

Critical Studies in Gender, Sexuality, and Culture



MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD AND THE QUEST
FOR SEXUAL FREEDOM

A History of the First International Sexual
Freedom Movement

Elena Mancini



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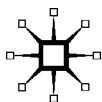
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MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD AND THE QUEST FOR SEXUAL FREEDOM

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*To my parents,
Lucia Buonaiuto and Francesco Mancini*

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Prologue

He, who has no strength to dream, has no strength to live.

—Ernst Toller

Magnus Hirschfeld was the first to achieve significant milestones in the modern history of sexual reform, yet he is scarcely known outside of the confines of the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered community and queer and sexuality studies. He founded the world's first sexual research institute in Berlin and was a pioneering researcher and writer on homosexuality and variant sexual behavior. His oeuvre comprises over 2,000 titles. A dedicated sexual clinician who counseled vast numbers of sexual minorities on how to honor and navigate the pragmatic realities of their sexual natures in a society that stigmatized their identity, he fought against the criminalization and pathologization of homosexuality.

By educating the public through his writings and advocacy, garnering the support of influential political figures, and reaching out to members of the cultural and scientific community and the broader public, Hirschfeld led a rigorous and steadfast campaign against the German anti-homosexual statute known as Paragraph 175. This legal statute against homosexuality was known in the Prussian penal code prior to the German Unification in 1871 as Paragraph 143. The Prussian statute was extended throughout the German Empire after the Unification under Bismarck. Charges of homosexuality against men were often brought up in court, and if defendants were deemed guilty a prison sentence of up to ten years could ensue.

Hirschfeld's theory of sexual intermediaries exposed the epistemological and empirical limits of the fixed dual-gender system and advanced the notion of the fluidity of gender in its stead. By destabilizing the artificially constructed categories of male and female, Hirschfeld's theory accounted for and scientifically legitimated myriad expressions or gradations of intersexed identities. Put differently,

his theory incontrovertibly radicalized or “queered” culturally constructed gender ideals of masculinity or femininity.

He was the first researcher to devote an entire study to the phenomenon of cross-dressing, and it was he who coined the term “transvestite.” He published his study on transvestitism in 1910, a 400-page opus aptly titled *Die Tranvestiten*¹ (The Transvestites). While Hirschfeld never formally identified the phenomenon of transgenderism with a distinct term, he was the first to identify clinically the phenomenon of transgenderism and differentiate it from transvestitism.

Hirschfeld and his Institute for Sexual Sciences also bear the singular distinction of performing the first sex reassignment operation in the world, under his supervision in 1931. Such operations reached a peak in demand in Germany in the 1930s, and Hirschfeld was widely sought out for his expertise.² His recommendations for surgery were deemed definitive, and, in one instance, Hirschfeld even succeeded in convincing the German government to pay for a male to female genital surgery. Even for today’s standards, this constitutes a significant achievement, but for a German Jewish physician who was kept under close watch by right wing factions and guardians of bourgeois sexual mores in scientific and civic posts, this approval signified a momentous affirmation of Hirschfeld and his theories.

Hirschfeld’s research attracted many of the leading sexologists, psychiatrists, and sexual activists of his time. Sigmund Freud publicly acknowledged his achievements in sexology. Despite the conceptual and methodological differences that defined their work, the early phase of their acquaintance was characterized by mutual influence, lively theoretical exchanges, and congenial professional collaboration. Each contributed to one another’s journals periodically and participated in one another’s professional organizations. Hirschfeld was an active member of the Psychoanalytic Association and also helped found the Berlin chapter of the International Psychoanalytic Society, along with fellow founder of sexology, Iwan Bloch, and the psychoanalysts Karl Abraham, Otto Juliusburger, and Heinrich Koerber, in 1908. Freud was also a member of the Institute for Sexual Sciences. In fact, Hirschfeld collaborated with many of the most prominent psychologists and sexual reformers of his time. Among these were Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Iwan Bloch, Karl Abraham, August Forel, Albert Moll, Max Marcuse, Wilhelm Reich, Helene Stöcker, Havelock Ellis, and Max Hodann. Hirschfeld’s achievements were also publicly acknowledged by Margaret Sanger, the American birth control pioneer and founder of Planned Parenthood who visited Hirschfeld’s

Institute for Sexual Sciences in the early 1920s. She was struck by the photographs of the transvestites that hung in Hirschfeld's institute, remarked that rather than the expressions of fear and insecurity that often characterized transvestites, those treated by Hirschfeld bore a mien of pride and self-confidence.³

By the end of World War I, Hirschfeld had achieved international renown for his work, and he began holding lecture tours on all aspects of sexuality around the globe. While his growing reputation and the implications of his sexual theories—which challenged nationalist ideals of heroic masculinity and the traditional family—caused him to become the target and victim of anti-Semitic attacks, his institute and clinical practice were able to thrive under the social democratic government of the Weimar Republic. He was able to enlist the support of key government figures for the repeal of Paragraph 175, and for many of the causes that were central to the women's movement and the campaign to extended sexual freedom to all. Unsuccessful in achieving ultimate abolishment of the anti-homosexual statute, Hirschfeld, nevertheless, had led an remarkably influential, unprecedented pro-homosexual campaign for over three decades.

As a clinician, Hirschfeld was widely sought out by homosexuals, intersexed individuals, and those whose desires, appearances, and orientation did not fit into the heteronormative dual scheme of gender. Seen both as an undisputed expert on the topic of sexuality and a professed advocate for the emancipation of homosexuals and sexual minorities, the sexually stigmatized masses and individuals in need of guidance with regard to their sexual identity flocked to him for insight, counsel, and medical treatment. Hirschfeld encouraged his patients to deepen their self-understanding of their conditions or desires and advised them on how to both live in a manner that promoted their authenticity and prevented them from falling victims to the laws.

As the escalation of the right wing forces during the final years of the Weimar Republic caused the situation to grow perilous beyond all doubt for Hirschfeld, he decided to expand his reach beyond Europe and embark upon a world lecture tour and an ethnographic tour of the sexual customs of Asia and Northern Africa. He traveled to the United States, Japan, China, India, Burma, Palestine, and Egypt, and produced a foundational work in sexual ethnography that evinces a conscious eschewal of a Euro-centric perspective. In its stead, he offered a condemnation of European imperialism. In surveying the profuse diversity of sexual practices he witnessed, he resisted exploitative stances of exoticization or judgment. Instead, he concluded that

cultural dogma and religious morals posed arbitrary hindrances to a deeper understanding of human sexuality, and that there was no uniform method or rule to judge the broad spectrum of human sexual expression. If there was overarching ethic that informed his approach to difference it was “panhumanism,” the belief that human beings were by far fundamentally more similar than different to one another, and the qualities and behaviors that united them were by far more productive to evaluate than their differences, which he claimed were minor. It was his uncompromised acceptance, rather than suppression, of difference that allowed him to advocate an egalitarian emphasis on sameness. This perspective also informed his perspectives on sexuality and race science, which he denounced in a series of articles, posthumously published in a volume entitled *Racism*.

In India, Hirschfeld was dubbed the “Vatsayana of the West,” and in the United States the press greeted him as the “Dr. Einstein of Sex”.⁴ He became acquainted with American sexologists William Robinson and Harry Benjamin. Robinson was so impressed with Hirschfeld’s institute and the progressive sexual reforms that it proposed that he made serious efforts to bring Hirschfeld to the United States in order to have him found an institute for sexual science there, modeled after the one in Berlin. Robinson was unsuccessful in this endeavor. Among the causes to have likely contributed to his inability to secure the necessary support and resources to execute such a venture was the American social climate of the 1930s. In a country still reeling from the Great Depression and not entirely free from its own forms of anti-Semitism, it is improbable that the climate would have been ripe for welcoming an institute as progressive as Hirschfeld’s.

All of these remarkable contributions beg the question as to why Hirschfeld has been so neglected, underrated, and dismissed. One historically immediate cause is the Nazi obliteration of Hirschfeld’s works in Germany and the continued relevance of the Jewish stigma during the 1930s, and the immediate postwar years through the 1960s in Germany contributed to the suppression of his message and works. Most of his works that managed to eschew annihilation had been preserved by his friends and colleagues on foreign soil.

During the postwar years, Hirschfeld’s scientific approach became widely misunderstood. He has been fallaciously accused of paving the road to Adolf Hitler’s genocides through the practice of eugenic science. To be sure, the theories of Charles Darwin and heredity science were widely influential in late nineteenth century Germany, and were perverted and misunderstood in many ways. However, not

all scientists distorted these theories, and even fewer carried out the nefarious consequences of these theories for segments of the population. While it is true that Hirschfeld practiced a form of sexual hygiene—a science to which many of Hirschfeld’s social democratic contemporaries subscribed—in his pursuit of sexual reform, causes which included the implications of his science were not even remotely genocidal. Though he believed in a benevolent application of eugenics, he held that man was a joint product of heredity and environment. His advocacy of causes for sexual reform, which included the liberalization of contraception, the right to legal and safe abortions, the enhancement of sexual pleasure, combating alcoholism, and the promotion of healthy births sought to enhance the individual’s sexual freedoms and choices. In no instance did his science seek the promotion of any race ideal. If anything, Hirschfeld’s thought was inherently antithetical to any hierarchical ordering of humanity, and he expressly called for a eugenics freed of racism and colonialism.

Hirschfeld’s practice of science by arguing the innateness of homosexuality has further contributed to his unwarranted obscurity and invalidation as an exemplary precursor for LGBT rights discourse. Critical theory’s denunciation of instrumental science and its totalizing effects through its most renown practitioners, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer have justifiably inserted unsettling doubts about the uses of science in society. The same, though to a lesser extent, holds true for the enduring currency of Foucauldian rejection of science as an oppressive articulation of power and imperialism, and as post-modernism and queer theory’s aversion toward restrictive categories or labels. Critics who resort to discrediting Hirschfeld’s work by leveraging such arguments against his scientific approach are grossly misguided. True, a number of the scientific theories that he relied upon have proved themselves outdated, and some of the experiments and therapies in which he engaged were faulty and positivistic in reach, but while flawed at times, he was always willing to revise his position and never lost sight of the ethical humanistic referent in his work.

What eludes many of those who engage in a wholesale dismissal of Hirschfeld on the basis of his science is the historical connection between the rise of the scientific method and the legitimation of political resistance. Maintaining a historical perspective on the role that science played during Hirschfeld’s lifetime would allow these critics to see that science offered a legitimate means of resisting dogma and the use of arbitrary power. Considering what the method of scientific inquiry represented during the age of Bacon in many senses yields

insights into the possibilities that the practice of the natural sciences continued to hold out during Hirschfeld's lifetime:

Since science is an ongoing process, an activity which is based on its capacity for self-correction and the ethic of questioning established authority, the birth of the scientific method in the early seventeenth century heralded the dawn of an era in which elements of modern political thought we take for granted were established. Francis Bacon embodied this spirit of resistance and saw the necessity of questioning authority, just as he embodied a drive for the creative exploration of nature for the purpose of benefiting humanity.⁵

Also lost on these critics seems to be the historical context in which Hirschfeld was operative. In a climate in which normative views on gender intersected with technological instruments for exacting greater measures of social control, arguing that certain traits and behaviors were innate—that is to say, in nature and beyond an individual's ability to choose—offered a means of making a humanistic appeal for tolerance.

Characterized by an ethic that privileged the universal over the particular, Hirschfeld's appeals for sexual equality did not only militate against sexual prejudices and hierarchies, but against racial and political ones as well. Hirschfeld's was a classic liberal stance. His advocacy for homosexual emancipation, women's rights, and racial and sexual minorities was typified by an approach that linked the interests of minority groups to universal causes, specifically, the construction of an open, free political community where difference would not be punished by exclusion and out-dated hierarchies and personal distinctions would no longer translate into unequal relations of power.⁶ Privileging particular subjectivities was not how Hirschfeld approached his struggle for equality. That is to say, Hirschfeld did not argue for homosexual rights by focusing on homosexuals in terms of what we would today call a single-interest group. Quite the contrary, Hirschfeld stressed the normalcy and universal character of difference and linked to it the vastly variable character of human sexual preference. Hirschfeld's purpose of foregrounding the richly varied nature of human desire was not to highlight different category groups in order to show how they measured up to a normative ideal, but rather to underscore the commonness and universally human character of the variability of desire.

To be sure, nineteenth-century science and early sexology operated with hierarchial understandings of difference. These were decisive in shaping the way in which sexual identities were studied, evaluated

and treated in public discourse. The scientific practices of fastidious classification and the cataloguing of sexual types that became widely popular during the Victorian era and the Wilhelmine period were critical in generating a heightened concern with difference. Sexual practices and character traits that deviated from the so-called norm gave rise to laws and social policies and judgmental social attitudes that not only inhibited the expression of sexual character and identity, but also led to cruel and lengthy prison sentences.

Hirschfeld recast the meaning of difference. For him, understanding difference did not entail a new set of value judgments, but rather an enriched awareness of sexuality that inspired him to fight to extend the category of freedom to those to whom it was previously denied. Hirschfeld's approach, of seeking to reform anti-homosexual legislature and to remove the stigma of homosexuality, had social, cultural, and political implications, and it was resonant with the liberal socialist tradition⁷ that privileged science over ideology and shunned the conflation of fact and value. His practice of science was characterized by a privileging of "what is" as opposed to "what ought to be."⁸ He had the fervent belief that by honoring what, in today's view, are considered the classic positivistic traits of science—objectivity, verification, and repeatability—the moral and theological claims with regard to the unnaturalness⁹ or depravedness of homosexuality could be effectively debunked.

Finally, the impetus for my undertaking this work on Magnus Hirschfeld can be distilled as three-fold. The first is to offer a corrective to Hirschfeld's undue obscurity and to dispel the mischaracterizations of him. At stake is not an arcane topic of historical interest, but the recovery of Hirschfeld's ethical humanistic perspective, which sought to expand the horizons of sexual experience and legitimate the expression of difference on a universal level.

The second motivation has to do with the way in which Hirschfeld—to the extent that he is known—is identified in the English-speaking context. This work makes no pretense about offering a comprehensive study of his ideas or scientific contributions, nor does it have the pretense of displacing previous scholarship on the subject matter. My work distinguishes itself from previous works published on Hirschfeld both in English and in German by emphasizing Hirschfeld's liberal humanistic approach in emancipating marginalized groups, linking this ethic to the present struggle for sexual equality. Stressing the fact that Hirschfeld's reach extended beyond that of pioneering sexologist and a homosexual rights activist, as he is commonly portrayed, this work will emphasize Hirschfeld's humanistic values and cosmopolitan perspective, and it will demonstrate that

his fight for sexual freedom was not only intended to serve individual minority groups but also addressed a wide range of problems that affected the broader populace. Sexual education, the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, alcoholism, domestic violence, homosexual suicide and blackmail, unwanted pregnancies, and marital counseling were all issues that Hirschfeld actively addressed in his research, activism, and clinical practice.

The overwhelming majority of the scholarship that positively appraises Hirschfeld's contributions tends to foreground his vocation as a sexologist but fail to illuminate how he impacted the cultural and political realities of his time. They are focus too narrowly on his scientific theories at the expense of the broader humanistic ideas and values that, I believe, lie at the heart of Hirschfeld as a thinker, activist, and as a person worthy of resurrecting for present debates. Each of the scholarly works may make connections between his science and his political activity, but they interpret his strength primarily as a figure who argued for legal reform. They fail to see the deeper implications of his scientific efforts, the tradition from which they emerged, and, I think most importantly, the ethical perspective which informed both his scientific enterprise and his political activism.

Up until the present, the only English-language, full-length biography of Magnus Hirschfeld has been Charlotte Wolff's, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology*.¹⁰ As the first published biography on Hirschfeld available to an audience that otherwise may not have access to his works, Wolff's work represents a commendably accomplished contribution. However, there are two critical ways in which Wolff's work requires redress and supplement. The first is that Wolff fails to grasp the full extent and implication of Hirschfeld's doctrine of sexual intermediaries.¹¹ Secondly, while Wolff's work evinces the mining of many primary resources and offers an expansive and detailed portrayal of the cultural and scientific contexts in which Hirschfeld operated, her work falls short of offering any in-depth intellectual historical perspective of how his theories and advocacy impacted broader cultural, political, and scientific discourses. There is no sense of why Hirschfeld's method matters, how he fits into the German tradition that nourished his ethical impulse, and how his unique perspective on science, clinical practice, and political activism was central to his thought and how it could be useful in contemporary discussions. Hirschfeld's advocacy of sexual minorities and rejection of race science was deeply informed by his cosmopolitan perspective. Barely adumbrated is Hirschfeld's liberal humanistic

outlook and the fact that his science, activism, and clinical work and ethnography entailed a questioning of authority, a deep ethical contestation of inequality with implications for anti-fascism, and a global, anti-imperialist perspective.

The third motivation was the timing of this work. I believe that we are at a time in which reconstructing Hirschfeld's unique liberal, humanistic, cosmopolitan vantage point is needed. Well past the door of the twenty-first century, sexual, ethnic, and racial minorities around the globe continue to be exposed to violent and heinous acts of cruelty and injustice. Most reprehensibly, there are still governments under which being gay constitutes a criterion for capital punishment. In the supposedly more economically developed and democratic global West, violent acts of hatred—including murder toward sexual minorities—up until recently continued to be met with little consequences, the exclusion of openly gay people in the military was a foregone conclusion, and marriage equality continues to remain chimera in many states across the United States. What I am suggesting here is not a reinterpretation of Hirschfeld that disregards the great divide between Hirschfeld's historical context and the present. In fact, I privilege terms like "homosexual," "transvestite," and "hermaphrodite" throughout my treatment of Hirschfeld's work, as opposed to the contemporary terms in usage. Rather, I am proposing that his ethic be revitalized and reinterpreted for the present in order to link it to a broader phenomenon, and that is how to approach the challenges of diversity. Part of that test entails, as Hirschfeld attempted to show, accepting the challenge of recognizing the universal right for the coexistence of plural, multifarious expressions of sexual and racial identities and religions in a manner that does not practice the exclusion of others. Pragmatically, it also entails the recognition that sexual freedom as an enterprise requires its proponents to identify an objective referent, the unity and solidarity of like-minded forces, and an appeal to democratic institutions. It is not the celebration or fetishization of an individual identity and the willful severing from majorities currently practiced by many single-issue identity groups. Hirschfeld gave living testament to the ethical horizon that holds that "an injury to one is an injury to all."¹² This perspective remains relevant for us now and in need of being put into practice anew.

Chapter 1 of this work attends to Hirschfeld's early years, cultural influences, and his path to science.

Chapter 2 discusses the ethical and scientific debates around homosexuality and the evolution of his science.

Chapter 3 sheds light upon Hirschfeld's activism, stance and service in World War I, and participation in the predominant cultural and political discourses on sexuality.

Chapter 4 focuses on Hirschfeld's anti-fascist stance, unique cosmopolitan perspective, and his final years.

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Chapter 1

Early Years and Cultural Context

Magnus Hirschfeld was born in 1868, in Kolberg, Pomerania, on the Baltic Sea, the site of present-day **Kołobrzeg**, Poland. The sixth of seven children born to Hermann Hirschfeld and Frederika Mann, he descended on both sides from secularized Jewish ancestors. Hermann hailed from a family that had been established in Pomerania for several generations. He was a reputable and dedicated physician who had completed his dissertation under the direction of renowned pathologist and advocate of social medicine, Rudolf Virchow. Known for his innovative spirit and commitment to hygienic medicine, Hermann Hirschfeld was a German patriot who had served as a doctor in the First Schleswig War, (1848–1851). He worked as a physician in Greifenberg for two years before settling in Kolberg, a garrison city, which precluded residency to Jews reside in from the time of the 1492 expulsions through 1812 and the period subsequent to the Napoleonic wars. In a community populated predominantly by merchants, Hermann was the only educated person, his intellectual cultivation, as well as his service and his character attributes, would cause him to stand out.

Hermann Hirschfeld was a firm believer in disease prevention, and made it an essential part of his medical practice. He pioneered salt water baths in Kolberg and spa, and introduced them therapies for disease prevention. The therapeutic uses of salt, light, air, and water would come to play an important role in Magnus's early naturopathic practice in Magdeburg and were in harmony with his holistic approach to medicine. Hermann Hirschfeld was instrumental in improving the sanitary conditions of his city in other ways as well. He played a critical role in bringing a piped water system to the

city. This signified a monumental contribution to the city of Kolberg because their memory of the typhoid epidemic that had struck the city in the late nineteenth century, his devotion to medicine and the advancement of science was coupled with an extraordinary measure of civic consciousness. Hermann Hirschfeld was known for working all hours of the day in order to serve his patients, often without accepting fees from those who could not afford to pay. He had the good fortune of not only witnessing the fruits of his efforts and service, but also enjoying the appreciation and esteem of his fellow citizens. In 1848, the citizens of Kolberg bestowed the distinction of “the man for freedom and progress” upon him.¹ His ties to his community ran deep. In addition to his medical innovations and his extensive availability as a practitioner, Hermann Hirschfeld also contributed weekly articles on political and social affairs to the *Kolberger Zeitung für Pommern* (The Kolberg Newspaper for Pomerania). Magnus Hirschfeld likened his father’s civic contributions to the hero and public-minded innovator in Henrik Ibsen’s 1882 play, *An Enemy of the People*.²

In 1871, Hermann Hirschfeld became the city’s Jewish community director. During the Franco-Prussian War, he cared for the French prisoners that were held captive in Kolberg. For this the Prussian authorities awarded him a medal of honor.³ In 1885, one year after his death, the people of Kolberg erected a monument in his honor. Not surprisingly, this monument was destroyed by the Nazis in 1933.

Hermann instilled in Magnus a love for science and a deep understanding of the good that could be achieved through it. By the time Magnus reached university age, his older brothers Emanuel and Eduard were already established in medical careers. Although Hermann had died when Magnus was 17, Magnus shared a special bond with his father and sought to follow in his footsteps. His path, however, would be original and would reflect his own personal, ethical, and humanitarian callings. Already at a young age, Magnus exhibited more than a passive interest in linguistics and philology. At age 16, he composed essays entitled *Traum einer Weltsprache* (Dream of a World Language) and *Unsere Vornamen* (Our First Names). These early stirrings of the internationalist spirit would later greatly expand into Hirschfeld’s sexual reform movement.

Central to Hirschfeld’s quest for sexual freedom was a fundamental humanistic ideology that upheld the values of human dignity, freedom, and the pursuit of happiness. As a humanist, Hirschfeld viewed the human individual as the primary beneficiary of all of his scientific, political, and ethical endeavors. The motivational ethos behind his

life's work is captured in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's aphorism, which he quotes at the beginning of his earliest treatise on homosexuality, *Sappho and Socrates* (1896): "Das eigentliche Studium der Menschheit ist der Mensch."⁴ (The proper study of humanity is the human being.) As a researcher and medical practitioner, Hirschfeld always validated human experience and often privileged it over scientific theories. Although many of his contemporaries and colleagues in sexology typically extrapolated explanations for human sexual behavior from their experience with animals—it was common for many of these sexologists to have backgrounds in zoology—Hirschfeld always sought to have direct experience and dialogue with his patients. He often liked to repeat the motto of his early mentor, the pathologist Friedrich Daniel von Ruecklinghausen, "Beobachten, beobachten, meine Herren."⁵ (Observe, observe, my dear gentlemen.) Hirschfeld's focus and point of interest was, and always remained, the human individual as a complex physical and emotional being. The fact that he followed the inductive method in his science lent itself to observing individual differences and extrapolating from these single observations laws that governed these behaviors, rather than superimposing laws on differences. An explanation of Hirschfeld's scientific method and a discussion of its implications will ensue in part II.

In his ethical enterprise to expand human freedom, Hirschfeld was cosmopolitan to the core. In the formation of his ethical foundations and his discussion of these, he was not exclusive to any single cultural tradition, but instead drew liberally from a variety of cultural, ethical, and philosophical traditions. A surveyor of human affective life and sexual mores, Hirschfeld was able to draw spiritual and ethical affinities to his humanistic outlook from all historical eras and all corners of the world. In addition to his medical and biological research, Hirschfeld's expertise on sexual mores was also informed by his philological and ethnographic work. His study of sexual practices encompassed an impressively broad geographical and temporal span. Hirschfeld's erudition on mores extended from Athens to Bali and from pre-Christian times through his lifetime. Hence, it poses no overstatement of the facts to characterize his knowledge of sexual mores as being both qualitatively and quantitatively rich and his analyses of them endowed with both a diachronic and synchronic perspective. Cosmopolitan through travel as well as erudition, Hirschfeld was well versed in Vedantic, Koranic, and Biblical Scripture, and was at home in the literature of Classical Antiquity and the German Classical and Romantic traditions. He drew bountifully from all these sources to champion humanistic values and the universal nature of love.

A socialist and an active member of the Social Democratic Party, Hirschfeld embraced secularism and the values of the Enlightenment. His upbringing did not include the strict observation of Jewish traditions, but it did include the preservation of the most cardinal aspects of Judaism, as in the observance of the High Holy Days. In any case, the deep imprint of European anti-Semitism in its nationalist socialist phase in the German nineteenth century made it such that his Jewish ancestry never ceased from being a socially and politically determinant aspect of his life. Nevertheless, as an adult student, Hirschfeld renounced his identification with the Jewish faith by changing the religious affiliation on his university matriculation from “Jewish” to “dissident.”⁶ While he recognized the social importance of religion and respected its cultural manifestations, he abhorred its power for breeding divisions among people, and his own position became increasingly anti-clerical. His testamentary will contained the express wish to have a memorial devoid of any clerical speeches, and he preferred instead to have his friends share their memories of him. He detested the exclusionary character of religious and national identities and regarded them as excessively confining. Hirschfeld expressed these sentiments in many of his writings, particularly during and after World War I. His denunciation of the divisiveness of creed and flag was most passionately expressed in his posthumously published book, *Racism* (1935). In this work, he cultivated a vision of a peaceful world united through the sober overcoming of national, linguistic, and economic differences that the adoption of a panhumanistic outlook would be able to bring about. He deplored parochialisms of all sort, and applied his idealized syncretic view of humanity to his conception of himself: “The question: where do you belong? What are you, really, gives me no peace. Were I to pose the question, Are you a German? A Jew? Or a world citizen? My answer would in any case be, ‘a world citizen.’ Or all three.”⁷

More so than any organized religion or confessional order—Hirschfeld harbored a deep aversion toward religious dogma—pantheism would appeal to Hirschfeld’s views on the fundamental oneness underlying natural and human manifestations. More specifically, he would subscribe to monism, which had been made accessible to his generation by evolutionary biologist Ernst Haeckel. Haeckel is credited for popularizing Darwin’s theories of heredity and famously pronouncing that “ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny,” a thesis that upheld a unifying view of the evolution that argued the parallel development of the embryo with the species. Haeckel’s theories influenced Hirschfeld’s early studies on embryology and its influence on human

sexuality. In line with seeking the union between seemingly different phenomena, monism held open the possibility that the physical side of humans could not be severed from their spiritual side.⁸

Hirschfeld deployed love as a primary weapon in his ethical and philosophical campaign for the liberation of same-sex relationships. By illuminating the spiritually and morally elevating properties of love, Hirschfeld sought to show how its expansiveness would naturally include same-sex love. Along with his cosmopolitanism, Hirschfeld drew on the Classical Humanist heritage of Goethe and the poetic legacy of Weimar and retraced the most trenchant and universally compelling idealizations of love in order to advance its unifying character. Although Hirschfeld was a passionate advocate of world literature and an avid reader of foreign literature, he would always return to the fathers of German Classicism, Goethe and Friedrich Schiller, for poetic and spiritual renewal. For Hirschfeld the lines from Schiller's poem, "Ninon," encapsulated the essence of love: "What would the nicest times of our life be without love? People would not be living but only vegetating,"⁹ and with Goethe's pithy aphorism, "Love gives life."¹⁰ Underlying Hirschfeld's thought was the insight that the joys and tragedies to which individuals expose themselves when they love are universal. What can be distilled from the large body of his writings is belief that love's generative, inspirational, and transformational qualities were capable of reaching all, irrespective of the categories that society adopts to distinguish people from one another, be they sex, gender, sexual orientation, age, or race.

As much as Hirschfeld exalted love as a spiritual-romantic ideal, he did so without dismissing its biological constituent. As his scientific mentor, the dermatologist and infective disease specialist Iwan Bloch,¹¹ believed, Hirschfeld was convinced of the mutual importance of love's psychological and physiological character. "The modern sexologist who wishes briefly to formulate the relation of soul and love must express it thus: *Love is a conflict between reflexes and reflection.*"¹² Hirschfeld's estimation of love was entirely integrative. The spiritual and psychological character of love by no means elided or diminished the importance of the biological. Rather, Hirschfeld viewed love as an occasion in which psyche and physical functions interacted synergistically with one another: "For every individual, love is determined by the interactions of his psycho-glandular constitution."¹³

A sense of humanity, accompanied by an interest in uncovering the dynamics of human love and in fostering the physical and psychological well-being of his patients, represents the hallmark of Hirschfeld's research, activism, and practice as a clinician. Recognizing that love

was as much a complex of bodily responses to internal and external stimuli as it was a mental state, Hirschfeld came to believe early on in his career that the combined knowledge of biology and psychology could help him unlock the dynamics of human relationships. His work endeavored to bring together the two disciplines in a manner that illuminated the ways in which the human organism and the human mind function and respond in relation to their physiological realities as well as their environments. Thus, anticipating figures like Erich Fromm, who claimed that “sexual instinct was [but] one manifestation of the need for love and union,”¹⁴ love was for Hirschfeld as much a phenomenon of the mind as it was of the body.

His integrative vision of love echoes Schiller’s notion of the “ideal” as discussed in his essay, “On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry.” As with Schiller’s “ideal,” Hirschfeld’s concept of love bridged the gap between “cold reason and unreflective sensibility,” or as Schiller put it, “between beautiful form and moral energy.”¹⁵ Hirschfeld’s esteem for the contribution of Romantic poetry to the modern conception of love is echoed by renowned feminist Helene Stöcker:

Not until the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century did modern art and philosophy bring about the refinement of sexual life. Above all Goethe, the Romantics and Nietzsche should be mentioned here. The main ideas that modern love owes to Romanticism are those regarding the unity of spiritual and physical aspects in love, the equality of man and woman, the significance of the personality in love, as well as the recognition of the consequent possibility to err.¹⁶

Although Hirschfeld celebrated love’s spiritual quality, he did not believe that its value was confined to the realm of the personal. Rather, love represented for him an elevated feeling that expanded the human experience in ways that were not only relevant to the personal but to social and political justice and the broader development of humanity. The idea that love had the potential to not only lift the individual but to enrich the broader mission of humanity was articulated in Hirschfeld’s condemnation of theories of racial hygiene and his appeal to Panhumanism to extinguish the hatred among nations and races. These ideas find their most forceful expression from Hirschfeld in his essay, *Was eint und trennt die Menschen?* (What Unites and Separates People?). In this essay dedicated to Julius Hart in honor of this socialist poet’s 60th birthday, Hirschfeld’s glee for the promise and hope that he projected for the new democratic republic could not be more evident. The essay is a universal appeal for

a *Menschenheitsstaat* (a republic for humanity) a state inspired by Immanuel Kant's idea of a *Weltrepublik* that unites all of humanity and transcends national, linguistic, and religious divisions. In this unrestrained utopian vision for this state, Panhumanism would be the underlying ethos driving it. Panhumanism was a political ideal that came into vogue after World War I. It was embraced by pacifists as an ethic that would hinder the outbreak of another war. Hirschfeld held it to be a more effective and comprehensive alternative to organizations such as Pan-Europa, Pan-America, or the League of Nations. Hirschfeld was well aware that Panhumanism was "a lofty ideal,"¹⁷ but he maintained that it was necessary to believe in it nonetheless, "We must hitch our wagon to a star."¹⁸ He had identified that star as having been illumined by Goethe: "There is a spiritual level at which national hatreds are extinguished, and we feel the good fortune or evil fortune of a neighbouring people as keenly as we feel our own."¹⁹

Hirschfeld's concept of love militated against predominant cultural assumptions regarding the value and purpose of human relationships. He subverted the notion that romantic love should be oriented toward reproduction. The Judeo-Christian procreative imperative continued to constitute a predominant influence in shaping popular attitudes against homosexuality during Hirschfeld's lifetime. Even in the secular realm of science, homosexuality was not spared negative judgment.²⁰ All non-procreative sexual activity did not fare well in the eyes of early sexologists. Homosexuality was classified as perverse in the early versions of Viennese psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing's groundbreaking study, *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Most sexologists following his lead judged it pathological, and in the best case scenarios as a condition worthy of pity, not legal punishment. In response to the procreative mandate, Hirschfeld called for a reversal of the subordination of love to the injunction to multiply the species:

...if for once we assume there really is an object in linking love and procreation, then it is just as probable, indeed more probable, that nature considers it to be expedient to assist reproduction by making it (something not always desired) a product of love in order to guarantee it. Individuals would not have taken such a great interest in "the maintenance of the species." not men as nurturers of children or women who give birth to them in pain, if nature, as a premium, had not crowned it with the strongest feelings of desire and the feelings of the greatest joy on earth.²¹

In his scientific work, Hirschfeld raised the practical reasons to sever procreation from love. "The view that the object of love is

procreation, then, does not agree with many life experiences. We see first of all that sexual intercourse is performed much more frequently than for the sake of procreation."²² He cited Nietzsche's argument that "Reproduction often is an occasional, incidental result of a kind of gratification of the sex drive; not its intention, not its necessary effect."²³ Hirschfeld not only sought to liberate love from the fetters of morality and social pragmatism, but also championed the notion that love's virtues transcended the material and produced works of timeless cultural, spiritual, and intellectual significance. Echoing and expanding upon Tolstoy's conviction that "If only humans would understand that humanity makes progress not by means of animalistic prerequisites, but rather through intellectual powers," Hirschfeld upheld the notion of spiritual procreation.²⁴

As soon as people realize that reproduction is not the exclusive goal of love, the phenomenon of homosexuality, so enigmatic under this assumption, loses much of its puzzling nature, and to a still larger extent, when people admit that love is also productive whenever it does not issue any new creature, that a spiritual procreation also exists, and that the value of persons depends on the values they create, no matter if the creations are of a material or spiritual kind. If love principally serves to enhance one's own happiness and that of others, then it is incomprehensible why it should not also extend to include persons of the same sex.²⁵

Hirschfeld stood in opposition to religious dogmatism, as did many of his contemporaries of the literary and aesthetic avant-garde. He despised the way in which it hampered subjectivity and arrested personal development. In Hirschfeld's view, the reverential attitudes and unquestioning submissiveness that religious dogma dictated not only obstructed social progress and any modern concept of self-realization, but required a degree of self-denial that also ruined lives. Suicide among homosexuals was on the rise not only because of the legal implications of being discovered, but also because of the social stigma—a stigma that bourgeois morality and Judeo-Christian theology were instrumental in creating—that was attached to homosexuality.

While he fully embraced the social, economic, and technological advances of modernity, Hirschfeld did not idealize it. His appreciation for modernity and urban life is documented in many of his writings, most prominently in his *Berlins Drittes Geschlecht* (Berlin's Third Sex) of 1904. The social and economic structure of modern life afforded opportunities to expand and diversify social ties and even reorganize social arrangements—homosexual contact and relationships drew

direct advantages from these developments—but this did not obfuscate his ability to also see the challenges and constraints they posed for the very people who benefited from the loosening of conventional social norms and ties.²⁶ Hirschfeld critiqued the debauchery and sexual excesses of modern life and denounced the crimes that emerged as a negative byproduct of urban life. He was particularly vehement against homosexual blackmail; that is, the extortion of homosexuals by male prostitutes under threat of exposing their homosexuality. In 1904, Hirschfeld reported that among Berlin's homosexual population, approximately twenty would fall victim to the laws, while at least 2,000, fell victim to blackmail every year.²⁷ Hirschfeld was not only appalled by the fact that the law exposed homosexuals to such indignities, but that the law was exercised in an incoherent fashion and it allowed the extortionist to go unpunished in spite of his participation in the alleged crime.²⁸

Through his ethic and his writings, Hirschfeld captured the essence of the modern zeitgeist and its reevaluation of preordained dogmas and mores. Unprecedented yet characteristic of this time was the cultural and theoretical foregrounding of the erotic. As early as 1903, Viennese philosopher Otto Weininger had dubbed early twentieth century Vienna a “coital culture.”²⁹ With his groundbreaking questioning and ensuing theorizations on the basic fundamentals of masculinity and femininity, Weininger described a society which he had helped shape. Nietzsche's iconoclastic transvaluation of standards and Freud's theories of drives and the unconscious not only had a momentous impact on twentieth century thought, but were instrumental in setting this “erotic turn” into motion.

Yet a rehabilitation of the flesh³⁰ had already begun with utopian socialist Saint-Simon in the early half of the nineteenth century. Both Saint-Simon and his contemporary Charles Fourier interjected themselves between the seeming extremes of Enlightenment rationality and Romanticism. The utopian societies they envisioned foresaw a reconciliation of this split by adopting reason in such a way that would not banish feelings or the flesh. Both proposed diverse modes of organizing affective life that were premised on decidedly progressive social and sexual arrangements. These theories were aimed at giving space to both the spiritual and physical aspects of love as well as instituting socialist egalitarian labor principles.³¹ Needless to say, these models of erotic life outlandishly exceeded the social mores and sexual sensibilities of their time.³²

Hirschfeld's program went beyond legitimating the erotic; he sought to legitimate the myriad forms of eroticism that existed and the

people who practiced them. His treatment of sexuality in his writings and research illuminated that which society had stifled for centuries through moral dictates and religious dogma. Through the language of science, Hirschfeld was able to shatter the silence and the veils of propriety in which human sexual desire was enshrouded, and to champion discourse that promoted sexual health and openness. The Institute for Sexual Sciences was not only an edifice for the research and dissemination of scientific facts regarding sexuality, but a place which was dedicated to praxis and the study of the material aspects of sex. This was in stark contrast to the contemporary homosexual artistic and literary movements, which championed nationalistic and ascetic paragons of masculine homosexuality. The institute's direct approach to sex—which included examinations, deeply personal and comprehensive interviewing techniques, empirical studies, and meticulous taxonomical work—predated the experiential contributions of sexologists like Alfred Kinsey and William Master and Virginia Johnson. In stark opposition to the blind practice of preserving sexual taboos, the institute offered free sex education and sex therapy, and did not shy away from exhibiting its advocacy of sex in colorful and outlandish terms, which included a vast and motley collection of erotica.³³

That the erotic exuded an interest and exerted an iconic power that penetrated all spheres of early twentieth century life is also widely reflected in the cultural output of Germany and Austria.³⁴ The fascination with the erotic that is epitomized in the art of Egon Schiele, Gustav Klimt, and other artists of the Viennese Secessionist movement found numerous literary counterparts in the early twentieth century. The novels of Stefan Zweig, the anti-democratic and explicitly homoerotic lyric of Stefan George, the strongly homoerotically suggestive novels by Thomas Mann, as well as the stridently modern prose of Alfred Döblin and Klaus Mann leave no doubt as to how the erotic looms large in the characters' imaginations but is also operative on conscious levels.

In a broad sense, the erotic, but also the complex and variegated nature of sexual identity and desire that Hirschfeld brought to light, became a central preoccupation of writers and poets of the early twentieth century alike. The psychological novels of Stefan Zweig and Robert Musil offer exceptionally sensitive and realistic insights into the conflicts and emotional strife of that generation's sexual coming of age.³⁵ Frank Wedekind's sex tragedies and the *Lulu Plays* trenchantly portray the split between internal struggles with sexual identity and the dictates of bourgeois morality and modern life. It was this very discrepancy between societal demands and authentic

feeling that compelled Hirschfeld to research, write about, and advocate sexual freedom. He not only knew how homosexuals went about fashioning their double lives so that they could foster or retain a social existence,³⁶ but also understood the emotional and psychological toll this entailed. Hirschfeld railed against the anti-homosexual legislation and decried the fact that one of its effects was that these conditions were driving many homosexuals to suicide. In fact, as it will be shown in part II, his first pamphlet on homosexuality was prompted by the suicide of a military official on the eve of his wedding.

While Hirschfeld cultivated the idea of a better future that would eventually embody utopian ideals, he was a pragmatist who was grounded in reality. His literary tastes gravitated toward the literature that most keenly thematized the social realities of his time. True to his scientific vocation and his vision for an enlightened society, he was an advocate of tee-totalism. In many of his writings, Hirschfeld warned against the dangers of alcoholism and in certain instances discouraged alcoholics from reproducing because of the damage it caused to sperm cells. It is important to note that the eugenic aspect of this admonishment was devoid of any racial implications.

Hirschfeld was far from being in any sort of minority in expressing concerns about alcoholism, given the currency of Lamarckian theories (the notion that acquired traits could be genetically transmitted) and ubiquity of the discourses on social health in Wilhelmine Germany—a period that was marked by deep and sweeping cultural and economic shifts due to the country's late industrial revolution. As George Mosse³⁷ and many historians of the period have variously noted, the rise of wage labor, industrial development, urbanization, and women in the workplace went beyond revolutionizing the social and economic order and introduced new and challenging discourses on the organization of family life and sexual relations. If the new economic realities of the period had ushered in Weberian alienation and what Georg Simmel called a money economy that depended upon an objective culture, modernity, with its urbanization and the emancipation of woman, brought issues of public health, such as contagious diseases, prostitution, contraception, and falling birth rates to the fore. Hygienic movements and associations that promoted holistic natural living, such as the German League of Natural Living and Therapy Associations (*Deutscher Bund der Vereine für naturgemäße Lebens- und Heilweise*), the German Association for Rational Body Discipline (*Deutscher Verein für vernünftige Leibeszucht*), Free Physical Culture (*Freie Körper Kultur*), and The League for the Creation of a Free Life (*Liga für freie Lebensgestaltung*) held wide

sway in resisting the civilizing ills of capitalism and urbanization by celebrating nature, sunlight, nudity, and salutary activities in the free outdoors in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany.³⁸ Naturalist playwrights, such as Gerhard Hauptmann and Johannes Schlaf, have furnished some of the most memorable depictions of the social perils of alcoholism, unwanted pregnancies, and abject poverty. Naturalism was a late nineteenth century literary movement in Germany that found its greatest expression in drama. Naturalist playwrights sought to depict the impact of genetics and environment on society and individual destinies. Largely of socialist orientation, many Naturalist playwrights sought to prescribe social improvements by portraying the sources of dystopian realities. As a sexual reformer and someone who cultivated close associations with German cultural life, Hirschfeld was a ready admirer of this literary current for its forcefulness in depicting the ravages of alcoholism and the social ills of the period. The same would hold true for him of the playwright Frank Wedekind, who also happened to be one of Hirschfeld's personal friends.

Wedekind's provocative plays contributed a dimension of humor,³⁹ distance, and dramatic flair to the ironies and the struggles his characters experienced in attempting to balance sexual authenticity with the demands of a socially upward orientated capitalist bourgeoisie. In tune with the prevailing Victorian mores of the time, Wedekind's plays offer no easy compromise; attempts at authenticity generally end in tragedy and self-sacrifice. In his Lulu plays, for instance, lesbians were not only portrayed as masculinized beings, but also women who lived on the fringes of society and were rebuked for not being "real women." Female artists were exploited for sex, deprived of any sense of agency, and reduced to common prostitutes who adopted abusive, tyrannical, femme-fatale like qualities in order to survive. Wedekind's brave depiction of the sexual stirrings in pubescent children in *Frühlings Erwachen* (Spring Awakening) (1891) had outcomes that were both abysmal and profoundly disturbing: numerous forms of parental abuse showcased in the play lead to forced teenage abortion and multiple teenage suicides. The play echoes loud and clear what Hirschfeld was also denouncing: In mainstream Wilhelmine society, death was preferable to granting sexual agency to teenagers or people who were viewed as being on the outside of societal norms.

Hirschfeld impugned Christian asceticism for many of the hypocrisies and double standards it propounded with regard to procreative love:

Ascetics, now are convinced that, as corresponding to a goal, the sex can be considered to be justified and "natural" only because it serves

procreation; this is the exclusive meaning of love, which, however, is an evil in spite of that, for they believe people are conceived “in sin.” There were even church fathers who declared without hesitation, “Women are sin.”⁴⁰

In many instances, Hirschfeld articulated his rejection of Christian dogmas by exposing its logical fallacies:

The Christian supporters of the idea that any intercourse not serving procreation “is sinful fornication” are not always proceeding logically. Otherwise they would not only have to reject contraceptives but consequently would also have to forbid intercourse with a woman from the beginning of pregnancy up to the end of the nursing period; thus the man who soon after the wedding impregnated his spouse should not touch her for a year and a half. And after the change of life, when the possibility of pregnancy has been extinguished, likewise no intercourse should ever occur, just as all persons whose infertility has been established would have to be excluded from love. For, all these persons, and they are not the only ones, cannot fulfill the goal that according to the theological interpretation should alone justify sexual behavior.⁴¹

Hirschfeld’s critique of Christian asceticism was multilayered, but it in essence centered on the fact that Christian orthodoxy, in spite of its claims to the contrary, had in praxis allowed for the subordination of the spirit to the flesh. Hirschfeld was certainly not alone in pointing out how Christian doctrine, in the process of concerning itself with the regulation and curtailment of sexual activity, had in ended secondary the needs and cultivation of the spirit. One is reminded of how Milton censured Christian doctrine’s neglect of the soul in his tract, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643).⁴² Here Milton imputed the Church’s inveterate refusal to dissolve marriage—admitting exception only in the case of adultery—as an offense to the soul.⁴³

In the nineteenth century, a radically different theological perspective emerged. Nietzsche’s critique of hollow Christian dogmatism and the quest for spiritual content assumed a decidedly more caustic and denunciatory tone: “Christianity gave Eros poison to drink: he did not die of it but degenerated into a vice.”⁴⁴ Clearly the cultural zeitgeist that Hirschfeld inhabited had been shaped by critics of Christian dogmatism who were far more adept than Hirschfeld at indicting the hypocrisy, pious submissiveness and self-denial embedded in Christian orthodoxy. With Schopenhauer and Nietzsche figuring as the high priests of anti-asceticism, Hirschfeld imbibed this

spirit without abandoning his cause to pessimism or cultural nihilism. The emancipation of humanity depended upon a concept of love that recognized its biological and emotional components but was free of abstract moral ideals.

Hirschfeld believed that the purpose of human love was to endow human experience with spiritual meaning. In his view, an existence characterized by coerced conformity to hollow abstractions crippled the life of the soul. Spiritual content as much as biological well-being informed his campaign for sexual reform. This attention to the spiritual content was also championed by Kurt Hiller and Helene Stöcker, two leading figures among Weimar Germany's cultural revolutionaries and Hirschfeld's esteemed colleagues in the pursuit of sexual reform. Hiller was a homosexual and a leftist, intellectual activist. Stöcker was a leader of the leftist feminist movement. It's worth noting that Stöcker was a proponent of essentialist feminism. This brand of feminism was espoused by many socialist and progressive feminists in early twentieth century Germany. It celebrated the ways in which women were biologically and culturally different from men, and maintained that the differences were not a source of inferiority but strengths that a socialist society should cultivate for peace and its own amelioration.⁴⁵ Both Hiller and Stöcker were students of Georg Simmel, and both adopted *Kulturpolitik* (cultural politics) in their advocacy for gender equity and the legalization of homosexuality.⁴⁶ Hiller's published dissertation, *Das Recht über sich selbst*⁴⁷ (The Right over Oneself)—a highly original work in which he uses legal philosophical arguments to champion the decriminalization of homosexuality—attracted Hirschfeld's respect and admiration. A founder of literary Expressionism and an incisive cultural critic, Hiller founded several cultural journals during the interwar and Weimar period, including *Die Zukunft*, (The Future) *Das Ziel* (The Aim), and, with Franz Pfemfert, co-founded one of Weimar Germany's most definitive cultural journals *Die Aktion* (The Mission). Hiller's cultural pursuits were informed by a commitment to the leftist counterculture that often translated into action. "Spirit and praxis were formerly an antithesis: today these words describe a correlative dependence."⁴⁸ Hirschfeld immediately recognized that the ground for a friendship and political alliance with Hiller was fertile and enlisted him as publicist for the Wissenschaftlich Humanitäre Komitee (Scientific Humanitarian Committee), an organization that Hirschfeld and three other similarly minded industrialists and publishers founded for the purpose of repealing Paragraph 175. Hirschfeld and Hiller's most significant collaborative contribution to sexual politics was the

formation of the Cartel for the Reform of Sexual-Criminal Law in 1925.⁴⁹

Stöcker was an outspoken social activist and cultural critic in her own right. She wrote and lectured widely on Nietzsche's impact on sexual politics and founded several cultural journals. *Die neue Generation* (The New Generation) was the most famous and widely read among these. In 1905, Stöcker founded the Bund für Mutterschutz (League for the Protection of Motherhood), an organization that advanced the rights of single mothers. Stöcker was an intellectual and a professional activist who succeeded in enlisting the support of August Bebel and Lili Braun⁵⁰ for her organization.⁵¹ She was also a passionate advocate of abortion rights, and was at the forefront of the struggle against Paragraph 218, the legal statute that rendered abortion illegal. She denounced the state's exploitation of mothers for militaristic adventures and imperialistic ambitions. Stöcker presented socialist views on sex reform and social eugenics that appealed to Hirschfeld. She wrote lucidly on the emancipation of female homosexuality, and in 1911, she and Hirschfeld formed an alliance which successfully averted lesbianism from being included in Paragraph 175. Stöcker was also a pacifist and became passionately involved in a great deal of anti-war activity. She founded several anti-war organizations, including the Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit (International League for Peace and Freedom) with Lili Braun,⁵² and Stöcker was, with Hiller, a driving force behind the anti-war activist league Aktivistenbund that Hiller founded. The Aktivistenbund evolved into the Internationale des Geistes (International of the Spirit).⁵³ Viewing themselves at the vanguard of a cultural movement, both Stöcker and Hiller waged an attack on the politics of the war. Using eugenic theory, Stöcker openly condemned World War I's exploitation of motherhood in an essay, *Moderne Bevölkerungspolitik*⁵⁴ (Modern Population Politics). Hirschfeld's pacifism and anti-war activities, which will be discussed at length in a later section, were in staunch alignment with the International of the Spirit.

Hirschfeld, Hiller, and Stöcker viewed spiritual empowerment as a conduit to political empowerment. The moral and social constraints that society imposed on women and sexual minorities not only degraded the quality of one's life but also impeded an individual's social development. Hirschfeld had an incredible capacity to immerse himself into the ordeals of others and an ability to envision people's full potential in spite of concrete, adverse circumstances. He grasped the psychology of the socially disenfranchised; he understood that discrimination corroded an individual's self-confidence

and inhibited men and women who were socially marginalized from stepping forward and making contributions to society. He deemed this to be a gross injustice and a huge loss to both the individual and society as a whole. His work with women and homosexuals caused him to understand that being denied the opportunity to be regarded as a valuable being in society was a tragedy experienced by many. His clinical work led him to report on cases of sexual minorities who became politically active through disguise and denial of their sexual orientation.⁵⁵ He supported homosexuals who sought to serve in the war. Hirschfeld believed that the strength that individuals could draw from cultivating their spirit and intellect, and experiencing the ennobling power of love, could mobilize them to make contributions to society:

Only people who do nothing are useless. Only those who do not participate in the work of the continuation of one's education and perfection are aimless. The value of people depends on the values they produce. In spite of everything, Uranians have created values and works hand in hand with the two other sexes. As for every person, that was the duty and goal of Uranians.⁵⁶

Stöcker added a modern, anti-Christian twist to the centrality of love in human experience:

Like work, love plays a greater role for modern human beings than ever before, precisely because we see the goal of our striving in the cultivation of personality, no longer in the state, as in antiquity, no longer in the hereafter, as in Christian religion. We no longer see our highest good in "God," but in the *human being*, whom we want to move closer to his own highest ideals, his "gods." Thus love, as the complementary relation between equal personalities, has become the crown of life.⁵⁷

Fascinated with the physical and chemical makeup of human beings and how people responded to love on a physiological basis, Hirschfeld was tireless in researching and collecting empirical data regarding the strength of the love drive, the constitution of the genitalia, and the type of sex that was practiced across cultures. Moreover, in keeping with a tradition that stretches back to Kant, Hirschfeld believed that love need serve no other purpose or interest but its own. Love was for him the noblest feeling that could be experienced in the human emotional spectrum, and it merited being liberated from the burdens and constraints that society and the clergy tried to impose upon it. It had

an intrinsic spiritual value that could not be diminished by external standards or material expectations:

...love maintains life in a threefold manner. First, it binds us to life by means of feelings of desire; second, it bonds individuals to one another, producing the cohesion between them, from which humanity develops as a higher organism; and third, it allows men and women to thrive and excel mentally and physically. One could say in summary that the sex-love drive is not reproductive but rather the drive for the enhancement of desire and life.⁵⁸

1.1 Hirschfeld's University Years, Early Travels, and Encounters with the Literary World

After completing his final secondary school examination in 1887, Hirschfeld began studying comparative languages at the University of Breslau. However, in 1889 he transferred to the University of Strasbourg to study medicine and natural sciences. There, he joined his two older brothers, who were already enrolled in medical school. The change in Hirschfeld's major was not by any means a result of a loss of interest in literature or languages, but by equally strong interests in medicine and natural phenomena, very likely instilled in him by his father and older brothers. In retrospect, however, it seems as though Hirschfeld had been called to practice medicine through a natural course of events.

Marked by a zest for life and an ardent desire to explore the world in its richness and variety, Hirschfeld found Strasbourg's provinciality stifling. He left for Berlin after barely one year. He continued to harbor serious literary aspirations, despite his commitment to his medical studies, and Berlin seemed like a logical place to pursue both ambitions. He flourished in the metropolis, where he befriended August Bebel, the chairman of the Social Democratic Party. Bebel, authored *Women and Socialism* in 1879, and the revolutionary work was among the books most widely read within the SPD,⁵⁹ exhibited exceptionally emancipated views on women in gender relations and in the workplace, particularly in light of the fact that it was written during the time when Bismarck's anti-socialist laws (1878–1890) prevailed and massive unemployment, violence, and hostility toward the Social Democrats, and the immediate hardships of the proletariat figured prominently among the SPD's most pressing concerns.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, this work did not transcend the common anti-homosexual biases of the era, which included linking homosexuality with

bourgeois decadence and sexual excess. However, as Hirschfeld continued to marshal his efforts for justice, Bebel proved himself to be anything but impervious to the homosexual cause and would prove an invaluable ally to Hirschfeld's political and social aims some years later.

Disappointed by the fact that the literary scene in Berlin did not provide him with the cultural stimulation he had hoped to find there, Hirschfeld transferred to the University of Munich in 1891. It is here that the young doctoral student first found his cultural expectations fulfilled. In Munich, Hirschfeld met the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen and befriended the writer Donald Wedekind and his playwright brother, Frank. Hirschfeld was now among the most influential exponents of the Naturalist movement, artists who radically challenged bourgeois morality and the sexual mores of their age. Frank Wedekind's 1891 iconoclastic play, *Frühlings Erwachen* (Spring Awakening), for instance, not only shocked theater critics but was also boldly anticipatory of Freud by foregrounding childhood sexuality and thematizing young adolescents' experiences with erections, masturbation, and unwanted pregnancy.

During his time in Munich, Hirschfeld passed his Physicum, an intermediary examination for medical students, and made further strides on the medical track. This notwithstanding, he continued to pursue his ambition to become a famous writer himself and sought to emulate and draw inspiration from Hermann Sudermann and Paul Hesse, two writers he greatly admired. He later made the acquaintance of the prominent literary critic Leo Berg and discovered a deep political kinship. Berg and Hirschfeld found common ground in their response to the highly sensationalized Oscar Wilde trial of 1895. Both expressed public outrage at the heinous crime that was being inflicted on one of the most talented playwrights of the era. Imbued with passion, idealism, and common cultural biases of his era, Berg fulminated against anti-homosexual legislation: "Homosexuals can and should help us to elevate culture and to express spirit, art and beauty. They even owe it to society as a substitute for their physical sterility."⁶¹ Neither Berg nor Hirschfeld was aware of the fact that the Wilde trial was in fact a prelude to the homosexual witch-hunt that Germany would experience less than a decade later with the Liebenburg affair, nor had they any notion that homosexuality would be at the forefront of German politics. However, this became clear with the suicide of Alfred Krupp—a steel magnate known as the "cannon king" in Wilhelmine society—in 1902 for allegations regarding his homosexual activity with a minor on the isle of Capri. Krupp was

a close friend of Wilhelm II, who upheld his friend's morally upright character until the end and delivered an emotional speech at Krupp's funeral. This politically disruptive and highly sensational event was followed by the outbreak of the Liebenburg scandal in 1907, at the center of which was none other than Wilhelm II, who faced allegations that members of his intimate circle regularly engaged in flagrant homoerotic vice.

In 1891, Hirschfeld left Munich to complete his six months of military service in Heidelberg. During his free time as a soldier, he continued his medical studies at the University of Heidelberg. At the end of 1891, he returned to Berlin and wrote his medical thesis on the effects of influenza on the nervous system, with Rudolf Virchow and Emil Heinrich du Bois-Reymond as his oral examiners. Hirschfeld held Virchow, who had been his father's professor, in particularly high esteem and was inspired both by his politics and by his achievements as a physician and medical researcher. Virchow specialized in cellular pathology and epidemiology, and also worked in medical anthropology and public health. Politically, he was a philosemitic, progressive liberal who battled anti-Semitic tendencies in the profession. In 1886, he designed an anthropological survey to highlight the racial differences between Germans and Jews. Virchow conducted the survey in German schools. The results it yielded were unsettling to German nationalists. According to the survey, at least 10% of Jews and only 31% of Germans were blond. The implications of this study brought forth the notion that there were no pure races in Germany.⁶² It is also important to note that in 1869, Virchow advised Austrian and German health authorities to vote against Paragraph 175 on the grounds that homosexuality did not differ from any other sexual behavior.⁶³

Upon receiving his medical degree, Hirschfeld took a few personal and cultural detours before proceeding to practice medicine on a full time basis. He spent the two years that followed his medical study traveling and lecturing, and during this time he remained undecided about whether to embark upon a medical or a literary career. His travels brought him in proximity to important figures of the medical and scientific elite. His first destination was France, where he came into contact with Max Nordau, the Zionist physician and writer who authored *Degeneration*. This work was an influential fin-de-siècle cultural study that decried the adverse effects of modernity on culture, society, and the physical and mental well-being of individuals. Although Hirschfeld attended Nordau's Jours, meetings in which the Jewish question was prominently discussed, he did not embrace Zionism as

the best countermeasure to anti-Semitism. This is explained, at least in part, by his deep-rooted sense of German national identity and his uneasiness with narrow racial and group identities. His critical stance toward Zionism however, did not prevent him from expressing admiration for the ethos of free love and positive body attitudes that he witnessed in the communal settlements of socialist Zionist youth during his visit to Palestine in 1932. He greeted this erotic liberation that was taking place in these communities as an overcoming of "all the repressions and unconscious feelings of erotic inferiority frequently found at this age."⁶⁴ This admiration notwithstanding, becoming part of the Zionist movement for Hirschfeld would have been tantamount to closing off avenues for collaboration and mutual understanding with other human beings.

Upon returning to Germany, Hirschfeld began to work as a journalist in Hamburg. His journalistic career brought him to Chicago, where he covered the Columbian World Exhibition honoring the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America. An invitation to give a medical lecture in New York on "The Natural Way of Living" from his brother Emanuel, who was a medical superintendent at a hospital in Milwaukee, became the impetus for his return to medicine.⁶⁵ Hirschfeld's presentation on natural living received enthusiastic applause and prompted a string of lectures that brought him to Boston and Washington, D.C. On his way back to Europe, he made stops in North Africa, where he visited Algiers and Morocco. Hirschfeld's travels during this period also encompassed a sojourn in Italy that included a leisurely stay in Naples⁶⁶ and attendance at the International Medical Congress in Rome in the spring of 1894. At the Congress, he was happy to again encounter Rudolf Virchow, who had by then achieved celebrity status in medicine.

Hirschfeld's medical career had begun to blossom during a time of intense discovery and revolution in the scientific method and the medical sciences. In the early 1890s, he took interest in the work of such illustrious physicians and medical scientists as Guido Parelli, Paolo Mantegazza, and the renowned criminologist Cesare Lombroso. He was intrigued by Lombroso's theories on the origins of crime. Lombroso believed that crime was rooted in an individual's constitution, and Hirschfeld partially subscribed to this notion. The main fault Hirschfeld found with Lombroso's thesis was that it did not factor in human sociological elements such as passion, alcoholism, and domestic conditions.⁶⁷ Hirschfeld did, however, greatly admire Lombroso's fastidiously detailed method of diagnosis, which proceeded in a fashion that was unmistakably empirical. In investigating

criminals, Lombroso also studied and attributed considerable significance to a person's appearance, physiognomy, and particularities of expression such as speech, gait, and handwriting in determining his diagnoses. This attention to physical appearance had already been inculcated in Hirschfeld through his father, who had argued that emphasis on such details provided insights into a person's character and personality. It was with a feeling of satisfaction about his Italian sojourn in 1884 and a fondness for the colorfulness of the country and its elegant aristocracy—he had made the acquaintance of King Umberto I and Queen Margherita at the conference reception—that Hirschfeld returned to his native Germany to finally practice medicine in late 1894.

Hirschfeld would spend the next two years practicing as an obstetrician in Magdeburg before moving to the Berlin, the city that would become the site for his clinic for hydrotherapy and natural cure, as well as the seat of the homosexual emancipation movement he would lead and the sexual science institute he would found almost two and a half decades later. In Berlin, Hirschfeld found ways to unite his commitment to social progress with his affection for literature and the arts. This was clearly evidenced through his association with the *Neue Gemeinschaft* (New Community), a group founded by the Hart brothers, Heinrich and Julius, who were radical socialists.

The Hart brothers formed *Neue Gemeinschaft* in Berlin in 1902, and one of their central goals was to bring culture to the working class. Workers and members of all social classes were welcome to join the association. The group published important monthly magazines, like *Der kritische Waffenträger* (The Critical Weapon Carrier) and *Berliner Monatshefte* (Berlin's Monthly Journal), and founded literary and theater clubs. Earnest in its goal of reaching the working public, *Neue Gemeinschaft* succeeded in garnering a hearty representation of workers in its society.

Hirschfeld was also a member of another famous association founded by the Hart brothers called the *Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis* (Friedrichshagen Poetic Circle). Created in 1890, this society boasted a membership that included such prominent cultural luminaries as the modernist writers Detlev von Liliencron and Richard Dehmel; Naturalist playwrights Frank Wedekind, Gerhart Hauptmann, and Karl Hauptmann; and renowned anarchists Erich Mühsam, Gustav Landauer, Leo Berg, Martin Buber, and Franziska Mann, Hirschfeld's feminist sister who was also known for her literary talent. Group meetings took place in Friedrichshagen, the rural district on the outskirts of Berlin from which the association got its

name. In addition to discussing literary themes and cultural reform, the members of this association engaged in frequent excursions to the nearby woods. The Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis gave birth to a communal society called The Order for the True Life. The ideals pursued by this society included promoting an alternative lifestyle founded on the notion that culture could only be brought about through a return to nature.⁶⁸ Many members lived on the society's commune, and others were expected to attend to farming duties. This ethic of valuing nature resonated with Hirschfeld's own philosophy of preventive medicine and natural cures. Hirschfeld's affinities toward the innovative cultural consciousness that the Hart brothers seemed to embrace and disseminate were apparent to them, and they (the Hart brothers), in turn, proudly welcomed this medical pioneer into their society.

By the early twentieth century, the conception and focus of the Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis began to evolve. The society's imperatives of reuniting with nature and cultivating healthy living began to give way to spiritual discourse, and many of its members began to see themselves as the fathers of a new spirit. These self-proclaimed harbingers of a new era began to preoccupy themselves with mysticism, and they adopted a prophetic rhetoric and tone in discussing the new age before them. These pronounced spiritual overtones and prophetic self-conceptions led Hirschfeld to distance himself from the society. As a scientist, and one who was committed to knowledge of the empirical world at that, Hirschfeld did not reserve much credence for the realm of the esoteric. Further, his socialist orientation in the tradition of the Enlightenment caused him to view science as a more reliable source of social progress than metaphysical theories. The socialist tradition⁶⁹ with which Hirschfeld identified and oriented his views on equality drew from the Enlightenment philosophical heritage as well as biological and medical discourses.⁷⁰

Social medicine, on the other hand, proved to be an effective outlet for Hirschfeld's civic engagement. He was convinced that he could make a concrete impact in society by addressing what he perceived to be the most pressing social diseases of his era. Alcoholism, prostitution, and unwanted pregnancies were in his view the main causes of social degradation and posed the greatest obstruction to personal happiness. These principles led him to join sexologist August Forel's⁷¹ systematic campaign against alcoholism. Alcohol was targeted as a social evil by many life reformers and sexologists particularly because it was seen as a correlative cause of the widespread syphilis epidemic and to a potentially devastating decrease in the national population,

as had been argued in a widely influential book by Jacques Bertillon, entitled *La Dépopulation de la France* (1911).⁷² The book, which argued that sexual diseases claimed over 500,000 lives yearly, was perceived as a warning to Germany that it could become a dying nation like Rome. According to the logic put forth by these activists, alcohol promoted the loss of inhibition and a rise of unsafe sex with prostitutes. Hirschfeld lectured widely on the health and social risks associated with the consumption of alcohol, and he was among the first to shed light on the adverse effects of alcohol on pregnancies.⁷³ In a fashion that would not fail to receive wide social acclaim today, Hirschfeld also spoke out against smoking in public spaces and advocated the creation of a nationalization of health services.⁷⁴ He was against compulsory immunization, practiced naturopathy, and promoted natural living at every turn. He was a friend of physical culture school founder and teacher Adolf Koch, a socialist who avidly promoted the health benefits of nude physical activities in the outdoors. Hirschfeld endorsed Koch's recommendations, and provided him with a certificate that stated that Koch's practice of nudity did not serve any unethical purposes.⁷⁵

Hirschfeld's vision for health care was both holistic and preventive. In his view, health services should include health care, education, and legal expenses. His egalitarian vision entailed an overhaul of the health care system that would not only lead to the abolishment of private medicine, but would also transform both physicians and lawyers into state employees. Health services, in his view, extended beyond treatment and recovery. They included free access to sanatoria for both the healthy and the infirm. He firmly believed that these measures would not only greatly improve the health of individuals, but that, because these enhanced services would reduce and prevent disease, implementing them would impose less of a financial burden on the state than denying citizens this care.⁷⁶

Many of these principles of healthy living and natural living conditions in the early twentieth century were also championed by the proponents of the *Lebensreformbewegung* (the life reform movement) and the hygienic movements.⁷⁷ While these movements echoed many of Hirschfeld and Forel's concerns about health and disease, the views upheld by many practitioners of the life reform movement departed from both of these scientists through their reactionary implications. Although the life reform movement promoted an alternative healthy life style that is in many ways akin to contemporary discourse on holistic living, it also frequently positioned itself in opposition to modern civilization, urbanization, industrialization and medical

science. In these respects, the ideals of the life reform movement were alien to Hirschfeld. Rooted in Berlin both professionally and personally, Hirschfeld was the embodiment of the urban spirit as well and an enthusiast of modern culture, as will be further discussed in subsequent sections of this work.

At the center of the Wilhelmine social malaise, Hirschfeld argued, were customs and legislation that limited essential personal freedoms and thereby degraded the quality of life for specific segments of the population. Contrary to popular belief, his advocacy for sexual emancipation was by no means restricted to the decriminalization of homosexuality. The denial of women's suffrage and reproductive rights, the state's refusal to support public education on matters of sexuality, and the concomitant sexual taboos and limited accessibility of contraception constituted some of the key problems that Hirschfeld addressed and fought to reverse through his writings, public speeches, and political lobbying.

In the context of these immediate social and political concerns that Hirschfeld held, it is only logical that he would bear a spiritual, political, and intellectual affinity for Naturalist playwrights. Besides Wedekind and Ibsen, Hirschfeld knew Gerhart Hauptmann and Johannes Schlaf, all of whom he regarded as cultural revolutionaries in their groundbreaking treatment of pressing social problems. The fact that many Naturalist playwrights were of socialist orientation and members of the Social Democratic Party⁷⁸—Hauptmann, Schlaf, and Wedekind all were—was but one aspect of Hirschfeld's natural kinship with these writers. There can be no doubt that the Naturalist critique of alcoholism and its espousal of hereditary theory, articulated through these plays' powerful portrayals of the ravages of substance abuse, poverty, as well as the social stigma of disease, were seen as relevant and compelling to Hirschfeld's social causes and scientific theories, which will be discussed in the following section.

Further, as someone who strongly supported women's rights, the reconfigurations of womanhood and the challenges to traditional gender roles found in Naturalist drama must have spoken to Hirschfeld's heart. One need only think of Ibsen's iconoclastic heroines, Wedekind's femme fatales, or Hauptmann's female rebels who fall victim to the trappings of bourgeois society to appreciate the extent of women's oppression in fin-de-siècle society.⁷⁹ Hirschfeld occupied himself with the woman question and combated stereotypes about separate spheres of action for men and women. His profound allegiance to the women's movement was also expressed through his strong support of the movement for women's suffrage and of a woman's right to study

at university. He spoke publicly in favor of these issues together with his sister Franziska. Hirschfeld also denounced the anti-abortion law and was instrumental in preventing lesbianism from being criminalized by the German legal code.

When, in 1909, the German parliament recommended extending Paragraph 175 to include same-sex loving women, Hirschfeld headed an aggressive campaign together with Helene Stöcker, Hedwig Dohm, and other leading feminists to block the law from being passed. Together they argued that an extension of this statute would only compound the present hardships for same-sex loving individuals. They further argued that women were not even physically capable of what Paragraph 175 specifically condemned (anal penetration), and that an extension of this law would only benefit blackmailers. In 1912, the Parliamentary Commission announced its refusal to pass this law on the basis of many of the arguments Hirschfeld and Stöcker presented.

Hirschfeld's identity as a renowned physician in Berlin did not inhibit him from publicly expressing how culture and the realm of aesthetics enriched his appreciation for human complexity. He expressed the belief that where human feeling was concerned, literature highlighted all of the ways in which medicine proved inadequate. Medicine's greatest shortcoming, he wrote in a self-portrait published in the highly esteemed Berlin literary journal *Die literarische Welt*, was that it harbored too great an indifference toward love: "In truth, it is a very curious thing, which in more enlightened times will appear even more surprising than it does to us that such a meaningful manifestation of nature, as is love, has escaped natural studies almost without being noticed."⁸⁰ In his own research and writings, not only did Hirschfeld never foreclose the possibility of achieving a productive synergy between science and ethics, but he also believed that if practiced ethically, science would in the end yield just and humanistic rewards. Hirschfeld was an activist and a public intellectual in addition to being a scientist, not a scientific positivist—his theories were not only broadly disseminated in public discourse, but they also penetrated the cultural consciousness of the Weimar Republic.

1.2 Urban Culture and Homosexuality

Hirschfeld understood that raising the cultural awareness of homosexual life was an important step in the process of fighting for legal reform and social tolerance. His efforts to increase public knowledge of homosexuality were varied and extensive: he published for

both scientific and non-scientific audiences, held public lectures and seminars on the topic of variant sexuality, expressed his views in the medium of film, founded institutes, and organized numerous international congresses dedicated to the topic. His *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* (Berlin's Third Sex)⁸¹ (1904) is arguably the most important work that he wrote for a lay audience. A cross between a sociological study and a travel guide, this work furnished unprecedented insights into the diversity of variant sexuality, which comprised of male homosexuality, lesbianism, bisexuality, cross-dressing, transgenderism,⁸² and fetishism. Ethnographic in scope, *Berlin's Third Sex* reveals the social dynamics that characterized the lives of sexual variants in their myriad guises. From the subterranean gay bars and drag balls to the public baths and railway stations, *Berlin's Third Sex* offers both an insider's vantage point and a bird's eye view of homosexual spaces. Hirschfeld's richly detailed knowledge of the prevailing etiquette, policies, and clientele of the places he describes reveal the vantage point of the insider. The bird's eye view is conveyed by the latitudinal view of the homosexual locales throughout Berlin his work furnishes. Hirschfeld canvassed homosexual bars from every end of the city. However, despite the expanse of geographical territory that he covered, it did not compromise the depth of his observations.⁸³ The specificity of the information conveyed in this work not only attests to Hirschfeld's first hand experience of these places, but also the trust and rapport that he established with the people that frequented these locales. His work discloses details such as the passwords people used to gain access to the subterranean homosexual bars, and the ways in which the social interaction in these establishments revealed intersections of economic class, religious affiliation, and educational level.⁸⁴

Although this work illuminates the specificity of homosexual interaction, Hirschfeld emphasizes the ubiquity of homosexuality and the similarities of same-sex love to heterosexual love. His work yields insights into the multidimensionality of emotional life for many sexual variants, and the pain of alienation and displacement that many homosexuals experience from either being rejected by their families or from being forced to conceal their erotic lives in order to uphold the semblance of harmonious family relations. Hirschfeld sheds light on the number of sexual variants who experience the psychological burden of the double-life, and he reports how Christmas time was identified as the period that is most emotionally challenging for sexual variants who have experienced estrangement from their families. The fact that Hirschfeld established a trusting rapport with his patients is always evident throughout his writings, as his descriptions

of homosexual relationships are not always noble or flattering—he also shed light on male prostitution and soldiers who prostituted themselves or solicited male prostitutes during World War I—and rarely devoid of emotional charge.

Hirschfeld illuminated the depth and intensity of the emotional attachments between homosexual partners by reporting their direct speech, or by acting as their mouthpiece by adopting trenchant tones in his description of these attachments. The natural and non-criminal nature of these affections and partnerships is a common refrain throughout this work. The existence of Paragraph 175 enabled rather than inhibited criminal activity by rewarding extortion and punishing individuals who harbored harmless, genuine feelings of love for a member of the same sex. Just as reprehensible, Hirschfeld pointed out the frequent instances of homosexual suicide that resulted from the inescapable financial burden of blackmail, and he highlighted in numerous other writings how Paragraph 175 protected blackmailers and condemned innocent homosexuals.⁸⁵ Replete with case histories of homosexual and lesbian relationships, *Berlin's Third Sex* underscores how the enduring commitment and loyalty found in homosexual partnerships were not only common but exceptionally high in Berlin.⁸⁶

Throughout this work, Hirschfeld is never lax in recognizing how the city, as a locale, enabled the expression of alternative sexual identities. He rightly attributes the high concentration of homosexual life in cities to urban topography and the concrete and imagined promise of erotic exploration it offered sexual variants. According to Hirschfeld's statistics, between 1%–2% of Berlin's 2.5 million inhabitants were homosexual. Transvestites and other sexual minorities were included in this disconnected and widely diverse segment of the population. From the boisterous, pulsating vitality of Berlin's homosexual bars to the complex psychologies of individuals who harbored their homoerotic longings in seclusion from any community identification or awareness, Hirschfeld conveys the colorful patchwork of indeterminate erotic desire that flourished in Berlin. He draws an intimate connection between the geography of the city and the possibilities it allowed for the explorations of alternative desire. The city of Berlin, he argued, with its multitude of tunnels, train stations, and public baths, was able to install a richly functional and diverse architecture of homoerotic desire. Characterized by large expanses of land from north to south and east to west, this urban metropolis was well poised to furnish the crucial elements needed to sustain homoerotic affectional bonds in a Germany burdened by Paragraph 175.

Anonymity, legions of hiding places, a communal sense of like-affected individuals, and the possibility to live at great enough distances from the nuclear family without needing to relocate to another city were among the many advantages that Berlin had to offer to same-sex relationships.⁸⁷ Hirschfeld pointed out a number of cases in which it was possible for native Berliners who were homosexual to continue living in Berlin and not encounter family members for over two decades. The structure of urban life provided not only spaces that enabled clandestine relationships, but also the necessary transparent boundaries that Simmel referred to as the emergence of subjective culture within the objective culture that governed urban life.⁸⁸ There was no question that Berlin could provide the voluntary estrangement that the homosexual community sought and deemed necessary for the fulfillment of their erotic life at the turn of the twentieth century.

Hirschfeld's characterizations of the sociological and psychological aspects of homosexual life are reflected in the literature of the Weimar Republic. Elsewhere I have argued how three homoerotic novels of the Weimar period—Klaus Mann's *Der fromme Tanz* (The Pious Dance) (1926), Stefan Zweig's *Verwirrung der Gefühle* (Confusion of Feelings) (1927), and John Henry McKay's⁸⁹ *Der Puppenjunge* (The Hustler) (1924)—depict how urban life facilitates the emergence of alternative sexual lifestyles and the more general undoing of bourgeois morality for newly transplanted youth.⁹⁰ In each of these novels, we see young men who have journeyed into the city explore and develop homoerotic affections, and in each case the urban serves as a context for a homoerotic *Bildungsroman* (novel of personal development) or, perhaps, an *anti-Bildungsroman*. As each character continues his respective descent into homoerotic wantonness, they are, in time, forced to leave the city—whether through legal strife, financial ruin, bourgeois familial demands, or ennui with urban decadence—and return to their previous lives within the stolid surroundings of rural life and heteronormative mores. All of these novels expressed in literary terms what Hirschfeld observed in his own ethnographic work: the relationship between urban environment and homosexual identity.

1.3 Jewish Identity and Medicine

It would be difficult to ascribe Hirschfeld's pursuit of medicine over literature to one single cause. Given the cultural context in which Hirschfeld made his choice, it could be argued that his awareness of the social significance Jews assumed in the Germany of the Second

Empire by joining the medical profession could have played a role in his decision. John Efron attributes the dramatic rise in the number of Jewish doctors (by 1900, Jews accounted for a substantial 16% of all doctors in Germany) to the efflorescence of race science.⁹¹ According to Efron, during the period of German imperial expansion, many Jews were drawn to the medical sciences not only for the social standing that few other liberal or prestigious professions allowed them—in academics, for instance, Jews were largely denied prestigious appointments⁹² and were precluded from coveted research positions—but primarily for the rare opportunity of self-representation that it afforded them. The presence of Jews in the medical sector in general, and in race science in particular, allowed them to “assert Jewish equality and very often moral superiority.”⁹³

Hirschfeld's desire to practice medicine, however, does not seem to have overtly stemmed from a perceived need to vindicate or legitimize his Jewish identity. However, the case can certainly be made that the aura of legitimation that medicine could bestow in nineteenth century Germany must have surely held out an added dimension of allure to a homosexual Jew with liberal views on sexuality. Until German anti-Semitism escalated to the point of Nazi persecution, Hirschfeld considered himself first and foremost a German national. This is not by any means to suggest that he repudiated his own Judaism, but rather that Hirschfeld saw this marker of racial distinction as artificial and imposed by external contingencies. It is also true that his upbringing had been secular and lacking in experiential knowledge of Judaic customs and traditions. That the racial minority status of Jews could have contributed to Hirschfeld's desire to be seen as a German national, even if only unconsciously, is a tempting hypothesis. However, his biography and his documented attitudes toward racial differences argue against the suggestion that his sense of self-identity was shaped by a fearful and self-denying attitude toward his Jewish heritage. Hirschfeld's sympathies toward Germany and his Jewish heritage should thus not be read as mutually exclusive. His healthy, at times euphoric, patriotic feeling toward Germany was not at all accompanied by a self-denying, self-loathing, or ultimately self-destructive relationship to his Jewish identity, as was such for his contemporaries Otto Weininger and Benedikt Friedlaender. Weininger and Friedlaender, both German Jews, had become so entrenched and extreme in their German nationalism that it became vehemently anti-Semitic and led in both cases to suicide.

While Hirschfeld recognized that racial identities represented an important category of distinction for some people, and he was

able to appreciate the differences between individuals, he was more prone to focus on what people held in common and on those aspects of human experience that united people. He expounded upon these ideas at length in the politically utopian vision he expressed in an essay he published in 1919 entitled “Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?”⁹⁴ (What Unites and Separates Humankind?).⁹⁵ One of the primary points of this essay is how the differences among human beings can be characterized in diverse ways: physiology, phrenology, economic class, color of skin, etc. Arguing that these could all be classified under three fundamental categories of difference—constitution (chemical makeup), temperament (active or passive), and ecstasy (how an individual experienced situations or states that were out of the ordinary)—Hirschfeld claimed that despite the many ways in which individuals differ from one another, there are even more ways in which they are similar. The fact that he wrote this essay against the backdrop of World War I is evidenced by the analogies he uses to make his points. We can appreciate this when, for example, he argues that a woman who mourns her dead son experiences the same kind of suffering irrespective of whether she is French, German, or of any other ethnic provenance. This belief in the existence of fundamental irreducible sameness in human beings not only attests to Hirschfeld’s humanism, but yields crucial insight into his medical philosophy and the research methods he adopted to practice his credo “per scientiam ad justitiam” (through science to justice). This motto, as it will be discovered throughout the course of his work, will not only describe his science, but will be equally applicable to Hirschfeld as a personal *modus vivendi*.

Chapter 2

Evolution of Hirschfeld's Scientific Outlook

2.1 Research Methods and Philosophy

“I believe in Science, and I am convinced that Science and above all the Natural Sciences, must bring to mankind, not only truth, but with truth, Justice, Liberty and Peace for all men. That that day may come soon, is my hope and my desire!”¹ Much more than an optimistic view of the power of science, the above passage captures the ethic and ideological force behind Hirschfeld's research on homosexuality and other forms of alternative sexual expression. Hirschfeld came of age as a scientist in an era when scientific positivism exerted a strong influence on the natural and technical sciences.

To twenty-first century cultural and intellectual sensibilities, harboring a vigorous skepticism toward the objectivity of scientific claims has become tantamount to a reflexive response. For many of us contemporaries who have inherited the legacies of Nietzsche, critical theory, and Michel Foucault, there is a collective awareness of the nefarious uses of science. As heirs to this consciousness, most of us have developed healthy knee-jerk responses to anything that smacks of the heinous, totalizing functionings of technocratic societies, instrumental reason, imperialism, and hegemonic thinking. Questioning the motivations and implications of scientific research has become a matter of moral and intellectual incumbency because of the devastating consequences of irresponsible uses of science. “Science has been prejudicially applied, that is, to categories central to how people make judgments about personal and social worth. Prejudice and calumny are always looking for support from the sciences, and whole cultures have gambled on social experiments grounded in scientific reports

having every appearance of truth.”² This vigilance certainly holds true for sexual orientation research of the past, present and the future.

The role of science in matters of sexual emancipation was hotly debated during Hirschfeld’s lifetime and is passionately debated today. To many contemporary supporters, activists for LGBT rights, and most queer theorists, science has no place in discourses that serve to enhance the freedom of LGBT and queer communities. I do not necessarily hold this to be the case, even though I invoke legal discourses and the tenets of the Enlightenment, enshrined in the U.S. Constitution, to combat sexual inequality. However, my decision to focus on a figure who harbored great faith in science and was convinced of its emancipatory potential should not be confused with an uncritical endorsement of science in the fight against contemporary sexual prejudices and injustices. Resisting the adoption of a presentist perspective in approaching Hirschfeld’s contributions to the homosexual rights discourse is essential in order to appreciate the cultural, political, and scientific obstacles and challenges that conspired to hinder the emergence of the “normal” homosexual.

Taking the historical view allows a more nuanced cultural understanding of the role of science and the scientific method to come into focus for the contemporary reader. Science was germane to Hirschfeld’s cultural, ethical, and intellectual development. His affinity for science was not arbitrary. As I have argued above, the influence of his father and the standing of German Jews in Wilhelmine society were undoubted factors in his choice of professional vocation. But I would also argue that in Hirschfeld’s lifetime, science, and the natural sciences in particular, also vividly represented a direct linkage to the mindset of modern political thought and the manifestation of the western Enlightenment, whose greatest cultural achievements could be distilled to the individual’s capacity for reason, and the ideas that that authority should be questioned and that political resistance is a legitimate act.³ This confidence in the liberating potential of the practice of natural science was also echoed by Marxists and Social Democrats, with whom Hirschfeld clearly identified. “Scientific socialism remained deeply committed to the Enlightenment belief in progress. Marxists and Social Democrats attacked religious tradition and social customs in the name of reason and (positivistic) science. They presumed that the rationalization of human society was rapidly rendering the force of individual differences based on sex or irrational desires irrelevant.”⁴ Critiques of Marxism’s failures to adequately address sexual questions have spanned the decades, have taken on many forms, and have been adopted into a variety of discourses. There

is validity in the critique of Marxism's reliance on a natural—that is to say a fixed—rather than a historical view of sexuality. It is also true that Hirschfeld anchored his fight against the criminalization of homosexuality in a discourse of the natural and the biological. But it would be thoroughly misguided to reduce Hirschfeld's scope, context, and varied clinical methodologies by concluding that he merely championed a fixed view of homosexuality. In theory, he did, but an examination of his beliefs and scientific and clinical practices will reveal a much more complex picture.

Hirschfeld's relationship to the natural sciences⁵ thus was shaped both by the scholarly tradition of German idealism and by nineteenth-century democratic liberalism. But more importantly, he sought to uphold the crucial distinction between fact and value, between the empirical "is" (*Sein*) and the normative "ought" (*Sollen*). This distinction—which was informed by the currents of neo-Kantian philosophy popular in late nineteenth-century Germany—was meant to protect the "purity" of scientific objectivity against the corrupting influence of value-judgments.⁶ Hirschfeld's practice of the empirical method to study human sexuality allowed him to temper his scientific assessments of an individual's biological makeup with an appreciation for the psychological and environmental circumstances that drive individual behavior.

Hirschfeld was born at the dawn of an era of momentous technical, philosophical transformation in higher education and in the conception of the sciences. More broadly, technological innovation not only significantly facilitated research and discovery in the sciences, but also issued an epistemological shift that brought about a revolution in the methods and demands of scientific research.⁷ The advent of the research lab contributed significantly to the emergence of ever-more specific fields of scientific research, such as experimental psychology—in particular Wilhelm Wundt's experiments on "just noticeable differences"⁸—as well as physiognomy of the eye and the ear. These new areas of research not only valued and necessitated a high degree of exactness; they also began to alter the prevailing theory of knowledge (*Erkenntnistheorie*),⁹ which pervaded the nineteenth century. Overall, it signaled a shift that not only demanded increased specialization and a greater degree of separation between the sciences, but also necessitated the implementation of the empirical method, which placed emphasis on both quantitative and qualitative approaches to natural phenomena.

Many practitioners of the empirical method rooted their processes in the precepts of Kantian philosophy, specifically with the

distinction that Kant drew between noumena and phenomena in *The Critique of Pure Reason*. They argued for a pursuit of science that was separate from ethical and religious concerns. Empirical research, with its emphasis on specific characteristics that functioned as markers of difference between people, was to yield knowledge that was not only highly specialized but also devoid of moral and ethical judgments. Thus, the merits of the empirical method were not only valued by natural scientists, but by the foremost practitioners of nineteenth-century German social sciences as well.¹⁰ The import of empirical methods and epistemology effected a transformation of science into a value-free enterprise. This change was recognized by Max Weber,¹¹ who, along with Ferdinand Tönnies and Werner Sombart, as well as other members of the Germany Society for Sociology, were at the vanguard of a campaign for a science that was not beholden to moral, political, or religious ideologies.¹² It should also be mentioned that Bismarck's anti-socialist laws¹³ added pressure on liberal thinkers to sever politics from science.¹⁴ Since establishing an edifice of knowledge that was untainted by outdated cultural values and unexamined moral traditions was central to the liberal project, many late nineteenth-century liberal thinkers saw the value in upholding the integrity of science. They understood that practicing a value-free science added to the credibility and cachet of science. What George E. McCarthy claimed in his excellent history of sociology also applies to Hirschfeld: "Sociology is not a positivistic science but a practical or moral science whose goal is to enlighten and to educate humanity to the ethical possibilities of its own self-realization."¹⁵ Hirschfeld's belief that science could transform society and liberate it from irrational prejudices and arbitrary values, and his adherence to scientific method, identify him as an heir to this liberal scientific tradition.

Hirschfeld's research evinced both the unifying, universalizing vision of the Enlightenment and the scrupulous particularization of scientific empiricism. Considering both of these strains in Hirschfeld will not only help to illuminate his science, but also the beliefs that motivated his political action and work as a clinician. Indeed, a strong case can be made that Hirschfeld embodied the German Enlightenment's ideal of a "man of science." Having benefited from a humanistic higher education, with specialized training in philology and medical science, the course of Hirschfeld's life was determined by his incessant pursuit of knowledge and commitment to freedom and social justice. These ideological moorings, coupled with his voracious curiosity about the cultures of the world and their people, led him to do extensive research and acquire encyclopedic knowledge of

fields outside the bounds of his formal training in medicine—these included jurisprudence, as well as cultural and comparative ethnology, as recorded in his lively and wide-ranging ethnographic compendium *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers (The World Journey of a Sexologist)*.¹⁶

The fact that Hirschfeld relied heavily on the empirical method in his studies of human sexuality—a method that the scholars in the tradition of German idealism largely viewed as suspect for its alleged exaggerated emphasis on the particular¹⁷—at the expense of relations and ideals of greater ethical significance was not a contradiction to the unifying principle of his humanism, but rather a different side of the same coin. Both in his clinical and ethnographic studies of sexual customs, Hirschfeld canvassed and classified the rich diversity of people he encountered, not for the mere sake of accruing scientific data or accentuating that which separated certain groups of people from others, but rather to uncover the fundamental similarities between all people irrespective of their sexual orientation, identity, or ethnic and racial provenance. He did not establish hierarchies of qualities such as physical traits and characteristics or sexual practices. This gave his work a distinctive flavor in that it became not only an ethnographic recording of difference, but, implicitly, a celebration of that difference as well. He performed firsthand empirical studies in order to deepen his understanding of the diverse practices and expressions of sexuality that were manifest throughout the world. What he sought was a deeper, more nuanced understanding of human sexuality. His comparative ethnographic analysis would serve, he believed, to dispel deeply entrenched notions and assumptions about human sexuality—whether it be the analysis of gender roles, homosexuality, sexual rites of passage, and so on—which were rampant in early twentieth century Europe.

Hirschfeld's approach to cultural difference resonates in many ways with Herder's late eighteenth-century theory of culture. Herder concerned himself with the idea of a German national spirit that was to be engendered by the discovery of natural and cultural traits that were distinctly "German."¹⁸ He placed a great deal of emphasis on identifying and examining national character traits (language, customs, laws, folktales, government and economic structures, and personal behavior patterns), which he claimed not only composed the nation's *Volksgeist* (spirit of the nation) but also proved crucial to the creation of a national identity. Yet, in the midst of noting differentiations, Herder recognized, as did many of the philosophers of the Enlightenment, "the fundamental sameness of human nature."¹⁹

While Herder employed empirical ethnographic data to discuss cultural differences, he never questioned “the assumption of universality of reason and mental capacity among humans.”²⁰ This idea of the fundamental sameness of human beings is echoed in Hirschfeld’s 1919 essay, *Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?*²¹ (“What Unites and Separates Human Beings”), and powerfully and more elaborately reechoed in his posthumously published work, *Racism*.²² Hirschfeld delineated the similarities in peoples of different cultures and ethnic backgrounds to foster compassion and understanding amongst peoples, and to eradicate the causes for war.

He firmly believed that science represented a moral edifice that was immune from the fetters of interest and instrumentality, and he would have agreed with the Weberian concept of social science, which argued that “science can provide only facts; values are a matter of personal faith.”²³ Hirschfeld did not believe in practicing science for science’s sake. For Hirschfeld, science not only increased knowledge but was also a tool against injustice. His approach to science was also in accord with a Marxist view of science, which was allied with “optimistic, forward-looking liberation movements—movements that upheld the notion that only a science freed from feudal or capitalistic fetters” would be best equipped to usher in and support any enduring social progress.²⁴ Hirschfeld was a liberal scientist through and through. He believed that science should promote progress and individual freedom. His conception of progress was in line with the ideals of the liberal scientists of the generation that preceded him. The notion of progress encompassed “material improvements in technology and standards of living; as moral progress in behavior, government and so forth, and as the realization of human potential.”²⁵

Hirschfeld also practiced cultural ethnography in the liberal tradition. He admired the work of Rudolph Virchow, a renowned cellular pathologist, physical ethnographer, and a staunch liberal. Virchow was one of the founders of the Berliner Gesellschaft (Berlin Society), an organization which helped formalize the study of ethnography and was instrumental in installing *Völkerkunde* (social ethnography) as a separate field of study in the philosophical curriculum. A member of the hygienic council in 1869, he, along with physician Bernhard von Langenbeck, made expert recommendations for the impunity of homosexuality. Virchow, a contemporary of Hermann Hirschfeld’s and one of Magnus’s examiners for his medical thesis, had a profound influence on the younger Hirschfeld’s scientific methods. Virchow made vigorous use of the empirical method in his work in comparative ethnography. He practiced a nomothetic method and

opposed the use of abstraction to make general statements about the thought and behavior of human individuals. One of the greatest contributions of Virchow's liberal method of comparing people from different cultures was the refusal to reduce an abstract individual to a disembodied set of psychological traits and customs that were ascribed to a distinct culture. This practice was also opposed to merging the individual with a larger group or cultural type such as race or "Volk" (nation).²⁶ Virchow and Adolf Bastian, the founding fathers of German cultural science, "tended to focus on the relationships among what was universal in the composition of the individual, what was learned by the individual from his or her culture, and what was unique to a person."²⁷ The liberal cultural ethnography practiced by late nineteenth-century cultural scientists offered a new mode of looking at difference. It wrested definitive pronouncements on the meaning and value of difference away from the natural and physical sciences. Virchow's cultural ethnography challenged European colonialist claims about the *Naturvölker* (primitive people) and their cultural inferiority to the European *Kulturvölker* (civilized people).²⁸ The cultural sciences, with their focus on cultural customs, social and environmental factors, as well as individual psychology, provided the means by which the raw data provided by the physical sciences could be supplemented and interpreted. An admirer of Virchow's, and a personal acquaintance of his through his father's brilliant medical career, Hirschfeld not only imbibed the spirit of this liberal tradition of cultural ethnography, he also applied it in his own sexual and cultural ethnographic work and critique of racial theories. The sections that follow will discuss the scientific insights yielded by Hirschfeld's research methods and how he deployed his science to combat fatuous moral claims concerning non-normative sexuality.

2.2 Hirschfeld and the Importance of Sexology

The confluence of the emergence of Darwinian theories and the effects of technological advances and industrialization in Europe in the late nineteenth century engendered keen national interest in regulating populations' sexual conduct and promoting healthy progeny. The characteristics that these campaigns would take on were also shaped by the popularity of Lamarckian theory in the late nineteenth century. Lamarckian theory, which was largely disproved by the turn of the twentieth century, upheld the belief in directed evolution, which maintained that acquired traits could be transmitted to future generations. For this reason, as we shall see, the innateness

or acquisition of “deviant” sexual behavior would become a decisive legal and medical question.

This investment in traditional norms of sexual propriety was fueled by the colonial and imperial ambitions of nations of great political might, like Great Britain and Germany. A central feature of this heightened regulation of sexuality entailed a cultural and scientific reinforcement of the polarities between male and female. Accompanying the growth of industrial capitalism and the rising urban densities were social phenomena such as prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases, and the changing role of women that threatened national ideals of health and propriety. In England, the social purity movements and the Contagious Disease Acts passed in the 1860s, which subjected women who were suspected of being prostitutes to compulsory medical examinations, were aimed at preserving Victorian ideals of femininity and masculinity. Thus, in keeping with a culture that upheld the cultural and intellectual inferiority of women, along with its belief in their lesser human value, the burden of sexual health was placed on women.²⁹

In Germany, while the attitudes toward sexual propriety were somewhat similar to England’s, the attention to respectability took on its own distinguishing features. The cultivation of the bourgeois family with clearly demarcated gender roles was a critical national ideal of Wilhelmine society alongside the image of the healthy male.³⁰ Masculinity, male bonding, and male pedagogy were deeply intertwined with German politics and culture.³¹ As the late sexual and cultural historian Nicolaus Sombart has provocatively argued, Bismarck was seen as more than an indomitable statesman; he was also regarded “as Germany’s archpatriarch and phallus.”³² The outbreak of male-male homosexual scandals in Wilhelm II’s inner circle would reinforce this cultural and political investment in a virile, masculine male and the concomitant repudiation of the effeminate and the need to repress the feminine principle, which was most egregiously articulated by anti-feminist rhetoric and cultural movements. Additionally, the stalwart tradition of science in Germany, coupled with the revolutionary advances in technologies of science and the methodologies that followed, contributed to the prolific scientific research and studies from German sexologists and forensic scientists. It is important to note that scientific research in Germany also enjoyed the strong support of the Social Democratic Party, which by 1912 had garnered one-third of the votes in the election for the Reichstag³³ (Imperial Parliament) and was the strongest Socialist party in the world.

The advent of sexology prompted a revolution in the nineteenth-century sexual consciousness and proved to be a veritable engine for

transplanting sexual discourse from its governing pillars of: morality and the law into the realm of secular science. Prior to the emergence of medicine as a quasi legal and institutional power, the authoritative voices on sexual conduct belonged exclusively to clerics and statesmen. In many instances, this would prompt a more humane view toward sexual conduct and gender expressions that deviated from the accepted norm.

For the first time, sex was no longer the exclusive province of clerics and jurists; it had now also become a matter of science and had made its foray into public discourse as a public health issue. Indeed, one of the most salient contributions of sexology was its capacity to empower the patient. This was done through the practice of encouraging the patient to dialogue with the sexologist in order to gain insight into their own sexual desires and inclinations, but also to allow the patient to overcome his self-imposed sense of deviance. This fostered a dialogical relationship between patient and sexologist akin to a confession, indeed, a "secular confession"³⁴ wherein the patient would be able to reflect and explore his sexuality without the restraining force of external sexual norms. While sexology is essentially a late nineteenth-century phenomenon, this shift in consciousness that led to a secular scientific approach to sexual discourse can be traced back to the Enlightenment. The mandate to remove anti-sodomy laws in eighteenth-century France that came about with the creation of the Napoleonic Code is one clear example of this paradigm shift.

This rational, liberatory spirit of the Napoleonic Code, which left its imprint on a number of German principalities, excluding Prussia, inspired and propelled Hirschfeld's endeavor to shed light upon the manifold forms and expressions that could be assumed by human sexuality and relationships. Hirschfeld was, along with Iwan Bloch, one of the founding fathers of a new branch of science that, in the early twentieth century, became known as sexology, and he was one of the founders of the Medical Society for Sexology and Eugenics, along with Bloch and Karl Abraham, in 1913. A particular emphasis should be placed on the suffix "ology,"³⁵ which derives from the Greek word "logos" meaning *knowledge* or *science* and correlates most closely with the German "Wissenschaft." This point needs to be underscored because of the emphasis that proponents of sexology wanted to place on the natural science approach that they were undertaking.

Sexology set out to distinguish itself from previous, less scientific approaches to sexual matters by considering the scientifically quantifiable aspects of human sexuality as well as the psychology and sociology of sexual and affective relationships. The practice of this new

branch of science thus often entailed development of theories based on the correlation of physical attributes or habits to a specific sexual or character disposition. Diagnostic methods were varied and imaginative and included measuring the potency of the sex drive, paying attention to physiognomic characteristics (such as facial structure, cranial width, hip-to-shoulder ratios, and foot size), and analyzing the levels of male and female hormones present in an individual. Many practitioners of sexology believed that such information would enable them to definitively determine their patient's erotic makeup and make a fitting prognosis. Many of these techniques were borrowed from criminological or forensic sciences. Johann Ludwig Casper, more on whom will later follow, argued in his 1881 *Handbook for Legal Medicine* (*Handbuch für gerichtlichen Medizin*)³⁶ for instance, that bun-shaped hollows on the buttocks played an important role in the diagnosis of homosexuality. Such observations also played a role in the earlier part of Hirschfeld's career as a sexologist.

Sexology's theoretical foundations can be traced back to the eighteenth century with Wilhelm von Humboldt and his proposed, yet unfulfilled, study on the sexual question throughout all historical ages. Humboldt's aim was to gain historical insights into the relationship between the sexes. About a century later, Iwan Bloch—a Berlin dermatologist and renown author of the 1906 encyclopedic work *The Sexual Life of our Times in its Relation to Modern Civilization* (*Das Sexuelleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur*)—and Magnus Hirschfeld were happy to view their fledgling science in the lineage of Wilhelm von Humboldt. The concept of studying human sexuality and human sexual behavior as both a scientific and a cultural phenomenon was initially proposed by Bloch. He viewed prostitution as an object of study that could be analyzed both culturally and biologically. This inspired him to undertake a project of writing a comprehensive handbook of sexology in monographs. This was never completed because of Bloch's abrupt death in 1931. Nevertheless, he managed to enlist the help of Hirschfeld and other sexologists to give a rounded view on the topic of homosexuality. During his collaboration with Hirschfeld, Bloch's understanding of homosexuality would also come to evolve from holding it to be an atavistic manifestation to viewing it as an innate anomaly such as a harelip. Further, their partnership gave birth to the *Journal for Sexology* in 1908, which Hirschfeld edited. In it, Hirschfeld defined sexology in the following terms:

It was only our own time which created the concept of an exact science (*Wissenschaft*) of sex. Natural science, to which sexology obviously belongs, collects natural phenomena, i.e. it is, above all descriptive.

However, it also allows us to understand the facts, since it carries thoughts into the phenomena and thereby connects them. This is characteristic of all scientific endeavor (Wissenschaft) especially also of the venerable triad theology, jurisprudence, and philosophy. The main principle of thought is, in this case, simplification and reduction of the varied observations to basic phenomena down to the point where further reduction becomes impossible. . . . Sexology, like any other science, is based on the knowledge of individual phenomena. It collects and describes them and thus tries to explain them by finding, through reasoned deduction, their common principle or natural law. This law, in turn, helps us to understand the subsequently encountered phenomena.³⁷

Bloch underscored the dual nature of sexology in the following words:

Sexology . . . is the study . . . of the forms and effects of sexuality in their physical and psychological, individual and social aspects. This definition does justice to the peculiar double nature of the sex drive, its biological and its cultural side, and it shows us that, even as physicians and natural scientists, we must never neglect the social and cultural aspects, especially since they always have a biological substratum. A truly scientific study of sexual phenomena is possible only on this primary, biological basis. The biological phenomena of sexuality explain the psychological and cultural phenomena. . . . Sexology is, in essence, a biological science.³⁸

But the practice of sexology was not the preserve of progressives alone. Among the sexologists who were negatively biased against homosexuality was Albert Moll, a prominent Berlin physician who authored *Die conträre Sexualempfindung*³⁹ in 1891. Moll not only pathologized homosexuality, but also claimed that homosexuals were more likely to evidence a criminal character and dishonest nature. Moll also denied the possibility of male erotic friendship in the tradition of Goethe, Schiller, and Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Richard von Krafft-Ebing's 1886 *Psychopathia Sexualis*, an exhaustive compendium of sexual practices and malfunctions that proved instrumental in determining the criminal character of certain sexual practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was emblematic of this tendency to pathologize non-normative sexual behavior. Although Krafft-Ebing had a vastly more sympathetic view toward homosexuals than Moll, his medical and psychiatric categorizations had the end result of unequivocally identifying same-sex desire with disorder and inevitably inhibiting homosexuals from being viewed as normal. Moll was convinced of the criminal character of homosexuality. He held all homosexuals to be liars and opportunists. The fact

that their social conditions may have driven many homosexuals to lie in their attempts to retain their social standing without entirely forfeiting their inner lives finds no place in his studies.

After a brief collaborative period with Hirschfeld and the *Journal of Sexology*, Moll positioned himself as a nemesis to Hirschfeld, denigrating his theories on numerous occasions and excluding him from international congresses that he organized. Moll extended his hostility to the scientific homosexual movement as a whole, but it is unclear whether the animosity Moll harbored toward Hirschfeld had to do with their political differences, professional envy, or a combination of both. Moll was a conservative, right-wing leaning German patriot of Jewish descent, while Hirschfeld was homosexual and a socialist. But whatever the case might have been, Hirschfeld's theory was not without its detractors and competitors; Moll figured prominently among the many.

It should be noted that although Moll was significantly influenced by Krafft-Ebing, the latter's writings and demeanor toward homosexuality and the vast variety of sexual behaviors that he encountered in his research and clinical practice were devoid of the prejudicial disposition that was so blatant with Moll.⁴⁰ Krafft-Ebing was a scientist who was distinguished by not only a great deal of compassion for his patients but also a high degree of ethical integrity. This fact is not only attested by Hirschfeld's writings, which present numerous favorable references to Krafft-Ebing, but also by the fact that Krafft-Ebing worked alongside Hirschfeld in serving as a medical expert in trials against homosexuals—mostly endeavoring to achieve an acquittal or a more lenient sentence.⁴¹ It should also be noted that Krafft-Ebing's humanity is echoed in his patients' accounts of the treatment that they received from him. A number of these testimonials have been graciously recorded in Harry Oosterhuis's biography of the Viennese psychiatrist.⁴² Nevertheless, despite his generous disposition toward homosexuals, Krafft-Ebing was not entirely immune from casting moral judgment, or from manifesting some of the prevalent sentiments of his times. In his first edition of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, he argued that same-sex sexual activity, because it defied the service of human procreation, exhibited a clear sign of a neuropathic disorder or functional degeneration. He maintained that this disorder had two distinct ways of manifesting itself in society: as a perversion, which explained aberrational behavior that was involuntary, or a perversity, which constituted a willful act:

When opportunity comes knocking for sexual satisfaction, every expression of the sex drive has to be declared perverse which does not reflect

the goals of nature, i.e. 'procreation.' This perverse behavior rests upon perversions when by nature it proceeds from a perverse sex drive; in other cases it is perversities that 'are not called forth by means of psychopathological conditions... In order to be able to distinguish between disease (perversion) and vice (perversity) you have to go back to the total personality of the actor and to the motivating force of the perverse action.'⁴³

In addition to undergirding the clerical position on the purpose of human sexual relations, the view above was also the one upheld by the majority of nineteenth-century sexologists.

In the course of two decades, Krafft-Ebing revised this position significantly, in large part due to Hirschfeld's influence. Krafft-Ebing for his part, not only detached the sexual impulse from procreative ends, but he became convinced that in the majority of the cases, homosexual erotic behavior was the result of a congenital condition and a perversity that was committed voluntarily. Krafft-Ebing later maintained, "Contrary sexual feeling in and of itself cannot be viewed as a mental degeneration or even as a disease."⁴⁴ Hirschfeld, who was essentially an outsider, considered Krafft-Ebing's conversion a triumph and used it to buoy his cause.⁴⁵ He would later dedicate his important three volume study on sexual pathologies, *Sexual Pathologie* (Sexual Pathology) (1916, 1918, 1921), inspired by *Psychopathia Sexualis*, to Krafft-Ebing.

In studying same-sex love, sexology held the premise that erotic behavior was supposed to follow clearly defined gender roles as its point of departure. Where gender expression, erotic behavior, and performance of gender faltered from the roles traditionally assigned to men and women, scientists detected anomalies and sought pathological or scientific explanations for them. It is possible to identify at least two scientific camps among the sexologists: those who held same-sex love to be a result of evolutionary degeneration and those who maintained it was inborn and therefore natural. Albert Moll, Carl von Westphal, and Richard von Krafft-Ebing (early in his studies) maintained that homosexuality was an acquired behavior. Homosexuality could be learned or adopted out of necessity. In contemporary gender discourse, these two approaches have been identified as "essentialist" and "constructionist."⁴⁶ Essentialists subscribed to the notion that alternative sexual behavior is to be ascribed to an individual's congenital constitution. Constructionists, on the other hand, maintained that behavior is learned and or acquired from the environment and culture one inhabits. Typical "homosexuality-inducing" circumstances cited were lack of availability of opposite sex sexual partners or overexposure to members of the same sex—circumstances frequently

encountered in the military, prisons and in boarding schools. This camp of sexologists and psychologists maintained that external, sociological factors could also engender homosexuality. The belief was that the absence of a father, excessive shyness, or overly authoritative or alcoholic parents could all bring about same-sex loving children. Homosexuality was viewed as pathology in these cases.

For Hirschfeld homosexuality was inborn in 1852, a few decades before homosexuality would firmly establish itself in the vocabulary of German medical discourse, forensic specialist Johann Ludwig Casper became the first scientist in Germany to claim the inborn nature of homosexuality. However, prior to this nineteenth-century pronouncement, the congenital nature of homosexuality had already been postulated as early as 1676 by an Italian priest named Caretto,⁴⁷ as nineteenth- and twentieth-century English sexologist Havelock Ellis affirmed. Casper claimed that in many cases of same-sex love, it was possible to point to a hermaphroditism of the soul. Casper proved to be ahead of his time in acknowledging that same-sex love did not necessarily entail anal penetration⁴⁸ or explicit sexual acts, but could be confined to embraces and affectionate friendship. By distinguishing between act and disposition Caspar did not commit the common fallacy of many twentieth century sexologists by reducing sexuality to genitality. He did, however, argue that homosexuality was controllable and possible to extinguish through the force of willpower alone. Hirschfeld was in stark disagreement with him on this point. Homosexuality was not only inborn but a condition which was dictated by nature and over which individual willpower proved powerless. Because he viewed homosexuality as determined by nature and therefore an inexorable reality for those who were born with this condition, he proclaimed that homosexuality required universal acceptance rather than criminalization. This view would prove to serve Hirschfeld's emancipatory ends, at least initially.

In 1869, Carl von Westphal popularized the notion of contrary sexual feeling in an article⁴⁹ in which he claimed that homosexuals possessed an inborn desire for the same sex, and that this was a pathology which expressed itself as effeminacy in men. Westphal had borrowed the notion of effeminacy from lawyer and homosexual activist, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. Westphal and other sexologists, including Hirschfeld to a certain extent, held that medical treatment of homosexuality was preferable to legal persecution. Given the hostile climate toward homosexuality in this period, the logic of this course is not at all difficult to grasp.

The practice of sexology, however, frequently intersected with many other branches of science and with theories that by today's standards

may be identified as pseudo-science. Practitioners of sexology were for the most part, and to varying degrees, also interested in psychology, anatomy, criminology, phrenology, neurology, evolutionary theory, eugenics, sociology, ethnology, embryology, physiognomy, and even graphology. At the core of sexology, as it was often practiced in the nineteenth century, lay a fundamental belief in biological determinism. Distinctive biological or physiological traits were scrutinized as scientific objects capable of unlocking the mysteries of an individual's personality and moral constitution. What this led to in practice was imbuing physical traits such as hair color, face shape, or hip width with psychological and sociological meaning. Stated differently, these traits were used to draw conclusions about a given individual's moral character, sexual orientation, and psychological makeup. Comparative craniometry (skull measurements) and comparative anatomy, for instance, were of great importance in Cesare Lombroso's criminological studies. He rigorously observed the physiognomic peculiarities in an individual's face and body, to which he had ascribed a system of meanings and interpretations in order to come to a conclusive diagnosis about the subjects of his studies and to ultimately delineate the "criminal type."

Fields such as anatomy and physiognomy were also popular during the fin-de-siècle for pointing out racial markers. A number of fin-de-siècle scientists were intent on building on and refining the reports of Swiss physiognomist Johann Caspar Lavater,⁵⁰ who claimed that sallow complexions, hooked noses, hollow eyes, prominent chins, and constrictory muscles of the mouth that were very pronounced and of a markedly concupiscent disposition, were characteristics that were believed to distinguish Jews from other races. In the late nineteenth century, naturalist and physician Carl Vogt distinguished between brachycephalic (round-headed, fair skinned) types and dolichocephalic (long-headed, olive skinned) types in studying the question of Jewish racial purity, and he ascribed distinct character traits to both morphological varieties. The purpose of his investigation was to scientifically uphold the belief in Jewish racial difference through the identification of distinct racial features. Many anthropologists during the fin de siècle argued that in spite of migration and miscegenation of the Jewish people, certain traits persisted. According to Vogt's particular division, the brachycephalic type was characterized by many of the features found in people from Russia, Poland, and Northern Europe, therefore having red hair and broad cheek bones. The dolichocephalic type was distinguished by features that are most frequently found among the people of the Mediterranean and those of Semitic stock. Common features were described as long black hair,

large almond-shaped eyes, oval faces, prominent noses, and expressions of melancholy.

It must be stated that Hirschfeld himself was not immune to the tendency to conflate morphological traits with personal character and sexual identity. But in the end, it must also be admitted that this was, for the most part, peripheral in the formation of his theories of sexuality. True, in his analyses, he examined physical traits—such as breast size in men, hip-to-shoulder ratios, timbre of the voice, etc.—in order to help to determine where one fit on the continuum between male and female, but this was done with the assumption that certain hormonal processes were at work. In the end, his major contribution to sexology would not be dependent upon issues of physical appearance but rather a mixture of embryology and endocrinology, and an explanation of sexual orientation tied to the development of the fetus itself.

2.3 The Third Sex Theory and its Cultural and Scientific Reception

A constant feature of Hirschfeld's approach to medicine and his scientific research into the manifold aspects of human erotic behavior is that both were vigorously informed by his humanism and desire to dispel prejudice. More than holding science to be an invaluable weapon in correcting social injustice, Hirschfeld believed that science would ultimately prevail over the darkness of moral dogmatism. Precisely this ethos would spark Hirschfeld's first scientific treatise on same-sex love in 1896, *Sappho und Sokrates: oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?*⁵¹ (*Sappho and Socrates: or How Does One Explain the Love of Men and Women to People of their Same Sex?*), and permeate his entire oeuvre:

The penalty [Paragraph 175] has not yet succeeded in improving, deterring or healing anyone [from the pursuit of their true nature], and its mere existence has already caused those affected by it to fall into ruin and disgrace. Science renders itself complicit in this dishonor if it does not diligently incite justice to its fair exercise. Science may not rest until the legislation changes sanctions, which represent an unnatural barbarity against those who are already more than punished by nature.⁵²

The timing and publication of the *Sappho and Socrates* pamphlet was a direct reaction to a tragic episode that affected Hirschfeld very deeply. The incident was centered around a military official who was engaged to be married despite his awareness of being homosexual. Caught between what he experienced as a hopeless impasse of wanting

to fulfill the demands of his social standing and his inability to deny his sexual nature, the officer shot himself in the head on the eve of his wedding. Along with this man's cadaver was discovered a letter he had written to Hirschfeld, his doctor and one of the few people he felt able to trust. In it, the officer recounted his personal tragedy and called homosexuality a "curse against human nature and the law."⁵³ Hirschfeld was shaken to the core by this suicide and deeply regretted not having been able to prevent this man's desperate act. By this time, Hirschfeld had been treating people who exhibited same-sex feelings in his clinical practice for over a year. His clinical sensibilities, coupled by the fact that he himself was homosexual (though in keeping with the respectable demeanor of a man of science of his time, he never made this a matter of public discussion), made him keenly aware of the social and psychological hardships that these same-sex loving individuals endured. From this moment, it became his resolve to actively prevent other men from following the path of the young officer. He came to the realization that by disseminating knowledge regarding the different varieties and manifestations of human love, he could dispel ignorance and pursue justice for same-sex loving individuals. *Sappho and Socrates'* temporal proximity to the Oscar Wilde trials in 1895 in London, in addition to Hirschfeld's reference to the unjust imprisonment (Wilde was convicted of gross indecency and received a two year sentence of hard labor) and humiliation of the playwright who spoke of "the love that dare not speak its name,"⁵⁴ lead one to believe that the persecution of this literary talent also loomed large in Hirschfeld's consciousness.

In this highly provocative pamphlet, published under the pseudonym of Th. Ramien, Hirschfeld furthered the work of his ideological predecessor, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895). A lawyer and outspoken advocate for the repeal of the Prussian anti-homosexual statute, Paragraph 143,⁵⁵ Ulrichs was Germany's first homosexual rights activist and one of the first to proclaim his homosexuality.⁵⁶ He mobilized to prevent the extension of anti-homosexual legislature in Hanover. It is important to note that Hanover was, during most of Ulrichs's life, still under the influence of the Napoleonic Code and did not persecute homosexuality until it was annexed by Prussia in 1866. Ulrichs was a tireless agitator and published feverishly to argue the naturalness and legitimacy of same-sex love. He petitioned for the repeal of the anti-homosexual statute at congresses on German law, demanded uniform adoption of the Napoleonic Code throughout the German territories, and denounced the Prussian invasion. These actions led to Ulrichs's imprisonment, and eventually to his

being exiled from Hanover in 1867. Ulrichs continued his campaign to overturn Paragraph 143 in Munich and went on to publish 12 pamphlets on same-sex love. A radical and valiant spirit that could not be deterred from his cause, Ulrichs also volunteered to come to the defense of Johannes Baptist von Schweitzer, a left wing Social Democrat and a writer of popular comedies who received a two-week prison sentence for allegedly seducing a 14-year-old boy.⁵⁷ Ulrichs published his earliest two pamphlets, *Vindex* and *Formatrix*, in 1864 under the pseudonym of Numa Numantius, which he assumed in order to protect his family. Both of these pamphlets inveighed against the absurdity of anti-homosexual legislation and demanded the exercise of freedom that nature was due. Despite adversity and the fact that he was essentially a lone propagator for his cause, Ulrichs's fearlessness proved to be directly proportionate to his defeats. After being mocked and ridiculed while giving a speech on the prevalence of homosexuality among prominent historical figures at a meeting at the General Assembly in Munich in 1867, Ulrichs abandoned his pseudonym and began publishing under his own name. His seminal two volume work on homosexuality, *Forschungen über das Rätsel der mannmännlichen Liebe* (Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love) written between 1864 and 1880, consist of twelve pamphlets, the last seven of which were published under his own name. In this highly influential work, which inspired prominent scientists and reformists including Krafft-Ebing and Symonds and Ellis, Ulrichs investigated the literary, historical, physiological as well as the religious, legal and sociological aspects of homosexuality and the damaging consequences of its criminalization. Ulrichs traveled to Italy and settled in Naples, where he would remain in self-exile.⁵⁸ Here, he published, alongside his political works, works of poetry and fictional prose. He died virtually penniless in Aquila, Italy, where he remains buried⁵⁹.

Outside of Germany, Ulrichs argued that homosexuality was an inborn characteristic, comparable to left-handedness that developed *in utero*. It derived from the initial sexually undifferentiated embryo's failure to develop completely in the direction of its anatomical sex. The ways in which an individual's sex and gender formed, Ulrichs claimed, constituted a riddle of nature. According to Ulrichs, homosexual men, or "uranians," (an Anglicized version of the German term "Urning" coined by Ulrichs)⁶⁰ differed from heterosexual men in that they had an *anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa*—a woman's soul enclosed in a man's body. Female homosexuals or "urningings,"⁶¹ in Ulrichs's terminology, were characterized by a male soul in a female body. Ulrichs's differentiations grew to encompass "Uranodionings,"

which was the term he used to denote individuals who were attracted to both sexes. From these names, he derived designations to distinguish between masculine and effeminate urnings "Männlinge" for uranians who exhibited more masculine traits and "Weiblinge" for uranians who displayed more feminine qualities. "Dionings," after Aphrodite Dione was his appellation of choice for heterosexuals. Fusing his terms for "gay" and "woman," Ulrichs coined the term, "urningin" to refer to lesbians. According to Ulrichs, men and women, whose natural constitution led them to pursue same-sex love, were neither diseased nor degenerate; rather they constituted a natural variation to the dual sex categories of male and female. Urnings, urninds, and uranodionings belonged to what Ulrichs identified to be a "third sex."⁶²

Ulrichs's proposal of a third sex theory to explain same-sex eroticism was hardly welcomed as a viable explanation in the cultural-scientific climate of the 1860s, nor in that of the early twentieth century for that matter. For one, irrespective of whether they were inborn or not, same-sex acts represented acts of deviance and moral defiance of the biblical injunction to procreate. Same-sex erotic acts belonged to a class of erotic activities, which included onanism and anal penetration. These acts were deemed sinful because they did not serve procreative ends and thus constituted a misdirected expenditure of bodily humors, which continued to be viewed as sacred in Victorian moral sensibilities.⁶³

Ulrich's theory and ethics were popularized by English socialist poets John Addington Symonds and Edward Carpenter. Both were professed uranians and both, albeit differently, celebrated the ideal of male friendship in their works. Symonds, a student of ancient Greek culture and Renaissance art, made public and literary appeals for the legitimization of male-male love that hearkened back to the eros of Greece. He visited Ulrichs in Aquila in 1891. Symonds's cultural-ethic reasoning for the emancipation of male-male love is passionately expounded in his pamphlet, *A Problem of Modern Ethics* (1896). The work clearly recognizes Ulrichs's contribution to the discourse on homosexuality. Carpenter's arguments for homosexual emancipation were also indebted to Ulrichs. This is most noticeably evidenced in his opus, *The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women* (1908), a work in which he argues for a more open and accepting view of same-sex love, or what he termed homogenic love, based on the scientific theories of sexual intermediacy. Elsewhere, Carpenter's appeals took on political tones. He was an admirer of Walt Whitman and envisioned a socialist revolution that would inaugurate a democracy based on the ideals of comradeship, sexual freedom, and

humanism. These ideas find their most articulate expression in his cultural-philosophical work, *Towards Democracy* (1922).

Mainstream Wilhelmine culture either outright rejected or vehemently criticized the third sex theory for several reasons. For one, it blurred the firm boundaries between masculinity and femininity that were imposed with the introduction of the two sex system in the post-Enlightenment age,⁶⁴ and which were deemed essential to fulfilling the norms of respectability and to the functioning of the bourgeois family. The idea of viewing exclusively same-sex loving individuals as normal was deemed objectionable to Wilhelmine sensibilities on both sides of the political spectrum. To its critics on the left, homosexuality was seen as a bourgeois vice that was incompatible with the working class revolution. Differentiations need to be made, but Maxim Gorky, Henri Barbusse, and Wilhelm Reich did not hold particularly sympathetic views toward homosexuality. It should however be noted from the outset that Reich, whose sexual theories will be dealt with in more detail in a subsequent section, was against the criminalization of homosexuality.

As far as cultural groups on the right were concerned, the third sex theory, with its implicit femininity, shattered the nationalistic ideal of the fully integrated psychological and biological male. This ideal was embodied in the same-sex loving, yet ultra-virile Männerheld (the male hero), whom conservative ideologue Hans Blüher⁶⁵ exalted in his theories of Germanic masculinity. Blüher⁶⁶ was also a spiritual founder and chronicler of the German bourgeois youth movement Die Wandervögel (the migrant birds), which championed a decidedly restrained, Hellenic yet homoerotic brand of masculinity. Blüher exhibited a Germanic elitism that often assumed anti-Semitic, as well as misogynist, overtones. He believed that Germany was in need of spiritual renewal, and he devoted himself to edifying bourgeois youth with ideals of nationalism, homoerotic friendship, and pedagogical eros.⁶⁷

Perhaps even more so than the suggestion that homosexual men were less virile, the introduction of a scientific theory that feminized male homosexuality infuriated a host of homosexual activists of a nationalist bent.⁶⁸ Zoologist and homosexual cultural theorist Benedikt Friedländer, and anarchist publisher of the homosexual monthly *Der Eigene* (The Self-Owned) Adolf Brand, were the most prominent among these. Since they conceived of male homosexuality in terms of Classical models of masculinity and virility, Ulrichs's and Hirschfeld's theories of feminized male homosexuality posed a threat not only to their own theories, but their personal identities as well. The theory of feminized male homosexuality diminished their ideal

of male homosexuality, which fused masculinity and nationalism.⁶⁹ As we shall soon see, Ulrichs's and Hirschfeld's brand of gender hybridity posed a direct affront to these ideals of chauvinistic masculinity.

Hirschfeld elaborated on Ulrichs's notion of a third sex and introduced in its place a more scientifically rigorous theory of sexual intermediaries (*Theorie der sexuellen Zwischenstufen*), which encompassed the study of hermaphroditism and what we now refer to as intersexuality and transsexualism. The most rudimentary version of this theorization surfaces in his *Sappho and Socrates* treatise. In *Sappho and Socrates*, Hirschfeld explained the etiology of same-sex eroticism by relying on embryological theories derived from Ernst Haeckel. Expanding upon the notion that the human embryo was sexually undifferentiated—that is to say characterized by both male and female sex characteristics—during its first three months of development, he identified six types of human sexual inclinations: “the total man,” “the total woman,” “the male psychological hermaphrodite,” “the female psychological hermaphrodite,” “the total uranian man,” and “the total uranian woman (urningin).”

According to Hirschfeld, the sexual organs in total men and women developed normally. During the course of the development of their sexual organs, he claimed, a disappearance of the desire for the same sex occurred naturally and any residual elements of the opposite sex in them would atrophy. This developmental course would later (during puberty) prompt the appearance of sexual desire for the opposite sex.⁷⁰ According to this same scheme, male and female psychological hermaphrodites were characterized by external sexual organs that underwent normal somatic development. Hirschfeld maintained, however, that the neural centers for sexual response in the male and female psychological hermaphrodite underwent a truncated development in failing to direct feelings in a differentiated fashion. Thus, male and female psychological hermaphrodites would find themselves attracted to members of both sexes. Finally, complete uranians had normal sexual organs, but they did not develop a desire for the opposite sex with the disappearance of residual elements of the opposite sex. In contrast to the total male and total female, the loss of these characteristics in the uranian male and female engendered a desire for the same sex instead.

In addition to embryological development, Hirschfeld identified other ancillary factors that determined an individual's sexual orientation. He argued that the strength of the drive played an important role in determining the variability and degree of expression of an individual's sexual constitution and orientation. In *Sappho and Socrates*, Hirschfeld adopted an arbitrary scale of one to ten to measure the sex

drive. A rating of one to three on the sex drive scale signified a very low and almost negligible drive, a rating from four to six was deemed moderate and capable of some flexibility, whereas a rating of seven to ten represented a strong sex drive, whose direction was inalterable. Hirschfeld's discussion of the strength of the drive had essentially two purposes. For one, the quantitative description of an individual's drive toward males and females offered a further explanation of the preference of one sex over the other for individuals who identified as psychological hermaphrodites (bisexuals). However, Hirschfeld's discussion of the sex drive also bore distinct ethical and political ramifications. He used the influence of the sex drive to buttress his thesis that the legal proscription of same-sex love was neither ethical nor purposeful. According to Hirschfeld's rationale, same-sex love was a congenital condition, which could neither be acquired through environmental factors or suggestion, nor extinguished through medical treatment or psychological conditioning. Thus, in Hirschfeld's view, it was society's duty not only to accept what nature had dictated, but to accept it without moral judgment, as his epigraphic reference to Nietzsche on the cover of *Sappho and Socrates* reveals: "Was natürlich ist, kann nicht unmoralisch sein."⁷¹ (That which is natural cannot be immoral.) In a subsequent section of this pamphlet, Hirschfeld employs these arguments to stress the urgency of abolishing anti-homosexual legislature.

Also decisive in determining a person's sexual orientation, for Hirschfeld, were the quantities of the male hormone andrin (this can be thought of as a precursor of current-day testosterone) and the female hormone gynaecin (a precursor of current-day estrogen) present in each individual. The presence of excessive levels of hormones associated with the opposite sex would very likely manifest itself as a homosexual sex drive in people who were morphologically full male or female. The male subject who possessed a predominance of andrin was characterized by a heterosexual drive; the male subject for whom gynaecin was the predominant sex hormone was characterized by a homosexual drive, and vice versa for women. In the case of bisexuals, they possessed both hormones in equal proportions. Hirschfeld also claimed that these hormonal inversions were responsible for the appearance of irregularities in secondary sex characteristics, such as gynecomastia (male breasts) and andromastia (women with underdeveloped breasts).

Despite the fact that *Sappho and Socrates* was Hirschfeld's first writing on same-sex love, and that he revised his scientific explanations of homosexuality from these early pronouncements, this treatise can be viewed as a thematic matrix for Hirschfeld's lifelong campaign

for legal and cultural reform of homosexual discrimination. In the second part of the treatise, Hirschfeld raised the point that persecuting homosexuals for their inborn drives was tantamount to persecuting people who were born with a physical defect such as a harelip. If homosexuality was neither willingly acquired nor a matter of choice, but was dictated by nature, then its tolerance and not its punishment is required. Hirschfeld's logic is easily grasped: individuals are not to blame, nature is. He argued that because the sex drive was under nature's command, it could neither be influenced nor generated artificially; it had no choice but to express the character that nature had given it. He added rhetorical force to the powerlessness of human agency in matters of desire by quoting Horace's adage: "Naturam furca expellas tamen usque recurret" (Try as you may to dispel nature with a pitchfork, she will always return).⁷²

Hirschfeld proved astute in upholding the naturalness of homosexuality to combat some of the fiercely ingrained stereotypes and common banalities that were believed about homosexuality, such as it being contagious or a learned behavior. Interdictions against homosexuality, he argued, had never proved to cure anyone's homosexuality. Rather, these arbitrary laws were responsible for not only perpetuating injustices but also engendering new social problems. These laws, by forcing perfectly healthy homosexuals to go into hiding or repressing their natures, were often the direct cause of the development of nervous problems in same-sex desiring individuals. This assertion flew in the face of the commonly held belief among many fin-de-siècle psychiatrists and sexologists that homosexuality was the result of nervous degeneracy.

Hirschfeld understood the political effectiveness of claiming the involuntary character of human desire.⁷³ The inhumanity of punishing the infirm and those whom nature had created differently was one of the values upheld by the Napoleonic Code, whose legal and cultural imprint continued to be felt in a number of German states, including Bavaria and Hanover. This ceased to be the case once the extension of the Prussian penal code throughout the German empire was enacted in 1871 and uniformly transformed homosexuality into a criminal act in Germany.⁷⁴ Thus, with a conviction that often struck righteous tones, Hirschfeld declared that same-sex love was not a vulgar passion but one that is as capable of loyalty, commitment, and noble feelings as heterosexual love.

It is important to note that in *Sappho and Socrates*, Hirschfeld did not approach the topic of decriminalizing homosexuality through scientific arguments alone. He also deployed moral, philosophical,

and political arguments to bolster his cause. Implementing one of the key tenants of the Napoleonic Code, Hirschfeld argued that the state had no place in interfering in the sexual relations between consenting adults. This line of argumentation would also prove central to the more aggressive political writings of Kurt Hiller, a poet and literary critic and one of Hirschfeld's most valuable allies in the fight against Paragraph 175.⁷⁵ The criminalization of homosexuality, Hirschfeld astutely pointed out, had been virtually ineffectual in preventing the spread of grievous social problems. Alcoholism, domestic violence, prostitution, and the ensuing spread of venereal diseases, as well as the extortion of homosexuals, were social ills that had been allowed to run rampant in Wilhelmine Germany. In *Das Recht über sich selbst* (The Right Over Oneself)⁷⁶ and his advocacy work with Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee, Hiller railed against the fact that laws were determined not by experiential realities or historical facts but by transhistorical ethics. Hirschfeld admired Hiller's audaciousness and mental agility and made him spokesperson of the committee. Hirschfeld seconded Hiller's arguments and pointed out that the legitimacy of homosexuality in countries like Italy, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands had not in any way had a negative social impact in these countries. He also argued that lesbianism, which was not persecuted in Germany, had also not brought about the rampant spread of female same-sex love. Finally, Hirschfeld proved that homosexuality posed a minimal risk to society by adopting a Darwinian line: he argued that the fact that same-sex couples could not bear children was nature's own self-regulating mechanism for containing the expansion of homosexuality, rendering the introduction of laws unnecessary.⁷⁷

Taking inferences from a poet of marked socialist leanings, Edward Carpenter,⁷⁸ Hirschfeld argued that homosexuals were as diverse as heterosexuals.⁷⁹ Just as heterosexuals could count among them people who were dimwitted and intellectual, even-tempered and stubborn-natured, likeable and unlikable, healthy and sick, so could the same claim of diversity be made by or about homosexuals. Hirschfeld accentuated the widespread and diverse face of homosexuality in *Sappho und Sokrates* by reflecting upon the homosexuality of men of great intellectual and historical stature. He counted Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon among them. He redressed the common myth that a profound fascination with Classical culture could engender homosexuality, as had been ridiculously rumored about the eminent eighteenth-century Classicist Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Moreover, he argued that it was the purity of the love that homosexuals experienced that allowed them

to appreciate the noble feelings idealized by the Greeks. To the claim that homosexuality could be fomented by excessive intellectual fervor, Hirschfeld responded that it was indeed possible to see a correlation between intellectuals and homosexuality, but that it was not that intellectuals were more prone to homosexuality. Rather, many homosexuals felt pressured to compensate for their sexual natures by displaying marked intellectual diligence and great achievements. Hirschfeld also argued that same-sex love was often chaste and consisted in deep, spiritual, mutually supportive friendships between members of the same sex.⁸⁰ This was an argument frequently found in the works of Blüher,⁸¹ Friedländer, and the nationalist proponents of Classical homoeroticism. It should be noted here that Hirschfeld wrote a generous preface to Hans Blüher's study of same-sex love in the youth movements. Here, Blüher especially idealizes the pedagogical character of male same-sex friendship.

To contemporary sensibilities, Hirschfeld's defense of same-sex love often has the quality of sounding pious and overreaching in its romanticism. This is a recurring feature throughout his oeuvre. Although the *Sappho* essay is meant to be a scientific and political tract on homosexuality, Hirschfeld's writing often assumes emotional overtones and borders on the mawkish. This becomes particularly evident in his appraisal of love. He maintained that love, like nature, could not be controlled or expected to succumb to reason.

Because Hirschfeld sought to influence the way in which his society and culture perceived homosexuality through arguments grounded in nature and the importance of tolerating it—as opposed to the more forceful socially and politically critical arguments upheld by his political allies like Kurt Hiller—many critics have claimed that Hirschfeld's moderate line in approaching sexual reform was largely due to his upbringing in an affluent bourgeois family and the fact that he retained many of these bourgeois sensibilities throughout his life.⁸² The argument that Hirschfeld articulated his case for sexual reform in tones that sought to appeal to a more mainstream consciousness of sexual propriety gains even more resonance if one compares his approach to Ulrichs's agitative and incendiary demands for sexual reform. While Hirschfeld's contrasting restraint can in part be ascribed to his sensitivity to Gründerzeit (period of economic boom in Germany following the Franco-Prussian wars) mores. I believe it was mainly his desire to persevere and succeed in his campaign for sexual emancipation that prevented Hirschfeld from assuming the more radical overtones that characterized Ulrichs's campaign, which landed him in prison on more than one occasion and culminated in

self-exile. Hirschfeld was convinced that for any campaign for reform to be successful in his lifetime, it would require advancing the idea of the justness of sexual equality within the prevalent parameters of bourgeois respectability.⁸³

Any critical evaluation of Hirschfeld's *Sappho and Socrates* would be remiss if it did not point out the factual errors it contained. This pamphlet presents both scientific and historical inaccuracies, as well as logical contradictions. The causal link between an individual's hormonal composition and psychological desire that Hirschfeld upheld in this treatise has been proven to be unfounded. Freud had been an early critic of this somatic approach to explaining the dynamics of desire.⁸⁴ Hirschfeld's explanation of embryological development was also flawed. His classifications at this early stage of his research did not satisfactorily account for virile men who desired men and feminine women who desired women. According to his theories, desire for both homosexuals and heterosexuals alike was always manifest in heterosexual form. Hirschfeld argued, for instance, that in same-sex loving men, it was their desire that was feminine, not their psychological makeup or constitution.

Hirschfeld also presented a contradictory stance on degeneration in *Sappho and Socrates*. While he was avidly opposed to seeing homosexuality as a causal outcome of nervous degeneration—he argued, rather, that many homosexuals were subject to degeneration because of their having to adjust to the constraints of the law—he resorted to common hygienic explanations for the appearance of homosexuality in certain families. Alcoholism, syphilis, incest, and malnutrition were allegedly responsible for weakened germinative seeds in parents and possibly for causing the birth defect of homosexuality in certain individuals. It is important to note Hirschfeld makes a stark distinction between pathology and birth defect. As mentioned earlier, homosexuality for Hirschfeld was tantamount to a birth defect in the same order as a harelip. The fact that Hirschfeld would subscribe to some hygienic arguments is not surprising. Naturism, a repudiation of technology, vegetarianism, tee-totalism, nudity, and the cult of the body enjoyed immense cultural popularity in Wilhelmine Germany, and they manifested themselves in the foundation of movements that promoted Freie Körper Kultur (free body culture) and the establishment of cultural-agrarian communes, such as Monte Verita in Ascona, Switzerland.⁸⁵ Although Hirschfeld did not in any way espouse an anti-modern view of technology or urban development—in fact he fully embraced urban culture—the hygienic principles supported some of the eugenic work that took place in his Institute for Sexual

Science, which consisted of fertility promotion, disease prevention, and birth control. Lastly, in *Sappho and Socrates*, Hirschfeld also made the spurious claim that it was Sappho's unrequited love for a woman that led her to commit suicide, when it was in fact her disappointment with her love for a man that caused her to take her life.⁸⁶

It cannot be denied that there is some substance to the critique that Hirschfeld had a tendency to view all types of sexual behavior through the lens of biology and perennially sought to uncover the biological underpinnings behind any manifestation of aberration, even if the conclusions he drew at times were premature, erroneous, or explained the behaviors he tried to shed light upon only in part. Yet, while Hirschfeld's science was not always unfailingly rigorous in terms of bringing forth accurate conclusions, he compensated for it for the most part by revising his position when he was wrong, remaining open to new approaches in science, and resisting dogmatic positions when dealing with human diversity. This is largely because the principle cause that motivated his work as a scientist remained steady throughout his lifetime: to effectuate justice that reflected human realities.

This early foray into the sexual implications of endocrinology would eventually lead Hirschfeld to engage in some of the riskiest, ultimately failed, yet most cutting edge experiments in sexual endocrinology of his time. In 1910, Hirschfeld sought out Viennese physiologist and director of the Physiological Section of the Institute for Experimental Biology, Eugen Steinach⁸⁷ (1861–1944). Steinach believed that the sex glands were responsible for somatic and behavioral sexual maturity. In men, he claimed it was the internal secretory activity of the testes—more specifically the interstitial cells located in the testes—that produced masculine behavior and somatic traits.⁸⁸ He tested this hypothesis by performing experiments which entailed transplanting the chemical substances from the testicular matter from rats and guinea pigs into castrates of the same species. Steinach found that the castrates that had been grafted with the testicular matter began to exhibit typical male behavioral patterns, as well as more pronouncedly masculine somatic and sexual traits. Having attained the results he had hoped for with the rats and guinea pigs, Steinach was convinced that performing glandular transplants on humans could have similar effects of eroticization on them.⁸⁹ One of the main reasons to pursue these interspecies operations, according to Steinach, was to reverse unwanted homosexuality in men, aid impotence, and replace undesired feminine traits and behaviors with masculine ones. This widely-disputed procedure also led to an underground market of heterosexual testes.

Hirschfeld was also persuaded of the value of this pursuit. It is important to note that Hirschfeld's enthusiasm for Steinach's testicular transplants did not by any means constitute a betrayal of his cause for homosexual emancipation—Hirschfeld remained steadfast in his advocacy of sexual honesty—but should rather be interpreted as a manifestation of his scientific zealotry and belief in the advances of science. But this only partly explains his endorsement of the Steinach transplants. Also contributing to Hirschfeld's openness toward new forms of treatment was the fact that he was not a dogmatist. He was in favor of exploring new therapies and treatments that could deliver to his patients the results they desired.

As a researcher and a clinician, Hirschfeld privileged the needs and wishes of his patients before his own attachments to particular theories, doctrines, or therapies. He retained this attitude when proponents of psychoanalysis began promoting conversion therapy for homosexuals. Conversion therapy in the interwar era became largely synonymous with Freud's student Isidor Sadger.⁹⁰ While Hirschfeld was not at all convinced of the efficacy of this therapy in exorcising homosexuality, he supported patients who opted to go through with it and did not in any way obstruct the use of this ultimately ineffectual treatment. In addition to Hirschfeld's generous and empathetic nature, which is richly documented, there is sound cause to attribute Hirschfeld's receptivity to these therapies to his ability to personally identify with his patients' struggles and psychological ordeals with their sexual identity, due to his own homosexuality. Hirschfeld's work as a sexual clinician will be further examined in a subsequent section of this study.

Despite the inherent risks involved in Steinach's testicular transplants, these procedures enjoyed a popularity that extended well beyond the confines of scientific experimentation; so much so that it caused a black market for male testicles in the early decades of the twentieth century.⁹¹ The fact that homosexual men would volunteer to undergo such invasive treatment speaks volumes about Wilhelmine Germany's sexual conservatism and its inveterate dependence on a heterosexual conception of sex and gender correspondence. Undoubtedly, the power to manipulate or correct deficient (be it morphological or psychological) masculinity was a possibility that presented a great deal of allure in fin-de-siècle and interwar Central Europe.

Not surprisingly, Steinach's misguided, albeit well-intended, testicular transplants proved unsuccessful in reversing male homosexuality. For most patients who underwent the procedure, the effects of virilization were temporary at best.⁹² Health risks aside, the sheer

suggestion of undergoing surgery to conform to a normative standard of gender is justifiably disturbing to those endowed with a post-modern appreciation of individual subjectivity. Nevertheless, in a context in which sexual identity was firmly anchored to a rigidly conceived gender role, these procedures represented a glimmer of hope for individuals who did not meet the normative standard and who also sought to evade a life of stigmatization and marginalization. For as flawed and misguided as Steinach's experiments were, their legacy does not entirely bear the insignia of failure and a devastating medical debacle. German American sexologist Harry Benjamin, one of the earliest experts on transgendered identity, not only drew inspiration from Steinach but studied under him and eventually developed an early form of the gender hormone therapy that transgendered individuals seek out today.⁹³

The task of evaluating cultural and scientific theories that are at a considerable temporal remove from the present always requires historical perspective to interpret the cognitive and cultural dissonances that surface through this confrontation. It is no different with Hirschfeld. His theories on the etiology of same-sex desire bear a number of assumptions that would prove objectionable from a contemporary gender equality-enlightened perspective. For one, the linkages of male homosexuality with femininity, and lesbianism with masculinity, are a clear engagement of essentialist views of normative masculinity and femininity. Without seeking to dismiss or deny the implications of essentialism, I think it will add greater dimension to understanding Hirschfeld if some of the sources that provided the epistemological foundations for his theories are taken into consideration. It is necessary to point out here that Hirschfeld's theories on same-sex desire hinged on a concept of desire that was governed by the law of sexual complementarity. This idea was first introduced in cultural circles by Viennese philosopher Otto Weininger⁹⁴ and became widely discussed and regarded by sexual theorists of his time, among whom were Freud and Jung. Weininger, who acknowledged Hirschfeld's influence early on in his work, treaded new ground with his claim that the complete male-man and complete female-woman were idealized abstractions that did not exist in reality. Maintaining that each sex was composed of elements of the opposite sex, Weininger claimed that in sexual relations men and women would seek partners who would allow them to achieve completeness in their sexual identity. I propose the following example to illustrate Weininger's logic: according to the law of sexual complementarity, a man who identifies as 75% male and 25% female would seek a female who was

25% male and 75% female to complete his masculine identity. This same law of compensation was extended to women. Both Ulrich's and Hirschfeld's third sex theory hinged on the notion of the hermaphroditic composition of human beings. For both theorists, the origin of homosexual desire stemmed from the presence of somatic and psychological traits of the opposite sex in the same-sex desiring individual. Hirschfeld specifically maintained that the presence of female properties (endocrinological, somatic, and psychological) in the uranian male determined his same-sex orientation. This theory replaced the idea that human sexual identity was dimorphic—of exclusively male or exclusively female—with the notion that human sexual identity was composed of varying degrees of maleness and femaleness. The less progressive implication of Hirschfeld's (and Ulrich's) theory is that while it is natural for some individuals to express homosexual desire, desire itself—the way in which it functions—is essentially heterosexual. Thus, while this theory distinguished between anatomical sex and gender identity, it upheld that the laws and dynamics of sexual desire were governed by difference.⁹⁵

In spite of the increasing popularity of Weininger's theory of sexual complementarity at the dawn of the twentieth century, the diminished sense of masculinity in male homosexuals and a respective diminished femininity in lesbians that Hirschfeld theories in *Sappho and Socrates* implied had preponderant implications in late nineteenth-century Germany. Wilhelmine notions of respectability were inextricably bound to the intactness of patriarchal gender roles.⁹⁶ Hirschfeld was fully aware of these implications and remained undaunted in arguing that homosexuals' natures did not in any way compromise these individuals' worth and abilities to make honorable contributions to society. They were not abnormal but simply different. This invocation of the normalcy of the feminized male proved to be both audacious and against the grain, even among theorists who had recognized the need to transcend the dimorphic conceptualization of gender. Despite his initial conclusion that clear and distinct categorizations of male and female did not account for the breadth of expression of human sexual identity, Weininger went on to recant his position and restore the traditional gender dichotomy. Resorting to metaphysical arguments, Weininger held that each human being was lastly man or woman and that their spiritual composition had to eventually overcome their corporeal composition.⁹⁷ Freud also chose to leave the male-female binary intact rather than explore the implications of male-female sexual composite that constituted human sexual identity, which he had readily acknowledged in his earlier works.⁹⁸

Arguing the impossibility of knowing what constituted the essence of “male” and “female,”⁹⁹ Freud recused himself from pursuing the implications of the admixtures of the two, as well as the potential alternatives to normative gender standards that these could imply, and instead reverted to the two sex model to explain sexual development. Convinced of the validity of his theory and its ability to educate the public on the etiology of homosexuality—it could alleviate their social and legal hardships—Hirschfeld persisted and further refined his theory of sexual intermediaries in his writings. The most notable among the works that elucidate this theory include: *Sexual Transitions* (*Geschlechtsübergänge*) (1905), a work that expounded the hybridity of gender; his five-volume opus *Sexual Science* (*Geschlechtskunde*) (1926–1930); and his scientific journal *The Yearbook for Sexual Intermediaries* (*Das Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*), which he was able to maintain in publication from 1899–1923 despite wanting political and financial support.

2.4 Sexual Intermediacy and Transvestitism

In his later works, Hirschfeld subsequently modified and refined numerous aspects of the theories described in the *Sappho* essay. In his 1905 study, *Geschlechtsübergänge* (*Sexual Transitions*), Hirschfeld broke new ground for the discussion of the differences between male and female. His clinical observations of the way in which individuals manifested partial or inverted sexual differentiation of sex characteristics led him to study how sexual differentiation occurred and what its implications were. Here he introduced his theory of intermediaries and definitively dismissed the notions of absolute male and absolute female that he had upheld in his earlier writings. In *Sexual Transitions*, Hirschfeld claimed the absolute male and absolute female to be mere abstractions that occupied extreme positions on a male-female identity continuum. He argued that human beings varied from the average theoretical model of male or female by matter of degree. Upholding Karl von Linné's dictum that “natura non facit saltus”¹⁰⁰ (nature makes no leaps), and Leibniz's maxim, “tout va par degrés dans la nature et rien par sauts,” (everything goes by degree in nature and nothing by leaps)¹⁰¹ Hirschfeld declared that sexual differentiation between the sexes occurred gradually and grew more complex over time, and that higher life forms displayed greater diversity between the sexes than lower life forms. This evolutionary explanation of sexual differentiation clearly betrays that Hirschfeld was also not immune to Haeckel's widely popular dictum at the end

of the nineteenth century that “ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny.” Hirschfeld’s theories, however, evolved beyond Haeckel’s law in both scientific complexity and sociological reach.

The fruits of Hirschfeld’s research in *Geschlechtsübergänge* were refined in his monumental study on cross-dressing, *Die Transvestiten* (The Transvestites), in 1910. Maintaining that sex character extended into every single body cell as the building blocks of the organism, Hirschfeld explained that the deviations from the average standard were expressed in four main categories of sexual characteristics:¹⁰² (A) the sexual organs, (B) the other physical characteristics (facial hair, breasts, shape of pelvis, hip width, voice), (C) the sex drive, and (D) the other emotional characteristics. Hirschfeld used these categorizations to create a system for visually representing the degree to which men and women possessed corresponding masculine and feminine characteristics.

Hirschfeld complicated his four basic categories of sexual characteristics by ascribing four respective subdivisions to each category. Each of these subdivisions would be assigned a corresponding sex character which consisted of: “m” for männlich (male), “w” for weiblich (female), or “m+w” for männlich plus weiblich (male plus female). He identified the secondary sexual characteristics as the most common area of deviation in men and women, as expressed in: women with beards, manly voices, and male patterns of hair growth and fat distribution; and men with breasts, female voices, and female patterns of hair growth and fat distribution. While it can easily be argued that Hirschfeld’s categories were arbitrary and could have been rendered even more specific, the implications of this study were momentous. Not only did nature cause a unique distribution of masculinity and femininity in the human organism. but the enormous combinatory potential of these characteristics allowed for the corresponding possibilities of expression of masculinity and femininity:

All of these sexual varieties form a complete closed circle in whose periphery the above-mentioned types of intermediaries represent only the especially remarkable points, between which, however, there are no empty points present but rather unbroken connecting lines. The number of actual and imaginable sexual varieties is almost unending; in each person there is a different mixture of manly and womanly substances, and as we cannot find two leaves alike on a tree, then it is highly unlikely that we will find two humans whose manly and womanly characteristics equally match in kind and number.¹⁰³

Hirschfeld’s theory of sexual intermediaries led to the conclusion that variety is not just the spice of life, it is also the law of life. This was

aptly captured in Hirschfeld's motto, "There are more emotions and phenomena than words."¹⁰⁴

Hirschfeld recognized that the ramifications of debunking the notions of the pure masculine male and the pure feminine female were extraordinary for society and the scientific community alike. It implied that sexual identity was no longer exclusively anchored to the dichotomized poles of male and female:

Whether people view the sexual intermediaries to be pathological without ado—in my opinion, an indefensible standpoint for biologists of the Darwinian school—or consider pathological only the more striking features of manliness in a woman and femininity in a man, the weaker grades as physiological—in which case it would consider drawing a line in the ranks of the imperceptible overlapping types—or interpret all of these intermediaries as I do, as sexual varieties, and make the concept of the pathological in the sexual life dependent upon other instances; for example, to what extent prerequisites of both sexual maturity and sexual freedom endure injuries—all these are only secondary phenomena in the face of the fact that we have to treat the sexual intermediaries as a widespread and important natural phenomena.¹⁰⁵

In 1913, after founding the Medical Society for Sexual Sciences in Eugenics in Berlin with Albert Eulenburg and Iwan Bloch, he presented his theory of sexual intermediaries to the Fourteenth International Medical Congress in London. Armed with 150 photographic slides from his clinical practice, Hirschfeld was able to demonstrate a wide variety of sexual variation from homosexuals to transvestites to hermaphrodites. His presentation was met with acclaim from the scientific community convened by the British Medical Association.¹⁰⁶

In his 1914 opus, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und Weibes*¹⁰⁷ (The Homosexuality of Men and Women, 2000)¹⁰⁸—a work largely inspired by the results yielded by the richly detailed Psychobiological Questionnaire¹⁰⁹ that Hirschfeld devised and regularly administered to his patients—he attempted to elaborate coherent scientific and empirical criteria for identifying homosexuals and claimed that sexual differences were expressed in the variation of four different categories: the sex organs, other physical characteristics; the sex drive, and psychological characteristics. While examination of these categories would give him greater insight into the degree to which individuals conformed or deviated from the ideal concepts of male or female, he recognized that "homosexuality" was not located in any one single organ but was the product of a composite of factors that could not be isolated. It is important to bear in mind that, in

the nineteenth century, the concept of homosexuality was not solely contingent on whether the sex of an individual's object of desire was the same or opposite to his or her own. Rather, an evaluation of the physical, psychological, and somatic attributes played, if not a decisive, then an equally important role in identifying a homosexual nature.

Hirschfeld was vehemently opposed to the view that homosexuality could be regarded as pathological, as was argued by a significant constituent of physicians and psychiatrists during his lifetime. The most prominent among these was Berlin physician Albert Moll, who proved to be Hirschfeld's most assiduous rival. In sharp contrast to Moll's beliefs, Hirschfeld maintained that homosexuality was merely a developmental variation that displayed an inherent incongruity between an individual's genitalia and psychosexual personality. Moll, however, stated: "Under all circumstances, I include the pronounced homosexuality among the pathological manifestations. Wherever there is such a disparity between physical structure and psychological constitution, we have a pathological condition before us."¹¹⁰ While Hirschfeld did not deny the existence of a difference in homosexuals' mode of desiring, he remained steadfast in resisting the conflation of difference and pathology. In *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*, he asserts:

Homosexuals are indeed the minority in the matter of sexual feelings, so that, comparatively, people can consider it as deviating from the nature of the majority and in this sense as abnormal. However, if people disregard the comparison and consider homosexuality purely in itself, objectively as something existing alone, then the sexual feeling begins to correspond to the Uranian's nature so completely and to show itself to be analogous down to the last detail with the heterosexual feeling to such a degree that people definitely can talk about a variation, a variant, but not about abnormality in a pathological sense.¹¹¹

Hirschfeld also did not agree with the prevalent assumption in psychoanalysis championed by Havelock Ellis that identified sexual prowess with masculinity and passivity with femininity: "Ulrich's opinion that in Urnings with fully manly habits physically and mentally you find an active desire and in those with feminine habits passive desire, also does not hold up to more recent knowledge... In reality there is no absolute correspondence between virility and activity and femininity and passivity."¹¹² Later in this same work, he elaborates on this point and betrays his affinity for empirical knowledge, which will remain a recurring methodological preference throughout

his research and activism:

In reality, there is no absolute correspondence between virility and activity and femininity and passivity. For now, we shall not discuss the question we will ponder later, whether or not in general the classification of homosexual men and women according to active and passive is valid. In any case, extensive practical experience teaches one thing: among those who tend toward active penetration, there are many who in their psyche more closely resemble women than men. Even here, all possible combinations occur, which demonstrates that the truth still always outweighs probability.¹¹³

Although Hirschfeld's critics among the chauvinistic homosexuals harshly attacked Hirschfeld's theory of sexual intermediaries for tethering male homosexuality to an image of a maleness that was anathema to their vision of ideal manhood, namely that of effeminacy, Hirschfeld upheld a distinction between effemination and homosexuality. "...Effemination and masculation step before us as distinct phenomena, which certainly often, but not always, appear related. One has to extend the sentence: 'not all homosexuals are effeminate' to include 'and not all effeminate men are homosexual.'"¹¹⁴ For Hirschfeld, not only was male effeminacy neither tantamount to passivity nor homosexuality, it also did not constitute a moral, physical, or psychological deficiency. All sexual minorities had human dignity worth defending and were capable of contributing to society:

In homosexual as well as heterosexual circles you frequently find the tendency to consider the feminine-natured homosexuals to be inferior to the more manly ones. That is just as much out of place as the old moot argument over who is to be valued more highly, men or women. In nature, all people have good qualities that, when developed, can contribute to the whole.¹¹⁵

Hirschfeld's theory of intermediaries also helped him to explain a phenomenon he regularly observed in his practice and in Berlin society, that of cross-dressing. He attributed the desire to dress in the clothing of the opposite sex to an individual's psychological and somatic identification with the opposite sex. In *Die Transvestiten*, Hirschfeld presented 17 case histories of cross-dressing individuals. The majority of these case histories focused on men who wore feminine attire. In one of the cases, the subject was a woman who wore masculine attire. Hirschfeld was the first scientist to demonstrate an interest in female to male transvestitism. He was also the

first theoretician to acknowledge that cross-dressing existed independently of homosexuality. Prior to Hirschfeld, cross-dressing was uniformly conflated with homosexuality in sexological and psychiatric discourse. Hirschfeld also disproved the notion that transvestitism was a form of fetishism. Fetishism, he argued, was distinct from transvestitism in that the attraction was directed on a single object, whereas, for transvestites, it was not only the clothes, but the experience of being in them that served as a central source of gratification.

Hirschfeld was able to gain these insights largely due to his reliance on the empirical method. His clinical methods lent themselves to gaining an in-depth understanding of his patients. The nature of the questions in the Psychobiological Questionnaire furnished information about the patient that spanned from considering the details about the patients' earliest childhood experiences to the vagaries of his or her preferred forms of sexual gratification. Convinced that his work extended beyond the medical examining room, he actively pursued a multiplicity of perspectives into the subjects he studied by frequenting the bars and nocturnal establishments that were popular among transvestites. During these visits, he assumed neither the role of the distant observer nor that of the scientific voyeur. That this was Hirschfeld's posture is evident from the tone and vantage point he exhibits in his 1904 popular work, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht (Berlin's Third Sex)*,¹¹⁶ and the fact that he was a regular guest at drag balls.¹¹⁷

Hirschfeld's research on transvestitism was not just geared toward furthering scientific knowledge; it was also oriented toward improving social conditions for transvestites and allowing them to live in harmony with their natural inclinations. By the time of the publication of *Die Transvestiten*, Hirschfeld's stature as a sex researcher had been firmly established. He was known for his extensive research into sexual variations, as well as for co-founding, in 1897, die wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee (The Scientific Humanitarian Committee), which played a pivotal role in petitioning for the repeal of Paragraph 175 in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany. He marshaled his influence and expertise to permit those who presented the need to cross-dress to achieve legal sanction to do so. The lines below reveal how, in one particular instance, Hirschfeld acknowledged the severity of depression and championed the cause of a male to female transvestite:

Sexually abnormal people who are forced into a lifestyle that stands opposed to their nature often thereby fall into depressed mental states that at times even lead to suicide. Since Miss T. had previously suffered

depression in women's clothing denying her petition would bring her very close to the danger of that ill feeling.¹¹⁸

In the years immediately following the publication of *Die Transvestiten*, Hirschfeld had become an acknowledged expert in sexual variations; so much so, that he was conferred the authority to issue medical licenses to cross-dress. Hirschfeld's concerted efforts to bring the non-pathological nature of transvestitism into public awareness drove him to enlist the support of scientific colleagues and well-positioned authorities in propagating his cause. He educated law enforcement officials on the harmlessness of cross-dressing and managed to secure the significant and stalwart allegiance of Berlin Chief of Police, Dr. H. Kopp, as an advocate of his cause. Kopp was not only wholeheartedly convinced that homosexuality was not a vice, but gave public lectures at Berlin University on the dangers of Paragraph 175, which he also argued led to suicide and crime.¹¹⁹ Hirschfeld rapidly found himself being sought out by people who preferred a mode of dress that social convention deemed incongruent with their morphological sex. In many cases, these individuals wanted medical authorization for cross-dressing, but in many others, they desired his counsel and volunteered to take his Psychobiological Questionnaire to gain insight into their psychological dispositions and erotic preferences.

That Hirschfeld was recognized as the scientific pioneer of transvestitism did not blind him to the fact that there were still many gaps in explaining the drive to cross-dress. Unlike with bisexuality, Hirschfeld did not attribute transvestitism to pseudo-hermaphroditism or to a form of developmental anomaly during embryological formation. In fact, his research concluded that neither homosexuality nor the theory of sexual intermediaries could account for this phenomenon, as it presented itself in equal proportion among homosexuals and heterosexuals. Fond of statistics, Hirschfeld claimed that among the transvestites he had encountered, 35% were homosexual, 35% heterosexual, and the rest were either asexual or bisexual.¹²⁰

Hirschfeld also lamented the fact that the term "transvestite" only focused on the external aspect of a phenomenon whose "internal is limitless."¹²¹ In recognizing that for many individuals, cross-dressing yielded more than a satisfaction that was derived from clothing, that it allowed people to approximate a change of sexual identity, Hirschfeld paved the way for the pioneering research on transgenderism that would be conducted a few decades later by his student Harry Benjamin. Despite his realization that the psychological workings at play in cross-dressing were far more complex than the term

“transvestite” allowed, Hirschfeld did not investigate the matter further. One can only speculate as to why Hirschfeld did not delve deeper into the causes for transgenderism and illuminate the matter further for the public. One hypothesis that I believe to be likely is that he genuinely deemed biological approaches to be insufficient in explaining the phenomenon. The fact that his theory of intermediaries, which was grounded in biology, did not allow him to make inroads into the etiology of the phenomenon is not to be taken lightly. This is also supported by the fact that, in *Die Travestiten*, he conceded that psychotherapy may well have been able to yield insights into the drive and also deviate it through suggestion. Nevertheless, as with homosexuality, Hirschfeld was neither convinced that the “transvestite drive” could be cured, nor did he believe that it was acquired through external influences.

While Hirschfeld’s research offered only a fragmented account of the phenomena associated with cross-dressing, it meaningfully expanded the freedom of transvestites and transgendered individuals alike. The fact that people could go out in public in the clothing that they felt best suited to them was a matter of extraordinary significance. Prior to Hirschfeld’s intervention, cross-dressers would have been heavily fined and imprisoned in most cases. His empathy for these socially disadvantaged individuals never obfuscated his sense of realism. Acknowledging the value in philosopher Eduard von Hartmann’s philosophy of the subconscious, Hirschfeld held that the non-gratification of the drive to cross-dress was an injury to the self, and he advocated a moderate satisfaction of the natural inclination attire and the avoidance of excess.¹²²

While expressing his solidarity with cross-dressers, Hirschfeld also appealed to their sense of honesty and responsibility. He advised transvestites to unconditionally disclose their drive and sartorial proclivities to their spouses. In fact, he strongly discouraged marriage altogether for cross-dressers, particularly in cases in which the truth about one’s nature remained concealed, or the spouse proved intolerant toward this drive. Hirschfeld’s admonition stemmed not only from his desire to promote and protect sexual authenticity, but also to ensure that individuals behaved in a manner that was socially responsible. As progressive as Hirschfeld was, he did not escape the influence of the scientific trends of his age, even if, at times, these trends could have less than progressive implications. Hirschfeld also cautioned against transvestite marriage because he believed it posed the risk of hereditary degeneration in the offspring it would produce. In referring to a hypothetical case of a marriage between a male to

female transvestite and a heterosexual woman, Hirschfeld raised the following concerns:

But even if the wife is accepting of her husband's preference, I still have my doubts as to the suitability of these marriages; it cannot be argued that transvestitism belongs to the sexual intermediaries in whose case the outer appearance of the opposite sex is exceptionally considerable. In cases of lesser features, for example, no more than 33 1/3 per cent, then there can easily be a balance between the married couple, so that the descendants would not be endangered by a hereditary burden. On the other hand, where the sexual gap of the personality is such a great one, as in our cases, there is such a deviation from the pure sex type, that the deviation, even if it should not be considered a degeneration, can lead to offspring who are psychologically disunified and frivolous, who are unstable, degenerated individuals. Of course, I cannot produce any proof of this very theoretical supposition; on the contrary, the children of the transvestites whom I saw gave me the impression of being good and healthy. But the material available at this time is insufficient to dispel expressed fears.¹²³

The fact that Hirschfeld heeded popular scientific arguments of his time and that he in certain instances seems to slide into the camp of those who pathologized transvestitism should neither be surprising nor be interpreted as an abdication of his cause for emancipation. It can be argued soundly that Hirschfeld's campaign for the extension of civil rights to sexual minorities superseded his commitment to upholding rigorous standards and impeccable logic in his scientific pronouncements. In the quotation cited above, it must be noted that that Hirschfeld's tone and admission of possessing no proof of the theoretical supposition he was making reveal the lack of his wholehearted espousal of those same hereditary claims. It would be an egregious mistake to hone in on one of Hirschfeld's such pronouncements in total disregard of the whole of his life's work to emancipate and extend civil rights to sexual minorities of all stripes.

It must also be remembered in this context that Hirschfeld's actions spoke louder than his words. It was, after all, his Institute for Sexual Sciences that performed the first sex reassignment operation in the world in 1931. This first operation was performed on a domestic assistant working at Hirschfeld's institute, Dorchen Richter. Richter was a male to female transvestite who underwent castration in 1922, and, nine years later, had her penis removed and a vagina surgically constructed and implanted.¹²⁴ The operation was a success and enabled Richter to experience for the first time the harmony between

anatomical sex and psychological sex, something for which many pre-op transgendered individuals still yearn. Richter's case, displayed the deep-rooted suffering that is so often encountered in many of these cases. From her early childhood, Richter longed to be a female and identified with the female gender. So much did she detest her male genitals, that she tightened a cord around her penis and scrotum in the hope that she would be able to detach them from her body.¹²⁵ Such operations reached a peak in demand in Germany in the 1930s, and Hirschfeld was widely sought out for his expertise.¹²⁶ His recommendations for surgery were deemed definitive, and, in one instance, Hirschfeld even succeeded in convincing the German government to pay for a male to female genital surgery. The fact that Hirschfeld managed to secure this funding is not only a testament to his dedication to praxis and his ability to enlist support for his cause, but this approval represented a momentous affirmation of Hirschfeld's credibility and reputation as a researcher and clinician. Prickett-Barnes has aptly compared the authority vested in Hirschfeld's medical opinion to Freud's diagnosis of Dora in his *Bruchstück einer Hysterie Analyse* (Fragment of a Case of Hysteria) (1905).¹²⁷

Novelist Christopher Isherwood, who lived next door to Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Sciences for several years and was well acquainted with Hirschfeld, his secretary and partner Karl Giese, and the community at the institute, had this to comment on Hirschfeld's institute in his autobiography:

The institute was by no means exclusively concerned with homosexuality. It gave advice to couples about to marry, based on research into their hereditary backgrounds. It offered psychiatric treatment for impotence and other psychological problems. It had a clinic which dealt with a variety of diseases, including venereal disease. And it studied sex in every manifestation.¹²⁸

Nevertheless, Hirschfeld's overriding and unequivocal message of sexual freedom and equality escaped a number of critics and historians, who were so profoundly misguided that they sought to draw a direct trajectory from Hirschfeld to Hitler.¹²⁹ Any critical work on Hirschfeld that is informed with cultural and historical perspective would not lose sight of the fact that Hirschfeld was not only a pioneer in sexology,¹³⁰ but a pioneer in championing the legal and social emancipation of sexual minorities. It would be profoundly amiss to view the fact that Hirschfeld often adopted a moderate line in presenting his cause for emancipation as symptomatic of a tepid

commitment to progressive causes. On the contrary, his approach translated into a stalwartly, longevous campaign that was seen as a force to be reckoned with from parties from all points of the political spectrum. Hirschfeld was also enormously successful at educating the public about homosexuality. He played a major role in the production of the first film that portrayed a homosexual character, and he shed light on how he was affected by the plight of extortion and the appeal of suicide. The film was entitled *Anders als die Anderen* (Different from the Others) and was directed by Richard Oswald in 1919. It depicted the torment of an effete musician at the hands of a homosexual extortionist. Although the film was banned, Hirschfeld managed to garner the support of the Chief of Police of Berlin and other figures in law enforcement to speak in favor of the film and to decry the impunity of homosexual extortion.

Hirschfeld's approach was thoroughly consistent with that of someone who had an unmediated appreciation of a society and a political regime that not only displayed a largely intolerant attitude toward sexual minorities but also undertook punitive measures in dealing with them. Cast in this light, it should not seem in the least surprising that Hirschfeld believed it necessary for his fight to legitimize authentic sexual expression, and also to prove that these expressions would pose no grave burden to society. Perhaps it was an unspoken realization of his social progress functioned much in the same way of sexual variation: it did not occur by leaps, but by manner of degree.

2.5 Hirschfeld and Psychoanalysis

Freud and Hirschfeld perhaps represent the two greatest defining moments in the history of theorizing homosexuality. Although their views on homosexuality eventually polarized around two substantially conflicting views, the relationship between the Einstein of sex¹³¹ and the father of psychoanalysis initially began as a positively collaborative one. Freud contributed articles to Hirschfeld's journals, while Hirschfeld began taking a greater interest in psychoanalysis and founded the Berlin Psychoanalytical Society with Karl Abraham. In 1911, Hirschfeld attended the Weimar Congress of Psychoanalytical Society, where he was not only warmly received by Freud but treated as an honored guest and referred to as the Berlin authority on homosexuality by Freud.

Despite their contemporary obscurity, Hirschfeld's theories on homosexuality occupied an indisputable presence on the metaphorical radar screens of the fin-de-siècle medical and psychoanalytic

communities. His theories were widely discussed and frequently generated correspondence amongst theorists. The correspondence with regard to Hirschfeld between Freud and Carl Gustav Jung, for instance, is interesting to note. Jung, who bore a marked abhorrence toward homosexuals,¹³² fulminated against Hirschfeld for polluting the field of psychoanalysis by calling the sexologist's 140-item questionnaire for homosexuals a "psychoanalytical questionnaire." While Freud agreed that the questionnaire did not bear much of a psychoanalytic character, he deemed it to be quite useful in learning about the psychological and erotic makeup of homosexuals. Jung's attacks caused Hirschfeld to renounce his membership at the Psychoanalytical Association. Evidently, this move had embittered Freud, for he publicly referred to Hirschfeld's departure as no great loss and directed open, ad hominem attacks against Hirschfeld, referring to him as a "flabby, unappetizing fellow, incapable of learning anything."¹³³

Hirschfeld and Freud agreed that the persecution of homosexuals was inhumane, and both viewed punishment as an ineffective deterrent for engaging in homosexual relationships, and, more importantly, in experiencing same sex desire. They concurred that the law should allow for consensual sex between adults, regardless of whether it be between members of the same or opposite sex. They also shared the view that sex between an adult and a person below the age of consent, which was 14 at the time, should be punished. On the expression of erotic love, Hirschfeld underscored the importance of respecting one's erotic drive. He was also in agreement with Freud on the importance of sublimating the sexual drive in order to privilege culture.¹³⁴

Despite the acrimonious debates and mutual attacks, it was ultimately the question of the alleged innateness of homosexuality that signaled the principle point of divergence between Hirschfeld and Freud's interpretation of homosexuality. The inborn nature of homosexuality was a fundamental and immutable aspect of Hirschfeld's concept of homosexuality. Although Hirschfeld continued to augment his theoretical and clinical knowledge of homosexuality, and modify his theories and therapies accordingly, the inborn nature of homosexuality was a mainstay of his theories.

Freud saw things differently. In his highly influential *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905),¹³⁵ he distinguishes three types of "inverts," to employ the term he used for same-sex loving people: the absolute, the amphigenic, and the contingent. Freud held sexual object choice to be the sexual identity marker in all individuals; that is to say, the sex of the object of desire determined a person's orientation. The absolute invert chooses members of his or her own sex

exclusively as sexual partners. Sex with members of the opposite sex is not desired for these inverts, as they can only experience sexual fulfillment with members of their own sex. Amphigenic inverts elect members of their own or the opposite sex as their sexual objects. These individuals would later be known as bisexuals, a term still current in contemporary parlance, though more narrowly defined in comparison to Freud and nineteenth-century sexology's usage of it. Bisexuality in nineteenth-century sexological discourse had different social and scientific implications than it does in contemporary usage of the term. To be labeled bisexual in the late nineteenth century not only indicated a preference for both opposite and same-sex sexual object choices, as the term is widely understood today, but also implied having the secondary and tertiary sexual characteristics of the opposite sex, or having the psychic characteristics of the opposite sex. This last interpretation of bisexuality bore particular relevance for Karl Heinrich Ulrichs's understanding of same-sex love, as he explained male homosexuality as featuring a feminine soul in a masculine body. Lastly, contingent inverts choose members of the same sex and derive sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them "only under certain external conditions—of which inaccessibility of any normal sexual object and imitation are the chief...[causes]."¹³⁶ It is clear from this passage that Freud assumes that a "normal" sexual object must be one of the opposite sex. This assumption is also revealed by the fact that his theory does not even allow for the hypothetical possibility of inverts engaging in sexual intercourse with members of the opposite sex on an incidental basis. This is explained by the fact that ultimately Freud viewed inversion as a more primitive stage in the course of human ontological development. In his view, heterosexual object choices constituted the teleological aim of the most highly developed species. The heterosexual bias in this claim is self-evident, and the fact that it was met with a great deal of cultural, political, and scientific resonance is of no surprise, given the plight of same-sex loving people that persists well into the present.

Freud was cagey in his description of inversion. He was critically aware of the predominant views of homosexuality on the sexological stage. In many ways, his theories of inversion proved not only innovative but they also challenged, furthered, and rectified many of the biased theories and fallacious assumptions regarding homosexuality upheld by his contemporaries in psychology and sexology. Comparatively speaking, Freud's contribution certainly furnished a more nuanced discussion of homosexuality. He dismissed the tendentious view held by many physicians of the time, namely that nervous

degeneracy caused inversion. French psychiatrist, Valentin Magnan and Richard von Krafft-Ebing were prominent proponents of the degeneracy theory, which maintained that inversion was caused by an inherited genetic malfunctioning or poor adaptation to the environment. Freud's disavowal of this theory was based on the fact that inversion was often displayed in individuals who exhibited no deviations from the norm, as well as in individuals who exhibited a high intellectual and cultural attainment. Further, Freud pointed out that, contrary to the popular belief that degeneracy was found only among people who belonged to states of "high civilization," inversion, or degeneracy, as its proponents would call it, was also found among "many savage and primitive races."¹³⁷

Freud also complicated the discussion of the inborn theory to which homosexual activists like Ulrichs and Hirschfeld firmly subscribed. For Freud, it only made sense to speak of the inversion as something inborn in the case of absolute inverts. Other inverts, he claimed, acquired their inversion either through a childhood trauma or early childhood developmental disorder, or through external influences such as exclusive interaction with members of the same sex, as often occurs in war, prison, and other forms of imposed celibacy from heterosexual intercourse. According to Freud, the anxieties generated by cultural and social discourses regarding the risks of heterosexual intercourse could also contribute to the shunning of heterosexual intercourse and the adoption of inversion in some cases. However, to the extent that Freud could concede that inversion was inborn in certain cases, it is possible to see that he did not fully embrace this thesis. He ultimately concurred with Havelock Ellis in doubting innate inversion and maintaining that the libido may have taken a different direction as the result of a childhood experience that has escaped the child's conscious recollection.

Hirschfeld viewed Freud's shiftiness on the question of congenital homosexuality as an irreconcilable difference between Freud and him. He countered Freud's claim that inversion was acquired unconsciously during an early childhood stage by arguing that the fact that homosexuality did not manifest itself until later in life did not mean that homosexuality was not latently existent within the individual at the time of birth. Hirschfeld discussed Freud's views at length in his 1912 *Naturgesetze der Liebe*.¹³⁸ Here, he was critical of Freud's overvaluation of childhood experiences and his neglect of the biological causes of homosexuality. He also argued that Freud failed to consider the strength and intensity of the individual's drive and how that contributed to one's sexual constitution. He argued that Freud

was wrong in assuming that in most cases homosexuality was the outcome of upbringing and environmental circumstances by maintaining that homosexuality was always innate, that even if it was not expressed at birth or shortly thereafter, it was always latently present, and the fact that it manifested later in life did not refute the theory that it was inborn.¹³⁹ This critique notwithstanding, Hirschfeld did recognize that Freud had also argued the latent existence of homosexuality in childhood in his *Three Essays on Sexuality*. Hirschfeld also maintained that experience proved that it was only possible to alter the strength and the quality of the sex drive, never its direction. For him, a homosexual or heterosexual drive was determined at birth, and thus inalterable. While Hirschfeld acknowledged the sexual origin of many relationships and argued that the fact that even inanimate objects were assigned a gender spoke for a pansexualism that ordered life,¹⁴⁰ he refuted Freud's theory that even a mother's love for her child contains sexual overtones.¹⁴¹ Hirschfeld claimed that a mother's love toward her child was carnal, but never sexual. The fact that he adamantly refused the possibility of the sexual coloring of a mother's love on the basis of somatic traits that he claimed determined sexual feelings not only indicates that perhaps Hirschfeld did not entirely understand psychoanalytic theory, but that his approach to understanding the dynamics of love were rooted in a tradition that was entirely different than psychoanalysis: Hirschfeld's primary source of knowledge for human behavior was biology.

For Hirschfeld, an individual's body chemistry, anatomy, and numerous other biological factors could provide crucial insights into his or her sexual makeup. He gave credence to theories that resemble quackery or that would be considered ethically questionable for today's sensibilities. For instance, he believed that homosexual men and women had anatomical qualities that distinguished them from heterosexuals. In men, some of these traits included narrow hips, narrow shoulders, and a small, ringed penis. These physical attributes were often accompanied by a weaker sex drive compared to heterosexual men. Many of these theories had been developed about a century earlier by psychiatrist Jean-Martin Charcot. Hirschfeld subscribed to Ernst Haeckel's theory of chemotropism, which consisted in the notion that erotic feelings were determined by the interrelation of two people's chemical makeup, and he became enthusiastic about physician Gustav Jäger's thesis that the olfactory senses played a critical role in determining erotic attraction. Hirschfeld also briefly entertained phrenologist Franz Joseph Gall's thesis of the existence of a correlation between the cerebellum and sex drive. Gall claimed

that the cerebellum was the center of the sex drive and that people with a particularly wide and muscular nape had a pronouncedly strong sex drive. Gall carried this thesis as far as to maintain that if only one testicle is removed, half of the cerebellum would atrophy.¹⁴² While Hirschfeld admired Gall's efforts to illuminate the dynamics of the sex drive, he ultimately dismissed these findings. For as much as Hirschfeld disagreed with Freud on the origins of homosexuality, he did see much value in psychoanalytic treatment. He recognized the curative elements in "talk therapy" and actively implemented it, along with group therapy, in his own clinical practice. Although Hirschfeld did not believe it was possible to cure homosexuality, he did not oppose psychoanalysts' attempts to achieve a cure.

In 1915, Isidor Sadger, a student of Freud's, claimed that it was possible to convert homosexual desire into heterosexual desire through psychoanalysis. Sadger claimed that the cure did not work for absolute inverts and that, in order for the treatment to be successful, the patient must have the ardent wish to become heterosexual. While Sadger claimed to have cured several inverts with this treatment, these cases were later disproved. The question as to why someone who championed the rights, dignity, and social equality of homosexuals would subscribe to such dangerous and humanely degrading therapies is a well warranted one. It does seem contradictory that someone who dedicated his life's work to arguing the grace and non-pathological nature of a socially marginalized group would then attempt to facilitate their surrendering of their unique identities in order to conform to patterns and codes dictated by the norm. Yet, this openness was in no way a compromising of Hirschfeld's principles.

From close up, Hirschfeld observed and was able to understand the suffering of homosexuals and those socially marginalized because of their sexual orientations. He witnessed through his clinical practice the mental anguish, emotional pain, and isolation that many homosexuals experienced. While he genuinely believed that there was nothing wrong with or unnatural about homosexuality and did seek to spread this message, he also recognized that society was not ready to accept this view, and that for some homosexuals, the prospect of being cured of what alienated them from society and their families bore more promise of personal happiness than attempting to find fulfillment by loving in a manner that dare not speak its name.¹⁴³

The cleavage between Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee and Freud's psychoanalytic movement became even more marked during World War I. The theoretical split between Freud and Hirschfeld was established by Freud's denial of congenital

homosexuality and his belief in the inherently pathological nature of homosexuality. Whereas psychoanalysis was thriving through its achievement in studying war neuroses, and achieving widespread recognition through its international congresses and the rise of famous psychiatrists, Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee refrained from clamoring for sexual reform and rights during this time of national crisis, and thus maintained only a shadow existence during this period.¹⁴⁴

As nationalism began to take hold over Germany in the final years of the Weimar Republic, psychoanalytic theories regarding homosexuality gained the upper hand over those propagated by Hirschfeld's movement. Psychoanalytic theories were viewed by certain strands of the right wing parties as lending themselves to nationalist homophobic rhetoric and policies. By this, I do not by any means wish to suggest that these theories were inherently nationalist or right wing but simply that they were co-opted by right wing forces. Strathman, a deputy of the German National People's Party (DNVP)—a party that would later merge with the Nazi Party—was especially eager to discredit Hirschfeld's theory of inborn homosexuality and dismissed it as a forgotten fad. He was particularly partial toward the psychoanalytic theories of homosexuality put forth by Alfred Adler and Siegfried Placzek, both Freudian psychoanalysts.

These theories not only argued the inherent bisexuality of all people, which had been proclaimed separately by Fliess, Freud, and Weininger in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁴⁵ Hirschfeld had dismissed this hypothesis very early on. Nationalists who were opposed to the revisions to Paragraph 175 proposed by the Scientific Humanitarian Committee up until 1929 now had even more ammunition to use against these proposals. In the eyes of the nationalists and those opposed to homosexual rights in general, the psychoanalytic discoveries furnished more reasons to exercise caution and further regulate the practice homosexuality. Strathman and other enemies of homosexuals argued that if it was true that all people bore an innate predisposition toward bisexuality, and that heterosexuals could be seduced into becoming homosexual, then there was sufficient reason to safeguard the general population from homosexuals. Generally speaking, keeping Germany and its citizens from becoming morally polluted was viewed as a moral injunction among the right wing nationalists.

Nationalist ideologues and aesthetic advocates of idealized Hellenic masculinity were not the only ones to take umbrage with the notion of a third or intermediate sex. Hirschfeld's theory of sexual

intermediaries also contradicted the predominant nineteenth-century cultural and scientific theories on same sex eroticism. His theories opposed the prevailing cultural and scientific views on homosexuality in two fundamental ways: (1) Hirschfeld declared homosexuality to be inborn, and (2) He supplanted the idea that erotic expression that was not geared toward procreation of the species constituted a perversion. The notion that homosexuality was symptomatic of cultural and biological degeneracy dominated the scientific discourse on the topic.

2.6 Hirschfeld and Degeneracy

Although the scientific referent “homosexuality” had not come into existence until the late 1860s with Hungarian writer Karoly Maria Kertbeny,¹⁴⁶ same-sex love—or sodomy, to implement the more synchronous term—had been a matter of scientific inquiry since the late eighteenth century. The identification of the homosexual as a modern social construction has been notably put forth by Foucault¹⁴⁷ and a bevy of social constructionists¹⁴⁸ who have followed his lead. It would not further the scope of the present work to recapitulate the historicization of the homosexual here. However, illuminating some of the operative cultural and socio-historical forces that engendered nineteenth-century discourse and literature on homosexuality will serve the purpose of placing Hirschfeld’s scientific approach and research into historical perspective.

The emergent interest in sodomy in the late eighteenth century coincided with a confluence of socio-political developments that encompassed England, France, and extended to a certain degree to the German Protestant lands in the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁹ While my focus will be on the way in which homosexual discourse developed in Germany, I will also show how some of the literature that influenced the predominant beliefs about homosexuality throughout Europe developed in early modern France.

The social, political, and cultural upheaval that was ushered in by the French Revolution was not followed by a liberalization of laws regarding sexual practices. Rather, a backlash of conservative values took hold over France and extended through most of Europe. The revolutionary Jacobins, who were thought to be the political avatars of the Enlightenment, proved puritanical in matters of sexuality. Seeking to defend the republic and the Revolution, they sought to eradicate vice from society, supported the prosecution of prostitution and pornography, and abandoned the struggle to legislate equality for illegitimate

children.¹⁵⁰ The state conception of appropriate expression of sexuality began to overlap with those of the Catholic Church. Most emblematic of this repudiation of expressed sexuality was the transformation of the representation of the Jacobin goddess of reason, Marianne: traditionally portrayed as an indomitable revolutionary with exposed breasts, she began to appear cloaked, bearing a serene and maternal mien.¹⁵¹ This turn toward chastity was also reflected in the medical and scientific literature that became influential in turn-of-the-century France. Samuel August Tissot's treatise *L'Onanisme* (Onanism) (1760),¹⁵² which upheld the dangers of masturbation as a moral contagion of epidemic proportions and maintained its negative effects on the nerves, held a great deal of sway in post-Revolution France. Both Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau admired this work and were instrumental in its popularization. Tissot reaffirmed the Catholic injunction that sexual behavior should only be geared toward reproduction. Johann Kasper Lavater's valuation of the visual in *Essai sur la Physiognomy* (Essays on Physiognomy) (1781) was also enormously popular during this period, and remained so through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lavater proposed that true character was expressed through outward appearance. Drawing on the work of the eminent eighteenth-century Classicist, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), Lavater invoked the physical paragons of Greek Classicism as the ideal incarnations of strength and moral virtue.¹⁵³ This valuation of somatic traits and emphasis on material expressions of personality will remain an important aspect of medical science throughout the nineteenth century. Hermann Hirschfeld believed that external features revealed a great deal about a person's well being and general health, and he imparted these beliefs upon his son Magnus.

In the nineteenth century, the rise of nationalism and the emergence of a market economy also contributed to making virtue more of an exigency¹⁵⁴ in eighteenth-century France.¹⁵⁵ The demands of productivity posed by an increasingly industrialized economy led to a significant increment in state intervention and enhanced measures of social control. As a result, the state assumed a more prescriptive role in matters of social life. Population growth, the preservation of traditional gender roles, and rebuffing the efforts of the working class from becoming organized and more reform-conscious became matters of state interest.¹⁵⁶

The ideals of chastity and moral virtue attained an even higher degree of cultural currency in nineteenth-century France, particularly in light of the two defeats the nation suffered at the hands of the Germans in 1813 and 1871.¹⁵⁷ The image of an impotent and

emasculated France loomed in French national consciousness, and national humiliation led to broad scale speculation about the causal relation between moral dissolution and cultural and physical malaise. Clerics, cultural critics, and physicians began to conjecture that the problems with France stemmed from a deviation from traditional moral values, as well as the social degradation associated with urbanization and the excesses of modern life.¹⁵⁸

The correlation between morality and health in the broader sense was strongly represented in the biomedical discourse of the age. Ambroise Tardieu's assertion, in *Crimes against Morals from the Viewpoint of Forensic Medicine* (1857), that pederasty¹⁵⁹ was a result of insanity or monomania resonated well with the cultural and scientific climate of the late nineteenth century. Tardieu was also famous for propagating the view that sodomites and pederasts betrayed their deviant sexual penchants through deformities of the penis and anus, manners of dress, and the presence of effeminate character traits.¹⁶⁰ French psychiatrist Benedict August Morel's (1809–1873) theory of hereditary degeneracy,¹⁶¹ which argued the heritability of environmentally acquired physical and mental disorders, would come to dominate the field of psychiatry in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Drawing on Lamarckian biology, which argued that the evolution of the species consisted in the transmission of traits that had positively adapted to the environment, Morel extended Lamarck's thesis to allow for the acquisition and transmission of negative traits as well. Morel's theory proposed that behavioral adaptation to pathogenic environmental factors was responsible for a host of nervous pathologies and social ills. A Christian doctrinaire, Morel presented his theory like a biological metaphor to explain the biblical story of the Fall of Man. Contrary to the positive implications of Darwin's theory of natural selection, this Lamarckian-derived theory focused on the potential causes for the regression of the species.

The social implications of degeneracy were often dismal. Because degeneracy implied the inheritance of acquired characteristics, it fused the distinction between innate and environmentally-caused disorders. The ramifications of this were preponderant because the heritability of negative traits suggested the biological ineluctability of certain physical, mental, and psychological dispositions, and thereby, the impotence of individual agency. Degeneracy also lent itself to being seen as a screen onto which congenital disorders and all socially undesirable behavior could be projected. Such a theory would hold widespread appeal for nations with burgeoning imperial ambitions and a nationalist consciousness. Much like social Darwinism, the

theory of degeneracy could be implemented to reengineer society by rationalizing the imposition of social strictures and techniques that limited individual freedom for the salubrity of future generations, and, by extension, the nation. Sodomy, hysteria, frenetic masturbation, cretinism, and alcoholism represented the most common among these. The humanly tragic implications of a dogmatic adherence to degeneracy are viscerally portrayed in German Naturalist drama. One need only think of how the stigma of alcoholism divests Hauptmann's heroines¹⁶² of any agency or hope for personal happiness to realize the oppressive onus posed by the uncritical acceptance of degeneracy.

In sum, Hirschfeld's theories departed from two predominant beliefs that shaped nineteenth-century discourse regarding sexual behavior: the theory of degeneracy and the Christian injunction to procreate. While Hirschfeld was influenced by the theory of degeneracy and incorporated some of its principles in his practice of preventive medicine, as was evidenced by the vocal stance he took against alcoholism, he did not subscribe to it as a theory to explain homosexuality. He was adamantly opposed to degeneracy's inherently pathological implications for homosexuality. For Hirschfeld, homosexuality was inborn.

In treating his patients, Hirschfeld exhibited what may rightly be called a "patient-centered" approach. He listened attentively and without judgment to his patients' accounts of their suffering due to their sexual preferences and respected that which they wished for themselves. The emphasis in his treatment was placed on how the patients felt about and experienced their own conditions. He did not impose treatments of conditions that society deemed pathological; rather, he encouraged his patients to understand and accept their natures and express them without remorse. He also urged them to exercise caution in public as the situation required. This is in stark contrast to the psychoanalytic method—dominant throughout the postwar period—which placed emphasis on the notion of "deviance" as a defining characteristic of the "treatment" of homosexuality. What Hirschfeld sought to accomplish was not the conformity of his patients, as was the case with psychoanalysis, but the fruitful exploration and legitimation of sexual difference and homosexual existence. When appropriate, he furnished his patients with medical certificates that legally authorized them to cross-dress.¹⁶³ He organized free public lectures at his institute on topics of sexuality and encouraged his patients to attend them. He also advised his patients to partake in group therapy, which he offered free of charge at his institute. Hirschfeld exerted much effort in underscoring the naturalness of homosexuality.

Hirschfeld's confidence in science was undeniably high. However, his subscription to scientific empirical theories was not fixed and dogmatic; he always allotted space to observe and interpret variation in natural phenomena. He believed in the value of scientific theories to shed light upon human and social conditions and to ultimately enhance individual expression, not constrain it. There has been a tendency among contemporary cultural critics¹⁶⁴ to value the cultural masculinist strands of homosexual movement represented by figures such as Adolf Brand and Hans Blüher as bearing broader and more progressive implications for alternative sexual identity over what has been labeled the medical model of homosexuality because of the masculinists' rejection of the effeminate homosexuality that Hirschfeld defended. Such critics uphold a vastly reductive and shallow view of Hirschfeld in that they erroneously maintain that Hirschfeld's theories were solely predicated on biological reductionisms that did not allow for variation from predetermined biological types. Even though Hirschfeld organized his understanding of homosexuality around biological types, his later works, beginning with *Geschlechtsübergänge* (Sexual Transitions), not only recognize but demand the need to recognize the enormous possibilities that exist in nature for variation from scientific types and normatized expectations. He upheld sexual freedom to the extent that it posed no harm to other individuals or society at large. By instilling a sense of community for homosexuals and other marginalized groups through his institute, which regularly held social events and public lectures on alternative sexuality, Hirschfeld illuminated a viable path for people of same-sex orientation to not only accept their erotic constitutions, but to express them with dignity and authenticity. Through his research, writings, clinical work, political campaign, lectures, and public outreach, Hirschfeld paved the way for healthy, practical homosexual living. True, legislation prevented homosexuals from expressing their orientation in a carefree and injudicious manner, but Hirschfeld's theories and suggestions had introduced a veritable shift in consciousness: homosexuality as well and non-heteronormative sexual expression belonged to the spectrum of natural human behavior and merited being accepted as such.

The fact that Hirschfeld's clinical work validated individual human experience speaks to his non-dogmatic use of scientific theories. His approach to homosexuals fostered the construction of homosexual self-identity in the sense that they would need to view their sexual preference as legitimate, that it was acceptable to embrace their sexuality as well as seek out a community where their sexual preferences

could find healthy expression. This is what defined his orientation as a clinician.

2.7 Hirschfeld as a Clinician

As a clinician, Hirschfeld addressed a wide gamut of sexual issues. His attested abilities as a researcher, physician, and scientific advocate for many sexual causes endowed him with an authority and credibility that transcended the medical and scientific circles. In the Weimar period, he was able to amplify his influence with the opening of the world's first international Institute for Sexual Sciences, in Berlin in 1919.

Opening the institute was a dream come true for Hirschfeld. The institute would allow him to extend his network of scientific collaboration, broaden the visibility of his work, and expand his educative purposes and advocacy of sexual freedom, for which he was also formally engaged as the head of the Wissenschaftlich Humanitäres Komitee (Scientific Humanitarian Committee). In February 1919, Hirschfeld secured a permit to found his institute for the research into human sexuality. He had also purchased a stately house that would host the institute in the central Tiergarten district of Berlin, and it became fully operational by July of that year. The institute had many departments of expertise, which encompassed medicine, biology, psychology, psychiatry, ethnology, research, teaching, lectures, professional training, and sexual policy and reform. It drew the collaboration of luminaries of medicine and science from far and wide, including physiologist Arthur Weil and psychotherapist Arthur Kronfeld. The institute also drew the attention of many cultural figures as well. André Gide and Wynstan Hugh Auden were among its fascinated visitors. In 1921, Hirschfeld acquired the house adjacent to his building with the intent to use it as a theater and X-ray facility. It should also be noted that the institute served as a residence and a boarding house. Hirschfeld himself resided in an apartment above the institute, as did one of his sisters and some members of the institute's administrative and medical staff. British novelist Christopher Isherwood was among one of the boarders of the house. In order to secure protection from his enemies and detractors—Hirschfeld's work and his person had been subjected to numerous violent attacks—he converted the institute into the Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld Foundation and handed it to the government. This event was marked with a ceremony at the institute, which was attended by the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Arts and Science.¹⁶⁵

Hirschfeld's Institute of Sexual Sciences provided him with the resources and infrastructure to help his patients and be as accessible to the public as possible. While he is mostly known for counseling homosexuals, hermaphrodites, and transsexuals, he also offered marital counseling as well as advice on contraception, sexual impotency, and abortion. The fact that he was also part of the Union of Socialist Physicians and a member of the Medical Society for Sexology and Eugenics allowed him to exercise critical influence and help shape policies in sexual and social medical matters. Along with Ludwig Neugebauer, Hirschfeld petitioned for the Prussian law regarding hermaphrodites, instituted in 1900, to be amended or at least returned to its pre-1900 version. In its pre-1900 guise, the law allowed for hermaphrodites to retain their hybrid genitalia until the age of 18, when they would be held to decide their sex in a conclusive manner. Under the new law, doctors were made to decide the child's sex indefinitely at infancy.

Hirschfeld believed that marriage could be a life-enhancing institution if entered into by mature and mutually-respecting partners. He offered marital counseling and advised couples on birth control and sexual disease prevention. He practiced sex therapy and advised on matters of sexual compatibility and sexual impotency. Against his better judgment, in the early twenties he marketed an early version of an erectile dysfunction drug containing bull-derived, freeze dried and pulverized testicular tissue, called Testifortan, with medical colleague Bernhard Shapiro. To the disappointment of his admirers, Hirschfeld did this despite his (and his medical colleagues') reservations on its efficacy. The formula of the drug was modified and relaunched as Titus Perlen. While this zealous promotion of a deficient treatment attracted its justified share of criticism, particularly from British sexologist Norman Haire, the sale of the drug provided the institute with much needed revenue. Hirschfeld's fees were not fixed. In keeping with his socialist ethic, he adopted a sliding scale for his fees for people in financial need, and he allowed those in dire need to help out at the institute in lieu of payment. To people of means, on the other hand, he was known to charge exuberant fees.¹⁶⁶

Although Hirschfeld relied heavily on biology in diagnosing homosexuals and other types of sexual minorities, he acknowledged the value of psychology and paid a great deal of attention to a patient's psychological disposition, interpersonal relationships, and their environment. In 1902, he devised what he called "a Psychobiological Questionnaire." This extensive questionnaire consisted of roughly 130 questions that probed intimate and disparate details of an

individual's life. The information sought in the questionnaire encompassed many areas of an individual's life, including childhood, health, career, hobbies, sexual experiences, and so forth. The broad range of information it solicited included staple psychoanalytic questions to sociological questions to queries that were substantively more obscure. The nature of the questions ranged from inquiries regarding the patients' family history, relationships with authority, whether or not he or she had been conceived in wedlock, the patient's shoe size, climactic preference, preference in music, earliest sexual stirrings, and nature of current relationships.

The questionnaire was administered to people who questioned their sexual orientation or experienced sexual malfunctioning. Hirschfeld guaranteed the patient's anonymity and was able to make recommendations as to whether or not a patient should consider him or herself homosexual or a transvestite. The results of this questionnaire, along with Hirschfeld's accredited expertise, allowed him to issue medical certificates that authorized people who had the urge to cross-dress to do so. These individuals were also provided with photo identifications that they could present if questioned by the police. This fact caused many people who had questions about their sexuality to approach Hirschfeld and volunteer to take the questionnaire. In the 1950s, American sexologist Alfred Kinsey developed a similar questionnaire in his own work, which was largely based on Hirschfeld's.

The questionnaire, and Hirschfeld's offering of the varieties of sexual expressions and identities to the public discourse, led many individuals to recognize themselves in the profiles brought forth by Hirschfeld, and, in many instances, led them to self-diagnose their sexuality. This newly acquired clinical-medical consciousness of homosexuality was also reflected in myriad literary works of the period. Self-identification as a member of the third sex plays a central role in Aimée Duc's 1901 novel *Sind des Frauen?* (Are These Women?). The novel portrays independent, intellectually driven, same-sex loving female medical students who lead authentic and mostly fulfilling lives outside the parameters of heterosexual marriage and the patriarchal family. The main protagonist, Minotschka, refers to her orientation as being of the "third sex" kind numerous times throughout the novel. Bruno Vogel's novel, *Alf* (1929), is centered on the deep friendship and early stirrings of love between two male high school students. Kept apart by the ignorance and homophobic anxieties of Alf's parents and by the conditions of World War I, Felix commits himself, in Hirschfeldian fashion, to the study of homosexual love and to educating the public on the truth and dignity of this love.

Hirschfeld was passionate about teaching the public about alternative sexualities, savvy in broadening his outreach—lecturing both at prestigious universities and trade schools and union halls—and cautious and empathic in encouraging homosexuals and transvestites to live in accordance with their natures. In his *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (1914), he expounded on his therapeutic methods, which he called adaptation therapy, to treat patients who sought clarity and support with regard to their sexual orientation. He was sensitive to the difficulties that many homosexuals experienced in talking about their desires, and he established trust and rapport with his patients. His approach consisted in examining his patients and interviewing them at length to determine their predominant orientation. In cases in which homosexual tendencies seemed weak, or likely mostly unconscious, he recommended reinforcing the patients' heterosexual identification and contacts. In cases in which patients exhibited bisexual desires, he would attempt to explore which leaning was stronger and encourage that one.

With regard to same-sex sexual activity, Hirschfeld was eminently conscious of the dangers of prescribing it to his patients, but understood that a life in harmony with one's desires was the path to a healthful and fulfilling life. He thus instructed his patients to exercise prudence and good judgment in engaging in same-sex activity, and cautioned them about blackmail. He emphasized the importance of familial support in cases of homosexuality and other unorthodox sexualities, and recommended that patients seek to educate their families about their condition through conversation or educational materials. Hirschfeld was always optimistic about the potential of appealing to people's reason. He also recommended that homosexuals frequent environments that were friendly to homosexuals, such as homosexual bars, theaters, and the institute itself, and that they engage the support of other homosexuals and partake in therapy support groups that were available at the institute. While certain aspects of Hirschfeld's therapies appear flawed and dated from a contemporary perspective, his approach was aimed to the greatest degree possible at allowing his patients to live in accordance with their natures and within the safety of the laws.

Chapter 3

Politics, War, and Activism

If Hirschfeld's science sought to explode the outdated dichotomy of male and female and liberate the homosexual from the stigma of pathology, his politics endeavored to broaden the laws to encompass same-sex love and other forms of human affection that extended beyond the surly confines of the heterosexual horizon of experience. Although his political orientation had always clearly been left-wing and greatly sympathized with the Social Democrats, he officially joined the Social Democratic party in 1923—a golden time for the party with Chancellor Stresemann at the helm and Great Coalition of the left-wing parties. This seemingly late decision can be attributed to how political developments played to his organizational strategy. Hirschfeld understood that the course of political reform was essential to any notion of improved social conditions for homosexuals, he was more apt at adopting strategies that lent themselves to forging broad alliances and an early and unambiguous identification with the SPD may have in his view at least signaled a potential foreclosing of collaborative opportunities with divergent parties that were however similarly reform-oriented. In this context, it is also worth noting that Hirschfeld never displayed any explicit ambitions for political office, and was described by a number of his contemporaries as having retained the outer semblances of his bourgeois upbringing. This was most manifestly displayed by his desire to work in a beautiful stately environment, according to institute secretary, Günter Maeder¹, his sartorial preferences—a penchant for chain watches and a weakness for sweets.

Hirschfeld's campaign to expand the category of toleration through the repeal of Paragraph 175 was driven by his commitment to the values of classical liberalism. While it cannot be denied that

the Enlightenment values that served as the ideological matrix for the Social Democratic Party also informed Hirschfeld's activism and science, humanist sentiment also found ample expression in his work. His program for social reform was not based on a rigorous ethical-philosophical system; rather it was rooted in the liberal principles that stemmed from the Napoleonic Code, which stipulated non-interference into the lives of private citizens by the state, as well as a legal distinction between sin and crime, rendering the former the province of ecclesiastical authorities and the latter the jurisdiction of the state.² To these principles, Hirschfeld brought an empathic concern for human physical and emotional well being. He was culturally omnivorous and drew upon a variety of sources in his cultural and political battle against the laws that governed sexual mores. He was not a political philosopher, but a rational humanist. His political activity was informed by a deep-rooted and synergistic espousal of humanistic values as well as an adamant confidence in science as a force for humanistic progress.³

Unlike Nietzsche, who proposed a devaluation of all values, Hirschfeld's campaign for social reform and the legalization of homosexuality was not intent on demolishing the ethical values and mores of society's status quo, but on exposing the flaws and limits of these laws in order to replace them with ones that reflected the way in which people lived. Hirschfeld's scientific writings, political activism, and public outreach were oriented toward proving that same-sex love was not only natural to the human species, but also represented no detriment whatsoever to the whole of society. Armed with these basic postulations, Hirschfeld put forth the idea—both in the form of rational arguments and passionate appeals for a universally humane outlook—that homosexuality warranted not only impunity but acceptance as well. This idea, coupled with Hirschfeld's international scope, found meaningful resonance with the Social Democratic vision for social reform. Although Germany was still under Imperial rule and Bismarck's anti-socialist laws were still in place when Hirschfeld first began agitating for reform of the penal code, the German Social Democratic Party boasted the largest party membership majorities of any other political party on the continent.

Hirschfeld garnered the support of key Social Democrats in order to press for the legal reform of anti-homosexual statute Paragraph 175 as early as 1897. The SPD members that Hirschfeld enlisted included the SPD party chairman, August Bebel, and other party luminaries such as Eduard Bernstein, Karl Kautsky, and Adolf Thiele. The Social Democratic concern for the protection of the citizenry's

civil liberties and its regard for scientific reasoning certainly fomented Hirschfeld's allegiance to the party. The party's cosmopolitan and progressive aims of bridging nationalist divisions among the workers of Europe must have also appealed to Hirschfeld, who had always identified himself as a pacifist and a socialist.⁴ The Wilhelmine period offered two instances on the world political stage in which this was clearly manifest: the Dreyfus Affair (1894) and the Oscar Wilde trials (1895). The Second International meeting of socialists and labor parties in Paris (1890–1916) also evidenced the socialists' overwhelming support of the Jewish artillery officer and the republic.⁵ Eduard Bernstein and cultural critic Leo Berg, and Hirschfeld himself, were among the socialists that had publicly denounced the harsh injustice committed against Wilde for engaging in the "love that dare not speak its name."

Bernstein, a well-placed Social Democrat and leader of the right wing of the party, used the occasion of the Wilde trial to inveigh against the arbitrary and hypocritical character of the law evinced by the existence of Paragraph 175 in Germany. He not only urged that Germany approach homosexuality not from a moral standpoint but from a scientific one, but sustained that the Social Democratic Party should act to influence the state law to reflect scientific experience and not moral concepts. "It is necessary to discard judgments based on more or less arbitrary moral concepts in favor of a point of view deriving from scientific experience."⁶ His appeal to the Social Democrats to mobilize for reform was unequivocal:

The Party is strong enough today to influence the shape of state law, its speakers and its press influence both public opinion and members and their contacts. Thus the Party already has a certain responsibility for what happens today. So an attempt will be made in the following to smooth the way towards such a scientific approach to the problem.⁷

Bernstein did not stop there. He went to the root of the arguments that fueled late nineteenth-century homophobic discourse: namely that homosexuality was an unnatural vice and that the practice of same-sex love foiled the goal of procreation. He exposed the double standard of endorsing laws that allowed male homosexuality to be legally prosecuted as an unnatural act, while many other types of sexual behavior, which society deemed equally unnatural, went unpunished. He dispelled the validity of the procreative argument by pointing to the fact that the laws failed to proscribe unconventional sex acts between men and women and sexual activity that did not

lead to the creation of another being. It is important to note that this sexual activity included same-sex acts among females, which had been almost entirely free of legal jurisdiction in the Wilhelmine and Weimar eras, and in the years prior to the unification under Bismarck in 1871 in all principalities with the exception of Prussia, which officially removed female same-sex acts from its legal code in 1851.

According to Bernstein's reasoning, limiting the legal definition of the unnatural to male same-sex lovers exclusively was an unequivocal, arbitrary, and unjust expression of the law. While Bernstein's plea for the decriminalization of homosexual acts was unabashed and of the socialist-liberal stamp, his understanding of homosexuality—he viewed it as both natural and abnormal—was colored by his inability to dispense with notions of Wilhelmine respectability⁸ and his own brand of evolutionary socialism: “As long as social conditions which, so to speak, threaten natural sexual pleasure with punishment, as long as our entire way of life does constant injury to the requirements of health of body and spirit; then so long will abnormal sexual intercourse not cease. On the contrary it will reveal a tendency to become the normal.”⁹

Bernstein's own bias was underwritten by his belief that the realization of the socialist revolution would remove the injustices and unhealthy social conditions that engendered the need for this “abnormal behavior.” In subsequent passages, we shall encounter views held by left-wing progressives that were analogous to Bernstein's.

Through his scientific theories and political activity, Hirschfeld worked toward debunking the predominant cultural myths and scientific biases that surrounded homosexuality and variant sexual expressions and identities. As a liberal socialist, Hirschfeld understood from the first that effecting a change in legislation and public consciousness required an appeal to democratic institutions that upheld the liberal rule of law, a constraint of arbitrary power, and a clear and straightforward way of educating the public. Well attuned to the plurality of causes clamoring for reform and the diversity of groups with interests, he never underestimated the value of coalitional action and international alliances. He knew that in order for difference to be honored and legitimated, it was necessary to link particular causes to universal claims to justice, equality, and humanity. Hirschfeld also understood that “the quest for freedom always exists in an asymptotic relation to reality.”¹⁰ He was also not naïve enough as to believe that reform and the progressive transformation of society would not require compromise, deferrals, and repeated action.

3.1 Hirschfeld, the Social Democrats, and Wilhelmine Sexual Politics

Social Democratic Party chairman August Bebel's statement that "There can be no emancipation of humanity without the social independence and equality of the sexes,"¹¹ expressed a cornerstone of Hirschfeld's ethical thought, and a distinguishing feature of his political organizing. Hirschfeld held the conviction that a society that could recognize the universal rights of every single individual would also recognize that the prosecution of homosexuals would be tantamount to a violation of a human being's basic rights. This was the fundamental ethos that defined Hirschfeld's campaign against Paragraph 175 and propelled him to become an rigorous campaigner and propagandist for the rights of the oppressed of all stripes. Homosexuals, women, transvestites, racial minorities, and the infirm were among the constituencies that Hirschfeld defended.

On May 14, 1897, Hirschfeld's 29th birthday, he came together with a handful of like-minded Social Democrats and founded Die Wissenschaftliche Humanitäre Komitee (The Scientific Humanitarian Committee), an organization conceived to combat the anti-homosexual statute in the German penal code through the means of education and strategies of public outreach such as lectures, pamphlets, and propaganda. The founding members of the SHC included Max Spohr, an independent publisher, Eduard Oberg, a railroad official, and Franz Joseph von Bülow, a writer. The four met in Hirschfeld's Berlin Charlottenburg apartment and finalized the details for the SHC. Each contributed 100 Goldmarks to the pot, with the exception of Spohr, who contributed 200 Goldmarks. The purpose of the SHC was to enlighten the populace on homosexuality:

Based on proven research and the personal experience of thousands, we are shedding light on the fact that as far as people of the same sex are concerned, so-called homosexuality, it is neither a vice nor a crime, but rather a feeling deeply rooted in the nature of a number of people.¹²

The SHC had an immediate plan of action: gather as many signatories as possible for a petition against Paragraph 175, which would be presented before the parliament in 1898. This was the first petition of its kind ever to reach the parliament. The petition's earliest signatories included prominent members of German society: poet Ernst von Wildenbruch, who had been considered a Wilhelmine reactionary; Naturalist playwright Gerhard Hauptmann; painter Max

Liebermann; Austrian psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing; prominent jurist Franz von Liszt; and August Bebel. By December 1897, the SHC had managed to gather 900 signatures.¹³

Although Bebel himself defended the petition before the Reichstag (Imperial Assembly) in January 1898, it was firmly rejected. Paragraph 175 was not lifted. The SHC would continue to gather signatories for the petition and submit it before the Reichstag with each election until 1930, when internal discord led to the ultimate dismantlement of the SHC. Despite the fact that it had come very close to victory on a number of occasions—particularly in 1929, when it attained a mitigation of Paragraph 175—success eluded the SHC. It was not until 1968 in the German Democratic Republic, and 1969 in the Federal Republic of Germany, that the law was significantly reformed. And not until 1994 was Paragraph 175 officially removed from the German penal code.

The means that the SHC had at its disposal were fundamentally educative: rational arguments, scientific explanations, publications, and propaganda. Spohr's membership in the SHC proved particularly advantageous in the last two departments, as it was thanks to him that the SHC was able to publish the first issue of *Das Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (The Yearbook for Sexual Intermediaries) in 1899. The journal would continue to appear in print until 1923, when publication costs could no longer be met because of the financial crisis. Hirschfeld edited the journal. In spite of its title, the journal was by no means a mere special interest publication. It drew wide public attention and contained contributions from a wide array of experts, including natural scientists, lawyers, psychiatrists, historians, theologians, and writers.

The Yearbook for Sexual Intermediaries was a journal conceived to enlighten the public about issues concerning unorthodox sexuality, with special emphasis on homosexuality. It included articles by physicians, psychoanalysts, biologists, ethnologists, criminologists, and writers. Aside from a wide range of contributions boasted by the journal, its unique merit also lay in the fact that it included articles that openly contradicted Hirschfeld's own theories. Freud and Weininger had also contributed to the *Yearbook*.

In 1900, the SHC presented a second petition for the repeal of Paragraph 175 to the Reichstag. This time, the number of signatories reached about 2,000 and included many prominent writers and artists. Richard Dehmel, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Heinrich Zille were among the names on the petition. Despite the high number of names drawn from Germany's cultural

crème de la crème, the Reichstag rejected the petition once again. The defeat only galvanized Hirschfeld's tenacity in his fight against what he perceived to be a gross social injustice. On the advice of the Secretary of the Imperial Office of Justice, Arnold Nieberding, Hirschfeld wrote a pamphlet intended to inform people about homosexuality and the arguments for decriminalizing it. The pamphlet was intended for broad distribution among the general public. Published by Max Spohr, the pamphlet appeared in 1901 under the title *Was soll das Volk vom dritten Geschlecht wissen?*¹⁴ (What the Nation Needs to Know about the Third Sex). As the title indicates, science was one of routes taken to appeal to public consciousness. Later that year, Hirschfeld reprised on the message of his pamphlet by giving public lectures on the topic. A revised and expanded version of this pamphlet appeared in 1904, with a distribution of 50,000 copies.

Hirschfeld thought to bolster his cause by proving that homosexuality and other types of alternative sexuality were found among ordinary people. In 1903, he surveyed 3,000 male students from a technical high school about their sexual orientation via postcards in which they would be able to keep their anonymity intact. His survey revealed that 1½% of the students were exclusively attracted to men, while 4½% declared themselves attracted to both sexes. Six percent of those surveyed responded that they were neither attracted to members of the opposite sex or their own. Such respondents were referred to as having deviant sexual drives. Hirschfeld repeated the survey among 5,000 metal workers and attained similar results. While the surveys were geared toward augmenting the visibility of alternative sexualities, they also offended bourgeois standards of decency. Hirschfeld was accused of propagating obscenities, summoned in a court that was insensitive to his arguments on the importance of scientific investigation, and fined 200 Deutsch Marks.¹⁵ Undeterred by these challenges, in 1904, Hirschfeld managed to collect 750 names on a new petition, in addition to those on the previous petition, and distributed copies of it to tens of thousands of people—including physicians, judges, civil servants and members of the SHC—and presented the new petition to the Imperial Assembly and the Imperial Chancellor. Although, his efforts expanded the growing circle of his sympathizers, the petition was rebuffed.

By 1904, the membership of the SHC had reached 365, and by 1905, the revenues generated by members' subscriptions amounted to 15,000 DM and the SHC's members had increased to over 1,000. These fees enabled Hirschfeld to fund the publicity that was so crucial to his cause.¹⁶ In 1905, in a concerted effort to make a powerful

statement for the repeal of the legal statute against homosexuality, roughly 1,000 homosexual members of the SHC came forward to announce their homosexuality to the police.¹⁷ The idea was to show the ubiquity of their kind.¹⁸ While this practice of self-outing, as we refer to it in contemporary parlance, would be championed circa seven decades later by American gay rights activist, Harvey Milk, with palpable successes (albeit not free from controversy), the dominant majorities in Wilhelmine society ultimately stood by their intransigence in the face of these unconventional efforts. If the practice of self-outing proved politically ineffectual, the practice of outing influential figures would prove politically explosive.

3.2 Homosexuality and the Politics of Effeminacy in Wilhelmine Germany: The Liebenberg Affair

The fact that the legal statute against homosexuality and the overwhelming majority of the literature on same-sex love produced by physicians and activists alike were centered almost exclusively on male homosexuality is symptomatic of Wilhelmine Germany's cultural and political investment in masculinity. As historian George L. Mosse, argued, "Manliness was invoked to safeguard the existing order against the perils of modernity, which threatened the clear distinction between what was considered normal and abnormality. Moreover, manliness symbolized the nation's spiritual and material vitality."¹⁹ Traditional masculine virtues such as strength, honor, respectability, and self-restraint not only constituted the supreme cultural values of the Wilhelmine era, but also dovetailed with the nation's ideals for German self-representation on the political international stage.²⁰ The democratizing influences of modern culture, urbanism, socialism, reason, and the institutionalization of intellectual disciplines were anathema to the prized wholesome paragons of German masculine virtues, which were championed by healthy bodies, green Germanic landscapes, romanticism, militarist patriarchal orders, and the cult of male friendship. It was a climate that expressed profound unease with behaviors that implied effeminacy or deviation from wholesome Germanic masculinity, a fact that engendered an almost histrionic preoccupation with male homosexuality.²¹ So much so, in fact, that homosexuality would become one of the most potent instruments of political defamation.

Charges of homosexuality leveled against prominent figures in Wilhelm II's reactionary and anti-Semitic circle of friends and advisors created the first precedents for transforming homosexuality

into a political weapon in modern Germany. Further, these politically motivated homosexual outings of powerful men would catapult Hirschfeld and his theorizations into the center of the political arena.

The first in a series of such scandals began in 1902, when the Social Democratic newspaper *Vorwärts* (Forward) exposed steel magnate Alfred Krupp for his expulsion from the Isle of Capri for engaging in lurid homosexual activity. While Krupp's bisexuality was an open secret, the Social Democratic publication's decision to expose him served contradictory ends. On the one hand, it naively hoped that exposing the homosexuality of reputable members of Wilhelmine society could further the cause of legal reform for homosexuals. On the other hand, by describing Krupp's activity as "bourgeois vice," the newspaper aimed to highlight the decadence of the capitalist elite and injure its political adversaries—the reactionary advisors who belonged to the emperor's inner circle, of which Krupp was a part. Both unable to counter the allegations and live under the weight of the dishonor, Krupp committed suicide in 1903.

The news of Krupp's homosexuality, followed by the discovery of his suicide, erupted into a full-blown national scandal and drew an impassioned eulogy by Wilhelm II, in which he lamented the tragic loss of a German patriot, an exemplary businessman, and friend of the working class, and in which he condemned the press for the ignominy that it had committed. The Krupp incident caused a sensation throughout Europe, and it was not long before the continent adopted homophobic epithets for homosexuality that referenced Germany. Male homosexual acts were referred to as "la Berlinese" in Italy and "le vice allemande" (the German vice) in France.²² Yet, the Krupp episode yielded something positive for the homosexual movement. The spectacle of Krupp's tragic end led to a greater public awareness of homosexual victimization through blackmail and the risk for suicide. Hirschfeld had also powerfully highlighted the conditions that drove many homosexuals to suicide in his 1904 urban sociological work on homosexual life in Berlin, *Berlins Drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900*²³ (Berlin's Third Sex: Gays and Lesbians Around 1900), in which he mentions having prevented 20 suicides over the span of a few years and ponders the question of whether the fates of those individuals have been improved by remaining in life. By 1914, Hirschfeld claimed that 300, or 3% of the 10,000 homosexuals whom he had seen, had committed suicide.²⁴ However it may be, in a post-Krupp Wilhelmine Germany, there was a strong sense that Hirschfeld's work began to resonate with the broader social

consciousness. Whereas the vice chancellor had denied the SHC permission to lecture at the Berlin University Medical School in 1901, scientific and political organizations began to request lectures by the SHC on homosexuality subsequent to Krupp's suicide.²⁵ With a substantial number of chapters of the SHC already in existence throughout Germany at the time of the Krupp episode, international interest in Hirschfeld's work grew and drew collaborators from Russia, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Belgium. By the start of World War I, chapters of the SHC had already been started in England and the Netherlands.

The second scandal was even more deeply embroiled in imperial politics and the sexual intrigues concerning its key players. In this case as well, it would be a Social Democratic publication, *Die Zukunft* (The Future), to unleash the scandal. At stake in this public exposition of homosexual leanings of high-profile advisors in Wilhelm II's cabinet were the political concerns and personal vindications of publicist Maximilian Harden.

Unhappy with Wilhelm II's foreign policy, his mishandling of the Morocco Crisis, which failed to weaken France's ties to the members of the Triple Entente and exposed Germany's political isolation and diplomatic vulnerability internationally, and the emperor's tolerance of French diplomats in his circle of intimates, Harden sought to distance elements that he deemed treasonous to Germany from the emperor. Harden, who was the editor of the widely read political weekly *Die Zukunft*, published an article in which he accused Wilhelm II's closest friends and most trusted advisors, Count Kuno von Moltke and Prince Philip von Eulenburg, of cultivating a homosexual friendship. It was alleged that the emperor not only was aware of this relationship but was a participant in some of the revelry. The scandal became known as the "Liebenberg Affair," after the name of Eulenburg's castle, which was the site of many decadent festivities among political insiders.²⁶ By publishing the article, Harden detonated a metaphorical bomb.

Exposing Eulenburg's homosexuality was, in Harden's view, a patriotic duty and a move to protect state security. According to Harden, it was imperative that Eulenburg in particular be removed from Wilhelm II's circle of advisors. There are numerous reasons why Harden perceived Eulenburg as a threat. For one, Eulenburg and his coterie were vulnerable to blackmail because of their homosexual activities, and thereby posed state security risks. Secondly, Eulenburg's association with French diplomat Raymond Lecomte was seen as highly problematic. Lecomte, who was a low-level diplomatic advisor, was allowed to

meet with the emperor for a private audience at Liebenberg. Harden and Bismarck, to whom Harden was close, were opposed to French influence on the emperor and believed that Lecomte could infiltrate German power and ultimately sabotage nationalist interests.

But it was not Eulenburg's dubious political affiliations alone that would damn him. It was what he represented: all of the attributes of the feminine—feebleness, changeability, untrustworthiness, and no collective consciousness. Eulenburg was a glaring affront to all of the Prussian ideals of manhood and the character traits that were essential to the nation. He was effeminate in appearance and an enthusiast of Italianate *bel canto* singing, and he was known for hosting uproarious parties at Liebenburg where he would sing for his guests. Eulenburg, thus, glaringly defied the ideal of the male nationalist organizations such as the *Männerbund*, which as envisioned by ideologues such as Hans Blüher and Ch. St. von Waldecke was composed of an elitist group of Germanic men to represent an alternative power to the state.²⁷ Bismarck believed that Eulenburg embodied everything that the second empire was not. Politically inept and exposed to blackmail, Eulenburg became disparaged as a “political romantic.”²⁸ Changeable, indolent, and smug, the “political romantic” represented everything that was anathema to the national ideals that Bismarck had hoped for Germany to embody. In Bismarck's eyes, Eulenburg would only destroy any ambitions of a Germany that would be shaped by martial values, manly decisiveness, and the *Realpolitik* (political realism) so instrumental to his brand of Prussian dominance.). Bismarck is known to have stated that “Eulenburg's projects were products of average dilettantism. His diplomatic activities were ‘opertta politics’ with hastily changing plans of a romantic. What else can one expect from someone who sings?”²⁹ Through his avowed homosexuality, Eulenburg represented everything that masculine statesmen like Bismarck deemed worthy of contempt and distrust: the feminine³⁰ and castration anxiety. According to Wilhelmine political sensibilities, the relation between the feminine and homosexuality exhibited by Eulenburg rendered him unfit for politics.³¹ Of course, the apprehensions with regard to Eulenburg were as much about the potential risk of treason through Lecomte, who revealed state secrets to the French foreign office, as they were about his flagrantly deficient masculinity. Still, Harden, who was said to serve as Bismarck's mouthpiece, attributed Eulenburg's untrustworthiness to his homosexuality. According to Harden's highly stereotyped logic, even though Eulenburg was biologically a man, psychically he possessed womanly traits and everything negative that femininity symbolized.

The bias was that effeminate men were weak in politics: such men could not only be expected to pursue peacemaking but to avoid war at the cost of accepting political humiliation.³²

Hackneyed stereotypes against women and homosexuals fueled the hostility toward pacifism that surfaced with the anti-Eulenburg campaign. Harden warned of a host of risks that would come with having homosexuals in high-ranking political offices, claiming that they possessed a distorted perception of reality because they were forced to hide behind a mask and could only exercise their political functions from behind a façade that influenced the way in which they perceived things and the way in which they communicated with higher officials. Harden struck another common stereotype in maintaining that homosexuals were incapable of exercising neutral judgment. Consonant with this view was that homosexuals had no neutral interests, only private interests. It was believed that in politics homosexuals would unite and conspire to encircle the emperor and render him inaccessible to outside influences. Harden also feared that homosexual solidarity would lead to the erosion of class differences. According to Harden's paranoid logic, homosexuals would feel compelled to overlook class differences and thereby grant members of the lower classes access to the emperor. Harden not only feared that homosexuals would make class boundaries more porous, but that the national boundaries would also erode. In his view, this trend posed an immediate threat and had to be eradicated for the sake of national security. The parallels between Eulenburg and the Dreyfus Affair (1894) were lost on few.

While Harden's alarmism had some basis in reality (especially with respect to Lecomte), the zeal and righteousness of his tone raises questions about his personal stake in the matter. In fact, by exposing the Liebenburg Affair, Harden inflicted a good deal of damage upon himself. Aside from creating enemies in high places, his relentless action against Wilhelm II's supposed entourage of effeminates also sparked a number of weighty lawsuits against him. It has been argued, and persuasively so in my view, that the virulence with which Harden conducted his crusade against Eulenburg was not fomented solely by Harden's patriotic concerns. Under the ideological sway of Bismarck, Germany's colossal father figure, arch patriarch, and quintessential phallus (as cultural historian Nicolaus Sombart referred to him),³³ Harden upheld a thoroughly masculine ideal of politics, which was distilled in images of decisiveness and a readiness for war. Given these firm convictions, Harden had to liquidate Eulenburg and the cochon-frérie (brotherhood of pigs) of pederasts³⁴ surrounding Wilhelm II.

These pederasts, according to Bismarck and Harden, were anathema to the masculine political doctrine they envisioned for Germany. Those in the Eulenburg circle, in their view, could only practice a weak, effeminate, peace-oriented politics—essentially the politics of the romantic rhetorician instead of muscular war-waging.

Nicolaus Sombart offers a highly intriguing interpretation of the Harden-Eulenburg scandal, including a persuasive psychological explanation of Harden's unrelenting resolve to have Eulenburg expunged from the imperial court. According to Sombart, Harden sullied the names of those close to the Wilhelm II to vindicate his own unrequited love for the emperor. The implication of Harden's homosexuality was no contradiction, according to Sombart; rather, it rendered his vitriolic contempt of homosexuals even more understandable. According to Sombart, Harden typified what conservative ideologue Hans Blüher had termed the *Verfolgungstyp*³⁵ (literally, the persecutor type). According to Blüher, the *Verfolgungstyp* was a repressed homosexual who needed to externalize his self-hate by persecuting those who possessed the qualities that he was unable accept within himself. Sombart also attributed Harden's nationalist zeal to his Jewishness and claimed that his desire to be seen as a fully vested citizen of the second empire caused him to overcompensate for his outsider status in such a hostile and extremist fashion.

Harden's explosive article regarding the homosexuality of Wilhelm II's close advisors, Kuno, Count of Moltke and, Philip, Prince of Eulenberg-Hertefeld, prompted harsh reactions from the emperor. The incident also caused him to dismiss the colonel lieutenant, Count Wilhelm von Hohenau³⁶ who also happened to be a blood relative to the emperor for his homosexuality and active participation in the Liebenberg Circle. Moltke responded to this by engaging in an indefatigable campaign to restore his good name, which included challenging Harden to a duel. When Harden refused to accept the challenge, Moltke pressed libel charges against him in a trial by jury in 1907. Called to testify as a medical expert on homosexuality, Hirschfeld assumed a critical role in the Harden-Eulenburg trials. He testified on Moltke's behalf, arguing that the military commandant had a homosexual psychical disposition that was neither criminal nor uncommon. He attested that to call someone "a homosexual" had no negative connotation and that Moltke's behavior by no means constituted an infringement of Paragraph 175. Further, he testified that Moltke did not engage in physical homosexual acts. While Hirschfeld's testimony proved vital to clearing Moltke's name of any crime under the anti-homosexual statute, Moltke, who never admitted to engaging in

homosexual activity, and the German public chose to unequivocally distance themselves from Hirschfeld's line of defense, which essentially treated homosexuality on a par with heterosexuality.

As a result of Hirschfeld's role in the trials, his name was sufficiently vilified in the press. The right wing papers insisted that his statements were injurious to the community, but that the stance he took was to be expected from such a quarter. Somewhat surprising, however, was that the liberal newspapers did not diverge too greatly from these views. *Die Vossische Zeitung* (The Vossian Newspaper), which was considered a moderate and nationally distinguished paper, portrayed Hirschfeld as a "freak who acted for freaks in the name of pseudoscience."³⁷ The liberal *Die Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten* (*Munich's Latest News Chronicle*) also did not pass on the opportunity to discredit Hirschfeld's work: "Dr. Hirschfeld makes public propaganda under the cover of science which does nothing else but poison our people. Real science should fight against this."³⁸

The trial was supposed to have been about Harden's guilt or innocence of the libel charge, but the operative anti-homosexual bias of the judge and the other parties involved transformed it into a case about homosexuality instead. The fact that the jury in the Harden-Moltke case found Harden not guilty became a matter of minor consequence in this highly sensationalized trial. Judge Isenbiel, who presided, was not content with the outcome. He annulled the jury's verdict and ordered a second trial. Isenbiel, who had notoriously declared that homosexuals had the "morals of dogs," simply could not allow flagrant accusations of homosexuality to go unpunished. From the way in which the first trial was conducted, it had become eminently clear that on trial were not Harden's statements, but Hirschfeld's assertions that homosexuality did not constitute an abnormality.

If the first Harden trial was tainted by anti-homosexual bias, the second was defined by intimidation and inconsistency. Hirschfeld's testimony on Moltke's alleged homosexuality had changed considerably—or at least assumed a starkly milder tone. Here, Hirschfeld notably downplayed his previous assertion that Moltke was psychically homosexual. He also maintained that the affection between Moltke and Eulenburg was to be attributed to a deep and sincere friendship, and that such manifestations of endearment between friends had not been uncommon in the age of Goethe. Impinging on the clear presentation of evidence in this trial was also the fact that Moltke's counsel had been threatening to portray Moltke's wife, Frau von Elbe, as hysterical and insanely jealous. Frau von Elbe, who had previously testified that she had surprised her husband in a compromising act

with Prince Eulenburg, acquiesced to the threats and modified her testimony in the second trial. Hirschfeld also corroborated Frau von Elbe's revised testimony by claiming that she had been in a neuro-pathic state during the first trial, and that her testimony had not been subjected to a medical evaluation first. In actuality, Frau von Elbe was neither hysterical nor insane. Her culpability lay in her proximity to Moltke and initial desire to speak the truth.

The escalated homophobic paranoia, coupled with this unique constellation of developments, prevented Harden from faring as well in his second trial. The stark attenuation of allegations surrounding Moltke's sexual orientation made the libel charges appear appropriate, and Harden was found guilty and sentenced to a four-month prison term.

The causes that led Hirschfeld to alter his testimony in the Harden trial are worthy of speculation. Acutely aware of the weight of his testimony and the impact that his medical evaluations would bear on the second trial, he had learned that, contrary to what he had assumed in the first trial, he could not depend on any tolerance being shown toward homosexuality. His earlier claim that Moltke's homosexuality was "psychic" and devoid of carnal expressions was eminently unsuccessful in mitigating Moltke's predicament. Moltke's character and reputation had suffered greatly due to the accusations, and the fact that he had been proved innocent of any infringement of Paragraph 175 was only a minor consolation to him in a society that was deeply ideologically invested in the traditionally masculine virtues of chastity and virile leadership. Concurrent with all of these factors, there is good reason to speculate that Hirschfeld realized that any further attempt to awaken the court to the normality of homosexuality would fall on deaf ears. His attempt to portray Moltke as a law-abiding psychic homosexual not only remained fruitless but aroused an animosity toward Hirschfeld that manifested itself through vicious character assassination, a diminished reputation, and the loss of significant alliances. The attacks against Hirschfeld were adopted in both anti-Semitic and homophobic discourses. Leaflets entitled, "Dr. Hirschfeld: A Public Danger: The Jews are Our Undoing" were distributed in front of Hirschfeld's house.

Further, Benedikt Friedlaender, an important member of the anti-democratic homosexual aesthetic movement *Die Gemeinschaft der Eigene* (The Community of the Self-Owned) and one of Hirschfeld's erstwhile collaborators in the fight against Paragraph 175, attacked Hirschfeld for adopting a strategy that aroused pity for the homosexual. His fundamental incompatibility with Hirschfeld, and his

disappointment with Hirschfeld's testimony in the Harden case, caused Friedlaender to secede from the SHC in 1907 and form a splinter group. Despite the harsh toll that the highly sensationalized court case took on Hirschfeld's popularity and reputation, it would not be long before he would make new alliances.

The Liebenberg Affair would not be the last time within the early half of the twentieth century that homosexuality would be at the center of a political scandal. The Redl case, in Austria-Hungary, was another episode which featured homosexuality as a menace to the state. In 1913, it was discovered that Colonel Alfred Redl, the head of the Austro-Hungarian intelligence and counter-espionage systems, was functioning as a double agent and providing Russia with state secrets. When confronted with his crime, Redl committed suicide in his hotel room in Vienna. Redl's homosexuality was established by perfumed letters from male lovers to him that were discovered after his death, along with evidence of his treasonous activity.³⁹ Homosexual disgrace was seen as one of the causes for the fall of the Habsburg Empire. The theme of the homosexual as a root cause of political instability will be revisited a bit later with Ernst Röhm and his role in the Nazi paramilitary group, the *Sturmabteilung* (the stormtroopers—a Nazi paramilitary organization, commonly referred to as the SA). For now, let us turn to the anti-feminist substrate that defined the masculine politics of Wilhelmine Germany, and how Hirschfeld militated against gender stereotypes and sought to expand the freedoms of the sexually disenfranchised.

3.3 Misogyny and the Anti-feminist Substrate of Homophobia

The blatantly gendered view of politics evidenced in the Liebenburg Affair was by no means an idiosyncratic occurrence. Rather, the notion of a distinctly masculine politic was endemic to the Wilhelmine political consciousness and meaningfully impinged upon Hirschfeld's campaign for sexual reform. Hirschfeld's efforts to remove the stigma of homosexuality were profound and all-inclusive. It meant defending effeminate men, transvestites, hermaphrodites, and men who clearly could never embody the paragons of masculinity celebrated in imperial Germany.

Thanks to the stature of Schopenhauer, Strindberg, and Weininger, cultural and scientific theorizations of female intellectual and moral inferiority enjoyed a great deal of social currency in early twentieth century Germany. Such theories, coupled with a

distinctly Prussian-Bismarckian idealization of martial masculinity and the popularity of Greek revivalism, propagated the prevalence of misogyny and anti-feminism in this culturally conservative climate. It should thus come as no surprise that the mere suggestion—scientific or not—of legitimating a feminized expression of manhood, in the manner in which Hirschfeld and the SHC sought to accomplish, flagrantly thwarted the standards of traditional masculinity (read: virility and restraint) of its male citizens both symbolically and ideologically.

Vigorous, Aryan men constituted the symbol bearers of everything that German nationalism vied to represent. This strengthened the traditions of the Germanic male youth movements such as *Die Wandervögel* (the Migrant Birds) and later the *Männerbund*, which celebrated male bonding, male pedagogy, and camaraderie. With the exception of a minority of co-ed youth movements, women were largely absent from these groups, as they were not deemed physically, intellectually, or sociologically equipped to impart youth with values that were essential to the state. The celebration of the ideals of Germanic youth and Aryan male beauty culminated on the 11th of October, 1913 in the *Höhe Meissener*, a peak in the Harz Mountains in northern Germany.⁴⁰ The day marked the centenary anniversary of the victory against Napoleon and was used as an occasion to bring together youth leaders, ideological pedagogues, and members of the various German youth movements to celebrate national renewal through the new generation, health, and vigor.⁴¹ Youth leaders and pedagogues alike saw themselves as part of the new generation that they were shaping, and were committed to overcoming the arrogant complacency of the previous generation of victors of the Franco-Prussian War.

Pedagogues and youth leaders approached their mission with a model of student-teacher interaction that resembled that of the Greeks. Reprising the ideals of male friendship, dialogue, harmony, and equilibrium, pedagogues promoted an educational model that allowed for the emergence of an organic eroticism between teachers and students. The pedagogical *eros*⁴² that these youth leaders conceived was aesthetic rather than physical in character and was intended to nurture the youth and not vulgarize the values they sought to impart. That the transmission of these values could entail a homoerotic undertone did not undermine the essentially healthy masculine values that these youths and pedagogues embodied, at least not according to the spokespeople of these nationalist youth movements, among whom Hans Blüher is the best known. Blüher, a nationalist

ideologue who penned a two-volume work on the role of eroticism in male societies, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*⁴³ (1918, 1926), and chronicler of the German bourgeois youth movement Die Wandervögel, championed a decidedly restrained and heroic model of masculinity that was epitomized by the Männerheld (male hero). The Männerheld was the embodiment of health and all of the nationalistic virtues of manhood, which included honoring the ideals of male friendship, independent of whether or not these friendships took on erotic shadings. In essence, the Männerheld was in control and not dominated by his sexual drives and was capable of living a perfectly healthy bisexual life. His antithesis was the Verfolgungstyp (the persecutor type), who struggled to repress. Such men were inherently unhealthy and incapable of managing their drives, and so constituted a threat to the state.

Wilhelmine culture is rife with other misogynistic models for national renewal. The aesthetic ideology and nationalist visions of lyrical poet Stefan George (1860–1933) and the cultish artistic community organized around him, the so-called George-Kreis (the George Circle), practiced an egregious and ideologically-motivated repudiation of the feminine. Not only were women excluded from partaking in any aspect of their artistic activities, but marriage with a woman could be sufficient grounds to estrange a circle member.⁴⁴ This was largely because George, who conceived of himself as a master with prophetic abilities, demanded nothing less than complete and undivided devotion from his disciples. Further, George held women to be morally and intellectually inferior and capable of exercising a corruptive influence on his disciples. Feminist sociologist Marianne Weber aptly summarized George's unique brand of male chauvinism as follows: "The George circle rejects ethical autonomy as an educational ideal and refused to recognize the value of the individual soul. Subordination to the authority of the hero, and for woman to be subordinate to man: that is their 'faith.'"⁴⁵

Needless to say, homosexual nationalists in this vein vehemently rejected scientific theories that attributed their erotic disposition to the existence of the feminine in their physical or psychological composition. Élisár von Kupffer, who was an active member of the Gemeinschaft der Eigenen⁴⁶ (The Community of the Self-Owned) and the editor of the homosexual anthology *Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur*⁴⁷ (Chivalric Love and the Male Friendship Love in World Literature) in 1899, sharply condemned and ridiculed the scientific work of the SHC: "'Uranian' has spread like a menacing epidemic. The matter has been investigated, criticized,

categorized, medico-hypnotized, popularized and God knows what. All of the elite of our entire human history has been so deformed that these brilliant thinkers, heroes are scarcely recognizable in their uranian petticoats.⁴⁸ Friedrich Gundolf and Friedrich Wolters, two critical members of Stefan George's Circle attacked Hirschfeld for pursuing the repeal of the anti-homosexual statute and accused him of contributing to the problems that homosexuals faced. In their view, erotic relations between men had no relation to:

a medieval witch-hunting section of the law or a ridiculous medical classification scheme. Rather, we have always believed that something essentially formative for German culture as a whole is to be found in these relations...It should be apparent that we have nothing to do with those far from charming people who whimper for the repeal of certain laws, for the most revolting attacks against us have issued from precisely those circles.⁴⁹

Confident in their physical conformity to a traditional gender expression of maleness, these nationalist homoerotics could feel entitled to be smug about legislation that could also—in a rigorous application of the law—affect them, and about dismissing Hirschfeld and his Scientific Humanitarian Committee as a decidedly nefarious influence on German culture and society. From this elitist perspective, the laws only applied to same-sex loving men who exhibited deficient masculinity and overt feminine traits. Given the inconsistent application of the law because of the difficulty of proving homosexual activity, they were not wrong.

The aesthetic antipathies toward the feminine implications of male homosexuality were not only rooted in the highly masculine culture that characterized Wilhelmine Germany, but also in the popular scientific theories that maintained that women were biologically and intellectually inferior to men. The weak moral character of women was a cornerstone of Otto Weininger's female characterology in his eminent 1903 study, *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and Character). Enshrined in psychiatrist Paul J. Möbius's widely popular and frequently cited 1900 pamphlet, which appeared in eight editions, *Über den physiologischen Schwachsinn des Weibes* (About the Physiological Feeble-mindedness of Women) were beliefs in women's physiological inferiority, their limited intellectual capacities, and the supposed biological advantages of their weaker intelligence—allegedly, higher levels of intelligence in some woman made them more masculine, rendering them less fertile. These theories were also joined by Victorian sexological theories that were in circulation.

Although interest in female sexuality experienced a notable rise in Wilhelmine Germany and Victorian England, the majority of the theories—both those newly propounded and those already in circulation—were mainly derived from studies on male sexuality. This was largely because women were not seen as proper subjects of sexuality and were only studied in relation to men. Freud's infamous male bias with regard to female desire is a preeminent example of a common fallacy in studying female sexuality. According to the predominant scientific view, women had a weak sexual drive and a strong capacity for nurturing. William Acton famously sought to perpetuate the myth that "The best mothers, wives and managers of households ... know little or nothing of sexual indulgence."⁵⁰ British sexologist Havellock Ellis, who challenged Acton's biased claims and held enlightened and largely progressive views with regard to women and most sexual questions, saw women as being predominantly passive and receptive. It should also be added that Ellis himself lived in a companionate marriage with Edith Mary Oldham Lees Ellis, an openly lesbian women's rights activist. This male-centered, patriarchal view of female sexuality persisted well into the late Victorian period and through the interwar period. However, the rise of feminism and the socioeconomic transformations that came with industrialization signaled a shift in the way in which these conventional feminine social and sexual identities were perceived and interpreted. Some of the ways in which the evolution of women's roles were manifested will be addressed in the section on the Weimar years.

Lesbianism was generally seen as a masculine inversion of the "normal" female drive. Most sexological theories cast the same-sex desiring woman as exhibiting a certain degree of somatic and psychological traits of the male, which caused her desire in a biologically and traditionally "male" fashion. Gynecologist Walter M. Gallichan took a strictly somatic route in arguing that female same-sex desire could be the result of ovarian inefficiency. Viennese psychoanalyst Wilhelm Stekel claimed that lesbianism was a manifestation of female psychological willfulness and could often be ascribed to a woman's wish to dominate, and her reluctance to submit to, a man. He described her as someone who "plays the she-man, imitates man in habits, qualities, dress and sporting qualities—even shortcomings of men—smoking, drinking, fighting and the like—hates motherhood, she despises nursing, is afraid of giving birth, of labor pains and she tries to suppress her monthly period."⁵¹ To some extent, this held true for Ellis, and to an even lesser extent, for Hirschfeld as well. However, Hirschfeld's theory of sexual intermediaries allowed

for a far greater degree of variation in sex and gender expression. It should also be re-emphasized that his theory did not entail a hierarchical ranking of the varying proportions of masculine and feminine qualities.

The cultural and scientific repudiation of the feminine were in large part reflections of the state conception of the female. The fact, for instance, that female homosexuality was not persecuted in the late nineteenth century in Germany—legal sanctions against female same-sex love had been removed without renewal in the Germanic lands since the integration of the Napoleonic Code in 1815—is largely attributed to it not being perceived as a threat to society, as with male homosexuality, and the state was therefore largely indifferent to it.⁵² Part of the reason for this incongruity can be ascribed to the functioning of an unquestioned patriarchal order: women were not considered full-fledged people and the female body was simply not as valuable to the state as the male body. If, on the one hand, a woman was seen as less than a full sexual being, then on the other she was reduced to her sex (her physical, sexual, and intellectual inferiority) and her ability to serve as a male sexual outlet. Meanwhile, the male body was regarded as a national good, and its image was perceived as an extension of the state.

Men and women were expected to fulfill their sex and gender roles in ways that perpetuated the patriarchal order. The male body represented the defender of the state, and the female body was seen as a procreative vehicle and a preserver of peace and virtue. While marriage secured a woman's position in society and extended her a sense of respectability, the institution of marriage offered her few, if any, legal protections or personal rights. On the contrary, it formally sanctioned male sovereignty over the female.

Such policies, according to historian, Jeffrey Weeks, were arguably conceived to safeguard the family, which occupied a central role in nineteenth-century ideology in most capitalist countries. In Germany, for instance, in an effort to obviate revolutionary efforts, the government proposed a bill, the *Umsturzvorlage* (Revolution Bill), in 1894 to render any criticism directed at the institution of the family punishable by drastic penalties.⁵³ The ideology of the sanctity of the family, would, at least on a rhetorical level,⁵⁴ reach its zenith with the Third Reich.

The proprietary privileges associated with marriage that were conferred by the state primarily benefited the husband. Legal and cultural notions of appropriate marital sexual behavior were rife with double standards. In Wilhelmine Germany foresaw a woman's sexual

submission to her husband and sanctioned any type of sexual excess in the marital bedroom in the interest of supporting the husband's state-recognized right to sexual satisfaction. Thus, male solicitation of prostitutes, extra-marital affairs, and marital rape went largely without censure until the second decade of the twentieth century in both England and Germany. While husbands had the right to have their wives imprisoned for refusing to fulfill their conjugal duties until 1884 under the Matrimonial Causes Act in England, the liberalization of divorce laws remained a staple cause for women's rights movements in England and Germany. In Germany, it was not until 1938 that emotional incompatibility could be used as grounds for divorce, but there, too, primarily to sanction male extra-marital affairs during wartime and to facilitate the dissolution of mixed-race marriages during the Third Reich.⁵⁵ Despite laws conceived to limit women's power in marriage and restrict their autonomy over themselves, women continued to vigorously press on in their fight against oppressive laws, theories, and mores with a women's movement. In Magnus Hirschfeld, they had a valuable ally.

3.4 Hirschfeld and the Women's Movement

Although homosexual reform provided Hirschfeld with the impetus for research and political agitation, he by no means limited his social and political engagement solely to the emancipation of same-sex love. He was committed to a vast array of social issues. Hirschfeld concerned himself with all aspects of human sexuality, including lesbianism, transvestism, and hermaphroditism, and he agitated vigorously for the advancement of liberal causes such as gender equality, women's right to higher education, birth control, and abortion. His stance toward feminism was consistently progressive, and his understanding of female sexual desire greatly exceeded that of conventional sexual reformers in the 1920s. He not only acknowledged women's needs and appreciation for sexual pleasure in a conventional heterosexual context, but recognized the naturalness and widespread nature of female same-sex desire. He embraced a wide array of early twentieth century feminist causes and was a fierce advocate of issues like women's suffrage, abortion rights, lesbianism, women's rights to higher education, the liberalization of divorce laws, and the legitimization of children born out of wedlock.

Hirschfeld collaborated with socialist feminists such as Helene Stöcker, Rosa Mayreder, and Hedwig Döhm—the leader of the women's suffrage movement in Germany—on a number of crucial issues for

the feminist movement in the early decades of the twentieth century. In stark contrast to other homosexual emancipation groups, the SHC welcomed female writers and activists as early as 1901. Hirschfeld admitted women to the scientific training department of the SHC in spite of the fact that women continued facing significant bureaucratic hurdles to university admission until shortly before the outbreak of World War I.⁵⁶ Among the SHC's earliest female members was feminist Anna Rühling. At the SHC's 1904 annual meeting, Rühling gave an impassioned speech on women's interest in the homosexual problem and exhorted lesbian women to take a greater responsibility in their own fate:

When we consider all the gains that homosexual women have for decades achieved for the women's movement...it can only be regarded as astounding that the big influential organization of this movement have up to now not raised one finger to secure for their not insignificant number of Uranian members their just rights as far as the state and society are concerned, that they have done nothing—and I mean not a thing—to protect so many of their best known and most devoted pioneers from ridicule and scorn as they enlightened the broader public about the true nature of Uranianism.⁵⁷

Rühling was responding to the setbacks that the SHC and the broader homosexual emancipation cause had suffered as a consequence of the Krupp scandal of 1902. The foregrounding of homosexuality in public discourse through the spectacles of the Krupp and Eulenburg scandals awakened the desire to control the problem through legislative regulation and public policy. The fact that female homosexuality was not persecuted as a crime had long been recognized to be a highly tolerable and functional double standard that did pose any threat to the heteronormative, patriarchal social order. These perceptions began to evolve after Krupp and Eulenburg, and jurists pursued a campaign to expand anti-homosexual legislation to include female same-sex acts in order to rectify the unequal application of the law. Formal revision of the laws were recommended in 1909, when the Imperial Ministry of Justice appointed a *freies wissenschaftliches Komitee* (Free Scientific Committee) to modify the penal code. Hirschfeld inveighed against proposed anti-lesbian legislation, calling it a double injustice, and joined Helene Stöcker in a highly visible campaign against it. The two were helped by jurists Wilhelm Kahl, Karl von Lillienthal, and Franz von Liszt, who countered the proposed measure with the recommendation to limit punishment for same-sex acts only in cases of sex with minors and prostitutes. The

law remained unchanged and Hirschfeld and Stöcker managed to stave off the threat of criminalization of female same-sex acts through the Weimar era.⁵⁸

Hirschfeld was a staunch advocate of women's suffrage and greeted the passage of women's suffrage in 1918 with great enthusiasm. That same year, he co-authored with his sister, Franziska Mann, a pamphlet entitled *Was jede Frau vom Wahlrecht wissen muss*⁵⁹ (What Every Woman Should Know about the Suffrage). Dedicated to Hedwig Dohm, the pamphlet urged women to realize that the right to vote was more than a civic right: it enabled them to contribute their needed participation in the progress of the nation. The pamphlet also contained practical information about voting procedures, electoral laws, and voter participation.

Hirschfeld was also a passionate supporter of women's right to higher education. Here, too, he joined forces with Helene Stöcker and Hedwig Dohm—who represented the front liners of this cause—and argued not only that women were just as qualified as men to pursue advanced degrees of education, but also that their social and civic empowerment depended upon it. By law, women were not allowed to attend university lectures in Germany until 1896; in Prussia, it was not until 1908 that women were admitted to pursue a university degree.⁶⁰ Hirschfeld treated female intellectuals as his equals and supported women writers. He congratulated Mathilde Vaerting on her powerful rebuttal to Möbius's anti-feminist work on the physiological feeble-mindedness of women, he wrote a foreword to Ruth Margarete Roelling's 1928 guidebook for lesbians in Berlin, *Berlins lesbische Frauen*, and he co-edited the journal *Die Aufklärung* (The Enlightenment) with socialist pedagogue Maria Krische. A subsequent section about the Weimar years, will show how Hirschfeld continued to build on his critical alliances with key figures of the women's movement to advocate for marital and reproductive rights, and how he marshaled these alliances to agitate for homosexual emancipation through legal reform. And in the next section, about the war, we shall see how Hirschfeld's appeal for equality of the sexes extended to the idea of equality of all people.

3.5 Hirschfeld and World War I

Hirschfeld was a pacifist. Throughout most of the war, he was engaged in anti-war activity. In both the printed medium and in speeches, he impugned against the senselessness of war, aligned himself with prominent anti-war groups, treated war victims as a Red

Cross physician, and served as a medical expert in questions regarding deviant sexual behavior among soldiers.

Nevertheless, Hirschfeld's attitude in the early months of the war resonated with the national pro-war campaign. Many people from all sides of the political spectrum were intoxicated by the wartime propaganda and the pageantry of war at the inception of World War I, and Hirschfeld was briefly swept up in the collective moment. Further, Hirschfeld had always identified as a German and had continually harbored patriotic sentiments toward his homeland despite the fact that he was often starkly at odds with the ruling forces.

Along with many other Germans of all political stripes and leanings, Hirschfeld had initially welcomed the war as a great opportunity for Germany and its valiant men, and the homosexuals among them, who longed to prove their courage and their oft disputed loyalty to their fatherland in combat. Hirschfeld counseled homosexuals who were desperate to serve about how to pass as heterosexual. He planned on reporting their acts of heroism, and he invited all homosexuals to write letters and submit accounts of their war experiences to him, which he would publish in the bulletins of the specially issued *Vierteljahresberichte der wissenschaftlichen humanitären Komitee während der Kriegeszeit* (Quarterly Reports of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee During the War).

Hirschfeld, in fact, helped thousands of homosexual men and women, transvestites, and heterosexual women to enter the war by instructing them on how to pass as a "normal" soldier. His *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges*⁶¹ (Sexual History of the World War), a two-volume compendium on wartime sexual mores that he edited, is rife with accounts on how male and female homosexuals successfully passed as male soldiers. Although women were officially allowed to serve, they were banned from the front. Hirschfeld openly argued the legitimacy of their service. In many cases in which homosexual activity was discovered in the military, Hirschfeld intervened, with success, on those soldiers' behalf to mitigate penalties. Hirschfeld had denounced the zealous and careless efforts to uproot espionage that had led to the assassination of innocent people, among them English nurse Edith Cavell. He raised the awareness that genuine cross-dressers were often falsely suspected of being wartime spies. His medical evaluations also served to help identify cross-dressers so that they could be granted the appropriate legal protection to practice their erotically-driven sartorial preferences.

Hirschfeld's wartime writings reflect the evolution of his attitude toward the cause for war and his own national identity. His 1915

pamphlet “Warum hassen uns die Völker?”⁶² (Why Do Other Nations Hate Us?) marks the apogee of his naïve patriotism. Here, Hirschfeld displays an unabashedly nepotistic sentiment toward Germany in international affairs and attributes much of the animosity directed toward his country to its enviable social, political, and economic realities. Hirschfeld further argued that most European powers viewed Germany as an obstacle to their own advancement and a force to be reckoned with both offensively and defensively in the era of European imperial expansion. Hirschfeld was of course correct in his assessment of Germany, and that fear and jealousy were important factors in how it was perceived in the international arena. Nevertheless, Hirschfeld was uncharacteristically uncritical of Germany, and unjustifiably so. His claim that the hostility toward Germany was one-sided and that Germany had extended a noble generosity toward all of its neighbors is among the most striking of these instances. Charlotte Wolff claims that this chauvinism, which is virtually absent from Hirschfeld’s writings on other matters, might best be attributed to his growing anxiety in an increasingly anti-Semitic environment.⁶³ The fact that Hirschfeld personally sent a copy of his pamphlet to King Ludwig II of Bavaria strongly supports this claim.

The senseless anguish of war that Hirschfeld witnessed as a Red Cross inspector transformed Hirschfeld into an ardent pacifist, and his desire for peace surpassed the erstwhile urgency of overturning the prejudice toward homosexuals on the battlefield. By 1916, Hirschfeld’s position had evolved considerably. This is documented in his wartime pamphlet *Kriegespsychologisches*⁶⁴ (On the Psychology of War). Here, Hirschfeld expounded upon the collective psychological and sociological functions of war. He addressed the many misguided aspects of the allure of war to a generation that yearned for an ecstatic experience—to feel the condition of being brought outside oneself. He discussed a whole range of motivations for war, from the desire for a higher purpose and self-sacrifice to the need to fulfill the sense of belonging to a collective brain. He recognized that war represented an expression of the human ambition for conquest, the desire for adrenaline rush, and the quest for camaraderie. While he still acknowledged what the experience of participation in the war symbolized to many men—in particular those patriotic homosexuals who had to cope not only with the estrangement of their families but also rejection from their fatherland—he refuted the popularly held belief among contemporary cultural figures that war was a biological and psychological necessity. Ernst Jünger, Theodor Däubler, and Friedrich Nietzsche had all discussed the “cleansing” qualities of war,

but in no uncertain terms, Hirschfeld condemned the annihilation of lives and the toll on humanity that it took. If, in the early phases of the war, he subscribed to the nationalistic belief that war belonged to the cultural evolution of a nation, now he could only foreground the human cost of war, the destruction of families, the barbarization of cultures, and the financial burden of the war.

Hirschfeld's direct experience of the war had not only caused him to publicly condemn the injuries of combat, but it had also sensitized him to many forms of injustice and atavistic practices that were unique to wartime. Many of these are documented in his aforementioned *Sexual History of World War*. Here, he also dispelled the myth that it was the human sadistic instincts that drove nations to wage war against one another. He argued instead that it was the experience of war that brought out the barbarity and regression of people. The customs that he observed during war and beyond led him to become an impassioned critic of prison brutality. He railed against prison torture and spoke out against enforced prison celibacy. He highlighted the inhumanity of the conditions of imprisonment, and their pernicious social and psychological effects, since sexual desperation led to a higher incidence of prostitution, sadism, acts of debauchery, and sex with lethal consequences, with included an increased transmission of syphilis and gonorrhea. Hirschfeld fought to have sex recognized as a basic and fundamental human need tantamount to eating, drinking, and sleeping. He recognized that the clerical and moral idealizations of sex had caused it to become falsely detached from its material, biological functions that were not associated with procreation. While he appreciated the romantic aspects of sexual activity, he was also clear about recovering the critical mental and physical health benefits of sexual activity that matched an individual's physical and psychological disposition. The advent of the democratic republic of Weimar, and Hirschfeld's standing in it, would allow him to advocate a broad spectrum of issues surrounding sex and to raise public awareness about them well beyond the war.

3.6 The Weimar Years

In October 1918, Hirschfeld was appointed to the Sanitätsrat (hygiene council) in recognition of his service in the Red Cross, his role in negotiating prisoner exchanges, and his advocacy of public hygiene. His humanitarian activities during the war had earned Hirschfeld the admiration of the Bund Neues Vaterland (The League of the New Fatherland), an international project founded by a group of pacifists from Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and England.

In recognition of his service, the League invited Hirschfeld to deliver the public address to salute the German Republic, to be held on November 10, 1918, before the Reichstag.

That day, which celebrated the dawn of the new socialist republic, was momentous in more ways than one. As Hirschfeld delivered perhaps one of his most charismatic speeches in honor of the new republic, a dramatic scene was simultaneously unfolding. The Reichstagplatz became wrapped in flames. The monarchical army retaliated against the festivities by shooting at the so-called “red soldiers” who were present at the ceremony. The assault resulted in many injuries and the deaths of several soldiers. Yet, moments before the mayhem, Hirschfeld outlined a vision of life in the new socialist republic that promised improvements extending well beyond the confines of Germany. The crowd became electrified by words that expressed unbridled enthusiasm for the new socialist republic, the promise it held for the German people, and the victory achieved by the socialists. Hirschfeld exalted the soldiers and sailors who had set the revolution in motion for their valor, and he upheld the rupture from militarism as one of the revolution’s greatest achievements:

The union of all citizens of Germany, mutual care for one another, the evolution of society into one organism, equality for all, everybody for all and all for everybody. And what we want even more: the unity of all nations on earth; we must fight against hatred of other nations, fight against national chauvinism. We want the end of economic and personal barriers between nations, and the right of the people to choose its own government. We want a judiciary of the people, and a World Parliament. Nobody should ever say in the future “Proletariat unite” but “people of the earth unite.”... Citizens of Germany, let us have confidence in the new revolutionary government. I ask you all to support it, so that the country can live in peace and order. Then we can look forward to leading again, soon, a life of human dignity and pride.⁶⁵

This speech leaves no question as to Hirschfeld’s commitment to the new social democratic republic. He declared this momentous time in German history as being in the direct lineage of socialism: Ferdinand Lasalle, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and Paul Singer. He also declared that this new republic would no longer allow the suppression of internationalism.

With his new standing in the new social democratic government, Hirschfeld was instrumental, along with fellow liberal physicians Julius Moses and Alfred Grotjahn, in drawing up a petition for the nationalization of health services.⁶⁶ It was also in 1918, that he was

able to garner the support of the Minister of Internal Affairs to found the *Stiftung für wissenschaftliche Sexualforschung* (Foundation for Scientific Sexual Research). The foundation helped him prepare the ground for his coveted vision: to establish an institute for study, research, and training on sexual sciences in Berlin. With further government support and 15,000 DM of his personal funds, Hirschfeld was able to establish the Institute for Sexual Sciences in 1919. The institute was the first of its kind in the entire world. It was dedicated to research, medical treatment, training, and social reform. It provided a new home for the Scientific Humanitarian Committee and drew the collaboration of world-renown scientists and sexologists, including Iwan Bloch, Alfred Blaschko, August Forel, and neurologist Arthur Kronfeld. Located in the central Tiergarten district of Berlin, the institute was soon recognized as a center for progressive research and enlightened alternative thought. In addition to attracting the finest medical minds, serving as the site of cutting-edge and experimental medical procedures, and functioning as an archive to tens of thousands of scientific volumes and clinical photographs, the institute fostered a lively sense of community life. The large, stately property that hosted the institute included residential quarters for staff members and facilities for room and board for outsiders. Hirschfeld himself lived above the institute. Fragments of life and work at the institute have been documented in literary memoirs of prominent figures of Weimar cultural life, including W.H. Auden, Christopher Isherwood, Else Lasker Schüller, and Hans Sahl. Isherwood's accounts are particularly entertaining, as they highlight the institute's broad spectrum of sexual variants and cornucopic collection of erotic curiosa. Andre Gide's priggish reaction at the sight of men with breasts, during his tour of the institute in 1922, is also recorded in Isherwood's memoir.⁶⁷

Part of the institute's mission was to integrate the broader public into discussions concerning health, sexual policies, and the socialization of homosexuals and sexual variants. One of the ways it did so was by hosting lectures and events. Shortly after its inauguration in 1919, the institute hosted the first public screening of the homosexual film *Anders als die Anderen* (Different than the Others). Hirschfeld was directly involved in the production of the film with director Richard Oswald.⁶⁸ The silent black and white film starred prominent Weimar actor Conrad Veidt in the lead role of Paul Körner, a cultivated violinist who tragically falls prey to homosexual blackmail. While carefully abiding to sensibilities of early twentieth century decorum by limiting the expression of homosexual affect to the exchange of laconic

glances, the film made an eloquent statement on the perils and injustice of Paragraph 175 and offered a poignant portrayal of the torment of the upstanding homosexual. Segments of the film's audience, evidently offended by the homosexual theme, took to rioting and dropping stink bombs in the theater. Despite the absence of explicit homosexual behavior in the film and the relaxed censorship laws in the Weimar government, the film was officially banned.⁶⁹ Hirschfeld and Oswald attempted to reissue an edited version of *Anders als die Anderen* in 1927 under the title *Gesetze der Liebe* (The Laws of Love). Although the edited version was excised of all forms of innocuous physical content between men, the status of the ban remained unaltered.

The 1920s were a decade of indefatigable research, writing, public outreach, political lobbying, and racially-motivated setbacks for Hirschfeld. During the years of the Weimar Republic, Berlin came to represent a pilgrimage site for homosexuals and sexual minorities all over Germany and throughout Europe. By 1929, the city boasted the existence of approximately 80 homosexual bars—a two-fold increase from the number of homosexual bars in existence before the start of the war. This was due in large part to the tolerance of a social democratic government, Hirschfeld's campaign to highlight the ubiquity and normalness of homosexuality, and the synergy that he fostered with the Minister of Justice Gustav Radbruch and Berlin Chief of Dr. Heinrich Kopp.⁷⁰ Drag balls, burlesque entertainment, bawdy behavior, and uninhibited displays of same-sex affection were the order of the day in Berlin's many gay and lesbian establishments.

Hirschfeld's reputation as a publicist for and defender of hermaphroditic masculinity had rendered him a target of right wing groups and völkish (racial) and anti-Semitic propaganda. As early as 1920, while lecturing on experiments in endocrinology in Munich, he was attacked and nearly stoned to death by a group of young thugs from the right wing *Schutz- und Trutzbündnis* (defensive and offensive alliance), who claimed that Hirschfeld was poisoning the German people. In 1923, after lecturing in Vienna, he was administered another brutal beating by the members of a right wing student group.

Hirschfeld was severely wounded by the attacks but undaunted in spirit and action. In 1920, he led the efforts to unite leading homosexual organizations under the umbrella of an Aktionsausschuss (Action Committee) to fight for the repeal of Paragraph 175. The organizations that Hirschfeld enlisted included the SHC, Adolf Brand's Gemeinschaft der Anderen (The Community of the Self Owned), and publicist Friedrich Radszuweit's Deutscher Freundschaftsbund

(German Friendship League), which Radszuweit later changed to the Bund für Menschenrecht (League for Human Rights). The plan was to gain signatories for a new petition, build cultural and political alliances, and educate the public through travel and lectures. According to the three-pronged effort that was put into place, Brand, the leader of the aesthetic homosexual movement and publisher of several magazines, was in charge of appealing to homosexual cultural audiences, Radszuweit—who was the director of the homosexual group Deutscher Freundschaftsverband (The German Friendship Association), and the publisher of several homosexual journals, including *Das Freundschaftsblatt* (The Friendship Journal), *Die Insel* (The Island), and the first lesbian journal, *Die Freundin* (The Girlfriend), in 1924—was expected to head publicity efforts, while the SHC would lead the political lobbying and bridge-building.

The Action Committee's efforts were not without early signs of success. In 1921, 6,000 signatures—including that of Gustav Radbruch, who would become Minister of Justice the following year—were affixed to the Committee's petition for reform of the anti-homosexual statute. Later that year, Hirschfeld was made an honorary member of the British Society for Sexual Psychology, and in September of that same year he organized the First International Conference for Sexual Reform in Berlin. The conference was attended by leading experts in medicine and psychiatry from France, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, Scandinavia, China, Japan, and the United States. Lectures included: topics concerning women's emancipation; impassioned arguments from leading feminists, including Helene Stöcker, Johanna Elberskirchen, and Mathilde Vaerting, about gender equity; presentations about the influence of the endocrine glands on desire; and a lecture on the role of neurological processes in the constitution of the psychobiology of sexual orientation, by Russian neurologist N.E. Ischlondoski.⁷¹ The conference brought Hirschfeld international acclaim and further speaking engagements, including an invitation to Italy from physician Aldo Mieli of Rome. Mieli, inspired by Hirschfeld's institute, would also go on to found the Society for Sexual Psychology in Rome.

A political accomplishment for homosexual legal reform was Justice Minister Radbruch's proposal to revise Paragraph 175. It constituted the first revision since 1870, which had instituted the punishment of unnatural acts between men, including acts resembling coitus. Radbruch's newly drafted version proposed the decriminalization of all consensual same-sex acts, with the exception of prostitution and sex with legal minors.

While the homosexual emancipation movement indeed had certain cause to feel buoyed by Radbruch's proposed revision of Paragraph 175, the political and economic developments of the early 1920s soon came to negatively impinge on these early signs of victory. The assassination of progressive, Jewish Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau by right wing groups was followed by a period of unrest and crippling inflation. Apart from being the target of anti-Semitism, Rathenau's staunch adherence to the conditions of the Versailles Treaty made him a target of the National Socialists. The economic crisis, and the by now sizeable number of competing homosexual publications—by 1923, there were at least 25 homosexual groups in Germany⁷²—made publication of the Yearbook for Sexual Intermediaries no longer sustainable. Rainer Herrn notes that by the end of 1923, an issue of Radszuweit's *Blätter für Menschenrecht* (Human Rights Pages) cost 25 billion Marks. To give an idea of just how imperiling the inflation was, one U.S. dollar was worth the equivalent of 8,000 Marks in 1922. Plagued by debates concerning German war reparations, the newly configured government with National Socialist representation blocked Radbruch's proposed amendment of Paragraph 175 and, in 1924, reverted back to the pre-1922 version of the anti-homosexual statute.

Amid this atmosphere of chaos and political setbacks, Hirschfeld continued to devise new strategies for legal reform, forge new alliances, and enhance the institute's international standing. The vibrant flurry of research and clinical and social activity at the institute warrants a brief detour in the narrative of historical events. Hirschfeld's institute was regarded as the international epicenter for all types of sexual procedures. Hirschfeld and Felix Abraham, who had collaborated on the first sexual reassignment surgeries, were consulted for matters of evaluating candidates for surgery. And Danish medical experts sought out Hirschfeld's medical opinion in the famous case of Danish artist Lili Elbe (formerly, Einar Wegener), a trans-female who sought gender reassignment surgery in the late 1920s.⁷³

Hirschfeld was proud of the fact that a delegation of Soviet physicians and researchers traveled to Berlin to visit his institute. Impressed with his work, they requested a screening of the film *Anders als die Anderen* (Different than the Others) and expressed dismay at the fact that Germany had banned such a powerful film.⁷⁴ As for his part, Hirschfeld was a fierce enthusiast of the Bolshevik movement and saw Russia as a model land for sexual relationships. He believed that Russian feminists represented the vanguard of the women's movement. Bolshevik Aleksandra Kollontai was one of the feminists he

most admired. Kollontai was a very democratic figure. She defended the freedom of sexual expression and hailed it as a crucial aspect of a healthy collective society, and her later writings constituted part of the discourse on the reorganization of social relations in 1920s Russian society. Kollontai also upheld the notion that women's rights and civic equality constituted specific aspects of the Marxist revolution.⁷⁵ The fact that her writings focused more on the social importance of motherhood and the right to freely chose heterosexual contacts⁷⁶ did not diminish Hirschfeld's allegiance to her. Clara Zetkin, and to a certain extent Rosa Luxemburg, were also admirers of the Bolshevik Revolution and the discourse on sexual equality that it brought to light. The fact that women were viewed, at least in theory, as equal comrades was something that appealed to these feminists very deeply.

Hirschfeld was also greatly impressed that the Russian Revolution had brought about the abolition of the anti-homosexual statute in Russia. The fact that Russia had seen the error of punishing a natural condition made it a land that was not only enlightened but remarkably progressive and worthy of emulation. Hirschfeld, however, not only admired Russia for its progressive policies toward sexual relations and homosexuality; he, as did many of the supporters of the Russian Revolution, romanticized the land⁷⁷ for its climate of tolerance and enlightenment toward homosexuality beyond the point in which it made sense to do so. The climate of progressive sexual politics in Russia was not sustained. According to historian Laura Engelstein, the late 1920s had already signaled a change in the perception of homosexuality.⁷⁸ It went from being tolerated to being viciously denigrated. By 1934, the anti-homosexual statute in Russia had been officially reinstated under Joseph Stalin's rule. But even before Stalin's rise, post-Revolution Russia was not the land of sexual *laissez-faire* it was hailed to be. True, significant changes had been made to the Russian criminal code after the downfall of czarist Russia: consensual homosexuality between males over the age of 16 was no longer penalized, and prostitution was also decriminalized.⁷⁹ However, the overall prevailing culture was far from accepting of homosexuality. The prejudice that homosexuality was the mark of bourgeois degeneracy and aristocratic vice was prevalent in early twentieth century Russia. This prejudice was also shared by Marxists who called the Revolution of 1905, with the concomitant relaxation of censorship laws, the "bourgeois revolution."⁸⁰ Meanwhile, Hirschfeld continued to praise Russia's progressive sexual politics even beyond the point of their existence. It is highly unlikely that this could be explained by any unawareness on

his part of the backlash that had taken place there. Rather, it is more likely that as charged as Hirschfeld was about the bold social experiments that were taking place in Russia, he was unable to accept the reality that this was a place that would allow for a regression from such an enlightened and progressive stance on sexuality.

Freudian-Marxist psychologist Wilhelm Reich shared a similar fascination for Russia and Bolshevik sexuality. Reich was a fervent advocate of female and youth sexuality, and he combated bourgeois sex-negating morality. He supported Hirschfeld's efforts for sexual emancipation, but with distinct reservations. Reich was so steeped in Communist ideology, and was so irresolutely convinced of the need for a Communist revolution, that he saw Hirschfeld's movement as impotent and premature simply because it did not view Communism as a precondition for sexual emancipation. At the 1930 Congress of the World League for Sexual Reform in Vienna—a congress in which Hirschfeld played a crucial role in organizing—Reich declared that it was an illusion to hope for sexual reform in a capitalist system and that sexual reform only had a chance in a socialist society.⁸¹

While it is indisputable that the Bolshevik sexual politics were remarkably progressive for their time and represented the vanguard of early twentieth century Europe, the Communist society it aimed to create was not always successful at producing attitudes and mentalities that transcended moral dogmatism and conventional sexual biases. To be sure, all Communist ideologies privileged class concerns above all other social concerns. However, it was also not uncommon for the foregrounding of class justice in the ideological rhetoric of Communism to take on the form of hostile and prejudicial attitudes toward progressive forms of sexual expression. Lenin attacked the women's movement and believed that any form of desirable sexual emancipation would occur only once the economic revolution was consolidated. Prominent Communist novelists such as Maxim Gorky and Henri Barbusse went as far as declaring homosexuality to be a form of bourgeois decay.⁸² In this context, Gorky's views on homosexuality are particularly worth noting:

In the land where the proletariat governs courageously [*muzhestvenno*; also translated as manfully] and successfully, homosexuality, with its corrupting effect on the young, is considered a social crime punishable under the law. By contrast, in the "cultivated land" of the great philosophers, scholars, and musicians, it is practiced freely and with impunity. There is already a sarcastic saying: "Destroy homosexuality and fascism will disappear."⁸³

Of course, such erroneous value judgments and vulgar conflation were anathema to Hirschfeld's work and to his institute.

The Institute for Sexual Sciences also gave the public an opportunity to get to know Hirschfeld personally. It represented a safe haven and a magnet for social and sexual outsiders in search of acceptance. In the case of Karl Giese, it was Hirschfeld's reassuring knowledge and his fatherly protectiveness that drew Giese to the towering researcher and activist. In 1920, Giese reportedly recognized himself in one of Hirschfeld's many lectures about the characteristics of homosexuality, and bound himself to Hirschfeld emotionally and professionally. They became lifelong companions, and Giese aligned himself to the emancipationist cause by serving as Hirschfeld's secretary and the institute's guardian until its destruction in 1933, and then as trustee of the institute's legacy several years beyond that. While Hirschfeld was eminently private about his own romantic life on principle, testimonials report a mutually nurturing relationship between the two men, and that Hirschfeld occasionally engaged in cross-dressing. Giese, who was 30 years Hirschfeld's junior and distinguished by a highly sensitive nature, assumed the role of his elder's personal caretaker and attended to Hirschfeld's dress and many of the details of domestic life. Giese, for his part, took to calling Hirschfeld "Papa," a custom that was not uncommon among many of the institute's dwellers because of Hirschfeld's highly paternal nature. An equally common but less affectionate moniker that was affixed to him was Tante Magnesia (Fairy Magnesia)—a play on his first name—for his alleged dowdy expression of homosexuality.

That Hirschfeld was overwhelmingly a generous man with a gentle temperament, with his share of petty flaws and bourgeois peccadilloes, is substantiated by many testimonies of him. Günter Maeder, who had served as secretary of the institute from 1928–1930, (Giese would later assume the assumed the post during Hirschfeld's exile, revealed many an affectionate memory of the erudite physician in his interview with Hirschfeld biographer Charlotte Wolff.⁸⁴ He recalled Hirschfeld's inability to resist sweets, despite his diabetes, and making furtive requests of him for chocolate, as Giese kept close watch on his diet. Hirschfeld preferred going out with his patients, strolling arm in arm with them rather than sitting down with them, during his practice. Maeder also referred to Hirschfeld's aristocratic tastes and his penchant for Biedermeier furniture and palatial furnishings. According to other accounts, however, he was known to be slovenly in appearance, and according to sexual surgeon and gynecologist Ludwig Levy Lenz, Hirschfeld was lax in following dress customs

of the times and was never seen wearing a hat.⁸⁵ In her tribute to Hirschfeld, Erika Kwasnik remembers enjoying visits with Hirschfeld, whom she then referred as Onkel Hirschfeld (Uncle Hirschfeld) at the institute.⁸⁶ Kwasnik lived within the institute's vicinity and recalls Hirschfeld coming to her defense when she was scolded by her mother. She also recollects his Christmas festivities, even though he was not in any way religious. He saw to it that Christmas presents were bought for all of the local orphans and disadvantaged children, who were welcomed. This account is corroborated by Mayreder, who also added Hirschfeld's love for Christmas trees, Christmas carols, and the festivity itself.

Hirschfeld's fiftieth and sixtieth birthday celebrations occasioned a profusion of affectionate tributes to Hirschfeld, as did the twenty-fifth and thirtieth year anniversaries of the SHC, celebrated in 1922 and 1927 respectively. Hirschfeld, who typically accorded ceremonial recognition to milestone events, published a pamphlet on the history of the SHC through 1922, entitled *von Einst bis Jetzt* (From The Early Days Until Now), in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the SHC. During his speech, Hirschfeld acknowledged a number of his collaborators, including Iwan Bloch, who by then was gravely ill, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, and August Bebel. The anniversary celebration featured encomia to Hirschfeld by many of his colleagues, including Arthur Weil, and was attended by international guests and his recurring nemesis, Adolf Brand. Brand would go on to ridicule and malign Hirschfeld in an issue of *Der Eigene* (The Self-Owned), in 1925. Taking a childish and notoriously nationalistic tack, Brand dedicated the issue to the theme of Tanten (Fairies), and slandered Hirschfeld for his alleged promotion of hermaphrodites and denigration of the German male.

While Hirschfeld was an avid researcher and an agitator for sexual reform, he recognized that the political struggle would require revolutionary thinkers and astute strategists. Two exemplars of such people were outspoken lawyer and pacifist activist Kurt Hiller and Richard Linsert. Linsert was a Communist and an openly gay sexual reformer who occupied eminently public and structurally pivotal roles in Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee. Hiller and Linsert were instrumental in the legal fight to repeal Paragraph 175, and they helped Hirschfeld form the Cartel for Reform of the Law against Sexual Offenses in 1925. The idea was to officially unite the homosexual cause to the sexual-reform movement, and enlist the participation of the main organizations for the women's, political and sexual health causes. These organizations included the Department

for Sexual Reform of the Institute for Sexual Sciences, the League for the Protection of Mothers and Sexual Reform, the German Imperial Coalition of Dresden, the Society for Sexual Sciences, the Society for Sexual Reform, the Association for Reform of Marital Law, and the SHC. The other factions of the homosexual movement, including those led by Brand and Radzuweit, were not included in the Cartel. In 1926, the Cartel presented the petition for the repeal of Paragraph 175 to the Reichstag again. Hiller also drafted an alternative to the sexual laws in place, a *Gegenentwurf zum Sexualstrafrecht* (Counter Bill to Sexual Criminal Law), which the government took under advisement. Hiller's blueprint proposed the removal of all penalties for adultery, same-sex acts between people over 16 years of age, prostitution, and abortion, and it advocated the distribution of contraceptives.⁸⁷

Radzusweit, Brand, and other factions of the homosexual movement were displeased with this measure for a number of reasons. Brand and the members of the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*, who promoted homoerotic pederastical relationships, were particularly dissatisfied with the proposal for an age limit for consensual same-sex relationships. To many members of this group, relationships with men younger than 16 were considered ideal. Radszuweit, for his part, feared that the Cartel had been imprudent in proposing the decriminalization of prostitution, and was thereby jeopardizing the entire cause.

Upon Hiller's recommendation, Hirschfeld appointed Linsert secretary of the SHC in 1923. In 1926, Linsert was promoted to the position of the SHC's head of the Department for Sexual Reform, and in 1931 he became vice president of the SHC. Linsert was a sexual radical and a passionate critic of Soviet sexual politics. In his fiery work *Marxismus und die freie Liebe*⁸⁸ (Marxism and Free Love), Linsert shattered the illusion that Communist Russia had conquered the sexual question and was above reproach in the way in which it treated sexual minorities. He pointed out that the way in which homosexuality was treated in Soviet Russia was a far cry from progressive, or equitable for that matter. Shaped by Lenin and convinced that sexual morality had to be addressed in a Marxist fashion, Linsert saw the fight against the reigning sexual moral code as a weapon for the emerging middle class. He was a revolutionary spirit through and through, and he upheld the value of free love as a love that was liberated from the bondage of state capitalism. He inveighed against Soviet pundits' and Communist leaders' view of homosexuality in a fashion that was nothing short of passionate and vitriolic. Linsert

accused the Communist leadership of being composed of Mücke) (cowardly dogmatists),⁸⁹ and he, in turn, was viewed as spreading *dekadente Sexual Anarchie*⁹⁰ (decadent sexual anarchy). Although Hiller and Linsert were Hirschfeld's most valuable political agitators for the repeal of Paragraph 175 in the SHC, their views on the image and leadership of the SHC often diverged.

By the late 1920s, both Hiller and Linsert become openly critical about the direction in which Hirschfeld was taking the SHC and sought to undermine his leadership. They leveled complaints against his alleged disregard of the board's decisions, and they chastised him for diminishing the SHC's image by endorsing and attaching his name to the dubious impotency pharmaceutical Titus Perlen. They also accused Hirschfeld of using the committee's funds for his own financial gain. These allegations were all assembled in a pamphlet that Linsert composed to construct his smear campaign against Hirschfeld. While the Titus Perlen did avail itself as a source of income for the SHC, the allegations of Hirschfeld's efforts to undermine the SHC and seek personal gain were patently false.

Hiller and Linsert's opposition toward Hirschfeld's leadership had an entirely different source than those cited in their pamphlet and their open campaign against him. Their true cause for taking umbrage with Hirschfeld coincided with that of the majority of Hirschfeld's detractors, from both the left and the right of the political spectrum: Hirschfeld was the spokesman and principle defender of the naturalness and legitimacy of not only male homosexuality, but effeminate male homosexuals.⁹¹ Hiller resented the fact that Hirschfeld's project of liberating homoeroticism also embraced hermaphroditism, transvestitism, and other forms of deficient masculinity.⁹² He maintained that these lesser forms of masculinity had nothing to do with "that which made Sparta strong and Michaelangelo brilliant..."⁹³ Hiller and Linsert's pressure against Hirschfeld eventually caused him to willingly resign from the SHC in 1929 and appoint his friend, Otto Juliusburger, in his stead. It is likely that Hirschfeld left because, while he had an alternative vision for the committee, he was confident in Hiller's abilities and did not want to obstruct the movement. By then, it was also already clear to him that his efforts should be directed to promoting a new venture for sexual reform, one that was international in scope and would bring the finest sexual-reform minded scientific and intellectual capital under one roof.

It was thus that Hirschfeld founded the World League for Sexual Reform in 1928, with Havelock Ellis and August Forel, who co-chaired it with him. Among the scopes of the World League was

to attract medical and scientific luminaries from far and wide, and to tackle the most pressing and controversial sexual questions of the time by convening at a yearly conference. The first conference was held in Copenhagen in 1928. Later conferences were held in London (1929), Vienna (1930), and Brno (1932). The League disbanded in 1935, since the political rise of the Nazis censured such research and drove many of its members into exile.

One of the themes that dominated the 1929 conference was the women's question, and, in particular, the political implications of her sexuality and sexual pleasure. Female sexual desire, which had largely been ignored or widely discouraged in the Wilhelmine Empire and the Victorian era, had become a topic of central debate in the early 1920s. The increased presence of women in the workplace and other traditionally male-dominated spheres, along with the gains in rights and visibility that feminists had achieved after the war, gave rise to a widespread social anxiety about a significant power shift among the genders.⁹⁴ The social and psychological realities of men victimized from combat also contributed greatly to this shift. Feminists, specifically a certain group of feminists, were seen as the principle force behind this threat to male dominance. The categories of feminists that were targeted as the greatest enemy of the patriarchal social order were spinsters, lesbians, and the so-called "frigide"—in short, all women who resisted sexual intercourse with men. The key to why these women were posited as a threat to male dominance lies within the predominant assumptions about how women experienced coitus and how it affected their psyche.

Many sexologists and sex reformers of the early twentieth century framed the problem of female desire as a power issue. The advent of psychology did little to emancipate women—with false diagnoses of frigidity and placing the entirety of the blame for lacking or unsatisfied female desire on women. A number of psychiatrists and sexologists even took to prejudging women's deficient sexual desire for their male partners as an affront to extraction from themselves from their conjugal coital obligations—whether it was due to frigidity, lesbianism, or old age—as an act of willful resistance to male dominance. While this is a blatantly reductive view of female sexual desire, shunning heterosexual sex, as will be argued below, was indeed a practice that segments of the German and British feminist movements of this period saw as advantageous. Freudian psychologist Wilhelm Stekel promulgated the reactionary view that for women: "To be roused by a man means acknowledging oneself as conquered."⁹⁵ Freud, too, had argued that "some measure of sexual bondage is indispensable

to the maintenance of civilized marriage.”⁹⁶ Women who subtracted themselves from this so-called natural submission were seen as sexually subversive. Heterocoital relations were seen as an antidote for subduing unruly women and the formula for preserving the patriarchal order.

The issue of enjoyment of heterosexual intercourse divided feminists in two camps: the modern progressive feminists and the feminist prudes, who championed abstinence as a mode of feminist resistance. There was a great amount of discourse and scientific literature that preceded this debate at the 1929 World League for Sexual Reform Conference. By the mid 1920s, the issue of frigidity and female resistance to intercourse had become so polemical that sexologists and sex reformers had begun advocating the joys of the marital bed for women, and began engaging in a full-scale campaign to educate both single and married women on sexual intercourse. This campaign brought forth an explosion of literature that promoted healthy, active sex lives and condemned what was then seen as outdated Victorian prudery for women. Many of these works signaled a departure from conventional assumptions about female desire. What was new in their approach toward female sexuality was that it acknowledged the vitality and vibrancy of female desire, and that pleasure in sexual relations was as much as a prerogative for women as it was for men. Stella Browne’s pamphlet *Sexual Variety and Variability Among Women* from 1915, and Maria Stopes’s *Married Love* from 1918, which argued the legitimacy of women’s pleasure in sex, were widely read and discussed in the early 1920s. Although this attitude signaled a radical departure from the view that a woman’s sexual activity was contingent on her obligation to satisfy both the male libido and desire for progeny, there were also aspects to it that were decidedly reactionary and anti-feminist. Thomas Van de Velde’s *Ideal Marriage*, Weith Knudsen’s *Feminism: The Women’s Question from Ancient Time to the Present Day* (1928), and Walter Gallichan’s *The Poison of Prudery* (1929) argued the importance of female enjoyment of heterocoital relations from the prejudiced viewpoint that female non-participation in heterosexual intercourse would lead women to substitute their pleasure in sexual intercourse for attaining power and independence from men. Gallichan’s pronouncements on the threat of female emancipation from intercourse with men epitomized the fear and alarmism with which a potential battle of the sexes was perceived in the 1920s:

The erotically impotent women have an enormous influence upon the young, the conventions and regulations of society, and even upon

sex legislation. These degenerate women are a menace to civilization. They provoke sex misunderstanding and antagonism; they wreck conjugal happiness, and pose as superior moral beings when they are really victims of disease.⁹⁷

These discussions were continued at the World League Conference. Prominent feminists Stella Browne and Dora Russell echoed the majority of sex reformers in their promotion of female enjoyment of marital sex and criticized feminists who argued the right of refusal of intercourse or alternative forms of desire. Because of the way in which the issue was framed, feminists who maintained the right to withdraw from heterosexual intercourse were marginalized, and the issue became one which was upheld by an extremely thin minority within the feminist movement, namely, Johanna Elberskirchen. Elberskirchen was a fervently outspoken proponent of a woman's right to refuse participation in heterosexual intercourse. She argued that women's unreflected expression of their sexuality could participate in their very oppression. Her position was deemed extremely radical, and her feminism proved unpalatable in comparison to Russell's and Browne's far more popular "pro-sex" stance. This latter position also suited the social roles that were very popular for women in the 1920s: the new woman and the essentialist feminist. The new woman celebrated her sexual freedom and was synonymous with modernity in every aspect of her appearance and lifestyle. Essentialist feminists championed the qualities and natures that were unique and essential to women, and many of them sought greater protections for maternity and female sexual health.

3.7 The Ernst Röhm Affair

The Krupp and the Liebenberg affairs were not the only instances in which homosexuality was instrumentalized for political means in the early decades of the twentieth century. About a quarter of a century after the Harden-Moltke trials, another sordid homosexual scandal came pounding on the precarious position that homosexuals already occupied in Weimar society. This was a scandal that bore monumental political ramifications and at the center of it was none other than a high-profile Nazi figure, the Chief of the SA Ernst Röhm. Röhm, whose homosexuality had been a known secret within the Nazi ranks for decades, had been appointed Chief of the SA by Hitler.⁹⁸ Aside from his homosexuality, Röhm was known to have anarchical leanings, and harbored and came close to executing his ambition

of creating a militia, thereby defying Hitler's orders to decrease the power of the SA.

By the time of the Nazi insurgency in 1933, the left-wing press had embarked upon a full-blown offensive against the Nazi elite by outing homosexuals in its highest ranks. Without a doubt, the Röhm Affair was the Third Reich's most high-profile, sensationalized homosexual scandal. At the center of this scandal was Ernst Röhm—Hitler's handpicked Commander in Chief of the paramilitary group known as the SA. Röhm, who had participated in the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch—enjoyed an illustrious military career prior to heading the SA, and had been openly engaging in homosexual affairs since his days as a right wing activist in the Freikorps (free corps volunteer armies) the voluntary army, and continued to do so well into his tenure in the SA. According to historian Lothar Machtan,⁹⁹ Hitler had known about Röhm's homosexuality since 1920. Röhm embodied a distinctively martial masculinity that Hitler strove to emulate. Stout-necked, beefy, with cheeks marred by scars that he displayed like badges of honor, Röhm was declared "the living image of war"¹⁰⁰ by one of his Nazi cohorts. His psychology mirrored his appearance: "Windbags must shut up and men alone make decisions. Political deserters and hysterical women of both sexes must be unloaded; they hamper and harm you when there's fighting to be done."¹⁰¹

By 1932, incriminating letters that Röhm had written to his friend Dr. Karl Günther Heimsoth while stationed in Bolivia had surfaced. These letters revealed that Röhm had not only patronized male prostitutes, but also engaged in homoerotic relationships and felt a natural aversion toward sex with women. It had also surfaced that Röhm was a supporter of the repeal of Paragraph 175. Röhm, in fact, never denied his homosexuality. What he did deny was engaging in sex that was punishable under Paragraph 175. This was the standard approach taken by most homosexuals at this time to escape imprisonment.

The explosive hypocrisy of a homosexual among the Nazi elite was something that could simply not go overlooked. It was only natural that the left-wing press would exploit the reports of Röhm's homosexual escapades. But Röhm had been set up by homophobic Nazi insiders who coveted his position. The leftist press seized upon this information immediately and brought out attention-grabbing headlines. The Social Democratic Party's daily, the *Münchener Post*, reported "the most appalling harlotry in the sense of Paragraph 175 making itself at home in the organizations of the Hitler party."¹⁰² SPD Reichstag delegate Helmut Klotz summarized the scandal in the following words: "This fish stinks from its head. Decay reaches

deep into the ranks of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsch Arbeiter Partei (NSDAP) (National Socialist German Workers' Party)."¹⁰³ The Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands' (German Communist Party) (KPD's) *Welt am Abend* (an evening newspaper established in 1922) appealed to workers by accusing Röhm of "abusing and corrupting unemployed, young workers."¹⁰⁴ This politicization of homosexuality was clearly reminiscent of the Liebenburg scandal regarding Kaiser Wilhelm II and his industrialist friends a generation earlier.

Although the tactics taken by the left-wing press were sharply criticized by Hirschfeld and members of the homosexual movement as "der Weg über Leichen" (the path over corpses), the link between homosexuality and fascism continued uninhibitedly throughout the postwar period. Hirschfeld argued that political convictions were not formed from one's sexuality. In an essay entitled "Homosexuality and the Reichstag Elections," Hirschfeld argued that sexual orientation and political persuasion could combine in any way in any single individual. It was eminently possible and occurred quite frequently, he claimed, that one could be homosexual and simultaneously homophobic in his or her politics. He pointed out the presence of members of the Nazi Party in pro-homosexual organizations like the Scientific Humanitarian Committee and the League for Human Rights. Hirschfeld also made another basic but nonetheless crucial point about homofascism. That a number of Nazis were homosexual was an undeniable fact, he argued, but no less undeniable than the fact that there were also a great many Nazis who were heterosexual. Just as all heterosexuals could not be accused of being Nazis, nor could the same illegitimate claim be made for homosexuals. Hirschfeld urged against exploiting homosexuality as a political category and thereby undermining the gains achieved by the homosexual rights movement. Loyal to his cause, Hirschfeld did not want to subjugate homosexual emancipation to the game of political mudslinging.

It is possible to interpret Hirschfeld's response as not only principled, but pragmatic as well. He had dedicated decades of his life to reversing negative stereotypes about homosexuals' moral character and psychology. It would seem logical that he did not want to theoretically entertain the essentialist view that homosexuals homogeneously possessed a particular political bent. Hirschfeld was not ignorant of the allure that Nazism posed for many homosexuals. Nor was he disinterested in the psychodynamics that were operative in attracting homosexuals to totalitarian ideology. He was simply, and

rightly, unwilling to accept this claim in light of the many cases in which it did not apply.

That homosexuals had become the scapegoats of the anti-fascist left had been prominently observed in the literary world by Klaus Mann in his 1934 essay "Homosexuality and Fascism."¹⁰⁵ This openly gay son of Thomas Mann was not only a writer in his own right, he was also an active voice in the German Social Democratic Party (SDP) and a prominent anti-fascist voice in exile. Mann was unrelenting in his critique of the left's opportunistic abandonment of the homosexual cause and claimed that anti-homosexual bias was taking root among many factions of the left, and that this argued the urgency of solidarity among homosexuals. As for himself, Klaus Mann expressed his kinship for Hirschfeld's work, and a number of Mann's novels portray the subterranean homosexual life that Hirschfeld described in his works, particularly his 1904 *Berlin's Third Sex*. In 1934, Hirschfeld contributed an article in Mann's monthly journal *Die Sammlung I* (The Collection) in which he condemned compulsory racial sterilization and the nonsense of racism.¹⁰⁶ Beyond this, Mann also considered Hirschfeld one of his friends and had the intention of visiting him during a stay in Nice, but Hirschfeld had expired before Mann had the opportunity to say goodbye to his old friend.¹⁰⁷ Interestingly though, Mann did once refuse Hirschfeld's offer to lecture on homosexuality at the institute. This, however, had far more to do with Mann's own conflicted relationship to his homosexuality, and the fact that he had grown more conservative in the years following World War I.¹⁰⁸

Other homosexual emancipationist groups took a different line in addressing the Röhm Affair. Friedrich Radzusweit, a homosexual activist and publisher of successful homosexual publications such as *Die Insel* (The Island), *Blätter für Menschenrecht* (Journal for Human Rights), and *Das Freundschaftsblatt* (The Friendship Journal), went as far as to boast of high-profile Nazis who were members of his association. Adolf Brand, the founder of the homosexual aesthetic community *Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* (The Community of the Self-Owned) and the monthly journal *Der Eigene* (The Self-Owned)—a man inspired by anarchist Max Stirner, author of *Der Eigene und das Eigentum* (The Ego and Its Own)—admired the martial stylization of homosexuality that Röhm embodied and welcomed it as a healthy counterbalance to the effeminate prototypes of homosexuality that he claimed Hirschfeld promoted and defended. Clearly, Brand was simply trading one stereotype for another.

Interestingly enough, a number of queer theorists have encouraged viewing Brand's proposition of a virile homosexuality as progressive, in the sense that it proposed an image of homosexuality that not only opposed the dual-gender system but also subverted the notion that desire is grounded in difference.¹⁰⁹ Virile men who were attracted to equally virile men posed a challenge to the notion that desire is governed by the law of gender complementarity, as Otto Weininger and many other sexologists (including Hirschfeld in his earlier years) had argued. The notion that desire was founded in likeness was in accord with Freud's theory of narcissism. Theoretical innovations aside, there was something novel to proposing a model of male homosexuality that was divorced from effeminacy in the sexually and otherwise reactionary climate of the late interwar period. Nevertheless, the models of hypermasculinity that were being proposed by Brand were not only reproducing masculine stereotypes, but were racially charged. Invariably, the masculine prototypes of Brand's journal were modeled after the sculpted paragons of Hellenic beauty—the alleged spiritual forefathers of the Germanic race.

Reactionary homosexual groups welcomed the publicity of the Röhm scandal. In many ways, Röhm embodied the homoerotic heroism proposed by Hans Blüher, the Wandervogel's leading theorist. The notion of homoerotic friendship enjoyed enormous popularity among the Männerbund and nationalist circles.

Kurt Hiller argued that “the fighters against the outlawry of same-sex love have a whole range of tasks other than denouncing homosexuals in high places as homosexual: but that applies only to innocent, decent homosexuals: not to a decadent and cowardly pack of cinaedi¹¹⁰ ensconced in power who make themselves complicit in the persecution of their less comfortably situated fellows.”¹¹¹ As early as 1922, he had denounced the lack of ethical principles that characterized many of German homosexuals. He had estimated that 75% of the Germany's homosexuals sympathized with the right because of its emphasis on physical beauty and virility, while values centered around physical activities appeared to be suspect within the parties of the left.¹¹²

In spite of such voices of reason and the solidarity that Hirschfeld's homosexual movement had managed to garner politically, particularly with the Social Democrats, the movement lost much of its outside support from leftists once homosexuality became publicly identified as a vice in which the Nazi elite indulged. Even the most progressive exponents of Germany's social movements were not immune at

this time to anti-homosexual bias. Wilhelm Reich, for example—a prominent Freudian-Marxist psychoanalyst who was expelled from the Communist Party for his radical views on youth sexuality and on sexual economy—held that the sadism that was expressed in fascism “originated from ungratified orgiastic yearnings.”¹¹³

Chapter 4

Panhumanistic Cosmopolitanism, Exile, and Final Years

4.1 World Voyage and Sexual Ethnography

The escalation of Nationalist Socialist defamation coupled with internecine strife within the homosexual movement had caused Hirschfeld to grow weary from fighting against the current. Given the hostile political tide that was taking hold over Germany, it had become clear to him that he had achieved all that he could in Europe, and that the stimulation of foreign travel would restore him and help him put his energy to more rewarding use. Additionally, he had always professed a love for the wide open sea and had always kept a post card of the Baltic Sea on his desk to remind him of the connectedness to the rest of the world. He had written that his field was wide and did not only include Germany and Europe,¹ and the prospect of traversing geographical confines to broaden his sphere of knowledge and action after a period of protracted defeat must have felt quickening to him. It was thus that he embarked upon a world lecture tour in 1930. Aware of the precarious state of his institute and his inability to reverse to hostilities, Hirschfeld entrusted his companion, Karl Giese, with the guardianship of the institute's affairs during his absence.

The first destination on Hirschfeld's world tour was the United States. Invitations by some of his Jewish-émigré colleagues—Harry Benjamin, a German-born endocrinologist famous for transsexual surgeries, and Max Thorek, an obstetric surgeon—brought him to New York and Chicago. From there, he proceeded to California. He arrived in San Francisco just as Einstein was leaving and was hailed there as the “Dr. Einstein of Sex.”²

From California, he decided to board a ship and extend his travels to Japan, China, India, Burma, The Philippines, Palestine, and Egypt. He lectured on board ships, at hospitals and universities, and in small villages, and he was saluted as the “Vatsayana (author of the Kama Sutra) of the West” in India. But the true import of his journey for him was the sexual ethnographic insights that he gathered from the various countries he visited. He documented the customs that he observed in a foundational work of sexual ethnography, *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*³ (Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist),⁴ which he published in Switzerland in 1933.

In practicing sexual ethnography, Hirschfeld was careful not to adopt a stance of Eurocentric cultural and moral superiority or cast judgment on the cultures that hosted him.⁵ Nor did he seek to culturally exploit the exotic practices that he witnessed. He was genuinely curious about the ways of life and beliefs about sex held by these cultures. He enjoyed interacting with the local people, observing their sexual rites and rituals, and paying a great deal of attention to the religious beliefs that were prevalent in these countries, and if and how these beliefs constrained the practice of sexuality.

Convinced that religion—ascetic religions in particular—had largely contributed to humanity’s artificial suppression of natural sexual variety, he believed that the task of sexual ethnography was to prove the naturally profuse character and expressions of sexuality across the cultures. The field was also to demonstrate that religion and moral and political dogma were inadequate categories for considering and evaluating a phenomenon as natural and diverse as sexuality. He did however, show a more favorable stance toward non-ascetic religions such as Buddhism and Taoism, as these did not uphold the false belief that deep spirituality and sexuality were mutually exclusive. Only a non-evaluative science could provide an enriched understanding of how nature and environment interact to form the composite character of sexual mores. His insights on the organization of human sexuality, according to an open-ended system of distribution of sexual traits that he elaborated on in his theory of sexual intermediaries, applied to his theory of cultures as well. There were no natural and primitive cultures, according to Hirschfeld. Culture and sexual cultures, he believed, should not be considered along artificially-constructed categories of progress and primitivism.

In researching the sexual mores of different cultures, Hirschfeld held a panhumanistic perspective. This is a term that borrowed from socialist Henri Barbusse. Hirschfeld’s panhumanism upheld the fundamental and overwhelming sameness in all human beings,

independent of culture, race, sexual orientation, and economic class. This was an idea that he had already elaborated on in 1919 in an essay entitled *Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?*⁶ (What unites and separates humankind?), which he dedicated in friendship to Julius Hart on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. Arguing that the human being is an expression of variety in a unified form and that humanity represents a unified form of variety, he upheld the notions that all human beings were fundamentally similar to one another in all of the ways that were important.⁷ He gave examples of this by pointing to the universal character of a mother's grief over the loss of a child to war. Neither national affiliation, nor religion, nor language could introduce a meaningful category of difference to undermine the fundamental humanity uniting mothers. His faith in the power of an underlying principle of a humanity common to all, and his belief that societies could adjust their attitudes toward differences so as to reduce their importance and allow the sameness to shine through, led him to launch an appeal for a *Menschenheitstaat*, "a republic of humanity," a republic that would unify humanity and allow it to live its full potential. Such a republic would call for a fundamental paradigm shift in human thinking so as to see the sources of divisions among people as minor. This would allow for the abolition of the most common barriers among people, such as separate languages, economies, and geographical borders. He advocated, instead, the introduction of a unified language and economy and a pooling of natural and economic resources to form a democracy that would culminate in what Swiss psychiatrist and author of the extensive social, sexological and hygienic study *The Sexual Question*, August Forel had termed, "the United States of the World." Hirschfeld, as will subsequently be shown, would deploy this panhumanistic perspective to counter the ascendancy of race science.

In his ethnography, Hirschfeld applied this panhumanistic perspective in the ways in which he approached the manifold, fascinating, and, often for Western sensibilities, disturbing sexual practices that he witnessed. He was mystified by some of the lingam and phallus cults that he encountered in Japan and India, and was particularly struck by a fertility ritual that was practiced in Batavia (present-day Jakarta). The custom involved a cannon that women made pilgrimages and offerings to in exchange for fertility because of the site's evocation of a phallus. Yet, he remained keenly aware of the fact that applying a strictly European ethical perspective to these practices would impede rather than deepen an understanding of these cultures.

Hirschfeld deplored the repressive colonial policies that European regimes had enforced upon countries like India and China. He was fervently supportive of the revolutionary movement of Mahatma Gandhi and Sun Yat Sen. In his contact and observation of unfamiliar cultural and sexual customs, he was careful not to take an imperialist position himself with regard to certain sexual practices. So, for instance, with regard to necrophilia among Malabar-coast Tamils for instance, or polygamy among Muslims, he knew that that criticism, and an attempt to substitute these practices with European ways, would be an error and could produce more harm than good.

His anti-imperialist sensibilities did not prevent him from expressing his dismay at inhumane, life-threatening sexual practices such as widow-burning, female genital mutilation, and sex slavery. He flagrantly denounced such practices and called for a universal sexual morality in the form of sexual human rights, as advocated by legal scholar Rudolf Goldscheid before him.

4.2 Jewish Identity and Race Discourse

While Hirschfeld had proudly identified as a German national, the anti-Semitic attacks and the decade-long strife he experienced up until his resignation from the SHC had caused him to view the factors surrounding his national identity with a measure of bitterness and anger.:

I am a German—a German citizen just like Hindenburg or Ludendorff, like Bismarck and the former Kaiser. An honest German, born in Germany onto German parents. It occurred with me as with almost every newborn child in all of Europe: They are put into religious strait jackets, are either baptized or circumcised and are brought up in the faith of their procreators. Because my parents identified with the Mosaic faith, I am marked with the Mosaic stigma.⁸

This “Mosaic stigma,” the critical marker of difference that prevented him from having a legitimate placement among his co-nationals and that had long been a source of anxiety for him, had become a distinction that he had come to fully embrace toward the latter part of his life, and during his world voyage.

It was never the tenets of Jewish orthodoxy, or even the Jewish faith, that he could come to espouse—Hirschfeld was too firmly grounded in the here and now and in his faith in the human’s own potentials to relegate powers to an external being—but rather a

particular *Conditio Judaica*⁹ (Jewish Condition), the notion that Jews had a particular condition and fate in the world, that he began to recognize as operative in his own life. As both a homosexual and a Jew, he was well familiar with the condition of the scapegoat. But in describing this condition, he chose mostly to identify the secular and humanistic aspects of it. He identified with the nomadic history of the Jews, and he read into the condition of the wanderer a pretext for a cosmopolitan outlook and a natural drive for freedom.

Hirschfeld's integration of Judaism into his conception of self never entailed an endorsement of religious worship. His liberal scientific disposition was inherently contrary to the necessary disposition for confessional faith. While his secular understanding of Judaism upheld the importance of social integration, he was opposed to adaptation through Christian baptism, which had been a common assimilatory route for German Jews for over two centuries. His opposition to assimilation was largely rooted in his anti-clericalism and his rejection of Christian asceticism, which was, in his view, a revilement of the body and the material realities—the very essence of life that he believed worthy of emancipation.

Zionism would also fail to accommodate his own conception of worldly, humanistic Judaism. Travel to Palestine and his observation of the ways in which Zionism impinged upon the development of the Jewish Diaspora reinforced his position.¹⁰ Ultimately, it was his panhumanistic ideal of unifying nations, as well as the dismantling concepts that served as barriers among people, which prevented him from endorsing Zionism.

His panhumanistic outlook and first-hand experience of racial and sexual discrimination animated his views against race science and brought him to condemn it and its noxious implications. He would articulate his views against racism in a series of articles written upon his return to Europe in 1932. Because of the pervasiveness of anti-Semitism that had taken hold over large swaths of Europe by then, he experienced difficulties in finding a publisher for these essays. Ultimately, he successfully found a publication outlet for them with a Czechoslovakian publishing house. A number of these essays were later collated and posthumously published in a book volume in 1935.

Hirschfeld deployed scientific and humanistic discourse to attack the problem of race science and racism in Germany. He invalidated many of the scientific arguments around which racial hierarchies were organized and pointed out that the categories used to discern the races from one another—namely tint of skin, hair, and eyes, height,

cranium bone shape, facial structure and sexual inclinations—were scientifically inconclusive. Pointing out that no race could never be ascertained by an examination of the blood and that sexual peculiarities found equitable distribution among the races, Hirschfeld sought to dispel many of the common race science theories in circulation, and he exposed the ethical absurdity of such reasoning by claiming, “Is a human being’s worth dependent on the shape of the bones?”¹¹

He also exposed the fallacy of condemning racial miscegenation and refuted many of the bigoted claims of the major proponents of pure race theories. These included Count Arthur Gobineau, Vacher Lapouge, Hans Günther, Otto Hauser, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who argued that Teuton-Jewish miscegenation represented an “infection of the Indo-Europeans with Jewish blood, for this produces a herd of pseudo-Hebraic half-breeds and would therefore unfailingly transform the Germans into a people which would be degenerate alike physically, spiritually and morally.”¹² Hirschfeld sustained, “Inferiority is of sociological, not biological causation, and would not exist in a sanely ordered society.”¹³ He also denounced the anti-miscegenation marital laws in the United States, arguing that “where races are mingled, we find the sources of all great civilizations,” and that all liberal systems of thought viewed racial chaos as an ideal. In pointing out the injustices of the anti-miscegenation laws, Hirschfeld also raised their inherent class discrimination, since affluent couples could afford to migrate to places in which those laws could not be applied to them.

Hirschfeld inculcated National Socialists for the problem of race and for inaugurating systematic instruction about race and blood,¹⁴ and he called for a study of eugenics that would primarily concern itself with the problem of venereal diseases. He expressed full agreement with outspoken, anti-fascist American eugenicist H.J. Muller, who said, “Eugenics would only become practicable after a social revolution—by which is not meant a ‘Nationalist Socialist’ revolution and artificially created race inequalities.”¹⁵ For Hirschfeld, “only the eugenics of the new society, freed of the traditions of caste, of slavery, and of colonialism can be a thorough-going and a true eugenics.”¹⁶

The escalation of racism in Germany, according to Hirschfeld’s insight, was in large part due to a safety valve effect in response to the feelings of national insecurity:

Before the war the Germans did not need such an artifice as racism to fortify their confidence and fill them with an assurance of superiority. Their achievements in all domains, their high position in the world,

the large proportion of distinguished persons among them, sustained their proper pride, so that even the most modest could congratulate himself on being a German.¹⁷

Like many of his contemporaries, Hirschfeld presaged the outbreak of a race war. He saw the frightfulness of a race war as even more formidable than World War I. Prescient also to the fact that pacifist organizations like Pan Europa, Pan-America, and the League of Nations would be unable to avert the impending war, he believed that only the realization of the ideals of panhumanism would be able to change the course of events:

The individual, however close the ties of neighborhood, companionship, family, a common lot, language, education and the environment of a nation and a country can find only one dependable unity with which to seek a permanent spiritual kinship—that of humanity-at-large, that of the whole human race.¹⁸

More concretely, he proposed the Foundation of the International Organization for the Dispassionate Study of the Racial Problem and the more politically engaged League for the Prevention of Racism.¹⁹ A resolution to the race problem This had to be reached immediately, he argued, “before the rest of the world would become infected with the delusion that has already seized a nation to which all used to look up because of its scientific, artistic and technical achievements.”²⁰ The challenges of life in exile, his many efforts on foreign soil to reestablish the institute that the Nazis had destroyed, and his demise a few short years later would all interfere with his realization of this undertaking.

4.3 Exile and Final Years

It was during his travel to Shanghai in 1933 that Hirschfeld met Li Shiu Tong, a young medical student who would become his protégé and intimate companion. Li Shiu Tong, or “Tao Li” as he was more familiarly called, hailed from an affluent family of government officials. Nearly 40 years Hirschfeld’s junior, Tao Li decided to accompany Hirschfeld for the remainder of his voyage, and stayed by his side until the elder’s death in France in 1935. The relationship was spiritually rejuvenating for Hirschfeld and renewed his hopes in the future and the possibility to witness a Germany that would be freed from Nazi ideology. Tao Li, for his part, admired the renowned, seasoned expertise and worldliness of his mentor and partner.

It was a complex relationship and one that was not spared its challenges, if only for the precarious political situation. From a conventional point of view, the relationship challenged normative views on romantic partnerships in more ways than one. Not only was it a same-sex relationship, but an interracial, intergenerational, and non-monogamous one as well. Hirschfeld's relationship to Tao Li did not nullify what he shared with Giese. He was open to both partners about his affections and loyalties to both. As with most triangulations, it was not an equitable economy of emotion for all parties involved, despite the best of intentions. At first Giese felt Tao Li replaced him and then neglected by his *Papa*. This was attributable in large part to the fact that Giese was unable to accompany Hirschfeld in exile because of his role at the institute. In the final years of its existence, it was mostly left to Giese to attend to the demands of the institute, since it had been expunged of all of its Jewish members, and Giese had been involved with the institute since its inception. Clearly, Hirschfeld's, Giese's, and Tao Li's was not without its problems, but it lasted until Hirschfeld's death. Hirschfeld loved both of his partners and supported them financially. They, in turn, gave him their love and loyalty and stood by him until he fell ill and died. In many ways, it can be said that through his relationships with Giese and Tao Li, Hirschfeld was able to enact the spiritual procreation from which he was able to derive inspiration and strength.

In 1932, Hirschfeld returned to Europe with Tao Li to face uncertain circumstances. He had been in poor health ever since he had contracted malaria in India, and he was unable to return to Berlin, which had already been seized by the Nazis. This caused him to go into exile in Ascona, Switzerland, with Tao Li. On May 6, 1933, the Nazi students seized and plundered the institute. The institute's library was subjected to the Nazi book burning ceremonies, in which 20,000 volumes, 35,000 photographs, and over 40,000 case studies—including case studies that Hirschfeld had on Nazi soldiers—perished. Hirschfeld saw this event unfold on a newsreel in a Paris cinema. Deprived of his German citizenship in 1934, he and Tao Li relocated to Nice. Overestimating his support in France, he attempted to reestablish an institute there. However, Hirschfeld died soon after—he had a stroke and went into a coma without ever waking up on May 14, 1935, the day of his sixty-seventh birthday. His long-standing German romantic partner and secretary for the institute, Karl Giese, attempted to found an alternate institute in Brünn, Switzerland, along with other non-Jewish collaborators from

the original institute. This plan never materialized. However, Giese did take charge of Hirschfeld's literary remains.

Despite these efforts, Hirschfeld's immediate legacy would not survive the 1930s. His work toward an expansive understanding of sexual difference that transcended the bounds of the dimorphic gender model, his political activism which fought for the equality and dignity of those marginalized by the latent and encrusted sexual mores of the nineteenth century, and his distinct methodology of clinical practice, would all be eclipsed by the hegemonic rise of modern psychotherapy and the collapse of social democracy in Germany. As a consequence, Hirschfeld's ideas would lose a crucial following. Even more damaging, though, persistent postwar anti-Semitism in Germany through the 1950s and early 1960s would cause Hirschfeld's works to remain suppressed well into the 1960s. Popular misreadings of Hirschfeld's works falsely linked his theories to the most noxious ideologies of race science. As a result, his scientific efforts to emancipate homosexual and gender minorities from social and sexual stigma, and his liberal, anti-fascist politics were widely discredited and unjustly marginalized. A rediscovery of Hirschfeld and serious efforts to set the record straight on his behalf only began in the 1970s gay rights movement in Germany.

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Chapter 5

Epilogue

To acquire a horizon means that one learns to look beyond what is close at hand—not in order to look away from it but to see it better, within a larger whole and in truer proportion. . . . Only then can we listen to tradition in a way that permits it to make its own meaning heard.

—Hans-Georg Gadamer

As we have seen, Hirschfeld's scientific theories, activism, and ethical concerns posed a unique challenge to the prevailing sexual mores, laws, and sociopolitical mindset of his time. His scientific approach enabled him to question authority, reject dogma, and pursue an ethic that constituted far more than just an innovative approach to sexual equality. His approach endeavored to shatter oppressive and unfounded cultural and moral assumptions about sexual mores. More broadly, his ethos aspired to expand the horizon of what it means to be human by recognizing love as a universal right with unique and unlimited expressions. By parting with the predominant conceptions of hierarchical thinking in matters of race, class, and gender, he put forth powerful arguments for forsaking prejudicial arguments and extending freedom to sex and gender minorities.

By identifying sexual identity as a crucial facet of the human experience, he not only foregrounded the ways in which the reality of difference was a crucial aspect that underlies the constitution and expression of sexual identity, but also argued how diversity in sexual practice and desire was nature's norm rather than exception. Even more importantly, however, by applying his theories to humanistic ends, he fought to affirm the naturalness of diversity in social, political, and legal terms. His theories not only argued that sexual diversity was natural, but that difference, and not uniformity, was the most predominant aspect of human sexuality. It is in this appraisal

of difference that Hirschfeld can be seen as a precursor to queer theory.

Hirschfeld's theories supplanted previously held conceptions of sex and gender. His theory of sexual intermediaries, which maintained that sexual identity was not a fixed position in which male and female constitute mutually exclusive points in a two-sex system, exploded the dual-sex categories and argued that human sexuality was comprised of manifold combinatory possibilities of sex and gender. This theory also paved the way for today's transgender movement and laid the critical foundation for contemporary gender studies, which, for well over a decade now, has been arguing the non-identity of sex and gender.

But it would be reductive to see Hirschfeld's contribution to the present as ending there. His relevance exceeds that of academic historical interest. True, he intervened in the question of sexual emancipation during a period of German history that was characterized by strident contradictions, but it was also a period that produced a rich diversity of artistic currents and literary trends, as well as competing philosophical orientations, political ideologies, and visions for socio-economic reform.¹ Like the facets of a prism, the diverse aspects of Hirschfeld's life reflect the multiplicity of the culture and history of the early twentieth century. His principle spheres of action—research, clinical practice, and social engagement—intersected with the scientific, political, and cultural currents of his time in a way that not only disclose a unique perspective on the history and culture of the Wilhelmine and Weimar eras, but also reveal how these influenced the form and flavor of his activities. But Hirschfeld's impact, perspective, and concrete contributions to the discourse of sexual liberation have a great deal more to offer us in this unique moment in time:

...The importance of a newly advanced system, of a new explanation for certain phenomena, is not to be assessed solely on its accuracy but also, and above all, on the impetus it provides to the spirit for fresh discoveries and new appraisals (should the latter invalidate the said theory), on the channels it opens, on the barriers it removes, on the weapons it furnishes. The essential thing is that it proposes the new and at the same time opposes the old.²

The fact that Hirschfeld's theories on homosexuality presented inherent inaccuracies and distinct limitations in explaining homosexuality does not diminish the value of the enormous inroads he made in reframing the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

discourse on homosexuality. Hirschfeld transformed the discourse on homosexuality from a purely dogmatic, moralistic interpretation to an understanding of homosexuality based on rational and scientific arguments. His commitment to the scientific method enabled him to argue his claims with a clear measure of authority and objectivity. The fact that he was also simultaneously a keen observer of culture and social phenomena gives his science a human dimension, as well as valuable insight into the authentic and practical concerns of minority groups. Hirschfeld presented a method which would not only seek to explain phenomena that were otherwise judged on the basis of arbitrary value judgments, but would enhance the need and desire for further scientific inquiry into the question of homosexuality. It was a method that was not divorced from praxis. In a cultural climate like the present—that polarizes the discourse of same-sex love and sexual rights by drawing stark distinctions between science and culture, not to mention science and faith, and largely basing the legitimacy of same-sex rights on whether its origins are cultural or congenital—a synergy between science and culture, such as Hirschfeld practiced, would not only engender a dialogue that would be less alienating, but also one that would embrace more of the complexity and dimensions of lived human experience.

To unlock and renew the legacy of Hirschfeld's thought is not to deal with the past in an anachronistic fashion. To simply transfer the values of one era unto the socio-historical context of another uncritically furthers neither end of the historical spectrum. Under the conviction that: "Progressive possibilities will vanish if the past is divorced from the present like dots on a time-line. Historical inquiry justifies itself not merely by jolting memory, but by sparking hope."³ I suggest that Hirschfeld represents a viable way into the contemporary obstacles currently facing gay rights.

Hirschfeld's tradition of scientific method and his ethic of humanism are what must be revitalized in the contemporary struggle for sexual and gender equality. Whether it be to address the present-day demands for the civil rights of the straight community or enable a greater freedom of expression of sex and gender identity and subjectivity, Hirschfeld's liberal humanist approach holds open the possibility to combat prejudice and the arbitrary denial of rights through rational arguments. His ability to couple scientific rationalism with cultural awareness is also poised to fructify contemporary consciousness with a humanistic sensibility toward the legitimacy and dignity of individual expressions of sexual identity. By defending disavowed sexual identity positions, he embodied the ethic of the Kantian

categorical imperative that holds that people should be used as ends and not means.

Hirschfeld's ethic yields a reconnection with basic liberal values that have gotten lost in the contemporary fray of competing single-issue politics and solipsistic identity concerns. By risking ostracism and taking unpopular positions, his activism exemplified a firm commitment to advancing universal individual human rights, as well as a commitment to spreading tolerance. For although these values currently circulate in contemporary discourse, in praxis, they quite often exist only at a rhetorical level. Although tolerance and individual human rights are known to be the cornerstone values of liberal ethics, in practice, these values have become supplanted by identity politics articulated in the way of interests of single-issue groups or causes, whose rights and interests are so often marshaled in an obscure and politically ineffectual fashion by queer theory. More often than not, queer theory's practitioners express their opposition to dominant practices in abstruse and unintelligible prose, and in a fashion that purposely alienates mainstream majorities. By placing the emphasis on resistance and refusing to identify an objective referent, queer theory remains a theoretical posture of defiance at best and at worst, an uncritical and stubborn opposition against all institutions, initiatives, and organizations, irrespective of whether they seek to further the cause of sexual freedom or not. Ultimately it is queer theory's effete and indeterminate character and its failure to galvanize majorities and mainstream culture for progressive causes that render it politically impotent.

Despite the fact that the novelty and radical import of queer theory's oppositional posture has passed, it continues to hold large sway in the academy and among scholars. Activists and LGBT advocates such as Sherry Wolf are rightly pointing out that sexual freedom cannot be reduced to a celebration of promiscuity or the defiantly principled practice of transgressive sex. More and more, LGBT members are awakening to the fact that they have a great deal at stake in the laws and political measures that a society adopts with regard to sexual identity. Through rude economic realities and the implications of not having a place at the table, members of LGBT communities are beginning to recognize that they can no longer afford to swap the pursuit of concrete rights that are accorded by democratic institutions for the questionable and fleeting satisfaction of "performing queerness" in a manner designed to shock and "fly in the face" of the falsely posited monolith of majority culture. Change depends upon the efforts of organized majorities, among other things. Groups like

the Human Rights Committee and the Gay and Lesbian Task Force are admirable, but more is needed.

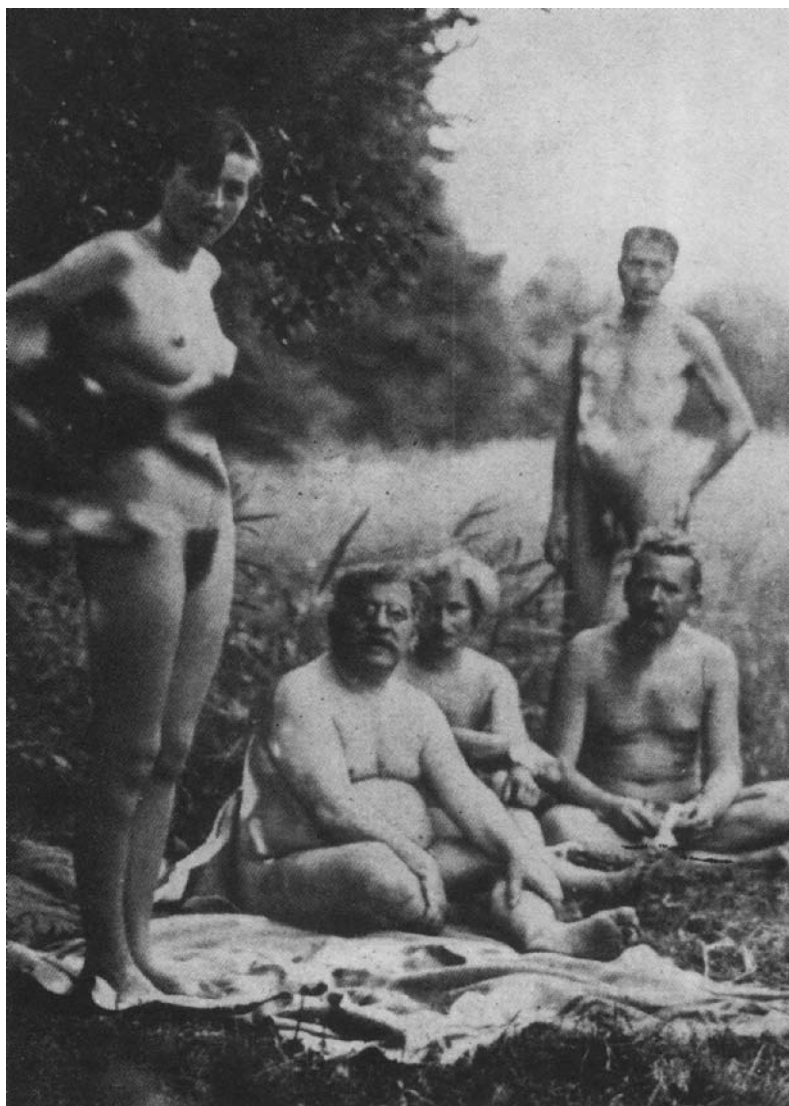
As Hirschfeld's activism and his appraisal of non-categorical sexual identities and expressions have demonstrated, fighting for equal rights and recognition of marginalized groups and pursuing these rights within a democratic framework need not entail a betrayal of diversity or throwing the movement's weakest link under the proverbial bus. Hirschfeld recognized that it was necessary to make small and steady strides toward sexual freedom and that setbacks were par for the course. He persisted with his cause because he understood that democratic institutions could expand to accommodate humanity's realities. Contrary to the commonly held belief by queer theorists that freedom lies in marginality, resistance, non-identification with recognized categories of social interaction, and pointless acting out, non-directed queer identity performances foreclose the route to any meaningful social and political gains. The idea that sexual non-conformity can only be preserved by willfully and artificially retaining its marginal position within society and its institutions does not protect the freedoms of these minorities; rather, it perpetuates their compromised position and their state of social immaturity. Hirschfeld waged his campaign at a time in which the social, economic, political, and cultural forces were adversely aligned to his causes and everything he represented. But to his struggle, he consistently brought courage, solidarity, pragmatism, perseverance, and the ability to remain on message: all of humanity has a stake in sexual freedom and the right to love as one pleases. Present realities ensure that this message may not yet be taken for granted.

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Hirschfeld with his companion, Tao Li, circa 1934, during Hirschfeld's French exile.

Courtesy of: Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen: Berlin: Bibliothek rosa Winkel, 2001 by Manfred Herzer.



Hirschfeld in Free Physical Culture section of Motzener Lake in Berlin with sexual reformers Paul and Maria Krische (sitting) and two unidentified sunbathers

Courtesy of: Magnus Hirschfeld: *Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen*. Berlin: Bibliothek rosa Winkel, 2001 by Manfred Herzer.

Appendix 1

Chronology of Hirschfeld's Life

- 1868 (May 14) Magnus Hirschfeld is born in Kolberg, Germany, present-day **Kołobrzeg**, Poland
- 1885 Hermann Hirschfeld dies
- 1889–1890 Studies medicine at University of Munich
- 1891–1892 Studies medicine in Heidelberg
- 1893 Travels to the United States
- 1896 Establishes medical practice in Magdeburg Relocates practice to Charlottenburg in Berlin; publishes *Sappho and Socrates*, treatise on homosexuality, under pseudonym Th. Ramien
- 1897 Founds the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (SHC) with Eduard Oberg, Max Spohr, and Franz Joseph von Bülow
- 1902 Alfred Krupp homosexual scandal
- 1907 Secession of Scientific Humanitarian Committee Liebenberg Affair
- 1910 Publishes book *The Transvestites*
- 1913 Founds Medical Society for Sexual Sciences and Eugenics with Albert Eulenburg and Iwan Bloch; Participates in Fourteenth International Medical Congress in London
- 1918 Appointed to the hygiene council
- 1919 Screening of film *Different from the Others*; Opening of the Institute for Sexual Sciences in Berlin
- 1920 Attacked and severely injured by right wing students in Munich
- 1921 First International Conference for Sexual Reform in Berlin

- 1921 Hirschfeld forms Action Committee for Repeal of Paragraph 175, joining forces with homosexual group leaders Adolf Brand and Friedrich Radszuweit
- 1922 Meets Karl Giese, who begins to work for the Institute of Sexual Sciences
- 1925 Forms International Cartel for Sexual Reform with Kurt Hiller
- 1926 Trip to Soviet Union; government invitation to lecture in Moscow and Leningrad
- 1928 Founding of the World League for Sexual Reform; Second Conference for Sexual Reform in Copenhagen
- 1929 Third Conference of World League for Sexual Reform in London
- 1929 Paragraph 175 is amended to legalize sex between consenting men of 21 years or older
- 1930 Fourth Conference of World League for Sexual Reform in Vienna; Co-authors *Sexual History of the World War* with Andreas Gaspar; Departs for world lecture tour
- 1931 Travels to United States, Japan, China, Indonesia, India, Philippines, Egypt, and Palestine
- 1932 Returns to Europe with Li Shiu Tong (Tao Li), arrives in Vienna; Exile from Germany; settles in Ascona, Switzerland; Fifth Conference for the World League for Sexual Reform in Brünn
- 1933 Institute of Sexual Sciences destroyed by the Nazis; Relocates from Switzerland to Paris
- 1934 Settles in Nice with Tao Li
- 1935 Hirschfeld dies in Nice, France, on his sixty-seventh birthday

Appendix 2

On Paragraph 175: A History of Germany's Anti-homosexual Law

Same-sex acts between men, or sodomy, to adopt a more historical term, was a practice that had been condemned since the early days of the Christian Roman Empire. Human bodily fluids (humors), and, particularly, life-generating semen were deemed sacred in the Judeo-Christian tradition.¹ Non-procreative sex was deemed a desecration of life-giving functions. It is according to this same logic that onanism and non-procreative heterosexual sex were also viewed as vices well into the beginning of twentieth century for certain countries. The punishment of sex acts between men has a long history in Europe.

Constantine (306–337 CE), and, subsequently, even more severely Justinian (527–565 CE)—who declared himself the implacable enemy of unmanly lust—ordered that men accused of sodomy have their penises removed and be paraded naked in the streets. Male and female same-sex acts were brutally punished by fire and the sword throughout the entirety of the Middle Ages. Under Charlemagne, the laws against homosexuality were conflated with those against bestiality (quite literally homosexuality had been “de-humanized”), and a church council at Paris explicitly endorsed capital punishment for homosexuals.

In 1769, Maria Theresia of Habsburg's *Constitutio Criminalis* called for the punishment by sword or fire of every “unnatural unchaste act,” including masturbation, “emission seminis,” in as much as it was a squandering of a precious substance.²

With the advent of the French Revolution and the spirit of liberty it propagated, there followed a sweeping abandonment of legislation that punished acts of sodomy in France and a number of other European national territories. Voltaire and Condorcet were among the voices that advocated the decriminalization of sodomy.³

In the German territories, it was not until 1813 that the state of Bavaria removed the laws against homosexuality. This was largely due to the Enlightenment arguments of the individual's rights to self rule and consensual sex put forth by Anselm Feuerbach under King Maximilian I. The law had also been abolished in the states of Hannover and Württemberg. Prussia did not follow suit. Curiously, or perhaps not so curiously, due to the implications of children and property rights, adultery was not decriminalized in the Bavarian penal code. Under Paragraph 143 of the Prussian penal code, same-sex acts between men or sex acts between men and animals were punishable by imprisonment and the loss of civil rights.⁴ With the German unification under Bismarck and the rise of Wilhelm, King of Prussia, to the imperial throne in 1871, this clause of the Prussian penal code would be extended throughout the German kingdoms and be renamed Paragraph 175.

From 1871–1935, Paragraph 175 expressly outlawed anal sex between men. However, it did not proscribe milder forms of sexual contact between men, including embraces and mutual masturbation. Lesbianism was not legally prosecuted during those years, though the parliament had issued an active proposal to extend the law to lesbians in 1909. This law was never passed, largely due to the advocacy of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, led by Magnus Hirschfeld, and the concerted efforts of various segments of the women's movement.

The end of World War I and the birth of the Weimar Republic breathed new life to the homosexual movement. Censorship was starkly reduced in the Weimar Republic. The awareness-raising efforts of homosexual advocacy groups benefited greatly from these changes. Homosexual publications could not only circulate more freely, but the number of publications representing the specific interests and political leanings of the individual groups proliferated quite notably as well.

The Scientific Humanitarian Committee and other social advocacy groups, including the League for Human Rights, the League for the Protection of Mothers and Sexual Reform, the Society for Sexual Reform, and others formed a cartel in 1925 to have Paragraph 175 reformed to legalize same-sex acts between consenting men. In compromise, the reform groups requested that the law incorporate an age limit of 16 to protect minors from being subjected to sexual misconduct.

In 1929, the German parliament came very close to repealing Paragraph 175 altogether. A parliamentary subcommittee had even prematurely reported its definitive repeal. However, the parliament

ultimately adjourned with issuing only an amendment and not a de-facto repeal of Paragraph 175. A severely weakened economy was cited among the causes for the failure to reform the legislation. Nonetheless, the amendment was celebrated as a partial victory on the part of homosexual emancipation movements, and progressives in general, since it legalized same-sex contact between two consenting adults. The fact that this amendment constituted only a victory of the second order for homosexuals manifested itself in a variety of ways: It increased the age of consent to 21 and specified as illegal sexual acts that were previously lawful. Embraces, mutual masturbation, and onanism, which were previously allowed, were now deemed unlawful under this reform. Male prostitution was still deemed a criminal offense under this amended law.

Under the Nazi regime, Hitler ordered the registration of homosexuals in response to the the Ernst Röhm scandal. The Gestapo was charged with the responsibility of creating dossiers on homosexuals and other “asocials” in the Third Reich. In 1935, the Reichstag amended Paragraph 175 of the Criminal Code to close what were seen as loopholes in the current law. The new law was composed of three parts: Paragraph 175, Paragraph 175a and Paragraph 175b.

Paragraph 175 foresaw punishment with imprisonment for a male who committed a sex offense with another male or allowed himself to be used by another male for a sex offense. In cases in which a party was not yet 21 years of age at the time of the act, punishment , especially in minor cases, refrain from punishment.

Paragraph 175a entailed punishment of up to 10 years. Under mitigating circumstances, imprisonment of not less than three months applied to: (1) a male who, with violence or the threat of violence to body and soul or life, compels another male to commit a sex offense with him or allows himself to be abused for a sex offense; (2) a male who, by abusing a relationship of dependence based upon service, employment or subordination, induces another male to commit a sex offense with him or to allow himself to be abused for a sex offense; (3) a male over 21 years of age who seduces a male person under 21 years to commit a sex offense with him or allowed himself to be abused for a sex offense; (4) a male who publicly commits a sex offense with males or allows himself to be abused by males for a sex offense or offers himself for the same.

Paragraph 175b was a reversion to the pre-1871 legislation in that it also targeted bestiality. Unnatural sex act committed by humans with animals is punishable by imprisonment; the loss of civil rights might also be imposed.

Anti-homosexuality laws were significantly relaxed in East Germany in 1969 and in 1973 in West Germany. The de-facto abolishment of anti-homosexual laws in reunified Germany however did not occur until 1994. In 2001, the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany upheld registered partnerships. These partnerships conferred some, but not all of the benefits of married couples to same-sex couples. Adoption rights were among the benefits that these partnerships did not recognize. In 2004, same-sex couples in Germany were granted partial adoption rights. In 2009, the German Constitutional Court ruled that same-sex couples should be granted the same rights and responsibilities that applied to married couples.

Notes

Prelims

1. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb* (Berlin: A. Pulvermacher, 1910).
2. For an excellent history of sex reassignment surgery, see Joanne A. Meyerowitz's *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
3. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 178.
4. Hirschfeld responded to this epithet with a playful quip. It was Einstein, Hirschfeld retorted, who should be called the "Hirschfeld of physics."
5. Judd, Diana. *Questioning Authority: Political Resistance and the Ethic of Natural Science* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009) 7–8.
6. For a discussion, see Aronowitz, Stanley, *How Class Works* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
7. Bronner, Stephen Eric, *Socialism Unbound*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Westview Press, 2001).
8. Weber, Max. "The Objectivity of Knowledge in Social Science and Social Policy." *The Essential Weber: A Reader*. ed. Sam Whimster (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).
9. The fallibility of anchoring a defense of social or political customs or preferences in nature has been problematized by numerous social critics and sexual theorists of the recent years. Nietzsche, in Book Four of *The Gay Science*, also assailed the facile practice of attributing sickness and undesirable traits to nature. It was precisely the value judgments contained in these perceptions of nature that Nietzsche found lamentable. In more recent history, Roger N. Lancaster [*The Trouble with Nature: Sex in Science and Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).] has passionately exposed how the widely current popular fields of sociobiology and evolutionary psychology—fields that purportedly claim to approach questions of sexual identity and desire from a "scientific" or natural viewpoint—are in most instances more ideological than scientific in their use of spurious scientific methodology and frequent recourse to mythologized archetypes of the masculine and feminine. See also in this regard: Timothy F. Murphy's [*Gay Science: The Ethics of Sexual Orientation Research* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).]

10. Wolff, Charlotte. *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986).
11. In this regard, the most appreciable understanding of the workings and implications of Hirschfeld's doctrine of sexual intermediaries available thus far in English language scholarship has been evinced by J.E. Bauer. See: Bauer, J. Edgar. "Magnus Hirschfeld's Doctrine of Sexual Intermediaries and the Transgender Politics of Identity." 11 Nov. 2006, <http://www.iisg.nl/~womhist/hirschfeld.doc>
12. Wolf, Sherry. *Sexuality and Socialism: History, Politics, and Theory of LGBT Liberation*. (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2009) Chapter Title, 236.

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1. Wolff, Charlotte. *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, Ltd., 1987) 22.
2. Herzer, Manfred. *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001) 42.
3. Dose, Ralf. *Magnus Hirschfeld. Deutscher Jude: Weltbürger*. (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich Stiftung, 2005) 12.
4. Goethe qtd in Th. Ramien, *Sappho und Sokrates: oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?* (Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1896) 2.
5. Dose, Ralf. *Magnus Hirschfeld. Deutscher Jude: Weltbürger*. (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich Stiftung, 2005) 20.
6. Dose, Ralf. *Magnus Hirschfeld. Deutscher Jude: Weltbürger*. (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich Stiftung, 2005) 33.
7. My Translation of Hirschfeld in Dose, Ralf. *Magnus Hirschfeld. Deutscher Jude: Weltbürger*. (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich Stiftung, 2005) 44.
8. Hau, Michael. *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890–1930*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003) 79.
9. Schiller in Hirschfeld, Magnus. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 367).
10. Goethe in Hirschfeld, Magnus. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 367).
11. A founding father of sexology and the author of a landmark sexological study, *The Sexual Life of Our Time in Relation to Modern Civilization*, Bloch also rediscovered the Marquis de Sade's *120 Days of Sodom*, which was believed to have been lost and published it under the pseudonym, Eugène Dühren.
12. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Sex in Human Relationships*. Trans. John Rodker (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1935) 5.
13. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Sex in Human Relationships*. Trans. John Rodker (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1935) 5.

14. Erich Fromm, *The Art of Loving* (1956; New York: First Perennial Classics, 2000) 33.
15. Hammermeister, Kai, *The German Aesthetic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
16. Stöcker, Helene, "Marriage and Sexual Reform" (1916). *German Feminist Writings*. eds. Herminghouse, Patricia and Magda Mueller. Trans. Jörg Esleben (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc., 2001) 216.
17. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Racism*. Trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Kennikat Press, 1973) 115.
18. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Racism*. Trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Kennikat Press, 1973) 115.
19. Goethe qtd in Hirschfeld Magnus, *Racism*. Trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Kennikat Press, 1973) 254.
20. See: Oosterhuis, Harry, *The Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000). Rosario, Vernon, *Homosexuality and Science: A Guide to the Debates* (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio Inc. 2002). Haeberle, Erwin J, *The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents* (Washington, DC: World Association for Sexology, 1983).
21. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 369.
22. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 368.
23. Nietzsche qtd. in Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 368.
24. This notion rings both timeless and timely, particularly in view of the current debates on gay marriage.
25. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 369.
26. For excellent historical accounts of modernity and the emergence of gay identity, see John D'Emilio "Capitalism and Gay Identity" *The Columbia Reader: On Lesbians and Gay Men in Media, Society and Politics*. eds. Gross, Larry and James D. Woods (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999) 48–55 traces the ways in which the rise of a modern industrial economy and the new social spaces it engendered fostered the emergence of gay identities. See also Weeks, Jeffrey, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981) and Chauncey, George, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).
27. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht*. Ed. Manfred Herzer (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1991) 123–124.
28. See: Hirschfeld, Magnus and J. R. Spinner, *Geschlecht und Verbrechen* (Leipzig: Schneider, 1930) and Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Berlins drittes*

- Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900*, Manfred Herzer ed. (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991).
29. Weininger, Otto, *Geschlecht und Charakter: Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung* (Wien, Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1905).
 30. Poldervaart, Saskia. "Theories About Sex and Sexuality in Utopian Socialism." Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley. eds. *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 57.
 31. Poldervaart, Saskia, "Theories About Sex and Sexuality in Utopian Socialism," *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left* Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995).
 32. Many aspects of Fourier and Saint-Simon's erotic philosophies were taken up and readapted in the sexual movements of the 1960s. The Oneida Community in New York, which foundered in 1881 because of internal leadership problems was one of them. See: Talese, Gay, *Thy Neighbors Wife* (New York: Double Day, 1980).
 33. His erotica was the subject of an amusing scene in Rosa von Praunheim's biopic of Hirschfeld in 1999, *Der Einstein des Sex*. The scene zeros in on Dr. Hirschfeld shocking a number of leading international sex researchers by addressing them in a gallery that is lined with the most exotic sex objects.
 34. See: Schorske, Carl. E, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980) and Mosse, George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
 35. One need only to think of Stefan Zweig's protagonist in *The Confusion of Feelings* (1929) and Robert Musil's physically and psychologically tormented adolescent, Torless in *The Confusions of the Young Torless* (1906) to get a sense of how the development of sexual identity and sexual self awareness was both an inner and outer struggle.
 36. German literature of the early twentieth century (both by canonical and by lesser known writers) is rife with examples of homosexuals who had to fashion a double life for themselves. This duplicity is epitomized in Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* as the death of the protagonist Gustav von Aschenbach represents the extreme consequence of the predicament of being trapped between irreconcilable realms. Here the duality resides not only between the competing demands of an aesthetic and the bourgeois existence—a theme that is present in all of Thomas Mann's work, but also in the tension between health—which the novel associates with bourgeois values—and sickness, which in the novel is expression of sexual authenticity, in this case the acknowledgment and expression of male homosexual desire. As the novel clearly illustrates, the pursuit of homosexual desire not only leads to social ostracism, but ultimately to physical death. This tension surrounding the nature of sexual desire and the preservation of social existence is manifest in numerous works of early twentieth century literature. General Solferino's life-long silent homoerotic affection for and material support of his bohemian artist friend in Joseph

- Roth's *Radetsky March* exemplifies how the erotic threatens to undermine social existence. Klaus Theweleit's *Männerfantasien* (1987, 1989), a groundbreaking study of how sexuality posed a threat to social political identity in the interwar period offers interesting insights into the psychological dimensions of consciously closeted or latent sexual desires.
37. Mosse, George L. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985). See also Peter Gay, Erich Weitz, Detlev Peukert, and Kniesche and Brockmann.
 38. For an excellent history of Wilhelmine and Weimar life reform movements, see Hau, Michael, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890–1930*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.
 39. See: Jelavich, Peter, "Wedekind's *Spring Awakening*: The Path to Expressionist Drama." *Passion and Rebellion: The Expressionist Heritage*. Ed. Stephen Eric Bronner and Douglas Kellner (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) 129–150.
 40. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 368.
 41. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 446.
 42. Milton, John, "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." *John Milton: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*. Orgel, Stephen and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
 43. Milton brilliantly deploys Christian arguments to champion the cause of divorce: 'Tis read to us in the liturgy that we "must not marry to satisfy the fleshly appetite, like brute beasts that have no understanding", but the canon so runs as if it dreamt of no other matter than such an appetite to be satisfied; for if happen that nature hath stopped or extinguished the veins of sensuality, that marriage is annulled. But though all the faculties of the understanding and conversing part after trial appear so ill and so aversely met through nature's unalterable working as that neither peace nor any sociable contentment can follow, 'tis as nothing; the contract shall stand as firm as ever, betide what will. What is this, but secretly to instruct us that however many grave reasons are pretended to the married life, yet that nothing indeed is thought worth regard therein but the prescribed satisfaction of an irrational heat? Which cannot be but ignominious to the state of marriage, dishonorable to the undervalued soul of man, and even to Christian doctrine itself, while it seems more moved at the disappointing of an impetuous nerve than at the ingenuous grievance of a mind unreasonable yoked, and to place more of marriage in the channel of concupiscence than in the pure influence of peace and love, whereof the soul's lawful contentment is the only fountain. Milton, John, "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." *John Milton: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*. Ed. Orgel, Stephen and Jonathan Goldberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 188.
 44. Nietzsche, Friedrich, "Beyond Good and Evil." Trans. Walter Kaufmann. *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*. ed. Kaufmann, Walter (New York: The Modern Library, 1992) 282.

45. For further reading on Stöcker's feminism, see Leck, Ralph and Jeffreys, Shiela. For further reading on German feminisms see, Herminghouse, Patricia A. and Magda Mueller, Eds. *German Feminist Writings* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2001).
46. For more on Simmel's influence on Hiller and Stöcker see: Leck, Ralph, M, *Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity: 1880–1920* (New York: Humanity Books, 2000).
47. Hiller, Kurt, *Das Recht über sich selbst: eine strafrechtsphilosophische Studie* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1908).
48. Hiller in Leck, Ralph M, *Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity: 1880–1920* (New York: Humanity Books, 2000) 240.
49. See: Steakley, James. D, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement* (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1993) 91; Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987); Herzer, Manfred, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines, jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001); Leck, Ralph M, *Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity: 1880–1920* (New York: Humanity Books 2000).
50. Lili Braun was on the far left of the feminist movement. She embraced Marxism in 1895 and soon became a critic of the SPD and even more adamant than Bernstein in her revisionism. She attacked the primacy of class in the party and demanded that the party prioritize rectifying first and foremost the human side of capitalist exploitation rather than the exploitation of labor. See: Meyer, Alfred, G, *Lili Braun: Selected Writings on Feminism and Socialism by Lili Braun*. Intro. (ix–xvii). Translated and Edited by Alfred G. Meyer (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987).
51. Leck, Ralph M, *Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity: 1880–1920* (New York: Humanity Books, 2000) 232.
52. See: Haerberle, Erwin J, *The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents* (Washington, DC: World Association for Sexology, 1983).
53. Leck, Ralph M, *Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity: 1880–1920* (New York: Humanity Books, 2000) 240.
54. Stöcker, Helene. "Moderne Bevölkerungspolitik." *Die neue Generation*. 4. 12 (1916) 79.
55. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900*. Manfred Herzer ed. (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991). Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges*, ed. Magnus Hirschfeld, vol. 2 (Leipzig und Wien: Verlag für Sexualwissenschaft Schneider & Co, 1930).
56. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 368.
57. Stöcker, Helene, "Marriage and Sexual Reform" (1916). Trans. Jörg Esleben. *German Feminist Writings*. Herminghouse, Patricia and Magda Mueller. Eds. (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc., 2001. 215–218) 217.

58. Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 369.
59. Hekma, Gert. Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley. "Leftist Sexual Politics and Sexuality: A Historical Overview." Hekma, Gert. Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 15 Soma Marik in her article, "A Pioneering Male Socialist Feminist: The Recovery of August Bebel," <http://www.feministezine.com/feminist/modern/August-Bebel.html>, specifically reports more specifically that Women in Socialism appeared in fifty-three German language editions, was translated into twenty languages and sold almost one million and a half copies.
60. Bronner, Stephen Eric, *Socialism Unbound*, 2nd ed (Colorado: Westview Press, 2001) 47.
61. Berg, Leo, "Kulturprobleme der Gegenwart." *Geschlechter*. 2,2. (Berlin: 1906) 166.
62. John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-De-Siècle Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994) 25.
63. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books Ltd., 1986) 43.
64. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist*. Trans. (New York: AMS Press, Inc. 1974) 276. See also: Biale, Daniel, *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America* (New York: Basic Books, 1992) 176.
65. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 33.
66. Homosexuals from Germany and the European Protestant lands flocked to Naples, which did not have an anti-homosexual statute, to engage in same-sex affairs and love in the absence of the specter of punishment and to indulge in the evocativeness and exuberance of the Neapolitan landscape. By the early twentieth century, Naples had become a trope for homosexual laissez-faire.
67. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 31.
68. See: Laqueur, Walter Z, *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement* (New York: Basic Books Publishing Co., Inc., 1962). Hepp, Corona, *Avantgarde: Moderne Kunst, Kulturkritik und Reformbewegungen nach der Jahrhundertwende* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1987).
69. The philosophical tradition of the Enlightenment played an influential role in shaping socialist political engagement and the ideas behind Hirschfeld's social activism. Bronner argued that the idea of the "'socialist republic' generated by the Revolutions of 1848 was predicated on liberal principles rather than their abolition." in Bronner, Stephen Eric, *Reclaiming the Enlightenment: Toward a Politics of Radical Engagement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004) 154.

70. Hekma, Oosterhuis and Steakley point out that this was in contrast to utopian socialists in the lineage of San Simon and Fourier, who gravitated more toward philosophical arguments. See Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley. "Leftist Sexual Politics and Homosexuality: A Historical Overview." *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left* eds. Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley. (New York: Haworth Press, 1995) 7.
71. Forel was also famous for speaking on the women's question and advocating women's sexual freedom. He was also one of Hirschfeld's esteemed colleagues at Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Sciences.
72. Linse, Ulrich. ">>Geschlechtsnot der Jugend<<Über Jugendbewegung und Sexualität">>*Mit us zieht neuzeit<<Der Mythos Jugend*. Eds. Thomas Koebner, Rolf-Peter Janz and Frank Trommler. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985) 245–309.
73. See Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987).
74. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 252.
75. Dose, Ralf. "Magnus Hirschfeld als Arzt." *Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft* 13 (1989): 9–23.
76. Wolff, Charlotte. *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 170.
77. See Hau, Michael, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History 1890–1930* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003) and Hepp, Corona, *Avantgarde, Moderne Kunst, Kulturkritik und Reformbewegungen nach der Jahrhundertwende* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1987).
78. With the abolition of Bismarck's anti-socialist laws in 1890 and the SPD's increasing expansion and identification as a mainstream party, the party's affinity for leftist intellectualist social critique waned. This became particularly so after the Second International as the party assumed a more proletarian identity. Intellectuals for their part, began identifying more and more with influential cults such as Zarathustran Nietzscheanism and Stirnerism, which only widened the gap between interests of labor and many intellectuals. See Fähnders, Walter. "Anarchism and Homosexuality in Wilhelmine Germany: Senna Hoy, Erich Mühsam, John Henry Mackay." *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*. Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds (New York: The Hawthorne Press, 1995) 117–153.
79. For an excellent critical discussion of Freud's influence on these playwrights and the feminist ambiguity of some of these plays see: Finney, Gail, *Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theater at the Turn of the Century* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press) 1989.
80. Magnus Hirschfeld. "Literarisches Selbstbekenntnis/ Zu meinem 60. Geburtstag." *Die literarische Welt*. May 1928, N. 21/22. (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1973). *Die literarische Welt* paid homage to Hirschfeld on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. My translation.

81. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900*. Manfred Herzer ed. (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991).
82. Hirschfeld had not formally identified cross dressing as transvestitism by this point. He would do so in 1910. Although he differentiated between transvestitism and transgenderism, this differentiation was not reflected in his terminology. He referred to both as transvestitism.
83. In his 1914 opus, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* [in English: Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000)] Hirschfeld offers a latitudinal view of homosexual spaces and practices throughout continental Europe.
84. "Man muß an vielen Beispielen wahrgenommen haben, mit welcher Innigkeit in solchen Bündnissen häufig der eine an dem anderen hängt, wie sie für einander sorgen und sich nach einander sehnen, wie sie sich der Liebende in die ihm oft so fern liegenden Interessen des Freundes hineinversetzt, der Gelehrte in die des Arbeiters, der Künstler in die des Unteroffiziers, man muß gesehen haben, welche seelischen und körperlichen Qualen diese Menschen nicht selten infolge Eifersucht erleiden, um allmählich inne zu werden, >>daß kein Fall widernatürlicher Unzucht<< vorliegt, sondern ein Teil jener großen Empfindung, die nach der Ansicht vieler dem Menschendasein erst Wert und Weihe gibt." in Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900*, Manfred Herzer ed. (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991) 38.
85. For an interesting discussion about the intersection of homosexuality, criminality and urban spaces see Prickett, David James. "Defining Identity via Homosexual Spaces: Locating the Male Homosexual in Weimar Berlin." *Women in German Yearbook* 21 (2005): 134–162.
86. "'Feste Verhältnisse' homosexueller Männer und Frauen, oft von sehr langer Dauer, sind in Berlin etwas ganz außerordentlich Häufiges." in Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900*, Manfred Herzer ed. (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991) 36.
87. In his reflections on café-culture in his essay, *A Berlin Chronicle*, Walter Benjamin how vice (for our purposes: read alternative sexualities) was easy to cultivate in city life. "The time had not yet arrived when the frequenting of cafés was a daily need, and it can hardly have been Berlin that fostered this vice in me, however well the vice later adapted itself to the establishments of that city [in *Reflections Walter Benjamin: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, Ed. Peter Demetz. Trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Schocken Books, 1978. 3–60) 21.]
88. Simmel, Georg, "The Metropolis and Mental Life." 1903. *Georg Simmel on Individuality and Social Forms: Selected Writings*. ed. Donald N. Levine (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971).
89. McKay was a homosexual writer and an anarchist of the Stirnerian mold. He was apolitical and repudiated Hirschfeld's biological approach to the legal reform of anti-homosexual legislature. He subscribed to the Classical view of male homosexuality and published most of his literary works under the pseudonym of Sagitta.

90. Mancini, Elena. "Boys in the City: Homoerotic Desire and the Urban Refuge in Early Twentieth Century Germany." *Fleeing the City: Studies in the Culture and Politics of Anti-Urbanism*. Ed. Michael J. Thompson. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
91. John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-De-Siècle Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994) 30.
92. Simmel's Jewishness kept him from attaining professorial status. He lectured at the University of Berlin for over three decades and had recommendations from philosophers as illustrious as Max Weber. He was finally granted a full professorial position in 1914 (four years before his death) at the University of Strassbourg. See: Leck, Ralph M, *Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity, 1880–1920* (New York: Humanity Books, 2000) 233.
93. John M. Efron, *Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-De-Siècle Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994) 32.
94. Hirschfeld, Magnus, "Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?" (Berlin: Arbeitsgemeinschaft fuer Staatsbuergerliche und wirtschaftliche Bildung, 1919) Hirschfeld dedicated this essay to his friend Julius Hart.
95. Hirschfeld, Magnus, "Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?" (Berlin: Arbeitsgemeinschaft fuer Staatsbuergerliche und wirtschaftliche Bildung, 1919) Hirschfeld dedicated this essay to his friend Julius Hart.

2 Evolution of Hirschfeld's Scientific Outlook

1. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Sex in Human Relationships*. London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1935, xx. Hirschfeld wrote this book during his exile in France, in French under the title of "L'ame et l'amour." He died shortly before the publication of this book in 1935.
2. Murphy, Timothy F. *Gay Science: The Ethics of Sexual Orientation Research* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) 11.
3. Judd, Diana M. *Questioning Authority: Political Resistance and the Ethic of Natural Science* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009) 1.
4. Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley. "Leftist Sexual Politics and Homosexuality: A Historical Overview." *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left. Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, Eds.* (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 17.
5. Robert Proctor points out the inadequacy of the English word "science" to convey the extent of the meaning of "Wissenschaft, which encompassed the disciplines of theology, medicine, law and philosophy, Proctor proposes the words "scholarship" and "study" in the place of science to render a more accurate representation of what is intended by "Wissenschaft." Proctor, Robert. *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991, 75.
6. For an excellent discussion, see Gillian Rose, *Hegel Contra Sociology* (London: Athlone Press, 1981).

7. See Proctor, Robert, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 80–81.
8. See Proctor, Robert, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 81.
9. Philosopher Eduard Zeller issued a call for “Erkenntnistheorie” in his Heidelberg address on “The Meaning and Scope of *Erkenntnistheorie*.” Zeller privileged *Erkenntnistheorie* over other kinds of philosophy and claimed that “the new theory of knowledge was to be based not on speculation but on the latest results of science.” Qtd. in Proctor, Robert, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 80.
10. Proctor, Robert, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 82.
11. Max Weber reflected on the transformations that were occurring in the sciences and in particular on the phenomenon specialization in academia in his 1919 essay, “Science as a Vocation.” (*From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Trans. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).
12. Proctor, Robert. *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 85.
13. Proctor, Robert, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 102.
14. Proctor, Robert, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 82.
15. McCarthy, George E, *Classical Horizons: The Origins of Sociology in Ancient Greece* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003).
16. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist*. Trans. (New York: AMS Press, Inc. 1974).
17. G.W.F. Hegel in his *Phenomenology of Spirit* criticized empirical science as consisting of a “mere ‘collection of facts and discovery of unusual examples.’” This critique accrued to his attack of the “crude materialism” of the French Enlightenment. Proctor, Robert, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 73.
18. See Muthu, Sankar. *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
19. Smith, Woodruff, D. *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 107.
20. Smith, Woodruff, D. *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 26.
21. Hirschfeld, Magnus. “*Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?*” (Berlin: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Staatsbürgerliche Bildung), 1919.
22. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism*. Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1938). This work is a fragment of Hirschfeld’s writings on race. These did not appear in book form during his lifetime. “Phantom Rasse: Ein Hirngespens als Weltgefahr” *Die Wahrheit* (Prague: 1–8, 1935).
23. Proctor, Robert, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 136.

24. Proctor, Robert, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 215.
25. Smith, Woodruff D, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 33.
26. Smith, Woodruff D, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 107.
27. Smith, Woodruff D, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 107.
28. Smith, Woodruff D, *Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
29. For excellent sexual histories of Victorian England, see Weeks, Jefferey and Jeffrey, Sheila.
30. Mosse, George, L. *Nationalism and Sexuality*. 1985.
31. Mosse, George, L. *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
32. Sombart, Nicolaus. *Die deutschen Männer und ihre Feinde: Carl Schmitt: ein deutsches Schicksal zwischen Männerbund und Matriarchatsmythos* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997) 48.
33. In spite of this government remained in the hands of conservative coalitions that enjoyed the Kaiser's favor. The Social Democratic Party would not govern until the start of the Weimar Republic.
34. Turner, William B, *A Genealogy of Queer Theory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000) 36–61.
35. Haerberle, Erwin J, *The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents* (Washington, DC: World Association for Sexology, 1983).
36. Stümke, Hans-Georg. *Homosexuelle in Deutschland: Eine politische Geschichte* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989) 24.
37. Magnus Hirschfeld, "Über Sexualwissenschaft", *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, vol. 1 (Berlin: 1908) 1–2, my translation.
38. Iwan Bloch, "Aufgaben und Ziele der Sexualwissenschaft", *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*, vol. 1, (Berlin: 1908) 2–3, my translation.
39. This work has been translated into English as *Perversions of the Instinct: A Study of Sexual Inversion*. Trans. Maurice Popkin (Newark: Julian Press, Inc., 1931).
40. See Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) as well as Oosterhuis, Harry, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).
41. Oosterhuis, Harry, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). Wolff, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1986). Herzer, Manfred, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines, jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001).
42. Oosterhuis, Harry. *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

43. Richard von Krafft Ebing in Hirschfeld, Magnus. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 59.
44. Qtd. in Hirschfeld, Magnus. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000), 440.
45. Herzer, Manfred. "Wilhelm Reich und Magnus Hirschfeld: gescheiterte Konzepte sozialistischer Sexualpolitik und Faschismus." *Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft*. 2 (1983): issue without page numeration.
46. For a basic overview of the debate, see: Rosario, Vernon A, *Homosexuality and Science: A Guide to the Debates* (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II, 2002).
47. See Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986), 36.
48. Haeberle, Erwin J, *The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents* (Washington, DC: World Association for Sexology, 1983).
49. Noted in Oosterhuis, Harry and Hubert Kennedy, Eds. *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*: Intro (New York and London: Harrington Park Press, 1991) 199. von Westphal, Carl. "Die Konträre Sexualempfindung," *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten*, 1869, 2. 73–108.
50. In his *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel [Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Trans. A.V. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).] refuted physiognomy as a science and as a valid means of knowing as opposed to extracting meaning with regard to self conscious individuality. At best, Hegel argued, physiognomy revealed a relationship between certain features and specific ways of being. The determinate character of these external features as physiognomy dealt with them, however were only a reflection of inner being and not being itself. At best, Hegel claimed, physiognomy revealed the mere capacity of an individual to be something, such as murderer, for example, but it by no means encompassed the full range of possibilities for being. Physiognomy as a tool for understanding being was very limited. It was as unreliable as viewing the deed as a reliable expression of being.
51. Ramien, Th, *Sappho und Sokrates: oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?* (Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1896).
52. Ramien, Th, *Sappho und Sokrates: oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?* (Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1896), 30 (my translation).
53. Quoted in Charlotte Wolf. *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology*. (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 31.
54. Ramien, Th, *Sappho und Sokrates: oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?* (Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1896) 26.
55. In 1871 Paragraph 143 was extended throughout the entire Second German Empire and became known as Paragraph 175, For genealogy of

- Paragraph 175, see Hirschfeld, Magnus. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi. (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000). Oosterhuis, Harry and Hubert Kennedy. Eds. *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany: The Youth Movement, the Gay Movement, and Male Bonding before Hitler's Rise*. (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1991). Stümke, Hans-Georg. *Homosexuelle in Deutschland: Eine politische Geschichte*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989).
56. Bullough, Vern. L. Introduction. Ulrichs, Karl-Heinrich. *The Riddle of "Man-Manly" Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality*. Vol. 1. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. (New York: Prometheus Books, 1994) 1.
 57. For more on Ulrichs see Kennedy, Hubert. "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: First Theorist of Homosexuality." *Science and Homosexualities*. Ed. Vernon Rosario. (New York: Routledge, 1997) 26–45 and Steakley, James, D. *The Homosexuality Emancipation Movement in Germany*. (New York: Arno Press, 1975).
 58. Italy, which did not criminalize homosexuality in the late nineteenth century, also represented a popular refuge for German homosexuals of previous generations. Winkelmann and von Platen also retired to Italy. See: Steakley, James. *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany* as well as Jones, James, L. *We, the Third Sex*.
 59. See: Jones, James W. "We of the Third Sex:" *Literary Representations of Homosexuality in Wilhelmine Germany*. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1990).
 60. Ulrichs borrowed the term from Pausanias' speech on the love between men, which derived from Aphrodite Urania (the Aphrodite born in the absence of a woman—see previous note) in Plato's *Symposium*. Pausanias' differentiated between Aphrodite Urania and Aphrodite Dione, who was born of the heterosexual intercourse between Zeus and Dione.
 61. The term also stems from Aphrodite Dione, referenced in Plato's *Symposium*. See note #5.
 62. Ulrichs, Karl Heinrich, *The Riddle of Man-Manly Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality*. Trans. Michael A Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 1994). Bauer, J. Edgar, "Magnus Hirschfeld's Doctrine of Sexual Intermediaries and the Transgender Politics of Identity," <http://www.iisg.nl/~womhist/hirschfeld.doc>
 Haerberle, Erwin J, *The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents* (Washington, D.C.: World Association for Sexology, 1983). Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000). Oosterhuis, Harry and Hubert Kennedy, *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany* (New York and London: Harrington Park Press, 1991).
 63. Rosario, Vernon A, *Homosexuality and Science: A Guide to the Debates* (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II) 2002.
 64. Lacquer, Thomas. "Orgasm, Generation and the Politics of Reproductive Biology." In Gallagher, Catherine and Thomas Lacquer. Eds. *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Thomas

- Lacquer explains the transition from a one-sex system to a dual-sex system, which argues the existence of natural, biological differences between men and women, as a theoretical means to justify social inequalities in the immediate post-French Revolution era.
65. See: Blüher, Hans. *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*. Publication Data. 1919 and 1926.
 66. See: Hepp, Corona, *Avantgarde, Moderne Kunst, Kulturkritik und Reformbewegungen nach der Jahrhundertwende* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1987). Laqueur, Walter, *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement* (New York: Basic Books Publishing Co., Inc., 1962).
 67. Pedagogical reformer and founder of the alternative school system the "Freie Schulgemeinde," Gustav Wynecken upheld the value of pedagogical eros in many of his pedagogical writings. See: Hepp, Corona, *Avantgarde, Moderne Kunst, Kulturkritik und Reformbewegungen nach der Jahrhundertwende* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1987). Koebner, Thomas, Rolf-Peter Janz and Frank Trommler, eds. *"Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit:" Der Mythos Jugend* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985).
 68. See: Oosterhuis, Harry and Hubert Kennedy, *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*. (New York and London: Harrington Park Press, 1991). Mosse, George L, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
 69. See Mosse, George L, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
 70. Hirschfeld referred to the third sex myth described by Aristophanes in Plato's Symposium and the retrieval of the lost self for a literary parallel of the dynamics of desire in heterosexuals.
 71. Ramien, Th, *Sappho und Sokrates oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?* (Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1896) cover page.
 72. Quoted in Th. Ramien, *Sappho und Sokrates: oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?* (Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1896) 18.
 73. It is important to note that in nationalist, aesthetic homosexual communities, not only were such arguments unwelcome, but also seen as false, as they in many cases viewed themselves superior to common female-loving men. This attitude is particularly evidenced in the writings of Friedlaender and Blüher. Whether or not scientific explanations for same-sex love further the social and political emancipation of the gay community continues to represent a topic of wide debate well into the present. We will turn our attention toward this very question in the final chapter of this work.
 74. The Napoleonic Code also upheld the claim that sex between two consenting adults was a private matter and one that did not concern the state.
 75. Kurt Hiller's *Das Recht über sich selbst* (1908) addressed the problems and flawed logic in Paragraph with a legal assault on the anti-homosexual

- legislation and legislation that constrained civil rights—such as the right to commit suicide—the culture that produced them.
76. Hiller, Kurt, *Das Recht über sich selbst: eine strafrechtsphilosophische Studie* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1908).
 77. Ramien, Th, *Sappho und Sokrates: oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?* (Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1896) 15.
 78. Carpenter thematized the homosexuality of members of the working class. This was an innovative view of homosexuality in the nineteenth century was primarily discussed as a vice among the decadent members of the upper classes. See Weeks, Jeffrey, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981).
 79. Ramien, Th, *Sappho und Sokrates: oder wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?* (Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1896) 21.
 80. Hirschfeld discussed this at length in his individual portraits of same-sex love in his ethnographical work, *Berlins Drittes Geschlecht* [Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900*, Manfred Herzer ed. (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991).]
 81. See especially Blüher's *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen* (Prien: Anthropos, 1912) and his *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (1 and 2) (Jena: Diederichs, 1917 and 1919) as well as Benedikt Friedländer's *Renaissance der Eros Uranios* (Berlin: Bernhard Zacks Verlag, 1908).
 82. See Herzer, Manfred, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines, jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001). See: Steakley, James. D, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement* (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1993) and Wolf, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986).
 83. See: Mosse, George, L. *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) and Mosse, George L, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
 84. Freud, Sigmund, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. Trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 7–8.
 85. For more on the hygienic movements see: Hau, Michael, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003). Hepp, Corona, *Avantgarde, Moderne Kunst, Kulturkritik und Reformbewegungen nach der Jahrhundertwende* (München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1987).
 86. See: Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 37.
 87. Steinach is also famous for his work in gerontology. He gained world renown for claiming the rejuvenating properties of a vasectomy. See: Sengoopta, Chandak. "Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siecle

- Central Europe” *Isis* 89.3 (1998): 460. Meyerowitz, Joanne, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002). Rosario, Vernon A, *Homosexuality and Science: A Guide to the Debates* (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II) 2002. Rudacille, Deborah, *The Riddle of Gender: Science, Activism and Transgender Rights* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006).
88. Sengoopta, Chandak, “Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siecle Central Europe” *Isis* 89.3 (1998): 460.
 89. Sengoopta, Chandak, “Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siecle Central Europe” *Isis* 89.3 (1998): 460.
 90. Herzer, Manfred, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines, jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001). Rosario, Vernon A, *Homosexuality and Science: A Guide to the Debates* (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II) 2002.
 91. See: Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986).
 92. See: Sengoopta, Chandak. “Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siecle Central Europe” *Isis* 89.3 (1998). And Wolf, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986).
 93. Rudacille, Deborah, *The Riddle of Gender: Science, Activism and Transgender Rights* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006) 70–73.
 94. For an excellent contextualization of Weininger’s characterology of male and female in Viennese fin de siècle culture, see: Janik, Allan, “Weininger’s Vienna: The Sex-Ridden Society,” *Vienna: The World of Yesterday 1889–1914*. Bronner, Stephen Eric and F. Peter Wagner, eds (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1997) 43–62. Weininger, Otto, *Geschlecht und Charakter: Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung* (Wien and Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1905). Herzer, Manfred, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines, jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001). Hewitt, Andrew, *The Politics of Inversion* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996).
 95. For an excellent theoretic discussion of how difference governs the narrative of desire see, Hewitt, Andrew, *The Politics of Inversion* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996).
 96. Mosse, George L, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
 97. Weininger, Otto, *Geschlecht und Charakter: Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung* (Wien, Leipzig, W. Braumüller, 1905). For a critical discussion of Weininger’s retraction see: Bauer, J. Edgar. “Magnus Hirschfeld’s Doctrine of Sexual Intermediaries and the Transgender Politics of (No-Identity),” <http://www.iisg.nl/~womhist/hirschfeld.doc>

98. Freud, Sigmund, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. Trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 7–8. Also for a critical discussion of the implications of Freud's reaffirmation of the male-female sexual dichotomy see: Bauer, J. Edgar. "Magnus Hirschfeld's Doctrine of Sexual Intermediaries and the Transgender Politics of (No-Identity)," <http://www.iisg.nl/~womhist/hirschfeld.doc>
99. Freud, Sigmund. Freud, Sigmund. "Über die Psychogenese eines Falles von weiblicher Homosexualität" In: *Sigmund Freud: Studienausgabe*. Vol. VII (1920. Frankfurt a. M.: S. Fischer Verlag, 2000).
100. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Geschlechtsübergänge: Mischungen männlicher und weiblicher Geschlechtscharaktere* (Leipzig: Verlag der Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und sexuelle Hygiene, W. Malende, 1916) 17.
101. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Geschlechtsübergänge: Mischungen männlicher und weiblicher Geschlechtscharaktere* (Leipzig: Verlag der Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und sexuelle Hygiene, W. Malende, 1916) 17.
102. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 219.
103. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 228.
104. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 228.
105. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 228.
106. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 136.
107. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und Weibes* (1914, Berlin: Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1920).
108. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000).
109. Hirschfeld devised this extensive questionnaire with the assistance of his friend and associate Hermann von Teschenberg in 1902. It was composed of approximately 130 queries that ranged from a person's family history to a person's predilection for certain sex acts. It became a staple of Hirschfeld's clinical work and served as a model for Alfred Kinsey's surveys almost four decades later.
110. Quoted in Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 445.
111. Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 445.
112. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 331.

113. Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 445.
114. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 148.
115. Magnus Hirschfeld. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 332.
116. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900*. Manfred Herzer ed. (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991).
117. See: Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987), Herzer, Manfred. *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines, jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001) and Steakley, James. D, *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement* (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1993).
118. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross-Dress*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 233.
119. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 94.
120. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross-Dress*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 235.
121. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 235.
122. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 235.
123. Hirschfeld, Magnus. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 235.
124. See Meyerowitz, Joanne, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
125. Rosa von Praunheim's requisitely colorful, yet powerful biopic of Magnus Hirschfeld "Der Einstein des Sex" (1999) offers a moving portrayal of Dorchen and a graphic depiction of Dorchen's sex reassignment surgery.
126. For an excellent history of sex reassignment surgery, see Joanne A. Meyerowitz's *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).
127. Prickett-Barnes, David. "Rendering the Homosexual Visible: The Photograph as Political Testimony." *Visual Culture in Twentieth Century Germany: Text as Spectacle*. Finney, Gail, Ed. (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006, 106–117) 116.
128. Isherwood, Christopher, *Christopher and His Kind: 1929–1939* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1976) 18.

129. See Sigusch, Volkmar, "Man muss Hitlers Experimente abwarten," *Der Spiegel* 1985:20, 244–250.
130. "A pioneer in sexology" is also part of the subtitle of Charlotte Wolf's biography of Magnus Hirschfeld. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986).
131. This is how the American press referred to Magnus Hirschfeld after WWI when his studies on homosexuality and alternative sexualities began receiving world wide acclaim. Hirschfeld's playful response to this nickname was that he should have preferred Einstein being known as the Hirschfeld of physics.
132. Jung referred to Hirschfeld as being like all homosexuals; he possessed no joy (Herzer 2001).
133. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 12.
134. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck* (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912) 229.
135. Freud, Sigmund, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. Trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
136. Freud, Sigmund, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. Trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 3.
137. Freud, Sigmund, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. Trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 4.
138. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck* (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912).
139. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck* (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912) 149–150.
140. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck* (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912) 23.
141. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck* (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912) 50–51.
142. Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck* (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912) 165.
143. Oscar Wilde, in his famous speech at his homosexual trial, referred to homosexuality as the love that dares not speak its name.
144. Herzer, Manfred, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines, jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001).
145. There was a great stir around question of the initial proponent of this idea. Fliess was particularly bitter in that he claimed that Weininger had stolen the idea from him and published it in his 1903 monumental study on sexual differences *Sex and Character* and that Freud had facilitated this alleged appropriation.

146. Karoly Maria Kertbeny was a pseudonym for Karl Maria Benkert. Following Ulrichs' lead, Kertbeny wrote an open letter to the Prussian Minister of Justice in 1869 arguing for the repeal of Paragraph 143 (the Prussian anti-homosexual article prior to Paragraph 175) on the grounds that homosexuality was an inborn inclination. See: Oosterhuis, Harry and Hubert Kennedy, eds. *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany* (New York and London: Harrington Park Press, 1991).
147. Foucault, Michel, *The History of Sexuality*, (vol. 1). Trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990). Foucault, Michel, *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, 2nd ed. Trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).
148. A few of the many theorists whose work on gender reflect constructionist approaches are: De Lauretis, Teresa, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1987); Greenberg, David F, *The Construction of Modern Homosexuality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988); Weeks, Jeffrey, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain, from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London and New York: Quartet Books, 1977).
149. See: Weeks, Jeffrey, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981) and Chauncey, George, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).
150. See: Mosse, George L., *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985) 7.
151. Mosse, George L., *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985) 98.
152. See Mosse, George L., *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985) 7, 98. Rosario, Vernon A, *Homosexuality and Science: A guide to the Debates* (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II) 2002.
153. Mosse, George L., *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 25.
154. See: Greenberg, David, F. *The Construction of Modern Homosexuality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988) and Weeks, Jeffrey, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981) and Mosse, George L, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
155. See: Mosse, George L., *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985) and Greenberg, David, F. *The Construction of Modern Homosexuality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).
156. See: Foucault, Michel, *The History of Sexuality*, (vol. 1). Trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990) and Greenberg, David, F.

- The Construction of Modern Homosexuality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988) 398.
157. Mosse, George L., *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
 158. Mosse, George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
 159. Pederasty, which from Plato's *Symposium* onward traditionally denoted sexual and affectional relationships between an older man and an adolescent boy became a common misnomer for the practice of anal penetration between men.
 160. Rosario, Vernon A, *Homosexuality and Science: A Guide to the Debates* (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II) 2002.
 161. For discussions of Morel's theory of degeneracy see: Oosterhuis, Harry, *The Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), Mosse, George L., *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985), Greenberg, David F, *The Construction of Modern Homosexuality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988) and Turner, William B, *A Genealogy of Queer Theory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000).
 162. Consider how Helene Krause and Inken Peters' lives [from Gerhart Hauptmann's plays *Vor Sonnenaufgang* (1889) and *Vor Sonnenuntergang* (1932) respectively] are inexorably consigned to social ostracism and psychological despair because of their fathers' vices and wrongdoings and society's lack of receptiveness toward individual human agency.
 163. Although couched in a critique of the declining aristocracy, Erich Kästner's *Fabian* contains a passage referencing legally authorized cross dressing: "Can't you see the dueling scars under the powder? Now he's morphine addict and has a police license to wear women's clothing." Trans. Cyrus Brooks (London: Libris, 1990) 71.
 164. Hewitt, Andrew, *The Politics of Inversion* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996). See also: Keilson-Lauritz, Marita. *Die Geschichte der eigenen Geschichte: Literatur und Literaturkritik in den Anfängen der Schwulenbewegung am Beispiel des Jahrbuchs für sexuelle Zwischenstufen und der Zeitschrift Der Eigene* (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1997).
 165. Wolff, Charlotte. *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology*. (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 189.
 166. Dose, Ralf. *Magnus Hirschfeld: Deutscher-Jude-Welbürger* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2005) 29.

3 Politics, War, and Activism

1. Wolff, Charlotte: *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 432.

2. See: Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley. "Leftist Sexual Politics and Homosexuality: A Historical Overview." *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*. Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Hawthorne Press, 1995) 1–40.
3. Objective science was not only a method of knowledge highly valued during the Enlightenment, but also identified with Marxist currents of socialism. Marxist socialism relied on objective science to provide the biological givens with which they viewed issues regarding sex and gender. Objective science was also what distinguished Marxist socialism from currents of utopian socialism. See: Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley. "Leftist Sexual Politics and Homosexuality: A Historical Overview," *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*, Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Hawthorne Press, 1995) 1–40.
4. Bronner, Stephen Eric. *Socialism Unbound*. 2nd ed. (Colorado: Westview Press, 2001).
5. Hobsbawm, Eric. *Revolutionaries* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).
6. Bernstein, Eduard. "The Judgment of Abnormal Sexual Intercourse." Trans. Angela Clifford. *Die Neue Zeit*. 13.2 (1894/95): 228–233, <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bernstein/works/1895/wilde/homosexual.htm>
7. Bernstein, Eduard. "The Judgment of Abnormal Sexual Intercourse." *Die Neue Zeit*. 1894–1895, 13th year, vol. 2, 228–233. Trans. Angela Clifford, published in Athol Books, 1977.
8. See Mosse, George L. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*. (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
9. Bernstein, Eduard. "The Judgment of Abnormal Sexual Intercourse." *Die Neue Zeit*. 1894–1895, 13th year, vol. 2, 228–233. Trans. Angela Clifford, published in Athol Books, 1977. 233.
10. Bronner, Stephen, Eric. *Ideas in Action: Political Tradition in the Twentieth Century*. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999) 106.
11. Bebel, August. *Women Under Socialism*. Trans. Daniel De Leon (New York: Schocken Books, 1904, 1975) 6.
12. SHC's mission statement quoted in: Dreyer, Michael: "Politische Kultur, rechtliche Diskriminierung und Reformsstrategien." Etgeton, Stefan and Sabine Hark, eds. *Freundschaft unter Vorbehalt. Chancen und Grenzen lesbisch-schuler Bündnisse*. Berlin, Queerverlag, 36 (my translation).
13. Steakley, James D. *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement* (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1975) 30.
14. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Was soll das Volk vom dritten Geschlecht wissen?* (Leipzig: Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäres-Kommittee, Max Spohr, 1901).
15. Wolff, Charlotte. *A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology*. (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 58.
16. Wolff, Charlotte. *A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology*. (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 60.

17. Steakley, James D. *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement* (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1975) 35.
18. See Herrn, Rainer. *Anders Bewegt: 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung in Deutschland*. (Hamburg: MännerchwarmSkript Verlag, 1999) 18–19.
19. Mosse, George, L. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*. (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985) 23.
20. Mosse, George L. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).
21. It was commonplace in fin de siècle consciousness and throughout most of the twentieth century to conflate homosexual conduct with a homosexual orientation and self-conscious identity. This did not cease being the case until the nineteen-sixties, when social constructivists such as Mary Macintosh and Jeffrey Weeks began to argue the distinctions between act and identity.
22. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism*. Trans, Eden and Cedar Paul. New York, Kennikat Press, 1973.
23. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Berlins Drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900* (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1904, 1991) 68.
24. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. 1914. Trans. 2000.
25. Wolff, Charlotte. *A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* 66.
26. See Oosterhuis, Harry and Hubert Kennedy, eds. *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany* (New York and London: Harrington Park Press, 1991) 5. Carl Schmitt, the conservative political ideologue, had used the term political romantic to refer to his political nemesis, Adam Müller.
27. See Tamagne, Florence. *A History of Homosexuality in Europe: Berlin, London, Paris, 1919–1939*. Vol. 2 (New York: Algora Publishing, 2004) 116.
28. See: Nicolaus Sombart. *Die deutschen Männer und ihre Feinde: Carl Schmitt—ein deutsches Schicksal zwischen Männerbund und Matriarchatsmythos*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997) 39.
29. Quoted in Nicolaus Sombart. *Die deutschen Männer und ihre Feinde: Carl Schmitt—ein deutsches Schicksal zwischen Männerbund und Matriarchatsmythos*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997) 39. My translation.
30. Nicolaus Sombart argued that the contempt for homosexuality lay in the fact that it also functioned as a signifier for effeminacy in the late nineteenth century. “Die Repression von Homosexualität ist immer Repression des >>Weiblichen<<, eine Maßnahme zur Durchsetzung eines >>reinen<< viril-martialischen Männlichkeitsideals. Ein Exorzismus.” Nicolaus Sombart, *Die deutschen Männer und ihre Feinde: Carl Schmitt—ein deutsches Schicksal zwischen Männerbund und Matriarchatsmythos* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997) 43.
31. For an in-depth analysis of all of the political players involved in the Liebenberg Affair, see: Bruns, Claudia, “Skandale und Beraterkreis um Kaiser Wilhelm II: Die homoerotische ‘Verbündelung’ der ‘Liebenberger

- Tafelrunde' als Politikum." *Homosexualität und Staatsräson: Männlichkeit, Homophobie und Politik in Deutschland 1900–1945*. Ed. zur Nieden, Susanne. (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2005) 52–80.
32. Sombart, Nicolaus, *Die deutschen Männer und ihre Feinde: Carl Schmitt—ein deutsches Schicksal zwischen Männerbund und Matriarchatsmythos* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997) 43.
 33. Sombart, Nicolaus, *Die deutschen Männer und ihre Feinde: Carl Schmitt—ein deutsches Schicksal zwischen Männerbund und Matriarchatsmythos* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997) 48.
 34. Bismarck, quoted in Nicolaus Sombart, *Die deutschen Männer und ihre Feinde: Carl Schmitt—ein deutsches Schicksal zwischen Männerbund und Matriarchatsmythos* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997) 42.
 35. Blüher, Hans, *Die Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen* (Prien: Anthropos, 1912).
 36. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 70.
 37. *Die Vossische Zeitung* (November 7, 1907); quoted in Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 73.
 38. *Die Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten* (November 8, 1907); quoted in Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 73.
 39. Jones, James W. *We, the Third Sex: Literary Representations of Homosexuality in Wilhelmine Germany* (New York: Peter Lang, 1990) 107.
 40. Hepp, Corona. *Avantgarde: Deutsche Geschichte der neuesten Zeit vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987)
 41. Laqueur, Walter. *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement*. 1962 (New Jersey: Transaction Inc., 1984) 32.
 42. One of the main proponents of pedagogical eros was Gustav Wynecken of the Wickersdorf secondary school in Berlin.
 43. Blüher, Hans. *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft* (1 and 2). Jena: Diederichs, 1917 and 1919.
 44. George unrepentantly expelled Friedrich Gundolf from his circle in 1926, when Gundolf married a woman out of love. Gundolf was one of George's most loyal and intellectually gifted disciples.
 45. Weber Qtd. in Norton, Robert, E. *The Secret Germany: Stefan George and His Circle*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002) 478.
 46. The English translation of "Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen" is "The Community of the Self-Owned." Inspired by the anarchist philosophy of Max Stirner, this community was founded in Berlin by poet and homosexual activist Adolf Brand in 1896. Brand celebrated individuality, German nationalist ideals and aesthetics, and male bonding and invoked the cultural paragons and ideals of Classical Greece.
 47. Von Kupffer, Elisar. "Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur." *Der Eigene*, 1899.

48. Von Kupffer Qtd. in Steakley, James D. *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement* (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1975) 46.
49. Gundolf, Friedrich and Friedrich Wolters. In *Das Jahrbuch für die geistige Bewegung*. Qtd in Steakley, James D. *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement* (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1975) 49.
50. Weeks, Jeffrey. *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981) 40.
51. Stekel, Wilhelm in Jeffreys, Shiela. Sex Reform and Anti-Feminism in the 1920s." In *Men's Power, Women's Resistance: The Sexual Dynamics of History*. London: London's Feminist History Group, 1983. 170.
52. Weeks, Jeffrey, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981) and Bland, Lucy and Laura Doan, eds. *Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science* Intro. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998 and Jeffreys, Sheila, "Sex Reform and Anti-Feminism in the 1920s," *Men's Power, Women's Resistance: The Sexual Dynamics of History* (London: London Feminist History Group and Pluto Press, 1983) 177–202.
53. Weeks, Jeffrey, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981) 24.
54. In her in-depth study of sexual policies and culture during the Nazi and post-Nazi eras, Herzog disproves many assumptions about Nazi sexual prudery. Herzog, Dagmar. *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005).
55. Herzog, Dagmar. *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005) 52.
56. Sillge, Ursula. "Magnus Hirschfeld und die Frauen." *Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft*. 13 (1999) 25–26.
57. Qtd. in Lauritsen, John and David Thorstad. *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864–1935)* (Chicago: Times Change Press, 1974, 1995) 19.
58. Herrn, Rainer. *Anders Bewegt: 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung in Deutschland* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 1999) 20.
59. Hirschfeld, Magnus and Franziska Mann. *Was jede Frau vom Wahlrecht wissen muss* (Berlin: A. Pulvermacher, 1918).
60. Despite the fact that women were finally allowed to formally pursue intellectual life, women's ability to achieve consummate professional fulfillment was hindered by the fact that they were still not considered full citizens in Imperial Germany. Women were not allowed to become professors or even vote for that matter, until after the collapse of Imperial Germany. See: Roth, Guenther. "Marianne Weber and Her Circle." *Society*. 27 (1990): 63–69. See also section on "Frauenfrage" in Geuter, Ulfried, *Homosexualität in der deutschen Jugendbewegung: Jungenfreundschaft und Sexualität im Diskurs von Jugendbewegung*,

- Psychoanalyse und Jugendpsychologie am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1994) 28.
61. Hirschfeld, Magnus and Andreas Gaspar, eds. *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges*. 2 vol. (Leipzig and Vienna: Schneider & Co., 1930).
 62. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Warum hassen uns die Völker? Eine Kriegespsychologische Betrachtung*. Bonn: A. Marcus & C. Webers Verlag, 1915.
 63. Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 161.
 64. Hirschfeld, Magnus. "Kriegespsychologisches." *Deutsche Kriegsschriften*. Nr. 20. Albert Ahn, Ed. (Bonn: A Marcus & F. Webers Verlag, 1916).
 65. Quoted in Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 168.
 66. Pulzer, Peter. *Jews and the German State: The Political History of a Minority* (New York: Blackwell Publishers, 1992, 2003) 258.
 67. Isherwood, Christopher. *Christopher and His Kind*. (London: Eyre Methuen, 1977).
 68. During WWI, Hirschfeld and Oswald had also collaborated with one another on the film *Es werde Licht!* (Let There Be Light!), a film intended to enlighten the public on the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases. Sexologists Iwan Bloch and Alfred Blaschko were also involved in making this three-part film, which had received funding from the war ministry. It too was banned after its first screening during the Weimar Republic. Herzer, Manfred. *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen*. (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag 1992, 2001) 194.
 69. For an account of censorship and *Anders als die Anderen*, see Steakley, James, D. "Cinema and Censorship in the Weimar Republic: The Case of *Anders als die Anderen*." *Film History* 11 (1999) 181–203.
 70. Kopp, who was in charge of investigating sexual offenses was in favor of the complete abolishment of Paragraph 175. In 1923, he delivered a lecture at the SHC on Twenty Years of Criminal Experience in the Field of Sexuality." Wolff, Charlotte. *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 217.
 71. Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 205.
 72. Steakley, James D. *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement* (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1975) 82.
 73. Rudacille, Deborah. *The Riddle of Gender: Science, Activism and Transgender Rights* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005. 2006) 45.
 74. Wolf, Sherry. *Sexuality and Socialism: History, Politics, and Theory of LGBT Liberation* (Illinois: Haymarket Books, 2009) 96.
 75. Engelstein, Laura, "Soviet Policy Toward Male Homosexuality: Its Origins and Historical Roots," *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*, Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 156.
 76. Engelstein, Laura, "Soviet Policy Toward Male Homosexuality: Its Origins and Historical Roots" *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the*

Political Left, Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 156.

77. Andre Gide was also filled with naïve enthusiasm for the Russian revolutionary spirit even well after the rise of the U.S.S.R. and the recriminalization of homosexuality that ensued. He believed that the new laws would not be enforced. His journey there in 1936 put him in touch with the social and political realities of the U.S.S.R. and made him aware of the widespread sexual intolerance that reigned instead. His critique and disappointment with the U.S.S.R. is documented in both in his *Retour de l'U.R.S.S.* (1936) and his *Retouches à mon Retour de l'U.R.S.S.* (1937). See: Pollard, Patrick, "Gide in the U.S.S.R.: Some Observations on Comradeship," *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left* Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 179–195.
78. Engelstein, Laura, "Soviet Policy Toward Male Homosexuality: Its Origins and Historical Roots," *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*, Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 155–178.
79. Lesbianism was never criminalized in Russia.
80. Engelstein, Laura, "Soviet Policy Toward Male Homosexuality: Its Origins and Historical Roots," *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*, Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) (155–178) 160.
81. Paraphrased and translated from quote in Herzer, Manfred, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001) 224.
82. Kröhnke, Friedrich, Intro. Linsert, Richard, *Marxismus und die freie Liebe*, Kröhnke, Friedrich, ed. (1931. Köln: Friedrich Kröhnke, 1982) 9.
83. Qtd. in Engelstein, Laura, "Soviet Policy Toward Male Homosexuality: Its Origins and Historical Roots," *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*, Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 170.
84. Wolff, Charlotte. *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 431–440.
85. Dose, Ralf. *Magnus Hirschfeld: Deutscher Jude – Weltbürger* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2005) 83.
86. Kwasnik, Erika. "Bei 'Onkel Hirschfeld'" *Mitteilungen der Magnus Hirschfeld Gesellschaft* 5 (Berlin: Magnus Hirschfeld Gesellschaft, 1985) pages not enumerated.
87. Herrn, Rainer. Anders Bewegt: *100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung in Deutschland* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 1999) 28.
88. Linsert, Richard, *Marxismus und die freie Liebe*, Kröhnke, Friedrich, ed. (1931. Köln: Friedrich Kröhnke, 1982).
89. Es muckert. Es muckert überall. Wer meinen wollte, daß die unseligen Folgen einer falschen Erziehung sich etwa, nur, um Worte des politischen Jargons zu gebrauchen, durch die "Rechtskrise" auswirkten, ware sehr im Irrtum. Ich habe bereits jede Kritik Trotzki's angeführt, die besagt, daß selbst der aufgeklärteste Marxist manchmal nur sehr bedingt

- die Konsequenzen der historisch-materialistischen Weltanschauung anzuwenden weiß und führte in diesem Zusammenhange eine völlig falsche Auffassung von überzeugteste Revolutionär in Dingen des Geschlechtslebens sehr leicht der Muckerei verfallen kann, wenn er sich nämlich nicht vom Dogma seiner Weltanschauung, sondern von der Plathiet spießbürgerlicher Moral leiten läßt – Linsert, Richard, *Marxismus und die freie Liebe*, Kröhnke, Friedrich, ed. (1931. Köln: Friedrich Kröhnke, 1982) 15.
90. Kröhnke, Friedrich, Intro, Linsert, Richard, *Marxismus und die freie Liebe*, (1931. Köln: Friedrich Kröhnke, 1982) 9.
 91. For an excellent overview of the discussion on Hirschfeld and effeminate homosexuality see, Herzer, Manfred, "Schwule Preussen, warme Berliner," *Capri: Zeitschrift für schwule Geschichte*. Manfred Herzer, ed. [Berlin: Schwulenreferat des AStA der FU Berlin, 2.1 (1988): 3–25].
 92. Christopher Isherwood in his colorful autobiography reports that Andre Gide exhibited this disavowal of the effeminate during a visit at Hirschfeld's Institute of Sexual Sciences. Isherwood recounts that Gide sneered at the sight of a man at the institute displaying his female breasts. See: Isherwood, Christopher, *Christopher and His Kind: 1929–1939* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1976) 17.
 93. "Die ständige Verbindung des homoerotischen Phänomens mit Effeminationserscheinungen, mit Hermaphroditismus, Transvestitismus und anderen mehr oder minder abstoßenden Naturspielen hat der Aufklärungs- und Befreiungsaktion für die mann männliche Liebe nicht genützt, sondern geschadet. Da, was Sparta stark, einen Michaelangelo glühend machte, nichts gemein hat mit Bartweibern, Busenmännern oder sonstige Monstrositäten, so hätte man den Helden-, den Jünglingskult, die Freude des Mannes am Manne nicht in die Atmosphäre eines sexuellen Panoptikums tauchen dürfen." Hiller qtd. in Herzer, Manfred, "Schwule Preussen, warme Berliner," *Capri: Zeitschrift für schwule Geschichte*. Manfred Herzer, ed. [Berlin: Schwulenreferat des AStA der FU Berlin, 2.1 (1988): 3–25].
 94. See: Widdig, Bernd, *Männerbünde und Massen: zur Krise männlicher Identität in der Literatur der Moderne* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992) and Izenberg, Gerald N, *Modernism and Masculinity: Mann, Wedekind, Kandinsky through World War I* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
 95. Stekel, Wilhelm qtd. In Jeffries, Shiela. "Sex Reform and Anti-Feminism in the 1920s." In *Men's Power, Women's Resistance: The Sexual Dynamics of History*. (London: London's Feminist History Group, 1983) 177.
 96. Freud, Sigmund. "On Taboo on Virginitiy." In *On Sexuality, Pelican Freud Library*, vol 7, (London: Penguin 1977) 266.
 97. Gallichan qtd. in Jeffreys, Sheila. "Sex Reform and Anti-Feminism in the 1920s," *Men's Power, Women's Resistance: The Sexual Dynamics of History*. (London: Pluto Press and London's Feminist History Group, 1983) 185.
 98. Röhm was the only man in the S.A. known to have addressed Hitler with the informal, "du." See: zur Neiden, Susanne, "Aufstieg und

- Fall des virilen Männerhelden: Der Skandal um Ernst Röhm und seine Ermordung,” *Homosexualität und Staatsräson: Männlichkeit, Homophobie und Politik in Deutschland 1900–1945*, Ed. zur Nieden, Susanne (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2005).
99. Lothar Machtan. *The Hidden Hitler*. Trans. John Brownjohn. (New York: Basic Books, 2001) 107.
 100. Kurt Lüdecke quoted in Machtan, Lothar. *The Hidden Hitler*. Trans. John Brownjohn. (New York: Basic Books, 2001) 113.
 101. From Röhm’s autobiography, *Die Geschichte eines Hochverrätters* (1928) 108.
 102. Quoted in Halle, Randall, *Queer Social Philosophy: Critical Readings from Kant to Adorno*. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004) 230.
 103. Quoted in Manfred Herzer, “Communists, Social Democrats, and the Homosexual Movement in the Weimar Republic,” *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*, Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 213.
 104. Quoted in Manfred Herzer, “Communists, Social Democrats, and the Homosexual Movement in the Weimar Republic,” *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*, Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 213.
 105. Mann, Klaus, “Homosexualität und Faschismus.” *Homosexualität und Faschismus* (Hamburg: Frühlings Erwachen I., 1990, 3rd. Ed) 12.
 106. See Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 405.
 107. See Wolff, Charlotte, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 412.
 108. Oosterhuis, Harry, “Vom Fragwürdigen Zauber zu männlicher Schönheit: Politik und Homoerotik in Leben und Werk von Thomas Mann und Klaus Mann,” *Homosexualität und Staatsräson: Männlichkeit, Homophobie und Politik in Deutschland 1900–1945*, ed. zur Nieden, Susanne (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2005) 137.
 109. Hewitt, Andrew, *The Politics of Inversion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).
 110. Pederasts.
 111. Quoted in Manfred Herzer, “Communists, Social Democrats, and the Homosexual Movement in the Weimar Republic,” *Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left*, Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. (New York: The Haworth Press, 1995) 213.
 112. Johansson, Warren and William A. Percy. “Homosexuality and the Holocaust,” http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/BIB/Homosexuality_and_the_Holocaust.htm
 113. Wilhelm Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*. Trans. Vincent R. Carfagno (New York: Pocket Books, 1970, 1976 ed.) 182.

4 Panhumanistic Cosmopolitanism, Exile, and Final Years

1. Qtd. in Dose, Ralf. Magnus Hirschfeld. *Deutscher-Jude- Weltbürger* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2005) 83.

2. Filmmaker Rosa von Praunheim's 2000 film on the life of Magnus Hirschfeld by this same title is worth recommending.
3. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Die Weltreise eines Sexualforschers* (Brügg: Bözberg-Verlag, 1933).
4. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist*. Trans. O.P. Green. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935).
5. For an excellent discussion and valorization of Hirschfeld's ethnographic contributions see, Bauer, J. Edgar. "Magnus Hirschfeld: Panhumanism and the Sexual Cultures of Asia." *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*. 14 (2006) 1–17.
6. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?* (Berlin: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für staatsbürgerliche Bildung, 1919).
7. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?* (Berlin: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für staatsbürgerliche Bildung, 1919) 12.
8. Qtd. in Dose, Ralf. *Magnus Hirschfeld. Deutscher-Jude-Weltbürger* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2005) 83.
9. For an interesting study on the history and cultural articulations of anti-Semitism in early twentieth century Germany, see *Conditio Judaica. Judentum, Antisemitismus, und deutschsprachige Literatur vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis 1933/1938*. Part 3. Horch, Hans Otto and Horst Denkler, Eds. (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1993).
10. Hirschfeld, Magnus. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist*. Trans. O.P. Green. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1935).
11. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism*. Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: Gollancz, 1938) 130.
12. Qtd. in Hirschfeld, 205.
13. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism*. Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: Gollancz, 1938) 119.
14. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism*. Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: Gollancz, 1938) 214.
15. Müller in Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism*. Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: Gollancz, 1938) 173.
16. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism*. Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: Gollancz, 1938) 174.
17. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism* Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: Gollancz, 1938) 262.
18. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism* Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: Gollancz, 1938) 173.
19. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism* Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: Gollancz, 1938) 263.
20. Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Racism* Trans. Paul, Eden and Cedar Paul. (London: Gollancz, 1938) 264.

5 Epilogue

1. For an excellent discussion of push for reform during the Weimar Republic see: Arthur Rosenberg's classic historical work *The History of the German Republic*

2. Gide, André. *Corydon*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1950. 91–92.
3. Bronner, Stephen Eric. *Moments of Decision: Political History and the Crises of Radicalism*. New York and London: Routledge, 1992, 12.

Appendix 2

1. See Rosario, Vernon A. *Homosexuality and Science: A Guide to the Debates* (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II) 2002.
2. Stümke, Hans-Georg. *Homosexuelle in Deutschland: eine politische Geschichte* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989) 10.
3. Stümke, Hans-Georg. *Homosexuelle in Deutschland: eine politische Geschichte* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989) 12.
4. For a brief period in Prussian history, prior to the failed revolution of 1848, homosexuality had been decriminalized from 1827 to 1838. After 1848, however, the conservative powers had once again come into empowerment and the laws against homosexuality were definitively reinstated in the Prussian Legal Code in 1851 under Paragraph 143.

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