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.

UNISEXUAL

This word had its origins in the French terminology of botany, where it was introduced in the form unisexuel in 1794 to denote plants and flowers having only the organs of one sex [stamens or pistils], as opposed to those which were bisexuel, 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 bisexuel 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 bisexuel now gave the meaning "sexual attraction to members of one [and
the same] sex” or “sexual activity between
members of one sex.” Although unisexal/
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 homo-
sexual emancipation movement in the
1860s, two sets of terms were proposed:
Ulrichs’ Greek-German coinages from
classical mythology and Kertbeny’s re-
working of the Latin-French ones, in-
spired 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 vocabu-
lary 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 Euro-
pean 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 emer-
gence of the modern homosexual move-
ment, 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 Protes-
tant northern European tradition [which
has dominated the educated middle class
and hence the public and official discus-
sion] 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 distinc-
tive 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 cen-
tury 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 pre-
sented 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