

© 2007

Elena Mancini

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

A BRIGHTER SHADE OF PINK:
MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD, THE THIRD SEX, AND
THE SEXUAL FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

by

ELENA MANCINI

A Dissertation submitted to the
Graduate School-New Brunswick
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in German Language and Literature

written under the direction of

Professor Stephen Eric Bronner

and approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

May, 2007

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Brighter Shade of Pink: Magnus Hirschfeld, the Third Sex and the Sexual Freedom
Movement

by ELENA MANCINI

Dissertation Director:

Professor Stephen Eric Bronner

Queer had a voice long before it became an avowed identity position in the late twentieth century. That voice belonged to Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935). Renowned mostly for his pioneering work as a sexologist and a gay rights activist, Hirschfeld embodied a liberal democratic ethic that allowed him to make significant contributions to some of the most pressing social issues of the late Wilhelmine and Weimar period. He devoted his life to sexual reform and social justice. Homosexuality, abortion rights, women's suffrage, the philosophical and political abolition of racism, and cultural cosmopolitanism were among the causes he embraced.

Grounded in a cultural-historical approach that is sensitive to the significance of Hirschfeld's theoretical contributions and political advocacy for sexual equality, this study seeks to challenge the notion that the practical concerns of the gay and queer community are best served by queer theory. Taking issue with many queer theorists' all too facile dismissal of the emancipatory values of tolerance and Enlightenment universals in favor of the privileging of difference and narrow identity groups, my dissertation

argues that a repudiation of Enlightenment universalism, most specifically the value of tolerance, will not advance the practical concerns—gay marriage, protection against hate crimes and full social and political enfranchisement — of the queer and gay community but rather ultimately lead such groups into a rights-deprived cul-de-sac. Far from advocating compromise or conformity within the queer community, my argument calls for a shift in emphasis and priorities within it that privileges equality and basic civil rights before defining narrow identity group interests. By illuminating Hirschfeld’s coalitionist ethic—he formed crucial alliances with leaders of the Social Democratic Party and key organizers of minority group movements— cultural engagement, humanism and social outreach, my work not only recovers a significant piece of queer history but also furnish an ethos for the realization of practical goals within the queer community that has the potential of transforming current prejudices toward alternative sexual identities.

Acknowledgements

My interest sexual justice that animated this work predated my research on Hirschfeld. I cannot point to the moment in which I first became angry about homophobia or the persecution and cultural denigration of sexual minorities, but I do know that I am grateful to have found people who validated my anger and encouraged me to give it a voice.

My advisor Stephen Eric Bronner, who is as passionate as one can be about radical politics provided me with infinite support in this regard. His unfaltering belief in me and his contagious optimism were always a great source of renewal in moments of distress with my work. A huge debt of gratitude is also owed to Fatima Naqvi, William C. Donahue and Nicholas Rennie for their help during the early phases of my writing. Their exemplary scholarship and warmth and generosity of spirit will always help me to remember them not only as great mentors, but also as wonderful people.

Thanks also goes to all of fellows of the Rutgers Institute of Research on Women of the 2003-2004 round for their careful engagement with my work. Their feedback and critiques were enormously helpful. Many thanks also go to Ralph M. Leck, whose articulate rants against social injustice reminded me of the importance of my project.

During the moments of self-doubt that inevitably surfaced during this extraordinary “ride,” I was also blessed with the most precious gift of all: loving friends and family. Infinite gratitude in this regard goes to Michael J. Thompson for his critical acumen, invaluable gift for reaffirming my contributions to the study of sexual justice and being an all around friend and pillar of strength for me, especially in the homestretch phase of this dissertation. A deserved thanks also goes to my buddy and “partner in

crime,” Huiping Wang for her unwavering friendship for over a decade and her academic camaraderie. Going through this process with her, made the experience that much more fun and memorable. I am also thankful to my brother Ralph and sister Lucy for keeping me grounded by making fun of me at the right moments—the way that only siblings can.

Finally, no acknowledgement would be complete without thanking my mother, Lucia, who has always been intolerant toward injustice and for always encouraging me to follow my dreams, and my father Francesco, for teaching me patience and perseverance and to cherish my sense of humor.

Table of contents

Abstract of the dissertation	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Part I: Scion of Science, Lover of Belles-Lettres, and German Jew.....	8
Hirschfeld’s University Years, Early Travels and Encounters with the Literary World ..	25
Urban Culture and Homosexuality	36
Jewish Identity and Medicine	40
Part II: Per Scientiam Ad Justitiam: The Ethical and Scientific Foundations of Hirschfeld’s Sexual Freedom Movement and Their Implications	44
Research Methods and Philosophy	44
Hirschfeld and the Importance of Sexology	50
The Third Sex Theory and its Cultural and Scientific Reception.....	60
Beyond Sappho und Socrates.....	82
Hirschfeld and Psychoanalysis	95
Hirschfeld and Degeneracy.....	105
Hirschfeld as a Clinician.....	112
Part III: Political Orientation and Social Activism and	113
the Politicization of Homosexuality.....	113
Hirschfeld, the Social Democrats and Interwar Sexual Politics	115
Homosexuality and the Politics of Effeminacy in Wilhelmine Germany: The “Liebenberg” Affair	133

Hirschfeld and WWI.....	143
The Ernst Röhm Affair:	149
Hirschfeld's Final Years	155
Conclusion	158
Appendix: Geneology of Paragraph 175 – the law against homosexuality	163
Endnotes	166
Bibliography.....	184
Curriculum Vita.....	189

Introduction

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

—Ernst Toller

Even though Hirschfeld was the first to achieve significant milestones in the modern history of sexual reform, he is scarcely known outside of gay and lesbian circles and sexuality studies. He founded the world's first sexual research institute in Berlin, published a number of pioneering works on homosexuality and variant sexual behavior and worked tirelessly as a sexual clinician and therapist and led a passionate and steadfast campaign against the German anti-homosexual statute known as Paragraph 175.¹

Hirschfeld was the first researcher to devote an entire study to the phenomenon of cross-dressing, and it was he who coined the term “transvestite.” Hirschfeld published his study on transvestitism in 1910, a four hundred page opus aptly titled *Die Tranvestiten*² (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 differentiated it from transvestitism.

Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Sciences also bears the singular distinction of having performed the first sex reassignment operation in the world under Hirschfeld's supervision in 1931. Such operations reached a peak in demand in Germany in the 1930s and Hirschfeld was widely sought out for his expertise³. 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.

Freud openly acknowledged Hirschfeld's 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 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 Iwan Bloch, Karl Abraham, August Forel, Albert Moll, Max Marcuse, Wilhelm Reich, Helene Stocker, 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, was struck by the photographs of the transvestites that hung in Hirschfeld's institute. She 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.⁴

By the end of World War I, Hirschfeld had achieved international renown for his work and began holding lecture tours on all aspects of sexuality around the globe. In India, Hirschfeld was dubbed the *Vatsayana* of the West, and in the United States the

press greeted him as the Einstein of sex.⁵ He became acquainted with American sexologists William Robinson and Harry Benjamin. Robinson was so impressed with Hirschfeld's institute and the progressive sexual reforms it proposed that he made serious efforts to bring Hirschfeld to the United States and to have him found an institute for sexual science modeled after the one that Hirschfeld had established in Berlin.

Unfortunately, the American social climate of the nineteen thirties was not particularly amenable toward so progressive an institute, and Robinson did not manage to secure the support and resources required to execute such a venture.

Although there are currently two biographies of Hirschfeld in print, Charlotte Wolf's⁶ and Manfred Herzer's⁷ and some valuable contributions to homosexual historiography in German Studies (such as the work of John Steakley), these works fail to elucidate Hirschfeld's enduring contribution to the understanding of human sexuality in a way that is relevant to the contemporary struggle for the cultural, social and political enfranchisement of sexual minorities. Further, this scholarship and the published biographies also fail to account for the cultural dimension of Hirschfeld's theories. Both valued and passionately abhorred, Hirschfeld's theories were absorbed into the myriad forms of Wilhelmine and Weimar public discourse and were not without cultural resonance. By viewing Hirschfeld as a prismatic figure for Wilhelmine and Weimar political and cultural discourse, my work has uncovered some subtle and not so subtle ways in which Hirschfeld's theories have influenced the cultural and literary production of his time.

Both biographies display distinct merits in chronicling Hirschfeld's values and singular accomplishments in sexual reform. Charlotte Wolf's⁸ work is an empirical

biography of Hirschfeld and while it draws on primary sources to portray Hirschfeld's life in a detailed and intimate fashion, it fails to engage Hirschfeld's theory or politics in ways which could be relevant to contemporary theoretical and cultural questions regarding gay rights. While her biography is impressively researched and contains direct interviews with a number of Hirschfeld's contemporaries, it is tainted by her own brand of feminism, which inserts itself in the work by way of randomly interspersed comments rather than a proper explication or framing of her approach. Perhaps more importantly, it is also insufficient in illuminating the salience of Hirschfeld's work for contemporary discussions of science and homosexuality as well as in valorizing the worth of Hirschfeld's coalitional skills. 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.

Manfred Herzer's⁹ work, on the other hand, reads more like an intellectual biography of Hirschfeld. Herzer shows how Hirschfeld's theories fared in the early twentieth century scientific playing field and interacted with those of his contemporaries in psychology and sexology, among whom were Freud, C. G. Jung, Havelock Ellis and Wilhelm Reich. While Herzer elegantly illuminates both the merits and the shortcomings of Hirschfeld's scientific theories, he avoids any discussion of the salience of Hirschfeld from a contemporary political perspective. Both biographers foreground Hirschfeld's vocation as a sexologist, but fail to illuminate how he impacted the cultural and political realities of his time. They are too concerned with 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, as an activist, and as a person worthy of resurrecting for present debates. Each of them 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.

My work distinguishes itself from this previous scholarship by emphasizing Hirschfeld's liberal approach to emancipate 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 demonstrate that his fight for sexual freedom did not only intend to serve individual minority groups but also addressed a wide range of problems that affected the broader populace. Alcoholism, domestic violence, unwanted pregnancies and unbridled militarism were issues that Hirschfeld actively addressed in his research, writing and activism.

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, 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.¹⁰

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 as a particular group identity category. 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 normalcy and universally human character of the variability of desire.

The category of difference played a pivotal role in how sexual identity would be studied, interpreted and ultimately judged. The practice of fastidious scientific classification and the cataloguing of difference that became widely popular during the Victorian era and the Wilhelmine period supported this 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 this enriched awareness of difference initiated the need to expand the category of freedom to those to whom it was previously denied. Hirschfeld's approach, by seeking to reform anti-homosexual legislature and to remove the stigma of homosexuality had social, cultural and political implications and was resonant with the liberal socialist tradition¹¹ that privileged science over ideology and eschewed 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."¹² He had

the fervent belief that 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 unnaturalness¹³ or depravedness of homosexuality could be effectively debunked.

Part I: Scion of Science, Lover of Belles-Lettres, and German Jew

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 a line of assimilated Jews established in Pomerania for several generations. A reputable and dedicated physician, his father was known for his innovative spirit. As a German patriot and well-loved citizen of Kolberg, he was a firm believer in disease prevention, making it an essential part of his medical practice. In this sense Hermann Hirschfeld is notable for not only pioneering the installation of salt water baths in Kolberg, but for thereby contributing to curbing the typhoid fever epidemic that struck Kolberg in the late nineteenth century.

Hermann Hirschfeld was instrumental in improving the sanitary conditions of his city in other ways as well. Responsible for the installation of water piping in his city, his devotion to medicine and the advancement of science was coupled with an extraordinary measure of civic consciousness. He 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 him. 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 city of Kolberg nominated him as the citizen who was most committed to freedom and progress. In 1885, one year after his death, the citizens of Kolberg erected a monument in his honor.¹⁴

Magnus shared a special bond with his father and sought to follow in his footsteps. It is evident that Hermann instilled in Magnus a love for science and a deep

understanding of all of the good that could be achieved through it. Magnus's path, however, would be original in reflecting his own personal, ethical, and humanitarian callings. Already at a young age, Magnus exhibited more than a passive interest in linguistics and philology. At sixteen, 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 project for sexual freedom was a fundamental humanistic ideology that upheld the values of human dignity, freedom and the pursuit of happiness. In the quality of a humanist, Hirschfeld viewed the human individual as the primary beneficiary of all of his scientific and political and ethical endeavors. The motivational ethos behind Hirschfeld's life's work is captured in Goethe's aphorism, which he quotes at the beginning of his *Sappho and Socrates* treatise: "Das eigentliche Studium der Menschheit ist der Mensch"¹⁵ (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 Hirschfeld's 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 a dialogue with his patients. Hirschfeld's focus and point of interest was and 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 to extrapolate 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 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. Hirschfeld's study of sexual practices encompassed an impressively broad geographical and temporal span. His erudition on mores extended from Athens to Bali and from pre-Christian times through the era of his lifetime. Hence it poses no overstatement of the facts to characterize Hirschfeld's knowledge of sexual mores as being both qualitatively but 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 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.

Hirschfeld deploys a discourse on love as a primary weapon in his ethical and philosophical campaign for the liberation of same-sex love. By illuminating the spiritually and morally elevating properties of love, Hirschfeld sought to expand this category to include same-sex love. Along with his cosmopolitanism, Hirschfeld drew on

the Classical Humanist heritage of Goethe and 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, it was most often the case that the fathers of German Classicism, Goethe and Schiller, represented a nutritive matrix to which he would always return for poetic and spiritual renewal. Through Goethe and Schiller's lyrical prowess, he found a way to mediate love's universal power. "I have lost the only joy in my life, the divine, enlivening power with which I created worlds around me"¹⁶ and Goethe's pithier, but equally forceful formulation: "Love gives life."¹⁷ Through Schiller's *Ninon*, he invokes the paradox of love's seemingly mundane yet eminently essential character: "What would the nicest times of our life be without love? People would not be living but only vegetating."¹⁸ To convey love's spiritual and eschatological character, Hirschfeld turns to Novalis: "Liebe ist der Endzweck der Weltgeschichte, dass Amen des Universums" (Love is the purpose of world history, the amen of the universe."¹⁹ At the core of Hirschfeld's idea of love was the insight that the joys and tragedies to which individuals are exposed when they love are experienced by all people regardless of the categories that society uses to separate them from one another such as gender, sexual orientation, age and race. Hirschfeld's message was that love's generative, inspirational and transformational qualities penetrated all without discrimination.

As much as Hirschfeld exalted love as a spiritual-romantic ideal, he did so without dismissing its biological constituent. His science functioned to broaden his concept of love by acknowledging both its psychological and physiological aspects. "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.*”²⁰ 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 he viewed love as an occasion in which body and psyche interacted synergistically with one another: *For every individual, love is determined by the interactions of his psychoglandular constitution.*”²¹

A sense of humanity, accompanied by an interest in uncovering the dynamics of human love and in fostering the physical and psychical 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,²²” love was for Hirschfeld as much a reality of the mind as it was of the body.

Although the language Hirschfeld adopted to articulate his view on love was more scientific than poetic—for poetry he drew on the giants of German Classical Humanism. His integrative vision of love echoes Schiller’s notion of the “ideal” as discussed in his essay on: “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.’²³ Hirschfeld’s esteem for the contribution of Romantic poetry to the modern conception of love is echoed by renowned feminist and founder of the *Bund für Mutterschutz* (League for the Protection of Mothers)

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.²⁴

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 project of humanity. The idea that love had the potential to not only elevate the individual but to expand and enrich the broader project of humanity was articulated in Hirschfeld’s thought through his condemnation of theories of racial hygiene and his appeal for Panhumanism to extinguish the hatred among nations and races. Panhumanism was a political ideal that became in vogue after WWI. 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”²⁵, but he believed nonetheless that: “We must hitch our wagon to a star.”²⁶ Hirschfeld had identified that star as having been illuminated 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.”²⁷

His 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 procreative imperative of Christian orthodoxy retained its relevance during Hirschfeld's lifetime and continue to exercise its influence in the secular realm of science.²⁸ Psychiatrist Richard Krafft-Ebing in his early editions of *Psychopathia Sexualis* and numerous influential sexologists following his lead, classified all non-procreative sexual activity as perverse. Hirschfeld, however, reversed the subordination of love to the procreative mandate.

...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.²⁹

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."³⁰ He cites Nietzsche's argument that "... as frequent as love without the possibility for procreation is reproduction without love" and "Reproduction often is an occasional, incidental result of a kind of gratification of the sex drive; not its intention, not its necessary effect."³¹ Hirschfeld not only sought to liberate the ideal of love from the fetters of morality and social pragmatism that denigrated its beauty, 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.³²

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.³³

Hirschfeld, as did many of his contemporaries of the literary and aesthetic avant-garde, stood in opposition to religious dogmatism. He despised the arbitrariness of it and the way in which it hampered subjectivity and arrested personal development. The arbitrariness of religious dogma and reverential attitudes and unquestioning submissiveness it often demanded, not only obstructed social progress and any modern concept of self-realization, in Hirschfeld’s view, but required a degree of self-denial that also ruined lives. Homosexual suicide 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. True, he recognized the fact that the social and economic structure of the modern world 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.³⁴ 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. Hirschfeld was not only appalled by the fact that the laws were such that they exposed homosexuals to such indignities, but that the law was exercised in an incoherent fashion in that it allowed the extortionist to go unpunished in spite of his participation in the alleged crime.³⁵

Through his ethic and writings, Hirschfeld captured the essence of the modern Zeitgeist and its revaluation 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 as a “coital culture.”³⁶ With his groundbreaking questioning and ensuing theorizations on the basic fundamentals of masculinity and femininity, Weininger was describing a society which he helped shape as such. Nietzsche’s iconoclastic transvaluation of values 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.

But a rehabilitation of the flesh³⁷ had already begun with Utopian Socialist Saint-Simon in the early half of the 19th century. Both Saint Simon and his contemporary Charles Fourier interjected themselves between Enlightenment rationality and romanticism and sought in their work to transcend this split by adopting reason in such a way that would not banish feelings or the flesh. Needless to say, both proposed diverse modes of organizing affective life 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.³⁸

Needless to say, these models of erotic life outlandishly exceeded the social mores and sexual sensibilities of their time.³⁹

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 obfuscated for centuries through moral dictates and religious dogma. Through the language of science, Hirschfeld was able to shatter the silence and veils of propriety in which human sexual desire was enshrouded and 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. This direct approach to sex, which included examinations, deeply personal and comprehensive interviewing techniques, empirical and meticulous collection of data predated the experiential contributions of sexologists like Alfred Kinsey and William Master and Virginia Johnsons. 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.⁴⁰

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.⁴¹ 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 and the stridently modern prose of Alfred Döblin and Klaus Mann leave no doubt as to how the erotic looms large in the characters' imagination 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 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.⁴² 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 drove Hirschfeld to research, write and advocate sexual freedom. He not only knew about how homosexuals went about fashioning their double lives so that they could both foster or retain a social existence⁴³ in addition to cultivating some measure of sexual authenticity, he also understood the emotional and psychological toll this entailed. Hirschfeld railed against the anti-homosexual legislature and decried the fact that one of its end effects was that these condition was driving many homosexuals to suicide. In fact, as it will be shown in part two: his first pamphlet on homosexuality was prompted by the suicide of a military official on the eve of his wedding.

A friend and contemporary of Hirschfeld, the playwright Frank Wedekind, contributed a dimension of humor⁴⁴, distance and dramatic flair to the ironies, suffering

and compromises associated with an attempt to unite sexual authenticity and socially-upward orientation of the bourgeois capitalistic world. For Wedekind, the portrayal of reconciliation was decidedly torturous and mostly ended in tragedy. 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 scorned 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. His brave depiction of the sexual stirrings in pubescent children in *Sexual Awakening* (1891) had outcomes that were both abysmal and profoundly disturbing: numerous forms of parental abuse 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 against Christian asceticism for many of the hypocrisies it propounded.

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.’⁴⁵

In many instances, Hirschfeld articulated his rejection of Christian dogmas by exposing its logical contradictions.

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.⁴⁶

Hirschfeld's critique of Christian asceticism was multilayered but in essence it 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 praxis it had de-facto rendered secondary the needs and cultivation of the spirit. One is reminded of how Milton censured Christian doctrine's neglect of the soul in "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce" (1643).⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

In the 19th 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*⁴⁹ 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 and 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. Coerced conformity to hollow abstractions in Hirschfeld's view 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, Helene Stöcker, among Weimar Germany's most vocal cultural revolutionaries and Hirschfeld's esteemed colleagues for sexual reform. Hiller was a homosexual and leftist intellectual activist. Stöcker was a leader of the leftist feminist movement. Hiller and Stöcker were both students of Georg Simmel and actively practiced *Kulturpolitik* (cultural politics) in their advocacy for gender equity and the legalization of homosexuality.⁵⁰ Hiller's published dissertation, *Das Recht über sich selbst*⁵¹ (The Right over Oneself), a highly original work in which he uses legal philosophical arguments to champion the decriminalization of homosexuality drew Hirschfeld's respect and admiration. A founder of literary Expressionism and incisive cultural critic, Hiller founded several cultural journals during the interwar and Weimar period, including *Die Zukunft*, *Das Ziel* and with Franz Pfemfert co-founded one of Weimar Germany's most definitive cultural journals *Die Aktion*—Hiller's cultural activities were informed by a commitment to the leftist counterculture that often translated into praxis. "Spirit and praxis were formerly an antithesis: today these words describe a correlative dependence."⁵² Hirschfeld immediately recognized the fertile ground for friendship and political alliance with Hiller and recruited him as a publicist for the "Wissenschaftlich Humanitäre Kommittee" (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 1925.⁵³

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* represented 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 and succeeded in enlisting the support of August Bebel and Lili Braun⁵⁴ for her organization.⁵⁵ She was also passionate advocate of abortion rights and 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 to pursue 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. In 1911, Hirschfeld and Stöcker formed an alliance with that successfully averted lesbianism from being included in Paragraph 175. She was a pacifist and became passionately involved in a great deal of anti-war activity. She founded several antiwar organizations, including the *Internationale Frauenliga für Frieden und Freiheit* (International League for Peace and Freedom) with Lili Braun⁵⁶ 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)⁵⁷. Viewing themselves at the vanguard of a cultural movement, both Stöcker and Hiller waged a cultural political attack on the politics of the war. Using eugenic theory, Stöcker openly denounced the

war's exploitation of motherhood in an essay, "Moderne Bevölkerungspolitik"⁵⁸ (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 was marked by both 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 inability to be regarded as a valuable social being in society was experienced as tragic by many. His clinical work led him to report cases of sexual minorities who became politically active through disguise and denial of their sexual orientation.⁵⁹ 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.”⁶⁰

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.⁶¹

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 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.⁶²

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. In Strasbourg, he joined his two older brothers, who were already enrolled in medical school. This change of major was not by any means accompanied by a loss of interest in literature or languages, but by an equally strong interest in medicine and natural phenomena, very likely instilled in him by his father and his 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. As he continued to harbor serious literary aspirations, despite his medical studies, 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, who in 1879 authored *Women and Socialism*, a revolutionary work that was among those most widely read book within the SPD,⁶³ 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 in which Bismarck's anti-Socialist laws (1871-1890) still 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.⁶⁴ 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 his 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, 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's 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 draw inspiration from and emulate 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 trials 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.”⁶⁵ Neither Berg nor Hirschfeld were aware of the fact that the Wilde trial was in fact a prelude to the homosexual witch-hunt that Germany would experience a mere decade later, nor had they any notion that homosexuality would be at the forefront of German politics. However, this became clear with 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 on the island of Capri.

In 1890, 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 Dubois-Reymond as his oral examiners. Hirschfeld held Virchow 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.⁶⁶

Upon receiving his medical degree, Hirschfeld took a few personal and cultural detours before proceeding to practice medicine full time. He spent the two years that followed his medical study traveling, lecturing, and continuing to feel undecided about whether to embark upon a medical or a literary career. His travels brought him in proximity with 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*, an influential fin de siècle cultural study that decried the adverse effects of modernity on culture and society and the physical and mental well being of individuals. Although Hirschfeld attended Nordau's *Jours*, where 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. This however did not prevent him from expressing admiration for the ethos of free love and body positive attitude 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."⁶⁷ 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 Immanuel, who was a medical superintendent at a hospital in Milwaukee, became the impetus for his return to medicine.⁶⁸ Hirschfeld’s presentation on natural living received enthusiastic applause and prompted a string of lectures that brought Hirschfeld 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 Naples⁶⁹ and an 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 late 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.⁷⁰ 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 attention to such details provided insights into a person's character and personality. It was with a feeling of satisfaction about his Italian sojourn 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.

He would spend 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.

Having formed *Neue Gemeinschaft* in the 1890s in Berlin in order to bring about cultural change, one of the Hart brothers' central goals was to bring culture to the working class. Workers and members of all social classes were welcome to join the association. The association published important monthly magazines like *Der kritische Waffenträger* (The Critical Weapon Carrier) and *Berliner Monatshefte* (Berlin's Monthly Journal), as well as founding literary and theater clubs. Earnest in its goal of reaching the

working public, the Neue Gemeinschaft succeeded in garnering a hearty representation in its society on the part of workers.

Hirschfeld was also a member of another famous association founded by the Hart Brothers called the Friedrichshagener Dichterkreis (the Friedrichshagen Poets' Circle). Founded 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, 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.⁷¹ 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 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 acquiring profound knowledge of the empirical world at that, the realm of the esoteric was not only foreign to him, but it did not sit well with his more civic-minded consciousness and his socialist orientation, caused him to view objective scientific endeavors seen as a more reliable source for social progress than metaphysical theories. The socialist tradition⁷² with which Hirschfeld identified and influenced his views on equality drew on the Enlightenment philosophical heritage as well as biological and medical discourses.⁷³

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's⁷⁴ systematic campaign against alcoholism. 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.⁷⁵ In a fashion that would not fail to receive wide social acclaim today, Hirschfeld spoke out against smoking in public spaces and advocated the creation of a nationalization of health services.⁷⁶ Hirschfeld's vision for health care was both

holistic and preventive. In his view, health services were to include health care, education, and legal expenses. His egalitarian vision of health care 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 condition of individuals, but that because these enhanced services would not only reduce and prevent disease care, implementing them would impose less of a financial burden on the state than denying citizens this care.⁷⁷

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.⁷⁸ 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 posed itself in opposition to modern civilization, urbanization, industrialization, medical science and their idealization of Aryan beauty. 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 and 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 Party⁷⁹—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 espousal of hereditary theory, articulated through these plays' powerful portrayals of the ravages of alcoholism, 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.⁸⁰ 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, a socialist feminist and the head of the League for the Protection of Mothers, as well as 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 the 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 were concerned,

literature highlighted all of the ways in which medicine proved inadequate. Medicine's greatest shortcoming, he wrote in a self-portrait published in *Die literarische Welt*, a highly esteemed Berlin literary journal, 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."⁸¹ 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 justice and humanistic rewards. Hirschfeld was an activist and a public intellectual in addition to a scientist, not a scientific positivist—his theories were not only broadly disseminated in public discourse, but also penetrated the cultural consciousness of the Weimar Republic.

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 awareness 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)⁸² (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, transgenderism⁸³ 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 a 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 locales 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.⁸⁴ 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 the subterranean homosexual bars to the ways in which the social interaction in these establishments revealed intersections of economic class, religious affiliation and educational level.⁸⁵

Although this work illuminates the specificity of homosexual interaction, Hirschfeld emphasizes the ubiquity of homosexuality and 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 forced to conceal their erotic lives from their family members in order to uphold the semblance of a harmonious family relations. Hirschfeld sheds light on how many sexual variants

experience the psychological burden of the double-life and reports how Christmas time was identified as the period that is most emotionally challenging for sexual variants that 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 WWI—and rarely devoid of emotional charge.

He illuminates the depth and intensity of the emotional attachments between homosexual partners by reporting their direct speech or 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 that harbored harmless, genuine feelings of love for a member of the same sex. Just as reprehensible, Hirschfeld pointed out were the frequent instances of homosexual suicide that resulted from the inescapable financial burden of blackmail. Replete with case histories of homosexual and lesbian relationships, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* underscores how the enduring commitment and loyalty found in homosexual partnerships was 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 and 2% of Berlin's 2,500,000 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. Because 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. Klaus Mann's *Der fromme Tanz* (The Pious Dance), Stefan Zweig *Verwirrung der Gefühle* (Confusion of Feelings), John Henry McKay⁸⁹ *Der Puppenjunge* (The Hustler) all depict how urban life facilitates the emergence of alternative sexual lifestyles and the more general undoing of bourgeois morality for newly transplanted youth. In each case we see young men who have journeyed into the city and explore and develop homoerotic affections, and in each case the urban serves as a context for a homoerotic *Bildungsroman* 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 expressed in literary terms what Hirschfeld observed in his own ethnographic work: the relation between urban environment and homosexual identity.

Jewish Identity and Medicine

It would be difficult to ascribe Hirschfeld's pursuit of medicine in favor of 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.⁹⁰ 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 appointments⁹¹ 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.”⁹² 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. 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 attachment and 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 it was for such of his contemporaries as 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?” (“What Unites and Separates Humankind?”)⁹³ One of the primary points of this essay is how the differences between 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 make-up), 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 WWI 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 regardless 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*.

Part II: Per Scientiam Ad Justitiam: The Ethical and Scientific Foundations of Hirschfeld's Sexual Freedom Movement and Their Implications

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!”⁹⁴ Much more than an optimistic view of the power of science, the above passage genuinely captures the ethic and ideological force behind Hirschfeld's research on homosexuality and other forms of alternative sexual expression. Although Hirschfeld came of age as a scientist in an era in which scientific positivism exerted a strong influence on the natural and technical sciences. His relationship to science,⁹⁵ was shaped both by the scholarly tradition of German idealism and 19th 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 sweeping Germany in the late nineteenth-century—was meant to protect the “purity” of scientific objectivity against the corrupting influence of value-judgments.⁹⁶ Hirschfeld's practice of the empirical method in studying human sexuality allowed him to temper his scientific assessments of an individual's biological makeup with compassion and an understanding of the psychology and emotions that influence 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.⁹⁷ 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"⁹⁸ 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*)⁹⁹, which pervaded the 19th century. Overall it signaled a shift that not only demanded increased specialization and a greater degree of separation between the sciences, but also 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 methods 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 19th century German social sciences as well.¹⁰⁰ The import of empirical methods and epistemology effected a transformation of science into a value-free enterprise, something that was also recognized by Max Weber¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² It should also be mentioned that Bismarck's anti-Socialist laws (1878-1890)¹⁰³ added pressure on liberal thinkers to sever politics from science.¹⁰⁴ 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 19th 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."¹⁰⁵ Hirschfeld's belief that science could transform society and liberate it from irrational prejudices and arbitrary values and his adherence to scientific method identifies 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. By considering both of these strains in Hirschfeld will not only help to illuminate his science but 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—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)*.¹⁰⁶

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 particular¹⁰⁷—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, 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 first hand 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 20th century Europe.

Hirschfeld's approach to cultural difference resonates in many ways with Herder's late 18th 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."¹⁰⁸ 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 nation's "Volksgeist," 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."¹⁰⁹ While Herder employed empirical ethnographic data to discuss cultural differences, he never questioned "the assumption of universality of reason and mental capacity among humans."¹¹⁰ This idea of fundamental sameness of human beings is echoed in Hirschfeld's 1919 pacifist essay, "Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?"¹¹¹ ("What Unites and Separates Human Beings"). Hirschfeld delineated the similarities in peoples of different cultures and ethnic backgrounds to uncover causes to foster compassion and understanding amongst peoples and to eradicate the causes for war.

He was a firm believer that science represented a moral edifice that was immune from the fetters of interest and instrumentality, and 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."¹¹² 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 sexuality in order to reform laws that discriminated against them, Hirschfeld's approach to science can also be seen as being in accord with a Marxist sociology 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.¹¹³ Hirschfeld was a liberal scientist through and through. He believed that science was to 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.”¹¹⁴

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,” 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’ examiners for his medical thesis, had a profound influence on Hirschfeld’s scientific methods. In his ethnographic research, 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. Nor were they in favor of merging the individual with a larger group or cultural type such as race or “Volk.”¹¹⁵ 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.”¹¹⁶ The liberal cultural ethnography practiced by the late 19th 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* and their cultural inferiority to the European *Kulturvölker*.¹¹⁷ 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 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.

Hirschfeld and the Importance of Sexology

The advent of sexology prompted a revolution in the 19th century sexual consciousness and proved to be a veritable engine for transplanting sexual discourse from its governing pillars: morality and the law and into the modern 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. For the first time sex was no longer the exclusive province of morality and law; it had now also become a matter of science and had made its foray into public discourse as a 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”¹¹⁸ 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 18th 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 nineteen hundreds became known as sexology and 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”¹¹⁹, 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 the proponents of sexology wanted to place on the natural scientist 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 human affective and sexual relationships. Thus it often entailed theories and methods as varied and imaginative as measuring the potency of the sex drive, paying attention to physiognomic characteristics, such as facial structure, cranial width, hip to shoulder ratios, foot size and the levels of male and female hormones present in an individual and drawing conclusions about an individual's character or sexual desire based on these. Many of these techniques were borrowed from criminological or forensic sciences, disciplines that influenced Hirschfeld's work especially in the earlier part of his career as a sexologist.

Sexology's theoretical foundations can be traced back to the 18th 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 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 Iwan Bloch. Bloch 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, Bloch managed to enlist the help of Hirschfeld's expertise on homosexuality and other sexologists to give a rounded view on the topic. This collaboration gave birth to the *Journal for Sexology* in 1908, which was edited by Hirschfeld. He 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.¹²⁰

Bloch later refined Hirschfeld's somewhat programmatic remarks on 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.¹²¹

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*¹²² 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 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 19th and early 20th 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 pathologizing homosexuals and inevitably inhibiting them 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 attempting 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 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. Moll was a conservative, right-wing leaning German patriot of Jewish descent, while Hirschfeld was a socialist and gay. But whatever the case may be, it should be emphasized that Hirschfeld's theory was not without its detractors and competitors: Moll figured prominently among the many.

It should be noted that although Krafft-Ebing had a significant influence on Moll's research, his writings and demeanor toward homosexuality and the vast variety of sexual behaviors that he encountered in his research and clinical practice did not contain the prejudicial disposition that was so blatant with Moll.¹²³ Krafft-Ebing was a scientist who was distinguished by not only a great deal of compassion for his patients but also by 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 von-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.¹²⁴ It should also be noted that von-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 Oosterhuis's biography of the Viennese psychiatrist¹²⁵. 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”¹²⁶.

Apart from undergirding the clerical position on the purpose of human sexual relations, the view above was also the one upheld by the majority of 19th century sexologists.

In the course of two decades, Krafft-Ebing revised this position significantly. He not only detached the sexual impulse from procreative ends, but in large part due to Hirschfeld’s influence, 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.”¹²⁷

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 erotic behavior faltered from behaviors typically assigned to the distinct genders, anomalies were immediately suspected. It is possible to identify at least two 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 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.”¹²⁸ Essentialists subscribe to the notion that alternative sexual behavior is to be ascribed to an individual’s congenital constitution. Constructionists, on the other hand, maintain 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 or in boarding schools. This camp of sexologists and psychologists maintained that external sociological factors could also bring about homosexuality. The belief was that the absence of a father, excessive shyness, overly authoritative or alcoholic parents could all bring about same-sex loving children. Homosexuality was viewed as pathology in these cases.

In 1852, a few decades before homosexuality would firmly establish itself in the currency of German medical discourse, forensic specialist Johann Ludwig Casper was 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 by the name of Caretto¹²⁹, as nineteenth and twentieth century English sexologist Havelock Ellis had affirmed. Caspar claimed that in many cases of same sex love it was possible to point to a hermaphroditism of the soul. Caspar proved to be ahead of his times in acknowledging that same-sex love did not necessarily entail anal penetration¹³⁰ or explicit sexual acts but could be confined to embraces and affectionate friendship. By distinguishing between act and disposition Caspar does not commit the common fallacy of many of the 20th 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 article¹³¹ 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. Von Westphal had borrowed the notion of effeminacy from lawyer and homosexual activist, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. Von 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 19th 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, shape of the face 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,¹³² who claimed that sallow complexions, hooked noses, hollow eyes, prominent chins and having 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 ascribed distinct character traits to both morphological varieties. The purpose of his investigation was to uphold scientifically 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 face, prominent noses and expressions of melancholy.

It must be admitted 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 embryology and endocrinology, an analysis of sexual identity tied to the development of the fetus itself.

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?"¹³³ (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 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.¹³⁴

The timing and publication of the *Sappho and Socrates* pamphlet was a direct reaction to a particular incident that affected Hirschfeld very deeply. Hirschfeld was largely inspired by the tragic fate of a patient that he treated in his medical practice. The man was 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 evening 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."¹³⁵ 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 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 addition to Hirschfeld's reference to the unjust imprisonment and humiliation of

the playwright who spoke of “the love that dare not speak its name,¹³⁶” lead one to believe that the persecution of this literary talent also loomed 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). Ulrichs, a lawyer and outspoken advocate for the repeal of the Prussian anti-homosexual statute, Paragraph 143¹³⁷ was Germany’s first homosexual rights activist and one of the first to proclaim his homosexuality.¹³⁸ Ulrichs mobilized to prevent the extension of anti-homosexual legislature in Hannover. It is important to note that Hannover was—during most of Ulrichs’ 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 throughout the German territory, demanded uniform adoption of the Napoleonic Code throughout the German territories and denounced the Prussian invasion. These actions led to Ulrichs’ imprisonment and eventually to his being exiled from Hannover in 1867. Ulrichs continued his campaign to overturn the legislation in Munich and went on to publish twelve 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 fourteen year old boy. 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' 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. Ulrichs' pamphlets, the last of which was the series, entitled, *Forschungen über das Rätsel der mann männlichen Liebe* (Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love) in 1879. Ulrichs traveled to Italy and settled in Naples, where he would remain in self-exile.¹³⁹ Here, he published alongside his political works, also works of poetry and fictional prose. He died virtually penniless in Aquila, Italy, where he remains buried¹⁴⁰.)

Ulrichs argued that homosexuality was an inborn characteristic 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 "urnings"¹⁴¹ as Ulrichs referred to them, 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 "urningins"¹⁴², in Ulrichs' terminology, were characterized by a male soul in a female body. Ulrichs' 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 uranians: "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, “urnind” 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.”¹⁴³

Ulrichs’ proposal of a third sex theory to explain same-sex eroticism was hardly met with a high degree of enthusiasm 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 the ends of procreation and thus constituted a misdirected expenditure of bodily humors, which continued to be viewed as sacred in Victorian moral sensibilities¹⁴⁴. The third sex theory not only blurred the firm boundaries between masculinity and femininity that were imposed with the introduction of the two sex system in the post-Enlightenment age¹⁴⁵, but in its implication of an implicit femininity in men who loved men, shattered the national ideal of psychological and biological total male, that was embodied in the same-sex loving, yet ultra-virile *Männerheld*, (the male hero) whom, conservative ideologue Hans Blüher¹⁴⁶ exalted in his theories of Germanic masculinity. Blüher¹⁴⁷ was also a spiritual founder and chronicler of the German

bourgeois youth movement “Die Wandervögel” (the migrant birds) who 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 devoted himself to edifying bourgeois youth with ideals of nationalism and homoerotic friendship and pedagogical eros.¹⁴⁸

Perhaps even more 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 bent¹⁴⁹. 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’ 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.¹⁵⁰ Ulrichs’ and Hirschfeld’s (as we shall soon see) brand of gender hybridity posed a direct affront to these ideals of chauvinistic masculinity.

Hirschfeld elaborated on Ulrichs’ notion of a third sex and introduced in its place a more scientifically rigorous theory of sexual intermediaries (Theorie der sexuellen Zwischenstufen). 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 embryology. Expanding upon the notion that the human embryo was sexually undifferentiated, that is to say characterized by both male

and female sex characteristics, in during its first three months of development, he identified a total of 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 (urnind).”

According to Hirschfeld, the sexual organs in total men and women developed normally.

During the course of the development of their sexual organs, Hirschfeld 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.¹⁵¹

According to this same scheme, male and female psychological hermaphrodites were characterized by external sexual organs that underwent normal somatic development.

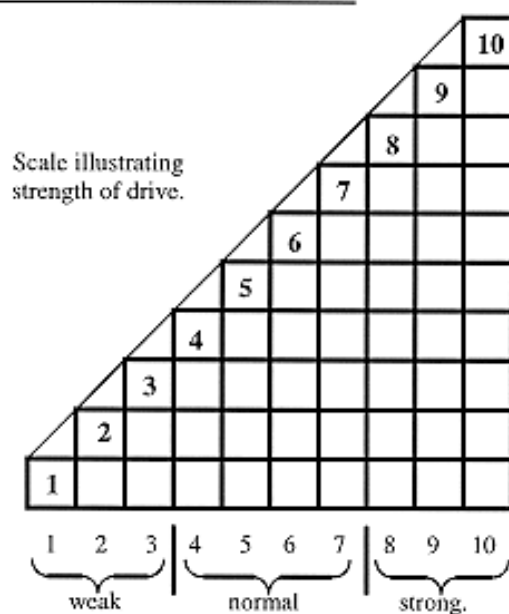
Hirschfeld maintained however, that the neural centers for sexual response in the male and female psychological hermaphrodite underwent a truncated development in failing to direct feelings in a differentiated fashion. Thus male and female psychological hermaphrodites found themselves attracted to members of both sexes. Such people can love members of both sexes. Finally, complete uranians had normal sexual organs but 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: see Figures 1 and 2.¹⁵²

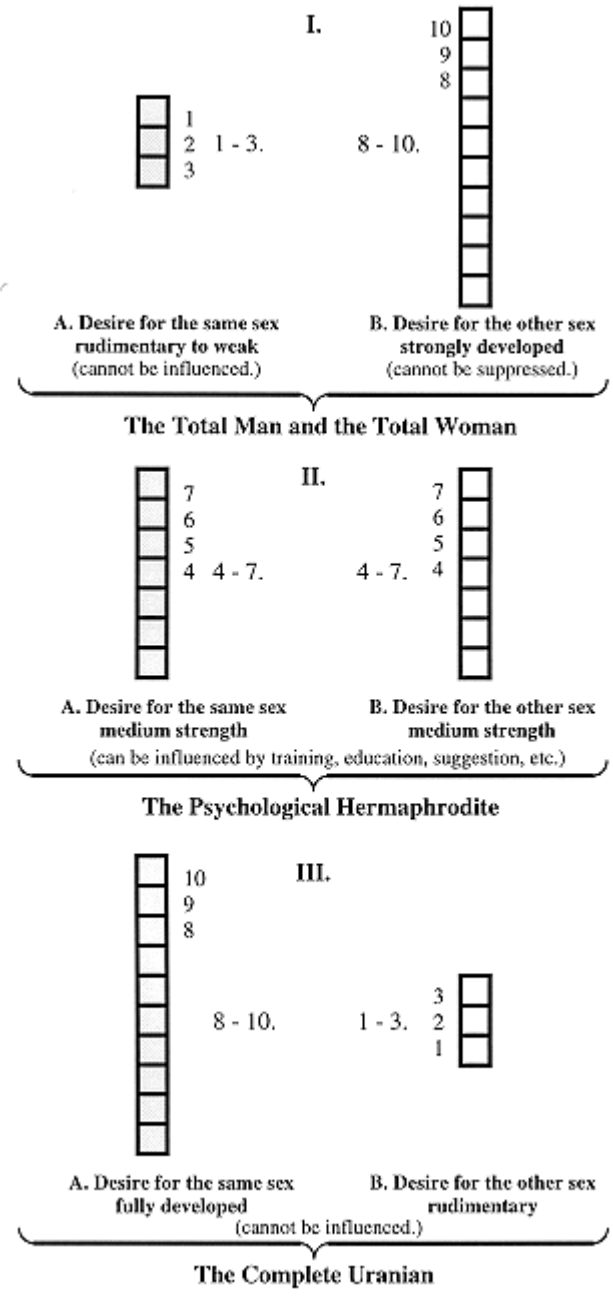
I. Direction or Quality of the Love Drive.

- A. Desire for the other sex.
- B. Desire for the same sex.
- A + B or C. Desire for both sexes.

II. Strength or Quantity of the Love Drive.

apparent lack (unnoticeable rudiment)	= 1	} cannot be influenced.
nearly uninterested	= 2	
cold	= 3	
<hr/>		
cool	= 4	} can be influenced through training, education, and suggestion.
lukewarm	= 5	
warm	= 6	
very warm	= 7	
<hr/>		
hot	= 8	} irrepessable (can be controlled only with difficulty or not at
passionate	= 9	
wild frenzy	= 10	





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 1-10 to measure the sex drive. A rating of 1-3 on the sex

drive scale signified a very low and almost negligible drive, a rating between 4-6 was deemed moderate and capable of some flexibility, whereas a rating of 7-10 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. Hirschfeld 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 not neither be acquired through environmental factors or suggestion, nor extinguished through medical treatment or psychological conditioning. Thus according to Hirschfeld, 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."¹⁵³ (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, in Hirschfeld's view, 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 hormone levels of the opposite sex would very likely manifest itself as a homosexual sex drive in people who

the morphologically full male and 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).

This early foray into the sexual implications of endocrinology would eventually lead Hirschfeld to engage in some of the most cutting edge experiments and therapies in endocrinology of his time. In 1910, Hirschfeld sought out Viennese physiologist and director of the Physiological Section of the Institute for Experimental Biology, Eugen Steinach¹⁵⁴ (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 testis, more specifically the interstitial cells located in the testis that produced masculine behavior and somatic traits.¹⁵⁵ He tested this hypothesis by performing experiments which entailed castrating and transplanting the chemical substances from the male sex glands in rats and guinea pigs. Steinach found that the castrates that had been grafted with testes 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 them¹⁵⁶. One of the main reasons to pursue these operations, according to

Steinach, was to reverse unwanted homosexuality in men, aid impotence and replace undesired feminine traits and behaviors with masculine ones.

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 explains his endorsement of the Steinach transplants only in part. 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 he could deliver to his patients the results they desired for themselves. 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 also when proponents of psychoanalysis began promoting conversion therapy for homosexuals. Conversion therapy in the interwar era became largely synonymous with Freud's student Isidor Sadger¹⁵⁷. 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 section.

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.¹⁵⁸ 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.¹⁵⁹ 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 also sought to evade a life of stigmatization and marginalization. For as flawed and misguided as Steinach's experiments were, their legacy do not entirely bear the insignia of failure and devastating medical debacle. German-American sexologist and one of the earliest experts on transgendered identity, Harry Benjamin, 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.¹⁶⁰

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 linkage of male homosexuality with femininity and lesbianism with masculinity is 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 of Hirschfeld, if we also consider some of the sources that provided the epistemological foundations for his theories. 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 Weininger¹⁶¹ and became widely discussed and esteemed by sexual theorists of his time, among who 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 that 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 Ulrichs 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, consisting of exclusively male or female, with the notion that human sexual identity was composed of varying degrees of male 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.¹⁶²

In spite of the increasing popularity of Weininger's theory of sexual complementarity at the dawn of the 20th 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 fin de siècle Germany. Wilhelmine notions of national vigor and respectability were inextricably bound to the intactness of patriarchal gender roles.¹⁶³ Hirschfeld was fully aware of these implications and remained undaunted in arguing that homosexuals' natures did in any way compromise these individuals' worth and ability 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 an audacious and unpopular move. Despite his bold

disavowal of binomial sexuality, Weininger went on to recant it 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.¹⁶⁴ 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 works¹⁶⁵. Arguing the impossibility of knowing what constituted the essence of “male” and “female,”¹⁶⁶ Freud recused himself from pursuing the implications of the admixtures of the two and the potential alternatives to normative gender standards that these could imply and reverted to the two sex model to explain sexual development. The fact that Hirschfeld persisted and further refined his theory of sexual intermediaries and their normalcy and right to social enfranchisement in this cultural political climate add a dimension of courage to his achievements and overall humanism.

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 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).¹⁶⁷

Hirschfeld proved astute in upholding the naturalness of homosexuality to combat some of the fiercely ingrained stereotypes and common banalities that were held 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 for 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.¹⁶⁸ The inhumanity of punishing the infirm and those who nature had created differently was one of the values upheld by the Napoleonic Code, which prior to 1871 was still in effect in a number of German states, among them were Bavaria and Hanover. Prussia proved an exception the Napoleonic Code.¹⁶⁹ 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 Kurt Hiller's, a poet and literary critic and one of Hirschfeld's most valuable allies in the fight against Paragraph 175, more aggressive political writings¹⁷⁰. The criminalization of homosexuality, Hirschfeld astutely pointed out had been virtually ineffectual in preventing the widespread 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*¹⁷¹ 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 widespread of female same-sex love. Finally, Hirschfeld proved the 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 widespread of homosexuality, rendering the introduction of laws unnecessary.¹⁷²

Taking inferences from a poet of marked Socialist leanings, Edward Carpenter¹⁷³, Hirschfeld argued that homosexuals were just as diverse as heterosexuals were.¹⁷⁴ Just as heterosexuals could count dimwitted and intellectual, even-tempered and stubborn-natured, likeable and an unlikable, healthy and sick people among them, 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 Socrates* 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 illustrious 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 engendered 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, but rather that 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.¹⁷⁵ This was an argument frequently found in the works of Blüher¹⁷⁶, Friedländer and the nationalist proponents of Classical homoeroticism. It should here be

noted that Hirschfeld wrote a very 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.¹⁷⁷ 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' agitative and incendiary demands for sexual reform. While Hirschfeld's contrasting restraint can in part be ascribed to his sensitivity to *Gründerzeit* mores. I believe it was mainly his desire to be able to persevere and succeed in his campaign for sexual emancipation that prevented Hirschfeld from assuming the more radical overtones that

characterized Ulrichs' 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.¹⁷⁸

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 he 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.¹⁷⁹ 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 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 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.¹⁸⁰ Although Hirschfeld did not in any way espouse an anti-modern of 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 in 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.¹⁸¹

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 bringing forth accurate conclusions, he compensated for it for the most part with the ability of revising his position when he was wrong, remaining open to new approaches in science and resisting dogmatic

positions in 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.

Beyond Sappho und Socrates

Hirschfeld subsequently modified and refined numerous aspects of the theories elucidated in the *Sappho* essay in his later works. 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 as well as its implications. Here he introduced his theory of intermediaries and definitively dismissed the notions of absolute male and absolute female that he 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"¹⁸² (nature makes no leaps) and Leibniz's maxim: "tout va par degrés dans la nature et rien par sauts"¹⁸³,"— 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 extended way beyond Haeckel 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 characteristics¹⁸⁴: 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.

He 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, or manly voices, 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.¹⁸⁵

Thus, Hirschfeld's theory of sexual intermediaries justifies the following play on a common saying: 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."¹⁸⁶

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 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.¹⁸⁷

In his *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und Weibes*¹⁸⁸ (The Homosexuality of Men and Women¹⁸⁹), a work largely inspired by the results yielded by the richly detailed

Psychobiological Questionnaire¹⁹⁰ that Hirschfeld devised and regularly administered to his patients, Hirschfeld 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. He also recognized that the label “homosexuality” was not a stable one. While today sexual orientation is largely defined by the sex of one’s sexual partner, the standards for discussing one’s sexual identity during Hirschfeld’s time were not nearly as uniform. A consensus among physicians and psychiatrists on homosexuality’s alleged symptoms or causalities were thoroughly lacking. Although the criteria that his contemporaries used to determine homosexuality were not fixed, Hirschfeld identified four categories that were commonly used to classify homosexuality:¹⁹¹

1. Nature or character of the individual –whether or not an individual exhibited a healthy disposition and good moral character, whether he or she was of an active or passive disposition, neurasthenic or normal.

2. The object of attraction (male or female).

3. Orientation of the drive (preferred age of the lover): was the homosexual pederastic or gerontophilic in his or her preferences, that is to say did he or she prefer pre-pubescent lovers or lovers who were much older? Did he or she prefer to take on an active or passive role in sexual relations?

4. Origin of homosexuality (inborn or acquired). Was the subject born with same-sex desire or did he or she discover this same-sex activity only under unique circumstances? In the latter case many scientists of his era believed that an “acquired” or

“pseudo-homosexuality” as they also tended to referred to it, was curable, as it was supposed that it was only practiced in *faute de mieux*.

Hirschfeld was vociferously 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, Hirschfeld maintained that homosexuality was merely a developmental variation that displayed an inherent incongruity between an individual’s genitalia and psycho-sexual personality. Moll 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.”¹⁹² 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 that:

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.¹⁹³

Hirschfeld also did not agree with the prevalent assumption in psychoanalysis and championed by Havelock Ellis that identified sexual prowess with masculinity and passivity with femininity: “Ulrichs’ 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.”¹⁹⁴

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.¹⁹⁵

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.’”¹⁹⁶

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.¹⁹⁷

Hirschfeld's theory of intermediaries also helped him to explain a phenomenon he regularly observed in his practice and in Berlin society, namely 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 is a woman who wears 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 rigorously conflated with homosexuality in sexological and psychiatric discourse. He 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.

That Hirschfeld was able to gain these insights was largely due to his reliance on the empirical method. Hirschfeld's clinical methods lent themselves to gaining an in-depth understanding of his patients. The nature of the questions in the Psycho-Biological Questionnaire furnished information about the patient that spanned from the 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 gaining 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*¹⁹⁸ and the fact that he was a regular guest at drag balls.¹⁹⁹

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 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 but also for co-founding *die wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee* (The Scientific Humanitarian Committee) in 1897, 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 acknowledging the severity of depression, 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.²⁰⁰

In the years immediately following the publication of *Die Transvestiten*, Hirschfeld was seen as an avowed 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. He also 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 led to suicide and crime.²⁰¹ 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 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, he claimed that among the transvestites he had encountered, 35% were homosexual, 35% heterosexual and the rest were either asexual or bisexual.²⁰²

Hirschfeld also lamented the fact that the term “transvestite,” only focuses on the external aspect of a phenomenon whose “internal is limitless.”²⁰³ In recognizing that for many individuals, cross-dressing yielded more than a satisfaction that was derived from clothing, 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 Transvestiten*, he concedes that psychotherapy might be 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 made to disappear nor did he believe that it was engendered by 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, he held the non-gratification of the drive to cross-dress as an injury to the self and advocated a moderate satisfaction of the natural inclination attire and the avoidance of excess.²⁰⁴

While expressing his solidarity with cross-dressers, he 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 could have less than progressive implications. Hirschfeld cautioned against transvestite marriage also 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 raises 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 percent, 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.²⁰⁵

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 whole-hearted 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 the domestic assistant 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.²⁰⁶ The operation was a success and enabled Dorchen to experience for the first time the harmony between anatomical sex and psychological sex for which still many pre-op transgendered individual yearn. Dorchen's case, displayed the deep-rooted suffering that is so often encountered many of these cases. From her early childhood, Dorchen 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.²⁰⁷ Such operations reached a peak in demand in Germany in the 1930s and Hirschfeld was widely sought out for his expertise²⁰⁸. 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. 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.²⁰⁹

Nevertheless, Hirschfeld's powerful, 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.²¹⁰ 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 sexology²¹¹, 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 sides of the political spectrum. Hirschfeld was also enormously successful at educating the public about homosexuality and played a major role in the production of

the first film that portrayed a homosexual character and 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 someone’s 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 also 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.

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 sex²¹² and the father of psychoanalysis initially began as a positively collaborative one. Freud contributed articles to Hirschfeld’s journals. Hirschfeld began taking a greater a more serious 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 homosexuals²¹³, fulminated against Hirschfeld for polluting the field of psychoanalysis by calling his 130 item questionnaire for homosexuals, a "psychoanalytical questionnaire." While Freud agreed that the questionnaire did not bear much of a psychoanalytic character, he deemed the questionnaire to be quite useful in learning about the psychological and erotic makeup of homosexuals. Jung's attacks caused Hirschfeld to renounce to 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."²¹⁴

Both Hirschfeld and Freud agreed that the persecution of homosexuals was inhumane and 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 fourteen 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.²¹⁵

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),²¹⁶ he distinguishes between three types of "inverts," to employ the term for same sex loving people used by Freud: 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 be later known as bisexuals, a term still current in contemporary parlance, though more narrowly defined in comparison to Freud and 19th century sexology's usage of it. Bisexuality in 19th 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 19th 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 or 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' understanding of same-sex love, as he explained male homosexuality as featuring feminine soul in a masculine body. 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].²¹⁷" It is clear from this passage that Freud assumes that a "normal" sexual object must be one of the opposite sex. This is also revealed by the fact that his theory does not even allow for the theoretical possibility of inverts engaging in sexual intercourse with members of the opposite sex on a contingent 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 Freud's 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 on homosexuality on the sexological stage. In many ways his theories of inversion proved not only innovative but also challenged, furthered and rectified many of the biased theories and fallacious assumptions regarding the

homosexuality upheld by his contemporaries in psychology and sexology. Comparatively speaking, Freud's contribution certainly furnished a more nuanced discussion of homosexuality. Freud dismissed the tendentious view held by many physicians of the time, namely that nervous degeneracy caused inversion. Magnan and Richard Krafft-Ebing were prominent proponents of the degeneracy theory, which maintained that inversion was caused from an inherited genetic malfunctioning or poor adaptation to the environment. Freud's disavowal of this theory was based on the fact inversion was often displayed in individuals that exhibited no deviations from the norm as well as in individuals that exhibited a high intellectual and cultural attainment. Further, Freud pointed out that contrary to 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"²¹⁸.

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 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. 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, according to Freud. 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 in 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*²¹⁹. 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 and 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.²²⁰ 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, but 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,²²¹ he refuted Freud's theory that even a mother's love for her child contains sexual overtones.²²² Hirschfeld claimed that a mother's love toward her child was carnal, but never sexual. The fact that he both adamantly refuses 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 indicate 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 tradition 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 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. He 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 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

cerebellum was center of sex drive and that people with 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.²²³ While Hirschfeld admired Gall's efforts to illuminate the dynamics of the sex drive, he readily dismissed these findings. For as much as Hirschfeld disagreed with Freud on the origins of homosexuality, he did see much 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 psychoanalysis' 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 one 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 argue 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.

Hirschfeld observed and was able to understand the suffering of homosexuals and those socially marginalized because of their sexual orientations from up close. He

witnessed the mental anguish, emotional pain and isolation that many homosexuals experienced through his clinical practice. 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.²²⁴

The cleavage between Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee and Freud's psychoanalytic movement became even more marked during WWI. 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.²²⁵

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 Alfred Adler and Siegfried Placzek's (both Freudian psychoanalysts) psychoanalytic theories of homosexuality.

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.²²⁶ Hirschfeld had dismissed this hypothesis very early on. Nationalists who were opposed to the revisions to Paragraph 175 proposed by the SHC 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 the German states 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 19th 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.

Hirschfeld and Degeneracy

Although the scientific referent “homosexuality” had not come into existence until the late 1860s with Hungarian writer Karoly Maria Kertbeny²²⁷, same sex-love, or sodomy, to implement the more synchronous term, had been a matter of scientific inquiry since the late 18th century. The identification of the homosexual as a modern social construction has been notably put forth by Foucault²²⁸ and a bevy of social constructionists²²⁹ 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 the 19th 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 18th 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 19th century.²³⁰ While my focus will be on the way in which homosexual discourse developed in Germany, I will 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 Revolution, they sought to eradicate vice from society and supported the prosecution of prostitution and pornography and abandoned the struggle to legislate equality for illegitimate children.²³¹ 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, began to appear cloaked and bearing a serene and maternal mien.²³² 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* (1760)²³³, which upheld the dangers of masturbation as a moral contagion of epidemic proportions and its negative effects on the nerves held a great deal of sway in post-Revolution France. Both Voltaire and 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* (1781) was also enormously popular during this period and through the 19th and early 20th century. Lavater proposed that true character was expressed through outward appearance. Drawing on the work of the eminent 18th Classicist, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), Lavater invoked the physical paragons of Greek classicism as the ideal incarnations of strength and moral virtue.²³⁴ This valuation of somatic traits and

emphasis on material expressions of personality will remain an important aspect of medical science throughout the 19th century. Hermann Hirschfeld believed that external features revealed a great deal about a person's well being and general health and imparted these beliefs upon his son Magnus.

In the 19th century, the rise of nationalism and the emergence of a market economy also contributed to making virtue more of an exigency²³⁵ in 18th century France.²³⁶ 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 becoming more reform-conscious became matters of state interest.²³⁷

The ideals of chastity and moral virtue attained an even higher degree of cultural currency in 19th century France, particularly in light of the two defeats it suffered at the hands of the Germans in 1813 and 1871.²³⁸ 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 and the social degradation associated with urbanization and the excesses of modern life.²³⁹

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 pederasty²⁴⁰

was a result of insanity or monomania resonated well with the cultural and scientific climate of the late 19th century. Tardieu was also famous for propagating the view that sodomites and pederasts betrayed their deviant sexual penchants through deformities of the penis, anus, manner of dress and the presence of effeminate character traits.²⁴¹ French psychiatrist Benedict August Morel's (1809-1873) theory of hereditary degeneracy²⁴², 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 19th 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 doctrinaire Christian, 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 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 of limiting 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 heroines²⁴³ 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 19th 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, yet exercising caution 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.²⁴⁴ 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 also 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. Hewitt²⁴⁵ and critics like him who tend to value the cultural masculinist strands of homosexual movement represented by figures such as Adolf Brand and Hans Blüher as bearing more progressive implications for queer identity because of the masculinists’ disavowal of the effeminate homosexuality that Hirschfeld defended, uphold a vastly reductive and shallow view of Hirschfeld. These critics 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* not only recognizes but demands 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.

Hirschfeld as a Clinician

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 environmental factors. In 1902, he devised what he called "a psychobiological questionnaire." This extensive questionnaire consisted of roughly 140 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 and whether or not he or she had been conceived in wedlock, wanting to know patient's shoe size, climactic preference, preference in music and 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 could authorize people who had the urge to cross dress to do so. 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.

Part III: Political Orientation and Social Activism and the Politicization of Homosexuality

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 forms of human affection that extended beyond the narrow regime of heterosexual horizon of experience. Hirschfeld's campaign to expand the category of toleration through the repeal of Paragraph 175 was driven by his liberalism. Although a member of the Social Democratic Party through the end of his life, Hirschfeld eschewed all forms of political ideology. While it cannot be denied that the Enlightenment values that served as the ideological matrix for the SPD also informed Hirschfeld's activism and science, human emotions and sentiment also found ample expression in Hirschfeld's 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 and referring the other to the jurisdiction of the state.²⁴⁶ 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.²⁴⁷

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 society. These basic postulations enabled Hirschfeld to put forth the idea—both in the form of rational arguments and passionate appeals—that homosexuality merited not only impunity but tolerance and acceptance as well. It would thus prove fitting that his approach would evince kinship with SPD party leader, Eduard Bernstein's, vision for social reform. In response to the Oscar Wilde Trials in 1895, Bernstein inveighed against the arbitrary character of the law and called for it to be grounded in reason: "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."²⁴⁸ Through his scientific theories and his political activity, Hirschfeld worked toward debunking the prevailing cultural myths and scientific assumptions that surrounded homosexuality. The prevailing ideas that facilitated the fiercest opposition to homosexuality were grounded in the belief that homosexuality was

an unnatural vice and that the practice of same-sex love failed to serve the goal of procreation, which possessed both a moral and social valence in Wilhelmine and interwar Germany. Hirschfeld garnered the support of key Social Democrats in order to press for the legal reform of anti-homosexual statute Paragraph 175. His affinity with the Social Democrats consisted in their protection of civil liberties. Instances on the world political stage in which this was clearly manifest were the Oscar Wilde trial—where Bernstein, Berg and others decried the injustice against Wilde— and the Dreyfus Affair and the Socialists’ support of Dreyfus and the values of the republic.²⁴⁹

Hirschfeld, the Social Democrats and Interwar Sexual Politics

“There can be no emancipation of humanity without the social independence and equality of the sexes.”²⁵⁰ Hirschfeld believed that a society that could be so enlightened as to 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 drove Hirschfeld’s campaign against Paragraph 175 and the philosophy that propelled Hirschfeld to become an active and rigorous campaigner 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, Hirschfeld came together with a handful of likeminded Social Democrats and founded the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (die Wissenschaftliche Humanitäre Kommittee) 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 Goldmark to the pot, with the exception of Spohr, who contributed 200 Goldmark. 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.²⁵¹

The SHC had an immediate plan of action: to gather as many signatories as possible for a petition against Paragraph 175, which would be presented before the parliament. This was the first petition of its kind ever to be presented before the parliament. The petition's first four signatories were prominent members of German society: the poet Ernst von Wildenbruch, who had been considered a Wilhelmine reactionary, Franz von Liszt, a lawyer, the Austrian psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing and August Bebel, the chairman of the largest political party at that time, the SPD. By December of 1897, the SHC had managed to gather hundreds of signatories.

Although Bebel himself defended the petition before the parliament, Paragraph 175 was not lifted. The SHC would continue to gather signatories for the petition and submit it before the parliament with each parliamentary election until 1930, when it eventually dismantled due to internal discord. Despite the fact that it had come close to near victory on a number of occasions, particularly in 1930, when it attained a mitigation of Paragraph 175, success eluded the SHC. It was not until 1968 in the German Democratic Republic and in 1969 in the Federal Republic that the law was significantly

reformed. It was not until 1994 that Paragraph 175 was officially removed from the German penal code.

The means that the SHC had at its disposal were fundamentally educative: enlightenment, scientific explanations, publications and propaganda. Spohr's membership in the SHC proved particularly advantageous in the last two departments as thanks to him the SHC was able to issue a complementary pamphlet with a circulation of 10,000, entitled: "Was soll das Volk vom dritten Geschlecht wissen" ("What the People Should Know About the Third Sex"). Spohr also published "Das Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen" (The Yearbook for Sexual Intermediaries), from 1899-1923. This journal was edited by Hirschfeld and was by no means a mere special interest journal. It drew wide public attention and contained contributions from a wide array of experts from natural scientists, to lawyers to psychiatrists, to historians, to theologians and writers. Freud and Weininger had also contributed to the Yearbook.

In 1899 a second petition was presented in order to have Paragraph 175 repealed. This time the number of signatories reached about two thousand and it included many prominent writers and artists. Gerhart Hauptmann, Frank Wedekind, Richard Dehmel, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Max Liebermann and Heinrich Zille were among the names on the petition. Despite the inordinately high number of names associated with Germany's crème de la crème, the Reichstag rejected the petition again. The defeat only motivated Hirschfeld to become even more tenacious in his fight against what he perceived to be a gross social injustice. In 1899, he and the SHC decided to publish *The Yearbook for Sexual Intermediaries with Special Consideration of Homosexuality*, a journal conceived to enlighten the public about issues concerning

unorthodox sexuality that placed a special emphasis on homosexuality. The journal included articles by physicians, psychoanalysts and biologists, ethnologists, criminologists and writers. Aside from a wide range of contributions that this journal boasted, the unique merit of the journal also lay in the fact that it included articles that openly contradicted Hirschfeld's own theories.

Although homosexuality was at the center of Hirschfeld's interests, 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 transvestism, hermaphroditism, gender roles, women's rights, alcoholism, abortion, prostitution and social hygiene. In 1919 he founded the Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin with his own funds. Four years later, he donated it to the German government.²⁵² This institute was the first of its type in the entire world. It drew the collaboration of world-renown scientists and sexologists. The topics that were studied ranged from sexual practices in places as exotic as the South Seas, same-sex love throughout the ages, as well as alcoholism, prostitution, infertility, just to name a few. In 1920, while lecturing on experiments in endocrinology in Munich Hirschfeld was attacked and nearly stoned to death by a group of young thugs who claimed that Hirschfeld was poisoning the German people.

In addition to Bebel, the right wing section of the SPD had also rallied in strong support of Hirschfeld's campaign. Eduard Bernstein had also expressed himself staunchly in favor of the repeal of Paragraph 175. Bernstein was in sync with the Enlightenment ethos of the SHC. Appalled by the outcome of the Oscar Wilde Trials in England, he not only urged that Germany approach homosexuality not from a moral standpoint but from a

scientific one, but argued that the Social Democratic Party should act to influence the state law so that it reflect scientific experience and not moral concepts.

Germany is one of the few countries to punish the offence of which Wilde is accused. As far as moral hypocrisy is concerned, she need hardly cede much to England. But to stick to this particular matter: there are still, even within the German social-democratic movement, very far-reaching differences of opinion regarding the position society should adopt towards those sexual activities which do not fall within the ambit of the normal. However much the Party endeavors to judge other questions of public life in a scientific and unprejudiced manner, there is little sign of the endeavor to gain and maintain a firm, modern, scientifically grounded point of view, once sexual matters come under consideration. There is more **pre-judging** than **judging**, and extreme libertarianism borrowed from philosophical radicalism alternatives with an almost pharisaical, ultra-puritan, morality. Although the theme of sexual behavior may not be of paramount significance for the economic and political struggle, the search for an objective means of assessing this side of social life as well is not irrelevant. 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. 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.²⁵³

Bernstein did not stop there. He also railed against the moral double standards in Germany 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. Bernstein argued that the sexual behavior that society conventionally deemed unnatural consisted in sexual acts that did not lead to procreation. He pointed out the inherent hypocrisy in such a position by arguing that society had tacitly accepted sexuality as a recreation and not just a procreative practice. While it sanctioned sex that involved the use of body parts not responsible for creating another human being, it limited its definition of unnatural to male same sex lovers. Unconventional sex acts

between man and woman and female homosexuality continued to remain unaffected by the law. Bernstein incited against using the term unnatural to refer to male same sex acts. He saw it as inappropriate since male same sex love was entirely natural to certain individuals. Rather, he advocated the use of the term “abnormal.” In this theoretical treatise, Bernstein anticipated what Freud would have to say in a very different context about human sexuality: that it was polymorphously perverse.

Bernstein’s analysis led to important considerations on how the law regarded female sexuality. He pointed out that the state was largely indifferent to female sexual activity because women were valued less in society. Mainstream public discourse failed to acknowledge female sexual desire. This contributed greatly to the widespread ignorance concerning female sexual activity. In essence, female sexual behavior was outside of any legal jurisdiction with the exception of Austria, which criminalized lesbianism²⁵⁴. Barred from cases in which severe bodily injury had been inflicted onto a prostitute or that she become infected with a disease, the law did not intervene in any type of sexual excess that occurred between a man and a female prostitute. Female sexual activity in general, including lesbianism went largely ignored.

The oft cited passages in the Bible: Leviticus in the Old Testament and St. Paul in the New Testament have fueled—and continue until this day to fuel—the moral crusade against male homosexuality. In the European Middle Ages homosexuality was often punished with death. Even in Berlin, a place which would become the world capital for sexual enlightenment in the twentieth century, sodomy, as late as the early eighteenth century, was punished with the cruelty that left no question of the moral ire behind it. Berlin Sexologist Hans Haustein recounted that on June 11, 1704, the Berlin State Court

sentenced two men Martin Schultze and Ludwig Le Gros to death by the sword followed by cremation after both had confessed to having engaged in fornication with one another²⁵⁵. The death penalty against male and female homosexuality remained in effect during the age of Friedrich the Great, even though he abolished the death penalty for bestiality. The death penalty for homosexuality would not be lifted in Germany until Friedrich's successor came to power. He substituted it with a one to eight year prison sentence that incorporated routine floggings. It wasn't until 1851 that lesbianism was decriminalized. Male homosexuality was still illegal, but the penalties against it were loosened. Although homosexuality was outlawed throughout most of Germany in the mid 19th century, the principalities of Hanover and Munich constituted exceptions to this situation. With the German Unification in 1871, the Prussian anti-homosexual statute, then known as Paragraph 143, was extended throughout the entire German territories under Paragraph 175.

The fact that female homosexuality was not persecuted in the late 19th century is largely attributed to the fact that it was not perceived as a threat to society as with male homosexuality.²⁵⁶ Part of the reason for this incongruity is obviously ascribed to the rules of patriarchy: women were not considered people and the female body was simply not as valuable to the state as the male body. The male body was seen as an asset of the state. It protected the people and represented the strength and vigor of the state. Yet, these differentiations were anything if not laden in paradoxes. In spite of the openly professed and broadly tacitly agreed upon the cultural, political, moral, economic and anatomical inferiority of women, female empowerment was broadly feared by men because of the perceived ability to emasculate and render men superfluous and expendable. The cultural

meanings that were ascribed to both the female and male bodies also varied greatly. In this climate of essentialized gender identities, masculinity and femininity possessed enormous symbolic value.

Gender roles broke down to according the familiar patriarchal binaries. The male body represented a reflection and defender of the state. The female body was seen as a procreative vehicle and a preserver of peace and virtue. Women gained no legal protections or rights under the institution of marriage. On the contrary, marriage constrained women's liberties even further. It formally sanctioned male sovereignty over the female and the legal privileges of privacy that the state bestowed upon marriage largely benefited the husband and functioned to the woman's detriment.

Sexual behavior in a marriage was not a matter of private negotiation among conjugal partners. On the contrary, marital sexual behavior was rigidly codified. Marriage had a social function: it had to secure the propagation of the species and perpetuate the patriarchal order. Nevertheless, any type of sexual excess in the marital bedroom received legal sanction, and a couple's privacy was protected, only to the extent that it supported the male's right to sexual satisfaction.

The prevalent view among sexologists in the late nineteenth century was that the male was not only the dominant partner but the partner endowed with an active sexual appetite. The female, on the other hand was seen as having a passive sex drive and was expected to assume the social role and the sexual position (*succubus*) that corresponded to this disposition. British sexologist Havellock Ellis had famously argued the passivity of the female drive. This patriarchal model 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 roles were perceived and interpreted.

This transformation was epitomized in Toller's Expressionist play *Hinkemann*:
 Gene: (turns to Maggie in a burst of fury) What's the matter? What are you howling for? What is it? Can't you speak? Are you howling because I'm—because people would point at me in the street like a freak, if they knew what's the matter with me? Because some blasted hero's bullet made a cripple of me—made a laughing stock of me? Because you're ashamed of me? Is that it? Tell me the truth—the truth woman! Everything is topsy-turvy—(*Tenderly beseeching her.*) I want the truth. Why are you crying?"²⁵⁷

Female sexual desire, which had largely gone ignored or widely discouraged, had become a topic of central debate in Germany in the early twenties. The increased presence of women in the workplace and other traditionally male-dominated spheres along with the overall gains in rights and visibility that feminists had achieved in the early decades of the twentieth century gave rise to a widespread social anxiety about a significant power shift among the genders.²⁵⁸ 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 was 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. Sexologists and sex reformers of the early twentieth century were largely responsible for framing the problem of female desire as a power issue. Freudian psychologist Wilhelm Stekel promulgated the reactionary view

that for women: “To be roused by a man means acknowledging oneself as conquered.”²⁵⁹ 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 advent of psychology did little to emancipate women with clinical conditions such as frigidity from extracting themselves from their coital obligations. Any form of non-participation in heterosexual intercourse on the part of women, whether it be due to frigidity, lesbianism or old age was read as an act of willful resistance to male dominance. Freud too had argued that “some measure of sexual bondage is indispensable to the maintenance of civilized marriage.”²⁶⁰

By the mid twenties, 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 engaged in a full-scale campaign to educate both single and married women on sexual intercourse. This campaign brought forth an explosion of literature promoting healthy, active sex lives and condemning what was then seen as outdated Victorian prudery for women. Sex manuals and literature on marriage enjoyed enormous popularity during this period. 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 a prerogative for women as it was for men. Stella Browne’s pamphlet *Sexual Variety and Variability Among Women* in 1915 and Maria Stopes’ *Married Love* in 1918 which argued the legitimacy of women’s pleasure in sex were widely read and discussed in the early

twenties. Although this attitude signaled a radical departure from the view that women's sexual activity was contingent on a woman's obligation of satisfying 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 point of view that female non-participation in heterosexual intercourse would result in women's discovery that pleasure of sexual intercourse could be substituted by their attainment of power and independence from men. Walter Gallichan's pronouncements on the threat of female emancipation from intercourse with men epitomize the fear and alarmism with which a potential battle of the sexes was perceived in the twenties:

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.²⁶¹

As feminists began to challenge the widely held belief that all women flourished from sexual relations with men, they not only held unpopular view, but also became targets of criticisms directed by both male and female sexual reformers. The question of whether women should exercise their right to refuse sex with men was an issue that polarized feminists. The issue became reduced to two overly-simplified positions: sex negative and sex affirmative. Sexual reformers who adopted mainstream views toward female sexuality maintained that women who celebrated the pleasures of sex with men as as feminist and progressive and women who defended the right to subtract themselves

from intercourse with men were viewed as prude and anti-feminist. To be sure, both positions were progressive for early twentieth century Europe, since well through the mid to late twentieth century women were largely viewed as sexually passive and as not having sexual agency or judged as deranged for when they did exercise sexual agency and failed to restrain it.

The issue became so divisive that it became an important topic of discussion at the World League for Sexual Reform's Congress in London in 1929. Magnus Hirschfeld along with Havellock Ellis and August Forel were the presidents of the league. The issue of enjoyment of heterosexual intercourse divided feminists in two camps: the modern progressive feminists and the prudes. At the conference, prominent feminists such as Stella Browne and Dora Russell echoed the majority of sex reformers in that they promoted 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 upheld 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. Johanna Elberskirchen, who vociferously defended women's right to oppose heterosexual intercourse was not only the issue's most outspoken proponents, but she was also its only supporter at the conference. Evidently the World League for Sexual Reform was not ready for the pioneering brand of feminism that Elberskirchen was proposing because Russell's and Browne's brand of "modernist" feminism was hailed as the correct view on male and female sexual relations. Elberskirchen's proposition that women's unreflected expression of their sexuality could participate into their very oppression by men was considered too radical

even by feminist standards. Whether it was to avert political isolation or to simply continue to indulge in the joys of marital sex, feminists in the twenties saw a more unifying and mainstream approach to sexual relations with men as being more to their advantage. It is also likely that this position seemed favorable to one, which on the surface seemed to negate the pleasures of sex, against the backdrop of Victorian sexual mores. Nevertheless, no view is more limiting than one that pontificates rather than facilitates choice.

Hirschfeld had a largely progressive stance toward feminism. His understanding of female sexual desire greatly exceeded that of conventional sexual reformers in the nineteen-twenties. He not only acknowledged women's need and appreciation for sexual pleasure in a conventional heterosexual context, but recognized the naturalness and widespread nature of female same-sex desire. Hirschfeld embraced a wide array of early twentieth century feminist issues and was a vociferous advocate of issues like women's suffrage, abortion rights and lesbian relationships.

Hirschfeld collaborated with socialist feminists such as Helene Stöcker, Rosa Mayreder and Hedwig Döhm on a number of crucial issues for the feminist movement in the early decades of the twentieth century. He was a passionate advocate of women's suffrage. He spoke in favor of the suffrage and made a very strong case for women's suffrage in a pamphlet he wrote with his sister, Franziska Mann, in 1918 entitled: "Was jede Frau vom Wahlrecht wissen muss" (What Every Woman Should Know about the Suffrage"). Hirschfeld was also a staunch supporter of women's right to higher education and had a stalwart working relationship with Socialist feminists Helene Stöcker and Hedwig Dohm, who represented the front liners of this cause. Women were not allowed

to attend university lectures in Germany until 1896 and in Prussia it was not until 1908 that women were admitted to pursue a university degree.²⁶² He 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. The 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 to 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.²⁶³ The fact that her writings focused more on the social importance of motherhood and the right to freely chose heterosexual contacts²⁶⁴ 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 they were, as equal comrades was something that appealed to these feminists very deeply.

Hirschfeld was also greatly impressed by the fact 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 land beyond the point where it made sense to do so²⁶⁵ for the climate of

tolerance and understanding toward homosexuality in Russia however was not sustained. The late twenties had already signaled a change in perception of homosexuality. It went from being tolerated to being viciously denigrated. By 1934, the anti-homosexual statute in Russia had been officially reinstated under 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 with the downfall of czarist Russia: consensual homosexuality between males over the age of sixteen was no longer penalized and prostitution was also decriminalized.²⁶⁶ 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."²⁶⁷ While 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 combating bourgeois sex negating morality. He supported Hirschfeld's efforts for sexual emancipation, but with distinct reservations. Reich was so steeped in Communist ideology and 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 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.²⁶⁸

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 creation of 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 declaring homosexuality to be a form of bourgeois decay.²⁶⁹ 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."²⁷⁰

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

While Hirschfeld was an avid researcher and agitator for sexual reform, he was not himself a radical and outspoken political critic. However, he did have the wisdom of allying himself with people who were. Two exemplars of such people were jurist, writer and pacifist activist Kurt Hiller and Richard Linsert. Linsert was a Communist and an openly gay sexual reformer would occupy 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 formed the Cartel for Reform of the Law against Sexual Offenses in 1925. Linsert officially became part of the SHC upon Hiller's recommendation in 1923. In 1926 Linsert became 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 fiery critic of Soviet sexual politics. In his fiery work, *Marxismus und die freie Liebe*²⁷¹ shattered the illusion that Communist Russia had conquered the sexual question and was above reproach in the way in which it treated sexual minorities. Linsert 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 upheld the value of free love as a love that was liberated from the bondage of the state capitalism. He inveighed against the way in which Soviet pundits and Communist leaders viewed homosexuality in a fashion that was nothing short of passionate and vitriolic. Linsert accused the Communist leadership of being cowardly dogmatists (Mucker)²⁷² and he in turn was viewed as spreading "dekadente Sexual Anarchie."²⁷³ 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 chastised him for diminishing the SHC's image by endorsing and attaching his name to a dubious pharmaceutical drug called *Titus Perlen* to treat male sexual impotence. 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 the ones cited in their pamphlet and 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.²⁷⁴ Hiller resented the fact that Hirschfeld's project of liberating homoeroticism also embraced hermaphroditism, transvestitism and other forms of deficient masculinity.²⁷⁵ Hiller maintained that these lesser forms of masculinity had nothing to do with "that which made Sparta strong and Michaelangelo brilliant..."²⁷⁶ Although politically, both Hiller and Linsert were on the left, their critique of Hirschfeld resonated with that of figures like

Benedikt Friedländer, who upheld an aesthetic ideal of male homosexuality that was founded on virile masculinity. In fact, although Friedländer was a staunch supporter of homosexual emancipation and an active member of Hirschfeld's SHC from its inception, his repudiation of the effeminate men whose rights Hirschfeld championed led him to break ranks with the SHC and form a Secession of the SHC in 1907. Hiller and Linsert's pressures against Hirschfeld eventually led to his resignation from the SHC in 1929. Yet despite how frequently and forcefully and damagingly Hirschfeld experienced being maligned and alienated by friends, collaborator and detractors alike, he persisted unabated in his "radical humanism"²⁷⁷ and defended the rights not only of heroic homosexuals and homosexuals of Winckelmannian beauty but of the those sexual minorities whose appearance and sexual preferences did not have any model of beauty or cultural greatness to which they could link with and append their way of being. While others defended homosexuality while discriminating between different expressions of it, Hirschfeld was the only activist to pursue tolerance of all sexual minorities indiscriminately.

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

The fact that a great deal of the literature produced by physicians and activists alike centered exclusively on male homosexuality—just as it was male homosexuality and not lesbianism that was targeted by the German penal code—is symptomatic of Wilhelmine Germany's cultural and political investment in masculinity. The legacy of George Mosse's historiography contains volumes about the era's overvaluation of respectability, male honor, and self-restraint. According to Mosse, what was at stake in

the cultivation of a narrow conceptualization of masculinity that embodied the ideals of virility, health, self-containment and sexual abstinence was a representation of German national identity.²⁷⁸ This was a culture 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.²⁷⁹ 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 represented the pinnacle of this era's politically motivated homosexual outings of powerful men who would become the scapegoats of the emperor's political opposition.

In 1902, the social democratic newspaper *Vorwärts* exposed steel magnate Alfred Krupp for luxuriating in homosexual affairs on the isle of Capri. This raucous accusation not only highlighted the decadence of the capitalist elite but was also intended to weaken Wilhelm II's policy of armament. Journalist Maximilian Harden's discontent with Wilhelm II's foreign policy and tolerance of French diplomats in his circle of intimates caused him to unleash a scandal of monumental proportions in 1907. Harden, who was the editor of the widely read political weekly *Die Zukunft* (The Future), published an article in the journal 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 reported 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.²⁸⁰

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 be distanced from Wilhelm II's circle of influence. There are numerous reasons why Harden perceived Eulenburg as a threat. For one, Eulenburg and his coterie was exposed to blackmail because of his homosexuality. However, Harden's most compelling argument for removing Eulenburg was the latter's association with French diplomat Raymond Lecomte. Lecomte, who was a low-level diplomatic advisor, was allowed to meet with the emperor for a private audience at Liebenberg. Harden, as did Bismarck, to whom he 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. He was effeminate in appearance and an enthusiast of Italianate *bel canto* singing, and he was known to host uproarious parties at Liebenberg at which he would sing for his guests. Eulenburg thus glaringly defied the ideal of the *Männerbund*. 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."²⁸¹ 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 *Realpolitik*. Bismarck is known to have stated that "Eulenburg's projects were products of average dilettantism. His diplomatic activities were 'opretta politics' with hastily changing plans of a romantic. What else can one expect from someone who sings?"²⁸² Through his avowed

homosexuality, Eulenburg represented everything that masculine statesmen like Bismarck deemed worthy of contempt and distrust: the feminine²⁸³ and castration anxiety.

According to Wilhelmine political sensibilities, the relation between the feminine and homosexuality exhibited by Eulenburg rendered him unfit for politics.²⁸⁴ 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. Even if 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.²⁸⁵

Hackneyed prejudice 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 they would make class boundaries more porous, but also that the national boundaries would erode. In his view, this trend posed an immediate threat and had to be eradicated for the sake of national security. Inevitably, the parallels between the Eulenburg with the Dreyfus Affair (1894), which was still fresh in everyone's mind, would be lost to few. It was clear that the Eulenburg Affair was also not a situation without the potential for blackmail of high ranking politicians.

While Harden's alarmism had some basis in reality (viz., 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, he also attracted a number of high-profile lawsuits. It has been argued, and persuasively so in my view, that the vituperative passion 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,²⁸⁶ 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* of pederasts²⁸⁷ 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.

Sombart, however, 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"²⁸⁸ (literally, 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 he could not accept in himself. Sombart also attributed Harden's nationalist zeal to his Jewishness and claimed that his desire to be a fully vested citizen of the second empire caused him to overcompensate in such a hostile and extremist fashion.

Harden's explosive articles regarding the homosexuality of Wilhelm II's close advisors prompted harsh reactions from the Kaiser. He dismissed Count Wilhelm von Hohenau,²⁸⁹ the military commandant, to which Moltke responded by engaging in a ferocious 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 Harden 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 psychical disposition that

was neither criminal nor uncommon. He argued that to call someone “a homosexual” had no negative connotation and that Moltke’s behavior by no means constituted an infringement of Paragraph 175. While Hirschfeld’s testimony proved vital to clearing Moltke’s name of any crime under the anti-homosexual statute, Moltke and the German public chose to distance themselves unequivocally 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 liberally vilified in the press. The right wing papers insisted that his statements were injurious to the community, but this stance was to be expected from such a quarter. What was surprising, however, was that the liberal newspapers did not diverge too greatly from these views. *Die Vossische Zeitung*, which was considered a moderate and nationally distinguished paper, portrayed Hirschfeld as a “freak who acted for freaks in the name of pseudoscience.”²⁹⁰ The liberal *Die Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten* also did not pass up 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.”²⁹¹

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 admissions of homosexuality to go unpunished. From the way in which the trial was conducted, it was clear that it wasn't Harden's statements that were being subjected to judgement, 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. Hirschfeld notably downplayed his previous assertion that Moltke was psychically homosexual. In the second trial, he 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 neuropathic state during the first trial, without subjecting her to a medical evaluation. In actuality, Frau von Elbe was neither hysterical nor insane. Her only crimes were her proximity to Moltke and her initial desire to speak the truth.

The confluence of these factors prevented Harden from faring as well in his second trial. Rather, 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 this high-profile trial are worthy of speculation. Now aware of the weight of his testimony and the impact that his medical evaluations would bear on the case, Hirschfeld also learned that contrary to what he had assumed in the first trial, he could not depend on any tolerance being shown toward homosexuality. The claim that Moltke's homosexuality was "psychic" and devoid of carnal expressions was eminently unsuccessful in mitigating Moltke's predicament. His character and reputation had been marred profoundly by the accusations, and the fact that Moltke had been proven 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. Concomitant to all of these factors, there is also 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. Apart from the barrage of attacks that his testimony in the first Moltke trial unleashed, his efforts to depict Moltke as a law-abiding psychological homosexual not only remained fruitless but aroused an animosity toward Hirschfeld that was characterized by unequivocal anti-Semitic overtones. Leaflets entitled, "Dr. Hirschfeld: A Public Danger. The Jews are Our Undoing" were distributed in front of Hirschfeld's house.

I do not entirely agree with Charlotte Wolf, however, in her interpretation of Hirschfeld's behavior in the second Harden trial as overly diplomatic. While his testimony in the second trial may have no doubt disappointed those who agreed with his views on homosexuality, and from a contemporary perspective may seem apologetic, his logic and pragmatism were not completely inappropriate. After the debacle of the first

attempt, it became abundantly clear that the biases against homosexuality precluded a fair trial. Even though it was Harden who had been brought to court, the de-facto victim of both trials became homosexuality. The Liebenberg Affair would not be the last time within this early half of the 20th century that homosexuality would be at the center of political scandal. It would occur again during the Third Reich with Ernst Röhm, a victim of homosexual bias that defied all biases. This shall be discussed at length in a subsequent section of this chapter. For now, let us return to the masculine politics of Wilhelmine Germany.

The blatantly engendered view of politics evidenced in the Harden-Eulenburg 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. Yet it meant defending effeminate men, transvestites, hermaphrodites, and men who clearly could never embody the paragons of masculinity celebrated in imperial Germany.

In this culturally conservative climate, a feminized male represented either a menace or a liability in a society that was not only deeply invested in the conventional masculinity (read: virility and restraint) of its male citizens, but that also projected its nationalist hopes onto them. The social importance of male bonding and of male societies, such as the *Männerbund* and male youth movements, and the resolute "masculine" character of the age of Wilhelm II has been well established by historians.²⁹² Thus, it is no surprise that the introduction of a formal scientific theory that held that homosexual men were biologically coded as effeminate did not sit well with many

German nationalists. Surprisingly, however, this was most notable among homosexual nationalists. In the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century, the members of the homosexual aesthetic community of the *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*²⁹³ and other nationalist organizations deemed members of the so-called Third Sex anathema to their standards of Hellenic masculinity and to everything that the German nation represented. In their view, Hirschfeld and his Scientific Humanitarian Committee exerted decidedly nefarious influence on German culture and society.

These idealized models of masculinity did not exclude homosexuality. Quite to the contrary, a distinct model of homosexual virility came into vogue for a number of Wilhelmine nationalists and ideologues. Hans Blüher, spiritual founder of the German bourgeois youth movement *Die Wandervögel* (the Migrant Birds) and a nationalist ideologue who advocated homosexual rights in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany, championed a decidedly restrained, Hellenic model of masculinity. Blüher held extreme views with regard to German aesthetics and the role they should play in human relationships, devoted as he was to edifying bourgeois youth with ideals of nationalism and friendship in the distinctly German national tradition. Hirschfeld too held fast to nationalist ideas and ideals, but this would be put to the test with the onslaught of the first world war.

Hirschfeld and WWI

Hirschfeld's attitude throughout WWI and throughout his life was that of a pacifist. Throughout the overwhelming majority of the war time, he was engaged in anti-war activity. In both the printed medium and in speeches, he passionately inveighed against the senselessness of war. He was also affiliated with prominent anti-war groups.

Nevertheless, Hirschfeld's attitude in the early months of the war evidenced an identification with the national pro-war campaign. Many, from all sides of the political spectrum were intoxicated by the war time propaganda and the pageantry of war at the inception of WWI. Further, Hirschfeld had always identified as a German and had always harbored patriotic sentiments toward his homeland despite the fact that he was often starkly at odds with the ruling forces.

In his wartime essay, "Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?" ("What Unites and Separates Humankind?"), which he dedicated to his friend, the philosopher Julius Hart, Hirschfeld expresses a vision for a *Menschenheitsstaat* is by no means bereft of patriotic ardor. There are ways in which his concept of nations and the substance that binds them is evocative of Fichte's 1808 address to the German peoples on the importance of creating a "closed trade state" (*geschlossener Handelsstaat*)²⁹⁴ that entailed harnessing national, cultural, and economic strength in the struggle against Napoleon. Fichte singled out the continuity between the geography and language of Germany as a central virtue of German identity. He also upheld the importance of a unitary language and maintained that the German language was closest to its people, as its roots were located close to its dwelling place. The nationalist overtones embedded in these views are glaring, yet even among some of Fichte's prominent progressive contemporaries—Goethe, Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Carl von Savigny among them—cultural resonance was not to be taken lightly.

The essay climaxes with an appeal for a *Menschheitsstaat* that is laced with utopian overtones. The *Menschenheitsstaat* that Hirschfeld advocated can be characterized as cosmopolitan and as challenging the existing structures that organized

the manifold layers of human identity. One of the most salient features of the *Menschenheitsstaat* was that it called for doing away with parochial concepts of *volk* and *voelkisch* and advocated referring to the diverse communities of people in the world as “nations” instead. The nationhood that Hirschfeld conceived bore cultural, social, geographic and psychic dimensions. Nations, in his view, united people who were native to a common land, held a common notion of *Heimat*, and were united by shared experiences, collective memories, customs, laws and economic guidelines.

Although Hirschfeld manifested undeniable patriotic sympathies toward Germany, his national sentiments never manifested themselves as national zealotry and never stood in the way of his innate cosmopolitanism. He was steadfast in his commitment to promoting equality and in denouncing all forms of racial, social or economic hierarchies. Hirschfeld proved to be an able, expansive and forward-thinking crusader in his fight for sexual freedom, but there were also occasions on which he proved unable to temper his passion and authentic idealism with healthy doses of realism. For example, his essay “What Unites and Separates Humankind?” is rife with high-minded directives for an ideal society yet short on concrete suggestions for actualizing them.

Some of this can be accounted for by the fact that Hirschfeld wrote this essay against the backdrop of WWI, when, like many others, he witnessed the brutalities and loss of life up-close. As a First Cross physician Hirschfeld was transformed by the ravages of war. Like many of his contemporaries, he initially welcomed the war as a great opportunity for his fatherland and its valiant men. Hirschfeld especially saw the war as an opportunity for homosexuals—who had been legally banned from fighting by the

Minister of War, Herr von Einem—to prove their valor by concealing their sexual orientation when reporting for duty, after which Hirschfeld planned to report on their heroism in the bulletins of the “Quarterly Reports of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee During the War.” But the senseless anguish of war soon transformed Hirschfeld into an avid pacifist, and the need he felt to end the war surpassed the erstwhile urgency of overturning the prejudice toward homosexuals on the battlefield. Hirschfeld’s spiritual conversion is registered in his war time writings, with his 1915 pamphlet “Warum hassen uns die Völker?” (“Why Do Other Nations Hate Us?”) marking the apogee of Hirschfeld’s naïve patriotism.

Here Hirschfeld displays an unabashedly patriotic sentiment toward Germany in international affairs and attributes much of the animosity directed toward his country to the way it was situated socially, politically, and economically. 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. Wolf 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.²⁹⁵ The fact that Hirschfeld

personally sent a copy of this pamphlet to King Ludwig II of Bavaria strongly supports this claim.

By 1916, Hirschfeld's attitude had drastically evolved. While he still acknowledged what being able to participate in the war represented 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 rejected the widespread notion among scientists and 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 now condemned the destruction, the annihilation of lives, and the broken human spirit that war wreaks.

In October 1918, Hirschfeld was named to the *Sanitätsrat* (hygiene council) in recognition of his service in the Red Cross and his advocacy of public hygiene. In addition, his humanitarian activities during the war 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, Holland and England. When the Bund organized a salute to the new German Republic to be held on November 10, 1918 in front of the Reichstag, it invited Hirschfeld to give the public address.

The 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, the Reichstagplatz went up 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 death of several soldiers. Yet moments before the mayhem, Hirschfeld's 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 triumph of victory achieved by the socialists. He exalted the soldiers and sailors who set the revolution in motion for their valor and 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.²⁹⁶

This speech leaves no question as to Hirschfeld's commitment to socialism. 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.

In 1921 Hirschfeld organized the first international conference for sexual reform in Berlin. This conference was a great success and drew big names in psychology and sexology from far and wide. Expanding on this success and on the solid international collaboration that he had formed, Hirschfeld founded the World League for Sexual Reform in 1928. Members of the World League convened at a conference annually and took on special topics related to sexuality.

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-Eulenburg 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 Nazi high-profile 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.²⁹⁷ Aside from his homosexuality, Röhm was known to have anarchical leanings and was known to have harbored and come close to executing his ambitions of creating a militia and thereby defying Hitler's orders to decrease the power of the S.A.

By the time of the Nazi insurgency in 1933, the leftwing 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, had been openly engaging in homosexual affairs from his days as a right wing activist in the Freikorps, the voluntary army, and continued to do so well into his tenure in the SA. According to historian Lothar Machtan,²⁹⁸ 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”²⁹⁹ 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.”³⁰⁰

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 leftwing press would exploit the reports of Röhm’s homosexual escapades. But Röhm had been set up by Nazi insiders who were both homophobic and coveted his position. The leftist press seized upon this information immediately and brought out attention-grabbing headlines. The SPD’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.”³⁰¹ 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 NSDAP.”³⁰² The

KPD's *Welt am Abend* appealed to workers by accusing Röhm of "abusing and corrupting unemployed, young workers."³⁰³ This politicization of homosexuality was clearly reminiscent of the Liebenburg scandals regarding Kaiser Wilhelm II and his industrialist friends a generation earlier.

Although the tactics taken by the leftwing 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 argued, 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 already been prominently observed by Klaus Mann in his 1934 essay "Homosexuality and Fascism."³⁰⁴ 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 and in his 1904 *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* in particular. In 1934, Hirschfeld contributed an article in Mann's monthly journal *Die Sammlung* in which he condemned compulsory racial sterilization and the nonsense of racism.³⁰⁵ 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.³⁰⁶ Interestingly though, Mann did once refuse Hirschfeld's offer to lecture on homosexuality at the institute. This however has far more to do with Mann's own evolving relationship to his homosexuality—he grew more conservative in the years following WWI.³⁰⁷

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*)—admired the martial stylization of homosexuality that Röhm embodied and welcomed it as a healthy counterbalance to the effeminate prototypes of homosexuality 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.³⁰⁸ 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 *völkisch* circles.

Kurt Hiller, a lawyer and leading pundit of Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee, 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 cinaedi³⁰⁹ ensconced in power who make themselves complicit in the persecution of their less comfortably situated fellows.”³¹⁰

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.”³¹¹

Hirschfeld’s Final Years

From 1930-1932 Hirschfeld undertook a world tour. During this tour he spent extended periods of time in countries in the Near- and Far East and became fascinated with sexual ethnography and a young Chinese man studying medicine, Li Shiu Tong, whom he referred to as Tao Li. Hirschfeld’s relationship to the Tao Li, who was twenty-five years his junior renewed him. Tao Li, for his part, admired the renown, seasoned expertise and worldiness of his mentor and partner. It was a complex relationship and one that was not spared its fair of challenges and not for the precarious political situation alone. The relationship challenged normative views on romantic partnerships in more ways than one. Not only was it a homosexual relationship and as well as an interracial and intergenerational one as well. Hirschfeld’s romantic passion, commitment and feelings of love and loyalty were not contained within the space of the conventional couple, but rather he divided these feelings between two men: Tao Li and his long time German partner and secretary of the institute, Karl Giese. He was open to both partners about his affections and loyal to both. As with all triangulations, despite the best of intentions, it was not an equitable economy of emotion for all parties involved. Karl Giese felt somewhat replaced by Tao Li at first and then neglected by Hirschfeld, whom he referred to as *Papa*. This was explainable in large part because of Giese’s role at the institute. In the final years of the institute, the institute needed Giese to attend to the demands of the institute because it was expunged of all its German members and Giese

had been involved with the institute since its inception. Clearly, Hirschfeld's, Giese's and Li's was not without its problems, but it lasted until Hirschfeld's death. Hirschfeld took 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, in which he saw great spiritual and emotional beauty.

In 1933, Hirschfeld returned to Europe with Tao Li under very precarious circumstances. He was not able to return to Berlin which had been already seized by the Nazis. This caused him to go into exile in Ascona, Switzerland with Tao-Li. On May 6, 1933, the Nazis closed and plundered the institute, destroying many files including case files Hirschfeld had on Nazi soldiers. In 1934 he and Tao-Li moved to Nice, where Hirschfeld eventually died—he had a stroke and went into a coma without ever waking up on May 14, 1935, the day of his 67th birthday. His long-standing German romantic partner, and secretary for the institute, Karl Giese attempted to found an alternate institute in Brunn, Switzerland along with other non-Jewish collaborators from the 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 a new scientific understanding of sexual difference, 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 the West. As a consequence, Hirschfeld's ideas would lose a crucial following and, to be sure, momentum as well. But the relevance of his

ideas and of his moral-evaluative perspective need to be extended and adapted to presentday discussions of sexuality and marginalized difference.

Conclusion

“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 method and the theories on human sexuality they yielded as well as his ethical and political orientation constituted far more than just an innovative approach to sexual equality, but rather an ethos that valued science, reason and humanism in order to critique and debunk prevailing and unfounded cultural and moral assumptions about sexual mores. More broadly, his ethos endeavored to expand the horizon of what it means to be human by seeking to extend freedom to the categories of love and sexual identity.

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 a hegemonic 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 shattered 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 the 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. Hirschfeld's 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 and contradictions, but 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 socioeconomic reform.³¹² 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 assumed. 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.³¹³

The fact that Hirschfeld's theories on homosexuality presented inherent inaccuracies and distinct limitations in explaining homosexuality, these do not diminish the value of the enormous inroads he made in reframing the late 19th and early 20th 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 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 gave 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 was otherwise judged on the basis of arbitrary value judgments, but his method enhanced 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 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 power and enduring legacy of Hirschfeld's progressive work 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.”³¹⁴ I suggest that Hirschfeld represents a viable way into the contemporary obstacles currently facing gay rights.

Hirschfeld’s tradition of scientific method as well as his ethic of humanism is 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 and 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 the interests of single issue groups or identity groups, whose rights and interests are so often marshaled in an obscure and politically ineffectual fashion by gay community by queer theory. Quite often these identity groups not only articulate their interests in concerns in splenetic and overly abstruse fashion, but they do so in a fashion that not only offends and alienates mainstream majorities, but also fails to ever enlist their support. If Hirschfeld has shown us anything, it is this: that all of humanity has an investment in sexual freedom and the right to love as one pleases.

Appendix: Geneology of Paragraph 175 – the law against homosexuality

With the advent of the French Revolution and the spirit of liberty and emancipation it propagated, France and a number of other European national territories abandoned legislation that punished acts of sodomy, a practice that had been condemned since the early days of the Christian Roman Empire. Constantine, and subsequently even more severely under Justinian, deemed non-procreative sex and specifically anal sex between homosexuals as a vice that could weaken the populace. Human body fluids (humors) and particularly life-generating semen were deemed sacred in the Judeo-Christian tradition³¹⁵. For this reason any non-procreative use of this 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.

In the German territories, the state of Bavaria lifted the paragraph against homosexuality in 1813. 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. Paragraph 143 of the Prussian penal code made sexual contact between members of the same sex punishable by one to four years in prison³¹⁶. This clause of the Prussian penal code would be extended throughout the German kingdoms with the rise of Wilhelm King of Prussia to the imperial throne in 1871. Apart for the cosmetics of a new name, Paragraph 143 was adopted unchanged and became the

infamous Paragraph 175, the law that the Nazis would refer to little over half a century later that would bring about the interment and ultimate murder of thousands homosexuals. 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 in 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 WWI 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. Periodicals such as *Der Eigene* (Adolf Brand), *Blätter für Menschenrecht* (Journal for Human Rights), *Das Freundschaftsblatt* (Friendship Journal), and *Die Insel*, these last three published by the a-political founder of the (Bund für Menschenrecht) League for Human Rights Friedrich Radszuweit, not only provided readers with a variety of serious and less serious articles that thematized political and aesthetic issues concerning homosexuality but also served the homosexual community by posting social announcements and personal ads.

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 or amend the law such that homosexual intercourse would not be illegal if it occurred between consenting adults. In compromise, the reform groups requested that the law incorporate an age limit to protect minors from being subjected to sexual misconduct on the part of adults and that consenting adults be allowed to engage in same sex contact freely. In 1929, the German Parliament came very close to repealing Paragraph 175. A parliamentary subcommittee had even prematurely reported its definitive repeal. However, the Parliament ultimately adjourned with affecting only an amendment of legislation and not a de-facto repeal of Paragraph 175. Nonetheless, the amendment was seen as a 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 twenty-one 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.

Endnotes

¹ Paragraph 175 was the legal statute against homosexuality in Germany from 1871 through 1968 in East Germany and through 1969 in West Germany. It existed in the Prussian legal code prior to 1871 as Paragraph 143 and was extended throughout the German Empire after the German Unification under Bismarck. Charges of homosexuality were often brought up in court, and if defendants were deemed guilty a prison sentence of up to ten years could ensue. This notwithstanding, courts of law displayed sympathetic attitudes toward cases of homosexuality in which it was clear that the defendant's homosexuality had a substantive medical basis and was not the result of a willful choice. Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Magnus Hirschfeld were among the leading medical experts called to testify in court cases brought against homosexuals or so-called sexual deviants.

² Hirschfeld, Magnus, Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb (Berlin: A. Pulvermacher, 1910).

³ 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, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002).

⁴ Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 178.

⁵ Hirschfeld responded to this epithet with a playful quip. It was Einstein, Hirschfeld retorted, who should be called the "Hirschfeld of physics."

⁶ Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987).

⁷ Herzer, Manfred, Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001).

⁸ Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987).

⁹ Herzer, Manfred, Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001).

¹⁰ For a discussion, see Aronowitz, Stanley, How Class Works (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

¹¹ Bronner, Stephen Eric, Socialism Unbound, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Westview Press, 2001).

¹² Weber, Max. "The Objectivity of Knowledge in Social Science and Social Policy." The Essential Weber: A Reader. ed. Sam Whimster (London; New York: Routledge, 2004).

¹³ The fallibility of anchoring a defense of social or political customs or preferences in nature has been 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 and 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).]

¹⁴ Not surprisingly, this monument was destroyed by the Nazis in 1933.

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ Goethe in Hirschfeld, Magnus, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York, Prometheus Books) 367.

¹⁷ Goethe in Hirschfeld, Magnus. The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York, Prometheus Books, 367).

¹⁸ Schiller in Hirschfeld, Magnus. The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York, Prometheus Books, 367).

- ¹⁹ Novalis qtd. in Hirschfeld, Magnus, "Kriegespsychologisches." Deutsche Kriegsschriften 20. 1-32 (Bonn: A Marcus & F. Webers Verlag, 1916).
- ²⁰ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Sex in Human Relationships, trans. John Rodker (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1935) 5.
- ²¹ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Sex in Human Relationships, trans. John Rodker (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1935) 5.
- ²² Erich Fromm, The Art of Loving (1956; New York: First Perennial Classics, 2000) 33.
- ²³ Hammermeister, Kai, The German Aesthetic Tradition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- ²⁴ 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.
- ²⁵ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Racism, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, Kennikat Press, 1973) 115.
- ²⁶ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Racism, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, Kennikat Press, 1973) 115.
- ²⁷ Goethe qtd in Hirschfeld Magnus, Racism. trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, Kennikat Press, 1973) 254.
- ²⁸ See: Oosterhuis, Harry, The Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000). and Rosario, Vernon, Homosexuality and Science : A Guide to the Debates (Santa Barbara, California: ABC Clio Inc. 2002).
Haeberle, Erwin J, The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents (Washington D.C.: World Association for Sexology, 1983).
- ²⁹ Hirschfeld, Magnus, The Homosexuality of Men and Women. trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 369.
- ³⁰ Hirschfeld, Magnus, The Homosexuality of Men and Women. trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 368.
- ³¹ Nietzsche qtd. in Hirschfeld, Magnus, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 368.
- ³² This notion rings both timeless and timely, particularly in view of the current debates on gay marriage.
- ³³ Hirschfeld, Magnus, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 369.
- ³⁴ 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).
- ³⁵ 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).
- ³⁶ Weininger, Otto, Geschlecht und Charakter: Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung (Wien, Leipzig, W. Braumüller, 1905).
- ³⁷ 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.
- ³⁸ 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).
- ³⁹ 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).
- ⁴⁰ 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.

⁴¹ 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).

⁴² 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.

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 368.

⁴⁶ Hirschfeld, Magnus, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women*. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 446.

⁴⁷ 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).

⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁹ Nietzsche, Friedrich, "Beyond Good and Evil." trans. Walter Kaufmann. *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*. ed. Kaufmann, Walter (New York: The Modern Library, 1992) 282.

⁵⁰ 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).

⁵¹ Hiller, Kurt, *Das Recht über sich selbst: eine strafrechtsphilosophische Studie* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1908).

⁵² Hiller in Leck, Ralph M, *Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity:1880-1920* (New York: Humanity Books, 2000) 240.

- ⁵³ See: Steakley, James. D, The Homosexual Emancipation Movement (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1993) 91.
- Wolf, 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).
- ⁵⁴ 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).
- ⁵⁵ Leck, Ralph M, Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity:1880-1920 (New York: Humanity Books, 2000) 232.
- ⁵⁶ See: Haerberle, Erwin J, The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents (Washington D.C.: World Association for Sexology, 1983).
- ⁵⁷ Leck, Ralph M, Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity:1880-1920 (New York: Humanity Books, 2000) 240.
- ⁵⁸ Stöcker, Helene. "Moderne Bevölkerungspolitik." Die neue Generation. 4. 12 (1916):79.
- ⁵⁹ 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).
- ⁶⁰ Hirschfeld, Magnus, The Homosexuality of Men and Women. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000, 368).
- ⁶¹ Stöcker, Helene, "Marriage and Sexual Reform" (1916). Trans. Jörg Esleben. German Feminist Writings. Heringhouse, Patricia and Magda Mueller. Eds. (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc., 2001. 215-218) 217.
- ⁶² Magnus Hirschfeld, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 369.
- ⁶³ 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.
- ⁶⁴ Bronner, Stephen Eric, Socialism Unbound, 2nd. ed (Colorado: Westview Press, 2001) 47.
- ⁶⁵ Berg, Leo, "Kulturprobleme der Gegenwart." Geschlechter. 2,2. (Berlin: 1906) 166.
- ⁶⁶ 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.
- ⁶⁷ 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.
- ⁶⁸ Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 33.
- ⁶⁹ 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.
- ⁷⁰ Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 31.
- ⁷¹ 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).

⁷² 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.

⁷³ 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.

⁷⁴ 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.

⁷⁵ See Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987).

⁷⁶ Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 252.

⁷⁷ Wolff, Charlotte. Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 170.

⁷⁸ 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).

⁷⁹ 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.

⁸⁰ 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.

⁸¹ 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.

⁸² Hirschfeld, Magnus, Berlins drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900. Manfred Herzer ed. (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991).

⁸³ 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.

⁸⁴ 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.

⁸⁵ 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 seelsichen 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.

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: Schochen 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 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.

⁹¹ 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.

⁹² 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.

⁹³ 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.

⁹⁴ 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.

⁹⁵ 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.

⁹⁶ For an excellent discussion, see Gillian Rose, *Hegel Contra Sociology* (London: Athlone Press, 1981).

⁹⁷ See Proctor, Robert, Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 80-81.

⁹⁸ See Proctor, Robert, Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 81.

⁹⁹ 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.

¹⁰⁰ Proctor, Robert, Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 82.

¹⁰¹ 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).

¹⁰² Proctor, Robert. Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 85.

- ¹⁰³ Proctor, Robert, Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 102.
- ¹⁰⁴ Proctor, Robert, Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 82.
- ¹⁰⁵ McCarthy, George E, Classical Horizons: The Origins of Sociology in Ancient Greece (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003).
- ¹⁰⁶ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist, trans. (New York: AMS Press, Inc. 1974).
- ¹⁰⁷ 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.
- ¹⁰⁸ See Muthu, Sankar. Enlightenment against Empire. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- ¹⁰⁹ Smith, Woodruff, D. Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840-1920. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 107.
- ¹¹⁰ Smith, Woodruff, D. Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840-1920. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, 26.
- ¹¹¹ Hirschfeld, Magnus. “Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?.” Berlin: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Staatsbürgerliche Bildung, 1919
- ¹¹² Proctor, Robert, Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 136.
- ¹¹³ Proctor, Robert, Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) 215.
- ¹¹⁴ Smith, Woodruff D, Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 33.
- ¹¹⁵ Smith, Woodruff D, Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 107.
- ¹¹⁶ Smith, Woodruff D, Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 107.
- ¹¹⁷ Smith, Woodruff D, Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- ¹¹⁸ Turner, William B, A Genealogy of Queer Theory (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000) 36-61.
- ¹¹⁹ Haeberle, Erwin J, The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents (Washington D.C.: World Association for Sexology, 1983).
- ¹²⁰ Magnus Hirschfeld, "Über Sexualwissenschaft", Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft, vol. 1 (Berlin: 1908) 1-2, my translation.
- ¹²¹ Iwan Bloch, "Aufgaben und Ziele der Sexualwissenschaft", Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft, vol. 1, (Berlin: 1908) 2-3, my translation.
- ¹²² 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).
- ¹²³ 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).
- ¹²⁴ Oosterhuis, Harry, Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- Wolf, 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).
- ¹²⁵ Oosterhuis, Harry. Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- ¹²⁶ Richard von Krafft Ebing in Hirschfeld, Magnus. The Homosexuality of Men and Women. trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 59.
- ¹²⁷ Qtd. in Hirschfeld, Magnus. The Homosexuality of Men and Women. trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. New York: Prometheus Books, 2000, 440.

¹²⁸ 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).

¹²⁹ See Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 36.

¹³⁰ Haeberle, Erwin J, The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents (Washington D.C.: World Association for Sexology, 1983).

¹³¹ 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.

¹³² 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.

¹³³ 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).

¹³⁴ 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).

¹³⁵ Quoted in Charlotte Wolf. Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology. London: Quartet Books, 1987. 31.

¹³⁶ 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.

¹³⁷ 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.

¹³⁸ 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.

¹³⁹ Italy, which did not criminalize homosexuality in the late 19th century, also represented a popular refuge for German homosexuals of previous generations. Winckelmann 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.

¹⁴⁰ See: Jones, James W. "We of the Third Sex: Literary Representations of Homosexuality in Wilhelmine Germany." New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1990.

¹⁴¹ 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.

¹⁴² The term also stems from Aphrodite Dione, referenced in Plato's *Symposium*. See note #5.

¹⁴³ 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>

Haeberle, 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).
- ¹⁴⁴ Rosario, Vernon A, Homosexuality and Science: A guide to the Debates (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II) 2002.
- ¹⁴⁵ 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.
- ¹⁴⁶ See: Blüher, Hans. Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft. PUBLICATION DATA. 1919 and 1926.
- ¹⁴⁷ 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).
- ¹⁴⁸ 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).
- ¹⁴⁹ 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).
- ¹⁵⁰ See Mosse, George L, The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- ¹⁵¹ 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.
- ¹⁵² taken from "History of Sexual Orientation Research," ed. E.J. Haeberle, and R. Gindorf. 1998, Continuum, New York, 19 Sept. 2003 <<http://www2rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/SEXOR4.HTM>>
- ¹⁵³ 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.
- ¹⁵⁴ Steinach is also famous for his work in gerontology. He gained world renown for claiming the rejuvenating properties of a vasectomy. See: ¹⁵⁴ 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).
- ¹⁵⁵ Sengoopta, Chandak, "Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siecle Central Europe" Isis 89.3 (1998): 460.
- ¹⁵⁶ Sengoopta, Chandak, "Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siecle Central Europe" Isis 89.3 (1998): 460.
- ¹⁵⁷ 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.

¹⁵⁸See: Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1986).

¹⁵⁹See: Sengoopta, Chandak. "Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siècle Central Europe" Isis 89.3 (1998). And Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1986).

¹⁶⁰Rudacille, Deborah, The Riddle of Gender: Science, Activism and Transgender Rights (New York: Anchor Books, 2006) 70-73.

¹⁶¹For 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, 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).

¹⁶²For 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).

¹⁶³Mosse, George L, Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).

¹⁶⁴Weininger, 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>).

¹⁶⁵Freud, 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)."

¹⁶⁶Freud, 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).

¹⁶⁷Quoted 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.

¹⁶⁸It 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.

¹⁶⁹The Napoleonic Code also upheld the claim that sex between two consenting adults was a private matter and one that did not concern the state.

¹⁷⁰Kurt 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.

¹⁷¹Hiller, Kurt, Das Recht über sich selbst: eine strafrechtsphilosophische Studie (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1908).

¹⁷²Ramien, 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.

¹⁷³Carpenter 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. Weeks, Jeffrey, Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981).

¹⁷⁴Ramien, 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.

¹⁷⁵Hirschfeld 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).]

¹⁷⁶ 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).

¹⁷⁷ 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).

¹⁷⁸ 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).

¹⁷⁹ Freud, Sigmund, Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 7-8.

¹⁸⁰ 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).

¹⁸¹ See: Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 37.

¹⁸² Hirschfeld, Magnus, Geschlechtsübergänge: Mischungen männlicher und weiblicher Geschlechtscharaktere (Leipzig: Verlag der Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und sexuelle Hygiene, W. Malende, 1916) 17.

¹⁸³ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Geschlechtsübergänge: Mischungen männlicher und weiblicher Geschlechtscharaktere (Leipzig: Verlag der Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und sexuelle Hygiene, W. Malende, 1916) 17.

¹⁸⁴ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 219.

¹⁸⁵ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 228.

¹⁸⁶ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 228.

¹⁸⁷ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 228.

¹⁸⁸ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Die Homosexualität des Mannes und Weibes (1914, Berlin: Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1920).

¹⁸⁹ Hirschfeld, Magnus, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000).

¹⁹⁰ 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.

¹⁹¹ Hirschfeld, Magnus, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 317.

¹⁹² Quoted in Magnus Hirschfeld, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 445.

¹⁹³ Magnus Hirschfeld, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 445.

¹⁹⁴ Hirschfeld, Magnus, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 331.

¹⁹⁵ Magnus Hirschfeld, The Homosexuality of Men and Women, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (New York: Prometheus Books, 2000) 445.

- ¹⁹⁶ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 148.
- ¹⁹⁷ Magnus Hirschfeld. The Homosexuality of Men and Women. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. New York: Prometheus Books, 2000. 332.
- ¹⁹⁸ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Berlins drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900. Manfred Herzer ed. (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991).
- ¹⁹⁹ See: Wolf, 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).
- ²⁰⁰ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 233.
- ²⁰¹ Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 94.
- ²⁰² Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 235.
- ²⁰³ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 235.
- ²⁰⁴ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 235.
- ²⁰⁵ Hirschfeld, Magnus. Hirschfeld, Magnus, Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991) 235.
- ²⁰⁶ See Meyerowitz, Joanne, How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002).
- ²⁰⁷ 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.
- ²⁰⁸ 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, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002).
- ²⁰⁹ Isherwood, Christopher, Christopher and His Kind: 1929-1939 (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1976) 18.
- ²¹⁰ See Sigusch, Volkmar, "Man muss Hitlers Experimente abwarten," Der Spiegel 1985:20, 244-250.
- ²¹¹ "A pioneer in sexology" is also part of the subtitle of Charlotte Wolf's biography of Magnus Hirschfeld. Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1986).
- ²¹² 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.
- ²¹³ Jung referred to Hirschfeld as being like all homosexuals; he possessed no joy (Herzer 2001).
- ²¹⁴ Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1986) 12.
- ²¹⁵ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912) 229.
- ²¹⁶ Freud, Sigmund, Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
- ²¹⁷ Freud, Sigmund, Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 3.
- ²¹⁸ Freud, Sigmund, Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000) 4.
- ²¹⁹ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912).
- ²²⁰ 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.

- ²²¹ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912) 23.
- ²²² 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.
- ²²³ Hirschfeld, Magnus, Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co. 1912) 165.
- ²²⁴ Oscar Wilde, in his famous speech at his homosexual trial, referred to homosexuality as the love that dares not speak its name.
- ²²⁵ Herzer, Manfred, Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001).
- ²²⁶ 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.
- ²²⁷ 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).
- ²²⁸ 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).
- ²²⁹ 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 : New York : Quartet Books, 1977).
- ²³⁰ 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).
- ²³¹ See: Mosse, George L. Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985) 7.
- ²³² Mosse, George L. Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985) 98.
- ²³³ See Mosse, George L. Mosse, 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.
- ²³⁴ Mosse, George, The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 25.
- ²³⁵ 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).
- ²³⁶ See: Mosse, George L. Mosse, 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).
- ²³⁷ 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.
- ²³⁸ Mosse, George L. Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).

²³⁹ Mosse, George L. Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).

²⁴⁰ 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.

²⁴¹ Rosario, Vernon A, Homosexuality and Science: A guide to the Debates (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II) 2002.

²⁴² 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. Mosse, 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).

²⁴³ 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.

²⁴⁴ 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.

²⁴⁵ 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).

²⁴⁶ 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.

²⁴⁷ 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.

²⁴⁸ Bernstein, Eduard. "The Judgment of Abnormal Sexual Intercourse." Trans. Angela Clifford. Die Neue Zeit. 13.2 (1894/95): 228-233. <http://www.athol-st.dircon.co.uk/index.htm/2/>.

²⁴⁹ Hobsbawm, Eric, Revolutionaries (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973).

²⁵⁰ Bebel, August. Women Under Socialism. trans. Daniel De Leon (New York: Schocken Books, 1904, 1975) 6.

²⁵¹ SHC's mission statement quoted in: Dreyer, Michael: Politische Kultur, rechtliche Diskriminierung und Reformsstrategien. In: Stefan Egeton/ Sabine Hark (Hg.): *Freundschaft unter Vorbehalt. Chancen und Grenzen lesbisch-schuler Bündnisse*. Berlin, Queerverlag, 36 (my translation).

²⁵² Steakley, James. D, The Homosexual Emancipation Movement (Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1993) 91.

²⁵³ 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.

²⁵⁴ Hirschfeld, Magnus. The Homosexuality of Men and Women.

²⁵⁵ Herzer, Manfred. "Schwule Preussen, warme Berliner." in Capri: Zeitschrift für Schwule Geschichte. January 1988. 5.

²⁵⁶ 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.

²⁵⁷ Toller, Ernst, *Hinkemann, German Expressionist Plays*, trans and ed. Schurer, Ernst (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1997) 160.

²⁵⁸ 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; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

²⁵⁹ 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.

²⁶⁰ Freud, Sigmund. „On Taboo on Virginität.“ In *On Sexuality*, Pelican Freud Library, vol 7, London: Penguin 1977. 266.

²⁶¹ 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.

²⁶² 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.

²⁶³ 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.

²⁶⁴ 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.

²⁶⁵ 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.

²⁶⁶ Lesbianism was never criminalized in Russia.

²⁶⁷ 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) 160.

²⁶⁸ paraphrased and translated from quote in Herzer, Manfred, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2001) 224.

²⁶⁹ Kröhnke, Friedrich, Intro. Linsert, Richard, *Marxismus und die freie Liebe*, Kröhnke, Friedrich, ed. (1931. Köln: Friedrich Kröhnke, 1982) 9.

²⁷⁰ 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.

²⁷¹ Linsert, Richard, *Marxismus und die freie Liebe*, Kröhnke, Friedrich, ed. (1931. Köln: Friedrich Kröhnke, 1982).

²⁷² 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 Platttheit spießbürgerlicher Moral

leiten läßt – Linsert, Richard, Marxismus und die freie Liebe, Kröhnke, Friedrich, ed. (1931. Köln: Friedrich Kröhnke, 1982) 15.

²⁷³ Kröhnke, Friedrich, Intro, Linsert, Richard, Marxismus und die freie Liebe, (1931. Köln: Friedrich Kröhnke, 1982) 9.

²⁷⁴ 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].

²⁷⁵ 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.

²⁷⁶ “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 sexuologischen 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].

²⁷⁷ Manfred Herzer aptly refers to Hirschfeld’s project of including all minorities in his project of liberation as one of radical humanism in “Schwule Preussen, warme Berliner,” Capri: Zeitschrift für schwule Geschichte. Manfred Herzer, ed. [Berlin: Schwulenreferat des AStA der FU Berlin, 2.1 (1988): 3-25].

²⁷⁸ Mosse, George L, Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985).

²⁷⁹ It was commonplace in fin de siècle consciousness and throughout most of the twentieth century to conflate homosexual conduct with a homosexual disposition and identity. This did not cease being the case until the nineteen-sixties, when social constructivists like Jeffrey Weeks began to argue these distinctions in a forceful manner.

²⁸⁰ 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.²⁸¹ 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.

²⁸² 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.

²⁸³ Nicolaus Sombart asserts that the contempt for homosexuality lay in the fact that it also functioned as a signifier for effeminacy in the late 19th 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.

²⁸⁴ 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

²⁸⁵ 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.

²⁸⁶ 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.

- ²⁸⁷ 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.
- ²⁸⁸ Blüher, Hans, Die Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen (Prien: Anthropos, 1912).
- ²⁸⁹ Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 70.
- ²⁹⁰ Die Vossische Zeitung (November 7, 1907); quoted in Charlotte Wolf, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 73.
- ²⁹¹ Die Münchener Neuesten Nachrichten (November 8, 1907); quoted in Charlotte Wolf, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 73.
- ²⁹² George L. Mosse has published some of the most comprehensive and influential work on the cultural and political valence of masculinity in the Imperial and interwar Germany in the 1980s and 1990s. Nicolaus Sombart has also published extensively on the decidedly masculine homoerotic character of the age of Wilhelm II in the 1990s.
- ²⁹³ 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.
- ²⁹⁴ See: Geary, Patrick J. The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- ²⁹⁵ Charlotte Wolf, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 161.
- ²⁹⁶ Quoted in Charlotte Wolf, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 168.
- ²⁹⁷ 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 Neiden, Susanne (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2005).
- ²⁹⁸ Lothar Machtan, The Hidden Hitler. Trans. John Brownjohn. New York: Basic Books, 2001. 107.
- ²⁹⁹ Kurt Lüdecke quoted in Machtan, Lothar, The Hidden Hitler. Trans. John Brownjohn. New York: Basic Books, 2001, 113.
- ³⁰⁰ From Röhm’s autobiography, Die Geschichte eines Hochverrätters (1928) 108.
- ³⁰¹ Quoted in Halle, Randall, Queer Social Philosophy: Critical Readings from Kant to Adorno (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004) 230.
- ³⁰² 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.
- ³⁰³ 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.
- ³⁰⁴ Mann, Klaus, “Homosexualität und Faschismus.” Homosexualität und Faschismus (Hamburg: Frühlings Erwachen I., 1990, 3rd. Ed) 12.
- ³⁰⁵ See Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 405.
- ³⁰⁶ See Wolf, Charlotte, Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet Books, 1987) 412.
- ³⁰⁷ Oosterhuis, Harry, “Vom Fragwürdigen Zauber zu männlicher Schönheit: Politik und Homoerotik in Leben und Werk von Thomas und Klaus Mann,” Homosexualität und Staatsräson: Männlichkeit, Homophobie und Politik in Deutschland 1900-1945, ed. zur Neiden, Susanne (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2005) 137.
- ³⁰⁸ Hewitt, Andrew, The Politics of Inversion (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996).
- ³⁰⁹ Pederasts.

³¹⁰ 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.

³¹¹ Wilhelm Reich, The Mass Psychology of Fascism, trans. Vincent R. Carfagno (New York: Pocket Books, 1970, 1976 ed.)182.

³¹² 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

³¹³ Gide, André. Cordyon. New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1950. 91-92.

³¹⁴ Bronner, Stephen Eric. Moments of Decision: Political History and the Crises of Radicalism. New York and London: Routledge, 1992, 12.

³¹⁵ See Rosario, Vernon A, Homosexuality and Science: A guide to the Debates (Santa Barbara: Vernon A. Rosario II) 2002.

³¹⁶ 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.

Bibliography

- Aronowitz, Stanley. How Class Works. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- 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>>.
- Bebel, August. Women Under Socialism. Trans. Daniel De Leon. New York: Schocken Books, 1904, 1975.
- Berg, Leo, "Kulturprobleme der Gegenwart." Geschlechter. 2.2 (Berlin: 1906):166. 1-312.
- Bernstein, Eduard. "The Judgment of Abnormal Sexual Intercourse." Die Neue Zeit. 1894-1895, Trans. Angela Clifford, published in Athol Books, 1977. 13th year, vol.2, 228-233.
- Biale, Daniel, Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America. New York: Basic Books, 1992.
- Bland, Lucy and Laura Doan, eds. Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science Intro. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998
- Blüher, Hans. Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen. Prien: Anthropos, 1912.
- . Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft (1 and 2). Jena: Diederichs, 1917 and 1919.
- . Die Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen. Prien: Anthropos, 1912.
- Bronner, Stephen Eric, Reclaiming the Enlightenment: Toward a Politics of Radical Engagement. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).
- . Moments of Decision: Political History and the Crises of Radicalism. New York and London: Routledge, 1992.
- . Socialism Unbound, 2nd ed. Oxford: Westview Press, 2001.
- 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. 53-80.
- 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.
- Chauncey, George. Gay New York : Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940. New York: Basic Books, 1994.
- D'Emilio, John. Capitalism and Gay Identity" The Columbia Reader: On Lesbians and Gay Men in Media, Society and Politics. Ed. Gross, Larry and James D. Woods. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999. 48-55.
- De Lauretis, Teresa, Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction. Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Demetz, Peter, ed. Reflections Walter Benjamin: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. New York: Schocken Books, 1978.
- Dreyer, Michael. "Politische Kultur, rechtliche Diskriminierung und Reformsstrategien." Ed. Stefan Egeton/ Sabine Hark. Freundschaft unter Vorbehalt. Chancen und Grenzen lesbisch-schuler Bündnisse. Berlin: Queerverlag, 1995. 71-100.
- Efron, John M. Defenders of the Race: Jewish Doctors and Race Science in Fin-De-Siècle Europe. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Engelstein, Laura. "Soviet Policy Toward Male Homosexuality: Its Origins and Historical Roots." Hekma 155-178.
- Fähnders, Walter. "Anarchism and Homosexuality in Wilhelmine Germany: Senna Hoy, Erich Mühsam, John Henry Mackay." Hekma 117-153.
- Finney, Gail, Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theater at the Turn of the Century. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Foucault, Michel, Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison, 2nd ed. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995).
- . The History of Sexuality (vol. 1). Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

- Greenberg, David, F. The Construction of Modern Homosexuality. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Freud, Sigmund, Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality. Trans. James Strachey. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- . "The Taboo of Virginitiy." On Sexuality, Pelican Freud Library, vol 7, London: Penguin 1977. 266. 265-283.
- . "Über die Psychogenese eines Falles von weiblicher Homosexualität" In: Sigmund Freud: Studienausgabe. Vol. VII. 1920. Frankfurt a. M: S. Fischer Verlag, 2000. 26-38.
- Friedländer, Benedikt. Renaissance der Eros Uranios. Berlin: Bernhard Zacks Verlag, 1908.
- Fromm, Erich. The Art of Loving. 1956. New York: First Perennial Classics, 2000.
- Gearry, Patrick J. The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley, eds. Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left. New York: The Haworth Press, 1995.
- Gerth, H.H. and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trans. Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- 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.
- Gide, André. Cordyon. New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1950.
- Gindorf, Haeberle, ed. "History of Sexual Orientation Research," ed. E.J. Haeberle, and R. 1998, Continuum, New York, 19 Sept. 2003 <<http://www2rz.hu-berlin.de/sexology/GESUND/ARCHIV/SEXOR4.HTM>>
- Greenberg, David F, The Construction of Modern Homosexuality. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Haeberle, Erwin J, The Birth of Sexology: A Brief History in Documents. Washington D.C.: World Association for Sexology, 1983.
- Halle, Randall, Queer Social Philosophy: Critical Readings from Kant to Adorno. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Hammermeister, Kai. The German Aesthetic Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Hau, Michael, The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Hauptmann, Gerhart. Werke Bearbeitet und gedeutet für die Gegenwart. Salzburg, Verlag Das Bergland-Buch, 1956.
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, Phenomenology of Spirit. Trans. A.V. Miller. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.
- Hekma, Gert, Harry Oosterhuis and James Steakley. "Leftist Sexual Politics and Homosexuality: A Historical Overview." Hekma 1-40.
- Hepp, Corona. Avantgarde, Moderne Kunst, Kulturkritik und Reformbewegungen nach der Jahrhundertwende. München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1987.
- Herzer, Manfred, "Communists, Social Democrats, and the Homosexual Movement in the Weimar Republic." Hekma. 197-226.
- 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.
- . 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.
- Hiller, Kurt, Das Recht über sich selbst: eine strafrechtsphilosophische Studie. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1908.
- Hirschfeld, Magnus and J. R. Spinner. Geschlecht und Verbrechen. Leipzig: Schneider, 1930.
- . Geschlechtsübergänge: Mischungen männlicher und weiblicher Geschlechtscharaktere. Leipzig: Verlag der Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und sexuelle Hygiene, W. Malende, 1916.
- . Men and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist. Trans.. New York: AMS Press, Inc. 1974.
- . Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges, ed. Magnus Hirschfeld, vol. 2. Leipzig und Wien: Verlag für Sexualwissenschaft Schneider & Co, 1930.

- . "Kriegespsychologisches." Deutsche Kriegsschriften 20. 1-32. Bonn: A Marcus & F. Webers Verlag, 1916.
- . "Literarisches Selbstbekenntnis/ Zu meinem 60. Geburtstag." Die literarische Welt. May 1928, N. 21/22 (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1973): 25.
- . "Was eint und trennt das Menschengeschlecht?" Berlin: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Staatsbürgerliche Bildung, 1919.
- . Berlins drittes Geschlecht: Schwule und Lesben um 1900. Ed. Manfred Herzer. Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel, 1991.
- . Die Homosexualität des Mannes und Weibes. 1914, Berlin: Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1920.
- . Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb. Berlin: A. Pulvermacher, 1910.
- . Racism. Trans. Eden and Cedar Paul. New York, Kennikat Press, 1973.
- . Sex in Human Relationships. Trans. John Rodker. London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1935.
- . The Homosexuality of Men and Women. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. New York, Prometheus Books, 2000.
- . Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress. Trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. Buffalo, New York, Prometheus Books, 1991.
- . Naturgesetze der Liebe: eine Gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes Ausdruck. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co., 1912.
- . "Über Sexualwissenschaft", Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft, vol. 1. (Berlin: 1908):81-100.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. Revolutionaries. New York: Pantheon Books, 1973.
- Isherwood, Christopher, Christopher and His Kind: 1929-1939. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1976.
- Iwan Bloch, "Aufgaben und Ziele der Sexualwissenschaft", Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft, vol.1. (Berlin: 1908): 2-11.
- Izenberg, Gerald N. Modernism and Masculinity: Mann, Wedekind, Kandinsky through World War I. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- 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.
- Jeffreys, Sheila. "Sex Reform and Anit-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.
- 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.
- Jones, James W. "We of the Third Sex." Literary Representations of Homosexuality in Wilhelmine Germany. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1990.
- Kästner, Erich. Fabian. Trans. Cyrus Brooks. London: Libris, 1990.
- 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.
- Koebner, Thomas, Rolf-Peter Janz and Frank Trommler, eds. "Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit." Der Mythos Jugend. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985.
- 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. 1-41.
- Lancaster, Roger N. The Trouble with Nature: Sex in Science and Popular Culture. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Laqueur, Walter Z. Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement. New York: Basic Books Publishing Co., Inc., 1962.
- Leck, Ralph, M. Georg Simmel and Avant-Garde Sociology: The Birth of Modernity:1880-1920. New York: Humanity Books, 2000.
- Linsert, Richard. Marxismus und die freie Liebe, Kröhnke, Friedrich, ed. 1931. Köln: Friedrich Kröhnke, 1982.
- Machtan, Lothar. The Hidden Hitler. Trans. John Brownjohn. New York: Basic Books, 2001.
- Mann, Klaus. "Homosexualität und Faschismus." Homosexualität und Faschismus. Hamburg: Frühlings Erwachen I., 1990, 3rd. Ed. 12. 1-80.

- McCarthy, George E. Classical Horizons: The Origins of Sociology in Ancient Greece. New York: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- 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.
- Meyerowitz, Joanne, How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- 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. 182-226.
- Moll, Albert. Perversions of the Instinct: A Study of Sexual Inversion. Trans. Maurice Popkin. Newark: Julian Press, Inc., 1931.
- Mosse, George L. Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe. New York: Howard Fertig, 1985.
- , The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Murphy, Timothy F. Gay Science: The Ethics of Sexual Orientation Research. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Muthu, Sankar. Enlightenment against Empire. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. "Beyond Good and Evil." Trans. and ed. Walter Kaufmann. Basic Writings of Nietzsche. New York: The Modern Library, 1992. 179-448.
- Oosterhuis, Hary 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.
- . "Vom Fragwürdigen Zauber zu männlicher Schönheit: Politik und Homoerotik in Leben und Werk von Thomas und Klaus Mann." Homosexualität und Staatsräson: Männlichkeit, Homophobie und Politik in Deutschland 1900-1945. Ed. zur Nieden, Susanne. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2005. 118-146.
- . Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry and the Making of Sexual Identity. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Poldervaart, Saskia. "Theories About Sex and Sexuality in Utopian Socialism." Hekma 41-67.
- Pollard, Patrick. "Gide in the U.S.S.R.: Some Observations on Comradeship." Hekma 179-195.
- Proctor, Robert. Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- 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.
- Reich, Wilhelm. The Mass Psychology of Fascism. Trans. Vincent R. Carfagno. New York: Pocket Books, 1970, 1976 ed.
- Röhm, Ernst. Die Geschichte eines Hochverrätters (1928) PUB DATA
- Rosario, Vernon. Homosexuality and Science : A Guide to the Debates. Santa Barbara, California: ABC Clio Inc. 2002.
- Rose, Gillian. Hegel Contra Sociology. London: Athlone Press, 1981.
- Rosenberg, Arthur. The History of the German Republic PUB DATA
- Rudacille, Deborah, The Riddle of Gender: Science, Activism and Transgender Rights. New York: Anchor Books, 2006.
- Schorske, Carl. E. Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980.
- Sengoopta, Chandak, "Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siècle Central Europe" Isis 89.3 (1998): 445-473.
- Sigus, Volkmar. "Man muss Hitlers Experimente abwarten," Der Spiegel 20 (1985): 244-250.
- 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. 324-339.
- Smith, Woodruff, D. Politics and the Sciences of Culture in Germany: 1840-1920. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Sombart, Nicolaus. Die deutschen Männer und ihre Feinde: Carl Schmitt—ein deutsches Schicksal zwischen Männerbund und Matriarchatsmythos. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997.
- Steakley, James. D. The Homosexual Emancipation Movement. Salem: Ayer Company Publishers, 1993.

- Stöcker, Helene, "Marriage and Sexual Reform" (1916). Trans. Jörg Esleben. German Feminist Writings. Ed. Herminghouse, Patricia and Magda Mueller. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, Inc., 2001. 215-218.
- Stöcker, Helene. "Moderne Bevölkerungspolitik." Die neue Generation. 4.12 (1916):79. 1-86.
- Stümke, Hans-Georg. Homosexuelle in Deutschland: Eine politische Geschichte. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989.
- Talese, Gay. Thy Neighbors Wife. New York: Double Day, 1980.
- Toller, Ernst, Hinkemann, German Expressionist Plays, trans and ed. Schurer, Ernst (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1997.
- Turner, William B. A Genealogy of Queer Theory (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000.
- 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.
- von Praunheim, Rosa, dir. Der Einstein des Sex. Perf. Friedel von Wangenheim. TLA Releasing, 1999.
- von Westphal, Carl. "Die Konträre Sexualempfindung," Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten, 1869, 2. 73-108.
- Weber, Max. "The Objectivity of Knowledge in Social Science and Social Policy." The Essential Weber: A Reader. Ed. Sam Whimster. London; New York: Routledge, 2004. 359-404.
- Weeks, Jeffrey. Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain, from the Nineteenth Century to the Present. London : New York : Quartet Books, 1977.
- . Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800, 2nd ed. London and New York: Longman Group, Ltd., 1981.
- Weininger, Otto, Geschlecht und Charakter: Eine prinzipielle Untersuchung. Wien, Leipzig, W. Braumüller, 1905.
- Widdig, Bernd. Männerbünde und Massen : zur Krise männlicher Identität in der Literatur der Moderne. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1992.
- Wolf, Charlotte. Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology. London: Quartet Books, 1987.
- 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. 147-192.

Curriculum Vita

Elena Mancini

Education:

- 2007 Ph.D. in Germanic Languages and Literature, Rutgers University
 2000 M.A. in Germanic Languages and Literature, Rutgers University
 1993 B.A. in German, New York University

Awards:

- 2003-2004 Dissertation Teaching Award, Rutgers University
 2003-2004 Institute for Research on Women Fellowship, Rutgers University
 2001 Summer Research Grant, German Department, Rutgers University
 1999-2000 DAAD – German Academic Exchange Service Dissertation Fellowship
 1997-2003 Teaching Assistantship, German Department, Rutgers University
 1995-1996 German Department Study Grant, Rutgers University

2004

Publications:

“Magnus Hirschfeld, the Third Sex, and the Struggle for Homosexual Emancipation in Early Twentieth-Century Germany.” Femininities, Masculinities and the Politics of Sexual Difference(s): Working Papers from the 2003-2004 Seminar. New Jersey: Institute for Research on Women, 2004, 99-102.