Weissmuller. He was the first American to win at Wimbleton and during the 1920s he remained undefeated in any major match for seven years. He revolutionized the game of tennis and some of his writing on the subject (*The Art of Tennis*) is still considered to be authoritative. Tilden was known as a theatrical tennis player and was very popular with spectators.

He had a great interest in the arts and wrote a novel, Glory's Net, many short stories, a silent film, Hands of Hope, and an autobiography, My Story. He had an intense interest in the theatre and made frequent unsuccessful attempts at acting, often producing his own shows, starring himself.

He was well known for living a lavish life, driving expensive cars, staying in elegant hotels and socializing with the rich and the famous-he was a good friend of Charlie Chaplin. He often traveled with an entourage of handsome teenaged male tennis protégés. When his homosexuality became better known, he was ostracized from the tennis world and was banned from the most prestigious tennis courts. Eventually, he was convicted of contributing to the delinquency of a minor and sent to jail in 1947. Although it was clear that the young man with whom he was caught having sex had no objection to the sexual relations, the court decided to make an example of the famous tennis player. He served six months of a one-year sentence. Tilden died of a heart attack, impoverished, in relative obscurity six years later.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Frank Deford, Big Bill Tilden: The Triumphs and the Tragedy, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975; Arthur Voss, Tilden and Tennis in the Twenties, Troy, NY: Whitson, 1985.

Brian Pronger

## TOILET SEX

Most men who patronize public toilets view them as repellent places that are to be utilized and left as quickly as possible. Yet urination requires the taking out of the penis and lingering is sometimes

a legitimate aspect of answering the call of nature (or can be made to appear sol, so that it is not surprising that sexual activities might occur there. A common pattern is for one man to stand for a time at a urinal and show his erect penis: another will then touch it, an implicit contract is acceptedusually wordlessly—and the sexual act is expeditiously completed. Others prefer the somewhat more private toilet stalls, though here it may be somewhat harder to lure others to join in the action. Some of the more commonly used places have the institution of the "watch queen," who through a cough or some other clear signal will indicate the approaching presence of outsiders who may be offended.

The notion, found in some popular books on sex, that gay men are inveterate cruisers of toilets is an overstatement; many homosexuals report a pronounced distaste for undertaking any sexual activity in such places. In fact, Laud Humphreys' classic monograph showed that the overwhelming majority of the sexual customers of the Illinois toilet he studied were bisexuals leading outwardly "normal" heterosexual lives. Such men may be reluctant to frequent gay bars or saunas, but do not regard public toilets as gay-identified social space. No equivalent lesbian practice is known.

Toilets that are known for their sexual activities are described colloquially as "tea rooms." In England the practice of visiting these establishments is termed "cottaging." Some are found on university campuses, in train and bus stations, and at highway rest stops. Appropriate graffiti may signal the possibility of sexual activity, so that someone visiting during an off hour may be alerted to return. Such graffiti may also alert isolated homosexuals to the existence of others, previously unsuspected. Occasionally, overcrowding may cause legitimate complaints on the part of straight patrons, but often a single scandalized visitor will demand police action. Regrettably, many toilet visitors, some caught by enticement methods initiated by members of the police force, have had their careers ruined through being detected in the process of "tea-room trade." Insignificant as the offense may have been, the publicity attending the arrest and eventual trial, and the inclusion of the offender's name in centralized files of "known sex deviates," were enough to stigmatize the individual for life. Sometimes the authorities attempt to discourage sex in toilets by removing the stall doors or modifying the structures architecturally so that privacy will be reduced.

A special adaptation of toilets for sexual purposes is often found in the form of "glory holes," openings surreptitiously drilled or carved into the partitions separating the stalls. These serve for the insertion of the erect penis which is then fellated by the occupant of the other booth. This practice combines anonymity, a sense of concentration on the affected organ, and an element of danger that goes even beyond the usual one of employing the public john for sexual purposes. The problem of being unpleasantly surprised was obviated in the glory-hole clubs, commercial establishments that enjoyed some popularity in the late 1970s. With the rising awareness of the need for safe sex, these clubs have largely faded away. Not so, however, the do-it-yourself glory holes in public toilets: despite an often relentless campaign by custodians to close these apertures, they mysteriously keep reappearing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Edward W. Delph, The Silent Community: Public Homosexual Encounters, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1978; Laud Humphreys, Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places, Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

Ward Houser

## TRADE

As a term of gay slang, this word is the modern parallel of ancient Greek, Latin, and Old Norse terms for a male who remains strictly in the active role of penetrator, and who usually considers himself

heterosexual or bisexual, an attitude which also perpetuates archaic concepts under which only the receiver or pathic was considered to be departing from gender norms of appropriate sexual behavior. The modern slang usage probably derives from the association with young male prostitutes, engaged in "the sex trade," who are only available in the penetrator role. Trade is generally a term which is not selfapplied, but only used by the receptive partner or by uninvolved homosexuals.

The prevalence of trade behavior is usually underestimated since its adherents seldom write books, join organizations, or fill out survey questionnaires. Nevertheless, it may well be that, from a global perspective that includes Mediterranean, shamanistic, pederastic, and Asian patterns, there are more "trade" men than reciprocating homosexuals, and even in advanced western societies this may be the case for members of the working class, where the sense that only the passive partner is homosexual is best preserved. Certainly there are extensive areas of sexual encounter outside prostitution in which trade behavior is not only common in western industrial societies, but expected by the receptive partner: cruising military men, seafarers, truck drivers, hitchhikers, teenagers, patrons of toilets frequented by the general public, frequenters of interstate highway rest areas, those involved in interracial sex, and men in jail or prison.

The trade pattern seems to serve as an intermediate stage of coming out often enough to have engendered the widespread homosexual saying "Today's trade is tomorrow's competition," but it would be a mistake to draw too broad a conclusion from this saying, which may also reflect the tendency which causes some homosexuals to label anyone and everyone a queen. It is not a saying with much currency among those homosexuals who prefer trade for various reasons and who are perhaps more knowledgeable about their patterns. Those who are familiar with