

STUDIES
IN THE
PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX

Vol. 2
SEXUAL INVERSION

BY
HAVELOCK ELLIS

[2nd. edition]



PHILADELPHIA
F. A. DAVIS COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
1908

CHAPTER IV.

SEXUAL INVERSION IN WOMEN.

Prevalence of Sexual Inversion Among Women—Among the Lower Races—Temporary Homosexuality in Schools, etc.—Cases XXXIX-XLII—Physical and Psychic Characteristics of Inverted Women—The Modern Development of Homosexuality Among Women—Homosexuality Among Prostitutes.

HOMOSEXUALITY has been observed in women from very early times, and in very wide-spread regions. Refraining from any attempt to trace its history, and coming down to Europe in the eighteenth century, we find a case of sexual inversion in a woman, which seems to be recorded in greater detail than any case in a man had yet been recorded. Moreover, Westphal's first notable case, which may be said to inaugurate the scientific study of sexual inversion, was in a woman. The passion of women for women has, also, formed a favorite subject with the novelist, who has until lately been careful to avoid the same subject as presented in the male. It is certain that homosexuality is by no means less common in women than in men.

The eighteenth century case referred to above is that of Catherina Margaretha Lincken, who married another woman, somewhat after the manner of the Hungarian Countess V. in our own day: *i.e.*, with the aid of an artificial male organ. She was condemned to death for sodomy, and executed in 1721, at the age of 27 (F. C. Müller, "Ein weiterer Fall von conträrer Sexualempfindung," *Friedreich's Blätter*, H. 4, 1891). This was in Germany, and it is somewhat remarkable that even at a much earlier period such an instrument appears to have been used by German women, for in the twelfth century Bishop Burchardt, of Worms, speaks of its use as a thing "which some women are accustomed to do." I have found a notice of a similar case in France, during the sixteenth century, in Montaigne's *Journal du Voyage en Italie en 1550* (written by his secretary); it took place near Vitry le Française. Seven or eight girls belonging to Chaumont, we are told, resolved to dress and to work as men; one of these came to Vitry to work as a weaver, and was looked upon as

a well-conditioned young man, and liked by everyone. At Vitry she became betrothed to a woman, but, a quarrel arising, no marriage took place. Afterward "she fell in love with a woman whom she married, and with whom she lived for four or five months, to the wife's great contentment, it is said; but having been recognized by some one from Chaumont, and brought to justice, she was condemned to be hanged. She said she would even prefer this to living again as a girl, and was hanged for using illicit inventions to supply the defects of her sex" (*Journal*, ed. by d'Ancona, 1889, p. 11).

Ariosto, it has been pointed out, has described the homosexual attractions of women. Diderot's famous novel, *La Religieuse*, which, when first published, was thought to have been actually written by a nun, deals with the torture to which a nun was put by the perverse lubricity of her abbess, for whom, it is said, Diderot found a model in the Abbess of Chelles, a daughter of the Regent, and thus a member of a family which for several generations showed a marked tendency to inversion. Diderot's narrative has been described as a faithful description of the homosexual phenomena liable to occur in convents. Balzac, who treated so many psychological aspects of love in a more or less veiled manner, has touched on this in *La Fille aux Yeux d'Or*, in a vague and extravagantly romantic fashion. Gautier (using some slight foundation in fact) made the adventures of a woman who was predisposed to homosexuality, and slowly realizes the fact, the central motive of his wonderful romance, *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. He approached the subject purely as an artist and poet, but his handling of it shows remarkable insight. Zola has described sexual inversion with characteristic frankness in *Nana* and elsewhere. Some twenty years ago a popular novelist, A. Belot, published a novel called *Mademoiselle Giraud, ma Femme*, which was much read; the novelist took the attitude of a moralist who is bound to treat frankly, but with all decorous propriety, a subject of increasing social gravity. The story is that of a man whose bride will not allow his approach on account of her own *liaison* with a female friend continued after marriage. This book appears to have given origin to a large number of novels, which I have not read, and some of which are said to touch the question with considerably less affectation of propriety. Among other novelists of higher rank who have dealt with the matter may be mentioned Guy de Maupassant, Bourget, Daudet, and Catulle Mendès. Among poets who have used the motive of homosexuality in women with more or less boldness may be found Lamartine (*Regina*), Swinburne (first series of *Poems and Ballads*), and Verlaine (*Parallèlement*).

It is noteworthy that a considerable proportion of the number of cases in which inversion has led to crimes of violence, or otherwise acquired medico-legal importance, has been among women. Perhaps the most widely known example is the Memphis case, which occurred in the

United States, and has been studied by Dr. Arthur Macdonald ("Observation de Sexualité Pathologique Feminine," *Archives d'Anthropologie Criminelle*, May, 1895). In this case a congenital sexual invert, Alice Mitchell, planned a marriage with Freda Ward, taking a male name and costume. This scheme was frustrated by Freda's sister, and Alice Mitchell then cut Freda's throat. There is no reason to suppose that she was insane at the time of the murder. She was a typical invert of a very pronounced kind. Her mother had been insane and had homicidal impulses. She herself was considered unbalanced, and was masculine in her habits from her earliest years. Her face was obviously unsymmetrical and she had an appearance of youthfulness below her age. She was not vicious, and had little knowledge of sexual matters, but when she kissed Freda she was ashamed of being seen, while Freda could see no reason for being ashamed.

Another American case (for some details concerning which I am indebted to Dr. J. G. Kiernan, of Chicago) is that of the "Tiller Sisters," two quintroons, who for many years had acted together under that name in cheap theaters. One, who was an invert, with a horror of men dating from early girlhood, was sexually attached to the other, who was without inborn inversion, and was eventually induced by a man to leave the invert. The latter, overcome by jealousy, broke into the apartment of the couple, and shot the man dead. She was tried, and sent to prison for life. A defense of insanity was made, but for this there was no evidence.

In another case, also occurring in Chicago (reported in *Medicine*, June, 1899, and *Alienist and Neurologist*, October, 1899), a trained nurse lived for fourteen years with a young woman who left her on four different occasions, but was each time induced to return; finally, however, she left and married, whereupon the nurse shot the husband, who was not, however, fatally wounded. The culprit in this case had been twice married, but had not lived with either of her husbands; it was stated that her mother had died in an asylum, and that her brother had committed suicide. She was charged with disorderly conduct and fined.

Homosexual relationships are also a cause of suicide among women. Such a case was reported in Massachusetts early in 1901. (For the newspaper report of this case I am indebted to Dr. G. J. Engelmann, of Boston.) A girl of 21 had been tended during a period of nervous prostration, apparently of hysterical nature, by a friend and neighbor, 14 years her senior, married and having children. An intimate friendship grew up, equally ardent on both sides. The mother of the younger woman and the husband of the other took measures to put a stop to the intimacy, and the girl was sent away to a distant city; stolen interviews, however, still occurred. Finally, when the obstacles became insurmountable, the younger woman bought a revolver and deliberately shot herself in the

temple, in presence of her mother, dying immediately. Though sometimes thought to act rather strangely, she was a great favorite with all, handsome, very athletic, fond of all out-door sports, an energetic religious worker, possessing a fine voice, and was an active member of many clubs and societies. The older woman belonged to an aristocratic family and was loved and respected by all.

It is noteworthy that such cases, in which women commit deeds of violence as a result of homosexual passion, certainly occur much more frequently in America than in Europe.

Yet we know comparatively little of sexual inversion in woman; of the total number of recorded cases of this abnormality, now very considerable, only a small proportion are in women, and the chief monographs on the subject devote but little space to women.¹

I think there are several reasons for this. Notwithstanding the severity with which homosexuality in women has been visited in a few cases, for the most part men seem to have been indifferent toward it; when it has been made a crime or a cause for divorce in men, it has usually been considered as no offense at all in women.² Another reason is that it is less easy to detect in women; we are accustomed to a much greater familiarity and intimacy between women than between men, and we are less apt to suspect the existence of any abnormal passion. And allied with this cause we have also to bear in mind the extreme ignorance and the extreme reticence of women regarding any abnormal or even normal manifestation of their sexual life. A woman may feel a high degree of sexual attraction for another woman without realizing that her affection is sexual, and when she does realize it she is nearly always very unwilling to reveal the nature

¹ Moll's chapter on homosexual phenomena in women in the third edition of his *Konträre Sexualempfindung* (1899) is, however, an important contribution to the scientific study of the subject, and thirteen cases are narrated. Krafft-Ebing has devoted but little attention to sexual inversion in women.

² This apparently wide-spread opinion is represented by the remark of a young man in the last century (concerning the Lesbian friend of the woman he wishes to marry), quoted in the Comte de Tilly's *Souvenirs*: *J'avoue que c'est un genre de rivalité qui ne me donne aucune humeur; au contraire, cela m'amuse et fait l'immoralité d'en rire.*

of her intimate experience, even with the adoption of precautions, and although the fact may be present to her that, by helping to reveal the nature of her abnormality, she may be helping to lighten the burden of it on other women. Among the numerous confessions voluntarily sent to Krafft-Ebing there is not one by a woman. There is, I think, one other reason why sexual inversion is less obvious in a woman. We have some reason to believe that, while a slight degree of homosexuality is commoner in women than in men, and is favored by the conditions under which women live, well-marked and fully-developed cases of inversion are rarer in women than in men. This result would be in harmony with the evidence as to the greater affectability of the feminine organism to slight stimuli, and its lesser liability to serious variation.¹

The same kind of aberrations that are found among men in lower races are also seen in women, though they are less frequently recorded. In New Zealand it is stated on the authority of Moerenhout (though I have not been able to find the reference) that the women practiced Lesbianism. In South America, where inversion is common among men, we find similar phenomena in women. Among Brazilian tribes Gandavo² wrote:—

“There are certain women among these Indians who determine to be chaste and know no man. These leave every womanly occupation and imitate the men. They wear their hair the same way as the men, they go to war with them or hunting, bearing their bows; they continue always in the company of men, and each has a woman who serves her and with whom she lives.”

This has some analogy with the phenomena seen among North American men. Dr. Holder, however, who has carefully studied the *boté*, tells me that he has met no corresponding phenomena in women.

In Bali, according to Jacobs,³ homosexuality is almost as

¹ See H. Ellis, *Man and Woman*, Chapters XIII and XV.

² Gandavo, quoted by Lomacco, *Archivio per l'Antropologia*, 1889, fasc. 1.

³ As quoted by Ploss and Bartels, *Das Weib*, 1895, B. 1, p. 390.

common among women as among men, though it is more secretly exercised; the methods of gratification adopted are either digital or lingual, or else by bringing the parts together (tribadism).

Baumann, whose notes on the occurrence of sexual inversion among the male negro population of Zanzibar have been elsewhere referred to, finds that it is not rare among women. Although Oriental manners render it impossible for such women to wear men's clothes openly, they do so in private, and are recognized by other women by their man-like bearing, as also by the fact that women's garments do not suit them. They show a preference for masculine occupations, and seek sexual satisfaction among women who have the same inclinations, or else among normal women, who are won over by presents or other means. In addition to tribadism or cunnilingus, they sometimes use an ebony or ivory phallus, with a kind of glans at one end, or sometimes at both ends; in the latter case it can be used by two women at once, and sometimes it has a hole bored through it by which warm water can be injected; it is regarded as an Arab invention, and is sometimes used by normal women shut up in harems, and practically deprived of sexual satisfaction.¹

Among Arab women, according to Kocher, homosexual practices are rare, though very common among Arab men. In Egypt, however, according to Godard, Kocher, and others, it is almost fashionable, and every woman in the harem has a "friend." Among the negroes and mulattoes of French creole countries, according to Corre, homosexuality is very common. "I know a lady of great beauty," he remarks, "a stranger in Guadalupe and the mother of a family, who is obliged to stay away from the markets and certain shops because of the excessive admiration of mulatto women and negresses, and the impudent invitations which they dare to address to her."² He refers to several cases of more or less violent sexual attempts by women on young colored girls of 12 or 14, and observes that such attempts by men on children of their own sex are much rarer.

¹ *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, H. 6, 1899, p. 669.

² Corre, *Crime en Pays Créoles*, 1889.

In China (according to Matignon) and in Cochin China (according to Lorion) homosexuality does not appear to be common among women. In India, however, it is probably as prevalent among women as it certainly is among men.

In the first edition of this work I quoted the opinion of Surgeon-Major Buchanan, Superintendent of the Central Gaol of Bengal at Bhagalpur, who informed me that he had never come across a case and that his head-gaoler had never heard of such a thing in twenty-five years' experience. Another officer in the Indian Medical Service assures me, however, that there cannot be the least doubt as to the frequency of homosexuality among women in India, either inside or outside gaols. I am indebted to him for the following notes on this point:—

“That homosexual relationships are common enough among Indian women is evidenced by the fact that the Hindustani language has five words to denote the tribade: (1) *dúgáná*, (2) *zanákhé*, (3) *sa'tar*, (4) *chapháí*, and (5) *chapatbáz*. The *modus operandi* is generally what Martial calls *geminos committere cunnos*, but sometimes a phallus, called *saburah*, is employed. The act itself is called *chapat* or *chapti*, and the Hindustani poets, Nazie, Rangús, Ján Súhat, treat of Lesbian love very extensively and sometimes very crudely. Ján Súhat, a woman poet, sings to the effect that intercourse with a woman by means of a phallus is to be preferred to the satisfaction offered by a male lover. The common euphemism employed when speaking of two tribades who live together is that they 'live apart.' So much for the literary evidence as to the prevalence of what, *mirabile dictu*, Dr. Buchanan's gaoler was ignorant of.

“Now for facts. In the gaol of R. the superintendent discovered a number of phalli in the females' inclosure; they were made of clay and sun-dried and bore marks of use. In the gaol of S. was a woman who (as is usual with tribades in India) wore male attire, and was well known for her sexual proclivities. An examination revealed the following: Face much lined, mammæ of masculine type, but nipples elongated and readily erectile; gluteal and iliac regions quite of masculine type, as also the thighs; clitoris, with enlarged glands, readily erectile; nymphæ thickened and enlarged; vulvar orifice patent, for she had in early youth been a prostitute; the voice was almost contralto. Her partner was of low type, but eminently feminine in configuration and manner. In this case I heard that 'the man' went to a local ascetic and begged his intercession with the deity, so that she might impregnate her partner. (The Hindoo medical works mention the possibility of a woman uniting with another woman in sexual embraces and begetting a boneless fetus.' *Short History of Aryan Medical Science*, p. 44.)

“In the town of D. there 'lived apart' two women, one a Brahmin,

the other a grazier; their *modus operandi* was tribadism, as an eye-witness informed me. In S. I was called in to treat the widow of a wealthy Mohammedan; I had occasion to examine the pudenda, and found what Martineau would have called the indelible stigmata of early masturbation and later sapphism. She admitted the impeachment and confessed that she was on the best of terms with her three remarkably-well-formed and good-looking handmaidens. This lady said that she began masturbation at an early age, 'just like all other women,' and that sapphism came after the age of puberty. Another Mohammedan woman whom I knew, and who had a very large clitoris, told me that she had been initiated into Lesbian love at 12 by a neighbor and had intermittently practiced it ever since. I might also instance two sisters of the gardener caste, both widows, who 'lived apart' and indulged in simultaneous sapphism.

"That sometimes the actors in tribadism are most vigorous is shown by the fact that, in the central gaol of —, swelling of the vulva was admitted to have been caused by the embraces of two female convicts. The subordinate who told me this mentioned it quite incidentally while relating his experiences as hospital assistant at this gaol. When I questioned him he stated that the woman, whom he was called to treat, told him that she could never 'satisfy herself' with men, but only with women. He added that tribadism was 'quite common in the gaol.'"

The foregoing sketch may serve to show that homosexual practices certainly, and probably definite sexual inversion, are very wide-spread among women in very many and various parts of the world, though it is probable that, as among men, there are variations—geographical, racial, national, or social—in the frequency or intensity of its obvious manifestations. Thus, in the last century, Casanova remarked that the women of Provence are specially inclined to Lesbianism.

In prisons and lunatic asylums in Europe homosexual practices flourish among the women fully as much, it may probably be said, as among the men. There is, indeed, some reason for supposing that these phenomena are here sometimes even more decisively marked than among men.¹ Such manifestations are

¹ In a Spanish prison, not many years ago, when a new governor endeavored to reform the homosexual manners of the women, the latter made his post so uncomfortable that he was compelled to resign. Salillas, *Vida Penal en España*, asserts that all the evidence shows the extraordinary expansion of Lesbian love in prisons. The *mujeres hombrunas*

often very morbid, and doubtless often very vicious; I have no light to throw upon them, and I do not propose to consider them.

With girls, as with boys, it is in the school, at the evolution of puberty, that homosexuality first shows itself. It may originate either in a way mainly peripheral or mainly central, though both these elements must usually be more or less combined. In the first case, two children, perhaps when close to each other in bed, more or less unintentionally generate in each other a certain amount of sexual irritation, which they foster by mutual touching and kissing. This is a spurious kind of homosexuality; it is merely the often precocious play of the normal instinct, and has no necessary relation to true sexual inversion. In the girl who is congenitally predisposed to homosexuality it will continue and develop; in the majority it will be forgotten as quickly as possible, not without shame, in the presence of the normal object of sexual love.

I may quote as fairly typical the following observation supplied by a lady who cannot be called inverted: "Like so many other children and girls, I was first taught self-indulgence by a girl at school, and I passed on my knowledge to one or two others, with one of whom I remember once, when we were just sixteen, spending the night sensually. We were horribly ashamed after, and that was the only time. When I was only eight there was a girl of thirteen who liked to play with my body, and taught me to play with hers, though I rather disliked doing so. We slept together, and this went on at intervals for six months. These things, for the sake of getting enjoyment, and not with any passion, are not uncommon with children, but less common, I think, than people sometimes imagine. I believe I could recall without much difficulty the number of times such things happened with me. In the case I mentioned when I did for one night feel—or try to excite in myself and my girl-companion of sixteen—sensual passion, we had as little children slept together a few times and done these things, and meeting after an absence, just at that age, recalled our childish memories, and were carried away by sexual impulse. But I never felt any peculiar affection or passion for her even at the time, nor she for me. We only felt that our

receive masculine names—Pepe, Chulo, Bernardo, Valiente; new-comers are surrounded in the court-yard by a crowd of lascivious women, who overwhelm them with honeyed compliments and gallantries and promises of protection, the most robust virago having most successes; a single day and night complete the initiation.

sensual nature was strong at the time, and had betrayed us into something we were ashamed of, and, therefore, we avoided letting ourselves sleep too close after that day. I think we disliked each other, and were revolted whenever we thought of that night, feeling that each had degraded the other and herself."

This kind of homosexuality is specially fostered by those employments which keep women in constant association, not only by day, but often at night also, without the company of men. This is, for instance, the case with the female servants in large hotels, among whom homosexual practices have been found very common.¹ Laycock, many years ago, noted the prevalence of manifestations of this kind, which he regarded as hysterical, among seamstresses, lace-makers, etc., confined for long hours in close contact to one another in heated rooms. The circumstances under which numbers of young women are employed during the day in large shops and factories, and sleep in the establishment, two in a room or even two in a bed, are favorable to the development of homosexual practices.

In England it is seldom that anyone cares to investigate these phenomena, though they certainly exist. They have been more thoroughly studied elsewhere. Thus, in Rome Niceforo, who studied various aspects of the lives of the working classes, succeeded in obtaining much precise information concerning the manners and customs of the young girls in dress-making and tailoring work-rooms. He remarks that few of those who see the "virtuous daughters of the people," often not more than twelve years old, walking along the streets with the dress-maker's box under their arm, modestly bent head and virginal air, realize the intense sexual pre-occupations often underlying these appearances. In the work-rooms the conversation perpetually revolves around sexual subjects in the absence of the mistress or forewoman, and even in her presence the slang that prevails in the work-rooms leads to dialogues with a double meaning. A state of sexual excitement is thus aroused which sometimes relieves itself mentally by psychic onanism, sometimes by some form of masturba-

¹ I quote the following from a private letter written in Switzerland: "An English resident has told me that his wife has lately had to send away her parlor-maid (a pretty girl) because she was always taking in strange women to sleep with her. I asked if she had been taken from hotel service, and found, as I expected, that she had. But neither my friend nor his wife suspected the real cause of these nocturnal visits."

tion; one girl admitted to Niceforo that by allowing her thoughts to dwell on the subject while at work she sometimes produced physical sexual excitement as often as four times a day. (See also H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, volume ii, "Auto-erotism.") Sometimes, however, a vague kind of homosexuality is produced, the girls, excited by their own thoughts and their conversation, being still further excited by contact with each other. "In summer, in one work-room, some of the girls wear no drawers, and they unbutton their bodices, and work with crossed legs, more or less uncovered. In this position the girls draw near and inspect one another; some boast of their white legs, and then the petticoats are raised altogether for more careful comparison. Many enjoy this inspection of nudity, and experience real sexual pleasure. From midday till 2 P.M., during the hours of greatest heat, when all are in this condition, and the mistress, in her chemise (and sometimes, with no shame at the workers' presence, even without it), falls asleep on the sofa, all the girls, *without one exception*, masturbate themselves. The heat seems to sharpen their desires and morbidly arouse all their senses. The voluptuous emotions, restrained during the rest of the day, break out with irresistible force; stimulated by the spectacle of each other's nakedness, some place their legs together and thus heighten the spasm by the illusion of contact with a man." In this way they reach mutual masturbation. "It is noteworthy, however," Niceforo points out, "that these couples for mutual masturbation are never Lesbian couples. Tribadism is altogether absent from the factories and work-rooms." He even believes that it does not exist among girls of the working class. He further describes how, in another work-room, during the hot hours of the day in summer, when no work is done, some of the girls retire into the fitting-room, and, having fastened their chemises round their legs and thighs with pins, so as to imitate trousers, play at being men and pretend to have intercourse with the others. (Niceforo, *Il Gergo*, cap. vi, 1897, Turin.) I have reproduced these details from Niceforo's careful study because, although they may seem to be trivial at some points, they clearly bring out the very important distinction between a merely spurious homosexuality and true inversion. The amusements of these young girls may not be considered eminently innocent or wholesome, but, on the other hand, they are not radically morbid or vicious. They are strictly, and even consciously, *play*; they are dominated by the thought that the true sexual ideal is normal relationship with a man, and they would certainly disappear in the presence of a man.

It must be remembered that Niceforo's observations were made among girls who were mostly young. In the large factories, where many adult women are employed, the phenomena tend to be of much less trivial and playful character. At Wolverhampton, some years ago, the case was reported of a woman, in a galvanizing "store," who after dinner indecently

assaulted a girl who was a new hand. Two young women held the victim down, and this seems to show that homosexual vice was here common and recognized. No doubt, this case is exceptional in its brutality.¹ It throws, however, a significant light on the conditions prevailing in factories. In Spain, in the large factories where many adult women are employed, especially in the great tobacco-factory at Seville, Lesbian relationships seem to be not uncommon. Here the women work in an atmosphere which in summer is so hot that they throw off the greater part of their clothing, to such an extent that a bell is rung whenever a visitor is introduced into a work-room, in order to warn the workers. Such an environment predisposes to the formation of homosexual relationships. When I was in Spain a few years ago an incident occurred at the Seville *Fábrica de Tabacos* which attracted much attention in the newspapers, and, though it was regarded as unusual, it throws light on the life of the workers. One morning as the women were entering the work-room and amid the usual scene of animation changing their Manila shawls for the light costume worn during work, one drew out a small clasp-knife and, attacking another, rapidly inflicted six or seven wounds on her face and neck, threatening to kill anyone who approached. Both these *cigarreras* were superior workers, engaged in the most skilled kind of work, and had been at the factory for many years. In appearance they were described as presenting a striking contrast: The aggressor, who was 48 years of age, was of masculine air, tall and thin, with an expression of firm determination on her wrinkled face; the victim, on the other hand, whose age was 30, was plump and good looking and of pleasing disposition. The reason at first assigned for the attack by the younger woman was that her mother had insulted the elder woman's son. It appeared, however, that a close friendship had existed between the two women, that latterly the younger woman had formed a friendship with the forewoman of her work-room, and that the elder woman, animated by jealousy, then resolved to murder both; this design was frustrated, in part by the younger woman refusing to go aside with her and in part by the accidental absence of the forewoman that day.

There is reason to believe that homosexual relationships are not uncommon among Spanish women. Thus the characteristic dances of Spain are performed by young women who never sell their persons, but who are said frequently to form homosexual relationships among themselves.

¹It would certainly not be easy to parallel it outside England. It is such cases as these which have led to the view that brutality is a special English characteristic. This view is maintained, for instance, with much wealth of illustrative examples, by Dr. Eugen Dühren in a history of sexual life in England, on the whole by no means unsympathetic, *Das Geschlechtsleben in England*, 1901, B. 1, pp. 8 *et seq.* I may refer also to the conduct of youths in London warehouses, as already illustrated (p. 47).

In theaters the abnormal sexuality stimulated by this association in work is complicated by the general tendency for homosexuality to be connected with dramatic aptitude, a point to which I shall have to refer later on. I am indebted to a friend for the following note: "Passionate friendships among girls, from the most innocent to the most elaborate excursions in the direction of Lesbos, are extremely common in theaters, both among actresses and, even more, among chorus- and ballet- girls. Here the pell-mell of the dressing-rooms, the wait of perhaps two hours between the performances, during which all the girls are cooped up, in a state of inaction and of excitement, in a few crowded dressing-rooms, afford every opportunity for the growth of this particular kind of sentiment. In most of the theaters there is a little circle of girls, somewhat avoided by the others, or themselves careless of further acquaintanceship, who profess the most unbounded devotion to one another. Most of these girls are equally ready to flirt with the opposite sex, but I know certain ones among them who will scarcely speak to a man, and who are never seen without their particular 'pal' or 'chum,' who, if she gets moved to another theater, will come around and wait for her friend at the stage-door. But here, again, it is but seldom that the experience is carried very far. The fact is that the English girl, especially of the lower and middle classes, whether she has lost her virtue or not, is extremely fettered by conventional notions. Ignorance and habit are two restraining influences from the carrying out of this particular kind of perversion to its logical conclusions. It is, therefore, among the upper ranks, alike of society and of prostitution, that Lesbianism is most definitely to be met with, for here we have much greater liberty of action, and much greater freedom from prejudices."

The cases in which the source is mainly central, rather than peripheral, nevertheless merge into the foregoing, with no clear line of demarkation. In such cases a school-girl or young woman forms an ardent attachment for another girl, probably somewhat older than herself, often a schoolfellow, sometimes her school-mistress, upon whom she will lavish an astonishing amount of affection and devotion. This affection may or may not be re-

turned; usually the return consists of a gracious acceptance of the affectionate services. The girl who expends this wealth of devotion is surcharged with emotion, but she is often unconscious of or ignorant of the sexual impulse, and she seeks for no form of sexual satisfaction. Kissing and the privilege of sleeping with the friend are, however, sought, and at such times it often happens that even the comparatively unresponsive friend feels more or less definite sexual emotion (pudendal turgescence, with secretion of mucus and involuntary twitching of the neighboring muscles), though little or no attention may be paid to this phenomenon, and in the common ignorance of girls concerning sex-matters it may not be understood. In some cases there is an attempt, either instinctive or intentional, to develop the sexual feeling by close embraces and kissing. This rudimentary kind of homosexual relationship is, I believe, more common among girls than among boys, and for this there are several reasons: (1) a boy more often has some acquaintance with sexual phenomena, and would frequently regard such a relationship as unmanly; (2) the girl has a stronger need of affection and self-devotion to another person than a boy has; (3) she has not, under our existing social conditions which compel young women to hold the opposite sex at arm's length, the same opportunities of finding an outlet for her sexual emotions; while (4) conventional propriety recognizes a considerable degree of physical intimacy between girls, thus at once encouraging and cloaking the manifestations of homosexuality.

The ardent attachments which girls in schools and colleges form to each other and to their teachers constitute a subject which is of considerable psychological interest and of no little practical importance. These girlish devotions, on the borderland between friendship and sexual passion, are found in all countries where girls are segregated for educational purposes, and their symptoms are, on the whole, singularly uniform, though they vary in intensity and character to some extent, from time to time and from place to place, sometimes assuming an epidemic form. They have been most carefully studied in Italy, where Obici and Marchesini—an alienist and a psychologist working in

conjunction—have analyzed the phenomena with remarkable insight and delicacy and much wealth of illustrative material.¹ But exactly the same phenomena are everywhere found in English girls' schools, even of the most modern type, and in some of the large American women's colleges they have sometimes become so acute as to cause much anxiety.²

These passionate friendships, of a more or less unconsciously sexual character, are also common, even outside and beyond school-life. It frequently happens that a period during which a young woman falls in love at a distance with some young man of her acquaintance alternates with periods of intimate attachment to a friend of her own sex. No congenital inversion is usually involved. It generally happens, in the end, either that relationship with a man brings the normal impulse into permanent play or the steadying of the emotions in the stress of practical life leads to a knowledge of the real nature of such feelings and a consequent distaste for them. In some cases, on the other hand, such relationships, especially when formed after school-life, are fairly permanent. An energetic emotional woman, not usually beautiful, will perhaps be devoted to another who may have found some rather specialized life-work, but who may be very unpractical, and who has probably a very feeble sexual instinct; she is grateful for her friend's devotion, but may not actively reciprocate it. The actual specific sexual phenomena generated in such cases vary very greatly. The emotion may be latent or unconscious; it may be all on one side; it is often more or less recognized and shared. Such cases are on the borderland of true sexual inversion, but they cannot be included within its region. Sex in these relationships is scarcely the essential and fundamental element; it is more or less subordinate and parasitic. There is often a semblance of a sex-relationship from the marked divergence of the friends in physical and psychic qualities, and the nervous development of one or both the friends

¹ Obici and Marchesini, *Le "Amicizie" di Collegio*, Rome, 1898.

² See Appendix D, in which I have briefly summarized the result of the investigation by Obici and Marchesini, and also brought forward observations concerning English colleges.

is often slightly abnormal. We have to regard such relationships as hypertrophied friendships, the hypertrophy being due to unemployed sexual instinct.

For many of the remarks which I have to make regarding true inversion in women I am not able to bring forward the justificatory individual instances. I possess a considerable amount of information, but, owing to the tendencies already mentioned, this information is, for the most part, more or less fragmentary, and, when it is more complete I am not always free to use it.

A class of women to be first mentioned, a class in which homosexuality, while fairly distinct, is only slightly marked, is formed by the women to whom the actively inverted woman is most attracted. These women differ, in the first place, from the normal, or average, woman in that they are not repelled or disgusted by lover-like advances from persons of their own sex. They are not usually attractive to the average man, though to this rule there are many exceptions. Their faces may be plain or ill made, but not seldom they possess good figures: a point which is apt to carry more weight with the inverted woman than beauty of face. Their sexual impulses are seldom well marked, but they are of strongly affectionate nature. On the whole, they are women who are not very robust and well developed, physically or nervously, and who are not well adapted for child-bearing, but who still possess many excellent qualities, and they are always womanly. One may, perhaps, say that they are the pick of the women whom the average man would pass by. No doubt, this is often the reason why they are open to homosexual advances, but I do not think it is the sole reason. So far as they may be said to constitute a class, they seem to possess a genuine, though not precisely sexual, preference for women over men, and it is this coldness, rather than lack of charm, which often renders men rather indifferent to them.

The actively inverted woman differs from the woman of the class just mentioned in one fairly essential character: a more or less distinct trace of masculinity. She may not be, and frequently is not, what would be called a "mannish" woman, for

the latter may imitate men on grounds of taste and habit unconnected with sexual perversion, while in the inverted woman the masculine traits are part of an organic instinct which she by no means always wishes to accentuate. The inverted woman's masculine element may, in the least degree, consist only in the fact that she makes advances to the woman to whom she is attracted and treats all men in a cool, direct manner, which may not exclude comradeship, but which excludes every sexual relationship, whether of passion or merely of coquetry. Usually the inverted woman feels absolute indifference toward men, and not seldom repulsion. And this feeling, as a rule, is instinctively reciprocated by men.

CASE XXXIX.—Miss S., aged 38, living in a city of the United States of America, a business woman of fine intelligence, prominent in professional and literary circles. Her general health is good, but she belongs to a family in which there is a marked neuropathic element. She is of rather phlegmatic temperament, well poised, always perfectly calm and self-possessed, rather retiring in disposition, with gentle, dignified bearing.

She says she cannot care for men, but that all her life has been "glorified and made beautiful by friendship with women," whom she loves as a man loves women. Her character is, however, well disciplined, and her friends are not aware of the nature of her affections. She tries not to give all her love to one person, and endeavors (as she herself expresses it) to use this "gift of loving" as a stepping-stone to high mental and spiritual attainments. She is described by one who has known her for several years as "having a high nature, and instincts unerringly toward high things."

CASE XL.—Miss M., aged 29, the daughter of English parents (both musicians), who were both of what is described as "intense" temperaments, and there is a neurotic element in the family; she is herself, however, free from nervous disease. At birth she was very small. In a portrait taken at the age of 4 the nose, mouth, and ears are abnormally large, and she wears a little boy's hat. As a child she did not care for dolls or for pretty clothes, and often wondered why other children found so much pleasure in them. "As far back as my memory goes," she writes, "I cannot recall a time when I was not different from other children. I felt bored when other little girls came to play with me, though I was never rough or boisterous in my sports." Sewing was distasteful to her. Still she cared little

more for the pastimes of boys, and found her favorite amusement in reading, especially adventures and fairy-tales. She was always quiet, timid, and self-conscious. The instinct first made its appearance in the latter part of her eighth or the first part of her ninth year. She was strongly attracted by the face of a teacher who used to appear at a side-window on the second floor of the school-building and ring a bell to summon the children to their classes. The teacher's face seemed very beautiful, but sad, and she thought about her continually. A year later this teacher was married and left the school, and the impression gradually faded away. The next feelings were experienced when she was about eleven years of age. A young lady came to visit a next-door neighbor, and made so profound an impression on the child that she was ridiculed by her playmates for preferring to sit in a dark corner on the lawn—where she might watch this young lady—rather than to play games. Being a sensitive child, after this experience she was careful not to reveal her feelings to anyone. She felt instinctively that in this she was different from others. Her sense of beauty developed early, but there was always an indefinable feeling of melancholy associated with it. The twilight, a dark night when the stars shone brightly, these had a very depressing effect upon her, but possessed a strong attraction nevertheless, and pictures appealed to her. At the age of 12 she fell in love with a schoolmate, and wept bitterly because they could not be confirmed at the same time. The face of this friend reminded her of one of Dolce's Madonnas which she loved. Later on she loved another friend very dearly, and devoted herself to her care; and upon the death of this friend, eight years afterward, she resolved never to let her heart go out to anyone again. Specific physical gratification plays no part in these relationships. "I have been able," she writes, "successfully to master the desire for a more perfect and complete expression of my feelings, and I have done so without serious detriment to my health." "I love few people," she writes again, "but in these instances when I have permitted my heart to go out to a friend I have always experienced most exalted feelings, and have been made better by them morally, mentally, and spiritually. Love is with me a religion. The very nature of my affection for my friends precludes the possibility of any element entering into it which is not absolutely pure and sacred."

With regard to her attitude toward the other sex, she writes: "I have never felt a dislike for men, but have good comrades among them. During my childhood I associated with both girls and boys, enjoying them all, but wondering why the girls cared to flirt with boys. Later in life I have had other friendships with men, some of whom cared for me, much to my regret, for, naturally, I do not care to marry."

She is a musician, and herself attributes her nature in part to her artistic temperament. She is of good intelligence, and always stood well in her classes, but the development of the intellectual faculties is

somewhat uneven. While weak in mathematics, she shows remarkable talent for various branches of physical science, to which of late years she has devoted herself, but has always been hampered by this deficiency in mathematics. She is small, though her features are rather large. Medical examination shows a small vagina and orifice, though scarcely, perhaps, abnormally so in proportion to her size. A further more detailed examination has recently been made in connection with the present history (though not at my instance) by an obstetric physician of high standing, and I am indebted to his kindness for the following notes:—

“Anatomically Miss M. is very near being a normal woman. Her pelvic measurements are about normal, being:—

Bis-ant. superior spines.....	9½ inches.
Bis-iliac crests	10½ inches.
Bi-greater trochanteric	12 inches.
External conjugate	7 inches.
Height	5 feet 4 inches.
Neck	} Around its base..... 13½ inches. On level with cricoid cartilage. 11½ inches. About the larynx..... 11½ inches.
Measurements	

“*Sexual Organs.*—(a) Internal: Uterus and ovaries appear normal. (b) External: Small clitoris, with this irregularity, that the lower folds of the labia minora, instead of uniting one with the other and forming the frenum, are extended upward along the sides of the clitoris, while the upper folds are poorly developed, furnishing the clitoris with a very scant hood. The labia majora depart from normal conformation in being fuller in their posterior half than in their anterior part, so that when the subject is in the supine position they sag, as it were, presenting a slight resemblance to fleshy sacs, but in substance and structure they feel normal.

“The deviations mentioned are all I am able to note from the strictly normal form and shape of these organs.

“The general conformation of the body is feminine. But with arms, palms up, extended in front of her with inner sides of hands touching, she cannot bring the inner sides of forearms together, as nearly every woman can, showing that the feminine angle of arm is lost. The breasts are of fair size, and the nipples readily respond to titillation. Titillation of the sexual organs receives no response at all. [This does not show that the sexual sense is lost, but proves the absence of any habits of excessive sexual excitement leading to sexual hyperesthesia.] I am persuaded, however, that Miss M. possesses the sexual sense to a very marked degree.”

She is left-handed and shows a better development throughout on the left side. She is quiet and dignified, but has many boyish tricks of manner and speech which seem to be instinctive; she tries to watch herself continually, however, in order to avoid them, affecting feminine ways and feminine interests, but always being conscious of an effort in so doing.

Miss M. can see nothing wrong in her feelings; and, until, a year ago, she came across the translation of Krafft-Ebing's book, she had no idea "that feelings like mine were 'under the ban of society' as he puts it, or were considered unnatural and depraved." She would like to help to bring light on the subject and to lift the shadow from other lives.

CASE XLI.—Miss B., aged 26. Among her brothers and sisters, one is of neurotic temperament and another is inverted. She is herself perfectly healthy. She has no repugnance to men, and would even like to try marriage, if the union were not permanent, but, except in one instance, she has never felt any sexual attraction to a man. In this exceptional instance she soon realized that she was not adapted for heterosexual relationships, and broke off the engagement she had formed.

She is attracted to women of various kinds, though she recognizes that there are some women to whom only men are attracted. Some years since she had a friend to whom she was very strongly attached, but the physical manifestations do not appear to have become very pronounced. Since then her thoughts have been much occupied by several women to whom she has made advances, which have not been encouraged to pass beyond ordinary friendship. In one case, however, she has formed an intimate relationship with a girl somewhat younger than herself, and a very feminine personality, who accepts Miss B.'s ardent love with pleasure, but in a passive manner, and who does not consider that the relationship would stand in the way of her marrying, though she would on no account tell her husband. The relationship has for the first time aroused Miss B.'s latent sexual emotions. She seems to find sexual satisfaction in kissing and embracing her friend's body, but there appears to be no orgasm. This relationship has made a considerable change in her, and rendered her radiant and happy. In her behavior toward men Miss B. reveals no sexual shyness. Men are not usually attracted to her.

There is nothing striking in her appearance; her person and manners, though careless, are not conspicuously man-like. She is fond of exercise, smokes a good deal, and has artistic tastes.

In the next case the inversion is more fully developed:—

CASE XLII.—Miss H., aged 30. Among her paternal relatives there is a tendency to eccentricity and to nervous disease. Her grandfather drank; her father was eccentric and hypochondriacal, and suffered from

obsessions. Her mother and mother's relatives are entirely healthy, and normal in disposition.

At the age of 4 she liked to see the nates of a little girl who lived near. When she was about six the nurse-maid, sitting in the fields, used to play with her own parts, and told her to do likewise, saying it would make a baby come; she occasionally touched herself in consequence, but without producing any effect of any kind. When she was about 8 she used to see various nurse-maids uncover their children's sexual parts and show them to each other. She used to think about this when alone, and also about whipping. She never cared to play with dolls, and in her games always took the part of a man. Her first rudimentary sex-feelings appeared at the age of 8 or 9, and were associated with dreams of whipping and being whipped, which were most vivid between the ages of 11 and 14, when they died away on the appearance of affection for girls. She menstruated at 12.

Her earliest affection, at the age of 13, was for a schoolfellow, a graceful, coquettish girl with long golden hair and blue eyes. Her affection displayed itself in performing all sorts of small services for this girl, in constantly thinking about her, and in feeling deliciously grateful for the smallest return. At the age of 14 she had a similar passion for a cousin; she used to look forward with ecstasy to her visits, and especially to the rare occasions when the cousin slept with her; her excitement was then so great that she could not sleep, but there was no conscious sexual excitement. At the age of 15 or 16 she fell in love with another cousin; her experiences with this girl were full of delicious sensations; if the cousin only touched her neck, a thrill went through her body which she now regards as sexual. Again, at 17, she had an overwhelming, passionate fascination for a schoolfellow, a pretty, commonplace girl, whom she idealized and etherealized to an extravagant extent. This passion was so violent that her health was, to some extent, impaired; but it was purely unselfish, and there was nothing sexual in it. On leaving school at the age of 19 she met a girl of about the same age as herself, very womanly, but not much attracted to men. This girl became very much attached to her, and sought to gain her love. After some time Miss H. was attracted by this love, partly from the sense of power it gave her, and an intimate relation grew up. This relation became vaguely physical, Miss H. taking the initiative, but her friend desiring such relations and taking extreme pleasure in them; they used to touch and kiss each other tenderly (especially on the *mons veneris*), with equal ardor. They each experienced a strong pleasurable feeling in doing this, and sexual erethism, but no orgasm, and it does not appear that this ever occurred. Their general behavior to each other was that of lovers, but they endeavored, as far as possible, to hide this fact from the world. This relation lasted for several years, and would have continued, had not

Miss H.'s friend, from religious and moral scruples, put an end to the physical relationship. Miss H. had been very well and happy during this relationship; this interference with it seems to have exerted a disturbing influence, and also to have aroused her sexual desires, though she was still scarcely conscious of their real nature. Soon afterward another girl of voluptuous type made love to Miss H., to which the latter yielded, giving way to her feelings as well as to her love of domination. She was afterward ashamed of this episode, though the physical element in it had remained vague and indefinite. Her remorse was so great that when her friend, repenting her scruples, implored her to let their relationship be on the same footing as of old, Miss H., in her turn, resisted every effort to restore the physical relation. She kept to this resolution for some years, and sought to divert her thoughts into intellectual channels. When she again formed an intimate relationship it was with a congenial friend, and lasted for several years.

She has never masturbated. Occasionally, but very rarely, she has had dreams of riding accompanied by pleasurable sexual emotion (she cannot recall any actual experience to suggest this, though fond of riding). She has never had any kind of sexual dreams about a man; of late years she has occasionally had erotic dreams about women.

Her feeling toward men is not in the slightest degree sexual, and she has never had the slightest attraction toward a man. She likes them as good comrades, as men like each other. She much enjoys the society of men, but simply on account of their intellectual attraction. Her feeling toward marriage has always been one of absolute repugnance. She can, however, imagine a man whom she could love or marry.

She is attracted to womanly women, sincere, reserved, pure, but courageous in character. She is not attracted to intellectual women, but at the same time cannot endure silly women. The physical qualities that attract her most are not so much beauty of face as graceful, but not too slender, a body with beautiful curves. The women she is drawn to are usually somewhat younger than herself. Women are much attracted to her, and without any effort on her part. She likes to take the active and protecting rôle with them. She is herself energetic in character, and with a somewhat neurotic temperament.

She finds sexual satisfaction in tenderly touching, caressing, and kissing the loved one's body. (There is no *cunnilingus*, which she regards with abhorrence.) She feels more tenderness than passion. There is a high degree of sexual erethism when kissing, but orgasm is rare and is produced by lying on the friend or by the friend lying on her, without any special contact. She likes being herself kissed, but not so much as taking the active part.

She believes that homosexual love is morally right when it is really part of a person's nature, and provided that the nature of homosexual

love is always made plain to the object of such affection. She does not approve of it as a mere makeshift, or expression of sensuality, in normal women. She has sometimes resisted the sexual expression of her feelings, once for years at a time, but always in vain. The effect on her of loving women is distinctly good, she asserts, both spiritually and physically, while repression leads to morbidity and hysteria. She has suffered much from neurasthenia at various periods, but under appropriate treatment it has slowly diminished. The inverted instinct is too deeply rooted to eradicate, but it is well under control.¹

The chief characteristic of the sexually inverted woman is a certain degree of masculinity. As I have already pointed out, a woman who is inclined to adopt the ways and garments of men is by no means necessarily inverted. In the volume of *Women Adventurers*, edited by Mrs. Norman for the *Adventure Series*, there is no trace of inversion; in most of these cases, indeed, love for a man was precisely the motive for adopting male garments and manners. Again, Colley Cibber's daughter, Charlotte Charke, a boyish and vivacious woman, who spent much of her life in men's clothes, and ultimately wrote a lively volume of memoirs, appears never to have been attracted to women, though women were often attracted to her, believing her to be a man; it is, indeed, noteworthy that women seem, with special frequency, to fall in love with disguised persons of their own sex.² There is, however, a very pronounced tendency among

¹The most completely recorded case of sexual inversion in a woman is that of the Hungarian Countess Sarolta V., whose false marriage with a young woman attracted much notice in the papers a few years ago. I regard this case as in most respects so typical (excepting only as regards the fraud which led to its publicity) that I have summarized it rather fully in Appendix E, basing my account chiefly on the very full medico-legal report of the case published a few years ago by Dr. C. Birnbacher in *Friedreich's Blätter für gerichtliche Medicin*.

²A very interesting example of a woman with an irresistible impulse to adopt men's clothing and lead a man's life, but who did not, so far as is known, possess any sexual impulses, is that of Mary Frith, commonly called Moll Cutpurse, who lived in London at the beginning of the seventeenth century. *The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith* appeared in 1662; Middleton and Rowley also made her the heroine of their delightful comedy, *The Roaring Girl* (*Mermaid Series, Middleton's Plays*, volume ii), somewhat idealizing her, however. She seems to have belonged to a neurotic and eccentric stock; "each of the family," her biographer says, "had his particular freak." As a child, she only cared

sexually inverted women to adopt male attire when practicable. In such cases male garments are not usually regarded as desirable chiefly on account of practical convenience, nor even in order to make an impression on other women, but because the wearer feels more at home in them. Thus, Moll mentions the case of a young governess of sixteen who, while still unconscious of her sexual perversion, used to find pleasure, when everyone was out of the house, in putting on the clothes of a youth belonging to the family.

A few cases have been recorded of inverted women who have spent the greater part of their lives in men's clothing and been generally regarded as men. I may cite the case of Lucy Ann Slater, *alias* the Rev. Joseph Lobdell, recorded by Dr. Wise (*Alienist and Neurologist*, 1883). She was masculine in character, features, and attire. In early life she married and had a child, but had no affection for her husband, who eventually left her. As usual in such cases, her masculine habits appeared in early childhood. She was expert with the rifle, lived the life of a trapper and hunter among the Indians, and was known as the "Female Hunter of Long Eddy." She published a book regarding those experiences. I have not been able to see it, but it is said to be quaint and well written. She regarded herself as practically a man, and became attached to a young woman of good education, who had also been deserted by her husband. The affection was strong and emotional, and, of course, without deception. It was interrupted by her recognition and imprisonment as a vagabond, but on the petition of her "wife" she was released. "I may be a woman in one sense," she said, "but I have peculiar organs which make me more a man than a woman." She alluded to an enlarged clitoris which she could erect, she said, as a turtle protrudes its head, but there was no question of its use in coitus. She was ultimately brought to the asylum with paroxysmal attacks of exaltation and

for boys' games, and could never adapt herself to any woman's avocations. "She had a natural abhorrence to the tending of children." Her disposition was altogether masculine; "she was not for mincing obscenity, but would talk freely, whatever came uppermost." She never had any children, and was not taxed with debauchery: "No man can say or affirm that ever she had a sweetheart or any such fond thing to dally with her"; a mastiff was the only living thing she cared for. Her life was not altogether honest, but not so much from any organic tendency to crime, it seems, as because her abnormal nature and restlessness made her an outcast. She was too fond of drink, and is said to have been the first woman who smoked tobacco. Nothing is said or suggested of any homosexual practices, but we see clearly here what may be termed the homosexual diathesis. Another and more distinguished instance was Sir James Barry.

erotomania (without self-abuse apparently) and corresponding periods of depression, and she died with progressive dementia. I may also mention the case (briefly recorded in the *Lancet*, February 22, 1884) of a person called John Coulter, who was employed for twelve years as a laborer by the Belfast Harbor Commissioners. When death resulted from injuries caused in falling down stairs, it was found that this person was a woman. She was fifty years of age, and had apparently spent the greater part of her life as a man. When employed in early life as a man-servant on a farm, she had married her mistress's daughter. The pair were married for twenty-nine years, but during the last six years lived apart, owing to the "husband's" dissipated habits. No one ever suspected her sex. She was of masculine appearance and good muscular development. The "wife" took charge of the body and buried it.

A more recent case of the same kind is that of "Murray Hall," who died in New York in 1901. Her real name was Mary Anderson, and she was born at Govan, in Scotland. Early left an orphan, on the death of her only brother she put on his clothes and went to Edinburgh, working as a man. Her secret was discovered during an illness, and she finally went to America, where she lived as a man for thirty years, making money, and becoming somewhat notorious as a Tammany politician, a rather riotous "man about town." The secret was not discovered till her death, when it was a complete revelation, even to her adopted daughter. She married twice; the first marriage ended in separation, but the second marriage seemed to have been happy, for it lasted twenty years, when the "wife" died. She associated much with pretty girls, and was very jealous of them. She seems to have been slight and not very masculine in general build, with a squeaky voice, but her ways, attitude, and habits were all essentially masculine. She associated with politicians, drank somewhat to excess, though not heavily, swore a great deal, smoked and chewed tobacco, sang ribald songs; could run, dance, and fight like a man, and had divested herself of every trace of feminine daintiness. She wore clothes that were always rather too large in order to hide her form, baggy trousers, and an overcoat even in summer. She is said to have died of cancer of the breast. (I quote from an account, which appears to be reliable, contained in the *Weekly Scotsman*, February 9, 1901.)

Another case, which has recently been described in the London papers, is that of Catherine Coome, who for forty years successfully personated a man and adopted masculine habits generally. She married a lady's maid, with whom she lived for fourteen years. Having latterly adopted a life of fraud, her case gained publicity as that of the "man-woman."

When they still retain female garments, these usually show some traits of masculine simplicity, and there is nearly always a

disdain for the petty feminine artifices of the toilet. Even when this is not obvious, there are all sorts of instinctive gestures and habits which may suggest to female acquaintances the remark that such a person "ought to have been a man." The brusque, energetic movements, the attitude of the arms, the direct speech, the inflexions of the voice, the masculine straightforwardness and sense of honor, and especially the attitude toward men, free from any suggestion either of shyness or audacity, will often suggest the underlying psychic abnormality to a keen observer.

The following summary description (which Moll quotes from a French book entitled *Lucienne: Dialogues des Courtisanes*, 1892) very well indicates the general preferences of inverted women in the matter of dress: "Quant à Marianne, elle, toujours son smoking, gris le jour, noir le soir, feutre mou avec une plume . . . chemise d'homme à plis, col droit, cravate anglaise . . . et à le boutonnière une touffe d'œuillets blancs. . . . Et vous savez qu'elle ne met jamais de jupons; mais simplement une culotte en peau sous sa robe."

As regards the general bearing of the inverted woman, in its most marked and undisguised form, I may quote an admirable description by Prof. Zuccarelli, of Naples, of an unmarried middle-class woman of 35: "While retaining feminine garments, her bearing is as nearly as possible a man's. She wears her thin hair thrown carelessly back *alla Umberto*, and fastened in a simple knot at the back of her head. The breasts are little developed, and compressed beneath a high corset; her gown is narrow without the expansion demanded by fashion. Her straw hat with broad plaits is perhaps adorned by a feather or she wears a small hat like a boy's. She does not carry an umbrella or sunshade, and walks out alone, refusing the company of men; or is accompanied by a woman, as she prefers, offering her arm and carrying the other hand at her waist, with the air of a fine gentleman. In a carriage her bearing is peculiar and unlike that habitual with women. Seated in the middle of the double seat, her knees being crossed or else the legs well separated, with a virile air and careless easy movement she turns her head in every direction, finding an acquaintance here and there with her eye, saluting men and women with a large gesture of the hand as a business man would. In conversation her pose is similar; she gesticulates much, is vivacious in speech, with much power of mimicry, and while talking she arches the inner angles of her eyebrow, making vertical wrinkles at the center of her forehead. Her laugh is open and explosive and uncovers her white rows of teeth. With men she is on terms of careless equality." ("Inver-

sione congenita dell'istinto sessuale in una donna," *L'Anomalo*, February, 1889.)

Although there is sometimes a certain general coarseness of physical texture, we do not find any trace of a beard or moustache,¹ and it is a mistake to suppose that bearded women approach the masculine type. It is probable, however, that there are more genuine approximations to the masculine type. The muscles are everywhere firm, with a comparative absence of soft connective tissue; so that an inverted woman may give an unfeminine impression to the sense of touch. Not only is the tone of the voice often different, but there is reason to suppose that this rests on a basis of anatomical modification. At Moll's suggestion, Flatau examined the larynx in a large number of inverted women, and found in several a very decidedly masculine type of larynx, or an approach to it, especially in cases of distinctly congenital origin. In the habits not only is there frequently a pronounced taste for smoking cigarettes often found in quite feminine women, but also a decided taste and toleration for cigars. There is also a dislike and sometimes incapacity for needle-work and other domestic occupations, while there is often some capacity for athletics. No masculine character is usually to be found in the sexual organs, which are sometimes undeveloped. Notwithstanding these characters, however, sexual inversion in a woman is, as a rule, not more obvious than in a man. At the same time, the inverted woman is not usually attractive to men. She herself generally feels the greatest indifference to men, and often cannot understand why a woman should love a man, though she easily understands why a man should love a woman. She shows, therefore, nothing of that sexual shyness and engaging air of weakness and dependence which are an invitation to men. The man who is passionately attracted to an inverted woman is usually of rather a feminine

¹ See Max Bartels's elaborate study, "Ueber abnormal Behaarung beim Menschen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, B. 13, 1881, p. 219. And for the same condition in insanity, L. Harris-Liston, "Cases of Bearded Women," *British Medical Journal*, June 2, 1894.

type. For instance, in one case present to my mind he was of somewhat neurotic heredity, of slight *physique*, not sexually attractive to women, and very domesticated in his manner of living; in short, a man who might easily have been passionately attracted to his own sex.

While the inverted woman is cold, or, at most, comradely, in her bearing toward men, she may become shy and confused in the presence of attractive persons of her own sex, even unable to undress in their presence, and full of tender ardor for the woman whom she loves.

The passion finds expression in sleeping together, kissing, and close embraces, with more or less sexual excitement, the orgasm sometimes occurring when one lies on the other's body or else in mutual masturbation; the extreme gratification is *cunnilingus* (*in lambendo linguâ genitalia alterius*), sometimes called sapphism. There is no connection, as was once supposed, between sexual inversion in women and an enlarged clitoris, which has very seldom been found in such cases, and never, so far as I am aware, to an extent that would permit of its use in coitus with another woman.¹

While the methods mentioned are certainly those by which inverted women most usually attain sexual satisfaction in their relationships, it must at the same time be added that the various phenomena of sadism, masochism, and fetichism which are liable to arise, spontaneously or by suggestion, in the relationships of normal lovers, as well as of male inverts, may also arise in the same way among inverted women, though, probably, not often in a very pronounced form. Moll, however, narrates a case (*Konträre Sexualempfindung*, 1899, pp. 565-70) in which various minor, but very definite, perversions were combined with inversion, and on this account it may be of interest to refer to it briefly. The case was that of a young lady of 26, of good heredity, who from the age of 6 had only been attracted to her own sex, and even in childhood had practiced mutual *cunnilingus*. She is extremely intelligent, and of generous and good-natured disposition, with various masculine tastes, but, on the whole, of feminine build and with completely feminine larynx. During the

¹ Kiernan, however, refers to a case occurring in America, in which a sexual invert, married and a mother, possessed a clitoris which measured two and a half inches when erect.

past seven years she has lived exclusively with one woman. She is able to find complete satisfaction in active *cunnilingus*, but prefers simultaneous mutual *cunnilingus*. In addition, however, during the course of this relationship various other methods of excitement and gratification have arisen,—it seems, for the most part, spontaneously. It gives her much pleasure *urinam feminae dilectae in os proprium immittire*; this appears sometimes to occur as an episode in the course of fairly normal sexual relationships, but in this case the subject similarly found sexual gratification when defecation also was effected in the same way, a very exceptional perversion. In addition to these and similar practices the subject liked being bitten, especially in the lobule of the ear, and she was highly excited when whipped by her friend, who should, if possible, be naked at the time; only the nates must be whipped and only a birch rod be used, or the effect would not be obtained. She says that these practices would not be possible to her in the absence of extreme intimacy and mutual understanding, and they have only taken place with the one friend. In this case the perverse phenomena, according to Krafft-Ebing's distinction, were masochistic rather than sadistic. Moll mentions, however, that he is acquainted with many homosexual women who have sadistic tendencies in a more or less mild degree.

The inverted woman is an enthusiastic admirer of feminine beauty, especially of the statuesque beauty of the body, unlike, in this, the normal woman, whose sexual emotion is but faintly tinged by esthetic feeling. In her sexual habits we rarely find the degree of promiscuity which is not uncommon among inverted men. I am inclined to agree with Moll, that homosexual women love more faithfully and lastingly than homosexual men.¹ Sexually inverted women are not rarely married; Moll, from various confidences which he has received, believes that inverted women have not the same horror of normal coitus as inverted men; this is probably due to the fact that the women under such circumstances can retain a certain passivity. In other cases there

¹ It is noteworthy how many inverted women have, with more or less fraud, been married to the woman of their choice, the couple living happily together for long periods. I know of one case, probably unique, in which the ceremony was gone through without any deception on any side: a congenitally inverted Englishwoman of distinguished intellectual ability, now dead, was attached to the wife of a clergyman, who, in full cognizance of all the facts of the case, privately married the two ladies in his own church.

is some degree of psychosexual hermaphroditism, although, as among inverted men, the homosexual instinct seems usually to give the greater relief and gratification.

It has been stated by many observers who are able to speak with some authority—in America, in France, in Germany, and in England—that homosexuality is increasing among women.¹ It seems probable that this is true. There are many influences in our civilization to-day which encourage such manifestations. The modern movement of emancipation—the movement to obtain the same rights and duties, the same freedom and responsibility, the same education and the same work—must be regarded as, on the whole, a wholesome and inevitable movement. But it carries with it certain disadvantages. It has involved an increase in feminine criminality and in feminine insanity, which are being elevated toward the masculine standard. In connection with these we can scarcely be surprised to find an increase in homosexuality, which has always been regarded as belonging to an allied, if not the same, group of phenomena. Women are, very justly, coming to look upon knowledge and experience generally as their right as much as their brothers' right. But when this doctrine is applied to the sexual sphere it finds certain limitations. Intimacies of any kind between young men and young women are as much discouraged socially now as ever they were; as regards higher education, the mere association of the sexes in the lecture-room or the laboratory or the hospital is discouraged

¹ There are few traces of homosexuality among women in English social history. In Charles II's court, the *Mémoires de Grammont* tell us (as Dr. Kiernan has reminded me), that Miss Hobart was credited with Lesbian tendencies: "Mademoiselle Hobart était d'un caractère aussi nouveau pour lors en Angleterre que sa figure paraissait singulière dans un pays où, d'être pas plus ou moins belle, est un reproche. Elle avait de la taille, quelque chose de fort délibéré dans l'air, beaucoup d'esprit, et cet esprit était fort orné sans être fort discret. Elle avait beaucoup de vivacité dans une imagination peu réglée, et beaucoup de feu dans des yeux peu touchants. . . . Bientôt le bruit véritable ou faux de cette singularité se répandit dans le cour. On y était assez grossier pour n'avoir jamais entendu parler de ce raffinement de l'ancienne Grèce sur les goûts de la tendresse, et l'on se mit en tête que l'illustre Hobart, qui paraissait si tendre pour les belles, était quelque chose de plus de ce qu'elle paraissait." The passage is interesting because it shows us how rare was the exception.

in England and in America. Marriage is decaying, and, while men are allowed freedom, the sexual field of women is becoming restricted to trivial flirtation with the opposite sex, and to intimacy with their own sex; having been taught independence of men and disdain for the old theory which placed women in the moated grange of the home to sigh for a man who never comes, a tendency develops for women to carry this independence still further and to find love where they find work. I do not say that these unquestionable influences of modern movements can directly cause sexual inversion, though they may indirectly, in so far as they promote hereditary neurosis; but they develop the germs of it, and they probably cause a spurious imitation. This spurious imitation is due to the fact that the congenital anomaly occurs with special frequency in women of high intelligence who, voluntarily or involuntarily, influence others.

The frequency of homosexual practices among prostitutes is a fact of some interest, and calls for special explanation, for, at the first glance, it seems in opposition to all that we know concerning the exciting causes of homosexuality. Regarding the fact there can be no question.¹ It has been noted by all who are acquainted with the lives of prostitutes, though opinion may differ as to its frequency; at Berlin, Moll was told in well-informed quarters, the proportion of prostitutes with Lesbian tendencies is about 25 per cent. This was precisely the proportion at Paris many years ago, according to Parent-Duchatelet, who investigated the matter minutely; to-day, according to Chevalier, it is larger; and Bourneville believes that 75 per cent. of the inmates of the Parisian venereal hospitals have practiced homosexuality. In London, so far as my inquiries extend, homosexuality among prostitutes is very much less prevalent, and in a well-marked form is confined to a comparatively small section.

I am indebted to a friend for the following note: "From my experience of the Parisian prostitute, I gather that Lesbianism in Paris is extremely prevalent; indeed, one might almost

¹Even among Arab prostitutes it is found, according to Kocher though among Arab women generally it is rare.

say normal. In particular, most of the chahut-dancers of the Moulin-Rouge, Casino de Paris, and the other public balls are notorious for going in couples, and, for the most part, they prefer not to be separated, even in their most professional moments with the other sex. In London the thing is, naturally, much less obvious, and, I think, much less prevalent; but it is certainly not infrequent. A certain number of well-known prostitutes are known for their tendencies in this direction, which do not, however, interfere in any marked way with the ordinary details of their profession. I do not personally know of a single prostitute who is exclusively Lesbian; I have heard vaguely that there are one or two such anomalies. But I have heard a swell *cocotte* at the Corinthian announce to the whole room that she was going home with a girl; and no one doubted the statement. Her name, indeed, was generally coupled with that of a fifth-rate actress. Another woman of the same kind has a little clientèle of women who buy her photographs in Burlington Arcade. In the lower ranks of the profession all this is much less common. One often finds women who have simply never heard of such a thing; they know of it in regard to men, but not in regard to women. And they are, for the most part, quite horrified at the notion, which they consider part and parcel of 'French beastliness.' Of course, almost every girl has her friend, and, when not separately occupied, they often sleep together; but, while in separate, rare cases, this undoubtedly means all that it can mean, for the most part, so far as one can judge, it means no more than it would mean among ordinary girls."

It is evident that there must be some radical causes for the frequency of homosexuality among prostitutes. One such cause doubtless lies in the character of the prostitute's relations with men; these relations are of a professional character, and, as the business element becomes emphasized, the possibility of sexual satisfaction diminishes; at the best, also, there lacks the sense of social equality, the feeling of possession, and scope for the exercise of feminine affection and devotion. These the prostitute must usually be forced to find either in a "bully" or in another woman. It is interesting, in this connection, to recall the com-

parative frequency with which, in men, a love-disappointment with a woman serves to develop a homosexual tendency. Apart from this it must be borne in mind that, in a very large number of cases, the prostitute shows in slight or more marked degree many of the signs of neurotic heredity, of physical and mental "degeneration"; so that it is almost possible to look upon prostitutes as a special human variety analogous to instinctive criminals.¹ The irregular life of the prostitute, the undue amount of sexual irritation, and indulgence in alcohol still further emphasize this unbalancing influence; and so we have an undue tendency to homosexuality, just as we have it among criminals, and, to a much less extent, among persons of genius and intellect.

As the three following chapters relate, for the most part, equally to men and to women, I have not in the present chapter discussed those aspects of inversion which are common to both sexes. But I have pleasure in recording here the opinions of Dr. K., a woman physician in the United States, more especially since they substantially accord with my own independent results. Referring to her special investigations of sexual inversion in women, she writes: "I have always maintained that this phenomenon, wherever found, indicates a psychic condition which can be properly governed, but cannot be eradicated. I believe that it is a condition due to prenatal influences, possibly to defective nutrition in intra-uterine life, if the cause is not still more remote. It is unmistakably a sign of degeneration in the race. Also it is my firm belief that the affections, nervous and other, to which this condition sometimes leads, come as a result of the condition, or of the vices which sometimes accompany it. But such effects are not an inevitable result. Of the eight cases which I have reported to you, seven are perfectly sound, physically, and four are remarkable for their intellectual qualities. . . . As to the value of suggestion, I must confess that the experiments along this line which I have witnessed were not of a nature to arouse any enthusiasm. In all such cases I would recommend that the moral sense be trained and

¹This point of view has been specially emphasized by Lombroso and his followers; see Lombroso and Ferrero, *La Donna Delinquente*. Apart from this, these authors regard homosexuality among prostitutes as due to the following causes (pp. 410 *et seq.*): (a) excessive and often unnatural venery; (b) confinement in a prison, with separation from men; (c) close association with the same sex, such as is common in brothels; (d) maturity and old age, inverting the secondary sexual characters and predisposing to sexual inversion; (e) disgust of men produced by a prostitute's profession, combined with the longing for love.

fostered, and the persons allowed to keep their individuality, being taught to remember always that they are different from others, and that they must not infringe upon the happiness or rights of others, rather sacrificing their own feelings or happiness when necessary. It is good discipline for them, and will serve in the long run to bring them more favor and affection than any other course. This quality or idiosyncrasy is not essentially evil, but, if rightly used, may prove a blessing to others and a power for good in the life of the individual, nor does it reflect any discredit upon its possessor."