

SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR
OF THE
AMERICAN FEMALE

By The Same Author

CASTE AND CLASS IN INDIA

ABORIGINES, SO-CALLED, AND THEIR FUTURE

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION

INDIAN COSTUME

RACE RELATIONS IN NEGRO AFRICA

INDIAN SADHUS

FAMILY AND KIN IN INDO-EUROPEAN CULTURE

PREFACE

As a post-graduate teacher of Sociology in the University of Bombay for the last thirty-two years I had occasions to lecture for fifteen alternate years on marriage and family, in the course of which I had collected and communicated good deal of data on female behaviour and sex to my students.

The reaction of Indian readers to Dr. Kinsey's book, *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*, prompted me to consolidate and record my findings on the subject, and this I started to do a couple of years ago. Its result is this brochure which I have great pleasure in presenting to the readers.

University
Department of Sociology,
12-8-56.

G. S. GHURYE

“We have to remember that if the sexual act were not delightful it could not be the basis of reproduction. And if it were not capable of becoming sacred it would not be the basis of the family and hence of the development of society and culture. An examination of these relationships in the light of genetics provides the means, the only means, of reconciling the interests of the individual with that of the community in what is the fundamental problem for the propagation of our race and the survival of our society.”

—C D DARLINGTON,
The Facts of Life, p 345

CONTENTS

			<i>Page</i>
<i>Chapter</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>General, Female Orgasm</i>	<i>1</i>
„	<i>II</i>	<i>Marriage and Sexual Behaviour</i>	<i>24</i>
„	<i>III</i>	<i>Causes of Extra Marital Coitus</i>	<i>48</i>
„	<i>IV</i>	<i>Pre-Marital Heterosexual Behaviour</i>	<i>71</i>
„	<i>V</i>	<i>Masturbation</i>	<i>93</i>
„	<i>VI</i>	<i>Concluding</i>	<i>137</i>

GENERAL : FEMALE ORGASM

The morals of a society are in the keeping of its women. This is particularly true of sex morals. Sexual behaviour of females reflects not only the current sexual morals of a society but also suggests their future trends. Sexual behaviour of American females has been studied for over a quarter of a century by American gynaecologists, sexologists and sociologists. The variety of material presented by this scientific and fairly comprehensive study is very worthy of a critical resume at this juncture when the largest of these studies, *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* by Alfred C. Kinsey and others has evoked general interest in the subject.

Whatever was the popular view about female sexuality current in the Western society in the recent past, the present-day idea of sex prevalent in American females—girls, adult women, married or unmarried—is that its pivotal point is orgasm. In the investigations from which material for this paper is collected, female orgasm not only occupies a significant place but does so in a progressively prominent manner so that in the latest investigation, that of Kinsey and others, everything about female sexuality from girlhood to old age centres round it. It is necessary to examine the concept of female orgasm before an interpretative analysis of the data on female sexuality elaborately presented in the investigations is attempted.

Krafft-Ebing, the Viennese professor of Psychiatry and Neurology who was perhaps the earliest of modern

sexologists and whose *Psychopathia Sexualis*, published before the beginning of the 20th century, has been considered a standard hook on the subject for nearly half a century, describing the sexual act did not use the term orgasm but wrote in terms of a pleasurable feeling and pleasurable sensation. Contrasting the male and the female reaction to the sexual act, he points out that the pleasurable sensation occurs earlier in the male than in the female and the pleasurable feeling in the female coming on more slowly outlasts the male act of ejaculation. In his opinion the distinctive event in coitus is ejaculation. Even in the female "at the height of sexual and pleasurable excitement, a reflex movement occurs. It is induced by stimulation of the sensory genital nerves and consists of a peristaltic movement. . . . , which presses out the mucus secretions of the tubes and uterus."⁽¹⁾ A. Forell, the Swiss psychiatrist, who published his famous hook *The Sexual Question* in 1906, uses the expression venereal orgasm to designate the sensations accompanying the sexual act. The voluptuous sensations, he says, chiefly arise in the glans penis and clitoris, spread to the whole nervous system and terminate in the male by the ejaculation of semen. The voluptuous sensations he calls the venereal orgasm. He describes the female reaction to the sexual act by pointing out that "at the maximum point of voluptuous feeling the woman experiences something analogous to the venereal orgasm of man." Further, according to him the end of the orgasm in both the male and the female is "followed by an agreeable relaxation which invites sleep."⁽²⁾

The American work on the subject may be said to begin about 1920 when Dr. Katharine B. Davis began her study of the sex life of some American women. Some of her

contributions appeared in journals from 1922 onwards. The book embodying the results of her researches and entitled *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty Two Hundred Women* was published in 1929. She used the word orgasm to evoke certain information from her subjects but frankly notes that the word was "unfamiliar to many". And she defines orgasm as "a convulsive contraction of the muscles of the interior sex organs, followed by definite relaxation" (3). Dr. G. V. Hamilton, a psychiatrist, began his investigations in 1924 and published the result of his study in the book *Research in Marriage* in 1929. In the information card that he supplied to his subjects the word orgasm is explained. In the explanation it is stated that orgasm designates "the spasmodic, highly pleasurable feeling with which the sex act ends for both men and women". Further explanation draws attention to the fact that in common male parlance the term used for that part of the sex act which is called orgasm in the enquiry is "going off". It was further explained that the only difference between male and female in the matter of orgasm was that whereas men discharged semen women did not. From the comments that he has offered on his Tables it is clear that 'a non-climactic increase of sex excitement' during the sexual act has to be distinguished from orgasm, and that some of his subjects were not able to realize the difference between the two. Here he elaborates a definition of orgasm which it is necessary to quote in full. It runs thus: "An orgasm is an abruptly appearing, fully releasing and quickly terminating climax which normally occurs in the sex act. It is not to be confused with the more or less steadily increasing excitement and pleasure which a sexually excitable woman who is incapable of the orgasm experiences during the sex act, but which entirely lacks orgasmic explosiveness of onset" (4).

The study of a thousand marriages made by the well-known gynaecologist, R. L. Dickinson, was published in 1932 as *A Thousand Marriages* with a commending foreword by Havelock Ellis. Dr Dickinson speaks of male orgasm as "the traditional end of intromission". He points out that many people refer to orgasm as 'It'. Husbands know their orgasm but some of them even when they have been married for years do not know whether their wives have it. But some wives said that they did not know what an orgasm was. He assures his readers that orgasm is one of those sexual phenomena about which "we rarely know what exactly we are dealing with", and "to define orgasm as the physiological peak of the curve of sexual excitement gives no evidence of its quality". Yet when he comes to deal with his material he is prepared to describe the information obtained about orgasm as "precise accounts of orgasm". Speaking of "not orgasm", he asks the question "what does the wife have when she does not have orgasm?" (5) Later he analyses *coitus* into "three structural elements" which are "length of intromission", "orgasm in the wife" and "the total satisfaction which is parallel with or even in spite of this framework". When *coitus* is stated to be an index to marriage" the clue is provided by the third of the structural elements mentioned above (6)

In the *Encyclopaedia of Sexual Knowledge*(7) edited by Dr Norman Haire, female climax in the sexual act or orgasm is described in such a manner that we can speak of it as having two components, rhythmic and spasmodic. Vaginal contractions are the first and excitement the second component. The symptoms of this excitement which are said to be common to both the male and the female orgasm are "accelerated heart beats and pulse, rise in temperature

and arterial tension, dilatation of the pupils, deeper breathing, panting and moaning, sometimes little cries and spasmodic trembling." It is further stated that the first component of the female orgasm, the "physiological manifestations" or "rhythmic and spasmodic vaginal contractions" and "the increase of the vaginal secretions" are neither a sure sign of the female orgasm nor are they always capable of being felt by the male partner; because the contractions may not be felt by the male partner and "the vagina is plentifully moistened from the start"

Le Mon Clark, an obstetrician and gynaecologist in his *Emotional Adjustment in Marriage* published in 1937 describes orgasm as a climax reached in the sexual act after distinctly pleasurable sensations. Even in the female, in his opinion, it is marked by muscular contractions as in the male, the difference lying in the fact that whereas the male ejaculates semen, in the female it results in "the expulsion of secretions from various glands in the vaginal and uterine walls"⁽⁸⁾

Lewis M Terman interested in the study of marital happiness studied more than a thousand couples and published the results of his study in 1938 in his *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*. Due to the great insistence on female orgasm as an important factor in marital happiness voiced by sexologists, Terman sought detailed information on wives' orgasm. In his question on orgasm he described it as "a climax of intense feeling followed by quietude and a feeling of relief"⁽⁹⁾. It is seen that the psychologists speak of orgasm in terms of feeling only.

Prof. F. H. A. Marshall, the well known British authority on the physiology of reproduction, writing in 1949⁽¹⁰⁾, has only this much to say about female orgasm: "From

from that of the male. The following description of it given by her is to be carefully noted in view of the American writing on the subject, particularly the convictions of Kinsey and his collaborators to be presently noted: "Feminine sex enjoyment radiates throughout the whole body; it is not always centred in the genital organs; even when it is, the vaginal contractions constitute, rather than a true orgasm, a system of waves that rhythmically arise, disappear and re-form, attain from time to time a paroxysmal condition, become vague, and sink down without ever quite dying out."

Between the appearance of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male* and that of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* in 1953 by Alfred C. Kinsey and his collaborators, there appeared an important comparative study of sexual behaviour. C. S. Ford, an anthropologist, and F. A. Beach, a psychologist, collaborated in this comparative study and brought out their book *Patterns of Sexual Behaviour* with an introduction by Prof. F. A. E. Crew. It should be remembered that F. A. Beach, though he is a professional psychologist now, formerly made a number of outstanding contributions on the physiology, neurology, biochemistry and psychology of mating behaviour in a number of different animal species ranging from rats and dogs to men. Ford and Beach inform their readers that orgasm, which is otherwise called 'climax', "refers primarily to subjective sensations accompanying the peak of sexual arousal and usually followed by a release of emotional tension as well as partial or complete loss of responsiveness to sexual stimulation." They have drawn pointed attention to the fact that there is no positive indication of such a climax in females of infra-human species.^[13] The sources of sexual satisfaction in females are "subtle

and obscure', and female orgasm is not needed for impregnation. Whereas male orgasm is associated with ejaculation that of the female has no such accompaniment. The primary stimulation and excitement as indicated by heart rate is derived in the female from penetration and continued insertion. The physiological changes recorded in the heart rate of females show four peaks and these are appraised as orgasms through "experience and learning". The changes themselves are relatively minor and that explains the fact that some women are never certain that they have an orgasm. 'Finally', they observe, 'the fact that some women can find intercourse pleasant and satisfying without experiencing any violent sexual climax may be interpreted as reflecting the primary importance of stimulation which evokes a more or less steady physiological response and may totally lack any climactic features' [14]

It is seen that the concept of female orgasm even among the serious students of sexual behaviour and the physiology of reproduction is nebulous. It may or may not have physical aspects. Some think that the subjective or psychological satisfaction constitutes it. Dr Dickinson and Hamilton speak more in physical terms of spasm, though they are not sure that these are always strong enough for being commonly appraised by the females participating in the sexual act.

✓ With Kinsey and his collaborators female orgasm becomes a purely physical event. At the peak of sexual response according to them, when neuro muscular tensions have accumulated, there ought to occur a sudden release. This release from neuro muscular tensions is immediately followed by or expressed in "a series of muscular spasms or convulsions". The spasms are

"the after-effects of orgasm", while the "explosive discharge of neuro-muscular tensions" are the orgasm. The muscular spasms usually involve the entire body sometimes being of the type of "extreme convulsions" It is only sometimes that they are localized and so mild as to be described as "slight movements" of some part of the body. The more extreme convulsions resemble those observed in epilepsy. In their most extreme type they may prompt the subjects not only to moan, groan, or scream as if in torture, but also to twist the head or the hips or thrust forward arms and legs. Some individuals experiencing orgasm may "roll over a distance of several feet or yards", crushing, kicking or punching during the process the sexual partner involuntarily [16]

Controverting the general opinion that in females of infra-human species there is no indication of "sudden release", they maintain that there are neuro muscular tensions but only they occur "without the explosive discharge which characterizes orgasm". So "explosive discharge", a partaking of the nature of epilepsy, is the hall mark of the orgasm which must be experienced by a human female in her sexual activity. While Kinsey and his collaborators are prepared to make the above remarks, only two pages after, they almost qualify them by their statement that "apparently most individuals among most of the species just cited do not appear to reach orgasm in any of their sexual activities". Naturally in that context they have to conclude that the human female is "unique among the mammals in her capacity to reach orgasm with some frequency and regularity" [16]

Kinsey and his collaborators, who appear to be almost cocksure about the nature of female orgasm at some places, frankly admit that the "mechanism of the explosive

discharge"—and it should be kept in mind that the explosive discharge itself constitutes orgasm according to these writers—is not understood. Yet, being quite certain that even torturesome spasms are a part and parcel of the orgasm, and finding that the fact of female orgasm in infra human species is yet hard to be accepted by competent authorities, they point out the disharmony inherent in human life. They are convinced that "most persons" look upon orgasm with its "after-effects" as "one of the most supreme of physical satisfactions" [17]

It is the insistence on the physical side which is directly stated in the foregoing quotation that has led me to state that female orgasm in Kinsey's opinion is only a physical event. It is necessary to impress this aspect on the reader to enable him to appraise the value of the study of the sexual behaviour of American females which Kinsey and his collaborators have presented in their book and also to evaluate the pattern of sexual behaviour as it emerges from the important studies summarised here. Lest the readers of Kinsey's *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* should miss the point about the purely physical nature of female orgasm, Kinsey and his collaborators have taken particular care to stress it. They controvert the view of "many" psychologists and psychiatrists who hold that "the satisfactions that may result from sexual experience" ensue from the after-effects of orgasm, because such a view, they think, leads the holders to treat "both the release from tensions and the after-effects of that release" together as orgasm. This procedure is not desirable. For there are "several advantages in restricting the concept of orgasm to the sudden and abrupt release itself." And it is in that sense alone that Kinsey and his collaborators have used the term orgasm [18]

The nature of female sexuality is thus seen to be a disputed topic though central to the study of female sexual behaviour. It will not be out of place to state here in brief the views of famous old Indian scholars, particularly because the lore that Vatsyayana, the expert student, has presented in a systematic form about various kinds of coital situations and the detailed instructions for completely 'sexy' experience from the sex act are retailed to occidental readers by various purveyors of sex news.

At the outset it must be stated that Vatsyayana, the sexologist, was also an orthodox Hindu who implicitly believed in the Hindu scheme of life, which attempted to have the best of both worlds through its ideal of the achievement of the four ends of human existence. There was expected, ideally at least, a balance to be established between the claims of man's animal, material, mental and spiritual nature. Satisfaction through sexual activity was one of the four ends and was known as 'Kama' or Eros. Vatsyayana is at great pains to point out that it cannot be and should not be raised to the position of the single value and that the whole aim must be to fulfil 'Kama' in part at least as an aspect of Dharma or 'Duty'. Needless to say, the final end was of course 'Salvation'. He ends his treatise, *Kamasutra*, by an exhortation that the instructions that he has given and the scientific information he has collated are not meant to be used for mere increase of pleasure but are intended to be applied in the proper attainment of a balance of the three ends of Duty, Wealth and Eros.

Vatsyayana has further explained the privileged nature of the subject matter. He has meant the elaborate sex-prescription for the elite, who are well-to-do and can afford to live in large towns in well-appointed and spacious

houses. Vatsyayana's ideal of a happy male, and hence also of a happy female, is aristocratic.

Vatsyayana thinks of sexuality only in its relation to coitus. That the nature of the female's reaction to the sexual act is pivotal to any discussion of sexual behaviour was appreciated by Vatsyayana. Very early in his treatment of sex he raises the question of the nature of woman's satisfaction, while discussing the time taken to attain sexual pleasure and the varieties of sexual enjoyment based on it. The term used by Vatsyayana to designate sexual satisfaction is 'Bhava' or 'Feeling'. He discusses the view that there is no pleasure achieved by the female in so far as she is incapable of ejaculating semen as the male does, and comes to the conclusion that it is not correct. The female attains pleasure in the sex act just as the male does. Her pleasure is a continuum, which begins at the onset of the sexual act and continues increasing till the discharge of mucus is stopped through the ejaculation of the semen by the male. The male, on the other hand, attains pleasure only at the ejaculation of semen and consequently at the end of the sexual act. There is further a subjective difference in the nature of the pleasure enjoyed by the female and the male. The male thinks that he has enjoyed the female and the latter that she has been given enjoyment by the male. In other words, the female pleasure in its subjective aspect is surrender while the male pleasure is activity. As there is definite enjoyment for the woman in the sexual act, provided it is carried out properly, it is necessary to see that she derives the pleasure before the man is himself fully satisfied.

About four to five centuries after Vatsyayana produced his *Kamasutra*, Bhavabhuti, a learned Brahmin dramatist writing in Sanskrit in the 8th century A.D., fully utilized

the lore about female sexuality in the plot of his play *Malatimadhava*,^[19] which is a youthful love-story bestrewn with adventures. The way he has used the lore shows how the teachings of Vatsyayana had percolated through the society so that not only the elite but also the ordinarily literate section of the society had made them their own.

Bhavahhuti has given a minute description of the spontaneous orgasm of youthful ladies who are stricken with love, occurring in dreams on two occasions, which provide complementary details. A female friend of the heroine Malati describes to Madhava, the lover of Malati, how Malati manages to have fantasy about him. Malati, after tossing about in her bed in spite of the love remedies, with great difficulty manages to fall asleep. But evidently she is having an embrace of her lover in her sleep-fantasy, for her body drips with perspiration, the tie knot of her lower garment gets loose owing to the accession of emotion, her thighs keep on throbbing, her breasts are heaving and she has thrown her hands on her thighs to cover them. In that condition when she wakes up and finds her bed empty excepting for herself, her eyes close through stupor. Here the fantasy has not proceeded far enough for the union to take place and the orgasm to occur. The Buddhist nun who is the well-wisher of Madhava, on seeing Malati on a previous occasion, judges from her appearance the fact of her having achieved fantasy union and describes its indications thus: "The tie knot of the lower garment is loosened, the upper lip is throbbing, the arms are drooping, the body is perspiring, the eyes are glossy and affectionate yet slightly contracted, the limbs appear stiff, breasts show a continuous tremor, cheeks are horripilated and there is stupor and consciousness combined." The youthful lady, Madayantika, who is Malati's friend and almost another heroine of the play, is led by her female

houses Vatsyayana's ideal of a happy male, and hence also of a happy female, is aristocratic

Vatsyayana thinks of sexuality only in its relation to coitus. That the nature of the female's reaction to the sexual act is pivotal to any discussion of sexual behaviour was appreciated by Vatsyayana. Very early in his treatment of sex he raises the question of the nature of woman's satisfaction, while discussing the time taken to attain sexual pleasure and the varieties of sexual enjoyment based on it. The term used by Vatsyayana to designate sexual satisfaction is 'Bhava' or 'Feeling'. He discusses the view that there is no pleasure achieved by the female in so far as she is incapable of ejaculating semen as the male does and comes to the conclusion that it is not correct. The female attains pleasure in the sex act just as the male does. Her pleasure is a continuum which begins at the onset of the sexual act and continues increasing till the discharge of mucus is stopped through the ejaculation of the semen by the male. The male, on the other hand attains pleasure only at the ejaculation of semen and consequently at the end of the sexual act. There is further a subjective difference in the nature of the pleasure enjoyed by the female and the male. The male thinks that he has enjoyed the female and the latter that she has been given enjoyment by the male. In other words, the female pleasure in its subjective aspect is surrender while the male pleasure is activity. As there is definite enjoyment for the woman in the sexual act, provided it is carried out properly, it is necessary to see that she derives the pleasure before the man is himself fully satisfied.

About four to five centuries after Vatsyayana produced his *Kamasutra*, Bhavabhuti, a learned Brahmin dramatist writing in Sanskrit in the 8th century A.D., fully utilized

but has not touched on the spontaneous orgasm achieved by her. We have to take it that the lubricating mucus profusely discharged owing to intense arousal and satisfaction drops out for lack of coitulation.

Before going further in the direction of assembling the various and varied observations regarding female orgasm, which occupies such a central or pivotal position in the scheme of sexual activity of American females as made out in Kinsey's study and is presented as a mystic yet indispensable end in itself for the achievement of human females by the authors of this famous book it is necessary to draw the reader's attention to a solecism concealed in the argumentation of Kinsey and his collaborators whereby they have rejected and have asked their readers to reject the view of 'some psychologists and psychiatrists' about 'satisfactions that may result from sexual experience'. First of all, it must be pointed out that it is not only 'some' but most psychologists and psychiatrists that subscribe to the view of satisfaction arising from sexual activity. And some of the most leading ones in the line, as is clear from their views about female orgasm quoted or referred to above think that that satisfaction may arise even without the manifestation of the standard orgasm of the sexologists. There are sexologists and gynaecologists, too, who think that sexual satisfaction can and does arise apart from the overt achievement of the standard orgasm. To drive this home to the reader I may refer to the considered and mellow opinion of the veteran gynaecologist and sexologist Van de Velde. In his *Ideal Marriage*^[20] he prefers the ordinary terms culmination or acme, which mean simply 'height' or 'highest point' to the word orgasm to designate the state which he calls "summit of enjoyment". Orgasm thus is merely the culmination of

friend to describe her fantasy and dreams about her lover, Makaranda. The whole passage is a graphic description by a youthful lady of her sexual arousal and the orgasm. On hearing the sweet voice of her beloved calling her affectionately the lady's heart palpitates and the bosom throbs outrageously on his holding the end of the upper garment as it falls off the breasts; the lady bashfully steps back letting the garment go and covers her breasts with her crossed hands; she moves to go away from her beloved but finds her movement checked by the girdle slipping from the waist over the thighs and constricting them; the lover on his part in spite of her angry protestations, with his eyes dilated, laughs and locks her up in his arms and plays with his face over the whole of her face and begs for sexual union; the youthful maiden on her part gets thoroughly aroused by the attractive touch of the lover's throbbing nether lip placed at about the lobe of the left ear, and the passionate lover has his eyes rolling in a dull manner owing to nervous delight. With this dream experience, the youthful maiden says, she wakes up and finds that she is all alone. The description of the arousal is complete but its denouement is left out. It would have been indecorous to allow the maiden herself to describe the resulting orgasm. The dramatist is bent on describing it, however. He uses the naughty female friend to eke out the remaining description of the orgasm through a question. It may be directly presented thus. At that stage on her waking up, the maiden finds that either the bed, the bedsheet or the base of her thighs has become wet (literally, 'fit to be screened from the eyes of the servants'). The wetting is the sign of female orgasm achieved spontaneously. Here Bhavabhuti has gone beyond Vatsyayana who has discoursed on the nature of the sexual pleasure achieved by a female in coitus

but has not touched on the spontaneous orgasm achieved by her. We have to take it that the lubricating mucus profusely discharged owing to intense arousal and satisfaction drops out for lack of occultation.

Before going further in the direction of assembling the various and varied observations regarding female orgasm, which occupies such a central or pivotal position in the scheme of sexual activity of American females as made out in Kinsey's study and is presented as a mystic yet indispensable end in itself for the achievement of human females by the authors of this famous book, it is necessary to draw the reader's attention to a solecism concealed in the argumentation of Kinsey and his collaborators whereby they have rejected and have asked their readers to reject the view of "some psychologists and psychiatrists" about "satisfactions that may result from sexual experience".

First of all, it must be pointed out that it is not only "some" but most psychologists and psychiatrists that subscribe to the view of satisfaction arising from sexual activity. And some of the most leading ones in the line as is clear from their views about female orgasm quoted or referred to above, think that that satisfaction may arise even without the manifestation of the standard orgasm of the sexologists. There are sexologists and gynaecologists, too, who think that sexual satisfaction can and does arise apart from the overt achievement of the standard orgasm. To drive this home to the reader I may refer to the considered and mellow opinion of the veteran gynaecologist and sexologist Van de Velde. In his *Ideal Marriage*[29] he prefers the ordinary terms, culmination or acme, which mean simply 'height' or 'highest point' to the word orgasm to designate the state which he calls "summit of enjoyment". Orgasm thus is merely the culmination of

enjoyment which the sexual act produces. The course of this accession of tension and its release in maximum enjoyment is somewhat different in the female from that in the male. Nevertheless, as he observes: "In normal and perfect coitus, mutual orgasm must be almost simultaneous; the usual procedure is that the man's ejaculation begins and sets the woman's acme of sensation in train at once. The time it takes for the sensation . . . to translate itself into supreme delight is less than a second" Secondly, to hold that satisfactions arising out of sexual activity of the human female are due to the after-effects of female orgasm does not necessarily require the merging of the after-effects, the spasms as Kinsey and his collaborators have specified them, with the orgasm itself, if it can be properly distinguished from its after-effects. If orgasm cannot be accurately demarcated from the effects of the release or rather if the so-called "explosive discharge" is known through the physical state into which it results then the distinction tried to be made out by Kinsey and his collaborators is a very subjective view without its physical counterpart and can be accepted only if the "advantages" claimed for such a distinction are valid. Unfortunately, Kinsey has nowhere detailed the "several advantages" he claims for his view. And the only advantage I can discern is such that it enables Kinsey and his collaborators to raise female orgasm to the status of a mystic entity by claiming that "some, and perhaps most persons may become momentarily unconscious at the moment" of orgasm, and some may remain unconscious or only vaguely aware of reality throughout the spasms" that follow^[21]. It also provides a justification for Kinsey and his collaborators to treat female sexuality by itself without its being considered in relation to coitus and even more so to marital happiness.

There are some fairly significant contradictions and exaggerations in the characterization of female orgasm given by Kinsey and his collaborators which next invite our attention in order to clarify the issue. And here is the proper occasion to ask the reader to take note of one important feature of the elaborate and protracted investigation carried out by these authors. It is beyond question that the total sample of female sexual behaviour studied by these indefatigable workers is by far the largest that has been used by any student of American sexual behaviour. The number of females and more so the total volume of female sexual activity on the basis of which conclusions are formed is in fact larger than the sum of all that has formed the basis of the studies by Davis, Hamilton, Dickenson and Terman combined. The studies of the last three authors entirely and of the first author very largely were concerned with female sexual behaviour not in itself and by itself but in relation to marital happiness.

Lewis Terman[22] stating the problem of his study drew attention to the chaotic condition of opinion on the determinants of marital happiness. He quoted the findings and opinions of Dickinson and Beam and juxtaposed that of Van de Velde regarding the importance of the sex factor and sex techniques for marital happiness and justified his attempt at getting reliable data from the experience of married persons in order to ease the chaotic condition and establish, if possible, a consistent view. He has devoted about 130 pages or about one fourth of the book to present his varied data about sexual correlates of marital happiness. In his concluding observations he emphatically overstates that most of the previous studies on marriage and marital happiness which were made by members of the medical profession overstated the importance of sexual

factors to the neglect of psychological ones, "all the sex factors combined being far from being the one major determinant of success in marriage" As for the various sex techniques advised by certain sexologists he says that they "may be worth cultivating for their immediate sensual returns, but they exert no appreciable effect upon happiness scores" These techniques further do not show any "very marked effect on the wife's ability to experience the orgasm" Nor is this a calamity for marriage, though the wife's orgasmic adequacy appears to be of equal importance with the difference in the sex-drive of the couple as a determinant of marital happiness For, the association of orgasmic adequacy with marital happiness is only slightly higher than that of parental happiness and "adequacy of the wife favours happiness but does not guarantee it" In the sample studied "there are numerous marriages in which both spouses have very high happiness scores despite the fact that orgasm is never experienced by the wife [23]

The authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* while discussing the significance of orgasm show their full awareness of the fact that without achieving the orgasm the human female can feel "considerable pleasure" and engaged in coitus with her husband can have satisfaction from her realization of her contribution to his happiness They are, however, fully convinced that non achievement of the orgasm is not only 'one of the most frequent sources' of marital dissatisfaction but also starts other tensions leading to breakage [24] They have not presented any data for their statement Terman's conclusion quoted above does not uphold it And Kinsey and his collaborators in the planning of their enquiry completely ignored that aspect

✓ This indifference or rather utter neglect of the happiness aspect of sexual behaviour cannot be justified on the ground that they are concerned only with sex and its operation in the unmarried population. That the unmarried females, those that have to, or choose to, remain single to a mellow old age or at least past middle age as well as those that manage to settle down as married females, have sex urge which requires to be thought of in a society which has a code of sex morals is a self-evident truth to be doubted only by the callous or the unthinking. Females remaining single till the age of twenty five or thirty in pursuit of more education or of better equipment for economic sufficiency have been expected to remain virgins of course, but also *chaste*. Their number in America is fairly large. Their sexual behaviour under the combined stress of erotic development and cultural values and restraints is not only a matter for serious study but also for bold thought and radical action. But that does not justify treatment of the sexual behaviour of the married female as if only the sex of the female partner was involved in it much less as if only the achievement of orgasm from whatever source and not the marital happiness of the female partner, and even that of the couple was the end. And it must be remembered that out of about 6000 females whose sexual behaviour is studied and analysed approximately 2400 or 40 per cent are married females.

Enthronement of female orgasm which as we have seen, is not a very well defined concept, and which even American women in spite of its being dinned into their ears for about a quarter of a century, find it not easy to grasp, forms the keystone of the arch raised by Kinsey and his collaborators in their *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*. And orgasm as has been noted by most students

of female sexuality including Kinsey, is definitely not achieved by between 33 to 46 per cent of American wives [25]

The group of 1000 married women studied by Katharine Davis[26] was a homogeneous sample of American females above the average in education. Davis thought that it might not be a truly representative "cross section of American womanhood". It may be taken as representative of highly educated American females. The expectations of the females forming that group as to marital happiness are likely to be higher than those of the wives in the less educated sections. These females are likely, too, to be more discriminating in their reactions and more analytical in their attitude to the questions asked. As such their replies to the question about their marital happiness have greater validity than the replies of other wives. Of the wives who answered the question about their marital happiness 88.3 per cent declared their married life to have been happy. The average age of the women at the time of enquiry was 38 years, and the average age at which marriage had taken place was 25.7 years. The total average span of married life at the time, when Davis' married women declared to her that their married life was happy, was a little over 12 years, not altogether a short period. Dr Davis did not think it necessary to put in a question about orgasm to her married women though she posed it, along with a definition quoted above, to her unmarried subjects. She thought it more proper to ask the married women whether they found the married relations pleasurable or otherwise, and also whether they thought the degree of intensity of sex impulses and satisfactions of themselves to be equal to or greater or less than those of their husbands. It is the satisfaction, both

comparative and total, based on the sexual act within marriage that was the focus of attention.

Of the 872 women comprising the happy group of the sample, 866 answered the first question and 842 the second. 52.4 per cent of the women of the happy group reported their married relations to be entirely pleasurable; while only 15.5 per cent of the unhappy married women had such relations. Even taking all the cases of distasteful married relations reported by the happy group as cases of entirely distasteful married life we find that only 11.1 per cent of the happily married women found their married relations distasteful. As against this in the unhappy group of married women 15.5 per cent reported such distasteful married relations. It is noteworthy that 64.4 per cent of the happily married women thought that the intensity of sex impulses and satisfactions of their husbands were greater than theirs, 32.8 per cent were of the opinion that they were about the same as theirs and only 2.8 per cent asserted that their sex impulses and satisfactions were greater than those of their husbands.

Dickinson and Beam enter into the details of sexuality by reference to orgasm and discuss its relation to sexual adjustment in marriage. 12 per cent of the women who were fully adjusted to marriage never had orgasm, while among the unadjusted group there were 15 per cent who were in that predicament.[²⁷]

✓ When the concept of orgasm is so nebulous and its achievement not necessarily a guarantee of marital adjustment and happiness it is utterly wrong of Kinsey and his collaborators to have enthroned it so as to treat it by itself in the case of married women.

Causally related to this utter neglect of marital happiness in relation to orgasm is their insistence that vaginal orgasm

is a misnomer and that vaginal pleasure is not proved. They assert that the vagina is not an important centre of "erotic stimulation". Finding it necessary to recognise the occurrence of vaginal spasms in coitus they explain them away as 'simply an extension of the spasms' involving the whole body, which may occur among some women. Admitting that vaginal contractions "may prove a source of considerable pleasure" for both the partners to the sex act they assert that it is difficult to determine if their absence 'represents any loss of pleasure for a female' [20]

The full significance of their attitude to orgasm and its independence of satisfaction and even of vaginal contractions can be understood if I were to state that according to them the American women of the Davis, Dickinson and Terman samples who were having no orgasm and yet were happy in their marriage had no business to be so or had erred in stating their feelings. Witness for example their reasoning about the "goodly number of the married females" of their sample who never or rarely reach orgasm in marital coitus. They do not feel surprise at the fact, not because they acknowledge it as a constitutional characteristic, but because they ascribe it to "limited understanding of the nature and significance and desirability of orgasm" [21]

REFERENCES

- 1 *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1928) pp 32-3
- 2 *The Sexual Question* (1927) p 57
- 3 *Loc cit.*, pp 95-6
- 4 *Research in Marriage* (ed III 1948) pp 25 153-4
- 5 *Loc cit* pp 60 61 64
- 6 *Ibid.*, p 67
- 7 First published in 1934 XIV impression (1935) p 200

8. *Loc. cit.*, p. 46.
 9. *Loc. cit.*, p. 300.
 10. *Sex in Social Life* by Sybil Neville-Rolfe, p. 94.
 11. *Loc. cit.*, Vol. II, pp 71-79.
 12. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 387-9.
 13. *Op cit.*, pp 282, 38, 243.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-7.
 15. pp. 627, 631, 632.
 16. *Ibid.*, p. 631.
 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 631-2.
 18. *Ibid.*, 627-8.
 19. III, 12- ; II, 5 ; VII, 1 .
 20. First published in 1928. References are made to the Twenty-first Impression, published in 1949, pp. 127, 151, 158-61.
 21. *Op. cit.*, p. 628.
 22. *Op cit.*, p. 7.
 23. *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 366, 373-4.
 24. *Op. cit.*, pp. 358, 371.
 25. Ford & Beach, *Patterns of Sexual Behaviour*, p. 33 , Terman, p 379 ; Kinsey and others, p 373.
 26. *Op. cit.*, pp. 39, 42, 62, 153 , 72-3
 27. *Op. cit.*, p. 61.
 28. *Op. cit.*, pp 582-3, 632-3.
 29. *Ibid.*, p 373.
-

MARRIAGE AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

Sexual behaviour of American married women has been studied by Davis, Terman and Kinsey and his collaborators. The married women whom Davis studied were on an average 38 years of age at the time of enquiry. They represented American educated women who were born before A D 1900. The average age at marriage of the women studied was 26 years and their marriage had lasted for about 12 years at the time of enquiry. The Terman group of wives^[1] having been about 36 years old in about A D 1937, when the enquiry was started, represent American women of more or less the same cultural level as the Davis group, but born after A D 1900. The average length of their marriage was somewhat over 11 years. The median age of the Kinsey^[2] group of married women is 34 years and the median span of married life just a little over 7 years, the median age at marriage having been 23 years. As regards educational and cultural level the sample is a much more mixed one, there being about 25.6 per cent of them with higher education and about 32.4 per cent with lower education. About 25.2, 37.1 and 25 per cent of them were born in the 1920-29, 1910-19 and 1900-09 decades respectively. The sample as a whole, therefore, is representative more of the American women born after A D 1910 than of those born before.

The most significant difference in the sexual behaviour of the American married female of the Davis-Terman samples and the Kinsey sample is manifest in the attitude

towards extra-marital sex relations of the three investigators. Davis did not think it either necessary or proper to ask her subjects any question about extra-marital sex relations. Terman^[3], coming on the scene about seventeen years later, was restrained from inquiring about extra-marital sexual activity by prudential as well as methodological considerations. He was sure of its existence and spoke of it as "sexual infidelities", which expression may be particularly noted. Dickinson and Beam were in a privileged position and used it to extract the information. † Davis^[4] satisfied herself by asking her subjects to express their opinion if extra-marital sexual intercourse may be indulged in, and whether conditionally or unconditionally. Of the 955 married females that answered the question 63.4 per cent flatly said 'no' unconditionally. Only 8 women *i.e.*, not even 1.0 per cent opined that extra-marital sexual intercourse might be indulged in, and 12.6 per cent of the women justified it only conditionally. Terman^[5], the psychologist, varied his question into one about desire for extra-marital sex intercourse and the frequency of such desire, if any. 73.4 per cent of the wives asserted that they never felt such a desire; and among the rest 26.6 per cent there were only 3.5 per cent of the total who admitted its very frequent or frequent existence. Of the 363 wives of the Dickinson-Beam^[6] group, who were completely adjusted in their marriage, only about 3 per cent had extra-marital sexual intercourse. From such modest proportions the practice of extra-marital coitus rises to significant volume in the Kinsey sample of American women.

On the whole the Kinsey sample represents more the values and practice of American women brought up after the First World War. They thus reflect the climate

of the third and the fourth decades of the twentieth century, while Dickinson's subjects breathe that of the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century.

Kinsey has made an independent study of his great book, a highly difficult task, by not describing his sample in a straightforward manner at an appropriate place and by not explaining small discrepancies in numbers that naturally occur from time to time. With these handicaps, I proceed to present some of the main results of the study. The number of married females whose extra marital sexual activity is recorded is 514 [7]. The percentage of married females indulging in extra-marital coitus is thus 21.8, *i.e.*, more than seven times the percentage of such women in the group of maritally adjusted American women studied by Dickinson and Beam. Besides, there were married women in the sample who, though they did not go as far as coitus in their extra marital sexual activity, indulged in what is conventionally known in America as 'petting', a form of sexual indulgence which stops short of actual coitus only. Kinsey informs us that his record on this point is incomplete. The information recorded for only about 1100 married women revealed that there were 16 per cent of them who indulged in such extra marital sexual behaviour. That the extra marital petting is of the type popularly described as 'hot' petting and completely sexual in character is proved by the fact that the percentage of women reaching orgasm is very high, over 92 per cent of them doing so.

Data regarding intent to indulge in extra marital coitus is provided by the investigators in respect of about 1700 married women. Strangely and unfortunately, of the women indulging in extra marital intercourse, the number

of those whose intent to continue it or not is known is very small, being 165 out of the total of 514. 44 per cent of those who have indicated whether they intend to continue their practice of extra marital intercourse are definite that they do not want to go on with it, while 28 per cent are equally definite in favour of the continuance of the practice. The percentage of doubtful ones 28 is rather high. Of the women who were not indulging in such sexual behaviour 5 per cent asserted that they intended extra marital coitus and 12 per cent were doubtful. Taking all the women who answered the question about their intent to have or not to have extra marital coitus without further reference to their current practice in the matter Kinsey and his collaborators state that 7 per cent of them are positive that they intend to have it 14 per cent doubtful and 79 per cent are definitely against it. This means that compared with the opinions of the married women of the Davis sample those of the Kinsey sample are about 600 per cent more in favour of extra marital coitus or sex relations. In comparison with the desires of the Terman group in this behalf women of the Kinsey sample even those whose current practice does not involve extra marital coitus are much more inclined towards it as 5 per cent are positive and 12 per cent doubtful as against 3.5 per cent with frequent or very frequent desires and 8.3 per cent occasional desire in the Terman group. Extra marital sex relations among the more recent American women not only show a much greater currency but also are less undesired than among the group born before A D 1910.

Kinsey and his collaborators have provided further details which enable the reader to assess the length of the period over which such practice has been indulged in

and also the duration of marriage. Such details are listed for 404 married women.[³] Of these 39.6 per cent were married for 16 to 30 years; and about 25 per cent of them had indulged in extra-marital coitus for 11 to 21+ years. About 25 per cent of the married women had thus treated extra-marital coitus as a companion during the largest part of their married life of about 16 to 30 years. Considering all the women married for 6 to 30 years for whom information is available, it is seen that about 36 per cent of them indulged in extra-marital coitus for one year or less and about 28 per cent for 6 to 21+ years.

According to the standard norm of human marriage in general and American marriage in particular females are expected to confine their sex life within marriage. Not only must they not have extra-marital sexual relations after marriage but must also not have sex relations before marriage. Extra-marital sex relations can have legal consequences whereas pre-marital sexual relations, if entered into after legal majority, can have none. So far we have seen the extent to which progressively American women have been setting at naught the norm regarding marital sexual behaviour. There are some finer points connected with the practice of extra-marital coitus, the study of which will further enlighten us on the precise nature of the challenge involved, but before dealing with them, it will be convenient to proceed with the study of the pre-marital coital activity of the married women of the Kinsey sample of 2354.

Kinsey and his collaborators have nowhere clearly stated how many of their married women had indulged in pre-marital coitus; and I have to draw upon somewhat indirect sources to get at the figure. From Table 78 (p. 336) it is seen that the number of such women is 1230.

Thus 52.3 per cent [9] of the married women, whose sexual behaviour is being analysed, had pre-marital coital experience. In the Davis[10] group only 13.4 per cent of the women had pre-marital sex intercourse. The married females studied by Terman[11] had a much larger proportion of those having had pre-marital sex intercourse, 36.9 per cent of the total. Terman observed that pre-marital sex experience and desire for extra-marital intercourse are interrelated as both of them are influenced in the same direction by the strength of sex drive and the laxity of the standard of sexual behaviour. Terman's observation may be turned into a more comprehensive and specific association between pre-marital intercourse and desire for an indulgence in extra-marital intercourse. Kinsey and his collaborators have studied the intensity of this association in their sample of married women. Of the married women having extra-marital coitus 68.3 per cent came from those who had pre-marital intercourse and 31.7 per cent from those who did not indulge in pre-marital coitus. Thus the contribution to the total of married women having extra-marital coitus made by the group of women with pre-marital coital experience is more than double that of the group without pre-marital coital experience. This gives us the sexual past of the married women indulging in extra-marital coitus and we may conclude that the sexual past is a potent force in deciding the sexual behaviour within marriage.

We may also view the pre-marital sexual behaviour as it shapes itself under marriage to discover the influence of marriage, if any. Of the married women who had pre-marital coitus only 28.6 per cent were indulging in extra-marital coitus. We may conclude that marriage acted as a solvent or a deterrent or both for a very large

number I might have stated that they formed 71.4 per cent of the women but for the fact that a fair part of the pre-marital coital experience of the married women was with their fiancés only 46 per cent^[12] of the women with pre marital experience had their pre marital coital experience only with their fiancés. That women without pre marital coital experience should indulge in extra-marital coitus appears on the face of it to be a sad commentary on American marriage. But the strangeness of the situation is relieved to some extent by our knowledge that in this sample as in other samples too there were a number of women who had indulged in pre marital sexual activity other than coitus. It is essential to know the extent of pre-marital practice of forms of sexuality other than coitus in order to assess properly the influence of marriage on sexual behaviour.

In the Davis^[13] sample of the 895 women for whom specific information regarding their sexual behaviour before marriage is listed, 92.1 per cent indulged in either masturbation homo sexual relations or 'spooning'—which sexual technique is designated petting in Kinsey's work—from 14 years to marriage, i.e. for about 12 years before marriage the average age at marriage having been 25.7 years. Terman^[14] has provided data about the prevalence of adolescent petting 'spooning' or 'necking' but not about masturbation or homo-sexual practices. 40.4 per cent of the 772 married women who supplied information about their pre marital sexual activity had indulged in 'petting' very frequently frequently or some times, and 59.6 per cent either never or rarely.

Kinsey and his collaborators have presented their data in such a manner that it is almost impossible to be certain about figures for a particular sexual technique being

correctly representative of the sample. In Table 59 (p. 272) the number of women forming the total married sample is given as 2452 and we are told that 20 married females have been omitted for lack of information about the length of petting experience. Thus the strength of the total married sample appears to be 2472 and in Table 1 the ever married of all ages including 71 years number 2480, yet in the foot note to Table 113 (p. 408) it is suggested that the total was only 2354. The largest number for which information is provided is 2244. In Table 59 itself though the total in the second column is given as 2452, the actual sum of the figures in the next four columns, which ought to make up the total given in the second column, is only 2396. It is obvious that the number indulging in petting included those also who tried one or many of the other sexual techniques. And we must try to get the approximate number of those women who attempted one or many of the sexual techniques other than pre-marital coitus.

Table 109 presents data regarding orgasm in pre-marital sexual activity of 2211 married females. 1129 of them, or somewhat over 51 per cent, had carried on sexual techniques other than coitus. But this cannot be the percentage of females indulging in sexual techniques other than pre-marital coitus in the whole sample of 2354 married women for, as we have seen above those who had indulged in pre-marital coitus formed 52.3 per cent of the total. The percentage of married women who indulged, before marriage in other sexual techniques unaccompanied by coitus may be taken to be about 48. Of those about 15 per cent indulged in extra-marital coitus. That marriage did provide a solution for a large number of women with pre-marital sexual experience other than coitus is clear.

Whether indulgence in pre-marital coitus by 52.3 per cent of the married women, practice of other sexual techniques by about 48 per cent, and indulgence in extra-marital coitus by 28.6 per cent of the former group and about 15 per cent of the latter, indicate an aspect of bankruptcy of marriage in America as asserted by V. F. Calverton[¹⁶] in 1928 or practical liberalization of the marital code as advocated by the philosopher Bertrand Russell[¹⁵] in 1929 or still more radical modification of it as preached by the Frenchmen, Rene Guyon[¹⁷], the sexologist, and Leon Blum[¹⁸], the politician, can be appraised only on further analysis of sexual behaviour of the American female, unmarried, married or previously married.

In our quest, we shall start with a study of extra-marital petting. In a society, where some kind of kissing is a public demonstration of friendship and where mixed dancing with exiguously attired females late at night to the accompaniment of exciting music and exhilarating drinks is an elite form of enjoyment, extra-marital petting could have been avoided only if the strictest of rules existed on this point. If there is a slight leniency in the rigidity of the behaviour pattern or if there is the least demur to it in the individual's mind, extra-marital petting can flourish like weeds in marshy places. Kinsey and his collaborators[¹⁹] are convinced that dances, dinner parties, cocktail parties, picnics and such other engagements have come to be looked upon as semi-licensed occasions for petting, especially extra-marital petting. They regret that their information on the point is incomplete. Yet, though their records contained fairly complete data on extra-marital petting of 1090 married women of their sample, for reasons not revealed, they have desisted from presenting them fully to their readers.

They offer partial insights. Thus they state that "some 16 per cent" of the women whose records are complete in this respect, had engaged in extra marital petting. That the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have not realized the full significance of the different grades of petting techniques as they call them is clear from the way they have vouchsafed to their readers further scraps of information on extra marital pettings, almost in a casual manner. "More than half" of the 175 or so of the married women who had indulged in extra marital petting "had accepted breast and genital contacts"[²⁰] In the description of the pre marital petting, breast and genitalia contacts are both distinguished in two grades, manual stimulation and oral stimulation. The only information on this specific point that is offered is that 'in some cases they had accepted mouth genital contacts'. Are we to infer that the breast contacts accepted by "more than half" of the women concerned were all cases of oral stimulation? One is not sure. Thus unwitting ambiguity becomes still worse when one reads the dubiously informative remark that "something short of 15 per cent of the females in the sample had reached orgasm in this extra marital petting". Leaving aside the ambiguity caused by the use of the words 'the sample,' which on this particular page straightforwardly would apply to the whole sample of over 5000 females, as a solcism, they may still be interpreted to refer either to the 175 or so women, who indulged in extra marital petting, or to the 1090 married women whose extra marital record is complete. On the whole, I am inclined to refer the words to the 1090 married women, information about whose extra marital petting is complete. Thus about 160 married women of the sample had indulged in extra marital petting to the point of orgasm. Of these 20 or 21 women had started the petting activity with a

view to achieving orgasm. The rest began the petting activity without the intent of achieving orgasm but were, evidently, carried on to it through the exciting and exhilarating nature of the higher grades of petting.

The ambiguity of information thus presented by the authors is further intensified by the fact that in Table 171 (p. 562), where the total sexual outlet^[21] of the females of the whole sample is analysed by civil status and age-group, the entry for extra marital outlet is "Coitus and Petting, extra marital" and not "extra marital coitus" as one expects.

Waving all the nice points discussed with regard to extra marital petting let us assume as reasonably correct the fact of about 16 per cent of the married females of the Kinsey sample having indulged in extra marital petting. We have seen that Kinsey's data about extra marital coitus give the volume of it as about 22 per cent of the total. In a group of married women in which 22 per cent are indulging in extra marital coitus if we find another 16 per cent indulging in extra marital petting I do not think that we can validly conclude that extra marital petting is looked upon as 'less immoral than coitus' as Kinsey and his collaborators remark. Under these circumstances the observation of these writers that a considerable amount of public petting is allowed between married adults is highly misleading in the context. The sort of petting allowed in public at various convivial occasions can hardly be the whole gamut of techniques detailed by Kinsey and his collaborators and must be confined to only such grades as are not deeply sexual.

Kinsey's readers must be warned against a facile interpretation of his data and his comments in this respect in his

treatment of extra marital petting current among American married women. They are likely to conclude that Kinsey and his collaborators^[22] who in another connection are very particular to remark that there is every gradation between a simple good night kiss or a friendly embrace and a kiss or an embrace which is definitely sexual in its intent and consequences mean that all the 16 per cent or so of the cases of extra marital petting are of the definitely sexual type.

Where the extra marital petting data are not systematically presented it would be preposterous to expect its analysis by decade of birth of the married women concerned. And yet such data are not only interesting but instructive and are not available in the two important previous studies viz., of Davis and of Terman.

Statement A summarizes the data about extra marital sex activity of American females of the four well known and properly studied samples. It is seen from it that the American married females of the Kinsey sample indulged in extra marital coitus in a very much larger percentage than those of the earlier sample. They also engaged in extra marital petting a category of sexual activity not listed in respect of married females of the earlier samples. For those out of the four samples fortunately including the earliest one data about desire or intent to engage in extra marital coitus are available. They reveal that the percentage of married women either intending to continue or to engage in extra marital coitus in the Kinsey sample is about 70 per cent higher than that in the Terman sample and more than 100 per cent higher than the percentage of married women of the Davis sample who entertained a desire in varying strength to enter into extra marital coitus. Extra marital sex activity has thus been becoming more

common with American married females during the last quarter of a century

STATEMENT A

*Extra marital Sexuality
and or Desire for it*
(Per cent)

Sexual ty	Day s sampl	D ckinson and Beam sample	Terman sample	Kinsey and others sample
Extra marital Co tus	—	30	—	21.8
Extra marital Petting	—	—	—	16.0
Des re for Extra marital Co tus	0.8 (uncondi- tional)	—	3.5 (very fre- quent or frequent)	*28.0 (those who had it)
	12.6 (occa- sional)		8.3 (occa- sional)	5.0 (those who never had it)
	7.3 (doubt- fully affir- mative)		14.8 (rare)	12.0 (not op- posed)

*The data are about the intent to have extra marital co tus and not about the mere desire for it. The first figure gives the percentage of those who intend to continue their extra marital co tus from among those who were recorded as having had such. The second figure gives the percentage of the women who had not had such co tus but who intend to have it and the third figure is the percentage of women who had not had it but who are not at all opposed to it and may have it.

who reported on their extra-marital sex. I shall now enter into greater details. It is seen from Table 123 (p 444) that the percentage of wives stopping their extra marital coital practice after the first year of their marriage progressively decreases with the length of the duration of marriage. Whereas 51 per cent of the women whose marriage had endured for 6-10 years had abjured extra marital coitus after the first year of their marriage, only 21 per cent had done so from among the women whose marriage had lasted for 21-30 years. Among the women of the intervening durations of marriage, viz, 11-15 years and 16-20 years, the analogous percentages were truly midway, being 37 and 27 respectively. The difference of 14 between the percentages of the first two five year period of duration of marriage is in relative proportion not much different from 10 which is the analogous difference between the percentages of wives stopping their extra marital coital activity after the first year of their marriage among those whose marriage had endured for 11-15 years and 16-20 years respectively. The magnitude of the first difference in terms of the percentage of the first percentage figure is about 28, while that of the latter is 27. The fourth category of marriage-duration which comprises a period double that of any of the other three categories is not strictly comparable with them. But to the extent that it can be held to be comparable it is seen that the percentage more or less toes the line. The magnitude of the difference in the percentages of the wives desisting from extra marital coitus after the first year of their marriage from among the wives married for 16-20 years and those married for 21-30 years is about 23. On the other hand, the percentages of wives of different marital durations who indulged in extra-marital coitus throughout their marital life increase with the length of the duration of marriage and the increase

extra marital sexual outlet, of the women of the three higher age groups viz., 36-40 41-45 and 46-50, the percentages that derived their sexual outlet from that source were 10, 12 and 13 respectively. In the Figure 111 (p 530) the sexual activities of the still higher age group, 51-55 years, are presented from which it is seen that the analogous percentage is lower than not only those of the previous three age-groups but also those of the earlier two age-groups. It should be noted that the percentages of women securing their sexual outlet through masturbation, a non-marital source, had increased from 8 in the age group 31-35 to 10, 11, 11 and 12 in the later four periods. But the increase in the percentage of masturbating married women in the age-group 51-55 was not sufficient to offset the decrease in the percentage of women securing extra marital male source of sexual outlet. These data appear to support the inference that the sexual ageing of the American female of the Kinsey sample of married women began after 50 years of age. Under the circumstances one has to refuse any significance to the ageing or 'played out' aspect of the women as a factor in the decrease of extra marital coital activity of the married women, whose activity data are presented in Table 123, during the later years of their long married life of 21-30 years.

The above conclusion must stand in the present circumstances of our knowledge, which the readers of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* are privileged to have. Nevertheless, I shall point out certain contradictory indications which peep out through the labyrinthine presentation of the data adopted by the authors of this celebrated book. In Table 171 data similar to those for married women are listed for single women and previously married women. They reveal a rather surprising state of affairs about the

volume of non-coital sexual activity in relation to the age-group of the experiencer. In the case of single women masturbatory outlet decreases from 60 per cent in the age group 16-20 years to 37 per cent in the age group 36-40 years but rises to 45 per cent and 52 per cent in the age groups 41-45 and 46-50 years respectively. Homosexual outlet which increases from 4 per cent in the 16-20 years age group to 19 per cent in the 36-40 years group falls to the low percentages of 6 and 4 in the next two groups. Coital outlet which contrary to the trend of the other two outlets, rises from 15 per cent in the age-group 16-20 to 37 per cent in the age-group 36-40 still further rises to 43 per cent in the age group 41-45 years. It would thus seem that single females manage to get male partners in larger numbers beyond the age of 40 years when they get tired of their homosexual technique. But their success is unreal, for not only have they to resort more to masturbatory outlet in this age group of 41-45 but also have they to forego all the percentage increase in their coital outlet in the next age-group of 46-50 years the percentage of such outlet being the same as that in the age group 36-40. Further in the last age group of Table 171, 46-50 years, the masturbatory outlet increases to 52 per cent. Altogether the conclusion that single females in their search for sexual outlet find it necessary after the age of 40 years to depend more and more on their own resources of the masturbatory technique becomes irresistible. Will it be wrong or even unfair to infer that older females say after 40 years of age, find it difficult to secure adequate male partners for their sexual outlet?

* Previously married females is a much smaller sample than those of 'single females' and of 'married females', but in the particular connection under discussion affords

valuable guidance and I propose to use its data presented in Table 171. The coital outlet of this sample of women forms 85 per cent of the total in the youngest age-group, that of 16-20 years. But its percentage progressively diminishes, the next age group suffering a decline of 17 in its percentage. Females of the highest age group, 46-50 years, have only 54 per cent of them securing adequate male partners for their sexual outlet and as many as 43 per cent resort to autoerotic techniques. Previously married females in their heterosexual careering may, *a priori*, be expected to have better chances of success than either married females or single women. They have had some sexual experience as well as knowledge of the male weaknesses and strong points in the matter of sexual activity. Their broken off marriage gives them a sort of a licence in society and removes the great hindrance of the husband-owner in the path of free-prospecting for male partners for coital activity. Yet in the Kinsey sample they are worse off than the married females in their endeavour to secure heterosexual outlet. The greater success of the married women in this venture is rather surprising. And yet it is there.

The higher percentage of extra marital coitus in the total sexual outlet of the women of the Kinsey sample in the later years of their marriage and the higher percentage of success in this venture of married women at ages above 40 years must incline a student of these data to look for something in the standards of marital life that leads to this result.

Kinsey and his collaborators have dwelt on the reasons that lead married women, late in their marriage and their life, to seek sexual satisfaction outside marriage. First, they^[25] observe that the tendency to "accept" extra-

marital coitus is marked among the women born soon after the turn of the century and sexually active after the first World War i.e. in the nineteen twenties. It must be noted that their comment is based on the two tables 119 and 120. I shall draw the readers attention to points of interest arising from the data presented in Table 120 which analyses the active incidence of extra marital coitus. It is seen from that table that among the wives of the age group 16-20 though those born in the decade 1900-1909, which in the opinion of Kinsey and his collaborators showed the clearest tendency to extra marital sexuality, had three times as much extra marital coitus as those born before 1900 that the women born in the next two decades 1909-1919 and 1920-29 indulged in extra marital coitus eleven times and seven times respectively the volume of that activity carried on by women born before 1900. In the next age group 21-25 years, the women born immediately after the turn of the century had only six per cent of their total sexual outlet through extra marital coitus and those born before or after that decade had not more than two per cent of their total outlet through the same source. It is quite clear that in the age group 21-25 years the observation of the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* holds true. The next three age groups support the observation though not as strongly as the second age-group and more by the drop in the volume of this extra marital activity in the group of women born in the decade 1909-1919 than by the relative increase in the same activity of the women born after the turn of the century. Thus in the age group 26-30 years among the women born in the decade 1900-1909 extra marital coitus formed 8 per cent of the total sexual outlet and it had formed only 6 per cent of the same in the women born before 1900. Women born in the later decade had only 4 per cent of their total sexual

outlet through extra marital coitus. In the age groups 31-35 years and 36-40 years the volume of extra marital coitus was equal among the women born in the decade 1900-09 and those born before 1900 but was higher than among those born in the decade 1910-19. The difference in the percentages in the age group 36-40 years between those for pre-1910 born women and post-1910 born ones was more than 230 per cent. In the highest age-group, 41-45 years, the percentages of the total sexual outlet formed by extra-marital coitus among women born before 1900 and those born at the turn of the century were 11 and 14 respectively. I think, the most acceptable conclusion from these figures is that after thirty years of age, though married women of the Kinsey sample indulged more in extra marital coitus than in the previous age-periods, the variation in the volume of such activity between the women born before 1900 and those born in the decade 1900-09 was so slight as not to be regarded as a characteristic difference.

The volume of extra-marital coitus in the different age groups of the women born in the decades 1910-19 and 1920-29 on the other hand are far more interesting and characteristic in their trends. The percentages of extra-marital coitus among women born in the decade 1910-19 are the most variant as between the different age-groups. Among women of the age group 16-20 years the percentage of the total sexual outlet formed by extra marital coitus was 11, whereas in the age-groups 21-25 years, 26-30 years, 31-35 years and 36-40 years it was 1, 4, 5 and 3 respectively. The consistently lower volume of extra marital coitus among females aged 21 and over as compared with that among females aged 16-20 is the most marked feature of the sexual activity of the females of the Kinsey sample.

born in the decade 1910-19. Another feature, more surprising than striking, is the fact that the women born in the decade 1920-29, the most uninhibited in their sexual behaviour, in two higher of the three age groups for which data about the volume of their extra marital coitus are available, indulged in such activity very much less than they did in their earliest age period and also very much less than the women born in the decade 1900-1909. Even more intriguing is the fact that the percentage of extra-marital coitus of these latest born women, which was seven times that of the women born before 1900 in the earliest age-group, 16-20 years only equals it in the next age group and is only one third of it in the age-group, 26-30 years. Somehow, among the women of the Kinsey sample born in the decade 1920-29, who, as is partially seen so far and will be very much more evident as we proceed, are the most uninhibited in their sexual behaviour, those indulging in extra marital coitus tended to have less of it after the age of 20 years.

The above peculiarity of the volume of extra marital coitus in relation to the age period and the birth-decade of the married women leads one to think that the married women of the sample born in the decade 1920-29 found their marital life sufficiently satisfying their sexual needs to enable them to restrict their extra marital sex activity after the age of 20 years. If the inference can be shown to be perfectly sound then the conclusion that marriage is getting to be a more satisfying institution for women than it was in former decades in U S A will be valid. And to judge by the volume of orgasmic achievement within marital coitus as detailed in Table 104 (p 403) the conclusion stands substantiated. Another indication in the same direction is furnished by the data about position of partners

in marital coitus listed in Table 101. Of the 607 married women of the sample who were born in the decade 1920-29, 52 per cent had marital coitus with the female mounting the male and only 6 per cent were using the older and more orthodox position of the male partner mounting the female. The analogous percentages among women born in the decade 1910-19 were 48 and 7 and among those born in the 1900-09, i.e. at the turn of the century, 38 and 10. The differences in the percentages of the two positions as current among women born before 1900 and those born in the latest decade, 1920-29, are of course much greater, those among the former being 38 and 16, as against 52 and 6 among the latter.

REFERENCES

- 1 *Op cit.* p 43
- 2 *Op cit.*, pp 426-528 and Tables 101 and 102. The strength of the total sample given in Table 101 is incorrect and the percentages given above are based on the correct total.
- 3 *Op cit.* p 335
- 4 *Op cit.* p 354
- 5 *Op cit.* pp 335-6
- 6 *Op cit.*, p 218
- 7 Kinsey and others p 477 Tables 122, 123, 124
- 8 The total given in Table 123 (p 444) is incorrect. The percentages given above are based on the correct total.
- 9 On p 477 Kinsey and his collaborators inform their readers that only 50 per cent of all the married females in the sample had had pre-marital coitus."
- 10 *Op cit.*, Table VI (p 233) incomplete figures. The data on pp 59-60 which are complete yield the percentage noted above.
- 11 *Op cit.*, pp 370-339-40
- 12 Kinsey and others, p 292 & Table 78 (p 336)
- 13 *Op cit.*, p 59 Table XVI
- 14 *Op cit.*, pp 255-7
- 15 *Bankruptcy of Marriage*
- 16 *Marriage and Morals*
- 17 *Sexual Freedom* (1st ed 1937)

- 18 *Marriage* (1937)
- 19 *Op cit*, p 426
- 20 *Loc cit*, p 427
- 21 Total outlet covers "those contacts and/or responses which have led to orgasm," *Op cit*, p 511
- 22 *Op cit*, p 510
- 23 *Loc cit*, p 425
- 24 *Op cit*, p 528
- 25 *Op cit*, p 422

III

CAUSES OF EXTRA MARITAL COITUS

The indications that marriage is proving to be a sexually satisfying arrangement to females born in the decade 1920-29, the last that can and has been studied, are not valid evidence for complete solvency of marriage. It must be borne in mind that the wives, who were born in the decade 1920-29, were young at the time when Kinsey and his collaborators studied their sexual habits. And we have seen in the previous chapter that the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have not only furnished data about increase in the volume of extra marital coitus at later ages of wives and in later years of marriage but also have provided their own reasons for it. I must examine their explanation of the increase in the volume and hold in abeyance my final judgment about marriage among the females born in the decade 1920-29.

Kinsey and his collaborators have fixed the malaise of the marriage institution on the American male^[1]. They opine that it is the sexual ageing and variety seeking of the husbands in the later years of marriage that are responsible for the phenomenon of wives of later ages indulging in extra marital coitus in larger volume. They assert that the married women of their sample that sought extra marital coitus in their later years did so not because they were over-sexed but primarily because they failed to get adequate sexual satisfaction from their husbands. They have only a theoretical ground for the statement^[2]. And that is that in the later years of marriage many of the

females had expressed the wish that they could have coitus more frequently than their husbands were then desiring it. They infer from such a nebulous and non numerical statement that not only was there a general decline in the male's sexual interest in the later years of marriage but also that it was the result of his physiologic ageing. On the very next page to the one on which the foregoing assertion is made they take a more circumspect view of the alleged lower interest in and frequency of marital coitus of the male. As an alternative explanation they think of the search for and dependence on not only extra marital contacts but also masturbation by the males of the upper level education. The females of the lower level they say continue to have their sexual outlet through marital coitus.

Let me first examine this statement about the difference in sexual practices between the upper level and the lower level females before considering the general and the broader explanation. In Table 116 (p 440) are presented the facts of extra marital coitus in relation to the age period and the educational level of the women concerned. The numbers in four educational stages and in the seven age groupings greatly vary. I shall take up for consideration those groupings and categories where the data pertain to more than 100 women. In this procedure the first educational category gets dropped as the number of women varies between 52 to 84 only. Taking the other three categories of educational level it is seen that the highest category women had only 1 per cent of their total sexual outlet in the age period 21-25 years through extra marital coitus. In the same age-period in the two next lower categories 3 per cent of such activity in each was carried on through extra marital coitus. In the age-group 26-30

the lowest educational level of our discussion shows the analogous percentage to be 3 and the next two higher ones 7 each. In the next two age-groups the highest percentages of such activity are monopolized by the second stage of the educational levels. In the age group 41-45 years the women of the highest educational level carried on extra marital coitus so intensively and extensively as to achieve through it the high percentage of 16 in their total outlet. The women of the next lower educational level having registered for such activity their highest percentage of 13 in the previous age period of 36-40 years quietened down and could record only the fairly modest percentage of 9. The women whose educational level is represented by '9 12' and who in our discussion form the lowest level took a tremendous spurt. Of their total sexual outlet in the age-period 41-45 years 14 per cent was provided by extra marital coitus. Between 3 the analogous percentage of theirs in the three age periods of 26 onwards or between 5 the percentage of theirs in the age period 36-40 years and 14 their percentage in the age period 41-45 years the margin is much wider than that between the analogous percentages of 7 and 16 of the women of the educational level 17+, which is the highest. It may be concluded that though there is a tendency for extra marital coitus to increase with age which is more consistent with the highest educational level the authors' unqualified and general statement and their explicit assertion that it explains the peculiar tread of the extra marital coitus cannot be accepted as wholly true without further support.

In Table 95 (p. 396) we have the data of marital coitus in relation to age and educational level which is thus the most comparable material. It is seen from that Table that the incidence of coital experience within marriage in

the age period 26-30 years is 99 per cent among the women of all the three levels of education, 9-12, 13-16 and 17. In the next age periods, 31-35 and 36-40 years the lowest educational level registers the percentages of 96 and 97 while the two higher levels keep up their 99 for the earlier period and have 98 for the later, in both cases still higher than that of the women of the lowest age group. In the age period 41-45 years the difference in favour of the two higher educational levels slightly increases, the percentages being 92 and 94 respectively. It is clear that at higher ages from 31 years to 45 years women of the upper educational levels have more marital coitus than the women of the lowest educational level. The difference in the percentage achievement of marital orgasm is even greater. The women in the three age periods from 31 years to 45 years of the lowest educational level achieved marital orgasm in 87 per cent of the cases in the first two and in 81 per cent in the last. The women of the two higher educational levels on the other hand had dropped their percentages to 86 and 87 respectively in the age period 41-45 years from 91 and 93 in the 31-35 years period, a slightly smaller percentage drop than that of the analogous experience of the women of the lowest educational level. One cannot help concluding that the higher educated women of the Kinsey sample were having not only more marital coitus but also a larger amount of orgasmic experience within it at the higher ages than the lower educated women. In Table 102 (p. 401) the data about *orgasmic achievement* in marital coitus in relation to the length of duration of marriage and the educational level of the wives further support the above conclusion. Women of the highest educational level had the lowest percentage of those who were not achieving any orgasm and the highest percentage of those achieving it in all their marital coitus in the

first year of marriage. In the 15th year of marriage their position was maintained with the addition of the signal achievement that 53 per cent of them were enjoying orgasm in almost all their marital coitus whereas among the women of the two lower educational levels the percentages of such women were 42 and 43 respectively. All this flatly contradicts the hesitant indication of Table 116 which is so exaggerated by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*. We may leave aside the alleged importance of the differential sexual practice of lower and higher educated women as a factor explaining the higher incidence of extra-marital coitus among women of higher ages and presumably of longer duration of marriage.

Going a step further I should like to point out that in the data provided by Kinsey and his collaborators there are indications that coital experience and coital orgasm within marriage of the married women of the sample is not such in comparison with their total sexual outlet as to lend support to their contention that the married females of their sample get less and less of sexual satisfaction out of their marriage as they grow older. In other words, the data about marital coitus and orgasm do not unequivocally substantiate the thesis that marriage more and more ceases to be a satisfying arrangement as wives grow older and older. The continuance and stability of the marriage-tie in America is not an external unity but is supported by the internal basis of fair sexual satisfaction within it. Table 93 (p. 394) gives the discriminating reader the material which upholds my contention. I give, in Statement B in a tabular form for easy comprehension, the relevant percentage variation of coital experience and coital orgasm within marriage and of total sexual outlet (Table 154) according to age-periods.

STATEMENT B

Age-periods between which the variation is noted	Coital Experience	Coital Orgasm	Total Sexual Outlet
16-20 and 26-30	-21.4 %	-25.0 %	-22.7 %
26-30 and 36-40	-31.8 %	-33.3 %	-29.4 %
31-35 and 46-50	-47.4 %	-46.2 %	-46.7 %
36-40 and 46-50	-33.3 %	-30.0 %	-33.3 %

The percentage variation in Statement B is based on the median frequency per week of the experience or activity concerned. It is seen in that all the three types of activity decrease with the advancing years of the wives but the decrease is neither uniformly in favour of one of the three types nor in the first and the last two compared age-periods in favour of total sexual outlet. Between the ages of 36 and 50 the percentage decrease in marital coitus is identical with that in the total sexual outlet and the percentage decrease in orgasmic experience within marital coitus is definitely less than in the two other experiences. What is still further significant as an indication of the solvency of American marriage viewed as a sexual union is that the percentage decrease over the twenty year period between 31 and 50 is also in favour of marital orgasm and not the total sexual outlet.

The percentages of marital coitus in relation to the length of duration of marriage listed in Table 112 (p. 403) are a further substantiation of my thesis that American marriage even in the later years of its duration appears to be a fair success judged merely as a sexual union. It is seen from that Table that the percentage of wives going without orgasm in their marital coitus decreases as marriage endures. Whereas in the first year of marriage as many as 25 per cent of the wives go through their marital coitus without achieving orgasm therein, in the 15th year it is only 12 per cent and in the 20th year only 11 per cent have to do without orgasm. Women achieving nearly cent per cent orgasm in marital coitus in the first year of marriage formed only 39 per cent but in the 15th year of their marriage as many as 45 per cent and in the 20th year as many as 47 per cent were enjoying orgasm nearly always in their marital coitus. No data for longer duration of marriage are presented. Women whose marriage endured for twenty years were still finding marital coitus fairly satisfying.

Dissatisfaction with marital coitus either in its volume or in its nature cannot be considered to be an important cause of the increase in the volume of extra-marital coitus of the married women of the Kinsey sample.

Left to myself I should have at this stage referred to the very helpful and definitive data presented by Terman in respect of some 650 married women about their actual frequency of intercourse and the frequency they would have preferred according to the ages of wives and remarked that they do not point significantly in the direction of Kinsey's thesis that wives prefer lower frequency of coitus in the earlier years of marriage and greater frequency in the later years than the actual frequencies current in their marital life. I should not have called in the aid of

Katharine Davis at all. But as Kinsey and his collaborators have referred—in the footnote to page 354 where the statement of their assertion ends—to both Davis and Terman, not only to support their contention by their interpretation of the data of those investigators but also to show that they actually uphold the thesis in a misleading manner, I have to place before readers the facts and emphasize the point that there is not only no support for such a thesis but also that in suggesting such a situation Kinsey and his collaborators have misrepresented both the opinions of Davis and Terman and their data.

Kinsey and his collaborators state that Davis reported that wives in about 64 per cent of the 968 cases which supplied the information preferred "lower rates of coitus early in marriage." Frequency of sex intercourse in early years of marriage is analysed by Davis in her Table X on page 75 and not in Table IX on page 74 which is referred to as the source of their statement by the authors. In Table X the analysis is based on the replies of 972 wives and in Table IX of 958. The topic listed in Table IX is the frequency of sex-desire of husband and wife without any reference to their age or duration of marriage. There is thus no available data in the Davis study for comparing the desired or preferred frequency in relation either to the duration of marriage or the age of wife. Kinsey's reference to the Davis' data bearing on wife's preference for "lower rates of coitus" as contained on page 74 of the book of Davis is thus an unmitigated error. The relevant topic of frequency of sex intercourse is analysed in Table X. But the data are concerned with actual frequency of coitus and not with preferred frequency. Further the actual frequency of coitus "in early years of marriage" is categorised not as high and higher or low and lower but in

terms of 'more than once a day' 'once or twice a week' or 'often or frequently' 'seldom or infrequent' and such other specific terms. Davis herself has not commented on whether particular frequency is lower or higher and has confined her observations to pointing out the mode or the number of greatest frequency and to the fact of its being the lowest in the group of happy wives. Her other remarks which emphasize the contrast between the happy and the unhappy group corroborate the trend for lower frequency of coitus to be associated with the happy group and the higher with the unhappy. One can legitimately conclude from the data and the observations of Davis that in her sample of married women in the early years of marriage there was a definite trend for the happy group to have lower frequency of coitus and for the unhappy group to have higher frequency of it. The comparison is between the happy group and the unhappy group of wives as regards their frequency of coitus in the early years of married life and not between the practice in the early years and that in the later years of marriage of the same group of married women. Evidently Kinsey and his collaborators in their zealous backing of the particular explanation of the increase in extra marital coitus at the higher ages of the married women of their sample made an erroneous perusal of the Davis data and have inadvertently misled their readers in their appraisal.

It must be pointed out that the foregoing conclusion is not wholly borne out by the data about three or four categories of replies regarding frequency but are based only on those for 'More than once a day' as typifying higher frequency of coitus and those for 'Once to three times a month' as representing lower frequency of it. Further the groups envisaged are the rigidly comparable

ones of 116 women each and not the whole group of 872 happy wives as against the unhappy one of 116. In the reference made by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*, they have in view the larger group of happy wives as they refer to 64 per cent of the total. I shall deal with these points before leaving the consideration of alleged support from the Davis data that Kinsey and his collaborators have claimed for their assertion that American women desire lower frequency of coitus in the earlier years of their married life and higher one in the later years and at later ages than those frequencies of coitus which they find current within American marriage or are desired or practised by American husbands. For as will be presently seen there is not only no support for the assertion made by Kinsey and his collaborators but on the contrary that assertion and even the limited and guarded conclusion stated by Davis are contradicted.

In the strictly comparable groups of happy and unhappy wives of 116 each the percentages of the three intermediate categories of frequency of coitus, viz, "Once a day," "Over twice, less than seven times a week" and "Once or twice a week," in the two groups are 11.5 and 9.9, 27.6 and 25.2, and 33.6 and 38.7 respectively. The largest single percentage is claimed by the frequency category listed as "Once or twice a week" and the second largest by that of "Over twice, less than seven times a week." It is seen that whereas in respect of the lower frequency of these two categories the unhappy group claims the larger percentage and the happy group the lower one in respect of the greater frequency category the happy group has the larger percentage. The numerical difference between the percentages of the two groups in the former category of lower frequency of coitus works out at 15.2 per cent longer in the unhappy group.

In the higher frequency category of "Over twice, less than seven times a week" the percentage of happy married women preponderates over that of the unhappy ones by about 9 per cent. So on the whole, there is a slight balance of lower frequency category in favour of the group of wives whose married life turned out to be unhappy. It will be appreciated that a close study of the percentage data about frequency of marital coitus provided by Davis far from supporting the assertion made by Kinsey and his collaborators regarding preference for lower frequency of marital coitus by women in the early years of their married life, it does not even substantiate the very guarded interpretation of her data by Davis, the investigator, that they "certainly indicate a trend" for lower frequency of current coitus among the women of the happily married group.

I shall proceed a step and assert that the data of Davis properly interpreted to some extent may be considered to contradict her interpretation and disprove Kinsey's assertion that in the early years of their married life American women prefer lower frequency of coitus than is either current within marriage or desired by their husbands. It should be noted that the frequency category listed as "Over twice, less than seven times a week" is very much wider than the other category which is described as "Once or twice a week" in point of the number of weekly coitus involved. If we take in the latter case the mean number of coitus per week as 1.5 in the former case it may be as high as 5 per week. Thus in numerical strength the former category of frequency, i.e., the higher, is more than three times the latter, the lower category. On making allowance for this fact in numerical terms we shall find that the slight balance of lower frequency category in favour of the women of the happy group is completely wiped out and a small margin

of higher frequency category is established. This would mean that in the Davis sample of American married women the rigidly comparable group of happy wives were having a slightly higher frequency of coitus than the unhappy ones or that they were not much differentiated from the latter in this respect.

As I have mentioned above Kinsey and his collaborators have made reference to the 64 per cent group out of 968 married women of the Davis sample and that it must be construed to mean the total group of 872 happily married women whose coital practice Davis has analysed. At the very outset of my study of the relevant data furnished by Davis in this behalf I shall state that they not only do not support Kinsey's assertion but also prove Kinsey's interpretation of Davis data as thoroughly erroneous. In the highest frequency category, that "More than once a day" of the 872 happy women there were only 11 so that the difference between the happy and the unhappy groups in this category of frequency was 7 per cent as against 7 between the rigidly comparable groups of happy and unhappy wives of 116 each. In the "Once a day" category too the unhappy group has a larger percentage but in the next category, which in point of the number of coitus is wider than any other, it claims a much larger percentage having 32.4 per cent of them against 25.2 of the unhappy group. In the category of "Once or twice a week" frequency the respective percentages being 40.5 and 38 again the happy group has a larger number. The two categories "One to three times a month" and "Seldom or infrequently" may be considered to be distinctly the categories of low frequency of coitus. In these two categories the percentage among the 872 happy women on the other hand, the percentage in the two categories of frequency combined,

was only 17. Thus if we compare the performance of the 872 happily married women with that of the 116 unhappily married ones in the early years of their married life we find that the trend for lower frequency of coitus in the former group and for higher in the latter is even less marked than that between the rigidly comparable group of 116 happy wives and the 116 unhappy ones. We can set aside the alleged implication of the reference made by Kinsey and his collaborators to the data of the Davis sample as erroneous and misleading and conclude that they have no relevancy, much less cogency for the assertion of these writers that American married women desire lower frequency of coitus during the early years of their married life than the one that is either current or is desired by their husbands. As regards the alleged female desire for higher frequency of coitus there is no material in the Davis investigation at all, nor have the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* suggested that there is any. That part of their contention must be tested by the data of their own investigation. Before doing so, however, I have to examine Terman's valuable material and bring to the notice of my readers another solecism of Kinsey and his collaborators.

In the footnote, where reference to Davis' data is made, there also appears the remark that Terman too reported preference for lower frequency of coitus in "early marriage" [early in marriage] and for higher one in the later years of marriage. I shall start by pointing out that though Terman's data are very relevant and presented with great care, even there exists a great defect, detracting from the total value of the material for a valid generalization about frequency of coitus in later years of life. And that is that the number of pregnancies and of children of the wives whose preferred frequency of coitus is studied

are not taken into account. Is it proved that the number of pregnancies and childbirths through which a woman has gone and the number of children she has, have no effect on her desire for sexual intercourse? If not, the pertinent data must be assembled and presented before a bland assertion about the increase in the desire for coitus in later years of married life can be claimed to be a scientific hypothesis.

The findings of Terman data about the desired frequency of coitus in relation to the duration of marriage may best be begun with Terman's own conclusion about them. Terman observes^[3] "it is seen that for wives the curves for reported and preferred frequency almost coincide throughout their course. This suggests that the frequency with which intercourse occurs in marriage is governed much more by the wife's than by the husband's preference." It is seen that Terman the investigator did not interpret his data as providing any ground for the alleged support for the assertion of Kinsey and his collaborators that his data too showed that American married women preferred a frequency of coitus which was, during the early years of marriage, lower than the current one and during the later years higher than that either current or desired by their husbands during those years. Though this is the appraisal of his own data made by Terman and as such must be given due weight, yet it must be pointed out in the interests of truth and fairness to Kinsey and his collaborators that the plotted curves (Fig. 11, p. 273) shows the preferred frequency of coitus to be slightly higher during the period of ten years when wives are aged between 43 to 52 years and lower during the period of about twelve years when they are aged between 31 to 42 years. The differences however between the current

frequencies in these periods and the preferred ones are so small that Terman viewing his data statistically does not attach any significance to them. In substantiation of Terman's total appraisal age, the preferred frequency of coitus again falls below that current at that age. On the whole therefore one may conclude that as indicated by Terman's own observation his data do not bear out the assertion of the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* that American married women desire lower frequency of coitus during the early years of their marriage and higher one during the later years than the frequencies respectively current during those years.

A closer study of the data provided by Terman in fact contradicts the assertion of Kinsey and his collaborators about the relative strength of preferred frequency in relation to the age of wife or the duration of marriage. Statement C presents the current and preferred frequencies of coitus according to the age of wife, wherein it is clear that not only is the preferred frequency distinctly lower than the current one when the wife is aged over 54 years, but also that it is slightly higher than the current one when the wife is aged below 25 years. Between the ages 25 and 54 years the wives of the Terman group preferred little lower frequencies of coitus than the current ones. It is thus seen that only wives aged 45 to 54 years desire higher frequency of coitus, the percentage difference between the median frequencies being about 18

STATEMENT C⁴

Median frequency	Wife's age				
	Below 25	25-34	35-44	45-54	55 & over
Reported (Current)	7.2	5.5	4.1	2.8	1.2
Preferred	7.3	5.4	3.7	3.3	5

Before I take leave of the Terman data and turn to the alleged causes of higher percentage of extra marital coitus at higher ages of wives of the Kinsey sample it is my painful duty to point out that in the representation of the Terman data the famous authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have not only incorrectly interpreted them but also have either misread or ignored the other relevant observations of Terman. Having analysed his data in an appropriate manner to see the relation if any that subsists between reported frequency of coitus and the desire for extra marital coitus Terman observes^[5] "One might suppose that desire for extra marital intercourse would show some relationship presumably a negative one to reported frequency of intercourse. As will be seen from Table 124 however, the mean copulation frequency remains surprisingly constant for all frequencies of extra marital desire." And in so far as Kinsey and his collaborators have referred to Terman's observation^[6] that orgasmic inadequacy in marital coitus may develop desire for extra marital coitus and have not mentioned his foregoing observation about there being no particular connection between frequency of marital coitus and desire for extra marital coitus they have done a wrong to Terman and have misled their readers to attach validity to their own assertion.

Having satisfied ourselves that there is not much substance in the contention of Kinsey and his collaborators that the larger percentage of extra marital coitus at later ages of wives revealed in the sexual behaviour of the married women of their sample, let us proceed to examine the other explanations which they have put forward to account for the phenomenon. Let me state at the very outset of this examination that some of them are such that if they

are proved to be valid. American marriage may be declared to be on the verge of bankruptcy.

Kinsey and his collaborators casting about for an explanation of the phenomenon of the increase of extra-marital coitus during later years of marriage have alleged that females seek extra marital coitus owing to their husbands' decline of interest in coitus. The decline itself is the result of physiologic ageing as if to contradict themselves, which can hardly be staved off by the qualifying expression "part of it [the decline]", they add that a number of the males during their forties and fifties sought extra-marital sexual satisfaction. We have seen that there is hardly any substance in their assertion of the increase of sex desire in women at later ages. They have, curiously enough, not presented any positive data from their study in support of their contention that the husbands of their married women showed physiologic ageing. In fact, they have in their *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*, not touched on the sexual behaviour of the husbands of the married women but have depended on the findings of their study of the sexual behaviour of the human male in the mass and in the abstract. This course is the more lamentable because the findings of the careful enquiry made by Terman about more than 700 husbands and their wives some years before Kinsey's study flatly contradict their contention. Statement D presents the data about percentage difference between the current median frequency of coitus at various age periods of the husbands and the median frequency that they would like and parallels them with the analogous percentage differences for the same age periods of the wives of the group.

STATEMENT D †

Percentage difference between the medians of the current frequency of coitus and the preferred one	Age periods				
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 or over
Husband's frequencies	+28.6	+32.0	+22.0	+27.0	+100.0
Wife's frequencies	+1.4	-1.8	-9.8	-18.0	-58.3

It is seen from the Statement that whereas the preferred frequency of the wife is at all age periods, excepting the earliest, lower than the reported frequency, that of the husband is higher throughout without an exception. And the percentage difference on the side of the preferred frequency is so large, being 100 per cent in the last age-period in which that of the female is lower than that of the reported frequency by 58 per cent, that the only valid conclusion that emerges is that the husbands of the Terman sample were having a sex desire at later ages which was about 30 per cent greater than was satisfied by their wives. It is thus clear that at least in the Terman sample of American marriages it was not the female whose sex-desire was fully satisfied by their husbands because their interest in coitus had waned owing to physiologic ageing but the case was quite the contrary. Husbands were sexually speaking getting younger with age and their wives were ageing with the consequence that they were not able to satisfy their sex-desire within marriage. If therefore, at later ages American husbands are found to seek sexual satisfaction in extra marital sexual activity the reason for it must be traced in the wife's growing satiated

and having less sex-desire than in her youth. It cannot be fathered on the husband's desire for variety much less on their sexual ageing

Let us study closely the relevant data presented by Kinsey and his collaborators to ascertain, if possible, how far their assertion about marital sex becoming less satisfying to wives at later ages or longer durations of marriage is substantiated. I have already examined the relative volume of marital coital experience, of coital orgasm and of total sexual outlet and have shown that the assertion is not borne out by those data. Here I shall confine myself to the specific cause of dissatisfaction with marital sex which Kinsey and his collaborators have put forward, viz., absence or decrease of petting by the variety of experience to be gained from 'superior sexual partners'. In fairness to the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* I take the liberty of quoting their observation in this behalf as I am going to maintain that they have contradicted themselves in making it. It runs "As in premarital coitus, the males in the extra marital relationships had usually engaged in more extensive courting in more extensive sex play, and in more extended coital techniques than the same males had ordinarily employed in their marital relationships [*]"

Without reading too much in the expression 'coital techniques' I may point out that I have shown above on the basis of the data offered by the authors themselves that within marriage experimentation with different positions of partners in the marital coitus is met with in this sample of married women. Coital techniques therefore cannot be supposed to be more elaborate or extended in extra marital coitus without specific evidence for such a statement. As for sex play or petting the evidence col-

lated from Tables 73 and 100 in *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* and presented in Statement E shows that petting in marital life is even more intense than in pre marital sexual activity

STATEMENT E

Type of Petting	Birth Decade	Nature of the Sexual Activity		
		Pre marital		Marital
		No coitus	Coitus over 25 times	Marital coitus
Deep Kissing	Before 1900	44 %	82 %	74 %
	1900-09	63 %	93 %	85 %
Manual Stimulation of Female Breast	Before 1900	65 %	96 %	93 %
	1900-09	77 %	98 %	97 %
Oral Stimulation of Female Breast	Before 1900	19 %	78 %	83 %
	1900-09	33 %	87 %	90 %
Manual Stimulation of Female Genitalia	Before 1900	20 %	93 %	88 %
	1900-09	44 %	95 %	95 %
Oral Stimulation of Female Genitalia	Before 1900	1 %	50 %	42 %
	1900-09	4 %	51 %	53 %
Manual Stimulation of Male Genitalia	Before 1900	12 %	87 %	80 %
	1900-09	31 %	87 %	91 %
Oral Stimulation of Male Genitalia	Before 1900	Nil	38 %	29 %
	1900-09	3 %	42 %	46 %

It is seen from the foregoing statement that among women of both periods the use of various petting techniques was

incomparably greater within marital sexual activity than in the pre marital sex practice of the women who had not proceeded to the coital end of their sexual activity. This huge difference in favour of marital sex is observed to be even greater between the two types of sexual activity in regard to the three techniques of deeper sexuality, viz oral stimulation of female genitalia and manual and oral stimulation of male genitalia. Women with wide experience of pre marital coitus resorted to all the above-noted techniques and grades of petting—and here I must draw my readers' attention to the fact that in the relevant Tables of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* no data are available that can enable one to ascertain the percentage of women using specific number of these techniques usually or frequently in specific number of their sexual activity—are patronised to an incomparably large extent than by the women without coital experience. It is relevant to ask if this behaviour of the women in their pre marital sex was partly at least not dictated by the fact that in their fresher and newer sexual contacts the coitally experienced women not being always ready for coitus or their partners shirking it found it inevitable to proceed to such length and depth of petting as would produce the orgasm or near condition of sexual satisfaction. In the case of marital coitus this factor is almost wholly absent as the petting is commonly a prelude to the act of coitus. In spite of this additional incentive for the greater and more frequent use of petting techniques of deeper sexuality, one finds that the performance of women within marital coitus holds its own against that of the women born in the decade 1900-09 in their pre marital sex behaviour. In the matter of oral stimulation of female breast and of manual and oral stimulation of both female and male genitalia, a slightly larger percentage of married women

are found to patronize the techniques than the women born during the decade 1900-09 and having extensive coital experience employed in their pre marital sexual activity. The technique of manual stimulation of female breast is employed by an equal percentage of women in both categories. Among women born before 1900 those that have experienced extensive coitus score in their pre-marital petting activity over the performance of the married women born before 1900 in their marital coitus in all the techniques of petting excepting that of oral stimulation of female breast. The number of females born before 1900 whose pre marital performance is analysed is only 89 and most of them of the highest educational level. One may conclude from this discussion that the performance of the couples, from amongst whom a certain number of wives indulge in pre-marital coitus, in regard to pre-coital petting techniques in itself and compared with that in pre marital petting behaviour is not such as to justify the statement of Kinsey and his collaborators that the alleged lack of adequate pre-coital petting turned those wives to seek extra marital contacts for their sexual satisfaction.

The other causes put forward by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* must be considered to be more potent than those so far examined. One of these is that some women indulged in extra marital sex just to have revenge over or to spite their adulterous husbands. The other two causes are the sordid motive of economic preferment and/or social popularity and the allied motive of pleasing and/or obliging a friend. Such motives have been known to be operative among all societies. Only the percentage of couples moved by them greatly varies from society to society. And before one condemns

American standard and practice of marriage as degenerate on the ground of the frankly revealed volume of extra-marital coitus one should pause and ponder over the fact that the actual extent of the operation of these motives in American or any other society is not known

I may conclude this part of the study by stating as my appraisal of the situation that the extra-marital coital activity of the American married females of the Kinsey sample demonstrates the actuality of the desire for such activity revealed by the investigation of Terman. To that extent, it establishes the actuality of laxity of sexual standards within marriage. But in as much as Kinsey's^[9] investigation reveals that extra marital relationships of the wives had "least often caused difficulty" in the cases where the husbands were ignorant of their wives' infidelity and that they had "most often caused difficulty at the time the spouse discovers them" it is clear that the largest hulk of the extra marital sex activity of the American wives of the Kinsey sample is clandestine and cannot be interpreted to demonstrate any liberalization of the sexual standards within marriage. It must be credited to the decay of faith in the traditional standards of marital sex behaviour.

REFERENCES

- 1 *Op cit* pp 353-4 355, 417 418 528, 735
- 2 *Op cit* p 353
- 3 *Op cit.*, p 273
- 4 Tables 83 and 85 in Terman's book, pp 270, 272
- 5 *Op cit* p 339
- 6 *Op cit*, p 432 (fn 33)
- 7 Terman *op cit*, Tables 82 85 pp 270-72
- 8 *Loc cit* pp 372, 432
- 9 *Op cit* p 433

IV

PRE-MARITAL HETEROSEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

In her pre-marital sexual behaviour the American married female is seen to have indulged in more than one sexual technique. The married females born after A D 1910 have been resorting to one of them, the most forward and the final one, viz., coitus, in greater percentage than those born before 1910. They have been using other deeper techniques of sexuality, too, in larger proportion. In the pursuit of deeper and varied sexual techniques they have been resorting to greater promiscuity than females born before A D 1910.

In the Davis[¹] sample of married women, of the 895 women who answered the query about pre marital sexual behaviour 13.4% had indulged in sex intercourse, 36.4% in "spooning", and 17.5% in homosexual relations and the rest in masturbation. We shall leave out masturbation and homosexual relations for the time being. Davis has not provided any information about the partner or partners of sexual intercourse but has furnished detailed data regarding the "spooning" activity. First of all, it must be made clear that the above percentage of indulgers in "spooning" is based on those women who had it with a male or males other than their fiancés. There were 21.4 per cent of 972 married women who, it is clear, besides carrying on one or many of the other techniques, enjoyed 'ordinary endearments of courtship with their fiancés'. Of the 534 "spooners" the last mentioned group, the courtship-makers, formed 38.9 per cent. The fact that 38.9

per cent of the married females who had indulged in pre marital 'spooning' had confined their activity to their fiances only combined with the fact that only 13.4 per cent of the total married women had indulged in pre-marital coitus indicates that—excepting for auto-erotic and homosexual practices which most students of sexual behaviour will admit are of the nature of an aberration, the former when continued or frequent and the latter without qualification—marriage was treated by a great majority of American women born before A.D. 1900 as the proper field for heterosexual relations.

The percentage of women who had pre marital coitus among the married women that answered Terman's question regarding it was 36.9, which is significantly higher than that in the Davis sample being nearly treble. Terman's data^[2] enable us to specify the percentages of women having pre marital coitus with fiance only with fiance and one other, with fiance and two to five others, and last, with fiance and more than five others. While 24.2 per cent of the women had confined their pre marital coital experience to their fiances only, 5.8 per cent had it with fiance and one other, 4.7 per cent with fiance and two to five others and 2.2 per cent with fiance and more than five others. And Terman's observation about changes in the volume of this practice according to the birth-decade of the women that among the latest born wives born in A.D. 1910 or after intercourse with other than fiance was five times as much as that among the earliest born i.e., born before A.D. 1890 only supports the inference to be drawn from the difference in the percentages between Davis and Terman samples. Not only had the practice of pre marital sex intercourse increased in the second quarter of the twentieth century over that in its first decade

but it had also become more promiscuous. For, according to the percentages given by Terman in Table 113, whereas the percentage of intercourse with fiance only had increased by just over four times between pre-1890 group and the post-1910 group, that with fiance and others had increased by more than five and a half times. It is noteworthy that the percentage of wives born after 1910 indulging in pre-marital coitus with others only is 1.7 times that of similar ones born before A.D. 1890. May we not infer that the fiances themselves indulging in coitus with their spouses introduce friends or at least are very tolerant of them or others having similar relations with their spouses? If the inference is correct it provides a clue to the proper appraisal of the American practices, constituting in their totality the complex of non-marital sexual behaviour. For pre-marital petting Terman has not presented any data to specify the number or nature of the partners. Nor has he distinguished various grades of it or the different techniques as Kinsey and his collaborators call them. As stated in an earlier chapter, of the 772 married women who answered Terman's question regarding pre-marital petting 40.4 per cent indulged in it 'very frequently, frequently or sometimes' and 59.6 per cent either 'never or rarely.'

Scanning the figures^[2] presented by Kinsey in Table 78 we see that of the 908 women with pre-marital coital experience, whose decade of birth is listed, 55.5 per cent happen to be women born in the decade 1910-1919 and 34.4 per cent from those born in the previous decade. Thus females getting adolescent about the beginning of the second quarter of the twentieth century were much more prone to indulge in pre-marital coitus than those of the previous quarter. It was about this time that Judge Ben

Lindsey advocated his companionate marriage. Companionate marriage is the union of a male and a female without any rights and duties enabling them to live together and to lead a full life with sex satisfaction.⁽⁴⁾ Such a large proportion of lasses and young women, who were not unprepared to marry sooner or later, indulging in coitus before marriage by itself should have justified V. F. Calverton's description of the situation as "bankruptcy of marriage." We find that the percentage of women having coital experience with either others than fiance or with fiance and others is slightly higher among those born in the decade 1910-19 than that among women born in the decade 1900-1909, the former being 58 and the latter 52. One must note here the very slight change between the two decades. We have noted a much larger difference in such percentages between women born after 1910 and those born before A.D. 1890 in the Termao sample. It is legitimate to conclude that though the volume of pre-marital coitus showed a marked increase about the beginning of the second quarter of the twentieth century, promiscuity in it began somewhat earlier.

Kinsey has not completely listed the married women in his sample according to the decade of birth. Some further light on the change in practice of pre-marital coitus can be had by studying the percentage of married women having pre-marital coitus from among the total married women born in a particular decade and comparing it with similar percentages for other decades. Taking Table 104 as giving more or less correctly the total number of married women in Kinsey's sample according to decade of birth, I find that the percentages of women indulging in pre-marital coitus among those of each of the three periods, viz., before A.D. 1900, 1900-1909, 1910-19, are 27.8, 53,

and 60.4 respectively. The practice of pre marital coitus among the married women of the Kinsey sample thus seen modifies the statement made above regarding the change. The change in the volume of pre marital coitus must have started about the beginning or the middle of the First World War. Whether relative promiscuity in this form of sexual behaviour conforms to this pattern it is not possible to ascertain from the data. Kinsey and his collaborators have not presented an analysis of their sample, in this case, of the married women indulging in pre marital coitus with fiance, and with fiance and others, according to decade of birth and age at marriage of the women so engaged in sexual activity. Table 78 informs us that of the women who were married at the age period 16-20, 54 per cent had pre marital coitus with fiance only, while among the comparable number of women married at the age-period 26-30, there were only 32 per cent who had confined their coital experience to their fiances. It will not be correct to interpret the large difference in the percentages as the effect of the difference in the age at marriage. For, the same Table makes it clear that there is the disturbing factor of the sexual climate of the decade of birth or rather of the decade of adolescence.

In substantiation of the above statement I should draw the readers attention to the significant data of Terman's Table 117. Among the wives born before 1900 and marrying at the ages 'before 25', '25-29' and '30 or over,' 61.5, 78.6 and 71.3 per cent respectively of the total of each age-group had desisted from coitus before marriage. Among the wives born between 1900 and 1909, on the other hand, the comparable percentages were 45.9, 50.9 and 58.2 respectively. More or less similar differences in the percentages of women indulging in pre marital

coitus with 'others than their fiances' are observable. Whereas among the women born before 1900, of those marrying 'before 25', 'between 25-29' and 'after 29', 11.6, 11.4 and 7.5 carried on coital activity with 'others', among the women born between 1900-1909 the homologous percentages were 23.7, 16.1 and 13.2. Thus not only the volume of the pre-marital coitus but also its relative promiscuity appears tuned more to the period of birth than to the age at marriage and consequent interval between adolescence and marriage. For a proper appraisal of the force of this climate and consequent appreciation of its relative strength in influencing promiscuity in pre-marital coitus we should have to know the percentages of women indulging in pre-marital coitus with their fiances alone, among women married during a particular age-period but born in different decades. And such data are not presented in *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* for reasons, if any, not stated.

We have to know the volume of pre-marital 'petting', as Kinsey calls a group of sexual techniques stopping short of coitus, or 'spooning' as Davis and Terman called them, in order to appraise properly the role of marriage as the field to which sexual activity of American females is confined. Tables 59 and 60 (p. 272) avowedly analyse the data of pre-marital petting practice of the married women of the sample. But as in both, the total number of women is very nearly the total married women of the sample and as we know a large number of them indulged in pre-marital coitus and masturbation, it is evident that the data analysed are not confined to the pre-marital petting behaviour alone but include other sexual techniques as well. Table 73 (pp. 280-1) which is entitled "Incidence : Pre-marital Petting Techniques"

'petting' is not. Petting is an activity that is in origin an incident of social prestige and popularity, an accompaniment and even a stimulus of what has been known in America as 'dating'. Dating[*] simply means an engagement between a boy or a lad and a girl or a lass for an outing and a have-a good time evening or even night. When the engagement is on, what will precisely happen in it must depend upon the natures and characters of the persons concerned and the expectations raised by the prevailing opinion and practice in the high school, under graduate and graduate students. A lass that is 'dated' many times or by many or both is naturally a 'pet' and hence 'dating' in a way is 'petting'. It is understandable that the modes and techniques of treating one's pet, though some of them are common to humanity and to all types of pets must depend largely on the social milieu and partially on the boldness and the inventiveness of the youth concerned. There is no doubt that the content of the total complex called 'petting' has changed a great deal, but it is almost impossible to trace its various stages before the second quarter of the twentieth century, as most of the American students of sexual behaviour and even of 'dating' have failed to perceive the significance of the change. The magnitude of this failure and its certainty are brought home to the reader of Kinsey's *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* even more poignant ly than to that of Terman's *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*.

At this stage without going into the nature and significance of the changes in the content of 'petting', it may be stated with certainty that the practice under the name of 'flirtation' was prevalent enough in the early eighteenth centuries to stir a French lady to contribute a serious article

on it as reported by Havelock Ellis [7] Emily Post, the American lady who obliged her countrymen and inquiring citizens of the world by publishing her book *Etiquette* in 1937, unequivocally declared that no one in polite society pets. Having made a categorical statement about petting being *infra dig* and yet not being satisfied that she had given adequate guidance to her readers she further stated that it was a 'cheap promiscuous and vulgar' practice. Bromley and Britten in their book *Youth and Sex* [8], published in 1938, have provided the appropriately corrective comment on Post's *obiter dicta* in their remark that the 'edict' might apply to Mrs Post's generation but that "it is doubtful if it applies to the younger sets in even the most refined circles of our social stratosphere". A Forel [9] the Swiss psychiatrist, discussing the sexual question in A D 1906 i.e., soon after the period of Mrs Post's generation began considered flirtation to be proper only as "a momentary and transient expression of all the necessities of love, i.e. as I understand him as a love play between husband and wife. But he declared 'when cultivated on its own account and always remaining as flirtation, it becomes a symptom of degeneration or sexual depravity, among idle crazy and vicious persons of all kinds'. Katharine Davis making no comments on the practice of 'spooning' under which term she included all pre marital sexual activity after the age of 14, excepting coitus, homosexual relations and masturbation carefully distinguished various types and grades. When 'spooning' or 'petting' becomes a more or less current practice among unmarried people the first distinction that may be sought to be established is that between such relations that are the lineal descendants of courtship confined to fiances and others that are carried on by fianced ones, or others with strangers. The activities of the fianced

or the unfianced carried on with persons other than fiances were further distinguished by her into one general and five specific categories. The specific categories were. (1) Only kissing, (2) Kissing and hugging, (3) Kissing, hugging and fondling, (4) Intimate fondling, (5) Intimate fondling, including sex intercourse. The general category was described as "Not far"

Havelock Ellis^[10] may be said to have expressed his views about the same time as Katharine Davis's opinionless analysis of the American practice. And he unequivocally and categorically condemned 'petting' or 'flirtation' as an independent sexual activity not designed or intended to be foreplay or love play as a prelude to coitus. Ellis regards 'flirtage' prevailing in France and Germany to have been an importation from the United States of America and characterizes it as a "degenerate form of flirtation" whose practice turns a female into the "demivierge" who experiences the joys of sex without sacrificing her hymen. Van de Velde is positive about restricting the use of the term 'flirtation' to the "performance of the prelude to erotic relations" with the intention of not proceeding further than the preliminary stage. Such flirtation he thinks to be quite useful in married life to refresh and fortify erotic feelings between the husband and the wife. It is fundamentally of the same nature and has the same function as coquetry. One of the varied equipments of its armoury, the buccolingual contact with the genitals, for achieving orgasm, is classed by him as a pathological practice^[11]. Bromley and Britten, studying the sexual habits of unmarried college girls of America about ten years later, remarked that the same 'petting' given to the complex of practices by the contemporary American society being a frivolous one, indicated tacit

condonation of it. They designate the extreme practices in the complex which only stopped short of actual coitus as 'hot petting' or 'extremely intimate petting', and include in it even mutual masturbation to the point of orgasm. This latter extension is not in keeping with the general usage and is sure to introduce confusion in the scientific study of sexual practices. They have not listed the number of practitioners of the various modes, phases or grades of petting. Terman [12] only about a year later, framed his questionnaire with the sole purpose of exploring the bases of marital happiness and did not think it necessary to ask questions about pre marital 'petting' or 'spooning' or 'necking' calculated to distinguish one phase from another, evidently because he was sure the practice was a "pleasant pastime". He only asked his subjects to declare if during the High School age they indulged in petting spooning, kissing etc. Even if opinion of the youthful sections of America did not attach any importance to the actual content, or to the spread of the gamut of the practices, much less realized the changes that had taken place during twenty years or more, surely it was necessary for a student even of the factors of marital happiness to have appreciated the difference between a practice that confined itself to kissing and another that went to the orgasmic end without coitus!

Among notable writers on the subject of sexual behaviour Margaret Mead is the only one to extend the connotation of 'petting'. She observes in her book *Male and Female* (p. 290) that petting is a variety of sexual practices that will not result in pregnancy.

It redounds to the credit of Kinsey and his collaborators that they went deeper into the analysis of the complex of practices going under the name of petting. It also indicates

a marked change in public and youthful attitude towards it and sexual behaviour in general. Katharine Davis, working on her subject and writing her report about a quarter of a century before Kinsey's book, as we have seen dealt with the various grades and phases of 'spooning' or 'petting' only in general terms after specifying only two of its aspects or phases. The most elementary ones and those that were included in the general endearment practices between fiancés *viz* kissing and hugging. More intensive or intimate relations were described as intimate fondling. Kinsey and his collaborators have given us in specific terms the whole gamut of sexual practices which Van de Velde described very precisely in 1928 in his treatment of the prelude and the foreplay of marital eroticism and coitus and which Vatsyayana the Indian expert on sexology who lived about fifteen hundred years before him, analysed in the same context with even less restraint and greater and detailed distinctions some of which are hard to make out or realize. Besides the new clarity that this procedure has brought to bear on pre marital sexual behaviour it has definitely established the untruth of Terman's view of petting as 'pleasant pastime'. In Table 74 Kinsey has presented information about the after-effects of petting without orgasm which proves such petting to have bad effects, nervousness and groin ache being the lot of a large number of those indulging in it.

Kinsey and his collaborators have distinguished nine techniques employed by American youth in their indulgence in the practice of petting of which I have had occasion to pick out seven. All of them except the ninth 'apposition of genitalia' have been known and described in great detail as the components of the foreplay which goes

on or should go on as a preliminary to coitus I have excepted 'apposition of genitalia' because in coitus it naturally occurs, not as an end in itself as in American petting described by Kinsey but, as an inevitable adjunct of the coital act. Ordinary kissing, though as an aspect of sexuality must be distinguished from other kissing as it is generally a mouth to mouth activity, is yet as a sexual kiss so much of a part of fiance endearment and such an ordinary item in sexuality that it cannot but be an accompaniment or precursor of all other techniques of petting. The data presented by Kinsey support the contention, for almost cent per cent of the females, for whom information about pre-marital petting techniques is available, having indulged in simple kissing. It is likely that a number of those that enjoyed deep kissing did not confine their petting to such kissing activity but went further and indulged in more intense stimulation. The manner in which Kinsey and his collaborators have presented their data makes it impossible to ascertain the number and percentage of women, if any, who in their pre marital technique confined their sexual activity to one or the other of the eight specific techniques. *A priori*, oral stimulation of the breast may be supposed to have been preceded by manual stimulation of the breast, though it is possible that males might have been bold enough and might have accurately gauged the sexual needs of their female companions and sexual partners to proceed straightway after a sexual kiss to oral stimulation of the breast, which the strongly sexed and more developed of the female sexual partners not only gladly permitted but indirectly or even directly invited. Oral stimulation of female genitalia presupposes the previous employment of three or even four of the techniques like kissing deep kissing and manual manipulation of course, of the breast and also perhaps oral manipulation of it.

The stimulation of male genitalia, whether manual or oral, has hardly ever been included in the field of the foreplay of coitus. Van de Velde^[13] has referred to the genital kiss as a component of the foreplay, but it is the kiss of the female genitalia, which particularly the author has in mind and has in the particular manner and context upheld and recommended. Handling of the male genitalia has been noted as a frequent practice in infra human primate species employed by estrous females to stimulate a male for coitus. But oral stimulation of the male genitalia is almost unknown except perhaps rarely among chimpanzees^[14]. Vatsyayana, the early specialist who detailed varied kinds of kisses and prescribed not only pressures and bites but also actual beating of wives before or during the coital act never refers to the male genitalia being stimulated by the wife in any manner. He prescribes *fellatio* i.e., coitus in the mouth, in the case of a femalish eunuch and informs his readers that many a prostitute and other low and libertine females resort to this manner of sexual satisfaction. Elite opinion and 'shastraic' injunction as well as aesthetic sense are against such practice which may, therefore be indulged in only if social opinion and courageous attitude lead one on to it. Such practice, i.e., *fellatio*, is called "au parishtaka", "sexual congress in the upper region i.e., mouth"^[15]. Even in the marital sexual behaviour of the American female "application of the woman's mouth to the phallus is much less common being avoided in approximately 58 per cent of the cases and taking place only occasionally in most of the remainder"^[16].

Petting of the kind practised by American females of the Kinsey sample clearly has raised sexual foreplay of the coital act into an independent form of sexual activity and

thus has torn it from its proper context. It is necessary to labour this point because Kinsey and his collaborators have not fully appreciated this aspect of the development: They still think that the change that has come over American pre-marital sexual behaviour is only a change of degree, involving alternative techniques of equal sexuality. Their insistence that among most mammalian species there exists a great deal of sex-play without coitus and their reference to the existence of the techniques in early societies, suggesting as if the various names of the techniques proved their practice without reference to marital sex-life or to coitus,^[17] are clear indications that they have failed to realize the great change that has come over during a quarter of a century and the great significance the independent practice of sex-play has.

It may be broadly stated that in the evolutionary process, whereas the apes only partially succeeded in separating sexual activity from its utter dependence on seasonal reproductive activity, man fully acquired the capacity for continuous sexual activity independently of the reproductive cycle. But till recently he had not achieved complete dissociation of reproduction from sexual activity. The various methods, which now can be employed to prevent impregnation even though coital activity may be indulged in, have completed that evolutionary process of entirely separating the two functions of sexual activity and reproduction through the intermediacy of the cultural factors. In the pre-marital petting practice of the American males and females, particularly that development of it which achieves orgasm through it, lies the origin of the dissociation of sex-play, the prelude and accompaniment of coitus, from its ties with coitus. Coitus and reproduction were one process or one complex of a process. Re-

production then remained as the result of coitus and yet coitus may take place without its accompaniment. Third stage occurred when coitus might be enjoyed without its occasional concomitance of reproduction. And now coitus itself may be foregone and sexual satisfaction, to the extent that it is such, may be achieved with only the preliminaries, the foreplay of the coitus of the earlier stage. A reference to Statement F, which presents the percentage variation in the volume of petting of deeper sexuality indulged in by American females of the Kinsey samples will offer the reader adequate indication that petting of deeper sexuality occurring in larger volume among females who had not proceeded to coital experience, tends to be a substitute for coitus and an end in itself. Without passing any judgment on this shifting, I wish the readers to note the biological significance of the petting practice or pre-marital life of the American female.

We know the volume of petting among married women of the Davis sample. As pointed out earlier it is not possible to ascertain the volume of pre-marital petting, much less of the various grades of it, among the married females of the Kinsey sample to the same manner. Though Table 73 from its heading appears to list the details of the various grades of petting indulged in by women in relation to the birth-period of the married women of the sample, it is clear from the number of cases given at the end column of it that the data concern much larger number of women than the married ones, almost the whole sample, married and unmarried.

From that Table I have computed the percentage variation in the percentage volume of eight of the techniques of deeper sexuality and formed the following statement (F) for easy comprehension of the change in sexual craving

and satisfaction of the whole sample of the American females studied by Kinsey and his collaborators

STATEMENT F*

Percentage Variation in the Percentages of Pre marital Petting Techniques according to Birth Decade and Coital Experience of American Females

Petting Technique	Before 1900 and 1900-09		1900-09 and 1910 and after	
	No Coital Experience	Coitus over 25 times**	No Coital Experience	Coitus over 25 times**
Deep Kissing	+43.2	+13.4	+17.4	-3.2
Manual Stimulation of Female Breast	+18.5	+2.1	-6.5	Nil
Oral Stimulation of Female Breast	+73.7	+11.5	-3.03	Nil
Manual Stimulation of Female Genitalia	+120.0	-2.2	-18.2	Nil
Oral Stimulation of Female Genitalia	+300.0	+2.0	-25.0	-9.8
Manual Stimulation of Male Genitalia	+158.3	Nil	-22.6	-1.2
Oral Stimulation of Male Genitalia	+300.0	+10.6	-33.3	+2.4
Apposition of Genitalia	+175.0	+36.9	-22.5	+5.8

* Based on Table 73 (pp 280-1)

** I have retained the wording of Kinsey's Table 73. But it ought to be understood to stand for '25 times and over' which is the wording in tables 108, 109, 110 and 111. In Table 73 too the wording of the other category of frequency being less than 25 times the wording of this category must be '25 times and over'.

It is seen that American females born at the turn of the century in the period 1900-09 and becoming adolescent about the end of the First World War increased their indulgence in every one of the eight techniques of petting of deeper sexuality very greatly and that those born after that period increased it in only one of them and that too of the least sexuality among them and greatly decreased it in the remaining seven techniques of deeper sexuality with only two exceptions in the last column

I have stated above the need to ascertain the volume of pre marital petting practised by married women in order to get a proper perspective of sexual behaviour and of marital ideal and practice I have also drawn the readers attention to the fact that the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have not presented the relevant data in an unequivocal manner It is possible to infer from the manner they have gone about their business that all the females in their married samples had indulged in pre-marital sexual activity of some kind From Table 110 (p 407) where the data are presented to bring out the relation between pre marital petting and orgasm in marital coitus it is clear that all the 1570 married women whose experience and sexual activity are analysed had practised pre-marital petting and 818 of them had in addition, indulged in pre-marital coitus The 752 women of the sample who had not indulged in coitus had failed to achieve any orgasm through their petting activity From these statements in Table 110 one may be led to conclude that of the 2354 married women whose sexual activity has been subjected to scrutiny only 1570 had indulged in pre marital petting Thus 784 women of the married group would appear to have desisted from pre marital petting This conclusion is however only apparent The data

presented in Table 109 list 223 females out of a total of 2211 married ones who, in their pre marital sexual activity, had failed to achieve any orgasm. And they had resorted to pre marital coitus as well as other sources of sexual satisfaction. The 'other sources' are not specifically mentioned and we are left in doubt if they included petting. One cannot help thinking from the nature of the information provided that they must have tried petting too, in their search for orgasmic achievement. If so, these 223 females must be deducted from 784 females who according to Table 110 had not indulged in pre-marital petting. The number of women from among the 2354 married women of the Kinsey sample who had not petted before marriage does not exceed 561. I state the conclusion in this negative manner because I am not quite satisfied that there are not other females lurking under other categories who had petted before marriage. However, taking the figures as provisionally correct, it is seen that 23.8 per cent of the American married women of the Kinsey sample had not indulged in pre marital petting. In Terman's^[18] group of married women those who never petted before marriage formed 46.4 per cent of the total, and in the still earlier Davis^[19] sample they were 59.7 per cent of those reporting on their pre-marital sexual behaviour.

The above conclusion regarding the volume of pre-marital petting among married females of the Kinsey sample, however, is subject to correction, being derived from indirect argument. In one place, as a matter of fact, Kinsey and his collaborators have given a direct contradiction of it, which I shall state for whatever it is worth. In their Table 59 (p. 272) they have presented the data about pre-marital (?) petting experience and its duration in years in relation to the woman's age at marriage. As

I have already pointed out there is a discrepancy in the figures of the second column, which gives the total number of the married women of the sample, and the total of the four columns giving the number of married females involved according to their age period at marriage. Whereas the former figure is 2452, the latter is 2396. The total married females of the sample according to another statement (fn on p 408) however is 2354. Leaving out the discrepancy as of small account I wish to draw the readers' attention to the footnote to Table 59. It reads "Twenty females who were without petting experience before marriage were not included in this table." It is thus likely that the percentage of women who did not practise petting before marriage in the married females of the Kinsey sample is only about 8 and not 23.8 as I have indicated above.

The data presented regarding the practice of pre marital petting of the married females of the sample refer to the number of years the petting was indulged in before marriage and the number of partners employed in the process. The data are significant. It is seen from Tables 59 and 60 that as the age at marriage advances the number of years of petting practice too increases. They reveal that the correspondence is not exact and that whereas the earliest marrying group began the practice at about 14 years of age the latest marrying women began it about 3 years later. In the matter of the number of partners the difference between the two groups is not so sharp or great. The earliest marrying women required the services of about 6 partners and the latest marrying ones satisfied their sexual cravings with the help of about 9. In any case, the number of partners employed by the married women of the Kinsey sample in their pre-marital petting

is much larger than required by the women of the other samples

It has become clear that the American married females of the latest sample, viz., that studied by Kinsey and his collaborators, had gone further than those of the previous two samples of Davis and Terman in their indulgence in pre marital coitus both in volume and in promiscuity. They had carried on pre marital petting in larger volume, for longer time and of deeper sexuality and perhaps with greater promiscuity. We may conclude that American women during the last fifty years or so have progressively declined to look upon marriage as the field and occasion for sex satisfaction. They have indulged in sexual activity of all kinds and of all depths, short of actual coitus, before marriage not only with their fiances but also with others, or with others than fiances, in increasingly larger proportion. They have not stopped there. Their indulgence in coitus, too, before marriage has been much larger in volume and greater in promiscuity. The average age at marriage of the latest sample of the American married females was actually lower than those of the two previous samples. The greater indulgence in pre marital petting, in techniques of deeper sexuality, in greater promiscuity, for longer duration, and in pre-marital coitus in larger volume and greater promiscuity show that in America marriage has ceased to be looked upon as the sole field and occasion for sex satisfaction.

REFERENCES

- 1 *Op cit.*, pp 59 & 60. The percentage given on p 232 on the basis of the number in the Tables on pp 59 and 233 does not represent the correct figure, for Table XVII on p 60 makes it clear that there were 49 cases of sex intercourse among

the 375 cases of "spooning." The percentage given by me is based on the total of the two figures

2. *Op cit*, pp 320-1
3. The total sample is given as 1230. The totals of the three Decade-of-Birth columns works out to be 903 and that of the four Age-at-Marriage columns is 1183. The percentages given here are based on the totals of the appropriate columns.
4. Lindsey and Evans, *Companionate Marriage* (1929?)
5. Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, IV, pp 518-19, Forel, *op cit.*, p 103
6. S H Lowrie in *American Sociological Review*, 1951, p 337.
7. *Op cit*, IV, pp 518-19
8. *Loc cit.*, p 141
9. *Op cit*, p 103
10. *Op cit*, p IV, pp 518-19
11. Van de Velde, pp 131-2, 148 f n
12. *Op cit*, p 255
13. *Op cit*
14. Ford and Beach, pp 52-4
15. *Kamasutra*, II, 9
16. Ford and Beach, p 52
17. *Op cit*, pp 228-33
18. *Op cit*, p 256
19. *Op cit*, p 60

20.

MASTURBATION

The main significance of pre marital sex experience, as Kinsey and his collaborators have stated^[1] is its capacity to bear down sexual inhibitions and to train the subject for achieving orgasm, which, as already pointed out, is according to these writers the mysterious end all and be-all of all sex. They agree that sexual adjustment represent only one and not the most important aspect of marriage. Nevertheless they observe "No balanced program for American youth can be confined to preparing them for sexual relationship in marriage. But it is inconceivable that anyone who is objectively and scientifically interested in successful marriages should fail to appreciate the significance of coitus in marriage, or wholly ignore the correlations which exist between pre marital activities and the sexual adjustments which are made in marriage" Jew

Of the pre-marital sexual activities, the auto-erotic activity of masturbation is the earliest to manifest itself. Its existence has been noted by American students for the last sixty years or so. Stanley Hall, who was hailed as the herald of 'new psychology' in the early nineties of the last century and who made a significant contribution to the study of adolescence as a definite state of life, was very much concerned over the almost universal prevalence of masturbation amongst American youth. In the first volume of his classic *Adolescence*^[2], first published in 1904, noting that there were well authenticated-cases of children of both sexes under 2 years of age having practised its

he remarks "It is one of the easiest and most spontaneous of all vices, and many think it a disease more frequent among girls than boys" It is seen from this remark that Stanley Hall recognised it as an evil which was perhaps more common among females than males The latter statement, though appearing strange, deserves to be carefully noted Much of the Kinseyan cry for female orgasm has its origin in this alleged inveteracy of adolescent girls and adult unmarried females in the practice of auto-erotic masturbation

I must draw my readers' pointed attention to the great change in the attitude towards masturbation in general and female masturbation in particular that is observed in the different valuations made and judgments passed by Stanley Hall in 1904, by Dr Katharine Davis in 1929, and by Kinsey and his collaborators in 1953 Hall observes "Yet it must be confessed that the whole literature of the subject attests that wherever careful researches have been undertaken, the results are appalling as to prevalence, and suggest that the Occident has little, if any, advantage over the sad records of the Orient, and that civilized man is on the whole, to say the least, no better, if not far worse, in this respect than his savage brother' Though I do not desire to endorse the opinion of Hall in one or the other particulars of it, I should fail in my duty, particularly in view of the assertion of Kinsey and his collaborators^[3] that "the anthropologic record indicates that masturbation is widely known among the females of many human groups", if I do not state that impartial assessment of the ethnographic data generally upholds Hall's opinion about the occurrence of masturbation among primitive or 'savage' people Ford and Beach^[4] who have made a special study of the patterns of sexual behaviour in human and

infra human species, observe "The data available indicate that some women in a few societies other than our own occasionally masturbate, although the practice generally meets with social disapproval" Davis[5] in her appeal and instructions to her subjects informed them that masturbation was 'vigorously condemned both on ethical grounds and as the cause of grave physical and mental disorders' and assured them that the alleged harmful effects, both physical and mental were 'greatly exaggerated' She refrained from offering either a blank cheque on health grounds or even a guarded assurance about its morality, though she stated that masturbation was 'a normal stage in the development of the sex nature and must be passed through if sexual development is to be complete' She has stated her reasons for her particular assurance to her subjects, and it is interesting to note that she desired to put her subjects at ease by letting them understand that if they had any masturbatory experiences they were neither isolated nor necessarily degenerate and thus to secure frank and full reports

Kinsey[6] and his collaborators put the case for masturbation very much more positively than Davis ventured to do They have attempted to make it appear to their readers that masturbation is an evolutionary trait and have implied that as such it is not only not degenerate but quite regenerate They are quite categorical about the absence of either physical or mental harm arising from masturbation And they assert that in the data of masturbatory experience of nearly 2800 females of their sample they came across 'exceedingly few cases if indeed there have been any outside of a few psychotics, in which such masturbation resulted in such harm' They think that their data bearing on masturbation during adolescence by the married women

and the achievement of orgasm in their marital coitus prove that masturbation by adolescent females helps them achieve orgasm in marital coitus much better than non-masturbating females. Leaving aside the question, if the data are so decisive to be examined later, I shall present to my readers the argument of the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*. They are so convinced of the significance of adolescent masturbation as a factor in the achievement of marital orgasm that, though they grant that masturbatory activity of the females before their marriage and their orgasmic achievement in marriage may both be the result of the one and the same factor, *viz.*, greater inherent responsiveness to sexual stimulation owing to the endowment of greater sex-drive, yet they assert that "a causal relationship" between pre marital masturbation and marital orgasm "seems also to have been involved".

Kinsey and his collaborators state a wholly acceptable scientific principle of thought when they observe "Whenever phenomena occur widely in an evolutionary related group of species, and also occur widely among the individuals or groups of individuals within the species which is being examined, we have the best sort of evidence that those phenomena are part of the evolutionary heritage of the species". In the application of this sound principle of reasoning and gathering of knowledge they have assembled together some data from ethnographical sources on the prevalence of masturbation among primitive peoples and from zoological sources on its prevalence among females of infra human species, and have more or less categorically stated their assessment. I have already rebutted their assessment of the ethnographic data by quoting the more balanced assessment of them by Ford and Beach. Here I shall draw on the same students' very much more specializ-

ed study—and it should be borne in mind that Beach has been a well-known contributor to the knowledge of physiology of behaviour in general and to the physiology and psychology of mating behaviour in human and infra-human species in particular—of the sexual behaviour of females of infra-human species as against the assessment of that behaviour by Kinsey and his collaborators. The assessment of the zoological evidence made by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* states that "the inclination to stimulate her own genitalia is one of the capacities which the human female shares with the females of the whole class mammalia". But they recognize, and draw their readers' attention to that recognition, that "masturbation among the females of most mammalian species occurs less frequently than among the males". Perhaps sensing the inconvenience of such admission in the way of their raising masturbation into a trait of evolutionary development among human females they make haste to assert, though with a 'perhaps' attached to that assertion, that the cause of less frequency of masturbation among females of "most mammalian species" is to be sought in the fact that "the incentives for masturbating are much less among the females." How and why they have not thought it necessary to tell their readers, though the estrus of the females of the non-human mammalian species is generally the trigger that lets loose the sexual charge, as an incident of which alone most of the little masturbation practised by females of infra-human mammalian species takes place.[?] One observation of Carpenter referred to by Ford and Beach will show how rare female masturbation is even in monkeys. That keen student keeping free-living rhesus monkeys under observation noted several cases of males masturbating but his records of the behaviour of 40 females of that

species and of 45 estrus periods did not contain any case of female masturbation. It is in the apes that female masturbation, though much weaker than in males, is observed dissociated from estrus. Immature female chimpanzees are seen occasionally engaged in stimulating their genitalia and adult female apes "sometimes devote considerable energy and ingenuity to the achievement of vulvar stimulation." Yet, in spite of the fact that the masturbatory behaviour of the female chimpanzees resembles similar behaviour in the human female, the masturbation of the females of the infra mammalian species is not seen to produce "clear-cut climactic results that are seen in masturbating males." And it is necessary to stress again the rarity of such behaviour among man's cousins, the chimpanzees. Summarizing the results of their study Ford and Beach say "Although a few mature female chimpanzees have been seen to masturbate, this is relatively rare."

With the kind of assessment of the evidence of the currency of masturbation among female chimpanzees we have to set it aside as of no particular value for shedding light or giving guidance on the evolutionary aspect. Its principal value at present is to warn us not to look upon masturbation as a practice natural only in lower mammals and cultural in man. It is quite likely that its roots in man lie deep in his animal ancestry. But the question can be satisfactorily settled only when both the extent in human practice and the circumstances of its individual origin, which must affect one's final assessment as to the natural or cultural conditioning of masturbation in man and/or to the relative strength of each factor in its practice, are known.

As to the extent of masturbation among human females readers need not be reminded that Ford and Beach have

assessed the evidence for its currency in such a manner that there is no option but to consider female masturbation as an infrequent and aberrant phenomenon among pre-literate or primitive people. As for its practice among American females it will be clear as this study proceeds that its currency is greater among the females of later study than that of Davis, about thirty years ago. It will be proved in the sequel that among the women of the Kinsey sample those born in 1900-09 practised it more than those born before 1900 and that the females born in the later decade of 1910-19 practised it in larger numbers than those born in 1900-09 in two of the three comparable age groups. Thus though one cannot agree with Kinsey and his collaborators^[8] in their statement that "compared with the females" born before 1900 "more of the younger generations were masturbating in the course of their lives", it is clear that excepting for women born in 1920-29 the later born generally indulged in masturbation in larger numbers at almost all age periods. Further as Kinsey and his collaborators point out both the accumulative and active incidences of masturbation are higher among the graduate group than those among the high school group and those among both these groups higher than those among the grade school group of women. It is clear that the practice of masturbation among American females of the Kinsey sample is influenced by educational level of the females, the higher the level the greater the percentage of women indulging in masturbation. The cultural conditioning of the practice of masturbation, whether one calls it removal of inhibition, as Kinsey would do, or propaganda as others may like to do. In the Davis sample, too, there was difference between the percentages of masturbating women of the two educational levels, collegiate and non-collegiate. But it is not large enough to be significant.^[9]

The differences between percentages in the Kinsey sample are much larger and must be considered to be significant. In face of this progressive differentiation between the women of the different educational levels in respect of the practice of masturbation the role of cultural conditioning in the currency of female masturbation cannot be doubted. As we find masturbatory practice to be an infrequent trait among primitive people and a culturally conditioned one among American females, its currency being greater among more recently born and more highly educated females we cannot grant that the attempt of Kinsey and his collaborators to raise it into a biologically determined trait of human behaviour is at all scientific. At best it represents the personal interpretation of the data and, as other statements of the said writers indicate, their bias, which they have unsuccessfully tried to raise to the status of a scientific hypothesis.

Two statements and one claim made by these authors lead me to the conclusion that they are biased in favour of female masturbation. Informing their readers that their data about the masturbatory practice of nearly twenty-eight hundred women reveal "exceedingly few cases" of "either physical or mental damage" from it in the footnote, they combat the idea of "excessive" masturbation as an "uninterpretable" notion. They refer to a number of standard writers on the subject of sex, Moll, Havelock Ellis and others, and American and other investigators like Dickinson, Carney Landis and others, who in one way or another try to distinguish between excessive and moderate masturbation. Their attitude towards this distinction is typified by their introduction which runs: "More recently it has become customary to emphasize the physical or psychological effects of excessive masturba-

tion' [10] They claim that their data about pre-marital masturbation by married women and their orgasmic achievement in marital coitus are positively related [11] I shall postpone a thorough examination of this claim to a later section, and shall only mention here the conclusion that such a claim cannot be unequivocally made even with the confusing data presented by Kinsey and his collaborators In connection with their claim for the beneficial results of pre marital masturbation they have first controverted the prevailing view that 'masturbation in the female leads to an aversion for coitus or does damage to the female's capacity for orgasm in marital intercourse' as largely unsubstantiated.' That pre-marital masturbatory practice may incline women after their marriage to "continue solitary activities in preference to having coital relations after marriage is not upheld by their data which reveal 'very few histories of this sort To represent the prevailing view they have given references to the works of many writers including Havelock Ellis and to none of the important American students of female sex habits [12] The selection of references here at least shows a bias for both G V Hamilton and Dickinson and Beam have some pertinent observations which ought to have been drawn attention to Let me start with Dr Hamilton's appraisal of the colossal nature of the problem involved in the attempt to answer the simple question "why do people masturbate" Not only thousands of persons will have to be examined in detail but also a complex variety of facts will have to be elicited before any justice can be hoped to be done Distinguishing between substitutive and auto-erotic masturbation—a distinction which Kinsey and his collaborators have not made—he observes about the latter variety that conditioning factors which favour the tendency to auto-erotic masturbation operate against the chance of

having the normal orgasm" Dickinson while questioning his subjects about masturbatory history made to them the following assurance "Just as menstruation was a physical preparation for child bearing that had nothing to do with morals, so this feeling [auto-erotic] was a preparation for response to the husband which need not be a moral question if *spontaneous and infrequent* Established as a too often repeated, prolonged congestion, it might permanently sidetrack the perfect response after marriage *It could help develop the lascivious mind*"^[13] The position taken up by Kinsey and his collaborators puts the pendulum at the opposite extreme And they have not presented either adequate data or arguments for it

Stanley Hall's opinion about the extent of adolescent female masturbation if it were based on ascertained numerical facts and not on impression would have rendered one's attempt to gauge its extent in historical perspective needless But that opinion was based on impression only The study by Dr Katharine Davis^[14] may be said to be the first attempt at numerical estimation of the practice of masturbation among American girls and women 930 unmarried college girls, whose average age was 37.1 years at the time of recording their experience, answered the question about masturbation, whether it was being practised at the time of enquiry, whether it was practised in the past and stopped afterwards or whether it was never practised 35.2 per cent of them stated that they never practised it, 64.8 per cent had practised it some time or the other 51.1 per cent of the 603 unmarried women who practised masturbation sometime or the other had continued it till the time of enquiry, and 31.7 per cent of the 930 women who answered the query or 48.9 per cent of the women who had 'practised masturbation

sometime had ceased doing so by or before the time of enquiry

From Table XI (p 112) of Davis' book the percentage of those who reached orgasm in their masturbatory practice, whether the women had stopped masturbation or whether they were continuing it at the time of enquiry, works out at 86.4 Kinsey and his collaborators^[15] have stated in a footnote that the percentage is 88. I should have passed their statement without commenting on it, but for the fact that in their comment recommending their percentage as the correct one for the data of Davis they have implied that the percentage given by Davis on page 97 of her book is incorrect. The statement is erroneous in more respects than one and does injustice to Davis. First, the data about orgasmic experience of the women of her sample who ever masturbated are presented by Davis in Table XI on page 112, and second she has not given the percentage figure of those achieving it in masturbation. The only percentage figure, besides the difference in percentages of orgasmic experience between the two groups of women, those who had stopped masturbating and those who were still continuing to masturbate, refers to the cases of women who did not achieve orgasm in their masturbatory practice until they were eighteen years and over. In the interests of truth and also perhaps as an indication of the tendency of the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* to detect support for their viewpoint anywhere and everywhere, I have to point out that the way in which they have put down the percentage without clearly stating their basis for it is more than misleading. In plain words, Kinsey and his collaborators may be represented as stating that in the Davis' study of unmarried women, 88 per cent of those who "masturbate" reach orgasm. The percentages

of women achieving orgasm in their masturbation, which I have given above as 86.4, is based on the 538 women masturbators who specifically answered the question of Davis whether or not they had reached orgasm in their masturbatory practice. And I submit, this is the correct procedure of computing and stating the percentage. Kinsey and his collaborators have evidently considered only the 308 women who were practising masturbation at the time of enquiry and left out those who had stopped the practice though many of them, 74.8 per cent as Davis has listed, had achieved orgasm in their masturbatory practice. The procedure is not only arbitrary but in so far as it is not clearly stated is misleading, and in as much as it does not take into account the number of masturbating women who did not answer the question about their achievement of orgasm is incorrect. Davis herself has listed the percentage of those achieving orgasm from among the women who were practising masturbation at the time of enquiry and had answered her question about orgasm in Table XI (p. 112). And it is 97.1, and it would be 97.8 if we include the two women, who stated that they had incomplete orgasm, among those achieving orgasm. Of the total 280 masturbating women who answered the question about orgasm only 6 stated that they never induced orgasm." Of the 295 women who had ceased practising masturbation at the time of enquiry 258 answered the question about orgasm. Of those answering the question 74.8 per cent stated that they had achieved the orgasm in their masturbatory practice. It should be noted, then, that Davis has not given the general percentage of masturbating women achieving orgasm and that the percentage of 86.4 given above is the correct one.

Among the unmarried women of the Davis sample, those who were masturbating or had masturbated some

tension in much larger numbers than in the earlier years. It is also likely that they begin to realize the blank in their sexual life owing to the realization of the closing avenue of marital life and attempt to settle some mode of sexual outlet. Actually, of the unmarried women that had masturbated or were masturbating, among the 477 who reported definitely the age at which they had begun the practice, 26.2 per cent had done so when they were 23 years and over up to the 40's in age.[17]

Statement G presents the data about the age at which masturbation was begun by females of the Davis group in percentages for the two groups, the married and the unmarried women.

STATEMENT G.¹⁸

Age at which Masturbation began to be practised	Unmarried women (per cent)	Married women (per cent)
5 years and before	8.8	14.9
6 years to 10 years	32.5	27.4
11 years to 14 years	17.2	26.3
15 years to 22 years	15.3	23.4
23 years and over	26.2	8.0
	100.0	100.0

It is seen from the statement that, among the group of women that married, 92 per cent began the masturbatory practice before they were 23 years old whereas among the unmarried women practitioners before that age formed 73.8 per cent. As a matter of fact, at all age-periods, excepting that from 6 years to 10 years listed in the statement, the percentage of women practising masturbation is much larger than in the unmarried group.

Considering the total group of unmarried and married females studied by Davis it is seen that 52.3 per cent of the 1881 women who had answered her query about masturbation had practised it sometime or other at the time of enquiry. Of these 984 women who had practised masturbation some time or other 62 married females and 295 unmarried ones were still practising masturbation at the time of enquiry [19].

Dickinson and Beam[20] have provided data about the masturbatory practice in the group of married women studied by them which are based not only on their own statements but also on physical examination. The average age of the women was thirty years and had been married for between four to five years. Nearly 300 of the 1098 women studied had experienced self-orgasm at some time, and nearly two-thirds of the whole group had auto-erotic experience at some time. On a straight question only 286 or about 27 per cent admitted having masturbated. 335 other women showed signs of the current practice of auto-eroticism and 74 more had retained signs of former practice. Thus altogether 695 or 63.3 per cent of the married women studied by Dickinson and Beam practised masturbation some time. This percentage for married women is very much higher than that met with in the Davis sample of married women and is very near to that

of the unmarried group of that sample. Taking it that only the 335 women who showed signs of current masturbation were the only ones of the group practising it at the time of the study we have 30.5 per cent of the married women of the sample of Dickinson and Beam practising masturbation within marriage though they were married for about four to five years. This percentage presents a high contrast with that discovered in the Davis group of married women. The 62 married women who had continued masturbation while married formed only 6.2 per cent of the married women reporting on masturbatory practice and 16.3 per cent of the married women who had ever masturbated.

In view of the contentioo or rather the categorical statement made by Kinsey and his collaborators about the marital significance of pre marital masturbation by the female, it is worthy of note that in the sample studied by Dickinson and Beam the maritally adjusted group of women of the sample also showed the relation of two out of three women having the vulvar signs of auto-erotic practice and experience [21]. In the control group of 200 women, where no history was sought with the idea of record and where therefore the record of auto-erotic practice was incidental the ratio of auto-erotic was two in five [22]. While drawing conclusions from the differential distribution of auto-eroticism in the two groups of women it should be borne in mind that the median age of the control group was 31 years and that the women forming it were married at about 24 years of age and thus had a marital history of about seven years. 49 women among them were practising auto-eroticism at the time of observation, 22 of them doing it "to excess". Dickinson and Beam's study has a group of 100 women who were maladjusted

in their marriage and though auto-eroticism existed among them it was "rarely a crucial issue" The way the writers have presented their data on the subject makes it difficult to compute the correct percentage of auto-erotics among the group They observe [23] "There are fifty-eight records of the vulvar signs of auto-eroticism and thirty-three women admit the practice" I cannot be sure that the thirty three women who admit the practice are different from and additional to the fifty-eight whose practice in their genitalia is recorded If I may take it that they are additional to the 58 then the total number of auto erotics is 91 out of 100, if on the other hand they are not additional to but already included in the 58 whose genitalia reveal their auto-erotic practice then their number is only 58 out of 100 The next sentence which seems to add information about the former currency and present practice of auto-eroticism introduces confusion rather than clarification on the point Therein only 43 former habitual auto-erotics are accounted for 34 still continuing the practice and 9 having dropped it

One unfortunate feature of the great endeavour of Kinsey and his collaborators on which I have remarked more than once, viz., the absence of straightforward presentation of the numerical data in absolute numbers and percentages, is particularly marked in the presentation of their data on masturbation, and is liable to uncharitable interpretation in the light of their sweeping remarks favourable to masturbation, which almost amount to exhortations to females to masturbate freely before marriage Between accumulative incidence of masturbation and its active incidence under certain categories it has become impossible to know what percentage of the American females of their sample ever practised masturbation or what per cent of the married

women were practising it within marriage. At one place they state that they had masturbatory data 'on nearly 2800 cases of females,' [24] but in their many and varied Tables they have nowhere given a straight analysis of more than 2675 cases. In Table 22 (p 177) they have recorded the length of masturbatory practice for 1265 females, whose age at reporting, i.e., at the time of enquiry and recording, was 31 years and over and who were then either married or single. I understand from this description of the group that the analysis does not include in that number those women, who though previously married were either widowed or separated or divorced. In the total sample, as the figures in Table 1 (p 32) show, there were 1332 women who were either single or married and aged 31 years and over at the time of reporting. Thus about 95 per cent of the females, who were aged 31 years and over at the time of reporting, had masturbated. And they had masturbated over a long period, the median number of years varying between 14 and 24 [25]. Females aged 31 years and over at the time of reporting formed about 43 per cent of the total adolescent and adult females in the sample. It is possible that the description of the females of Table 22 as 'single and married' is not quite accurate. For if it is, then as we may expect younger females, of whom many would not have been married at the time of enquiry and must have been born in decades known for their rather free and almost libertine doctrines of sexuality, not to have lagged behind in their masturbatory outlet, the percentage of females ever masturbating might well be 95 or more in the total sample of adolescent and adult females. If we take the description as misleading and include the previously married too in the total 1265 masturbating women their percentage to the total females aged 31 years and over at the time of enquiry

works out at 65. This percentage is not significantly different from that established in the Davis and Dickinson samples of earlier date. Why the authors have refrained from presenting their data in identical manner regarding the females who were below 31 years of age at the time of enquiry is not at all clear. Their note to Table 22 that they selected the higher age group for the data there provided is not a satisfactory explanation for their desistance from giving similar data about younger women. If they had presented the data about women below 31 years of age most of the doubts about the actual percentage of women in the sample who ever masturbated would have been resolved.

Masturbatory experience of only 2675 women at the most is analysed in *Sexual Behaviour of the Human Female*. The total sample forming the basis of study contained 5940 females. On the supposition that the maximum number of females who ever masturbated was 2675, the percentage of females in the total sample who ever masturbated works out as only 45. Taking the maximum number to be 2800 which is stated to be the number on which the observations are declared to have been based, the percentage of females who ever masturbated would be 47.2. Whether the latter percentage or the former is the correct one it is seen that compared with the percentage 66 established in the Davis and Dickinson samples it is very significantly small. One can wonder if this can be the truth at all! And it must be pointed out that it has some support in certain data which can be taken to be free from all doubt. In Table III (p. 407) Kinsey and his collaborators have presented data about pre-marital masturbatory practice of 2195 married females contained in their total sample. As we have seen the total number

of women who were in a married state at the time of enquiry was in the neighbourhood of 2400 , but the Table referred to provides data about only the number noted above. I take it that we can argue on the basis of the available figures without knowing the actual percentage of the remaining 200 or so married women, about whose pre marital masturbatory practice no data are presented, who ever masturbated before marriage. Out of the 2195 married females listed in Table III, 1036 or only 47.2 per cent had ever masturbated before marriage.

This percentage is higher than that met with in the Davis sample which as we have seen was 40.1. What is even more significant is that in the married females sample of Kinsey and his collaborators the active masturbators within marriage are a higher percentage than not only that of the Davis group but also that of the Dickinson group. At age period 36-40 years, 36 per cent of the married females[*6] were indulging in masturbation. And the percentage which is higher by about 6 than that met with in the Dickinson group was much smaller at the lower age-periods.

One cannot jump to the conclusion that the percentage of females who ever masturbated in the total sample of 5940 or in the sample of 5661 adolescent and adult females was the same or very nearly the same as the above figure. For as Statement H shows the composition of the three groups, of married, single and total, is far from identical in respect of the birth-decade of the females.

STATEMENT H.*

Percentage Distribution of married, single and total
Females according to Birth Decade

Birth Decade	Married	Single	Total
Before 1900	14.1	3.5	8.0
1900—1909	24.6	5.5	13.8
1910—1919	36.5	14.0	23.8
1920—1929	24.8	77.0	54.4

Kinsey and his collaborators state that the percentage of women in their sample who ever masturbated is 62 [27]. The authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have more often presented their data about masturbatory practice in terms of accumulative incidence than in terms of active incidence as in Table 22. It is seen from Table 21 (p. 177) that in the total sample of the study one per cent of the females had masturbated by age 3 years. The masturbation of such young girls or rather children can hardly be called masturbation proper. At best, it ought to be separated from masturbation and shown as narcissis-

*The number of married women and their distribution according to Birth-decade are taken from Table 101 (p. 400) and data for single females are derived by using the data of Table 101 with those of table 2 (p. 33).

tic handling of genitalia. Apart from the injudicious nature of the classification of such practice it will be appreciated that its serious listing in scientific data demands or takes for granted unduly robust faith in the memories of the females studied by Kinsey and his collaborators. At age seven years, 7 per cent of the females had handled their genitalia. At the next age-grade 10 years of age, the percentage recorded being 13 was higher by about 85 per cent. I may note it as the first dividing line and it coincides more or less with the onset of what is called adolescence which is generally ended at 15 years. At 20 years of age, *i.e.*, with the onset of adulthood, the advance in percentage is only about equal to that observed at 12 years over that at 10 and at 15 years over that at 12. At later ages the practice of masturbation has to be differentially treated according as the subjects are single or married. Among the single females the accumulative percentage went on increasing till it reached its maximum at age 40 when 65 per cent of the single females had ever masturbated and 62 per cent of the total sample. The accumulative incidence of masturbatory practice among married women during marriage went on increasing till age 45 when it stood at 44. At what age its downward trend came one cannot know as performances at higher ages are not listed in the table. But that the accumulative incidence

Statement I presents the analysis of the 1265 women aged 31 years and over at the time of the enquiry, who had been masturbating over a long period, given in Table 22 by Kinsey and his collaborators according to age-group, birth period and civil condition. The numbers in the different birth periods are arrived at by the use of Table 2 and those of the married and other than married categories from Table 1.

It is seen from the percentages noted above that the highest percentage of masturbators is claimed by women of the 46-50 years age-group and the lowest by the 31-35 age-group. While the highest percentage is larger than the average percentage 65 by 4.5 the lowest is smaller than it by 3.5. The percentage of women born in 1910-19 birth period is so large in the 31-35 age group that from the viewpoint of birth period, 31-35 age group may be said to represent the women born after 1910. Looking to the civil condition side of the group of women under study, it is seen that the 31-35 age group had more than half its women in married condition. How many years they were married at the time of their record of masturbatory practice, which for the whole age-group of 31-35 shows its median duration to have been 14 years, it is not known nor is it possible to ascertain from the data presented by Kinsey and his collaborators. The women of the age group 46-50 years were all born before 1910 and thus represent the earlier two birth periods. Their composition in terms of civil condition is more than the exact reverse of that of the age-group 31-35 years. Among them 'other than married' has a greater percentage than that of the married in the 31-35 years age group. What still complicates the reasoning is that whereas in the 'other than married' category of the age group 31-35 years the 'unmarried or

single" and the "ever widowed, separated or divorced" were more or less equal in proportion in the age group 46-50 years, the latter variety is larger by 86 per cent than the former. It is open to argue that the variety of the "ever widowed, separated or divorced" would be masturbating more than the single women if they happened to be young as that they would be doing so rather in the later years because of their failure to continue to get other and hetero-sexual outlets in the declining years due to loss of charm through married life and maternity.

The two age groups, 31-35 years and 41-45 years, can be taken to be representative of women born in the birth periods 1910-19 and 1900-09 respectively. Their civil condition composition is however almost the reverse of each other. The difference in the respective percentages of masturbating women is 5.8 in favour of the later age-group 41-45. It is impossible to apportion the relative weight of age and differential civil condition in the production of this difference. The comparison of the two age groups, 41-45 and 46-50, is more complicated because their composition as regards birth period is not distinctively separable the women born in 1900-09 who form the main bulk of the former age-group having been represented in fair percentage in the age-group 46-50 years. I may compare the two age groups at the extremities of the sample, 31-35 years and 51+ years, with the caution that it is not strictly scientific. For whereas the former age group is definite, being a period of five years, the latter is almost indefinite in theory and in the total sample not only extends over 20 years but may extend to 40 years. One thing in favour of comparing the two groups is that the age-group 31-35 years represents the masturbatory practices of women

born in the period 1910-19 and the age-group 51+ years is composed wholly of women born before 1900. The average difference between the two age-groups may be put down at about 25 years. The difference between the median number of years of masturbatory practice between the women of the two age groups is 10.1 years, the former being 14 and the latter 24.1 years [28]. The differences in the percentages of civil condition are great. In the age-group 31-35 years the percentage of the "married" category is larger by 22.5 and that of the "other than married" category consequently smaller by an equal amount. The composition of the "other than married" category however is very unequal in the two age-groups. In the 31-35 years groups stated above the single and the "ever-widowed", separated/divorced" are about equal. In the age-groups 51+ years, however, the latter variety is almost double the former. All in all, a clear-cut conclusion regarding the respective significance of age, birth period and civil condition in their contribution to the percentage of masturbating women of the Kinsey sample becomes impossible. But my inclination on the total appraisal of the data presented and analysed is that the most important factor is the birth period. Women born before 1900 carried on masturbation for the longest period but those born in the period 1900-09 did so in larger numbers, relatively speaking. This inference is actually borne out by the percentages computed on the basis of the figures about source of first experience in masturbation presented in Table 20. It is not correct to deduce inferences about total practice of masturbation from data about first experience in it. But then it is still less accurate to base one's inference about the volume of masturbatory practice in relation to birth period on the data regarding masturbation to orgasm as Kinsey and his collaborators

have done. They conclude after referring to the accumulative incidences of masturbation to the point of orgasm: "Compared with the females who were born before 1900, some 10 per cent more of the younger generations were masturbating in the course of their lives" [29]. The active incidences of the single females in relation to age-group and birth-period presented in Table 30 are not unequivocal. In one age-group 26-30 years, the females born in 1900-09 show higher percentage than those born in the period 1910-19, and in others, the latter record higher percentages than the former. In all cases the females born in the period 1900-09 register higher percentages than those born before 1900. In no single case do the females born in 1920-29 register a higher percentage than the females born in the previous two periods, and only in the age group 21-25 years do they have a higher percentage than that recorded for women born before 1900.

I have already stated the correct percentage of the masturbating single women of the Davis sample achieving orgasm through masturbation as 86.4. In the group of women that was still practising masturbation at the time of enquiry the percentage achieving orgasm was 97.1 and in the group that had stopped its practice some time before it, 74.8. Davis states that the difference in the two percentages is mathematically significant [30].

In the Kinsey sample of American females according to the statement of the authors the masturbating female achieved orgasm in 95 per cent or more of all her masturbation [31]. To judge by the reference to the figures of Davis, I interpret this statement to mean that 95 per cent of the masturbating females of the Kinsey sample are stated to have achieved orgasm in masturbation. In Table 111 (p. 407) the reader is presented an analysis of the mastur-

batory performance and orgasmic achievement which 2195 married women had before marriage. The Table reveals that 52.8 per cent of these women had not masturbated before marriage and that only 47.2 per cent had done so. Of the 1036 women who had masturbated before marriage, 128 women or 12.4 per cent had not achieved orgasm in masturbation. The 1800 or so unmarried women in their masturbatory practice must have achieved greater percentage of orgasm to make up for the whole. On the whole, however, it is best not to draw the conclusion, appearing to be warranted by the acceptance of the percentage as 95, that the women of the Kinsey sample were achieving orgasm in their masturbation more frequently than those of the Davis sample.

I have already quoted the assertion of Kinsey and his collaborators that pre-marital masturbation has a positive bearing on the achievement of marital orgasm. Now I shall examine the data presented in *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* which according to its authors support their assertion. Before embarking on this examination I draw the readers' attention to the fact that the authors^[22] have duly warned their readers that in the opinion of sexologists like Havelock Ellis 'pre-marital masturbatory experience may so condition an individual that she may want to continue solitary activities in preference to having coital relations after marriage'. They categorically assure the readers that they have seen very few histories of this sort. Earlier I have quoted the considered opinions of the two high authoritative medical specialists, the two American sexologists who minutely studied the life histories and even carried out physical examination of their subjects on the possibility of pre-marital auto-erotic indulgence making ordinary

exaggerate their data in their anxiety to controvert the expert view stated above. They say "There are very few instances, among our several thousand histories, of females who were able to masturbate to orgasm without becoming capable of similar responses in coitus"³⁴ Readers will remember that there are just over one thousand females in their sample who masturbated before marriage and whose sexual performance within marriage is analysed in the book and not "several thousand" as the authors exaggerate.

For their categorical assertion that pre-marital masturbation has positive and beneficial effect on orgasm within marriage, Kinsey and his collaborators depend almost entirely on the data presented by them in Table III (p 407). Among females who had either not masturbated before marriage or had masturbated without achieving orgasm therein, they point out, "about a third", i.e., 31-37 per cent, had failed to achieve orgasm in marital coitus during the first year of marriage and "nearly as many" had done so in the first five years of their marital coitus. On the other hand, of the females with pre marital experience of orgasmic masturbation only 13 to 16 per cent had failed to achieve orgasm in the first year of marriage. "The differences became less, but were still apparent some fifteen or twenty years after marriage."

At the very outset, I must mention the fact that not only are there no data anywhere regarding marital coitus of more than fifteen years of women who had masturbated before marriage but also that the data for the 15th year of marriage cover only women who had orgasm for more than 25 times in their pre-marital masturbation. The very first observa-

tion one encounters when one studies the data of Table III is that in the matter of the percentages of married women achieving no orgasm and of those achieving nearly cent per cent orgasm during the first year of marriage, females who had masturbated so as to attain pre-marital orgasm between one to 24 times showed very much better performance than those who had indulged in pre-marital masturbatory orgasm for 25 times and over. It is rather typical of the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* to ignore some very significant considerations in the presentation of their data. Here they have failed to recognise the need to specify the maximum number of orgasms and to base their tabular statement on the average of such orgasms rather than leave the maximum unspecified. If the maximum of the limitless category of orgasms 'for 25 times and over' happens to be high, the data would lend themselves to the interpretation that frequent or large volume of pre-marital masturbatory orgasm is detrimental to achievement of marital orgasm. The conclusion will be almost irresistible if it is confined to a contrast between 'very moderate, below 25 times', masturbatory orgasm and 'extravagant or heavy or inordinate' pre marital masturbatory orgasm. The difference noted above between the percentages, being 3 and 7 in the first year of marital performance, works out at about 19 and 17 respectively in favour of the women who had only moderate pre marital masturbatory orgasm, *i.e.*, below 25 times. In the 5th year of marriage only 3 per cent of the moderate orgasm group failed to achieve marital orgasm as against 7 per cent of the women who had masturbatory orgasm before marriage for 25 times and over, a difference of over 57 per cent in favour of the group of married women who had only moderate volume of orgasms in their pre-marital masturbation.

The difference in orgasmic performance is even more striking when we view the percentages of married women achieving nearly cent per cent orgasm in their marital cortex. Among the women with moderate pre marital masturbatory orgasm 55 per cent attained the goal of nearly cent per cent marital orgasm, but among those with 25 times and over orgasm in pre-marital masturbation only 43 per cent did so. It is to be noted that this percentage figure is only greater than that of the same performance during the first year of marriage by one the percentage reached by women of moderate masturbatory orgasm is greater by 6. Thus women with moderate orgasm in pre marital masturbation not only start in their marital sex with lower percentage for no orgasm and higher for nearly cent per cent orgasm but also they lower the former and increase the latter percentage in the next four years of married life and establish a larger lead over those women who had, in their pre marital masturbatory practice achieved orgasm for 25 times and more. In the tenth year of marriage this lead becomes even larger. The most significant or striking fact about this decrease and increase in the percentages of married women achieving some orgasm or nearly cent per cent orgasm is that whereas of the women who indulged in moderate masturbatory orgasm before marriage only 3 per cent had failed to achieve any orgasm in their sexual life within marriage during the 10th year of marriage whereas in the 15th year of their marriage the group of women who had masturbated to orgasm 25 times and more before their marriage still had 6 per cent of them achieving no orgasm at all. If this difference in the sexual performance within marriage is not enough to convince a reader that between moderate masturbatory orgasm and excessive one before marriage the latter practice unfits the women for marital orgasm

more than the former, the achievement percentages of nearly cent per cent orgasm in marital coitus provides additional support for the conclusion 64 per cent of the females who had masturbated to orgasm in moderate number achieved nearly cent per cent marital orgasm in the tenth year of marriage. This marital achievement contrasts significantly with that of the group of excessive masturbators among whom only 44 per cent and 49 per cent had nearly cent per cent marital orgasm in the 10th and the 15th years of their married life. Unfortunately, the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have not provided any data regarding the sexual performance of moderate pre marital masturbators in the 15th year of their marriage. This absence of information is the more regrettable because as is clear from Table 109 in the tenth year of marriage even among married females, who had had coital orgasm for more than 25 times before marriage, only 54 per cent managed to achieve nearly cent per cent marital orgasm in the 10th year of marriage. Of the married women who had, before marriage, coital orgasm for less than 25 times only 53 per cent had achieved nearly cent per cent marital orgasm in the 10th year of their marriage. The marital performance of moderate pre marital masturbators in regard to achievement of nearly cent per cent orgasm is even superior to that of the married women who had pre marital coital orgasm for 25 times and more in the 10th year of their married life. Whereas only 54 per cent of the latter had achieved nearly cent per cent orgasm in their marital coitus, of the women, who had masturbated before marriage to less than 25 times orgasm, 64 per cent achieved nearly cent per cent marital orgasm in the 10th year of their marriage. Of the women who had pre-marital masturbatory orgasm for 25 times and more only 49 per cent had

achieved nearly cent per cent marital orgasm in the 15th year of their marriage.

It is clearly seen from even the limited, and it would appear perhaps selective (?) data presented by Kinsey and his collaborators that moderate pre marital masturbatory orgasm is more conducive to achievement of marital orgasm than pre marital coital orgasm for either more than or less than 25 times and much more so than pre marital masturbatory orgasm for 25 times and over. On this background all dispassionate students of sexual behaviour in general and of the American female in particular must regret very much the fact that the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have not provided more detailed information making it possible to study the performance of moderate masturbators. It may be that the moderate volume of pre marital masturbatory orgasm associated with good performance in marital orgasm is much less than 24 times. Even if it is not very much less than 24 times the data presented by Kinsey and his collaborators do not support their claim on behalf of unlimited pre-marital masturbation and does not justify their short shrift to the opinions of sexologists like Havelock Ellis about moderate masturbation much less the manner in which they have expressed their attitude to them. This is the more unpardonable because the conviction of the expert medical sexologist and student of married life, R. L. Dickinson whose opinion as stated above the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have failed to refer to had taken care to specify his idea about moderate and by implication of excessive masturbation. Observe Dickinson and Beam^[28] "The assurance that no physical harm resulted from infrequent such as monthly or bi monthly auto-erotic habit in short sessions was nearly communicated to the patient."

From the above sober statement of Dickinson about masturbation and what moderate amount of it or infrequent practice of it means to the sweeping statement nay, an apparent exhortation, about pre marital masturbation made by Kinsey and his collaborators in the following observation is more than the complete swing of the pendulum Observe Kinsey and his collaborators^[27] "The techniques of masturbation and of petting are more specifically calculated to effect orgasm than the techniques of coitus itself Having learned what it means to suppress inhibitions, and to abandon herself to spontaneous physical reactions which represent orgasm in masturbation, she may become more capable of responding in the same way in coitus

Kinsey and his collaborators,^[28] have not failed to think of the selective factor giving the kind of positive correlation between pre-marital masturbatory practice and marital orgasm which they have categorically stated to exist, viz, that the females who masturbated before marriage came from the naturally more responsive group among the females of the sample but they lean more to the possibility of a causal relationship The points which I have brought to the notice of the readers so far show that the data in so far as can be studied in detail prove that only moderate masturbators have superior performance in marital coitus and not all masturbators The conclusion in itself should make one pause before accepting a straight forward causal relationship between masturbation and marital orgasm. But to make matters still worse for the favoured view of Kinsey and his collaborators the marital performance of pre-marital masturbators who did not achieve orgasm therein, is poor compared to the performance of females who never masturbated before marriage

Data are available only for the 1st and the 5th years of marriage. Whereas 31 and 21 per cent of the women who did not at all masturbate before marriage did not achieve any marital orgasm in the 1st and the 5th years of marriage respectively, among women who masturbated but could not achieve orgasm in masturbation 37 and 29 per cent did not attain orgasm in marital coitus in the respective years. In terms of percentage difference it works out at 19.4 and 38.1 in favour of the women who did not masturbate at all before marriage. In regard to achievement of nearly cent per cent or 90 to 100 times orgasm in marital coitus the performance of the masturbators is superior but the percentage differences in their favour being only 11.5 and 10.8 in the 1st and the 5th years of marriage respectively, are rather small.

Statement J tabulates conveniently the marital performance of the different categories of women according to their sexual practice before marriage. Before interpreting the data and deriving definitive conclusions from them it is desirable to point out that Kinsey and his collaborators have not made it quite clear that the categories listed are pure and not mixed. Thus it is not stated anywhere if the 1,159 women, who are listed in Table 111 as having never masturbated before marriage, indulged in other sexual technique or did not resort to any sexual technique whatever, nor if the 752 women who are stated in Table 110 to have had no orgasm in their pre-marital petting, which had stopped short of coitus, had tried masturbation or not. As the figures go in both the categories there must be included women who did try other techniques than the one mentioned. Thus the categories are not all pure. When therefore I point out that the marital performance of women who did not indulge in pre-marital masturbation

is better than that of other women I must be taken to speak in the terms of the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* and not to imply that they are women who had not tried any other sexual technique too. For a proper appraisal of the situation it is necessary to have the details about other techniques if any, so that one can be sure that the category, here of the non masturbatory women, is pure and does include practitioners of techniques other than masturbation. Under the limitations I cannot do better than state the conclusion from Statement I with the caution thus stated

STATEMENT J.

Marital Performance of Women without Orgasm in Pre-marital Sexual Techniques and of Women without Masturbatory Practice in the various years of marriage

Marital Performance	Sexual Technique	1st year of marriage (per cent)	10th year of marriage (per cent)	15th year of marriage (per cent)
No Orgasm	All Techniques including Coitus	56	30	—
	All Techniques except coitus	40	25	—
	Petting	35	20	15
	No * masturbation	31	19	16
90-100% orgasm	All techniques	17	31	—
	All techniques except coitus	29	34	—
	Petting	32	38	40
	No masturbation	35	40	42

It is seen from the above tabulation that from the first year of marriage to the tenth year, among the women who had achieved no orgasm in their pre-marital sexual techniques, the percentage of those achieving no orgasm in their marital coitus falls differentially so that the volume of absence of marital orgasm in the tenth year is closer among the three categories of pre marital sexual techniques. In the first year those who had tried all techniques before marriage fail to achieve any orgasm in 56 per cent of cases. Among those who tried all other techniques except coitus the analogous percentage being 40 is 28.6 per cent less than that of the women who had failed to achieve pre marital orgasm even in coitus. This means that those women who fail to achieve orgasm in their pre-marital sex even when they had tried coitus are much less responsive in marriage than those who had failed to achieve pre-marital orgasm through all techniques except coitus. One may conclude that failure to achieve pre-marital orgasm even in coitus means that the women so responding are inherently more unresponsive than those who fail to achieve pre-marital orgasm without having tried coitus. That the factor involved in the differential sexual performance in the first year of marriage is inherent sexual responsivity becomes clearer when we take into account the difference in the sexual performance of women who had tried petting and other techniques except coitus in their pre-marital sex and of those who had confined their pre-marital sexual activity to petting alone. We observe that the difference in the respective percentages being only 5, is 12.5 per cent in favour of the group that petted but did not try any other sexual technique. Of those who had not masturbated before marriage only 31 per cent did not achieve any orgasm in the first year of marriage. Unfortunately we are not given any data about women

who categorically asserted that they had not attempted any of the many sexual techniques before their marriage. Perhaps there was none such in the sample. If we had the marital performance of such, then we could specifically fix the amount of advantage or disadvantage pre-marital masturbation offered for sexual performance within marriage. Under the present circumstances we can say that absence of masturbation before marriage makes for better sexual performance in the first year of marriage than practice and experience of any sexual technique before marriage, though the advantage is small.

Perhaps Kinsey and persons of his way of thinking will state that women who do not try pre-marital masturbation are not only more inhibited than others, but also that inherently they are likely to be more unresponsive than others. If so, then their sexual performance in the first year of marriage as regards getting some orgasm, which is superior to those of women trying all sexual techniques before marriage, would establish the fact that absence of masturbation before marriage is desirable as it provides a better chance of avoiding the situation of no orgasm in marital coitus in the first year of marriage.

The above conclusion is further strengthened by the performance of the women who masturbated without orgasm. 37 per cent of them did not achieve any orgasm in the first year of marriage. This percentage is 23 per cent higher than the percentage of women with no marital orgasm from among those who had not masturbated before marriage. And it is higher by only about 6 per cent than the percentage recorded in the case of women who had failed to achieve pre-marital orgasm in their petting activity. I think, to an impartial judge, these data should point to the conclusion that masturbation before marriage is not an

advantage and that masturbatory orgasm before marriage is more a matter of inherent sexual responsivity than of independent causality of sexual performance within marriage.

It is to be particularly noted that the initial advantage possessed by the women who either never masturbated or who tried only one or more sexual techniques except coitus before marriage, in respect of the percentage of those having no orgasm in marital coitus in the first year of marriage is not only slightly reduced in the tenth year of marriage. Of the women who in their pre-marital sex tried all techniques including coitus but achieved no orgasm 30 per cent did not achieve any orgasm in their marital coitus in the tenth year of marriage. The analogous percentage among women who had resorted to petting only before their marriage and had failed to achieve any orgasm is 20. The difference between the percentages of no-orgasm in marital coitus in the 10th year of marriage of the two sets of women thus works out at 33.3 per cent. The analogous difference in the first year was about 38 per cent. Similarly the percentage difference between the percentages of no orgasm among women who did not masturbate before marriage is slightly reduced. The difference though reduced is quite large. This feature too should point to the identical conclusion that the women who try various sexual techniques before marriage and fail to achieve any orgasm therein are inherently more unresponsive than those who similarly fail only in one or the other technique and also than those who do not try pre-marital masturbation. Extending the argument to masturbatory practice and pre-marital orgasm, we may conclude that those who indulge in pre-marital masturbation without achieving orgasm are inherently more unresponsive

than those who indulge in it and experience orgasm through it. In further support of this conclusion I shall urge the fact that women trying pre-marital masturbation and achieving orgasm in it tend to resort to it in such volume and frequency that they tend to seek and have orgasm for more than 25 times, the upper limit, not having been stated by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*, being unspecified. Those who achieve orgasm in pre marital masturbation tend to repeat it often because they are the women who are inherently more responsive than the others including those who do not try pre-marital masturbation at all.

Let us study the performance and the pre marital practice and experience of those responsive women who manage to achieve nearly cent per cent orgasm in their marital coitus. It must be borne in mind that after all female orgasm is an entity or an experience quite certainly not experienced by more than one third of the married females and not bothered about perhaps by a still larger percentage. To achieve nearly cent per cent orgasm in coitus, therefore, is an achievement, which, if one confines oneself to the Kinsey line of thought, argues an extraordinary conquest over inhibition, and if he prefers, as I do, to take a comprehensive view of the matter, implies, in addition great inherent responsiveness. The advantage in regard to the achievement of nearly cent per cent orgasm in coitus of the first year of marriage possessed by women who in their pre-marital sex tried all sexual techniques except coitus and failed to have orgasm therein over those who similarly failed though they tried all techniques including coitus is greater than in respect of achieving no orgasm at all in marital coitus. The percentage difference between the percentages of nearly cent per cent orgasm achieved by

women who had tried even coitus before marriage and by women who had tried all other techniques except coitus is more than 70 in favour of the latter set. That between the women of the first set and those who had indulged in pre-marital petting only is more than 88, and that between the percentages achieved by women who in their pre-marital sex indulged in all techniques including coitus and that achieved by women who did not at all masturbate is more than 101 per cent in favour of the women who did not indulge in masturbation before marriage. In the tenth year of marriage these percentage differences are very much narrowed down, yet they exist, that between the first set of all techniques before marriage and the last set of no masturbation before marriage being only 29. It is worthy of note that in the 15th year of marriage for which the performance of the pre-marital petting and the pre-marital non-masturbating sets alone is listed, whereas in the category of no-orgasm the latter set shows disadvantage, measured by the percentage difference of about 7 in the category of nearly cent per cent orgasm it registers an advantage of 5 per cent difference. In the face of these data about the marital performance of the women who never masturbated before marriage it is surprising that Kinsey and his collaborators should not only pass over the selective factor as an explanation of the better marital performance of the set of women who achieved orgasm in varying degrees in their pre-marital masturbatory practice, but also should look upon and almost prescribe (?) pre-marital masturbation as a sexual technique calculated to break down inhibition and to facilitate orgasm, a doubtful and mysterious entity, within marriage.

The data of Table 111 make it clear that only 12.4 per cent of the women who indulged in masturbation before

marriage failed to achieve any orgasm through it and that of the 908 women who achieved masturbatory orgasm as many as 79.5 experienced it for 25 times and more, the maximum number being unspecified. This is the reason why I stated earlier that masturbation accompanied by orgasm has a tendency to be indulged in, in a larger volume and in greater frequency than to remain confined to moderate practice.

It is thus seen that masturbation as practised by American females cannot be an evolutionary trait and has all the indications of its being a culturally conditioned phenomenon. The volume of orgasm achieved through it before marriage suggests that the sexological writings with their almost propaganda like statements about the nature and need of orgasm have something to do with it. Unfortunately, no comparable data from previous investigations are available to substantiate this indication and to turn it into a conclusion. Enough has been shown from the data presented by Kinsey and his collaborators to make pre-marital masturbation quite suspect and even undesirable.

REFERENCES

- 1 *Op cit*, pp 264-66, 328-30, 358-391
- 2 *Loc cit* p 435 (Ed 1911)
- 3 *Op cit*, p 135
- 4 *Op cit*, p 158
- 5 *Op cit*, p 96
- 6 *Op.cit*, pp 135-37, 167-69, 172-73
- 7 Ford and Beach pp 161-62, 163, 256
- 8 *Op cit* p 148, 151
- 9 *Op cit*, p 157
- 10 *Op cit*, p 167 and f n 43
- 11 *Op cit* pp 172-3
- 12 *Op cit*, p 171 and f n 51

13. Hamilton, pp. 423-4, 442 ; Dickinson and Beam, p. 348, *italics mine*.
 14. *Op. cit.*, pp. 97-105.
 15. *Op. cit.*, p. 132.
 16. Davis, pp. 6, 152-3, Table V (p. 105).
 17. *Ibid*, computed from figures in Tables III and IV on pp. 102-03.
 18. *Ibid*, prepared from data in Table III and IV (pp. 102-03) and Table III (pp. 155-56).
 19. Davis, pp. 105, 117.
 20. *Op. cit.*, pp. 347-57.
 21. *Op. cit.*, pp. 225, 348.
 22. *Op. cit.*, pp. 293-4, 348.
 23. *Op. cit.*, p. 313.
 24. *Op. cit.*, pp. 167, 176, 675.
 25. Kinsey, Table 22, p. 177.
 26. Kinsey, Table 23, p. 178.
 27. Kinsey, pp. 142, 177 (Table 21).
 28. Kinsey, p. 177 (Table 22).
 29. *Op. cit.*, p. 151.
 30. *Op. cit.*, pp. 112-3.
 31. *Op. cit.*, pp. 132, 142.
 32. *Op. cit.*, p. 171.
 33. *Op. cit.*, p. 356.
 34. *Op. cit.*, 391.
 35. *Op. cit.*, p. 355.
 36. *Op. cit.*, p. 167, f. n. 43 "....the term excessive is entirely uninterpretable," pp. 384-5, 391.
 37. *Op. cit.*, pp. 173, 390.
-

VI

CONCLUDING

We have reviewed the behaviour of American married females before marriage and within marriage as regards spooning or petting pre marital coitus, extra marital coitus, and masturbation, these being the principal forms of sexual behaviour affecting marital happiness. Homosexuality has not been dealt with. Though Kinsey and his collaborators have devoted a whole chapter to 'homosexual responses and contacts,' they have stated that homosexual activity 'has been largely confined to the single females' [1]. Both Davis and Terman had tried to study homosexual activity in relation to some other trait of sexual and/or marital behaviour. Terman after an elaborate analysis of all data concluded that there was no relation between homosexual practice and marital happiness [2]. In this chapter I shall state the general conclusions that a dispassionate review of the data provided by American students of female sexual behaviour, particularly, of the vast material presented by Kinsey and his collaborators, warrants regarding 'petting or 'spooning' 'pre marital coitus,' and female orgasm.

About the beginning of the second quarter of the present century Judge Ben Lindsey, knowing the stresses and strains to which American youth found itself subjected and realizing that it was proving itself unable to stand them in the manner in which the accepted norms of sexual behaviour and of marital ideals would have it face them, proposed that a new variety of marriage should be standardised

to meet the situation. The variety of marriage, which he significantly designated 'companionate marriage,' was meant to enable a young man and a woman, who liked each other and would wish to become husband and wife but were unable to do so owing to financial inability and dependence, to live as husband and wife without any further commitment about rights and duties, which were to be determined according to the wishes and conveniences of the parties to the union. The union itself was to be dissoluble whenever the parties agreed to do so. The arrangement of companionate marriage was to provide both sexual outlet and companionship to a young man and a woman, who to all intents and purposes were both in spirit and action, desirous of being husband and wife. The proposed institution in its name of Companionate Marriage, and more so in its shorter designation of Companionate, emphasized the aspect of companionship and consequent equality between the partners to the union. Sexual behaviour of the partners was expected to be, by free and unfettered choice confined to them.

In practice, where the only sanction for behaviour rests in the individual choices and desires how far sexual activity would remain confined to the companion partners is a question to which an *a priori* answer might be thought to be either against the lessons of history or the moral nature of man. Actual behaviour appropriately analysed can alone provide a satisfactory answer. Lindsey's proposal raised a temporary storm and as a serious question passed soon into oblivion. In the meanwhile the din created by the loud cries of the protagonists of the bankruptcy view of monogamous marriage coupled with the unprecedented accession of power, prestige, wealth and technical means and the vast number of youths under

prolonged education—imperceptibly, as it appears in me with the limited resources of information at my disposal, and perhaps even by conscious direction as local information may prove to have been the case—led American youth, male and female, to the rather dubious and devious road of debunking accepted norms of sexual behaviour by resorting to the varied kind of petting detailed by Kinsey and his collaborators

The comments of the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*, more often than not, read like its reasoned substantiation [3] I shall mention the most outspoken instance of their predilection. We have seen the way Terman mildly opposed his data and his deductions therefrom against those who feel convinced that pre marital petting makes satisfaction within marital coitus a difficult task for the females concerned. I am not sure that Terman, when he cast his benign look on this 'pleasant pastime,' had in mind the deeply sexual techniques listed by Kinsey as its component. Kinsey and his collaborators in the fullness of their knowledge of the sexual technique employed in pre marital petting assert, against the view combated by Terman, their discovery of "nearly a thousand females who had done pre marital petting and who had then responded excellently in their marital coitus" [4] However, they have presented a straightforward analysis of the thousand or so married females' pre marital and marital sexual activity. Nowhere have they stated the precise number of the married women of their sample, who in the course of their pre marital sexual activity had confined themselves to petting alone. Nor have they given their readers any data about the sexual activity and experience of those married females who had not indulged in pre marital petting. And it was imperative that they

should have done so. For Terman^[5], who was benign in his attitude towards pre-marital petting, only observes: "Whatever other evils may be blamed upon adolescent 'petting,' it cannot be held responsible for any great amount of marital unhappiness." Confronted with the data of significantly higher happiness of wives with a never-petting past, he could only lay it aside with the remark that it "may or may not reflect a causal relationship." Two years before Terman published his conclusions, Katharine Davis had observed: "Demonstrably significant and apparently militating against the happiness of married life are spooning...."^[6] She arrived at the conclusion by a careful evaluation and comparison of strictly comparable data. She singled out 116 wives who were happily married and another set of equal number who were unhappily married in such a manner that for age and education they were identical. Their difference in point of marital adjustment was found to be correlated with difference in their pre-marital sexual behaviour, the unhappy group having indulged in pre-marital spooning more than the happy group.

Terman brushed aside Davis' conclusion in words which a serious student should have hesitated to use when differing from the considered opinion of a previous student of the subject. He says:^[7] "Davis believes* that a history of 'spooning' militates against the happiness of married life. However, the difference between her happy and unhappy groups in number reporting indulgence with other than fiance was only 13 per cent of 116 cases." The fact of the matter is that in the two sets of happy and unhappy wives only 111 wives furnished details about their pre-marital spooning and courtship. Of these, in both sets there were 21 wives who had carried on only

*Italics by the author himself.

Terman's own data, too, brushed aside by him as not indicative of causal connection between pre-marital spooning and marital unhappiness, are not quite as insignificant as his remarks would lead his readers to believe. And in his partiality towards the view that petting is 'a pleasant pastime,' which he could conveniently hold, not having distinguished the grades or depths of petting and having confined his attention only to frequency of the practice, he points out what he apparently considers to be a great flaw in the reasoning which seeks to establish causal relation between pre-marital 'petting' and marital unhappiness. Before such a relationship can be maintained, he states, one must ascertain whether women in the 'never petting' category tend to go hushandless and thus "escape an investigation that is limited to married couples."[*] He makes one assumption in thus arguing which neither he nor any previous writer on the subject appears to have any basis for. I think the assumption that among the hushandless women of the 'never-petting' category are included a far larger number of women who would have found marriage an unhappy situation is gratuitous. Equally reasonable would be the assumption that among the 'slow happiness' group of wives many of the 'very frequently and frequently petting' category of women fail to be included because only those of such women tend to marry that find great satisfaction in their sexual relations during their "petting" careers. And there is some evidence which may be interpreted as almost definitive against Terman's assumption that more of the 'never-petting' category of women fail to get married than those of the other variety. Amount of association with the members of opposite sex during adolescence in the American conditions, where such association usually leads to sexual intimacies, must to a large extent be a guide to the nature of

women in their pre-marital sexual behaviour. The percentage of wives with "very large amount and large amount" of adolescent association with the opposite sex may be interpreted to indicate whether wives have come from the "more-petting" or the 'less petting' group of women. The higher the percentage of wives with "very large and large amount" of association the greater the likelihood of the wives having come from the "more-petting" group of women, the lower the percentage, the less such a likelihood. On the other hand, the lower the percentage of the "little and none amount" of association women among the wives, the greater the chance of their having come from the group of women who did not "ever or much" indulge in pre marital petting. Of the 430 wives with "high happiness" record only 17.9 per cent had "little" or "none" association with members of the opposite sex during adolescence, and 42.8 per cent had "very large" or "large" amount of association. It is reasonable to conclude that there is no justification for the assumption made by Terman that more of the 'never petting' group of women have gone unrepresented in the Davis' sample of married women than those of the 'frequently petting' group.

Terman's own data reveal some features which far from substantiating his facile pronouncement regarding the relationship between pre-marital petting and marital happiness go to support Dr. Davis' 'belief' that pre-marital petting is associated with marital unhappiness at least to some extent. The 255 wives of the Terman sample who declared that they never petted before marriage secured in his reckoning the 'mean happiness' score of 71.3. On the other hand, leaving aside the very small group of 21 wives who petted 'very frequently' and

scored only 64.5 points for marital happiness, the 107 whose pre marital petting was 'frequent' were assigned only 67.7 points for 'mean happiness' in marriage. Whereas the wives who petted 'sometimes' scored 67 points, those that had indulged in pre marital petting 'rarely' carried off 68.8 for their mean marital happiness.

In Terman's sample, it must be noted that the difference in the percentages of the petting set belonging to the 'high happiness' and 'low happiness' groups respectively is in favour of the former group only in that of the 'never' petting set. Women who never petted before marriage formed 37.2 per cent in the 'high happiness' group of married women and only 27.2 per cent in the 'low happiness' group. In the remaining four categories of the amount of petting, in every case the percentage in the 'low happiness' group is higher by about 2 to 3 than that in the group of 'high happiness' wives. I think here is a case of both negative and positive proof, however small its numerical index may be. Absence of pre marital petting figures in higher percentage among the highly happy wives than among those with low happiness. Presence of pre-marital petting, in whatever amount, occurs in higher percentage among the wives with 'low happiness' than among those with 'high happiness'. Pre-marital petting then appears to have some association with marital unhappiness, and the absence of it with marital happiness. In fairness to Terman, though contradictory to his own statement on Davis' opinion, it must be pointed out that a few pages earlier in his book he observes^(*) that both Davis's data and his own "indicate that, for women, adolescent spooning tends to be more or less unfavourable."

Terman, who did not wholly uphold the sexologists' view that the crux of the problem of marital stability lay

in the sexual adjustment of the husband and wife, accorded some weight to it as a factor in marital happiness and in marital dissatisfaction. In his quest—and his enquiry was explicitly undertaken in pursuit of it—of the factors of marital happiness he roamed over the whole field of possible factors, from background situations to orgasmic experience in marital coitus. The replies that American married women gave to his questionnaire on these points and factors reflect the state of the institution of marriage and family in America. Here we are concerned only with the purely sexual factors. For they alone—but not in their totality or in their entire field—have been investigated and analysed by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*.

I shall begin with the factor of sexual satisfaction within marriage, on which, in an earlier chapter, the discussion ended with the conclusion that the data about pre-coital petting recorded by Kinsey and his collaborators do not reveal much ground for complaint on that score. As is clear, however, from the data utilized to arrive at the above conclusion, there is no information as to what the wives and husbands concerned thought of the current pre-coital petting, whether they found it mutually adequate or whether the respective requirements were greater or less than the current practice. It has been asserted by many that there is a fundamental disharmony in the sexual requirements, not only in respect of coitus but also in pre-coital petting or sexual foreplay of the husband and the wife, and that the ship of marriage strikes this rock with disastrous consequences. Terman's^[10] investigation reveals that 13.8 per cent of the American husbands, who answered his question whether their wives demanded too much foreplay, thought that they did, and 86.2 per cent that

they did not. The happiness scores of the wives of the two sets were significantly different. Whereas the wives of the husbands who thought that their wives demanded too much foreplay had the mean score of 62.7, those of the husbands who thought that their wives did not demand too much foreplay scored 70.3 points for their mean happiness. The difference in the happiness scores of the two sets of husbands, needless to say, was even greater, the analogous figures being 57.8 and 69.8.

In view of the charge that Kinsey and his collaborators^[11] have made against American husbands—in the early years of marriage owing to impatience or eagerness and in the later years owing to satiety and desire for variety—it is instructive to note that Terman had a different opinion. Struck by the great difference in the figures of happiness score of the two sets, he asked himself the question if a wife's fondness for sex play preliminary to intercourse was "as serious a cause of marital discontent in husbands as the figures implied, and answered it in the negative. He could not believe that, "even in the case of the hustling busy American husband, the waste of a little time in foreplay could rankle so sorely as to depress his marital happiness score by 12 points"^[12]

The present study is not concerned with husbands and their marital happiness. I shall therefore not refer to Terman's data which reveal the dissatisfaction of husbands over the fact that their wives did not pet enough. Nevertheless it is necessary to stress the point arising out of such data that husbands too need and expect petting by their wives. If in the pre-marital or rather in the adolescent petting, females have it their own way, receiving attention through petting as a one-way traffic, petting adjustment

within marriage will tend to be a more difficult process than if there was no pre-marital or adolescent petting.

Kinsey neither did not enquire into the views of the married females he studied whether they had adequate sexual foreplay in their marital coitus, nor into their satisfaction or otherwise from marital sex. I have therefore to scan only indirect data, to shed some light on the marital satisfaction or otherwise of the married females of his sample. They are provided by the percentages of indulgence in various techniques of pre-coital sex play as resorted to by married females born in the different birth decades. As the same data can be utilized to enlighten us further on the question of the cultural or habitational conditioning of the indulgence in these techniques in Statement K, I present the percentage variations on this double basis.

Before commenting on the implications of the data presented in the above Statement I must draw the readers' attention to the fact that pre marital indulgence in every one of the seven sexual techniques listed in this Statement had increased in the decade 1900-1909. The volume of practice among the females that had not indulged in pre-marital coitus was, however, very small compared with the percentage volume current among females that had indulged in pre marital coitus for over 25 times, in all the deeper techniques, *i.e.*, the lower five techniques among those listed above. Thus whereas only 12, 34, and 24 per cent of the females among those that had not pre-marital coitus had resorted to manual stimulation of male genitalia in their pre-marital sexual activity, among those that had indulged in pre-marital coitus for 25 times and over there were 87, 87 and 86 per cent respectively in the three birth-decades that had resorted to the particular technique, in

STATEMENT K *

Percentage variation between the Percentages of Females Indulging in Specified Sexual Technique in their Pre-marital Sexual Practice and of those indulging in the same Technique in their Pre-coital play in Marital Coitus

	Birth Decade		
	Before 1900	1900-1909	1910 and after
Sexual Technique	No Pre-marital Coitus and Pre-coital Play in Marital Coitus	No Pre-marital Coitus and Pre-coital Play in Marital Coitus	No Pre-marital Coitus and Pre-coital Play in Marital Coitus
Deep Kissing	+68 2	+34 9	+23 0
Manual Stimulation of Female Breast	+43 1	+26 0	+37 5
			+1 1
			+1 0
			+1 0

Oral Stimulation of Female Breast	+336 8	+6 4	+172 7	+3 4	+200 0	+10 3
Manual Stimulation of Female Genitalia	+340 0	-5 4	+116 0	Nil	+169 4	+2 1
Oral Stimulation of Female Genitalia	+4100 0	-16 0	+1225 0	+3 9	+1833 3	+26 1
Manual Stimulation of Male Genitalia	+566 7	-8 0	+193 5	+4 6	+291 6	+9 3
Oral Stimulation of Male Genitalia	+2900 0	-23 7	+1433 3	+9 6	+2650 0	+27 9

*Based on Tables 73 and 100 For the Pre-coital Techniques in Marital Coitus, where the data are given for the females born in the periods 1910-19 and 1920-29 separately, I have arbitrarily adopted the following percentages for the Birth Decade 1910 and after in respect of the seven techniques serially 91, 99, 96 97 58, 94 55

their pre-marital sexual activity. The margin for increase in percentage practice in the pre-coital techniques in marital coitus in the case of the females that had indulged in pre-marital coitus for 25 times and over being small, the percentage variation in the last two birth-decades is small.

The fact that in the case of such females born before 1900, in their marital foreplay of sex there was decrease in regard to all but one technique is noteworthy. If indulgence in these techniques as pre-coital play is an indication of marital satisfaction, then the females born before 1900 that had indulged in pre-marital coitus for 25 times and over were not getting adequate satisfaction in their marital sex and those born after 1900 by the same reasoning were getting it. We may conclude that marriage was proving, sexually speaking, more satisfying to the females that had indulged in pre-marital coitus for 25 times and over if they were born in the later decades. To the females who did not indulge in pre-marital coitus marriage gave more or less equal satisfaction, by the same token, in all the three decades.

On the whole, it may be concluded that for the American females born before 1900 marital coitus was a very much greater source of incentive to indulge in varied pre-coital sexual foreplay if they had not indulged in pre-marital coitus than if they had indulged in it for 25 times and more. To American females born after 1900 and not indulging in pre-marital coitus, marital coitus continued to provide strong incentive, only a little less markedly than in the case of similar females born before 1900, to explore the varied foreplay indicated by the seven sexual techniques listed in Statement K. The case of females indulging in pre-marital coitus for 25 times and more is somewhat different. However, they, too, if born after 1900 resorted

to pre-coital sexual foreplay in marriage in a slightly greater percentage than in their pre-marital coitus

We may conclude from this differential percentage variation that indulgence in sexual foreplay has progressively become a need of the American females during the last thirty or forty years to be satisfied whether outside or inside marriage. A need which is seen to grow and to be felt along with the teaching, preaching, and propaganda about sexual satisfaction that has been going on in the U S A for the last half century and more, must be pronounced to be culturally conditioned rather than biologically evolved

I have stated in a previous chapter the earlier conclusion that orgasm in marital coitus has no necessary connection with marital happiness, and have shown how Kinsey and his collaborators in ignoring this observation and not considering it in relation to marital happiness have tended to enthrone this mysterious event into an end in itself. In another chapter, I have clearly demonstrated from the data provided by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* the fact that achievement of orgasm in marital coitus is very much facilitated if the married females concerned had masturbatory orgasm for less than 25 times before their marriage. Further we have noted the fact that in the matter of marital orgasm females having pre marital masturbatory orgasm for 25 times and over were worse off than those who had orgasm in masturbation for less than 25 times. This feature of marital orgasm in relation to certain pre-marital sexual experience should lead one to look with some suspicion at least on the performance in the so-called marital orgasm and to posit some cultural conditioning of the female sexual experience called orgasm

Before exploring the orientation regarding female orgasm suggested above, we have to scan the data about pre marital petting and pre marital coitus in relation to performance in marital coitus

Earlier in this chapter I have stated the argument based on the data of the samples of Davis and Terman that the opinion of Davis that pre marital petting is not conducive to marital happiness is fairly correct. Here we have to study the data presented by Kinsey and his collaborators regarding the performance in marital coitus in terms of orgasmic achievement, without any reference to marital happiness, of females who had achieved orgasm in pre marital petting as against that of the females who had not achieved it

At the very outset of the discussion it is necessary to draw the readers attention to the unscientific nature of the category of tabulation and thought designated 'with orgasm 25+ times' The authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have informed us that 61 per cent of the married females of their sample had not experienced any orgasm in pre-marital petting Without stating the precise percentage of those who had experienced it for a limited number of times they observe that 'some had not had such experience more than a single time before marriage' and that 'others had averaged as many as 7 to 10 orgasms per week for five or ten years or more before marriage As regards the period over which pre marital petting was practised, they state that 8 per cent of the females had practised for one year or less before marriage 15 per cent for two to three years, 23 per cent for four or five years and nearly 40 per cent had practised it for 'something between six and ten years' [13] The percentage figures account for 80 per cent of the females and the authors say nothing about the remaining 20 per cent It

is quite clear from Table 59 (p 272) that the foregoing percentage figures are only approximate, that only 15 per cent of the married females have to be accounted for, and that they had petted for 11-20 years before marriage. In the whole sample there were only 20 females who had never petted. Taking only 40 per cent of the females as having petted for between 5 to 10 years before marriage and as having had 7 to 10 orgasms a week, we have approximately 940 females out of the 2354 married females who had had orgasm in pre marital petting for 2000 to more than 4000 times before marriage. It is possible that not all the 40 per cent of the married females, who had carried on pre marital petting for five to ten years, had experienced orgasm in it for as many as 7 to 10 times a week. As against this possibility I have to point out that I have completely left out the 15 per cent of married females who had carried on pre-marital petting for 11 to 20 years and whose orgasmic performance in it would naturally be on the heavier side. All in all, it is clear that the category of 'with orgasm 25 + times' is not at all as precise as the category of 'with orgasm 1-24 times' is, and that it may include females who had had anything between 25 to over 4000 orgasms in their pre marital petting.

Another defect in the data of Kinsey is the fact that though Table 110 (p 407) which presents them would lead the reader of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* to think that they relate to females whose pre marital sexual experience was confined to pre marital petting, it is not so. The footnote to Table 110 and data of Table 109 make it certain that of the 1580 married females, whose performance in pre marital petting is analysed in Table 110, not less than 50 per cent had indulged in pre marital coitus in addition to their pre marital petting. According to

the data of Table 108, 1093 females or 49.2 per cent of those whose pre marital orgasmic achievement is analysed, had had it for 25 times and over, 339 females or about 15.3 per cent had it for 1-24 times, and 788 or 35.5 per cent had no orgasm in their pre marital sexual activity from any source whatever. If the number of females who had pre marital orgasm for 25+ times given in the three Tables 109, 110 and 111, i.e., in pre marital coitus, in pre marital petting and in pre marital masturbation, were strictly confined to the achievement in the specific activity, the total number of females in the Kinsey sample of married females, who had achieved orgasm for 25+ times from any source of pre-marital sexuality, would have been 1479 and not 1093 or so. It is clear therefore that the category of 'with orgasm 25+ times' in Table 110 is not confined to experience in pre-marital petting alone.

The same observation generally applies to the category of 'with orgasm 1-24 times', and in addition there is a discrepancy in the figures for this category which vitiates the data still further. In Table 108 where data about pre-marital orgasm are presented without any reference to specific source there are only 339 females or 15.3 per cent in the category of 1-24 times. In Table 110 the number of females having orgasm for 1-24 times in their pre marital petting—with perhaps other sources too—is given as 417 or 26.5 of the females whose achievements in pre-marital petting are listed. There are 258 females (Table 109) who were in that category of orgasmic achievement in their pre-marital coitus and 186 (Table 111) in their pre marital masturbatory practice. It is clear that the number and percentage of females listed in the category of 1-24 times orgasm in Table 108 from any source is an understatement. In my further discussion of the pre-

marital orgasmic achievements and their relation to marital orgasm I shall ignore this category under pre-marital orgasm from any source

Defective as the data are, I shall, with the warning that they do not necessarily pertain to only petting but include other sexual experiences too, compare the marital performance of the two categories of females, 'with orgasm 1-24 times' and 'with orgasm 25+ times' in their pre-marital sexual practice. I shall leave out the experience in the 15th year of marriage as the cases in both categories for that duration of marriage are below 100. It should be carefully noted that the females who had only 1-24 times orgasm in their pre-marital petting achieved better results in their 10th year of marriage than the females of the category '25+ times' orgasm. The percentage of those having no marital orgasm at all in the 10th year was the same in both categories, viz., 3. The percentage achieving cent per cent orgasm however was larger in the first category than in the second, being 48 and 47 respectively. This performance of females with pre-marital petting practice matches that of the females with pre-marital masturbatory practice, with the difference that the contrast in favour of the first category is much greater in masturbatory than in petting practice. In the 1st year of marriage the females of the two categories of petting practice have equal percentage of no marital orgasm viz 10. The percentage of females achieving cent per cent marital orgasm is larger among the females who had 25+ times orgasm in pre-marital petting than among those with '1-24 times' orgasm in it. In the 5th year of marriage the advantage was in favour of the females of the second category. The differences being so distributed if the categories of '1-24 times' and '25+ times' orgasm were strictly precise we

could have legitimately concluded that as far as achievement of orgasm in marital coitus was concerned females who had achieved *orgasm in their pre marital petting* for '25+ times' had some advantage over those who had experienced it for '1-24 times' only. But as we have pointed out the category of 'with orgasm 25+times' is very vague, the total number of orgasms experienced by an individual female in that category varying from 25 to about 4000. Under the circumstances, we cannot attach any significance to the differential marital performance of females of the two categories of petting experience.

Kinsey and his collaborators have asserted a positive relation only between pre-marital petting orgasm and sexual performance in marriage as against that between absence of pre marital petting orgasm and lack of marital orgasm.[14] I shall now examine the extent and truth of such correlation. At the outset I shall draw my readers' attention to the fact that though we are assured by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* that the 752 females, who had no orgasm in their pre-marital petting, had not indulged in pre-marital coitus, yet we are not told that they had not tried other sources of sexual satisfaction like masturbation. The indications that we receive from comparison of the figures in the different Tables are more or less positive in pointing to the inclusion of such females among the number. Thus in Table 109 there are only 563 married female who in their pre marital sexual practice had not indulged in coitus but evidently had tried both masturbation and petting and, perhaps, homosexuality too, and yet had not experienced any orgasm therein. They formed only 25.5 per cent of the married females whose pre-marital sexual experience is analysed in Table 109. In the same Table there are 223

females, or 10.1 per cent of the total, who had not achieved any pre-marital orgasm though they had tried not only pre-marital coitus but also other sources of sexual satisfaction, evidently petting and masturbation. As they had indulged in pre-marital coitus they could not have been included among the 752 females without pre-marital orgasm listed in Table 110. According to Table 111, there were 128 females who had tried masturbation before marriage and had failed to achieve orgasm therein. Logically we cannot add these 128 females to the 563 of Table 109 to arrive at the total number of females who had tried sources of sexual satisfaction other than pre-marital coitus and had failed to achieve orgasm through them. But even if we add up we do not get the total of 752 which is listed as the number of married females who had not achieved any orgasm before marriage through petting without coitus. And there is no explanation of this discrepancy anywhere in the book.

Waving the foregoing discrepancy, I shall bring out the very curious fact revealed by comparison of the marital performance of the 752 females without pre-marital orgasm of the 110 Table with that of the 563 similar females of the 109 Table. Statement L presents the relevant data in a tabular form.

The 752 females of the 110 Table who had achieved no orgasm before marriage must be understood to have indulged in all sources of sexual satisfaction excepting coitus. The 563 females having had no pre-marital orgasm of the 109 Table too had tried all sources except coitus. The group must therefore be considered to be a random selection by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* out of the larger number which included also the 752 females of the 110 Table. As a matter of fact, Table 108

STATEMENT L.*

Year of Marriage	No Marital Orgasm		Cent Per cent Marital Orgasm	
	563 Females of Table 109	752 Females of Table 110	563 Females of Table 109	752 Females of Table 110
1st year	40%	35 (-12.5)	29%	32 (+10.3)
5th year	28	22 (-21.4)	31	35 (+12.9)
10th year	25	20 (-20.0)	34	38 (+11.8)

which presents the pre-marital orgasmic achievement of the married females of the sample from 'any source' i.e., either from pre-marital coitus, pre-marital petting, pre-marital masturbation or from other practices, lists only 788 females as having had no orgasm. If the two sets of females without pre-marital orgasm, whose marital performance I have presented in a tabular form in Statement L, are random selections from a larger group, and if their marital performance is different to the extent made clear by the percentage differences shown in brackets, I need hardly point out that to enable one to make a scientific deduction from differences in achievement, one must be sure that the percentage differences are much larger than the ones shown in Statement L in order that they may be considered to be significant and not merely due to random selection from the same universe.

* Taken from Tables 109 and 110 The figures in brackets give the percentage difference between the percentages.

Having shown the serious defects that exist in the data about pre-marital petting experience and their interpretation, and requesting the readers to bear them in mind at every stage, I shall examine the conclusions Kinsey and his collaborators have unequivocally stated in regard to the relation between pre marital orgasmic experience in petting and marital orgasm. Mentioning the possibility that the females who achieve pre marital petting orgasm show better orgasmic achievement in marital coitus because these females are 'responsive' females and not because of their pre marital experience, they appear to leave the alternative explanation open and unsettled and yet observe [15] ✓ "But whatever the explanation, there are three, five or more chances to one that a girl who has not done pre-marital petting in which she reaches orgasm will not respond to orgasm after she marries. If she has reached orgasm in her pre marital petting, there is a much better chance that she will respond in all or nearly all of her marital intercourse during the early years of her marriage and also in the later years of her marriage." It must be pointed out that first, the females who had orgasm in pre-marital petting had not necessarily confined their pre marital sexual experience to petting alone but evidently had indulged in pre marital coitus too and therefore, their success in marital coitus cannot wholly be credited to their performance in pre marital petting. Second, the bulk of the females who had not achieved pre marital orgasm in petting had also failed to achieve it through any other sexual technique. In short, they must have been non 'responsive', to use the phraseology of Kinsey and his collaborators, whether physiologically, temperamentally or culturally, i.e., inadequate, rigid or inhibited.

As for the content of the conclusion, while I shall grant that it is generally warranted by the percentage figures

presented by the authors in Table 110, yet the fact that the comparison of percentages of achievement of the females who had achieved '25+ times' orgasm in pre-marital coitus with that of the females who had achieved comparable abundance of pre-marital orgasm in petting must engender a good deal of hesitation in accepting the conclusion as correct. The females who had achieved '25+ times' orgasm in pre-marital coitus had at least three to four chances of having marital orgasm during the first ten years of their marriage to one that females who had achieved similar volume of pre-marital orgasm in petting had. Perhaps one likes to argue away the inconvenient fact by crediting the huge difference in the percentages of co-orgasm in this case to the nature of the source of orgasm, coitus being by far the most prevailing mode of marital sex. But there is an awkward fact in the way. It is that in the category of females with '1-24 times' orgasm in pre-marital sexual practice the performance of the coitally experienced, which is only slightly better than that of the petting-experienced in the first year of marriage, is slightly worse in the 5th year and very much so in the tenth year than that of the latter. This should deter one from offering the above explanation. These data should incline one to suspect the presence of factors other than the straightforward relation between pre-marital orgasm and marital performance postulated and accepted by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*.

Of the married females those who had experienced orgasm in their pre-marital coitus had by far the best record for marital orgasm. Of those who had '25+ times' orgasm in pre-marital coitus only 3 per cent failed to achieve any orgasm in their marital coitus during the first year of their marriage, as against 8 per cent from among those

who achieved only '1-24' times orgasm in pre-marital coitus, 10 per cent from among those who had '25 + times' orgasm in pre-marital petting, and 16 per cent from among those that had experienced identical number of pre-marital orgasms in masturbation. Their marital performance was immensely superior to that of the females who had been unable to achieve any pre-marital orgasm either through coitus or through petting. When, however, Kinsey and his collaborators say^[16] that "It is doubtful if any type of therapy has ever been as effective as early experience in orgasm, in reducing the incidences of unresponsiveness in marital coitus, and in increasing the frequencies of response to orgasm in that coitus" they have overstepped their evidence. They have nowhere stated the average age at marriage of the 356 females who had experienced '25 + times' orgasm in their pre-marital coitus, or of the 258 females who had failed to achieve orgasm in pre-marital coitus. Nor have they stated the age at which their coital and orgasmic experiences began. On the other hand, they state^[17] that "For 44 per cent of those who had had pre-marital coitus, the entire experience had been confined to a single year or to a portion of a year" and that for 30 per cent the coitus had extended over two to three years and for 26 per cent over four years.

In Table 107 which presents the data of marital orgasm in relation to age at marriage, we have 144 females out of 2244 who were married at '31 +' years and 407 who were married at '26-30' years. Thus about 24.6 per cent of the married females of the sample were married after they were 25 years of age. Table 78 analyses pre-marital coital period in relation to age at marriage of 1190 females. And Statement M presents the data on percentage basis in terms of the period before marriage over which pre-marital coitus was carried on.

STATEMENT M

Age at Marriage	Period Before Marriage over which Pre-marital Coitus was carried on.	
	For 3 years or less	For 4 years to 10 years
	Per cent Females	Per cent Females
16—20	89	11
21—25	78	22
26—30	57	39
31—35	41	36

It is seen from Table 78 that there are among the '26-30 years at marriage' group only 4 per cent and among the '31 + years' group 23 per cent females who had indulged in pre-marital coitus for 11 years and more. And it is stated that "only a very few females had had pre marital coitus with any continuity over such periods of time [18]. On the whole the category of '11 years and more' being indefinite the first three age groups are most comparable *inter se* than the last and I shall begin with their marital performance. Statement N presents the percentage variation in the percentages of females having no orgasm in their marital coitus at consecutive age periods at marriage in relation to the duration of their marriage.

STATEMENT N*

Consecutive Age-Periods at Marriage	Percentage Variation			
	Year of Marriage			
	1st year	5th year	10th year	15th year
By 20/21-25	-35.3	-28.6	-36.8	-35.3
21-25/26-30	Nil	Nil	+25.0	-27.3

It is seen that the '21-25 age-period' females from the first year of their marriage onwards through the fifteenth year had a decidedly better record in having some orgasm in their marital coitus than the 'by 20 age period' females, who in the terminology of Table 78 are females that had married between 16 and 20 years of age. Of course the latter group had begun pre-marital coitus on an average earlier than the former group.

The authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* have naturally spoken in terms of pre-marital orgasm and not mere coitus and one ought to establish the foregoing facts not in relation to pre-marital coitus but pre-marital coital orgasm. Unfortunately the authors have not presented specific data regarding the orgasmic achievement of the married females alone in their pre-marital coitus according to age at sexual activity. But they have given us such data active incidence of orgasm in pre-marital

*Based on Table 107

coitus, in regard to the total sample of females, married or unmarried, studied by them and that too in relation to their birth-decade. The data are presented in Table 84. Taking the percentage of active incidence of pre marital coitus at each age period and in each birth-decade as 100. Statement O tabulates the orgasmic achievement in it.

STATEMENT O

Birth-decade	Age-Period of Activity					
	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45
Br 1900	50.0	62.5	70.8	75.7	78.1	80.6
1900-1909	44.4	57.9	70.0	81.5	91.7	88.5
1910-1919	44.0	57.1	66.7	76.7		
1920-1929	61.9	65.7	[7]			

Two facts are revealed by this manipulation of the data of Table 84. They are First, in the decade 'before 1900' at every age period orgasmic performance goes on bettering itself, in the decade 1900-1909 the bettering process stops at 41 years of age—in the last age-period it actually deteriorates—and in the two remaining birth-decades it goes on bettering through the age-periods for which data are available. Second, the relative orgasmic performance of the females born before 1900 remains higher than that

of the females born in the next two decades for the first three age-groups. Third, in the fourth age period, '31-35 years,' the last for which data for the three birth-decades are available, the performance of the 1910-1919 group is so slightly better than that of the females born before 1900 that it may not be attached any significance, but that of the 1900-1909 group is positively better and gets very much better in the next age-group.

The orgasmic performance of the 1920-29 group females is likely to be of great significance for the consideration of the pre marital achievement of the married females of the sample. From Table 104 we learn that of the 2238 married females, who are classified according to their birth-decade, 484 or 21.6 per cent were born in the decade 1920-29. As none of them figures in the data for the 10th year of marriage we may take it that they were married for less than 10 years in 1950, the time of the enquiry that has given us *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*. They must have been married before they were 26 years of age. And as Statement O abundantly proves, their pre marital orgasmic performance was high. But the difference in the performance of the 'by 20' and the '21-25' years groups is slight. As the Table 104 makes it clear, not more than 354 out of the 484 females born in the decade 1920-29 could have been included in the 1118 females of the 107 Table who were married at the age period 21-25. If under these circumstances their marital performance in point of orgasmic achievement was superior to that of the 'by 20' years married group of females not only at the start of their marriage but even in its 15th year, the only legitimate conclusion is that the age period of 21-25 is particularly favourable for the starting of coital experience and for the initial as well as later achievement of orgasmic one.

Turning to a study of the relative sexual performance of females married at the age-periods, '21-25' and '26-30,' we find that the latter group has not only no superiority over the first, but also, in the later years of marriage, shows itself considerably at a disadvantage. Its superiority in the 15th year has to be set on one side in view of the few cases involved. We may conclude that for orgasmic achievement within marriage females married in the age-period 21-25 have superior advantages over those married later, and very much more so over those married at the earlier ages, without any consideration of their pre-marital sexual experience.

We have seen that the group of females that married before they were 20 years of age must have begun their pre-marital coital experience at an earlier age than those who were married at the age-period '21-25' years. Calculating on an average the number of years females that married at the age-period '26-30' years carried on pre-marital coitus, they appear to have done so for about 4.2 years as against the average of 3.2 years that we get on the same basis for the females who married at the age-period '21-25' years. It is clear that the pre-marital coital activity of this latter group of females had begun on an average about four years earlier than that of the former group. The proper conclusion from the data presented to their readers by the authors of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* is that coital experience of females at the age-period 21-25 years is the most favourable for high performance of orgasmic achievement within marriage and not merely "early experience in orgasm" as the authors have stated.^[19]

Statement O establishes the fact already pointed out that even in the pre-marital coital activity orgasmic achievement goes on bettering itself till the age of the females

* indulging in the sexual activity reaches 41 years. It is worthwhile noting that even in the pre-marital coital activity the findings of Statement O are clear that in terms of percentage of coitus that ends in orgasm the orgasmic achievement of the American females of the Kinsey sample gets better and better till the age of sexual activity reaches 41 years. And I shall further support the emerging conclusion regarding the orgasmic capacity of females, viz., that it is in some way affected by age, by giving here data about the percentages of females indulging in pre-marital coitus at certain age-periods and achieving orgasm in their coital activity.

In Table 80 we are given certain data about the percentages of females indulging in pre-marital coitus and also the percentages of such females achieving orgasm in their coitus at certain age-periods. The data are recast in Statement P so that the percentage of active incidence of orgasm is given in relation to active incidence of coitus at each period taken as 100.

STATEMENT P

Age-Period of Coital Activity	Active Incidence of Orgasm as percentage of Active Incidence of Coitus.
16-20	50 0
21-25	60 0
26-30	69 8
31-35	79 1
36-40	85 7

The percentage of active incidence of orgasm to the active incidence of pre-marital coitus goes on increasing till the age at activity is 41 years. This way of approach to the study of the female capacity for orgasmic achievement, too, lends support to my tentative conclusion that it is in some ways affected by the age of the female.

Both aspects of the foregoing approach to the study of the female capacity for orgasmic achievement tend to cast doubt on the correctness of the conclusion of Kinsey and his collaborators that marital orgasmic experience is conditioned more by the fact of its being established early or late in the life of the female than by any other factor. The data of marital orgasm according to age at marriage and duration of marriage have revealed that for females marrying at the age-period '21-25' years, considered without reference to the age when first orgasm was achieved, orgasmic achievement went on bettering itself till at least the 15th year of marriage.* For considering the data without reference to age at marriage we are better placed as Table 112 lists the orgasmic performance of wives even in their 20th year of marriage. Statement Q presents these data in terms of percentage variation in the percentages of females achieving no orgasm at stated consecutive years of marriage.

Performance in marital orgasm is seen to better itself with longer duration of marriage, when considered without reference to age of the females at marriage and also without reference to their pre-marital sexual experience and orgasmic performance. In 15 years of marital life the percentage of married females with no orgasm in marital coitus gets

*It must be borne in mind that no data for longer duration are available.

STATEMENT Q

Marital Orgasm in Relation to Duration of Marriage

Percentage Variation between the Percentages of Females having No Marital Orgasm at Stated Consecutive Years of Marriage

Stated Consecutive Years of Marriage	Percentage Variation (No Marital Orgasm)
1st Year / 5th Year	{ -32 0 }
5th Year / 10th Year	-52 0 { -17 6 }
10th Year / 15th Year	{ -14 4 } -56 0
15th Year / 20th Year	- 8 3 }

reduced by more than half. And whatever the age of these females at marriage it is clear that their age has been *advancing during the period*. Leaving out all other considerations and factors we will have to admit that both the age of the females at their sexual activity within marriage and their habituation to marital coitus and to the sexual tempo of the husband wife couple affect the achievement of orgasm.

The factor of marital habituation can be attempted to be separated from that of the female's age at marriage in order to be able to specify the more or less precise force of the former. Statement R based on Table 107 presents the relevant data.

It is seen that among the females who were married at the age-period '21-25' years the percentage that did not

STATEMENT R

*Marital Orgasm in Relation to Duration of Marriage
and Age at Marriage*

(No Marital Orgasm)

Percentage Variation between the Percentages of Married Females
of Specific Age Period at Marriage achieving No Orgasm
at Stated Consecutive Years of Marriage.

Stated Consecutive Years of Marriage	Age at Marriage			
	By 20	21-25	26-30	31+
1st Year / 5th Year	-38.2 } (34)*	-31.8 } (22)	31.8 } (22)	-35.3 } (17)
5th Year / 10th Year	9.5 } 50	20.0 } 50	N1 } -63.6	
10th Year / 15th Year	10.5 }	-8.3 }	-46.7 }	

have marital orgasm in the 1st year of marriage is the same as among the females of the next marital age-period, '26-30' years. It is however, lower by a little over 35 per cent than that among the females who were married in the earlier age-period, 'by 20' years and higher by about 29.5

*Figures in brackets give the actual percentage of females of the particular age-period having no orgasm in the 1st year of Marriage.

per cent than the percentage of 'no-orgasm' females married at the latest available age-period, '31+' years.

Leaving out the females married at the last age-period, '31+' years, as data for them end with the 5th year of marriage, we see from Statement R that the percentage decrease in the percentages of 'no-orgasm' females over fifteen years of married life is 50 in the two groups of females, married 'by 20' and married at the age-period '21-25' years. This percentage decrease is only slightly lower than that recorded in Statement Q in the case of married females over the same period of marital duration when considered together without any reference to their age at marriage. The females that married at the age-period '26-30' years may be considered to have been on an average 10 years older at marriage than the females that are listed as having married by 20 years of age. Table 107 informs us that of the females that had married by 20 years of age only 19 per cent did not achieve any marital orgasm in the 10th year of their marriage. Thus, through their marital mutuality and habituation these females were able to reduce the percentage of 'no-orgasm' by 44.1 per cent in ten years. As stated above, the females that married at the age period '26-30' years may be said to have spent on an average 10 years of their lives in sexual practice of whatever kind except marital coitus. 22 per cent of them were 'no-orgasm' females in the 1st year of their marriage. This percentage of 'no-orgasm' females is lower than the percentage of 'no-orgasm' females in the first year of their marriage among the females that married at the age-period 'by 20' years by about 35.3 per cent. We may conclude from this that over an equal duration, marital mutuality and habituation achieve better results in the reduction of 'no-orgasm' than non-marital sexual practices.

The percentage decrease of 'no-orgasm' females in the category of 'married at the age period' 26-30' in 15 years of married life is greater than this. This should incline one to postulate that the females marrying at the age period '26-30' years, among those marrying upto and including that period, have the best chance of achieving some marital orgasm in the course of their married life through reduction of 'no-orgasm' percentage of females by marital mutuality and habituation. It is seen that they began their first year of marriage with a percentage of 'no-orgasm' females which is the same as that among females marrying at the age period '21-25' years. This first enhances the significance of the reduction of 'no-orgasm' females during 15 years of marriage, postulated above. But the data do not fully warrant this straightforward relation as the females that married at the age-period '26-30' years achieved no reduction in the percentage of 'no-orgasm' females between the 5th and the 10th year and as the reduction in that percentage between 1st and the 5th years of marriage was of identical volume with that among the females marrying at the age period '21-25' years. In the state of knowledge possible with the data at our disposal it is best to conclude that female orgasm is conditioned by, among other things, the age at which sexual intercourse begins, by the period of physical habituation and also by mutuality of the male partner. From the sample of American females whose sexual behaviour is analysed in *Sexual Behaviour of the Human Female* there is reason to conclude that females realise their orgasmic capacity, which, it must be borne in mind is a rather nebulous and almost mysterious concept, best by marrying at the age period of '21-25' years.

Briefly, the conclusions are (1) There is no necessary connection between female orgasm and marital happiness,

(2) Pre-marital spooning is somewhat adverse to marital happiness; (3) Coital experience and not orgasmic experience is important for sexual satisfaction within marriage; (4) Marriage at the female's age-period 21-25 is favourable to marital orgasm; (5) marital orgasmic experience goes on bettering till the female is 41 years of age; (6) marital orgasmic achievement thus depends on the age of the female, the habituation she has established and the mutuality between the wife and the husband; (7) Age of the female, her habituation to coitus and her mutuality with her husband are more important for marital orgasmic achievement than pre-marital sex practices. Lastly it appears that the sexual foreplay is a recent trend in American life and is culturally conditioned rather than biologically determined.

REFERENCES

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 453.
2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 342-3
3. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 233, 243, 264-6, 391.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 267.
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 256.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 59.
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 257.
8. *Op. cit.*, p. 256.
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 250.
10. *Op. cit.*, p. 318
11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 266, 354, 432, *Dupra.*
12. Terman, p. 318.
13. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 237-38.
14. *Op. cit.*, pp. 388-89.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 389.
16. *Op. cit.*, p. 385.
17. *Op. cit.*, p. 291.
18. *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female*, p. 291, Italics mine.
19. *Op. cit.*, p. 385.