

the growing perception in the nineteenth century of the homosexual as a distinct type of person, more frequent in the population than had been thought. (His early estimate that one man in five hundred is homosexual appears low today, but was at first thought to be absurdly high.) But he did not foresee that the Urning would then not be accepted as a natural person, but would be diagnosed by psychiatry as a sick individual. Ironically, it was Richard von Krafft-Ebing, author of the perennial best-seller *Psychopathia Sexualis*, who, while acknowledging that it was Ulrichs' writings that had interested him in the study of homosexuality, went on to lead the movement to treat the condition as a pathology or degeneration. (Krafft-Ebing's views may be seen as a sort of secularization of the degeneration theory based on religious grounds that had been proposed in 1857 by Bénédict-Auguste Morel.) This was the prevailing opinion at the turn of the century, when Magnus Hirschfeld revived Ulrichs' theory and developed it into his own concept of "intermediate types." Ulrichs, however, will probably be best remembered for his courageous fight against the legal, religious, and social condemnation of homosexuality.

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Hubert Kennedy

UNISEXUAL

This word had its origins in the French terminology of botany, where it was introduced in the form *unisexual* in 1794 to denote plants and flowers having only the organs of one sex (stamens or pistils), as opposed to those which were *bisexual*, having the organs of both sexes. The linguistic innovation was the outcome of a controversy within botany that ended with the definitive finding that the reproduction of plants is sexual and that

they were not invested with asexual innocence, as earlier investigators had believed—hence the innuendo lurking in the expression "the birds, the bees, and the flowers."

The relevance of these terms to human sexual orientation stems from a development of the third decade of the nineteenth century, which saw the beginning of a semantic renovation of the whole field. In 1869 Károly Mária Kertbeny published a pamphlet introducing the adjectives *homosexual*, *doppelsexual*, and *normalsexual*. Kertbeny, who was a professional translator, rejected Karl Heinrich Ulrichs' contemporary baroque coinages of the *uranian* family. Instead, he seems to have used the Latin-French botanical terms as models for his own neologisms. While his coinages might have been forgotten, they were noticed by Gustav Jaeger (d. 1916) and used in a chapter of the second edition of his *Entdeckung der Seele* (Discovery of the Soul) in 1880, where he casually introduced the word *Heterosexualität* in the meaning "sexual intercourse with members of the opposite sex."

The French *bisexual* subsequently took on the secondary meaning of "sexually attracted to members of both sexes," thus shifting from the anatomical sphere to the psychological. All three terms then constituted the triptych *homosexual*; *bisexual*; *heterosexual* which fit perfectly into the international Greek-Latin nomenclature of science, though in point of fact the word *homosexual* was introduced to the general public as a journalistic term at the time of the Harden-Eulenburg affair in Germany (1907-08). In French and English the terms were first used from 1893 onward by such authors as Emile Laurent, Marc-André Raffalovich, and Havelock Ellis.

Yet Raffalovich entitled his book of 1896 *Uranisme et unisexualité*, combining Ulrichs' German coinage with the older French one, which the semantic shift of *bisexual* now gave the meaning "sexual attraction to members of one [and

the same] sex" or "sexual activity between members of one sex." Although *unisexual/unisexual* figures sporadically in English and French texts from the first half of the twentieth century, it could not in the long run maintain itself in competition with *homosexual*, and gradually disappeared from use. To determine its exact meaning in a given work, one must analyze the context.

Thus at the outset of the homosexual emancipation movement in the 1860s, two sets of terms were proposed: Ulrichs' Greek-German coinages from classical mythology and Kertbeny's reworking of the Latin-French ones, inspired by the language of botany. Neither set, it should be noted, was of medical origin; the notion that *homosexual* is a medical term is false and unhistorical. That *homosexual* ultimately prevailed is owing, more than anything else, to the extent to which Latin words (and new coinages using Latin roots) have become part of the abstract and scientific vocabulary of the modern languages, in Germanic and Slavic as much as in Romance.

Warren Johansson

UNITED KINGDOM

See England; Ireland.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States is a republic of nearly 250 million people spanning the continent of North America, but with considerable cultural influence over much of the globe. The homosexual history of what is now the United States presents several distinct features, including: the transplantation and adaptation of European ideas and patterns of behavior; the life ways of the frontier; the persistence of varied Amerindian patterns; the gradual and irregular weakening, with numerous counteroffensives, of the hold of Christian norms over common public mores; the transition from Victorian taboos of silence

to mass-media exposure; and the emergence of the modern homosexual movement, followed by its spread throughout the industrialized non-Communist world.

American Diversity. One abiding characteristic of the United States is that it is an amalgam of very diverse ethnic heritages. Groups outside of the Protestant northern European tradition (which has dominated the educated middle class and hence the public and official discussion) have often retained more than traces of the sexual attitudes and practices prevalent in their original homelands, making generalizations risky. Aspects of the Mediterranean concept of homosexuality persist among working-class Americans whose ethnic heritage goes back to that area; blacks have retained their own distinctive cultural attitudes; Irish Catholics still display their propensity toward homophobic ambivalence; and new waves of sophisticated Asian immigrants are bringing their more relaxed perspectives along with them.

All generalizations about the United States must also be qualified not only with respect to chronology but also with respect to regional variations which were quite pronounced until very recently. From the first settlements by Europeans on the eastern seaboard of what is now the United States in the later sixteenth century to the rise to global power status in the twentieth, growth and diversification have been phenomenal. In the 1970s and 80s the number of known primary sources for the earlier history of homosexuality increased considerably, but the evidence is still so scattered that broad conclusions must be inferred from minimal evidence. In due course many of the assertions presented below will inevitably be modified; some may be completely discarded.

The Colonial Period. Before the arrival of Europeans (starting with the Spanish in Florida in 1565), the area which is now the United States was peopled by Indians and Eskimos, many of whose tribes had homosexual traditions of their