1960s yearned.

Why did the event occur in New York City? After all, **Los Angeles** had been the birthplace of the American gay movement, and other significant social disturbances took place in the 1960s in **San Francisco** and **Berkeley, California**. Reinforced by creative **exiles** and **émigrés**, New York City during the 1940s had become a major center of avant-garde culture, which had brought with it from Europe a bohemian tradition of mockery of authority, revivifying Greenwich Village's reputation for innovative non-conformity. The paintings of New York's Abstract Expressionists, championed by poet-critic Frank O'Hara, horrified the establishment with their seemingly anarchic "drip" style. Pop art appeared with its principal shrine in Andy **Warhol's** "factory." New York was also the home of the experimental New American Cinema, whose "Baudelairean" films, some of them

made by gay directors, explored aspects of the underground in a highly disjunctive, poetic style. MacDougal Street, the vibrant, often raucous center of the folk music scene, was only two blocks away from the Stonewall Inn. Finally New York, together with London, was the home of a new spirit of innovation in the theatre; scores of Off-off-Broadway theatres, some accommodating only a score of patrons, sprang up as sites of sometimes daring excursions into novelty, including nudity and obscenity. The Stonewall Rebellion, which involved some of the same transvestites who hovered around the avant-garde theatre, reflected the confluence of these cultural trends.

Although it had played virtually no role in the first fifteen years of the American homophile movement, New York City—as perhaps nowhere else in the country—sheltered a long radical tradition. In the late 1960s this tradition merged with a **counterculture**—whose geographical center and symbol was Greenwich Village—that openly rebelled against the values of “respectable” American middle-class society and fostered a state of mind that could successfully challenge even so long-standing and unquestioned a taboo as the intolerance of homosexuality. That youthful nonconformity, reinforced by the growing sexual freedom and the **drug** culture that had taken firm hold of the college generation in the mid-1960s, led to the loss of inhibitions and unreflecting bravado which inspired the spontaneous resistance to police harassment. The experience of having their privacy invaded and their civil rights violated, of being the victims of entrapment and of perjured testimony brought home to many heterosexuals the kind of injustice that homosexuals had long suffered at the hands of the police. This overall pattern of assaults—not simply the arrest of bar patrons—was the grievance against the police shared by the youth culture and the homosexual subculture alike, both sensing the officers of the law as villains because of their

persecution of drug users, student radicals—and gay people.

Significance. If the Stonewall Rebellion was not self-consciously political, it was still an intensely felt refusal to endure any longer the humiliation, the constant insults, the rightlessness that had been the traditional lot of the homosexual in Western society as long as anyone living could remember. Craig Rodwell, who stumbled upon the crowd in front of the Stonewall Inn—named after the legendary Confederate General “Stonewall” Jackson—tried to set up a chant of “Gay Power!” but almost no one joined in.

But times were changing rapidly. Partisans of the New Left saw an opportunity to enlist homosexuals for their movement, and the homophile activists of such groups as the **Mattachine Society** began to rethink their positions in the light of the left’s critique of the oppressive and exploitative character of American society. After two days, members of New York Mattachine were in the West Village handing out leaflets hailing “the Christopher Street Riots” as “the Hairpin Drop Heard around the World,” echoing Emerson’s lines of 1835 on the patriots at Lexington who “fired the shot heard round the world.”

The American media, centralized in New York City, diffused and reshaped the image of the event. And the Stonewall Rebellion, however brief and local, however apolitical it may have been, did echo around the globe. Enveloped in legend like the Easter Sunday Uprising of 1916 in Dublin, it has been commemorated by a parade held each year in New York City on the last Sunday in June, following a tradition that began with the first march on June 29, 1970, and by parallel events throughout the United States. From a score of organizations cowering in the shadowy bohemia of the large cities, the gay movement expanded into the Gay Liberation Front, Gay Activists Alliance, and many other groups with chapters the length and breadth of the land. Stonewall became the symbol of an oppressed and invisible mi-

nority at last demanding its place in the sun and the freedoms which Americans had been taught since childhood were the right and heritage of everyone. The gay subculture that outlasted this radical episode in American politics—a radicalism which quickly faded once the Vietnam War ended, at least provisorily, in 1973—has been the archetype of a wave of political and cultural innovation throughout the world, so that the modern phase of the gay movement can truly be said to have begun on those June nights in Greenwich Village outside the Stonewall Inn.

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STRACHEY, (GILES) LYTTON (1880–1932)

English biographer and critic. The son of a general in the Indian Army, Strachey attended Abbotshulme School, Leamington College, Liverpool University College, and Trinity College, Cambridge. As a boy at Leamington he experienced homosexual crushes, which left him with an abiding vision of his need for ideal male companionship. At Cambridge Strachey, whose gawky and unattractive figure was no bar to recognition of his brilliance, was elected a member of the exclusive Apostles group, together with John Maynard Keynes and Leonard Woolf. He embarked on his first grand passion, with the painter Duncan Grant, whom he was shortly to lose to Keynes.

After taking his degree at Cambridge, Strachey settled in London, where he was almost immediately integrated into the Bloomsbury group. The first years of his literary career were difficult and, apart from reviews, produced only a textbook, *Landmarks in French Literature* (1912). In 1917 he settled into a country house with the painter Dora Carrington, who had fallen in love with him. After

the war, they were joined by an ex-officer Ralph Partridge in a ménage à trois. This arrangement gave Strachey the serenity and support he required to complete his biographical works, *Eminent Victorians* (1918), *Queen Victoria* (1921), and *Elizabeth and Essex* (1928). Written with great panache, these books effected a revolution in biography through their ironic, often mocking distance from their subjects. Strachey's last years were enlivened by several successful affairs with young men, notably Roger Senhouse. After his death from cancer, his companion Carrington committed suicide.

As a result of the reaction against aestheticism occasioned by the Depression and World War II, Strachey's work went out of fashion, along with Bloomsbury itself. In the freer climate of the 1960s, however, this attitude changed, and Strachey's sexual unorthodoxy, which had been largely hidden, became an asset. The major factor in the restoration of his reputation came in the 1,200-page life story by Michael Holroyd, the homage of one major biographer to another.

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STUDENTS, GAY

Until the end of the 1960s the plight of the gay college student on an American college campus was a difficult, sometimes even a tragic, one. Confronted with the growing consciousness of his own sexual orientation, he found himself in a society where negative attitudes toward homosexuality were reinforced by peer pressure, where the obligations and opportunities of undergraduate life were all cast in a heterosexual mold, and where confidences made to a psychologist or psychiatrist could be betrayed to the college authorities. Such betrayal would entail disastrous consequences: further disclosure to his parents and family, forced psychiat-