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INTRODUCTION


12. For an example of this kind of approach, see Jeffrey Weeks’s early work on the production of sexuality as a means of control, Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulations of Sexuality since 1800 (London: Pearson, 1981).


14. For an indication of the breadth of the scholarship, in addition to the studies already cited, see “Nature and Normality in the History of Sexuality,” ed. Peter Cryle and Lisa Downing, special issue, Psychology and Sexuality 1, no. 3 (2010); and “Female Sexual Pathologies,” ed. Peter Cryle and Lisa Downing, special issue, Journal of the
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19. For a discussion of Munich’s queer life and its suppression around the time of Hirschfeld’s visit, see Laurie Marhoefer, Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 49–51. For a recent discussion of the German history and historiography of sexuality, see Scott Spector, Helmut Puff, and Dagmar Herzog, eds., After “The History of Sexuality”: German Genealogies with and beyond Foucault (New York: Berghahn, 2012).


21. “Deny Professor Hirschfeld Is Dead,” New York Times, October 15, 1920, p. 4. The incident was less well reported in Britain. One of the only mentions of it I could find in the British press is from the Western Daily Press, which published a mere sentence on the matter, stating that “a Munich message contradicts the reported death of Professor Magnus Hirschfeld who was injured in a street attack.” Untitled article, Western Daily Press, October 13, 1920, p. 3.
22. This statement is from an article published in a right-wing Dresden newspaper, translated by Charlotte Wolff in Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology (London: Quartet, 1986), 198. Manfred Herzer notes that not all the German press responded in the same way. He points out that the German socialist and communist newspapers “emphasized the attackers’ anti-Semitic motive while exercising a peculiar restraint concerning the homosexual aspect of the entire incident.” Manfred Herzer, “Communists, Social Democrats, and the Homosexual Movement in the Weimar Republic,” in Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left, ed. Gert Hekma, Harry Oosterhuis, and James Steakley (Binghampton, NY: Haworth, 1995), 202. The collection “Gay Men and the Sexual History of the Political Left” was also published as a special issue of the Journal of Homosexuality 29, no. 2–3 (1995).


24. Wolff, Magnus Hirschfeld, 198. Wolff’s analysis, which is psychoanalytically influenced, and often speculative, is characterized by a dearth of references. However, historical evidence of the event can be found, including in a letter Hirschfeld wrote to the socialist newspaper Münchener Post, which was reprinted in his “Aus der Bewegung,” Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen 20 (1920–1921): 106–142.


27. Ibid.


**CHAPTER 1**

Material in this chapter was previously published in Heike Bauer, “‘Race,’ Normativity and the History of Sexuality: The Case of Magnus Hirschfeld’s Racism and Early-Twentieth-Century Sexology,” *Psychology and Sexuality* 1, no. 3 (2010): 239–249 (www.tandfonline.com).


13. Ibid.


15. Magnus Hirschfeld, *Naturgesetze der Liebe: Eine gemeinverständliche Untersuchung über den Liebes-Eindruck, Liebes-Drang und Liebes-Ausdruck* (Berlin: Pulvermacher, 1912), 16. All translations from German to English are mine unless otherwise noted.

16. Ibid., 18.


22. Ibid., 149.


29. Hirschfeld senior set up a medical practice in Kolberg, where Hirschfeld was born. It was mainly distinguished by a focus on alternative therapies such as hydrological treatments. A senior figure in the local Jewish community, he also helped introduce a community sewer system. See Dose, *Magnus Hirschfeld: The Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement,* 17–19.


34. The original phrase is “vom Osten aus alle Culturländer mit gewaltigen Ar-
men umfasste.” Hirschfeld, “Über Erkrankungen des Nervensystems im Gefolge der
Influenza,” 1.

35. Studies of degeneration are numerous. See, e.g., Daniel Pick’s early work *Faces of
Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848–c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 1989); and Dana Seiter’s more recent *Atavistic Tendencies: The Culture of Science
in American Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

36. Margrit Davies, *Public Health and Colonialism: The Case of German New Guinea,

37. The phrase is “das Naturprinzip der Rassenveredlung” in the original. See
Hirschfeld, *Naturgesetze der Liebe*, 132. There has been some debate about whether the
support of eugenics by sexual reformers such as Hirschfeld directly contributed to the
collapse of the Nazis. Rather than such reductive and somewhat far-fetched arguments
about a one-way flow of influence from homosexual culture to Nazism, it is more accu-
rate to point out that both sexual reformers and right-wing hatemongers were animated
by the scientific positivism of the turn of the nineteenth century. See, e.g., Marhoefer’s
excellent critique of the debates in *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 137.

(Frankfurt, Germany: Eichborn, 2006), 157–165. This account is discussed more fully
in Chapter 5. See also Silvio Marcus de Souza Correa, “‘Combatting’ Tropical Dis-
eases in the German Colonial Press,” trans. Derrick Guy Phillips, *História, Ciências,

39. “Royal Prussian Ministry of War” in the original German is “königlich preus-
siches Kriegsministerium.” See Hirschfeld, “Über Erkrankungen des Nervensystems im
Gefolge der Influenza,” 29.

40. See, e.g., Davies, *Public Health and Colonialism*, 14. She also notes that the
number of doctors doubled in Germany between 1876 and 1900, leading to a shortage
of work, which might have induced some medical doctors to seek work in the colonies
(14–15). See also Deborah Brunton, ed., *Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1800–

41. Robert Dean Tobin, “Widernatürliche Unzucht! Paragraph 175 in Deutsch-
Südwestafrika,” in *Crimes of Passion: Repräsentationen der Sexualpathologie im frühen 20.

42. See Tobin’s compelling discussion of Hirschfeld’s involvement in the case in
ibid., 288–290.

43. Bradley Naranch, “Introduction: German Colonialism Made Simple,” in *Ger-
man Colonialism in a Global Age*, ed. Geoff Eley and Bradley Naranch (Durham, NC:

44. Shannon Sullivan, *Revealing Whiteness: The Unconscious Habits of Racial Privi-

45. See, e.g., Rikke Andreassen, *Human Exhibitions: Race, Sexuality, Gender in Eth-

46. See Fionnghuala Sweeney, *Frederick Douglass and the Atlantic World* (Liver-
pool, UK: University of Liverpool Press, 2006), 178–180; Elliott Rudwick and August
Meier, “Black Man in the ‘White City’: Negroes and the Columbian Exposition 1893”

47. Quoted in Barbara J. Ballard, “A People without a Nation,” Chicago History, Summer 1999, p. 34.


50. The image was published as part of a satirical poem by Phillip Egerton, under the pseudonym “Gorilla.” “Monkeyana,” Punch, May 18, 1861, p. 206.


52. The phrase is “in völlig gleicher Weise” in the original. Magnus Hirschfeld, Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 471. The book was first published 1914.

53. Hirschfeld, Die Homosexualität, 471.

54. Charlotte Wolff notes that he was at the fair in that capacity in Magnus Hirschfeld, 28–30.


64. See Anne Dreesback, Gezähmte Wilde: Die Zurschaustellung “exotischer” Menschen in Deutschland, 1870–1940 (Frankfurt, Germany: Campus, 2005), 251–254.


68. For an astute analysis of gender and the colonies, see Lora Wildenthal, German Women for Empire, 1884–1945 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).


71. The term here means marriage between white Germans and black people, although the same debate also mentions marriage to Jews. See Reichsprotokolle 1912/14, 1648. See also, e.g., Wildenthal’s discussion of “race mixing” in German Women for Empire, 79–130.

72. “Mentally deficient” is “geistiger Minderwertigkeit” in the original. Hirschfeld, Die Homosexualität, 391. See also his claim that “from the perspective of racial hygiene the marriage of a male or female homosexual always [would be] a precarious undertaking” (vom rassenhygienischen Standpunkt die Ehe eines oder einer Homosexuellen stets ein gewagtes Unternehmen [sei]). Ibid.


74. Tobin, Peripheral Desires, 160.


76. Spohr claimed that he wanted to support a movement that was of interest to him: “der mich interessierenden Bewegung nützlich sein.” Max Spohr, Erklärung für die Mitglieder des Komites (Leipzig, Germany: März, 1907), MS IX, p. 36, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute, Bloomington, IN. Spohr also played an

77. The phrase is “die Verwaltung verhielt sich nach wie vor den Eingeborenen gegenüber passiv” in the original. See Franz Josef von Bülow, *Deutsch-Südwestafrika: Drei Jahre im Lande Henrik Witboois* (Berlin: Mittler and Sohn, 1897), 67.

78. See, e.g., *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 3 (1901), which includes an article by Hirschfeld, “Sind sexuelle Zwischenstufen zur Ehe geeignet?” (Are sexual intermediaries suitable for marriage?) (37–71), and a longer piece by a Dr. F. Karsch, “Uranismus und Tribadismus unter den Naturvölkern” (Uranism and tribadism in primitive people) (72–202).

79. He received some limited public attention in 1897, when he was arrested on a charge of malpractice because, as the London-based publication *Wings*, the successor to the *British Women’s Temperance Journal*, reported in an untitled piece, “He had refused to give one of his patients alcohol who was supposed to need it.” *Wings*, February 1, 1897, p. 18. Hirschfeld maintained an antialcohol stance throughout his life, publishing, for instance, a critique of the influence of alcoholism on family life, *Alkohol und Familienleben* (Berlin: Fritz Stolt, 1906), and a study of working-class alcohol consumption, *Die Gurgel Berlins* (Berlin: Seemann, 1907).


81. See Dose, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement*, 38–39, which notes that Hirschfeld’s friend and colleague Kurt Hiller in 1922 nominated Hirschfeld to stand as a candidate for the Social Democrats. It is not clear if Hirschfeld supported the nomination, and nothing came of it.


83. The events are documented in MS XV, pp. 96–111, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute.

85. According to a Hamburg-based newspaper, for example, both the prosecutor and the judge distanced themselves from Hirschfeld, emphasizing that it was not they who invited him “as an expert” (*als Sachverständigen*). Untitled article, *Hamburger Anzeiger*, December 25, 1907, p. 3.

86. “The Prussian Court Scandals: Count Moltke and Herr Harden,” *The Times* (London), October 26, 1907, p. 5. Another article claimed that “attention has been called to the extremely reprehensible character of the pseudo-scientific movement associated with the name of a witness at both trials—Dr Magnus Hirschfeld.” “The Bülow Libel Case,” *The Times* (London), November 8, 1907, p. 7.

87. Hirschfeld’s name was used in the antisemitic propaganda of *L’Action Française*, the daily newspaper, published by Léon Daudet, of a right-wing political movement that was increasingly gathering support. Untitled article, *L’Action Française*, October 5, 1912, p. 5.


92. Ibid., 222.

93. Ibid., 221.

94. Ibid.

95. The phrase is “un rapide movement de la langue at des lèvres” in the original. Léo Taxil, *La Corruption Fin-de-Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Nilsson, 1894), 263.

96. The sentence is “C’est le signe conventionnel, adopté entre tribades, pour dire: ‘Je suis pour femme’” in the original. Ibid., 263.

97. Hirschfeld, “Sexual Hypochondria and Morbid Scrupulousness,” 221. The American physician William D. Robinson claimed in his editorial footnote accompanying Hirschfeld’s claims that the homosexual paranoia of the early Weimar Republic could not occur in America because “only an insignificant fraction of the [American] people know that there is such a thing as homosexuality,” a disclaimer that suggests that there is a link between sexual knowledge and behavior even as it also signals Robinson’s attempt to dissociate America from homosexuality.


100. See, e.g., Elizabeth Cramer, *Addressing Homophobia and Heterosexism on College Campuses* (New York: Routledge, 2014); Andy Harvey, “Regulating Homophobic Hate Speech: Back to the Basics about Language and Politics?” *Sexualities* 15, no. 2 (2012): 191–206; and David B. A. Murray, ed., *Homophobias: Lust and Loathing across Time and Space* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009). The analytical uses of *homophobia* have been criticized more recently in the context of debates about homonationalism, in which a focus on homophobia obscures racialized and colonial violence.


102. Ibid.


106. Tobin, “Widernatürliche Unzucht!”


112. The phrase is “es [handelt] sich bei der Frau in Algerien um Kolonialverhältnisse” in the original short review, “Die Frau in Algerien,” which does not include an author or publication details, in MS XIV, p. 91, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute.


118. The phrase is “Missgunst gegen die Entwicklung und Größe des jungen Deutschen Reichs” in the original. Ibid., 7.


122. The phrase is “Gefahr und Angriff” in the original. Ibid., 12.


128. “Psychology of War: Notable German Statement,” *Hawera and Normanby Star* (New Zealand), May 1, 1917, p. 2.

129. Ibid.


**CHAPTER 2**


3. The expression “different from the others” is a translation of the title of the early prohomosexual movie *Anders als die Andern* (1919), which includes a cameo appearance by Hirschfeld.


16. The phrases in the original are “die Kraft,” “die Wahrheit,” and “gegen die an sich nicht das mindeste einzuwenden war.” Hirschfeld, “Die Gründung des WHK und seine ersten Mitglieder,” 48.

17. The phrase is “was mir fast that Herz abdrücken wollte” in the original. Ibid., 48.

18. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also Sprach Zarathustra: Ein Buch für Alle und Keinen* (Chemnitz, Germany: Ernst Schmeitzner, 1883).

19. The phrase is “den freien Tod, der mir kommt, weil ich will” in the original. Ibid., 109.


23. Ibid.


the Autonomous—because I think it captures better the anarchist political leanings of the group.


29. They complained that Hirschfeld already had too many other commitments to dedicate himself fully to the leadership of the WhK. However, Hirschfeld ignored opposition and refused to give up the reins. See MS X, p. 40, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute, Bloomington, IN.

30. Ibid.


34. The cultural historian Peter Cryle, in an extensive survey of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French literature, has shown that male anxieties about the wedding night are deeply entrenched in the cultural imagination. Peter Cryle, The Telling of the Act: Sexuality as Narrative in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century France (London: Associated University Press, 2001).


38. Ibid.


42. Émile Durkheim, Le Suicide (Paris, 1897).


45. The expression the “act whose author is also the sufferer” is from Durkheim’s Suicide: A Study in Sociology, 42.

47. Friedrich Engels, letter to Karl Marx, June 22, 1869, in Marx and Engels Collected Works, vol. 43, ed. Jack Cohen et al. (London: Lawrence and Wishard, 2010), 295. The translation of the French sentence captures the older connotations of *cons*, which is derived from the Latin *cunnus* and was used in de Sade's work with the sense and force of *cunt*. Its strength was eroded in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as it became a common disparaging expression for stupid people. I am grateful to Peter Cryle for explaining the linguistic change to me.


50. Ibid., 913.

51. The passage is “Paare die sich gemeinsam töteten . . . ziehen die Todesgemeinsamkeit der Lebenseinsamkeit, Vereinigung im Sterben der sozialen und gesetzlich gebotenen Trennung vor” in the original. Ibid., 905.

52. Quoted in Kevin Anderson, “Marx on Suicide in the Context of His Other Writings on Alienation and Gender,” in Marx on Suicide, ed. Eric A. Plaut and Kevin Anderson (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1999), 7.


54. The phrase is “draußen niemand mehr etwas von ihm wissen wollte” in the original. Hirschfeld, Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes, 906.

55. The phrase is “selbst im Falle seiner Verurteilung” in the original. Ibid.

56. Ibid., 903.

57. Ibid., 902.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., 913.

60. The original reads, “Bitte, nach den Motiven unserer Tat nicht zu forschen.” Ibid., 914.


62. Ibid.


64. MS XIII, p. 68, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute.


69. The full passage is as follows: “Der Arzt, den er in Philadelphia seiner homosexuellen Leiden halber um Rat gefragt habe, ihm geantwortet hätte: ‘es gäbe für ihn nur drei Möglichkeiten: Selbstbefriedigung (use his right hand), freiwilliger Aufenthalt in einer Irrenanstalt (place himself in a madhouse) oder Selbstmord (or better, commit suicide).’” Hirschfeld, *Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*, 899.


71. For example, Melissa Knox, in her psychoanalysis of Wilde’s life, *A Long and Lovely Suicide* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), goes back to Wilde’s childhood for the basis of her claim that Wilde was driven by a self-destructive heroism. In a more recent study, *Salome’s Modernity: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetics of Transgression* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), Petra Dierkes-Thrun argues that the eponymous heroine of Wilde’s popular play was widely understood as Wilde’s alter ego and made even more famous after his death in Richard Strauss’s opera adaptation, a reception that drew attention away from Wilde’s own lonely death (78).


81. The phrase is “wie ein unanständiges Wort, bei dessen Aussprache Homosexuelle schamhaft eröteten, Frauen die Augen niederschlugen und normale Männer sich empörten” in the original. Ibid., 66.
82. According to Hirschfeld, they attached the number J.3.3. Ibid., 67. He might have misread the young men’s signs, because Wilde’s actual prisoner number in Reading was C.3.3.
83. The phrase is “den markerschütterndsten Aufschrei, den jemals eine geknechtete Seele über ihre und der Menschheit Qual ausgestoßen hat” in the original. Ibid.
84. The phrase is “still(e) Freud und Ergriffenheit” in the original. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

1. The category sexual abuse of children was introduced into West German law in 1973, the same year that it was recognized by the U.S. Supreme Court. East Germany had already introduced a similar law in §149 in the 1960s, and the United Kingdom covered “offences against children under 13” in the 1956 Sexual Offences Act. For an overview of key debates, see Jennifer Brown and Sandra L. Walklate eds., Handbook on Sexual Violence (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2012).
2. This is despite, as Robert Deam Tobin has shown, that as early as the 1860s, when the modern vocabulary of same-sex sexuality first started to emerge, the Hungarian Karl Maria Kertbeny, who coined the term homosexuality in 1869, had already attempted “to reassure his readers that homosexuals are not sexually attracted to children.” See Robert Deam Tobin, Peripheral Desires: The German Discovery of Sex (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 123.
3. The phrases he used are “Notzucht” (an older term for rape), “Nötigung” (coercion), “Schändung” (which can mean both violation and desecration), and “sexuelle[s] Sebstverfügungsrecht,” in Magnus Hirschfeld, “Sexualeingriffe,” Die Aufklärung 1, no. 7 (1929): 201, 202.
4. Ibid., 202.
5. Louise Jackson, Child Sexual Abuse in Victorian England (London: Routledge, 2000). Jackson notes that while the category of sexual abuse in the modern sense was not yet firmly established—Victorians used euphemisms such as “immorality,” “tampering,” and “ruining”—the existence of such abuse was nevertheless widely known and understood and it was prosecuted in the courts as “indecent assault, rape, unlawful carnal knowledge or its attempt” (3). See also, e.g., Monika Flegel, Conceptualizing Cruelty to Children in Nineteenth-Century England: Literature, Representation and the NSPCC (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009); Tanja Hommen, Sittlichkeitsverbrechen: Sexuelle Gewalt im Kaiserreich (Frankfurt, Germany: Campus, 1999); Rachel Fuchs, Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France (Albany: State


8. W. T. Stead, “The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon,” Pall Mall Gazette, July 1885. The main four articles on the investigation were published July 6, 7, 8, and 10, respectively; they were preceded and followed by articles framing the discussion. For an early analysis of the case, see Judith Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).


18. Linda Dowling’s *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994) provides a detailed discussion of this development including in relation to representations of boys in work of famous men who loved men, such as John Addington Symonds and Oscar Wilde.


20. See, for instance, William Johnson’s *Ionica*, which includes poems such as “A Study of Boyhood” (61–64) and was published as William Cory, *Ionica* (London: George Allen, 1905). See also Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality*, 114.


22. Ibid.


29. Chris White claims that Wilde called the work “disgusting, perfect twaddle.” See White, Nineteenth-Century Writings on Homosexuality, 353n41.


32. Magnus Hirschfeld, Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 669. The book was first published 1914, with an introduction by E. J. Haeberle.

33. He mentions that the missionay's account was published in a May 1910 issue of the Peking Daily News. While other issues of this paper still exist in libraries in China, North America, and England, this particular issue seems curiously to have gone missing. I am grateful to Leon Rocha and Liying Sun for helping me with my search.

34. The phrase is “zu allem erbötig” in Hirschfeld, Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes, 616.

35. The original passage reads, “Wie wenig das Volk im Grunde genommen an homosexuellem Verkehre Anstoß nimmt, lehrt wohl am besten die Tatsache, daß die Eltern selbst sowohl Töchter als Söhne oft schon in jugendlichem Alter an öffentliche Häuser abgeben, weil sie glauben, ihnen so eine bessere Zukunft zu sichern, als sie selbst sie ihnen bieten vermögen.” Ibid., 617.


38. Tobin, Peripheral Desires, 123.


42. See, e.g., Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Memnon: Die Geschlechtsnatur des mannliebenden Urnings (Schleiz, Germany: Hugo Benn, 1868).


44. According to observers Virchow used the term in a parliamentary speech in 1873. See, e.g., Thilo Rauch, Die Ferienkoloniebewegung: Zur Geschichte der privaten Fürsorge im Kaiserreich (Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer, 1992), 79. See also Mancini, Magnus Hirschfeld and the Quest for Sexual Freedom, 21; and Marsha Morton, Max
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45. Sonja Weinberg has pointed out, for example, the antisemitism at the heart of many Catholic responses to liberalism in Pogroms and Riots: German Press Responses to Anti-Jewish Violence in Germany (Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang, 2010).


48. For a fuller discussion of the article, see Bauer, English Literary Sexology, 46–47.


50. Ibid., 586.

51. Ibid.


53. The full text of the 1794 code is available (in German) via the free online legal repository OpinioIuris, at http://opinioiuris.de/quelle/1621.


55. The law was reworded in 1958 to give the “carer” the right to castigate the child. It was abolished in 2000 when a child’s right to be raised without violence (gewaltfreie Erziehung) was enshrined in the German civil code.


60. Hirschfeld, Das urnische Kind, 6, 8.


62. The original text reads, “Die meisten Selbstmorde . . . haben sexuelle Motive.” Hirschfeld and Bohm, Sexualerziehung, 12.

63. Ibid., 11.

64. Ibid., 232, 230.

65. The phrase is “echt von unecht unterscheiden,” which literally translates as “real from false.” Ibid., 234.


69. Ibid.


71. Details are on the initiative’s website, in both English and German, at https://www.dont-offend.org.


73. The original phrase is “ob sie den Verlust ihrer Freiheit oder den Verlust ihrer Geschlechtsdrüsen vorziehen.” Ibid.

74. The original phrase is “gemeingefährliche Triebstörung.” Ibid.

75. The original phrase is “um mit dem Gesetz nicht in Konflikt zu kommen.” Ibid.

76. The full original sentence reads, “Bei intersexuellen Männern und Frauen beispielsweise, die gelangentlich aus eigenem Entschluss diesen Eingriff an sich vornehmen lassen, um mit dem Gesetz nicht in Konflikt zu kommen, habe ich ein völliges Erlöschen ihrer Treibrichtung nicht beobachten können” (In intersexual men and women, for example, who occasionally made the decision to have the procedure to avoid conflict with the law, I observed no complete cessation of the sexual drive). Ibid.

77. The phrase is “sie wünschen, dass man alles versuche, um ihre körperliche Beschaffenheit mit ihrer seelischen anzupassen” in ibid., 35. That many of Hirschfeld’s transvestite patients experienced their body as “problematic” is discussed further in Rainer Herrn, *Schnittmuster des Geschlechts: Transvestitismus und Transsexualität in der frühen Sexualwissenschaft* (Giessen, Germany: Psychosozial, 2005), 103–105.


82. Hirschfeld, Sexualität und Kriminalität, 13.

83. The phrase is “psychosexueller Infantilismus.” Ibid.


88. Hirschfeld and Bohm, Sexualerziehung, 13–14.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., 9.

91. Hirschfeld sets out the case for sexology’s reform potential in his foreword to Felix Halle, Geschlechtsleben und Strafrecht (Berlin: Mopr Verlag, 1931), ix–xii.


93. Ibid.


96. Ibid., 1.

97. The phrase is “fromme Kinderfreunde” in Hirschfeld, “Prügelpädagogen,” 97.


7. He wrote in the dedication to his book Die Gurgel Berlins that “[sich] vieles verbindet” (there are many connections) with Franziska. Magnus Hirschfeld, Die Gurgel Berlins, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Seemann, 1908).

8. Her original phrasing is “Ich freue mich, dass die Natur mir in Dir, lieber Magnus, den Freund im Bruder gab.” Franziska Mann, “Ich freue mich” (a note written for her sixtieth birthday), June 9, 1919, MS AR 2980, Leo Baeck Institute, New York. Mann published several books, including an impressionistic take on the bildungsroman, Der Schäfer: Eine Geschichte aus der Stille (Berlin: Axel Juncker 1919), and the epistolary novel Die Stufe: Fragment einer Liebe (Berlin: Mosaik, 1922), which tells the story of the love between an older woman and a younger man.


18. He acted as a consultant to the film Sündige Mütter (Sinful mothers), directed by Richard Oswald and released in German cinemas in 1918, which was part of the series of sexual education films that also included Anders als die Andern (Different from the others). See Cornelie Usborne, Cultures of Abortion in Weimar Germany (New York: Berghahn, 2007), 31.


29. The original phrases are “vielgeliebter Papa” and “Lebens-und Arbeitsbundes.” MS XVI, 146, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute, Bloomington, IN.


32. Ibid.


Colonization and Domestic Service: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives (New York: Routledge, 2015).


41. Cross-class relationships played a sometimes romanticized role in modern male homosexual culture formation. E. M. Forster’s *Maurice*, written in 1913–1914 but not published until 1971, for example, famously depicts a happy ending for Maurice’s relationship with the gamekeeper Scudders.


44. Rawson, “Introduction,” 545.


46. Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten*.


52. The most detailed study of this is Rainer Herrn, *Schnittmuster des Geschlechts: Transvestitismus und Transsexualität in der frühen Sexualwissenschaft* (Giessen, Germany: Psychosozial, 2005).


55. Isherwood, *Christopher and His Kind*, 16.


57. Levy-Lenz, *Discretion and Indiscretion*.


66. The phrase is “eine Art Luxusoperation mit spielerischem Charakter” in ibid., 225.

67. Ibid., 226.

69. In addition to the writings about her and photographs of her naked body as part of case studies, there also exist pictures of her in her maid uniform, and a photograph in which she is wearing a fancy dress costume is reprinted in Herrn, Schnittmuster, 181.

70. See Magnus Hirschfeld, Berlin's Drittes Geschlecht (Leipzig, Germany: Seemann, 1904). In addition to the Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, see also, for instance, Magnus Hirschfeld, Sexualpathologie: Ein Lehrbuch für Ärzte und Studierende, vol. 2, Sexuelle Zwischenstufen (Bonn, Germany: Marcus and Weber, 1922).


72. See, e.g., the discussion of the “Sexualapparat” (genitals) in ibid., 125–132.

73. The phrase is “unendlich variables Mischungsverhältnis” in Hirschfeld, Die Transvestiten, 4. See also his early work Geschlechts-Übergänge (Leipzig, Germany: Mädende, 1905).

74. See, e.g., Volker Weiss, . . . mit ärztlicher Hilfe zum Geschlecht? (Hamburg, Germany: Männerschwarz, 2009).

75. See Sutton, “We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun,” 330–340, for an account of the growth of transvestite organizations and publicity.


77. The English expression shown in the figure is “sexual transitions,” but “sexual intermediaries” became the more commonly used term by Hirschfeld and his colleagues.


79. Anders als die Andern (dir. Richard Oswald) is the title of a film about homosexual blackmail released in German cinemas in 1919 in which Hirschfeld makes a guest appearance.


84. Ibid., 55.


91. Isherwood, Christopher and His Kind, 16.

92. Ibid., 16–17.


98. See, for example, Matthew Fishburn, Burning Books (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 41–43; and Steakley, The Homosexual Emancipation Movement, 103. For a discussion of Jewishness and sexology, see David Baile, “The Discipline of Sexualwissenschaft Emerges in Germany, Creating Divergent Notions of European Jewry,” in Yale Companion to Jewish Writing and Thought in German Culture, 1096–1996, ed. Sander L. Gilman and Jack Zipes (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 273–279; and Christina von Braun, “Ist die Sexualwissenschaft eine ‘jüdische’ Wissenschaft?” in Kotowski and Schoeps, Magnus Hirschfeld, 255–269. For a discussion of the debates about homosexuality and Nazism, see, e.g., Andrew Hewitt, Political Inversions, Homosexuality, Fascism and the Modernist Imaginary (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), which tracks, and to some extent reclaims, the history of masculine men who desired other men and whose lives were lived outside emancipatory sexual subcultures. Hewitt argues that we pay attention to homosexual involvement in the Nazi regime to better understand “what homosexuality was (and is) for” (81). Jack Halberstam in turn, while disagreeing with the Oedipal framework of Hewitt’s analysis, nevertheless also observes that “the erasure of the masculinist gay movement indicates an unwillingness to grapple with difficult historical antecedents and a desire to impose a certain kind of identity politics on history . . . a universalizing and racially specific history of homosexuality.” Judith (Jack) Halberstam, The Queer Art of Failure (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 158 (and see her discussion of Hewitt on pages 156–158). See also Elizabeth D. Heineman, “Sexuality and Nazism: The Doubly Unspeakable?,” in Sexuality and German Fascism, ed. Dagmar Herzog (Oxford: Berghahn, 2005), 22–66; and Christiane Wilke’s study of the memorialization of Nazi victims with complex identities such as Hirschfeld’s, “Remembering Complexity? Memorials for Nazi Victims in Berlin,” International Journal of Transitional Justice 7, no. 1 (2013): 136–156.


101. The date is derived from Hirschfeld’s own account in Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes, published in 1914, in which he claims to have first drafted the questionnaire “vor 14 Jahren” (fourteen years ago). Hirschfeld, Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes, 239–240. Elena Mancini, in contrast, claims that Hirschfeld developed the questionnaire in 1902 with his friend Hermann von Teschenberg. See Mancini, Magnus Hirschfeld and the Quest for Sexual Freedom, 174n109.
102. Benjamin, “Reminiscences,” 5. See also Herzog, *Sexuality and German Fascism*.
105. A sample questionnaire is included in Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*, 240–263.
106. Ibid., 262.
113. Ibid., 227.
122. Mosse and Jones, “Bookburning and the Betrayal of German Intellectuals,” 144.
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124. Ibid.

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8. Ibid., 9–10.
9. Ibid., 18.
10. Ibid., 16.
11. The phrase is “so lange wie möglich” in ibid., 36.
12. After World War II, Benjamin became so famous for his work on transsexualism that he is sometimes credited with the term’s invention; however, it was coined by Hirschfeld in 1923. See Magnus Hirschfeld, “Die Intersexuelle Konstitution,” Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, no. 23 (1923): 3–27. Despite distinguishing here between
intersex, transsexual, and homosexuality, Hirschfeld continued to focus primarily on “sexual intermediaries” and the related categories of transvestism and homosexuality that preoccupied him throughout his life.


22. Ibid., 26.


24. Ibid.


26. The phrase is “Sehr behindert” in ibid., 72.

27. Quoted in Dose, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 60.


32. See also Fuechtner’s discussion about the sale of the Titus Pearls in India in “Indians, Jews, and Sex,” 116, 129n10.
33. Magnus Hirschfeld, “‘Dr. Einstein of Sex’ Not So Favorably Impressed by U.S.,” interview by George Viereck, Milwaukee Sentinel, February 2, 1931.
34. Hirschfeld, Testament, 40.
35. See “Advertisement for a Lecture by Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, 1931,” Dill Pickle Club Records, Box 1, Folder 23, Newberry Library, Chicago.
38. See Magnus Hirschfeld, Alkohol im Familienleben (Berlin: Fritz Stolt, 1906); and, for instance, Magnus Hirschfeld, Sexualität und Kriminalität (Berlin: Renaissance, 1924), and Magnus Hirschfeld, “Vorwort” (Foreword) to Geschlechtsleben und Strafrecht, by Felix Halle (Berlin: Mopr, 1931), ix–xii.
40. The full phrase is “Opfer einer durch Kriegserregung gesteigerten politischen Angstneurose,” which roughly translates as “victims of a political fear neurosis that was incited by the excitement of the war.” Magnus Hirschfeld, letter to Herrn Schlör (president of Internationale Hilfsvereinigung), March 12, 1932, Box XII, p. 66, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute, Bloomington, IN.
41. See, for instance, the cover of the journal Earth, March 1931, Dill Pickle Club Records, Box 3, Folder 273, Newberry Library.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., 153.
47. I put “Euro-“ in parentheses because while Arondekar and Patel refer to a European as well as American focus in queer studies, the scholarship they discuss with one exception—the germane Queer in Europe: Contemporary Case Studies, edited by Lisa Downing and Robert Gillett (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011)—comes specifically from American and British contexts. Homogenizing “European” queer studies in this way is itself problematic because it obscures national specificities as well as, for instance, the distinct histories of communist Europe or the Nordic countries. For a look at the diversity of scholarship relating to modern sexual histories in Europe, see, e.g., Matt Cook and Jennifer Evans, eds., Queer Cities, Queer Cultures: Europe since 1945 (London:
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51. Homi Bhabha, The Location of Culture (New York: Routledge, 1990), 201.


54. His given name was Li Shiu Tong, but Hirschfeld called him Tao Li.


56. Ibid., 99.

57. Ibid.; untitled article, Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung, April 2, 1932, n.p. See also MS IV, Part 1, p. 9, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute.

58. The original reads, “Jedenfalls sind die 400 bis 500 Millionen Chinesen individuell genauso differenziert wie die hundert Millionen Deutsche oder fünfzig Millionen Engländer.” Hirschfeld, Weltreise eines Sexualforschers im Jahre 1931/32, 100.

59. For an account of Hirschfeld’s visit to China and how it relates to debates about homosexuality there, see Tse-Lan D. Sang, The Emerging Lesbian: Female Same-Sex Desire in Modern China (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 100–101.


61. For a detailed discussion of sexology in Japan, see Sabine Frühstück, Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).


63. They were George Straub and Eric Fennel. Hirschfeld, Weltreise, 41. The practice Straub founded still exists today.


65. Hirschfeld, Weltreise eines Sexualforschers im Jahre 1931/32, 50. The German Institute for Japan Studies still exists in Tokyo today. As far as I have been able to ascertain from the institute’s holdings, Grundert, who published several books on issues relating to Japan including a comparison between Japan and Germany, did not mention his encounter with Hirschfeld.
66. Ibid., 71. For a discussion of Iwaya, whose given name was Sueo, see Annette Joff, “Iwaya Sazanami: Berliner Tagebuch, November–Dezember 1900” (master’s thesis, Humboldt University, Berlin, 2007), 42–44.


69. The reference is most likely to Maria Piper, Die Schaukunst der Japaner (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1927).

70. Hirschfeld, Weltreise eines Sexualforschers im Jahre 1931/32, 73.

71. Ibid., 74.


74. The word is “Frauentypus” in Hirschfeld, Weltreise eines Sexualforschers im Jahre 1931/32, 345.

75. For a discussion of Ma Huo Quintang, see Adelyn Lim; Transnational Feminism and Women’s Movements in Post-1997 Hong Kong: Solidarity beyond the State (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 25.


80. The influential psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing argued, for instance, that “the higher the development of the race, the stronger [the] contrasts between men and women” in Psychopathia Sexualis with Special Reference to the Antipathic Sexual Instinct: A Medico-Legal Study, trans. F. J. Rebman (New York: Eugenics, 1934), 42. For critical discussions of the nineteenth-century debates about sex, race, and climate and their histories, see, e.g., Londa Schiebinger, The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 161–170; and Cheryl A. Logan’s more recent discussion of race and climate in Hormones, Heredity, and
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82. For an account that is both a critique of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia and an excellent study of the issue at stake in retrieving and assessing this history, see Ann Laura Stoler, Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).
83. Loose items, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute.
89. Lang, “Sexualwissenschaft auf Reisen.”
92. For an overview of the debates, see ibid., 1–41. See also Srirupa Prasad’s critique of Gandhi in Cultural Politics of Hygiene in India, 1890–1940: Contagions of Feeling (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 43–59.
94. Ibid., 246–247.
95. Ibid.
97. Havelock Ellis, Preface to The Sexual Life of Savages in North-Western Melanesia, by Bronislaw Malinowski (New York: Harvest, 1929), ix.
99. The phrases are “Die Verachtung der Witwe” (266) and “Tempelfrauen” (242) in Hirschfeld, Weltreise eines Sexualforschers im Jahre 1931/32.
100. The most famous British doctor in India was Margaret Balfour. I have not been able to find information on N. J. Balfour.


105. Ibid., 300.

106. Ibid., 262.


109. The phrases are “Seine unerschütterliche Treue u. Anhänglichkeit” and “Ich glaube, dass ich in ihm den lange gesuchten Schüler gefunden habe.” Ibid., 126.

110. Ibid.


116. Kozma, “We, the Sexologists,” 444.


118. Ibid., 356.

119. Hirschfeld’s notes, extra folder, Magnus Hirschfeld Collection, Kinsey Institute.


123. The phrase is “indisches Hotel,” also referred to as a “nicht europäisch geleitete Hotel” (not-European-managed hotel), in ibid., 301.

124. The phrases are “Illusionen,” “Glaube,” and “Phantasie” in ibid., 396.


126. Ibid., 395–396.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid., 397.

129. The phrases are “Die herzerfrischende Bewegtheit und herzerfrischende Natürlichkeit dieser ursgewunden jungen Leute, die sich stolz ‘Chaluzim,’ d.h. ‘Pioniere’ nennen” in ibid., 398.

130. The phrase is “die einzige einheitlich jüdische Stadt der Gegenwart” in ibid., 400.

131. The phrase is “Erfolg” in ibid., 402.


137. Ibid., 411.
138. The phrase is “Geschlechtssorgen” in ibid.
139. Ibid., 398, 419.
144. The phrase is “100,000 Zionisten” in ibid., 428.
145. The phrases are “die nicht zu unterschätzende Größe der Gefahr, die von dieser Seite dem Zionismus droht,” “mutig, fröhlich und zuversichtlich,” and “Pioniere” in ibid.
146. Ibid., 429–430.
147. The words are “Panhumanismus,” “Kosmopolitismus,” and “Menschenliebe” in ibid., 436.
148. Ibid., 432.
150. The word “Freund” can mean both friend and boyfriend.
152. The phrases are “die alte Hetze” and “die Situation für mich in der Heimat nur noch grauenhafter” in Hirschfeld, *Testament*, 136.
153. The phrase is “Ich kann es kaum fassen” in ibid., 138.
154. Ibid., 142.
155. Ibid.
159. The phrases are “ein unglückliches Verhängnis” and “nichtssagende Bagatelle” in ibid., 179–180.
160. The phrase is “Badeanstaltsaffäre” in ibid., 178n456.
162. At the time of Hirschfeld’s death, his two main beneficiaries were abroad, Tao Li in Zurich and Karl Giese in Vienna.
163. Matthew Burroughs Price has argued that detachment is part of queer culture in which it functions as a “balancing act between engagement with and withdrawal from


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2. Ibid.


12. The expression is used by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick in *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 11, in an argument about the difficulties of working through “the entire cultural network of normative definitions” attached to the binary opposition of homosexuality and heterosexuality.


14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., 4, 34.

17. Ibid., 620.


21. Ibid.


23. Ibid., 478.

24. Ibid., 476.


30. Ibid.


32. See, for instance, Morris Ernst’s own “Reflections on the Ulysses’ Trial and Censorship,” *James Joyce Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1965): 3–11; and Lesley A. Taylor, “I Made


34. Ibid., 169.


39. Chapter 4 discusses the complex debates that link homosexuality and Nazism, both during the Nazi reign and in postwar assessments of the origin and rise of German fascism. For a good discussion of the issues at stake, see, e.g., Dagmar Herzog, “Hubris and Hypocrisy, Incitement and Disavowal: Sexuality and German Fascism,” in *Sexuality and German Fascism*, ed. Dagmar Herzog (Oxford: Berghahn, 2005), 1–21; and Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

40. Much of the scholarship on queer touch is indebted to Carolyn Dinshaw’s discussion in *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communities, Pre- and Postmodern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). She writes that “queerness knocks signifiers loose, ungrounding bodies, making them strange, working in this way to provoke perceptual shifts and subsequent corporeal response in those touched” (151).


43. Ibid., 2.