

# THE SEDUCTION OF YOUTH

## Print Culture and Homosexual Rights in the Weimar Republic

A simple man from the provinces, Friedrich Radszuweit merged popular culture, consumerism, and politics as the leader of the League for Human Rights, Germany's first mass homosexual organization. *The Seduction of Youth* is the first study to focus on the league and its leader, using his position at the centre of the Weimar-era gay rights movement to tease out the diverging political strategies and contradictory tactics that distinguished the movement.

By examining news articles and opinion pieces, as well as literary texts and photographs in the league's numerous pulp magazines for homosexuals, Javier Samper Vendrell reconstructs forgotten aspects of the history of same-sex desire and subjectivity. While recognizing the possibilities of liberal rights for sexual freedom during the Weimar Republic, the league's "respectability politics" failed in part because Radszuweit's own publications contributed to the idea that homosexual men were considered a threat to youth, doing little to change the views of the many people who believed in homosexual seduction.

(German and European Studies)

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# The Seduction of Youth

*Print Culture and Homosexual Rights in  
the Weimar Republic*

JAVIER SAMPER VENDRELL

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*For Vance L. Byrd*



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# Acknowledgments

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I was a youth when I moved to Berlin in 2003. The city had a magnetic pull and awoke in me a curiosity for history. I longed to know more about its queer past. I wanted to experience it, but where could I find out about it? I lived in an efficiency apartment on Motzstraße, the epicentre of gay life in the city. I learned during a visit to the Schwules Museum that my apartment was only two blocks from where the legendary Eldorado had been located in the 1920s. “Eldorado: Treffpunkt der mondänen Welt,” read an advertisement for the club from the period. The Eldorado had been turned into an ordinary corner supermarket in 2003. And still, I tried to picture the lavish parties that had taken place there; the people who had met in the space occupied by the aisles where I bought cheap groceries. Despite this recurrent fantasy, I never thought that I would write about Berlin or about gay life during the Weimar Republic. While the city is not part of the story, the story is set against its backdrop. Berlin is one of the reasons I came to write this book.

I would like to thank here the many people who have made this work possible. I started working on this project while I was an undergraduate history major at the University of Iowa. I was extremely lucky to have Elizabeth Heinemann as my advisor there. I am grateful that I continue to receive her mentorship to this day. This book would not exist if it weren't for her. At the University of Wisconsin-Madison I received the best intellectual, professional, and emotional support I could ever have imagined. I am forever grateful to Mary Louise Roberts, who believed in me since the beginning and encouraged me to continue writing despite my occasional doubts and frustration about academia. I would like to thank the other faculty members in Madison who shared their knowledge with me: Karma Chávez, Rudy Koshar, and Finn Enke.

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# THE SEDUCTION OF YOUTH



## Introduction

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On 24 May 1919, the film *Different from the Others* (*Anders als die Andern*) premiered at Berlin's Apollo Theater.<sup>1</sup> The Austrian director Richard Oswald had collaborated with Germany's most famous sexologist, Dr Magnus Hirschfeld, to produce the last instalment of his so-called "social-hygienic films" (*sozialhygienische Filmwerke*), a genre that Oswald had developed before the First World War with films that addressed the problems of alcoholism, venereal disease, and prostitution.<sup>2</sup> Oswald and Hirschfeld did not skimp on stars for this venture. They hired the well-known actors Conrad Veidt, Reinhold Schünzel, and Anita Berber. Hirschfeld, in what could be considered an act of vanity, played himself. Despite its educational aspirations, the film entertained, and it filled theatres. Never before had German moviegoers had the opportunity to watch a feature film about homosexuality.<sup>3</sup>

The Weimar Republic (1918–33) offered new possibilities for the development of homosexual identity, rights, and public culture. This premiere was the first time that film was used to promote the agenda of the homosexual emancipation movement. In a speech introducing the film to the press during its first showing, Hirschfeld argued that those pushing for the enlightenment of people about sexual matters had "not only the right, but also the obligation to use film" in addition to the written word.<sup>4</sup> Making *Different from the Others* was possible because the National Assembly had recently eliminated all forms of censorship, even though it left the door open to the censorship of film and print media as youth protection measures. Hirschfeld and Oswald took advantage of the medium and this newly gained freedom to educate the public on the tragic consequences of Paragraph 175, the law that had criminalized male same-sex acts in Germany since 1871.<sup>5</sup> Hirschfeld hoped that viewers would choose the "love of humanity" (*Menschenliebe*) over "misanthropy" (*Menschenhaß*) and recognize the

harm this unfair law caused.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, most critics commended the sensible manner with which the topic was treated in the film and praised the director's artistic skills and the actors' brilliant performances.<sup>7</sup>

*Different from the Others* could have ushered in a new era of homosexual rights, freedom, and equality. Yet the film and the homosexual rights movement faced strong opposition. Screenings were disrupted by nationalist and anti-Semitic groups.<sup>8</sup> Anti-Semitic commentators asserted that homosexuality was a disease, a sign of Jewish effeminacy, that Hirschfeld and Oswald were spreading.<sup>9</sup> These commentators were certain that this film, like the rest of Oswald's sex education films, contributed to the "spiritual and moral poisoning of the Volk" and to the "spread of immorality of epidemic dimensions."<sup>10</sup> Some of the strongest reactions against the film came from religious leaders, such as Martin Cornils, a pastor from Kiel, who argued that the film portrayed homosexuals as "equal to normal and healthy people" (*Gleichberechtigte unter normalen und gesunden Menschen*).<sup>11</sup>

The film certainly received more than one negative review, but Pastor Cornils took centre stage in the discussion of the film's reception in homophile learned circles. Cornils, who had been the honorary president of the Committee on Youth Protection in Movie Houses, was convinced that *Different from the Others* could lead youths to homosexuality. Homosexuals, he contended, were not "martyrs" like the film wanted audiences to believe; they were seducers of youth. The pastor was supposedly aware of a case "in which a homosexual had lured most of the children from around several streets."<sup>12</sup> Hirschfeld and the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee considered such claims ridiculous: there was no such thing as acquired homosexuality – nobody, and even less so a film, could change someone's sexual orientation. Nevertheless, the belief in homosexual seduction endured during the Weimar Republic. Homophobic prejudice limited the success of the homosexual emancipation movement.

*The Seduction of Youth* seeks to unravel the complex linkage between the homosexual movement, the power of print culture as a tool for social change, and the widespread belief during the Weimar Republic that homosexuals were able to seduce youths. I focus on the publications of the League for Human Rights (Bund für Menschenrecht, BfM), Germany's first mass homosexual organization. This branch of the homosexual emancipation movement held that fulfilling homosexual men's and women's need for entertainment was just as important as their enlightenment. Although opponents derided the lack of sophistication of his magazines, Friedrich Radszuweit (1876–1932), the organization's leader, was adamant that reaching as many people as possible

through these publications offered the only realistic path towards the decriminalization of homosexuality.

Jens Dobler and Kristine Schmidt contend that this organization – as the largest of the gay and lesbian social clubs that proliferated in many German cities after 1919 – represents a generational change.<sup>13</sup> The first generation was that of Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) and Adolf Brand (1875–1945), who had started the homosexual emancipation movement in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Hirschfeld cofounded the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee (Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee, WhK) with Max Spohr, Eduard Oberg, and Franz Joseph von Bülow in 1897 to advocate the decriminalization of homosexuality. Over the years, the WhK produced a vast amount of research on homosexuality, distributed pamphlets and surveys, and sent informational brochures to members of the German parliament, hoping to change their opinion on the law. These materials argued that homosexuality was an inborn condition caused by physiological and psychological differences: due to a mixture of masculine and feminine traits, homosexuals constituted a third sex.<sup>14</sup>

In 1896, at the same time Hirschfeld was publishing his first pamphlet on homosexuality,<sup>15</sup> Adolf Brand published the first homosexual magazine, *The Special* (*Der Eigene*). Hirschfeld and Brand collaborated now and again, but their positions could have not been more different. Brand's view on homosexuality was informed by the individualist anarchism of Max Stirner (1806–56). Like this philosopher, Brand and the members of his organization, the Community of the Special (Gemeinschaft der Eigenen, GdE), praised the inherent freedom of the individual, questioned the validity of morals, and promoted a community of men united by their self-interest. In his magazine, Brand celebrated the love between men and youths (*Männer- und Jünglingsliebe*) and the virtues of masculinity and male friendship.<sup>16</sup> Brand believed that homosexual men were “male heroes” (*Männerhelden*) who could bring about a “renaissance of male culture in Greco-Germanic fashion.”<sup>17</sup> His magazine printed homoerotic literary texts and nude photos, often of teenage boys. For that reason and for his willingness to out high-profile figures, Brand repeatedly faced obscenity and slander charges. He was even sent to prison in 1907 for claiming in a pamphlet that the Reich chancellor Bernhard von Bülow was a homosexual.<sup>18</sup> Despite the agitation, his publications never had more than 150 subscribers and did not have an impact beyond the closed group of men around him.<sup>19</sup>

Together Hirschfeld and Brand laid the groundwork for homosexual emancipation. The movement during the Weimar Republic, however,

belonged to homosexual men (and would soon also belong to lesbian women and gender-nonconforming people) born into the twentieth century, those for whom homosexuality was no secret. This generation had likely been aware of the homosexual scandals surrounding Wilhelm II's court, the so-called Eulenburg Affair;<sup>20</sup> they had likely read one of Hirschfeld's pamphlets; or, perhaps, they had experienced their first same-sex encounter in the trenches during the First World War.<sup>21</sup> While Radszuweit did not belong to this younger generation, he recognized the political power in attracting a larger audience through popular magazines. His organization, the BfM, represented a change in approach towards the acceptance and decriminalization of homosexuality. How else would the German public learn that the homosexual is a respectable citizen who deserves equal rights? And how else could less-educated homosexuals, those unable or unwilling to read Magnus Hirschfeld's scientific writings and Brand's ambitious literary journal, join the movement's efforts? Unlike Hirschfeld and Brand, who relied on science and on elitist literary and aesthetic traditions to defend their positions, the BfM wanted to reach its audience with plain language. Radszuweit's publications combined information about homosexuality and the fight against Paragraph 175; news items relevant to the movement; short stories, poems, photographs; and advertisements that acquainted and connected the magazine's readers with a community of like-minded people.

Morality campaigners, pedagogues, and legislators, as well as some prominent doctors, disapproved of Radszuweit's publications, which they considered trivial, unscrupulous, and obscene. These critics focused on the tawdry stories and salacious pictures and not the empowering message that the organization sent to its readers. More importantly, like Pastor Martin Cornils, these critics believed that homosexual print media could seduce labile youths into homosexuality. Their reactions illustrate how the protection of youth became an issue that stalled the progress of the homosexual emancipation movement. How could the organization convince the public that homosexuals were not seducers of youth when the erotic allure of boys and young men was central to the commercial success of its publications?

*The Seduction of Youth* is part of a body of growing interdisciplinary cultural studies that addresses the production of nonnormative sexual identities, the history of homophobia, and the relationship between popular culture and politics. As Jennifer V. Evans contends, queer history can complicate the progressive narratives that have defined German history.<sup>22</sup> Certainly, we must be critical of the commonly told story of progress and the appearance of sexual freedom during

the Weimar Republic.<sup>23</sup> Queer history during this period is complex: there was no single position on what a homosexual was or ought to be. Magnus Hirschfeld has received much attention because of his sympathetic accounts of queer life and because of the legitimacy that scientific discourse continues to enjoy. However, a critical approach to Hirschfeld can shed light on the compromises and contradictions of Weimar-era queer politics. Heike Bauer has painted a portrait of an imperfect, all too human Hirschfeld. Bauer shows how “the emerging homosexual rights activism was itself imbricated in everyday racism and colonial violence” common at the beginning of the twentieth century. While Hirschfeld fought tirelessly for the rights of homosexuals, he also supported eugenics and German colonialism and often spoke for the oppressed people he claimed to be helping.<sup>24</sup> We need to be mindful of this complexity to understand all facets of the history of the homosexual emancipation movement.

Recent studies have examined Weimar’s homosexual culture beyond Hirschfeld. Glenn Ramsey and James Kollenbroich have paid attention to the theoretical and practical disagreements between the different factions of the homosexual movement. Their work illustrates how the BfM demanded homosexual emancipation on the basis of individual rights, not only on scientific grounds, as the WhK did.<sup>25</sup> This book, however, moves beyond a political history of the movement. The news articles, opinion pieces, literary texts, and images in the BfM’s print media can help reconstruct a history of male same-sex desire and subjectivity, an issue which lesbian historians have considered but which deserves more consideration for male homosexuality.<sup>26</sup> An analysis of BfM publications, moreover, can shed light on how the organization engaged in what now we call “respectability politics,” as Marti Lybeck has shown in her analysis of lesbian organizations during this period.<sup>27</sup> Radszuweit stressed homosexual respectability in the many opinion pieces he wrote for these magazines. He encouraged homosexual men and women to be honest and productive members of society, for only those who obey the laws of society could make a successful claim to decriminalization. Yet, at the same time, Radszuweit printed stories and pictures that eroticized youths. Youth thus created a tension within the organization and the entire movement: on the one hand, youth had long been an object of homoerotic desire, a central aspect of the cultural history of homosexuality. On the other hand, its eroticization undermined the respectability and visibility Radszuweit and others sought to achieve.

While recognizing the possibilities of liberal rights for sexual freedom during this period, this book provides a cautionary tale about the

limitations of this approach. The BfM's encouragement of respectability was contingent on the homosexual's investment in youth protection. These two discourses were at odds. Radszuweit's mission to debunk the myth that homosexuals represented a threat to youths implied limiting the sexual agency and freedom of others; it meant buying into the values of privacy and productivity. More importantly, this discourse implied restricting same-sex desire to consenting adults. Even so, Radszuweit's magazines were unable to change the views of the many people who saw male homosexuals as seducers of youth. By analysing the homosexual rights movement's popular press and reactions against it, this book shows how these publications were a fertile ground for homosexual *and* homophobic politics. Those who believed in the possibility of homosexual seduction reacted strongly against the visibility of homosexuality in the press.

### **Intermission: The Seduction of Youth in *Different from the Others***

We can start to unravel the entangled histories of homosexuality, the seduction of youth, and contemporary measures to ensure the protection of those youth – some of the main themes of the book – from the fragments left behind in Richard Oswald's *Different from the Others*. The film combines stories of homosexual blackmail and suicide with a pedagogical tone that relies on Hirschfeld's theories to advocate the decriminalization of homosexuality. It tells the story of Paul Körner (Conrad Veidt), a violin virtuoso, from his school years to his suicide. The film begins with him reading the newspaper. Headlines about unexplained suicides foreshadow the violinist's fate. Could blackmail explain these strange deaths? "The sword of Damocles of Paragraph 175 made life impossible for these unfortunates," the intertitle reads.<sup>28</sup> In a vision, a scene of which only a still remains, Körner sees a procession of eminent figures from the past – Tchaikovsky, Oscar Wilde, Frederick II of Prussia, Leonardo da Vinci, and Ludwig II of Bavaria among them – and a hand-drawn sword of Damocles falling upon their heads, a symbol of the precarious lives these successful men led due to the social prejudice against homosexuality. Why should these men's alleged homosexuality be at odds with their talents and service to society?

Körner's success as a musician overshadows his homosexuality, a secret which the silent film's intertitles reveal: "None of the thousands who celebrated the brilliant artist suspected that he suffered from inclinations punished by society with banishment."<sup>29</sup> He is afflicted by his same-sex desire and seeks a solution for his condition. A hypnotist is unable to help him. Körner then seeks Magnus Hirschfeld's counsel.

The doctor tells him (and the viewer) that homosexuality is natural and that homosexuals “offer valuable work to society.”

The violinist feels liberated after Hirschfeld’s advice. Yet the story does not end happily. One of Körner’s conquests in a homosexual ball, Franz Bollek (Reinhold Schünzel), takes advantage of the prejudice against homosexuality and blackmails the famous musician. After enduring much coercion by Bollek, Körner presses charges against his greedy and wicked tormentor. He wants to put an end to a situation making him lose his money and nerves. While the blackmailer is condemned and sent to prison, Körner cannot escape the hand of the law. He is a victim, but he is also a perpetrator, according to Paragraph 175. The publicity this scandalous case receives in the press and the charges against him damage the once-esteemed artist’s reputation. The loss of respect he experiences after his secret has been made public drives him to suicide. His death in the film should be testimony to the lethal power of social prejudice against homosexuality in real life.

Scholars have provided a variety of historical analyses of *Different from the Others* that pay particular attention to the relationship between gender and sexuality. Richard Dyer has interpreted the film within the duality of “male-inbetweenism” and “male-identified” conceptions of homosexuality, paradigms that Hirschfeld and Brand, respectively, defended.<sup>30</sup> Many contemporary viewers, however, seemed to disapprove of “the film’s unblushing portrayal of a limp-wristed, aesthetically refined homosexual,” to use James Steakley’s words.<sup>31</sup> Articles in the homosexual press insisted that effeminate homosexuals such as Körner could frustrate the emancipation movement’s efforts to increase acceptance and equality.<sup>32</sup> Dyer contends that the film fails to portray homosexuals as gender ambiguous or hypermasculine. Instead, he suggests that the “ideal male homo-erotic master-pupil relationship” structures the film.<sup>33</sup> Dyer, however, does not scrutinize the relationship he identifies.

We should direct our attention then to the relationship between Körner and his young student, Kurt Sivers (Fritz Schulz), to understand the film’s historical significance.<sup>34</sup> The reactions against this relationship can reveal that concerns about homosexual seduction were widespread at the time. The audience is told that Kurt’s “most burning desire” would be fulfilled if Körner agreed to be his mentor and violin teacher.<sup>35</sup> Whether this desire goes beyond their mutual passion for music is never explicitly stated in the film. Most alert contemporary viewers – and certainly homosexual ones – would have not missed the signs that Körner and Sivers were more than just master and pupil. A shot reverse shot shows how the teacher stares at his student’s young



Figure 0.1. Paul Körner holds the hand of his younger student, Kurt Sivers. *Anders als die Andern*, directed by Richard Oswald (1919; Munich: Edition Filmmuseum, 2006).

face during practice. Their glances, handshakes, and embraces throughout the film always seem to last a second too long (figure 0.1).

Their relationship goes beyond infatuation. The youth is devastated when he learns his teacher is being blackmailed. Is Sivers upset because he has just learned that the person he admires is a homosexual? Or is he jealous because he has realized that he may not be the only person to receive the master's attention? We are left to wonder.

Even though Sivers pursues his mentor, an act that suggests the youth's sexual agency, his advances ultimately turn out to be a liability for Körner. "Handsome boy!" exclaims the blackmailer Bollek when he discovers Körner and Sivers strolling arm in arm in the park. Bollek is aware that the true nature of their relationship would be scorned if known. This knowledge becomes profitable for the blackmailer. "It will be beneficial for you and for the young man with whom I saw you,

if you compensate me.”<sup>36</sup> Blackmail leads the violinist down a spiral of despair. His value to society is meaningless if his secret is exposed. Bollek’s blackmail leads to Körner’s suicide, but Kurt is saved. In his last appearance, Hirschfeld deters the young man from committing suicide. His hopelessness is not only the manifestation of his grief for his lost mentor; it is also a subtle confirmation of his true homosexual nature. The doctor encourages the youth to carry on the work of the WhK: to end social prejudice by spreading the scientific truth about homosexuality. Hirschfeld places the future of the homosexual movement in the hands of contemporary youth, echoing the debates during the 1920s about the role of young people in the homosexual emancipation movement.

No matter how ambiguous this master-disciple relationship may have appeared on screen, it touched a nerve when the film was first showed in theatres. For many viewers – and for some prominent doctors – Körner was the perfect example of a homosexual seducer preying on a vulnerable youth. Even Sivers’s parents in the film recognize this threat: “Kurt is infatuated with this violinist,” they worry. The concerned parents discuss whether they should forbid their son from associating with his famous teacher because their relationship seems “more intimate” than it should be.<sup>37</sup> Seduction played a role outside the screen, too. According to Richard Dyer, the actor Conrad Veidt, who played the violinist, was “considered at the time attractive and seductive.” Veidt had become an iconic figure for the homosexual movement due to the ambiguous sexuality of his character, the somnambulist Cesare, in Robert Wiene’s 1919 film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (*Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*), a mysterious figure capable of seducing others into committing murder. Contemporary audiences may have felt both an irresistible attraction and a profound aversion to the actor and, as Dyer put it, to the “handsome but at once melancholic and sinister” homosexual he played in *Different from the Others*.<sup>38</sup>

While *Different from the Others* was not the only reason Germany reintroduced film censorship, it did contribute to a heightened sense of emergency about the pernicious effects of this medium on viewers, which, in turn, led the National Assembly to consider the issue.<sup>39</sup> Film censorship was as old as the medium. As early as 1906, film censorship had been practised in Berlin, even though the 1874 Press Law had eliminated censorship as such. The medium’s ability to reach the masses and its recently discovered propagandistic power were considered too great to be left unrestrained. The 1920 Film Law (*Lichtspielgesetz*), an instance of full censorship, aimed to guarantee state security by hindering the screening of films that could damage Germany’s image at home and

abroad and by maintaining public order. Nevertheless, the authorities often also ended up censoring films considered morally unsuitable for youths. Twenty-five to 30 per cent of films for youthful audiences were censored in some form or another.<sup>40</sup> After the Film Law was enacted on 12 May 1920, *Different from the Others* could only be shown for scientific purposes.<sup>41</sup>

The film exacerbated common fears about the power of cinema to pervert young viewers. Since the early 1900s, commentators had described cinema as “the most dangerous educator of the people.”<sup>42</sup> In 1912, the psychiatrist and neurologist Robert Gaupp warned viewers about the “suggestive power” of cinema, especially on the young.<sup>43</sup> The criminalist Albert Hellwig alerted audiences in 1911 that “trashy films” (*Schundfilme*), which glorified immorality in all of its forms, enticed viewers to commit crimes. In Hellwig’s estimation, the psychological malleability of children and youths made them particularly prone to “imitate the acts they see” on the screen.<sup>44</sup> In fact, conservative groups were concerned about the potential “emulation effects” (*Nachahmungseffekte*) that *Different from the Others* could bring about.<sup>45</sup>

The leaders of the homosexual movement learned early on that making homosexuality accessible to the masses through printed words and moving images could have more disadvantages than benefits. Instead of developing a sympathetic portrayal of homosexuality, *Different from the Others* became an early example of and a warning about all that could go wrong when using film to advocate homosexual rights. Film censorship anticipated the great lengths to which psychiatrists, psychologists, morality campaigners, and conservative legislators would go to protect youths and the larger public against homosexuality and other sexual threats. Once the homosexual was banished from the movie screen, at least in the most blatant form, experts and concerned citizens directed their attention to his presence in the newsstands.

## Organization of the Book

**Chapter 1**, “Theories of Adolescent Sexuality and Homosexual Seduction,” contends that adolescent sexuality was central to theories that aimed to explain the cause of male homosexuality during the Weimar Republic. Scientific research showed that youths are sexually ambiguous beings who often engage in same-sex acts, including kisses, hugs, caresses, and mutual masturbation. Some of the most respected doctors, psychiatrists, and psychologists at the time posited that normal development meant growing out of same-sex attraction, a process that culminated with the onset of adulthood. Nevertheless, sexologists such as Albert Moll

suggested that same-sex attraction during youth could be made permanent as a result of seduction. The popularity of this belief during the 1920s called into question Hirschfeld's theories of inborn homosexuality. For those concerned with the proper upbringing of the nation's youth, preventive measures seemed like a response apposite to the alleged spread of homosexuality after the First World War.

Homosexuality was a threat to youths because it had become highly visible through the homosexual movement's popular press. [Chapter 2](#), "The League for Human Rights, Print Culture, and Homosexual Rights," argues that not enough attention has been paid to the role of print culture in the emergence in Germany of a "self-conscious" homosexual community with the power to speak up.<sup>46</sup> Driven by Radszuweit's entrepreneurial skills, the BfM used magazines to attract, educate, and empower new members. These publications sought to entertain readers with engrossing stories, suggestive images, and informational articles. At the same time, the editorials and opinion pieces that opened each issue enforced a model of homosexual identity that stressed productivity, respectability, normative gender expression, and privacy. Radszuweit, who wrote many of these articles, thought sharing these values would convince heterosexuals that homosexuals deserve equality. This assimilationist discourse had exclusionary effects: What about those who did not want to or could not embrace these values?<sup>47</sup> Radszuweit concluded that excluding some potential customers and members who did not conform with his views was a fair price to pay for the freedom of most homosexuals.

Radszuweit used the press to promote homosexual respectability. However, publishing titillating stories and images with teenage boys as their subject endangered this success. Despite the risk of printing these questionable materials, a prosperous business was crucial for the BfM's political goals because the depiction of youth in word and image sold periodicals and brought in new members to the organization. [Chapter 3](#), "The Allure of Youth in the League for Human Rights' Publications," analyses how youth continued to be charged with erotic power in the publications issued by the BfM. The short stories, poems, and photographs Radszuweit printed in his magazines drew from older aesthetic traditions of male friendship (*Männerfreundschaft*) and boy love (*Knaben- und Jünglingsliebe*) that Adolf Brand had cultivated. In periodicals such as *The Island* (*Die Insel*), the BfM's literary supplement, these traditions became more accessible for a less-educated audience and were adapted to modern times. While these words and images never completely relinquished the nostalgia of their historical precedents, their preference for contemporary settings helped readers fantasize

about the possibility of actualizing their own desire. The eroticization of youth, however, raised eyebrows. Those concerned about the seduction of youth regarded these publications as suspicious.

The potential negative effects of homosexual magazines on youth galvanized a conservative social movement made up of teachers, pedagogues, youth groups, and religious leaders. Convinced that trash and smut were the clearest symptoms of Germany's moral decay, these morality campaigners demanded official measures to protect youths against their harmful effects. Since the constitution did not allow for censorship, legislators used youth protection as a rationale to justify a law that would remove from public sale publications deemed dangerous for the appropriate physical, psychological, and moral development of young people in Germany. [Chapter 4](#), "The 1926 Trash and Smut Law, Youth Protection, and Homosexual Publications," shows that legal measures against shoddy literature and its alleged harm to youth became measures against the supposed spread of homosexuality as well. According to this law, the homosexual rights movement's press would be tolerated if hidden from public sight. If the BfM made homosexuality publicly visible on the newsstand, youth protection measures such as the Trash and Smut Law aimed to make homosexuality invisible again.

The respectability politics Radszuweit advocated ultimately failed because homosexual men were considered a threat to youth. The BfM's publications contributed in part to this belief: seductive youths graced the covers of these magazines; short stories and poems celebrated intergenerational love. Still the issue of seduction was discussed in the homosexual movement's press. This debate started with the scandalous trial of the pedagogue Gustav Wyneken (1875–1964) in 1921. Had he sexually abused two of his pupils? Was his penchant for boys a sign of his homosexuality or of something else altogether? Should homosexual men defend the man and risk being accused of the same crime, or should they deny that they shared the same desire? [Chapter 5](#), "The Pitfalls of Boy Love," situates this case towards the end of an arc in the history of homosexual politics. While activists had alluded to the ancient Greek tradition of pederasty to legitimize same-sex desire since the mid-nineteenth century, Wyneken's case and other reports on alleged homosexual murderers covered in the mainstream press changed the community's feelings towards *Knabenliebe*, or boy love. The discussion of these cases in the homosexual press led to the differentiation between pederasty – the contentious erotic relationship between an adult man and a male youth – and homosexuality, which increasingly referred only to same-sex relationships between consenting adults.

Ending the association between homosexuality and the apparent abuse of youths became an important strategy for the legalization of same-sex acts. [Chapter 6](#), “Male Prostitution, Age of Consent, and the Decriminalization of Homosexuality,” examines how the BfM carried out these plans. There had been many attempts to reform the German criminal code since the 1890s, but every single strategy to abolish Paragraph 175 had failed. When debating this possibility again in 1929, legislators were confronted with the issue of youth protection. What if youths could indeed be seduced into homosexuality? Legislators reached a compromise on the issue: they agreed to decriminalize same-sex acts between adult men but increased the age of consent for male same-sex acts from eighteen to twenty-one. The BfM celebrated this decision as its own success. Friedrich Radszuweit stressed that homosexuals had the obligation to protect youths and to contribute to national regeneration; he reminded his readers that the BfM condemned male prostitution, excluded pederasts from its ranks, and supported the higher age of consent for male same-sex acts. Despite Radszuweit’s emphasis on propriety and youth protection, the link between homosexuality and the seduction of youths persisted.

The conclusion, “The Seduction of Youth, Respectability, and the End of Weimar’s Homosexual Rights Movement,” examines the end of the movement in 1933. It contends that the inability to solve the problem of the seduction of youth contributed in part to the movement’s demise. Were popular magazines the best way to spread the emancipation movement’s message and to achieve its goals? Or should the movement have relied on scientific theories to convince the country’s elites that homosexuality must be decriminalized? How did the movement pursue youth protection, given the relevance this discourse had gained during the Weimar Republic? Radszuweit and the BfM used magazines to reach a critical mass and to spread a message that could be reconciled with some of the demands and values of Weimar’s morality campaigners: respectability, productivity, consent, and the protection of youth. Unfortunately, this discourse was full of internal contradictions because youth never lost its erotic appeal.

## Theories of Adolescent Sexuality and Homosexual Seduction

Writing in 1920, the psychologist William Stern (1871–1938) worried that war and revolution had “accelerated the physiological and psychological conditions for a sudden, almost epidemic spread of inversion” in Germany.<sup>1</sup> Stern, a professor of applied psychology at the University of Hamburg and Germany’s first forensic psychiatrist, was convinced that “inversion,” as homosexuality was often called at the time, was on the rise, especially among male youths. Like other psychiatrists and psychologists at the time, he could not pinpoint a single cause. Their explanations ran the gamut. They argued, for example, that psychoanalysis, and its popularization in the writings of Hans Blüher (1888–1955), compromised the normal sexual development of adolescents by making them aware of sexual anomalies. The apparent increase in homosexuality Stern and other experts observed epitomized the moral crisis they perceived to be prevalent in postwar Germany. While this crisis had economic and social causes, it could be more easily explained by a homophobic rationalization: homosexual men and their publications were the corrupters of vulnerable youths.

Theories of adolescent sexuality supported this belief. Contemporary research showed that same-sex behaviours such as kisses, hugs, caresses, and mutual masturbation characterized youths, who are sexually ambiguous. According to some experts, normal development meant abandoning such practices with the onset of adulthood. This process, however, could go awry. Some prominent psychiatrists, including Albert Moll (1862–1939) and Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926), believed that same-sex attraction during youth could be fixed if seduction occurred during this stage. In their opinion, homosexuality was an acquired trait explained through a set of environmental factors: an individual’s enticement to engage in same-sex acts or reading publications that glorified homosexuality. Such opinions notably called into question Hirschfeld’s theories of inborn homosexuality.

The increase in homosexuality William Stern perceived warranted measures to protect young people. Healthy, heterosexual youths were necessary to guarantee the future of the nation and to offset the immense loss in human lives and the terrible damage to masculinity that the war had caused. Homosexuality endangered the postwar project of national regeneration because it threatened marriage, considered the foundation of the state. Wanting to legitimize their burgeoning field, Weimarer youth psychologists and psychiatrists envisioned different causes for homosexuality and different solutions to contain its spread. These ranged from the particular, such as suppressing psychoanalytic thought, to more general measures against print culture and the dissemination of the homosexual movement's so-called propaganda. Their reactions suggest that theories of acquired homosexuality had taken root during the 1920s. Accordingly, homosexuality was not necessarily an inborn condition. It was often the result of seduction, and youths were most at risk. More than just popular belief, the homosexual's danger to youth was backed by respected men of science. Their belief in homosexual seduction, as we will see in upcoming chapters, influenced legislation that restricted the visibility of the homosexual movement and thwarted the full decriminalization of male same-sex acts. Debunking misconceptions around homosexual seduction of youths became one of the BfM's main political issues.

### Theories of Adolescent Sexual Development

Adolescence has a history of its own. This phase of life is commonly characterized by physical transformation, including sexual development, yet how data about height, weight, and the age of first menstruation has been evaluated to understand what it means to grow up has changed over time. The transition between childhood and adulthood in European countries is generally marked by coming-of-age rituals, such as religious confirmation, the start of working life, and the end of mandatory schooling.<sup>2</sup> More than a physical state or integration into adult social roles, adolescence, especially in literature, is often depicted as a period of psychological turmoil and rebellion against authority. Such tribulations were famously depicted in Goethe's novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774), but they gained even more force as a literary trope with the publication of Frank Wedekind's *Spring Awakening* (1891) and other early twentieth-century texts that took as their main theme the problems of young age: suffering under authoritarian parents and schools; excesses of emotion and a predisposition for suicide; and a confusing sexual awakening.<sup>3</sup>

To borrow a phrase from Michel Foucault, there was a “multiplication of discourses” concerning adolescence around the dawn of the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup> Adolescence became a legitimate topic of study in physiology, psychology, psychoanalysis, criminal justice, pedagogy, and sociology at the time. The American psychologist G. Stanley Hall integrated all these disciplines in his monumental study *Adolescence* (1904), which promoted the idea that young people should be given access to play and leisure as long as these pursuits did not threaten the established social order.<sup>5</sup> He incorporated Charles Darwin’s evolutionary theory as well as Ernst Haeckel’s recapitulation theory to argue that the trajectory of individual human development repeated the evolutionary stages of the species and that inherited traits manifest themselves during adolescence. Hall maintained that individual development mattered a great deal. In his view, developmental irregularities compromised the prosperity of the nation and “the race,” as well as the overall success of civilization.<sup>6</sup>

Hall’s multidisciplinary approach to the study of adolescence was influential throughout Europe in the early twentieth century.<sup>7</sup> German psychiatrists and psychologists, however, paid less attention to the physiological transformations of adolescence. Unlike Hall, they focused instead on the adolescent’s social and spiritual development.<sup>8</sup> Their emphasis on the soul or psyche (*Seele*) allowed them to underplay the significance of sexuality in the process of growing up. Interwar experts on adolescence followed prevailing cultural norms when they published studies that naturalized heterosexuality, marriage, and reproduction, but they did not ignore homosexual behaviour in their work. In fact, theories of adolescent sexual development and theories of homosexuality informed one another.<sup>9</sup> While acknowledging that youths often engaged in same-sex behaviour, psychiatrists and psychologists insisted that such manifestations of sexuality during this phase should be understood as indeterminate and unfinished – as preparation for adult life. This trivialization of adolescent sexual behaviour reflects their rejection of the possibility of genuine same-sex desire among youths and can be understood as an effort to both protect heterosexuality and pathologize adult homosexuality.<sup>10</sup>

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) became the most famous name associated with the belief in indeterminate sexuality during childhood and adolescence. Psychoanalysis moved the attention from the body, where doctors had sought physiological explanations for mental illness (and for homosexuality), to the psyche.<sup>11</sup> Looking into the depths of the human mind, Freud claimed to have found proof that everyone, even if unconsciously, has had a libidinal attachment to someone of the

same sex and that this former bisexuality was repressed in adulthood. Inspired by evolutionary and recapitulation theory, and certainly influenced by G. Stanley Hall, Freud viewed ontogenesis, the physical and psychological development from birth to adulthood, as a repetition of a larger process of phylogenesis, the evolution of a species: a person relived as an embryo, a child, and an adolescent the entirety of human natural history from a bisexual origin to full sexual dimorphism.<sup>12</sup> Freud viewed this process of repression as a natural and necessary stage on the path to adulthood. According to this theory, vestiges of original bisexuality were still visible during adolescence, and same-sex attraction was a manifestation of primitive traits in humankind.

The complexity of sexual development explained the frequency of sexual aberrations during childhood and adolescence. Freud's account of normal sexual development described a "period of latency" during which the child builds "barriers against sexuality" and learns to sublimate his or her sexuality into socially sanctioned pursuits. Heterosexuality, in other words, does not develop without a hitch in Freud's account. On the contrary, adult heterosexuality, Freud observed, "is not accomplished without a certain amount of fumbling."<sup>13</sup> Same-sex attraction and sexual experimentation were part of growing up. While Freud acknowledged the possible permanence of polymorphous perversity into adult life, he maintained that heterosexuality was the only appropriate adult outcome – not because heterosexuality is *natural* but because it is culturally sound.<sup>14</sup>

While Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (*Drei Abhandlungen zur Sexualtheorie*, 1905) set the stage for such arguments, the psychoanalyst was neither the first nor the only one to write about the polymorphous sexuality of children and youth and the existence of adolescent bisexuality.<sup>15</sup> For example, the physician, philosopher, and aesthete Max Dessoir (1867–1947), a professor at Berlin University known for his work on aesthetics, art history, and parapsychology, proposed a theory of sexual development in 1894.<sup>16</sup> In the article "On the Psychology of Sexual Life" ("*Zur Psychologie der Vita sexualis*"), he argued that sexuality was "undifferentiated" during youth and that heterosexuality was the result of the "specialization" of the sexual instinct during adolescence.<sup>17</sup> He insisted that same-sex acts were common, transitory experiments that could be explained with reference to the biological and psychological traces of a primordial universal human bisexuality. Dessoir maintained that "undifferentiated sexual feeling" (*undifferenziertes Geschlechtsgefühl*) should not be mistaken for "larval homosexuality."<sup>18</sup> In his view, transitory same-sex desire was part of the natural development of sexuality into normal heterosexuality: growing

up implied becoming aware of the cultural and social prohibition of homosexuality.

Dessoir suggested that in a minority of cases a combination of social and constitutional traits, such as some types of inherited degeneration, could lead to a form of arrested development and to adult homosexuality.<sup>19</sup> Adolescents, he believed, could be struck by a “same-sex impression” during the period of undifferentiated sexuality, resulting in permanent homosexuality as an adult.<sup>20</sup> Dessoir used first-person testimonies to describe the most common instances of such impressions, which were usually first formed when schoolmates enlightened each other about sex. In one of these testimonies, a man remembered how he had heard about ejaculation (“succum facere”) from two brothers who went to his school when he was fourteen, and how he had tried it on himself at home.<sup>21</sup> Later he engaged in mutual masturbation with one of these brothers, a regular activity that lasted several years. To Dessoir’s relief, the sexuality of the youth had not been completely fixed at this point, and though he was infatuated with the other boy, he still found the female body and girls attractive. The author of the testimony visited a prostitute “known for her beauty and expertise” but did not experience any pleasure. Such encounters scared him and made him impotent. Nevertheless, he continued to pay for sex with women and “at least got used to lying next to naked women and to finding the feminine body aesthetically pleasing.”<sup>22</sup> Although the author of the report in Dessoir’s article married, he continued to be aroused by twelve- to seventeen-year-old boys throughout his life.<sup>23</sup> Weimar-era psychologists concluded that these early “impressions,” although not inevitably fatal, had the potential to derail the proper path towards heterosexuality and marriage.

Freud’s psychoanalytic theories received harsh criticism in medical circles. One of his detractors was Albert Moll, who in 1891 published *The Contrary Sexual Feeling* (*Die conträre Sexualempfindung*), the leading reference work on homosexuality for over two decades thereafter.<sup>24</sup> In 1908, three years after the publication of Freud’s *Three Essays*, Moll also contended that sexuality was linked to both biological and social needs and that heterosexuality was the culmination of sexual development.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, he strongly opposed the notion that everything we observe in a child should and could be explained in sexual terms; thumb-sucking, for example, was a relatively harmless activity that only the most perverse mind would link to a sexual act. Moll nevertheless discussed aspects of sexuality deemed offensive to bourgeois decorum. Like every other physician who dared explore child and adolescent sexuality, he believed it was necessary to come to terms with

same-sex attraction as an observable fact. He agreed that "some young boys and some young girls stumble during this period" and that "it is the role of a good doctor to prevent that fatal consequences result from this."<sup>26</sup> The undifferentiated stage could begin at different ages, but it was common that the "'perverse' sentiments of childhood ... disappear spontaneously," usually after the twentieth birthday.<sup>27</sup>

Whereas Moll acknowledged that adolescents "stumble," he denied that these instances of same-sex attraction were really sexual: "Friendships between boys or between girls are formed during the period in which the sexual impulse is still undifferentiated, or after its differentiation has occurred ... [and] must not be identified with sexual feelings."<sup>28</sup> Moll admitted that adolescent same-sex attraction occasionally failed to disappear. In such rare instances, the adolescent's innocuous *perversity* turned into a *perversion*. Richard von Krafft-Ebing had made a distinction between these two terms in *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886). While adult homosexuality was a perversion, a condition caused by physiological abnormalities, same-sex acts were a form of perversity, one of many deviant sexual practices without biological basis. Perversities, Krafft-Ebing believed, should concern those invested in morality and law and not doctors.<sup>29</sup> For Moll, the perversity of adolescent same-sex acts had to be distinguished from adult homosexual perversion. He based this distinction on his belief that sexual desires could not be consummated in adolescence. He divided sexuality into two phases: "contractation" (*Kontrektation*) and "detumescence" (*Detumescenz*). Contractation described sexual arousal and attraction. This was the first stage of sexual desire and excluded intercourse. Adult sexuality required detumescence: intercourse and ejaculation. According to this distinction, child and adolescent sexuality were relegated to the realm of contractation. Any display of sexuality during this period remained an immature form incapable of fulfilling sexuality's higher aim of reproduction.

Moll continued to be in the vanguard of German sexology in the first two decades of the century. Beginning in 1915, he published the journal *Archive for Sex Research* (*Archiv für Sexualforschung*) and organized the First International Congress for Sex Research, which took place in Berlin in 1926. He continued to argue well into the 1930s that psychoanalysis had taken the wrong approach by oversexualizing the child.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, he dismissed the opinions of sexologists such as Magnus Hirschfeld, who insisted that patients remembered identification with the opposite gender and same-sex attraction in their childhood.<sup>31</sup> Moll doubted the validity of such memories,<sup>32</sup> arguing that memory was a peculiar skill: one could choose what to remember and what to ignore. Moll

insinuated that adult homosexuals had simply chosen to forget any heterosexual memories from their past, thus reversing psychoanalysts' arguments that heterosexuals had repressed homosexual feelings.<sup>33</sup>

Despite their differences, Moll and Freud did agree on a key issue: both rejected inborn homosexuality. By contrast, Hirschfeld championed this idea, which the pioneer of sexual emancipation, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–95), had advocated in the 1860s.<sup>34</sup> Hirschfeld had been advocating the decriminalization of homosexuality since 1896. One year later, he cofounded the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee (Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee, or WhK), an organization of Left-leaning and pro-feminist doctors and intellectuals who advocated sexual reform, the decriminalization of homosexuality, and the legalization of abortion.<sup>35</sup> Hirschfeld supported the decriminalization of homosexuality on the grounds that it was inborn and natural, but, unlike previous emancipationists, he was able to lend this idea the power and respectability of medical discourse. According to his view, homosexuals could not be guilty of a crime, since they were not responsible for a desire that reflected their biology. In his view, homosexuality was a natural and stable sexual inclination that occurred at all times in history and among all species.

Against many of his colleagues' opinions, Hirschfeld stressed that homosexuality could be observed in childhood, and unlike his contemporaries he viewed this not as an indication of transitory bisexuality, but as evidence that homosexuality represented an "intermediate sexual stage" (*sexuelle Zwischenstufe*). To reach this conclusion, he drew upon research that German doctors had been conducting on hermaphroditism and embryological sexual development since the first decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>36</sup> These doctors had sought to find answers for hermaphroditism and other sexual "abnormalities" in the genitals and their embryonic development.<sup>37</sup> At some point along the path of gestation, something could go wrong, which would impede the proper development of the gonads. Homosexuality, it was theorized, represented a similar form of arrested sexual development. Despite their lack of success in finding evidence for constitutional differences between homosexuals and heterosexuals, such as differently shaped genitalia, Krafft-Ebing and, especially, Hirschfeld looked for vestiges of the other sex in the bodies of same-sex-desiring men and women. Hirschfeld believed that the skeletal structure, fat distribution, and pubic hair of homosexuals proved they were a type of hermaphrodite.<sup>38</sup> Rather than entirely male or female, homosexuals occupied an intermediate sexual stage.<sup>39</sup>

Although persuaded by physiological evidence, Hirschfeld also thought that signs of homosexuality could be found in the psyche.

Inborn homosexuality had been described by laymen such as Ulrichs and, later, by psychiatrist Carl Westphal (1833–90) as a form of gender inversion or, as Foucault evocatively put it, “hermaphroditism of the soul.”<sup>40</sup> Hirschfeld dabbled in psychoanalysis from 1908 until 1911, when it became clear to him that the psychological explanation for homosexuality was incompatible with the biological theories of inborn homosexuality he had begun to promote.<sup>41</sup> More importantly, Hirschfeld, like his predecessors, relied on notions of childhood and adolescent sexuality to structure his theory of inborn homosexuality. He hoped that as scientists learned more about the inborn character of homosexuality, it would be possible to diagnose it earlier in a person’s lifespan. Hirschfeld believed that early diagnosis would do away with the belief that homosexuality was a form of perversion. To support his theory, he relied on patient testimonies, who claimed to have discovered their desire for persons of the same sex very early in their childhood and who had been perceived by others as possessing traits of the opposite sex. He theorized that homosexual girls had most likely been tomboys, just as homosexual boys had grown up showing effeminate traits. Hirschfeld paid attention to the physical development of adolescents, and he believed that abnormal sexual development, such as the underdevelopment of the breasts in girls or the lack of a deep voice in boys, was proof of their intermediate sexual stage. Even though Hirschfeld was certain that homosexuality could be observed at an early age, he accepted that sexuality was undifferentiated during adolescence. Most adolescents would develop into heterosexual adults despite their “strong androgynous make-up and sexual incongruences.”<sup>42</sup>

While Hirschfeld looked for a biological explanation for homosexuality, he did not completely ignore psychological factors. He maintained that it was important that doctors pay attention to a person’s entire personality when diagnosing homosexuality at an early age, since he believed that homosexuality had both physical and psychological dimensions.<sup>43</sup> Countering Freud, he insisted that it was not the soul that had an influence on the body. Rather, it was the other way around: differences in personality and character were manifestations of the biological sexual intermediacy of homosexuals.<sup>44</sup> Hirschfeld also added a new dimension to Krafft-Ebing’s division between perversity and perversion, one that included perverse feelings. Homosexuality should be assessed not on the basis of perverse acts alone (such as same-sex acts during youth) but through an investigation of perverse feelings. Homosexuals, he argued, shared a psychological disposition in which gender characteristics – the way they act and think of themselves, as well as how they are perceived by others – did not necessarily match the sex they were assigned at birth.

Hirschfeld insisted on a balance between biological and psychological explanations for homosexuality. Yet other physicians did not want to give up their search for a theory of inborn homosexuality and kept looking for it within the material boundaries of the body and its microscopic parts. During the 1920s physicians turned to the biochemical processes caused by hormones, research that was first conducted in 1905 by the physiologist Ernest H. Starling (1866–1927) at University College London. This research on sex hormones raised further questions about the physiological and psychological basis of sexual difference, and it offered a biochemical explanation for masculinity and femininity.<sup>45</sup> Instead of providing a definitive explanation for sexual difference, research on hormones led scientists to believe that sex was less stable than they had assumed. Hormone research initially corroborated traditional notions of masculinity and femininity, yet by the 1930s researchers had come to agree that male and female hormones were not mutually exclusive: both types of hormones were present in men and women.<sup>46</sup>

Given the role that adolescence played in theories of sexuality, it should not be surprising that homosexuality and adolescence intersected again in the study of sex hormones. The Austrian physiologist Eugen Steinach (1861–1944), a professor of medicine at the University of Vienna, turned to hormones to explain sexual differentiation. His discovery of the “sexual specificity of hormones” was an important contribution to the biochemical explanation of sexuality.<sup>47</sup> Steinach’s identification of hormones seemed to have answered the question whether sexual differentiation started in the genes or whether it was a product of a physiological process in the embryo. His research with rats, which involved implanting ovaries into male specimens and testes into female ones, showed that sexual differentiation was a gradual process that continued after the embryonic phase as the gonads continued producing the characteristics of masculinity and femininity that shaped sexual behaviour. This process peaked during adolescence in males, when the “puberty gland” (*Pubertätsdrüse*), as Steinach called the Leydig cells present in the male testes responsible for producing androgens, started to secrete the hormones that accelerate sexual differentiation.

Puberty – the process of sexual maturation – played a central role in Steinach’s theory of hormonal sexual differentiation. He hypothesized that there was a direct correlation between hormonal secretion during adolescence and the presence of homosexual desire, which arose from the ambisexuality (*Zwittrigkeit*) of the puberty gland.<sup>48</sup> Homosexual men, he argued, “suffer[ed] the loss of the internal-secretory masculine

element of this gland during puberty, while the feminine elements [were] ‘activated’ instead, leading to a physiologically “feminine” erotic life.<sup>49</sup> Alexander Lipschütz (1883–1980), who had conducted research with Steinach in Vienna and published a study on the topic in 1919, argued that once people were convinced that even the psychological sexual characteristics depended on the secretions of hormones, they would agree that homosexuality represents “a misdevelopment of the puberty glands.”<sup>50</sup>

Steinach’s theory supported the ideas Hirschfeld had proposed, namely, that homosexuality had biological roots and represented a form of physiological hermaphroditism. Furthermore, the discovery of this gland offered a new possibility to treat homosexuality, since it left open the possibility that doctors might one day remove the glands of homosexual men and transplant them with heterosexual ones. Hirschfeld, who was generally pessimistic about the possibility of healing homosexuality (for example, with medicine, isolation, castration, or psychotherapy), thought that Steinach’s transplants offered “a little better prospect” for treating homosexuality.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, Hirschfeld maintained that homosexuality was determined by nature and was a fundamental part of a person’s physiological and psychological constitution since birth. Hirschfeld expressed grimly that death was the only way to “destroy a drive [*Trieb*] that clings indissolubly to one’s individuality until the end of life.”<sup>52</sup>

While Hirschfeld claimed to be able to diagnose homosexuality in childhood, psychologists such as William Stern drew upon Moll’s theories and a wealth of scientific evidence to argue that adolescent sexuality was unfinished and, hence, unimportant to the adult development of the individual. Stern and other youth psychologists came to the conclusion that adolescence was a problematic period of transition. Stern made his position public at the International Congress of Sexual Research, which took place in Berlin 10–16 October 1926. In a contribution that the paediatrician Oskar Bosch considered worthy of being discussed at length in the *Hannoversche Kurier*, the psychologist posited adolescence as a transitional period from the child’s world of “play” to that of adult “seriousness” (*Ernsthaftigkeit*). Adolescent sexuality, Stern argued, should be considered “partially playful” and, hence, not completely significant for adult life.<sup>53</sup> Stern and other psychologists trivialized some of the puzzling displays of adolescent sexuality and interpreted same-sex romantic attachments, flirting, and young love as indications of adolescence’s psychological crises and stages of growth. By highlighting the lack of significance of youthful sexuality, adolescent remained innocent, yet susceptible to corruption.<sup>54</sup>

## War and the Prevention of Homosexuality

Theories of sexuality were devised not only with the evidence gathered during consultation – the *Sprechstunde* – or in the laboratory. They did not originate in a social and cultural vacuum. Sexuality is historically and culturally specific, and so are theories of sexuality. Physicians, psychologists, or psychiatrists were concerned with more than purely academic questions about youthful sexuality and its significance for the etiology of homosexuality. Their theories had much to do with the social and political realities surrounding them.<sup>55</sup> This was particularly true after the First World War, when many psychiatrists and psychologists firmly believed that youth had never been more sexually vulnerable. The war and its effects on the bodies and souls of German men exacerbated the unease about male adolescent sexuality. The reaction against psychoanalysis and against Hans Blüher's controversial claim that youth organizations were held together by an unspoken homoerotic bond between adult leaders and the boys under their authority suggests that this sentiment had been present a few years before the conflict.

Whereas war had commonly been recognized as the arena where men were made, the First World War had proven that war could also destroy men physically and psychologically. Weimar-era psychiatrists and psychologists agreed that modern warfare exercised a tremendous effect on men's sexuality. The war had brutalized them, and the homosocial environment at the front had made them turn often to homosexuality. Hirschfeld, like Freud, asserted that the war created "tremendous opportunities to pull off these shackles [of society] temporarily and, at least in anticipation, to indulge in infinite erotic desires."<sup>56</sup> The extraordinary conditions of war led to an increase in masturbation, promiscuity, adultery, prostitution, and venereal disease. War had also apparently brought about a surge in homosexuality among soldiers and volunteers, and even among the women who remained at home.

In William Stern's aforementioned 1920 article "The 'Inversion-Wave': A Contemporary Contribution to Youth Psychology," the psychologist identified the origins of a homosexual epidemic during the war and within the social upheaval of Germany's postwar society.<sup>57</sup> War, he argued, had created the conditions for the spread of homosexuality in part because the military provided opportunities for same-sex interactions. The war's cold, muddy, and slimy trenches were a homosocial space of comradeship and mutual support where deep bonds were built.<sup>58</sup> Magnus Hirschfeld, however, considered them "no place for sexual life, at least not for [a] normal one."<sup>59</sup> In this unusual setting men

were deprived of contact with women and sought alternative forms of sexual release: soldiers turned to masturbation, to pornography, and, when possible, to prostitution. These sexual outlets were thought to have had dismal repercussions for the soldiers' physical and psychological well-being. Some soldiers turned, of course, to other men. In his *Sexual History of the World War*, published in 1929, Hirschfeld warned against jumping quickly to false conclusions: the war had not led to an increase in homosexuality; at most, it had facilitated "pseudo-homosexual" acts, occasional male same-sex acts with no repercussions. Only those who were constitutionally homosexual before the war remained so after it.<sup>60</sup>

William Stern was of a different opinion. He believed that the soldiers who had fought at the front were so young that "their sexuality was not clearly fixed," and they consequently were less able to resist homosexual activity.<sup>61</sup> Stern did accept that most men would return and continue their heterosexual lives after the war: they would grow up, or rather grow *out* of homosexuality. It could not be denied, he argued, that the war had left a more permanent mark on some of these men: "The withdrawal from contact with women ha[d] resulted in an erotic inhibition and atrophy that [could] not be overcome easily upon their return."<sup>62</sup> These young men's inherent capacity for heterosexuality had been obstructed. The solution to this problem was to reactivate this function, "to accustom these men to being in contact with women," to make heterosexuality possible for them again.<sup>63</sup> According to this view, mass inversion after the war was primarily the result of male insecurity. Stern believed that the rapidly changing relationship between men and women was responsible for a surge in male homosexuality. To reverse this trend, psychologists should help young men to reclaim their confidence and to improve their relationships with women. Although Stern hoped that contact with women would cast away all doubts that returning soldiers may have had about their sexuality, women were themselves a problem. Female independence during the war led to the perception that self-reliant women threatened the social, economic, and political power of men.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to new economic and political opportunities for women, the war brought about a demographic gender imbalance that the state hoped to redress.<sup>65</sup> Almost two million men perished at the front; 720,931 disabled veterans were left blind, lost limbs, and developed tuberculosis and mental illness.<sup>66</sup> The government encouraged the approximately 600,000 widows to remarry after the war to increase the birth rate.<sup>67</sup> The "urgent need to replenish Germany's birth rate in the face of mass death," Kathleen Canning argues, legitimized pro-natalist

positions, which sought to restore the role of women as mothers by regulating their bodies.<sup>68</sup> The supporters of such positions favoured large families, and the government, in attempts at maintaining its wartime control over sexuality, restricted access to abortion to medical emergencies and banned the public sale of contraceptives.<sup>69</sup> The Austrian psychoanalyst Wilhelm Stekel argued that hygiene was now a form of religion requiring that “every single spermatozoid [be] put at the service of the nation.”<sup>70</sup> Hygienic measures highlighted, on the one hand, a desire for remilitarization through the recovery of male lives and, on the other hand, concerns about the racial stock of the nation.<sup>71</sup> The regulation of reproduction did not help challenge the social and legal condemnation of male homosexuality.<sup>72</sup>

The perceived spread of male homosexuality was part of a larger narrative of national decline. Death, disability, and social disruption led to increased interest in the proper upbringing of adolescent boys. Contemporary commentators, criminologists, welfare providers, psychiatrists, psychologists, and pedagogues contended that children and youths were in a state of moral and sexual waywardness (*Verwahrlosung*). Juvenile crime seemed to have doubled during the war and continued to increase during the early years of the Weimar Republic. Statistics showed that adolescents had committed 100,000 crimes (about a third of all crimes) between 1917 and 1918, including robbery, assault, and murder. Youths had also committed many more sex crimes than before, including those that would fall under Paragraph 175, the law criminalizing sex between men (and sex with animals) in Germany. While the absence of most adult men, who were fighting at the front, could have explained the boost of juvenile crime in the statistics, experts were set on finding other causes for the surge in crimes committed by youths. The criminologist Ernst Roesner, in the entry “Youth Criminality” for a criminology handbook published in 1933, contended that while most juvenile delinquents showed degenerative traits, the environment during the First World War had exacerbated these defects and contributed to criminality among youths who were otherwise healthy.<sup>73</sup> Most crimes could be traced back to economic hardship and homelessness; to dysfunctional families (young offenders were illegitimate children or had been raised without a father); and to bad company at home or at work.<sup>74</sup>

The belief in homosexual seduction worked in lockstep with theories that stressed how social influences (*Lebens- und Milieueinflüsse*) affected the sexual development of children and adolescents. Stern believed in a form of “mass-suggestion” that had started during the war, to which youths were particularly susceptible. If, according to Stern, the best

way to combat the spread of homosexuality was to foster heterosexuality, this healing process was not going to be that simple because of those who “preach” about inversion.<sup>75</sup> In this estimation, the spread of homosexuality had started well before the war. It was the result of homosexual propaganda in psychoanalysis and popular psychoanalytic writings, as well as in the publications of the homosexual movement.

Stern published several condemnations of psychoanalysis in specialized journals, expressing his belief that psychoanalysis robbed youths of their innocence by making sexual knowledge accessible.<sup>76</sup> “Freudians,” he claimed, “see the soul, like completely colorblind people, only with a single color” – the colour of sex.<sup>77</sup> Stern argued that to maintain legitimacy as a scientific discipline, youth psychology had to build a protective wall against Freud’s negative influence. He set out to discredit psychoanalysis as a scientific discipline.<sup>78</sup> Stern was fond of depicting psychoanalysis as a pseudoscience akin to phrenology and chiromancy, practices that he called a “magical-mystical system for the interpretation of signs.”<sup>79</sup> Stern pointed out that psychoanalysts only paid attention to psychopathic children and that their broad theories thus only represented a “determinate psychological type” whose main characteristic was the “hypertrophy of sexual thoughts and feelings.”<sup>80</sup> Stern stressed that youth psychologists, rather than focusing only on mentally ill individuals, should delineate the outlines of normal development.

Viewing psychoanalysis as fundamentally harmful to youth, Stern considered the process of bringing back repressed memories counterproductive, since “what remains unconscious in the adolescent is what should remain unconscious.” While psychoanalysts wanted to find an explanation for neuroses in the unconscious, Stern argued that it was precisely the repression of these memories that guaranteed proper intellectual and psychological development. “Who has a reason, or the right,” he asked, “to liberate with violence these minuscule seeds from their protective ground and, in the artificial warmth of the psychoanalytic greenhouse, grow them into a muggy [*schwül*], precocious sexual consciousness?”<sup>81</sup> (Stern’s choice of the word “schwül” was not arbitrary. By the early nineteenth century, an earlier Low German variation of this word, *schwul*, had come to act as a synonym for “pederast” and “homosexual,” particularly in Berlin slang but even in colloquial parlance and within homosexual circles.)<sup>82</sup> He maintained that psychoanalysts were actually putting sexual thoughts into their patients’ heads – that they were seducers with the power to awaken in youth a fledgling sexuality that should stay dormant. Insisting upon the inherent innocence of youth, Stern argued that psychoanalysis’s obsession with sexuality could actually thwart normal processes of sexual development.

Growing fears of a possible homosexual epidemic demanded an official response. In 1921, the Bavarian State Ministry of Education (Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus) organized a series of lectures about the protection of youth against the “intrusion of homosexual ambitions” in Germany. The speakers were the renowned psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin, the child psychiatrist Max Isserlin, and the local pedagogue Hans Loewe.<sup>83</sup> These luminaries were asked to address three problems: the causes and origins of homosexuality; the particular threat that homosexuality presents for adolescents; and the optimal response by the government. Their ideas did not remain confined to Munich, where they would only have reached a limited circle of doctors, teachers, and concerned citizens. Speeches delivered by members of this group were published in the *Journal for Pedagogical Psychology and Youth Studies* (*Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und Jugendkunde*) and received the national and international attention that the journal editors, the reform pedagogue Otto Scheibner and the psychologist William Stern, believed this problem deserved.

Kraepelin (1856–1926), a professor at the University of Munich, delivered the first of these three speeches. He was the most famous German psychiatrist at the time, or as Freud called him, the “highest pontifex” (*Oberpapst*) of German psychiatry.<sup>84</sup> In 1921, in the final stage of his career, Kraepelin may not have enjoyed the same fame he had before the war, but he continued to be influential among conservatives. His ideas resonated with morality campaigners who did not hesitate to use the authority of his scientific opinions to support their position. Kraepelin’s positive reception by conservative elites after 1918 hinged on their agreement with his political position during the war. The psychiatrist advocated the radicalization of foreign policy, celebrated aggression, and defended territorial expansion, which, in his view, was essential for the survival of the German spirit. Kraepelin had been an unquenchable supporter of eugenics and of campaigns against venereal disease, prostitution, and alcoholism.<sup>85</sup> It is not surprising that he campaigned against the spread of homosexuality after the war.<sup>86</sup> “The dangers of this unhealthy development,” he argued, “threaten first and foremost our precious national treasure [*Volksgut*], our youth!”<sup>87</sup> Because youths are more likely to be seduced and because their sexuality is still “undeveloped and fluctuating,” he added, “precocious, intellectually alert, dreamy [*schwärmerisch*] and artistic children are particularly favoured and endangered.”<sup>88</sup> The state could and should protect the young by enlisting the expertise of psychiatrists.

Although he wanted to discredit Freud’s theory of sexuality, Kraepelin underscored that adolescence was the most important period in life for

sexual development. He agreed with Freud that the instincts for nourishment, sleep, and defence exist in humans since birth, but he stressed that the reproductive instinct (*Fortpflanzungstrieb*) does not develop "until a certain maturation of personality" has taken place.<sup>89</sup> Like Moll, he argued that "the drive for copulation [*Begattungstrieb*] does not reach its goal for a long time," something that, fortunately, education and "the segregation of the sexes" ensured.<sup>90</sup> Kraepelin acknowledged the existence of bisexuality (*Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit*) during adolescence, but he claimed that copulation (or detumescence, to use Moll's term) normally does not take place until adulthood, once the individual has overcome this period of undifferentiated sexual feeling. This precondition foreclosed any possibility of actual same-sex acts during youth.

Of course, not all youths were so wholesome and chaste. Kraepelin argued that the premature awakening of sexuality could be the consequence of constitutional defects, such as inherited psychopathology, but he considered it much more likely that social influences were the root cause. He denied that homosexuality was congenital and, contrary to some psychoanalytic theories, dismissed the claim that it was the result of psychological trauma. Homosexuality, in Kraepelin's opinion, could only be acquired. Certain social factors promoted male same-sex acts: fear of contagion with venereal disease; the shock caused by unwanted pregnancies (he did not seem to consider it a bit incongruous that men should worry so much about pregnancies); and excessive masturbation.<sup>91</sup> These factors could deaden a man's ability to be aroused by a woman, he observed; early sexual disappointment or failure to perform the sexual act could lead to "animosity towards women and towards a decided diversion of the sexual aim to members of the same sex, be it in the form of masturbation or same-sex relationships."<sup>92</sup> Not only men but also women could traumatize a young man and turn him to homosexuality. Kraepelin used the example of men who had their first sexual encounter with a prostitute, an experience that had most likely brought about "disgust" towards women and led these men towards same-sex acts.<sup>93</sup> If unpleasant sexual experiences with women could deflect youths from the optimal path towards heterosexuality, lurid readings and alcohol consumption could be just as fatal.

Seduction by other men and homosexual literature were far more common dangers. Under the worst circumstances, youths could fall prey to pitiless seducers and acquire their vices.<sup>94</sup> Homosexuals, Kraepelin argued, had been very successful in "educating" youths who were now "unpleasantly familiar with different forms of sexual aberration."<sup>95</sup> Homosexuality was not inborn but "cultivated" (*gezüchtet*): sexually precocious youths could introduce innocent children to

masturbation and, even worse, mutual masturbation, which was considered the primary gateway to homosexuality.<sup>96</sup> Homosexuality, then, could be prevented by avoiding masturbation, by prohibiting the consumption of alcohol, and by putting an end to the spread of homosexual “propaganda,” the ubiquitous medical and popular writings on the topic. Despite the ominous tone of his speech, Kraepelin considered masturbation and same-sex acts during youth “a relatively harmless interlude” that could be easily overcome with professional help.<sup>97</sup> This position relativized adolescent same-sex acts while demonizing the adult homosexual.

Whereas Kraepelin elaborated on the etiology of homosexuality and its relationship to youth, the neurologist and psychiatrist Max Isserlin (1879–1941), an adjunct professor (*außerordentlicher Professor*) at the University of Munich and the founder of the first child psychiatry ward in Germany, explored how the popularization of psychoanalysis contributed to the spread of homosexuality among youths. In his opinion, psychoanalysis had caused harm not only to the scientific community but also to a lay public easily seduced by its sexual tales.<sup>98</sup> Isserlin rejected Freud’s explanation that sexual perversions were the result of a defective “turning off the child’s polymorphous perversity” and the subsequent misdevelopment of the normal sex drive. Like William Stern, Isserlin considered psychoanalysis to be unscientific, subjective, and devoid of empirical value.<sup>99</sup> “Freudian theory’s teachings on child sexuality and pansexualism,” he wrote, “are the product of fantasy.” How could anyone, he wondered, “interpret a pencil, machines, [or] a landscape such as a winding road, as male or female genitalia”?<sup>100</sup> Mocking psychoanalysis was a common way to discredit its validity.

Hans Blüher, a young and gifted writer who dabbled in psychoanalysis, was often blamed for the increase in homosexuality among youths.<sup>101</sup> Blüher had become famous after he published a history of the Wandervogel youth movement in 1912. This youth group, which had been established in a suburb of Berlin in 1896, rebelled against the strict demands of Wilhelmine culture and rejected modern urban life by promoting an autonomous youth culture that celebrated hiking, contact with nature, its own style of dress, and folk music.<sup>102</sup> Blüher’s historical account was coloured by his own experiences in the movement and his familiarity with Freud’s psychoanalysis. In the first two volumes, he argued that the movement had been initially driven by a rejection of the father and the search for alternative male role models with whom youths could build more empathic relationships. The group’s leader personified this role model and became a “male hero” (*Männerheld*) for this generation’s youths.<sup>103</sup>

While reform pedagogues initially welcomed Blüher's portrayal of a young generation rebelling against authority, Blüher sent shock waves through Germany when he published the historical study's third volume, *The Wandervogel Movement as Erotic Phenomenon* (*Die Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen*), in 1912. Scores of teachers and parents protested against the book.<sup>104</sup> The Wandervogel denied that it was a "pederasts' club" or that its members loathed girls and glorified instead the erotic intimacy between men and boys.<sup>105</sup> The book, however, enjoyed respect within some professional circles. Even though Blüher never completed university, his book took into account current research in ethnology and sexology. Medical doctors praised the soundness of his work. And his popularization of psychoanalytic concepts, such as child sexuality, repression, or sublimation, gained him the respect of psychoanalysts like Freud and Karl Abraham.<sup>106</sup> He also had vocal detractors. Just like they had rejected Freud's ideas, some youth psychologists and pedagogues, such as Isserlin, spurned Blüher for expanding the concept of sexuality to the point that it could be used, in Isserlin's opinion, as an explanation for anything.

Blüher scandalized society with his analysis of same-sex eroticism and bonding in the youth movement. Not only did he argue that homosexuality was widespread in the youth movement; he also wanted to educate the public that male same-sex erotic bonds are constitutive elements of all social relations among boys and adult men. Blüher elaborated on the ideas he had sketched in the Wandervogel book and turned them into a full-fledged theory of state formation in which erotic bonds between men are central. Contrary to the bourgeois belief that the family is the foundation of the state, Blüher argued that a homoerotic "male society," the so-called *Männerbund*, is a "biological force" constitutive of society.<sup>107</sup> In this theory, the state is made of a "male society," and the "invert" (the *real* homosexual) is the true leader able to dedicate his life to the state. Only the homosexual is socially, intellectually, and aesthetically equipped to lead the people; women, marriage, and reproduction play only a secondary role according to this theory.<sup>108</sup>

Blüher's favourable portrayal of homosexuality was perhaps the most controversial aspect of his theoretical writings. The lay psychoanalyst and philosopher went beyond the typical medico-psychiatric explanations of homosexuality. He wanted to discuss this topic from a humanistic perspective as a social and cultural phenomenon. In his view, the homosexual's only fault was that his sexual desire is different from that of the majority. Blüher contended that homosexuals were not deviant or effeminate but rather "manly men" (*Männerhelden*) with an important social function.<sup>109</sup> Using the Wandervogel as a case study, he

suggested that the close connection of male youths with each other and their worship of youth leaders could only be explained by more or less sublimated homosexual drives. His position on male homosexuality was informed by basic knowledge of Greek antiquity. He was familiar with Erich Bethe's 1907 essay on Doric pederasty and understood same-sex desire in the intergenerational and pedagogical form the classical philologist described as representative of the period between the eighth and fifth centuries BC.<sup>110</sup> Unlike those who argued that Greek civilization had fallen due to this immoral behaviour, Blüher stressed that pederasty had been prominent in Greek culture and had fulfilled an important social purpose.

Although recognizing the differences, Blüher did see some important parallels between Greek pederasty and the Wandervogel, in terms of both their social practices and function: "A young tan man in a slightly rumpled travel suit, a feather on his hat, a rucksack on his back and a guitar fully decorated with ribbons on his side. This was for the public Wandervogel taste like the naked athlete for the ancient Hellene," he evocatively wrote.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, the Wandervogel fostered the friendship between the male leader and the youths under his watch. These relationships, like other same-sex friendships, had an "erotic tone that becomes conscious and which now and then can intensify into desire."<sup>112</sup> Blüher expanded on this point in his two-volume work on the *Männerbund*. Using Socrates as an example, he suggested that the "*Typus inversus*," his term for male homosexual, was responsible for the education of male youths in Hellenistic antiquity. At the same time, he criticized some of the pillars of contemporary bourgeois education, such as age segregation, and regretted that male teachers were urged to marry, a desperate attempt to distance them from youths and to discourage pederasty.<sup>113</sup>

While Blüher provided a relatively positive view of male homosexuality, as long as it referred to the masculine "male hero," his work offered his detractors extra proof to support their homophobic argument that homosexuals prey on youths. Blüher and psychoanalysis, Isserlin maintained, were part of a larger conspiracy that aimed to pervert easily influenced boys.<sup>114</sup> The psychiatrists likened Blüher's writings and psychoanalysis to the homosexual seducer who had the power to awaken the fledging sexuality that should stay dormant in an adolescent. And just as homosexuality was spreading, so was a dangerous group of teachers, clergymen, and women who practised as lay psychoanalysts and were disseminating these teachings.<sup>115</sup>

According to Isserlin, homosexuals who extolled the virtues of intergenerational same-sex relationships were even more dangerous than

psychoanalysts and Blüher. The philosophical ideas that staunch pederasts defended justified sex with minors. Adolf Brand and his masculinist Community of the Special (*Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*), a group with which Blüher had been connected before he started to associate with conservative nationalist circles in the 1920s, claimed that sexual development followed “inescapable laws” and that sex at a young age was beneficial for the male youth. “This position may be very favourable for homosexual theoreticians,” Isserlin protested, “but is nevertheless wrong.”<sup>116</sup> Experience had shown that “one can infect youths and make them homosexuals for life.”<sup>117</sup> Homosexual men only took advantage of innocent youths for their own sexual pleasure. This came at a significant cost for the young male and his appropriate sexual development and, more importantly, for the German state and the family, “the site where human sexual relationships take their most refined form.”<sup>118</sup> The homosexual seducer was not the basis of the state, as Blüher would have it, but the worst threat to youths *and* the state. For these reasons, the government had the responsibility to stop psychoanalysis at schools, to eliminate “homosexual propaganda” in magazines and films, and to punish with prison sentences homosexual teachers who came in contact with children and youths.<sup>119</sup> Despite this gloomy picture, Isserlin ended his essay with soothing and reaffirming words that should ease the panic he had helped create. Like Kraepelin, he stressed that one should not worry too much about adolescent sexual “lapses” (*Entgleisungen*). Same-sex acts during adolescence “[did] not necessarily lead to a negative prognosis.”<sup>120</sup> Youths seduced into homosexuality could be “liberated” from it with the help of appropriate doctors and educators. Yet the time frame for “healing” was limited because homosexuality could “turn into a fixed sexuality once [the adolescent] enters adulthood.”<sup>121</sup> The expertise of psychiatrists was required for this most urgent issue.

Preventing the spread of homosexuality among youths demanded more than just creating a cordon sanitaire around psychoanalysis or around Hans Blüher; and it implied more than keeping an eye on the homosexual movement’s propaganda. It entailed a return to traditional mores and values. According to Hans Loewe, a pedagogue who trained teachers at the Technical University of Munich and was active in Kraepelin’s circle, the best preventive measure entailed increasing the trust between teacher and students, between parents and their children, and between the sexes. Parents, he complained, had been neglecting their children for too long. Loewe blamed industrialization and urban life as the source of all evils and demanded a “rebirth of the home” and “humane salaries and working conditions that would allow

that even the simplest *Volksgenosse* can spend time with his family."<sup>122</sup> If a broken family indicated a broken nation, saving the family implied saving the nation. Reaffirming men's role in the family – the power of which felt under attack by women's newly acquired rights – was essential to this process: matriarchy and, even worse, a "male society" in Blüher's terms, could lead to the crumbling of society.

An intact family was key to the appropriate reproduction of the nation's citizenship and its values. Parental neglect could have dreadful effects on the sexual development of children. "A child who has adequate support from his father and mother," Loewe claimed, "does not look for homosexual gratification with his comrades ... Boys who take a walk with their fathers on Sunday and who listen to their mother's storytelling in the quiet hours are immune to sexual aberrations." Nevertheless, Loewe lamented, "how many millions [of children] are out there who have no home that could protect them from the dangers of homosexual infection?"<sup>123</sup> In addition to improving family ties, the relationship between the sexes should be strengthened. Boys and girls should show "reciprocal respect and admiration" and should be made aware that only the union of "man and woman and not man and man or woman and woman" is an option.

Like Kraepelin, Loewe partially blamed women for the perceived frailty of heterosexuality among young men. The modern woman was pushing "delicate male youths," those most likely to suffer the psychological effects of modern life, away from heterosexuality. Young female students, in particular, with their confidence and their growing masculine sartorial options, were making boys amenable to homosexual enticement. The war had worsened a process he believed had begun with industrialization, urbanization, feminism, and the rise of mass media. Now that men were imagined weaker and that women had entered the labour force in larger numbers and had even gained the right to vote, conservative commentators such as Loewe perceived women as a threat to men and the status quo. What would happen if men could no longer be men? Would they turn to other men?

These experts linked the spread of homosexuality and its threat to youths to the social and political instability caused by the First World War. This anxiety reflected something that research on sexuality had been showing for a long time: sexual differentiation developed from a rather ambiguous sexuality, a relic of a bisexual or hermaphroditic biological past that was still visible during adolescence, just before the onset of adult heterosexuality. This process seemed to have been reversed or, at least, arrested now. The situation after the war was unfavourable to the appropriate sexual development of adolescents. Youths

were surrounded by social and cultural agents of seduction – psychoanalysis, homosexuals and their propaganda – influences capable of fixing the adolescent’s undifferentiated sexuality.

The more psychiatrists and psychologists discussed adolescent sexuality, the more they had to concern themselves with homosexuality and its possible causes. The view of homosexuality as an acquired disorder – that is, as the consequence of cultural and environmental influences – predominated after the war in professional circles and in mainstream discourse. The sexual ambiguity of adolescence put forward in these theories highlighted that heterosexuality could not be taken for granted. While youth psychiatrists, psychologists, and a motley crew of morality campaigners disagreed on the details, one thing seemed clear to them: homosexuality seemed to be on the rise in the Weimar Republic. It was their mission to reverse that trend. Adolescence proved a productive discursive ground on which heterosexuality could be secured and homosexuality contained.

## The League for Human Rights, Print Culture, and Homosexual Rights

As Christmas 1924 approached, the homosexual rights movement was more divided than ever before. Friedrich Radszuweit, leader of the League for Human Rights (the BfM), wondered when the organization would finally fulfil its purpose. "It is unfortunate," he complained, "that six years after the revolution we are still fighting against this special law." In his opinion, Paragraph 175, the law that punished male same-sex acts, could have been abolished in 1919 if the movement's leaders had pressured the National Assembly. "Why don't we have equality six years after the revolution? Why do the masses consider us sick people, fools, drunkards, seducers of youths? Why doesn't a larger part of the *Volk* take the research of the medical officer Dr Magnus Hirschfeld seriously?"<sup>1</sup> Was the approach of the homosexual emancipation movement, twenty-seven years into its history, perhaps misguided? Radszuweit certainly thought so. Despite Hirschfeld's efforts, science did not inevitably lead to justice. As seen in the previous chapter, influential doctors such as Emil Kraepelin and Albert Moll argued that homosexuality could be acquired and continued to portray homosexuals as seducers of youth. Increasingly this fear was mobilized by supporters of Paragraph 175 to justify keeping male same-sex acts a crime.

Prejudice against homosexuals did not disappear after the First World War. But the situation in the 1920s differed greatly from that in 1914. The constitutional framework of the Weimar Republic offered new opportunities to abolish Paragraph 175 and to eliminate the inequalities it created for homosexual men. Freedom of speech and of assembly enabled the proliferation of print culture. This chapter focuses on the publications of the BfM and on the mark its leader left on the homosexual emancipation movement. Friedrich Radszuweit (1876–1932) is an underestimated figure in the homosexual movement of the Weimar Republic. Certainly, his confrontational character and vanity did not

make him likable.<sup>2</sup> But beyond his obsession with fame, Radszuweit had something different to offer to homosexual politics that set him apart from his rivals, Magnus Hirschfeld and Adolf Brand. Instead of gathering educated members from professional and academic circles, as Hirschfeld's Scientific-Humanitarian Committee and Brand's Community of the Special had done before, Radszuweit chose to lead the organization like a business. His opponents were dismayed by this strategy but could do nothing to stop the organization's meteoric rise. Radszuweit was aware that, to achieve economic independence and political significance, the organization needed as many members as possible. He decided to attract them first and foremost as readers and consumers. The BfM's magazines were available for purchase in newsstands all over Germany, and the market strategy capitalized on the visual appeal of these publications: the covers often portrayed seducing photographs; articles and stories were written in plain language; and advertisements connected readers to businesses that explicitly catered to gay and lesbian patrons.

These publications, however, did much more than provide readers with amusement and promote social life. Historians have shown how reading magazines fostered a shared identity for same-sex-desiring men and women in the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> These magazines helped produce a homosexual subjectivity and strengthened the sense of belonging to a movement of those who did not, or could not, venture into the public yet wanted to be part of it through the act of reading in the privacy of their homes. Reading contributed to the creation of a community and became a forum for discussing the movement's politics, even for those who lived away from large urban centres or chose to keep their same-sex sexual desire concealed. Granted, these magazines *sold* identification models: they promoted political positions and encouraged norms of behaviour. At the same time, they offered a democratic forum in which readers could respond to and shape the organization's position.

That the BfM relied on magazines to shape its politics was a reflection of the time. Around the turn of the century, more people started reading newspapers and magazines to be informed about politics, crime, and trends.<sup>4</sup> Print media – like other forms of mass culture, such as the cinema, phonograph records, sporting events, and the radio – experienced an explosion during the Weimar Republic, commonly explained by the need for entertainment that followed the First World War. Despite the growing popularity of cinema, reading was still the most common leisure activity in the Weimar Republic.<sup>5</sup> Germany enjoyed a vibrant print culture despite the common paper shortages, currency devaluation, and continuing loss of purchasing power. More than 3,700 newspapers and

7,000 magazines were published during this period. In the year 1925, Berlin alone had more than 120 newspapers, which street vendors distributed across the city.<sup>6</sup> Radszuweit took advantage of this media explosion and of Germany's distribution networks to deliver the BfM's message.

The blossoming of public gay life in the interwar period helped Radszuweit find a receptive audience. A gay and lesbian subculture flourished in German cities, especially in Berlin. "No one feels the rhythm of life more intensely than in the flourishing city of Berlin," stated Ruth Margarete Roellig in her 1928 book about the city's lesbian life. The city allowed everybody "to live their lives according to their own view."<sup>7</sup> And Berlin had something "for every taste."<sup>8</sup> Gay bars were sprinkled throughout the city, from the distinguished west to the working-class northern and eastern parts of the city.<sup>9</sup> In the 1920s, there were between eighty and one hundred such bars in Berlin alone. The most famous establishment was the Eldorado, "the meeting place of the smart set" (*Treffpunkt der mondänen Welt*), which Roellig described as "the shining palace of lust."<sup>10</sup> Contemporaries remarked that gay and lesbian bars were not always disreputable. In his 1931 *Tourist Guide Through "Vice-ridden" Berlin* (*Führer durch das "lasterhafte" Berlin*), a description of Berlin's most "depraved" places, Curt Moreck described the city's homosexual scene in detail and pointed out that, despite what readers might have expected, homosexual establishments were actually decent: in these bars and clubs "everything happens moderately, in a well-tempered atmosphere, a mix between bourgeois [decorum] and ominousness."<sup>11</sup> The presence of bourgeois respectability in homosexual venues surprised the observer, who did not completely let go of the impropriety he believed characterized such places. Moreck's description of Berlin's nightlife, however, was consonant with the respectability the BfM wanted its members to uphold.

The BfM's use of print culture did not result in radical politics. Whereas the organization sought freedom and equality for all homosexuals, it created new forms of repression for many of its members under the guise of a politics of respectability.<sup>12</sup> The organization traded negative stereotypes for a new homosexual who was a righteous, productive member of society and whose rights should no longer be denied. The BfM aligned itself with liberal rights and was contingent on capital and profit for its existence. This combination increased the visibility of homosexuality in public, but complicated the division between personal and collective gain. This newly gained visibility, moreover, became a double-edged sword: while mass media brought homosexuality to light, it also increased the possibility that people might object to its shine.

## Friedrich Radszuweit and the First Mass Homosexual Organization

Nothing in Friedrich Radszuweit's humble origins hinted at the possibility that he would one day lead Germany's first mass homosexual movement. Radszuweit was born on 15 April 1876, in Klein-Stobingen, a small village near Insterburg in the distant province of East Prussia. The son of farmers, he spent several years after completing his school education tending to the family's small estate. After military service in Schleswig-Holstein in 1898, he returned to East Prussia and worked as a salesman in Königsberg. In 1901, he discovered that he had a talent for commerce and moved to Berlin, where he started a women's garment business and opened a retail store.<sup>13</sup> His economic success, despite his relatively humble origins, would define his political persona and his leadership style well into the future.

During the first turbulent years of the new republic, Radszuweit joined the Club of Friends and Girlfriends (Klub der Freunde und Freundinnen) in Berlin, an association that organized balls and parties. These clubs are testament to the equality with men that some women were asserting at the time. The reality is that most members of these social clubs were men, and this would remain true for the remainder of the Weimar era.<sup>14</sup> Neither gender nor sexual politics were Radszuweit's main interest when he became president of the Club of Friends and Girlfriends in 1921. He was interested in social gatherings instead. He developed his interest in politics after attending a lecture by Magnus Hirschfeld in January 1922. Shortly thereafter he joined the German Association for Friendship (Deutscher Freundschafts-Verband) and became a member of the executive board. Radszuweit assumed control of this organization and changed its name because it seemed to promote recreation instead of the serious advocacy of homosexual rights. The new name, League for Human Rights, gave the organization a political edge by evoking the solemnity of liberal ideas while retaining the casual style needed to attract new members still interested in having a good time.

Radszuweit immediately applied his entrepreneurial skill to support the growth of the BfM. A successful organization required a mouthpiece. In 1923, the BfM started publishing the *Journal for Human Rights* (*Blätter für Menschenrecht*), its official newsletter, and established the Orplid-Verlag. The name choice for the publishing house was symbolic: it referred to a paradisiacal place of freedom and hope imagined by the poet Eduard Mörike (1804–75).<sup>15</sup> The publisher wanted to convey a sense of freedom and hope, but unfortunately, this venture did not survive the inflation. Radszuweit funded a new company, the Radszuweit-Verlag, to replace this failed venture (figure 2.1).<sup>16</sup> While he was still

# Unsere Geschäftsstelle



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Tel.: Moritzplatz 169 45

ist mit allen Straßenbahnen, die den Spittelmarkt, den Moritzplatz oder die Köpenicker Straße berühren, zu erreichen. 2 Minuten vom Utergrundbahnhof Inselbrücke.

### Besuchen Sie uns!

Sie erhalten bei uns die führenden homoerotischen Zeitschriften, wie Freundschaftsblatt, Blätter für Menschenrecht, Freundin, die Insel usw., Aktphotos, Vergrößerungen und sämtliche homoerotischen Bücher, von denen wir als die meistgelesenen nur erwähnen:

Klaus Mann: Vor dem Leben, Erzählungen . . . . .	M. 3.50, geb. M. 5.50
Homunkulus: Zwischen den Geschlechtern, Roman einer geächteten Leidenschaft . . . . .	4.50
H. v. Hülsen: Den alten Göttern zu, Roman . . . . .	6.50
A. H. Rausch: Ehebeische Trilogie, Erzählungen . . . . .	6.50
A. v. Nathusius: Die Unerlösten, Roman . . . . .	6.—
E. Magrodsckaja: Kreuzweg der Leidenschaft, Roman . . . . .	M. 4.50, geb. 6.50
A. Bronnen: Septemberrövelle . . . . .	geb. 3.50
Sagitta: Die Bücher der namenlosen Liebe . . . . .	geb. 15.—

### Suchen Sie sich etwas aus.

Ein gutes Buch ist von bleibendem Wert. Wir versenden auch nach auswärts bei Voreinsendung des Betrages und Portos. Unsere genaue Anschrift ist:

**FRIEDRICH RADSZUWEIT VERLAG, BERLIN S 14,**

Neue Jakobstraße 9.

Figure 2.1. The office for Radszuweit's publishing house in the Neue Jakobstraße 9, printed in *Die Insel* (July 1927).

committed to providing freedom and hope for his readers, the name change indicated that he had taken full control of his business. He was now free to shape it according to his vision: books, magazines, and eventually records and film, he believed, would make homosexuals visible and display their respectability.<sup>17</sup>

Radszuweit was not the first publisher of homosexual magazines, but he was the most successful one in this period. Brand's *The Special* (*Der Eigene*, 1896–1930) and Hirschfeld's *Yearbook for Sexual Intermediates* (*Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1899–1923) preceded Radszuweit's publications by two decades. Both magazines either were available only to a small closed group of subscribers or targeted primarily academic audiences. Karl Schultz's magazine *Friendship* (*Die Freundschaft*, 1919–33) was the first popular homosexual monthly magazine. Although it was published until 1933, its dominance was short-lived because of legal troubles, as well as because it faced direct competition from Radszuweit's *Journal for Human Rights* (*Blätter für Menschenrecht*, 1923–33) and from the more informal *Journal of Friendship* (*Das Freundschaftsblatt*, 1925–33). The success of Radszuweit's BfM publications could be attributed in part to their wider availability. While *Friendship* could only be purchased by subscription after 1927, mostly in order to avoid censorship, Radszuweit's magazines were for sale in street kiosks and were accessible to anyone who could afford them. Moreover, all BfM members received a copy of the *Journal for Human Rights* in the mail.<sup>18</sup> Like most publications during that period, these magazines had more readers than buyers. The periodicals could be found in the association's clubs and in cafés, and people passed them along to their friends and acquaintances after they were finished with a given issue.<sup>19</sup>

The BfM's publications were successful because they gave readers hope. Radszuweit was certain that the movement's demands would be met in the near future, and one could read this message in the pages of his periodicals. By contrast, Max Danielsen, the editor of *Friendship* until 1922, believed the dreams of a unified homosexual mass movement had become impossible. In his opinion, homosexuals did not have the "ethical preconditions" necessary for the "struggle for freedom."<sup>20</sup> Danielsen seemed displeased with the fact that most homosexuals did not share his class background and were more interested in parties than in literature. Radszuweit, by contrast, insisted that accessible magazines with the right balance of pleasure and politics could strengthen the movement and galvanize political action. Achieving these goals, of course, required a significant financial investment and the business skills Radszuweit had honed over the course of his career.

## The Importance of (Pink) Money

The histories of capitalism and homosexuality are interconnected. According to the historian John d’Emilio, the demand for wage labour attracted gay men and women to cities, where they found the conditions necessary to create spaces in which they could live their sexuality openly. D’Emilio suggests that processes of production, consumption, and capital accumulation gave rise to the possibility of “gay identity.”<sup>21</sup> Indeed, capitalist forms of production and consumption shaped what it meant to be a homosexual during the Weimar Republic. In particular, the BfM advocated a form of consumer culture based on sexual orientation that anticipates what we have come to call “pink money.” According to Justin Bengry, marketers started recognizing the economic potential of gay men and lesbians in the 1970s. In the 1990s, they even started to use terms such as “pink economy” to refer to this economic potential. Bengry suggests that this phenomenon has a longer history, which he traces to the mid-1930s and to British magazines such as *Men Only*. Although this particular lifestyle magazine targeted a male heterosexual audience, publishers left room for ambiguity in articles and, especially, in cartoons, which kept a potential queer reader in mind. Lifestyle magazines like this one thus determined the consumer habits of gay men.<sup>22</sup> In my view, Radszuweit did something even more radical in the 1920s. His publications targeted a gay audience without having to rely on ambiguity or innuendo.

The idea that magazines – and by extension the entire movement – should speak to the vast majority of homosexuals and should be run like a business was not original to Radszuweit. The magazine *Friendship* (*Die Freundschaft*) was established as a forum for the promotion of homosexual literature and the open exchange of ideas. The magazine also advertised homosexual establishments. Its editors started the magazine because the “homosexual masses” lacked a publication that catered to their needs. They hoped *Friendship* would be competitive with the period’s other leading illustrated periodicals and even be as popular for homosexuals as “the weekly *Daheim* is for families.”<sup>23</sup> To achieve this goal, *Friendship* needed to become a respectable publication for those who desire the same sex. The editors, however, wanted more than just to fulfil the “desire for entertainment” that had conquered “the masses of inverts” after the fall of the German Empire.<sup>24</sup> While the magazine advertised community events and promoted a healthy lifestyle – for example, by encouraging its readers to exchange the ballroom for the sports field – it also provided a public forum for the movement and for the recruitment of new members.<sup>25</sup> The magazine should become

a “world parliament” for all homosexuals and call for the respect of “comrades in feeling” (*Gefühlsgenossen*) and “humanity as a whole.”<sup>26</sup> Homosexuals were a potentially large minority that deserved an independent press in order to air their political grievances. They also constituted a large group of consumers. Their economic power was crucial for arguments about their political strength. This group constituted a market of up to two million people – the number of homosexuals living in Germany according to Hirschfeld’s estimate.<sup>27</sup>

*Friendship*, however, lacked the capital necessary to fulfil these lofty aspirations. The magazine had started with the money collected by “a group of scientists and philanthropists,” but this support was not enough to keep the magazine afloat. They needed more advertising revenue and more business backers. Realizing that they lacked the experience to run a magazine efficiently, the editors decided to put *Friendship* in the hands of a “competent businessman,” the experienced publisher Karl Schultz, in 1921.<sup>28</sup> Max Danielsen, the magazine’s editor-in-chief, stressed that despite the changes in leadership, the magazine would not change in orientation; its economic needs – and economic dependency – would not compromise its politics. Danielsen asked for the readers’ loyalty during such difficult financial times, thus creating a personal relationship with the reader based on mutual trust. He reminded the readers that profit would be used to achieve the organization’s main goals: all revenue would go directly to the Association for Friendship rather than enrich individuals, such as Schultz or Danielsen. *Friendship* would be advantageous to the movement as a whole.<sup>29</sup>

Radszuweit built his publishing company aware of this history, even though he liked to fashion himself as “the only publisher of his kind.”<sup>30</sup> This statement was deliberately ambiguous. Although he was not the only publisher of homosexual magazines, he was indeed the only openly homosexual publisher and therefore had to be personally committed to the movement’s cause. This claim was part of a strategy to discredit his competitor, Karl Schultz. Radszuweit stressed that *Friendship*’s publisher was a heterosexual man who wanted to enrich himself at the expense of homosexuals. Schultz’s *Friendship*, Radszuweit argued, portrayed a sordid world of blackmailers and youth seducers that did nothing to dispel society’s prejudices against homosexuality. In an article titled “The Main Ill in the Homosexual Movement,” published in December 1924, Radszuweit described Schultz as a “parasite” and as the main problem of the movement, a man who misused its resources and strengths.<sup>31</sup>

Though perhaps not for these reasons, *Friendship* failed to become the mass publication it aspired to be. The magazine struggled in 1923

due to inflation and even after due to rising printing costs.<sup>32</sup> Even more destructive were the continual accusations of indecency that the publishers faced. Max Danielsen tried to mobilize readers by addressing them directly about the fate of the periodical.<sup>33</sup> Officials claimed that the magazine's portrayal of the "homosexual lifestyle" (*Lebensbilder*) could scandalize the general public and seduce youths into homosexuality. The alleged inclusion of "obscene" personal advertisements justified the decision to ban this publication from February 1923 until 1924.<sup>34</sup> By the time *Friendship* was back in print, many of its readers had found a new magazine to read: Radszuweit's *Journal for Human Rights*, which was available not only by subscription, as *Friendship* was then, but also in the newsstands.

The BfM learned from *Friendship*'s mistakes and considered the dangers the other magazine had faced. The organization needed a strong media presence to increase its propaganda efforts, but it had to avoid being associated with obscenity. The BfM's publications should become a platform from which it could spread the message of homosexual respectability and equal rights. With the support of Radszuweit's publishing enterprise, the BfM brought together entertainment and politics. The publisher focused on expanding its portfolio with magazines that included some news content – short articles and editorials about the state of the movement or the latest police crackdown on gay bars – but especially short stories, book excerpts, advertisements, and personal ads that sought to keep readers connected. The BfM used its press to advertise its balls and lectures as well, hoping the possibility of fun would entice more people to join the organization.

Radszuweit also promoted Berlin's fledgling pink economy. The BfM's urged its members to spend their money in businesses run for homosexuals by homosexuals. Even the *Journal of Friendship*, for example, advised readers to "only visit the taverns advertised in our pages."<sup>35</sup> In addition to the expected cafés, restaurants, bars, and ballrooms, Radszuweit's magazines, such as *The Island (Die Insel, 1923–33)*, advertised a hotel, a hairdresser, an optician, a shoe store, a haberdashery, a furniture store, and a photography store (figure 2.2).

These magazines suggested that only homosexual business owners worked with the well-being of their customers in mind, unlike the establishments managed by greedy heterosexual men who only wanted money and were willing to sacrifice the homosexual's reputation to turn a dime. The BfM's members, in Radszuweit's opinion, should avoid the "sites of depravation" (*Lasterstätte*) and "coke dens" (*Kokshöhle*) that the sensationalist press loved to abhor, the police department raided, tourist guides celebrated, and Berlin's intellectuals, artists, and tourists



Figure 2.2. Typical advertisements in *Die Insel* (October 1927).

frequented, such as the Eldorado.<sup>36</sup> In these places, heterosexuals gazed at homosexuals as “fairground attractions” (*Schaubjekte*), a position that evoked colonial exhibitions and displays of the racial Other.<sup>37</sup> Instead of such a spectacle, the BfM endorsed bars owned and frequented by reputable homosexuals who promoted respectable behaviour and a honourable clientele.<sup>38</sup> According to this ideal, homosexuals were part of the nation, not alien to it. When in doubt, homosexuals needed only check the BfM’s publications: only irreproachable places were advertised in their pages.

Building a mass organization was not easy. The BfM needed money as much as it needed a unifying message; it needed to stress the commonalities between homosexual men as much as their differences. Whereas the local groups were necessary for building up the movement from an existing organized community, the press was essential for its ideological unity and growth. Radszuweit wrote to readers of the *Journal*

for *Human Rights* that the integration of the homosexual “social clubs, dance halls, as well as savings and lottery clubs,” under the organization’s aegis since the November Revolution was a necessary step for the BfM’s growth.<sup>39</sup> The desires of and possibilities for homosexuals in Berlin, Leipzig, or Breslau, however, were not the same. A centralized organization could never be successful because most people felt more comfortable staying in their local communities and maintaining their customs. Groups outside of Berlin disliked being dictated to by the capital. They felt regional groups were best equipped to deal with local authorities. For that reason, the BfM grew from different local groups that enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy in their programming and in their strategies to recruit new members.

Radszuweit was certain that a movement composed of multiple and semi-independent units had to be led like a business to succeed. The BfM needed a strong director, a centralized board, statutes, membership dues, and, more importantly, an official newspaper to represent the organization’s position. The organization’s flagship magazine, the *Journal for Human Rights*, never quite matched the ambition of any of the publications of the WhK.<sup>40</sup> Unlike the WhK’s *Yearbook for Sexual Intermediates* (*Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1899–1923), the *Journal for Human Rights* included few articles with scientific content. Its articles were considerably shorter and less intellectually engaging, and they combined serious content and trivial topics more or less on the same page. Aware that the BfM risked losing the more educated segment of the homosexual movement, Radszuweit sought to satisfy these readers through a series of changes in the magazine’s format. Starting in 1925, all advertisements, personal ads, and references to nightlife were removed from this magazine.<sup>41</sup> Radszuweit decided that the publication should now be an official newsletter every member received as part of their regular membership fee. He could afford to offer this as a more serious magazine because he had created other publishing venues in which readers could find less demanding articles and advertisements. These lowbrow publications were the ones that actually brought revenue and helped the organization grow.<sup>42</sup>

Radszuweit’s business experience allowed him to implement a complicated market strategy. His success could be attributed to his keen awareness of market segmentation and content preferences among homosexual readers. He was able to balance demand for lighter fare so that he could publish the more serious periodicals as well as increase the number of all his publications. Over the first few months, the *Journal for Human Rights* grew in pages, in supplements, and in personal advertisements. Soon, the Radszuweit publishing house was

printing four magazines more frequently. The literary supplement *The Island of the Lonely* (*Die Insel des Einsamen*) appeared in December 1923, only ten months after the BfM started publishing its flagship publication. In February 1924, the *Journal for Human Rights* became a biweekly magazine. The lesbian magazine *Girlfriend* (*Die Freundin*) appeared in August 1924.<sup>43</sup> Radszuweit also published the *Journal of Friendship* (*Das Freundschaftsblatt*), a spin-off of the literary supplement *Die Insel*, which appeared for the first time in the summer of 1925 and outgrew and outlived its parent publication; it was printed weekly until March 1933. Finally, *The Island* became an independent literary magazine in September 1926.<sup>44</sup> By that year the publishing house had grown tremendously: it claimed a total circulation of 5,140,000 copies for all the magazines combined.<sup>45</sup> This was a considerable success for a small press run by an openly gay man. Given that most of the magazines were distributed in the capital and other large cities, it is likely that many city dwellers saw one of them at some time.

Radszuweit told his readers that the BfM's publications reached more people than their competitors. The group's magazines were read by thousands of people in every corner of the country and allegedly the world (it had subscribers in faraway countries such as Brazil).<sup>46</sup> Danielsen's *Friendship*, Radszuweit stated, had been a trailblazer, but it had never reached the majority of homosexuals: "A magazine that no more than 100 people read cannot pretend to be 'our movement.'"<sup>47</sup> In an article aptly titled "Publicity" (in German, "Propaganda"), a contributor to the *Journal for Human Rights* asserted that the Association for Friendship, which was responsible for publishing *Friendship*, had only 400 members in Berlin and not more than a couple of thousand members in the entire country.<sup>48</sup> Where were the two million homosexual men and women that Hirschfeld had estimated? Radszuweit used this type of reporting on other periodicals to bolster the standing of his own enterprise. He suggested that if the BfM wanted to lead the movement and make a difference, it needed to reach every single homosexual in Germany.

As Radszuweit's publications and their visibility in the kiosks increased, so did the BfM's membership. In April 1923, the organization had only 2,780 members. One year later this figure reached 12,013.<sup>49</sup> It would continue to grow exponentially. According to a self-report, the organization had 100,000 members by the end of 1924, a figure that was most likely exaggerated. After such prodigious growth, however, stagnation followed due to pressure from local authorities. Police departments in some cities harassed local groups and threatened revoking their licence to organize public events or removing the magazines from

public sale. Paul Weber, Radszuweit's right hand, claimed local authorities justified these threats with the rationale that people feared "the spread of homosexuality to the entire population."<sup>50</sup> This official tactic was thought to have reduced the BfM's membership to 30,000 in 1925, a figure that seems more plausible.<sup>51</sup> In an article titled "Our Movement: Looking Back and Forward," published in 1929, Radszuweit reported on the health of the organization, which had continued to grow until 1927, when its membership peaked at 65,000, a number that remained constant until the end of the decade, when the economic crisis and political instability slowed down the recruitment of new members and made the retention of old ones difficult.<sup>52</sup>

Even though Radszuweit was not the first to envision the movement and its press as a profit-oriented business, once his publications started to lead the market, his competitors in business and the homosexual movement forgot that they had once shared the same aspirations. Benedict Friedlaender (1866–1908), the cofounder with Adolf Brand of the masculinist GdE, the Community of the Special, had complained that doctors were the first people to make a profit off of homosexuality.<sup>53</sup> For many of his critics, Radszuweit was no better than them. Radszuweit's literal rags-to-riches story – his rise from humble, provincial origins to garment wholesaler and prosperous publisher – was treated with contempt. According to his rivals, the commercial success of Radszuweit's publications and the BfM's growth revealed the publisher's true intentions. They accused him of being greedy and of transforming the homosexual emancipation movement into a crass business affair.

Brand, as head of the GdE, was aware of the difficulties facing the homosexual movement during the 1920s, but the leader was not willing to accept its democratization to save it. His dislike for Radszuweit was debated publicly within the movement. Brand felt contempt for what Radszuweit embodied: a self-made man who had successfully climbed the economic ladder. Brand shared his feelings about Radszuweit in a newsletter, so all GdE members could follow this debate. In a 1924 article titled "The New Action Committee," Brand described Radszuweit as a man from the provinces known only for making money from disreputable bars and dance halls. According to Brand, the East Prussian entrepreneur had become famous for hosting so-called *Puppenbälle*, the lavish balls that Berlin's effeminate homosexual men, cross-dressers, and hustlers frequented. The BfM's leader, in Brand's estimation, lacked the "idealism" necessary to successfully lead the homosexual rights movement.<sup>54</sup> By idealism, Brand implied an elitist and masculinist worldview that included the veneration of Greek love – the

glorification of the beauty of male youth – and overt misogyny, views that Radszuweit rejected, at least publicly. To further discredit him, Brand resorted to a series of insults that resonated with his contemporaries: he was a *Schieber*, a profiteer who had illicitly enriched himself during the war and the early years of the republic with shoddy businesses. Even worse, Brand accused him of “stabbing” the movement in the back.<sup>55</sup> Why and how was unclear, but Radszuweit had sold out the entire movement, just as Social Democrats (with whom Radszuweit openly sympathized) and Jews had betrayed the country during the war. In Brand’s estimation, Radszuweit was treasonous, pragmatic, and greedy; his lack of decency was an embarrassment for the movement.

Radszuweit, probably accustomed to displays of prejudice against his background, seemed unaffected by the accusations of profiteering and of hosting disreputable events. While Brand lamented his lack of “idealism,” Radszuweit justified that pragmatism was the only strategy that could bring success to the movement. He responded to Brand’s attacks in the pages of *The Island*. In an article published in 1925, he argued that ideals were useless without “healthy materialism.” Idealism, Radszuweit implied, was for those who never have to worry about money. His business experience had taught him that “there is no one in a company who just works for idealism.”<sup>56</sup> The BfM was no different. Action was needed to improve the situation of the disenfranchised. Achieving even the smallest of demands, he suggested, required a pragmatic and materialist approach.

Paul Weber reflected on the BfM’s success in organizing the leisure time of its members in an article appearing in the *Journal for Human Rights* in December 1928. “The greatest accomplishment,” Weber stated, “is that homosexual men have created meeting points not only in Germany, but in the entire world.”<sup>57</sup> Here, Weber referred to the complex network of clubs, representatives, and publications the BfM had established that facilitated same-sex friendships, the exchange of ideas, and the growth of a homosexual political movement. Magazines had ended the solitude that characterized homosexual men and lesbians. The spectacular financial success of the BfM’s publications had helped grow the homosexual movement and increase its visibility in the mainstream. Nearing his death in 1932 due to an advanced illness, and reminiscing about his competitors’ earlier criticism, Radszuweit maintained in an article directed to his readership that his entrepreneurship had saved the movement. He was proud of having built a publishing house, magazines, and, indeed, an entire movement without any external financial help. “I risked then my own capital and of course wanted to make some money with this company,” he wrote with

satisfaction. "I told myself that as a businessman I would not start a company which would give me no earnings for my work and no interest for my investment." That he had run the movement like a business should be understandable for the organization's members and for all his readers: "With what money should I pay my employees or for rent if the publishing house is not a business"?<sup>58</sup> Radszuweit hoped that the paternalism he showed for his employees would resonate among his readers. He reminded them, perhaps in attempt to regain the esteem he may have lost as the movement (and the country) entered its worst crisis, that the BfM owed its success to his business skills.

### The Politics of Coming Out

Friedrich Radszuweit may have been a businessman, but he took the history of the homosexual movement seriously and adapted it to the needs of the early twentieth century. His plan for the BfM closely resembled the "Bylaws for the Urning Union" that the jurist and early homosexual advocate Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–95) had proposed in 1865. Ulrichs envisioned an organization to end the isolation homosexuals experienced. His "Urning Union" would promote "the inborn human rights of homosexuals," influence public opinion, and urge Prussia to decriminalize male same-sex acts. This union, moreover, would nurture literary production and help members in economic and legal need.<sup>59</sup> Radszuweit followed this decades-old program to the letter. The BfM wanted to become central to the homosexual community's life: in addition to keeping its members informed in its publications, it supported members in economic need and offered legal advice and representation to those facing labour disputes, blackmail, and criminal charges due to Paragraph 175. These legal services were offered as part of the organization's membership fee.<sup>60</sup> More importantly, the BfM shaped its members' political positions, lobbied Parliament, and encouraged its readers that "coming out" was the most crucial political act they could ever perform.

Radszuweit's magazines provided a public forum to discuss homosexual inequality. Their presence in kiosks had made homosexuality highly visible to the world. Still, many readers wondered how and when their own visibility would be possible. Johannes Wagner, writing in the *Journal for Human Rights*, described the conundrum that many same-sex-desiring men and women faced: "Before we as homoeroticists [*Homoeroten*] can come out to the world and carry out really successful work, we must enjoy equality and respect. Everything we want to achieve will be premature without this premise."<sup>61</sup> Coming out

required respect, but how could heterosexuals consider homosexuals respectable if they did not know any personally? Many homosexual men read the magazines and participated in the BfM's social gatherings but were not out to family, friends, or colleagues. How could homosexuality be out in the open in newsstands while the homosexual had no place in public life?

Coming out implied recognizing and accepting who one *really* was. The search for a distinct sexual sensibility located in the body and the soul could be traced to the writings of Ulrichs, the "contrary-sexual feeling" theory of Carl Westphal, and Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Many readers recognized themselves in Ulrich's original publication or in reprints from 1898.<sup>62</sup> They were also moved by the confessional mode characteristic of Krafft-Ebing's patient testimonies.<sup>63</sup> In fact, it is no coincidence that the German term for coming out (*sich bekennen*) describes confessions in both a juridical and religious sense: one can use this verb to admit one's guilt in court, profess one's faith in God, or declare one's belief in an ideology or doctrine. Acknowledging one's sexual orientation, that is, confessing one's same-sex attraction, had been central to the construction of homosexuality as a medical abnormality, criminal offence, and social identity. "Sexuality," Foucault argues, "was defined as being 'by nature': a domain susceptible to pathological processes, and hence one calling for therapeutic or normalizing interventions; a field of meanings to decipher; the site of processes concealed by specific mechanisms; a focus of indefinite casual relations; and an obscure speech [*parole*] that had to be ferreted out and listened to."<sup>64</sup> Instead of seeing just sex acts, psychiatrists sought a deeper truth underneath same-sex-desiring bodies; they unearthed sexual truth to judge character. As Harry Oosterhuis has argued, homosexuals were not helpless in this process.<sup>65</sup> The act of confessing one's same-sex desire to the psychiatrist could be liberating.

In the 1920s, "coming out" not only implied an internal recognition, but it involved sharing that inner truth with the outer world as well.<sup>66</sup> Same-sex desire was becoming a social identity instead of a disease, a crime, or a sin. Articles in the homosexual press urged readers to make their same-sex desire public. Pieces in the *Journal for Human Rights* told readers that coming out to family, friends, and coworkers was a political act that could lead to acceptance and equality. Reaching a critical mass and increasing the number of supporters could improve the chances of abolishing Paragraph 175, but only those who led a respectable life and avoided improper entertainment venues should come out.<sup>67</sup> Only these homosexuals should feel pride and confidence that their respectability would overshadow social prejudice. This strategy should work, starting at home.

The BfM stressed that familial support and traditional social structures were fundamental to the politics of respectability they advocated. The organization's publications framed family as a safe space in which love would prevent disappointment and disgust. If every family came to grips with homosexuality (and no family was untouched by it, the readers were reminded), prejudice and intolerance would disappear. Granted, admitting one's homosexuality to family and friends was a lot harder than publicly purchasing a magazine or leaving a copy behind in a streetcar. K. Kroneberg, a reader of the *Journal for Human Rights*, addressed this challenge in an article titled "Confessional Courage":

It may seem difficult for many to pronounce openly: Yes, I am a homosexual [*Homosexueller*]. Nevertheless, this step is necessary in order to achieve our goals. One does not need to walk down the street with a sign on the back saying "I am a Homoeroticist" [*Ich bin Homoerot!*], but there are surely many opportunities in your circle of friends, acquaintances, and coworkers to raise the question: What do you want from homoeroticists? Are they worse people than you? Aren't they condemned to live the way they do due to their peculiar nature?<sup>68</sup>

Kroneberg appealed to readers that people needed to be taught about the nature of same-sex desire and the lives people led as a consequence of this natural disposition. Teaching heterosexuals about the science behind homosexuality as well as about respectability was a central part of the journal's educational project. This aim was in line with the politics of the BfM. Its leaders were convinced that family ties and friendship would prevail over prejudice under the condition that one chose to come out and educate the heterosexual majority.

The BfM published stories about positive coming-out experiences to show readers how individual agency was essential for this process of self-acceptance and ultimately for their acceptance in wider society. Erwin Weiß, in an article about the importance of educating people about same-sex desire, encouraged readers to "recognize their obligations": to educate the masses about homosexuality and to come out to parents and siblings. Weiß admitted that heterosexual friends and relatives may not immediately understand, but homosexuals should talk with them about scientific studies on the topic and name some homosexual celebrities to make the case about their right to exist.<sup>69</sup> A number of articles made the case that Christmas was a good season to come out, since this was a time for love and understanding, even though both the Protestant and Catholic churches failed to uphold these values with respect to homosexuals.<sup>70</sup>

Coming out could be exhilarating but also dangerous. One feared being rejected by family members or losing one's job. Mindful of these dire consequences, magazines offered a substitute for those who were not willing or immediately able to do so. These publications could help people feel like they were part of the movement even if they were not yet out, as Bernhard Lübecker, a reader from Hamburg, argued.<sup>71</sup> Magazines connected their readers virtually through the act of reading. They made it possible to flee from an intolerant world and to feel understood and loved, even if in solitude. In 1929, Arthur S. wrote in a letter to the editor that "he awaited Wednesdays with longing." The day when the BfM's flagship publication could be purchased was "the only gleam of hope in my eternal everyday life," he observed. Arthur, however, felt excluded from the homosexual movement because the organization did not support those who were not out and politically active. He spoke for those who feared being rejected by their loved ones.<sup>72</sup> For readers like him, the magazine *Human Rights (Menschenrecht)*, as the *Journal for Human Rights* was called at the time, was the only possibility of being out and joining a community of like-natured people (*Artgenossen*). In this sense, purchasing a magazine was a brave political act and often the only possibility for homosexual men to come to terms with their own sexuality.

The politics the organization promoted were not only personal but also formal and pragmatic. In the pages of the *Journal for Human Rights*, *Journal of Friendship*, and *Girlfriend*, Radszuweit informed readers about which parties supported the movement's pleas. The BfM endorsed the Social Democratic Party and pressured its members to adopt this party's position. Yet the leadership was aware that the organization's members and readers were by no means homogeneous. Same-sex desire was just one characteristic that they shared. Most of them supported the Social Democratic and Communist Parties because these parties supported decriminalization. Still, many middle-class members voted for more conservative parties that defended their economic interests. This political and economic diversity required that the BfM's message stay flexible, which Radszuweit accomplished under a veneer of political "neutrality."<sup>73</sup> Radszuweit repeatedly reminded readers in his editorials that only the Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party, the Democratic Party, and a member of the German People's Party, the law professor Wilhelm Kahl, supported decriminalization.<sup>74</sup> These facts should make readers reconsider their votes, if they had ever considered voting for another party. In addition to shaping the political decisions of its readers, the BfM aimed to influence those in power, albeit with little success. Brochures were often sent to Reichstag members, ministers,

and judges, and even to President Hindenburg.<sup>75</sup> In 1924, it sent over 200,000 pamphlets to members of all parties.<sup>76</sup>

The organization needed more people to gain political influence. Radszuweit encouraged his readers to promote the organization and recruit new members. Whereas many joined freely, some worried about their public image and preferred to keep a low profile. In order to attract the most hesitant, the BfM suggested that its members send in the names of their most timid acquaintances, so that they would be sent free informational material, which might convince them to join.<sup>77</sup> This recruitment packet included the *Journal for Human Rights* and was sent in a sealed envelope to avoid the neighbours' suspicion. Members were urged to "leave behind the *Journal* in a discreet manner, for example in the streetcar, the train, or in frequented places such as theatres, cafés, and pubs."<sup>78</sup> People, regardless of their sexual orientation, could grab a copy, learn about the inequalities that homosexual men and lesbians faced, and perhaps change their minds about homosexuality. If the strategy worked out, the BfM would gain a new member or heterosexual ally and the publisher a new customer.

### Human Rights and the Limits of Respectability

Radszuweit's first opinion piece, which appeared in the pages of *Friendship* in 1922, set the tone of his political agenda for the next decade. In "An Open Letter to All German Men and Women," he spoke about a "repressed minority" (*eine unterdrückte Minderheit*) that continued to be treated with prejudice four years into the republic. Homosexuals, Radszuweit complained, were treated as "criminals, treasonous people, or individuals that one should eradicate from the root," even though they were men and women from all walks of life. "The simple worker, craftsman, salaried employee, business man and civil servant," he continued, "is part of this minority just as the splurging war profiteer or the academic are."<sup>79</sup> This broad picture of society suggests that homosexuality was an issue that should matter for every single political party. In his view, homosexuals had to organize as liberal subjects with the "incontestable right to live according to one's feeling provided a third person is not hurt."<sup>80</sup> They deserved freedom based on their fundamental human rights (*Menschenrecht*).

While the language of homosexual rights can be traced back to earlier German writings on same-sex desire, times had changed since Ulrichs's *Studies on the Riddle of Male-Male Love* (*Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe*) had been published in 1860 or the WhK was founded in 1897. Germans now lived in a democracy with

a ratified constitution that guaranteed equal rights, at least in theory. With the new political regime, the arguments put forth by the emancipation movement changed. Radszuweit and the BfM now spoke of a human right rather than drawing upon the language of science used since the turn of the century, a move signalled by the organization's name. Radszuweit was not the only homosexual rights leader who supported this paradigm shift. One of Hirschfeld's associates at the WhK also steered that group in a move from science to natural law. Indeed, Hirschfeld had been a great influence for every single homosexual leader, including Radszuweit. And although the Berlin doctor certainly advocated homosexual rights, his political strategy highlighted the biological aspects of homosexuality and linked homosexual rights to the larger international movement for sex reform.<sup>81</sup> By contrast, Kurt Hiller, who in 1929 would replace Hirschfeld as the head of the WhK, addressed the issue of human rights more directly. Like his mentor, he argued that homosexuality was an inborn trait recurring in society. This trait, Hiller argued, was not different from hair colour or other bodily marks. In a 1931 article titled "The Law and Sexual Minorities," he maintained his neo-Kantian position that morality is distinct from law and that the state had no claim on individuals' self-expression "unless the activity of the individual collides with the interests of another individual, or perhaps of the whole, the society."<sup>82</sup> He contended that this was definitely not the case for homosexuals, since their sexuality was natural and harmed no one. Hiller compared the persecution of homosexuals to that of the Jews (in fact, he claimed that persecution of the former was worse), thereby conferring both groups a status as minorities that deserved equal protection before the law.

The claim of homosexual rights as human rights did not start with Hiller or Radszuweit, but in fact it stretches back to the earliest times of the homosexual emancipation movement.<sup>83</sup> Radszuweit may have borrowed the concept of human rights from the Swiss hatter Heinrich Hössli, who in the 1830s had defended the love between men as an inherent liberal right in a series of books. "While not a trained lawyer," Robert Deam Tobin argues, "[Hössli] relies on a liberal vocabulary of human rights in the context of honor, legal protection, respect, religious acceptance, and public recognition" that was typical of the Enlightenment.<sup>84</sup> Ralph M. Leck has shown that Hössli was convinced that the public recognition of homosexuality would make "the right to love" a universal human right.<sup>85</sup> Radszuweit believed that the public recognition that homosexuality had achieved through his magazines would guarantee this very same right.

Radszuweit was certainly familiar with the writings of Hössli and Ulrichs and, most likely, with those of Karl-Maria Kertbeny, a Hungarian journalist born in Austria famous for coining the term “homosexual” (*homosexuell*) in an essay published in 1868, a word that Hirschfeld popularized in his own work.<sup>86</sup> All these authors believed in the mastery of science and argued that same-sex desire was natural and inborn.<sup>87</sup> They supported liberal values, such as the right to privacy, minority rights, the rule of law, and the separation of church and state.<sup>88</sup> Radszuweit shared these views, too, and may even have been influenced by more radical thinkers, such as Benedict Friedlaender, who regarded the medicalization of sexuality with disdain and defended the argument that “the proper basis for the homosexual emancipation movement was not natural science but natural law.”<sup>89</sup> The BfM’s understanding of rights was, then, liberal because it advocated personal inalienable rights like the freedom to live one’s life according to its nature and fullest potential, provided others are not harmed, and the fundamental right to privacy. Accordingly, the organization supported the tenets of “equality, integration, individual self-worth, and self-determination” that help constitute the universal discourse of human rights today.<sup>90</sup> This universal appeal gave Radszuweit’s organization the moral high ground and halo of seriousness necessary to counterbalance its association with commercial culture.

The language Hössli and Ulrichs had chosen and Radszuweit adopted highlighted how male same-sex acts continued to be punished in “a direct violation of human rights.”<sup>91</sup> In addition to using the discourse on human rights and pointing to a longer history of homosexual struggle, Radszuweit and the BfM insisted that a community could not be formed around medical and legal discourse alone. A homosexual rights movement needed new social practices and institutions that would make this sexual identity liveable. This sense of historical tradition was, in Eric Hobsbawm’s words, “invented.” The magazines, the clubs, and the parties that the BfM organized created a minority with its own “value systems and conventions of behaviour.”<sup>92</sup>

The *Journal for Human Rights* recognized that homosexuals constituted a minority, but it stressed that all people shared the same human rights. In the 1924 article “Our Relationship to the Others,” an anonymous author (most likely Radszuweit) maintained that the heterosexual majority – the “others” in the article – and the homosexual minority should be treated equally since both groups shared the same “ethical qualities.”<sup>93</sup> Being a minority, however, came with some difficulties. Ulrichs had considered it an injustice that a minority would be judged (and, in this case, even condemned) by the “nature” of the

majority.<sup>94</sup> Radszuweit understood that highlighting sameness was a more productive strategy. In a different article, he encouraged readers to embrace the values of the majority rather than challenge injustice. To be accepted as a minority, the author stated, homosexuals needed to be “normal,” as German Jews tried to do.<sup>95</sup> They needed to assimilate. The BfM suggested in its publications that normal homosexuals were good, healthy German workers, civil servants, or businessmen whose only difference (and the marker of their minority status) was that they happened to love someone of the same sex.

Both “human rights” and “homosexuality” were malleable concepts during the Weimar Republic. While the BfM was working to make homosexual rights concrete, it also attempted to create a homosexual identity. The result was an image of the “proper” homosexual as a type that many considered unduly restrictive and detrimental to the movement for homosexual rights.<sup>96</sup> Producing normative homosexuality required a homosexual Other.<sup>97</sup> Some homosexuals could not be assimilated because they had not abandoned the “decadent manners of a dandy”<sup>98</sup> or the effeminate and affected demeanour of the *Tante* (or *Tunte*), a derogatory term that Adolf Brand used to mock Hirschfeld and his theories of gender inversion.<sup>99</sup> Radszuweit and those around him also rejected men who engaged in male prostitution and corrupted youths, issues that multiple articles condemned. Such abject comportment, according to Paul Weber, not only hurt each individual but also “damaged the entire movement.”<sup>100</sup> Such immoral behaviour was loathly for heterosexuals and despicable for respectable homosexuals.<sup>101</sup> “Normal” homosexuals should conform to gender norms and control their impulses and sexual drive; they should be restrained and tame. Within the politics of respectability that the BfM supported, coming out entailed being unnoticeable. Sexuality and its manifestations ought to remain strictly private affairs. This was, after all, a tenet of liberal rights.

The BfM’s support of liberal rights required a discourse around homosexuality in which productivity predominated. Gerd Vrone wrote in an article for the *Journal of Friendship*, for instance, that homosexuals contributed to the betterment of society and the nation: they served in the military, excelled in the arts, and contributed to Germany’s rich intellectual life.<sup>102</sup> If homosexuals wanted to claim respectability and assert their role as productive members of society, they needed to overcome a critical issue: while heterosexuals could legitimize their existence through reproduction, homosexual men could not. For that reason, Vrone stressed, they should be more ambitious at work and focus on their “perfection as human beings” (*Vervollkommung als Menschen*).<sup>103</sup>

The good intentions of this proposal were undeniable: it sought acceptance, equality, and visibility. This model also demanded the exclusion and invisibility of those not willing or able to conform. This position may have been pragmatic, but it was nonetheless a flawed, conformist, and repressive demand for rights. The failure to assimilate, as Radszuweit had warned a few years earlier in the context of Reichstag elections, would result in homosexuals being lumped together with “sick people, fools, drunkards, [and] seducers of youths,” as mainstream society continued to do.<sup>104</sup> The politics of respectability, in contrast, proposed that it was within the power of the homosexual to end prejudice and criminalization once and for all.

Radszuweit’s magazines offered a public forum in which readers could shape what it meant to be a homosexual in the 1920s. Nevertheless, we should be cautious about celebrating the visibility and democratic forum that the BfM achieved without acknowledging its imbrication with existing social structures and changing economic frameworks. Weimar democracy offered the conditions necessary for the development of a homosexual mass movement. This movement flourished because people like Friedrich Radszuweit were willing to use their business skills and personal views to achieve collective political goals.

The visibility that the BfM achieved was contingent on normative values. Many contributors to the movement’s press, for example, stressed that overt displays of sexuality “should not be visible in public.”<sup>105</sup> The respectable homosexual should refrain from visiting frivolous nightclubs and avoid a life of pleasure, which included paying for sex. The BfM did not exclude people from its ranks tout court, but rather emphasized that inclusion and the right to be visible were contingent on respectable behaviour. This position underscored a desire to avoid the amalgamation of homosexuality with other stigmatized social groups in the 1920s, such as female and male prostitutes, who were left outside of the bourgeois social compact. Described as degenerate, a threat to public health, and work-shy, prostitutes showed a “reckless lifestyle” and a “lack of judiciousness”<sup>106</sup> that Radszuweit rejected as constitutive of homosexuality. Only the productive homosexual, he who contributed to the wealth and health of the nation, should enjoy the privilege of being out to family, friends, and coworkers, while giving complete expression to his sexuality in private.

The visibility homosexuality gained through media came with trade-offs. Part of being more visible implied suffering more repression from the outside. Visibility made it easier for the police to locate homosexuals and suppress their publications. This seems to have been most

deeply felt in Catholic parts of the country, such as the Rhineland and Westphalia. In one of his many editorials, Radszuweit described how the Düsseldorf police department had started arresting people in homosexual bars and clubs in 1925. Similar measures reached Berlin that year. In the capital, where the police department had notoriously condoned homosexual gatherings, the authorities did not always authorize the parties organized by the BfM.<sup>107</sup> In Chemnitz, an industrial city in Saxony, the police department had forbidden known homosexual men to live together or to linger on streets, in parks, in squares, or in public restrooms.<sup>108</sup> Once the Law for the Protection of Youth against Harmful Literature was passed in 1926, police departments and morality organizations started policing the public sale of homosexual and other “morally questionable” magazines.<sup>109</sup> Repression measures that aimed to reduce the visibility of homosexuality increased insidiously and affected the movement’s press first.

The presence of homosexuality in the newsstands did increase public awareness. The success of the BfM’s publications made homosexuality noticeable to everybody. People may not have seen a homosexual in the flesh before, so to speak, but they could find him in the kiosk. Contemporary commentators believed that this presence was particularly dangerous for youths, who were constitutionally and psychologically susceptible to homosexual seduction. The availability and accessibility of homosexual publications reinforced prejudices against homosexuality that were justified within the heightened contemporary anxiety about youth endangerment and protection. Why did mainstream society continue to believe in the possibility of seduction? A look at the kiosk can provide some answers.

## The Allure of Youth in the League for Human Rights' Publications

The League for Human Rights (Bund für Menschenrecht, BfM) sought to increase the awareness of homosexuality among the masses with the publication and public sale of magazines. The initial success of the organization's publications motivated its leader, Friedrich Radszuweit, to expand the scope of its flagship periodical, the *Journal for Human Rights* (*Blätter für Menschenrecht*, 1923–33), and to bring more variety to his publishing portfolio. On 15 December 1923, the BfM launched a literary section within the *Journal for Human Rights* called *The Island of the Lonely* (*Die Insel des Einsamen*). By 1926, this supplement grew from a leaflet about the fight for homosexual rights and a few advertisements into a full-fledged magazine featuring short stories, poems, and photographs. In this new format, *The Island* exposed readers inside and outside of the BfM to the literary and artistic traditions of male same-sex love.

Rudolf Reichert, the supplement's chief editor, opened the first issue of *The Island* with a short story he had written with Heinz Stratz. The eponymous narrative, titled "The Island of the Lonely" ("Die Insel des Einsamen"), is set in a fantastic world. Sirius is the only inhabitant of a secluded island. This main character occasionally hears the chants of sirens who never succeed in seducing him. Instead, Sirius enjoys his isolated existence by interacting with panthers and owls who live there and by studying the stars. Sirius seems happy with those who are not of his kind and has no desire to leave the deserted island. Yet one night, he suddenly feels the urge to know what is out there beyond the confines of this remote location: "Did he feel the desire for someone like him, with whom he could talk, reflect, and dream?"<sup>1</sup> Sirius hesitates to act upon this desire, but his pet panther Dynas takes the first step for him and leaps over the water that isolates both of them on the island from the rest of the world. On the other side of the sea, a naked figure

welcomes Sirius. His name is Adrast, "a lean ephebe," a youth with a "body that should have been chiselled in marble, half-opened mouth and ivory-coloured teeth, and a wreath of reed green hair."<sup>2</sup> This fantastic apparition arouses Sirius's interest. "Who are you? How did you know how to interpret what I was not able to utter?" Sirius enquires. The youth tells him that he has come to end his solitude once and for all: "To call myself your friend – is my only longing," he replies.<sup>3</sup> Sirius is bewildered by the youth's offer. What could this boy possibly give him that could make him forget his prior life? Despite these initial doubts, Sirius succumbs to the young man's "burning kiss." A longer story about princes, captives, emperors, and dancers follows their encounter at the beginning of this narrative. At the close of this tale, which was published in instalments over five months in the literary supplement of Radszuweit's *Journal for Human Rights*, Reichert and Stratz reflected in a separate article on what their story "The Island of the Lonely" had achieved. Whereas the first episode took place on a wondrous fairy-tale island, it had gradually transitioned to the world of reality.<sup>4</sup> The story implied that same-sex love was possible in actual life.

Reichert and Stratz's "The Island of the Lonely" can be read as a metaphor for the rapid expansion of homosexual public life during the Weimar Republic. Until that moment many gay men had inhabited a solitary life marked by the yearning for like-minded people. Sirius's isolation and longing for companionship and happiness resonated with the supplement's readers. Due to reader demand, Radszuweit expanded the supplement, now titled *The Island of the Lonely (Die Insel der Einsamen)*, after the story concluded in May 1924. While the supplement's original title suggested that homosexuals had lived cloistered from each other and everybody else for too long, the new name, which used "lonely" in the plural form, highlighted how the movement and its magazines brought them together to a place they could call their own.<sup>5</sup> The island – that of the magazine's title and of the story – was both a nostalgic reminder of past solitude and the celebration of a newly established community of *Artgenossen*, of comrades of the same kind who were still largely isolated, but who at least shared a common space and the possibility of finding each other. The BfM wanted to satisfy the readers' desire for identity, community, and history. Stories like "The Island of the Lonely" and others found in the magazine promised companionship as well as erotic adventure and gratification.

This chapter examines how serial narratives about male adolescents, much like the youthful character featured in "The Island of the Lonely," helped readers imagine their own coming out and coming into a community during the Weimar Republic. The erotic pull of youth in the

popular stories, poems, and photographs that Radszuweit's publishing house produced and distributed illustrates how the tradition of boy and male youth love (*Knaben- und Jünglingsliebe*), a staple of magazines such as Adolf Brand's *The Special* (*Der Eigene*, 1896–1930), became more accessible to the less-educated readership of the BfM's publications. The stories and photographs found in *The Island* and other homosexual magazines suggested to readers that same-sex love did not exist only in ancient Greece, a few literary masterpieces, and fine art. These scenes crossed over into real life during the Weimar Republic and were expressed with words and visual language that everybody understood. While the authors of these popular stories and images never completely relinquished the nostalgia of their finer precedents, this chapter argues that the translation of stories about adolescent same-sex love to contemporary settings and their presentation with relatable, evocative images helped readers believe that love and happiness were not out of reach.

Radszuweit, as we saw in the previous chapter, used the press to promote homosexual respectability. His decision to publish titillating stories and images of male youths had the potential to endanger the success of his publishing enterprise and the entire gay rights movement. Despite the risk that Radszuweit ran by printing material some considered controversial, he was certain that a prosperous business model would help him achieve his political goals. The sheer number of stories, poems, and pictures he printed suggests that youth sold and that his publication strategy was successful. This market strategy, however, would be a headache for Radszuweit because his magazines were often denounced as distasteful and harmful for the youths they glorified. Images of young men bathing in a lake or sunbathing on a rock could be interpreted as aesthetic and innocent by some, but others considered these scenes unsightly and indecent. Morality campaigners insisted that these texts and images were trite, of poor taste, or obscene. In sum, these stories and the images that accompanied them did little to eliminate the belief that homosexuals desired and wanted to seduce youths. For all these reasons, Radszuweit's publications fell prey to the 1926 Law for the Protection of Youth Against Trash and Smut, the topic of the next chapter. Before turning to the attack on these publications, we should consider how the BfM profited from the allure of youth.

### **Trash and Smut as a Business and Political Strategy**

The homosexual press was part of the contemporary "cacophony of the public sphere" described by Kerstin Barndt insofar as periodicals became the forum for the articulation and contestation of sexual

norms. These publications served as the public square where homosexual rights and politics were debated.<sup>6</sup> While news articles or editorials could be read as overtly political, this chapter underscores that the literature appearing in Radszuweit's publications also advanced what it meant to be a homosexual in the 1920s and early 1930s. Up to this point, these short stories and poems have not received enough scholarly attention, in part due to associations with popular culture and their ostensible lack of aesthetic quality.<sup>7</sup> Popular culture, however, is essential for the study of modern sexual identity and desire. We cannot understand the history of sexual identity formation in the Weimar Republic fully if we completely ignore the fictional stories Radszuweit published in magazines such as *The Island* or the *Journal for Human Rights*. Admittedly, these stories were written in plain, unpretentious language, had a limited repertoire of situations and plots, and sometimes described sexually charged situations. They could be characterized as simple, even shoddy, banal, and salacious stories; they were certainly part of what contemporary critics called trash and smut literature (*Schmutz- und Schundliteratur*). We should read these stories because they were subversive. They showed a deliberate lack of respect for homoerotic aesthetic traditions. Their boldness lies in the fact that they were set in familiar surroundings and featured characters with whom less-educated readers could identify. The stories were controversial. The youthful adolescents who populated these fictions had great erotic pull. Yet this aesthetic and commercial strategy was risky. The officers responsible for vetting trash and smut, as we will see in the next chapter, could misinterpret these fictional encounters as scenes of seduction with the potential to compromise the respectable position the BfM aimed to advance.

The stories appearing in Radszuweit's magazines were strikingly different from those favoured by his nemesis, the publisher Adolf Brand, who venerated literature of high aesthetic value. According to Marita Keilson-Lauritz, Brand wanted to publish a homoerotic magazine with serious literary aspirations, an aim that found expression in *The Special*.<sup>8</sup> The stories in Brand's magazine drew from canonical literature. Homoerotic themes in the works of famous authors, such as Virgil, Plato, Theocritus, Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Hölderlin, Byron, Whitman, Stefan George, or Thomas Mann, suggested that the historical roots of same-sex desire could be found in Greek antiquity and continued in the German literary tradition. Brand believed that this cultural heritage ennobled and legitimized same-sex desire.<sup>9</sup> The publisher reprinted homoerotic texts by canonical authors and commissioned new literature inspired by these fine precedents. The "gay canon" in *The Special*

was produced against the backdrop of “homosexual belles-lettres,” that is, literature written unmistakably with a homosexual reader in mind. This subcultural genre, according to Magnus Hirschfeld, was generally “repulsive” for heterosexuals (*Normalsexuellen*) because it was unable to make universal claims.<sup>10</sup> Radszuweit was apparently unconcerned with the possibility that the stories he published could repel heterosexual readers. The publications appearing in *The Island* and in the *Journal for Human Rights* were successful in Radszuweit’s estimation precisely because they addressed the needs of homosexual readers – literary quality or tradition was beside the point. Trash and smut, it turns out, was a smart business strategy.

Radszuweit’s offerings multiplied over the years to accommodate the reality of a growing and increasingly diverse readership that included homosexual men, lesbians, and transvestites.<sup>11</sup> The *Journal of Friendship* (*Das Freundschaftsblatt*) appeared in 1925. *The Island* arrived on newsstands as an independent magazine in September 1926. The BfM also published a magazine for lesbians, *Girlfriend* (*Die Freundin*), starting in 1924. Initially a supplement to *Girlfriend*, the BfM published the short-lived magazine *The Third Sex* (*Das dritte Geschlecht*) from 1928 to 1929. It focused on sensational, shocking, and outrageous news and stories. The magazine was published again from 1930 to 1932, this time with more sober content that catered to the interests and needs of cross-dressers and trans individuals.<sup>12</sup> *The Third Sex* played an important role in translating the medical and legal discourse about homosexuality into clear, at times humorous, language. While the title referred to Hirschfeld’s well-known concept to explain homosexuality, the journal’s motto, “Clarity leads to truth!” (*Durch Klarheit zur Wahrheit!*), mocked the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee’s motto, “Science leads to justice” (*Per Scientiam ad Justitiam*).<sup>13</sup> By shifting from Latin to German and by raising questions about science and justice, the BfM highlighted with this publication that the “truth” about the third sex should be conveyed with simple terms. The use of the ordinary language helped less-educated readers who had not had the privilege of a grammar-school education gain access to knowledge about themselves and others hidden in arcane scientific journals until then.

*The Third Sex* relied on sensationalist headlines to increase sales while making bold political statement about gender and sexuality. Articles such as “Male and Female Prostitution,” “The Negro Who Was a Girl,” or “Moral Misconduct in the Police,” for example, challenged the stability of race and gender and directly questioned the moral integrity of state authorities.<sup>14</sup> The article “The Great Kant and His Servant,” published in *The Third Sex* on 5 December 1928, addressed one of the

major taboo topics that combined youth and sexuality: masturbation. For a long time, doctors had recognized masturbation as a cause of disease and mutual masturbation as one of the leading causes of homosexuality. This practice also had political implications because this practice, as Thomas Laqueur contends, was "at the very heart of the struggle between liberal individualism and those who fear[ed] it."<sup>15</sup> Masturbation, when regarded in this light, encapsulated the individual freedom that groups such as the BfM defended: the right to privacy and the right to give and receive pleasure, provided no one is forced or harmed.

"The Great Kant and His Servant" highlighted the hypocrisy surrounding masturbation and, by extension, of German culture as a whole. Kant, depicted as an avid masturbator in the story, had been in fact a detractor of the practice. The philosopher had maintained in his writings that such acts of "self-defilement" were "contrary to morality in the highest degree."<sup>16</sup> The article's anonymous author, by contrast, stated that "there was in Kant's methodically divided life one daily hour in the early evening when he would turn his chair to the open window, relax, and allow himself to be something other than a pounding logical hammer."<sup>17</sup> The article implied that Kant desired his male servant and that he masturbated every day while thinking of him. According to this account, Kant's hypocrisy went so far that he dismissed his servant because he was not able to control his own desire. The publication of this article tarnished the reputation of one of Germany's greatest philosophers and raised questions about the moral integrity of the German nation, which was metonymically represented as "methodic," "logical," and sadistic in this piece. This parody was constructed by exposing the contradiction manifest in the Prussian philosopher's will to repress the sexual pleasure of others while covertly enjoying his own sexual pleasure. The article intimated that Germany's leaders engaged in hypocrisy when they chose to condemn homosexuality.

The description of Kant's masturbating at his window – the full public display of his sexuality, so to speak – was followed by an article on masturbation in the same issue titled "What We Don't Want to See," a title which evoked Wilhelm Stekel's thoughts on homosexuality.<sup>18</sup> Like Freud, Stekel argued that people choose to ignore the ambiguity of their sexual desire and that everyone will desire (or has desired) someone of the same sex at some point in life.<sup>19</sup> The article published in *The Third Sex* was an excerpt from a book by Anton Mißriegler, a doctor and dilettante psychoanalyst. The article describes a conversation between an analyst and a young patient who had been scolded by his father for masturbating.<sup>20</sup> The analyst supports the existence of child

sexuality and explains the benefits of masturbation to the youth and his father. Turning commonplace disapproval of masturbation on its head, the analyst asserts that “the coitus is a weak substitute for onanism” because only through the latter can people enjoy their “adequate sexual object.”<sup>21</sup> Rather than characterizing masturbation as an immoral and unhealthy vice, it appears here to be a natural sexual act justified by individual freedom, regardless of whom (and how) one desires. Although such advice invoked the individual and sexual rights that the BfM advocated, articles like this one were potentially detrimental to these very same goals. Public discussion of sexuality was risky, especially when it involved youths. How could the BfM claim respectability when the organization was publishing articles that gave such contentious advice?

Stories in the *Journal of Friendship* touched upon other sensitive issues, such as alcohol and its disinhibiting effects. Morality campaigners claimed that alcohol loosened inhibitions and could lead to male same-sex acts. Georg Klatt, an advocate of prohibition in Germany, warned about the negative influences of alcohol on a healthy sexual life. Alcohol, he argued, “lets sexual desire rule uncontrolled.”<sup>22</sup> One such occurrence appeared in a story published in the *Journal of Friendship* in the year 1928, after the Reichstag had passed the law to protect youths against the harmful effects of trash and smut. Otto Schmieder’s story “In Vino Veritas” inverted prohibitionists’ arguments about the negative effects of alcohol. (The original title in Latin translates as “In Wine There Is Truth.”) For those like Klatt, alcoholism led to a life of lies, abuse, and immoral sexual acts. For Schmieder, wine had the power to bring to light the sexual truth about oneself. This was an experience with which readers could identify. Who had not given free rein to his desire after having a few too many drinks?

“In Vino Veritas” is set in a hotel near the Rhine River, an area known for wine production. A man, drinking alone, stares at a young man on a double date: “Like a complete man, whose love emotions could not be assessed by any member of the vice squad, you were sitting there with your friend and two young girls.”<sup>23</sup> While the young man dances with a girl, the solitary character “envies the lady.”<sup>24</sup> After a while, the solitary man asks the lady to take his hand for a dance and pays much more attention to her gentleman companion’s reaction to his advances. “I danced with her and saw how your eyes followed me relentlessly. Were you jealous?”<sup>25</sup> As they exchange glances, the reader is invited to feel the emotions of the male characters. The men desire each other from a distance even though they are dancing with their respective female partners. Their eye contact elevates the sexual tension

in the story. The solitary man discovers his desire as he admires the young man, a truth which he was unaware of or had previously tried to conceal. After the dance, he joins the group at their table. The other members of the group slowly withdraw to their rooms, but the solitary man and his new young acquaintance remain in the bar and continue drinking together. After getting him inebriated, the older man walks his young acquaintance to his room. Inhibited readers may have found hope in the story. Having a glass of wine was perhaps all they needed to gather the courage necessary to make advances to a handsome young man without fearing rejection or a punch in the face.

The story included a script about how the more experienced partner should behave in such a situation. Indeed, the encounter could have turned unpleasant at this point. The solitary man could have taken advantage of his younger, inebriated conquest. Hardly a predator, he quickly falls asleep next to the young man, who snores "like a young little horse."<sup>26</sup> Instead of an assault, the older man protects and cares for his new friend. A tender kiss the next morning confirms that the two must truly be in love. The story ends with a scene set in the same hotel three years later. Celebrating their anniversary, the two men raise their wine glasses again. The narrator observes in a matter-of-fact way: "The wine brought truth."<sup>27</sup> These men had found in each other the company, love, and happiness they deserved. This was precisely the positive message the BfM wanted to convey to its readers: homosexuality is natural (a person's inner truth) and respectable (it is about love and consent, not heartless sex and abuse). The story also shows how homosexuals can forge lasting relationships, despite potential age differences. Yet the story could be easily misinterpreted by readers less sympathetic to same-sex love. Had the solitary man seduced the young man on the dance floor, abused him, and turned him into a homosexual?

*The Island* and the *Journal of Friendship* relied on a homoerotic theme that Adolf Brand had made a focus in his publication *The Special*: boy love. This classical motif was reproduced in the pages of Radszuweit's magazines, but the adolescent character of these stories and poems needed not be an exotic, Mediterranean youth from a Greco-Roman past. On the contrary, the homoerotic fiction about adolescent desire published by Radszuweit was set in contemporary Germany and made use of ordinary language. While the classical epebe from "The Island of the Lonely" fulfilled a longing for something mythical and lost, the teenager represented in Radszuweit's magazines was a contemporary German youth (figure 3.1) – one that readers could fantasize about meeting by chance, and not only in Berlin but also in the provinces as well. Same-sex erotic encounters did not have to be fictional. The desire

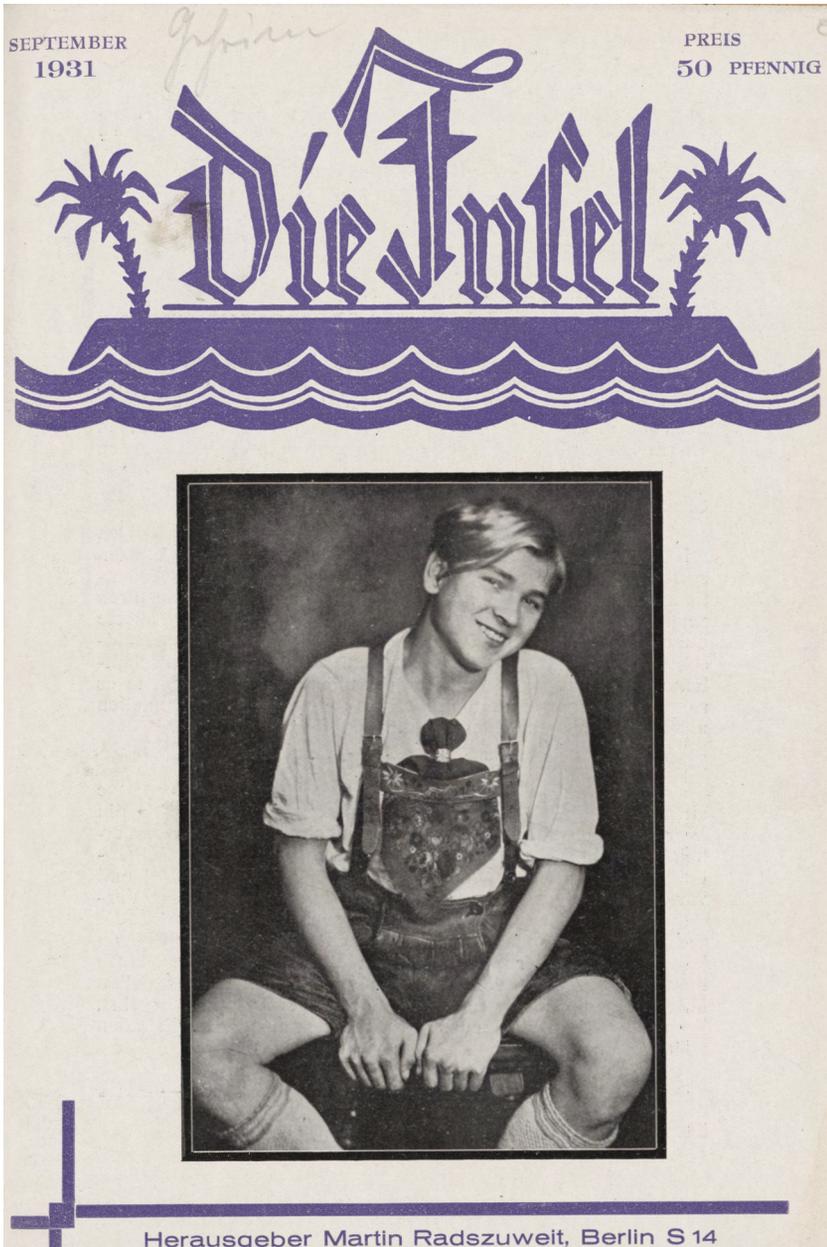


Figure 3.1. *The Island* replaced the classical ephebe with an image of a contemporary German youth. *Die Insel* (September 1931).

of readers could be lived out by meeting a beautiful youth on a train, in the street, or in a bar in any German city or town. Such powerful stories of same-sex love could be viewed as too transgressive, however.

Finding happiness and a friend for life was a recurrent theme in these stories. Like "In Vino Veritas," some of them have a happy ending; others end in bitter disappointment; but most of them contained a veiled political message. This is the case in Martin Splittberger's "The Old Song," published in the *Journal of Friendship* in October 1925.<sup>28</sup> The title is a nod to a typical situation gay men may have faced in the period. One day Hans Pfüger meets a "cigarette boy" (*Zigarettenboy*), the "stunningly beautiful" Fritz, who agrees to go out on a date with him. The man's feelings remain unrequited because the attractive youth is straight. Drinks, cigarettes, or presents do not change Fritz's mind. The story is simple and the message clear: despite what some people may say, homosexual men cannot seduce youths into being something they are not. This rationalization allowed Radszuweit to publish more stories about intergenerational love.

Most of these stories did have a happy ending though. Such outcomes are not surprising, given that these magazines sought to emphasize that same-sex-desiring men could lead a productive and fulfilling life. Karl Oswald's "My Boy from the Rhine" ("Mein Junge vom Rhein") published in the *Journal of Friendship* on 2 October 1925 unites the issues of male friendship and boy love.<sup>29</sup> The story begins by pointing out the importance of serendipity for same-sex love. A university student visiting the city is almost hit by a car; fortunately, he is saved by Kurt, an alert youth who happens to be walking by. The university student takes a liking to his rescuer, a high school youth who complains that his parents keep him on a short leash, even though he is, as the narrator stresses, *almost* grown up. As an expression of his gratitude, the university student offers to spend the afternoon with the youth. The two enjoy their time with each other so much that they decide to meet again.

The following day, they take a trip to Rüdesheim, a small town on the Rhine. As in "In Vino Veritas," the banks of the Rhine replace the Mediterranean and Greek ruins as the ideal location for male same-sex desire. The setting alludes to the river as a Romantic symbol in German art and literature.<sup>30</sup> The student and the youth declare that they want to be each other's "friend for life" (*Freund fürs Leben*).<sup>31</sup> Kurt promises to join the university student in Berlin after he completes his Abitur, and until then they will exchange love letters. Kurt's father catches wind of this relationship and forbids the student from contacting his son ever again. Yet "My Boy from the Rhine" instructs readers that same-sex desire cannot be denied; true love is meant to be. The characters, however, face

a rocky road. The father throws Kurt out, and then the youth joins his friend in Berlin, where they live happily together in a boarding house. Their landlady, Frau Schramm, is amazed that such wonderful guests never bring girls home. The joke is on her, of course. She does not notice that the characters are living out their love in plain sight, a fact that might have delighted readers. Stories like this one showed readers how to live out their desires. They also provided the vocabulary needed to describe intergenerational relationships: the older partner is described as the “leading friend” (*führende Freund*); the young partner is “led” (*geführte*).<sup>32</sup> This inspiring and titillating tale of intergenerational love could have made some readers uncomfortable. Leading (*führen*) and tempting or seducing (*verführen*) are closely related in the story. Had the university student not seduced a naive Kurt? Indeed, the lines between appropriate behaviour and transgression are thin in the story. This tension undermined the BfM’s politics of respectability.

We can find a further example of the balancing act between respectable and improper conduct in a story published in the *Journal of Friendship*. Fortuitous encounters between an adult male and a youth needed not be as dramatic as in “My Boy from the Rhine.” One could meet someone by chance during a relatively safe evening commute. “Fourth Class” (“Vierte Klasse”), a short story likewise written by Karl Oswald, is set in a fourth-class train compartment. Low-income readers may have identified with this character who travels to and from work by train with the cheapest fare class. The main character gets on the train and looks for a place to sit among the other commuters. Everybody is asleep and the rail journey, like the landscape of the Uckermark visible from the train window, is monotonous. The main character is bored to the point that he “wants to pull the emergency brake.”<sup>33</sup> He needs excitement, and the trip will get interesting soon for the character *and* the readers. A “young boy [*Blutjunge*] with a windbreaker and a cap” gets on the train in Prenzlau. He’s carrying a briefcase – the first advance. The boy takes off his cap, revealing a strawberry blond “thick strand of his hair falling over his forehead.” The main character cannot take his eyes off this boy. He must love him “just for his hair’s sake.”<sup>34</sup> The train conductor interrupts this lustful thought; he wants to turn on the light in the compartment, but, alas, it is not working. The compartment is pitch dark for a brief, propitious moment. The main character notices something:

Quite close next to me I feel the boy’s body. Every single one of our movements is announced to one another, – that’s how closely we’re sitting. My hand is on my knee, and it is not strange at all that I suddenly feel another

soft hand next to mine. And I naturally touch this small, cold hand, caress it, very softly and fervently.<sup>35</sup>

The man and the youth finally talk. The boy must alight at the next station, but he does not leave before telling the man that he always takes this train. "But the lights are usually on," he says, perhaps to rule out any suspicion that he routinely gropes strangers. He adds quietly, "Never was a ride so nice like today."<sup>36</sup> The two characters move closer and "whisper kind words in each other's ear that no one else needs to understand."<sup>37</sup> They kiss in the dark and quiet space, where only the rustle of the youth's windbreaker can be heard. The train stops; the boy leaves but promises to visit the main character in Greifswald. The conductor fixes the light.

The story is unapologetically kitschy and salacious. The two characters kiss and fondle each other in the darkened compartment and do so next to other passengers. Such indecorous behaviour would be enough to raise some prudish reader's eyebrows. The story is, however, representative because it puts into simple words an erotic fantasy for the periodical's readers: the hope that one might find a beautiful and willing boy by chance. It is notable because it reverses the partner roles described in "My Boy from the Rhine": the youth is definitely the seducer in "Fourth Class." The readers of the *Journal of Friendship* thus received a variety of models for male same-sex desire, including one that highlighted male adolescents asserting their sexual agency. Furthermore, the murky understanding of consent displayed in this particular story underlines how homosexual fiction in these publications often sent a contradictory message. Promoting homosexual respectability seemed incompatible with acknowledging adolescent sexuality and intergenerational love.

Recent scholarship on periodical literature has demonstrated that the articles and stories found in these magazines cannot be interpreted in isolation.<sup>38</sup> The texts that surround them – what literary theorist Gérard Genette calls paratexts – inform the readers' reception.<sup>39</sup> We saw how the article about Kant was followed in the same issue by one about the benefits of masturbation. The relationship between both texts helped readers reach their own conclusions on the topic. "Fourth Class" is also accompanied by a paratext. The story appears next to the poem "Nameless Love" by Karl Keffon. This placement has two effects. On the one hand, the title of the poem evokes the work of the poet Sagitta, the pseudonym of John Henry Mackay, a regular contributor to *The Special* and the author of the *Books of the Nameless Love* (*Die Bücher der namenlose Liebe*, 1906–26). The title of Sagitta's series was an adaptation

of “the love that dare not speak its name,” the famous phrase Oscar Wilde had used during his trial in 1895 in a defence of intergenerational love.<sup>40</sup> The intertext integrates Keffon’s poem and the accompanying story within the gay canon and seeks to elevate both works. Readers should place the stories and poems in the *Journal of Friendship* next to those by such celebrated authors and erotic traditions.

On the other hand, the paratextual relationship between the story and the poem compels readers to break their silence. Keffon’s poem differs from Oswald’s story. Whereas same-sex love takes place in absolute darkness, unbeknownst to the rest of the passengers, the poem announces this love to the world: “Clear should my string sound, / Smashing like the blast of the trumpet; / I want to sing of love / That is outlawed and nameless.”<sup>41</sup> The poem acknowledges that same-sex love can bring pain and suffering but also bliss. While same-sex desire was still by and large lived out in secrecy in the Weimar Republic, these two stories communicate to readers that leading life as a homosexual in a variety of forms and with pride would soon be a legal possibility, a message consonant with the BfM’s decriminalization aims.

The paratextual relationship between the poem and the story, furthermore, underlines a tension present in Radszuweit’s magazines. These stories and poems – and, as we will soon see, photographs – eroticize youth while acknowledging that society spurns intergenerational love. An additional example will illustrate this point. “Vice” (“Das Laster”), written by Radszuweit and published in *The Island* in September 1926, tried to dignify intergenerational same-sex relationships in the face of social prejudice. The story includes an excerpt from a fictional newspaper article, a choice that lends the story the impression of being an actual news report about the attempted suicide of a seventeen-year-old youth who had jumped into the Teltow Canal near Berlin. The fictitious article includes a quote by the suicidal youth that is worth citing at length:

I was informed by my boss about the vice of weary men who want to satisfy their desire with youths. I loved this man like my father and believed in him until my boss warned me [about him]. This man never talked with me about sexual questions, but the enlightenment [*Aufklärung*] through my boss about the “others” led me to believe that he was also one of “those.” I ran away from him because I suspected [his] vice and did not want to live any longer amid the filth of this world.<sup>42</sup>

The newspaper story blames a despicable “pederast” (*Knabenschänder*) for the youth’s psychological turmoil. Yet Radszuweit’s intention was

to show how a fatherly relationship between an adult man and a teenager could be destroyed by bigotry. Society, for which the boss stands, has succeeded in convincing the youth that the affection he had considered to be pure was indeed indecent.

What political gains could be achieved by publishing this story about intergenerational love in *The Island*? To make sense of it, Radszuweit takes us back to the story's beginning. Herr Samaland, the owner of a castle, had a childless marriage and travels often to the city. The reader might surmise that Berlin offered the anonymity necessary for his escapades with male youths. There, the otherwise respectable Herr Samaland meets the seventeen-year-old waiter Adolf Fritsch. Samaland falls in love with him immediately. He decides to adopt Adolf and make him his heir, a decision of which his supportive wife Frau Samaland approves. Perhaps anticipating objections to the noticeable differences in age and social standing, the narrator stresses that this love is a "childlike love" (*kindliche Liebe*) that the youth reciprocates.<sup>43</sup> This is a harmless relationship between a father and a son, yet not everyone in the restaurant where Adolf works is convinced of that. The head waiter warns Adolf that something just does not add up. The reader must conclude that society is unable to understand that love between an older man and a youth is possible, and that their relationship can be wholesome and pure.

As such, the story "Vice" was a defence of intergenerational love, but could Herr Samaland have been a *Knabenschänder* after all? And who had actually manipulated the boy? Was it the prospective adoptive father or the prejudiced head waiter? Potential answers to this question can be found by reading subsequent issues of *The Island*. A story by Martin Butzko, "When the Heart of Youth Speaks...", appeared three months after "Vice."<sup>44</sup> In this tale, Rudolf Ostermann, another seventeen-year-old student, is terribly worried about his mother's rapidly deteriorating health. Professor von Rhaden is able to save her life in a last-minute operation that takes place right before Christmas. (Recall that this holiday was Radszuweit's recommended moment to come out.) Rudolf does not know how to express his gratitude, which quickly transforms into excitement whenever the professor pays a visit to the youth's recuperating mother. She clearly disapproves of her son's overexcitement, but the professor loves the attention from the young man: "Whenever the heart of youth speaks," von Rhaden declares, "the reason of adults must remain silent."<sup>45</sup> Emotion, it seems, matters more than reason, especially when coming from a handsome teenager.

Dr von Rhaden appears eager to overstep professional boundaries. The diligent care for the mother might have confused Rudolf, whose

father is never mentioned in the story. During one visit, the seventeen-year-old asks to speak with the doctor in private. "I love you, I love you," the youth declares, "but not like my father, also not like my mother. – My love for you is of a different nature. — —."<sup>46</sup> The youth's words – and the two dashes – betray that his relationship with the doctor goes beyond a feeling of kinship. The doctor tells the youth, caressing his cheek, that he, too, loves him, "not like a son, but rather how most men love women. I love you as a friend, in the custom of Greek classical antiquity."<sup>47</sup> While the actions are unambiguous, the doctor's reference to Greek understandings of love should legitimize their relationship, make it honourable. A cultured man such as the professor cannot be wrong, the youth assumes. Professor von Rhaden is nevertheless aware that the age difference matters a great deal, if not for the "right" reasons: "Your impetuous youth demands more than I can give you. Your lust and zest for life is larger than mine," he asserts.<sup>48</sup> The professor worries that he may not be able to give the boy what he wants in the future. (The reader is left to speculate what that thing could be.) A year passes. Christmas comes again and Professor von Rhaden pays the family a visit. The mother whose health he had restored tells him that her son has ached for him terribly. With an uncontrollable display of affection, Rudolf kisses the doctor and promises him that they will not be apart ever again. The son reminds his startled mother of the wise words the professor had once uttered: "Whenever the heart of youth speaks, – must the reason of adults remain silent. — — —."<sup>49</sup> In this instance, the three long dashes call for the reader to remain silent and contemplate the situation fully before passing judgment. The story's sentimental ending suggests that same-sex intergenerational love might be possible; that youths are often the seducers; and, more importantly, that such relationships might even be approved of by sympathetic parents. Like the other stories in Radszuweit's periodicals, this conclusion could be read as an apology for intergenerational love.

Both Radszuweit and Butzko wrote about intergenerational relationships between two consenting and respectable individuals. Their fiction was deeply personal and political. In fact, these stories take a different dimension if we consider that Radszuweit and Butzko shared a relationship similar to that depicted in the two stories discussed above. Radszuweit was Butzko's "dad" – his older life partner. Shortly after Radszuweit's wife, about whom nearly nothing is known, passed away in 1929, Radszuweit adopted Butzko, who was twenty-seven years his junior, and made him his heir. Soon thereafter, Butzko joined the BfM's board and took charge of the publishing house when Radszuweit's health started to decline. He led the company until its closing in 1933.<sup>50</sup>

In light of these stories, we should think of Radszuweit as the caring and nurturing partner, just like Dr van Rhaden in the story. Butzko was likewise a willing younger lover, perhaps even the seducer, and not the victim of a lewd old man. Consent in intergenerational relationships was thus presented as a key issue in the BfM's publications.

The stories published in *The Third Sex*, *The Island*, or the *Journal of Friendship* showed an irreverent attitude towards venerated philosophers or the literary canon. The publishers did not set high literary aspirations for these homoerotic fictions, but these texts subverted literary tradition by entertaining and arousing the readers of these magazines. Trashy and smutty literature yielded good results for Radszuweit, especially when they had youths as their subject. These stories of intergenerational same-sex male love in contemporary settings helped provide readers with a vocabulary to describe their own desires and gave them hope that they, too, might find love and happiness. Crucially, photographs depicting intergenerational same-sex love, sometimes under the pretence of harmless family ties, appeared alongside stories in these publications. The eroticization of youth in these photographs ignited its own controversies, the subject of the next section.

### **The Visual Allure of Youth**

Magazines such as *The Island* flourished not only because of their entertaining and stimulating stories, but also because of their visual appeal. *The Island* had a small format, roughly the size of a paperback book, and a soft cover printed on yellowish paper. The masthead included the title of the magazine, which was situated on top of a tropical island surrounded by water. The title was flanked by a palm tree on each side. The subtitle, "The Magazine of the Lonely" ("Das Magazin der Einsamen"), was placed beneath a few waves.<sup>51</sup> Instead of isolation, as one might expect from the title, the magazine celebrated the large community of readers it convened and, perhaps, their desire for erotic adventure. A typical issue included short stories, some of them serialized; book recommendations and reviews; and advertisements for the businesses the BfM recommended. At fifty pfennigs an issue, this monthly magazine was not cheap, but most working- and lower-middle-class readers could afford to splurge on it once a month.<sup>52</sup> The main selling point – what really made it worth the money – was the image found below the masthead: a black-and-white photograph of a young man. While the island of the title referred to some distant place, the boys on the cover could have been from around the corner. Like the stories, the cover art displayed homoerotic images out in the open in

order to make same-sex desire conceivable for those who may have felt isolated and alone.

Male nudes (*Aktbilder*) were the most common photographs in *The Island*. These photographs were part of a longer artistic tradition. Renaissance painters had looked for physical beauty in Greek and Roman sculpture, which, according to Birgit Dahlke, “glorified (male) youthful models.”<sup>53</sup> Nudity was also central to homoerotic aesthetics. Otto Kiefer’s book *The Beautiful Boy in the Fine Art of All Times (Der schöne Jüngling in der bildenden Kunst aller Zeiten)* (1903/1922) provided evidence of the “preferences and visual patterns of homosexuals,” who showed a liking for the representation of naked youths and men.<sup>54</sup> However, the photographic representation of the naked body was controversial. Radszuweit was able to include such images in his publications because others before him in the early twentieth century had fought for that right in a fierce moral battle about their status: Was nude photography art or pornography? The two trials of Karl Vanselow’s richly illustrated art and lifestyle monthly *Beauty (Die Schönheit)* in 1906 and 1907 were important for determining whether photography was an apposite artistic medium for the portrayal of the nude male body. Christina Templin argues that the scandal surrounding Vanselow’s monthly periodical had important repercussions for media history: the trials popularized the idea that “the representation of the naked body in and of itself is not morally reprehensible.”<sup>55</sup> As a consequence of these trials, nude photographs were more often valued as art.

Friedrich Radszuweit must have been aware of these earlier debates on pornography and aesthetics and felt reassured that it was safe to publish male nudes, especially within the democratic context of the Weimar Republic. Like Adolf Brand or other defenders of nude photography, Radszuweit must have adhered to the position that those who take offence at such images are driven by Christian morality or their own lascivious thoughts. There was nothing inherently sexual about the naked body, the argument went, which should be seen as something natural and disconnected from sexuality.<sup>56</sup> Despite that argument, nudes had to conform to certain aesthetic criteria in order to pass muster with the censorship authorities. Nude photographs had to reflect the ideal proportions of classical art and avoid movements and postures that called attention to the genitals or insinuated the sexual act. The surroundings and the background ideally should avoid artifice, hence the preference for exterior shots. Images of naked people at home or in working spaces were thought to be jarring and suggested impropriety.<sup>57</sup>

The images Radszuweit and his associates chose to print thus aimed to portray the naked male body as something natural, beautiful, and

noble. Because they were aware of the thin legal line between decency and obscenity, the vast majority of the photographs published in the magazines were taken outdoors to underscore their aesthetic value. Nevertheless, some highly stylized photographs of young models on the cover of *The Island* departed from this tradition. These pictures were shot indoors and drew from a visual language that conjured up not the ancient past but contemporary aesthetics (figure 3.2). Some of these photographs definitely highlighted the genital area. Cropping the top left and bottom right corners, for example, gave these images a modern look and a suggestive, erotic aura. These subjects and techniques challenged their status as works of art.

Be that as it may, the main reason for including photographs in these magazines was that they were art. Viewers just had to be taught to look at them as such. The BfM took up that task and considered the contested status of nude photography in the pages of the *Journal of Friendship*. A 1925 article titled "Nudism and Homosexuality" reported on a lecture by Holger Stenson. His message to the audience was clear. Homosexual men

must especially learn to turn off any sexual moment when looking at the naked body and to feel only a purely aesthetic satisfaction, just like when looking at a beautiful painting. We should not fail to think about the beauties of mind and soul due to the beauty of the body.<sup>58</sup>

Stenson argued that these images should be appreciated for their aesthetic value and not for their erotic power. By addressing the need to educate the viewer about these photographs, Stenson recognized that some readers probably considered them arousing. In fact, the photographs published in *The Island*, the *Journal of Friendship*, and the *Journal for Human Rights* participated in multiple regimes other than art, an argument that art historian Thomas Waugh has made for male nude photographs in general.<sup>59</sup> These pictures borrowed from high culture but also from the photographs published in naturist and body culture magazines. They were probably traded as soft pornographic material as well, since the images found in the BfM's magazines never depicted sexual acts.<sup>60</sup>

Despite the multiplicity of regimes in which they participated, the photographs of naked youths in Radszuweit's publications were presented to the public as art not unlike the photographs of Wilhelm von Gloeden (1856–1931), whose pictures appeared now and again in *The Island*, albeit manipulated and unattributed.<sup>61</sup> Like other pictorialist photographers at the beginning of the twentieth century, von Gloeden

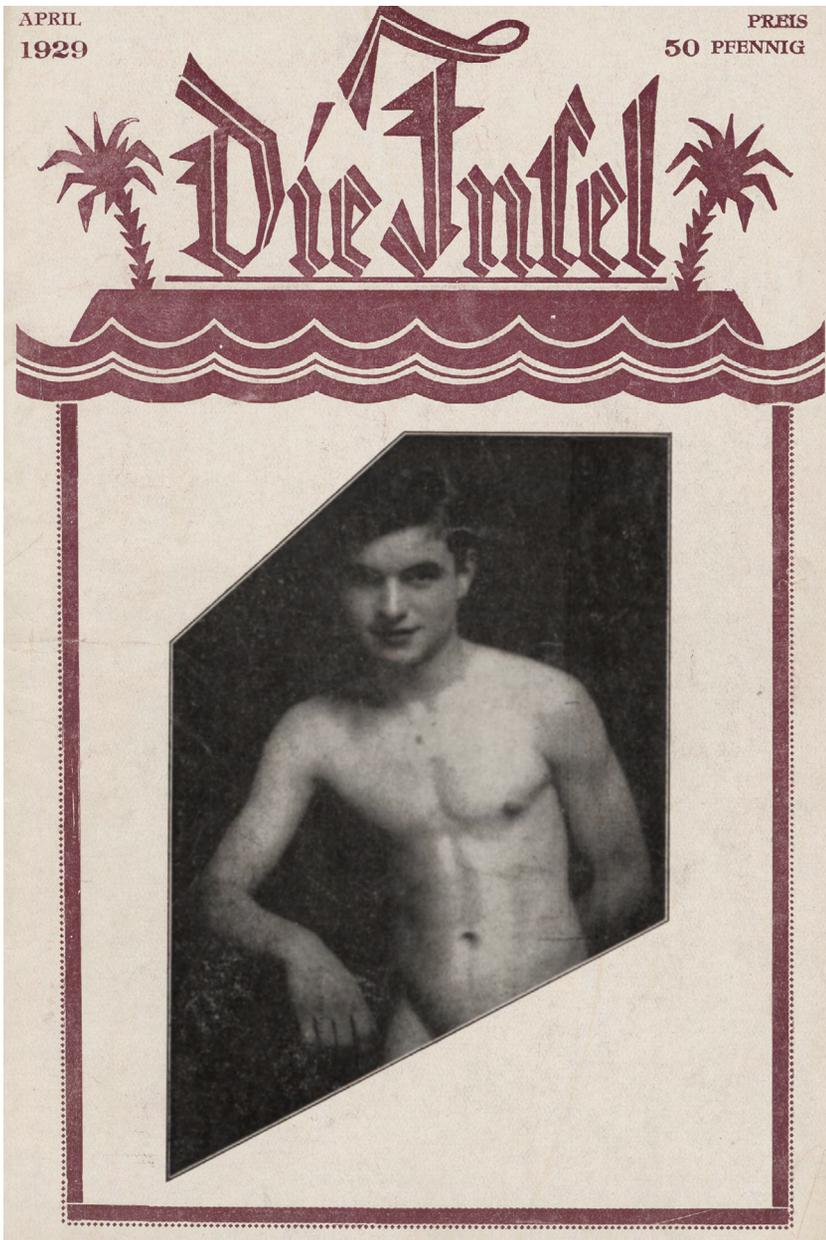


Figure 3.2. Radszuweit tested the limits of public decorum with suggestive covers with a modern look. *Die Insel* (April 1929).

sought to elevate nude photography to the level of fine art by making the high-art referents of his pictures unmistakable.<sup>62</sup> He had studied painting in Weimar before becoming a photographer in Taormina, a small coastal town in Sicily, where he moved in 1878 to be treated for lung disease. Following in the footsteps of the eighteenth-century art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann, von Gloeden believed that Greek antiquity could give expression to his homoerotic desire.<sup>63</sup> In Italy, he learned photography from his cousin, Guglielmo Plüschow, also famous for his male nudes, and took pictures of local boys against the backdrop of the Mediterranean and Greco-Roman ruins and props.<sup>64</sup> Nudity in this setting evoked the ancient past and the Greek tradition of pederasty – in other words, boy love.<sup>65</sup>

Von Gloeden's re-enactment of the homoerotic past found a receptive audience in the readers of homosexual magazines. Visual art was very important for Brand's magazine *The Special*, which printed reproductions of homoerotic paintings and photographs. Brand, an amateur photographer himself, published the work of artists that belonged to the life reform movement, such as Fidus (Hugo Höppener) and Franz Metzner. He also remediated photographs taken by Wilhelm von Gloeden and Elisar von Kupffer, whose images of androgynous youths evoked a "perfect world, a gay paradise" that had been lost.<sup>66</sup> Brand's main audience was a small group of highly educated, upper-class men who were familiar with this literary and artistic tradition. To quell any doubt about his publication's intention, Brand maintained that his magazine published art and not kitsch or pornography. *The Special* could be purchased in a leather-bound volume that included fifty-five nudes and portraits, "an elegant present for your friend," according to an advertisement.<sup>67</sup> Brand's luxury edition made a serious impression. Its mere physical appearance made the nude photographs more likely to be seen as works of art. Radszuweit's publications, by contrast, were printed on cheap paper and never bound; they were readily available in newsstands and made for more immediate consumption. The BfM's publication strategy made these images less likely to be seen as art and more likely to be considered tools for sexual gratification.

The photographs in Radszuweit's publications familiarized less-educated readers with male nude photography in the tradition of Wilhelm von Gloeden. At the same time, these pictures established new visual conventions. A few examples will show how the images in *The Island* and the *Journal for Human Rights* located same-sex desire not only on some lost Arcadian landscape or amidst Greek ruins, but also right in Germany, where the readers were. The cover of the February 1927 issue of *The Island* features a male youth (figure 3.3). The cloth with a printed

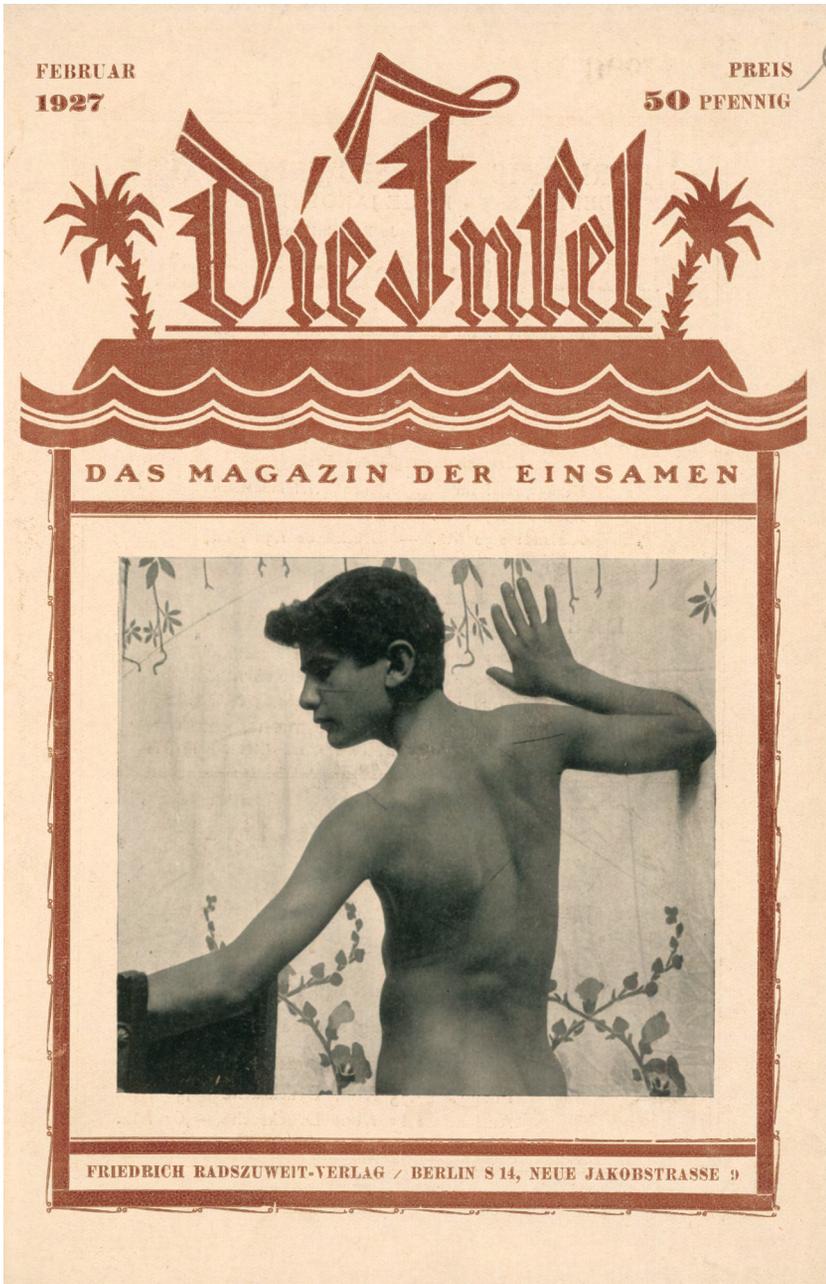
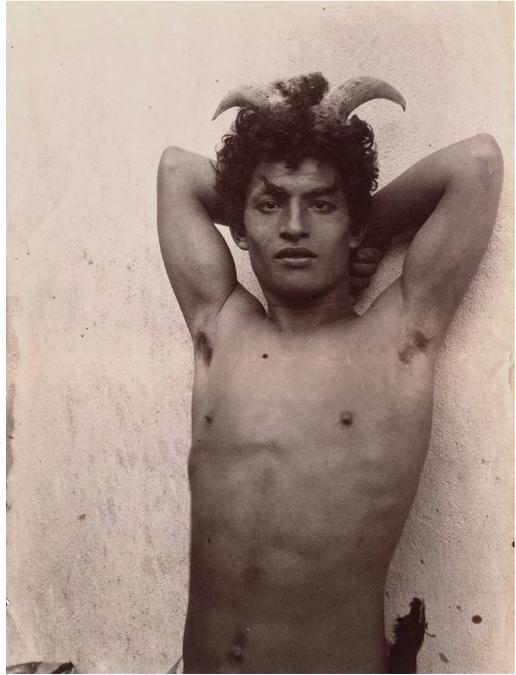
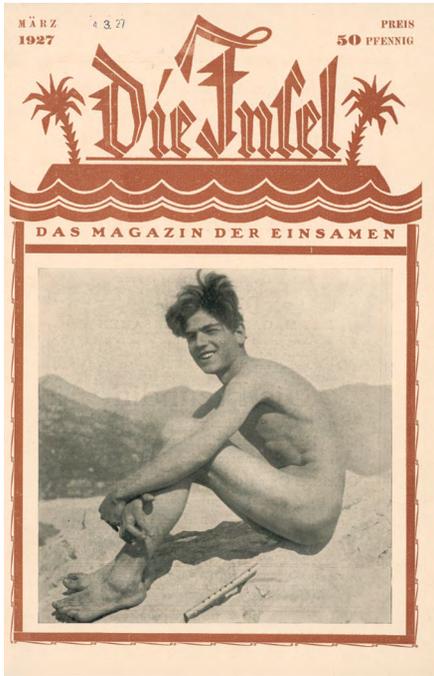


Figure 3.3. Photographs in Radszuweit's magazines evoked the work of Wilhelm von Gloeden. *Die Insel* (February 1927).

floral pattern in the background closely resembles the backdrops von Gloeden used in many of his photographs. The model's pose mimics classical sculpture: his right arm is raised, his torso slightly twisted, his eyes downcast. Despite it being taken in an interior setting (the model's left arm is resting on a chair), the photograph is tasteful because it is not explicit: we only see his lower back. The image was likely cropped so that it would be included on the cover. However, the cover image is also a tease for potential readers. It may have piqued the interest of prospective buyers who hoped to find uncensored pictures inside the magazine.<sup>68</sup> This photograph, like many others in Radszuweit's publications, cited von Gloeden to take the viewer on a vicarious trip to the ancient past and its handsome epebes. This choice sought to elevate the status of the magazine: *The Island* did not publish smut but art.

The cover art of the March 1927 issue of *The Island* alluded to Greek mythology, von Gloeden's habitual source of inspiration. The photograph in [figure 3.4](#) represents the Greek god Pan – his distinguishing flute lies on the rock next to him. Von Gloeden had taken numerous pictures of Sicilian youths posing as Greek gods, including Pan ([figure 3.5](#)). His famous renditions of the Arcadian god, however, differ greatly from the one on the cover of this issue of *The Island*. Von Gloeden's Pan wears goat horns; his eyebrows are thick and point upward in an unrealistic manner; he has curly hair and a dark complexion. The uncanny Pan looks at the viewer with erotic defiance. Animal features – the horns, the fur visible around his waist – suggest an atavistic or non-human sexual power. By contrast, *The Island* adapted von Gloeden's photograph for a contemporary German audience. The Pan on the cover of the magazine is an athletic, fair-skinned, and wholesome youth one could have found in any German youth organization or gymnastics club at the time. The setting is deliberate: the pristine nature of this location and the youth's healthy appearance should eliminate any suspicions of immorality. Like most of the photographs published in *The Island*, this image was reprinted multiple times. It was on the cover of the magazine again in September 1930. On the next page, right under the magazine's title and issue number, readers found a poem titled "The Two of Us!" ("Wir zwei!") by Reinhard Scheller. The poem related the love between an elder and a youth. The second stanza was unambiguous: "You came in the twilight of my life / With the unbroken courage of your youth, / a new flame blazed in my heart / And anxious hope deprived me of my rest."<sup>69</sup> Here again, the relationship between word and image illustrates the tension between a photograph that ostensibly aimed to be harmless in its iconicity and a poem that plainly conveyed the desire the image sought to ignite.

The cover of the April 1930 issue of the *Journal for Human Rights* is a further example of how visual tropes popularized by von Gloeden



Figures 3.4 and 3.5. Mythological figures like Pan linked photographs directly to antiquity and the nude photographic tradition. These motifs sought to elevate the status of the photographs printed in the BfM's publications to that of works of art. (Left) *Die Insel* (March 1927). (Right) W. von Gloeden, A Sicilian boy, posing as Pan wearing horns, naked from the waist up, his hands behind his head (1899). Wellcome Collection. CC BY.

were refashioned in the 1920s. Like the two previously discussed photographs, this one also played up its status as a work of art through citation. The image vaguely resembles one of von Gloeden's most famous photographs, "Caino" (ca. 1902) (figure 3.6), which was already a remediation of a painting by Hippolyte Flandrin, "Study (Young Male Nude Seated Beside the Sea)" from 1836. While von Gloeden's referent portrayed a well-built man sitting on a rock in a reflective pose, the image on this cover depicts a naked child in a similar posture (figure 3.7). The softness of the child's fair skin contrasts with the darkness and roughness of the rock. The natural environment complements the purity and innocence of the child. The *Journal for Human Rights* did not provide any context for the image, but it was not the first time



Figures 3.6 and 3.7. Radszuweit refashioned iconic nude photographs. The choice of a child as the model carried some risk for the publisher. (Left) W. von Gloeden, “Caino” (ca. 1902). CC BY. (Right) *Blätter für Menschenrecht* (April 1930).

Radszuweit shared with BfM members the innocent beauty of children. In fact, this very image was published as a plate in *The Island* in 1929.<sup>70</sup> The publisher must have considered it special enough to splurge on high-quality paper that readers could then cut out, circulate, or frame, something that would have been nearly impossible with the thin paper on which the magazine was usually printed. The materiality and quality of a plate elevated its status as a work of art, a strategy that Brand used in his more expensive publications.

Pubescent boys and children were sometimes portrayed with animals, for example, petting a dog or feeding rabbits (figure 3.8). At first sight, these were harmless scenes shot in the outdoors. Upon closer inspection, these images were perhaps not that innocent. Eric L. Tribunella contends that the relationship between a boy and his dog, at least in literature, displays “emotional and physical intimacy” and stands for “a form of childhood sexuality that is often overlooked as such.”<sup>71</sup> Kathryn Bond Stockton goes a step further. The critic contends



Figure 3.8. Harmless photographs of youths and their pets veiled a queer subversive message. *Die Insel* (January 1929).

that "the figure of the child represents ... the broad and narrow poles of the word *queer: strange and homosexual*."<sup>72</sup> For Stockton, literary and cinematic portrayals of children and their dogs are some of the most recurrent metaphors for queer childhood.<sup>73</sup> Children, these images suggested, were aware of their own budding queer sexuality. On the one hand, this subtle message reinforced the claim that homosexuality was inborn and, therefore, not the result of seduction, a position the BfM defended. On the other hand, these images brought to mind that childhood and adolescent sexuality were still undetermined and therefore pliable, a view supported by some psychiatrists that undermined the BfM's message.

Despite their tenuous status, the *Journal for Human Rights* published time and again photographs of naked children. These images sent multiple messages at once: they extolled the innocence of children, the purity of the naked body, and the beauty of the Nordic race. In 1927, Radszuweit published some prints from *Rolf: A Song About Becoming* (*Rolf – Ein Lied vom Werden*, 1924), a series of photographs by Lotte Herrlich. He advertised the book of the same title, which readers could purchase directly from him.<sup>74</sup> The book itself documented the life of Rolf, the photographer's son, from childhood into early adulthood. Herrlich had taken pictures of her naked son in different interior and exterior settings to chronicle his physical and psychological development. Magnus Weidemann, a well-known pastor and an artist active in the naturism movement, praised Herrlich's craft in the book's introduction: the pictures showed the purity of the natural body.<sup>75</sup> Andreas Kuntz-Stahl contends that the early supporters of nudism encouraged this practice "from a health, ethical and racist point of view" in order to de-eroticize the naked body. Nakedness was linked to light, the sun, and its chosen people. Fidus's art is a clear example of this theme.<sup>76</sup> And Weidemann used Herrlich's pictures to make a *völkisch* argument about the inherent beauty of the Nordic race. This was "the devout race of the sun," to which he ascribed positive attributes, such as "unpolluted" (*unvergiftet*) and "untouched" (*unverbraucht*).<sup>77</sup> The most controversial aspect of photographs depicting naked children was downplayed by situating them within the context of naturism and racial hygiene. The images included in the *Journal of Friendship* or *The Island* thus connected the Nordic race to beauty and purity. These journals contributed to the education of same-sex desire: Not only was the youthful body (and age limits were obviously not set) beautiful and desirable, but the Nordic body was as well.

Radszuweit, of course, did not start this trend. The images discussed above have much in common with those published in *The Special*, where Brand included his own collection titled "German Race"

("Deutsche Rasse"). The title could not have made the message more explicit. Brand's pictures celebrated the beauty of a racialized German male body. These images replaced the Arcadian setting – the Sicilian mountains and the Mediterranean – for more familiar ones: forests and lakes. While the formal language remained the same – the referents continued to be rooted in the Greek tradition – the boys no longer looked exotic. Brand's photographs accentuated the fair skin of his models, their blond hair, and their lean, athletic bodies. These pictures thus brought together the contemporary admiration for Greek antiquity, modern physical culture, *Lebensreform* (life reform), a back-to-nature social movement, and scientific racism. They depict naked young men playing a stringed instrument, throwing a javelin, or resting peacefully on the ground. An advertisement for "German Race" in *The Special* announced that those "who find joy in male strength and beauty, and who are supporters of the nudist movement" would be interested in purchasing the prints.<sup>78</sup> Brand and Radszuweit sought to satisfy different homoerotic audiences, yet the images they included in their publications were often strikingly similar. The visual erotics at the time were shared across men of all social classes: those who could pay for Brand's leather-bound volumes and those who could only afford Radszuweit's inexpensive periodical. Both publishers, however, took for granted that German youth, as a racialized construct, epitomized homoerotic desire.<sup>79</sup>

Jennifer V. Evans argues that photographic images "offer unparalleled insight into how, at different moments and in different ways, people have imagined the role of sensuality, the illicit, pleasure, and desire in their own intimate lives."<sup>80</sup> The photographs discussed here are useful evidence for the history of sexuality. Indeed, we may assign different meanings to these images than those who saw them in the 1920s did. Much of what I have done here is analyse the social and political context of these images. While we may be able to reconstruct the historical moment in which they were taken, we likewise might be drawn to certain details or gestures that we consider "poignant," what Roland Barthes famously calls their *punctum*. Unfortunately, we may never know how they "pricked" contemporary readers of *The Island*.<sup>81</sup> Did these images provide a moment of "purely aesthetic satisfaction," as Stenson recommended in his speech? Or did they trigger instead a "sexual moment"? Did readers flip back and forth between the stories, poems, and images contained in the issue? Did some of them fantasize about meeting the youth on the cover during a hike or in an unlit fourth-class train compartment? The aesthetic and sexual "moments" of such images could not always be set apart. This fact presented Radszuweit

with a challenge when facing accusations that the photographs and texts he had published corrupted youth.

The publications of the homosexual movement were part of a larger landscape of so-called trashy and smutty publications that fell under attack during the Weimar Republic. Erich Zacharias, a doctor and eugenicist, was concerned about the proliferation of sexualized texts and images. Zacharias, like many of his interlocutors, saw sexuality everywhere in modern life. Youths could find sex in the classroom through sex education as well as in literature, art, theatre, and the cinema.<sup>82</sup> Zacharias described masturbation as an epidemic comparable to venereal disease and referred to Magnus Hirschfeld as the "corrupter of German children's souls." In his opinion, homosexuality, the commercialization of sex, and the disappearance of traditional family structures were leading to the downfall of civilization. Zacharias worried that in contemporary society "boys are seduced by other boys, or by homosexual men," and, of course, by the magazines that "promote homosexuality."<sup>83</sup> With such beliefs, it is understandable that magazines such as *The Island* would face disapproval during the Weimar Republic. The doctor envisioned a few measures to curb these trends: sex education, counselling, and the promotion of healthy families and wholesome environments. Germany, he stressed, also needed a law against trash and smut urgently.<sup>84</sup> Publications like the *Journal for Human Rights*, *The Island*, or the *Journal of Friendship* had become ubiquitous and, therefore, accessible to youths. Morality campaigners protested that the government must do something to contain these publications' calamitous influence on Germany's sexually vulnerable youths.

## The 1926 Trash and Smut Law, Youth Protection, and Homosexual Publications

Backed by criminal statistics published after the First World War, critics often blamed sensationalist books and magazines for the increase in juvenile crime and sexual deviance.<sup>1</sup> The association of reading with revolt and crime had a long history, though. It was a common trope in nineteenth-century media depictions of female criminals, who were said to have had a disreputable book by their bedside.<sup>2</sup> Although the debate about the negative effects of mass-produced literature on youths went back to the nineteenth century, it gained new force in the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> War and revolution appeared to have left Germany's young more vulnerable than ever. Morality campaigners – a diverse group that included religious, women's, teachers', and youth associations – believed that ubiquitous crime stories, sensationalist newspapers, and magazines with erotic content compromised the appropriate moral and sexual development of youths. These promoters of virtue acted in the name of social welfare to protect those thought unable to make decisions on their own due to their ignorance, immaturity, or instability.<sup>4</sup>

This bleak situation strengthened the resolve of morality campaigners to band together and to bring about a legislative response to the crisis affecting youth in the Weimar Republic. Their campaign was politically fruitful because it capitalized on an understanding of youths as vulnerable members of society in need of protection by the state, a fact affirmed in the constitution. While Article 118 of the Weimar Constitution gave all Germans freedom of speech in word, print, and image, Article 122 stated that "youth has to be protected from exploitation as well as from moral, spiritual and corporal depravity."<sup>5</sup> The constitution thus limited freedom of expression if it involved protecting youths from harm, an argument that legislators had made to pass the 1920 Film Law (*Lichtspielgesetz*).<sup>6</sup>

Legislators were responsive to the concerns of morality campaigners. In 1926, the Reichstag passed the Law for the Protection of Youth

Against Trash and Smut (*Gesetz zur Bewahrung der Jugend vor Schund- und Schmutzschriften*, hereafter the Trash and Smut Law). In general terms, this law targeted any printed material considered to be aesthetically worthless and immoral which could lead to the “overexcitement of the youthful imagination and have brutalizing and demoralizing effects.”<sup>7</sup> More concretely, trash and smut referred to cheap adventure and romance stories, serial novels, and sensationalist newspapers, as well as the sex reform magazines and homosexual periodicals that proliferated during the Weimar Republic. This law limited the public sale of such publications rather than completely censoring them. Publishers could continue issuing them but, once they were officially labelled trash or smut, were not allowed to sell them in public. Instead, they had to be sold under the counter.

Since the law did not explicitly prohibit trash and smut, scholars have characterized the 1926 law as a form of mild censorship.<sup>8</sup> This practice has been traditionally explained as either an effort to suppress opinion or a bourgeois attempt to shape literary taste and morals.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, aesthetic ideals had been at the core of German bourgeois nationalism and the idea of Germany as a *Kulturnation*.<sup>10</sup> It was not different during the Weimar Republic. According to Luke Springman, the 1926 law provided an institutional platform “for expressing moral indignation and collective anxieties of conservative, middle-class Germany.”<sup>11</sup> Protecting youths from potential harm by putting trash and smut out of sight certainly had something to do with censorship. By suppressing challenging views, legislators sought to reduce bourgeois anxieties about a perceived loss of national identity, social decay, the crisis of the family and falling birth rate, the rise in crime and social unrest, and the increasing power of media and consumerism.<sup>12</sup>

The set of concerns the censorship aimed to redress therefore shaped understandings of sexual morality during the Weimar Republic and had precedents. Sarah L. Leonard observes that the censorship of “obscene” texts had been redirected during the nineteenth century from a concern with “gullible, excitable hearts and minds,” mostly those of women and children, to a fear of deviant sexuality.<sup>13</sup> Sex ought to be heterosexual, conjugal, and private.<sup>14</sup> Policing obscenity justified the state’s meddling in the private lives of citizens with the pretence that it was for their own good.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, the proponents of the 1926 law aimed to protect “vulnerable” youths from “harmful” publications, but the law that passed indirectly established the regulation of sexual behaviour for everyone in Weimar society.

Why were morality campaigners and legislators so worried about the well-being of youths? Why did they believe that cleansing kiosks and bookstores of allegedly salacious material would guarantee the

proper moral and sexual development of adolescents? Instead of judging their views as irrational fears, this chapter reveals the social and cultural field in which these anxieties originated. Morality campaigners and many legislators were actually convinced that Germany was on the brink of moral collapse after the war. Their legislative response to these perceived changes is an example of a moral panic.<sup>16</sup> Morality campaigners and legislators were fixated on a set of moral and social anxieties; they selected an easy target, in this case print culture, and disproportionately exaggerated the threat it represented to youths in order to refine the “normative contours and ‘moral boundaries’ of the society” and to “demonstrate that there are limits to how much diversity can be tolerated.”<sup>17</sup> Morality – or, better, moralization as a relational sense of wrongness and conduct, and not as an essential set of values – shows how moral regulation cannot be understood from a top-down perspective.<sup>18</sup> The state alone cannot reinforce the morality of its citizens. The arguments in this chapter underline that civil involvement plays a crucial role in moral regulation. In my view, this form of public involvement illustrates the vitality of democracy during the Weimar Republic. Morality campaigners culled the influence of their organizations, the press, and the opinion of experts in adolescent development to shape public opinion, support their claims of legitimacy, and find common ground. At the same time, the success of this social movement is notable because it underscores that democracy need not include or tolerate all views.

The normative drive to ban the publications of the homosexual movement deserves more scholarly attention, especially in light of the 1926 Trash and Smut Law. Jens Dobler argues that censorship during the Weimar Republic did not specifically target books and magazines with homosexual topics.<sup>19</sup> Certainly, such publications continued to be sold and constituted only a small percentage of all the titles indexed and banned by this law. Still, Laurie Marhoefer acknowledges that censorship reduced the visibility of homosexual publications: it “push[ed] queer publications out of the public eye, containing them in a restricted space that especially young people were supposed to be unable to access.”<sup>20</sup> Marhoefer, however, does not elaborate on why this measure seemed reasonable and compelling at the time. This chapter will demonstrate that concerns about youth were central when it came to justifying the Trash and Smut Law.

Homosexual magazines, especially those published by Friedrich Radszuweit, were regularly considered “trash and smut.” The kitschy language and unsophisticated style in “The Island of the Lonely” and similar stories published in the BfM’s magazines were, according to

those with the power to enforce the law and to dictate taste, shoddy; the pictures, stories, and advertisements were decidedly indecent. The enforcers of the law agreed that these publications did not fulfil the aesthetic and pedagogic ideals of fine art. They were merely industrial products catering to readers' crudest desires. But why were youths a matter of concern, even though they were not the explicit target audience of these homosexual publications? Many contemporaries, including those responsible for deciding what constituted trash and smut, believed that youths could be seduced into homosexuality not only by adult homosexuals but also by their publications. In this regard, the Trash and Smut Law was a direct attack against Radszuweit and his League for Human Rights (the BfM) because it threatened to limit the visibility that homosexuality had gained through the movement's press.

### Trash and Smut and the Protection of Youth

The protection of youth against harmful publications became one of the most important goals of censorship during the First World War.<sup>21</sup> The censorship of obscenity in the early twentieth century was in part a reaction against the proliferation of print culture and the threat it represented to bourgeois cultural, gender, and sexual hegemony.<sup>22</sup> Conservative politicians, teachers, social workers, psychologists, youth leaders, clergymen, and members of morality organizations monitored these new media because they feared that they damaged the moral and sexual upbringing of youths and threatened German and Christian sensibilities.<sup>23</sup> Their opposition to the increase of new media forms must be understood as an expression of the crisis of German *Kultur* after the First World War, when Christian conservatives and an impoverished intellectual class felt that cheaply produced books and periodicals could debase bourgeois taste and further ruin the nation. Their worries, however, went far beyond aesthetic considerations; they feared the negative effects of trash and smut on the impressionable minds of working-class youths.

The German Army's administrative authority (*Generalkommando*), concerned about the criminal and immoral behaviour of minors, introduced measures to regulate the access of youths to harmful texts during the war. The teacher Karl Brunner led this initiative. Known already for his dislike for trash and smut before the military conflict, Brunner used his new position as censor at Berlin's police headquarters to introduce an index of forbidden literature, the Berlin List (*Berliner Liste*), which had legal consequences for the entire Reich.<sup>24</sup> Under his purview, trash and

smut literature became a category apart from pornography, which fell under Section 184 of the penal code. As a result, war regulations required that trashy and smutty writings be neither displayed nor sold publicly.

In addition to providing an institutional framework for the fight against trash and smut, legal measures passed during the war heightened the link between frivolous literature and moral crisis. The philosopher Oswald Spengler wrote in *The Decline of the West* (*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*, 1923) that the First World War had not been the result of “accidental facts contingent on nationalist moods, personal influences, and economic trends,” but “a turning point in history.”<sup>25</sup> In Spengler’s assessment, other symptoms of the decline of Western civilization included the growth of cosmopolitan cities and their “shapeless fluctuating masses,” with their dislike for religion and tradition and their penchant for facts, money, science, technology, and entertainment.<sup>26</sup> To pessimistic observers such as Spengler, Germany was in a state of moral disrepair. Other commentators, upset about the changes the November Revolution had brought about, thought the war had only accelerated Germany’s downfall, which was often described in cataclysmic and biblical terms. “Germany,” Mary Young-Rißmann stated, “has collapsed like no other people in two thousand years.”<sup>27</sup> A member of the zealous White Cross Christian group, Rißmann compared the fall of Germany to the fall of ancient Israel: “Germany’s collapse – political, economic, and financial – is deeply connected to its moral decadence.”<sup>28</sup> Losing the war meant that the whole nation was at risk of succumbing to degeneration. In a 1921 article in the *Franconian Messenger* (*Fränkische Kurier*) titled “Idols of the Time” (“Götzen der Zeit”), a commentator described how adolescents were afflicted by a psychological epidemic:

We have to go back to the beginning of the 13th century to find a similar phenomenon of psychic mass epidemic in German history. [Back then] thousands of young people, mostly in their puberty, who had gathered together for the so-called “Children’s Crusade,” knew only of a *raison d’être*: dancing ... Historians have told us that this affected boys and girls, that the affliction came suddenly, and that they were considered possessed.<sup>29</sup>

The article pointed out the youths’ failure to accomplish their original mission. Instead of joining the Christian crusade, they were afflicted with a strange disease commonly known as the Saint Vitus Dance. And instead of serving the interests of the nation and of the church, these young people had danced to exhaustion. This was, in the author’s words, “a startling historical analogy” to the contemporary situation. There was indeed an “explosion” of dance during the Weimar

Republic.<sup>30</sup> Commentators considered dance – often linked to racial others and sexual depravity – to be one of the signs of moral turpitude. “There is no doubt,” continued the 1921 article, “this pestilence has seized our youths, our pride and hope. Silence is national suicide, active collaboration in their salvation from this swampland is our obligation.”<sup>31</sup> The salvation of youth from criminality, crudeness, filth, and disease was crucial to the nation’s redemption.

If the thirteenth-century enemies had been Muslims fighting against Christians for control of the Holy Land, the enemy during the Weimar Republic was much closer to home. “Here in western Germany,” claimed the pastor Adolf Sellmann, “the French invasion has already done enough damage.”<sup>32</sup> Sellmann was appalled by the French occupation of the Ruhr region in 1923 and the presence of soldiers from the French colonies. Not only were fraternization and rape a moral outrage: French colonial troops also represented a threat to German masculinity and the racial stock of the nation.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the collateral damage of occupation deteriorated Germany’s image abroad. Europeans and non-Europeans had lost respect for Germany. The “Black Horror on the Rhine” may have been a consequence of Germany’s weak foreign policy at the time, but this discourse was highly productive for domestic affairs. Political groups of all stripes felt that Germany had been left at the occupiers’ mercy. Anti-French sentiment and racial prejudice gave them common ground. While pastors could do little to stop Germany’s foreign occupation, Sellmann argued, “at least we want to have the possibility of protecting our youth from smut and trash.”<sup>34</sup>

Paul Samuleit, a campaigner against trash and smut, argued that the war had contributed to the disintegration of the family. Fathers left for the front, many never to return. “In countless homes not only the father was missing, but soon the mother and the older siblings were gone too,” he observed. Mothers were now working in the war industry, where other women, girls, and young boys substituted for the missing fathers in the factories. School was often cancelled, since “half the teachers [were] at the front.” Youths may have welcomed these changes with much excitement at first, but curfews and food shortages followed. “Always-hungry youths” suffered the most from the material limitations of the war.<sup>35</sup> Young people employed in the war industries were earning money for the first time, which they would then spend “foolishly.”<sup>36</sup> Lack of parental control led to their prowling, their neglecting school, and their fooling around. This combination of circumstances had brought about the increase in juvenile delinquency.<sup>37</sup>

Idle, unguarded, and hungry adolescents who had nothing to their name could succumb to the allure of cheap, sensational publications.

The proliferation of trash and smut began with war stories and their exaltation of the so-called "hurrah-patriotism."<sup>38</sup> According to Samuleit, the problem with these books was that they "distorted and disfigured the formidable events of the war in the form of tasteless adventure and criminality."<sup>39</sup> War literature fed the "male fantasies of war," as the historian Andrew Donson argues, but it also fed female fantasies.<sup>40</sup> Not only exploiting the patriotic feelings of boys, the "manufacturers" of such literature also recognized that girls could be profitable customers. War romance novels, according to their detractors, degraded the gravity of war by using it as the backdrop for cheap love stories. The critics of trash and smut soon directed their attention from war literature to the growing market of detective and adventure stories, romantic tales, marriage-reform magazines, and homosexual periodicals that appeared soon after the end of the war. They were convinced that these publications corrupted morality with their portrayal of the perverted, the criminal, and the foreign.

One of the most vocal anti-trash campaigners was Hermann Popert, a judge from Hamburg who owed much of his prominence to the success of his book *Helmut Harringa: A History from Our Time* (*Helmut Harringa: Eine Geschichte aus unserer Zeit*, 1910), a popular novel among German youths that warned against "alcoholism, premarital intercourse, and the contamination of the German race."<sup>41</sup> Popert compared the consumption of trashy books with prostitution, intoxication, and addiction, all of them "immoral vices" that awakened "libidinal instincts."<sup>42</sup> In another of his books, about the campaign against trash and smut in Hamburg, Popert likened the production of such publications to white slavery and drug dealing. Like these shoddy businesses, he argued, trashy and smutty books sought profit at the expense of the social and moral damage they wreaked. Popert recognized that trash and smut were difficult to define according to traditional aesthetic judgments. In a letter sent to the Prussian government, he claimed that this type of publication "is oriented to the mass market, has neither artistic nor scientific value, is immoral and brutalizing in its form or content, is harmful for the mental, moral, and health development [of youths], and overstimulates the imagination."<sup>43</sup> Hermann Popert's definition would become the standard way morality campaigners and legislators identified these publications.

Aware that the Reichstag would not act quickly to draft legislation, Popert took immediate action and encouraged others to follow his morality campaign. Popert supported so-called positive measures, such as the promotion of "good literature."<sup>44</sup> He had successfully led these civic campaigns in Hamburg, where teachers had formed committees to

warn parents of the harm that trash and smut could do to their children. Hamburg's Youth Literature Committee (Jugendschriftenausschuß) was only one of many similar associations in Germany.<sup>45</sup> This group combined educational activities for children and youths with public lectures in workers' clubs.<sup>46</sup> These lectures aimed to educate working-class parents about the benefits of going to actual bookstores instead of relying on peddlers, the traditional source for their reading materials. The committee also published the *Catalogue of Recommendable Juvenile Books* (*Verzeichnis empfehlenswerter Jugendschriften*), a list of pre-approved topics, authors, and titles that came out every Christmas.<sup>47</sup>

While Hamburg's Youth Literature Committee became a model for the entire country, the measures it supported were not entirely positive. Morality groups showed a tendency to interfere with the freedom of sellers and buyers and had a penchant for surveillance.<sup>48</sup> The Hamburg Committee was charged to "observe the stationery and cigar stores where trashy literature [*Schundliteratur*] is known to be sold and to control its interior as well as its window displays."<sup>49</sup> If trash and smut were being sold, these unofficial vigilantes tried to persuade the seller to stop. If sellers complied, the committee would issue a certificate of approval to be displayed on the store's window. Sellers who ignored their recommendations were discredited in leaflets distributed around the neighbourhood.<sup>50</sup> Occasionally, morality campaigners organized more radical protests, such as a public book burning. During the second week of December 1921, Berlin celebrated its Youth Welfare Week with a series of lectures about welfare and juvenile crime reduction. Of all the topics on the agenda, trash and smut received the most attention. The burning of 30,000 books was announced to great fanfare as the culmination of this week of celebration.<sup>51</sup>

Religious leaders identified trash and smut as a legitimate moral problem afflicting youths. Their concerns found a powerful spokesperson in Reinhard Mumm, a Protestant pastor from Düsseldorf and a member of the Reichstag representing the German National People's Party. Like other members of his party, Mumm despised the republic and wished for the return of the Kaiser and for religious education in all schools.<sup>52</sup> However, he recognized that the clock could not be set back to pre-war times: the country needed a new morality. Germany, he stated, "needs the harder and lasting work of a recovery of the national soul [*Volksseele*]."<sup>53</sup> The nation was a harmed body and a diseased soul in need of healing.

This link between the physical and the spiritual nation underscored how moral recovery was as important as hygiene or population growth. Politicians relied on scientific language to discuss these two

social issues and to justify their assault on liberal values and reproductive rights. Similarly, the battle against trash and smut was fought with the weapons of science to describe the damage done to the psyche and the body, as an explanation for the rise of juvenile delinquency, and as a cause of degeneracy and sexual deviance. Understood in these terms, the fight against trash and smut was, as the literary critic Werner Mahrholz put it in the *Vossische Zeitung*, a form of “spiritual hygiene.”<sup>54</sup> Youths needed be educated to comply with a set of core moral values, including decency and sexual abstinence. The ideal of a united national community, or *Volksgemeinschaft*, according to the pedagogue Heinrich Benfer, was possible only through moral purity.<sup>55</sup> The moral recuperation of youthful souls implied eliminating an obsession with pleasure and an appalling lack of piety.

Much of this discourse blurred together moral and physical health. Emil Abderhalden alerted the public about the consequences of reading trash and smut. A renowned Swiss doctor and member of the Prussian Committee for Racial Hygiene, Abderhalden represented the Ethics Union (Ethikbund), an association of doctors interested in combatting venereal disease, fostering population growth, and promoting racial hygiene.<sup>56</sup> He argued that “the future of a nation depends on how its youth is educated.”<sup>57</sup> Since reading was one of the most important aspects of an individual’s education, he warned against the negative influence of trash and smut “on the young organism.”<sup>58</sup> The link between trash and smut and hygiene was also literal. Benfer commented with disgust on how pulp novels would pass from family to family and would be touched by countless hands to the extreme that “one should touch them only with pincers.”<sup>59</sup> Such hygienic explanations provided a pretext for municipal governments to attack trash and smut. To wit, Berlin’s Youth Support Services office began protecting youth against trash and smut in 1921 under the guise of a hygiene campaign about used paper. The authorities were concerned about the dubious origin of the paper on which cheap literature was being printed. The office’s report indicated that youths in economic need were trading with used paper, which was considered filthy and damaging to their health.<sup>60</sup>

Concerns with public hygiene in 1921 turned into an ideological debate. They reflected the interest of the state in mapping the sources of (social) disease as well as its effects upon youthful bodies. Anxieties about increasing poverty and destitution shaped a policy that would control the bodies of an apparently unhealthy nation with an uncertain future. “German reconstruction,” as argued by Georg Schreiber of the Centre Party, “will not be achieved with the figures in the national budget. It demands reconstructing bodies and souls and strengthening

a moral, noble, and healthy youth."<sup>61</sup> Morality campaigners demanded that legislators create special laws addressing trash and smut to ensure Germany's regeneration.

National and moral regeneration defined the framework in which supporters of the law built consensus. While morality campaigners did not go unchallenged, the protection of youth became an issue around which morality campaigners could find some common ground with both conservative and reform-oriented politicians in the 1920s. "This law," Helene Weber of the Centre Party observed, "is neither 'right' nor 'left'; it is a law for the whole nation."<sup>62</sup> In the words of the German Democratic Party member Theodor Heuss, the Trash and Smut Law was "social policy for the soul."<sup>63</sup> In addition to the Centre Party and the German Democratic Party, members of the Bavarian People's Party and the German National People's Party (DNVP) joined as the main supporters of the law and claimed that they were fighting to save morally healthy youths. All four political parties stressed that they did not support censorship, or as the Centre Party representative Georg Schreiber put it, "Metternich's police state"; rather, they wanted to press for legislation that might uphold German culture, protect the morality of youth, and facilitate the "regeneration of [Germany's] *Volkskörper*."<sup>64</sup>

Even the Social Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Germany acknowledged that youths were endangered and required protection from the threats of modern life.<sup>65</sup> Both parties described trash and smut as a repulsive by-product of capitalism. In their view, publishers were willing to sacrifice the innocence of young people for the sake of profit. That being said, members of both parties feared the censorship of newspapers if new legislation was enacted. They were successful in preventing the inclusion of newspapers in the law's language and insisted that the law was censorship, since it potentially limited access to alternative sources of information.<sup>66</sup> Instead, these parties encouraged social reform and positive measures. An article in the *Berliner Morgenpost*, a newspaper sympathetic to ideas of the Left, stated that the best remedies against trash and smut were social and that the main source of youth waywardness was economic: youths needed a good home, day-care centres, youth clubs, playgrounds, and work.<sup>67</sup> Rather than reading questionable literature, youths were encouraged to enjoy the books and, increasingly, films produced by members of the Socialist Party.<sup>68</sup>

Although they objected to the law, members of the Social Democratic and Communist Parties had internalized an insidious argument, namely that trash and smut disproportionately afflicted working-class youths. Indeed, social class prejudice had shaped the discourse on trash and smut since the late nineteenth century.<sup>69</sup> The harm that reading could

inflict on youthful bodies and psyches was thought to be connected to the industrialization of cultural production. What could happen to the already debased members of the working class if their intellectual nourishment was spoiled? How would proletarian youths grow up to be morally righteous members of society if they were only exposed to rawness and indecency in their readings? Some critics, inspired by the ideas of the reform pedagogue Heinrich Wolgast, believed that the debates on trash and smut literature could start an important discussion about education reform and class levelling.<sup>70</sup>

Morality campaigners, by contrast, used the discourse around trash and smut literature to express their fear of working-class revolt, which they often masked as a paternalistic interest in the betterment of poor youths. Already in 1910, Karl Brunner thought education was creating dissidents who threatened the social order.<sup>71</sup> Brunner considered working-class people too “psychologically undeveloped” to understand real art. He supported instead a form of literature more suited for the common people, with a strong moralizing message.<sup>72</sup> Brunner and his acolytes played with the prejudices of a respectable bourgeois audience. Proletarian parents were described as irresponsible drunks and “degenerates”; by contrast, bourgeois readers were praised for their good judgment and common sense.<sup>73</sup> The threat of class conflict often relied on fears of the propensity for criminality and sexual depravity of the working class. Brunner capitalized on the power of such fears, and he instilled them among conservative bourgeois circles to create a form of class cohesion that he thought the proletariat shared in excess. Fear could mobilize the bourgeoisie: “The moral, mental, and physical well-being of your children is at risk!” he warned in a pamphlet.<sup>74</sup> The language of risk was based on the assumption that bourgeois readers were more invested in the future of their children and cultural tradition than working-class parents.

Trash and smut literature thus succeeded, according to its critics, by preying on the psychological weaknesses of working-class youths. The emergent field of youth psychology and pedagogy made this belief a chief research goal in the 1920s. As Wilhelm Fronemann, a teacher active in the youth literature movement (*Jugendschriftbewegung*), put it in 1927, “the effects of youth literature on the psyche” deserved much attention.<sup>75</sup> When considering an apparent rise in criminality, immorality, and homosexuality during the Weimar period, youth psychologists believed that mass-produced literature had the ability to seduce youths into committing unlawful and disreputable acts and that reading could arrest their proper sexual development. Some psychologists argued that the flexibility of the youthful psyche – which was strikingly similar

to the flexibility of their sexuality – made them vulnerable to the alluring power of trash and smut.

According to developmental theories from the period, youth was that particular moment of transition in which the child would abandon the world of instincts to welcome the world of reason. During this transformation, youths would discover that they possess their own ego and subjectivity, and that they must find their role in society. These changes did not happen without any hiccups. The psychologist Eduard Spranger argued that “the libidinal psychic structure of children” (*die triebhafte Seelenstruktur des Kindes*), by which he meant pubescent children, made them prone to “dangerous conflicts.”<sup>76</sup> Adolescents were emotional wrecks, trying to figure out how to behave as adults in a society hostile to them while battling their sexual awakening, which they were urged to repress. Typical mechanisms to soothe the adolescent’s growing pains, according to Fronemann, included exercise and spending time in nature, which was thought to allow youths “to see the world with their own eyes,” instead of through the cloudy lens of trashy literature.<sup>77</sup>

Modern life in the city and the factory, Fronemann argued, unfortunately made the connection with nature and its influence on normal development difficult. Literature (mostly adventure and travel novels) acted as a modern substitute for youths who had no other alternatives to relieve their stressed psyches.<sup>78</sup> The teacher and anti-trash campaigner Willy Gensch argued that the boredom inherent in modern life and its regulated time led working-class youths to seek sensorial overstimulation. For example, Gensch compared compulsive reading to a type of addiction that led to a state of inebriation. Poisons such as alcohol and trash and smut appealed to the deepest of instincts: reading trash and smut literature, youths allowed their “atavistic” selves to transpire.<sup>79</sup> Shoddy and crude publications awakened the instincts that civilization was supposed to tame in them. It turned youths into primitive beings: vagrant, cruel, licentious, and, in the worst cases, homosexual, which was often described as a state of arrested sexual development.

If working-class youths were the ideal readers of trash and smut, they were more likely to suffer its effects. The psychologist Hubert Jung feared that youths would fill their empty lives – shadowed by broken families, economic misery, parental alcoholism, and abuse – with fantastic stories that they would try to replicate in reality. The adolescent’s psychological inability to distinguish between reality and fiction made this all the worse. Jung argued that proletarian youths were more susceptible to mixing reality and fiction, just as they were more impressionable and susceptible to sexual confusion.<sup>80</sup> The adolescent’s

inability to distinguish between reality and fiction led criminalist Albert Hellwig to claim that there was a direct correlation between reading trash and committing crime.<sup>81</sup> Although criminologists were still taking into account biological factors, such as congenital psychopathy, they increasingly agreed that social conditions played a key role in the psychological development of youth.<sup>82</sup> Young people were physically and psychologically vulnerable to their milieu. According to Hellwig, the “unhealthy stimulation of the imagination” could lead to ethical misconceptions, provocation, or imitation.<sup>83</sup> It could also lead to sexual crimes. Heinrich Benfer was convinced that reading inappropriate texts had the power to undermine sexual self-control.<sup>84</sup> Youths, according to the librarian Albert Müller, were “hungry for excitement” (*Reizhungrig*), and trash and smut, which he believed to be “a crime against morality and a gateway to prostitution,” was the best nourishment for their sexual appetite.<sup>85</sup>

The moral panic around trash and smut literature and the opinions of these experts convinced many members of the Reichstag that trash and smut was a serious national issue. They voted on the Trash and Smut Law on 3 December 1926. The bill passed by 250 votes to 158 and 3 abstentions, but notably without support from the Left.<sup>86</sup> The final version of the law banned the public sale of publications considered trash and smut for youths under the age of eighteen. In addition, the law mandated fines or prison terms for non-compliant sellers and distributors. To appease and protect reputable authors, legislators ensured that the enforcement of the law would guarantee fairness and objectivity.<sup>87</sup> The publications to be included in the “trash and smut list” (*Schmutz- und Schundliteraturliste*) would have to be discussed by a group of experts (authors, publishers, and representatives of the book trade and youth welfare agencies) and be given unbiased scrutiny. Instead of offering objective criteria for the law’s enforcement, two vetting offices (*Prüfstellen*) in Berlin and Munich and a chief vetting office (*Oberprüfstelle*) in Leipzig discussed possible entries on a case-by-case basis.

The law’s commitment to upholding freedom of expression required a level of critical examination that, according to morality campaigners, could limit its success. For that reason, the leaders of morality and youth organizations encouraged members to take action: they should favour Christian publications and avoid Jewish and sensational newspapers. Moreover, they should put kiosks, bookstores, and libraries under surveillance and report anything suspicious, especially the public sale of publications with sexual or erotic content.<sup>88</sup> If the law were to be effective, it would be due to the diligence of these vigilantes. Many

of them agreed that the vetting offices had achieved little in the first two years since the passing of the law: their members had not met a single time during the first eleven months and “disgusting” publications were still available everywhere.<sup>89</sup> Local officials were responsible for the enforcement of the law, but they were not able to keep up with the growing number of publications that morality campaigners wanted to include in the Trash and Smut List.<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless, reports claimed that publications had become “less questionable” (*einwandfreier*) after they had been included in the list.<sup>91</sup>

### The Seductive Magazine

Trash and smut literature became a national issue because it was thought to impact the moral development of impressionable youths. As more research on reading trash and smut came to light, morality campaigners increasingly turned their attention from its effects on juvenile crime to sex. Around 1928, the Borromäusverein, an organization responsible for making sure German media complied with Catholic tenets, started to focus on the “downright sexual trash literature that represents a danger for the destiny of our nation in its bald perversity.”<sup>92</sup> The so-called *Ehe-Schriften*, magazines on companionate marriage and sexual reform, as well as magazines on naturism, sports, fashion, and homosexuality, were dangerous because they displayed the naked body and printed questionable personal ads. According to the Borromäusverein, homosexual magazines even seemed to have become fashionable among young readers: “Girls between 17 and 21, and from so-called better classes, prefer [reading] homosexual and lesbian magazines.”<sup>93</sup> These publications had become popular even in the countryside. Defying class expectations, sexual fantasies were common not only among proletarian youths, as the psychologist Herbert Jung argued.<sup>94</sup> All youths – male and female, rich and poor – were at risk.

The publications of the homosexual movement were automatically suspect within this context of heightened anxiety about the sexual development of youths. These magazines were readily available, affordable, and unapologetic about their treatment of topics important for sexual minorities. While scientific literature about sexuality was hard to find and expensive, the popular press of the homosexual movement was accessible and affordable. It should not be surprising, then, that the Trash and Smut Law affected the homosexual movement’s press disproportionately. Up to 1 January 1933, all homosexual magazines typically sold publicly were included in the Trash and Smut List at some point between 1927 and 1933.<sup>95</sup> Publications such as the *Journal for Human*

*Rights (Blätter für Menschenrecht)*, *Girlfriend (Die Freundin)*, *The Third Sex (Das dritte Geschlecht)*, the *Journal of Friendship (Das Freundschaftsblatt)*, and *The Island (Die Insel)*, all published by Radszuweit, and also those by his competitors, were often indexed for the duration of year. The vetting offices trusted that removing these publications from public sale for an extended period of time would allow publishers to clean them up.

The homosexual movement's magazines were part of an ecosystem of publications about sexuality that could reach every youth everywhere. The journalist Käthe Wittkower, writing for the *Welt-Spiegel*, an illustrated supplement for the liberal *Berliner Tageblatt*, alerted parents to the dangers of the newsstand. While Benfer and other morality campaigners stressed that most working-class youths came into contact with physical and moral infection through monstrous conditions at home, the city's streets were a bad influence for everyone, regardless of class. Bourgeois parents may delay the conversation about "the creation of life" until their offspring are mature enough to understand this important matter rationally. Such caution was futile, Wittkower lamented, because youths were learning abominable ideas about love and sex elsewhere. Streets promoted sexual precocity among youth. They could walk in front of movie theatres and their "alluring placards" or encounter incessant temptations on their way to school: the prostitute, the "old man" preying on innocent children, and, worst of all, the newsstand, whose displays included more immoralities "than ten forbidden books."<sup>96</sup> The newsstand, Wittkower contended, was poisoning the souls of Germany's youths.

The images that accompanied the article illustrated these different scenes of contamination. In one of them, a smiling youth in school uniform is looking at the covers of some magazines. Radszuweit's *Girlfriend* is displayed next to other sex reform magazines, such as the popular *Marriage (Die Ehe)*. This context clarifies the place of the homosexual press in Weimar's media landscape. Radszuweit's publications were part of a larger heap of irresistible smut. Body culture and sex reform magazines included in the Trash and Smut List, such as *Asa*, *Mara*, or *Figaro*, probably appealed to a younger readership due to their generous inclusion of nudes, raunchy cartoons, and erotic short stories. *Virgin Soil for Love and Marriage (Neuland der Liebe und Ehe)*, a magazine that promoted companionate marriage and condoned premarital and extramarital sex, was also included in the list.<sup>97</sup> Young girls and boys could be drawn to these magazines' beauty and fashion tips, film and theatre reviews, contacts and sex-advice sections, and, of course, their titillating covers. These magazines described a world where happiness was a goal that could be achieved through love and companionship,

mutual understanding, respect, and sexual fulfilment. Although they did not always offer radical alternatives, magazines such as the *Journal of Friendship* and *Girlfriend* did provide models of how to lead productive and fulfilling lives outside normative marriage and heterosexuality. Needless to say, these ideas enraged morality campaigners, who defended traditional marriage and the sanctity of the family.

Radszuweit spoke up against those who considered his publications immoral. He commented on Wittkower's article in one of his weekly editorials published in July 1928. In his opinion, the image printed in the *Welt-Spiegel* showed a constellation of magazines that did not belong together but had been rather assembled to send a particular message, namely, that homosexuality was obscene. The BfM's leader was not interested in convincing readers about the benefits of free love. He wanted to convince the general public that homosexuality was respectable. Why couldn't Wittkower see that *Girlfriend* and, for that matter, all of the BfM's publications were not like these obscene magazines? Did she and the editors at the newspaper not understand that his organization promoted rights and not sex? And why was the *Berliner Tageblatt*, a newspaper that had done so much for the rights of Jews, not advocating the rights of homosexuals?<sup>98</sup>

The image in the *Welt-Spiegel* article indicated that homosexual magazines had made it to the centre of the public sphere. Yet the association of the BfM's magazines with other naturist, life reform, and erotic publications undermined their claim to respectability, regardless of how hard Radszuweit tried to prove that his magazines were decent. As a matter of fact, Radszuweit's attempt to promote and celebrate homosexual respectability only brought more scrutiny to the pages of the homosexual press. Upon closer inspection, the homosexual press appeared to be a trashy and smutty recruitment tool for the movement, a belief supported by not only morality campaigners and psychologists but also the vetting offices.

Radszuweit argued that the vetting offices showed blatant prejudice against homosexuality. The members of the Berlin vetting office, however, insisted that they were not in a position to take a stand against homosexuality. In their words, they were not responsible for a "critical appreciation of the problem of homosexuality."<sup>99</sup> Their role was rather to consider whether a publication, regardless of whether it had homosexual content, was of poor quality according to objective terms. The members of the vetting offices tried to ground their decisions in objective evidence and adhered to the democratic values of freedom of expression. They recognized that the intention of these publications was to represent "the interests of predisposed homosexuals and the

education of society," as well as to "offer entertainment for homosexuals."<sup>100</sup> In their opinion, the literary texts in *Girlfriend* were kitsch and lacked individual style and artistic value. Likewise, most of the articles and short stories were sentimental and turgid and included perverse content. In practical terms, any indication of sexual perversity was grounds enough for listing a publication. The members of the Berlin vetting office agreed that not all of Radszuweit's magazines were "completely worthless."<sup>101</sup> They did stress, though, that most people felt repulsed by homosexuality.<sup>102</sup> This reaction was enough to characterize these publications as smut.

The vetting offices showed unflinching determination to enforce the law whenever they thought youths to be endangered.<sup>103</sup> A decision by the Berlin vetting office regarding *The Third Sex* (*Das dritte Geschlecht*) announced that the publication not only wanted to make homosexuality "understandable" for youths but also to "propagate" it among them.<sup>104</sup> A different decision by the Berlin vetting office corroborated that young people were increasingly aware of meetings places for homosexual men: "The number of youths who loiter near the businesses recommended in the *Journal of Friendship* has increased at an alarming rate."<sup>105</sup> The BfM addressed these concerns. In an article published in the *Journal for Human Rights* titled "Propaganda," Gerd Sand assured readers that the BfM would never promote something "that causes so much pain and bitterness."<sup>106</sup> Sand admitted, however, that the organization did seek new members to join in its campaign for equality.

Further, the members of the vetting office maintained that images and personal advertisements made youths curious about homosexuality. The "low-quality and objectionable pictures" of naked men and youths on the covers of the magazines were repulsive because they stimulated the coarsest form of sensuality and were "designed to influence the imagination of immature youths in the sense of homosexuality."<sup>107</sup> They considered the personal ads section "a kind of love market."<sup>108</sup>

To the untrained eye the ads appeared innocuous, but upon close inspection they were teeming with sexual undertones (figure 4.1). Ads about men looking for same-sex partnerships, women looking for girlfriends, transvestites looking for like-minded individuals to marry, married couples looking for friendship, and ads requesting travel companions, roommates, or gardeners actually appeared to be requests for same-sex sexual encounters and relationships, and even pederasty, male prostitution, and a whole range of perversities. In the worst case, these ads, combined with the nude pictures on the covers, could persuade youths to initiate homosexual relationships.<sup>109</sup> Claiming a coded language for these magazines implied a contradiction. How could these expressions be harmful to youths if only homosexuals could understand them? A homosexual coded language meant that there was something

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**Dresden.** 33jähriger, hier fremd, sucht gesellschaftlichen Anschluß. Off. 120 Verl.

**Gedankenaustausch** von 27jährigem Berliner Herrn gesucht. Off. 121 Verl.

**Berlin.** Junger Mann, christlich, wünscht gesellschaftlichen Anschluß an einfache nette Menschen. Off. 122 Verl.

**Junger** Herr, gute Erscheinung, sucht Beschäftigung gleich weicher Art. Off. 123 Verl.

**Dresden.** Gebild. Herr, Anfang 30, Freizeiter, wünscht Gedankenaust. über Kunst, Sexualwissenschaft, Psychol. ge., Physiognomie, englische Sprache m. feingefügten, tiefseelisch empfindenden Menschen. Erb-liebe nichtanonyme Zuschriften. Off. 124 Verl.

**Junger Mann,** 19 Jahre alt, (vollwaise), aus gutem Hause, bei Jurist tätig, sucht ab 15. 1. Dauerstellung bei Rechtsanwalt zwecks weiter Ausbildung. Off. 125 Verl.

**Einwandrifer** junger Mann, 19 Jahre alt, sucht Stellung in Leipzig oder Ausland. Off. 126 Verl.

**32jähriger** Kaufmann sucht gesellschaftlichen Anschluß an gebildete Menschen. Dielenbesucher nicht erwünscht. Off. 127 Verl.

**Kellner,** 19 Jahre, gute Erscheinung, sucht Anfangsstelle in Caf. oder Hotel, evtl auch als Büffeter. Off. 128 Verl.

**Saargebiet.** Gebildeter junger Mann wünscht gesellschaftlichen Anschluß an nette Menschen, die möglichst französische Sprache beherrschen und auch kleine Reisen nach Frankreich mitmachen. Off. 129 Verl.

**Diener** sucht Stellung. Gute Zeugnisse vorhanden. Off. 130 Verl.

**Mecklenburg od. Umg.** Selbst Landwirt sucht gesellschaftlichen Anschluß an berufstätige Menschen. Off. 131 Verl.

**Kleines** möbl. Zimmer per sofort oder 1. Februar gesucht. Off. 132 Verl.

**Breslau.** Feingebildeter, solider, ruhiger, aber lebensfroher Herr aus besten Kreisen gute Erscheinung, Ende 40, sucht auf der Höhe seines Lebens gesellschaftlichen Anschluß an gediegene charaktervolle gebildete Menschen. Off. 133 Verl.

**Mit** netten Wandervogeln, Pfadfindern od. dergl. wünscht besserer Herr Briefwechsel, evtl. als Reisebegleiter. Off. 136 Verl.

**Fräulein,** 38 Jahre, sucht Gedankenaustausch mit aufrichtiger Dame. Off. 116 Verl.

**Ostereich.** Intelligenzler, Mitte 30ig, sucht kameradschaftlichen Anschluß in Wien oder Prov., an einwandfr. Menschen, oder auch Geschichts-zirkel. Off. 134 Verl.

**Suche** zum 15. Februar für gutes Haus, jungen Mann. Selbiger muß Haus und Gartenarbeiten verrichten. Off. mögl. mit Bild und Zeugnisabschrift. unter 135 Verl.

**Junger** Mann, aufrichtig., aus gut. Hause, wünscht Briefwechsel mit besseren gesetzten Menschen. Off. 137 Verl.

**Frankfurt a. M.** u. Umgebung sucht einfacher naturliebender 26 jähriger mit netten Menschen in brieflichen Gedankenaustausch zu treten. Off. 148 Verl.

**Thüringen.** Junger Mann, 23 J., sucht Gedankenaustausch mit netten Menschen. Erstgemeinte Off. 149 Verl.

**23jähriger** gebildeter junger Herr möchte ins Ausland und sucht Stellung als Reisebegleiter. Engl. Sprache, Maschinenschreiben und Schulkenntnis in französisch. Off. 150 Verl.

**Gartenbau.** Zwei Herren mit flottgehendem Geschäft (Rheinland) suchen als Mitarbeiter soliden älteren Fachmann. Beteiligung; nicht ausgeschlossen. Off. mit Lichtbild 151 Verl.

**Hamburg.** 23jähriger, hier gänzlich fremd und einsem, sucht auf diesem Wege gesellschaftlichen Anschluß an gebildete Menschen. Off. 132 Verl.

**Rheinländer,** 22 Jahre, sicheres Auftreten, sucht Stellung, am liebsten nach Ost-Deutschland, als Wagenführer (Kl. 3 b) oder als Führer und Pfleger eines erstklassigen Luxus-Gespans. Off. 153 Verl.

**22jähriger** junger Mann, höhere Bildung, ersehnt Gedankenaustausch mit netten Menschen. Off. 154 Verl.

**Wer** erteilt jungem Mann Tanzunterricht. Off. 155 Verl.

**Peri. Diener,** ledig., in ungekündigter Stellung, gute Zeugnisse, sucht Verträgnisaustausch gleich welcher Art. Off. 156 Verl.

**Herrschaftsdienerr,** 24 J., von gutem Aussehen, sucht Stellung als solcher evtl. als Reisebegleiter od. Beschäftigung in Hotelbetriebe. Off. 145 Verl.

**München.** Kaufmann, 21 Jahre, aus besten Kreisen, welcher Januar-Februar nach dort kommt und fremd ist, sucht gesellschaftlichen Anschluß an gesetzte gebildete Persönlichkeiten. Off. 146 Verl.

**Nationalökonom,** Dr.-Titel, aus bester Familie, transvestitisch, 33 Jahre, ersehnt sofortige Heirat m. Dame, die ihm die geliebte Frau sein will. Einheirat am liebsten. Mögl. Bild-offerten. 147 Verl.

**Frankfurt a. M.** u. Umgebung sucht einfacher naturliebender 26 jähriger mit netten Menschen in brieflichen Gedankenaustausch zu treten. Off. 148 Verl.

**Thüringen.** Junger Mann, 23 J., sucht Gedankenaustausch mit netten Menschen. Erstgemeinte Off. 149 Verl.

**23jähriger** gebildeter junger Herr möchte ins Ausland und sucht Stellung als Reisebegleiter. Engl. Sprache, Maschinenschreiben und Schulkenntnis in französisch. Off. 150 Verl.

**Gartenbau.** Zwei Herren mit flottgehendem Geschäft (Rheinland) suchen als Mitarbeiter soliden älteren Fachmann. Beteiligung; nicht ausgeschlossen. Off. mit Lichtbild 151 Verl.

**Hamburg.** 23jähriger, hier gänzlich fremd und einsem, sucht auf diesem Wege gesellschaftlichen Anschluß an gebildete Menschen. Off. 132 Verl.

**Rheinländer,** 22 Jahre, sicheres Auftreten, sucht Stellung, am liebsten nach Ost-Deutschland, als Wagenführer (Kl. 3 b) oder als Führer und Pfleger eines erstklassigen Luxus-Gespans. Off. 153 Verl.

**22jähriger** junger Mann, höhere Bildung, ersehnt Gedankenaustausch mit netten Menschen. Off. 154 Verl.

**Wer** erteilt jungem Mann Tanzunterricht. Off. 155 Verl.

**Peri. Diener,** ledig., in ungekündigter Stellung, gute Zeugnisse, sucht Verträgnisaustausch gleich welcher Art. Off. 156 Verl.

**19 J** alter, Koloni katensverw. sucht kündigt, sucht größeres Q mit Ausschl. Off. 157 Verl

**36Jäl** alleinstehend sucht ges Anschl. an los. Off. 158

**Ber** Akademiker, Mann, 28 J., schaftl. Ansc. Mensch Verl.

**Ber** Geb. Herr, 3 gesellschaftlich an nette kul schen. Off.

**Kaufmar** 24 Jahre alt u. Äußerem, mi nissen. Was Geschäftsfäl ist Suchend lichen Ges in welcher Geschäfte be firm in Caf Lebensmit Möchte gern fort, wo e Heimat get und nehme t gleich weich 161 Verl.

**Haml** Hausmusik, D Harmonium, D sucht für gu Kreis. Off. 1

**Haml** Religionsgrup Interesse. O

**Dr.** Lagerkarte 4 burg. 2. Bri kommen. Off

**Akade** 28, wünscht O tausch. Off.

**Anrege** Gedankenaust gesellschaftlich wünscht 35 J freidenkente, a setzten Pers Off. 165 Verl.

**Her** 30 J., Akadee zum Wassersp besch und e sportreue ord meraden. Off

**We** erteilt mir geg englischen Un 167 Verl.

**Nation** 28jähriger wü schaftlichen. A einfache solide Wenderfreunde mischen, so und kunstliebe Verl,

Figure 4.1. The members of the Berlin Vetting Office claimed that a homosexual coded language was used in these personal advertisements. *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 6, no. 3 (20 January 1928).

different about the way homosexuals spoke and, therefore, something inherently different and natural about homosexuality, an idea at odds with the belief in seduction. This contradiction, however, concealed an even more troubling possibility: the fact that these messages could be understood by and enticing for everyone.

The members of the vetting offices anticipated that the argument of seduction could be discredited by theories of inborn homosexuality. They pointed out, however, that the evidence of inborn homosexuality was inconclusive and relied on theories of sexual development popular at the time: "Many people are to a certain degree bisexual ... These bisexuals can be pushed in the direction of homosexuality with this kind of advertisements."<sup>110</sup> The Berlin vetting office stated in a decision regarding the *Journal of Friendship* that "the emotional life of many youths is still unsolved; there is a possibility that it takes a direction towards homosexuality, whenever people or literary products give the right impulse."<sup>111</sup> Radszuweit argued in a 1928 appeal to the Berlin vetting office that youths could not be influenced as long as they were not "decidedly homosexual." His magazines were not a recruitment tool, he asserted. These publications, he stated in a sentimental tone, "satisfied an irrefutable psychological need for homosexuals who often feel desperately alone."<sup>112</sup>

Radszuweit's statement did not convince anyone at the Berlin vetting office. The consensus was that homosexual magazines could have a lasting impact on youthful readers. Two expert reports made available to the vetting offices by the Working Group on the Recovery of the Volk (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Volksgesundheit) supported this position. A Dr Straßmann authored the first report. He denied one of the key arguments that homosexual publishers had made in defence of their freedom to publish their magazines: the fact that very few men and women are homosexual and that therefore they constitute a minority with no real threat to the larger society. Dr Straßmann relied on the widely accepted theories that "the undifferentiated sexual feeling [of youths] could be influenced so that same-sex feelings are stimulated and fixed."<sup>113</sup> He considered nude photographs, personal ads, and the advertisements of bars and clubs especially dangerous, given that youths have an adventurous nature and would be moved to visit such places. After being in contact with homosexuals (or after falling prey to them), he argued, it was impossible "to get away" from such places and the dangers they represented: substance abuse (especially cocaine) and the temptation to engage in male prostitution. Moreover, the constant use of sexual stimulation made these publications appealing to youths, who were easily titillated by the visual appeal of such magazines in street kiosks.

Homosexual publications were making youths acquainted with homosexuality and all kinds of social evils, Dr Straßmann lamented.<sup>114</sup>

Karl Bonhoeffer, a renowned psychiatrist and the director of the psychiatric clinic in Berlin's teaching hospital Charité, wrote the second report. He supported the view that homosexuality was certainly caused by an inborn physiological or psychiatric degenerative condition. He did not reject the possibility of acquired homosexuality, though. He admitted that in many cases – perhaps even in most cases – homosexuals showed clear signs of “external influences.” Even for those who could be classified as unmistakably “inborn” homosexuals, it was possible that “suggestion,” be it through reading homosexual publications or through youthful and foolish mutual masturbation with a same-sex friend, had ultimately led them to “homosexual confusion and fantasies.”<sup>115</sup> Bonhoeffer seemed to support the contradictory arguments that homosexuality afflicted a minority of people *and* that it was potentially present in everyone. Without clearly stating it, he signalled that heterosexuality was perhaps less stable than it appeared at first sight, hence the need to protect it at all costs.

Bonhoeffer maintained that homosexual magazines were propaganda, a recruiting mechanism that had led to the spread of homosexuality. This process had started long before 1928, when the report was written: “Psychopaths [had begun] to call themselves homosexuals in great numbers” after reading Kraftt-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*, which had become a popular book among curious youths since its publication in 1886. This also had been the effect of Richard Oswald's 1919 film *Different from the Others* (*Anders als die Andern*), which advocated the decriminalization of homosexuality and showed the fatal effects of blackmail in homosexual men. The increase in self-identifying homosexuals had little to do with these patients' “discovery of their true sexual orientation,” he stressed. It should rather be located in the psyche of the “pubescent or psychopathic youth, in whom the idea of being homosexual ... had taken root” as a consequence of his contact with explicit and sympathetic media representations of homosexuality.<sup>116</sup> Bonhoeffer firmly believed that youths could be led into homosexuality after reading homosexual publications, and he convinced the vetting offices, too.

Banning homosexual magazines from public sale sought to reduce the potential harm they could cause to youths. It was also a deliberate attempt to stifle the growth of the homosexual movement. The Berlin vetting office recognized that if these magazines had to eliminate all personal advertisements and suggestive images they would not survive.<sup>117</sup> If these magazines were less attractive, the public would lose interest in



law was effective in doing that much. "As a result of the prophylactic measures of the Trash and Smut Law," a 1932 report suggested, "the distribution of trash and smut writings has decreased."<sup>120</sup> The effects were more noticeable on publications that dealt explicitly with sexual matters: of the many homosexual, companionate marriage, and naturist magazines that occupied a prominent space in Weimar's kiosk landscape, "only few [were] left."<sup>121</sup>

Morality campaigners, psychologists, pedagogues, and legislators of all stripes agreed that something had to be done to improve the physical and moral conditions of German youths. They used the moral panic around trash and smut to strengthen their ability to control and discipline the young and to support conservative civil platforms entrusted with surveillance and denunciation of what they considered morally questionable. When dealing with homosexual publications, the 1926 Trash and Smut Law cemented the belief in seduction and the need to protect youth against so-called homosexual propaganda. Pressured by morality campaigners concerned with the erosion of moral values, the vetting offices carried out the law's intent – the protection of youth – by limiting the public display of homosexuality. Even though the vetting offices were not responsible for judging morality or for handling the "problem of homosexuality," they did validate the view that this sexual orientation "translated into a dramatic complication of people's existence" and that contemporary "society disapprove[d] of homosexuals."<sup>122</sup> No youth, they pointed out, should be exposed to such misfortune.

## The Pitfalls of Boy Love

Relationships between adult men and male youths have existed throughout history in many parts of the world. These relationships continue to exist today.<sup>1</sup> However, legislators, mental health professionals, the general public, and even LGBTQ+ organizations consider intergenerational relationships a form of abuse.<sup>2</sup> The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (ILGA), for example, started banning paedophiles in 1994.<sup>3</sup> While the paedophile movement experienced some resurgence in the 1970s and 1980s, as part of a larger debate about expanding sexual freedom,<sup>4</sup> the scandals of abuse of children and youths, as well as the muddling of the concepts of homosexuality, pederasty, and paedophilia, have given cross-generational relationships a bad reputation. The consensus is that man-boy relationships are obviously harmful for the boy but also for the goals of the LGBTQ+ movement as a whole.

Objections to intergenerational relationships have a longer history. Jana Funke has shown how debates around age difference and same-sex desire started in the late nineteenth century. According to Funke, the English poet and literary critic John Addington Symonds and his collaborator, Havelock Ellis, “should be viewed as early proponents of the equality model of male homosexuality.”<sup>5</sup> This egalitarian model, which gained dominance in the context of the gay liberation movement of the late 1960s, presupposes that both partners are roughly the same age, are generally masculine in their gender expression, and engage in unpaid, consensual sex.

This chapter traces the political roots of this “equality model” in the German homosexual emancipation movement of the 1920s and early 1930s. While Symonds, Ellis, and other activists had provided theoretical arguments against this model, most gay men at the time did not learn about boy love or about the historical, ethical, and political

dimensions of this practice in their scholarly writings. They became aware of the pitfalls of boy love in the pages of the homosexual press. These magazines, however, sent a contradictory message: they discouraged intergenerational love at the same time they offered the beauty and erotic allure of male youth for sale.

Sexologists and homosexual rights activists were preoccupied with intergenerational same-sex relationships, for they appeared to be typical. At the turn of the twentieth century, same-sex sexual desire was thought to be triggered by multiple factors. Magnus Hirschfeld claimed that “figure, hair and eye colour, character, personality, the way one moves, education, [and] class” determined the homosexual’s erotic preferences.<sup>6</sup> Yet age preference was still the most prevalent trait. Hirschfeld divided homosexual men into two main groups of roughly the same size: “Ephēbophilēn” (adult men who prefer sexually mature youths in their late teens and early twenties) and “Androphilēn” (men who choose partners of the same age or older). These findings meant that about 45 per cent of all adult homosexual men were attracted to adolescent boys. Other sexologists, such as Albert Moll, had come to similar conclusions.<sup>7</sup> A small minority of homosexuals, which Hirschfeld estimated at around 10 per cent, were either paedophiles, men who prefer prepubescent boys, or gerontophiles, men attracted to the elderly.<sup>8</sup> Hirschfeld and the WhK supported the position that paedophilia and homosexuality were not connected: the former was a pathological and criminal phenomenon that afflicted heterosexuals as well.<sup>9</sup> Sex with children had little to do with same-sex desire.

But what about sex with teenaged boys? *Knabenliebe*, the German translation of the Greek term *paiderastia* – roughly, love of boys – was used to refer to this erotic practice. Pederasty, however, continued to be an imprecise category in the 1920s and 1930s. It implied male same-sex acts, such as kissing, fondling, and mutual masturbation, but especially anal intercourse.<sup>10</sup> In the homosexual press, pederasty came to be increasingly reserved for intergenerational sex between men. That distinction was the result of a process of self-criticism within the homosexual movement.

Boy love became a contested issue. A scandal involving Gustav Wyneken, a prominent pedagogue who had allegedly abused his pupils, and a host of sensational murders of boys, presumably committed by homosexual killers, forced the emancipation movement to face the issue of intergenerational relationships. Were all homosexuals devious, even murderous, seducers of youths? How to refute this question was debated in the movement’s press, especially in the magazines published by Friedrich Radszuweit. Contributors and readers

discussed the long shared history of homosexuality and pederasty to argue for two distinct forms of desire. The former increasingly referred to same-sex activity involving adults; the latter, by contrast, defined the disreputable erotic relationships between adult men and adolescent boys, a practice rich in tradition that belonged to the past. Nevertheless, the leaders of the homosexual emancipation movement could not agree whether boy love was an erotic inclination that they should endorse and promote or a despicable and politically harmful form of sexual desire. Radszuweit, ever the opportunist, downplayed intergenerational relationships while he continued to capitalize on the erotic allure of youth. As seen in [chapter 3](#), seductive youths graced the covers of his magazines; short stories and poems celebrated intergenerational love. Radszuweit's politics of respectability were compromised as a result, and his youth protection campaign became a hypocritical tactic that did not help in the fight against decriminalization.

### **Pedagogical Eros and the Rejection of the Greek Model**

The association of homosexuality with the seduction of youth reached a high point after a disputed embrace. In 1921, the pedagogue Gustav Wyneken (1875–1964) was accused of committing obscene acts (*unzüchtige Handlungen*) against two of his pupils at the Wickersdorf Free School Community (Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf), a secluded boarding school in the Thuringian Forest. The two youths, one aged twelve and a half and the other seventeen, revealed that Wyneken had taken their naked bodies into his arms one night. The older brother of one of the students learned about the incident and threatened to go public about the matter. Trying to avoid a scandal that could damage the reputation of a school already subject to public scrutiny for its unorthodox approach, Wyneken chose to resign from his position as headmaster. This was not the first time that he was investigated by the school board. The ministry of education had forced him out of Wickersdorf from 1910 to 1919 due to his controversial pedagogical ideas.<sup>11</sup> This time his expulsion did not last so long. Colleagues, students, and parents begged him to return to the school nine days after the dismissal. They did not question Wyneken's innocence, even though he admitted that he had cuddled the boys. "Both youths had testified that I had loved them very much, and that they had loved me, as well. This was true," Wyneken wrote in his book *Eros*, a plea for innocence of sorts.<sup>12</sup> For him, and for the youths' parents, this form of affection had nothing to do with sex or abuse.

Were these accusations a complete fabrication, the fantasy of two sexually precocious youths? Or did Wyneken's behaviour warrant public

outrage and condemnation? Wyneken had taken the two youths under his wing because they were, in his words, “inferior” (*minderwertig*). They lacked intellectual ability and moral character. He had hoped that mentorship and camaraderie would help them become better human beings. The students’ low intellect and questionable moral character cast doubt on their words, for Wyneken was aware that adults generally doubted the testimonies of “inferior” youths, and, in fact, of all young people. Psychologists evaluated young “psychopathic” plaintiffs in similar situations negatively; courts sided often with the teachers.<sup>13</sup> In a court of law, the youth remained a contradictory figure: sexless yet full of sexual excess, innocent and guilty. Wyneken did not expect that a criminal case against him would move forward. The context, however, had changed. A teacher’s statement was no longer indisputable in 1921. Wyneken did see his day in court and received a one-year prison sentence on charges of sexual abuse of minors.<sup>14</sup> This change of heart was in part the result of research into the psychology of youth and of Germany’s ostensible “inversion wave,” the belief that youths had been easily seduced into homosexuality during the First World War and its aftermath. This belief was in the air at the time, so to speak.

The scandal around Wyneken’s embrace ignited a heated debate in the homosexual movement’s press. Whereas some readers of *Friendship* (*Die Freundschaft*) defended the man’s innocence, others felt that the scandal shed a negative light on homosexuality. Wyneken’s public denial of his homosexuality, moreover, led to a discussion about what he might actually be: a pederast, a boy lover. Did men like Wyneken and the practice of boy love damage the homosexual movement in its quest for decriminalization and equality? Radszuweit thought this was the case. At least officially, he repudiated this erotic inclination and chose instead to heighten the movement’s support for youth protection. The widening gulf between pederasty and homosexuality as two distinct sexual orientations grew in the aftermath of this scandal.

That acts like Wyneken’s were couched in the obscure concept of pedagogical eros became a convenient justification. The history of pederasty was well known among educated Germans since the nineteenth century. The philologists Karl Otfried Müller and M.H.E. Meier had published studies on pederastic rituals in Sparta and Crete.<sup>15</sup> Erich Bethe, a philologist at the University of Leipzig, wrote a noted essay on Dorian pederasty in 1907. His goal was to show without “embellishment” (*Schönfärberei*) and Christian morality that pederasty had been socially accepted and even highly regarded in Greek antiquity.<sup>16</sup> According to Clayton Whisnant, Greek and Roman antiquity “offered positive associations connected with same-sex desire.”<sup>17</sup> Several

pioneers of homosexual emancipation built their claims upon this tradition. Johann Joachim Winckelmann found in Greek and Roman sculptures inspiration for his musings on aesthetics and for coming to terms with his own homoerotic desire.<sup>18</sup> Heinrich Hössli, for example, relied on the admiration that classical antiquity enjoyed in the nineteenth century to elevate male same-sex love in the 1830s, which he described as something not only noble but also natural and inborn.<sup>19</sup> Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and John Addington Symonds used Greek sources to support their calls for legal reform and decriminalization.<sup>20</sup>

The educated men around the Community of the Special (*Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*, GdE), all of whom were certainly familiar with the Greek classics, believed that the history of Greek pederasty justified their erotic desire and gave it an aristocratic and cultivated air. Some of the GdE's most renowned members, such as Benedict Friedlaender, Elisar von Kupffer, Adolf Brand, and John Henry Mackay, even considered same-sex intergenerational relationships to be superior to those held between heterosexual adults.<sup>21</sup> They stressed their pedagogical value and social purpose.<sup>22</sup> In their opinion, this form of love had nothing to do with sexual inversion and effeminacy. Elisar von Kupffer was outraged that Hirschfeld's theory of the "third sex" feminized the great minds and heroes of history.<sup>23</sup> Friedlaender, Brand, and Mackay staged the "secession" from the WhK that separated the "masculinists" from Hirschfeld and those who supported his theories in 1907.<sup>24</sup> Pederasts, they stressed, were manly men who grasped the sublime beauty of male youth.

Pederasts, furthermore, had played a crucial role in the education of elite male youths in ancient Greece. This historical precedent gave grounds for reviving the tradition of pedagogical eros in twentieth-century Germany. Well into the nineteenth century, according to Hans Blüher, adult men were responsible for teaching young men the ins and outs of "male culture" (*männliche Kultur*), the necessary elements for building a society led by men. Homoeroticism, if not necessarily blatant sex, was part of this teacher-pupil exchange. Blüher had argued that much in his history of the Wandervogel youth movement as an "erotic phenomenon," and these ideas were central to his theory of state formation.<sup>25</sup> Blüher contended that homosexual men, which he categorized under an ideal type he called "Typus inversus," had been responsible for education in Hellenistic antiquity. Blüher bemoaned that bourgeois education had put an end to this tradition in the nineteenth century: "Youth is here only a container of knowledge, it takes in education passively, while the old man, the teacher, conveys knowledge, without ever becoming an object of education himself."<sup>26</sup> The bourgeois educational system encouraged age segregation and the "eradication of pederasts,"

he suggested, by encouraging teachers to marry and thereby to distance themselves from youths. In his opinion, contemporary education, even Wyneken's own Free School Community, was tainted by liberal and bourgeois goals and interests, such as marriage and capital accumulation, and even by outlandish ideas such as the equality of the sexes. Blüher, by contrast, regarded the pederastic tradition, which he thought Socrates personified, as "uncorrupted" (*unbestochen*). This intergenerational and sex-segregated educational model, including its erotic dimensions, he believed, was "in the service of human dignity."<sup>27</sup> The circle around the poet Stefan George most closely resembled Blüher's ideal of pedagogical eros. Around George "a mystical, spiritual and intellectual idea of eros and of world making dominated."<sup>28</sup> George diverted attention from homosexuality and talked instead about "*übergeschlechtliche Liebe*," a form of love above and beyond sexuality.<sup>29</sup>

Wyneken found the intellectual basis for his "pedagogical eros" in the writings of Hans Blüher and in George's poetry.<sup>30</sup> As a highly educated man, the product of elitist German gymnasia and universities, Wyneken was versed in the Greek classics. He borrowed from this tradition and its modern supporters to shape his unconventional pedagogy. For him, adolescence was not a period of transition between childhood and adulthood but a distinct part of life with its own characteristics and customs, which he called "youth culture" (*Jugendkultur*).<sup>31</sup> Wyneken acknowledged that the family fulfilled the purpose of reproduction and nurture. Male youths, however, should leave this unit after the onset of puberty and continue their development in a community of boys of the same age under the auspices of an adult leader. Wyneken did not deny that there might be some eroticism between the teacher and his pupils, as it had been the case in the tradition of Greek pederasty. This form of "pedagogical eros," however, was an "ideal of pure friendship" and a form of "chaste eros," a nuance that distanced pederasty from any association with actual sex. Ancient Greeks had not been decadent debauchees, so his argument went. On the contrary, pederasty had been central to Greek culture "during the period of its greatest flourishing and purest development."<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, Wyneken distanced pedagogical eros, which he saw as an ethical and pedagogical problem, from homosexuality, which he perceived as a medical, psychological, or legal problem at most. In his book *Eros*, Wyneken stressed that it would be "a complete mistake" to use his case to fight for homosexual rights, as some people were trying to do.<sup>33</sup>

Wyneken's "deeply elitist construction of erotic practice," like Edward Carpenter's, John Addington Symonds's, or Stefan George's for that case, may have been less chaste than he pretended it to be.<sup>34</sup> He

barely convinced anybody that he was innocent. The forty-four-year-old man admitted in court that he had spent “nice hours” with the two young students. They had “conversed about Greeks and Romans” and “the spirit of that time.” He reminisced about the cycling and hiking excursions with other boys and the nights they shared during trips to see the Saalburg, the ancient Roman fort, and to Berlin. Wyneken confronted explicit accusations during a retrial of this case in 1922. He was asked by the prosecution whether he had kissed the boys on the lips and cuddled with them while they were naked. The prosecutor implied that sexual intercourse had taken place, which Wyneken denied: “It was a nice, heartfelt, and trusting relationship between us, nothing else.”<sup>35</sup> Yet one of the victims told a different story. Viktor Behrens, aged nineteen (recall that the event had happened when Behrens was seventeen), claimed that a naked Wyneken had locked the bedroom door, asked the youth to undress, and kissed him “all over his body.”<sup>36</sup> There was no mention of Greece this time, the youth stated. Instead, Wyneken, who was “aroused” at the time, said that he loved him and that he “should belong to him.” Heinz Hermann, the other, younger victim, shared a similar story in court.<sup>37</sup>

Wyneken did not fully deny these accusations, but he tried to explain his interactions with the minors according to his worldview. “Kisses and embraces were for me only the expression of a very sincere and inner relationship and perhaps a new attitude towards the world,” the pedagogue maintained in court.<sup>38</sup> Despite the accusations and testimonies, he was firm in his belief that the love for boys was something holy and platonic.<sup>39</sup> Not everybody agreed that he had used his power over the boys properly. In a counterproductive deposition, the psychiatrist Friedrich Leppmann, acting as an expert witness for the defence, corroborated that some men certainly had “an erotic inclination for youths” and that even men of otherwise good character, such as the defendant, could commit untoward acts. Dr Siefert, another equally unhelpful expert witness, made the case that pederasty was typical among the “Hellenic aristocracy,” but he stressed that the practice was generally rejected by most people at the time. “Its adherents obeyed the law nonetheless,” he continued, “and had the necessary inhibitions,” which Wyneken obviously did not seem to have.<sup>40</sup> The only expert witness to support the disgraced pedagogue was Hans Blüher. The controversial writer regurgitated his Wandervogel theory, namely, that male institutions throughout history had been led by men with little interest in women and family, men who dedicated their attention instead to their younger male subordinates. Blüher admitted that one could find “lechers” among some youth leaders, but “one could not expect this

from such a tasteful man like Dr Wyneken.<sup>41</sup> His class background and education should absolve the pedagogue, Blüher implied.

Despite his attempt to convince the court that his relationship with the students was only educational and platonic, the court confirmed the original sentence from 1921. Wyneken was blasé about the court's decision. He thought his ideals to be too noble to be treated in a human court of law. His exclamation "if Goethe were alive he might have shared my destiny" did not help him much, though.<sup>42</sup> Staking a claim to some elitist tradition, even one to which the court could more easily relate than Greek antiquity, did not work out this time around. While his transgression was slowly forgotten, the questions this scandal raised had long-lasting significance. His unequivocal rejection of homosexuality and his defiant defence of pedagogical eros in court left an indelible mark upon the homosexual movement. From the moment Wyneken's embrace became public, commentators in the homosexual movement's press described pederasty and homosexuality as two distinct sexual practices, just like Wyneken had done. This distinction did not trickle down to the public at large or to legal discourse, where both concepts continued to be used interchangeably.

Age difference became an important topic in ongoing debates about homosexual liberation at the end of the nineteenth century. While Wyneken was perhaps the last straw in this process, the rejection of the "Greek model" did not just start after this case. Pederasty had been a contested issue since the very beginnings of the homosexual rights movement. Indeed, Heinrich Hössli had written about Greek pederasty to justify the love between men in the 1830s.<sup>43</sup> Invoking this ancient practice lent male same-sex love a significant historical precedent and legitimacy. Yet people had objected to boy love throughout history, and even more so in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the 1860s, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs argued that homosexuality should not be equated with pederasty, for the association was inapt and harmful. According to Ulrichs, *Knabenliebe*, the literal German translation of the Greek term *paiderastia*, was misleading: it implied that uranians (*Uringe*), the term Ulrichs used to describe same-sex desiring men, felt attracted to prepubescent boys.<sup>44</sup> He reminded his readers and legislators that "the passionate love to adult men and the passionate love to immature boys ... rule out each other."<sup>45</sup> Uranians desired virile men and not boys.<sup>46</sup> His definition of men, however, was ambiguous. It referred principally to "blooming young men" (*blühend[e] jung[e] Männer*).<sup>47</sup> In his address to the Congress of German Jurists in 1865, Ulrichs noted that "innate love for persons of the male sex ... [should be] free from punishment so long as neither person's rights are violated."<sup>48</sup> Same-sex love was defined

not by age difference but rather by consent. Although some jurists and doctors agreed with his position, the lay public could not delink male-male love (*mannmännliche Liebe*) from pederasty and abuse.

The English author John Addington Symonds, like Hössli and Ulrichs, looked back to Greek antiquity to legitimize male same-sex love, most famously in his early work *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (1883). However, Jana Funke argues that over time he was increasingly aware that “the age-inconsistent nature of Greek pederastic relations” was becoming a sensitive issue, especially evident in a close reading of his later book *A Problem in Modern Ethics* (1891).<sup>49</sup> Funke contends that the development of his position on intergenerational love must be understood against the backdrop of growing concerns about youth protection during the late nineteenth century, in particular within the education system and as a result of Oscar Wilde’s trial in 1895 and his image as a “corruptor of youth.”<sup>50</sup> Symonds realized that using Greek pederasty as a legitimization tool had become politically harmful in the 1890s, when many people thought, him included, that something as apparently innocuous as reading the classics could seduce youths into homosexuality. He was critical of sexology and its reliance on theories of heredity and degeneration to explain the cause of homosexuality. Nevertheless, he concurred with this opinion in order to counter arguments about corruption.<sup>51</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, boy love had been rejected in Hirschfeld’s circle for that very reason. Ultimately, for Symonds, and also for Havelock Ellis, with whom he collaborated, “only public, non-consensual or age-inconsistent relationships need[ed] to be punished by the law.”<sup>52</sup> This position created a clear divide between respectable and disreputable same-sex behaviour.

Classical antiquity and the beauty of male youths may have continued to have their power of legitimization, yet the topic of intergenerational love had become politically dangerous and counterproductive in a context in which homosexuals were considered seducers of youths.<sup>53</sup> Homosexual men in the 1920s were well aware of this issue. Those who were educated had perhaps a relatively sophisticated knowledge of the history of pederasty in ancient Greece. Some of them may have read Symonds’s work and, perhaps, even Erich Bethe’s essay. Less erudite men may have read more accessible texts, such as Wilhelm Kroll’s *Friendship and Pederasty* (*Freundschaft und Knabenliebe*), published in 1924.<sup>54</sup> Kroll, like his predecessors, argued that pederasty had been respected in ancient times. He stressed its pedagogical goal: the education of male elites. Yet the author showed how the practice had not been universally accepted. Starting in 345 BC, sex with boys had become politically damaging, especially once the practice was linked

to male prostitution.<sup>55</sup> While Plato tried to ennoble pederasty by underplaying its sexual character, Kroll stated, philosophers from Aristotle onward had opposed the practice. This hostility continued in Roman times, when pederasty was considered a “danger to youths.”<sup>56</sup> Kroll tried to describe the history of this tradition objectively and avoided moralizing arguments. He recognized that for most people pederasty was unfathomable in the twentieth century. The practice had a history, but it belonged to the past.<sup>57</sup>

These different positions and tensions, which stretched back to the nineteenth century, were reflected in articles about Wyneken’s trial in the homosexual movement’s press. It was in this public forum that the discussion of boy love found its most receptive audience. Unsurprisingly, Brand and the GdE gave the pedagogue unconditional support and distanced themselves from the medicalized gender-deviant notions of homosexuality that Hirschfeld and the WhK supported.<sup>58</sup> Hirschfeld’s organization did not condemn Wyneken but disapproved of the choices he made in his defence. Eugène Wilhelm, a lawyer and sexologist from Strasbourg who went by the pseudonym Numa Praetorius and wrote for Hirschfeld’s *Yearbook for Sexual Intermediates* (*Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*), claimed that Wyneken’s allusion to *eros* was a sham he tried to use to exonerate himself. His actions, Wilhelm asserted, had been driven by “nothing else than homosexual feeling.”<sup>59</sup> Wilhelm had hoped that such a prominent figure would have lent respectability to homosexuality. That Wyneken’s erotic inclinations were directed towards youths did not seem to worry him at all. His failure to acknowledge his homosexuality did. Wilhelm declared that this had been a wasted opportunity for starting a larger public conversation about the topic.

Belittling the matter of youth was common. Many articles in the homosexual press considered Wyneken an innocent man but criticized his failure to stand for homosexuals. “No one can believe that this man is guilty!” exclaimed Max Danielsen, the editor of *Friendship*. Wyneken, Danielsen thought, was a man ahead of his time, a fighter for freer and healthier love.<sup>60</sup> Other readers felt that the pedagogue had been a victim of bourgeois hypocrisy. Kurt Hiller called his conviction an “injustice.” A country keen on absolving murderers had condemned someone for “embrac[ing] a young human being whom he educates and who looks up to him.” Hiller’s support came also with criticism: Why had Wyneken denied that he was a homosexual? Had he missed an opportunity to challenge society’s widespread prejudice against homosexuality? Hiller wished that a bolder Wyneken would have said, “That’s right, I am one of them; your view on such things and people is

so wrong!" "Socrates," Hiller concluded, "would have handled this differently."<sup>61</sup> The writer did not comment on how he thought the philosopher would have responded. Did Hiller imply that Wyneken should have faced the accusations, like the philosopher did, and drank the poison, that is, accept his responsibility in a lesson for all of us? Hiller did tell readers, though, that the judges should not be pardoned either, because they had handled the situation just as poorly as the defendant.

Despite the goodwill these writers showed towards the pedagogue, the readers who wrote letters to the editor regarded pederasty with ambivalence after the scandal. An anonymous reader acknowledged in a letter to *Friendship* that the statement "homosexuals harm youths" contained a morsel of truth. In the end, it was accurate that many homosexuals could not resist "the pureness, freshness and elasticity [of youth], their susceptibility for everything good and ideal, and their physical beauty." This irresistible attraction included a pedagogical aspect for sure: "One wants to live on – live on in their children." Since homosexuals do not have children, it followed, they choose to pass their "intellectual imprint" to young men via an erotic relationship, a position that resembled Wyneken's "pedagogical eros."<sup>62</sup> This contributor was clear about how homosexuals could help youths; he chose not to say how they could harm them.

Not everyone was as inconclusive and sympathetic. Many readers of *Friendship* disapproved of Wyneken in particular and of pederasty in general. Some were convinced that he was guilty and should have stopped teaching immediately.<sup>63</sup> "Despite all the love that I, as an invert, feel for our youths," an anonymous teacher wrote, "I cannot imagine and conceive of an erotic relationship between a teacher and a student, especially under 16 years of age." Youths above that age, the author maintained, were physically mature and essentially "free men."<sup>64</sup> Younger boys, in contrast, should be off limits. The rejection of pederasty was thus not categorical but one of degree: full-grown boys in their late teens were not the same as prepubescent boys. Loving young men did not automatically mean abuse.

Some age limits had to be set, and sixteen was not a random age. The WhK supported this age of consent for same-sex relationships because it was the same as for heterosexual relationships. The organization maintained that heterosexuals and homosexuals should be treated equally before the law. Supporting this age of consent was also a moderate attempt by the editorial staff to differentiate between pederasty (the love between men and boys) and homosexuality (the love between consenting adult men). This view allowed for the eroticization of youth within some age limits, just as Ulrichs had done. Less ambiguous were

the opinions of readers who claimed that it would be rather “unwise” to support “the lovers of youths.” E. v. Hefeler acknowledged that the movement had made some progress towards decriminalization and acceptance, but “public opinion stood on shaky ground [and] one should not afford such extravagances.”<sup>65</sup> Considering pederasty an “extravagance” illustrated how some readers viewed such relationships as deviant and politically harmful to the movement’s main goals: decriminalization and social acceptance.

Before he became one of the movement’s leaders, Friedrich Radszuweit paid close attention to the changing opinion of homosexuals on this issue. In a 1922 letter to *Friendship*, he responded to a series of articles written by the entomologist (and regular contributor to the journal) Ferdinand Karsch-Haack. In his “Uranian Chronicle” (*Urnische Chronik*), Karsch-Haack wrote about homosexual celebrities, historical events, and notorious criminal cases. Whereas Radszuweit praised the author’s portrayal of famous individuals, he disapproved of his sensationalist treatment of criminals. He thought it was best not to mention that there had been some homosexual murderers, lest heterosexuals come to the conclusion that *all* homosexuals are criminals. Radszuweit also disapproved of Karsch-Haack’s apology for pederasty. While elites might see in pederasty the possibility for the fulfilment of some sort of philosophical ideal, Radszuweit was convinced that the “masses” (*große Masse*) had a different perspective on such relationships: they saw them as deviant and harmful to youths. If the emancipation movement seriously wanted to appeal to the masses, something Radszuweit considered crucial for its success, publications such as *Friendship* had to remind its members that sex with youths was criminal and shameful.<sup>66</sup>

Radszuweit’s strong position against pederasty became that of the BfM when he was appointed as its leader two years later. In an effort to placate members who may still have been ambivalent about inter-generational relationships, Radszuweit asserted that there was nothing wrong with the Greek term “pederasty” (*Päderastie*), or with the vernacular “boy love” (*Jünglingsliebe*). This erotic tradition had a *history* worth knowing. This recognition did not mean that he was unconcerned with the political implications of this practice. According to Radszuweit, the word “pederast” had become tainted after Wyneken’s scandal and its portrayal in the sensationalist press.<sup>67</sup> Wyneken’s erotic inclination for youths was a damaging relic of the past. If the homosexual movement wanted to succeed in decriminalizing homosexuality, it had to distance itself from boy love. This time around it was not Wyneken who rejected homosexuality but homosexuals – at least those active in the BfM – who repudiated Wyneken and his like. They chose to stand on the side of

youth, if only to protect themselves against damaging accusations that circled back to the issue of seduction.

### **Murder! The Movement's Press Responds**

The outright rejection of boy love took place in the context of a series of sexual crimes widely covered in the mainstream press. Only a few years after Wyneken's scandal, the murders of several adolescent boys shook the country. The killers were allegedly homosexual men. Responding to news coverage of these crimes, Radszuweit confirmed some of the views expressed in these articles and stressed that any type of erotic interest in youths was indeed pathological and criminal. He did point out that an important distinction should be made: the pathological sexual desire for youths, as these murders and the character of their killers showed, had nothing to do with homosexuality.

Radszuweit's response to these alleged homosexual crimes had precedents. Ulrichs had made a similar claim about the difference between the sexual abuse of children and homosexuality in the context of another well-known criminal case. On 17 January 1868, Karl Ernst von Zastrow, a painter and former army lieutenant, brutally raped the five-year-old boy Emil Hanke in Berlin. Zastrow penetrated the child, bit his face, mutilated his body, and tried to strangle him. The child was found unconscious and brought to the hospital, where he survived his serious injuries.<sup>68</sup> Zastrow had been accused the previous year of murdering a fifteen-year-old baker's apprentice in a similar violent way. The youth had been raped, killed, and mutilated. His body was impaled and the genitals severed.<sup>69</sup> Ulrichs sought to determine Zastrow's legal responsibility (*Zurechnungsfähigkeit*) for these cruel actions. Could male-male love be invoked as a manifestation of mental insanity? Ulrichs wanted to prove that male-male love had not inspired crimes that could only be explained "through disturbed soundness of mind."<sup>70</sup>

The Zastrow case was an early instance in which homosexuality and a murderous desire for children and youths were equated in the mainstream press.<sup>71</sup> It was said that the killer embodied the "diabolical cruelties" (*die teuflischen Grausamkeiten*) that crossed the minds of all homosexuals.<sup>72</sup> An article published on 6 July 1869 in the *Berliner Gerichts-Zeitung* shaped the narrative of the homosexual predator:

The author of both crimes must be looked for in the circles of Berlin's over-indulging debauchees [*Wüstlinge*] who have a record with the police – we are told in the amount of 3000! – , among those shady characters, who stagger around streets and promenades with creepy and sickening looks,

who are averse to the fair sex, and have a penchant for loving men and boys.<sup>73</sup>

The press and the police were immediately suspicious of a large and sleazy mass of homosexuals roaming the city's streets. Some of Ulrichs's writings had been found in Zastrow's library, which seemed to confirm the culprit's homosexuality. The lawyer denied knowing the killer personally, but the relationship between same-sex desire and crime persisted.<sup>74</sup> Articles such as this one established a vocabulary that was firmly established by the 1920s. Homosexual "circles," sleazy queers, funny looks, and incriminating publications fuelled the mainstream press's reporting on sexual crimes against male youths.

The homosexual movement's press had to revisit this prejudice with the serial killer Fritz Haarmann, the notorious butcher of Hanover, and the allegations of homosexuality that the mainstream press made when his brutal crimes came to light in 1924. The Haarmann case, Rainer Marwedel states, is a "piece of the history of entertainment in the Weimar Republic."<sup>75</sup> Much about the case relied on sensationalism, spectacle, and profit: there was interest in a film about the murderer; people fought to get tickets to attend the trial; the 1926 Police Exhibition in Berlin included a reproduction of Haarmann's grisly garter; and a Dr Schackwitz, one of the case's expert witnesses, travelled the country lecturing about the killer's nature to enthralled audiences.<sup>76</sup> Haarmann's relationship with Hans Grans, his alleged partner in life and crime, was central to the fascination with the serial killer.

The journalist Theodor Lessing described the crimes and the killer with extraordinary insight and detail. Children found the first body on 17 May 1924, near the waterworks in Hanover. More bodies were found, their limbs and skulls scattered in the canal. All human remains belonged to boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Fantastic stories of children falling in traps or disappearing in basements circulated around the city. Talk of human meat sold in the market sent a shiver down the spines of the city's panic-stricken residents. The suspect, forty-four-year-old Fritz Haarmann, was arrested on 23 June 1924. Despite his previous skirmishes with the law (he had been arrested for engaging in same-sex acts), he had been working for the police department as an informer since 1918.<sup>77</sup> Haarmann's victims were runaway youths he found in Hanover's main station. He used his credentials as an informer to make these cold and hungry youths feel safe around him and to lure them to his home. Gruesome scenes of rape, dismemberment, and cannibalism were described in court. In his portrayal of the killer, Lessing tried to understand the nature of evil: How could

it be that an otherwise apparently moral man was, in fact, a horrible, cold-blooded murderer?

Haarmann was charged with 147 counts of murder, only 27 of which could be proven.<sup>78</sup> He was executed in 1925, but his crimes inhabited the cultural imaginary after his death.<sup>79</sup> One belief proved particularly difficult to dispel: that Haarmann's murderous drive was caused by his homosexuality. Frequent reports in the sensationalist press increased the association of homosexuality with depravity, crime, and the seduction of innocent boys. The entire homosexual emancipation movement became thus associated with Haarmann's deviancy and cunning seduction. According to a news article in the mainstream press that Radszuweit quoted at length, "Magnus Hirschfeld and his followers function like a mushroom spreading corruption ... These demons damage the body of German youth and poison the German soul, and rob the purity of the German mind."<sup>80</sup>

The BfM looked for ways to respond to such accusations in its magazines. A Professor Gottheim assured the readers, as Ulrichs had done before him, that "homosexuality and criminality are two distinct and strictly separate worlds."<sup>81</sup> Several articles made this argument over and over again: Haarmann's crimes were a consequence not of his homosexual disposition (*Veranlagung*) but of mental illness.<sup>82</sup> Gottheim, writing in the pages of the *Journal for Human Rights*, protested that the mainstream press was obsessed with the killer's homosexuality instead of reporting that he was interested in youths regardless of their sex. The professor cited unattributed evidence that suited the BfM's position. According to the criminal police in Hanover, Haarmann had been previously convicted of abusing girls. The fact that the murderer was interested in children of the opposite sex proved that he "was not a homosexual since birth."<sup>83</sup> This statement, however, did nothing to disprove that Haarmann might have been seduced himself when he was young. Nevertheless, the editors of the *Journal of Friendship (Das Freundschaftsblatt)* stated, "It is our opinion that we are not dealing here with a homosexual, but rather with a sadist, who probably had accidentally run into this youth, and who under different circumstances would have acted upon a girl in the same way."<sup>84</sup> Readers were reminded that same-sex-loving people had nothing in common with a "beast" like Haarmann, just as heterosexuals had nothing in common with famous heterosexual serial murderers, such as Carl Großmann.<sup>85</sup> Gottheim implied that heterosexuals are the most common lust murderers and, for that reason, had no reason to claim a higher moral ground.

Whenever homosexuality was connected to the murder of young men, Radszuweit emphasized that the homosexual movement had the

best interest of youths at heart. It did so by printing displays of solidarity with the victims that aimed to highlight the homosexual's respectability and commitment to law and order. Two additional criminal cases tested the BfM's ability to control a narrative detrimental to the respectable image it hoped to convey. In 1927, the *Journal of Friendship* published on its cover the image of a missing fourteen-year-old boy, the hotel pageboy Kurt Wahlich from Reinickendorf, a district of Berlin. The picture portrayed an innocent-looking boy who seemed younger than his age. Berlin's criminal police had been searching for him since his disappearance earlier in September. The BfM published the missing person report, even though it involved a possible case of abuse. Wahlich, it turned out, had met "a 30- or 40-year-old man" suspected of being a homosexual. The editor asked readers to help find the boy and the offender.<sup>86</sup> This was a meaningful but risky gesture. A popular homosexual publication insinuated that one of its own might have murdered a child, thus confirming the prejudice that linked homosexuality with crime. The intention, however, was to show that respectable homosexuals were eager to work with the police. This collaboration signalled the BfM's willingness to purge pederasts and abusers from its ranks.

Kurt Wahlich was not the only missing boy. In the summer of 1932 the body of sixteen-year-old Kurt Schönling was found in a forest in Osthavelland, just outside Berlin. His throat had been slit and his genitals cut off. These two cases shared more than just the victims' first names and young age. This case also pointed towards a possible homosexual killer. An article in the *Journal of Friendship* dedicated the first page of the 1 September 1932 issue to this shocking story. It printed the public notice that Berlin's chief inspector had distributed: a razor and some brown paper had been found near the crimes scene. The word "Page" had been written in red ink on a scrap of paper. The announcement stated that Schönling frequented "homosexual circles" and requested any information citizens might have about his whereabouts. A reward of 100 marks was offered. The magazine encouraged its readers to become active in "searching for the offender."<sup>87</sup> The BfM urged its members to collaborate with the police so it could prove that homosexuality had nothing to do with these murders: "It is our opinion (and we are not alone in believing this), that we are not dealing here with a homosexual."<sup>88</sup>

Boy love was equated with murder, at least in the public imagination. The BfM had to do everything possible to deny this association. These instances of gruesome sexual murder contributed to the BfM's stronger position against intergenerational sex. Part of this strategy

was to strengthen the message on youth protection. Turning around the arguments that the trash and smut vetting offices had made about the movement's press, Radszuweit suggested that the coverage of "immorality trials" (*Sittlichkeitsprozesse*) in the mainstream press threatened the proper moral upbringing of youths: "The protectors of our nation who always do as if they had to protect the German *Volk*, and especially German youths, against homosexual seduction should actually check out their bias against homosexuals."<sup>89</sup> This prejudice had become evident in the reporting of these shocking cases. Morality campaigners, Radszuweit complained, should turn their attention to the sources of actual immorality: the sensationalist press. The BfM protested against the "evil articles in some newspapers and weeklies" that described Haarmann and other murderers as homosexuals.<sup>90</sup> All scientific research on same-sex desire was quickly forgotten in these reports. Instead, the press described homosexuals as immoral, criminal, and murderous seducers of youths who "let their drives run 'unrestrained.'"<sup>91</sup> "The homosexual minority in our *Volk*," Radszuweit insisted, "rejects with indignation and outrage these insults."<sup>92</sup> Not all newspapers were biased, though. The socialist newspaper *Vorwärts* pointed out that homosexuals were more often the victims than the perpetrators of crimes, a position that Radszuweit welcomed.<sup>93</sup>

The article in *Vorwärts* notwithstanding, Radszuweit's youth protection campaign had little reach. Few people outside of the BfM read his magazines. While he did not change the minds of the general public, he did make an impression on his own readers. He informed their position towards boy love and suggested how they should behave in public and in private. How could readers condone sex with young men if these relationships were generally equated with perversity, mental illness, or, worst of all, murder, both in the mainstream and the homosexual press? The BfM had made clear that young men were off limits if homosexuals wanted to be seen as respectable members of society. Did Radszuweit truly believe his words? Was he a pragmatist who hoped to appease those concerned about homosexual seduction? Or was he a hypocrite, asking his readers to do what he himself did not believe in or practise? His official rejection of boy love must have left many of the readers of his magazines confused. How could they reconcile the leader's words against boy love with the titillating images and the stories they saw in his magazines?

The BfM was vulnerable to the same hypocrisy it accused heterosexuals of displaying. Radszuweit professed respectability, but in the end, he just replicated the heterosexual discourse on the purity, innocence, and beauty of youth, attributes that sought to mask its continuous eroticization.<sup>94</sup> The covers of Radszuweit's magazines displayed seductive

boys while condemning those who found them appealing.<sup>95</sup> Articles that condemned sex with youths could be sensationalist, voyeuristic, and titillating, even when they ended with punishment and rejection. This contradiction can be attributed to commercial interests: the handsome, athletic youth on the cover sold magazines. The question now was how to reconcile the adolescent's erotic allure and the need for his protection. Radszuweit underscored that the slogan "Protect Youth!" was more than just an empty phrase the organization used to appease popular sentiment about homosexuality. The BfM was going to do everything in its power "to protect youths from seduction."<sup>96</sup> The reasoning was the following: if the BfM were to succeed in convincing the public that pederasty and homosexuality had nothing to do with each other, the latter might eventually be decriminalized.

## Male Prostitution, Age of Consent, and the Decriminalization of Homosexuality

Under Magnus Hirschfeld's leadership, the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee had been campaigning against the criminalization of male same-sex acts since its founding in 1897.<sup>1</sup> Hirschfeld intensified this effort within the context of a major overhaul of Germany's criminal code, an undertaking that legal reformers had started at the beginning of the century and that looked more possible than ever after 1918. During the first years of the Weimar Republic, the WhK sent hundreds of letters to politicians, judges, public prosecutors, and other government officials asking for their support of decriminalization. Hirschfeld addressed this issue in front of the Reichstag in 1922, but he alone could not convince Parliament or the wider society that male same-sex acts should not be punished. In order to amplify his message, he needed support from the entire homosexual rights movement.

As a matter of fact, the main homosexual organizations at the time – the WhK, the Community of the Special (*Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*), and the German Association for Friendship (*Deutscher Freundschafts-Verband*), from which the League for Human Rights (*Bund für Menschenrecht*) split away in 1923 – worked together for a short time. They created the Action Committee for the Elimination of Paragraph 175, but this joint action started to founder in 1922. Kurt Hiller (1885–1972), a socialist jurist and author active in the WhK, complained that the Action Committee did not have enough funds and that many of its members did not have brains or initiative.<sup>2</sup> Hiller was generally pessimistic about the ability of homosexuals to organize because, in his opinion, they lacked “a belligerent attitude, readiness to make sacrifices, and any semblance of solidarity.”<sup>3</sup>

Legal historian Kai Sommer's analysis of the situation is no less scathing. He argues that growing political disagreements between the two largest organizations led to this failure: whereas the WhK espoused

leftist views, the BfM flirted with the nationalist Right.<sup>4</sup> There is some truth to this claim. Although the BfM officially endorsed the Social Democratic Party, the organization did not dismiss right-wing politics entirely. The BfM ultimately took pride in its willingness to welcome to the organization all homosexuals, without regard for their class and political background, provided that they behaved in a respectable manner. It must also be clear by now that Radszuweit was as interested in homosexual rights as he was in leading a successful publishing house. His openness to people of all political stripes was part of a business strategy. His restrained political views were part of a plan to speak to as many people as possible and to persuade them. In addition to their divergent political allegiances, the WhK and the BfM held different positions on two issues that mattered a great deal for the decriminalization of male same-sex acts: male prostitution and age of consent.

The legislators charged with revising Germany's criminal code in the 1920s invoked "popular sentiment" (*Volksempfinden*) whenever they considered whether homosexuality should remain a criminal offence. Most people, they insisted, continued to consider homosexuality unnatural and believed in the possibility of homosexual seduction. According to this view, homosexuality was akin to an epidemic that could spread rapidly among vulnerable youth.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, all drafts of the new criminal code introduced during the Weimar Republic stressed that the protection of young males warranted the criminalization of male same-sex acts. Paragraph 175 was thus a necessary preventive measure. This was the backdrop against which the WhK's and BfM's positions on male prostitution and age of consent took shape.

The WhK's position on decriminalization did not change considerably during the organization's existence.<sup>6</sup> Hirschfeld maintained that homosexuality could not be averted because it was natural and inborn, a fact that he supported with the latest scientific discoveries, including his own. The law failed to prevent homosexuality, for no one could be seduced into being a homosexual, just as no homosexual man ever had been converted into a heterosexual because of Paragraph 175. Instead, the criminalization of male same-sex acts made many men vulnerable to blackmail. This was the crime that the state should prosecute because it led many unfortunate men to suicide. Based on this line of argument, the WhK's official petition for decriminalization outlined that homosexuality should be left unpunished as long as it were consensual and caused no public nuisance. The age of consent should be set at sixteen, just as it was for heterosexual intercourse.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, Hirschfeld and those in the WhK shared a strong position against the criminalization of male prostitution. Hirschfeld tried

to explain this phenomenon in rational terms. He claimed that the widespread contempt for homosexuals and the criminalization of male same-sex acts fostered secrecy and hence the need for illicit sex. While Hirschfeld did admit that some male prostitutes had a congenital predisposition and that some of them were just lazy, work-shy, or pleasure seekers, he insisted that the majority of men who sold their bodies did so for economic reasons.<sup>8</sup> Rather than punishing these men, the state should focus on eugenic measures, which would curb the congenital causes of prostitution, as well as on progressive policy to end destitution.<sup>9</sup>

The different petitions the WhK distributed and the “Alternative Draft” to the criminal code the organization prepared in partnership with the Cartel for the Reform of Sex Laws (Kartell zur Reform des Sexualrechts) – an umbrella organization that worked on a variety of issues from abortion to prostitution – received less attention from the press and politicians than they deserved.<sup>10</sup> Hirschfeld had hoped to influence public opinion with science. Despite his unquestionable influence, he was by no means the only doctor writing about homosexuality or the only one to whom the Reichstag’s Criminal Law Committee (Strafrechtausschuß) listened. On the contrary, Hirschfeld was being pushed to the margins of the medical profession towards the end of the 1920s because of growing anti-Semitism and the prominence of psychological and environmental theories that challenged his position on the etiology of homosexuality. As they debated whether they should keep Paragraph 175 on the books, legislators deliberated not only whether male prostitutes were “dangerous to society,” but whether all homosexuals were potentially threatening to society, especially young boys.

This brief overview does not do justice to the advocacy the WhK provided over thirty years. That being said, the organization’s involvement in the fight against Paragraph 175 and its position on male prostitution is well documented.<sup>11</sup> This chapter reveals a lesser known part of this story. The BfM’s attack on male prostitution and its support for a higher age of consent for male same-sex acts presents a contradictory side of homosexual politics during this period and illustrates the limitations of the respectability discourse. Radszuweit embraced well-established homophobic tropes in order to appease conservative and even reactionary voices. For example, he reminded his readers that Bernhard Strewe, the director of the Department of Homosexuals (Homosexuellendezernat) at Berlin’s police department, believed the distinction between pederasty and homosexuality was crucial to achieve the movement’s goals.<sup>12</sup> In a 1924 speech, Strewe doubted that the homosexual emancipation movement would ever achieve its goal of decriminalization unless homosexuals showed more discipline: they had to fight against male

prostitution, refrain from sex in public toilets, and, most importantly, stop beguiling young folk. For that reason, he requested that the age of consent for male same-sex acts be set at twenty-one.<sup>13</sup>

Radszuweit listened closely to these arguments. He and his collaborators could not dismiss that a large segment of public opinion, including legislators, police, and doctors, believed in the possibility of homosexual seduction. He thought perhaps that by playing along, he could win them over. Ultimately, Radszuweit fought for decriminalization with the means he knew best. He used print culture to extol the virtues of respectability. According to the BfM's official message, homosexual men had to prove that they had the best interests of youth at heart to guarantee the decriminalization of homosexuality. Those associated with the BfM condemned male prostitution and supported a higher age of consent so they could be considered respectable members of society.

Despite this respectable façade, both the medium and the message Radszuweit used corroborated the views of the heterosexual majority on homosexuality. The BfM's moral high ground was undermined by Radszuweit's desire to attract new readers, which was often a good reason to cross the line of respectability. He did so in his magazines and in *Men for Sale*, a novel about male prostitution. This hypocritical attitude, as well as his willingness to exclude those who did not embody his ideal homosexual, was bound to fail. Doctors and legislators did not buy his ruse. They continued to shape how society thought about homosexuals. In the end, homosexuality and the seduction of youth remained inextricable during the Weimar Republic.

### **The League for Human Rights' Campaign Against Male Prostitution**

Male prostitution and age of consent became two of the most important topics in the BfM's debate about decriminalization. These issues were deeply intertwined on a fundamental level: male prostitution usually involved older men paying for sex with younger men. That male prostitutes were young was an accepted fact. Karl Keffon, in an essay on the topic for the journal *Friendship (Die Freundschaft)*, claimed that male prostitutes needed "certain qualities" and the most important was youthfulness. Homosexual men, in his opinion, looked for "young lads between the ages of 16 and 22 [or] 25 years at most."<sup>14</sup> A survey conducted by Richard Linsert in 1929 showed that the majority of male prostitutes were between eighteen and thirty years old; more than a third of them were under twenty-one.<sup>15</sup> Magnus Hirschfeld observed that the average age of male prostitutes was seventeen and that some

of them were as young as fourteen. Hirschfeld claimed that most male prostitutes did not last long in the streets due to competition from younger men, even though some “virtuosos” in their thirties were able to keep up a jovial appearance. In any case, Hirschfeld confirmed that “there comes the time when the prostitute has to pay tribute to his age” and quit the business.<sup>16</sup> In sum, good looks and exuberance mattered for both male prostitutes and their johns. That most of these men were of age did not matter. The male prostitute was a wayward youth in the eyes of public opinion.

On a more complex level, the intersection of prostitution and youth was at the centre of what it meant to be a homosexual in the 1920s. Martin Lücke argues that male prostitution became a productive arena in which the movement debated the decriminalization of homosexuality, if only because prostitution touched upon issues of masculinity.<sup>17</sup> Advocating normative masculinity and repudiating effeminacy and male prostitution as deviant, shameless, and abject lent masculine homosexuals respectability.<sup>18</sup> The movement had to deal with some questions at the core of the respectability discourse: Was intergenerational sex defensible? And if not, shouldn’t homosexuals also repudiate prostitution, an occupation in which youths were disproportionately represented?

The BfM responded to a general desire for more youth protection and restraint. Its demands for decriminalization matched those of Strewé and of lawmakers, who, at least since 1924, had been asking for measures to protect youths from homosexual seduction, the criminalization of male prostitution, the harsher punishment of sexual abuse in relationships of dependence (for example, those between employers and their employees or masters and their apprentices), and the condemnation of public nuisance. Radszuweit and his collaborators believed that supporting these measures would benefit most homosexuals. It was not clear whether this was actually the case. The sexologist Albert Moll, to mention just one very prominent name, argued that the majority of homosexual men desired adolescent boys and that only a minority of adult homosexual men truly desired other adult men.<sup>19</sup> Public opinion echoed this position. Even Radszuweit recognized that sex with youths was not as uncommon as he wanted it to be. “We have in the BfM several supporters,” he protested, “who ... have a mania for hustlers and who wrongfully denigrate many young people whom they occasionally meet dancing at the ‘Florida,’” one of the organization’s venues at the time. He stressed that respectable homosexuals should have “a certain conception of morality.”<sup>20</sup> With that message, Radszuweit underlined that homosexuals should be morally righteous. They were

not to be blinded by their sexual desire and needs and should uphold higher moral standards regarding age of consent and sex work than heterosexuals.

This code of conduct was not just for the sake of appearance: it was a requisite for membership. The BfM announced that those who failed to dissociate from youths and prostitution would be excluded from the organization, which would also deny legal counsel to members prosecuted for engaging in prostitution or sex with minors, a service it regularly offered to members who got in trouble with the law. Radszuweit deemed these offences “harmful.”<sup>21</sup> These men deserved to be punished, he claimed, because they “always damage the reputation of our movement and discredit the entirety of German homosexual men.”<sup>22</sup> By disapproving of male prostitution and sex with youths, Radszuweit claimed respectability for the BfM’s members and aligned himself with the discourse on youth protection.

The BfM’s disapproval of prostitution looked like a youth protection measure because young men were vulnerable in economic and sexual terms. The constant economic instability put many youths at risk of unemployment and homelessness. The Great Depression was a final blow to their economic prospects. Thousands of young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five moved to large cities looking for jobs. Many of them increasingly resorted to prostitution to survive.<sup>23</sup> The mainstream press reported that whereas only 300 or 400 male prostitutes had been active in Berlin before the war, more than a thousand young men now engaged in commercial sex with other men in the city’s streets, pubs, and dance halls. Areas of street prostitution, the so-called *Strich*, existed in many urban centres. Worst of all, male prostitution, to Radszuweit’s dismay, had become socially acceptable by 1931. This occupation had moved “from the dirtiest basements to the most elegant bars.”<sup>24</sup>

The press detailed the tragic fate of these young men who had come from the country to make a decent living only to end up engaging in this dishonourable practice. Stories about male prostitution found a place in the BfM’s publications as well. More than how to protect youths, the BfM advised its readers about how to protect themselves. Many same-sex-desiring men, so the story went, felt that it was their duty to help homeless boys. This assistance, Radszuweit observed, was just a euphemism for sex for pay. In his typical contradictory tone, Radszuweit did not side with the youths who experienced misery, homelessness, and abuse. On the contrary, he asked his readers to be careful around these predatory young men. Radszuweit warned them about adolescent boys, who

stroll the streets and keep an eye on how to trap a homosexual man. The homosexual man is not always guilty when he comes in contact with a youth. There is a vast number of youths who in the dodgiest way, through glances and gestures, try to trap an older man, from whom they obviously only want to receive economic benefits. The homosexual who gets involved in such an adventure will only be lied to by such youths, who pretend to be older than they are.<sup>25</sup>

Before a homosexual man became too sympathetic towards a homeless youth, he should consider the consequences. Men who associated with hustlers were often victims of theft or blackmail, crimes that could end them up in jail or, in the worst-case scenario, dead. Radszuweit, of course, blamed the hustlers. These were lazy boys who expected to “become rich from this dishonourable business” and who turned quickly into blackmailers.<sup>26</sup> He advised men “whose sexual drive leans towards youth” to rely on their “self-discipline and strength of character” to avoid any conflict with the law. Still, the BfM wanted to prove that it was doing something for these poor boys. Radszuweit claimed that his organization discouraged male youths from moving to the city and even had helped send destitute boys back home. “This is proof,” he boasted, “that the homosexual organization wants to protect youths from seduction and impoverishment.”<sup>27</sup>

Radszuweit tacitly endorsed seduction theories and harboured the same prejudice as the mainstream press in the organization’s campaign against male prostitution. He sought to legitimate his fight against male prostitution by drawing upon fears of civilizational collapse that conservatives invoked in support of the Trash and Smut Law. He compared contemporary German society to the “decay and moral corruption” of the Roman Empire. Male prostitution was a symptom of this decay and the result of larger social problems, in particular, the disintegration of the family: “Parents are required to work, ... children are left without supervision, wander in the streets, fall into bad company, and are seduced to engage in sexual acts in exchange for small presents.” Above all, Radszuweit continued, “society and the government should make every possible effort so that male prostitution disappears from the streets.”<sup>28</sup> He had internalized some of the worst forms of homophobia into his rhetoric.

Radszuweit tried to bridge his conservative views on male prostitution with a social-democratic standpoint. He not only condemned the hustlers; he also blamed their situation on the social and economic conditions in which they lived. His position resembled vaguely that of Richard Linsert, who saw in capitalism the source of all misery leading

to prostitution.<sup>29</sup> Radszuweit did not go as far as to condemn capitalism, though. He recommended that the government invest in educational and social measures to help at-risk youths. In his view, the best way to prevent waywardness was to teach youths about sexuality, including homosexuality, in the most objective and scientific terms possible, and to provide male prostitutes with housing and employment to take them off the streets. Radszuweit added to this materialist view a high dose of morality. While he acknowledged the economic causes of prostitution, he blamed the disintegration of family for Germany's moral decay. Furthermore, he naively believed that male prostitution would disappear once the government decriminalized male same-sex acts.<sup>30</sup> If the government eliminated the causes of these illicit activities – economic hardship and the need to live one's sexuality in shame and secrecy – who would resort to prostitution? In his view, social and sexual equality would lead to moral renewal.

True to his balancing act between politics and business, Radszuweit chose fiction as a productive way to spell out his views on male prostitution and the decriminalization of male same-sex acts. Published in 1931, his novel *Men for Sale: A True Novel from the World of Male Blackmailers and Prostitutes* (*Männer zu verkaufen: Ein Wirklichkeitsroman aus der Welt der männlichen Erpresser und Prostituierten*) represents the pinnacle of this campaign.<sup>31</sup> Despite the sensationalistic title of the book and the marketing campaign around it, the story had a moralizing tone. The novel brought together what Radszuweit liked most: attention and revenue. The book was a considerable success; six editions were printed by 1933. In the preface to the fourth edition, Radszuweit announced his intention of publishing a sequel due to this novel's popularity, a wish that he was not able to achieve due to his untimely death in 1932.<sup>32</sup>

*Men for Sale* received a lot of publicity within the BfM's publishing ecosystem: advertisements and reviews urged readers to purchase the book. Starting in November 1930, advertisements in *The Island* created suspense about Radszuweit's forthcoming publication in an effort to increase sales: "It's being talked about, / in the December issue of *The Island* you will find out about it," read a deliberately vague advertisement.<sup>33</sup> Even before the novel had been published, anonymous reviews raved about it: "The book market will experience a sensation, when a new novel, *Men for Sale*, appears in the middle of December of this year." The advertisement went on to stress that the novel was not the "product of fantasy" but a real portrayal of the world of male prostitution penned by a true "expert" on the topic.<sup>34</sup> An order form was attached at the bottom of the page. This was Radszuweit at his commercial best, but also at his most hypocritical, exploitative, and contradictory. What

did it mean to be an “expert” in male prostitution? The advertisement intimated something other than what Radszuweit wanted to convey to his readers.

The marketing around this anti-prostitution novel was all about selling books and bodies. This strategy seems paradoxical at first sight, but it is in line with Radszuweit’s *modus operandi*. The book’s attractive cover design included photographs of naked young men, which made the book erotically appealing and thus marketable, like the rest of his publications. It was advertised in every issue of *The Island* that year, but never as sensationally as on the cover of the December 1930 issue, perhaps to motivate readers to purchase the book as a Christmas present for a dear friend.

The cover included a nude photograph of three young men standing with their arms crossed (figure 6.1). Was this posture supposed to imply defensiveness, that these young men were off limits? Radszuweit might have wanted us to believe that, but their pose is rather seductive. The models are facing the camera at different angles, looking at the viewer with a smug smile. The photograph is conveniently cropped around their hips, accentuating what it is hidden. For a novel with a message against prostitution it sure seemed to traffic in bodies.

The caption underneath the photograph seemed to provide the context readers needed to interpret the cover properly: “Men for Sale / For more information go to page 31.” However, this was a confusing message, especially for readers who did not know that this was the title of Radszuweit’s novel. The German wording, moreover, can mean something like “for a closer look go to page 31,” an additional layer of ambiguity that contributes to the cover’s racy tone. This elaborate advertisement played with the reader’s curiosity and desire. The cover was a tease. Intrigued readers would go to said page only to find an order form. It must have been a disappointment for some. The magazine cover conveyed exactly the opposite message of the book. Those unaware of what the novel was about – a condemnation of male prostitution – might have bought the magazine and the book for the wrong reasons. It is not preposterous to think that this was the publisher’s intention all along.

This marketing strategy might have been provocative and original, but *Men for Sale* was not the first novel about the world of male prostitution. In 1929, Peter Martin Lampel, an author and painter affiliated with the WhK, published a series of observations about male prostitution in a collection on the topic issued by Richard Linsert.<sup>35</sup> Three years earlier, the Scottish-German writer John Henry Mackay had published *The Hustler: The Story of a Nameless Love from the Friedrichstraße*

DEZEMBER 1930 *Lehmann* PREIS 50 PFENNIG

# Die Insel



Männer  
zu  
verkaufen

Näheres siehe Seite 31 „Die Insel“

Figure 6.1. Publicity for Friedrich Radszuweit's novel *Men for Sale*. *Die Insel* (December 1930).

(*Der Puppenjunge: Die Geschichte einer namenlosen Liebe aus der Friedrichstraße*).<sup>36</sup> Mackay had taken up this theme in a series of novels entitled *Books on the Nameless Love* (*Bücher der namenlosen Liebe*), which he had started publishing in 1905 under the pseudonym Sagitta.<sup>37</sup> Mackay had contributed to Brand's publication *The Special* (*Der Eigene*) under this name, and his ideas were consistent with those of Brand's organization: the defence of male same-sex love and the utmost "sovereignty of the individual," which, of course, included an individual's right to love youths freely.<sup>38</sup> Mackay's "nameless love," an allusion to the phrase made famous by Oscar Wilde during his gross indecency trial in 1895, did not refer explicitly to prepubescent children, although his interchangeable use of the terms *Knabe*, *Jüngling*, and *Junge*, all of which mean "boy," made the concept ambiguous. Mackay stressed that these relationships were appropriate because "maturity" (*Reife*) rather than age determined consent.<sup>39</sup>

Mackay had celebrated the "love of man for the youth, and of the youth for the man"<sup>40</sup> in a previous novel, *Fenny Skaller*, written in 1906 and published in 1913, in which the main character, Friedrich (Fenny) Skaller, reminisces about his flirtations with high school boys. Critics considered his work to be of high literary quality, but the author's skill and sympathetic reviews did not prevent the book from being censored.<sup>41</sup> Mackay published *The Hustler* under his real name. The book continued to praise what Mackay called the "untouched beauty" of youth.<sup>42</sup> "A classic of the love between elders and youngsters," in Hubert Kennedy's words, the novel, set in the contemporary world of Berlin's demi-monde, tells the story of the fifteen-year-old boy Günther and Hermann Graff, a young man who has come to the city looking for work and romance and who will fall madly in love with Günther.<sup>43</sup> Most of the story, however, follows Günther's fall from grace. One of his former school friends, Max, convinces Günther to go to Berlin under the pretext that a lot of money can be made there easily. It is obvious, given Max's elegant appearance, that he has been successful in the city. Max never reveals how Günther could be as fortunate as he is, though. An impressionable youth, Günther follows his friend's advice and runs away from home to try his luck in the German metropolis. After wandering through Berlin's streets, unable to find work, hungry and tired, the youth enters the famous arcades of the Friedrichstraße. He is attracted to this covered passageway because of its mesmerizing window displays and the enigmatic presence of other boys roving about this location. These boys, it turns out, are hustlers. The story romanticizes the milieu of male prostitution, the bars where odd characters, hustlers, and johns gather. Günther's story ends in tragedy. Despite the

attention, care, and gifts he receives from an aristocratic gentleman and, especially, from his wholesome inamorato, Günther lands in juvenile detention, where he is subjected to brutal physical abuse.

Whereas Mackay's novel considered the underage hustler's fate, Radszuweit was interested in how male prostitutes dramatically affected the lives of the men who fell prey to them. Unlike its predecessor, *Men for Sale* did not aspire to high literary quality. Its style is straightforward, and it uses the same plain language found in Radszuweit's magazines. The novel tells the intertwined stories of three characters: Erich Lammers, a private tutor at Baron von Rotberg's country estate; the baron himself, a closeted married man; and Helmut Hintze, a male prostitute who is blackmailing the baron. Erich, the main character, represents moral authority in the novel. He sets out to protect his employer against the blackmailer, but he learns soon that he will have to help both because, in a dramatic twist, the hustler happens to be his estranged brother.

The novel begins with a scene of disruption. When Erich arrives to work as a tutor at the baron's household, the entire place is in a commotion. A precious ring has disappeared, and the baroness believes that a servant has stolen it. The obsequious Erich offers to find the culprit. The baron, however, is appalled by Erich's determination, for he had stolen the ring himself to pay off his blackmailer. He has no other choice than to disclose that he is a homosexual and that he has been backed into a corner by a young blackmailer.<sup>44</sup> Erich, who is kind to a fault, wants to help his boss apprehend the blackmailer and to prevent this man from disclosing that the baron is a "175er," a homosexual.<sup>45</sup> The baron goes on to confess his entire life to Erich, including the story of his unhappy marriage of convenience. It is not a sin against nature to be a homosexual, the baron implores, but it is indeed a sin against "my nature" to marry a woman. He would even give up his privilege to live out his sexuality freely. He would even go to work.<sup>46</sup> Many readers could have not made this exchange.

Erich stands in the novel for an ideal heterosexual who "know[s] nothing positive about the origin of same-sex love, but want[s] to help out of pure human mercy."<sup>47</sup> He sets off for the city to find the blackmailer. Throughout his eventful journey, he reflects on the injustices caused by Paragraph 175, and he becomes acquainted with the city's male prostitutes. He finally finds the culprit, his own brother Herbert, who goes by the alias Helmut Hintze, and Erich attempts to understand Herbert's misfortune. His brother had come to Berlin to go to university. This decision satisfied his father's wishes, but Herbert was much more interested in having a good time. He fathered an illegitimate child, and when his

father found out, he disowned Herbert. Unable to support his family without paternal support, Herbert had become useless to his girlfriend and child. The homeless Herbert finally finds shelter in a pension with a morally corrupt landlady, Emmy Kohlrausch, who will become his pimp. Aware of his desperation, the landlady tells Herbert that he can earn good money by selling his body.<sup>48</sup> Helmut is disgusted about the prospect at first. But the landlady is pragmatic. In a nod to Bertolt Brecht's *The Threepenny Opera* (1928), she states, "Of what use are morals if you have to go hungry?" To avoid dishonouring his family, Emmy gives him a new identity: Helmut Hintze. She asks him to sign a 5,000 Reichsmark contract with her.<sup>49</sup> This is the beginning of a series of relationships of abuse and dependence that will end with the baron's blackmail.

The novel is a deep dive into the cesspool of male prostitution. Helmut gives his brother a tour of this world so we can form our own impression of this unfortunate lot. The story unfolds in a series of visits to bars that juxtapose images of "true" (that is, respectable) homosexuals with immoral "pseudo-homosexuals," namely, heterosexual men who only have sex with other men in exchange for money. Erich's brother happens to be one of the many "pseudo-homosexuals," who can "sell his body without feeling anything."<sup>50</sup> With this argument, Radszuweit sought to distance male prostitution from actual, respectable homosexuality. His point was supported partially by Richard Linsert's research, which had shown that only a third of male prostitutes identified as homosexuals; the rest were either heterosexual or bisexual men.<sup>51</sup>

While Herbert/Helmut stands for the sordid world of prostitution and blackmail, his brother Erich personifies Radszuweit's moralizing tone. Erich feels comfortable or disgusted depending on the setting. When visiting a bar where male prostitutes or transvestites gather, he feels uneasy. For Radszuweit, David J. Prickett claims, "transvestites are offensive because they underscore the heterosexual associations of homosexuality with effeminacy and of transvestism with homosexuality."<sup>52</sup> More than gender expression alone, the fictional Erich and the real Radszuweit disliked the immoral behaviour that such spaces and those who gathered in them fostered. By contrast, when visiting a respectable establishment, Erich feels relaxed. There, he sees a male couple dancing. They have been together for forty years, the reader is told.<sup>53</sup> The trust shared by this committed elderly couple is at odds with the fleeting pleasure of prostitution. The relationship Radszuweit uses as a model of respectability resembles the normative, presumably sexless, heterosexual couple.

It is somewhat strange that the "pseudo-homosexual" hustler is the character most informed about the homosexual rights movement.

Why would a male prostitute and a blackmailer become a champion of homosexual rights? Radszuweit nonetheless uses this character as the “expert” in a didactic passage. During their pub crawl, Herbert/Helmut explains in great detail to his brother Erich the program and organization of the BfM, its magazines, and its vehement fight against prostitution and blackmail. Herbert/Helmut also stands for the possibility of moral transformation and redemption: He has sinned, but is ready to make amends. His respect for the BfM is a step in the search for his lost morality and the return to his true, heterosexual self. Radszuweit’s organization emerges as a beacon of hope: it not only comes to the rescue of lost souls in need but also succeeds in bringing together heterosexuals and homosexuals, a political strategy necessary to achieve equality and decriminalization.

The novel ends with a double reconciliation. Helmut Hintze reclaims his birth name Herbert Lammers, a further sign of the transition to his old self. Accompanied by his brother, he pays Baron Rotberg a visit and asks for forgiveness. The baron accepts that his love cannot be requited because Herbert is a heterosexual man. He agrees to travel with the two brothers to their childhood home. This journey represents a return to family and innocence. They take along another rescued young male prostitute, a sign of their and, if we read between the lines, the BfM’s willingness to provide moral guidance for lost souls. If the Christian undertones are not obvious, their father, Herr Lammers, is a Protestant pastor. Contrary to the reader’s expectations, the pastor does not display the hostility against homosexuality one might associate with the church. (The reader may recall that he had previously rejected his out-of-wedlock grandchild. A minor inconsistency perhaps?) On the contrary, he forgives his estranged son and acknowledges the hypocritical position of the church towards homosexuality. He is particularly glad to meet a “respectable homosexual” such as the baron, who challenges all his former prejudice about homosexuals as poor and criminal.<sup>54</sup> Radszuweit thereby delivers a happy ending in *Men for Sale* meant to make up for all the tragic stories about homosexuality. Everything would be fine, as long as homosexual men are wealthy, respectable, and Christian.

The novel, to sum up, portrays the model of male homosexuality that Radszuweit and the BfM promoted. The baron, an unsympathetic figure at first, regains his respectability by coming out to his tutor and his wife and by giving up his predilection for male prostitutes. Herbert Hintze’s desire for betterment and engagement with the homosexual movement suggests that other heterosexuals might experience a change of heart regarding homosexuality and that male prostitutes could be

saved. Although Radszuweit criticized the church for its condemnation of same-sex acts, he relied on stories of falls and redemption to spread his gospel. The description of the committed same-sex couple, for example, reflects the Christian belief that “mature love normally finds erotic expression in committed relationships.”<sup>55</sup> Their rescuing another lost sheep along the way reflects Radszuweit’s quasi-pastoral work. Radszuweit, finally, is sending a message to the church: homosexual men would return to the flock, if Christians would open their hearts and accept them. *Men for Sale* stresses, once again, that respectability, educating the larger public about homosexuality, coming out, and addressing broader social problems (such as economic inequality and the church’s position on homosexuality) are the only realistic options in the path towards decriminalization and equality. According to this message, social understanding between heterosexuals and homosexuals will lead to happiness and prosperity for all.

Unsurprisingly, *Men for Sale* was received positively by those affiliated with the BfM. Praise came from Radszuweit’s right hand, Paul Weber, for whom the book’s success showed the strength of the movement in 1931: “Everything that has been undertaken against us has remained ineffective, the organization is here, lives and functions,” he wrote.<sup>56</sup> This was an optimistic note about a movement that had proven to be dysfunctional and unsuccessful in the fight against decriminalization. Radszuweit’s story elicited a response among regular readers based on emotion and identification, something that scientific books could never quite achieve. Readers reacted viscerally to the novel, which was described as a page turner that spoke directly to personal experiences. “I bought the book at 12pm and was done reading it by 4pm,” wrote an enthusiastic reader. Readers reported that one could not quite know whether “this was reality or the author’s imagination.”<sup>57</sup> “Every single one of us can see himself in your book,” another reader confirmed.<sup>58</sup> Portraying homosexuality in a good light was crucial for the movement’s success, a reviewer said, since “heterosexual people cannot be convinced of the injustice of Paragraph 175 with dry scientific propositions alone.”<sup>59</sup> Another reviewer claimed that he could imagine himself in the baron’s position, while reflecting on his own positionality: “It is only a shame that we all, and I include myself, are not as rich as Baron Rothberg.” “This book,” the reader continued, “certainly helps many ‘Normals’ [heterosexuals] finally to recognize that homosexuality is neither an illness nor a perversity.”<sup>60</sup>

So-called personalities praised the book. The BfM used these testimonies to underscore that established defence lawyers and expert witnesses supported and respected the organization. Dr K. Fontheim, a

lawyer, confirmed that the book combined “rare expertise” about the topic with “empathy” for those who have to face the world of prostitution. Fontheim was certain that future researchers would turn to this “excellent entertaining book” for wisdom and truth. Siegfried Placzek, a well-known doctor and expert witness, stated that the book fulfilled its purpose, namely to show the world of male prostitution “without any makeup” and without “glorification à la Hirschfeld.” The book, Placzek concluded, made available to a wider public what scientific studies had already proven, that male prostitution was wrong.<sup>61</sup>

Placzek’s endorsement of *Men for Sale* meant that the BfM subscribed to his views. Agreeing with him was a clear statement about where Radszuweit stood on the issues of prostitution and age of consent. This collaboration was eventually part of Radszuweit’s desire to side with conservative doctors and legislators. It was nonetheless a regrettable choice. Placzek supported pronounced homophobic beliefs and was a fierce detractor of Hirschfeld. Placzek sought to discredit Hirschfeld’s role as an expert witness in court. He argued that homosexuality could be acquired and validated seduction theories. Many homosexuals, he argued, looked for “primarily a young friend” in the city because they could not find them in the provincial towns and in the country where they were from. This unsubstantiated claim, which matches Baron von Rotberg’s profile in the novel, was followed by an age-old homophobic story about seduction: “In order to achieve his goal, [the homosexual man] will not stop from making the surroundings of schools unsafe, hoping that innocent school children will succumb to his bait in form of money or other presents.”<sup>62</sup> Homosexual men thus spoiled boys and turned them into homosexuals.<sup>63</sup> Placzek stressed that the protection of youth was the most important goal regarding Paragraph 175: boys had to be protected from coming into contact with homosexuals in public, but also with their “hopeless propaganda.”<sup>64</sup> Placzek was a vehement opponent of male prostitution as well. For him, male prostitutes were “the worst kind of human being” and the main source of blackmail and criminality.<sup>65</sup>

Although less harshly than Placzek, the BfM too disapproved of male prostitution. The organization’s attitude towards this issue did not represent the entire homosexual movement. Some members of the WhK saw in the condemnation of male prostitution a lack of commitment to full equality for male homosexuals. Their position was based on a sensible question: If female prostitution had been decriminalized in 1927, why should male prostitution still be illegal?<sup>66</sup> The WhK argued that the policing of male prostitution would lead to more raids in gay bars and gathering places, and that business owners could be accused of

being procurers if prostitutes happened to be present at their places of businesses. For the BfM, such opinions seemed senseless and even politically dangerous. Radszuweit did not think that Berlin's police department, with its strong record of tolerance, would be so unreasonable. In the end, Radszuweit said, the police department was already very familiar with the locations where male prostitution took place and had not launched a comprehensive attack against them.<sup>67</sup> Radszuweit and most of those who read his publications had faith that the police, doctors, lawmakers, and society at large would accept respectable male homosexuals, especially if they left youths alone. How he hoped to reconcile the gospel he preached with the thrilling magazines and books he sold was unclear.

### **Age of Consent and the Decriminalization of Male Same-Sex Acts**

Age of consent reflected another major disagreement within the homosexual movement. The WhK insisted that a different age of consent for heterosexual and homosexual intercourse undermined their campaign for full equality.<sup>68</sup> By contrast, Radszuweit's organization insisted that "homosexual citizens [be exempt] from punishment for all homosexual acts committed by adult persons by free will and mutual consent."<sup>69</sup> The BfM wanted to prove that adult homosexual men only wanted to have consensual sex with each other and in private. For that reason, the age of consent should be set to eighteen, public nuisance (a category of offence often used as a pretext to arrest gender nonconforming people) punished, and male prostitution criminalized.<sup>70</sup> If these demands were met, Radszuweit assured that "homosexual propaganda would stop and no one would speak about homosexuality ever again, so that this matter disappears completely from public discussion, just as it is the case in other states, where there are no laws against homosexuality."<sup>71</sup> The promotion of a higher age of consent sought to highlight that most homosexual men were respectable, but it also conceded unintentionally that homosexuals might indeed be seducers of youth. The offer to not speak about homosexuality ever again implied a willingness on Radszuweit's part to return to silence and invisibility. Although this promise might have been a ploy, it meant destroying the world the BfM had afforded its members and readers for a minor gain.

Radszuweit's extreme position on age of consent and male prostitution sought to please the moderate and conservative lawmakers responsible for updating Germany's criminal code. In the 1920s, Radszuweit set his sights on the legal reform efforts led by Wilhelm Kahl, a member of the national liberal German People's Party (DVP) and a professor

of law at the Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin. Kahl had become involved with the project of improving the legal system in 1902 when the state secretary, Rudolf Arnold Nieberding, put together a Criminal Law Committee (Strafrechtsausschuß) composed of eight law professors, including Franz von Liszt, to discuss a possible modernization of the criminal code. The purpose of this committee was to make German law compatible with other European nations and to introduce milder sentences oriented towards crime prevention and reintegration into society. Von Liszt and Kahl took some steps towards enacting this new criminal code in 1909, 1911, and again in 1913. Unfortunately, World War I and, after 1918, political and economic instability thwarted any further discussion. A complete draft was finally ready to be brought to the floor of the Reichstag in 1919, but several contentious issues, most notably the death penalty, blasphemy, abortion, and pornography, continued to divide members of Parliament.<sup>72</sup> Tensions around these issues prevented the revised code from being moved for a vote until the end of the 1920s.<sup>73</sup>

The BfM stepped up its fight against Paragraph 175 in 1925. That year, the organization lobbied all political parties, members of Parliament, and government officials. Radszuweit reported that the national press had received the organization's demands positively. He was aware that Josef Frenken, the new (and short-lived) justice minister and a member of the Centre Party, was a "particularly strong advocate of youth protection." Radszuweit made sure it was clear that the BfM, unlike the WhK, "completely agreed" with such measures.<sup>74</sup> For his part, Hirschfeld maintained that the state had more important things to do than to "police morality," but he recognized that the movement needed to be united in order to succeed.<sup>75</sup> The movement was still split over the issue of age of consent. The opposition took advantage of this discord and made the most of homosexual seduction. The Nazi press sensationalized this danger to garner support for its homophobic measures. Merging homophobic and anti-Semitic sentiments, an article published in the *Völkischer Beobachter* described Hirschfeld as the "supreme big wheel of perversity" (*Oberbonze der Perversen*), the epitome of bourgeois decadence, and a seducer of youth. What could then be his intention when giving a lecture at a school for boys? Sex education, the article implied, was just a cover for recruitment to the ranks of homosexuals.<sup>76</sup>

The Criminal Law Committee was divided on the issue of seduction. A revision of the draft in 1927 distinguished between "simple sodomy" (*einfache Unzucht*) and "flagrant sodomy" (*Schwere Unzucht zwischen Männern*). The former referred to consensual same-sex acts committed by adults. The latter punished male prostitution and sexual

abuse of dependents and young males. The age of consent for same-sex acts was set at eighteen.<sup>77</sup> This change implied that legislators were not becoming any milder as time passed, which might explain why the BfM was willing to keep making concessions regarding this issue. The dissolution of the Reichstag in 1928 halted the passage of the reform bill once again. But there were signs of hope. The elections in May that year turned the country to the left. A Grand Coalition of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the German Democratic Party (DDP), and the German People's Party (DVP) formed a new government. This political composition fared well for the abolition of Paragraph 175. The SPD and the Communist Party (KPD) had long been supporters of decriminalization. Both parties maintained that homosexuality between adult men should not be punished because the state and the law were not responsible for safeguarding morality. The KPD, moreover, justified decriminalization as an attack on bourgeois morality and hypocrisy. Arthur Ewert, a Communist representative from Thuringia, tried to convince the committee that medical research was unambiguous on this issue and that homosexuality was inborn. While the KPD representatives did not doubt that homosexuality was inborn, those in the SPD accepted that some forms of acquired homosexuality existed and expressed concern about the seduction of youth.<sup>78</sup> Their ambivalence about these issues did not help the Criminal Law Committee meet the WhK's demands.

Legislators did agree on a few legal grey zones regarding this law, but some of them used moral and biopolitical arguments to justify their inclination to criminalize same-sex acts nonetheless. Most members of the Criminal Law Committee agreed that there were legal and procedural reasons to abolish this law: judges had difficulty proving or delineating "intercourse-like acts" and assessing whether homosexuality was inborn or acquired on a case-by-case basis. Nevertheless, the DNVP, the DVP, the Nazi Party (NSDAP), and the Bavarian People's Party (BVP) supported criminalization.<sup>79</sup> The Centre Party justified the need for this law to protect the family.<sup>80</sup> Rudolf Schetter, a member of the Centre Party, believed that homosexuality was on the rise. Faithful to his Catholic upbringing, he claimed that one might feel sympathy for an individual, but homosexuality "as such" had to be condemned because it represented a "cancer for the well-being of the Volk" (*Krebsschaden am Volkswohl*), an ever-growing disease that was eating the nation from the inside out.<sup>81</sup> The position of the government towards the issue was more ambivalent. Theodor von Guérard, the Centre Party minister of justice at the time, claimed that science had not provided a clear answer to the issue, which made a final decision

difficult. In his view, homosexuality threatened marriage, the foundation of the state and society. Guérard feared that decriminalization would increase the number of homosexuals and that prejudice would not disappear as a result.<sup>82</sup>

The Criminal Law Committee's chair, the moderate Wilhelm Kahl (DVP), provided convincing arguments for decriminalization, even though he did not discard the possibility of male homosexual seduction. Kahl was heir to a long tradition of legal reform started by his mentor, Franz von Liszt. Von Liszt exemplified the move from a school of legal thought rooted in biological anthropology to one rooted in sociology around the turn of the twentieth century. Contrary to Cesare Lombroso's idea of the "born criminal," von Liszt argued that environmental and social factors deeply influenced an individual's development into a criminal. This discourse trickled down to the debate on male homosexuality. Kahl thought medical theories that highlighted the pathological character of homosexuality were inconclusive. Instead of justifying decriminalization on medical grounds, he opposed it on legal terms. Criminality was a legal concept that changed according to morals and behaviours. The criminalization of same-sex acts fell under this purview. He rejected Paragraph 175 because it was inadequate and failed to fulfil its social purpose: most cases involving same-sex acts were never brought to court because they took place in private and were difficult to prove. The law, moreover, did not prevent men from engaging in same-sex acts; concomitant crimes, such as blackmail, were preventable in other ways. Furthermore, Paragraph 175 meddled in adult men's right to privacy and their right to use their body as they pleased. Kahl might have been sceptical about the effectiveness of Paragraph 175, but he was no supporter of the emancipation movement and harboured mixed feelings about seduction.<sup>83</sup>

Representatives of the medical profession were upset about Kahl's focus on legal arguments at the expense of their scientific conclusions. Julius Schwalbe, the editor of *German Medical Weekly* (*Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift*), complained that the professor ignored expert opinions on the topic. Had not the entire debate surrounding homosexuality since the late 1890s used the language of pathology and psychiatry? To reclaim some perceived lost influence, Schwalbe invited a series of prominent psychiatrists and forensic doctors at Germany's leading universities and psychiatric wards to express their opinions on decriminalization. Oswald Bumke, a psychiatry professor at the University of Munich, agreed that homosexual seduction was common but that the law failed to prevent it. Decriminalization would be more successful than punishment because it would end the spread of

“disgusting and criminal propaganda,” just what Radszuweit promised to do.<sup>84</sup> Arthur Hübner, a psychiatrist and forensic doctor in Bonn, doubted that male homosexuality was a threat to the state or society. The key question was which kind of homosexuality should be made legal. Certainly, exemption from punishment should be given in cases where such acts take place “in silence, without causing public offense, without coercion, without commercial nature,” and as long as the “offenders are of the age of criminal responsibility.”<sup>85</sup> If psychiatrists found any consensus, it was that youths under eighteen – the age they determined as the physiological onset of adulthood – should be protected from homosexuals.

The Criminal Law Committee discussed Paragraph 175 on 16 October 1929. Kahl favoured a moderate outcome. After consulting with “judges, lawyers, doctors, and clergymen,” he came to the conclusion that seduction was possible and, in fact, not uncommon. Same-sex acts between consenting adult men should be tolerated, but instances of public nuisance and the sexual abuse of minors should remain punishable.<sup>86</sup> His arguments were convincing. The committee voted to eliminate the law from the criminal code draft with a vote of 15–13. The members of the SPD, KPD, and DDP were in favour of the abolition of Paragraph 175. Except for Kahl’s vote, the members of his party, the DVP, as well as the DNVP and the Centre Party, voted against repealing this law. If approved by the Reichstag, same-sex acts committed by adult men would no longer be punished. Kahl and other committee members hoped that decriminalization would end the “rampant agitation and propaganda” that spread “homosexual ideas to the Volk.”<sup>87</sup> If seduction was a threat to youths, the homosexual press was its most visible and ubiquitous agent. Abolishing this law would end, at least, some collateral evils. It would also put an end to the homosexual visibility that the movement had fought so hard to achieve.

The Criminal Law Committee’s decision was celebrated in the pages of the BfM’s magazines and in other publications of the movement. There was little to celebrate, for the committee had convened again on 17 October 1929 to debate whether the new criminal code should still punish “flagrant sodomy between men” (*Schwere Unzucht zwischen Männern*). Behind these ominous words was an emphasis on consent in general and age of consent in particular. If enacted, the law would punish with prison sentences male same-sex acts, prostitution, abuse of dependents, reciprocal masturbation, and even kissing, if one of the partners were younger than twenty-one years of age. The committee acknowledged that the “critical age for male youths was by no means sixteen or eighteen,” as it was commonly believed for girls. Experts

argued that male adolescent development and its typical characteristics, by which they meant sexual indeterminacy, “extended into the second half of the [man’s] twenties.”<sup>88</sup> This required special protections for boys. The new law thus created a crucial distinction: same-sex acts should be divided into a relatively harmless form involving consenting adults and a grave crime – the sexual abuse of defenceless minors. The members of the committee knew that this new law was superfluous: the criminal code already accounted for the sexual abuse of minors and had increased the age of consent from fourteen to sixteen in all cases. Sexual coercion was punished under a separate law. The possibility of seduction was reason enough for male homosexuality to remain a criminal act.<sup>89</sup>

The homosexual rights movement remained divided over the outcome of the revised criminal code. There had been disagreements on whether science was the best strategy to claim rights, whether male prostitution should remain criminalized, and what constituted the appropriate age of consent. Regardless of the different views on this new law proposal, the future of the movement was sealed in October 1929. For Hirschfeld’s WhK, the proposed law cut short their radical program. His organization saw in this law a continuation of the government’s discrimination against male homosexuals. By contrast, the BfM claimed this decision as its victory, even though the organization had had little influence on the committee’s deliberation.<sup>90</sup> The Criminal Law Committee’s decision, according to an article in the *Journal of Human Rights*, had finally recognized the BfM as the “leading organization” of homosexuals in Germany.<sup>91</sup> Radszuweit enjoyed this fleeting moment of self-attributed victory and overlooked the limitations of the committee’s decision. Instead of fighting for more freedom, he and the BfM supported a law that harmed many of its members and fell short of providing full equality.

The reform of the criminal code did not take place in the last few years of the Weimar Republic due to economic crisis, political instability, and the radicalization of politics. Wilhelm Kahl did not give up the fight. He presented another draft in 1930, which the Communist Party criticized for making too many concessions to the Right.<sup>92</sup> The criminalization of male homosexuality continued to be justified in terms of prevention, a position that made evident how theories of acquired homosexuality and the possibility of seduction were still widely accepted in the early 1930s. The Criminal Law Committee did not meet again after June 1932, once the Nazi Party had become the strongest force in Parliament. By then, the Nazis had already shut down the entire homosexual rights movement.

Laurie Marhoefer argues that rather than highlighting the Weimar Republic's "toleration of sexual diversity," the revision the committee proposed in 1929 resembles the 1927 Law for the Prevention of Venereal Disease insofar as both "offered sexual liberation to a large group at the expense of a small group of marginalized people, in this case male prostitutes."<sup>93</sup> Radszuweit agreed with the law's outcome. He thought that supporting the criminalization of male prostitution and pushing for the same age of consent for heterosexual and homosexual intercourse was politically harmful for the homosexual movement's goals, especially because youth protection had become an important social issue during this period. Under Radszuweit's leadership, the BfM condemned male prostitution; excluded men who glorified intergenerational relationships; and spread the message that homosexuality should only involve consenting adults. Radszuweit hoped this position would prove that homosexuals are respectable members of society concerned with the well-being of the nation's most vulnerable members. In the end, this strategy worked against itself. The BfM once again sided with conservative views that sought to undermine the visibility the movement had achieved.

Friedrich Radszuweit was a man full of contradictions. Why did a publisher who prided himself on giving readers hope stand behind the homophobic views of those who sought to annihilate homosexual propaganda? Why did he champion youth protection measures but did not shy away from profiting from the eroticism of youth? Why was it wrong in his eyes for men to engage in prostitution, while he felt perfectly comfortable offering the bodies of young men for sale on the covers of his magazines? One of Radszuweit's radical contemporaries, Kurt Hiller, has an answer to these questions: all people prostitute themselves in some form or another.<sup>94</sup> This applied to writers, artists, and, we might add, the publishers of gay magazines like Radszuweit. Hiller made this argument to point out the injustice behind the criminalization of male prostitution. Why should the state punish those who sell their bodies because of need, but not those who sell their souls because of greed? Influenced by his socialist views, Hiller thought that disadvantaged people should close ranks and fight for their common liberation. This also applied to respectable homosexuals who should come out in support of male prostitutes.

Radszuweit, as we have seen, supported the opposite viewpoint. Hiller had clear words for homosexual men like him. In his book *Paragraph 175: The Shame of the Century* (§ 175: *Die Schmach des Jahrhunderts*), published in 1922, only a year before Radszuweit's meteoric rise, Hiller reflected on a conversation he had had with one of the

leaders of the homosexual movement. This unnamed leader believed that the movement should be less biased towards the Left and show instead more political "restraint," since 75 per cent of all men fighting against the criminalization of homosexuality, in his estimation, supported conservative and even right-wing parties.<sup>95</sup> Radszuweit was one of these men. He favoured compromise, appeasement, and assimilation. He officially supported the Social Democratic Party but did not have any misgivings about endorsing more conservative and homophobic views if he saw some gain for himself. Hiller had no patience for people like Radszuweit. He despised "conservative inverters" who were revolutionary in matters that affected them personally but were instead "frivolous and indifferent" about the concerns of other disadvantaged people.<sup>96</sup> Hiller believed that a homosexual who only showed solidarity for those like himself did not deserve to be liberated. This kind of person was, in his opinion, "a dirty old man who only has lust in his head."<sup>97</sup>

## The Seduction of Youth, Respectability, and the End of Weimar's Homosexual Rights Movement

The vibrant homosexual rights movement disappeared after Hitler's rise to power in March 1933. While this event and the ordinances and laws against homosexuals that followed were a definitive blow, the movement had weakened since 1929. Magnus Hirschfeld welcomed the Weimar Republic with optimism and thought that the decriminalization of homosexuality was in sight. Unfortunately, the republic did not deliver its democratic promise: male same-sex acts remained criminalized. Instead of recognizing the backlash that they faced, the leaders of the homosexual rights movement chose to blame each other. Hirschfeld, who had led the movement for thirty-one years, received the most opprobrium. He was spurned by his friends and enemies when his approach did not yield the results they had expected.

This criticism had started earlier in the pages of the periodicals published by the League for Human Rights (the BfM). In an opinion piece for the *Journal of Friendship* (*Das Freundschaftsblatt*) published in 1925, Eduard Richter argued that the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee (Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee, or WhK) was using the "wrong fighting methods" and was unable to build a strong homosexual rights movement.<sup>1</sup> Hirschfeld's scientific approach did not appear to be effective in an era in which mass mobilization was crucial to political success. By blaming Hirschfeld for these shortcomings, Richter aimed to proclaim Friedrich Radszuweit as the rightful leader of the movement. The BfM's leader used different "fighting methods" indeed. Radszuweit made use of print culture to reach a critical mass of homosexuals and to spread a message compatible with some of the demands and values held by Weimar's morality campaigners, doctors who supported theories of acquired homosexuality, and the moderate and conservative legislators who trusted these groups. Radszuweit's methods proved to be ineffective as well. The BfM did not convince

these stakeholders or, for that matter, society at large that homosexual men were respectable members of society who deserved equal rights. Homosexual men continued to be considered a threat to youth.

The image of the homosexual man as a seducer of youth was prevalent during the Weimar Republic. The leaders of the homosexual rights movement had to find ways to advance their diverging political demands in the face of this charge. Age of consent and male prostitution, for example, became contentious topics within the movement because they involved sex with young men and therefore conjured up anxieties about the seduction of youth. Adolf Brand and the Community of the Special (*Gemeinschaft der Eigenen*, GdE) remained unmoved by this accusation. Their indifference is understandable given the organization's unabashed celebration of the beauty of young men. The GdE appealed to an elite group of men who thought of pederasty as a centuries-old practice that connected them directly with the ancient Greek past and to an aesthetic tradition of friendship and boy love that had existed ever since. Brand and his followers were convinced that the guidance and mentorship an adult man could provide to an adolescent boy had pedagogical value and were fundamental to the functioning of the state, ideas that Gustav Wyneken and Hans Blüher had expressed in their writings. The decriminalization of male same-sex acts was not a real issue for them. Brand described this campaign as a vulgar undertaking that did not do any justice to the aesthetic and noble qualities of the erotic practice they pursued. Their high reverence for boy love did not help dispel the belief that homosexual men were seducers, sordid men who baited young boys with tall tales and who made schools and youth organizations unsafe.

The WhK relied on scientific theories to debunk the myth of seduction. Hirschfeld's research was at odds with contemporary theories of acquired homosexuality. The Berlin sexologist held that same-sex desire was natural and that it could be detected through physiological and psychological characteristics at an early age. According to his theories, there was no reason to criminalize male same-sex acts as a preventive measure, since heterosexual youths were not at risk. Furthermore, the WhK considered raising the age of consent for male same-sex acts and the criminalization of male prostitution betrayals to its values and its demand for full equality.<sup>2</sup> The WhK had counted on the support of numerous intellectuals and public figures. The Criminal Law Committee listened closely to their arguments. It came as a shock to many when the lawmakers did not satisfy their demands in 1929. Some of the WhK considered the ongoing criminalization of male same-sex acts between men under twenty-one and male prostitution a terrible

failure for the organization. Their arguments and goals had become incompatible with those of the committee's majority, who demanded more youth protection measures.

The WhK plunged into crisis as a result of the Criminal Law Committee's decision. A bimonthly, one-page newsletter was all that remained of the WhK's publications in the summer of 1929.<sup>3</sup> On 24 November 1929, Hirschfeld stepped down after more than thirty years as the organization's chairman, in part because his most prominent collaborators, Kurt Hiller and Richard Linsert, had withdrawn their support for him.<sup>4</sup> They doubted that Hirschfeld's scientific theories would lead to homosexual liberation.<sup>5</sup> Hirschfeld's junior colleagues were more radical than he was. Kurt Hiller envisioned a coalitional rights movement. In his view, homosexual men would never be set free unless they fought for the freedom of all unprivileged people. This position did not allow for concessions and compromise.

Radszuweit was more moderate than his opponents. He admitted that he was a businessman. He was willing to make concessions, especially if he saw some gain for himself. In fact, it was difficult to distinguish between his political and economic goals. Both required attracting as many readers as possible and adapting his message to the changing audience and circumstances. Radszuweit enjoyed enormous popularity: no other homosexual rights organization had as many members; no one else published as many and as varied magazines. This success made him arrogant. Radszuweit saw in Hirschfeld's hasty departure a good opportunity for him to fill this power vacuum and to gain more fame. He was convinced that his strategy for decriminalization was superior.<sup>6</sup> How could Radszuweit ever disappoint if he changed his tune to match the stipulations set by the Criminal Law Committee whenever there was a new draft of the law? Radszuweit claimed to be pleased by the committee's decision to decriminalize male same-sex acts between consenting adults, to raise the age of consent, and to consider male prostitution a criminal offence. That being said, he maintained that setting the age of consent to twenty-one did not correspond to the BfM's original demand. The BfM, Radszuweit stressed, had consistently demanded that the age of consent be set at eighteen, just as the WhK had done. This was probably a strategy to poach some members from the WhK. Radszuweit, however, told his readers that it was not wise to complain about the outcome because "it could do more damage than good."<sup>7</sup> Calculating risk was part of business.

Radszuweit protested against the humiliation and all the injustices homosexual men faced. He was also mindful of the process of moral regeneration that Weimar's conservatives were championing. If

German society wished for a return to decency, Radszuweit thought the homosexual movement would have to find a way to fit within this model. The bargain Radszuweit asked the BfM's members to make had little to do with democracy in the broadest sense. He did not strive for full social equality. He was a proponent of the politics of respectability, which required compromise: some homosexual men would enjoy rights and freedom at the expense of less privileged sexual minorities. As Laurie Marhoefer has argued, compromise was necessary in a democracy when regarding the politics of "immoral sexuality," which often disadvantaged a minority of people, including prostitutes, transvestites, and popular representations of non-heterosexual sex.<sup>8</sup> The BfM traded these negative stereotypes for an ideal homosexual who was a virtuous, productive member of society whose individual rights could no longer be denied.<sup>9</sup> In particular, the BfM acknowledged that something had to be done to lessen anxiety about homosexual visibility and the fears that the seduction of youth instilled in the general population. In his writings, Radszuweit tried to undo this perceived threat by encouraging respectability and productivity among the BfM's members and by advocating the protection of youth.

The BfM fell victim to its own contradictory message. While Radszuweit preached the protection of youth, he continued to entice readers with their erotic appeal. The content of the BfM's magazines could be misinterpreted for that reason: youths were officially off limits but always within reach. Two examples from the *Journal of Friendship* will illustrate this point. The article titled "Youth, We Call You!" written by B. Bz. (likely the songwriter Bruno Balz) in 1928, called into question the sincerity of the BfM's demand to raise the age of consent and its commitment to leaving young men alone. B. Bz. discussed the success that political parties had had in attracting and radicalizing young men. He wondered why the BfM had been so unsuccessful in doing the same. The headline was a direct call to action: more young men should join the organization if they wanted to achieve the "liberation of homosexuals from an extreme law [and from] dumb and wrong assumptions."<sup>10</sup> The article was a harmless call to join the ranks of the organization. Below the surface, however, some readers could interpret the appeal as a lure. While B. Bz.'s article was ambiguous, many of the short stories and photographs Radszuweit printed were rather explicit. Youthfulness was too good a selling point to let it go. Granted, Radszuweit was not the only one to praise the beauty of youth: this tradition was well established in the homoerotic canon and had been part of the homoerotic press since Brand started publishing *The Special (Der Eigene)* in 1896. Radszuweit, however, was the only homosexual leader

who enticed his readers with the beauty of youth and subsequently shamed them for falling for it.

The BfM combined its interest in youth as an object of erotic desire with the need for the education and protection of youth, two actions that fit the politics of respectability. An article in the last issue of the *Journal of Friendship*, written by Dr F.O. Hartog in March 1933, days before the Nazis quashed the movement, referred to the homosexual's "right to existence" (*Existenzberechtigung*). Little did Hartog know that this phrase would acquire a new literal meaning soon. In his view, the homosexual's "right to existence" rested on his respectable behaviour. Scientists may have proven the natural basis for homosexuality, but homosexuals still had responsibilities towards their families, communities, and the state. They might not be able to "enrich the world with children," but they could educate them and lead productive lives. By being role models for youth, homosexuals could gain respect, a fundamental step towards decriminalization and full equality.<sup>11</sup> Hartog's position shows the tension at the root of the BfM's message. Radszuweit's publications seemed to confirm the views of those who saw in the homosexual press a form of propaganda or a recruitment tool, an argument that warranted their inclusion in the *Schmutz- und Schundliteraturliste* time and again.

The politics of respectability did not offer a utopia. Quite the contrary, the BfM leadership asked its members to fit in rather than to challenge the status quo. Homosexual men should not be different from others; they should be the same as everyone else. "We don't want to be disenfranchised and annihilated, we don't want to be degraded to second-class citizens! We also have a right to life and a right to be happy!" wrote Hans von Laubblank in the *Journal of Friendship*.<sup>12</sup> Von Laubblank complained that homosexuals should enjoy the same rights and privileges as heterosexuals: "Aren't homosexuals taxpayers, were they not fighters for the fatherland and defenders of the homeland?"<sup>13</sup> Equality demanded participation in the same economic structures as the majority; happiness required supporting nationalism and war. The BfM's rhetoric was therefore homonormative because it did not contest the values, institutions, and economic structures that oppressed homosexual men and other sexual minorities.<sup>14</sup> Although von Laubblank showed trust in established institutions, he was pessimistic about the future. He was willing to accept compromise because the movement could not foresee where legislators would stand in a few years: "Will not the next legal reform in a few decades perhaps include the death penalty?"<sup>15</sup> In his opinion, homosexuals had to be united and continue fighting for their rights instead of rejoicing in their complacency.

Many of the BfM's members had become unmotivated by the end of the 1920s. After the Criminal Law Committee's decision to legalize same-sex acts between adult men had been announced with great fanfare in the BfM's publications, the organization began to stagnate. Some members felt no need to continue offering their support because they thought that male same-sex acts had already been decriminalized without restrictions, even though the committee had chosen to criminalize some forms of male same-sex acts and Parliament had not voted on the entire criminal reform bill yet. The difficulties for the organization ran much deeper. Radszuweit for one felt that his subordinates were losing respect for him. He accused the regional groups of not listening to the central organization and of sacrificing respectability for mindless and immoral enjoyment.<sup>16</sup> Had the balancing act between politics and entertainment, between the allure of youth and its protection, ultimately worked against itself?

Complacency had been fuelled by the availability of information and entertainment the organization had provided throughout the years, as well as by Radszuweit's confidence in his success. Many of them were content with the bars, clubs, and other possibilities for exchange the BfM offered. The withdrawal from the political sphere was one of the consequences of both the commercialization of same-sex desire and the politics of respectability. The BfM was hopeful that the right kind of homosexual men could lead happy, productive lives in the privacy of their homes, a promise that disregarded the visibility the organization had achieved and that jeopardized the large infrastructure the BfM promoted and supported. Moreover, the economic crisis of 1929 hurt young blue- and white-collar workers and business owners alike – the bulk of the organization's membership.<sup>17</sup> Jobless members could no longer pay their fees, attend events, or purchase magazines. The organization had less money for advocacy and propaganda.<sup>18</sup> A movement that had been run like a business was exceedingly vulnerable during an economic crisis.

The politics of respectability required that homosexuals have, in Radszuweit's words, "a certain conception of morality."<sup>19</sup> Although Radszuweit's position on male prostitution, age of consent, and privacy resonated with legislators and contemporary society, this strategy of appeasement had the potential to become a double-edged sword. In fact, Kurt Hiller claimed that the BfM's tendency to "step back, avoid fighting, and trust the development" was wrong. This optimistic position was putting the movement "on the side of conservative powers."<sup>20</sup> Hiller was not wrong. Germany took a conservative turn after 1929. Growing political polarization and the economic crisis halted any

further discussion of the reform of the criminal code.<sup>21</sup> The Reichstag was dissolved and new elections called in the summer of 1932. The results were not favourable for the emancipation movement: the Nazi Party received over a third of the vote.<sup>22</sup> But Paul Weber, who chaired the BfM after Radszuweit's premature death in 1932, did not want to give up his hope because of the new state of affairs. On the occasion of All Saints' Day 1932, in a brief message accompanied by a photograph of Radszuweit's grave, Weber reminded the organization's members that they should "hold together and continue to stand together in their fight." "Friedrich Radszuweit has not lived in vain!" he cried out.<sup>23</sup> The organization did not do much to ensure that this was not the case. In the final months, the BfM kept business as usual. Oblivious to the fact that democracy was nothing more than an illusion, the organization continued to print magazines and hoped to achieve decriminalization by adapting its message to the changing political landscape.

The BfM displayed a dangerous penchant for accommodation. The sudden Nazi victory, readers were told, was no reason to consider the decriminalization of male same-sex acts a lost cause. In a naive display of optimism that can be interpreted as sympathy for the party, Paul Weber argued that the Nazis "had not made up their mind about the issue."<sup>24</sup> Weber told his readers that "there are many leading figures in the NSDAP who support the efforts of the BfM, but there also many voices, probably even more, we should assume, that do not want to know anything about it."<sup>25</sup> Despite evidence to the contrary, Weber wanted to believe that the party would come to support homosexuals.<sup>26</sup> How far was he willing to go and at what and whose cost? Would the organization's inclination to compromise ever become untenable? Those active in the BfM clung to the promise of respectability and happiness, even as the world in which this idea belonged was crumbling around them. This uncritical optimism allowed the organization's leaders to align themselves with precisely the forces that sought to obliterate them.

The homosexual rights movement and the entire infrastructure that made gay life possible – the bars, restaurants, shops, and, of course, the magazines – ended suddenly in March 1933. The systematic persecution of homosexuality started with a ministerial decree (*Runderlaß*) published in February of that year which ordered the closing of all establishments homosexual men were thought to frequent. In addition, all publishing houses had to be closed and all magazines destroyed.<sup>27</sup> In a letter that shows the chronic lack of empathy and solidarity within the homosexual emancipation movement and the lack of foresight of some of its leaders, Adolf Brand celebrated that the National Socialist

government had directed its attacks towards the “ugliest excrescences of the movement,” namely Hirschfeld and Radszuweit.<sup>28</sup> Brand disapproved of anti-Semitism and of the Nazis’ attack against individual freedom and private property, but he hated Hirschfeld and his ideas more than he seemed to cherish these values. Even more so, Brand was repelled by Radszuweit’s publications, which he considered cheap, kitschy, and debased. Because of these differences, Brand approved of the Nazis’ confiscation of his opponent’s publications. While such disagreements within the movement did not cause its demise, this internal hostility did not help build opposition to the Nazi regime.

Division within the movement undermined its efforts. Personal feuds blinded Brand from seeing that National Socialism and homosexuality were irreconcilable. Otherwise, why would Brand have been surprised when the Nazis confiscated his papers and his collection of pictures portraying young men? Although Brand celebrated the beauty of the “German race” in his photographs, homosexuality undermined the reproductive goals of National Socialism: each homosexual represented the loss of a “potential producer of children.”<sup>29</sup> Homosexuals became “enemies of the state,” antisocial elements, and “people’s pests” (*Volksschädlinge*). Rudolf Klare, in a dissertation titled *Homosexuality and Criminal Law (Homosexualität und Strafrecht)*, published in 1937, argued that the lax morality of the interwar years had led to an increase in homosexuality, especially among youths.<sup>30</sup> The language of a homosexual epidemic pointed out the resemblance of homosexuality to degeneration and disease that threatened the health and purity of the German race.<sup>31</sup>

The decriminalization of male same-sex acts, the issue that had galvanized the homosexual emancipation movement for over thirty years, was no longer possible after 1933. The most conservative voices within the Criminal Law Committee opposed male prostitution and supported theories of acquired homosexuality, which became prevalent during the Third Reich.<sup>32</sup> Different measures were used to persecute and remove homosexuals from the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Starting in 1934, Heinrich Himmler requested that lists including the names of presumed homosexuals be compiled and sent to the Gestapo.<sup>33</sup> In 1935, the Nazi government strengthened the severity of sanctions against male same-sex acts with an addendum to the law, Paragraph 175a.<sup>34</sup> The revised law punished all male same-sex acts with prison terms of up to ten years, regardless of the age of the men involved, and expanded the reach of the law to all kinds of acts between men beyond “intercourse-like acts,” an extension of the category that made prosecution more effective by lowering the burden of proof.<sup>35</sup> In 1936, Himmler wrote a directive

establishing the "Reich Headquarters for Combatting Homosexuality and Abortion."<sup>36</sup> Considering homosexuality a disease or pest implied the possibility of a cure or of its eradication. The jurist Rudolf Klare recommended that homosexual men be sterilized as a preventive measure, an intervention that actually became common practice during the Third Reich.<sup>37</sup> And, of course, thousands of homosexual men were sent to Nazi concentration camps and to their deaths.<sup>38</sup>

Homophobia in the Third Reich continued to be grounded in theories of acquired homosexuality and in the professed seduction of youth. These views did not change after the Second World War. Even though theories of homosexual seduction were never proven, this homophobic trope endured into the 1970s, in both East and West Germany.<sup>39</sup> In their study *The Ordinary Homosexual (Der gewöhnliche Homosexuelle)*, published in 1974, the West German sociologists Martin Danecker and Reimut Reiche argued that the criminalization of male same-sex acts continued to be justified as a preventive measure. A higher age of consent for male same-sex acts sought to protect the proper sexual development of adolescent boys. According to Danecker and Reiche, the homosexual man was still the seducer, "the old man, who, waving a chocolate bar, leads a boy to homosexuality."<sup>40</sup> The story had not changed much in fifty years. Homosexuality continued to be considered an epidemic; young boys were at risk of contagion.<sup>41</sup> This unfounded argument influenced the debates surrounding decriminalization until 1994, when Paragraph 175 was completely removed from the German criminal code. In spite of the decriminalization of homosexuality and same-sex marriage, which became legal in Germany in 2017, the purported seduction of youth continues to unsettle homophobes to the present day. Youth does not seem to have lost any of its appeal for gay men either, but this is a story for another time.

# Notes

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## Introduction

- 1 James D. Steakley, *“Anders als die Andern”*: Ein Film und seine Geschichte (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2007), 9.
- 2 Jürgen Kasten, “Dramatische Instinkte und das Spektakel der Aufklärung,” in *Richard Oswald: Kino zwischen Spektakel, Aufklärung und Unterhaltung*, ed. Jürgen Kasten and Arnim Loacker (Vienna: Verlag Filmarchiv Austria, 2005), 15–140.
- 3 Kai Nowak argues that the Swedish film *The Wings (Vingarne)* (1916), directed by Mauritz Stiller, should be credited as the first film production featuring a homosexual character. Kai Nowak, *Projektionen der Moral: Filmskandale in der Weimarer Republik* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015), 102–3.
- 4 “Der homosexuelle Film *Anders als die Andern*: Vierteljahrsberichte des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees während der Kriegszeit,” Herausgegeben statt des *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Homosexualität* 19, nos. 1/2 (1919): 4.
- 5 Paragraph 175 of the criminal code punished male same-sex acts and bestiality. Male homosexuality was not punished in all German states during the nineteenth century. After the German Empire’s reunification in 1871, Wilhelm I’s administration consistently enforced sodomy laws across the entire Reich under Paragraph 175. Starting in the 1860s, the forensic pathologists Johann L. Casper and the lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs developed new views on same-sex desire that justified decriminalization. Ulrichs, for example, did not believe that male-male love (*mannmännliche Liebe*) was a choice or a vice but rather thought it a natural “congenital anomaly,” a view that Hirschfeld shared. Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Carl Westphal did not agree with Ulrich in every instance, but they, too, advocated decriminalization. Ulrichs had demanded the end of punishment in the 1860s but was largely ignored. It was not until 1897 that

the WhK sent a request to the authorities with the signatures of 6,000 dignitaries. This quest continued during the Weimar Republic. Robert M. Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 3–41. See also Hans-Georg Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland: Eine politische Geschichte* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1989).

- 6 “Der homosexuelle Film *Anders als die Andern*,” 6.
- 7 “Der homosexuelle Film *Anders als die Andern*,” 20.
- 8 Hirschfeld was attacked by nationalist youths after giving a public talk in Munich in 1920. His death was even (falsely) announced in the press. Rainer Herrn, *Anders bewegt: 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung in Deutschland* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript-Verlag, 1999), 26.
- 9 Walther Friedman, “Homosexuality and Jewishness: The Latest Method of Agitation against ‘Aufklärungsfilme,’” in *The Promise of Cinema: German Film Theory 1907–1933*, ed. Anton Kaes, Nicholas Baer, and Michael Cowan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 242.
- 10 Nowak, *Projektionen der Moral*, 111–12.
- 11 “Der homosexuelle Film *Anders als die Andern*,” 28.
- 12 “Der homosexuelle Film *Anders als die Andern*,” 35.
- 13 Jens Dobler and Kristine Schmidt, “Die Bewegung der Weimarer Republik beginnt in Pankow,” in *Verzaubert in Nord-Ost: Die Geschichte der Berliner Lesben und Schwulen in Prenzlauer Berg, Pankow und Weißensee*, ed. Jens Dobler (Berlin: Bruno Gmünder, 2009), 44; Herrn, *Anders bewegt*, 25.
- 14 Scholars have focused on Hirschfeld and the role that sexological theories played in the decriminalization of male-same acts from the 1890s onwards. These studies are often biographical. Ralf Dose examines Hirschfeld as if he had been the only impactful emancipation leader at the time. Robert Beachy examines Hirschfeld’s intellectual forebears, yet it still situates Hirschfeld at the epicentre of Weimar’s homosexual movement. See Beachy, *Gay Berlin*; Ralf Dose, *Magnus Hirschfeld: The Origins of the Gay Liberation Movement*, trans. Edward H. Willis (New York: Monthly Review Books, 2014); Ralf Dose, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Deutscher, Jude, Weltbürger* (Berlin: Centrum Judaicum, 2005); Manfred Herzer, *Magnus Hirschfeld: Leben und Werk eines jüdischen, schwulen und sozialistischen Sexologen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript-Verlag, 2001); Elke-Vera Kotowski and Julius Schoeps, eds. *Magnus Hirschfeld: Ein Leben im Spannungsfeld vom Wissenschaft, Politik und Gesellschaft* (Berlin: BeBra Wissenschaft, 2004); Florian Mildener, “... in der Richtung der Homosexualität verdorben”: *Psychiater, Kriminalpsychologen und Gerichtsmediziner über männliche Homosexualität 1850–1970* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript-Verlag, 2002); Charlotte Wolff, *Magnus Hirschfeld: A Portrait of a Pioneer in Sexology* (London: Quartet Books, 1986).

- 15 Magnus Hirschfeld, *Sappho und Sokrates: Wie erklärt sich die Liebe der Männer und Frauen zu Personen des eigenen Geschlechts?*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Max Spohr, 1922). The first edition of this pamphlet was published in 1896 under the pseudonym Th. Ramien.
- 16 Harry Oosterhuis and Hubert Kennedy, eds., *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany*, translated by Hubert Kennedy (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1991), 1–16.
- 17 Manfred Herzer, “Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen,” in *Goodbye to Berlin? 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung*, ed. Manfred Herzer (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1997), 91.
- 18 Manfred Herzer, “Adolf Brand und *Der Eigene*,” in *Goodbye to Berlin? 52*.
- 19 Oosterhuis and Kennedy, *Homosexuality and Male Bonding*, 4; Herzer, “Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen.”
- 20 For a recent study on the affair, see Norman Domeier, *The Eulenburg Affair: A Cultural History of Politics in the German Empire*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2015).
- 21 Dobler and Schmidt, “Die Bewegung der Weimarer Republik,” 44.
- 22 Jennifer V. Evans, “Introduction: Why German Queer History?,” in “Queering German History,” special issue, *German History* 34, no. 3 (September 2016): 371–84.
- 23 Clayton J. Whisnant, *Queer Identities and Politics in Germany: A History, 1880–1945* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2016), 162.
- 24 Heike Bauer, *The Hirschfeld Archives: Violence, Death, and Modern Queer Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2017), 2. Two recent books have addressed the overemphasis on Hirschfeld. Ralph Leck focuses on Ulrichs’s novel contributions to sexual science and gender theory in the nineteenth century. This intellectual history examines the tensions between the pathologization of sexuality and the ethical possibilities for sexual freedom that Ulrichs’s writings offered. Robert Deam Tobin also looks back to the nineteenth century to explore the connections between homosexuality, nationalism, and race. Ralph M. Leck, *Vita Sexualis: Karl Ulrichs and the Origins of Sexual Science* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2016); Robert Deam Tobin, *Peripheral Desires: The German Discovery of Sex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
- 25 Glenn Ramsey, “The Rites of Artgenossen: Contesting Homosexual Political Culture in Weimar Germany,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 1 (2008): 85–109; James Kollenbroich, *Our Hour Has Come: The Homosexual Rights Movement in the Weimar Republic* (Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Müller, 2007).
- 26 Stefan Micheler has examined the movement’s press in the Weimar Republic and its role in the production of male gay subjectivity. However, Micheler’s study focuses on the magazine *Friendship* (*Die Freundschaft*)

and not on Radszuweit's more successful publishing business. Stefan Micheler, *Selbstbilder und Fremdbilder der "Anderen": Eine Geschichte Männer begehrender Männer in der Weimarer Republik und der NS-Zeit* (Konstanz, Germany: UVK, 2005); Stefan Micheler, "Zeitschriften und Verbände gleichgeschlechtlich begehrender Menschen in der Weimarer Republik: Ansätze einer Organisationsgeschichte," *Invertito: Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Homosexualitäten* 10 (2008): 10–56. For analyses of lesbian identity and subjectivity during this period, see Laurie Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 52–79; Laurie Marhoefer, "'The Book Was a Revelation, I Recognized Myself in It': Lesbian Sexuality, Censorship, and the Queer Press in Weimar-Era Germany," *Journal of Women's History* 27, no. 2 (2015): 62–86; Marti M. Lybeck, *Desiring Emancipation: New Women and Homosexuality in Germany, 1890–1933* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014), 151–88; Heike Schader, *Virile, Vamps und wilde Veilchen: Sexualität, Begehren und Erotik in den Zeitschriften homosexueller Frauen im Berlin der 1920er Jahre* (Königstein im Taunus, Germany: Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 2004); Claudia Schoppmann, *Der Skorpion: Frauenliebe in der Weimarer Republik* (Hamburg: Frühlings Erwachen, 1985); Katie Sutton, *The Masculine Woman in Weimar Germany* (New York: Berghahn, 2013).

- 27 Marti L. Lybeck, "Writing Love, Feeling Shame: Rethinking Respectability in the Weimar Homosexual Women's Movement," in *After "The History of Sexuality": German Genealogies with and beyond Foucault*, ed. Scott Spector, Helmut Puff, and Dagmar Herzog (New York: Berghahn, 2012), 156–68.
- 28 "Diesen Bedauernswerten machte das Damoklesschwert des §175 das Leben unmöglich. Im Geiste sieht er einen endlosen Zug dieser Unglücklichen aus allen Zeiten und Ländern an sich vorüberziehen." All quotes are extracted from *Anders als die Andern*, directed by Richard Oswald (1919; Munich: Edition Filmmuseum, 2006), DVD.
- 29 "Keiner der Tausende, die den genialen Künstler feierten, ahnte, daß dieser unter unglücklichen, von der Gesellschaft mit Ächtung bestrafte Neigungen litt."
- 30 Richard Dyer, *Now You See It: Studies on Lesbian and Gay Film* (London: Routledge, 1990), 46. For other interpretations, see Ervin Malakaj, "Richard Oswald, Magnus Hirschfeld, and the Possible Impossibility of Hygienic Melodrama," *Studies in European Cinema* 14, no. 3 (2017): 216–30; James D. Steakley, "Cinema and Censorship in the Weimar Republic: The Case of *Anders als die Andern*," *Film History* 11, no. 2 (1999): 181–203; Wolfgang Theis, "*Anders als die Andern*: Geschichte eines Filmskandals," in *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850–1950: Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur*, ed. Michael Bollé (Berlin: Fröhlich and

- Kaufmann, 1984), 28–30; Siegbert S. Prawer, *Between Two Worlds: The Jewish Presence in German and Austrian Film, 1910–1933* (New York: Berghahn, 2005), 72–81.
- 31 Steakley, “Cinema and Censorship,” 181.
- 32 Nowak, *Projektionen der Moral*, 119.
- 33 Dyer, *Now You See It*, 17–24.
- 34 Martin Lücke argues in his study of male prostitution during the German Empire and the Weimar Republic that the figure of the blackmailer Bolleck stands for the male prostitute and that everything “morally condemnable about prostitution” is represented in a “desexualized” relationship between the teacher and his younger student, Kurt Sivers. Whereas Lücke convincingly shows how the male prostitute was portrayed as “deviant” and as a “parasite” by the homosexual movement at the time, he downplays the significance of the intergenerational relationship between the teacher and his young student. Kai Nowak, although aware of the erotic tension of the master-pupil relationship, also diminishes its importance because its sexual character never materializes on the screen. Martin Lücke, *Männlichkeit in Unordnung: Homosexualität und männliche Prostitution in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2008), 236, 243; Nowak, *Projektionen der Moral*, 105.
- 35 “Mein sehnlichster Wunsch ginge in Erfüllung, wenn Sie mein Lehrer sein wollten!”
- 36 “Es wird für Dich und den jungen Mann, in dessen Gesellschaft ich Dich traf, von Vorteil sein, wenn Du mich entschädigst.”
- 37 “Inzwischen ist das Verhältnis zwischen Paul Körner und Kurt Sivers immer inniger geworden.”
- 38 Dyer, *Now You See It*, 14–16; Alice A. Kuzniar, *The Queer German Cinema* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 30–2; Thomas Elsaesser, *Weimar Cinema and After: Germany’s Historical Imaginary* (London: Routledge, 2000), 78.
- 39 Nowak, *Projektionen der Moral*, 121.
- 40 See Sabine Lenk, “Censoring Films in Düsseldorf during the First World War,” *Film History* 22, no. 4 (2010): 426–39; Wolfgang Mühl-Benninghaus, “German Film Censorship during World War I,” *Film History* 9 (1997): 71–6; Gary D. Stark, “Cinema, Society, and the State: Policing the Film Industry in Imperial Germany,” in *Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany*, ed. Gary D. Stark and Bede K. Lackner (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1982), 122–66; Corey Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany: Mass Communications, Society, and Politics from the Empire to the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 203; Steakley, “Cinema and Censorship.”
- 41 Nowak, *Projektionen der Moral*, 125.

- 42 Franz Pfemfert, “Cinema as Educator,” in *The Promise of Cinema*, 221.
- 43 Robert Gaupp, “The Dangers of Cinema,” in *The Promise of Cinema*, 223.
- 44 Albert Hellwig, “Trash Films: Their Nature, Their Dangers, and the Fight Against Them,” in *The Promise of Cinema*, 222–3.
- 45 Nowak, *Projektionen der Moral*, 113.
- 46 Larry P. Gross, *Up from Invisibility: Lesbians, Gay Men, and the Media in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 19.
- 47 Readers may see in the BfM’s position a form of early “homoliberalism.” In its contemporary usage, the concept “refer[s] to the economic, political, and social enfranchisement of certain normative-leaning, straight-acting homosexuals at the expense of other, inassimilable sexual minorities. Homoliberalism, like “homonormativity,” refers to a “privatized, depoliticized ... culture anchored in domesticity and consumption ... that does not contest dominant heteronormative forms but upholds and sustains them.” Sara Warner, *Acts of Gaiety: LGBT Performance and the Politics of Pleasure* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), xi. See also Lisa Duggan, “The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism,” in *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 175–94.

## 1. Theories of Adolescent Sexuality and Homosexual Seduction

- 1 William Stern, “Die ‘Inversions’-Welle: Ein zeitgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Jugendpsychologie,” *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und experimentelle Pädagogik* 21 (1920): 162.
- 2 There is a robust body of scholarship on the history of childhood and youth in Europe. For overviews, see Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Knopf, 1962); Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979); Sterling Fishman, “Suicide, Sex, and the Discovery of the German Adolescent,” *History of Education Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (1970): 170–88; Elizabeth Harvey, “The Cult of Youth,” in *A Companion to Europe 1900–1945*, ed. Gordon Martel (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 66–81; Michael Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, trans. Graeme Dunphy (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); and John Neubauer, *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).
- 3 See Fishman, “Suicide, Sex,” 185.
- 4 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1978), 18.

- 5 G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904).
- 6 Mitterauer, *History of Youth*, 143–5.
- 7 Neubauer, *Fin-de-Siècle Culture*, 150.
- 8 Mitterauer, *History of Youth*, 147.
- 9 For similar developments in the United States, see Don Romesburg, “The Tightrope of Normalcy: Homosexuality, Developmental Citizenship, and American Adolescence, 1890–1940,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, no. 4 (2008): 417–42; and John C. Spurlock, “From Reassurance to Irrelevance: Adolescent Psychology and Homosexuality in America,” *History of Psychology* 5, no. 1 (2002): 38–51.
- 10 For the trivialization of sexuality in the developmental theories of Weimar-era psychologists, see Javier Samper Vendrell, “Adolescence, Psychology, and Homosexuality in the Weimar Republic,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 27, no. 3 (2018): 395–419.
- 11 For an analysis of the discourse on sexuality introduced by psychiatry, see Arnold I. Davidson, “Closing Up the Corpses: Diseases of Sexuality and the Emergence of the Psychiatric Style of Reasoning,” in *Homosexuality and Psychoanalysis*, ed. Tim Dean and Christopher Lane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 59–90; and Arnold I. Davidson, “Sex and the Emergence of Sexuality,” *Critical Inquiry* 14, no. 1 (1987): 16–48.
- 12 For an in-depth analysis of embryonic bisexuality and the possibility of physiological sex reversal, see Lisa Carstens, “Unbecoming Women: Sex Reversal in the Scientific Discourse on Female Deviance in Britain, 1880–1920,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 1 (2011): 62–94. Carstens argues that theories of embryonic hermaphroditism as well as recapitulation theory had been discredited by the late 1920s, when sex differentiation was believed to be determined at conception, based on newer endocrinological and chromosomal theories (87–8). See also Geertje Mak, “Conflicting Heterosexualities: Hermaphroditism and the Emergence of Surgery around 1900,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24, no. 3 (2015): 402–28.
- 13 Sigmund Freud, “Lecture XXI: The Development of the Libido and the Sexual Organizations,” in *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, ed. and trans. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989), 404.
- 14 For discussions of Freud’s views on homosexuality, see Henry Abelove, “Freud, Male Homosexuality, and the Americans,” in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, Michele A. Barale, and D. Halperin (London: Routledge, 1993), 381–93; and Arnold I. Davidson, “How to Do the History of Psychoanalysis: A Reading of Freud’s *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*,” in *The Emergence of Sexuality: Historical Epistemology*

and the Formation of Concepts (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 39–64.

- 15 On this subject, see Lutz D.H. Sauerteig, “Loss of Innocence: Albert Moll, Sigmund Freud and the Invention of Childhood Sexuality around 1900,” *Medical History* 56, no. 2 (2012): 156–83. For a more general discussion of the relationship between psychoanalysis and sexology, see Volkmar Sigusch, *Geschichte der Sexualwissenschaft* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2008), 261–84.
- 16 “Dessoir, Max,” in *Philosophen-Lexikon: Handwörterbuch der Philosophie nach Personen*, ed. Werner Ziegenfuss (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1949), 232–6.
- 17 Max Dessoir, “Zur Psychologie der Vita sexualis,” *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie* 50, no. 5 (1894): 941–75.
- 18 Dessoir, “Vita sexualis,” 945.
- 19 Dessoir, “Vita sexualis,” 942. Degeneration theory informed the work of Albert Moll and Richard von Krafft-Ebing. Although its influence peaked in the 1890s, it continued to be popular in the 1920s. See Leck, *Vita Sexualis*, 144.
- 20 Dessoir, “Vita sexualis,” 970.
- 21 Dessoir, “Vita sexualis,” 943.
- 22 Dessoir, “Vita sexualis,” 944–5.
- 23 Dessoir, “Vita sexualis,” 944–5.
- 24 Albert Moll, *Die conträre Sexualempfindung* (Berlin: Fischer’s medicinische Buchhandlung, 1891). Revised editions were published in 1893 and 1899. For more information on Moll, see Matthew Conn, “Sexual Science and Sexual Forensics in 1920s Germany: Albert Moll as (S)expert,” *Medical History* 56, no. 2 (2012): 209; Volkmar Sigusch, “The Sexologist Albert Moll: Between Sigmund Freud and Magnus Hirschfeld,” *Medical History* 56, no. 2 (2012): 184–200. Harry Oosterhuis, in a recent article that reassesses Moll’s sexual theories as well as his disagreements with contemporary sexologists, contends that the doctor was indecisive about explaining homosexuality as a pathological or an acquired condition. Moll thought that this distinction was ultimately irrelevant because all homosexual patients needed treatment in order to be able to fit into civil society and fulfil their social obligation: heterosexual reproduction. Harry Oosterhuis, “Albert Moll’s Ambivalence about Homosexuality and His Marginalization as a Sexual Pioneer,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 28, no. 1 (2019): 22.
- 25 Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, ed. and trans. James Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
- 26 Albert Moll, *Ein Leben als Arzt der Seele: Erinnerungen* (Dresden: Reißner, 1936), 152.

- 27 Albert Moll, *The Sexual Life of the Child*, trans. Eden Paul (New York: Macmillan Company, 1929), 62.
- 28 Moll, *The Sexual Life of the Child*, 139.
- 29 Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-Forensic Study*, trans. Harry E. Wedeck (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 247; Davidson, "Closing Up the Corpses," 82.
- 30 Moll, *Ein Leben als Arzt der Seele*, 147, 150.
- 31 Even before Hirschfeld and Freud, Krafft-Ebing had based his ideas about sexuality on patients' early-life memories, an approach that Karl Heinrich Ulrichs had also employed. See Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 162; and Hubert Kennedy, *Ulrichs: The Life and Works of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson, 1988), 121.
- 32 Moll, *Sexual Life of the Child*, 24.
- 33 Wilhelm Stekel, *Onanie und Homosexualität (Die homosexuelle Paraphathie)*, in *Störung des Trieb- und Affektlebens*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Urban and Schwarzenberg, 1923), 7.
- 34 Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, 54–84.
- 35 Edward Ross Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany, 1880–1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 162–76.
- 36 Ulrike Köppel, *XXOXY Ungelöst: Hermaphroditismus, Sex und Gender in der deutschen Medizin; Eine historische Studie zur Intersexualität* (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript, 2010), 238–48.
- 37 Alice Domurat Dreger, *Hermaphrodites and the Medical Invention of Sex* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 69.
- 38 Dreger, *Hermaphrodites*, 134.
- 39 Köppel, *XXOXY Ungelöst*, 266.
- 40 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 43.
- 41 Claudia Bruns, "Kontroversen zwischen Freud, Blüher und Hirschfeld: Zur Pathologisierung und Rassierung des effeminierten Homosexuellen," in *Dämonen, Vamps und Hysterikerinnen: Geschlechter- und Rassenfigurationen in Wissen, Medien und Alltag um 1900*, ed. Ulrike Auga (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript 2011), 164–6.
- 42 Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 121.
- 43 Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität* (2001), 48.
- 44 Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität* (2001), 51.
- 45 Nelly Oudshoorn, *Beyond the Natural Body: An Archaeology of Sex Hormones* (London: Routledge, 1994), 17; Helga Satzinger, "The Politics of Gender Concepts in Genetics and Hormone Research in Germany, 1900–1940," *Gender & History* 24, no. 3 (2012): 735–54.

- 46 Oudshoorn, *Beyond the Natural Body*, 28.
- 47 Eugen Steinach published his results in “Künstliche und natürliche Zwitterdrüsen und ihre analogen Wirkungen: Drei Mitteilungen,” *Archiv für Entwicklungsmechanik der Organismen* 46 (1920): 13; E. Steinach and R. Lichtenstern, “Umstimmung der Homosexualität durch Austausch der Pubertätsdrüsen,” *Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift* no. 6 (1918): 145–8; and E. Steinach, “Histologische Beschaffenheit der Keimdrüse bei homosexuellen Männern,” *Archiv für Entwicklungsmechanik der Organismen* 46 (1920): 29–35. For secondary explorations of the impact and popularization of his work, see Chandak Sengoopta, “Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siècle Central Europe,” *Isis* 89, no. 3 (1998): 445–73; and Rainer Herrn and Christine N. Brinckmann, “Of Rats and Men: The Steinach Film,” in *Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual Citizenship since Magnus Hirschfeld*, ed. Michael Thomas Taylor, Annette F. Timm, and Rainer Herrn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 212–34.
- 48 Steinach, “Zwitterdrüsen,” 28. In “Histologische Beschaffenheit,” Steinach describes some experiments he conducted on homosexual men whose testicles had been infected by tuberculosis. After surgically removing these diseased testes, he compared them to those of healthy men (by which he meant men free both of tuberculosis and of homosexuality), he claimed to have found unmistakable signs of degeneration and atrophy in the specimens. Although Steinach believed that he had found a biological explanation for homosexuality, he still admitted that “every puberty gland has a degree of bisexuality.” In this case, heterosexuality would be contingent on the inhibition or deactivation of the “puberty gland cells” of the other sex present in a given individual.
- 49 Steinach, “Zwitterdrüsen,” 25–6.
- 50 Alexander Lipschütz, *Die Pubertätsdrüse und ihre Wirkungen* (Bern, Switzerland: Ernst Bircher Verlag, 1919), 342.
- 51 Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität* (2001), 416.
- 52 Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität* (2001), 436.
- 53 Dr Oskar Bosch, “Die Sexualforscher in Berlin: Internationale wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit,” *Hannoversche Kurier*, 20 October 1926, clipping in BArch N/2203/168, p. 38.
- 54 For a discussion of the construction of sexual innocence and vulnerability, see Louise Jackson, “Childhood and Youth,” in *The Modern History of Sexuality*, ed. H.G. Cocks and Matt Houlbrook (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 231–55.
- 55 For the historical specificity and contingency of sexuality as well as for its interaction with politics, see Edward Ross Dickinson, “Complexity, Contingency, and Coherence in the History of Sexuality in Modern

- Germany: Some Theoretical and Interpretive Reflections," *Central European History* 49, no. 1 (2016): 93–116.
- 56 Magnus Hirschfeld and Andreas Gaspar, eds., *Sittengeschichte des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Hanau, Germany: Müller and Kiepenheuer, 1978), 29.
- 57 Stern, "Die 'Inversions'-Welle."
- 58 Thomas Kühne, "'... aus diesem Krieg werden nicht nur harte Männer heimkehren': Kriegskameradschaft und Männlichkeit im 20. Jahrhundert," in *Männergeschichte – Geschlechtergeschichte: Männlichkeit im Wandel der Moderne*, ed. Thomas Kühne (Frankfurt: Campus, 1996), 174–92. While German military leaders had in mind the manly, heterosexual warrior who would sacrifice his life for the nation, this ideal was far from reality. Jason Crouthamel has shown that homosexual men also fought in the war and used their participation to reclaim their masculinity and demand full integration into the nation. Jason Crouthamel, "Love in the Trenches: German Soldiers' Conceptions of Sexual Deviance and Hegemonic Masculinity in the First World War," in *Gender and the First World War*, ed. Christa Hämmerle, Oswald Überegger, and Birgitta Bader-Zaar (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 52–71; Jason Crouthamel, "Male Sexuality and Psychological Trauma: Soldiers and Sexual Disorder in World War I and Weimar Germany," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 17, no. 1 (2008): 60–84.
- 59 Hirschfeld and Gaspar, *Sittengeschichte*, 70.
- 60 Hirschfeld and Gaspar, *Sittengeschichte*, 125–35.
- 61 Stern, "Die 'Inversions'-Welle," 164.
- 62 Stern, "Die 'Inversions'-Welle," 165.
- 63 Stern, "Die 'Inversions'-Welle," 165.
- 64 Kathleen Canning, "Women and the Politics of Gender," in *Weimar Germany*, ed. Anthony McElligott (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 149. For the effects of the First World War on gender relations in Germany see also Kathleen Canning, "Claiming Citizenship: Suffrage and Subjectivity in Germany after the First World War," in *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class and Citizenship* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 212–37; Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, "Beyond *Kinder, Küche, Kirche*: Weimar Women in Politics and Work," in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, ed. Atina Grossmann and Marion Kaplan (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 33–65; and Ute Daniel, *The War from Within: German Working-Class Women in the First World War*, trans. Margaret Ries (Oxford: Berg, 1997).
- 65 Canning, "Women and the Politics of Gender," 150.
- 66 Robert Weldon Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914–1939* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 39–40, 55–6.

- 67 Erika Kuhlman, *Of Little Comfort: War Widows, Fallen Soldiers, and the Remaking of the Nation after the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 3.
- 68 Canning, “Women and the Politics of Gender,” 154. For the debates surrounding reproductive politics see also Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Cornelia Usborne, *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women’s Reproductive Rights and Duties* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); Annette F. Timm, *The Politics of Fertility in Twentieth-Century Berlin* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), esp. 80–117.
- 69 Kuhlman, *Of Little Comfort*, 133.
- 70 Stekel, *Onanie und Homosexualität*, 106.
- 71 Kuhlman, *Of Little Comfort*, 144.
- 72 Stekel, *Onanie und Homosexualität*, 562.
- 73 Ernst Roesner, “Kriminalität im Jugendalter,” in *Handwörterbuch der Kriminologie und der anderen strafrechtlichen Hilfswissenschaften*, ed. Alexander Elster and Heinrich Lingemann (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933), 840–57.
- 74 Heinrich Többen, “Verwahrlosung,” in Elster and Lingemann, *Handwörterbuch der Kriminologie*, 968–72.
- 75 Stern, “Die ‘Inversions’-Welle,” 165.
- 76 William Stern coedited two of the most important journals in psychology and youth studies: *Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie und psychologische Sammelforschung* (*Journal of Applied Psychology and Psychological Research*) with Otto Lipmann; and, after 1916, *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und experimentelle Pädagogik* (*Journal of Pedagogical Psychology and Experimental Pedagogy*) with the pedagogue Otto Scheibner. For Stern’s biography, see James T. Lamiell, *William Stern (1871–1938): A Brief Introduction to His Life and Work* (Lengerich, Germany: Pabst Science Publishers, 2010); Helmut Moser, “Zur Entwicklung der akademischen Psychologie in Hamburg bis 1945: Eine Kontrast-Skizze als Würdigung des vergessenen Erbes von William Stern,” in *Philosophische Fakultät, Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Fakultät*, ed. Eckart Krause, Ludwig Huber, and Holger Fischer, vol. 2 of *Hochschultag im “Dritten Reich”: Die Hamburger Universität 1933–1945* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1991), 483–518.
- 77 William Stern, “Die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf Kindheit und Jugend: Ein Protest,” *Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie und psychologische Sammelforschung* 8, nos. 1–2 (1914): 74.
- 78 Stern, “Die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse,” 91; William Stern, “Warnung vor den Übergriffen der Jugend Psychoanalyse,” *Zeitschrift*

- für angewandte Psychologie und psychologische Sammelforschung* 8, nos. 1–2 (1914): 378.
- 79 Stern, “Die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse,” 73.
- 80 Stern, “Die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse,” 73.
- 81 Stern, “Die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse,” 77–9.
- 82 See Hanns Gross, *Encyclopädie der Kriminalistik* (Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1901), 74, where the word is defined simply as “pederast.” For a longer discussion of usage, see Beachy, *Gay Berlin*, xi.
- 83 Wolfgang Burgmair, Eric J. Engstrom, and Matthias M. Weber, eds., *Kraepelin in München*, vol. 3, 1921–1926 (Munich: Belleville, 2013), 143.
- 84 Burgmair, Engstrom, and Weber, *Kraepelin in München*, vol. 1, 1903–1914 (Munich: Belleville, 2006), 59.
- 85 Burgmair, Engstrom, and Weber, *Kraepelin in München*, vol. 2, 1914–1921 (Munich: Belleville, 2009), 19, 24.
- 86 Kraepelin had already made the links among youth, sexuality, and the future of the nation explicit in an article published in 1918. Emil Kraepelin, “Geschlechtliche Verirrungen und Volksvermehrung,” *Münchener medizinische Wochenschrift* 65, no. 5 (1918): 117–20.
- 87 Emil Kraepelin, “Wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualität,” *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und Jugendkunde* 23 (1922): 55.
- 88 Kraepelin, “Wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualität,” 55.
- 89 Kraepelin, “Wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualität,” 51.
- 90 Kraepelin, “Wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualität,” 51.
- 91 Auguste Forel, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Iwan Bloch, Hermann Rohleder, and Emil Kraepelin referred to masturbation as a vice that had to be fought against because of its negative influence on normal psychological development and its potential to be a gateway to homosexuality. Sterling Fishman, “The History of Childhood Sexuality,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, no. 2 (1982): 269–83.
- 92 Kraepelin, “Wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualität,” 51.
- 93 Kraepelin, “Wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualität,” 51.
- 94 Kraepelin, “Wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualität,” 53.
- 95 Kraepelin, “Wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualität,” 55.
- 96 Doctors continued to draw a direct line between youthful masturbation and potential homosexuality until the 1920s. Hermann Rohleder, “Die Masturbation,” in *Die Erziehung und die sexuelle Frage: Ein Lehr- und Handbuch der Sexualpädagogik*, ed. Charlotte Bühler, Hubert Erhard, Ernst von Düring, and Erich Stern (Berlin: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1927), 284–7.
- 97 Kraepelin, “Wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualität,” 52.
- 98 Isserlin (together with Arthur Kronfeld, Hermann Oppenheim, Gustav Aschaffenburg, and William Stern) had been one of the harsher critics of

psychoanalysis since the early 1910s. For the most part, their criticisms were scientific and hinged on the treatment of subjectivity in psychoanalysis, its selection of evidence, and the replicability of the claims made by Freud and his followers. Anthony D. Kauders, *Der Freud Komplex: Eine Geschichte der Psychoanalyse in Deutschland* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2014), 37–40.

- 99 Max Isserlin, “Neuere Anschauungen über das Wesen sexueller Anomalien und ihre Bedeutung im Aufbau der Kultur,” *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und Jugendkunde* 23 (1922): 327.
- 100 Isserlin, “Neuere Anschauungen,” 333–4.
- 101 Drawing from Blüher’s work, the psychologist Ulfried Geuter contends in a 1994 book on homosexuality in the youth movement that the members of the Wandervogel transferred their erotic desire to other men as a reaction to women’s social advancement. Claudia Bruns has provided a more historical analysis of Blüher’s work. She convincingly argues that his oeuvre ought to be understood as a response to sexual theories that described homosexuality as a form of pathological gender deviance. Like the “masculinists” Adolf Brand, Benedict Friedlaender, or Elisar von Kupffer, Blüher underscored the manliness of the male homosexual. This position, Bruns contends, can only be understood as a part of the anti-feminism, misogyny, and racism that this branch of the homosexual emancipation movement *and* Blüher promoted. It is not my goal to prove whether homosexuality had indeed increased, or whether Blüher’s writings were to blame for it. What matters is that many of his contemporaries believed this to be the case and that their belief resulted in an intensification of homophobic discourse at the time. Claudia Bruns, *Politik des Eros: Der Männerbund in Wissenschaft, Politik und Jugendkultur (1880–1934)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), 16; Ulfried Geuter, *Homosexualität in der deutschen Jugendbewegung: Jugendfreundschaft und Sexualität im Diskurs von Jugendbewegung, Psychoanalyse und Jugendpsychologie am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1994), 29.
- 102 For a comprehensive history of the movement, see Walter Laqueur, *Young Germany: A History of the German Youth Movement* (New York: Basic Books, 1962).
- 103 Claudia Bruns, “The Politics of Eros: The German *Männerbund* between Anti-Feminism and Anti-Semitism in the Early Twentieth Century,” in *Masculinity, Senses, Spirit*, ed. Katherine M. Faull (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2011), 157. For an in-depth analysis of Blüher’s Wandervogel writings see also Bruns, *Politik des Eros*, 267–330.
- 104 For contemporary reactions to *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung*, see Bruns, *Politik des Eros*, 331–86.
- 105 Bruns, “The Politics of Eros,” 161–2.

- 106 Bruns, *Politik des Eros*, 333–5.
- 107 Bruns, “The Politics of Eros,” 160. Blüher elaborated on this theory in a two-volume treatise published a few years later. Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, *Der Typus inversus* (Jena, Germany: Eugen Diederichs, 1917); Hans Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft*, vol. 2, *Familie und Männerbund* (Jena, Germany: Eugen Diederichs, 1919).
- 108 Bruns, *Politik des Eros*, 193, 336.
- 109 Hans Blüher, *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen: Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der sexuellen Inversion* (Berlin-Tempelhof: Weise, 1912), 60.
- 110 Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik*, 1:174–5. See also Erich Bethe, *Die dorische Knabenliebe: Ihre Ethik und ihre Idee* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1983). The essay was originally published in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 62 (1907): 438–75.
- 111 Blüher, *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung*, 39.
- 112 Blüher, *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung*, 23.
- 113 Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik*, 1:219–23.
- 114 Isserlin, “Neuere Anschauungen,” 336.
- 115 This point had been raised by William Stern in “Die Anwendung der Psychoanalyse,” 77–9.
- 116 Max Isserlin, “Die planmäßige Pervertierung unserer Jugend,” *Hochland* 18 (1920): 183.
- 117 Isserlin, “Die planmäßige Pervertierung,” 184.
- 118 Isserlin, “Die planmäßige Pervertierung,” 184.
- 119 Isserlin, “Neuere Anschauungen,” 341–2.
- 120 Isserlin, “Neuere Anschauungen,” 342.
- 121 Isserlin, “Neuere Anschauungen,” 342.
- 122 Hans Loewe, “Allgemeine Richtlinien zur erziehlichen Beeinflussung der von der homosexuellen Infektion bedrohten Jugend,” *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und Jugendkunde* 23 (1922): 426. See also Hans Loewe, “Die Gefährdung der Jugendbewegung durch Blüher’s Deutung des Wandervogelproblems,” *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und Jugendkunde* 23 (1922): 342–56.
- 123 Loewe, “Allgemeine Richtlinien,” 426.

## 2. The League for Human Rights, Print Culture, and Homosexual Rights

- 1 Friedrich Radszuweit, “Ein offenes Wort zur Reichstagswahl,” *Die Insel* 2, no. 5 (5 December 1924).
- 2 One of Radszuweit’s publications, the *Journal of Friendship* (*Das Freundschaftsblatt*), started an opinion poll in an article titled “Who

Is the Most Popular Personality in Our Movement?" Radszuweit was chosen "democratically" as the "most popular personality." A total of 3,069 people participated in the poll, and 1,557 people voted Radszuweit. Hirschfeld came in close with 1,491 votes. Although we must take this survey with a grain of salt, the popularity of the magazines seems to have matched that of their publisher. "Das Ergebnis unserer Rundfrage: Die populärste Persönlichkeit ist Friedrich Radszuweit!," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 13 (26 March 1926).

- 3 Lybeck, *Desiring Emancipation*, 151–88; Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 20–79; Marhoefer, "The Book Was a Revelation"; Micheler, *Selbstbilder*; Micheler, "Zeitschriften und Verbände"; Schader, *Virile, Vamps und wilde Veilchen*.
- 4 Clemens Zimmermann, "Die Zeitschrift – Medium der Moderne: Publikumszeitschriften im 20. Jahrhundert," in *Die Zeitschrift – Medium der Moderne: Deutschland und Frankreich im Vergleich*, ed. Clemens Zimmermann and Manfred Schmeling (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2006), 15–42; Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 51–86.
- 5 Detlev J.K. Peukert, *Jugend zwischen Krieg und Krise: Lebenswelten von Arbeiterjungen in der Weimarer Republik* (Cologne: Bund-Verlag, 1987), 218; Lynn Abrams, "From Control to Commercialization: The Triumph of Mass Entertainment in Germany 1900–1925?," *German History* 8, no. 3 (1990): 281.
- 6 Hans-Dieter Kübler, "Wirtschaftskrisen und kulturelle Prosperität: Die Presse von 1920 bis 1930," in *Die Kultur der 20er Jahre*, ed. Werner Faulstich (Paderborn, Germany: Fink, 2008), 120.
- 7 Ruth Margarete Roellig, *Berlins lesbische Frauen* (Leipzig: Bruno Gebauer Verlag für Kulturprobleme, 1928), 29.
- 8 Roellig, *Berlins lesbische Frauen*, 29.
- 9 Jens Dobler, "Die Goldenen Zwanziger waren woanders," in *Verzaubert in Nord-Ost: Die Geschichte der Berliner Lesben und Schwulen in Prenzlauer Berg, Pankow und Weißensee*, ed. Jens Dobler (Berlin: Bruno Gmünder, 2009), 83–5.
- 10 Roellig, *Berlins lesbische Frauen*, 50. The explosion of gay and lesbian mass culture during the Weimar Republic was also noticeable in music. Misha Spoliansky and Kurt Schwabach wrote "The Lavender Song" ("Das lila Lied") in 1919. The song, which was dedicated to Magnus Hirschfeld, was an immediate success and became the official anthem of the movement. The song called for emancipation, self-confidence, and pride in being "different from the rest" (*anders als die Andern*). The refrain alluded to the homosexual's appetite for the "trivial" (*das Banale*) and for nightlife. There were also songs about female sexuality, often about

- female bisexuality. Although most of them were overwhelmingly sung by male artists, who continued to dominate in the music industry, there were also a few exceptions, like “When the Best Girlfriend” (“Wenn die beste Freundin”) (1928) by Marlene Dietrich and Margo Lion, and, of course, the songs by the lesbian singer Claire Waldoff, who had already gained fame before the war with ambiguous songs about love and the working-class milieu sung in a strong Berlin dialect. See Ralf Jörg Raber, “‘Wir ... sind, wie wir sind!': Homosexualität auf Schallplatte 1900–1936,” *Invertito: Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Homosexualitäten* 5 (2003): 43–5; Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 100–4.
- 11 Curt Moreck, *Führer durch das “lasterhafte” Berlin* (1931; repr., Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1996), 133.
  - 12 This strategy was not unique to the homosexual movement. George L. Mosse argues that abolitionism and anti-vice campaigns made the feminist movement of the late nineteenth century compatible with the values of nationalism and respectability. George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1985), 110–11.
  - 13 There is not a lot of biographical information about Radszuweit. I rely on two articles published in his magazines and the information historian Jens Dobler has been able to gather from the Landesarchiv Berlin. The two articles in the *Journal of Friendship* and *Journal of Human Rights* were in all likelihood embellished and omitted important information. For example, these “official” biographies do not mention that Radszuweit married a Johanna Bertha Schneidau in 1901, or that he adopted his twenty-seven-years-younger partner, Martin Buczko, in 1929, a month after his wife’s death. Little is known of Buczko, either. There seems to be some confusion about the spelling of his last name. Buczko’s name appears as “Butzkow” in Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller’s biographical dictionary. This spelling does not appear anywhere else in the BfM’s publications. According to Jens Dobler, Buczko was born in 1903 in Regel (East Prussia) and changed his name to Butzko, possibly when he moved to Berlin. He published short stories and articles under this new name. Butzko was Radszuweit’s sole heir and led the Radszuweit publishing house from 1931 to 1933. According to some testimonies, Butzko was tortured at the Oranienburg concentration camp in 1933. There is, however, no evidence for such claims. Documents show that Butzko joined the NSDAP in 1937 and that he worked for the German military police and was captured by the Allies in Italy during the war. He died in East Berlin in 1982. “Zum 50. Geburtstag Friedrich Radszuweits,” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 16 (1926): 1–2; “Friedrich Radszuweit, sein Leben und Wirken für die Befreiung der

- homosexuellen Menschen," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 10, nos. 4–5 (1932): 8; Jens Dobler, afterword to *Männer zu Verkaufen: Ein Wirklichkeitsroman aus der Welt der männlichen Erpresser und Prostituierten*, by Friedrich Radszuweit (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2012), 168, 178; Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, *Mann für Mann: Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2001), 171–2.
- 14 Women had been active in the WhK, but this organization's commitment to fighting Paragraph 175, which criminalized only male same-sex acts, left little room for issues affecting lesbians. By contrast, Laurie Marhoefer contends that social clubs such as the Klub der Freunde und Freundinnen became platforms for lesbian politics, even though their political message was muted. See Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 56–7.
  - 15 Dobler and Schmidt, "Die Bewegung der Weimarer Republik," 49.
  - 16 Paul Weber, "Vorwort zum 10-jährigen Bestehen des 'Bund für Menschenrecht, E.V.' Sitz Berlin, 1919–1929," *Menschenrecht* 7, no. 10 (October 1929).
  - 17 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Nachdenkliches über Vorgefallenes in unserer Bewegung," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 35 (10 October 1924).
  - 18 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Unsere Bewegung: Rückblick und Ausblick," *Menschenrecht* 7, no. 1 (January 1929).
  - 19 "175 außer Kraft gesetzt!!!," *Die Insel* 3, no. 9 (27 February 1925).
  - 20 "Der D.F.V. Kritik und weiterer Ausbau" (Auszug aus dem Vortrag, gehalten von M. H. Danielsen auf dem Verbandstage zu Hamburg, Ostern 1922), *Die Freundschaft* 4, no. 16 (22 April 1922): 1–2.
  - 21 D'Emilio, however, concludes that these processes ultimately exclude gay people because they do not fit into the logics of reproduction inherent to capitalism. See John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 3–16.
  - 22 Justin Bengry, "Courting the Pink Pound: *Men Only* and the Queer Consumer, 1935–39," *History Workshop* 68 (2009): 144; Jill Greenfield, Sean O'Connell, and Chris Reid, "Fashioning Masculinity: *Men Only*, Consumption, and the Development of Marketing in the 1930s," *Twentieth Century British History* 10, no. 4 (1999): 457–76.
  - 23 "Unsere Presse," *Die Freundschaft* 1, no. 16 (1920).
  - 24 S. "Raus aus dem Ballsaal!—auf den Sportplatz!," *Die Freundschaft* 2, no. 25 (1920).
  - 25 S. "Raus aus dem Ballsaal!"
  - 26 Giovanni Nemo, "Zusammenschluß," *Die Freundschaft* 2, no. 27 (1920).
  - 27 "Homosexuelle sind Staatsbürger zweiter Klasse," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 3, no. 8 (August 1925).
  - 28 "Die Zukunft der 'Freundschaft,'" *Die Freundschaft* 3, no. 24 (1921).

- 29 Max H. Danielsen, "Interessante Entwicklungserscheinungen unserer Bewegung," *Die Freundschaft* 3, no. 31 (6–12 August 1921).
- 30 "Wichtig ist," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 10, no. 1 (January 1932).
- 31 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Der Krebschaden in der homosexuellen Bewegung!," *Die Insel* 2, no. 6 (12 December 1924).
- 32 "'Die Freundschaft' erscheint ab 1. August nicht mehr öffentlich," *Die Freundschaft* 10, no. 7 (July 1928).
- 33 Max H. Danielsen, "Der 2tägige Prozeß gegen die 'Freundschaft,'" *Die Freundschaft* 3, no. 26 (2–8 July 1921).
- 34 "Letztes Wort an unsere Leser!," *Die Freundschaft* 5, no. 6 (10 February 1923).
- 35 "Leser und Leserinnen des Freundschaftsblattes besuchen nur die in unserm Blatt empfohlenen Lokale," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 9 (1925).
- 36 Moreck, *Führer durch das "lasterhafte" Berlin*, 134; Eugen Szatmari, *Das Buch von Berlin* (Munich: R. Piper and Co., 1927), 143–6.
- 37 R., "Homosexuelle als Schauobjekte," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 15 (9 April 1926).
- 38 X., "Das perverse Berlin," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 10 (11 March 1927).
- 39 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Vor der Entscheidung," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 4 (1 April 1923).
- 40 *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Homosexualität* (Leipzig: Max-Spohr-Verlag, 1899–1923); *Mitteilungen des Wissenschaftlich-Humanitären Komitees* (Hamburg: Bell, 1926–33).
- 41 These changes occurred in February 1925. *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 3, no. 2 (February 1925).
- 42 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Nachdenkliches über Vorgefallenes in unserer Bewegung," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 35 (10 October 1924).
- 43 *Die Freundin* was led by Aenne Weber, albeit under Radszuweit's close supervision. This magazine addressed the readers' interest in fashion and beauty tips. Yet the publication was not only frivolous. Many of the articles and short stories contested traditional gender roles and demanded sexual autonomy for women. For detailed biographical information about Aenne Weber, see Jens Dobler, Christiane Leidinger, and Andreas Pretzel, "Aenne Weber," in *Persönlichkeiten in Berlin 1825–2006: Erinnerungen an Lesben, Schwule, Bisexuelle, trans- und intergeschlechtliche Menschen* (Berlin: Senatsverwaltung für Arbeit, Integration und Frauen, 2015), 76–8; and Jens Dobler, *Von anderen Ufern: Geschichte der Berliner Lesben und Schwulen in Kreuzberg und Friedrichshain* (Berlin: Bruno Gmünder Verlag, 2003), 74.
- 44 The Radszuweit-Verlag published several magazines. Their titles varied slightly over the years. *Blätter für Menschenrecht* (*Journal for Human Rights*) was published biweekly from February 1923 to February 1924; weekly until November 1924; and then monthly until March 1933. Due

to its inclusion on the Trash and Smut List (*Schundliteraturliste*), it was renamed *Menschenrecht* (*Human Rights*) from July 1928 to September 1929. Radszuweit also published the *Berlin Inseratenblatt* (*Berlin's Advertiser*) (1923–5), a free supplement to the *Journal for Human Rights*, which contained ads for bars, clubs, and events as well as personals. After 1925, these sections were included in other magazines. *Die Insel des Einsamen* (*The Island of the Lonely*) was first published in 1923 as a special supplement (*Sonderbeilage*) to the *Journal for Human Rights*. This section became an independent weekly titled *Die Insel: Das deutsche Freundschaftsblatt* (*The Island: The German Journal of Friendship*) (1923–25) and, then, a separate monthly titled *Die Insel: Das Magazin der Ehelosen und Einsamen* (*The Island: Magazine of the Unmarried and Lonely*) (1926–33). (Radszuweit dropped the word “unmarried” from the title soon thereafter. The magazine was often simply titled *Die Insel*.) In addition, Radszuweit published *Das Freundschaftsblatt* (*Journal of Friendship*) (1925–33) and the lesbian magazine *Die Freundin: Wochenchrift für ideale Frauenfreundschaft* (*The Girlfriend: Weekly for Ideal Women's Friendship*) (1924–33), which appeared as *Ledige Frauen* (*Single Women*) between 1928 and 1929.

- 45 “Auszug aus dem Geschäftsbericht des Bundes für Menschenrecht, E.V. für die Zeit vom 1. Januar bis 31. Dezember 1926,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 5, no. 3 (March 1927): 9–19.
- 46 A subscriber from Brazil even sent a signed picture to the Radszuweit publishing house which later adorned the cover of *The Island*. “Ein Freund und Förderer der Insel in Rio de Janeiro,” *Die Insel*, no. 5 (May 1928): 129.
- 47 Friedrich Radszuweit, “‘Die Freundschaft’: Zur Aufklärung für unsere Mitglieder und Freunde,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 7 (15 May 1923); F. Radszuweit, “Die Freundschaft,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 21 (15 December 1923).
- 48 Gerd Sand, “Propaganda,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 21 (15 December 1923).
- 49 Niels Lermann, “Die Organisation der 12.000,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 11 (25 April 1924).
- 50 Paul Weber, “Verleumder am Werk,” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 25 (23 June 1932).
- 51 Weber, “Verleumder am Werk.”
- 52 Friedrich Radszuweit, “Unsere Bewegung: Rückblick und Ausblick,” *Menschenrecht* 7, no. 1 (January 1929).
- 53 Oosterhuis and Kennedy, *Homosexuality and Male Bonding*, 73.
- 54 Adolf Brand, “Der neue Aktions-Ausschuß,” *Die Gemeinschaft der Eigenen: Ein Nachrichten- und Werbeblatt* nos. 2/3 (1924): 29.
- 55 Brand, “Der neue Aktions-Ausschuß,” 30–1.

- 56 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Der Krebs Schaden in der homosexuellen Bewegung," *Die Insel* 2, no. 2 (9 January 1925).
- 57 Paul Weber, "Was leistet der Bund für Menschenrecht für die Homosexuellen?," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 6, no. 12 (December 1928): 6.
- 58 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Spitzeltum," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 3 (21 January 1932).
- 59 Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, 87–8.
- 60 "Rückblick und Ausblick," *Menschenrecht* 7, no. 1 (January 1929): 2.
- 61 Johannes Wagner, "Mitarbeit" (Meinungsaustausch), *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 12 (28 July 1923).
- 62 Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, 230.
- 63 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 43.
- 64 Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 68.
- 65 Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*.
- 66 According to George Chauncey, gay people borrowed the expression "coming out" from heterosexual, upper-class debutante culture in the years prior to the First World War to indicate their coming *into* public, gay life. Germanized forms of the English "to come out" – the noun "das Coming-out" and the verb "sich outen" – are used today instead of the verb "sich bekennen," which was common in the 1920s. "Sich outen" still implies acknowledging one's homosexuality to family, friends, and the general public. George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 7–8.
- 67 K. Kroneberg, "Bekenntnismut," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 14 (1 September 1923).
- 68 Kroneberg, "Bekenntnismut."
- 69 Erwin Weiß, "Homoeroten! Erkennt Eure Pflicht!," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 18 (13 June 1924).
- 70 F. Radszuweit, "Weihnachtswünsche der Verfemten," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 51 (23 December 1927); Gerd Sand, "Der Weihnachtsbaum als Sinnbild des Homoeroten," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 50 (14 December 1928); Friedrich Radszuweit, "Weihnachtsgedanken," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 52 (29 December 1930).
- 71 Bernhard Lübecker (Hamburg), "Unsere Bewegung," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 12 (28 July 1923).
- 72 Arthur S., "Leserbrief," *Menschenrecht* 7, no. 10 (October 1929).
- 73 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Homosexuelle – Reichstagswahl Politische Parteien!," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 6, no. 10 (7 May 1928).
- 74 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Unser Schicksalstag der 14. September," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 8, no. 9 (September 1930).

- 75 The BfM sent pamphlets to Reichstag members in 1924 and, again, in 1926. “Aufruf an Alle,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 7 (28 March 1924); “Eingabe des BfM, EV an den Reichspräsidenten von Hindenburg (27 August 1926),” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 48 (26 November 1926).
- 76 “Auszug aus dem Geschäftsbericht des ‘B.f.M., EV’ Sitz Berlin für das Geschäftsjahr 1925,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 3, no. 4 (April 1925).
- 77 “Wie kann man am unauffälligsten Mitglieder für den Bund für Menschenrecht werben?,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 5, no. 8 (1927): 25.
- 78 “Welche Art von Propaganda ist am wirksamsten um die Öffentlichkeit auf das Unrecht des bestehenden § 175 und des neuen § 267 hinzuweisen?,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 5, no. 9 (1927): 16.
- 79 F. Radszuweit, “Offener Brief an alle deutsche Männer und Frauen,” *Die Freundschaft* 4, no. 40 (7 October 1922).
- 80 Radszuweit, “Offener Brief.” This position replicated Kurt Hiller’s argument in *Das Recht über sich selbst* (1908).
- 81 Beachy, *Gay Berlin*, 185.
- 82 Kurt Hiller, “The Law and Sexual Minorities,” in *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook*, ed. Anton Kaes, Martin Jay, and Edward Dimendberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 696–7.
- 83 Radszuweit might have also been inspired by the German League for Human Rights (Deutsche Liga für Menschenrechte), the name that the League New Fatherland (*Bund Neues Vaterland*) had adopted in 1922. This organization had been founded in 1913 as a politically neutral and pacifist organization to stop the spread of chauvinism in both Germany and France. The League for Human Rights’ liberal agenda and work on legal reform, particularly on the abolition of the death penalty, may have motivated him to choose a similar name. The singular “right” in the original German name for the organization (*Bund für Menschenrecht*) and its main publication (*Blätter für Menscherecht*) indicates Radszuweit’s focus on the fundamental right of homosexuals to give complete expression to their sexuality. Nevertheless, the organization’s name has been commonly translated into English using the plural “rights.” I have followed this convention. See Richard Evans, *Rituals of Retribution: Capital Punishment in Germany, 1600–1987* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 513–15.
- 84 Tobin, *Peripheral Desires*, 43.
- 85 Leck, *Vita Sexualis*, 110.
- 86 Radszuweit probably read Ulrichs in the expurgated editions of his writings that Hirschfeld published in 1898. Hubert Kennedy, “Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: First Theorist of Homosexuality,” in *Science and Homosexualities*, ed. Vernon A. Rosario (New York: Routledge, 1997), 28.
- 87 Tobin, *Peripheral Desires*, 25. Each author used a different name for male same-sex desire. Hössli chose “male love” (*Männerliebe*), Ulrichs preferred

- “male-male love,” and Kertbeny coined the definitive “homosexuality” (*Homosexualität*). Hirschfeld appears to have loathed the noun’s hybrid (Greek and Latin) etymology.
- 88 Tobin, *Peripheral Desires*, xii.
- 89 Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power*, 168.
- 90 Julie Mertus, “The Rejection of Human Rights Framings: The Case of LGBT Advocacy in the US,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (2007): 1052. The history of sexual orientation as a human right is recent. It was not until 1992 that the first openly homosexual person spoke in a human rights forum. His intervention was received with hostility and disgust. Gradually, gay and lesbian organizations became part of human rights meetings, such as the 1993 Vienna World Conference on Human Rights. That same year, the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (ILGA) received consultative status within the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). From then on, sexual orientation has progressively become part of the general human rights agenda. See Douglas Sanders, “Getting Lesbian and Gay Issues on the International Human Rights Agenda,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 18 (1996): 67–106; Jaya Sharma, “The Language of Rights,” in *Development with a Body: Sexuality, Human Rights and Development*, ed. Andrea Cornwall, Sonia Corrêa, and Susie Jolly (London: Zed Books, 2008), 67–76.
- 91 Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power*, 153.
- 92 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 9.
- 93 F., “Unser Verhältnis zu den Andern,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 24 (1 February 1924).
- 94 “Vindex”: *Sozial-juristische Studien über mann männliche Geschlechtsliebe* (Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes, 1864), in Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1994), 7:7–13.
- 95 Friedrich Radszuweit, “Ist das Richtig?,” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 28 (13 July 1928).
- 96 For the limitations of the discourse on human rights, see Mertus, “Rejection of Human Rights Framings,” 1038.
- 97 For the dialectical construction of hegemonic masculinity, see George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- 98 F., “Unser Verhältnis zu den Andern.”
- 99 Brand famously ridiculed Hirschfeld in a special issue of his magazine. See “Die Tante”: Eine Spott- und Kampfnummer der Kunstzeitschrift “Der Eigene,” *Der Eigene* 10, no. 9 (1925).
- 100 Paul Weber, “Warum muß der Paragraph 175 verschärft werden?,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 31 (12 September 1924); Friedrich Radszuweit,

- “Die Sünden der Homosexuellen,” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 30 (23 July 1926).
- 101 Friedrich Radszuweit, “Umschau,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 9, no. 5 (May 1931).
- 102 Gerd Vrone, “Die anderen – und die ‘anders als die andern,’” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 23 (10 June 1927).
- 103 Vrone, “Die anderen.”
- 104 Radszuweit, “Ein offenes Wort zur Reichstagswahl.”
- 105 Micheler, *Selbstbilder*, 175.
- 106 Cited in Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 103.
- 107 Friedrich Radszuweit, “Vizepolizeipräsident Dr. Friedensburg gegen die Homosexuellen!,” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 5 (1925).
- 108 “Die Polizei Verbietet,” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 40 (7 October 1927).
- 109 Friedrich Radszuweit, “Die Hamburger Polizei verbietet den Verkauf der Insel!,” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 4 (1925).

### 3. The Allure of Youth in the League for Human Rights’ Publications

- 1 “‘Die Insel des Einsamen’: Eine Märchenfolge von Heinz Stratz und Rudolf Reichert,” *Die Insel der Einsamen* 1, no. 1 (15 December 1923): 5.
- 2 “Die Insel des Einsamen,” 6.
- 3 “Die Insel des Einsamen,” 6.
- 4 “Die Insel des Einsamen (Schluß),” *Die Insel der Einsamen* 1, no. 5 (15 April 1924).
- 5 Rudolf Reichert, “Auf ein Wort!,” *Die Insel* 1, no. 6 (15 May 1924).
- 6 Kerstin Barndt, “Mothers, Citizens, and Consumers: Female Readers in Weimar Germany,” in *Weimar Publics/Weimar Subjects: Rethinking the Political Culture of Germany in the 1920s*, ed. Kathleen Canning, Kerstin Barndt, and Kristin McGuire (New York: Berghahn, 2010), 112.
- 7 Like with the rest of Weimar culture, our knowledge of cultural forms that most distinctly reflect their conditions as commodities is relatively meagre. A few studies pay attention to popular lesbian fiction in magazines and novels during the Weimar Republic, but even queer scholars share an aesthetic bias. For analyses of lesbian literature during the Weimar Republic, see Schader, *Virile, Vamps und wilde Veilchen*; and Schoppmann, *Der Skorpion*. For accounts of the period’s cultural canon, see Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968); Jost Hermand and Frank Trommler, *Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1978), 69–92; Walter Laqueur, *Weimar: A Cultural History* (New York: G.P. Putman’s Sons, 1974), 224–53; and Eric D. Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 207–96.

- 8 Marita Keilson-Lauritz, *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: Rosa Winkel, 1997), 269.
- 9 Keilson-Lauritz, *Die Geschichte*, 290.
- 10 Keilson-Lauritz, *Die Geschichte*, 324–5.
- 11 "Transvestism" and "transvestite" were acceptable umbrella terms used by experts to refer to cross-dressers and trans people at the time. See Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb mit umfangreichem casuisten und historischen Material* (Leipzig: Verlag "Freiheit" F. Spohr, 1925). The term "transvestite" was open-ended. It included people who cross-dressed, had transitioned, or sought to transition to their true gender identity. See Katie Sutton, "'We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun': The Politics of Transvestite Identity in Weimar Germany," *German Studies Review* 35, no. 2 (2012): 335–54; and Katie Sutton, "Sexological Cases and the Prehistory of Transgender Identity Politics in Interwar Germany," in *Case Studies and the Dissemination of Knowledge*, ed. Joy Damousi, Birgit Lang, and Katie Sutton (New York: Routledge, 2015), 85–103.
- 12 For a reprint of the more serious version of this publication, see Rainer Herrn, ed., *Das 3. Geschlecht (Die Transvestiten): Reprint der 1930–1932 erschienenen Zeitschrift für Transvestiten* (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2016).
- 13 *Das dritte Geschlecht* 1, no. 1 (24 October 1928): 1.
- 14 *Das dritte Geschlecht* 1, no. 3 (21 November 1928): 1; *Das dritte Geschlecht* 1, no. 5 (19 January 1928): 1.
- 15 Thomas W. Laqueur, *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (New York: Zone Books, 2003), 381, 417.
- 16 Laqueur, *Solitary Sex*, 59.
- 17 "Der Große Kant und sein Diener," *Das dritte Geschlecht* 1, no. 4 (5 December 1928): 1.
- 18 Anton Mißriegler, "Was wir nicht sehen wollen," *Das dritte Geschlecht* 1, no. 4 (5 December 1928): 2.
- 19 Stekel, *Onanie und Homosexualität*, 7.
- 20 Anton Mißriegler, *Aus der Sprechstunde eines Psychoanalytikers* (Radeburg, Germany: Dr Madaus and Co., 1923).
- 21 "Was wir nicht sehen wollen," 2.
- 22 Georg Klatt, *Geschlechtsleben und Alkohol* (Berlin: Neuland-Verlag, 1929), 8, 11.
- 23 Otto Schmieder, "In vino veritas," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 6, no. 27 (6 July 1928): 2.
- 24 Schmieder, "In vino veritas," 2.

- 25 Schmieder, "In vino veritas," 3.
- 26 Schmieder, "In vino veritas," 3.
- 27 Schmieder, "In vino veritas," 4.
- 28 Martin Splittberger, "Das alte Lied," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 19 (16 October 1925): 3.
- 29 Karl Oswald, "Mein Junge vom Rhein," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 17 (2 October 1925): 2–4.
- 30 Elmar Scheuren, "The Rhine as a Symbol: Aspects, Meanings and Functionalization of a Site of Memory," in *The Rhine: National Tensions, Romantic Visions*, ed. Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 133–67.
- 31 Oswald, "Mein Junge vom Rhein," 2.
- 32 Oswald, "Mein Junge vom Rhein," 3–4.
- 33 Carl Oswald, "Vierte Klasse," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 25 (27 November 1925): 2.
- 34 Oswald, "Vierte Klasse," 2.
- 35 Oswald, "Vierte Klasse," 3.
- 36 Oswald, "Vierte Klasse," 3.
- 37 Oswald, "Vierte Klasse," 3.
- 38 Nicola Kaminski, Nora Ramtke, and Carsten Zelle, "Zeitschriftenliteratur / Fortsetzungsliteratur: Problemaufriß," in *Zeitschriftenliteratur / Fortsetzungsliteratur*, ed. Nicola Kaminski, Nora Ramtke, and Carsten Zelle (Hanover: Wehrhahn, 2014), 7–39.
- 39 Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- 40 Nicholas Frankel, *Oscar Wilde: The Unrepentant Years* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 299–301.
- 41 Karl Keffon, "Namenlose Liebe," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 25 (27 November 1925): 2.
- 42 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Das Laster," *Die Insel: Das Magazin der Ehelosen und Einsamen* 1, no. 1 (September 1926), 3.
- 43 Radszuweit, "Das Laster," 4.
- 44 Martin Butzko, "Wenn das Herz der Jugend spricht ...," *Die Insel: Das Magazin der Ehelosen und Einsamen* 1, no. 4 (December 1926): 5–11.
- 45 Butzko, "Wenn das Herz," 8.
- 46 Butzko, "Wenn das Herz," 8.
- 47 Butzko, "Wenn das Herz," 8.
- 48 Butzko, "Wenn das Herz," 10.
- 49 Butzko, "Wenn das Herz," 11.
- 50 Jens Dobler, "Nachwort," in Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (2012), 169.
- 51 From January 1926 to February 1927, the subtitle was "The Magazine of the Unmarried and the Lonely" (*Das Magazin der Ehelosen und Einsamen*).

- 52 *Die Insel* cost 50 pfennigs, which was about the price of two pounds of flour in 1927. An unskilled metal worker earned 65 pfennigs per hour that year. Statistisches Bundesamt, *Von den zwanziger zu den achtziger Jahren: Ein Vergleich der Lebensverhältnisse der Menschen* (Wiesbaden: W. Kohlhammer, 1987), 34, 38.
- 53 Birgit Dahlke, *Jünglinge der Moderne: Jugendkult und Männlichkeit in der Literatur um 1900* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), 19.
- 54 Andreas Sternweiler, “Kunst und schwuler Alltag,” in *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850–1950: Geschichte, Alltag, Kultur*, ed. Michael Bollé (Berlin: Frölich and Kaufmann, 1984), 78; Otto Kiefer, *Der schöne Jüngling in der bildenden Kunst aller Zeiten* (Berlin-Wilhelmshagen: Adolf Brand/Der Eigene, 1922). Kiefer’s essay appeared originally in *Der Eigene* in 1903.
- 55 Christina Templin, *Medialer Schmutz: Eine Skandalgeschichte des Nackten und Sexuellen im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1890–1914* (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript, 2016), 112–13.
- 56 Templin, *Medialer Schmutz*, 108–9.
- 57 Templin, *Medialer Schmutz*, 113.
- 58 “Nacktkultur und Homosexualität,” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 21 (30 October 1925): 5.
- 59 Thomas Waugh, *Hard to Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 14–15. For examples of nude photography as high art, see Allen Ellenzweig, *The Homoerotic Photograph: Male Images from Durie/Delacroix to Mapplethorpe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).
- 60 Waugh adds a fourth regime, which he calls instrumental. This regime refers to photographs produced “under legal, sexological, and political auspices.” Waugh, *Hard to Imagine*, 15. An example of this regime are the photographs by Wilhelm von Gloeden that Hirschfeld used to illustrate his sexological theories. See Kathrin Peters, “Anatomy Is Sublime: The Photographic Activity of Wilhelm von Gloeden and Magnus Hirschfeld,” in *Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual Citizenship since Magnus Hirschfeld*, ed. Michael Thomas Taylor, Annette F. Timm, and Rainer Herr (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 170–90.
- 61 The provenance of most photographs published in Radszuweit’s magazines is unknown. The photographers were anonymous, except for a couple of exceptions, such as Walther Jaeger and Gerhard Riebicke. Jaeger advertised his studio in the Hallesche Str. 3 in the pages of *Die Insel*. It is plausible that some of the photographs in the magazine were taken there. Riebicke was a recognized photographer of the naturist movement. He was one of the contributors to Hans Surén’s bestseller *Der Mensch und die Sonne* (Stuttgart: Dieck and Co., 1924).

- 62 Michael Köhler, “Pictorialism 1900–1920,” in *The Body Exposed: Views of the Body; 150 Years of the Nude in Photography*, ed. Michael Köhler (Zurich: Edition Stemmlé, 1995), 49.
- 63 Hans-Wolfgang Bayer, “Wilhelm von Gloeden und seine Modelle,” in *Wilhelm von Gloeden – auch ich in Arkadien: Die Sammlung Heinz Peter Barandun*, Zürich, ed. Joseph Kiermeier-Debre and Fritz Franz Vogel (Cologne: Böhlau, 2007), 40. See also Wolfgang Cortjaens, “Vorwort und Dank,” in *Winckelmann – Das Göttliche Geschlecht*, ed. Wolfgang Cortjaens (Petersberg, Germany: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017), 7–11; and Guido Goerlitz, “‘Wie auf die Spitze eines Haars gesetzt’ – Die Prekäre psychosexuelle Balance in Winckelmanns idealistischer Körperpolitik,” in Cortjaens, *Winckelmann – Das Göttliche Geschlecht*, 25–35.
- 64 For more detailed biographical information on von Gloeden, see Bernhard Albers, “Wilhelm von Gloeden,” in *Gloeden, Plüschow, Galdi: Aktphotographien um 1900*, ed. Peter Weiermair (Aachen, Germany: Rimbaud, 2009), 5–6.
- 65 Peter Weiermair, “Männerakte: Notizen zur Kunstfotografie des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts,” in *Das Aktfoto: Ansichten vom Körper im fotografischen Zeitalter*, ed. Michael Köhler and Gisela Barche (Munich: Münchener Stadtmuseum, 1985), 151. For a discussion of the term “pederasty” and the responses to this practice within the homosexual rights movement see [chapter 5](#).
- 66 Andreas Sternweiler, “Kunstabetrieb und Homosexualität,” in *Goodbye to Berlin? 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1997), 62–3. For background on the painter and illustrator Fidus (Hugo Reinhold Karl Johann Höppener), see Martina Schuster, “Fidus: Ein Gesinnungskünstler der völkischen Kulturbewegung,” in *Handbuch zur ‘Völkischen Bewegung’ 1871–1918*, ed. Uwe Puschner, Walter Schmitz, and Justus H. Ulbricht (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1999), 634–50.
- 67 *Der Eigene: Ein Blatt für männliche Kultur* 11, no. 6 (1926).
- 68 See *Die Insel* no. 6 (June 1930). The model on the cover appeared fully naked inside the magazine.
- 69 Reinhard Scheller, “Wir zwei!,” *Die Insel* no. 9 (September 1930). “In meines Lebens Müdigkeit kamst du / Mit deiner Jugend ungebroch’nem Mut, / In meinem Herzen flammte neue Glut / Und bange Hoffnung raubte mir die Ruh.”
- 70 This particular photograph certainly had some special appeal. It decorated the cover of *Die Insel* again in September 1930.
- 71 Eric L. Tribunella, “A Boy and His Dog: Canine Companions and the Proto-Erotics of Youth,” *Children’s Literature Association Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (2004): 152. For other examples of pictures of youths with their pets in Radszuweit’s publications, see the covers of *Menschenrecht* from October 1928 and December 1928.

- 72 Kathryn Bond Stockton, "Growing Sideways, or Versions of the Queer Child: The Ghost, the Homosexual, the Freudian, the Innocent, and the Interval of Animal," in *Curiouser: On the Queerness of Children*, ed. Steven Bruhm and Natasha Hurley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 283.
- 73 Stockton, "Growing Sideways," 311.
- 74 *Die Insel: Das Magazine der Ehelosen und Einsamen* 2, no. 5 (May 1927): 11.
- 75 "Begleitende Worte von Magnus Weidemann," in Lotte Herrlich, *Rolf: Ein Lied vom werden in 30 Natur-Akt-Aufnahmen* (Kettwig-Ruhr, Germany: Lichtkampf-Verlag, 1924), 8–15.
- 76 Andreas Kuntz-Stahl, "Nacktheit – gibt's die?" in *Das Aktfoto: Ansichten vom Körper im fotografischen Zeitalter*, ed. Michael Köhler and Gisela Barche (Munich: Münchener Stadtmuseum, 1985), 21; Michael Köhler, "Lebensreform durch Körperkultur," in Köhler and Barche, *Das Aktfoto*, 289–303. See also Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- 77 "Begleitende Worte von Magnus Weidemann," 15.
- 78 Advertisement for "Deutsche Rasse: Köpfe und Akte von Adolf Brand," in *Der Eigene: Ein Blatt für männliche Kultur* 11, no. 1 (1926); and *Rasse und Schönheit: Bilderbeilage der Zeitschrift "Der Eigene,"* in *Der Eigene* 11, no. 2 (1926).
- 79 Bradley Boovy argues that German homophile magazines in the 1950s provided readers with a universalized understanding of same-sex desire and a sense of belonging that relied on the eroticization of a racialized Other. This position assumed a white viewer that objectified men of colour. The examples from Brand and Radszuweit demonstrate that photography had been producing a white gay viewing subject already in the early 1920s. See Bradley Boovy, "Troubling Sameness," *Women in German Yearbook* 32 (2016): 152–62; Bradley Boovy, "Belonging in Black and White: Race, Photography, and the Allure of *Heimat* in West German Gay Magazines from the 1950s," *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies* 54, no. 4 (2018): 428–41; and Christopher Ewing, "'Color Him Black': Erotic Representations and the Politics of Race in West German Homosexual Magazines, 1949–1974," *Sexuality & Culture* 21, no. 2 (2017): 382–403. For the presumption of a white subject in Germany's gay political movements, see Laurie Marhoefer, "Was the Homosexual Made White? Race, Empire, and Analogy in Gay and Trans Thought in Twentieth-Century Germany," *Gender & History* 31, no. 1 (2019): 1–24.
- 80 Jennifer V. Evans, "Seeing Subjectivity: Erotic Photography and the Optics of Desire," *American Historical Review* 118, no. 2 (2013): 434.
- 81 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 25–6.

- 82 Erich Zacharias, *Die sexuelle Gefährdung unserer Jugend* (Halle-Saale: Buchdruckerei des Waisenhauses, 1929), 3.
- 83 Zacharias, *Die sexuelle Gefährdung*, 22.
- 84 Zacharias, *Die sexuelle Gefährdung*, 25–32.

#### 4. The 1926 Trash and Smut Law, Youth Protection, and Homosexual Publications

- 1 Roesner, “Kriminalität,” 845.
- 2 Lisa Downing, *The Subject of Murder: Gender, Exceptionality, and the Modern Killer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 59.
- 3 Kaspar Maase has convincingly shown how the development of mass culture generated debates about youths’ endangerment from the late nineteenth century until the brink of the First World War. This chapter focuses on the continuity of this discourse during the Weimar Republic. Nevertheless, I refrain from using the term “mass culture.” I use “mass culture” or refer to the “masses” whenever contemporaries used these words because these concepts are loaded ideologically. Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer saw in what they called the “culture industry” the antidemocratic tendencies that had led to the disintegration of the bourgeois public sphere and enabled the rise of fascism. More optimistic readings of mass culture highlight that it offered emancipatory promise for women and played a key role in the process of the formation of modern sexual identities and sexual liberation. The publications of the homosexual movement fall under this second framework. See Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “The Culture Industry,” in *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 94–136; Kaspar Maase, *Die Kinder der Massenkultur: Kontroversen um Schmutz und Schund seit dem Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2012); Eve Rosenhaft, “Lesewut, Kinosucht, Radiotismus: Zur (geschlechter) politischen Relevanz neuer Massenmedien in den 1920er Jahren,” in *Amerikanisierung: Traum und Alptraum in Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Alf Lüdtke, Inge Marßolek, and Adelheid von Saldern (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 119–43; Corey Ross, “Cinema, Radio, and ‘Mass Culture’ in the Weimar Republic: Between Shared Experience and Social Division,” in *Weimar Culture Revisited*, ed. John Alexander Williams (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 23–48; Adelheid von Saldern, “The Hidden History of Mass Culture,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 37 (Spring 1990): 32–40.
- 4 Gary D. Stark, *Banned in Berlin: Literary Censorship in Imperial Germany 1871–1918* (New York: Berghahn, 2009), xii.

- 5 *Die Verfassung des deutschen Reiches vom 11. August 1919*, ed. Hermann Mosler (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1968), 40.
- 6 For the 1920 Film Law, see the introduction, note 40.
- 7 Prof. Dr Karl Brunner, "Gegen das Schundliteraturgesetz: Eine Aussprache mit Reichsminister Dr. Külz," *Berliner Tageblatt*, 10 November 1926, BArch N/2203/517, p. 237.
- 8 The literature on this law is extensive. See Ute Dettmar, "Der Kampf gegen 'Schmutz und Schund,'" in *Die Kinder- und Jugendliteratur in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik*, vol. 2, ed. Norbert Hopster (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012), 565–86; Georg Jäger, "Der Kampf gegen Schmutz und Schund: Die Reaktion der Gebildeten auf die Unterhaltungsindustrie," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 31 (1988): 163–92; Klaus Petersen, "The Harmful Publications (Young Persons) Act of 1926: Literary Censorship and the Politics of Morality in the Weimar Republic," *German Studies Review* 15, no. 3 (1992): 505–23; Gideon Reuveni, *Reading Germany: Literature and Consumer Culture before 1933* (New York: Berghahn, 2006), 249–66; Kara L. Ritzheimer, "Trash," *Censorship, and National Identity in Early Twentieth-Century Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 160–219; Luke Springman, "Poisoned Hearts, Diseased Minds, and American Pimps: The Language of Censorship in the Schund- and Schmutz Debates," *German Quarterly* 68, no. 4 (1995): 408–29; Margaret F. Stieg, "The 1926 German Law to Protect Youth against Filth and Dirt: Moral Protectionism in a Democracy," *Central European History* 23, no. 1 (1993): 22–56; Templin, *Medialer Schmutz*, 269–310.
- 9 Peter Jelavich, "Paradoxes of Censorship in Modern Germany," in *Enlightenment, Passion, Modernity: Historical Essays in European Thought and Culture*, ed. Mark S. Micale, Robert L. Dietle, and Peter Gay (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 266.
- 10 R.J.V. Lenman, "Art, Society, and the Law in Wilhelmine Germany: The Lex Heinze," *Oxford German Studies* 8 (1973): 112–13; Ross, *Media and the Making of Modern Germany*, 54.
- 11 Springman, "Poisoned Hearts," 408.
- 12 Alon Confino and Rudy Koshar, "Régimes of Consumer Culture: New Narratives in Twentieth-Century German History," *German History* 19, no. 2 (2001): 135–61.
- 13 Sarah L. Leonard, *Fragile Minds and Vulnerable Souls: The Matter of Obscenity in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 52.
- 14 Leonard, *Fragile Minds*, 174.
- 15 Leonard, *Fragile Minds*, 23.
- 16 I draw particularly from the insights of Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda in *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance* (Oxford:

Blackwell, 1994). See also Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and John Alexander Williams, “Ecstasies of the Young: Sexuality, the Youth Movement, and Moral Panic in Germany on the Eve of the First World War,” *Central European History* 34, no. 2 (2001): 163–89. For a critical appraisal of this concept, see Sean P. Hier, ed., *Moral Panics and the Politics of Anxiety* (London: Routledge, 2011).

- 17 Goode and Ben-Yehuda, *Moral Panics*, 29–30.
- 18 Hunt, *Governing Morals*, 1–27.
- 19 Jens Dobler, “Zensur von Büchern und Zeitschriften mit homosexueller Thematik in der Weimarer Republik,” *Invertito: Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Homosexualitäten* 2 (2000): 103.
- 20 Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 49.
- 21 Different legal measures were used to suppress publications. Since 1869, article 56 of the Commercial Code (*Gewerbeordnung*) regulated the public sale of printed work and images deemed offensive to religious sensibilities. The 1900 *Lex Heinze* (Paragraph 184 of the Criminal Code), the most controversial censorship law, regulated immorality (*Unstlichkeit*) in the arts and made procuring a criminal offence. In 1910 Germany established the Main Office for the Abatement of Obscene Images and Publications (Zentralstelle für die Bekämpfung unzüchtiger Bilder und Schriften). This agency was charged to determine whether publications were decent or indecent, and it expanded the definition of obscenity to the point that the advertisement and public display of contraceptives were considered improper. See Lenman, “Art, Society, and the Law,” 87; and Gary D. Stark, “Pornography, Society, and the Law in Imperial Germany,” *Central European History* 14, no. 3 (1981): 218–19.
- 22 Shayana Kadidal, “Obscenity in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” *American Journal of Comparative Law* 44, no. 2 (1996): 373.
- 23 Fabian Baar, “Literatur und Literaturbetrieb im dritten Jahrzehnt,” in *Kulturgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts: Die Kultur der 20er Jahre*, ed. Werner Faulstich (Paderborn, Germany: Fink, 2008), 169.
- 24 Elisabeth Süersen, *Die Stellung der Militär- und Zivilbehörden zur Schundliteratur* (Berlin: Zentralstelle zur Bekämpfung der Schundliteratur, 1917), 8–12; For a short biography of Karl Brunner, see Stark, *Banned in Berlin*, 63–4. Florian Mildener contends that Brunner tried very hard to censor publications by Magnus Hirschfeld and Adolf Brand. His efforts demonstrate how censorship and the repression of homosexuality went hand in hand before the Weimar Republic. Florian Mildener, “Karl Brunner: Aus dem Leben eines Zensors,” in *Unter Männern: Freundschaftsgabe für Marita Keilson-Lauritz*, ed. Florian Mildener (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2018), 66.

- 25 Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes: Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte*, vol. 1, *Gestalt und Wirklichkeit* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1923), 64.
- 26 Spengler, *Der Untergang*, 43.
- 27 "Die Sittlichkeitsfrage und 'du,'" Vortrag von Frau M. Young-Rißmann gehalten zu Freiburg i. Br. am 30 September 1923 zur Tagung des Weißen Kreuzes, BArch N/2203/519.
- 28 "Die Sittlichkeitsfrage und 'du.'"
- 29 "Götzen der Zeit," *Fränkische Kurier*, Morgen-Ausgabe, 16 August 1921, BArch N/2203/507, p. 78.
- 30 Susan Laikin Funkenstein, "Fashionable Dancing: Gender, the Charleston, and German Identity in Otto Dix's 'Metropolis,'" *German Studies Review* 28, no. 1 (2005): 22–3.
- 31 "Götzen der Zeit."
- 32 Adolf Sellmann, *Zum Kampf gegen Schmutz und Schund* (Potsdam: Stiftungsverlag, 1927), 3–7.
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- 34 Dr Adolf Sellmann, Westfälischer Volksdienst, Witten an das Sekretariat des Reichstags, 17 February 1923, BArch N/2203/519.
- 35 Paul Samuleit, *Wie unsere Jugend den Krieg erlebt* (Berlin: Carl Siegismund, 1917), 8–9.
- 36 Samuleit, *Wie unsere Jugend*, 15.
- 37 Süersen, *Die Stellung der Militär- und Zivilbehörden*, 9–10.
- 38 Andrew Donson, "Why Did German Youth Become Fascists? Nationalist Males Born 1900 to 1908 in War and Revolution," *Social History* 31, no. 3 (2006): 346–8. See also Andrew Donson, "Models for Young Nationalists and Militarists: German Youth Literature in the First World War," *German Studies Review* 27, no. 3 (2004): 579–98.

- 39 Samuleit, *Wie unsere Jugend*, 18.
- 40 Donson, "Models for Young Nationalists," 589.
- 41 Laqueur, *Young Germany*, 44–5.
- 42 Hermann Popert, *Hamburg und der Schundkampf*, vol. 1, *Schmutz- und Schundliteratur* (Hamburg: Deutscher-Dichter-Gedächtnis-Stiftung, 1927), 5.
- 43 Popert, *Hamburg und der Schundkampf*, 10.
- 44 Popert, *Hamburg und der Schundkampf*, 48–9.
- 45 Hamburg's committee was composed of thirty members (twenty-six men and four women). Although most of its members were teachers, it included representatives from the youth welfare office, the church, the juvenile court, the police department, and the Association of German Booksellers. Popert, *Hamburg und der Schundkampf*, Beilage 16.
- 46 The so-called morality associations (*Sittlichkeitsvereine*) brought together large groups of men, women, and youths who condemned the evils of alcoholism, prostitution, white slavery, pornography, and, of course, trash and smut. Two million women were members of the Coalition of Evangelical Women's Associations. Württemberg's committee on the abatement of moral misery had over half a million members. The Borromäusverein, founded in 1845, focused on the representation of Catholic views and values in the media. The Protestant Church also sponsored organizations with similar goals, such as Blaukreuzverbände, Verband zur Bekämpfung der öffentlichen Unsittlichkeit, and Deutsche Frauen- und Mädchenbund für sittliche Reinheit. See W. Ebel, "Die praktische Bekämpfung der Schundliteratur durch den Katholizismus," in *Schmutz und Schund als sozialpathologische Erscheinung*, ed. Bruno Jung and Heinrich Weber (Münster, Germany: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926), 32–50; Adolf Sellmann, "Der Kampf gegen Schmutz und Schund von evangelischer Seite," in *Schmutz und Schund als sozialpathologische Erscheinung*, 51–65.
- 47 Popert, *Hamburg und der Schundkampf*, 52.
- 48 The Youth Literature Committee had its counterpart in the Imperial Federation of Evangelical Young Men's Clubs (Reichsverband der evangelischen Jungmännerverbände) with its "action groups" (*Schundkampfgruppen*) and its magazine *The Fight against Trash* (*Der Schundkampf*), which was the first publication exclusively dedicated to combatting trash and smut. Like other similar groups, including those of the Catholic Church, this organization lobbied for legal reform, distributed and recommended "good" books, and collected "dangerous" material in their "poisoned cabinets" (*Giftschränke*). Sellmann, "Der Kampf gegen Schmutz und Schund von evangelischer Seite," 57.
- 49 Popert, *Hamburg und der Schundkampf*, 62.
- 50 Popert, *Hamburg und der Schundkampf*, 62–5.

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- 53 Correspondence between the Reichsbund der Kinderreichen Deutschlands zum Schutze der Familie e.V and Reinhard Mumm, 21 July 1927, “Kirchliche und kulturelle Fragen,” BArch N/2203/218, p. 35–50.
- 54 Dr Werner Mahrholz, “Geistige Volkshygiene: Die Verschlechterungen des Schund- und Schmutzgesetzes,” *Vossische Zeitung*, 24 June 1926, BArch R/8034/II/6966, p. 12.
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- 58 Abderhalden, “Der Kampf zur Bewahrung der Jugend,” 27–8; Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics*, 185.
- 59 Benfer, *Kampf dem schlechten durch das gute Buch*, 48.
- 60 Bezirksamt Neukölln. Der Magistrat. Jugendamt: Abteilung Jugendpflege, 17 November 1921, A Pr. Br. Rep. 030 Nr. 16991.
- 61 Georg Schreiber (Zentrum), *Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags* (1924/28), 45. Sitzung (2 April 1925), p. 1330.
- 62 Helene Weber (Zentrum), *Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags* (1924/28), 239. Sitzung (26 November 1926), p. 8225.
- 63 Theodor Heuss (DDP), *Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags* (1924/28), 240. Sitzung (27 November 1926), p. 8234.
- 64 Georg Schreiber (Zentrum), *Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags* (1924/28), 45. Sitzung (2 April 1925), p. 1331.
- 65 *Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags* (1924/28), 239. Sitzung (26 November 1926), pp. 8228–32.
- 66 Rudolf Breitscheid (SPD), *Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags* (1924/28), 245. Sitzung (3 December 1926), pp. 8359–64.
- 67 “Kampf gegen Schmutz und Schund! Unsere Vorschläge – und die von Herrn Külz,” *Berliner Morgenpost* (26 November 1926), BArch R/8034/II/6966, p. 33.

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- 69 Karin Littau, *Theories of Reading: Books, Bodies, and Bibliomania* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), 20.
- 70 Heinrich Wolgast, *Das Elend unserer Jugendliteratur: Ein Beitrag zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend* (Leipzig: Wunderlich, 1922), 27. For Wolgast's role in the debates on youth literature, see Kaspar Maase, "Krisenbewußtsein und Reformorientierung: Zum Deutungshorizont der Gegner der modernen Populärkünste 1880–1918," in *Schund und Schönheit: Populäre Kultur um 1900*, ed. Kaspar Maase and Wolfgang Kaschuba (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001), 290–342.
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- 73 Walter Aßmus, *Von schlechten und guten Büchern: Hütet Euch vor der Schundliteratur! Lest gute Bücher!* (Frankfurt: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Rhein-Mainischen Verbandes für Volksbildung, 1911).
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- 75 Fronemann, *Das Erbe Wolgasts*, 24.
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- 98 Friedrich Radszuweit, “Ist das Richtig?,” *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 28 (13 July 1928).
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- 100 Karl Schumann, *Das Gesetz zur Bewahrung der Jugend vor Schund- und Schmutzschriften vom 18. 12. 1926: Eine staatsrechtliche Betrachtung* (Borna-Leipzig: Universitätsverlag von Robert Noske, 1929), 69–71.
- 101 Prüfsache Nr. 5410/229 (5 March 1929), Entscheidungen der Prüfstelle in Berlin für Schund- und Schmutzschriften, I. HA Rep. 77 Tit. 2772 Nr. 3E Bd. 1, S. 116.
- 102 Prüfsache Nr. 36/37 (30 October 1928), Entscheidungen der Oberprüfstelle in Leipzig für Schund- und Schmutzschriften vom 14. Dezember 1927 bis 31. Dezember 1930, I. HA Rep. 77 Tit. 2772 Nr. 3G Bd. 1, S. 85–86.

- 103 Prüfsache Nr. 5410/343 (17 March 1931), Entscheidung der Prüfstelle in Berlin für Schund- und Schmutzschriften, I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 2772 Nr. 3E Bd. 2 vom 1. Januar 1931 bis 3. 3. 35, S. 14–15.
- 104 Prüfsache Nr. 5410/229 (5 March 1929), Entscheidungen der Prüfstelle in Berlin für Schund- und Schmutzschriften, I. HA Rep. 77 Tit. 2772 Nr. 3E Bd. 1, S. 159.
- 105 Prüfsache Nr. 5410/303 (8 April 1930), Entscheidungen der Prüfstelle in Berlin für Schund- und Schmutzschriften, I. HA Rep. 77 Tit. 2772 Nr. 3E Bd. 1, S. 225–26.
- 106 Gerd Sand, "Propaganda," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 21 (15 December 1923).
- 107 Prüfsache Nr. 5410/414 (26 September 1932), Anträge zur Schundliste vom 13. 12. 1927 bis 20. 8. 1933, I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 2772 Nr. 3D Bd. 1, n.p.
- 108 Prüfsache Nr. 5410/12 (16 December 1927), Entscheidungen der Prüfstelle in Berlin für Schund- und Schmutzschriften, I. HA Rep. 77 Tit. 2772 Nr. 3E Bd. 1, S. 27–29.
- 109 "Schund und Schmutzbekämpfung." Landesarchiv Berlin, A Pr. Br. Rep. 030 Tit. 121 Nr. 17063.
- 110 Prüfsache 5410/414 (26 September 1932), Anträge zur Schundliste vom 13. 12. 1927 bis 20. 8. 1933, I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 2772 Nr. 3D Bd. 1, S. 30–32.
- 111 Prüfsache Nr. 5410/137, 182 (28 August 1928), Entscheidungen der Prüfstelle in Berlin für Schund- und Schmutzschriften, I. HA Rep. 77 Tit. 2772 Nr. 3E Bd. 1, S. 115–16.
- 112 Prüfsache Nr. 5410/119–121, 124 (24 April 1928), Entscheidungen der Prüfstelle in Berlin für Schund- und Schmutzschriften, I. HA Rep. 77 Tit. 2772 Nr. 3E Bd. 1, S. 86–88.
- 113 "Gutachten über die Schädigung der Jugend durch homosexuelle Schriften," *Der Schundkampf* no. 24 (September 1928): 8.
- 114 "Gutachten," 8.
- 115 "Gutachten," 9–10.
- 116 "Gutachten," 9–10.
- 117 Prüfsache Nr. 5410/414 (26 September 1932), Anträge zur Schundliste vom 13. 12. 1927 bis 20. 8. 1933, I. HA Rep. 77 Ministerium des Innern Tit. 2772 Nr. 3D Bd. 1, S. 75ff.
- 118 "Geschäftsbericht des Hauptvorstandes des B.f.M., E.V., für das Jahr 1930," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 9, no. 4 (1931).
- 119 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Gefühlsumnebelung," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* no. 14 (1931).
- 120 "Bericht der Reichsregierung über die praktischen Erfahrungen bei Durchführung des Reichsgesetzes zur Bekämpfung von Schund- und

Schmutzschriften" (29 April 1933), Landesarchiv Berlin A Pr. Rep. 030 Tit. 121 Nr. 16990.

121 "Bericht der Reichsregierung."

122 "Schund und Schmutzbekämpfung," Landesarchiv Berlin, A Pr. Br. Rep 030 Tit. 121 Nr. 17063.

## 5. The Pitfalls of Boy Love

- 1 We still know relatively little about the history of intergenerational same-sex desire in the twentieth century. David M. Halperin has examined the classical dimensions of this phenomenon in "How to Do the History of Male Homosexuality," in *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 104–37. We still need more research on contemporary same-sex intergenerational sex. See Barry D. Adam, "Age Preference among Gay and Bisexual Men," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6, no. 3 (2000): 413–34. For the history of intergenerational same-sex relationships in China, Iran, and Japan, see Bret Hinsch, *Passions of the Cut Sleeve: The Male Homosexual Tradition in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 10–14; Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 11–59; Gregory Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 29–44, 225–34.
- 2 Scholars have objected to the widely held position that all intergenerational sex is equivalent to abuse and have argued instead that children and youths have sexual agency. See Stephen Angelides, "Feminism, Child Sexual Abuse, and the Erasure of Child Sexuality," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 10, no. 2 (2004): 141–77; James Kincaid, *Child-Loving: The Erotic Child and Victorian Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Kevin Ohi, "Molestation 101: Child Abuse, Homophobia, and *The Boys of St. Vincent*," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6, no. 2 (2000): 195–248; George Rousseau, ed., *Children and Sexuality: From the Greeks to the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); and Daniel Tsang, ed., *The Age Taboo: Gay Male Sexuality, Power and Consent* (Boston, MA: Alyson, 1981).
- 3 Gert Hekma, "Päderastie – Transgender – Homosexualität: Ein Streifzug durch Geschichte und Kultur," in *Unter Männern: Freundschaftsgabe für Marita Keilson-Lauritz*, ed. Florian Mildenerger (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2018), 32. ILGA banned pro-paedophile organizations, such as the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), after right-wing groups publicized that this advocacy group

was one of its members and, as a consequence, the governments of the United States, Canada, and Australia threatened to withdraw their support. David Paternotte, Alex Cosials Apellaniz, and David Tong, “The History of ILGA: 1978/2012,” ILGA, 2012, <https://ilga.org/ilga-history>.

- 4 Edward Brongersma, *Das verfemte Geschlecht: Dokumentation über Knabenliebe* (Munich: Lichtenberg Verlag, 1970); Julian Bourg, “Boy Trouble: French Pedophilia Discourse of the 1970s,” in *Between Marx and Coca-Cola: Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980*, ed. Alex Schildt and Detlef Siegfried (New York: Berghahn, 2006), 287–312; Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 167; Florian Mildener, *Beispiel: Peter Schult; Pädophilie im öffentlichen Diskurs* (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2006); Rüdiger Lautmann, *Die Lust am Kind: Portrait des Pädophilen* (Hamburg: Klein, 1994).
- 5 Jana Funke, “‘We Cannot Be Greek Now’: Age Difference, Corruption of Youth and the Making of *Sexual Inversion*,” *English Studies* 94, no. 2 (2013): 141. See also Hekma, “Päderastie,” 23; David F. Greenberg, *The Construction of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 1–33. For the “simultaneity of temporally disjunct historical experiences” regarding same-sex acts, see Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*, 17–21.
- 6 Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Berlin: Louis Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1914), 282.
- 7 Oosterhuis, “Albert Moll’s Ambivalence,” 26–7.
- 8 Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität*, 279–81.
- 9 For an in-depth discussion of the WhK’s position on intergenerational sex, see Diederik F. Janssen, “*Uranismus complicatus*: Scientific-Humanitarian Disentanglements of Gender and Age Attractions,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 27, no. 1 (2018): 114–15.
- 10 The confusion between homosexuality and pederasty goes back to Johann Ludwig Casper and, especially, to Krafft-Ebing. The words “pederasty” and “homosexuality” are mentioned roughly the same number of times in Krafft-Ebing’s influential *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Homosexuality is more frequently used to describe men who show “inverted sexual instinct,” that is, a congenital disposition. Pederasty refers mostly to insertive and receptive anal sex. Krafft-Ebing, moreover, distinguishes between pederasty as a “pathological” and “non-pathological” phenomenon. The former is the result of sexual inversion and is caused by the “repugnance of intercourse with women, or even absolute incapability of it,” and is common “in urnings who feel toward men like women.” Nevertheless, anal intercourse, he suggests, is relatively uncommon among congenital homosexuals. The non-pathological variety occurs when “natural sexual

- intercourse" is impossible, for example in the context of long-term sex segregation in prisons or ships, or among "old debauchees, who have become satiated with normal sexual intercourse, are more or less impotent, and also morally depraved; and who resort to pederasty in order to excite their lust with new stimulus." In case of insertive anal intercourse, the non-pathological variety is linked to low class, lax morals, and male prostitution. See Johann Ludwig Casper, "Ueber Nothzucht und Päderastie und deren Ermittlung Seitens des Gerichtarztes," in *Vierteljahresschrift für gerichtliche und öffentliche Medicin*, vol. 1 (Berlin: August Hirschwald, 1852), 21–78; and Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 469, 494–5.
- 11 Gustav Wyneken, *Eros* (Lauenburg, Germany: A. Saal, 1921), 29.
  - 12 Wyneken, *Eros*, 32.
  - 13 William Stern, "Sittlichkeitsvergehen an Kindern und Jugendlichen," *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und Jugendkunde* 27 (1926): 45–51, 73–80; G. Révész, "Beschuldigung eines Lehrers wegen unzuchtiger Handlung durch seine Schülerinnen," *Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie und psychologische Sammelforschung* 31 (1928): 385–407; Theo Herrle, "Psychologie und Sittlichkeitsvergehen auf der Schule," *Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und Jugendkunde* 29 (1928): 433–44.
  - 14 Kurt Hiller, "Zum Fall Wyneken," *Die Freundschaft* 3, no. 36 (10–16 September 1921). The Supreme Court of the German Reich reversed the initial verdict in March 1922. "Das Urteil gegen Wyneken aufgehoben," *Die Freundschaft* 4, no. 11 (18 March 1922). A retrial in October 1922 confirmed the original sentence.
  - 15 Wolfram Setz, preface to *Die dorische Knabenliebe: Ihre Ethik und ihre Idee*, by Erich Bethe (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1983), 3. Bethe's essay was originally published in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 62 (1907): 438–75; David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (New York: Routledge, 1990), ix. For the history of Greek pederasty, see also Kenneth J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); and Harald Patzer, *Die griechische Knabenliebe* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982). Dover calls the practice of pederasty in Greek antiquity "homosexuality," a choice that contributed to the already existing conceptual confusion.
  - 16 Bethe, *Die dorische Knabenliebe*, 8.
  - 17 Whisnant, *Queer Identities and Politics*, 133–4.
  - 18 Robert Deam Tobin, "Winckelmanns Briefe und die mannsmännliche Liebe," in *Winckelmann: Das Göttliche Geschlecht*, ed. Wolfgang Cortjaens (Petersberg, Germany: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017), 13–23.
  - 19 Manfred Herzer, introduction to *Eros: Die Männerliebe der Griechen, ihre Beziehungen zur Geschichte, Erziehung, Literatur und Gesetzgebung aller*

- Zeiten*, vol. 3, *Materialien zu Heinrich Hössli*, by Heinrich Hössli (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1996), 10.
- 20 Halperin, *One Hundred Years*, 3–4.
- 21 Oosterhuis and Kennedy, *Homosexuality and Male Bonding*, 86.
- 22 Hekma, “Päderastie,” 26–7; Tobin, *Peripheral Desires*, 77.
- 23 Herzer, introduction, 13.
- 24 See Hubert Kennedy, *John Henry Mackay (Sagitta): Anarchist der Liebe* (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2007), 171–5.
- 25 Blüher, *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung*.
- 26 Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik*, 1:223.
- 27 Blüher, *Die Rolle der Erotik*, 1:224–5.
- 28 Hekma, “Päderastie,” 28.
- 29 Thomas Karlauf, “‘Die kleine Schar’: Der charismatische Männerbund um Stefan George,” in *Unter Männern: Freundschaftsgabe für Marita Keilson-Lauritz*, ed. Florian Mildner (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2018), 171–87. Karlauf denies that George was a paedophile; he maintains the poet was a pederast, that is, he was interested not in prepubescent children but in fully grown youths. Karlauf complains that both terms are regrettably conflated. For Stefan George’s use of the term “übergeschlechtlich,” see Max Kramer, “From Georg Simmel to Stefan George: Sexology, Male Bonding, and Homosexuality,” *German Studies Review* 41, no. 2 (2018): 275–95.
- 30 For an in-depth exploration of Wyneken’s concept of “pedagogical eros,” see Thijs Maasen, *Pädagogischer Eros: Gustav Wyneken und die Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf* (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2016), 69–79. The lack of attention that scholars have paid to this concept (and this incident) is telling. In his tome on the Free School Community, Peter Dudek only dedicates ten pages to the idea. He focuses instead on the unconditional support that Wyneken received from teachers, parents, and the liberal and socialist press. The silence about this uncomfortable chapter in the history of pedagogy is a sign of how dangerous the link between homosexuality and sex with minors remains. Peter Dudek, “*Versuchsacker für eine neue Jugend*”: *Die Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf 1906–1945* (Bad Heilbronn, Germany: Klinhardt, 2009), 276–86.
- 31 Gustav Wyneken, “Was ist Jugendkultur?” in *Dokumentation der Jugendbewegung*, vol. 1, *Grundschriften der deutschen Jugendbewegung*, ed. Werner Kindt (Düsseldorf: Diederichs, 1963), 116–28.
- 32 Wyneken, *Eros*, 8.
- 33 Wyneken, *Eros*, 24–5.
- 34 Josephine Crawley Quinn and Christopher Brooke make this argument for Edward Carpenter in “‘Affection in Education’: Edward Carpenter, John Addington Symonds and the Politics of Greek Love,” *Oxford Review of Education* 37, no. 5 (2011): 687. Wyneken’s private correspondence with

- his student Herbert Knitter, with whom he shared an apartment in Berlin-Neukölln in 1931 (with the approval of the student's parents), shows that his intentions were hardly chaste. Maasen, *Pädagogischer Eros*, 112–52. See also Marita Keilson-Lauritz, *Kentaurenliebe: Seitenwege der Männerliebe im 20. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Männerschwarm Verlag, 2013), 65–7.
- 35 A full transcript of the trial was published in the magazine *Friendship*. "Der neue Wynekenprozeß," *Die Freundschaft* 4, no. 42 (21 October 1922).
- 36 "Der neue Wynekenprozeß."
- 37 "Der neue Wynekenprozeß."
- 38 "Der neue Wynekenprozeß."
- 39 Wyneken, *Eros*, 47.
- 40 "Der neue Wynekenprozeß."
- 41 "Der neue Wynekenprozeß."
- 42 Maasen, *Pädagogischer Eros*, 42–3.
- 43 Tobin, *Peripheral Desires*, 61.
- 44 Ulrichs, "Vindex": *Sozial-juristische Studien über mannsmännliche Geschlechtsliebe*, vol. 7 of *Forschungen*, 2.
- 45 Ulrichs, "Argonauticus": *Zastrow und die Urninge des pietistischen, ultramontanen und freidenkenden Lagers*, vol. 9 of *Forschungen*, 126–7.
- 46 Tobin, *Peripheral Desires*, 12, 16.
- 47 Ulrichs, "Vindex," 8.
- 48 Leck, *Vita Sexualis*, 51.
- 49 Funke, "We Cannot Be Greek," 140.
- 50 Funke, "We Cannot Be Greek," 149.
- 51 Funke, "We Cannot Be Greek," 143–6.
- 52 Havelock Ellis considered the celebration of Greek love in Symonds's *A Problem in Greek Ethics* "injurious to a book seeking to defend same-sex desire" and left it out from his book *Sexual Inversion* (1900). Funke, "We Cannot Be Greek," 145, 149.
- 53 Tobin, *Peripheral Desires*, 53.
- 54 Wilhelm Kroll, *Freundschaft und Knabenliebe* (Munich: Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1924), 19.
- 55 Kroll, *Freundschaft und Knabenliebe*, 28–9.
- 56 Kroll, *Freundschaft und Knabenliebe*, 38.
- 57 Kroll, *Freundschaft und Knabenliebe*, 39.
- 58 Maasen, *Pädagogischer Eros*, 183–4.
- 59 Numa Praetorius, "Einige Worte zum Fall Wyneken," *Die Freundschaft* 5, no. 2 (13 January 1923).
- 60 Max H. Danielsen, "Gustav Wynekens 'Eros,'" *Die Freundschaft* 3, no. 45 (12–18 November 1921).
- 61 Kurt Hiller, "Zum Fall Wyneken," *Die Freundschaft* 3, no. 36 (10–16 September 1921).

- 62 “Der Homoerot in der menschlichen Gesellschaft Nr. 27,” *Die Freundschaft* 9, no. 6 (June 1927): 172–9.
- 63 “Wochen Allerlei: ‘Dr. Gustav Wyneken geflüchtet,’” *Die Freundschaft* 3, no. 12 (1921).
- 64 “Der Fall ‘Wyneken’” (von einem Lehrer), *Die Freundschaft* 3, no. 37 (17–23 September 1921).
- 65 “Meinungsaustausch VII. E. v. Hefeler,” *Die Freundschaft* 4, no. 24 (17 June 1922).
- 66 “Meinungsaustausch.”
- 67 F. Radszuweit, “Päderasten-Lokale,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 1, no. 20 (1 December 1923).
- 68 Ulrichs, “*Argonauticus*,” 46–7. For an analysis of this case that pays attention to how sensationalist and scientific reports contributed to the conflation of homosexuality and violent crime, see Scott Spector, *Violent Sensations: Sex, Crime, and Utopia in Vienna and Berlin, 1860–1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 99–115.
- 69 Ulrichs, “*Argonauticus*,” 48–9.
- 70 Ulrichs, “*Argonauticus*,” 14. The use of an insanity defence to exempt homosexual defendants from trial was disputed in the 1920s. Radszuweit criticized Hirschfeld for his willingness to use this article in court. In his opinion, this strategy did little to stop the association of homosexuality with insanity, degeneracy, and crime. See Friedrich Radszuweit, “Sieg oder Niederlage,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 4, no. 8 (1926): 4.
- 71 The link between homosexuality and a pathological (and murderous) attraction to children has continued into the twentieth century. A new trend started recently in German psychology to differentiate paedophiles, or *Pädosexueller*, as a third sexual orientation alongside hetero- and homosexuality. This new identity continues the process of sexual identity formation started in the 1860s within the confines of medical, psychological, and criminal discourse. See John Borneman, *Cruel Attachments: The Ritual Rehab of Child Molesters in Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 152.
- 72 Ulrichs, “*Argonauticus*,” 49.
- 73 Ulrichs, “*Argonauticus*,” 127–8.
- 74 Kennedy, *Ulrichs*, 137.
- 75 Rainer Marwedel, “Von Schlachthöfen und Schlachtfeldern,” in Theodor Lessing, *Haarmann: Die Geschichte eines Werwolfs*, ed. Rainer Marwedel (Munich: DTV, 1995), 7.
- 76 Marwedel, “Schlachthöfen,” 8–9.
- 77 Lessing, *Haarmann*, 57–8.
- 78 Lessing, *Haarmann*, 118.
- 79 Haarmann’s murders have fascinated filmmakers, writers, and, more recently, comic artists. See Javier Samper Vendrell, “The Queer Threat

- to Civilization in Fritz Lang's *M*," *Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory* 92, no. 3 (2017): 264–79; Peer Meter and Isabel Kreitz, *Haarmann* (Hamburg: Carlsen, 2010). For the historical and cultural reception of Fritz Haarmann, see Kerstin Brückweh, *Mordlust: Serienmorde, Gewalt und Emotionen im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt: Campus 2006); Todd Herzog, *Crime Stories: Criminalistic Fantasy and the Culture of Crisis in Weimar Germany* (New York: Berghahn, 2009), 120; Joshua Kavaloski, "The Haarmann Case: Remapping the Weimar Republic," *German Quarterly* 88, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 219–41; Hania Siebenpfeiffer, *Böse Lust: Gewaltverbrechen in Diskursen der Weimarer Republik* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005): 215–41; Christine Poszar and Michael Farin, eds., *Die Haarmann-Protokolle* (Munich: Belleville, 2009); Friedhelm Werremeier, *Haarmann: Nachruf auf einen Werwolf: Die Geschichte des Massenmörders Friedrich Haarmann, seiner Opfer und seiner Jäger* (Cologne: VGS, 1992).
- 80 Radszuweit, "Der Krebschaden in der homosexuellen Bewegung."
- 81 Prof. Gottheim, "Der Massenmörder Haarmann," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 23 (18 July 1924). See also Sace Elder, *Murder Scenes: Normality, Deviance, and Criminal Violence in Weimar Berlin* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 81–106.
- 82 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Der Fall Haarmann und die deutsche Presse!," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 25 (1 August 1924); Prof. Gottheim, "Der Fall Haarmann in psychopathologischer Beleuchtung," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 26 (8 August 1924); Prof. Gottheim, "Der Fall Haarmann," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 27 (15 August 1924); Dr med. Heinz Schmeidler, "Der Massenmörder Haarmann," *Die Freundschaft* 6, no. 5 (August 1924); Dr Walter Wolf, "Der Lustmörder von Hannover," *Die Freundschaft* 6, no. 5 (August 1924); Prof. Dr R.F. Jordan, "Psychologie des Lustmordes," *Die Freundschaft* 6, no. 5 (August 1924); "Offizielle Erklärungen zum Fall Haarmann," *Die Freundschaft* 6, no. 5 (August 1924).
- 83 Gottheim, "Der Massenmörder Haarmann."
- 84 Die Redaktion, "Lustmord an einem 16jährigen Knaben," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 10, no. 35 (1 September 1932).
- 85 Gottheim, "Der Massenmörder Haarmann."
- 86 "Ein Hotelpage vermißt!," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 5, no. 38 (23 September 1927).
- 87 Die Redaktion, "Lustmord an einem 16jährigen Knaben."
- 88 Die Redaktion, "Lustmord an einem 16jährigen Knaben."
- 89 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Gefährdung der Jugend," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 9, no. 16 (23 April 1931).
- 90 "Offizielle Erklärung zum Fall Haarmann, Hannover," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 24 (25 July 1924).

- 91 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Die Moral im anderen Lager," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 28 (22 August 1924).
- 92 "Offizielle Erklärung zum Fall Haarmann, Hannover," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 24 (25 July 1924).
- 93 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Die Homosexuellen auf dem Kriegspfad!," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 2, no. 30 (5 September 1924). The same arguments were made again six years later in "Massenmörder!," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 8, no. 8 (August 1930).
- 94 For this tension, see James R. Kincaid, "Producing Erotic Children," in *Curiouser: On the Queerness of Children*, ed. Steven Bruhm and Natasha Hurley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 3–16.
- 95 F. Radszuweit, "Knabenschänder!," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 5, no. 6 (11 February 1927).
- 96 F. Radszuweit, "Jugendämter bekämpfen unsere Zeitschriften!," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 6, no. 19 (11 May 1928).

## 6. Male Prostitution, Age of Consent, and the Decriminalization of Homosexuality

- 1 Herzer, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 86–7.
- 2 Kurt Hiller, "Befreiung durchs Parlament," in *§ 175: Die Schmach des Jahrhunderts* (Hanover: Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1922), 50–1.
- 3 Hiller, "Ethische Aufgaben der Homosexuellen," in *Die Schmach des Jahrhunderts*, 34.
- 4 Kai Sommer, *Die Strafbarkeit der Homosexualität von der Kaiserzeit bis zum Nationalsozialismus: Eine Analyse der Straftatbestände im Strafgesetzbuch und in den Reformentwürfen* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1998), 174–5.
- 5 Sommer, *Die Strafbarkeit der Homosexualität*, 202, 271.
- 6 Hiller, "Anhang: Die Petition," in *Die Schmach des Jahrhunderts*, 119–24.
- 7 Sommer, *Die Strafbarkeit der Homosexualität*, 231–45.
- 8 Magnus Hirschfeld, "Die männliche Prostitution," in *§297,3 "Unzucht zwischen Männern"? Ein Beitrag zur Strafgesetzsreform*, ed. Richard Linsert (Berlin: Neuer Deutscher Verlag, 1929), 14–15.
- 9 Hirschfeld, "Die männliche Prostitution," 31–2.
- 10 The Cartel for Sexual Reform and the WhK collaborated between 1925 and 1927. For more information about their "Gegen-Entwurf," see Sommer, *Die Strafbarkeit der Homosexualität*, 248–50.
- 11 For detailed analyses of the debates regarding male prostitution and the decriminalization of homosexuality within the WhK, see Beachy, *Gay Berlin*, 187–219; Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 112–45; and Sommer, *Die Strafbarkeit der Homosexualität*, 163–308.

- 12 Kriminal-Kommissar Strewé (Berlin), "Jugendverführer," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 4, no. 11 (November/December 1926).
- 13 Jens Dobler, *Zwischen Duldungspolitik und Verbrechensbekämpfung: Homosexuellenverfolgung durch die Berliner Polizei von 1848 bis 1933* (Frankfurt: Verlag für Polizeiwissenschaft, 2008), 539–42.
- 14 Karl Keffon, "Männliche Prostitution," *Die Freundschaft* 14, no. 5 (May 1932): 69.
- 15 Richard Linsert, "Der Strichjunge: Eine Darstellung von 100 Lebensläufen männlicher Prostituiertes," in §297,3 "Unzucht zwischen Männern"?, 37.
- 16 Hirschfeld, "Die männliche Prostitution," 25.
- 17 Lücke, *Männlichkeit in Unordnung*, 11.
- 18 Lücke, *Männlichkeit in Unordnung*, 142.
- 19 Albert Moll, "Ueber die Strafbarkeit des gleichgeschlechtlichen Verkehrs," *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* 59, no. 1 (1 January 1930): 5–7.
- 20 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Strich," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 10, no. 7 (18 February 1932).
- 21 F. Radszuweit, "Bittere Wahrheiten!," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 9, no. 2 (February 1931).
- 22 Radszuweit, "Bittere Wahrheiten!"
- 23 For an overview of the social conditions that led to male prostitution during this period, see Lücke, *Männlichkeit in Unordnung*, 154–232.
- 24 F. Radszuweit, "Evangelischer Bahnhofsdienst gegen Homosexuelle," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 9, no. 19 (14 May 1931).
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- 26 Radszuweit, "Evangelischer Bahnhofsdienst gegen Homosexuelle."
- 27 "Eine Gefahr für die männliche Landjugend," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 7, no. 3 (18 January 1929).
- 28 F. Radszuweit, "Männliche Prostitution!," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 5, no. 3 (March 1927): 8.
- 29 Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 116.
- 30 F. Radszuweit, "Schützt die deutsche Jugend!," *Menschenrecht* 7, no. 2 (February 1929); F. Radszuweit, "Gefahr im Verzuge!," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 5, no. 8 (August 1927): 1–4.
- 31 Friedrich Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen: Ein Wirklichkeitsroman aus der Welt der männlichen Erpresser und Prostituierten* (Berlin: Radszuweit, 1931).
- 32 Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (1931), "Vorwort zur 3. und 4. Auflage."
- 33 *Die Insel* no. 11 (November 1930), 17.
- 34 *Die Insel* no. 12 (December 1931), 31.
- 35 Peter Martin Lampel, "Begegnungen," in §297,3 "Unzucht zwischen Männern"?, 95–107.

- 36 John Henry Mackay, *Der Puppenjunge: Die Geschichte einer namenlosen Liebe aus der Friedrichstraße* (Berlin: Rosa Winkel, 1999).
- 37 Mackay used a pseudonym to prevent any damage that the association with homosexuality might inflict upon his anarchist political affiliation. That Sagitta was actually Mackay was not discovered until 1923. Kennedy, *John Henry Mackay*, 140–4.
- 38 Kennedy, *John Henry Mackay*, 145; Oosterhuis and Kennedy, *Homosexuality and Male Bonding*, 33.
- 39 Kennedy, *John Henry Mackay*, 184–5.
- 40 Kennedy, *John Henry Mackay*, 151.
- 41 Kennedy, *John Henry Mackay*, 164.
- 42 Keilson-Lauritz, *Die Geschichte der eigenen Geschichte*, 462.
- 43 Kennedy, *John Henry Mackay*, 209.
- 44 Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (1931), 16.
- 45 Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (1931), 23.
- 46 Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (1931), 39.
- 47 Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (1931), 29.
- 48 Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (1931), 69.
- 49 Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (1931), 73.
- 50 Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (1931), 74.
- 51 Linsert, "Der Strichjunge," 40.
- 52 David J. Prickett, "Defining Identity via Homosexual Spaces: Locating the Male Homosexual in Weimar Berlin," *Women in German Yearbook* 21 (2005): 150.
- 53 Radszuweit, *Männer zu verkaufen* (1931), 85–6.
- 54 Prickett, "Defining Identity," 153.
- 55 Mark D. Jordan, *Recruiting Young Love: How Christians Talk about Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 123.
- 56 Paul Weber, "Männer zu verkaufen," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 9, no. 2 (15 January 1931).
- 57 Weber, "Männer zu verkaufen."
- 58 Weber, "Männer zu verkaufen."
- 59 "Es äußern sich ... Berlins bekanntester Strafverteidiger Rechtsanwalt Walter Bahn, Dr. Placzek, Berlin, u.a.," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 9, no. 9 (5 March 1931).
- 60 "Der Roman Männer zu verkaufen von Friedrich Radszuweit," *Die Insel* no. 2 (February 1931): 30.
- 61 *Die Insel* no. 7 (July 1931), back cover.
- 62 Siegfried Placzek, *Homosexualität und Recht* (Leipzig: Verlag von Georg Thieme, 1925), 39.
- 63 Placzek, *Homosexualität und Recht*, 92.
- 64 Placzek, *Homosexualität und Recht*, 153.

- 65 Placzek, *Homosexualität und Recht*, 101.
- 66 For the debates surrounding female prostitution in the Weimar Republic, see Victoria T. Harris, *Selling Sex in the Reich: Prostitutes in German Society, 1914–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 80–111; and Timm, *Politics of Fertility*, 35–79.
- 67 F. Radszuweit, “WhK und männliche Prostitution,” *Menschenrecht* 7, no. 8 (August 1929).
- 68 Mildenerger, *Beispiel*, 24–32.
- 69 F. Radszuweit, “Der Streit um den §175,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 8, no. 3 (March 1930).
- 70 F. Radszuweit, “Irrlehren über die Homosexualität,” *Menschenrecht* 7, no. 4 (April 1929): 10–11.
- 71 Radszuweit, “Irrlehren über die Homosexualität,” 10–11.
- 72 Eberhard Schmidt, *Einführung in die Geschichte der deutschen Strafrechtspflege* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1995), 395–411.
- 73 The Criminal Law Committee’s position on punishing male same-sex acts changed over the course of the Weimar Republic. In the 1919 draft, Paragraph 175 punished male same-sex acts, male prostitution, and bestiality with jail terms. Same-sex acts with minors were punished with even harsher sentences in the penitentiary. The punishment for bestiality and sex between adult men was repealed in the 1922 draft. The provisional 1924 draft punished male same-sex acts again and continued to define these acts in terms of “intercourse-like acts” (*beischlafähnliche Handlungen*), a vague phrase that had been used since 1871 to refer to both anal penetration and interfemoral intercourse. Kissing, fondling, caressing, or mutual masturbation were left unpunished. See Werner Schubert and Jürgen Regge, eds., *Quellen zur Reform des Straf- und Strafprozeßrechts: Abteilung I: Weimarer Republik (1918–1932)*, vol. 1, *Entwürfe zu einem Strafgesetzbuch (1919, 1922, 1924/25 und 1927)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 72; Reichsratsausschüsse VII, III und V. Berichterstatter: Oberlandesgerichtspräsident Dr. Mannsfeld und Ministerialrat Schäfer: Entwurf eines Allgemeinen Deutschen Strafgesetzbuchs. Nr. 174 der Drucksachen von 1924 (Vorläufige Beschlüsse der Reichsratsausschüsse in zweiter Lesung). BArch R 3001/5818, p. 76.
- 74 F. Radszuweit, “Zur Jahreswende,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 3, no. 12 (December 1925).
- 75 Magnus Hirschfeld, “Der neue §175. Ein Gesetz für Erpresser,” *Die Freundschaft* 7, no. 1 (January/February 1925).
- 76 Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland*, 82–3. The original article was “Homosexuelle als Vortragsredner in Knabenschulen: Magnus Hirschfeld, der ‘Vorkämpfer’ für Aufhebung des § 175, darf in deutschen Gymnasien sprechen; Die Zerstörung der Jugend! Deutsche Mütter,

Arbeiterfrauen! Wollt Ihr Eure Kinder Homosexuellen ausliefern?," *Völkischer Beobachter* 41 (31 October 1928): 1. See also Geoffrey J. Giles, "Why Bother about Homosexuals? Homophobia and Sexual Politics in Nazi Germany," J.B. and Maurice Shapiro Annual Lecture (Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2002), 8.

- 77 Sommer, *Die Strafbarkeit der Homosexualität*, 270.
- 78 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 (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1995), 200–5; Detlef Grumbach, "Die Linke und das Laster: Arbeiterbewegung und Homosexualität zwischen 1870 und 1933," in *Die Linke und das Laster: Schwule Emanzipation und linke Vorurteile*, ed. Detlef Grumbach (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript-Verlag, 1995), 17–37.
- 79 Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland*, 75.
- 80 Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland*, 75.
- 81 "Reichstag IV. Wahlperiode. 21. Ausschuß (Reichstrafgesetzbuch). 85. Sitzung. Verhandelt Berlin, den 16. Oktober 1929," *Mitteilungen des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees* no. 24 (September/October 1929): 183.
- 82 "Reichstag IV," 185.
- 83 Schmidt, *Einführung in die Geschichte der deutschen Strafrechtspflege*, 359–79.
- 84 "Stellungnahme zu einer Aufhebung des §175 RStGB: Eine Umfrage," *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift* 56, no. 3 (17 January 1930): 85–6; "Stellungnahme zu einer Aufhebung des §175 RStGB: Eine Umfrage," *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift* 56, no. 4 (24 January 1930): 127–30; "Antworten auf die Umfrage der 'Deutschen Medizinischen Wochenschrift' Heft 3 und 4 (1930)," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 8, no. 4 (May 1930).
- 85 "Stellungnahme zu einer Aufhebung des §175," *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift* 56, no. 3: 86–7.
- 86 "85. Sitzung vom 16.10. 1929 (§296 Unzucht zwischen Männern)," in *Quellen zur Reform des Straf- und Strafprozeßrechts: Abteilung I: Weimarer Republik (1918–1932)*, vol. 3, *Protokolle der Strafrechtausschüsse des Reichstags*, eds. Werner Schubert and Jürgen Regge (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 56.
- 87 "Reichstag IV," 187.
- 88 "Beratungen des Strafgesetzausschusses des Deutschen Reichstags über den §297 des Amtlichen Strafgesetzentwurfs," *Mitteilungen des Wissenschaftlichen-humanitären Komitees* no. 26 (December 1929/January 1930): 220.
- 89 "Beratungen des Strafgesetzausschusses," 210.

- 90 Both organizations expressed their contrasting views in their publications. Whereas the WhK announced that Paragraph 175 had not been abolished, the BfM reported its abolition. “Kundgebung des Vorstandes des W.H.K. Der § 175 nicht gefallen!,” *Mitteilungen des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees* no. 26 (December 1929/January 1930); “§ 175 Gefallen!,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 7, no. 12 (December 1929).
- 91 “§ 296,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 8, no. 2 (February 1930).
- 92 Sommer, *Die Strafbarkeit der Homosexualität*, 290–304.
- 93 Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 113.
- 94 Hiller, “Schutz auch den Prostituierten!,” in *Die Schmach des Jahrhunderts*, 66–77.
- 95 Hiller, “Rücksicht auf die Reaktion?,” in *Die Schmach des Jahrhunderts*, 78.
- 96 Hiller, “Rücksicht auf die Reaktion?,” 82.
- 97 Hiller, “Rücksicht auf die Reaktion?,” 83.

### Conclusion: The Seduction of Youth, Respectability, and the End of Weimar’s Homosexual Rights Movement

- 1 Eduard Richter, “10 Jahre Gefängnis wegen Vergehen gegen §175 R.St.G.B.,” *Die Insel* 3, nos. 21–2 (22 May 1925).
- 2 “An den Vorstand der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands,” *Mitteilungen des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees* no. 28 (April/August 1930): 274–5; Herzer, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 147–9.
- 3 “Hochverehrtes Mitglied,” *Mitteilungen des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees* no. 23 (July/August 1929): 173.
- 4 “Wichtige Beschlüsse der Obmannschaft des W.H.K. vom 24. November 1929,” *Mitteilungen des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees* no. 25 (November 1929): 197–8. In 1930, Hirschfeld embarked for the United States, Japan, China, India, Egypt, and Palestine to give a series of lectures about sexology. Illness and the political developments in Germany impeded his return to Germany. He died in exile in Nice, France, on 14 May 1935. Herzer, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 229.
- 5 The unclear circumstances surrounding Hirschfeld’s resignation are beyond the scope of this conclusion. For an in-depth analysis of the different reasons and theories about his departure from the WhK, see Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 129–43.
- 6 F. Radszuweit, “Kritisches aus unserer Bewegung,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 8, no. 11 (1930): 1–2.
- 7 F. Radszuweit, “Zum neuen Jahr!,” *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 8, no. 1 (January 1930).
- 8 Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 19.

- 9 I hold in high regard the work of George L. Mosse. His book *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* made me aware as an undergraduate student of the importance of bourgeois respectability for understanding German history.
- 10 B. Bz., "Jugend, wir rufen dich!," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 6, no. 24 (15 June 1928).
- 11 Dr F.O. Hartog, "Die Existenzberechtigung der Menschen," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 11, no. 11 (16 March 1933).
- 12 Hans von Laublank, "Die versuchte Vernichtung der homosexuellen Staatsbürger," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 6, no. 5 (3 February 1928): 35.
- 13 Von Laublank, "Die versuchte Vernichtung," 35.
- 14 This system of values can be considered an early form of homonationalism, a term coined by Jasbir Puar that highlights the complicity of LGBT individuals with nationalism and patriotism. Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 2003), 50; Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 39.
- 15 Von Laublank, "Die versuchte Vernichtung," 35.
- 16 F. Radszuweit, "Unsere Bewegung: Rückblick – Ausblick," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 9, no. 1 (January 1931): 3–7.
- 17 F. Radszuweit, "Lehrreiche statistische Feststellungen!," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 4, no. 11 (1926): 34–7.
- 18 F. Radszuweit, "Rückblick – Ausblick," 1.
- 19 Friedrich Radszuweit, "Strich," *Das Freundschaftsblatt* 10, no. 7 (18 February 1932).
- 20 Kurt Hiller, "Der Stand unserer Bewegung," *Die Freundschaft* 13, no. 3 (March 1931): 33–5.
- 21 Herzer, *Magnus Hirschfeld*, 147.
- 22 The NSDAP received exactly 37.3 per cent of the vote in 1932. Mommsen, *Rise and Fall*, 352.
- 23 Paul Weber, "Sonntag der Toten," *Die Insel* 7, no. 11 (November 1932): 9.
- 24 Paul Weber and Martin Radszuweit, "Zur Reichstagswahl," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 10, nos. 10–11 (October/November 1932).
- 25 Paul Weber, "Reichstagswahl," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 11, nos. 2–3 (February/March 1933).
- 26 Paul Weber, "Die Aussichten für das neue Strafgesetzbuch: Ein Rückblick und Ausblick," *Blätter für Menschenrecht* 10, no. 12 (December 1932/January 1933).
- 27 "Zweiter Runderlaß des Preußischen Ministers des Innern vom 23. Februar 1933" and "Dritter Runderlaß des Preußischen Ministers des Innern vom 24. Februar 1933," in Günther Grau, ed., *Homosexualität in*

- der NS Zeit: Dokumente einer Diskriminierung und Verfolgung* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 2004), 56–60.
- 28 “Brief des schwulen Verlegers Adolf Brand vom 29. November 1933 (Auszug),” in Grau, *Homosexualität in der NS-Zeit*, 63–6.
- 29 Günter Grau, “Verfolgung, ‘Umerziehung,’ oder ‘Ausgrenzung’ homosexueller Männer 1933 bis 1945: Folgen des rassenhygienischen Konzepts der Reproduktionssicherung,” in Grau, *Homosexualität in der NS-Zeit*, 31.
- 30 Rudolf Klare, *Homosexualität und Strafrecht* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1937), 11.
- 31 This topic is too vast to do it justice here. For an excellent overview of the literature about the persecution of homosexuality under National Socialism, see Whisnant, “Nazi Persecution,” in *Queer Identities and Politics*, 204–41.
- 32 Klare, *Homosexualität und Strafrecht*, 118; Susanne zur Nieden, “Der homosexuelle Staats- und Volksfeind: Zur Radikalisierung eines Feinbildes im Nationalsozialismus,” in *Homophobie und Devianz: Weibliche und männliche Homosexualität im Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Insa Eschebach (Berlin: Metropol, 2016), 23–34; Sommer, *Die Strafbarkeit der Homosexualität*, 309–11; Claudia Schoppmann, *Nationalsozialistische Sexualpolitik und weibliche Homosexualität* (Pfaffenweiler, Germany: Centaurus Verlag, 1991), 42–51.
- 33 “Geheime Staatspolizei läßt Liste anlegen: Telegramme vom Oktober 1934,” in Grau, *Homosexualität in der NS-Zeit*, 74.
- 34 Geoffrey J. Giles, “Legislating Homophobia in the Third Reich: The Radicalization of Prosecution against Homosexuality by the Legal Profession,” *German History* 23, no. 3 (2005): 339–54.
- 35 Stümke, *Homosexuelle in Deutschland*, 109; Sommer, *Die Strafbarkeit der Homosexualität*, 320–1.
- 36 “Himmlers Geheimerlaß zur Bekämpfung der Homosexualität und Abtreibung,” in Grau, *Homosexualität in der NS-Zeit*, 122–5.
- 37 Klare, *Homosexualität und Strafrecht*, 120, 126–7. See also Geoffrey Giles, “‘The Most Unkindest Cut of All’: Castration, Homosexuality, and Nazi Justice,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 1 (1992): 46–61.
- 38 Stefan Micheler, ed., “Denunziert, verfolgt, ermordet: Homosexuelle Männer und Frauen in der NS-Zeit,” special issue, *Invertito: Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Homosexualitäten* 4 (2007).
- 39 For the currency of age of consent in decriminalization debates and the widespread agreement on the possibility of homosexual seduction after 1945, see Brongersma, *Das verfeimte Geschlecht*; Robert G. Moeller, “Private Acts, Public Anxieties, and the Fight to Decriminalize Male Homosexuality in West Germany,” *Feminist Studies* 36, no. 3 (2010): 528–52; Jennifer V. Evans, “Decriminalization, Seduction, and ‘Unnatural

Desire' in East Germany," *Feminist Studies* 36, no. 3 (Fall 2010): 553–77;  
Clayton J. Whisnant, *Male Homosexuality in West Germany: Between  
Persecution and Freedom, 1945–1969* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012),  
82–8.

- 40 Martin Danecker and Reimut Reiche, *Der gewöhnliche Homosexuelle:  
Eine soziologische Untersuchung über männliche Homosexuelle in der  
Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 1974), 56.
- 41 Danecker and Reiche, *Der gewöhnliche Homosexuelle*, 62.

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