

Hubert Kennedy

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs

Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement

Peremptory Publications

San Francisco

2002

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*R. G. Ulrichs.*

When posterity will one day have included the persecution of Urnings in that sad chapter of other persecutions for religious belief and race—and that this day will come is beyond all doubt—then will the name of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs be constantly remembered as one of the first and noblest of those who have striven with courage and strength in this field to help truth and charity gain their rightful place.

Magnus Hirschfeld, Foreword to *Forschungen über das Rätsel der mann männlichen Liebe* (1898)



Magnus Hirschfeld

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## Preface

The reception to the first edition of my biography of this courageous pioneer was very gratifying, although there were still questions about Ulrichs's life that I was unable to answer. Why, for example, did he leave state's service in Hanover after only six years as an administrator and assistant judge? I could only speculate. With the German edition in 1990, however, I was able to give a definitive answer to that question. In the decade since then even more information has become available, so that I welcomed the request for a revised German edition (2001), to which the present edition essentially corresponds. I am very grateful to all the researchers who have shared their findings, and I am very pleased that interest in this important figure from our past continues to grow. I hope that this new edition, which is about 16% longer than the first edition, will contribute to an even greater appreciation of Ulrichs's hopes, his dreams, his accomplishments.

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Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was perhaps the first self-proclaimed homosexual (or, in his terminology, Urning—the word “homosexual” was not invented until later) to speak out publicly for the rights of homosexuals. This was in 1867 at a Congress of German Jurists in Munich. He was shouted down on that occasion and not allowed to finish his speech, but this may have seemed to him a mild reaction for he had twice been imprisoned for speaking out against the Prussian invasion and annexation of his homeland Hanover in 1866.

Already in 1864 and 1865 Ulrichs had published a series of five booklets presenting a new scientific theory of homosexuality, the so-called third sex theory, which, by asserting that the condition is inborn and natural, formed a basis for his demand that the contemporary antihomosexual laws be abolished. Ulrichs himself was a trained lawyer and had been briefly an assistant attorney in the civil service of the Kingdom of Hanover, but from 1855 he lived as a freelance journalist, with many literary, scientific, and political interests. He was for a while the private secretary of a diplomat at the parliament of the German Confederation in Frankfurt.

Ulrichs's series of twelve booklets on "The Riddle of 'Man-Manly' Love" (the title of the English translation of Ulrichs's writings by Michael Lombardi-Nash, 1994) continued until 1879, but despite his courageous efforts he was unable to form an effective movement for legal reform. On the contrary, following the unification of Germany after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, the harsh Prussian antihomosexual law was extended to all parts of Germany. In disappointment Ulrichs left Germany to spend the last fifteen years of his life in Italy, where he wrote and published a journal promoting yet another interest: the Latin language.

In 1897, two years after the death of Ulrichs, Magnus Hirschfeld founded the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, the first homosexual rights organization, and the following year he edited a new edition of the twelve booklets of Ulrichs. In later writings Hirschfeld modified Ulrichs's theory to form his own theory of "sexual intermediates," in this and other ways continuing the work and spirit of Ulrichs. In his book *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (1914), Hirschfeld gave fourteen pages to a discussion of Ulrichs, concluding: "We have lingered a bit longer with Ulrichs, because he is of triple importance: as a researcher into Uranismus [homosexuality], as a fighter for it, and last but not least as a Uranian personality" (Hirschfeld 1914, 967).

I share Hirschfeld's view of the "triple importance" of Ulrichs and I have tried to give all three points full weight in this biography. As a gay man, I am not an impartial observer of his life and works. But despite my admiration for the man, which will be evident enough, let me state here my prejudices. I do not share the belief of Ulrichs and Hirschfeld that a study of the biology of homosexuality must eventually lead to a general understanding and acceptance of gay people. Ulrichs posited an invisible "germ" that was responsible for the development of homosexuality. Despite their repeated failures, biologists have continued to seek to uncover this "germ" in one form or another. Indeed, in the past decade we have been exposed to such "discoveries" almost annually. For various reasons I think this project is doomed to failure. More importantly, I think history shows that, even if such a biological explanation were revealed, it would not automatically lead to better treatment of homosexuals.

I am more inclined to the view of the German anarchist John Henry Mackay, that "after all, each person only understands his own love and every other is foreign and in-

comprehensible to him,” so that “here only the concept of the right to equal freedom, the tolerance of foreign lifestyles as the final and highest result of civilization can be salutary” (Mackay 1979, 68). I agree with him that this is part of “the struggle of the individual for his freedom against any kind of oppression whatever” (Mackay 1979, 61).

Nevertheless, I think it is important, and not only for gay people, to understand the development of a theory of homosexuality that has been historically important and continues to be influential. I agree with John Addington Symonds’s comment to Edward Carpenter in 1893: “He must be regarded as the real originator of a scientific handling of the phenomenon” (Symonds 1967–69, 3: 814). For this reason I have carefully tried to trace its origins, to see what was original in Ulrichs’s thinking, and to determine the influences on him. This means placing Ulrichs in the intellectual, social, and political climate of his time; but competing theories of homosexuality, for example, have only been discussed as they came into conflict with his.

Ulrichs will be best remembered, as Hirschfeld noted already in 1898, as a fighter for his cause: the freeing of his fellow homosexuals from legal and social oppression. Early on he saw this struggle as a continual one, writing, in a slight paraphrase of Goethe: “Only he gains his freedom and life, who must daily conquer them” (*Inclusa*, 28).<sup>1</sup> Today, more than a century after Ulrichs ended his campaign, it appears that some progress has indeed been made. How fragile this gain may be, however, is shown by the ease with which in the 1930s the Nazis wiped out the first flowering of our movement in Germany. But the courage and integrity of Ulrichs more than a century ago remains an inspiration.

Ulrichs was also flesh and blood, with sexual desires and a need for love, and I have tried to present this side of him as well. His candor about himself allows us a picture that is rare indeed in the nineteenth century, for his story is not one of the case histories of Krafft-Ebing’s *Psychopathia sexualis*, of which Mackay complained: “They had locked up his love in science’s wax-figure cabinet of monsters, deformities, and monstrosities of all kinds” (Mackay 1979, 214). Ulrichs gave literary evidence of his loves in a number of poems throughout his writings. Several of them are included here.

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1. See *Faust*, part 2, act 5. In the translation of George Madison Priest: “Of freedom and of life he only is deserving / Who every day must conquer them anew.”



In the first edition I expressed some debts in the following paragraph, which I gladly and sincerely repeat here:

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the help and encouragement of many people in the preparation of this biography. I am grateful in the first place to Jonathan Ned Katz, who first called Ulrichs to my attention. The help of Menso Folkerts and Manfred Herzer has been indispensable, both in personal encouragement and in the procuring of documents (and assistance in reading them!) otherwise unavailable to me. I thank also those libraries and archives which made such information available: the Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde (Aurich), the Freies Deutsches Hochstift, the Cotta Verlag-Archiv, the Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv (Stade), the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Berlin), and the Hungarian National Library (Budapest). I am also grateful to the following individuals, who have been helpful in various ways: Enzo Cucco, Egmont Fassbinder, Sander Gilman, Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, Michael Lombardi, James Steakley, Denis Sweet, and David Thorstad.

In the meantime, my debts have grown ever larger and I cannot name everyone who has been of assistance in the production of this new edition. But some must be mentioned. First is Wolfram Setz, whose initiative and industry in preparing a new, complete edition of Ulrichs's writings deserve much praise. Our work on that project was the beginning of a very gratifying cooperation. His contributions to this book have been indispensable and put me eternally in his debt. Conversations with John De Cecco, longtime editor of *Journal of Homosexuality*, helped clarify my own views on the reasons for the persistence of biological explanations of homosexuality, of whose history Ulrichs is very much a part. Rainer Hoffschildt furnished information used already in the first German edition. Jens Dobler generously shared his findings regarding Ulrichs's year in Berlin. I must again mention my gratitude to Manfred Herzer, whose willingness to help with information seems inexhaustible, and to Michael Lombardi—now Lombardi-Nash—whose constant enthusiasm has been a spur to new efforts. The interest and encouragement of my friend Clair Norman have meant much to me.

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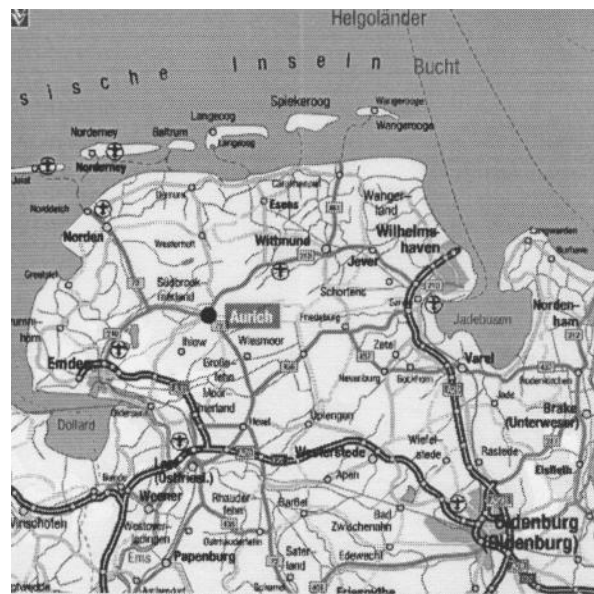
In both his publications and correspondence Ulrichs used various forms of emphasis (underscoring, etc.) liberally; all these have been omitted here. All translations into Eng-

lish are mine, with the exceptions (noted in the text) of a short excerpt from the translation of Plato's *Symposium* by Benjamin Jowett and poems by Ulrichs in the translations of Edward Carpenter and John Addington Symonds. There is also a brief poem of Goethe as translated by Longfellow.

A final word about references: I am using a modified version of the author-date system recommended by *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition (1993), that is, most references are in the usual author-date form, but references to the writings of Ulrichs are by title (without date). References to archival sources are abbreviated; the abbreviations are in the list of all references, which is at the back of the book.



Center of Aurich in the nineteenth century



Map showing location of Aurich, with the island of Langeoog, where Ulrichs was on a rabbit hunt as a child

## Childhood: 1825–1844

From the center of Aurich in East Friesland it is today only a short drive south and over the Ems-Jade Canal (constructed in 1882–1887) to the municipality of Kirchdorf. After crossing the bridge, a turn west leads directly to Westerfeld, where Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was born and spent the first ten years of his life. The name “Westerfeld” is documented as early as 1734 in a sale of the estate and house, which was sold three more times before being bought on 3 January 1820 by Ulrichs’s father, Heinrich Ulrichs, for 2,350 gold Reichstaler. The house was rebuilt following a fire in 1854, but in 1958 it was decided to raze it in order to build single-family houses (Gut Westerfeld 1958).

The name “Aurich” (in the form “Aurechove”) was first mentioned at the end of the thirteenth century. After a long struggle, the inhabitants of Aurich recognized the Cirk-sena as rulers in 1438, and in 1447 a large fortress was built. (The current castle which stands on the same site originates from the year 1852.) From 1559 until 1744 Aurich was the residence of the East Friesian princes of the house Cirk-sena. After that East Friesland was Prussian until 1815. After belonging for a short period to the Kingdom of Hanover, it again became Prussian in 1866. In 1900 Aurich still had only 6,000 inhabitants (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1911). By 2000 the number of inhabitants had grown to 40,000; the incorporation of the surrounding region in 1972 increased the number threefold.

Hermann Heinrich Ulrichs was already thirty-five years old and married when he bought Westerfeld in January 1820. His wife Elise was the daughter of Johann Heinrich Heinrichs, a Lutheran Superintendent (i.e., regional director). Their daughter Louise, who would later marry a pastor, was less than a month old. A second daughter was born in 1822, but she lived less than a year, and a son, born in 1824, died immediately after birth.

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was born on 28 August 1825; his younger sister Ulrike Henriette was born almost exactly three years later. Karl was baptized on 24 September, having as godfathers two Lutheran ministers: his grandfather, Superintendent Heinrichs from Burgdorf (Hanover); and his uncle, Pastor Carl Heinrichs from Uchte bei Rinteln (Hanover). Two months earlier his father had been godfather of a Hermann Otto August Ulrichs

(who is probably identical with Hermann Ulrichs, the Consistory Registrar of Aurich [see Ulrichs 1860]). The latter's parents, who also lived in Aurich, were Christian Friedrich Ulrichs—often described in the baptismal registry as manager and surveyor—and Henriette Marie Justine Ulrichs, née Hintze, who was later godmother of Karl's younger sister Ulrike. Thus Karl's father and C. F. Ulrichs were very probably related—most likely they were brothers.

In the record of Karl's baptism his father was described as "Königlicher Landbauverwalter" and on his death ten years later as "Landbaumeister." In an autobiographical statement later (Appendix A) Karl Heinrich Ulrichs described his father as "Königlicher Hannoverischer Landbaumeister" and in another statement in Latin many years later he wrote: "Filius sum architecti" (Persichetti 1896, 5). All this may perhaps be summed up by saying that he was an architect in the civil service of the royal Hanoverian government and, as such, was the responsible official for his district. Just what his activities were in this capacity is not clear. According to Niccolò Persichetti, who was Ulrichs's patron in his last years, his father fell into a hole while taking some measurements and hurt his back, thus incurring his fatal illness (Persichetti 1896, 12). ("Inflammation in the abdomen" was recorded in the church registry.) He died on 24 August 1835 and was buried four days later on the tenth birthday of his son, who stood by the open grave and cried (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 3).

Those ten years were often recalled by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs as a "happy childhood." In his sixties, he could still recall how happy he was as a child to see a mother hen with her chicks. He remembered that they were fed white grain and then the hen settled down in a sunny spot while her chicks crawled under her wings. He remembered the two old linden trees that flanked the entrance to Westerfeld, their bark covered with moss, and how he could hardly keep his balance when Hylax, a hairy and shaggy dog, leaped to his breast in his joy at seeing him, but then became gentle and licked his hand. "It was always so and we were always good friends" (*Cupressi*, 13). Above all, the image of his mother was indelible: "From an extremely loving motherly care, I received in part my first education and in part a whole series of other ineradicable intellectual impressions and influences" (Appendix A). From this period he remembered her taking him onto her lap, folding his hands, and teaching him prayers (*Cupressi*, 15). When a baby raven once

fell out of a poplar tree and broke its wing, she rescued it and fed and cared for it. He remembered awaking at night, alone in his bed and fearful, wishing to be with her. "What happiness came over me if I was allowed to climb out of my little bed and go to my mother!" (*Inclusa*, 67).

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One of the consequences of the "third sex" theory that Ulrichs later developed was that the Urning is different from other men in a variety of ways. His early memories of feeling different included an incident that occurred when he was seven years old. His father had taken him into Aurich and left him in a square where some town children of his age were singing and playing. They did not hurt him, but made him uneasy, and he was very happy when his father returned and took him away. Although Ulrichs later saw this as an example of his sexual/psychical difference, it probably illustrates instead the isolation of his childhood in the country. More to the point of his theory, he recalled that as a child of three and four years he wore girls' clothes and found it painful when he first had to put on boys' clothes. He protested, "No, I want to be a girl" (*Memnon*, 57). He also thought his effeminate nature had exposed him to a good deal of undeserved humiliation as a child (*Inclusa*, 15).

In spite of such incidents, his early childhood in Westerfeld was probably rather ordinary. Shortly before his ninth birthday in the summer of 1834, for example, he took part in a rabbit hunt on the coastal island of Langeoog. He enjoyed picking flowers in spring for the annual "bride's path," a custom in Aurich to celebrate the Christian feast of the Ascension. He rode the boat on the canal that went from Aurich to Emden. He later remembered that from the first landing, Kokulorum, he could see the two tall poplars that stood in the vegetable garden on his father's estate.

Although Ulrichs preferred playing with his sisters' playmates, when he became a pupil at the Gymnasium in Aurich, he must have become more used to being around other boys. (The Gymnasium was a six-year higher school that followed the four-year lower school). But there, before he was ten years old, he fell in love with a fellow pupil, an event he later saw as proof of his special nature. His love, Eduard d'H., was only one class higher in school, but two or three years older and their parents were unacquainted, so Ulrichs had difficulty approaching him. Still he felt himself irresistibly drawn by Edu-

ard's beauty. Ulrichs had the idea of inviting him to his tenth birthday party, but the death of his father four days before his birthday canceled plans for the party, so Ulrichs did not get to know him. Only once did Ulrichs ask Eduard to walk with him from Aurich to Westerfeld. When Ulrichs left East Friesland a half-year later, Eduard wrote a page in his memory book. "I valued this page more than all the others" (*Memnon*, 1: 26).

Already at this age, Ulrichs felt himself to be different, and this was reinforced by his mother, who would often sigh, "Karl, you are not like other boys!" He recalled, for example, how he hated it when he was forced to take part in snowball fights.

In the spring of 1836 Karl moved with his mother and younger sister to Burgdorf (about forty kilometers from Hanover), where his maternal grandfather was the church superintendent. His older sister Louise was already there. He lived there until Easter 1839, when he was confirmed by his grandfather in the Lutheran Church. He also received instruction in mathematics from his grandfather, a Doctor of Philosophy and Doctor of Theology. Years later Ulrichs remembered that his grandfather liked to pick anemones among the fir trees (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 138), and in his old age he could still recall the laugh of his "good grandfather" (*Alaudae*, 16, 320), who died in 1850 (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 31). From Easter 1839 until Michaelmas (29 September) 1839 he was an intern at the school of a Pastor Müller in Rössing, a village not far from Hildesheim. Ulrichs then continued his schooling in the Gymnasium in Detmold (Michaelmas 1839 to Easter 1842) and the Gymnasium in Celle (Easter 1842 to Easter 1844).

The reason for attending the Gymnasium in Detmold was that his mother's brother was Lutheran Pastor there and she often visited him. It was their, and his, plan that Ulrichs not go to a university, but follow a career in architecture, and therefore he applied himself more to drawing and mathematics than to languages. However, his legal guardian in Aurich insisted that he take every subject and make a final decision later.<sup>2</sup> Thus he began Greek only in his last semester in Detmold. He was able to catch up so well, however, that on his final examination in Celle at Easter 1844 he received a "very good" in Greek and overall the second highest of the four possible marks.

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2. According to Ulrichs's Abgangszeugnis (leaving certificate) at Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Berlin (1847), his guardian was Gerhard Carl Reimerdes, Justizkanzleisekretär (Secretary of the Office of Justice) in Aurich. Personal communication from Jens Dobler, 24 May 2002.

It was while he was in Detmold that Ulrichs began to experience his sexual awakening. He recalled that he was fifteen years ten-and-a-half months old when he had his first wet dream (and this was his first ejaculation altogether) (*Memnon*, 2: 54). But already earlier he had felt a sensual ardor that he was unable to explain. In drawing class he had to copy from a book of architectural illustrations of Greek columns. There the nude figure of a Greek god or hero so impressed itself on his imagination that he could not suppress it. And often when he was studying in his room or had just gone to bed, the thought would suddenly come to him: "What if a soldier were to climb through the window into my room!" (*Memnon*, 2: 54). Ulrichs pictured to himself a splendid figure of a soldier, twenty or twenty-two years old, and he "burned like fire" (*Memnon*, 2: 54).

Alas, Ulrichs had never even spoken to a soldier at that time and it was not until a couple of years later that he touched one. He was on a trip alone in a coach and the driver allowed a soldier to ride a short way with him. There were just the two of them, side by side on the narrow seat. Ulrichs burned with a desire to place his hand on the young soldier's thigh. He could only suffer, however, for this tantalizing prospect seemed impossible to him (*Memnon*, 2: 55). Later, as a student in Berlin, he would get to know soldiers better. Still, Ulrichs must have fallen in love while attending the Gymnasium in Celle. In a poem published in 1880 he wrote (*Apicula Latina*, 39):

Receive my blessed greetings rosy countenance  
That stands before my soul so charming and so mild,  
Of my earlier days  
The brightly rising morning star.

Oh how happy I was, if I was by your side!  
How we once embraced so snugly with our arms,  
Wandering under the boughs,  
As the evening descended about.

I think of you again today with moist eyes,  
Who could ever forget you? you who were my gem.



Why does youth disappear  
And why is that time so distant now?

Ulrichs noted that he could no longer remember when the poem was written, but “that star arose for me in early youth, in 1843” (*Apicula Latina*, 29).

## Student and Jurist: 1844–1854

Having completed the Gymnasium at Easter 1844, Ulrichs was now prepared to become a university student. It is not clear why he decided to do so rather than follow his father's profession of architecture, but he was perhaps influenced by his recent exposure to the classic languages. The Westerfeld estate, which had been jointly inherited by his mother and her children, had been sold for 4850 Reichstaler gold on 23 March 1840, and this probably furnished the money for his education. The University of Göttingen was then an obvious choice, since it was in the Kingdom of Hanover, but he was probably also influenced by Superintendent Heinrichs, his grandfather, who had been a distinguished student there. Why he chose to study law is less clear. At any rate Latin was not neglected during the two years he was a student in Göttingen. In 1846 he sought permission from King Ernst August "to be allowed to send him a Latin poem, which would be dedicated to the Crown Prince as a poem of greeting or best wishes." Since Ulrichs was unknown in Hanover, the king ordered that he "be informed about the personality of the young man and other relevant circumstances, namely, what his intentions were" (GU). Apparently nothing unfavorable was known, so that Ulrichs's request was thought to be harmless.

His essay *Fori reconventionis origines et doctrina* (The origins and doctrine of the jurisdiction of countersuits) was awarded a prize by the University of Göttingen on 4 June 1846. Ulrichs dedicated the essay to his grandfather Heinrichs, noting that he had won the same prize in 1785.<sup>3</sup>

Ulrichs's five semesters in Göttingen—he was there until Michaelmas 1846, when he transferred to Berlin—appear to have gone by with few incidents. Once he was accused of pouring something (presumably slops) from a window, but he was acquitted of the charge because someone else had done it (H). It was during his second year that Ulrichs became fully aware of his sexual attraction to men. He was at a ball in Münden, not

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3. "This first scientific essay is dedicated to Dr. Heinrich Heinrichs, Hanoverian Church Councilor, who 61 years ago, in 1785, was the very first to win this prize of the University of Göttingen, the very best grandfather."

far from Göttingen, “where I danced a lot as usual.” Among the dancers were a dozen “well-developed and beautifully uniformed forestry school students.” Ulrichs reported that he could hardly keep his eyes off several of them. “I could have embraced them immediately.” But he did not, and “after the ball, when I went to bed in my room in the Willmann House, alone and unseen by anyone I suffered real torture, gripped by the memory of those beautiful young men” (Vier Briefe, 45).

We do not know if Ulrichs acted on his inclinations while in Göttingen. At any rate, nothing came to the knowledge of the authorities that was against “public morality,” for in replying to the king’s inquiry, Hofrat Ritter of the University Consistory wrote:

Student Ulrichs, who has diligently attended his lectures for five semesters, according to the statements of his teachers, and has also shown other signs of an extraordinary diligence, is reputed to be a respectable person. He has also never given cause for complaint regarding discipline. (GU)

In fact, Ulrichs’s concluding record of 22 October 1846 shows that he attended not only the usual juridical lectures, but also interested himself at that time in historical and other questions. He attended, for example, lectures on “Archaeology of the Persians, Jews, Egyptians” and “History of Recent German Literature,” receiving good marks in all of them.

He was next a student for one year in Berlin.<sup>4</sup> The reason for the transfer is not clear, but having become aware of his attraction to men, he may have wished to exchange small-town Göttingen for the larger, more anonymous Berlin. At any rate he seems to have taken advantage of the possibilities Berlin offered. He later wrote the author Carl Robert Egells, himself homosexual:

Do not believe that the roses of love will bloom no more for you! Their blossoming is pretty independent of that freedom and public recognition for which—on the grounds of honor, truth and natural right—I am striving. Those roses also bloom

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4. According to Ulrichs’s Abgangszeugnis (leaving certificate) of 30 September 1847, he was enrolled at the university on 27 October 1846. Personal communication from Jens Dobler, 24 May 2002.

under the pressure of the most hair-raising persecution, and precisely your hometown of Berlin is famous as especially thriving soil for them. (Karsch-Haack 1922b)

These “roses of love” were seen quite differently by the author of *Die Prostitution in Berlin und ihre Opfer* (Prostitution in Berlin and Its Victims), the second edition of which appeared the same year (1846) that Ulrichs arrived in Berlin. This book was published anonymously, but its author has been identified as Dr. jur. Wilhelm Stieber, Berlin’s Director of Police (Herzer 1981, 16). In an appendix, Stieber touched on “male prostitution, onanism, and the unnatural sins.” He attributed to onanism the fact that “recently in our northern residence the unnatural sins have increased in a shocking fashion” (Stieber 1846, 209). He was especially disturbed that it was precisely among the upper classes that these unnatural sins “are raging.” His description continued:

Specifically, *paiderastia* is a vice that, if it continues for a time in its present development, will almost begin to make a claim to tolerance. An uncountable number of unfortunates are indulging in it. Each year several investigations of this kind come to our criminal court; there are regular regions of the city that form gathering places of such monsters (in particular, the little chestnut grove behind the New Watch<sup>5</sup> and the carp pond in the Thiergarten may be emphasized in this connection), and there exist not a few people, common soldiers particularly, who make a trade of being sought out here. Yes, it is not too long since that the police closed down a regular brothel based on this vice. (Stieber 1846, 209)

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5. Karl Friedrich Schinkel’s imposing guardhouse, built in 1816.



The New Watch in the nineteenth century

With his predilection for soldiers, Ulrichs would have taken advantage of the situation, and he must have mentioned some of this to his sister Ulrike in 1862, for she thought Berlin a center of Urnings and exclaimed to him: “Oh if you had only never gone to Berlin!” (Vier Briefe, 44). While agreeing that Berlin was a center of Urnings, Ulrichs denied having felt love for men for the first time there and explained to her that the “male prostitutes in Berlin” were not Urnings, but were rather “ordinary” Dionings (Vier Briefe, 46). Ulrichs’s use of “Urning” and “Dioning” for the homosexual and the heterosexual man, respectively, will be explained later, but this may be a good place to point out that Ulrichs assumed from the beginning that the (homosexual) Urning would love and have sex only with a (heterosexual) Dioning. He later learned that this was not always the case, but he continued to believe that it was the general rule.

After a year of study there, Ulrichs left Berlin, presumably returning to Burgdorf to prepare for the state examination.<sup>6</sup> Thus Ulrichs was not in Berlin for the momentous events of March 1848. Given his later defense of the liberal constitution of Hanover, we may wonder if Ulrichs would have taken part in the “March Revolution.” His later scientific opponent, Rudolf Virchow, then a young doctor at the Charité Hospital, distinguished himself on the occasion, but in fact the role of students was later generally exaggerated. On the centenary of the “March Revolution” the director of the Berlin city archive wrote:

Only two students are on the list of those who fell, and one of them had not even taken part in battle. Among those taken prisoner were ten or eleven students; at most one hundred were at the barricades. But they often acted as leaders, had gained the admiring love of the people, and felt themselves after 18 March as the heroes of the revolution. (Kaeber 1948, 90)

In August 1847 the faculty of the Royal Friedrich Wilhelm University (Berlin) had announced the topic of the annual literary prize: “Pax Westphalica.”<sup>7</sup> The deadline for entries was set for 4 May 1848, with the decision of the judges to be made on 3 August. Ulrichs, having won a similar Latin literary prize in Göttingen, must have seen the opportunity for more honor, but he was unable to complete his essay on time. Unknown to him, the deadline was extended until 18 May “in view of the disturbances brought about by the current conditions,” but Ulrichs, now in Hanover sent his contest entry *Pax Westphalica quid constituerit de principum jure reformandi religionisque exercitio subditorum* (The conditions in the Westphalian Treaty regarding the rights of the princes to reform and the practice of religion of the subjects) to Berlin even later—on 26 May 1848—with the request that it still be considered for the prize. His entry reached the university on 1 June—and was promptly returned to him with a letter explaining why. From it Ulrichs learned of

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6. On 17 December 1846 he had written to the Curator of the University of Göttingen of his intention to return there to conclude his studies, but the records give no indication that he carried out this plan.

7. The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 ended the Thirty Years’ War.

the extension and that the only other entry in the contest had also arrived after the original deadline. In a long letter of 12 June 1848 that reads like a legal brief, Ulrichs appealed to the Royal Prussian Ministry for Educational Affairs to intercede with the Faculty of Law. This apparently had an effect, for the Ministry wrote to the Faculty of Law in July:

From the report of the Faculty of Law of the Royal University on the 20th of the month, and following the request of the student Carl Ulrichs of Hanover, whose entry in this year's prize contest of the Faculty of Law was judged worthy of a prize—which could not be recognized because of a deficiency in its submission—the Ministry authorizes in recognition of his efforts an extraordinary subsidy of fifty talers from the Prize Fund of the Faculty of Law, and the general treasury is instructed to pay this amount on receipt. The Faculty of Law is entrusted with the decision regarding Ulrichs's submission of 12 June of this year. (Humboldt-Universität Berlin – Archiv – Bestand Jur.Fak. Nr. 647 Bl. 268 ff.)<sup>8</sup>

Thus, as Ulrichs later reported:

On 3 and 5 August 1848 my academic paper “de pace Westphalica” was recognized by the Faculty of Law in Berlin to be worthy of the royal prize (a gold medal), but because of a fault in the form, only a sum of money (50 talers) was granted me *honoris causa*. At that time I declined to accept it. (*Memnon*, 2: 132)

He did not say why he declined, but in September, Ulrichs—now “Auditor in Stolzenau”—requested from the Faculty “a certification of that decision.” At any rate, almost twenty years later he sought—with success—to have the Faculty send him the 50 talers, which he needed to publish a volume of poetry (*Memnon*, 2: 132).

Ulrichs completed the Amtsauditor examination with a grade of “very good” (Appendix A) and took the required oath in September. He would remain in state's service hardly more than six years.

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8. I am grateful to Manfred Herzer for furnishing transcripts of the relevant documents.

The first exam allowed Ulrichs to enter state's service with the rank of Auditor, the lowest rank for jurists. This was followed by a second exam, which Ulrichs completed at the beginning of 1852.<sup>9</sup> In March of that year he advanced to the rank of Assessor. (The word "Assessor" may be translated "assistant," but was simply the technical name of this intermediate rank.) In the ordinary career of state's service, he could have expected to later advance to a third rank (judge, administrator, etc.), but he asked to be released from service in December 1854.

Ulrichs had doubts about his suitability for state's service from the beginning. At the time he took the first oath in September 1848 he had scruples of conscience and raised such strong reservations to the oath that the representative of the Ministry of the Interior (Dr. Stüve) recommended to him "to leave state's service again, if it did not suit me" (Appendix A).

Nevertheless, Ulrichs continued and first held office as Auditor in Stolzenau an der Weser. There his discomfort increased, for as a result of his speeches at the Volksverein (People's Union), he fell out of favor with his official superiors, the Amtsassessoren (those in the next higher rank), who held conservative views. Ulrichs was opposed to the constitution that King Ernst August had imposed in 1840; he wished to return to the more liberal constitution granted by William IV in 1833.<sup>10</sup>

As a result of his increasing dissatisfaction with state's service in Hanover, Ulrichs decided to try to obtain a position in the service of the Frankfurt National Assembly that had come into existence in Frankfurt following the events of March 1848. Its aim was to effect a unification of Germany by replacing the German Confederation of 1815. This unification was not achieved, however, and the "rump," which had moved to Stuttgart in June 1849, was forcibly dissolved on 18 June 1849.

In January 1849, however, Ulrichs was hopeful of its success and having "found little taste for state's service, longed rather for service in the Reich of that time" (Appendix

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9. He was examined by Adolf Leonhardt, Minister of Justice in Hanover. Ulrichs recalled this in 1869 in a letter to Leonhardt in which he urged striking the antisodomy law (Hutter 1992, 230). The letter is included in chapter 9. Leonhardt was then Minister of Justice in Prussia.

10. William IV was king of Great Britain and Hanover. The two kingdoms were separated on his death in 1837, when Victoria became queen of Great Britain and Ernst August, as nearest male heir of the late king, became king of Hanover. The liberal constitution of 1833 was declared invalid by Ernst August when he became king of Hanover on the separation of Hanover from Great Britain in 1837, but he was forced to restore it in the stormy year of 1848.



A). With this goal in mind he traveled to Frankfurt in January and February, where he applied for a position to Heinrich Freiherr von Gagern (1799–1880), President of the National Assembly, as well as to Robert von Mohl (1799–1875), its Minister of Justice. Ulrichs was disappointed in his efforts, however, and returned to state's service in Hanover.

In the spring of 1849 he was assigned to Achim an der Weser (near Bremen), where he served as Amtsauditor until August 1851. His position most likely brought him into contact with Obergerichtsanwalt (high court attorney) Tewes in Bremen, and it was probably through him that Ulrichs met his son Heinrich August Tewes (1831–1913), who was to be a lifelong friend and supporter of Ulrichs. Young Tewes was attending the Lyceum in Hanover when Ulrichs arrived. In 1850 he began to study law and this took him to no less than five universities: Göttingen, Berlin, Tübingen, Leipzig, Kiel (for Tewes, see Wurzbach 1882; Hanausek 1913.) On completion of his university studies in 1855 he too entered Hanoverian state's service, becoming Obergerichtsauditor in Göttingen in 1858. There he was persuaded to exchange the practice of law for an academic career and before the end of 1858 he successfully completed the doctoral exam. In the meantime his study of Roman law brought him to the decision to convert to the Catholic faith and to this end he began an intimate correspondence with Friedrich Maaßen (1823–1900), at the time professor of Roman law at the University of Vienna. The result was Tewes's conversion to Catholicism in 1859 and, under Maaßen's direction, his "Habilitation" (giving him the right to hold academic lectures) in Roman law at the University of Innsbruck.

Maaßen having transferred to the University of Graz, Tewes followed him there as Privatdozent in 1861 and in 1863 he was named Extraordinary Professor in recognition of his book *System des Erbrechts nach heutigem römischem Recht. Zum akademischen Gebrauch* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1863, xviii + 822 pages). In fact, it was Ulrichs who was occupied in the summer and fall of 1862 with the final preparation of this large volume. He wrote his sister Ulrike on 22 September 1862, excusing himself for a late reply to her earlier letter:

And finally I continue to be occupied, as a favor to Tewes jun. in Achim, with work on his juridical manuscript, correcting it for the press, which is a boring, diffi-

cult, and tedious task. Since it should already be in print, of late he has pressured me to stay at it without interruption. (Vier Briefe, 39–40)

Shortly after the publication of the book, Tewes was offered a position in the high court in Hanover by the Ministry of Justice, but he turned it down, still preferring an academic career, and in 1871, when Maaßen returned to Vienna, Tewes replaced him as Ordinary Professor of Roman Law at the University of Graz. Indeed, Tewes loved the academic life so much that he continued to lecture even after the mandatory retirement age of seventy-one. The beginning of his 101st semester in 1909 was the occasion for conferring a title of nobility on him (Hanausek 1913).



Heinrich August Tewes

By age twenty-five Ulrichs appears to have acted on his attraction to soldiers. In a poem dated Achim, 17 June 1851, entitled “Dolores” (Sorrows), he tells of a bittersweet experience with the hussar Andreas F.<sup>11</sup> This time he not only held hands, but in a beech forest exchanged kisses.

It was the day of our first meeting,  
That happy day, in Davern’s grove;  
I felt the Spring wind’s tender greeting,  
And April touched my heart to love.  
Thy hand in mine lay kindly mated;  
Thy gaze held mine quite fascinated —  
So gracious wast, and fair!  
Thy glance my life-thread almost severed;  
My heart for joy and gladness quivered,  
Nigh more than it could bear.

There in the grove at evening’s hour  
The breeze through budding twigs hath ranged,  
And lips have learned to meet each other,  
And kisses mute exchanged.  
One word of thine, I was inflamed,  
One word thy rosy mouth proclaimed;  
Oh why wast thou so good and dear?  
One word by thee was only spoken,  
That precious word was by thee broken!  
I built upon that word of cheer!

My cheeks are kissed by evening’s wind,  
I wander through the grove of beech;  
Wild roses bloom on hilly slopes,

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11. The hussars were light cavalry troops with a particularly attractive dress uniform.

And greet my eyes with smiles from each.  
And still I know not where I go,  
Their rosy red I do not know;  
I dream thou art by me possessed.  
An unknown fear is in me burning  
That drives anew an untamed yearning  
Within my heart that knows no rest.  
(*Memnon*, 1: 23–24)<sup>12</sup>

In August 1851 Ulrichs moved to Hanover to prepare for the Amtsassessor-Examen, which he successfully completed at the beginning of 1852 with another “very good.” But he later recalled that in the oral part of the exam he talked for several hours, causing Minister of the Interior von Borries “to recommend to me in practical matters a greater brevity and avoidance of an all too great thoroughness” (Appendix A). He was then promoted to the rank of Assessor and was an extra Amtsassessor in Syke around March 1852. Although “extra,” he was given a vote in judicial matters and in administrative cases he had worked on. There his political activity once again brought him into conflict with his superiors, in particular with Amtsassessor Ostermeyer. Ulrichs explained his enmity in an aside in a letter to the Department of Regional Administration in Hanover dated Mainz, 15 November 1856 (two years after leaving state’s service), as follows:

Because I once was a candidate along with him for election as deputy to the lower house of parliament, an election he lost, he made a completely uncalled-for denunciation of me to the department for making a speech alleged to be too free-thinking or opposed to the regime, an action the top officials did not feel called to act on—Herr Ostermeyer was the fourth official in the department. (NHH)

In a private letter of 24 August 1860 Ulrichs gave a slightly different version of this affair (H). There he admits that he was indeed admonished for a speech he made during the electoral campaign, in which he was firmly in favor of retaining the constitution of

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12. The first fourteen lines of this translation are by Edward Carpenter (1917, 169).

1848, in opposition to the views of the government at that time. He insisted, however, that he was never “disciplined” for that action.

There were also disagreements about fees charged for travel expenses etc., and these came back to haunt Ulrichs later. (This is, essentially, the subject of his 15 November 1856 letter.) Various matters were still unsettled at the end of September 1852, when the previous department was split into the two departments of Justice and Administration. Ulrichs was then assigned as *Amtsassessor* in the administrative department in Melle, but was transferred in this capacity at the beginning of 1853 to Bremervörde, where he remained until the fall of that year.

It was about this time, in October 1853, that on a visit to Burgdorf he wrote “Ad Adelaidam” (*Apicula Latina*, 19–20), a Latin version of the lyric “Adelaide” of Friedrich von Matthisson (1761–1831), whose collection of poems, *Gedichte*, had reached its fifteenth edition in 1851. This particular one became famous owing to Beethoven’s setting, and Ulrichs’s version could be sung to the same music. Later, Ulrichs was to write many such Latin songs.

Although Ulrichs had voluntarily decided for a position in the Administration, he later regretted his decision. On 27 September 1853 he wrote to the Royal Hanoverian Ministry of Justice that his experience

lets me, however, wish to leave Administration and now go over to serve in Justice; wherefore I respectfully request the Royal Ministry of Justice to be inclined to place me in the legal branch and in particular, if possible, with a superior court. (NHH)

This request was granted, and on 4 November Ulrichs began his activity as Assistant Judge in Hildesheim.

To be sure, Ulrichs was no happier in his new position, for in July and August 1854 he brought three official complaints to the Ministry of Justice about his treatment in Hildesheim. He believed his application for a vacation during the court holiday had been unjustly denied, and—more important—that his work there was not proper, since he had too often been assigned to keep the protocol, a task that did not correspond to the dignity of his position. On 23 August 1854 he wrote to the Ministry of Justice:

It is, namely, a highly embarrassing feeling for me as an earlier Amtsassessor, to have to keep the protocol, namely in public sessions and in front of the lawyers, and especially in the criminal court where a Gerichtsassessor, who is younger than I am, always acts as State Attorney, whereas I, the older, must sit opposite him in the degrading position of recording clerk. (NHH)

All three complaints were rejected even before the report of Superior Court President Hagemann on Ulrichs's conduct in Hildesheim was received. Hagemann was supposed to have sent his report after Ulrichs had been six months in office, but he wrote only on 29 September, no doubt under the influence of Ulrichs's complaints. He excused himself for the delay as follows:

The peculiar personality of Ulrichs, the various difficulties in efficiently assigning him duties, the odd changeableness in his efforts, made a longer observation and experience necessary in order to judge accurately and to a surer degree what is to be expected of him in the legal branch. (NHH)

Hagemann was of the opinion that in the case of Ulrichs "there is a basis for hope that he can be useful in legal affairs," but not quite yet:

His lectures are not supported by a natural disposition, are hesitant and unsatisfactory, at times trying one's patience, but still not confused or unintelligible....

It is difficult for him to keep order and punctuality in carrying out his duties. Yet serious reminders have effected an improvement here. The same effect, on the other hand, has not been achieved by the reminders made necessary by the slow completion of the work incumbent on him....

Often lacking is the right distinction between what is important and what is not, matters of primary and secondary importance.

Hagemann concluded his report with a remarkable psychological observation:

He is not lacking in understanding, nor in good will, nor in a correct knowledge of oneself. His habits, as far as I know, are blameless, his behavior modest. The basis of all failings and his slow progress lies, it appears to me, in a somewhat anomalous intellectual or temperamental tendency, in a—I would say dreaming—indolence and in a turning away from reality, the consequence of which is also expressed in daily life and not without ground gives rise to judgments or remarks, which more or less compromise him. (NHH)

Ulrichs's complaints about having to sit "in the degrading position of a recording clerk" were, however, soon forgotten when he learned—sometime before the end of November—that his superiors were informed about his sexual activity. The report of the State Attorney's Office of the Superior Court in Hildesheim to the Justice Ministry in Hanover on 1 December 1854 "concerning acting *Gerichtsassessor* Ulrichs of the Superior Court here" deserves to be quoted in full, since it not only shows how the matter became known, but also how it affected the attitude toward Ulrichs.

On the 20th or 21st of the month I was informed that *Gerichtsassessor* Ulrichs is said to have been often seen with persons of the lower class and indeed under circumstances that allow one to conclude a closer connection.

On the following day, before I could carry out my intention to get in touch with the presidium of the Superior Court about that information, there came to my knowledge a rumor that *Gerichtsassessor* Ulrichs practices unnatural lust with other men.

While I was occupied with clarifying this rumor, which I held at the time to be untrue, Police Secretary Pabst, as an assistant in the State Attorney's Office, made those discoveries contained in the respectfully attached submission. The one in it named Pöllmann, from whom that rumor probably originated, is a vile character; on the other hand, the one also there named Brinkmann has been pointed out to me as a trustworthy person.

Also from other information this much can no longer be doubted, that the person Ulrichs here as well as in his earlier posts has practiced unnatural lust with other men, even if the actual way he practiced it is not yet sufficiently explained.

Now, even if Article 276 of the Criminal Code<sup>13</sup> presents no notion of the crime of unnatural lust, can there remain even only a doubt about whether the actions (otherwise corresponding to the law) have been undertaken in circumstances that give public offense or grounds for concern?

Without my going into the debate on the well-known controversy, the State Attorney's Office believes it must recognize that there are good grounds for making the negative view valid. Until now we have abstained from raising a charge.

Assuming that this procedure is to be approved, then there remains the disciplinary procedure, which presumably would lead to the severest disciplinary punishment, that of dismissal from office.

Only, I am warranted in the assumption that Gerichtsassessor Ulrichs has already yesterday submitted his request for resignation from service, and thus in this case the question could be raised: whether one should also abstain from a disciplinary procedure?

For the affirmative answer I take no grounds from the personality of the person Ulrichs, who hereby in no way deserves any consideration, although he, even if he is certainly completely responsible, still finds himself in an unusual state of mind. I have hereby only the scandal before my eyes, which the unavoidable wider proceedings would necessarily heighten, and further the Superior Court and the whole class that suffers under such proceedings. The experience that in similar cases, civilian as well as military, has been similarly conducted, lets me respectfully recommend, in agreement with the presidium of the Superior Court, that the affair be treated as closed with the early dismissal of the person Ulrichs, who is currently on leave, whereby I allow myself most obediently to remark for any eventuality, that Gerichts-

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13. Article 276 of the Penal Code of Hanover, which was valid between 1840 and 1866, reads: "Whoever is guilty of unnatural lust under circumstances that cause public offense, shall be punished with imprisonment with hard labor for not under six months. If the crime is committed on a child or by means of force on any person (Art. 270), then it is to be prosecuted even without the assumption of public offense and to be punished with hard labor whose length is to be measured according to the considerations mentioned in Art. 271 No. I" (see Hoffschmidt 1992, 14).



assessor Ulrichs, according to my understanding, still belongs to the Administration and thus the initiation of a disciplinary procedure could not originate from here. (Illegible signature) (NHH; a facsimile of this letter is in Schildt 1988, 27–31)

Although Ulrichs's actions were not crimes, as even the State Attorney admits, it nevertheless appears that Ulrichs one way or another would have to leave state's service: if not voluntarily, then as a "disciplinary punishment." He must have been aware of this, and therefore on 30 November 1854, as was mentioned above, he submitted his request for release from the Justice Ministry in Hanover. It reads:

To my deepest regret, circumstances have come about that arouse in me the wish to separate from my status in the service up to this time.

Since I am now assigned by the Royal Ministry of the Interior as an Administrative official, but have been named by the Royal Ministry of Justice as a probationary assistant judge, I thus request:

that the Royal Ministry of Justice release me from my function as assistant judge,

at the same time arrange with the Royal Ministry my release from service as an Administrative official.

Under the expression of my gratitude for the well-meaning treatment that the Royal Government has variously shown me during my six years of service, and the assurance that this disposition of gratitude and fidelity will continue in me, I remain

Respectfully

Ulrichs. (NHH)

Since Ulrichs anticipated any disciplinary action, he achieved in fact the result he intended: Already on 5 December the Ministry of the Interior informed him of his release as an Administrative official, and under the same date the Ministry of Justice confirmed

in a letter to the State Attorney's Office in Hildesheim that no disciplinary procedure would be initiated against Ulrichs (NHH). But Ulrichs received no certificate of service, and this was to have consequences ten years later.

As Rainer Hoffschmidt concludes: "With this, after six years' activity in public service, Ulrichs's career ended. The reason was § 276 of the Criminal Code of the Kingdom of Hanover, which indeed left homosexuality unpunished, but punished public offense connected with it" (Hoffschmidt 1992, 18).

Apparently Ulrichs's opponents, above all his antagonist in Syke, Herr Ostermeyer, later sought to give the impression that he had "fled" Hildesheim. Two years after the event Ulrichs wrote to the Department of Regional Administration in Hanover to refute an accusation of poor job performance, adding:

Herr Ostermeyer was not able to forego, at the end of his report, touching on a matter that he must have known would be sensitive for me, namely my resignation from state's service along with certain circumstances connected with it. He could have avoided touching on it altogether. At any rate, in my opinion, he had no right to touch on the matter in the way that he did. (NHH)

Ulrichs is referring here to Ostermeyer's report of 8 November 1856 to the Regional Administration. He had informed them that he had been unable to reply to a letter Ulrichs had written him on 24 November 1854 requesting a payment:

This only happened, however, for the reason that I was reliably informed, and indeed through his own office clerk Vassmer, that Amtsassessor Ulrichs had disappeared from Hildesheim and that his whereabouts was unknown. This statement was confirmed by the notice of Ulrichs's release from office. For this reason I waited with my answer until Ulrichs would make known his whereabouts. (NHH)

As soon as Ulrichs had submitted his resignation, he left Hildesheim and went "first—from religious considerations—to Burgdorf near Hanover, where my pastor lived"

(NHH). He stayed there three or four days and then went to Dassel, near Göttingen, where he stayed for several months with his sister Louise and her husband Pastor Grupen.

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In a circular letter of 28 November 1862 to several relatives, Ulrichs discussed his own sexual nature and mentioned that in December 1854 he had pointed out his feminine characteristics to Grupen and suggested that this was connected with his sexual attraction to men. At that time Grupen talked him out of it and he let the question drop.

In that same letter, in speaking of the inborn nature of his sexual attraction, Ulrichs again referred to their discussion at the time of his resignation:

I held that this nature is inborn before last year. Already in 1854 at the time of our discussions between Hildesheim and Hanover I had the intention of mentioning this point by the way. At that time, however, it was a question, at least on my part, mainly only of what was allowed conventionally, and not what was allowed morally. At that time I had not yet drawn such far-reaching consequences from it as now. If that discussion had been renewed after my resignation from service, I would certainly have mentioned it then. (Vier Briefe, 54–55)

This is in a letter addressed to eight relatives and it is not clear who were involved in the discussions “between Hildesheim and Hanover” nor exactly when that discussion was held. It would also be interesting to know how Ulrichs’s sexual activities became known to the authorities. Did it perhaps happen through an attempt at blackmail? It is possible that he touched on this fifteen years later when, after mentioning a case of blackmail against a Unitarian minister who was immediately suspended from his position, Ulrichs added:

Whoever does his duty as a human being and state’s citizen, who faithfully carries out the duties of his profession, should he, just because he is an Urning, be allowed by the turn of a hand of a scoundrel or some dumb boy to have his honor and personal happiness thrown aside? So it has been until now! The personal happiness

of the one who writes these lines has also fallen victim to this system—hopefully not his honor too. (*Incubus*, 19)

Ulrichs almost certainly had the incident in mind when he wrote in his first publication on Urning-love: “I forgive all who hurt me, all who were unkind and hard toward me. I forgive my betrayer” (*Vindex*, xii).

### Literary and Political Interests: 1855–1862

One would suppose that by voluntarily leaving state's service Ulrichs had headed off further action against him. But the circumstances of his departure were to come back to haunt him.

In the meantime he led a somewhat restless life. He lived at first with his brother-in-law Pastor Gruben in Dassel and with his mother in Burgdorf, but already in the spring of 1855 he made a vacation trip into the Weser Mountains (Appendix A) and he apparently had another bittersweet affair with a soldier: a poem containing the line "I thirst for your love," dated Hanover, April 1855, is dedicated to Garde du corps Heinrich von St. This was followed by visits to Kassel, Marburg, Frankfurt, and Darmstadt before he settled by the beginning of August 1855 in Mainz, where he was "occupied with scientific study and literary work" (Appendix A).

It was at a dance performance in a theater in Mainz in 1856 that Ulrichs discovered how deceiving appearances can be. Several dances had been presented:

Then a charming couple appeared with castanets, a good-looking man in the bloom of youth and his equally pretty partner. The couple attracted all eyes. Mine too. The other eyes were captured by the sight of the female dancer, mine by her partner. I could have kissed him immediately and held him in my arms. I was so charmed by him that after the performance I was unable to pass up expressing to the director my appreciation of the extraordinarily beautiful dancing of the young man.... The director laughingly explained: "That dancer is really just a dressed-up girl." Opening a side door, he even introduced her to me. I was suddenly cured of all my longing. (*Inclusa*, 51)

In Mainz Ulrichs also learned more of the varieties of sexual love from 22-year-old Valentin H. of Montjoie (near the Belgian border), who repeatedly confessed to Ulrichs the passionate feelings he had for very young girls. He once pointed out a child six or

seven years old who excited him. Ulrichs later learned that the man had fled across the Atlantic to escape a criminal investigation into his activities (*Argonauticus*, 43).

The source of Ulrichs's income at this time is not known. That he may have had financial difficulties is suggested by the fact that several times in 1856 he sought, apparently unsuccessfully, to collect per diem allowances he felt were owed him from his service in Syke in 1852 and in Bremervörde in 1853. His financial situation improved, however, with the inheritance from his mother, who died on 26 December 1856. According to an indication in a later letter, Ulrichs inherited about 2,800 florins. By June 1859 he had put a large part of the money into Austrian state bonds (H). In the following years he lent nearly half the amount of his inheritance to his friend Christian Höppl—and lost it through the latter's suicide (see page 59).

The sudden death of his beloved mother was a severe blow to Ulrichs, for he was devoted to her. In his own old age he lovingly recalled her in several poems. As late as 1893, in a Latin poem reprinted the following year in the German-language paper *Der arme Teufel* (Detroit, USA), he wrote: “O si tibi dicere possem: / Sum memor tui!” (Oh if I were able to tell you: I remember you!) (*Alaudae*, 305). Thus the beginning of January 1857 found Ulrichs back in Burgdorf, which remained his residence for the next two years. During this period (in 1858) there was a return of the pneumonia Ulrichs had suffered as a small child. This time it was particularly serious, so that he was thought to be in danger of death. Otherwise, as he wrote in 1861, he “was always healthy in body and mind” (Appendix A). It seems likely that he also inherited his mother's house, for in 1861, although he had been living in Frankfurt since 1859, he referred to Burgdorf as his “legal domicile” and the Prussian police made a house search of his home in Burgdorf following his arrest for political activities in 1867.



The house where Ulrichs lived in Burgdorf

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When Ulrichs was living in Burgdorf, following the death of his mother, he tried to continue to use his legal knowledge, above all to assist poor people. The extent to which he was occupied in this can be seen in a letter that Ulrichs wrote on 17 April 1859 to the Ministry of Justice in Hanover:

As a former Justice and Administrative official, I believed I did not want to let my legal knowledge, both theoretical and practical, just lie, but rather make it useful. Useful for my fellow men, and useful for myself: this last in part so as to have at all a

purposeful occupation, in part to have a modest income for my diminished means. Besides I hold it to be altogether worthy of a former Hanoverian official to accept afflicted persons and give them assistance for free. I have done this last in many cases, entirely gratis (I have offered legal help to over 70 various persons in the period under consideration through advising them in the law and written and oral presentations in court). (NHH)

With this letter Ulrichs wanted to get a reduction in the fines against him for “unauthorized practice as an advocate.” He explained his current problems:

On 25 October 1858 the court in Burgdorf, in the person of Assessor Aumann *ex officio*, ordered a second fine, against which I appealed. My appeal, however, was rejected on the 14th of the month, and indeed only because of the formal inadmissibility of this legal means.

On 28 January 1859 when I was called to answer for the above offense, the same court, in the person of Judge Culemann, discharged me with no fine. The State Attorney’s Office appealed this and achieved a fine of 5 Reichstalers on the 14th of the month.

For the reasons mentioned, I now respectfully request that the designated fines of 2 talers and 5 talers along with the very significant costs—eventually at least the costs alone—be remitted by way of pardon. (NHH)

On 30 May his request for pardon was rejected. Ulrichs renewed his request for a pardon on 10 June, but this too was rejected on 14 July. Ulrichs probably did not know that after his first request for pardon had been received and before it was rejected, State Attorney Albrecht of the Superior Court in Celle had written on 17 May to the Ministry of Justice in Hanover:

Against Assessor a.D. Ulrichs, currently residing in Burgdorf, there is a not unfounded suspicion that he is guilty of the crime of unnatural lust.



Since according to rumor similar cases have been spoken of earlier against the person Ulrichs, and they are said to have led to his resignation from Royal Service: I therefore quite obediently request, in case there are no objections, that for the completion of the judgment about the personality of the person Ulrichs, the personal files concerning the matter be sent for inspection. (NHH)

In fact, without anyone correcting Albrecht's designation of "unnatural lust" as a "crime," on 26 May the personal files were sent to him with the notation,

that any use be avoided by which the public would gain knowledge that the indecencies practiced by Ulrichs before his resignation from service have been made known to his superior authorities.

Ulrichs probably did not know what was in his personal files and that they had been sent to Celle. But he surely guessed that there was prejudice against him and therefore he had not been designated as "Amtsassessor" in court. This was an attack on his feeling of honor, which Ulrichs could not tolerate. In a later letter of 24 August 1860 to Dr. Otto Volger (who also omitted this title—see page 49) he described the affair thus:

Two years ago, when a young Gerichtsassessor (whose conduct in a police matter I once somewhat sharply criticized in a newspaper) shortly afterwards left off my title in an official document to me and I lodged a complaint with the Superior court, that court recognized: "as soon as the office denies me the title, then there is a ground for protest, since I have a right to bear the title." (H)

Ulrichs's complaint, which is also of interest for showing how active he was in Burgdorf, carries the date 3 May 1859 and is addressed to the Superior Court in Celle. It begins with the following words:

In the court in Burgdorf—in the jury session of 29 April of this year, in which I appeared in 13 cases as defendant or as representative of the civil party, and in the

civil court session of 2 May of this year, in which I appeared as authorized representative of one party in 6 cases—publicly before a large number of persons, I was deprived of my due title “Amtsassessor,” which I have a right to bear, among others also by my clerk and the non-resident advocate, in that in all the designated cases I was called “resident” Ulrichs. (NHH)

Ulrichs’s complaint was sent already on the next day from Assessor Aumann of the court in Burgdorf to Celle. In his cover letter, he brought against Ulrichs’s argumentation that he only had a right to bear the title “if the authorities expressly reserved this title on Ulrichs’s release, which has not been clearly stated by the complainant.” He concluded with the words: “A rejection of the unfounded complaint is requested” (NHH).

In the following week, on 11 May, the state attorney in Celle asked the Ministry of the Interior in Hanover for its opinion in this case. The ministry reported a week later that Ulrichs did not have the right to bear the title. Thus it must have been a surprise and a shock for many that the Small Senate of the Superior Court in Celle decided in favor of Ulrichs on 3 June, as he reported in the above mentioned letter of 24 August 1860 to Dr. Volger. This, however, was Ulrichs’s only triumph in this matter, and it did not put an end to it, as we shall see later.

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Following the Prussian invasion and annexation of Hanover in 1866 Ulrichs spoke out publicly in opposition to this action. In his Foreword to the 1898 edition of Ulrichs’s *Forschungen*, Magnus Hirschfeld wrote:

Since there was no antihomosexual law in Hanover to fight, he at first opposed social prejudice. But when the events of 1866 came, the whole question had for Ulrichs only one significance: In Hanover no § 175 [the number of the antihomosexual law when Hirschfeld was writing], but in Prussia a § 175. (*Forschungen* 1898, 9–10)

No doubt this was one reason Ulrichs was opposed to Prussia at that time, but it was not the only nor the most important reason. Rather, it was the fact of German fighting German, destroying his dream of a larger and peaceful union of all German-speaking peoples.

When Ulrichs went to Frankfurt in 1849 to look for a position there, it was not just because he wished to leave state's service in Hanover. He also "longed rather for service in the Reich of that time" (Appendix A). Nor did the dissolution of the Frankfurt National Assembly that year destroy his dream of a greater Germany. He would later return to Frankfurt to be involved, indirectly, with the revived German Confederation. In the meantime, his interest in German unification took a more literary turn.

The suppression of the various revolutions of 1848 halted much direct political activity, but the liberal spirit of the time found other forms of expression, such as poetry. One example of this movement was the Junggermanische Gesellschaft (Young German Society), which was founded in 1858 as a result of the efforts of F. J. Krüger of Hamburg to bring together a "Junggermanische Schule" (Young German School) with the aim of effecting a closer intellectual union of Germans within and outside Germany as well as giving a new direction to German literature. As editor of the *Nordische Blätter* in Hamburg, Krüger announced his intentions in May 1858. By the time of the first general meeting of the Junggermanische Gesellschaft in Mainz around October 1858 there were about thirty members; ten months later there were more than eighty members distributed throughout thirty cities of Germany. It is not clear when Ulrichs became a member, but by the time of the organization's next general meeting in Mainz on 20 August 1859 he was playing a key role in the organization.

The official organ of the Junggermanische Gesellschaft was the journal *Teut*, which appeared in four numbers in 1859. It contains several literary and philological essays, mostly by Krüger himself, and a large number of poems by "Young German Poets." There are two poems by Ulrichs (in the third and fourth numbers of the journal). The first of these is "Schlachtruf" (Battle Cry), a call for greater Germany to unite against the archenemy France. Ulrichs calls the roll of the German kingdoms; in particular he calls on Prussia to see in Austria's wounds its "own flesh and blood," and to "let your loyalty be stronger in your heart than hate!" This rousing poem ends:

Your star shall never ever go down:  
For we will gather all around  
    And shield your emperor's powers;  
Thus we will join the fight with you  
And hold every inch that is his due!  
    Forward!  
To Milan's old marble towers.  
(*Teut* 1859, 471)<sup>14</sup>

At the time of the first general meeting of the Junggermanische Gesellschaft in Mainz it was explicitly stated that the Belgians and Dutch could be admitted. Ulrichs's second poem in *Teut* was written on the news that fifteen men in The Hague had formed a branch-society. His origins in East Friesland may have made Ulrichs feel particularly close to the Dutch; he leaves no doubt in the poem that he sees them as an "old branch of the German oak" that has been "scattered by the storm of older times" and he urges them to "wake up" and "come back to us in your father's home!" (*Teut* 1859, 613).

The Junggermanische Gesellschaft had so matured since its founding that at its general meeting in Mainz on 20 August 1859 it no longer saw itself as a purely literary society, but one with, if not directly political, then national goals. A new constitution was written and the name was changed to Allgemeine Germanische Gesellschaft (All German Society). At that meeting F. J. Krüger was chairman, while Ulrichs assumed the position of secretary. In his opening speech Krüger pointed out that a goal of the society was to

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14. The poem is undated, but it must have been written sometime between 4 June and 11 July 1859, i.e., between the Battle of Magenta and the Peace of Villafranca. In the first, some 58,000 Austrians under the command of General Franz Gyulai were defeated by a French force of some 54,000 troops commanded by Maurice MacMahon. Of the Austrian troops, 5,700 were killed and wounded, 4,500 were missing. Milan was evacuated the following day and on 8 June Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel II entered the city. The emperor of the poem was Franz Joseph (1830–1916), who then assumed personal command of the Austrian forces. Following the Austrian defeat at the Battle of Solferino on 24 June, however, an armistice was declared and on 11 July the preliminary Peace of Villafranca was agreed to (and was confirmed by the Treaty of Zurich on 10 November). By it the Austrians ceded Lombardy to Napoleon III, to be ceded in turn to Victor Emmanuel II; Modena and Tuscany were restored to their respective dukes and the Romagna to the pope. Venice, however, remained Austrian.

fill the void in political unity with a unity of spirit. Naturally the recent events in Italy were on everyone's mind. Ten days after the Battle of Magenta, Prussia began to mobilize against France, but action was hindered by certain political parties based in great part on old religious hatreds. This helped bring about, said Krüger, "the Peace of Villafranca, which was a disgrace for all Germany, not least for Prussia, as it was for Austria" (*Teut* 1859, 534).<sup>15</sup>

In the discussion of the proposed new constitution Ulrichs several times took the floor to stress the necessity of excluding no one from the society on the basis of religion. He recalled his experience of living in a Protestant land where the country people met with absolute mistrust from the beginning anyone they heard was Catholic (*Teut* 1859, 545). He noted that he himself was Protestant, but had no religious hatred.

The discussion of the draft constitution continued in the afternoon session, when Ulrichs proposed to add the statement: "The society seeks fraternization with the Slavic and Hungarian national unions in Germany, as much in Prussia as in Austria." His speech supporting this proposal is worth quoting in full, for it shows how wide his vision was and what he saw as the goal of his efforts in the Junggermanische Gesellschaft:

Gentlemen! The Golden Bull of Emperor Charles IV ordered that the sons of the German kings should receive instruction in the Slavic language.<sup>16</sup> What was the reason? Obviously to temper the separation that existed in the German Empire between the nations that lived there, between the Germans and the Slavs. This imperial law did not achieve its goal. The separation has not weakened. A law cannot do this.

But is a moderation of that separation not desirable? Is a fraternization not desirable with those peoples with whom we are politically joined? Through the German Confederation are we not directly and indissolubly joined with the Bohemians and Moravians, with the Balkan people, with the Poles in Silesia, with the Slavic people in Saxon Lausitz? Not indirectly also with the Slavs and Magyars in Hungary?

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15. Ironically, there were those on the other side who, for opposite reasons, also saw that treaty as a disgrace. Count Camillo Cavour, prime minister under Victor Emmanuel II, resigned his position in protest.

16. The main object of this document of 1356 was to provide a set of rules for the election of the German kings.

The aim of my proposal is a brotherhood of peoples, brought about through their national unions, the reconciliation of nations split but belonging together, the settlement of their destructive discord.

Do not say, gentlemen: “We do not need the friendship of the Slavs.” Do we then not need to be united with the whole of Prussia and the whole of Austria, for our power and for our own security? Do we not want to stand by the side of the great states of the future—not France, indeed, but likely Russia, England with East India and its colonies throughout the globe, North America, perhaps also Brazil—with their future population and power, equal and worthy of respect? Or would we rather stand among them with Little Germany, a dwarf among giants? Yes, gentlemen, the final goal of uniting the current German states must inevitably be the empire of seventy millions.<sup>17</sup>

But, you will ask, is brotherhood with these people possible? Yes, indeed it is. If in Belgium the Flemish with the French, in France the Alsatian with the French, in Switzerland even the strongly nationalistic Italian with the French and German all live together peacefully and reconciled in one state, then this brotherhood is also possible. An Italian from Ticino rightly said at this year’s federal shooting festival in Bern: “Nationality and speech are not the true bond of the states, but rather common institutions and the consciousness of belonging together.”

To be sure this brotherhood is to be sought only on the basis of complete equal rights for both sides. It would be impossible on any other. For this reason and for the sake of justice I expressly reject any kind of insinuation that my goal is a subordination of the Slavs and Hungarians to our language, as if it intended Germanizing them. I wish rather to gain that reconciliation by our inviting every Slavic and Magyar national union to take part in our meetings, by naming their members as honorary members, by entering into communications with them verbally and in writing, by a mutual exchange of views, by paying due respect to their intellectual creations, and above all by becoming personal friends with them.

Gentlemen! We must leave it to the political organs to erect common state entities; but the consciousness of belonging together, this other bond of a political soci-

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17. That is, Ulrichs wanted a union of all German states, including Austria (Great Germany).

ety: this we can cultivate and promote. Let us get on with it, let us cultivate it and promote it. (*Teut* 1859, 550–551)

Ulrichs's speech is moving, but reached too far for this assembly. So, after the next speaker pointed out that the Gesellschaft was just beginning and that the union of Germans and related nationalities should be sought first before attempting an understanding with other nationalities within German borders, Ulrichs's proposal was voted down. The session ended with the election of a governing council of fifteen men. Ulrichs was among them, as was his friend Christian Höppl from Wiesbaden, author of several of the poems published in *Teut*.

In the summer of 1859, in addition to the trip to Nuremberg, Ulrichs also visited Bamberg, Würzburg, Darmstadt, Mainz, Wiesbaden, and Frankfurt, staying the longest in this last city. It may also have been at this time that he visited Prague. A visit there is suggested by the epigram "In Prag" (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 43)<sup>18</sup> and is confirmed by the later statement that he had "visited Holland, Belgium, Bohemia, Switzerland, and Tyrol" (Carlo Arrigo Ulrichs 1891). He settled in Frankfurt on 20 October 1859. This was to be his residence for the next several years, a period that saw the beginning of his dedication to the ideal of freeing his fellow homosexuals from the centuries-old stigma under which they—and he—had suffered. This did not happen immediately, however. Rather, he was occupied with the study of German mythology, and he continued to be interested in the unification of Germany, publishing in 1862 a 36-page essay on the topic.

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One of the first things Ulrichs did after settling in Frankfurt was to join the Freies Deutsches Hochstift für Wissenschaften, Künste und allgemeine Bildung (Free German Foundation for Science, Art, and General Culture), which had been founded in 1859 in Frankfurt.<sup>19</sup> As Ulrichs saw it, the Hochstift and the Allgemeine Germanische Gesellschaft had similar goals, and one of his first actions as a member was to suggest (in a letter of 22 February 1860) an exchange of publications and a closer relationship between

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18. "Fiery Hungarian wine, how delicious you tasted in Prague / but the pepper dish tasted not well done and tough." There is a pun in German: The word "ungar" (= Hungarian) is also used by Ulrichs to mean "not well done" (gar = well done).

19. The Hochstift still exists today as custodian of Goethe's birth house with its museum.

the two organizations. As late as July 1860 he was still urging this, but apparently the leaders of the Hochstift did not share his wider vision, and his proposal was never acted on.

Ulrichs was a frequent speaker at the sessions of the Hochstift, which met regularly at least once a month, and his topics show an astonishing range of interests: In February 1860 he read passages from “Hermannschild,” a long heroic epic set in the world of Germanic mythology, but still containing more modern descriptions, for example, of his beloved Hanoverian hussars. Ulrichs relates the return to his home village of an eighteen-year-old hussar on his first leave:

The first leave he had did he homeward ride  
On horseback as only was right.  
The horse must indeed by the rider abide!  
And like a bird take flight.  
He saw through the bushes the church tower proud,  
And rattled his saber so jolly and loud.

Then into the village, the creek no bother,  
He spies nearby the house of his father,  
And sees the horses stamp.  
He gracefully strokes the young fuzz’s tip  
That blondly sprouts on the rim of his lip.  
He brought that back from camp!

He sits his saddle so slender and light,  
Commandingly holds the reins so tight;  
His trousers show off his muscled legs  
From saber-belt to stirrup pegs;  
His heart beats hard, for much would he ransom  
To hide the fact: he knows he is handsome.

*(Berichte 1861, 26)*



The reporter Herr Nentwig wryly noted in the *Berichte* that the poem was not meant to be taken entirely seriously.

In March he read a passage from an essay on the unity of German law. The three parts of his essay discussed: (1) the unity of characteristics of the older German law before the reception of Roman law; (2) to what extent the unity of German law remained after that reception and still obtains; and (3) the latest plans to establish unity in German law by means of the German Confederation, etc. Ulrichs pointed out the cruel character of medieval punishments, the frequency and painful application of the death penalty, the breaking of bones, burning alive, and similar punishments. He recommended throwing the old German law overboard and adopting the more civilized Roman law (*Berichte* 1861, 35). This was probably part of the work he had in mind, when he wrote in 1894:

At that time I began to write a history of capital punishment and its abrogation, a work which I then left unfinished, seeing that it was much too vast. (Persichetti 1896, 5–6)

In August Ulrichs gave a lecture on “the relationship of the Bohemians (Czechs) to the Germans in history, speech and customs” (*Berichte* 1861, 102), which was criticized by Dr. Otto Volger as not being a “scientific proof.” This brought a strong reaction from Ulrichs, who was always quick to defend himself. He wrote Volger a long letter on 24 August 1860 in which he defended his right to give a “rhetorical” lecture. Further, since Volger said that Ulrichs was “not able to treat a matter scientifically,” Ulrichs mentioned his two prize essays in Göttingen and Berlin, and adds that he is now writing an essay on jurisprudence whose first twenty-four pages “have brought very flattering praise from von Linde, representative to the parliament here, who has a name as a man of science” (H).

This letter was written to Dr. Volger as a member of the Hochstift. Privately Ulrichs reproached him in another letter of the same date for referring to him several times as simply “Herr Ulrichs.” He suspects Volger has assumed that he was dismissed from his rank of Assessor as a result of a disciplinary action. He then explains at length that this

was not so. “All this is so important that I feel obliged to insist on bringing it out for the sake of my honor” (H). The vehemence of this letter suggests that this was indeed a matter of great importance to him.

At the next session of the Hochstift two days later Ulrichs exhibited the first proof sheets of an essay on the Germanic goddess Menglada (Ostara), written by himself and Bruno Stralau. (Stralau was the pseudonym of the surveyor Bruno Kropp in Verden an der Aller in the Kingdom of Hanover.) In October he read the (unpublished) poem “Auf dem Königshügel bei Preßburg,” which treated a patriotic Hungarian theme (*Berichte*, 118).

During this time Ulrichs must have been occupied with his long monograph on the post office monopoly, which he had already begun in the summer. (He mentioned it in his letter to Dr. Volger of 24 August 1860.) The part published in the *Archiv für das öffentliche Recht des deutschen Bundes* has the date of completion: May 1861. But already in January 1861 he announced to the Hochstift that it was being printed (Appendix A). The monograph must have been commissioned by von Linde, editor of the *Archiv*; Ulrichs would later serve as von Linde’s private secretary.

Justin T. B. Freiherr von Linde was the only man who was a representative to the German Confederation from its restoration in 1850 until its dissolution in 1866. Born in Brilon (Westphalia) in 1797, he received a Dr. jur. degree at the University of Bonn in 1820, became Privatdozent the following year, and shortly after was named Professor in Giessen. To his academic career were added several high government positions. He retired in 1847, but the political events of 1848 quickly brought him back. He was elected to the parliament in Frankfurt and then to the brief parliament in Erfurt, but on the restoration of the German Confederation in 1850 he entered the state’s service of Austria in Frankfurt. (Although a devout Catholic, he was not considered ultramontane and indeed was ignored by Rome.) In the German Confederation in Frankfurt he was named representative of Liechtenstein, Reuss-Greiz, and Hesse-Homburg. He died in Bonn in 1870 (Schulte 1883).

In July 1861 Ulrichs presented the Hochstift a copy of his second publication on the post office monopoly. At the same time he announced his intention, which was not carried out, to spend the following winter in Italy. (He could not know that he would spend

the last fifteen years of his life there.) He also asked for a few weeks' delay in paying his annual membership dues, promising to pay soon (H). The previous year he noted that he had paid the minimum dues since his circumstances "for now" did not allow him to pay more (H). His financial situation seems not to have improved, although he does not appear to have been in real need.

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In 1860 Ulrichs began writing occasional articles for the Cotta publishing house; he was a regular correspondent for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg) from November 1861, signing his articles with the various symbols: =, \*\*\*, OV. But payment came slowly. On 8 March 1862 he wrote complaining that he still had not been paid for any of his articles. This appears to have had an effect, for on 11 April he received 59½ florins for seventeen letters to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. Although Ulrichs continued for several years to write for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, perhaps the most important German newspaper in the nineteenth century, most of his contributions were in the two years 1862 and 1863, when no less than 132 articles by him were published.

In May, however, Ulrichs received a great shock: his friend Christian Höppl, to whom Ulrichs had lent a large sum of money, had apparently drowned in a lake in April (Cotta). Höppl had used the money Ulrichs lent him from his inheritance to pay off old debts and to found the journal *Der Rhein. Wochenschrift für Litteratur, Kunst und geselliges Leben* in Wiesbaden in 1860. Ulrichs continued to support him financially, sending him another ten florins around fourteen days before his death (Cotta). Because of the large sum involved, altogether about 1400 florins, Ulrichs had taken out an insurance policy on Höppl's life. But now Ulrichs lost not only his friend, but the money too, for Höppl's death was a suicide. Ulrichs complained to an acquaintance in Frankfurt, Dr. Lorenz Dieffenbach, that he was now in a bad financial situation. He thought he would be safe with the life insurance, "not dreaming that he would make this worthless by suicide!!" He concluded, "It is quite terrible for me!" (Cotta).

Strassburg, 30. ~~Aug~~ Mai 1862

Verehrter Herr!

Der arme Göggel! Mayhem ist  
ihm etwa 14 Tage vor seinem Tode  
10 fl. gesandt, aufsteht auf Beiträge  
von verehrten Herren zu sammeln.  
Als ich ihn endlich empfangen, war er  
2 Jahre, wandte ich mich an Dr. Presber,  
welcher mir eine Art Circular  
sandte, das er auf zu verbreiten  
versuchte. Aber Mayhem ist auf  
Mithteilung über das Resultat  
der Presber'schen Bemühungen wartete  
erfolgt ist erst ganz kürzlich Göggel's  
Absicht, da der betr. Zeitungs-  
artikel mir entgangen waren.  
Es ist mir leid, daß ich Ihren  
Beitrag unter diesen Umständen

Ulrichs's letter to Lorenz Dieffenbach, announcing death of Christian Höppl

By this time, Ulrichs was serving as private secretary to von Linde, but his finances were still tight. Many years later, in 1894, he still recalled the tavern near the Taxis palace, where the Bundestag met, and the tavern keeper, a Frau Nopp, “from whom I bought a small amount of fish sauce or some sardines, the thing which the poverty of my purse allowed” (*Alaudae*, 348–349). And he recalled the hopes he had then for a unified Germany under a common banner, the black-red-gold flag that flew over the Taxis palace. “Oh how I loved you, Germany! Now nothing is left of that banner but a sacred memory. And even that for only a few. I, however, my fatherland having been subverted, have become a cosmopolitan” (*Alaudae*, 350).

His position with Linde must have meant more than just a salary, for in those years he had high hopes for the Bundestag. In August 1863 Franz Joseph I called the German princes to meet in Frankfurt to reform the Confederation. Ulrichs recalled that the old king of Württemberg sent his young son Karl (under whose rule Ulrichs was to live for ten years in Stuttgart), and again he remembered the banner that flew over the Zeil palace, where Prince Karl stayed. “That was a day of honor for my fatherland and a day of hope! The last honor of an integral fatherland and its last hope! Thus sad fate willed it!” (*Alaudae*, 203). The meeting ended in September with nothing achieved.

The ascension to the throne of Luxemburg in 1890 by Adolf von Nassau (1817–1905), who had been forced to relinquish the duchy of Nassau to Prussia in 1866, was the occasion for similar recollections:

I remember those times well. The city of Luxemburg was then a bulwark of Germany, a bulwark of the first order. And it would be so yet, had there not entered the fatal plans of him whom I call the subverter of Germany. (*Alaudae*, 163).<sup>20</sup>

In June 1862, Ulrichs’s finances may have improved somewhat, for he received 38½ florins from Cotta and he seems to have been paid regularly thereafter. For the second half of 1862 he was paid 266 florins 36 kreuzers (one florin equaled sixty kreuzers); for the first half of 1863 he received 158 florins 43 kreuzers. The larger amount in 1862 resulted from Ulrichs’s reporting of the Allgemeines deutsches Schützenfest (All-German

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20. The last statement presumably refers to Bismarck.

Shooting Festival), which lasted several days in mid-July. Ulrichs wrote his publisher on 19 July 1862 asking for a larger honorarium for his articles on the Schützenfest since they were longer than his usual reports on the sessions of the Bundestag (parliament of the German Confederation) and especially since he had to give up other activities to spend whole days there, where food and drink were two to three times more expensive. He repeated his request in November and it seems to have had the desired effect. At least he expressed his gratitude for the result.

# Allgemeine Zeitung.

Inserate werden von der Expedition aufgenommen und der Raum einer dreispaltigen Colonetzelle berechnet: im Hauptblatt mit 12 kr., in der Beilage mit 9 kr.

Nr. 197.

16 Juli 1862.

= Frankfurt a. M., 13 Jul. So viel hat sich schon heut, am ersten Tage des Schützenfestes, mit Bestimmtheit herausgestellt: daß der Charakter desselben ein nationaler seyn wird. Alles was das Gemüth der Nation bewegt fand schon heute seinen Ausdruck. So ward ein Redner, der beiläufig der Kurhessen erwähnte, unterbrochen von einem lauten Hoch auf das kurhessische Volk. Als „Schleswig-Holstein meerumschlungen“ gespielt ward, stimmte das ganze Publicum in den weiten Räumen der Halle die Worte des Liedes an, und donnernde Hochrufe auf Schleswig-Holstein erfolgten. An einem Tisch an welchem mehrere Tiroler saßen, hielt ein Mitteldeutscher eine mit stürmischem Beifall aufgenommene Rede, gerichtet auf das Festhalten des deutschen Bundesgebiets von Südtirol. Mit keinem Laut aber, nicht mit der leisesten Andeutung, ward, so viel ich weiß, von „preussischer Spitze,“ „diplomatischer und militärischer Leitung,“ und was der gothaischen Säge mehr sind, geredet. Im Gegentheil mußten die Kleindeutschen es erleben daß, namentlich Abends in der Festhalle, die Tiroler der Gegen-

Ulrichs's first article from the Frankfurt Shooting Festival

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The summer of 1862 marked a turning point in Ulrichs's life, for it was then that he decided to fight against the social stigma attached to homosexuality and especially against the various antihomosexual laws. The event that prompted this appears to have been the arrest on a morals charge two weeks after the Schützenfest of one of its central figures, Johann Baptist von Schweitzer, corresponding secretary of the central committee. Schweitzer was also the publisher of the official newspaper of the Fest; thus Ulrichs would certainly have been acquainted with him (for Schweitzer, see: Mayer 1909; Kennedy 1995).

Johann Baptist von Schweitzer was born in Frankfurt am Main on 12 July 1833. Although of Italian ancestry, hereditary nobility had been conferred on his grandfather by King Maximilian I of Bavaria in 1816. Schweitzer's parents belonged to the small group of socially prominent Catholics in largely Protestant Frankfurt. He grew up, however, in the home of his maternal grandparents, the journalist Carl Berly (of Huguenot origin) and his wife Juliana, a well-known and loved personality in Frankfurt. At age thirteen Schweitzer was sent to a Jesuit boarding school in Aschaffenburg. This was followed by the study of law in Berlin and Heidelberg, where he took his final exam on 6 August 1855. After a brief stay in Paris, he settled in Frankfurt to begin a law career, in which he was never very active.

Schweitzer's political career began in 1859 with the first of a series of pamphlets dealing with the problem of German unification, but his first important publication was in 1861: *Der Zeitgeist und das Christentum* (The Spirit of the Times and Christianity). In it he defended Christianity, but predicted the downfall of revealed religion. As Schweitzer's biographer, Gustav Mayer, wrote: "He noted discerningly that it was not so much the results of science as the influence of its method that had brought about an undermining of belief in dogmatic religion" (Mayer 1909, 36).

That same year (1861) he became actively involved in the workers' movement. He became president of the Frankfurt Gymnastic Union, which had been founded a year earlier, and also president of the Workers' Educational Union, which he helped found in November 1861. He was a leader in the Shooting Union and in the spring of 1862 he was busy preparing for the Schützenfest (shooting festival) to be held in Frankfurt that summer. A high point in his political effectiveness came on 25 May 1862 with a speech at a

Workers' Day rally that, according to his biographer, marked the beginning of Social Democracy in the Frankfurt area.<sup>21</sup>

In the first week of August 1862 Schweitzer was arrested in Mannheim. He was supposed to have seduced a boy under fourteen years old into undertaking an indecent act. But since the boy ran away and could not be apprehended, the sentence that resulted was not for a crime against morality, but only for the giving of public offense through the public perpetration of an indecent act. On 5 September he was sentenced to two weeks in jail. Those two weeks passed quickly, but he became a social outcast in his hometown of Frankfurt and his political enemies raked up the incident again and again.

Schweitzer was briefly in Vienna in the first half of 1863, lecturing on the philosophy of Schopenhauer, with whom he was acquainted sometime before the latter's death in 1860. He first read one of Lassalle's brochures shortly before going there. When it seemed that Schweitzer's political career was ended forever, he was rescued by Lassalle's appearance on the scene.

The great merit of Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864), according to Karl Marx, was to awaken the German workers' movement after a long slumber. He had great success as an agitator and founded the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein or ADAV (General Association of German Workers) in May 1863. About this time Schweitzer wrote to ask if he might dedicate a novel to him. Lassalle agreed and the novel *Lucinde oder Kapital und Arbeit* (Lucinde, or Capital and Labor), whose second volume appeared already in December, delighted him, for he recognized its propaganda value. Although the Frankfurt branch of the ADAV refused to admit Schweitzer, at Lassalle's request he was accepted into the ADAV in Leipzig. Lassalle died on 13 August 1864 as a result of a duel, but it had been his protection that made a return to political life possible for Schweitzer. In 1867 he became president of the ADAV and the same year was elected to the parliament of the new North German Confederation, the first Social Democrat in a European parliament.

Schweitzer ceased publishing the *Social-Demokrat* in 1871, withdrew from politics, and shortly after married his long-time fiancée Antonie Menschel. Heavily in debt, he

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21. The movement took its name from the newspaper, *Social-Demokrat*, that was founded in Berlin in 1864 by Schweitzer and his friend Johann Baptist von Hofstetten.



turned his talent to writing for the theater and soon became a celebrated writer of comedies. In the last four years of his life no less than twenty of his plays were presented on the Berlin stage. He died of lung inflammation in Giessbach, Switzerland, on 28 July 1875.

The report of Schweitzer's arrest in Mannheim in August prompted Ulrichs's first attempt to intervene in such a case. In 1864, without naming Schweitzer, Ulrichs mentioned his imprisonment in 1862 and added: "Already at that time I put together a kind of defense for him and sent it to the prisoner in two letters. One letter got through to him—but only by an oversight. The examining magistrate added the other to his file on the case" (*Vindicta*, xvii). That appeared to end the matter, for Ulrichs's argument was not used in Schweitzer's defense.

By 1869 Ulrichs saw no need to omit Schweitzer's name as he recalled how trivial the incident was that caused Schweitzer so much trouble:

It is notorious that the Lassallean Social Democrat Dr. von Schweitzer in Berlin was given a criminal sentence on 5 September 1862 by the court in Mannheim, because by an unimportant bit of fooling around with a young lad in the castle garden he gave "public offense" through simple carelessness, i.e., he was overheard by two no longer young women. (*Incubus*, 14)<sup>22</sup>

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22. This last phrase was shortly after revised to: "two snooping old maids" (*Argonauticus*, 17).



Johann Baptist von Schweitzer

## Origins of the “Third Sex” Theory: 1862

There is evidence that Ulrichs had given the question of homosexuality much thought and that by early 1861 the feelings of righteous indignation (and his sense of *giusto sdegno* surely rivaled that of Dante!) that were welling up in him were about to burst forth. But how to begin? How to treat in a positive way a phenomenon that had been described, when mentioned at all, in the worst possible language? He must have felt very alone, in ways that a gay person nearly 150 years later finds hard to imagine.

Ulrichs at first sought to describe homosexual attraction in the terms of the popular theory of animal magnetism. The existence of such a magnetic fluid had been postulated in the eighteenth century by Friedrich Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), from whose name the word “mesmerism” was coined. He settled in Paris in 1778 and quickly became known for the marvelous effects of his mesmerism. The medical faculty of Paris denounced him as a charlatan and the government appointed a commission to investigate the phenomenon. This commission, which included among its members J. S. Bailly, A. L. Lavoisier, and Benjamin Franklin, officially concluded in 1784 that this magnetic fluid did not exist.<sup>23</sup> Thereafter interest in the theory fell off until it was revived a generation later by Alexandre Bertrand, and in 1831 a committee of the Academy of Medicine of Paris reported favorably upon “magnetism” as a therapeutic agent.

In Germany its acceptance as a scientific theory was strengthened in 1843 when Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Reichenbach (1788–1869), who was already known for his investigation of paraffin in 1830 and creosote in 1832, announced the discovery of a magnetic force he called Od. “By Od he understood a peculiar force that is characteristic of sensitive persons and makes them capable, among other things ... of distinguishing the positive from the magnetic pole” (Ladenburg, 671). Between 1850 and 1867 he published

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23. The story is actually more complex. “A secret report to the King by the Bailly commission also warned that mesmerism could damage morality” (Darnton 1968, 64).

several books on this theme. Ulrichs was familiar with Reichenbach's "odylic force," as it was called in English; he mentioned it later in *Formatrix* (64).<sup>24</sup>

In an autobiographical statement, deposited with the Hochstift and dated 19 February 1861, Ulrichs mentioned his good health and added: "A bodily-mental characteristic of mine is a certain passive magnetism of the animal world," and he attached an outline of this "Animal Magnetism." Since it is his first known attempt to scientifically describe homosexuality, it is worth quoting in full:

The mental-bodily passive animal magnetism mentioned is passive, not active, for the reason that the person for whom it is a characteristic does not attract, but rather feels himself attracted, just as a passive magnetism dwells in a piece of soft iron, since it does not attract, but is attracted by the steel magnet, whereas active magnetism is in the attracting steel magnet (perhaps a passive magnetism as well, but at least an active is there). Until now science has not sought to investigate this passive animal magnetism (by no means an isolated phenomenon), although the doctor, the anthropologist and physiologist, the jurist, the psychologist, and the moralist could cultivate an entirely new field. In fact, they have made not the slightest effort to investigate its nature: rather (misled by poorly understood Bible passages and by laws based on such Bible passages—laws whose moral value stands on the same level as those against witchcraft and heresy in the Middle Ages) they have believed they should ignore or disdain it with hatred and scorn, examples of which are in scientific books. They are in complete error on the fact itself. Such treatment is excusable on the part of the raw herd, but not on the part of science. The oppression that results from this is so malicious and unfair that for someone concerned a very special boldness would be required to dare an open *audiatur et altera pars!* [Let the other side be heard!]: to raise a word that would open the eyes of people who pass sentence without having heard the opponent, who decide without having tested, who make judgments on what they have no knowledge of.

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24. The term "odylic force" had a vogue in Britain following the translation in 1850 of Reichenbach's *Untersuchungen über Dynamide des Magnetismus, der Elektrizität, der Wärme, des Lichtes, ... in ihren Beziehungen zur Lebenskraft* (1849), as *Researches on Magnetism ... in Relation to the Vital Force*, by William Gregory, professor of chemistry at the University of Edinburgh—see the entry on "Odylic Force" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1911, 20: 10–11).

I am inclined, therefore, to deposit soon in the file of the Hochstift under seal such an *audiatur et altera pars* and ask that this be allowed me. (H)<sup>25</sup>

This remarkable document shows how committed Ulrichs was to his goal, even if he did not yet know how to go about achieving it. It also shows that he appreciated his personal danger in revealing himself publicly. That the danger was very real is shown by the fact that, after he published his views in 1864, he was expelled from the Hochstift (see pages 78–79).

The following year, on 15 January 1862, he gave poetic expression in “Hybla und Enna” to his vision of a better future for people like himself. Despite the fact that the poem touched on its main topic only covertly, the *Morgenblatt* (Stuttgart), a Cotta newspaper, returned it to him unpublished in May.<sup>26</sup>

By June 1862 Ulrichs had ‘come out’ to his family, or at least to his sister Ulrike. She reacted harshly at first, but wrote him more mildly on 13 and 20 June, urging him to determine to change himself around, saying that God would help. Rather surprisingly Ulrichs did not reply until three months later. On 22 September 1862 he excused his delay by saying how busy he had been. First, there was the Schützenfest “which occupied me from early till late.” Then his “chief” (von Linde) gave him some “pressing and important work.” “And finally I have been constantly occupied with a task as a favor for Tewes junior in Achim, namely correcting the manuscript of a juridical book for the press for him, a very boring, difficult, and tedious job” (Vier Briefe, 39).

Ulrichs did not mention that he had also written a legal defense and sent it to Schweitzer in prison. Nor did he mention an article, apparently prompted by the Schweitzer incident, that he had submitted to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* on 19 August: “Puzzling phenomenon in the natural history of man. An *audiatur et altera pars* involving an unprejudiced, scientific, and social evaluation of the same, and in particular a proof of the necessity of a special reform of German penal legislation” (Cotta). This was probably the *audiatur et altera pars* first planned for the Hochstift. Apparently he had no more success with it than he did with the defense sent to Schweitzer. Ulrichs wrote Cotta

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25. A facsimile of this document is in Sigusch (2000, 65).

26. Ulrichs finally published the poem himself in 1870 (*Prometheus*, 76–77).

on 2 September urging them to ask the editorial board of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* to publish it, noting that he had “warmly urged them to accept it.” And to show how important he considered the matter, he added that he would not ask for any payment if it were accepted. In a postscript he even added that he would be willing to accept a decrease in his usual royalties. This, too, had no effect, so that he was forced to use his own resources to make his ideas known.

On 22 September 1862 he replied to the June letters of his sister Ulrike, asking that the letter be circulated to several other family members. In it he tried to answer her objections by pointing out, for example, that he had been attracted to several of their young lady friends, but not in the way she thought. Ulrichs admitted that he had danced with many girls, but denied that he had felt sexual attraction to any of them, and he expressed his surprise at one name in particular:

I think you should have known the indirect relationship I had with Auguste H. The affection I felt for her, as well as for her parents, was only the weak reflection of the radiant sunshine of a love, just as the mountaintops gleaming in the rays of the setting sun are not the sun itself, but only its reflection. (Vier Briefe, 41)

Most likely it was the girl’s brother whom he loved. At any rate he apparently thought that Ulrike could guess who it was, for he added: “This love is something sacred to me. I will not reveal it and I hope you will also not be so indiscreet as to mention my secret.”

To Ulrike’s objection that his inclination was “perverse, unnatural, or sinful,” Ulrichs replied that it was only sinful if it was perverse or unnatural, and that is precisely what he denies. He noted that in Frankfurt he had become acquainted with several other men like himself and by observing them had become clear about the basis of his sexual attraction. This apparently helped him to overcome his earlier torment and to accept himself. “It is a remarkable experience for me: the more proof I discover for my system and the more certain and clearer I become about it, all the more all my former bitterness about the wrongs done me melt away” (Vier Briefe, 47). But what was this “system” Ulrichs had developed?

The basic element in Ulrichs's system was the recognition of a feminine element in himself and others like him that gave the direction to his sexual drive. This concept had gradually become clear to Ulrichs over the past year and only now, at age thirty-seven, had reached fruition (*Inclusa*, 50). Such a man he called "Uranier" in distinction to a man, in the usual meaning of the word, whom he called "Dionäer". In his publications, he replaced these terms with "Urning" and "Dioning", respectively. These terms were coined by Ulrichs in the development of his theory, for all earlier terms were based on assumptions contrary to his theory, i.e., had negative connotations.<sup>27</sup> Ulrichs derived the terms from the speech of Pausanias in Plato's *Symposium*, as he pointed out in his first publication on the subject, but he did not quote the passage until 1870:

For we all know that Love is inseparable from Aphrodite, and if there were only one Aphrodite there would be only one Love; but as there are two goddesses there must be two Loves. And am I not right in asserting that there are two goddesses? The elder one, having no mother, who is called the heavenly Aphrodite—she is the daughter of Uranus; the younger, who is the daughter of Zeus and Dione—her we call common.... The Love who is the offspring of the common Aphrodite ... is apt to be of women.... But the offspring of the heavenly Aphrodite is derived from a mother in whose birth the female has no part.... Those who are inspired by this love turn to the male. (*Prometheus*, 3; here paragraphs 180–181 in the translation by Benjamin Jowett)

Lacking at this stage is an explanation of the cause of the difference between the Uranier and the Dionäer. But Ulrichs saw the two as so distinct that he asserted: "We make up a third sex" (*Vier Briefe*, 47).<sup>28</sup> The important thing is that the Uranier has a distinct nature, such that it is natural for him to love other (real) men. But an underlying assumption of Ulrichs (and here he agreed with everyone else) is that a love that is directed toward a man is necessarily a woman's love. This implied that the source of this love

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27. Ulrichs never used the term "homosexual", which was coined a few years later by Karl Maria Kertbeny.

28. The expression "third sex" had already been used by various authors, from Plato, in the speech of Aristophanes in the *Symposium*, to Théophile Gautier, in *Mademoiselle de Maupin* in 1835—to be sure with very different meanings, none of which corresponded to Ulrichs's concept.

must be feminine. Ulrichs said, “We are women in spirit,” meaning “sexually, namely in the direction of our sexual love.”

Ulrichs’s next circular letter (he names eight people to receive it) was written on 28 November 1862. In the meantime he had received replies from his September letter, all more or less objecting to his argument, and he now thought he was ready to answer them, especially with new scientific information. On 23 and 26 November he had received a report of several confirmed cases of physical hermaphrodites from a “scientific authority,” whom he described elsewhere as “a German doctor well known in medical science” (*Inclusa*, 11). His correspondent also noted, “As far as the inclination or love-drive of the hermaphrodite is concerned, reliable observations are lacking” (*Inclusa*, 11). What concerned Ulrichs at the moment, however, was the mere existence of hermaphrodites, for this suggested by analogy that the Uranier could be seen as a “uranian hermaphrodite” and so just as much a creation of God as the physical hermaphrodite. To be sure, he argued, each was an anomaly of nature, but in neither case was the condition a sickness.

Ulrichs further argued that the Uranier has a God-given sex drive and so “the right to satisfy it,” but he did not press the point here, being content to merely deny that “this satisfaction is never allowed.” He had mentioned in the earlier letter that he was preparing a manuscript on the subject for circulation. Now, instead, he planned to have it printed as a monograph, perhaps with the title, “The race of uranian hermaphrodites, i.e., men-loving half-men,” and he asked his relatives for advice about this.

Needless to say, opposition to such a publication was strong. Ulrike found the idea “distasteful.” Wilhelm Ülzen agreed, while Ulrike’s husband Ludewig judged it “inadvisable.” Pastor Grupen asked to be spared all writings on the subject, adding: “I give up the struggle as hopeless and ask the Lord God to bring about what appears to be humanly impossible.”

“Old Uncle Ü.” also advised against publishing, but wrote a friendly letter to Ulrichs on 6 December, saying he would suspend judgment until he received the promised proof.<sup>29</sup> Ulrichs replied that he would be busy with other work for two or three months

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29. The Ülzen family was probably related to Ulrichs through his father’s sister Sophie Louise, who had married Pastor Otto Ülzen.



and possibly might change his ideas in some way, but he seemed determined to go ahead with the project. His reasons for doing so give insight into his character:

I believe that I owe it to my poor and, from my standpoint, innocently persecuted comrades-in-destiny. I shared my idea with several of them and they think the publication an urgent necessity. For my part, too, I feel the need finally to present openly a justification of myself against all the humiliations that have been laid onto me up to now, against which I do not know what else to set. (Vier Briefe, 63)

Only eleven days later, on 23 December 1862, Ulrichs again wrote his uncle with new evidence that he thought would “prove at least the plausibility of the inborn nature of the uranian inclination” (Vier Briefe, 64). He cites two journal articles from 1855 and 1856 and points out that both men and women have rudimentary sexual characteristics of the other sex: men, for example, have nipples; women have a clitoris. Further, during the first months the sexual organs of the male embryo can hardly be distinguished from those of the female embryo. The conclusion Ulrichs draws from this evidence is that the embryo has the potentiality of developing into either a male or a female. He supposes that a double sexual germ is present, a germ of maleness and along with it one for femaleness, such that as a rule only one of the germs develops. This would explain the physical hermaphrodite, for in that case both germs have developed more or less equally. Then Ulrichs gave the first hint of what was to become a cornerstone of his theory:

Why should it then be unthinkable that, in a single individual, nature, in all her multiplicity, might work still differently, letting the male germ develop physically and the female germ not develop physically, but letting the mental, non-physical development be just the opposite, the male germ not developing and the female germ developing in all non-physical directions? (Vier Briefe, 67–68)

In his first publication on the subject, Ulrichs posited separate germs for physical and mental development. With this step, the theory became scientific, in the sense that it fur-

nished a natural cause for the observed phenomena. As a motto for one of his first publications he quoted Goethe: “And should nature not still be investigated?” (*Inclusa*, iv).

Whatever its cause it is the inborn nature of the Urning’s sexual orientation that is at the heart of Ulrichs’s theory, and on this matter he was firmly convinced. To also convince his uncle he called on the authority of the recently deceased philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, quoting from his *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (The World as Will and Idea) regarding this orientation: “It must be deeply founded in the nature of mankind.” Ulrichs noted that Schopenhauer added, just as he himself had done a year earlier, the line of the Roman poet Horace: “Naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret” (You can chase nature out with a pitchfork, it always comes running back) (*Epistles*, i.10.24). Ulrichs did not say where he had used this phrase “a year earlier”; it is possible that he had touched on the matter in correspondence with his uncle already at that time.

The 23 December 1862 letter to his uncle opens with the statement: “To justify myself, and to do it completely, is now nothing less than my life’s work.” Ulrichs could not foresee the difficulty of this task, although he already had a hint of it in the opposition of his family. Despite this opposition, he determined to go ahead with the project. By the end of 1863 Ulrichs had essentially completed the first two booklets of his “Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe” (Researches on the riddle of “man-manly” love).<sup>30</sup> These two booklets were published, at his expense, in the spring of the following year. Happily he did not use the title suggested in the circular letter to his relatives. He would have preferred to appear openly, but in deference to their wishes the booklets were published under the pseudonym “Numa Numantius,” which he promised to abandon “as soon as possible” (*Vindex*, xii).

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30. Ulrichs coined the term “mann männlich”; his translator Michael Lombardi-Nash in turn coined “man-manly” to correspond with it.

## Researches on the Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: 1863–1865

In early 1863 Ulrichs was occupied with other matters, as he had predicted to his uncle. He continued to be an active correspondent for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, he was private secretary to Linde, and he continued the collaboration begun a year earlier with his friend the surveyor and poet Bruno Stralau on a poem “Der Hedninger Todtenzauber,” which was based on the Edda, a collection of old Icelandic literature. On 1 March 1863 he announced his intention to read part of the poem at the next meeting of the Hochstift on 15 March, as well as to present a publication of Linde treating the rights of the Confederation parliament, which Ulrichs intended to explain. He assured the chairman that he would avoid all discussion of “politics” in doing so. Spring also saw the conclusion of a love affair with yet another hussar, Eberhard Br. of Düren. In “B...heim” (probably Bornheim or Bockenheim, both suburbs of Frankfurt), and on the same date as the Hochstift meeting Ulrichs wrote for him the following poem (*Memnon*, 2: xxxv):

Farewell!

And so farewell! perchance on Earth  
           God’s finger as ’twixt thee and me—  
 Will never make that wonder clear  
           Why thus it drew me unto thee.

Oh Eberhard! I must despair,  
 To roses young tell all my care,  
           So red in spring wherever sown.  
 No! I’ll control the tears I feel!  
 And burn that name of thine with steel!  
           In my poor heart howe’er deep grown.

But once again I'll stand with thee  
Before the One who knows the past.  
I hope to see thee there by me;  
When thou thy Final Judgment hast.

But should I turn on thee my wrath?  
Nay, nectar blooms strew in thy path,  
Eternal youth from Latmos' vale.  
How sweetly thy eyes, I confess,  
Gave courage, strength, and happiness:  
And now from me a final "Hail!"<sup>31</sup>

Three days later Ulrichs sent the poem to the *Morgenblatt* in Stuttgart. They had rejected his "Hybla und Enna" nearly a year earlier and it appears that they also rejected this poem, despite Ulrichs's comment that he would be satisfied with the honor of having it published and would not accept any payment. He noted: "The content may perhaps not be understandable. It touches on the separation resulting from an extraordinarily tender friendship that was perhaps unique in its kind" (Cotta). Ulrichs eventually published the poem in 1868.

By summer 1863 Ulrichs must have been convinced that he himself would have to finance any publication on Urning-love and by then his plans to do so had matured. He planned two booklets on the subject, one of "Social-juridical studies on 'man-manly' sexual love" and another on "Anthropological studies on 'man-manly' sexual love." As his project expanded, these became only the first two in a series of five booklets under the collective title "Researches on the riddle of 'man-manly' love" whose publication was completed in 1865. Other booklets followed later, but these five form a unit. The first two booklets were written simultaneously in the summer and fall of 1863 in Würzburg and

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31. Memnon, 2: xxxv. The first four lines of this translation are by Edward Carpenter (1917, 168–169). The classic reference is to the Greek myth of Endymion, a beautiful youth to whom Zeus gave eternal youth in the form of eternal sleep. The moon goddess Selene visited and embraced him every night in his grotto on Mount Latmos on Caria.

Achim. It thus appears that he gave up his position as private secretary to Linde, but it is not clear why he did not stay in Frankfurt to write them. Ulrichs had lived in Achim earlier as Assessor and probably had friends there—and Verden, where his friend Stralau/Kropp lived, was nearby.

The first two booklets were given short catch titles in Latin (as were all but one of the later booklets): *Vindex* and *Inclusa*. The word “vindex” means “defender, liberator, champion.” The word “inclusa” (confined, enclosed) refers to a Latin couplet of Ulrichs’s at the beginning of the booklet (*Inclusa*, iv):

Sunt mihi barba maris, artus, corpusque virile;  
His inclusa quidem: sed sum maneoque puella.  
(Have I a masculine beard and manly limbs and body;  
Yes, confined by these: but I am and remain a woman.)

Leaving scientific arguments to *Inclusa*, Ulrichs offers in *Vindex* his proof, as stated on the title page: “I. that it [‘man-manly’ love] deserves prosecution just as little as does the love of women; II. that even according to the current laws in Germany it cannot legally be prosecuted” (*Vindex*, iii). He begins by asserting the existence of individuals “who have a male body, but who at the same time feel a sexual love for men and an aversion to women, i.e., an aversion to sexual contact with women” (*Vindex*, 1). These individuals he now calls Urnings and he contrasts them with Dionings, or, simply, men, i.e., those “who have a male body and feel sexual love for women and sexual aversion to men.” He estimates the number of Urnings in Germany as one in every five hundred adult men.

The cornerstone of Ulrichs’s argument in *Vindex* is that the condition of being an Urning is inborn. He found some slight support for this statement in Schopenhauer. He quotes from *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* (3rd ed., 1859) and would no doubt have quoted other authorities had he known them. (Johann Ludwig Casper, for example, had already suggested that this was so in some cases, but Ulrichs had not yet read Casper.) Further, Ulrichs asserts that this distinct inborn nature refers not only to feelings of sexual love, but that in spirit, in his entire non-physical organism, the Urning is feminine and

this can be seen by his feminine characteristics. Thus, Ulrichs concludes, Urnings make up a “special sexual class of people, a third sex coordinate with that of men and that of women” (*Vindex*, 5). Pointing out that the existence of Urnings has up to then been ignored, Ulrichs next says that the time has come to change this:

The class of Urnings is perhaps strong enough now to assert its right to equality and equal treatment. To be sure, a bit of courage is required. Fortified with the shield of the justice of their cause, they must bravely dare to come out of their previous reserve and isolation. Herewith let the ice be broken. (*Vindex*, 5)

From the premise of the inborn nature of the Urning, the remainder of Ulrichs’s argument rationally follows. Every individual must follow his own nature and should be judged accordingly. Love between men is a riddle of nature, Ulrichs admits, but he insists that it be solved by science and not “by blindly striking with the so-called sword of justice, which already all too often with regard to heretics, Jews, and witches has shown itself to be a sword of injustice” (*Vindex*, 10). The riddle of how nature awakens Urning-love is on the same level as that of how nature awakens Dioning-love, Ulrichs asserts, and is perhaps equally as puzzling.

It follows that the Urning just as much as the Dioning has a right to satisfy his sexual drive in the way that is natural to him—“in the bodily contact of a rosy and beloved man” (*Vindex*, 11). That, he says, is what is natural for the Urning. Hence—and here Ulrichs’s legal training comes to the fore—even under current laws the Urning may not be prosecuted, for the laws speak of “unnatural acts.” “And even if a hundred witnesses are presented, who have continuously observed us with Argus eyes from our 14th or 15th year of life: they will still not be able to testify to even the least expression of sexual love feelings for a female person from any period of our lives” (*Vindex*, 21).

Ulrichs would shortly have to modify the last statement. At the moment, however, he anticipates another objection—and it is indeed a strong one: Even if the love-act is natural for the Urning, is it natural for the young man he loves? Ulrichs answers in two ways: First, as far as concerns the Urning, the question is simply, “Is the young man willing?” Since the Urning is acting according to his nature, if he uses no force, then he is certainly

not breaking a law. As regards the young man, Ulrichs makes a distinction between a subjectively unnatural act and an objectively unnatural act. He admits that the act is subjectively unnatural for the young man, but may be objectively natural in that he allows the Urning his natural enjoyment of love (*Vindex*, 26). He rather lamely concludes that the subjectively unnatural and objectively natural “taken together cancel out one another.”

This final argument was shortly after modified to suggest that, since the Dioning only allows the Urning to take his pleasure without any activity on his own part, for the Dioning it is a morally neutral act (*Vindicta*, 11). The brochure ends with a call to jurists to raise their voices to put an end to the current law.

If the goal of *Vindex* was to construct an argument for treating Urnings with justice and equality, an argument held together by the keystone of the Urning’s inborn nature, then it was the purpose of *Inclusa* to furnish a firm support for this keystone. Ulrichs first repeats the introduction of *Vindex* and then proceeds to marshal his evidence. He begins with what he assumes to be a prior proposition of his opponents, namely, that nature always operates the same way. He believes the existence of physical hermaphrodites sufficiently disproves this. He then moves to his most important argument, a scientific explanation of the Urning’s distinct nature, and he does this by pointing out precisely what the science of the time required: the physical substrate of the Urning’s feminine sexual drive.

Studies of the human embryo show, he says, that up to about the twelfth week of its existence the germ of the sex organs is sleeping. This one germ then develops into either male sex organs or female sex organs. This double germ of sexual development is the physical substrate of the direction of sexual love. A Dioning develops as a male in both body and spirit, whereas an Urning is a male in body, but a female in spirit. That every male has rudimentary female physical characteristics shows that there is a female element in the germ; that the germ has developed in this direction in an Urning is seen precisely by his feminine characteristics. Hence, for Ulrichs, the importance of pointing out the uniform presence of feminine characteristics in all Urnings.

Ulrichs had earlier thought he detected such characteristics in himself and that this had something to do with the direction of his sexual drive, but he had been talked out of it by his brother-in-law in 1854. He returned to this idea only in 1862, when he became ac-

quainted with a number of other Urnings in Frankfurt. Even though they were unclear about why they did it, they had a habit among themselves of using female nicknames. Ulrichs gives several examples: Laura, Georgine (instead of George), Mathilde, Madonna, and Queen of the Night. They called themselves “sisters” and addressed one another, for example, as “dear Sister” (*Inclusa*, 17).

Ulrichs finds precedent for this practice in ancient Greece and Rome (the Roman emperor Antoninus Heliogabalus once said to his beloved, “Call me not lord, but lady”) and he shows that he has been searching the medical literature by citing a report in the *Medicinische Zeitung des Vereins für Heilkunde in Preußen* (Fränkel 1853, 102–103). There Dr. Hieronymus Fränkel had reported the case of Süsskind Blank, a Jewish curtain hanger, whom he described as a “passive paederast.” Ulrichs does not mention that, but only repeats the description of his feminine characteristics, including the fact that he once publicly announced his engagement to a foreign laborer as “Friederike Blank.” Of interest to Ulrichs here is that he finds the “same inner feeling of femininity” in ancient and modern times, “in Italy, in a Jewish Urning, and in German Urnings” (*Inclusa*, 18).

For his part, Fränkel appears to have been more fascinated by Blank’s ability to entice young men into anal intercourse with him and leave them convinced that it had been an ordinary sexual experience with a woman. Blank came to Fränkel’s attention in 1844 when he treated a seventeen-year-old tailor’s apprentice for a bad case of gonorrhea, which the apprentice got from having sex with Blank, who, he claimed, had a completely female vagina. Fränkel notified the police and they brought Blank in for examination by Fränkel, who discovered that Blank’s anus was so enlarged that he could easily insert two fingers. In the act of sex, in order to persuade the young man that he was a woman, Blank would lie on his back and pull up his scrotum and penis with one hand while using his other hand to guide the penis of his “violator” into his anus.

Blank was then and several times later given prison sentences for his activity, both the sexual and the wearing of women’s clothing. Finally in 1853 a warrant for his arrest was issued, but as he was being brought back, he leaped from a bridge and drowned in the river below. Fränkel drew a moral from all this: “The present report may serve as an illustration of the words of the divine law (Deut. 22:5): ‘nor shall a man put on a



woman's garment; for whoever does these things is an abomination to the Lord your God.”<sup>32</sup>

Ulrichs ignored this part of Blank's story and moved to further evidence of the in-born nature of the Urning: the experience of a magnetic current that flows through the Urning from the beloved, who is almost always described by Ulrichs as a “blühender junger Mann” (a rosy young man, a man in the bloom of youth). This magnetism is no longer seen by Ulrichs as a cause, but rather as an effect of the Urning's nature. It is felt as a transformation of his whole body into an organ of pleasure that takes delight in the mere touch of any part of the body of the beloved young man. Ulrichs notes that the most attractive age does vary with the individual: “This Urning is attracted by a young man of twenty to twenty-three years, that one by someone twenty-three to twenty-six years old, while another by the eighteen to twenty-year-old.” For Ulrichs himself they were “most dangerous” in the ages nineteen to twenty-three (*Formatrix*, 37). He believes anyone over the age of thirty can “hardly awaken love in any of us” (*Inclusa*, 29).

It is not just age, however, that is decisive, but rather manly strength and courage. To illustrate this Ulrichs quotes the “very candid” verses of an Urning (*Inclusa*, 30–31):

Dearer to me is the lad village-born with sinewy members  
Than the pale face of a fine town-bred effeminate youngling;  
Dearer to me is a groom, a tamer of horses, a hunter,  
Yea, or a sailor on board: but dear to me down to the heart's depth,  
Dearest of all are the young, steel-thewed, magnificent soldiers—  
Be it the massive form of a black-browed insolent guardsman,  
Or a blue-eyed hussar with the down new-fledged on his firm lip—  
Who with clanking spurs and martial tread when they meet me,  
Know not how goodly they are, the sight of them how overwhelming.<sup>33</sup>

Ulrichs does not identify the author of the poem. Very likely it was his own.

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32. The Bible quotation here is from the Revised Standard Version.

33. The English translation of this poem was made by John Addington Symonds and published in his *Walt Whitman* in 1893, two years after Symonds had visited Ulrichs in Italy (Symonds 1893, 50).

Another proof that Urning love is natural is the fact that the Urning's sexual gratification is accompanied by a love that is "whole-hearted, tender, and filled with longing" and so cannot be unnatural. "There is no such thing as an unnatural love. Where true love is, there nature is also" (*Inclusa*, 23).

A most important proof that Urning love is natural is the fact that it has existed throughout centuries, despite a continuous history of persecution. Ulrichs mentions in particular the edict of Emperor Justinian in the year 538, his Novella 77 condemning blasphemy and "Urning-love" (to use Ulrichs's expression): "Propter talia delicta et fames et terrae motus et pestilentiae fiunt" (For because of such crimes there are famine, earthquakes, and pestilences) (*Inclusa*, 40). Here Ulrichs only wryly comments: "Odd theory of earthquakes!" But the Novella came back to haunt him when it was cited in a court decision in Bremen in 1867 (see pages 143–144).

But if most European countries had abolished the death penalty for such practices—though not until 1861 in England, but Ulrichs notes that there it was usually commuted to life imprisonment—they still drive victims of their legal and social persecution to suicide. (In later writings Ulrichs pointed out many cases of suicide.) In a section omitted by Hirschfeld in his 1898 edition of Ulrichs's writings, Ulrichs described the current practices in Berlin, where "to legal prosecution is added that of the police as well." There, too, they have not been able to stamp out Urning-love, despite "the packs of Berlin policemen with their bait of payment for informers and their hundreds of spying Argus eyes, as well as that Berlin prison that threatens every Urning like a sword of Damocles" (*Inclusa*, 43).

With all of this Ulrichs believes he has proved his case for the proposition that love for men is inborn in Urnings. For those still not satisfied with his argument he says in his conclusion that he can demand in turn: "Now you prove to me that your love for women is inborn" (*Inclusa*, 60). Since he thinks they could only give similar arguments, Ulrichs is satisfied that he has firmly founded his proposition that Urning-love is inborn.

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The publication of *Vindex* and *Inclusa* in the spring of 1864 brought Ulrichs into contact with many men who felt themselves described in some way in these booklets. As a result of this wider acquaintance, Ulrichs revised and expanded his biological theory,

and wrote three more booklets by the end of the year. At the time of writing *Vindex* and *Inclusa*, however, it appears that he planned only one more, a volume of Uranian poetry to be titled “Nemus sacrum” (Sacred Grove). Indeed, he said in *Inclusa* (23) that it would be published at the same time as *Inclusa* and contain poems from ancient Greece and Rome as well as some of his own. Ulrichs was unaware of any other contemporary uranian poetry. For various reasons such a volume was never published by Ulrichs.

The simplicity of Ulrichs’s theory as presented in *Vindex* and *Inclusa* reflects his limited acquaintance with both the relevant literature and other Urnings. This allowed him to assume that all other Urnings must be like himself. This may be seen in his strict separation of Dioning and Urning, that the Urning, for example, is never sexually attracted to women, that his wet dreams are always accompanied by male images, that he is attracted by a manly build, not by a pretty face, that he is always effeminate (or would be if he did not force himself to conform to society), and so on. As a result of his early acquaintance with the more obvious effeminate Urnings, Ulrichs appeared to have exaggerated his view of his own effeminacy. Toward the end of 1864 he wrote that his own feminine characteristics were not very marked, despite what was presented in *Inclusa*, adding that his brother-in-law had remarked that he “had never noticed such” about him (*Formatrix*, 55). Magnus Hirschfeld never met Ulrichs, but he reported that many, who knew him personally, assured him that Ulrichs “in no way gave a feminine impression” (Hirschfeld 1914, 110).

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This may be a good place to give Ulrichs’s physical description of himself. He was of middle height and thought his build rather more weak than strong. His face had nice features and a nice color, with cheeks rosier than usual for a man (*Formatrix*, 47). When alone he enjoyed singing in falsetto, but had earlier sung bass in choruses (*Formatrix*, 24). The only surviving picture of Ulrichs, published as an etching by Hirschfeld in 1899 (*Vier Briefe*, 36), is a photograph that was probably made about this time.<sup>34</sup> It shows moderately long hair falling back from a receding forehead, a moderately full beard, and a proud carriage of his head. John Addington Symonds visited Ulrichs in Aquila in 1891, when Ulrichs was sixty-six years old, and later wrote Edward Carpenter: “There is a sin-

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34. The photo was later published in Magnus Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtskunde*, Band 4. Bilderteil. Stuttgart 1930, p. 655, no. 970.

gular charm about the old man, great sweetness, the remains of refined beauty” (Symonds 1967–69, 3: 814).



This photograph of Ulrichs was published by Magnus Hirschfeld in his *Geschlechtskunde*, Band 4, Bilderteil (Stuttgart 1930), p. 655, no. 970. He published an etching of it earlier in *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Band 1 (1899), p. 36.

*Vindex* and *Inclusa* were printed in Offenbach am Main, near Frankfurt, but Ulrichs had remained in Achim, perhaps because of a “friend in A.” he mentioned shortly afterwards, whom he loved so much “that many a tear flowed because of him” (*Vindicta*, 12). On 13 December 1863 Ulrichs sent a copy of the not-yet-published *Vindex* to the Hessian Ministry of Justice in Darmstadt. This was in response to news that a young Urning had been arrested there. Ulrichs anxiously awaited the result, for in a cover letter he had expressed the hope that his booklet would arrive in time “to save thousands of other unfortunates from undeserved and, in my opinion, thoroughly illegal criminal processes against them” (*Vindicta*, xvi), and he gave his name and residence.

Instead of answering Ulrichs directly, the Hessian Ministry of Justice sent *Vindex* and the cover letter to the Hanoverian Ministry of Justice, asking them to return both to Ulrichs and to tell him the Hessian Ministry would pay no attention to any further material on the subject (*Vindicta*, xvi). This the Hanoverian Ministry did and, not content with this, also “strongly warned” Ulrichs against publishing such writings.

Ulrichs had respect for the man who wrote this and believed the advice was well meant. As a result he delayed publication of the two booklets and wrote the Ministry on 6 January 1864 to ask for an explanation of the warning. He explained that he was not opposed to refraining from publication for the time being, thinking that even if they were opposed to publication, they might still be inclined to take the matter into consideration. Ulrichs hoped such an example to other governments would help his cause. When months passed and he received no reply, he decided to go ahead with the publication. This explains the delay, unusual for Ulrichs, between the printing and publishing of these booklets. In March he commissioned their publication by the publisher Heinrich Matthes in Leipzig.

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Even before the publication of *Vindex* and *Inclusa* there was an unfavorable reaction to Ulrichs’s ideas in Frankfurt. His plea to “let the other side be heard” (*audiatur et altera pars*) had fallen on deaf ears at the Hochstift, whose administration expelled him from membership at their session of 22 March 1864. An extract of the minutes of that session was sent to Ulrichs in Achim on 5 April. It read:

On the presentation of a literary submission from Herr Assessor Ulrichs it was found that the sender is no longer to be considered a member of the Hochstift on account of the criminal prosecution pending against him and consequently this extract from today's minutes is to be brought to his attention. (H)

The literary submission must have been the long poem "Antinous" written in Achim on 8 December 1863. In it Ulrichs gave a mythological version of the death of Antinous, the favorite of the emperor Hadrian, who was drowned in the Nile in the year 138. In his description of Antinous, Ulrichs asked (*Ara spei*, 89):

Does he not stand as if born from blood of the gods of Olympus?

...

With the youthful rose on swelling cheeks so dewy?

Eros reigns from them and sends out inflaming glances

Into women's hearts and all the sons of Uranus!

Ulrichs tells of Hadrian's love for Antinous and the latter's death by drowning at the hands of three water-nymphs. Then the gods set a constellation in the heavens called "Antinous" as a consolation (*Ara spei*, 93):

For our race a speech that tells of an earlier rapture,

Longing relieves and awakes, Uranian love's new witness,

Till the earth dissolves and till the stars are fading.<sup>35</sup>

The mention of "sons of Uranus" and "Uranian love" required an explanation and Ulrichs no doubt supplied it in a preface. He must also have mentioned the letter from the Ministry of Justice in Hanover; this would explain the Hochstift's reference to "pending criminal prosecution." It is also possible that Ulrichs's own sexual activities were being

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35. There is a pun in the German, since the word "Geschlecht," translated "race" here, also means "sex." See Appendix B for the entire poem.)

investigated. His reply to the Hochstift suggests this, but no such action is mentioned in his public writings.<sup>36</sup>

When Ulrichs finally replied to the Hochstift he referred to a “criminal investigation” (not “criminal prosecution”), but he did not respond immediately and it was not until a year later, on 28 March 1865, that he sent a “Motivirter Protest” (i.e., a protest with an argument for his case). The delay, he explained, was caused by his desire to send all five of his booklets as proof of his position. He said that they must be examined before the Hochstift could legitimately decide whether to expel him or not and he insisted that not one but two people make this investigation, decisively rejecting for this purpose his personal enemies Public Health Officer Clemens and Dr. Otto Volger, the chairman.

The reaction of the Hochstift to this demand was indicative of the reaction Ulrichs’s writings were to receive altogether. Without answering his argument against their earlier reason for expelling him (presumably nothing had developed from the “criminal investigation”), they read just enough of his writings to find yet another excuse for expelling him. At the administrative session on 18 April 1865 they decided:

a. That since Herr Ulrichs asserts in his writings that in addition to the previously recognized two sexes there is a special kind of human being that does not belong to the two, whom he calls Urnings and declares that he himself is one, then it may be observed that the statutes of the F.D.H. make no mention of admitting this being to membership and the administration can therefore not recognize Herr Ulrichs’s right to membership.

b. That the F.D.H. could not condescend to an examination of the questions proposed by Herr Ulrichs.

c. That with this the protest of Herr Ulrichs is to be passed over as an order of the day and since the administration does not wish to be molested by any possible additional provocation with this subject matter that offends sensibility, any further communications from Herr Ulrichs are to be returned or laid aside. (H)

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36. It should be pointed out that there were other court actions not mentioned by Ulrichs. For example, Persichetti stated: “For their sake [i.e., Ulrichs’s writings] he bore sacrifices and troubles, and was even in a trial in Württemberg from which, after having manfully struggled to show that his purpose was entirely scientific, he succeeded in being absolved” (Persichetti 1896, 14).

This decision was sent to Ulrichs on 28 April 1865 by the secretary Th. Schiedeck. Ulrichs immediately wrote a “Gegendarstellung” (opposing brief), which he sent on 3 May, not directly to the Hochstift, but to Schiedeck, with a cover letter in which he asked Schiedeck to let him know the result. Ulrichs stressed that it should not be a matter of sticking to the letter of the law, that the Hochstift should be liberal and not narrow-minded:

As narrow-minded as it would be to exclude a hermaphrodite on the grounds that he was neither a complete man nor a complete woman, it would obviously be just as narrow-minded to exclude an Urning on the grounds that he was neither a complete man nor a complete woman. It would be an intolerance truly more horrible than that practiced in the darkest days of religious hatred against heretics and Jews!

Can one believe his eyes? Is this the spirit of the nineteenth century? To exclude an Urning from a scientific society because he is neither completely man nor completely woman! Is this worthy of the Freies Deutsches Hochstift? This narrow-mindedness would lead, for example, to excluding a Platen, Winkelmann, Johannes von Müller, yes even an Alexander von Humboldt from the Hochstift—all of whom were Urnings—along with Socrates, Plato, Pindar, Sophocles, and Vergil! (H)

He did not stop with the list of historical Urnings, but went on to say that by the same reasoning they should also exclude one of their earliest members, who had been a brilliant ornament to the Hochstift and had early been named to the administrative council. He did not name him, but threatened to do so, saying that he had witnesses to prove the man an Urning. It must have been clear to the Hochstift just who was meant, but this document is the last in Ulrichs’s file in the Hochstift. There is no record of any further action in this matter on the part of the Hochstift or Ulrichs, and the strategy of forcing Urnings out of hiding appears never to have been practiced by Ulrichs.

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We now return to the fate of his first two booklets, whose contents were summarized above. Having waited in vain for a reply to his inquiry to the Ministry of Justice in Hano-



ver, Ulrichs released them for publication in March 1864. *Inclusa* appeared in April and *Vindex* in May (*Vindicta*, vii).

On 20 May the Saxon police confiscated the 1,128 copies remaining with the publisher in Leipzig. They thereby seized almost all the copies of *Vindex*, but 1,350 copies of *Inclusa* had already been sent out to all parts of Germany, some outside of Germany. Six days later the case came to court, where the writings were accused of violating two articles of the law. One article forbade: (a) the degradation of the legal institution of marriage or of the family and (b) the presentation of forbidden acts as honorable or meritorious. The other article forbade violating morality by obscene speech. The judge, however, found nothing in the writings that would violate those two articles. The state attorney then declared himself satisfied and returned the confiscated copies to the publisher (*Vindicta*, vii–ix).

Naturally all of this was not equally reported in the press. Three papers in Leipzig reported the confiscation with expressions such as “containing scorn for all morality” (*Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*). The release of the booklets by the court was, of course, reported in fine print with no retraction of their previous remarks. Quick to defend himself as always, Ulrichs asked for a retraction and, in fact, got one from the *D.A.Z.* News of the police action was also picked up by other papers in Germany. By August, Matthes had disposed of almost all copies, mostly to Saxony, the Rhine Province of Prussia, Baden, and Austria. The court decision in Leipzig had no influence in Berlin, however, and there the police confiscated all available copies of the two booklets in September. By police order they were then forbidden throughout Prussia (*Formatrix*, viii).

While this was going on, Ulrichs tried to earn some money by reporting on the meeting in Braunschweig of the Congress of German Jurists, of which he was a member. Here he was more successful, for all the articles he sent to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* were published uncut (Cotta).

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Reaction from readers of the two booklets was encouraging. Already on 23 May 1864 Ulrichs’s publisher had forwarded to him the first of what was to be a stream of letters from other Urnings. They wrote to thank him for his fight for their rights and for opening their eyes to the truth about themselves. Some agreed with his theory entirely;

some differed in small points; others differed widely. Some felt themselves described by Ulrichs; others mentioned experiences widely different from his own. They poured out their life stories to him. Soon, as Ulrichs wrote, “the material is piling up under my hands” (*Vindicta*, xxiii). He thus made plans for four more booklets: *Vindicta*, *Formatrix*, *Ara spei*, and “Nemus sacrum.” The first three of these were officially published in early 1865 (in fact *Vindicta* appeared at the beginning of November 1864) (*Formatrix*, viii). Publication of “Nemus sacrum” was then announced for Easter 1865, but, as was noted earlier, this collection of uranian poetry was never published by Ulrichs. Ulrichs intended *Vindicta* to be an expansion of *Vindex* and *Formatrix* to be an expansion of *Inclusa*. He would then round out his social-juridical and scientific studies of Uranismus with a treatment of its ethical and religious aspects in *Ara spei*. Although *Vindicta* was completed first, Ulrichs worked on the three booklets more or less simultaneously in the spring and summer of 1864 in Aurich and “near” Hanover (presumably in Burgdorf). Even after printing had begun, he continued to add material; the final addition to *Ara spei* is dated 28 February 1865.

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Whereas *Vindex* was addressed to Ulrichs’s opponents, the persecutors of Urnings, *Vindicta* was primarily addressed to his fellow Urnings. He wrote: “My fight is a fight for freedom. The Roman slave bore a longing to be touched with the staff of freedom, with the vindicta.... We too long for this staff of freedom” (*Vindicta*, 27–28).<sup>37</sup>

In a preliminary section he reports on letters he received from readers of *Vindex* and *Inclusa*, quoting four of them by name. He also mentions, without naming him, his “friend” August Tewes, who wrote to him: “Your two booklets have brought me completely to your side” (*Vindicta*, xiv). The most important person quoted is Rudolf Virchow, who wrote on 19 August 1864 to say that Ulrichs had described very well how he (Ulrichs) feels himself to be a woman in relation to the man he loves (*Vindicta*, xv). But Virchow did not accept Ulrichs’s conclusion that the Urning, because of the inborn nature of his love, is allowed to enjoy the satisfaction of it. Rather, Virchow concluded: “You are so selfish, to plead only for yourself and to sacrifice your beloved to the stunting of

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37. In ancient Rome the formal ceremony of freeing a slave involved touching the slave’s head with a staff called “vindicta.”

his nature” (*Ara spei*, 28). “Do you not realize that you attack the honor of a man, if you use him for an activity for which he is not intended by his nature?” (*Memnon*, 1: 33).

Ulrichs reported this to the correspondent who had first written him. His reply was: “The man has to protect his own honor. It is not the law’s task to protect it” (*Ara spei*, xx). But Ulrichs returned to this matter in *Vindicta*, revising his earlier view to say now that the young man’s action was morally neutral, and he elaborated his view on the “honor” of a man in later publications.

As a result of his part in the uprising in Berlin in 1848, Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902) was obliged to leave Berlin. He settled in Würzburg, where his reputation as professor of pathological anatomy grew. In 1856 he was recalled to Berlin as professor and director of the Pathological Institute. His book *Cellular-Pathologie* established that subject. He was also one of the founders in 1869 of the German Anthropological Society. In addition to his scientific activities, Virchow had an active career as a politician, already in 1862 being elected a member of the Prussian Lower House. It would have been a real coup, if Ulrichs had gained the support of Virchow, but it was not to be.

Thus, when Ulrichs returned to this topic in *Memnon* (1868), he wrote that it was not the case that the young man was attacked, but rather he freely allowed the pleasure of love (*Memnon*, 1: 33), adding: “According to Virchow’s theory of law, the Urning should be punished because the young man who freely allowed him his pleasure has another concept of a man’s honor than Professor Virchow!” (*Memnon*, 1: 34).

When the anonymous pamphlet *Das Paradoxon der Venus Urania* (The Paradox of Uranian Love), attacking Ulrichs’s theory, was published in January 1869, Ulrichs suspected the author was either Virchow or Professor Alois Geigel in Würzburg (*Incubus*, 30); by May, however, he had decided the author was Geigel (*Incubus*, 91). The Swiss cultural historian Otto Henne-Am Rhyn stated in 1872 that Geigel was the author of this pamphlet (Henne-Am Rhyn 1872, 154).<sup>38</sup> This was also confirmed by Dr. Johann Thaler, a representative from Würzburg to the Reichstag in Berlin, who quoted from the pamphlet in a speech on 31 March 1905 opposing a proposed repeal of the antihomosexual

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38. In a biographical article on Alois Geigel, his book *Geschichte, Pathologie und Therapie of Syphilis* (1867; History, Pathology, and Therapy of Syphilis) is mentioned, followed by: “He entered a related field in his *Paradoxon der Venus Urania*, in which he dealt with Ulrichs, who at that time ‘threw himself and his teaching of humankind into our face.’ The author shrank from setting his name under it, gave the most ticklish passages in Latin, so as ‘to spare our mother tongue the blush of shame’” (Geigel 1919, 108).

law. He identified the author as “the late Professor Geigel in Würzburg, long known as a medical authority” (Reichstag 1905). Thaler’s speech continued in what Hirschfeld (1986, 124) described as “malicious sentences”:

One of the principal representatives of the new doctrine is Ulrichs, a former Hanoverian Assessor. He spoke for the first time of “Urnings,” of which he was himself one. I knew him personally, when I was a student in Würzburg. The man ran about in the city with a faded expression on his face and legs knocking together, and gentlemen of the left, you probably won’t give a hoot what I thought, but I can assure you: if I want to picture the devil to myself, then I only have to remember the former Hanoverian Assessor a.D., the Urning Ulrichs, the solitary way he prowled about the streets with hollow and shy glances, his cane under his arm. (Reichstag 1905; also in Hirschfeld 1986, 123–124)

Virchow was certainly regarded as an enemy by Ulrichs in early 1869. His booklets *Memnon* and *Gladius furens* had both been “provisionally” confiscated in August 1868 by the state attorney in Schleiz (Reuss), where they were published, and juridically declared “obscene” on 17 March 1869. On appeal, however, they were released, in part due to the intervention of four university professors, including Ulrichs’s friend Tewes and—probably to Ulrichs’s surprise—Geigel. Virchow and another professor (Rudolf Gneist) in Berlin had been invited to join them, but both refused (*Argonauticus*, 107–108). Thus it is no surprise that later in the year, after reporting on several suicides of Urnings threatened by the antihomosexual law, Ulrichs listed Virchow among those responsible (*Prometheus*, 55). Virchow did sign the report in 1869 of a medical committee in Berlin to the effect that sexual acts between men were not dangerous to their health (*Critische Pfeile*, 26).

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In the meantime, two reviews of *Inclusa* had appeared in 1864–65 in the small, reform-psychiatric journal *Der Irrenfreund* (Heilbronn) (facsimile reprint in Dworek 1990). As Günter Dworek, who first called our attention to them, remarked: “Ulrichs nowhere mentions the two reviews anywhere in his writings. In view of his habit of reporting and

discussing even passing reactions in his later booklets, we may assume that he himself had no knowledge of these early ‘valuations’” (Dworek 1990, 42). The following excerpt will illustrate the earliest reception of Ulrichs’s writings by the psychiatric establishment. In it, many of the apparent quotations from Ulrichs’s writings are, in fact, inventions of the author.

N[uma] N[umantius] wants to justify paederasty.<sup>39</sup> He is of the opinion: Law and custom condemn paederasty, because it is not recognized that it is inborn in certain men; because the majority of men “are not once capable of imagining the magic power and the divine magnificence of boy-love.”

He seeks to correct public opinion through all kinds of mostly irrelevant opinions, quotations, anecdotes, outpourings of his heart.

From the booklet of the 38-year-old man it comes out that he at least is completely full of this “magnificence.”...

He is so full of his feelings that he writes books about it. His own physical arousal stands in the foreground with him; his whole circle of imagination is constantly filled with it.

To be sure, we learn nothing about the personal circumstances, the occupation, the way of life, the biography of N. N. But we may assume that his efforts are directed toward maintaining and promoting physical arousal, which plays such a role in his imagination.

The healthy, robust life does not conduct itself thus....

N. N. is at pains to furnish all kinds of things to show that “nature created paederastic lust.” What could he be thinking of with the word “nature”? His pronouncements are intended to be “scientific.” Then we would remind him that the so-called natural sciences always have to do with the establishment of certain facts and with their conditions. The conditions that lie in N. N.’s state may be called his disposition.

Without it, without the germ nothing results. From the lack of information about the earlier life of N. N. nothing may be said about the makeup of his disposition. It

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39. By “paederasty” the reviewer meant “anal intercourse”.

can be inborn, it can be acquired. In both cases the germ cannot develop without the corresponding nourishment, whether this consists now in commission or omission.

Is the sickness curable?

This depends on the extent to which all other emotions have suffered, and the extent to which circumstances are in a position to promote healthy efforts. The booklet does not allow this to be judged.

A good sign is that he feels uncomfortable in his condition, that he is exerting himself to justify it. (quoted in Dworek 1990, 44–45)

It is clear that the author, a Dr. F., did not accept Ulrichs's arguments as scientific. Rather, as Dworek points out, for him "Ulrichs's arguments were those of a sick person, a potential patient," for whom Dr. F. "grotesquely" pronounces "a guardedly optimistic prognosis" (Dworek 1990, 44–45).

Günter Dworek remarks of the second reviewer, "Dr. D. Lissauer, active in a private insane asylum in Bendorf near Koblenz": "He otherwise appears not to have published in the field of sexual pathology. Thus all the more remarkable, in the process of the medicalization of homosexuality, is the matter-of-fact way he places male-male sexuality in the field of competence of the doctors several years before the fundamental works of Westphal and Krafft-Ebing" (Dworek 1990, 43). This may be seen in the first half of the review, in which we again see how little Ulrichs's arguments were accepted as scientific, how he was again treated as a "case":

The present booklet delivers no proof of the naturalness of that immorality, but rather is a contribution to the literature of partial mental disturbances. Following the idea of nature, according to which sexual intercourse should only take place with the goal of procreation, that other satisfaction of the sexual drive, which immorality, refinement, or inverted direction of thought calls forth, is abnormal and for a human being is in the highest degree unworthy or morbid. That the latter is the case more often than one probably believes, follows from the way male-male sexual love is described in the named brochure. Thus in cases before the courts medical experts should examine the mental condition of the person concerned and decide whether

immorality or mental illness is present; then perhaps many who are now put into correctional institutions or prisons, would through appropriate treatment in a reformatory or mental institution gain insight into the inverted direction of their love and return to living with views of the satisfaction of the sexual drive conforming to nature.—Now, to also comment, unnecessarily, on several views of the author, I first stress that his inborn sexual love exists just as little as inborn ideas; the former only gradually develops with the development of sexual relationships. (Dworek 1990, 46)

Ulrichs, of course, saw his arguments as scientific. In addition, he clearly showed in his writings that he was aware of his role as pioneer and revolutionary. The main part of *Vindicta* opens with the declaration:

I am an insurgent. I rebel against the existing situation, because I hold it to be a condition of injustice. I fight for freedom from persecution and insults. I call for the recognition of Urning love. I call for it from public opinion and from the state. Just as inborn Dioning sexual love is recognized as just by public opinion and the state, so too I demand from both the recognition that inborn Urning sexual love is just. (*Vindicta*, 1)

Part of Ulrichs's fight was to point out that the evil law is based on false scientific knowledge and that lawmakers should be open to new results. He believed he had found an ally for this view in Richard von Krafft-Ebing; Ulrichs quoted at length from an article published in 1864, beginning: "Only when the judicial system ceases to shut the door against the results of the scientist, in order to appear as mere destroying angel, can an end be found to the endless series of judicial murders, witch-hunts, and persecutions" (*Vindicta*, 26).

Impressed by these words "so true and so beautiful," Ulrichs sent his writings to Krafft-Ebing.<sup>40</sup> From that time, as he wrote to Ulrichs on 19 January 1879:

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40. Krafft-Ebing later recalled the date as 1866, so that Ulrichs probably sent all of his first five writings.

I have given my full attention to the phenomenon, which at that time was just as puzzling to me as it was interesting; and it was the knowledge of your writings alone, which gave rise to my research in this highly important field and to the setting down of my experiences in the essay with which you are acquainted in the *Archiv für Psychiatrie*. (*Critische Pfeile*, 92)

The article of Krafft-Ebing was published in 1877 and was a forerunner of his famous *Psychopathia sexualis* (1886 and many later editions). Ulrichs clearly saw Krafft-Ebing revealed then as his “scientific opponent” (*Critische Pfeile*, 96) and perhaps regretted having interested him in the subject. But in 1866 Ulrichs was anxiously trying to enlist scientific support.

In the conclusion of *Vindicta* Ulrichs clearly saw that scientific error was not the only, nor even the most difficult obstacle he had to overcome:

Blind antipathy, an instinctive irrational aversion, stands by the side of error, namely the irrational antipathy of an oppressive majority. Of my two opponents this antipathy is by far the most resistant and stubborn.... Therefore my fight requires not only energy, but also endurance and a never-tiring striving, perhaps often to be renewed, even after some victory has been gained. (*Vindicta*, 28)

Ulrichs’s fourth booklet, *Formatrix*, was meant as an extension of *Inclusa*. Indeed, Ulrichs labeled it “Scientific Part B” and asked his readers to consider it as inseparable from *Inclusa*. In fact it involved a revision of his earlier theory in order to explain the variety of people with whom he had now come into contact. These included: (1) the Uranodioning, who feels love for men and women, (2) the Dioning with feminine characteristics, and (3) the Urning with masculine characteristics. Ulrichs was reluctant to admit the third possibility, but a man had introduced himself to Ulrichs to prove that this was his case. The man had objected to Ulrichs’s earlier theory, saying, “We are men!” (*Formatrix*, 39). Ulrichs admitted that his appearance was “rather masculine,” but insisted that such people could not rightfully call themselves men, “since their inborn love for the male sex is precisely a female part” (*Formatrix*, 39).



„Formatrix.“

# Anthropologische Studien

über

mannmännliche Liebe.

V i e r t e S c h r i f t.

Naturwissenschaftlicher Theil B.

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Darstellung der geschlechtlichen Natur der Urninge in ihren Einzelheiten. Schlüssel zum Räthsel des Uranismus und der urnischen Varietäten.

„Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.“  
Virgilius, Georg. II, 490.

Von

Alma Numanus,

Mitglied des Deutschen Juristenvereins, Verfasser der zu Göttingen gekrönten akademischen Preisschrift „de foro reconventionis“ und der in Berlin des akademischen Preises für würdig erkannten Schrift „de pace Westphalica“.

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1865.

Since writing *Inclusa* Ulrichs had also become convinced of the existence of female Uranismus. “Of women with a masculine love-drive—love between women, female Uranismus—so many trustworthy examples are now available to me that its factual existence appears to me as guaranteed as that of male Uranismus” (*Formatrix*, 40). Ulrichs gives no examples, but his theory is so constructed as to apply *mutatis mutandis* to women as well as men.<sup>41</sup>

To explain the origin of the variety of Urnings, Ulrichs now supposes that in the development of the embryo by *natura formatrix* (nature creating, hence the title of the booklet), there are two creators at work, the primary nature and the secondary nature. Until about the twelfth week the primary nature is in control of the development of body and spirit, and the result is hermaphroditic. Then the secondary nature begins to mold the bodily development in the direction of one or the other sex. In particular, what Ulrichs calls the “hermaphrodite organ” develops into either testicles or ovaries (*Formatrix*, 41–42). While writing *Formatrix* Ulrichs was still unsure whether the “seat of sexual love” was the brain or this “hermaphrodite organ.” By the end of February 1865, however, he had definitely decided for the latter. That is, the existence of the love-drive, but not its direction, is dependent on the existence of this physical organ (*Ara spei*, [97], Nachtrag).

In addition to this physical development, there are also the three germs of non-physical or mental life, namely, the germs of: (a) intellect, (b) emotional life, and (c) sexual love-drive. Ulrichs believed the sexes did not differ intellectually, “at least as long as the intellect guards its freedom from the emotion” (*Formatrix*, 43), but germs b and c, above, can develop in either direction independently of one another. This explains, for example, effeminate Dionings and Urnings with masculine characteristics. It does not explain the Uranodioning, who loves both men and women, unless one supposes germ c is double and so could develop in both directions. This Ulrichs is reluctant to admit:

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41. Although Ulrichs used the term Urning in all his published writings, he seemed undecided about what to call the female counterpart. In *Formatrix* (45) he introduced three terms all at once: Urningin, Uranierin, Urnin. Later in *Formatrix* (56) and in *Ara spei* (69) he used Urnin, but in *Memnon* (1: 7) he used Urningin. In *Prometheus* (4) he introduced yet another term: “The counterpart of the Urning is the Urnigin. It is to be assumed a priori that nature creates Urnings and Urnigins in approximately equal numbers. Observation appears to confirm this assumption.” This might appear to be a simple misprint, except that exactly this passage appears in a handwritten note in his own copy of *Argonauticus* (Korrekturen, 48). It also appears in his final publication, *Critische Pfeile* (95), in the term Urniginnenthum.

“Such an existence alongside one another seems to me unthinkable” (*Formatrix*, 46). No wonder he was “still very thirsty for more light on Uranodionäismus”! (*Formatrix*, 48).

Even as Ulrichs was writing *Formatrix* he continued to revise his theory in the light of new information, remarking that Vergil’s saying, “Crescit eundo” (it grows by going), also applied to his study.<sup>42</sup> His own sexual drive was active, not passive, and he had supposed that other Urnings were like himself. Now he knew Urnings whose sexual drive was passive or even equally active and passive. To account for this he posits, in addition to the hermaphrodite germ of the love-drive, which is capable of developing in the male or female direction, two special love germs: one specifically masculine, i.e., for active sexual desire, and one specifically feminine, i.e., for passive sexual desire (*Formatrix*, 56). One or both of these may be fully developed.

Ulrichs next touched on the question of mutual attraction between Urnings. His sister Ulrike had raised this question already in 1862 and only then did he start to think about it, for he had never felt love for another Urning. That Urnings can be attracted to other Urnings is now an accepted fact for Ulrichs and he explains that it is the male body that attracts.

Ulrichs now distinguishes two principal types of Urning, admitting that “between them can still be found thousands of degrees” (*Formatrix*, 59). One type is the “Mannling,” who is masculine in all but the direction of his love-drive; he usually loves a “Jüngling.” The other type is the “Weibling,” in whom the feminine element dominates, even in the form of the body; he usually loves a “Bursch.” The terms “Jüngling” and “Bursch” may both be translated “youth” or “lad,” but were used by Ulrichs with somewhat special meanings. The Jüngling is somewhat effeminate; the Bursch, on the other hand, is very masculine. These terms had already been used by Ulrichs in *Inclusa*, in the poem describing “the lad [Bursch] village-born with sinewy members” (to use Symonds’s translation), whom he prefers to “the pale face of a fine town-bred effeminate youngling [Jüngling]” (*Inclusa*, 30). Ulrichs’s ideal Bursch was certainly not effeminate, but still not a “ruffian.” “He is eighteen to twenty-three years old, grown strong and rosy, and at the same time with beautiful face, cheeks, lips, and eyes” (*Memnon*, 1: 15).

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42. In describing rumor Vergil said, “Viresque acquirit eundo” (And it gains strength by going) (*Aeneid* 4.175).



Johann Ludwig Casper

Ulrichs was, of course, always eager to find support for his observations in the writings of medical authorities. Since writing *Inclusa* he had become acquainted with the writings of Johann Ludwig Casper (1796–1864) in Berlin and Auguste Ambroise Tardieu (1818–1879) in Paris, both of whom were considered authorities in forensic medicine.<sup>43</sup> Tardieu furnished many examples of the feminine characteristics of Urnings, but Casper was more important for Ulrichs, since he furnished at least partial confirmation of Ulrichs's basic thesis, that the direction of the Urning's sexual drive is inborn. Casper had written already in 1852: "The sexual attraction between men is in the case of many unfortunates—I suspect, however, in a minority—inborn" (Casper 1852, 62). Ulrichs quoted this in *Formatrix*, but left out the qualifying phrase, "I suspect, however, in a minority." He also left out the word "unfortunates," but mentioned this in a footnote, adding: "I ur-

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43. A German translation of Tardieu's *Etude medico-légale sur les attentats aux mœurs* (1857; Medico-Legal Study of Crimes Against Public Morals) had appeared in 1860.

gently ask you to stop this claptrap. We are only unfortunate because your persecution and insults make us unfortunate. Just give us justice: then there is no more need for the crocodile tears of your pity” (*Formatrix*, 36). In 1863, shortly before his death, Casper wrote that this peculiarity was inborn “perhaps in most cases” (Casper 1863, 34), but Ulrichs did not read this until later (*Memnon*, 1: 32).

Ulrichs also found Casper almost unique in supporting his contention of the rarity of anal intercourse among Urnings. Casper wrote: “I believe I do not err when I state that these disgusting mixings of man with man happen by no means in all cases so mechanically, that rather the anal opening may seldom be involved” (Casper 1852, 76). Here, too, Ulrichs made slight changes in his quotation, replacing “anal” with three dots and leaving out “disgusting,” noting that “an ugly adjective” was there. From the beginning Ulrichs accepted anal intercourse as “morally allowed”; he merely insisted on its rarity: “In Germany at least it is the exception” (*Formatrix*, 9). The popular belief that anal intercourse is the usual practice remained a concern for later activists. Hirschfeld, for example, added a footnote at this point in his 1898 edition to assert that the latest medical researchers had completely confirmed that such acts “belong to the greatest rarities and exceptions.”

Ulrichs now felt compelled to explain just where the sexual attraction for an Urning lay, if not in the “anal opening,” and for this he called on his own experience. Realizing that some readers might be offended by sexually explicit language, he invites them to imagine themselves in a medical classroom and he gives as motto for this section: “Introite! nam et heic natura est” (Enter! For nature is here also). This is a modification of “Introite, nam et hic dii sunt” (Enter, for gods are here also), the words with which, according to Aristotle, Heraclitus, warming himself in a baker’s oven, cheerfully invited his visitors to come in. Lessing set the expression as the motto for his drama of tolerance *Nathan der Weise* (1779).

Ulrichs insists that the love-attraction for Urnings, just as for Dionings and women, is concentrated in the love-organs of the attracting individual. He thus describes what all three have in common:

As a result of a basic inner drive, our nature longs to touch the individual’s body in general, to embrace it, to clasp it, or to rest on his breast, in his arms, and this in-

ner drive is concentrated in an almost irresistible desire to be in intimate contact with his love-organs. (*Formatrix*, 7)

Ulrichs admits that there is a mystery here, but insists:

Constantly, however, and even during the active enjoyment of love, the essential element for the Urning remains: to touch the love-organs of his beloved as intimately as possible, and this even though they are completely useless for his purpose. (*Formatrix*, 9)

As usual, Ulrichs supports his contention with classic references from Greece and Rome, as well as quoting from a letter in which an Urning in Berlin is described: “The thing he likes most is a strongly prominent physical manhood” (*Formatrix*, 61). By “manhood” Ulrichs clearly means the penis itself, as may be seen in the secret code of his contemporary Urnings, which he gives as illustration: “Great German and Little German persuasion” (*Formatrix*, 10). This is a pun on the current political persuasions of those who wanted a united Germany with and without Austria, respectively. Ulrichs notes elsewhere that the code “may not be entirely intelligible to the uninitiated. ‘Little German persuasion’ does not mean a preference for a poorly marked manhood, but the poorly marked manhood itself” (*Formatrix*, 61).

Ulrichs referred to this illustration again in *Memnon* (1868), remarking there that Weiblings prefer men “with strong localized manly development” (*Memnon*, 1: 12). Further:

The drawing in of that invisible strength, the experiencing of a wholesome living body, reaches its high point for an Urning in the touching of the male parts of the body of his partner. Precisely these parts exercise in general the greatest sensual attraction for him. (*Memnon*, 2: 62)

This was certainly the attraction for Ulrichs. He remarks that one can learn from books that these parts consist of quite ordinary tendons, skin, glands, and vessels, but:

“The knowledge gained does not in any way weaken—in me at least—the wonderful attraction that they exercise” (*Formatrix*, 12). He illustrates this by a very frank description of his own wet dreams, which, he says, have remained unchanged since the onset of puberty. As he had told his uncle in 1862: “Self-deception is unthinkable in dream images” (Vier Briefe, 60). He points out that the significance of dreams for the scientific study of sex had been unjustly overlooked:

Very unjustly, therefore, has the importance of those inner dream phenomena for sexual science unfortunately still been completely overlooked up to now: certainly to the latter’s detriment. I, for my part, do not hesitate to frankly set down here my witness for truth and science. In my case the wet dream occurs not otherwise than this: The dream places me face-to-face with the Bursch it brings to me and I try, either with my hands or with the same member, to touch his attracting organ. Now as soon as this play of illusion reaches the point of touching, the pollution occurs immediately, namely without any activity being played out before my mental eye, either on his side or mine....

Something else. The wet dream is for me always accompanied by the image of some kind of disturbing circumstance. Sometimes there are persons nearby, whose presence is greatly unwelcome, sometimes the Bursch refuses to allow me, etc.; one had a bloody sore. Also, the imagined figures by far tend not to be as handsome and as attractive as those I meet in reality, whereas one would expect dream figures to be ideal.... As far as I can remember, my dreams have never presented a definite young man who had awaked my love, but as a rule entirely strange faces, seldom persons known to me. This last was again always something disturbing. (*Formatrix*, 12–13)

It was not until Freud that the importance of dreams for the study of sexuality would again be recognized. On the other hand, the study of physiology was making rapid advances in Ulrichs’s time. It was in 1865, for example, that Karl F. W. Ludwig (1816–1895) perfected the kymograph for recording blood pressure. Ulrichs noted that various experiments with blood transfusions were being reported in newspapers and medical journals. In one the blood of a fox was put into a lamb and as a result the lamb acted like

a wild animal for fourteen days. Ulrichs wondered in writing if the transfusion of the blood of an Urning into a Dioning would turn him into an Urning for fourteen days. Hirschfeld noted in the second edition of the *Forschungen* (1898, 16): “At question here is a transitory fashionable theory that very soon proved to be in error.” But several years later Ulrichs reported that an American medical student in Würzburg, who had read his writings, was interested in the question: “On 2 August 1869 he expressed to me personally the wish, by means of a blood transfusion, i.e., through a transfusion of my blood, to be changed into an Urning for fourteen days, so that during that time he could make a study of Uranismus on himself” (*Argonauticus*, 107). But this was not done.

Ulrichs must have been well known in Würzburg. He is mentioned in the second volume (1875; the first volume appeared in 1862) of the pornographic novel *Aus den Memoiren einer Sängerin* (From the Memoirs of a Singer): “I have read recently several books about the so-called Greek or Platonic love, namely the writings of a certain Ulrichs, a former Assessor, currently living in Würzburg. In it the love of men for men is discussed, but there is no talk of the love of women among themselves.”<sup>44</sup>

One of the most colorful sections of *Formatrix* was omitted by Hirschfeld from his edition of the *Forschungen* in 1898. Headed “Visible erotic spark” (*Formatrix*, 63–64), it reports an event in Würzburg where in July or August 1863, between nine and ten o’clock, an Urning between thirty-five and forty years old was enjoying the erotic magnetic current that Ulrichs believed was concentrated in the man’s sex organ.<sup>45</sup> Ulrichs quoted the Urning’s account of the event:

I was sitting on a bench next to a young soldier in the shadow of trees outside the city. Heavy clouds were in the sky. It was quite dark where we were sitting. We were sitting almost motionless close beside one another. My hand was touching his organ. I was sexually aroused, but not harder than usual by such contacts. Then suddenly I saw on my organ, which was being touched by his hand, a small, but rather

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44. *Aus den Memoiren einer Sängerin*. Ungekürzte Originalfassung. Nachwort von Paul Englisch (München: Rogner & Bernhard, Bibliotheca erotica et curiosa, 1970), p. 198. Although published anonymously, the book pretended to be the memoirs of the famous singer Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient. But this could be true since she died in 1860 and so could not have known Ulrichs’s writings.

45. According to Volkmar Sigusch, this report appears to come from Ulrichs: “At any rate, the details of place and time of the event, as well as the age of the reporting Urning and his sexual preferences, fit Ulrichs himself” (2000, 66).



strong glittering spark: as far as I can recall (I'm writing this down at the end of June 1864) of a yellow-white light, not bluish.<sup>46</sup> The spark was not sitting, like St. Elmo's fire, on the farthest end of the object, but at a point on the rim of the glans. The remaining part of this rim showed no sparkle. The spark seemed motionless on one and the same place and was also not intermittent. As long as I kept my eye on it, it could be seen. This lasted perhaps several minutes long. It was visible to me at least. My beloved appears not to have noticed it, although we were sitting so that he could very easily have seen it. I did not call it to his attention. On my beloved's organ, which was being touched by my hand, was not a trace of sparkle to be seen, although the same erection was present as with me. St. Elmo's fire was nowhere visible around us. It was not raining and had not rained. A few times later I had the opportunity to observe whether this remarkable phenomenon was repeated, but never noticed any repetition. I never noticed it earlier—in fact it may have occurred now and then—and I have never heard tell of phosphorescent or sparkling light-phenomena with sexual contact, either in the case of Urning or Dioning love. (*Formatrix*, 63–64)

Ulrichs commented:

Was this spark Reichenbach's od? Was it positive animal electricity? (It obviously was not connected with the electricity in the clouds and in the air.) At any rate it appears to me to have been a symptom of sexual love, produced by the Urning's love for the soldier, as well as by being touched by him. I would very much like to

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46. We may note that the "glittering spark" on the man's penis was "of a yellow-white light, not bluish." That blue was a woman's color was poetically observed a few years earlier by Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–1861):

We think, here, you have written a good book,  
 And you, a woman! It was in you—yes,  
 I felt 'twas in you: yet I doubted half  
 If that od-force of German Reichenbach  
 Which still from female finger-tips burns blue,  
 Could strike out, as our masculine white heats,  
 To quicken a man. Forgive me. All my heart  
 Is quick with yours, since, just a fortnight since,  
 I read your book and loved it.  
 (*Aurora Leigh* [1864], Seventh Book)

receive an explanation of this phenomenon or a report of some similar observation. (*Formatrix*, 64)

In fact, an Urning in Lübeck reported in 1866 an exactly similar observation. Ulrichs mentioned this in 1868 (*Memnon*, 2: xxiv), but Hirschfeld also omitted this report from his edition of the *Forschungen* in 1898, no doubt seeing this also as a passing fashion.

Ulrichs concluded his next (fifth) booklet with the statement, “Thus I erect an altar to hope.” But his *Ara spei* (Altar to Hope), his “Moral-philosophical and social-philosophical studies of uranian love,” is in some ways the least convincing of his writings, especially when he goes so far as to argue that, since the Urning has a right to the satisfaction of his natural sexual desires and since this can only be accomplished by a young man allowing him this satisfaction, then not only is this “allowing” a morally permissible act, but it may also be an act of Christian charity and, under certain circumstances, even a duty. It is unlikely that Ulrichs’s opponents would be mollified by his remark that, “The views of a young man’s sexual respect and honor are more elastic than rubber” (*Ara spei*, 46), nor by the further remarks:

Now, there is a more than adequate number of young Dionings of thoroughly decent and honorable character, in whom not only is an aversion to an Urning’s embrace hardly present or easily overcome, but who in accordance with their unspoiled and unaffected natural feelings can combine this allowing with their man’s sexual honor without hesitation. (*Ara spei*, 58)

Alois Geigel probably expressed the reaction of many when he wrote at the end of his pamphlet *Das Paradoxon der Venus Urania* (1869): “In all earnestness and without humbug we want to have exhausted our prayers that our ‘young Dionings’ be left unmolested, who Herr Ulrichs fantasizes commit no wrong if they gratify the love desires of an old sinner of an ‘Urning’! Hands off, pestilence!” (Geigel 1869, 34).

Ulrichs builds his argument first by analogy with the concept of modesty or the desire to cover one’s nakedness, which he insists is an instinct. He gives a number of exam-

ples where an act is done in opposition to this instinct and the act is justified by reason. Such would be the action of a woman alone, giving birth with the help of two passing soldiers, to whom she thus exposes her nakedness. In the same way, Ulrichs grants that the Dioning has an instinctual aversion to the Urning, “but reason, which has acknowledged the Urning’s love-drive as inborn, will also claim for this drive its sinlessness and purity” (*Ara spei*, 8).

To those who argue that the Bible condemns men who engage in such practices, Ulrichs replies simply, “The Bible does not know Urnings” (*Ara spei*, 17). He mentions the prime source of such arguments, Romans 1:27, and says that it applies to men, i.e., Dionings, not to Urnings. The passage referred to is: “And the men likewise gave up natural relations with women and were consumed with passion for one another, men committing shameless acts with men and receiving in their own persons the due penalty for their error” (Romans 1:27, Revised Standard Version).

The “Urning conflict,” as Ulrichs called it, remained a concern for him, however. He felt that with his theory of the inborn nature of the Urning he had answered objections to the Urning’s action: the Urning was simply acting according to his nature. That left, however, the problem of justifying the action of the Urning’s partner, who according to his own nature loved women. In addition to this “sexual-mental conflict” there is also a “sexual-bodily conflict” in that the bodies are made so that regular gratification between them is not possible (*Ara spei*, 41). This second conflict he quickly solves: nature supplies substitutes—and he refers the reader to the section of *Formatrix* (5–15) in which the object of the Urning’s sexual interest is discussed. Ulrichs’s ingenious solution to the first conflict is to say that since Urnings are attracted to young men by nature and can only find their sexual gratification with them, then it follows that the young man must have been destined by nature not only for women, but for Urnings as well (*Ara spei*, 44). Since the young man is destined by nature for Urnings, then it surely is moral to offer himself to them. That, and the Urning’s moral right to satisfaction, completely settle the question for Ulrichs.

Ulrichs does not answer all this as briefly as outlined above. Rather, he answers individually a large number of objections, all of which he takes quite seriously. But there is

one final conflict which he says he cannot solve, the “atrocious conflict.” He describes it thus:

It consists in the spiritual slap in the face that from now on many of you will get when you sit in some café with your cigar and coffee, thinking no evil, looking over the announcements that cover the back page of your newspaper or quite harmlessly leafing through some book catalog. Then suddenly the shocking advertisement stares back at you: “On love between men.”... For this conflict, I know, I admit it—unfortunately!—no solution. You must just get used to it—like crabs to slow cooking. Hopefully, it will not be detrimental to your health. (*Ara spei*, 41–42)

As part of his consideration of Urning-love, Ulrichs discusses the possibility of more or less permanent couplings, similar to the marriages of men and women. As usual he brings many examples from ancient Greece and Rome. He also has several modern examples, such as the French Foreign Legion, which appears in this point “almost to equal the famous Sacred Band of Thebes” (*Ara spei*, 20).<sup>47</sup>

Ulrichs feels that unions that endure over a number of years are desirable, but does not want a religious-legal bond that could not be broken. He relates with approval the report of a respected German Urning who was known to have loved a series of young men whom he helped in their careers. One, who had been his favorite for five years, was now a husband and father, but still on the best relations with his patron. Ulrichs finds the promotion of young men within a love-union “truly honorable” (*Ara spei*, 25).

Still, Ulrichs would have preferred some kind of public recognition. On 1 January 1865 he learned of a book about modern Greece that had been published several years earlier, in which it was reported that there “two youths occasionally let themselves be given to one another by their Greek-Catholic priests entirely like a formal marriage.” His comment (omitted by Hirschfeld) is:

How blissful! That is the solution of the problem! I do not ask for legal juridical effect for the Urning love union, only a moral effect for public opinion, for the moral

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47. Ulrichs got his information in 1862 from a German who had been a soldier in the Legion in Africa (*Memnon*, 1: 26).

world order. For this reason I reject the sanction of the state; for this reason I appreciate the churchly sanction of these Greeks. (*Ara spei*, xxiii)

He is realistic enough, however, to know that such public recognition is only for the future. For the present the Urning has a duty to protect his beloved from the persecution of society:

This does not mean that he has a duty to hide his own Uranismus from the crowd. But he does have to give regard to the reputation of his beloved, who grants him favors, for the effect on his reputation. He should not expose him to a dishonor in effect, even if it is undeserved. Therefore he has a strict moral obligation to carefully keep his beloved, or his granting of favors, secret from the raw herd; at least as long as the beloved himself is not ready to face the injustice. (*Ara spei*, 57)

This injustice results from the social order having been constructed by men and for men, i.e., Dionings:

You have to answer for the present social establishment and the present direction of public respect and disrespect: before us and also before women. In my opinion you have also acted irresponsibly toward women in both.

The moral world order is not identical with the world order that you have made. You must first change your social establishment in a thousand places, if a moral order of things is to come out of it!

The heart demands to be heard: the female and the Urning heart as well! (*Ara spei*, 65)

As an example of the double standard for women, Ulrichs cites the example of the unmarried woman who has given herself in love, becomes known as a “fallen woman,” and is driven to suicide. “I never heard,” Ulrichs says, “that any of you ‘fallen men’ ever killed himself” (*Ara spei*, 8).

Rounding out *Ara spei* is a section on the love for soldiers, which Ulrichs, of course, defends. “They have reproached us for our preference for soldiers, as something ignoble. Very unjustly.” In a footnote he adds: “It is a fact that in Germany it is doubtless predominant” (*Ara spei*, 71).<sup>48</sup>

The objection to soldier-love appears to have been that it crossed class boundaries. Ulrichs readily agrees that it does, but sees no evil in it for that reason. He calls on the idea that opposites attract, and insists that intellectual equality rather hinders than promotes sexual love: “Once and for all stop confusing sexual love with friendship” (*Ara spei*, 74). He follows this with several poetic examples of Urning-love crossing class boundaries, including a brief excerpt from August Platen (1796–1835) and several poems of the fourteenth century Persian poet Hafis.<sup>49</sup> A final example is Ulrichs’s own “Antinous,” the poem that was the occasion for his dismissal from the Hochstift in April 1864.<sup>50</sup>

\*

The final note in *Ara spei* is dated 28 February 1865. A month later he sent copies of all five booklets to protest his dismissal from the Hochstift—with the outrageous and ludicrous result that we have seen. No doubt he also sent copies to those he especially wanted to influence—Krafft-Ebing, for example. But even during the writing of the last three booklets in 1864 he was actively trying to intervene in legal cases involving Urnings.

In July 1864 he learned that an Urning had been arrested in Mannheim, the same town where Schweitzer was arrested two years earlier. Then he had sent letters to Schweitzer without effect. This time he sent a copy of *Vindex* to the judge in the case and asked him to show it to the defense attorney, apparently with an equal lack of effect, for he learned in September that the man was still in prison. This time he also acted to counter public opinion by twice inserting the following in the *Badische Landeszeitung* on 13 and 15 July 1864 (*Vindicta*, xviii):

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48. This footnote was omitted by Hirschfeld in 1898 even though, or perhaps because, this preference was still common in Berlin. Here and elsewhere Hirschfeld left out observations that could be objectionable to the Prussian authorities.

49. A new collection of Hafis’s poetry in German translation was published in 1862.

50. An English version of this poem is Appendix B.

The *Frankfurter Journal* recently reported that in Mannheim someone was arrested “for unnatural vice.” If this accusing announcement does not offend the feeling of modesty, then it is impossible to offend it by a word of defense and for the rescue of his honor. Whether this is a case of “unnatural vice” should not be judged by outer appearances without a full investigation. An introduction to the moral as well as juridical investigation of this question is given in the recently published writing on a riddle of nature in the sexual love of men: *Vindex* by Numa Numantius; Leipzig: H. Matthes, 1864; xii + 28 pp.; 18 kreuzers.

All papers that have circulated this arrest are also asked to circulate these lines.

Ulrichs was particularly incensed by the case of a 43-year-old priest named Hofer, who had been sentenced in Bozen (Bolzano) to nine years hard labor. He was accused of “molestation, the sexual crime against nature, and seduction to this crime” (*Vindicta*, xix). The seven young men tried with him (of seventeen who were implicated) were given sentences of two to four months. The *Frankfurter Journal* published this report on 10 September 1864, copying a report in the *Presse* (Vienna), which, in Ulrichs’s view, compounded the injustice by calling this “child molestation,” even though they mentioned that several were probably over twenty years old (*Vindicta*, xxi).

Ulrichs was outraged by the harsh sentence and wrote to the state attorney and the court on the same day (10 September) he read the report, again without effect, for the higher court in Innsbruck upheld the judgment in October (*Formatrix*, xi). Four years later he wrote to request that Hofer be pardoned, but reported later that Pastor Hofer was still languishing in prison: “Before all Europe I protest against such cruelty, a barbarity that truly is a disgrace of our century!” (*Memnon*, 2: 134). Again the following year (on 28 November 1869) Ulrichs formally requested a pardon for Hofer, but the Austrian Minister of Justice, Dr. Herbst, answered with a rejection (*Prometheus*, 72; *Araxes*, 31).

In 1864 a revision of the Austrian legal code was being considered. Ulrichs sent to the governing council on 18 December a representation in which he mentioned Hofer as an example of the need for a change in the law (*Formatrix*, xiv). Already on 2 November he had delivered a similar memorandum to a government official in Hanover (*Formatrix*,

xv). But despite these and many other such interventions, there is no evidence that Ulrichs ever had any direct influence on legal or administrative decisions.



## Political Activity and Prison: 1866–1867

The booklets *Vindicta*, *Formatrix*, and *Ara spei* were written in 1864, with some final additions to the last two in 1865, and were published in early 1865. During this time Ulrichs appears to have made Burgdorf his home.<sup>51</sup> It was from there that he sent his protest to the Hochstift on 28 March 1865, along with copies of all five of his booklets, and he wrote a final protest from there on 3 May. About this time he must have fallen in love with another “Bursch,” for in the night of 27 May he wrote a poem recalling that he had carved the seven letters of his name in the bark of an old beech tree and the “name grew with our love!” In the poem he calls on him to come to the tree in the middle of the night (*Memnon*, 2: xxxvi):

Let us rest there hand in hand,  
 Let us intimately chat.  
 Free from trespassers my arm dare  
 Wrap around your shoulder there  
 And my quiet approaching hand  
 Cozily caress your cheek.  
 . . .  
 Blondish lad with dark blue glance  
 From your eyes like violets  
 You have robbed me of my rest:  
 Give me back again my peace!<sup>52</sup>

Although Ulrichs was living in Burgdorf, he must have had a special relationship with Uslar, a small town in the Solling mountains northwest of Göttingen and only 20 km

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51. Hoffschildt (1992, 19) has a photograph of Ulrichs’s house with the caption: “Ulrichs lived in this house in Burgdorf in 1865–1867. Here his home was searched and here he was arrested.”

52. Ulrichs also quoted the last four lines to illustrate what he meant by the term “Bursch” (*Memnon*, 1: 15). Here I have translated “Bursch” with “lad”.

south of Dassel, where his sister Louise lived. He wrote on 6 March 1865 to the Ministry of Justice in Hanover:

Since I am presently urged to apply for the vacant position of mayor of the town Uslar, and the prospect has already opened to me of being selected by the body of eligible voters, I respectfully request: that a brief certificate of my official activity in the service of Justice most kindly be sent to me. (NHH)

But now the authorities were determined to hinder Ulrichs in every possible way from applying his earlier experience and knowledge to secure a living. Three days later the sarcastic answer came back:

We are replying to your request of the 6th of the month, that in a certificate of service we will not be able to pass over those events that were talked about against you on the occasion of your dismissal.

We would therefore like to leave it to your discretion, whether a notice mentioning those events can be of use to you. (NHH)

This case of “official blackmail” apparently had the desired effect.

In June 1865 Ulrichs wrote to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* to offer his services as correspondent at the Schützenfest to be held in Bremen in July. In the summer of 1862 he had reported on the Schützenfest in Frankfurt with a daily or twice daily report. All reports had been published and later he had been praised for his work. Thus he must have seen the Schützenfest in Bremen as an opportunity to improve his finances. In fact, his offer was accepted in a letter of 20 June 1865, but hardly had he sent the first report than he received a letter of 15 July asking him “to refrain from sending reports on the course of the festival for the present” (Cotta). Believing their letter of 20 June a legal contract, Ulrichs continued to send reports, a total of fifteen articles in the period 15–25 July 1865. Only seven of them were published, but on 28 September he demanded payment for all fifteen. This the paper refused, and indeed declared all association with him dissolved. Like most freelance journalists, Ulrichs was at the mercy of his editors and could only

yield on this issue if he wished to continue writing for them. This he did in a letter of 1 November 1865 to a Professor Otto Seyffer of the *Staatsanzeiger für Württemberg*, asking him to intercede with the editors of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Cotta). Apparently this had some effect, for there is evidence that Ulrichs wrote occasional articles for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* as late as 1868, and even one from Italy in 1892 (see page 263).

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In deference to his family, Ulrichs published all five booklets under the pseudonym “Numa Numantius.” The reason for his choice of pseudonym is unknown. “Numa” is found in ancient Rome, in Numa Pompilius, the legendary second king of Rome, to whom all the early religious institutions of Rome were attributed.<sup>53</sup> Already on the title page of *Vindicta*, Ulrichs described himself as: “Member of the Congress of German Jurists, author of the essay ‘de foro reconventionis’ which was awarded an academic prize in Göttingen, and the essay ‘de pace Westphalica,’ which was judged worthy of an academic prize in Berlin.” This did not directly identify him, but it does appear that anyone who wished to discover his true name could do so. In the booklets of 1865 he asked readers to write to him through his publisher. Many did, and he must have revealed himself to them. He also revealed himself to the Hochstift, for example, and to a number of judicial authorities, who doubtless shared information. So it may be fair to say that by August 1865 he had reached his “floruit” in the classic sense: he had attained the age of forty and a lot of people knew him.

Perhaps encouraged by his increasing acquaintance with other Urnings, Ulrichs now considered the possibility of organizing them to promote their own interest. Thus in September 1865 he drafted a set of “Bylaws for the Urning Union.” This proposed Union probably never actually existed; the “Bylaws” were never mentioned in his published writings. But a handwritten copy was sent to Karl Maria Kertbeny and is now preserved with the Kertbeny Papers in the Hungarian National Library in Budapest. In drafting the “Bylaws” Ulrichs no doubt called on his experience as an officer in the All German Soci-

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53. In the first edition of this biography I added: “Numantius was perhaps suggested by Numantia, an ancient hill fortress in northern Spain, conquered by the Romans in 133 B.C.” But the Latinist Wilfried Stroh rejects this: “A derivation from the town Numantia, which might vaguely be thought, is forbidden, since its adjective must be ‘Numantinus.’” He suggests instead that Numantius is derived from Numa, that with the feminine ending -a and the masculine ending -us, Ulrichs wished to express his mental and physical aspects in the combination Numa Numantius (Stroh 2000, 86).

ety, but here he had the new problem of dealing with members, even officers, who might wish to keep their identity secret. How he solved this problem is of particular interest, as is his suggestion that a secret sign be introduced, so that Urnings might recognize one another, and that dues be on a sliding scale. On the whole, the document reflects a mixture of high idealism and practical suggestions for improving the lot of Urnings. Because of the historical importance of this document as the first attempt to organize for the promotion of equal rights for homosexuals, we quote it entirely (followed by a facsimile):

### Bylaws for the Urning Union

1. It consists of Members and the Executive Council.
2. Its goals are:
  - a. to bring Urnings out of their previous isolation and unite them into a compact mass bound together in solidarity.
  - b. to champion the inborn human rights of Urnings in opposition to public opinion and the agencies of the State, namely to vindicate their equality with Dionings before the law and in human society in general.
  - c. to found an Urning literature.
  - d. to further the publication of appropriate Urning writings at Union expense.
  - e. to work for the goals of Urnings in the daily press.
  - f. to assist individual Urnings, who suffer because of their Urning nature, in every need and danger and, when possible, to also help them find a suitable livelihood.
3. Every individual Member also has to promote these goals according to his ability.
4. Every Urning can be a Member. Only dishonorable characters are excluded.
5. Whoever joins the Union can request that his name and address be made and remain known only to the Executive Council, also that both be kept written only in code. Each member of the Executive Council is obliged on his word of honor to do so.

6. Every member of the Executive Council has the power to accept Members into the Union. In case particular reasons for it are given, membership can also be granted without giving the name and address to the Executive Council. In this case the Executive Council decides on the reception of the Member. His person and position are to be designated in some other way. In the membership list of the Executive Council he will be given a fictitious name. The Member proposing him vouches for him. If necessary, he arranges the contact with him.

7. The number and selection of the Executive Council is determined by the Council itself. At least half of them must give their names and addresses to the Union Members. The remainder may function under assumed names, through the mediation and guarantee of one whose name is given. In this case their persons and positions are to be given, nevertheless, to the Executive Council as well as to the Union Members in some other way.

8. Every Member pays to the Executive Council annual dues of his own determination, but at least one Reichstaler.

9. The entire Executive Council decides on the expenses to be made. It is accountable to the Union Members for them.

10. The Executive Council and the Members are to keep each other informed of all important events.

11. Each Member is to receive one copy of every writing published at Union expense (paragraph 2,d).

12. The Executive Council organizes periodic congresses of the Members, which, according to its judgment, may be plenary meetings or meetings of delegates.

13. The Executive Council will endeavor to produce periodical papers serving the goals of the Union in a suitable quantity.

14. It will endeavor to introduce a secret sign of recognition for Urnings.

15. The wishes and proposals of the Union Members are to be taken into account by the Executive Council wherever practical.

Drafted, September 1865

Numa Numantius

(HNL, Oct. Germ. 301. Blatt 37; facsimile in Herzer 1987a, 36–37)



in Adresse nennen. Die übrigen können unter fing.  
Namen fungieren, unter Vermittlung in Eigenschaft eines  
der auf nennenden. Dain ist jedoch deren Persönlichk.  
in Stellg. der übrigen Mitglieder des V. R., wie auf der  
Lds. - Mitgliedern, ausdrücklich zu bezeichnen.

§ 8. Jedes Mgl. zahlt an den V. R. einen Jahresbeitrag  
nach Selbstschätzung, mindestens jedoch 1 G.

§ 9. Über die monatliche Ausgaben verpflichtet der gesamte V. R.  
den Mitgliedern gegenüber ist er dafür verantwortlich.

§ 10. Von allen wichtigen Ereignissen haben der V. R. - Mitglieder  
einander gegenseitig in Kenntnis zu setzen.

§ 11. Von allen auf Ländersachen getauften Skripten  
(§ 2, d.) erhält jedes Mgl. 1 Exemplar.

§ 12. Der V. R. veranstaltet, geordnete Empfänge der  
Mitglieder, in einer nach seinem Ermessen kleiner  
versammlen oder Tagelohnversammlen.

§ 13. Der V. R. wird beauftragt sein, geordnete Ländchen  
den Zwecken des Länders, dienlich zu machen.  
(in angemessener Menge)

§ 14. Er wird beauftragt sein, ein gemeinsames Ferkungszeug  
für die Ue einzuführen.

§ 15. Wünsche in Anträge der Ländchen hat der V. R.  
Hochachtung zu berücksichtigen.

Fachmanns. Regt. 1865

Muna Mumentius

Ulrichs was determined to bring his cause to the attention of the Congress of German Jurists. He had mentioned in his protest to the Hochstift in March that “in a short while” the five booklets would lie before the Congress, and he persuaded his friend August Tewes, Professor of Roman Law at the University of Graz and also a member of the Congress, to join with him in introducing the following resolution:

The Congress of Jurists, as a pressing requirement of legal justice, resolves that the present German penal legislation concerning the so-called carnal violations is to be submitted immediately to a revision, and that in two directions:

I. that inborn love for persons of the male sex is to be punished under the same conditions, under which love for persons of the female sex are punished; that it is, therefore, to remain free of punishment, so long as:

neither rights are violated (through application or threat of force, misuse of pre-pubescent persons, the unconscious, etc.) nor public offense is given;

II. that, however, the present, often thoroughly unclear requirements for “giving public offense by sexual acts” be replaced by such as preserve legal guarantees.

(*Gladius furens*, 7)

Ulrichs included the second part of the resolution because of his experience with the legal situation in Hanover, which at that time did not have a simple antihomosexual law. There was, however, Article 276 which punished: “Whoever is guilty of unnatural lust under circumstances that cause public offense.” Because of its vagueness, this law could be stretched to cover almost anything. He related in *Ara spei* the case of someone in a remote place seeing by chance a heterosexual couple engaged in a sexual act. The witness told a policeman, who then went from house to house “investigating.” The result was that the whole village began talking about it, so that “public offense” was caused. In fact, the couple was found guilty of this and given the legal sentence on 14 October 1864 in Celle. Ulrichs was in the courtroom and heard it all (*Ara spei*, xiii). He pointed out in *Ara spei* how easily such a law could be used to trap Urnings.

Ulrichs’s resolution was never discussed at the Sixth Congress of German Jurists in 1867 in Munich. A delegation simply suppressed it as “not suitable to be considered by



the Congress of Jurists” and so excluded it from the agenda (*Gladius furens*, 3). Ulrichs’s next step in the matter was to protest publicly at the session of the Congress of Jurists on 29 August 1867.

First, however, he continued his efforts to earn a living in Burgdorf with the help of his legal knowledge and experience. In 1865 the authorities had successfully hindered him from being a candidate for the office of mayor of Uslar by denying him a certificate of service in which the events were not mentioned “that were talked about against you on the occasion of your dismissal.” Now state attorney Albrecht was determined to end Ulrichs’s activities in Burgdorf, even though the Small Senate of the Superior Court in Celle had decided in 1859 that Ulrichs was justified in bearing the title “Assessor.” Albrecht’s long letter to the Ministry of Justice in Hanover on 13 April 1866 begins with the words:

The former Amtsassessor Ulrichs in Burgdorf, about whom I already had the honor of sending the Ministry of Justice a report on 13 April 1865, and who to the regret of the court and the court officials in Burgdorf is still continuing to do mischief as a legal adviser and, namely in cases of police ordinances, as representative and defender of accused persons, is inciting the whole population against one another through his denunciations, and is continuing to bear the title of Assessor, now that of Amtsassessor, now that of Gerichtsassessor a.D. (NHH)

Albrecht concluded his letter with the question,

whether it would not be advisable, through a communication from the Ministries of Justice and Interior to the person Ulrichs, to place beyond doubt that he is not justified in bearing the title of an Assessor, whether a Gerichts- or Amtsassessor, even with the added a.D.<sup>54</sup>

The Ministry quickly agreed. On 18 April a letter was written to Ulrichs, which, however, was sent only on 1 May. In it was stated:

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54. a.D. = außer Dienst, i.e., retired.

It has come to our attention that you claim to continue to bear the title “Gerichtsassessor” and “Amtsassessor” and have applied to the editors of the state and royal court registry to be included in the list of retired civil servants with the designation “Gerichtsassessor.”

The above title, however, is only allowed to them so long as their service under this designation lasts, unless on their release from service the continuance of the title is expressly granted. Since the latter did not happen, we cannot hold you justified in retaining one of the mentioned titles, even with the addition of “a.D.” (NHH)

Ulrichs would perhaps have appealed this and have pointed out the earlier decision in his favor. But at this point in time there were signs of the political crisis that was to lead to the Prussian invasion of Hanover a month later. Ulrichs, too, was soon involved in the political events that were reshaping Germany and his homeland Hanover in particular.

Ulrichs had long been interested in political questions, in particular in the unification of Germany. We may recall that he was of the “Great German persuasion” (politically speaking!) and had published an essay on the topic in 1862. Further, during his period in Frankfurt he had become acquainted with Ludwig Windthorst (1812–1891).<sup>55</sup> Windthorst had, for the second time, been named Minister of Justice in Hanover at the end of 1862. He gave up this post in 1865 and in May 1866 was named Crown Attorney at the High Court of Appeal in Celle. He remained in this position for only a few months following the Prussian occupation of Hanover, for at the beginning of 1867 he retired with the legal pension, to carry out, as authorized representative of the deposed ruler, the negotiations for a settlement. That same year he was elected representative to the Prussian parliament, where he was active for many years. Indeed, according to J. W. Headlam: “Windthorst was undoubtedly one of the greatest of German parliamentary leaders” (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1911, 28: 716). Thus Windthorst, a true politician, was able to adapt himself to the situation. Ulrichs, on the other hand, never accepted his new rulers—and was forced to accept the consequences.

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55. With Windthorst “he remained connected by bonds not less of esteem than of friendship” (Persichetti 1896, 13).



Ludwig Windthorst

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Hanover became a kingdom in 1814, but its king was not in residence there until 1837. This is explained by Hanover's union with Great Britain, a result of the British Act of Settlement of 1701, by which the throne passed to a granddaughter of James I, the princess Sophia of Hanover and "the heirs of her body being Protestants." Her son Georg Ludwig (or George Louis; 1660–1727) had already succeeded his father Ernst August as Elector of Hanover in 1698, and with the death in 1714 of his mother and Queen Anne he also became George I, king of Great Britain and Ireland. Thus began the union of Hanover with Great Britain, under the person of the British king, which was to last for more than a century. The only son of George I, George Augustus (1683–1760), became George II in 1727. It was George II who founded the university, the famous Georgia Augusta, in Göttingen in 1737 and it was his portrait that was on the gold medal Ulrichs won for his prize essay at the University of Göttingen. He was succeeded by his grandson George III (1738–1820), during whose reign the American colonies were lost. His eldest son, George IV (1762–1830), who succeeded to the throne in 1820, had already been regent since 1811 due to his father's insanity; it was he who proclaimed Hanover a kingdom on 26 October 1814, just before the formal opening of the Congress of Vienna. Five years later the Prince Regent sanctioned a new constitution for Hanover, drafted by Count Ernst F. H. Münster (1766–1839), which established two houses of parliament, but with very little power. Münster had represented Hanover at the Congress of Vienna and was the actual ruler of Hanover.

Following the death of George IV in 1830 there was a revolution in Hanover that forced his successor, William IV (1765–1837), his brother, to oust Count Münster and replace him with his own brother, Adolphus Frederick (1774–1850), Duke of Cambridge, who had been nominal viceroy of Hanover since 1816.<sup>56</sup> One of the duke's first duties was to appoint a commission to draw up a new, more liberal constitution. With certain changes suggested by William IV, the new constitution, which was similar to that of Great Britain, was promulgated by him in 1833. It hardly had a chance to function, however, for by the law of Hanover a woman could not ascend the throne. So when William IV died in 1837 and his niece Victoria became queen of Great Britain, her late father's younger brother (the fifth son of George III), Ernst August (1771–1851), duke of Cumberland, became king of Hanover, thus separating the crowns of Great Britain and Hanover, which had been united for 123 years.



Ernst August, King of Hanover

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56. Sixty-five years later Ulrichs wrote that the name "Cambridge" was dear to him: "For a duke of Cambridge, acting as viceroy of the king, ruled the kingdom of Hanover, my fatherland, when I was a boy" (*Alaudae*, 363).

Ernst August studied at the University of Göttingen, then entered the Hanoverian army, serving as a leader of cavalry when war broke out between Great Britain and France in 1793, and winning a reputation for bravery. He lost the sight of one eye in battle in 1794; when Hanover withdrew from the war in 1795, he returned to England, being made a lieutenant-general in the British army in 1799, the same year he was created duke of Cumberland. A staunch Tory, the duke objected to all proposals of reform.

In 1810 there occurred a sensational event in the duke's life, which often came back to haunt him:

On the night of May 31, 1810, the duke had been found badly bloodied in his apartments at St. James's Palace. His valet, Sellis, was shortly after discovered in his room with his throat slit. One theory was that the valet had known of the duke's "unnatural propensities" and had been killed to silence him. An investigating jury, led by the radical Francis Place, exonerated the duke of any guilt: the evidence pointed to the valet's having committed suicide. However, rumors persisted for decades and led to a libel suit (which the duke won) in 1833 when a radical editor accused him of having been "surprised in an improper and unnatural situation with this Neale [another servant] by ... Sellis" and of having murdered Sellis out of fear of exposure (Annual Register [1833], p. 92). (Crompton 1985, 171)

The duke was well aware of the severe penalty in England for homosexual conduct. Less than a year after this incident, on 7 March 1811, there was a public execution of two homosexuals; the duke was reported by the *Times* to have been in the crowd of spectators (Crompton 1985, 171).

Having recovered from his wounds (the public story was that he had been injured in an assassination attempt), he returned to war, being in command of the Hanoverian army during the campaigns of 1813–1814. Neither his marriage to a German cousin in 1815 nor his continued strong Toryism were popular in England and he spent several years in Berlin, where his only son, Georg, was born in 1819. He returned to England after the accession of George IV in 1820, on whom he had considerable influence. Even after the death of George IV in 1830, the duke continued to oppose all measures for the extension

of civil and religious liberty. With the death of William IV in 1837, the duke, as nearest male heir of the late king, became king of Hanover.

The first act of King Ernst August was to cancel the constitution of 1833. Several Göttingen professors who protested this move were deprived of their chairs.<sup>57</sup> To save the constitution an appeal was made to the German Confederation, which Hanover had joined in 1815; but they declined to interfere, and in 1840 Ernst August altered the constitution to suit his own illiberal views, virtually restoring affairs to their condition before 1833.<sup>58</sup> The ensuing unrest reached a crisis in the stormy year of 1848, when the king probably saved his crown by hastily giving back the constitution of 1833. After order was restored, however, he dismissed the Liberal ministry in 1850 and attempted to evade his concessions. A bitter struggle had just broken out when the king died in November 1851.

Ernst August was succeeded by his only son Georg V (1819–1878), who had lost the sight of one eye during a childhood illness and the other by an accident in 1833. His blindness made him dependent on advisers and susceptible to influence. He learned from his father to take a very high view of royal authority, but easily fell into the hands of unwise and perhaps dishonest and disloyal advisers.

As king, Georg V at once appointed a ministry whose aim was to sweep away the concessions of 1848. This was resisted, however, by the lower house of the parliament. (It was during this period, in 1852, that Ulrichs was a candidate for the lower house.) After several changes of government a new ministry advised the king in 1855 to appeal to the parliament of the German Confederation, and this time they did intervene, declaring the constitution of 1848 invalid. Acting on this verdict, a ministry was formed to restore the constitution of 1840 and in fact parliament agreed to this in 1857. Popular resentment again forced the king to dismiss his advisers in 1862, but in 1865 a ministry was once again formed that was more in accord with his ideas. These internal struggles soon lost

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57. The “Göttingen Seven,” as they were called, included: the Germanist, Wilhelm Eduard Albrecht (1800–1876); the historian, Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann (1785–1860), in 1848–1849 a leader of the Little German party in the Frankfurt National Assembly; the orientalist, Georg Heinrich August Ewald (1803–1875); the historian, Georg Gottfried Gervinus (1805–1871); the philologists and authors of a famous collection of fairy tales, the brothers Jakob Ludwig Karl Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Karl Grimm (1786–1859); and the physicist, Wilhelm Eduard Weber (1804–1891).

58. Nevertheless, the penal code of 1840 was milder than that imposed by Prussia following its annexation of Hanover in 1866, as Ulrichs later pointed out (*Araxes*, 28).

importance, however, as a result of forces acting from outside. The sequence of events has been described as follows:

Bismarck, the director of the policy of Prussia, was devising methods for the realization of his schemes, and it became clear after the war over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein that the smaller German states would soon be obliged to decide definitely between Austria and Prussia. After a period of vacillation Hanover threw in her lot with Austria, the decisive step being taken when the question of the mobilization of the federal army was voted upon in the Diet on the 14th of June 1866. At once Prussia requested Hanover to remain unarmed and neutral during the war, and with equal promptness King George refused to assent to these demands. Prussian troops then crossed his frontier and took possession of his capital. The Hanoverians, however, were victorious at the battle of Langensalza on the 17th of June 1866 but the advance of fresh bodies of the enemy compelled them to capitulate two days later. By the terms of this surrender the king was not to reside in Hanover, his officers were to take no further part in the war, and his ammunition and stores became the property of Prussia. The decree of the 20th of September 1866 formally annexed Hanover to Prussia, when it became a province of that kingdom, while King George from his retreat at Hietzing [near Vienna] appealed in vain to the powers of Europe. Many of the Hanoverians remained loyal to their sovereign; some of them serving in the Guelph Legion, which was maintained largely at his expense in France. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1911, 12: 925–926)

By the capitulation of 1866 the king was allowed to retain his personal property, which included money and securities equal to nearly 1,500,000 pounds, which had been sent to England before the Prussian invasion of Hanover. The crown jewels had also been secretly conveyed to England. His valuable plate, which had been hidden at Herrenhausen, was restored to him in 1867; his palace at Herrenhausen, near Hanover, was reserved as his property; and in 1867 the Prussian government agreed to compensate him for the loss of his landed estates, but owing to his continued hos-

tility the payment of the interest on this sum was suspended in the following year.  
(*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1911, 11: 746)

Ulrichs, of course, took a lively interest in these events and his report, with the date-line “Seesen (from the northern theater of war),” was published in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in June 1866 (Cotta). His personal reaction to the defeat of the Hanoverian army on 19 June 1866 and the formal annexation of Hanover by Prussia on 20 September, however, was sadness and outrage. The former could perhaps be assuaged by a glance: he later recalled the following poetic fragment as having been written in Celle “around 1866” (*Apicula Latina*, 39):

For I was saddened unto death. —  
My eye was then to your sweet glance beholden.  
The clouds became the dawning’s rosy breath;  
From pale I saw the very fog turn golden.

But he never forgot his outrage. In 1894 Ulrichs applied for membership in the Accademia Pontaniana (Naples) and in his “Curriculum vitae literarium” he described his reaction to the invasion of Hanover:

After the Prussians occupied my homeland in 1866, I held public meetings at which I declared myself an adversary of their invasion and hostile subjugation, and loyal to the king of Hanover. Wherefore, being greatly vexed, the leader of the Prussians confined me in a Prussian fortress. But I received letters from a certain Elster, who had been ordered to write to me by the exiled and expelled King Georg V. He was ordered to inform me that the king himself thanked me for the singular loyalty that I had shown him in that time of crisis. Similarly, a certain Borchers, a pastor, expressed to me the grateful feelings of the queen, at her own order. (Persichetti 1896, 6)



On 28 March 1867 the *Allgemeine Zeitung* reported the following, which was written by Ulrichs:

On the 20th of the month the majority of the Hanoverians who had been transported to Minden, thirteen persons, were set free again, namely eleven Hanoverian soldiers (fighters from Langensalza) along with Pastor Nicolassen of Fischerhude and Amtsassessor a.D. Ulrichs of Burgdorf.<sup>59</sup> In contrast to earlier news reports we can confirm that a kind of judicial investigation was indeed conducted against them in Minden. They were repeatedly interrogated by the military court (garrison assistant judge and an officer as assistant), and the minutes of the interrogation were first sent to the Governor General of Hanover. He then decided on the length of the detention, indeed without—apart from the interrogation itself—giving the prisoners an opportunity to defend themselves. Even this decision itself was not at all disclosed to those concerned. None of the prisoners had any idea during their detention about the length of it. Without being prepared in any way for their release, they were suddenly set free. Some individuals were even told only on their release why they had been confined at all, for example, the above mentioned Herr Ulrichs: “because of anti-Prussian agitation in the press and in unions.” Against him as well as against Pastor Nicolassen there is still pending following their release a judicial proceeding before the regular civil court, namely against Nicolassen “because of spreading seditious proclamations” and against Ulrichs—by request of a Royal Prussian regimental commander—“because of seducing to disobedience those (Hanoverians) subject to military duty.” Only four persons are presently still detained in Minden, all accused of having offended Prussian officers through word or deed. They are civilians. The entire number of those already set free is somewhat more than 30. With the exception of Colonel von Bülow, who was released after a very brief detention, they each have endured nearly 8 weeks of imprisonment, some even almost 9 weeks long.

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59. Ulrichs continued to use the title “Amtsassessor a.D.” despite the injunction of the year before.

**= Aus dem Hannoverischen, 24 März.** Am 20 d. ist die Mehrzahl der nach Minden abgeführten Hannoveraner, 13 Personen, wieder in Freiheit gesetzt worden, nämlich elf vormalige hannoversche Soldaten (Kämpfer von Langensalza), sodann der Pastor Nicolassen aus Fischehude und der Amtsassessor a. D. Ulrichs aus Burgdorf. Im Gegensatz zu früheren Nachrichten können wir constatiren daß gegen dieselben in Minden allerdings eine Art gerichtlicher Untersuchung geführt ward. Vom Militärgericht (Garnisonsauditeur und ein Officier als Beisitzer) wurden sie wiederholt vernommen, und sind hienächst die Vernehmungsprotokolle an den Generalgouverneur in Hannover eingesandt worden. Dieser entschied sodann über die Dauer der Haft, freilich ohne daß den Verhafteten zuvor — abgesehen von den Vernehmungen selbst — eine Gelegenheit gegeben worden wäre sich zu vertheidigen. Auch ward diese Entscheidung denselben überall nicht einmal eröffnet. Keiner der Gefangenen hatte während der Haft eine Ahnung über die Dauer derselben. Ohne auf die Entlassung irgend vorbereitet zu seyn, ward ihnen plötzlich die Freilassung eröffnet. Einzelnen wurde auch erst eben bei der Freilassung gesagt weshalb sie überhaupt verhaftet worden, so z. B. dem genannten Hrn. Ulrichs: „wegen preußenseindlicher Agitation in der Presse und in Vereinen.“ Gegen letztern wie gegen den Pastor Nicolassen schwebt übrigens noch nach der Freilassung ein gerichtliches Verfahren vor dem ordentlichen Civilgericht, nämlich gegen Nicolassen „wegen Verbreitung aufrührerischer Proclamationen,“ gegen Ulrichs — auf Antrag eines kgl. preussischen Regimentscommando's — „wegen Verleitung Militärpflichtiger (aus dem Hannoverischen) zum Ungehorsam.“ Nur vier Personen werden gegenwärtig noch in Minden detinirt, sämtlich beschuldigt preussische Officiere durch Wort oder Thatlichkeit beleidigt zu haben. Es sind Civilpersonen. — Die Gesamtzahl der bereits in Freiheit gesetzten beträgt etwas mehr als 30. Mit Ausnahme des nach sehr kurzer Haft entlassenen Obersten v. Bülow haben dieselben ein jeder nahezu 8 Wochen die Festungshaft erduldet, einzelne sogar fast 9 Wochen lang.

Ulrichs's newspaper report of his own release from prison

(*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28 March 1867)

Six months later Ulrichs stated:

I myself was one of those Hanoverians who, because of their political conviction and the free expression of it, were transported to Minden Fortress by the Prussian government now ruling in Hanover.

I was even taken there twice without judgment and right, and one time for two months and the other time for over two months I was kept imprisoned there in the military jail. (Autobiographische Zeugnisse, 36)

Since Ulrichs reported in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (above) that he was released from prison the first time on 20 March 1867, his “two months” there must have begun about 20 January. According to the notebooks of Karl Maria Kertbeny, Ulrichs’s second time in prison lasted from 23 April until 13 July (HNL). Kertbeny also preserved a newspaper report with the dateline Hanover, 28 April 1867:

At the home of the former Assessor Ulrichs, when the house was searched, letters from Hietzing were found, in which there was talk of the warmest thanks of the king for this most loyal subject. The *Hannoversche Zeitung* is rightly astonished that the associates of the king are allowed to carry on a correspondence in this direction, and is downright shocked over the discoveries of another kind that the house search led to. (HNL, Duod. Hung. 55, Bl.4)

Hietzing was the town near Vienna where King Georg V first stayed after his exile from Hanover. The “discoveries of another kind” were, of course, Ulrichs’s collection of material relating to “Uranismus” and his extensive correspondence with other Urnings.

In 1891 Ulrichs still had a lively memory of his imprisonment:

At that time I addressed a popular assembly, saying:

You, King, stand in God’s protection;  
In God’s protection all is well,  
Also in His hands stand  
We who are your troops.

But as I said this, I was surrounded by a semicircle of soldiers, ready to arrest me at a nod from one of them (*Alaudae*, 183).

Ulrichs had earlier described his arrest as follows:

When the Prussian General von Voights-Rheez,<sup>60</sup> without a judicial sentence, made me a state prisoner in April 1867 because of my outspoken political views of legal rights, and had me taken to Minden Fortress, all my papers were taken away by the police from my house in Burgdorf. (*Incubus*, 24–25)

In Minden Ulrichs was held in an officer's detention room, "partly alone and partly with several other Hanoverians,"<sup>61</sup> where he was visited by Heinrich Adolf von Zastrow, Commanding General of Westphalia, who delivered a severe, even threatening political harangue. Previously Ulrichs had been accompanied on his daily walks by a non-commissioned officer. Afterwards, despite Zastrow's remark, "You appear to me to be an educated man," he added another soldier, armed with rifle, planted bayonet, and three live cartridges (*Argonauticus*, 13). Ulrichs recalled his walks in a later epigram: "Through the Burgundy glass the sullen world looks rosy; beheld from the rampart, the beautiful Porta is pale" (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 31). The Porta Westphalica, or Westphalian Gate, is the valley by which the river Weser comes out of the Weser Mountains near Minden. Ulrichs called it "one of the most beautiful points in the Weser Mountains" (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 32).

While in Minden Ulrichs must have formed a strong attachment to two fellow prisoners, Sidonius and Stey. He included in *Memnon* the brief verse "To Sidonius" (*Memnon*, 2: 133):

Greetings from me!  
If you still breathe in rosy light,  
If this wandering word ever meets your view,  
Let it be a message to you, that I shall never forget you.

And in 1875 he concluded his collection of epigrams *Auf Bienchens Flügeln* with the

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60. Although Ulrichs twice wrote the name "Voigts-Rheez," he was surely the General Constantine Bernhard Voights-Rhetz who was the leader of the X Corps of the II Army in the war in France in 1870.

61. Ulrichs later mentioned five fellow prisoners (*Autobiographische Zeugnisse*, 37).

greeting “To Sidonius, 1867 in Prague, and Stey from Hanover, my fellow sufferers and partisans from May 1867”:

I send greetings to you, the missing. O little bee, carry the greeting over the mountains and valleys into the far distance. (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 144)

He later recalled why he was in prison in a rhyming epigram, entitled “South America. The alligator” (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 73–74):

Under coconut palms he eats little children of the equator;  
The waves of the Orinoco are drunk by the blood-spotted alligator,  
Dreadful sounds the rhyme and echo: Alligator! . . . Alligator!  
— To the Hessian spy I was recently a Guelph-agitator.

How strongly Ulrichs felt about the cause of the deposed king may be seen from comments he made as late as 1891 in his Latin journal *Alaudae*:

What the king suffered under these torments is easily imagined by anyone who thinks humanely: a king, who knew he was loved by his people, driven into exile. His heart did not find peace. He had to wander far from his kingdom. Tossed about by hope and fear, then deprived of all hope, exhausted and weary, he sometimes changed his place of exile. And he experienced the truth of the words: *Coelum, non animum, mutant*.<sup>62</sup> He drew consolation from religion. Consolation was caught from the sweet sounds of music.

Thus at last, torn away by a premature death, he found in his last home that which your arms and your pledge carried away along with his kingdom: peace. There at last he rested in peace. Does this pale vision even there not emerge sometimes before the eyes from the shadows of night?

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62. The reference is to Horace, *Epistles* I.xi.27: *Caelum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt*. (They change their sky, but not their spirit, who sail across the sea.)

Once I swore my loyalty to the king with an oath. Nor will I abandon the pledge given. I will keep it unblemished even to my death. (*Alaudae*, 183)

Persichetti also mentioned Ulrichs's imprisonment, but it is clear that the time periods he gives cannot be entirely accurate:

He organized meetings at which he held patriotic speeches in favor of the deposed king. For this he fell under the ire of the conqueror who had him arrested and confined in Minden Fortress, from which he was released after four months of hard imprisonment. He was enthusiastically greeted by the Hanoverian soldiers who had been prisoners of war, for which he was again arrested and confined in the same Minden Fortress for another six months. In the end he was freed and obliged to leave Hanover. (Persichetti 1896, 14)

Thus in July 1867 Ulrichs left Hanover, by then a province of Prussia, never to return. He never forgot or forgave the Prussian conquest, which he called "an act of force that can never be justified" (*Incubus*, 13). Nor did he ever recover all the material taken from his house in Burgdorf in April 1867. He had apparently given his new address as Würzburg, for some papers were sent there by the Prussian police in Hanover already in August, but most, including extensive manuscripts resulting from a historical study of Hadrian and Antinous, everything relating to "Uranismus," the file for the proposed volume of poetry "Nemus sacrum," all his correspondence, and a list of Urnings (which included 150 names in Berlin)—even poems written on the death of his mother, dating from 1857—were sent to the Ministry of the Exterior in Berlin. Repeated efforts to have the material returned, including a petition to the Minister of the Exterior on 30 April 1868, apparently had no result (*Memnon*, 2: xxxiii; *Incubus*, 25).

In 1869 he repeated the story of his second arrest, adding: "The mention of my political stand is deliberate. In Prussia I am persona ingratisissima" (*Argonauticus*, 16).

With his departure from now Prussian Hanover, Ulrichs appears to have ceased all involvement in efforts to return the king to power. He now settled in Würzburg to continue with renewed vigor his struggle for the recognition of equal rights for Urnings. His

next step was to present his cause at the meeting of the Sixth Congress of German Jurists in Munich.

## The Sixth Congress of German Jurists, More “Researches”: 1867–1868

Within a year after the publication of the five booklets of his “Researches on the Riddle of ‘Man-Manly’ Love” Ulrichs received more encouragement from all sides than he had expected. Among others, he learned of a defense of his cause published nearly thirty years earlier by the Swiss Heinrich Hössli (1784–1864).<sup>63</sup> In 1868 he recalled the event:

On 18 February 1865 I put the last touch of my pen to *Ara spei*. On 12 February 1866 I received, sent to me by a friend in Switzerland, Heinrich Hössli’s *Eros; über die Männerliebe* [Eros; on the love of men]; 1836 and 1838. Fate would not have it that Hössli and I reach out our hands to one another, we who independently began the same struggle and called to the battlefield the same challenge to our century. He is no longer with us. But the cause that he had to give up with his death has already been taken up by my weak powers and others are gathering with me under my raised banner. We stand already in the midst of battle. Now then, brothers, forward! (*Memnon*, 2: 128–129)

But if Ulrichs saw their cause as the same, he still found fault with Hössli’s writings:

To be sure, I criticize Hössli’s work for being tediously long (it comprises two thick volumes), for attacking the persecutor rather too much with clichés and too little with argument, and for the fact that all arrangement of the material is lacking. Still, with him as with me, the inborn nature of the love of men is the foundation on which its justification is based. To be sure, this foundation is only asserted by him, not proved. At least what he presents for it is not proof: uranian love poems, Greek,

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63. The facsimile reprint of Hössli’s two-volume work (Hössli 1996) also includes a supplemental volume. See also my review of this Great Hössli Edition (Kennedy 1998).



Roman, Persian, etc. These only prove the completely uncontested fact that love of men exists.

The entire scientific side of the matter, femaleness in particular, is not touched on. Only once can he not help at least grazing this point. But he fears that he will be led by it into a labyrinth from which there is no escape. In volume I, page 296, he quotes the astonishingly correct tenet of the rabbinical doctrine of the transmigration of souls: "Female souls in male bodies are repelled by women." But he is distrustful and dissociates himself from this with the statement: "And in truth this is not pure imagination. Yet the robust King Friedrich of Württemberg was not what one understands by a female soul." Still the book has many brilliant parts.... Deeply affecting is, beside all the noble anger, his infinitely deep oppression, which is conspicuous in almost every sentence and which is still very far from that inner certainty that is imparted only through a foretaste of freedom. (*Memnon*, 2: 129)

In 1868 (*Memnon*, 1: 30) Ulrichs quoted from the article by W. Menzel, in the *Literaturblatt* of 4 June 1834, on the (above mentioned) rabbinical doctrine of the soul. Most probably Ulrichs learned of this article from Hössli. This was in the section "Opinions from authorities for the inborn nature of love of men," which begins:

Proof is set down in the writings *Inclusa* and *Formatrix*. But I let opinions of authorities follow here. I lay the question before the reader: Do not these opinions all individually suffer from a certain incompleteness, this one in this direction and that one in that, and does he himself not find that they, in part among themselves and in part precisely in that theory, find their satisfactory extension and at the same time their key?... All five writings, however, from *Vindex* to *Ara spei*, were written before I had the least acquaintance with these opinions. (*Memnon*, 1: 29)

The "authorities" include Friedrich Ramdohr, W. Menzel, Adolf Henke, Arthur Schopenhauer, Johann Casper, Ludwig Büchner, and Rudolf Virchow. Ulrichs notes: "Only Schopenhauer became known to me during the printing of booklet II; Casper (1852) and Virchow between II and III" (*Memnon*, 1: 29).

In 1841 the popular Swiss writer Jakob Stutz (1801–1877), a contemporary of Hössli, complained to God in his diary: “It is incomprehensible to me, how you set a woman’s soul in a male body and because of this he must be shut out from the finest joys of life [family happiness]” (Stutz 1927, 405).<sup>64</sup> Had Ulrichs known of this he would surely have included this independent confirmation of his theory in his collection of opinions, but he would have found Stutz’s oppression even worse than that of Hössli.

Like Ulrichs in Germany, Hössli wished to change the antihomosexual law of his Swiss fatherland. On the title page of his first volume of *Eros* he set as motto the question of Benjamin Franklin: “Have you recently noticed a flaw in the legislation of your fatherland, on account of which it would be advisable to ask the legislative power for an amendment?”

Hössli dedicated his work “To the Guardian Angel of the Human Race,” who, he imagines, speaks to him in spirit at the place of execution of Desgouttes (mentioned below): “Your silence or speech now decides your own humanity, and must, in reproach or blessing, accompany you from this life. Write, mortal! or be judged and forever vile to yourself!” (Hössli 1996, 1: ix–x).

But who was Heinrich Hössli and what led him to dedicate himself to the composition and publication of this extraordinary work? Our knowledge of Hössli is due to the research of the zoologist Ferdinand Karsch (1853–1936), who published in 1903 the results of his investigations in Switzerland (Karsch 1903, 449–556; facsimile reprint in Hössli 1996, 3: 35–142).

Heinrich Hössli, the son of a hat maker in Glarus (Switzerland), was born there on 6 August 1784. In 1811 he married Elisabeth Grebel in Zurich, but the couple did not live together: she stayed in Zurich, while he conducted a successful millinery business in Glarus. Hössli visited his wife often, however, and they had two sons, both of whom emigrated to America. The first son married there and disappeared from sight. The second son, who discussed his own homosexuality with his father in their correspondence, was returning to Switzerland in 1861 when he died in a shipwreck.

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64. Nothing of this was published by Stutz, though he was sent to prison for several months in 1841 because of his activities (Hergemöller 1998, 683).



Heinrich Hössli

It was not his son's homosexuality that aroused Hössli's interest in the subject, for his interest began in 1817.<sup>65</sup> That was the year the jurist Franz Desgouttes (1785–1817) of Bern murdered, apparently in despair, his clerk and favorite, the young Daniel Hemmeler. For his crime he was executed by “breaking on the wheel,” and Hössli said that it was this cruel execution that “opened his eyes.”<sup>66</sup> Thus, at age thirty-three Hössli began to think and read about the eros of the Greeks. At first he did not believe himself capable of writing a publishable book, for he did not believe he knew the rules of his own language well enough. So in 1819 he packed his books and visited the popular Swiss writer Heinrich Zschokke (1771–1848) in an attempt to persuade him to write the book—and Hössli succeeded. But alas, the book that resulted (Zschokke 1821) was not at all what Hössli had expected. He was deeply indignant and set about writing the work himself, working night and day. In seventeen years he completed and published two volumes (over 700 pages); a planned third volume was left incomplete. Hössli died in Winterthur on 24 December 1864.

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65. Nor is there any direct evidence that Hössli himself was homosexual, although several indications make this seem probable (Sigusch 2000, 25–26). In his colorful biography, Pirmin Meier (2001) first refers only to Hössli's “probable homosexuality” (236), but later states that his homosexual son had “inherited the man-loving nature of his father” (309).

66. Hössli twice reported that Desgouttes was “gerädert,” i.e., broken on the wheel (Hössli 1996, 1: ix; 2: 213), but the execution was not quite as gruesome as he believed. Karsch later reported that Desgouttes was “first strangled and then broken on the wheel” (Hössli 3: 151).

The centenary of Hössli's death was commemorated in the Swiss gay journal *Der Kreis* by "Rolf" Karl Meier (1897–1974), its longtime editor. Like Ulrichs, he was filled with admiration for the man, but made the same criticism of his books: "Hössli's style—for all our admiration of the courageous man—is bound to his time and only the true lover of the great idea will read it to the end. It has more than 700 pages full of burning ardor written in the noble pathos of a bygone time" (Meier 1964, 14–15).

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The Sixth Congress of German Jurists met in Munich, 27–30 August 1867. Two years earlier Ulrichs had proposed the resolution (whose text was given earlier) asking for a revision of the German penal legislation regarding homosexual acts. This was rejected, as we have seen, by a deputation of the Congress as "not suitable to be considered by the Congress." Shortly before the Congress met, Ulrichs wrote the chairman, asking to speak in order "to read to the plenary session and to lay before the chair a legal protest against the exclusion of a proposal from the agenda" (*Gladius furens*, 6). This request was granted and his speech was scheduled for the closing plenary session on Thursday, 29 August.

*Gladius furens*,<sup>67</sup> Ulrichs's report of his experience in Munich, is a very complete and moving document; the narrative account given here essentially follows it. As Elisarion von Kupffer later wrote: "One learns from it more than ever the admirable courage of the author" (Kupffer 1899, 27).

The beginning of Ulrichs's report shows that he was well aware of the historical significance of his experience in Munich:

Until my death I will count it to my glory that on 29 August 1867 I found the courage to encounter eye to eye a thousand-year-old, many-thousand-headed, raging Hydra, which has truly for all too long spit poison and venom on me and my comrades-in-nature, driven many to suicide, and poisoned the life's happiness of all. Yes,

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67. The title *Gladius furens* is explained by Ulrichs's comment: "Phooey on such legislation of pure hate! Phooey on him who wrests the *gladius ultor* [avenging sword] from justice and presses into its hand the *gladius furens* [raging sword]" (*Gladius furens*, 25).

I am proud that I found the strength to thrust the first lance into the side of the Hydra of public condemnation. (*Gladius furens*, 1)

Since Ulrichs did not have enough money to pay for the trip to Munich (*Gladius furens*, 12), he appealed to other Urnings for funds. These were forthcoming, so that he was able to set off for Munich. He was well aware of the unique and revolutionary nature of the action he planned. It was one thing to write, even passionately, about his subject in private. It was quite another to speak out in person before over five hundred people—many important and distinguished—and expose himself to their immediate reaction. No one had ever done this before. It is no wonder that he had second thoughts about it, especially after the unpleasant reception he had received in his earlier appearances at the Congress.

Ulrichs had already spoken at sessions on both 27 and 28 August. He does not say what his topics were, only that they were “specialized” (*Gladius furens*, 6). According to the official protocol, the first topic was the question, “whether it is just that the execution of punishment of all those sentenced to imprisonment be carried out in completely the same way without consideration for individuality, in particular the education of those sentenced, and if such an equal punishment does not correspond to justice, how the circumstances are to be accommodated.” Here Ulrichs pointed to his own imprisonment in Minden and expressed himself against unequal treatment: “I do not believe that such a difference can be justified, and have at the least great reservations to the recognition of this exception that one wants to make on the basis of individuality and education of the sentenced person” (Autobiographische Zeugnisse, 38).

The second position he took was to support a proposal to limit the ability of the state’s attorney to request a stronger punishment from a court of appeal. Here Ulrichs pointed to his own experience as assistant judge, noting that the judges of the lower court were “just as learned in the law” as those in the higher court (Autobiographische Zeugnisse, 41).

Even then there were isolated calls to cut his speech, which, as Ulrichs notes, “presumably had nothing to do with the topic.” Apparently a number of those present knew

ahead of time who he was and what he intended to talk about.<sup>68</sup> He heard these shouts of “Stop!” as thinly veiled cries of “Crucify, crucify!” Thus Ulrichs needed all his courage to appear before them on Thursday, 29 August 1867.

As he made his way that morning to the Odeon, a concert and lecture hall, Ulrichs was strengthened in his resolve by several thoughts. He knew that his distant comrades-in-nature were watching him: “Was I to answer their trust in me with cowardice?” he asked himself (*Gladius furens*, 1). He also recalled an Urning in Bremen who had been driven to suicide by the system the previous September. Finally, as he was walking to the Great Hall of the Odeon, where the session was to be held, he received a letter which reported that a ‘comrade’ had voiced the opinion: “Numa is afraid to do it!”

Then doubts returned. A voice whispered in his ear: “There is still time, Numa, to keep silent. As for the request you made to speak, you only have to quickly waive it. Then your heart can stop pounding!” (*Gladius furens*, 1). But then another voice began to whisper, the voice of Hössli with words from the preface of his work:

“Two paths lie before me: to write this book and expose myself to persecution, or not to write it, but then be burdened to the grave with my guilt.... And I wrote on, deliberately averting my eyes from those who are working for my downfall. I have no other choice between speaking or keeping silent. I tell myself: Speak or be judged!”<sup>69</sup>

I wanted to be worthy of Hössli, however. And I did not want to come under the gravedigger’s hand without first having given witness openly to the suppressed right of inborn nature and, even if with less fame than an greater name of the past, having broken a path to freedom. (*Gladius furens*, 2)<sup>70</sup>

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68. One of Karl Maria Kertbeny’s correspondents was present and wrote to him afterwards: “Since he [Ulrichs] had already announced days before in a section session his intention to protest, most of those present already knew about the content of his proposal” (HNL). I am grateful to Manfred Herzer for a transcription of this letter.

69. This is not a literal quotation, but a paraphrase from Hössli (1996, 2: xxx–xxxii and 1: 10).

70. The reference here is to the Swiss national hero Arnold von Winkelried, who, at the victorious battle of Sempach in 1386, led the charge that broke the Austrian ranks. He fell with the legendary cry: “A path to freedom!” Or so it was evoked by Theodor Körner (1791–1813) in his poem “Aufruf an die Sachsen” of 1813. Ulrichs may have more recently read the Winkelried history in Hermann von Liebenau’s *Arnold von Winkelried, seine Zeit und seine That* (Aarau, 1862).

By an irony of fate, just before Ulrichs was scheduled to speak, the chairman, Privy Councillor Karl Georg von Wächter (1797–1880) of Leipzig had expressed his wish that “the king of Bavaria soon share in the happiness of marriage, since it is the greatest happiness a man can have” (*Gladius furens*, 17). But King Ludwig II (1845–1886) was himself homosexual. In January he had become engaged to Duchess Sophie of Bavaria, daughter of Duke Maximilian Joseph and sister of the empress of Austria. The engagement was broken off two months after the Congress.<sup>71</sup>

The chairman then read Ulrichs’s request to speak and called for a vote on “whether Herr Ulrichs should be recognized for this purpose.” Already there were isolated votes of “No, no!” Still a strong majority cried, “Yes!” Thus the assembly of more than five hundred German jurists, including elected representatives and a Bavarian prince,<sup>72</sup> gave their full attention as Ulrichs mounted the steps of the speaker’s platform “with breast pounding” (*Gladius furens*, 2) and began to read:

Gentlemen!

Already two years ago a proposal was regularly presented by two members of the Congress, Professor Dr. Tewes of Graz and myself, and I would like in a legal protest to complain that it was suppressed by our deputation, that is to say, it was excluded from the agenda as “not suitable to be considered by the Congress.” I base my protest on material and formal grounds.

## I. Material

This proposal is directed toward a revision of the current penal law, in particular toward the final repeal of a special, unjust penal regulation that has come down to us from earlier centuries, toward the abolishing of the persecution of an innocent class of persons that is included in this penal regulation. It is at the same time a question of

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71. A further irony is that von Wächter’s grandson, Theodor von Wächter, was homosexual and published in 1899 what Magnus Hirschfeld called “one of the finest books on Urning-love” (Hirschfeld 1986, 140).

72. Ulrichs later named this prince: “Prince Ludwig of Bavaria (member of the Congress of Jurists)” (*Memnon*, 2: ix). This Ludwig (1845–1921), a son of the later Prince Regent Luitpold, studied law, among other subjects, from 1862 at the University of Munich. As Ludwig III, he was to be the last king of Bavaria (1913–1918).

establishing in this point a legal uniformity not present in Germany, since Bavaria and Austria, on the one side, both reject this persecution, while the rest of Germany stands diametrically opposite.

Finally, it is also a question, on a secondary level, of damming a continuing flood of suicides, and that of the most shocking kind.

I believe that this is indeed a very worthy, serious, and important legal question, with which the Congress of German Jurists may quite suitably be called on to be concerned. It is a question, gentlemen, of a class of persons that indeed in Germany is numbered in the thousands, a class of persons to which many of the greatest and noblest intellects of our and other nations have belonged,... (*Gladius furens*, 3–4)

At this point there were expressions of astonishment and scorn, and isolated cries of “Stop!”

... which class of persons is exposed to an undeserved legal persecution for no other reason ...

Here there was a storm of “Stop! Stop!” from one side of the hall. The chairman wanted to put to a vote this loud call to stop. Ulrichs then said: “Under these circumstances I give up the floor and lay my protest on the table.” From the other side of the hall there were now equally loud shouts of “No, no! Continue, continue!” Ulrichs then continued, pronouncing the following words with special emphasis:

... which class of persons is exposed to an undeserved legal persecution for no other reason than that mysteriously disposing creating nature has planted in them a sexual nature that is the opposite of that which is in general usual....

Now there was a roaring noise and tumultuous interruption, and an uncommon excitement in the assembly on the side from which the earlier cries to stop had come. The chairman spoke: “I request the speaker to use Latin in continuing!” At this point, however, Ulrichs laid his pages on the chairman’s table and left the speaker’s platform.





Ulrichs speaking before the Congress of German Jurists  
(Frederick Bennett Green, 1978)

During his short speech Ulrichs had distinguished two groups in his audience. On his right was the unprejudiced group, those who were not prepared for the content of his speech. The calls to continue came from the midst of this group. The others, who shouted him down, were in front of him and on his left, and included many who already knew the text of his proposal. In their number were with a certainty the members of the deputation that had suppressed the proposal, including Appeal Court Judge Groß from Jena and Attorney General Schwarze from Dresden.

When Ulrichs left the podium there was an indescribable excitement in the hall. To it was added the confusion of what was to happen next, who was to speak, and what should be decided. After a considerable pause, chairman von Wächter picked up Ulrichs's manuscript and said: "I will just read further to confirm the content." There was another pause and then he added: "The proposal refers to the *delicta carnis* [crimes of the flesh]." (There was, of course, not a word of this in Ulrichs's manuscript; in his and Tewes's pro-

posal, yes.) Von Wächter turned to Ulrichs: “I request the speaker to read the text of his proposal” (*Gladius furens*, 7).



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Ulrichs replied: “It was deposited with the deputation according to order. It must, therefore, be in the chairman’s possession. I do not have it. The copy I had was confiscated in April of this year when I was taken to Minden Fortress.”

At this point, Schwarze (from Dresden, mentioned earlier) asked for the floor to make a statement:

I represent the decision of the deputation. The proposal was, if you will, suppressed, yes. But we believe it should be set aside, for one thing because it is in contradiction to the current laws. And then because it offends modesty. Just by being read it would have aroused the indignation of the assembly! A blush would have come to our faces! And since we are to speak in Latin, I will tell you that it is of a sexual nature. (*Gladius furens*, 8)<sup>73</sup>

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73. Schwarze used here the word “sexuell,” derived from Latin; the more common word “geschlechtlich” is of Germanic origin. Both are translated “sexual” in English.

Schwarze's rude statement was greeted by such vigorous cries of "Bravo!" from the group on Ulrichs's left that he now expected to be personally insulted and was ready for it at any second. With a very large part of the assembly in such a frame of mind, there was no question of trying to speak again. So he just kept still. He was quite determined, however, that at the least insult he would loudly declare his resignation and leave the hall.

An elderly man then took the floor "to thank the deputation in the name of the assembly for having suppressed the proposal in the interest of morality." He, too, received shouts of approval. One can imagine how Ulrichs felt at this moment. Still, he was not personally insulted and so kept his seat for the remainder of the session. The chairman quickly moved on to other matters and the session soon ended.

The excitement did not die down so quickly, however, and Ulrichs heard some people asking others what it was all about. He could hear that the answers mostly hit the mark—with some exceptions. Some thought he wanted to give free rein to any kind of "crime of the flesh" whatever: incest, rape, adultery, etc. And two members even came up to him in the hall and accosted him with: "Ah, you were the speaker just now. Just tell us please what kind of race that is, which is exposed to such persecution?"

There were, however, those who felt that Ulrichs had been treated unjustly and told him so. Judge Feuerbach from Stuttgart came up to say: "The assembly judged completely incompetently. They judged without knowing what it was about. I did not agree with them." And he added with perfect hindsight: "Your only mistake was in not sending us the proposal yourself."

Unheard by Ulrichs was the remark of another member: "My God! The man making that proposal puts himself under the greatest suspicion of being 'so' himself!" The remark was later reported to Ulrichs and in recording it he noted that Professor Tewes had also sponsored the proposal. He pointed out that Tewes was not an Urning and expressed his appreciation of Tewes's integrity. He also reported his unexpected discovery that one of the members in his audience was also an Urning. He was a Bavarian judicial official, who apparently revealed himself to Ulrichs shortly afterwards, telling him how surprised and shaken he was by Ulrichs's speech.

Ulrichs no doubt would have preferred to get away from it all at this point, but he was determined not to do anything that could be interpreted as weakness or shame. Con-

sequently he attended the closing banquet that afternoon in the Crystal Palace, which had been built for an exhibition in 1854, and went on the outing to Würmsee the following day. (Now known as Starnberger See, this was where King Ludwig II drowned on 13 June 1886.) On both occasions Ulrichs noticed that there were some who avoided him. But he commented: “In contrast, however, was my satisfaction in having others freely and loyally join me in conversation” (*Gladius furens*, 11).

The next day he immediately began writing up a brief account of the event, which he completed on 3 September and sent out to be circulated, presumably among those who had helped finance his trip. In it he also requested funds to finance the publication of a more complete account (*Gladius furens*, 12). His final account, which occupied sixteen printed pages of *Gladius furens* (Raging Sword), was written in September and October, in Munich and Würzburg, but was not printed until late April 1868, when several appendices written in the winter of 1867–1868 were added.

Ulrichs’s account of his appearance at the Sixth Congress of German Jurists is confirmed by an eye-witness, who wrote the following account to his friend Karl Maria Kertbeny:

At the Congress, in the second plenary session, the following incident took place: The president, Dr. Wächter, announced that Assessor Ulrichs was to present a protest against an arbitrary action of the standing deputation. Ulrichs stepped up to the rostrum fresh and courageous and began to read his protest.... Hardly had he begun his introductory words than there were calls to stop from all sides. The uproar grew with each further word, the president’s bell went unheeded. Ulrichs read with a loud voice further until finally the noise was so strong that Ulrichs, who must have overheard the president’s call at that time to say the continuation in Latin, left the rostrum and laid his protest on the president’s table.... None of the newspaper reports so far have given this incident, probably because the presidium requested them not to. I spoke to Ulrichs after the occasion, he was not dissatisfied with the result, i.e., he expected nothing else. He was of the opinion that the breach had been made, and one or another freethinker must now, if he really seriously wanted to concern

himself about the matter, necessarily arrive at the conclusion that the proposal was not so bad! He naturally knows nothing of our correspondence. (HNL)

With the publication of *Gladius furens* Ulrichs dropped his pseudonym “Numa Numantius” and placed his true name on the title page, noting that it was published “as the continuation of the writings of Numa Numantius.” To the titles previously used in his publications, he now added “Privatgelehrter” (private scholar) and “Royal Hanoverian Amtsassessor a.D.” Without waiting for the complete booklet to be printed, he sent a copy of the first fascicle to Tewes on 25 April 1868. Tewes replied on 1 May:

So, just move along vigorously, and head up! You are certainly not lacking in courage. Just let them shout: “Crucify, crucify!” The winner’s crown will not fail to come; or if so, then with proud consciousness you bear it in your heart. (*Memnon*, 2: 119)

With this encouragement, Ulrichs renewed his proposal to the Congress on 20 May 1868 (and again in a modified form on 28 May) (*Memnon*, 2: 123), but once again, on the insistence of Schwarze of Dresden, it was suppressed. And once again Ulrichs planned to appear in person to protest, this time at the meeting in Hamburg in August 1868, but the donations he hoped to receive for this purpose were not forthcoming, and so he had to pass up the opportunity (*Prometheus*, 73). He seems to have made no further efforts in this direction.

Funds were coming in, but Ulrichs intended them for his publications. He was also financing purchases for what he called “our common library”: in Bern were purchased the last eight available copies of Hössli’s book (*Memnon*, 2: 130). He published in *Memnon* a list of contributions used for the publication of it and *Gladius furens*. The total amount was just over 411 florins, of which nearly half came from London. Other large amounts were from Bremen and Berlin (*Memnon*, 2: 131–132).

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There were several reasons for the delay in the publication of *Gladius furens*. First, there was a lack of funds. Then too Ulrichs felt the need for a new, more systematic ex-

position of his theory, since his earlier treatment was not consistent, indeed had grown “by going,” and he began working on it at the same time. The result, *Memnon*, was published in two parts: the first part was completed by Ulrichs in Würzburg on 7 December 1867 (*Memnon*, 1: 50); the second part on 4 May 1868 (*Memnon*, 2: 135). The first part was “privately printed” (*Memnon*, 2: 118), and selectively distributed by Ulrichs in December 1867 (*Memnon*, 2: 101). With the addition of an introduction, it was ‘officially’ completed in July 1868 (*Memnon*, 1: xx). It was followed a month later by the second part, which had a different introduction.

The rush to print the first part of *Memnon* in December 1867 (and it seems not yet to have had a title) was prompted by Ulrichs’s involvement in the case of theater director “Fritz” Feldtmann in Bremen, whom Ulrichs described as “the best citizen, the truest friend, the most honest character” (*Memnon*, 1: 48). Feldtmann was arrested on 3 October 1867 (*Memnon*, 1: 48) along with three nineteen-year-old men with whom he was alleged to have practiced “sexual crimes against nature” (*Memnon*, 2: 101). He was denounced to the police by a nineteen-year-old actor from Prussia named Karl Wilhelm Otto Filsinger. Feldtmann had insisted that Filsinger leave Bremen because of his conduct toward him. Filsinger requested, and obtained, fifty Talers from Feldtmann for his trip, but did not leave. Instead he demanded another eighty Talers. When the money was not forthcoming, he wrote to a friend of Feldtmann: “Feldtmann should think twice about me” (*Memnon*, 2: 110). When he still did not get the money, he wrote to the authorities an anonymous, detailed denunciation.

Feldtmann’s case came to trial on 19 December 1867. Several days earlier Ulrichs sent the first part of *Memnon*, signed with his name, to judges and jury, as well as the prosecuting and defense attorneys. He also sent copies to all the judges and senators of Bremen. Feldtmann then asked the presiding judge Migault to allow Ulrichs to be a second defense attorney. Migault could legally have done this, but he rejected the request with the remark: “Anyone but the man who sent me the booklet” (*Memnon*, 2: 125).

A few copies found their way to a wider public. Already on 21 December the following glowing report was sent to Ulrichs from a Dioning friend in Bremen:

Your booklet has caused a real uproar among the Bremen public. Everyone is talking about it. There is a rumor that 4,000 copies of a printed defense were sent here from Würzburg. Everyone is trying to snatch a genuine copy. It is being loaned out again and again. (*Memnon*, 2: 110)

Ulrichs's friend went on to say that the "judges, jury, and prosecuting attorney appear to have gained a different view of the matter," and in fact the prosecuting attorney Dr. Pauli said in his argument: "The accused calls it barbarous that he was even accused. From his standpoint he may be right. Other states have repealed this law.... But until this is done in Bremen my standpoint must be to represent the law" (*Memnon*, 2: 106).

Feldtmann concluded his own defense with:

Just as you, my judges, have a right to love women, so too I have a right to love men. Both of us have this right from God. If you refuse to recognize this right, then you attack the justice of God, who put this love-drive in my breast, just as in yours. You have the power to condemn me; I must dispute your right to do so. (*Memnon*, 2: 106)

Ulrichs, of course, thought these "splendid" words, but found the defense attorney Dr. Mohr "truly irresponsible" for never, during the two days of the trial, raising the question of "whether the present expression of love for men, as an inclination implanted by nature, falls under the concept of unnaturalness or not?" (*Memnon*, 2: 101).

In the end, Feldtmann was convicted on 20 December 1867 "of the sexual crime against nature" and sentenced to one year in prison; two of the three young men were released because of a lack of responsibility; the third was given four weeks in prison (*Memnon*, 2: 101).

While recognizing that the sentence was milder than it might have been, Ulrichs was still outraged by it, especially by the laws cited to justify the decision: the penal code of the Roman Emperor Charles V of 1532 and the Novella 77 of the Emperor Justinian from the year 538. This last was the decree that blamed homosexual acts for "famine, earthquakes, and pestilence" and Ulrichs was particularly outraged that it should be cited as

late as the nineteenth century: “Ah, Justinian’s Novella 77! Do I find you again? naivest superstition’s pitiable child! and indeed brought forth as an applicable law in a penal judgment of the civilized world, so as to justify with you the imprisonment of a human being who follows the right of his nature? You are supposed to justify this action, you?” (*Memnon*, 2: 103).

Copies of the booklet were also sent to other places (*Memnon*, 2: 118). An Englishman wrote to Ulrichs from London on 22 March 1868: “Though I cannot in words express my gratitude, I am sure that, if I could write with my heart instead of my hands, I should make you feel how grateful I am, not only on my own account, but for the sake of poor Fritz, towards whom you have so nobly acted” (*Memnon*, 2: 119). And indeed Ulrichs continued to try to ameliorate Feldtmann’s situation. In June 1868 he asked “the Senate and Citizens of the Free City of Bremen” for Feldtmann’s “pardon and immediate release” (*Memnon* 2: x).

The rumor that 4,000 copies of a booklet (the first seventy-two sections of *Memnon*) had been sent to Bremen in December 1867 was surely an exaggeration, but Ulrichs was generous with his distribution. In early May 1868 he sent out 500 copies of *Gladius furens* to members of the Congress of German Jurists and other scholars (*Memnon*, 2: ix)—and none too soon, for on 14 May the Prussian police in Kassel forbade his publisher there, G. Württenberger, to distribute the booklet. Württenberger was also interrogated in the matter and forced to hand over all correspondence from Ulrichs. It appears that Ulrichs was “all too careless,” as he said, in his distribution in Berlin, for not only did he sent copies to Bismarck and the Minister of Justice Leonhardt, but to the attorney general and the chief of police as well! (*Memnon*, 2: viii).

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In the meantime, Ulrichs was planning other publications. His correspondent in London wrote to suggest a regular periodical; Ulrichs noted in *Memnon* that he had planned the periodical “Uranus” already in 1866 and he now asked for further suggestions for its founding (*Memnon*, 2: 122). This project came to fruition in 1870, but had only one issue, called “Prometheus.”



He further announced that his next publication would be a presentation of historical Urnings, to include some eighty names from various European countries in the years 1500–1868 (*Memnon*, 2: 130). This project was never carried out.

He renewed his interest in the long-planned volume of poetry, “*Nemus sacrum*.” Although his file for this had been confiscated by the Prussian police in April 1867, he had copies of some of the poems and was otherwise able to replenish his file. To finance this project, he wrote to the Prussian Minister of Culture on 12 February 1868 that he now accepted the ‘consolation prize’ he had been offered in 1848, and in fact he received the sum of fifty Talers the following month (on 19 March). He intended the money to be used exclusively for the collection of uranian poetry: “I do not know a finer purpose for it” (*Memnon*, 2: 132). He gave several samples from his file in *Memnon*, but the complete collection was never published.

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Since the effeminate Urning, the Weibling, was the type that most illustrated Ulrichs’s theory, he freely published reports of them. For example, an upper-class Englishman, called “Viola,” had sent him a copy of the London *Sun* with a report of an appearance before Judge Knox of two who were charged with “indecent conduct in a public street” (*Memnon*, 2: 75). Sergeant Shillingford testified that he had arrested them, “being then painted and powdered, and difficult to tell whether they were males or females” (*Memnon*, 1: 11). One of them was called “Kate Smith,” and was described by another witness as “a fair and effeminate young man” (*Memnon*, 2: 75). Ulrichs notes that such young and beautiful Weiblings, who wander about the promenades of London flirting, are well known to the public, who have named them “Mary Anns” (*Memnon*, 1: 11).

Ulrichs’s report of this was included in the first part of *Memnon*, a copy of which he sent to another London correspondent on 4 January 1868, who shortly before was at an evening party given in his honor by Viola. At that party of twenty Urnings, four came dressed as women and one of them was of an “unbelievable beauty.” After receiving Ulrichs’s booklet, he was with Viola reading it, when six others arrived, including the beauty of the party, who was a close friend of Viola. Of course Ulrichs’s correspondent talked about the booklet and, not knowing that this beauty was “Kate Smith” (also known as “Henry Maltravers”), naturally read the section about the London court case. Mal-

travers was shocked to find himself in the booklet. The report concluded: “Viola, the guilty one, who sent you the newspaper, was as quiet as the grave! Maltravers fortunately was so outrageously made up that his blushing could not be seen!” (*Memnon*, 2: 76).

While Ulrichs found this desire to use make-up and wear women’s clothing only natural and, indeed, a confirmation of his theory, he also noted that Maltravers’s appearance in March in women’s clothing at a cafe frequented especially by Urnings from very good families was greeted with horror by his acquaintances there. This was reported in a letter of 22 March from Ulrichs’s correspondent, who also told of a public masked ball at which fifty Urnings appeared as women and two balls for Urnings only in February. At the one he and Viola attended, which included a dozen dressed as women, there was even a formal wedding ceremony (*Memnon*, 2: 77). Ulrichs’s final comment on all this was: “In England, in order to stamp out Uranismus, uranian love is now threatened with fifteen years in prison. But nature mocks this barbarity!” (*Memnon*, 2: 77).<sup>74</sup>

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Let us now examine *Memnon* to see how Ulrichs’s theory and views had developed since the publication of his first five booklets.

The most impressive change is the simplification that has taken place. The firm foundation of the inborn nature of Urning-love remains, as does the concept of the “*anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa*” (a female soul confined by a male body)<sup>75</sup> but the number of “germs” posited for the Urning’s development has been reduced to the minimum necessary to explain these two basic concepts. There is no mention, for example, of separate germs for active and passive love-drives. What remains are the four original sexual germs, which are still sleeping during the first three to four months of embryonic development: (a) for the development of the penis, (b) for the development of the vagina, (c) sexless at this stage, but for the development of either testicles or ovaries, and (d) the non-physical germ for the direction of the love-drive, also sexless at this stage. With the awakening of these germs, nature allows one of the first two to develop and suppresses the other, whereas the last two are each given a one-sided development (*Memnon* 1: 3–5).

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74. Although there were no executions for homosexual acts in England after 1836, the death penalty was not abolished until 1861 (Hyde 1970, 92).

75. This phrase is on the title page of *Memnon* and was thereafter his constant expression of his basic principle.

In the ordinary development of a man, for example, germ ‘a’ is allowed to develop, ‘b’ is suppressed, ‘c’ becomes testicles, and ‘d’ develops a love-drive that is also masculine, i.e., directed toward women. In the development of a woman, exactly the opposite occurs. The most often occurring exception to this rule is that germ ‘d’ does not develop in the same direction as the first three. The result is an Urning if, for example, ‘a’ develops, ‘b’ is suppressed, ‘c’ becomes testicles, and ‘d’ develops a feminine love-drive. The exact opposite of this development results in an Urningin.<sup>76</sup>

From this point Ulrichs contents himself with description and simply explains the variations in the Urnings he describes as the result of all possibilities being present in the embryo. In the beginning he had tried to find a separate explanation for each type of Urning, but he seems to have become aware that these explanations were becoming compounded like the epicycles of the Ptolemaic theory of the universe:

For this apparent chaos of variations a future researcher probably will find a quite definite law, according to which the apparent arbitrariness of the mixture will be a natural necessity. Needed for this will be universal observations of individuals, who belong to the separate varieties, and of course some talent for combining. One will have to find a formula for this law, I would say just as exact a formula as Kepler once found for the law of motion of the planets and comets. (*Memnon*, 2: 116)

True, Ulrichs still considers the possibility of there being two independent non-physical germs for the love-drive (for the “sensual” and the “sentimental”), but “on this question the case is not yet closed” (*Memnon*, 1: 22). At any rate, Ulrichs seems to feel that it is not necessary to find the ultimate explanation in order to justify the Urning’s existence and actions—and this is the heart of the matter:

Since, then, nature acts as it does, i.e., does not form a man from a male embryo and a woman from a female embryo, but all humans from one and the same hermaphrodite embryo, so all the varieties and mixtures described, with all their inborn

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76. Other deviations from the rule are much less frequent, but are still possible. The results are the various types of hermaphrodites, including Urning-hermaphrodites.

drives and all their longing, bear on their foreheads the stamp of a right from God's grace, or, what means the same, an inborn human right. (*Memnon*, 1: 27)

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Ulrichs's concern is to establish the fact that Urning-love is inborn. This he does by actual examples, many taken from his own life, of the various hints of Urning-love and femininity going back to earliest childhood. Furthermore, the condition is continuous, and so cannot be acquired. In this way he answers what he sees as the principal arguments of his opponents, those who suppose that an early, pleasant homosexual experience gave the child a taste for it, or that a sentimental friendship became transformed into passionate love. For Ulrichs, the latter is simply impossible, since "a soul cannot be loved, only a body" (*Memnon*, 2: 59). Plato's doctrine that "one should only love the soul" is therefore only a spook. He concludes:

What produces love in you is the simple sight of a being who belongs to the sex for which you were born, as soon as that person is endowed with the bodily development that corresponds to your sensitivity or need for love. (*Memnon*, 2: 59)

We may note—though Ulrichs does not point it out here—that with his insistence on bodily love and appearance, he has opened the door to love between Urnings. This possibility is further strengthened by his observation that, when one considers all Urnings, Mannlings and Weiblings, then the male figures that attract them show as much variety as the male and female figures that attract men and women combined (*Memnon*, 2: xix). He was certainly aware by now that some Urnings were attracted to other Urnings, but he gave little attention to this in his discussion, partly because it furnished no moral problem. For example, in showing that the young Dioning's honor is not injured when he allows himself to be loved by an Urning, Ulrichs adds in a footnote: "We are speaking here of the case where the allowing beloved is not himself likewise an Urning—for then the matter is simple enough—but rather when he is a true man" (*Memnon*, 1: 34).

Ulrichs accepted the maxim that "opposites attract" and pointed out how it could apply not only to love between men and women, but to love between Urnings as well: "Just

as between man and woman, so too between the virile Mannling and the girlish Weibling, in the appropriate age group on both sides, there is a completely mutual sexual attraction” (*Memnon*, 1: 16), adding in a footnote: “For here too a female soul is attracted by a male body, not a soul by a soul or a body by a body.” That he does not pursue the matter is probably due to this being outside his own experience, as well as to his acceptance of the principle that “opposites attract.” This principle was well illustrated in Ulrichs’s case, since he was attracted to markedly masculine young men and saw himself as somewhat effeminate. He evoked this principle to explain the fact that some Urnings were attracted to young boys. He notes that Mannlings and Weiblings are also distinct in the ages to which they are attracted. For Weiblings, just as for women, the range is around eighteen to thirty-six. For Mannlings, however, the range is from nineteen down to the earliest signs of puberty, and even beyond (*Memnon*, 2: xv–xvi). Ulrichs was surprised when he first learned of this, for: “This whole matter of Mannlings is foreign to my personal experience” (*Memnon*, 2: xviii). He can only explain this by the masculine Urning being attracted to his opposite, i.e., to girlishness (*Memnon*, 2: xix). But he adds parenthetically: “With regard to the prepubertal, I would nonetheless take such a sexual inclination to be a sickness.”

Also outside Ulrichs’s own experience is the love of the Urning variety he labels “disjunctive Uranodioning,” i.e., who feels only “tender-sentimental” love for his male love-object. To illustrate this he quotes at length from the letter of a 26-year-old Czech who wrote to Ulrichs on 25 October 1867:

I feel my strongest, purest desire in the sight of charming boyish features.... The only thing that disturbs my illusion is, when the beautiful boy grows older and a beard develops; then my passion becomes more sober. That my inclination is natural is guaranteed by the fact that it does not decrease. In addition, only quite young, tender, shy girlish boys attract me, not strong and robust ones, and indeed only those with decent and pure hearts. How I would like to often press the beautiful boy to my heart and cover his pure eyes with hot kisses: and yet I dare not! (*Memnon*, 2: 88–89)

Ulrichs must have shown in his reply that he approved the man's love, for he wrote again on 29 November:

What a consolation it is for me, my very dear friend, my only confidant, to be able to talk of my secrets. If you knew how like a child I act in regard to Karl, you would—but no, you would not laugh. Recently I spied in his hat a hair from his beautiful Apollo head: I stole it away and guard it as a sacred relic. And how much have I not already suffered for the sake of this good child. (*Memnon*, 2: 89)

This is a classic expression of boy-love. The young Czech was certainly not alone, for this is a common feeling of very many men. Even if it was outside of Ulrichs's personal experience, how could he simply report this without comment? Had he not already given many examples from Greek and Roman poetry of just such expressions of love? The explanation appears to be that Ulrichs interpreted those literary examples in the light of his own experience: “*Puer* is not (or only in a poetic sense) to be translated as ‘boy,’ but rather ‘youth’” (*Memnon*, 1: 13).

It appears that Ulrichs did not see the boy-lover as a distinct variety of Urning. When he gives an example of the mutual love between a man and a boy, it is primarily to show that Urning-love awakens early. The following report of a Viennese Urning is such an example:

I was fourteen years old when I first discovered the wonder of love. My brother was a hussar cadet. To request a leave for him, I once went to his riding master, whom I did not know. He was a stern, handsome man, with a wonderful build, about thirty years old, with a mustache and blond hair. When he spoke, I thought I heard metallic tones. He asked me in a friendly way to sit down and he sat beside me. When he spoke in a friendly way to me, I no longer found him so stern. But he looked at me so penetratingly I could not bear his look. When he touched my hand, I began to tremble in my whole body; and when he moved still closer to me, my teeth chattered from a blissful thrill. Finally he pressed a kiss on my lips and asked why I was so anxious. Then it happened to me. Crying, I threw myself on his breast. With

each new kiss I was thrilled to the marrow. From that moment on I idolized him in my heart. He was my only thought. (*Memnon*, 2: 53)

Ulrichs merely comments: “Here we find a love union based on true mutual love between two Urnings, between Mannling and Weibling” (*Memnon*, 2: 53). It is clear from this example that Ulrichs approved of such a union. It is only the seduction of a prepubertal child that he thinks is dangerous (*Gladius furens*, 26).

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If Ulrichs insists that Urning-love is inborn and not acquired, he still admits that there are some men who appear to act like Urnings. He calls such a person a “uranized” man, or Uraniaster. His condition may be brought about by a lack of women (in prison, for example) or other reasons, but there is no true love here: “His pleasure consists only in the enjoyment of his own orgasm” (*Memnon*, 2: 62). He does not share the effect that results from contact with the loved body, which, according to Ulrichs, “reaches its highest point for the Urning in the touching of the two male members. It is just this member that above all exercises the greatest sensual attraction on him” (*Memnon*, 2: 62). At least this is the attraction for the Weibling, who feels himself “drawn to men of markedly virile appearance, to bearded men with husky build (and—I may not overlook it—with prominent manly development)” (*Memnon*, 1: 12).

The opposite of the uranized man is the virilized Urning, a condition brought about for the most part by the Urning forcing himself, or being forced by social pressure, to act like a man. One result is the marriage of many an unfortunate Urning “before he has become aware of himself” (*Memnon*, 1: 24). Ulrichs returns to this idea more than once:

And what is the source of this endless number of false marriages? From this, and I repeat it, that the prevailing system, with a fatal blindness, put under lock and key not just Uranismus itself, no, but the bare knowledge of it, that it robbed Urnings of the knowledge of their own selves, of their own nature and natural destiny! (*Memnon*, 2: 95)

In line with Ulrichs's view of Mannling and Weibling as extreme varieties of Urnings "between which there is a quite regular series of intermediate stages" (*Memnon*, 1: 10), is the contrast in the form of their sexual desires, which Ulrichs compares with the desires of men and women: "The type of sexual desire is masculine in the Mannling, feminine in the Weibling" (*Memnon*, 2: 63). He goes on to explain this:

The masculine type of desire is the desire of the masculine nature to penetrate the loved body. We meet this active desire in a completely equal measure in the Mannling-Urning as in the man.

The feminine type of sexual desire is the desire of the feminine nature to be penetrated by the loved body. We meet this passive desire in the Weibling-Urning exactly as in the woman.

This desire for penetration with the loved body is for man and woman an uncontestedly justified moral law, and that is because it is founded in nature. Without this foundation it would also be objectionable here because of its immodesty, just exactly so is the same thing also in Mannling and Weibling founded in nature, and therefore, also for them a justified moral law. (*Memnon*, 2: 63–64)

In a sketch of Ulrichs in 1922, Ferdinand Karsch described Hirschfeld's edition of the *Forschungen* in 1898 as "unfortunately castrated" (Karsch-Haack 1922b). The quotation above illustrates what Karsch had in mind: in the edition of 1898 every mention of "penetration" in this passage has been suppressed.

In *Formatrix* Ulrichs had insisted that anal intercourse, contrary to popular belief, was the exception "at least in Germany" (*Formatrix*, 9). Now, while continuing to insist on its rarity, he clearly defends the practice. His principle is: "The parts of the body may be used in a makeshift way for subsidiary purposes as soon as nature has need of them" (*Memnon*, 1: 36). Thus: "The various ways of practicing uranian sexual love are, therefore, still a long way from the limit of what is allowed in handling or using bodily parts. Still more, going much further, is allowed" (*Memnon*, 1: 38).

Ulrichs faced here what was to be the perennial tactical problem of gay activists for more than a century: Should he try to assuage popular prejudice by not approving anal



intercourse, thus leaving out of consideration the factual minority who do practice it? Or should he fight for their right too, and so perhaps strengthen the masses in their prejudice? By now, we know Ulrichs well enough to anticipate that he will not shrink from a universal defense:

Although the form of so-called Greek love principally in question here, penetration, arouses personal dislike in me, I am still compelled, for the reasons given, to declare it not against nature, justified by the moral law, and not an offense against nature, to moral law, or a man's honor, if nature has need of precisely it. (*Memnon*, 1: 38)

But if, as Ulrichs continues to insist, this occurs in Germany in "by far the least cases" (*Memnon*, 1: 38), what are the other practices? "The other ways consist merely in embracing breast on breast with external contact, without penetration. For most this affords complete satisfaction" (*Memnon*, 1: 38).

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The wide variety of Urnings Ulrichs had observed since his first publications influenced not only his theory, but also his view of himself. He wrote to the novelist Carl Robert Egells on 20/21 December 1873: "In the booklets *Vindex* and *Inclusa* I was still one-sided. I knew only Weiblings and believed myself to be a Weibling; I did not yet know any gradations" (Karsch-Haack 1922b). In the meantime his earlier view of the one-sided distinction between the sex of the body and the spirit has become blurred, and this in both directions, for not only does the spirit influence the male body, but the body can also influence the spirit. He finds in this an explanation of all the possible varieties of Urning. In discussing the conflict of body and spirit in the development of the Urning, he says:

As the regular result of this conflict one would perhaps be inclined to assume a separation of the opposing forces purely along the boundaries of their spheres.... But this appears precisely never to happen. The conflict appears to take not the least notice of this boundary line. The great intimacy with which the body and soul are alto-

gether bound to one another appears to be the reason why this separation into spheres, instead of being favored, is perhaps even hindered. Thus we find the boundary line in Urnings constantly crossed over, the two spheres accordingly more or less agreeing with one another. (*Memnon*, 1: 9)

As we have seen, Ulrichs gives many examples of Weiblings that illustrate this influence of the spirit on the body, or at least on the conduct and mannerisms of the Urning, for he adds in a footnote:

The actual body build of an Urning, its construction and form, may show nothing at all feminine: the feminine is betrayed by movements, conduct, and mannerisms. Many an Urning, therefore, appears thoroughly masculine in a photograph or in sleep, whom one would find in personal contact to be highly feminine. (*Memnon*, 1: 9)

The body also has its influence on the spirit:

The femaleness of the love-drive of the Urning is often strongly influenced by the male body and hampered in its development.... Thus the Urning's soul is often, perhaps even in most cases, only modifiedly female. (*Memnon*, 2: 115–116)

Despite all this, Ulrichs insists on retaining his basic principle of “a female soul confined by a male body” (*anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa*). He admits, however, that it must be understood with two qualifications:

- a. *corpus virile* is only a relatively masculine body,
- b. the femaleness of the soul is more or less considerably modified by the coexistence of a *corpus virile*. (*Memnon*, 2: xxii)

On a practical level, Ulrichs also confronts another perennial objection to Urning-love: that permanent unions are not formed, but instead it leads to immorality, promiscu-

ity, and prostitution. He insists that the current system made no effort to elevate Urning love:

Further, the pressure of the system has made the coupling of an Urning with a young Dioning in an honorable union nearly impossible. On the contrary, it furthers falsehood, betrayal, denunciation, and extortion on the one hand, and on the other leads to promiscuity and the lowest prostitution. (*Memnon*, 2: xxx)

The solution, according to Ulrichs is the recognition of the human dignity of the Urning:

If you would further give unreserved recognition to the elevated side of Urning-love, if the Urning's loyalty, devotion, and willingness to sacrifice found an unprejudiced appreciation on your part, then for this reason there would be more love unions than now, and indeed based on this foundation. (*Memnon*, 2: xxxi–xxxii)

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One of the curiosities of *Memnon* is that it begins with a long quotation from the English poem “Don Leon,” which Ulrichs had received from a London correspondent on 13 April 1868 (*Memnon*, 2: 130).<sup>77</sup> This poem, falsely purported to have been written by Lord Byron, has been described as “the earliest published protest against homosexual oppression in England that has survived and the first plea for understanding” (Crompton 1983, 70). Ulrichs noted: “It contains a justification of Urning-love.” He was sufficiently impressed to quote from it in later publications (*Argonauticus*, 149; *Critische Pfeile*, 43, 84).

As motto for *Memnon* Ulrichs chose “Introite! nam et hoc templum naturae est” (Enter! for this is also a temple of nature), which is a slight variation of a motto used in *Formatrix*.

We have finally to explain the title *Memnon*. In Greek mythology Memnon was a beautiful Ethiopian king who was killed by Achilles in the Trojan War. In Egypt he was

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77. In his 1898 edition of the *Forschungen* Hirschfeld added a German translation.

connected with the colossal statue of Amenophis near Thebes. After its partial destruction by an earthquake in 27 B.C., the musical sound, which it gave forth when touched by the first rays of the sun, was explained as Memnon's greeting to his mother, the Goddess of Dawn.<sup>78</sup> Thus Ulrichs concluded his own *Memnon*:

I draw in my wings. Happy me; I already breathe freedom. I see it as a distant Alpine glow. Oh dawn! To the ear it sounds like soft songs of victory. And in the desert waste my voice resounds, like Memnon's column greeting the dawn. (*Memnon*, 2: 135)



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78. In 1874 Ulrichs wrote a poem about this phenomenon and published it the following year in *Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, along with an explanatory note (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 66–67). There he referred to a work of Jean Antoine Letronne (1787–1848) on the subject, presumably his *La statue vocale de Memnon* (1833).

## Public Reaction, the Zastrow Case: 1868–1869

When Ulrichs first published his booklets, the reaction was silence—and confiscation. By 1868, however, his views could no longer be entirely ignored. The trial of Feldtmann in Bremen in late December 1867, for example, was widely reported in the German press. Ulrichs reported that in January 1868 Dr. med. Stadler in Bremen (presumably in a newspaper article) had “concerned himself in detail with my theory” (*Gladus furens*, 26). Apparently Stadler disagreed with the theory, for Ulrichs notes only that he “completely agreed with the practical result,” namely that adult homosexual activity is not to be punished: “In this case the participants are acting of their own free will” (*Gladus furens*, 26). Only two years later, however, Ulrichs had to report that Stadler had changed his mind and now insisted that Urning-love be punished under all circumstances. Ulrichs’s sarcastic comment probably hit the nail on the head:

Herr Stadler is about to take a wife. Now I understand. The bride might think him an Urning. Let him be stricken again from the honor roll in which I so hastily inscribed him. (*Araxes*, 15)

In fact, when public comment came for Ulrichs’s writings, it was all negative. He had hoped, by giving a scientific explanation of homosexual behavior, to rescue his comrade Urnings from religious, social, and legal infamy. He did not anticipate that the medical-psychological establishment would so quickly furnish its own scientific justification of the continuing public opprobrium.<sup>79</sup> This is illustrated by the session of the Berlin Medical-Psychological Society on 15 December 1868, K. F. O. Westphal presiding.

Julius Sander spoke first about the treatment of chorea, or St. Vitus’s dance, and related the results of his treatment with hashish. The usual preparation with dried plants had no effect, but he had good results with genuine hashish made from fresh plants direct from Egypt. In the later discussion Sander admitted that he often used arsenic as a treat-

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79. Two early examples were given in chapter 5 (see pages 85–87).

ment, “but it seemed to him not to have done very much.” The second topic of the session touched on Ulrichs (still as Numa Numantius):

Herr Westphal reported on several cases of persons who in a more or less high degree had a perverse inclination to individuals of the same sex or at least behaved in dress, actions, and the like in a way not corresponding to their sex. He discussed the pathological significance of these phenomena.

Herr Skrzeczka mentioned a similar case he had observed and reported further on the pseudonymous Numa Numantius, a writer who had already discussed the same subject in several brochures in a somewhat unclear way, as well as on his latest treatise.

Herr Liman called attention to Casper’s views and explained, with particular reference to Numa Numantius, that in many cases of paederasty pathological dispositions were to be assumed.

Herr Bastian called attention to the fact that perverse sexual inclinations are often found in uncivilized tribes, that in some the individuals afflicted with it are even treated as a special caste, as more highly placed personalities, as sacred and the like. (Berliner medicinisch-psychologische Gesellschaft, 1869–70, 227)

Presumably Carl Skrzeczka (1833–1902) revealed who was behind the pseudonym Numa Numantius. The fact that Ulrichs was not named in his or Liman’s published comments suggests, however, that they were unaware that he had revealed himself in his latest publications. (Or perhaps it was a subtle way of withholding recognition from him.) Casper’s views, recalled here by Liman, included the idea that the inclination under discussion was inborn; Ulrichs had mentioned this in *Formatrix*, citing Casper’s publication of 1852. In that publication, Casper thought this was so in a “minority” of cases. By 1863, in his *Klinische Novellen zur gerichtlichen Medicin*, he had dropped the qualification. Ulrichs mentioned this publication in his booklets of 1868 and, although he continued to regard Casper as an “opponent,” he nevertheless several times described him, in contrast to others, as “honest” (*Gladius furens*, 20; *Memnon* 1: 16).

Casper died in 1864; his nephew Carl Leopold Liman (1818–1891) edited the later editions of his uncle’s *Handbuch der gerichtlichen Medicin* (1856–1858). Karl Friedrich Otto Westphal (1833–1890) was the founder of the *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten* in 1868, and it was in this journal that he published in 1869 his report on the cases he discussed at the December 1868 session reported above.<sup>80</sup> There he quotes at length from *Inclusa*, which is the only booklet of Ulrichs he knows. After giving the complete title, he adds:

As appears from the title and what I otherwise know, the author has earlier written on this theme. (I have seen only the booklet named.) By the way, he has become prominent under the pseudonym, as is sufficiently well known in juristic circles. (Westphal 1869, 92)

Westphal relates the case of his “pathological” patient, a woman who feels like a man, and compares her story to Ulrichs’s description of himself. He also mentions the case of the “paederast” von Malzahn,<sup>81</sup> on whose diary Casper had reported with a pseudonym, and concludes:

I will have something more to say later about the confessions of Casper’s unknown, which do not yield clear signs of feeble-mindedness; about the state of mind of Numa Numantius a man who in part has already played a public role, as is known to me from juristic circles, a judgment cannot be tactfully made here and the reader of his booklet is left to make it for himself. (Westphal 1869, 97)

Ulrichs reported on this publication in 1870, without mentioning the dubious reference to himself. Rather, he stresses the fact that Westphal is in favor of revising the anti-homosexual law. Westphal wrote, in fact:

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80. For Westphal, see Pagel 1901.

81. On the identity of Malzahn, see Hergemöller (1998, 484).

If the repeal of paragraph 143 of the penal code comes about and the specter of prison no longer threatens the confession of this perverse inclination, then the cases in question will certainly come in a greater number to the attention of the doctors, in whose domain they belong. (Westphal 1869, 108)

Ulrichs rather mildly comments:

Although I can in no way recognize the “perverse inclination” as a subject for the doctors of the insane, I still with satisfaction perceive between the lines the thought: it does not belong to the attention of the criminal judge, and the wish of science: to see the “threatening specter of prison” banished. (*Araxes*, 15)

Ulrichs could not so mildly accept the pamphlet *Das Paradoxon der Venus Urania* (1869), which was advertised as a “crushing critique” (*Incubus*, 30) of his writings. The title recalls the book *Venus Urania; über die Natur der Liebe* (1798) of Friedrich Wilhelm Basilius von Ramdohr, but there is no mention of Ramdohr and it is more likely that the title was suggested by the terms coined by Ulrichs—the noun “Urning” and the adjective “urnisch”—from Plato’s *Symposium*.<sup>82</sup>

Some of Geigel’s discussion in the pamphlet is very much to the point. He notes, for example, that Ulrichs’s basic doctrine of “a female soul confined in a male body” (*anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa*), is a *petitio principii* (begging the question): “This thesis governs in fact the whole argumentation of Herr Ulrichs to such an exclusive degree that everything he presents is either meant to support it or is derived from this supreme *petitio principii*” (Geigel 1869, 12). Ignoring the continuing development of Ulrichs’s theory, Geigel has no difficulty in finding contradictory statements. Thus he attacks Ulrichs for

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82. Max Kaufmann wrote in 1899 that Ulrichs had probably taken the term “Urning” from Ramdohr’s book (Kaufmann 1899, 31), but Ulrichs explicitly stated that he wrote his first five booklets before he “had the least knowledge” of Ramdohr’s book. On the other hand, he gave credit to Dr. jur. Kaserer of Vienna for the first use of the grammatical form “Urningthum” to designate the entire complex of the phenomenon in question (*Memnon*, 2: xx). Kaserer, a member of the Congress of German jurists and a Dioning, had written to Ulrichs on 1 July 1868 to express his appreciation of *Memnon* and his encouragement for Ulrichs’s efforts (*Memnon*, 2: v). This is probably the Dr. Mathias Kaserer, whose Latin translation of a brief poem by Anton Breitner was published by Ulrichs in *Alaudae* in November 1893 (*Alaudae*, 309). Ulrichs also sent a longer Latin translation by Kaserer (then in Salzburg) to the *Jahrbuch des Scheffelbundes* (1894, 298–303).



basing his theory on the “dualistic philosophy” of the complete independence of the body and soul.

On the whole, however, his attack on Ulrichs is so scurrilous that it cannot be considered a serious intellectual challenge. It is loaded with abuse and ridden with clichés and exaggerated language. For example, he mocks Ulrichs for pretending to know the number of Urnings in Germany and asks: “Are we then to assume that in all of Germany there is likewise a legion of twenty-five thousand tribades?”<sup>83</sup> Geigel then answers his own question:

No, Herr Ulrichs, thank God we dare to say that in our whole wide fatherland not one female being is to be met, who would not bring herself to overcome her “in-born aversion” for men and, if only the right man is found, to cheerfully marry him in spite of her *anima virilis*. (Geigel 1869, 19)

Like his colleagues in Berlin, Geigel prefers to consider all such phenomena as sicknesses:

We are compelled to assume it a mental disorder, a sickness, where such a degree of aberration from the normal appearance of a healthy life is found; and we would call such persons not Urnings, but rather “mentally ill,” since in them essentially the same functions that we are accustomed to designate as mental are subjected to the disorder. (Geigel 1869, 29–30)

Finally, after telling Ulrichs to keep his hands off Germany’s young men, Geigel proposes his own solution to the problem:

And with this we leave you, Herr Ulrichs! Disappear! Please take your twenty-five thousand Urnings with you and settle at the North Pole, but have the goodness to spare our German soil your presence! (Geigel 1869, 34)

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83. Ulrichs never used the term “tribade.” In all the *Forschungen* only the word “Tribadie” occurs, and there in a quotation from Casper (*Memnon*, 1: 32). Ulrichs explained it in a note: “female Uranismus.”

One of Ulrichs's correspondents in Vienna wrote him on 23 February 1869:

In the *Med. Presse* I had expected a genuine critique of your *Memnon*, but found an unworthy bungle, which is a critique only in name. On reading the *Paradoxon* so strong an anger finally overpowered me that I threw the book into a corner. Now I have seen what kind of opponents you have! (*Incubus*, 34–35)

No doubt Ulrichs too expected better from the *Wiener Medizinische Presse*. Finally, and at length (it fills more than three columns), one of his writings was reviewed in a respected medical journal. Although he referred to it only as an “extremely vehement criticism,” he must have been bitterly disappointed. This review of the two parts of *Memnon* is far more scurrilous than the *Paradoxon* pamphlet and the anonymous reviewer appears to deliberately misinterpret Ulrichs's statements. The tone is set at the beginning of the review where, after the title of the book, there appears, as if it were a subtitle: “A defense of paederasty.”<sup>84</sup> Since besides the reviews in *Irrenfreund* in 1864 and 1867 (see chapter 5), this is the only other known review, we quote at length from it to illustrate the reception Ulrichs's writings received from the medical establishment:

We must frankly admit that we do not rightly know what we are to make of this book; we have the choice of thinking of a mental-moral aberration, already touching on a loss of responsibility, or it is a question of a malicious mystification. Indeed we admit immediately, as much as in the interest of the author (who sent us these two booklets with the request for a serious review) we might wish the latter to be the case, a mystification of 185 pages appears to us hardly credible.

We by no means belong to the prudish, but we are truly embarrassed, honored reader, to adequately present the contents of this book. Introite! Nam et hoc templum naturae est. Introite! says the author as motto and—eternal divine Venus! what does

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84. At that time in Germany the word “paederasty” meant only anal intercourse; this meaning has been retained in *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, Tenth Edition (1993). Benedict Friedlaender suggested that this word, originally a Greek word meaning “love of boys,” acquired “the meaning that medieval slander imposed on it by confounding the similar sounding words *paiderastia* and *pedicatio*” (Friedlaender 1991, 78). The Latin word “pedicatio” meant “anal intercourse.”

the unfortunate man name as the temple of nature?! The final ending of the intestine, which in humans received from the Almighty no other purpose than to release the rawest dregs, the last waste of the animal economy—the unfortunate “private scholar” will have this foul-smelling hole honored as a sacred temple of love. It is known to us that splendid blossoms spring up from dung, but up to now no one had the idea of degrading perfumed roses to the dung heap....

As an introduction the inspired singer plays to the tune of his intestine-strung lyre several paederast songs of Byron, Vergil, Martial, Tibullus, and Numa Numan-tius. (This last name hid until recently the personality of the author.) The author poses—probably in his own interest—the question, whether it is right to throw anyone into prison for loving men, or to rob him of his honor; he is not far from asking for every paederast a citizen’s crown, or at least a medal, and he flies into high dudgeon over the fact that such subjects are persecuted by police and law....

According to Ulrichs there are two main types of Urning: Mannlings, i.e., paed-erasts, and Weiblings, i.e. kinaidoi....<sup>85</sup>

The statement that the Urning’s sexual love rests on an inborn human right, that nothing at all about Urningthum is sinful, is defended with scientific nonsense and, where this does not reach, with clichés. The man becomes truly comical, however, when he excuses the misuse of the anus, which is meant by nature for defecation, as a place of amusement for the male member by the doctrine given by nature, to make use in case of necessity of the various parts of the body as makeshift for those that are missing.

With this the vulva becomes a luxury item; hand, anus, lips, and everything on which the penis can rub become sexual organs justified by nature....

The fact that the health of the kinaidos is seriously and incurably threatened by that abominable act is not taken into consideration by this half-mad author. That the goal of procreation becomes degraded by this to an act of the rawest brutality appears not to have occurred to the odd visionary, who since 1866 has been thinking of

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85. This last Greek word is “etymologically mysterious” according to K. J. Dover (1978, 17), but here clearly means the recipient in anal intercourse.

editing a special periodical for the interests of Uranismus. (Kritische Besprechungen 1869)

The same ‘paederastic’ view of Ulrichs’s writings was taken by Friedrich Engels, who wrote to Karl Marx on 22 June 1869:

The *Urning* you sent me is a very curious thing. These are extremely unnatural revelations. The paederasts are beginning to count themselves, and discover that they are a power in the state. Only organisation was lacking, but according to this source it apparently already exists in secret. And since they have such important men in all the old parties and even in the new ones, from Rösing to Schweitzer, they cannot fail to triumph. *Guerre aux cons, paix aus trous-de-cul* [War to the cunts, peace to the assholes] will now be the slogan. It is a bit of luck that we, personally, are too old to have to fear that, when this party wins, we shall have to pay physical tribute to the victors. But the younger generation! Incidentally it is only in Germany that a fellow like this can possibly come forward, convert this smut into a theory, and offer the invitation: *introite* [enter], etc. Unfortunately, he has not yet got up the courage to acknowledge publicly that he is ‘that way,’ and must still operate *coram publico* ‘from the front’, if not ‘going in from the front’ as he once said by mistake. But just wait until the new North German Penal Code recognizes the *drois du cul* [rights of the asshole]; then he will operate quite differently. Then things will go badly enough for poor frontside people like us, with our childish penchant for females. If Schweitzer could be made useful for anything, it would be to wheedle out of this peculiar honourable gentleman the particulars of the paederasts in high and top places, which would certainly not be difficult for him as a brother in spirit. (Marx and Engels 1988, 43: 295–296)<sup>86</sup>

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86. The “Urning” that Marx sent Engels has been identified by the editors of the Marx/Engels *Collected Works* as *Argonauticus* (Marx and Engels 1988, 43: 295), but this cannot be correct, since that booklet was not completed until late September 1869.



Karl Marx



Friedrich Engels

Although the reference to “introite” suggests some knowledge of *Memnon*, the booklet that Engels read must have been *Incubus*, which was completed on 4 May. This is confirmed by several indications, the most important of which is Ulrichs’s unusual “von vorn hinein” [literally, from the front into] for “von vorn herein,” which Engels puns on and which occurs twice in *Incubus* (9, 50).<sup>87</sup> The reference to Johannes Rösing, a merchant in Bremen who was active in the democratic movement in Germany in the 1830s and 1840s, may also be pointed out here, since he was mentioned in *Incubus*, but Engels could well have known about him from other sources. The “personal details” about Schweitzer, of course, were well known and Marx, his political opponent, had already written to Engels on 10 March 1865: “The impudence of Mr Schweitzer, who knows perfectly well that all I need to do is publish his own letters, is fantastic. Though what else can the wretched cur do?... You must arrange for a few jokes about the fellow to reach Siebel, for him to hawk around to the various papers” (Marx and Engels 1988, 42: 120).

That Engels mentioned “introite” does suggest, however, some knowledge, perhaps indirect, of *Memnon*. We know that, as a result of Ulrichs’s sending copies of the first part of *Memnon* to private individuals, there was a lecture on the subject in London in early 1868 at the Anthropological Society; that booklet and the five earlier booklets were

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87. The idiomatic phrase “von vorn herein” means “from the beginning.” That Ulrichs admits he is not “of the front” is clear enough in *Memnon*, but is not apparent in *Incubus*; hence Engels could write that Ulrichs had “not yet got up the courage to acknowledge publicly that he is ‘that way.’”

then added to their library (*Memnon*, 2: 118–119).<sup>88</sup> Marx may have heard of *Memnon* as a result of the lecture; he may even have heard it. At any rate, he remembered the booklet he sent Engels and spoke of it to others, for on 17 December 1869 he wrote to Engels: “Strohn will be returning from here to Bradford, and desires you to return him the *Urnings* or whatever the paederast’s book is called” (Marx and Engels 1988, 43: 403).<sup>89</sup>

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In the meantime, two events took place in 1869, both in Berlin, that occupied Ulrichs’s attention. One was the discussion of a new penal code for the North German Confederation (see chapter 9), which was referred to by Engels in his 22 June 1869 letter. The second was a sensational criminal trial, which was the occasion for Ulrichs’s next booklet, *Incubus* (which, presumably, was the booklet Engels read). Indeed, interest in this booklet was so great that Ulrichs brought out an enlarged edition, *Argonauticus*, near the end of September 1869, only four months after the publication of *Incubus*, the subtitle of which is “Urning-love and blood lust.” The title is explained by the remark:

For certain individuals there is at times a thirsting wild lust to commit a completely aimless atrocity and to see blood flow, a blood lust which, it appears, goes far beyond any responsible emotion, which in the moments when it sets in seems to weigh upon the soul like an incubus arisen from the realm of darkness. (*Incubus*, 49)

According to the testimony at the trial of Carl Ernst Wilhelm von Zastrow, which began on 5 July, on the evening of 17 January 1869, at 8:00, occupants of Grüner Weg 45, Berlin, heard a whimpering and moaning coming from the fourth floor attic of their building. They ran up and found the five-year-old Emil Hanke stiff from the cold, with blood on several places, including his face, which was swollen and had been bitten on the left cheek, and with abrasions on his forehead. His shoes had been taken off, his clothing was partly torn from his body, his shirt was open, a kerchief was wrapped around his

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88. Founded in 1863, the Anthropological Society joined with the earlier Ethnological Society in 1871 to form the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

89. The verb “to return” here suggests that Strohn was the owner of that booklet, but this appears to be a mistranslation of “zuschicken,” the verb used by Marx, which simply means “to send on” (Marx and Engels 1965, 421).

neck, and over his throat strangulation marks ran around the neck, corresponding to the kerchief. There was a blood spot on the floor as big as a hand.



Carl Ernst Wilhelm von Zastrow

That next day the painter and former militia lieutenant Carl Ernst Wilhelm von Zastrow (1821–1877) was arrested. He was later charged with unnatural rape and attempted murder (for Zastrow, see Herzer 1992). The boy was taken to the hospital where, because of his dangerous condition, he was given only a superficial examination on 19 January by Carl Liman, but was examined more thoroughly by him on 27 and 28 January (Casper

1881, 190–191). He found wounds in the anus so great that the boy was unable to hold his excrement. He had also been freshly circumcised. Photos were made of the bite wound on his face (and were later shown to correspond to Zastrow’s teeth—several were missing—by a wax cast exhibited in court).

These findings must have been exaggerated in the newspapers, for Ulrichs reported in *Incubus* and *Argonauticus* that the boy’s testicles had been cut off. At any rate, the public outcry was so great that the place of trial was moved so that the defendant would not have to be driven through the streets, since a lynching was feared. Ulrichs notes that Zastrow was charged “on the basis of various, not specially convincing, grounds of suspicion” (*Argonauticus*, 122), but public opinion was strongly against him, for he was also suspected of, and had been briefly arrested for, the still unsolved rape and murder of a fifteen-year-old baker’s apprentice named Corny two years earlier.

The Zastrow case made headlines for days after he was arrested. The *Berliner Gerichts Zeitung* of 26 January 1869, for example, gave almost its entire front page to him, including his portrait. There was not yet any mention that he was an Urning. But this fact was well known to the police, who had also found a copy of *Memnon* in his library.<sup>90</sup> On questioning he freely admitted that he had adopted Ulrichs’s ideas. All this was reported in the *Börsen-Zeitung* (Berlin) on 20 February (*Argonauticus*, 12). This prompted Ulrichs to write a letter, which was published in that paper on 5 March. In it he denies ever having been in relation with Zastrow, but his main concern is to insist that there is no connection between being an Urning and being a criminal. The editor followed the letter with an assurance that such a conclusion was not intended and even added: “We gladly certify to the author of *Memnon* that his book (which we have before us) is strictly confined within moral limits and overall seeks to stick to only scientific viewpoints.”

By the time of the trial the feeling against Zastrow in Berlin was strong and had produced new words: “Zastrow” for an Urning and “zastrieren” to mean homosexual rape. Ulrichs was told that “I will ‘zastrieren’ you” had become a “regular barracks expression” (*Incubus*, 87). He related the following incident to illustrate the depth of feeling:

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90. Zastrow’s name was also among the 150 Berliners on the list of Urnings confiscated from Ulrichs’s home in Burgdorf in 1867 (*Incubus*, 25).



A town-councilor from Freienwalde, a Dioning, had arrived by train. A tramp, who had probably tried to beg from him unsuccessfully, called after him: “That’s a Zastrow!” In a few minutes a whole mob of Berliners surrounded him with insults. Police officers who hurried there were greeted with a complete story, which had been created out of fantasy. And was he—protected? Oh no! He was arrested under suspicion of having tried to commit a “Zastrow” act! (*Incubus*, 87–88)

Because of the prejudice in Berlin, Zastrow asked to have the trial moved to Brandenburg (Ulrichs: “If ever a request was morally justified, this was it” [*Incubus*, 82]), but the request was denied.

The case also aroused interest since Zastrow was a wealthy member of a noble family—he was related to the General von Zastrow, who visited Ulrichs during his imprisonment in Minden—and moved in a cultured circle that included Prince Georg of Prussia, a grandnephew of King Friedrich Wilhelm III (Hugländer 1914, 53).<sup>91</sup> Also adding interest, especially for Ulrichs, was the fact that three forensic doctors appeared at the trial as expert witnesses: Professors Westphal, Liman, and Skrzeczka.

When the trial began on 5 July, the public was excluded, but the press was well represented. Zastrow was asked above all about his sexual inclinations:

President [City Court Director Delius]: Have you ever had an inclination for the female sex?

Accused: No! I belong to those unfortunates who through some failure in the organization feel no inclination for the female sex. I have also repeatedly spoken to men about this, who then usually treated me coldly and unkindly, so that I stood all alone in the world. (*Vossische Zeitung*, facsimile in Herzer 1988, 4)

Hanke was present, but was unable to identify Zastrow as the man who attacked him. The indictment charged Zastrow with having raped the boy and then attempting to strangle him in an attempt to silence him, assuming:

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91. Prince Georg, too, was described as homosexual by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1922 (Hirschfeld 1986, 96).

a. to anal intercourse “he added mistreatment so as to delight in the torments of his victim”;

b. “von Zastrow’s love of men appears to justify the conclusion that he is the man from whom one could expect the crimes committed on this boy.” (*Argonauticus*, 122)

Zastrow’s defense attorney Holthoff asked for a determination that he was not responsible at the time of the crime, i.e., was temporarily insane, mentioning that his mother and her father had suffered from a monomania. He asked that Professor Dr. Ludwig Meyer, a doctor for the insane in Göttingen, be allowed to testify. The presiding judge asked for opinions from the local trinity: Liman, Skrzeczka, and Westphal. Westphal thought Zastrow needed a longer observation. Liman was of the opinion that one ought to consider the state of Zastrow’s mother and grandfather. To the judge’s direct question, “Are persons with this sexual aberration at all mentally responsible?” Skrzeczka answered, “Mentally ill persons show a heightened sexual drive and also sexual brutality” (*Argonauticus*, 125). On this, the judge, noting that the three experts were in essential agreement, postponed the trial to give them an opportunity for further observation. The request to call Dr. Meyer was rejected.

According to the report in the *Vossische Zeitung*, Ulrichs was twice mentioned in the final phase of the trial:

According to his verbal testimony, the accused belongs to those men who are designated Urnings in a booklet of the junior barrister Ullrich [*sic*]. He counts this class of men to the category of those who have been neglected by nature in some kind of way....

Teacher Richer, who often met with the accused, testified that the accused constantly brought to light a special animosity against the female sex in his conversations. He spoke with great enthusiasm about the brochure of Amtsassessor Ullrichs [*sic*] and declared it to be a masterpiece. (*Vossische Zeitung*, in Herzer 1988, 6, 11)

Ulrichs said that he was not competent to judge whether Zastrow had committed the crime and, in fact, he never commented on the decision, but he made it quite clear that he thought Zastrow did not receive a fair trial. Indeed, the circumstantial evidence presented appears slim: a walking stick that looked like Zastrow's was found near the scene of the crime, a handkerchief with his initials and a spot of blood was produced at the trial. Three unimpeachable witnesses testified that he was in a pastry shop across town thirty minutes before the time of the crime, but police commissioner von Stutterheim countered this by showing that a first-class cab driving at full gallop could cover the distance in a half hour (Hugländer 1914, 49).

Despite the slim evidence, the jury unanimously declared Zastrow guilty. The *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* reported on 31 October 1869: "Yes, the accused is guilty of indecent acts and forcible acts aimed at satisfying his sexual drive with the boy Emil Hanke, and of having thereby brought about severe bodily harm to Hanke.... The question of premeditated attempted murder and insanity was answered in the negative." Zastrow was sentenced on 29 October 1869 to fifteen years in prison, but did not live to complete his sentence.<sup>92</sup> He died in prison of dropsy, in February 1877.<sup>93</sup>

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Ulrichs's concern in discussing the Zastrow case was to examine three questions: (1) Is he responsible for his sexual inclination? (2) Is the action on the child Urning-love? (3) Was the crime committed in a state of diminished responsibility? For Ulrichs, the answer to the first two questions was a definite "no." He thinks the answer to the third question is quite possibly "yes" and he supports this with a quotation from an article of 1864 by Krafft-Ebing:

Let the administration of justice stop shutting the door to the results of science. One should seek to investigate the laws of human emotion and will in a condition of

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92. He was also sentenced to ten years loss of civic rights under police supervision (Hugländer 1914, 52).

93. Manfred Herzer has commented on Zastrow:

The readiness to condemn him in spite of insufficient evidence was apparently fostered through Zastrow's public confession of being an Urning. This confession was felt by public opinion and the alleged healthy sensibility of the people as an unheard-of provocation. Zastrow appears, in fact, to have been altogether the next person after Ulrichs to have publicly acknowledged his love of men. (Herzer 1988, 3)

sickness. Let the results gained be made a measure for judging human acts. Where the ability of free will is hindered by an abnormal psychical process, then that individual is physically not free. (*Argonauticus*, 73–74)

Of course Ulrichs's motive for writing *Argonauticus* was also (deliberately?) misinterpreted. In a note added by him to his own copy later (3 September 1872) he wrote:

I did not defend the terrible deed that took place, did not, as someone reproached me, "put in a lance for it." But I would have thought the two would not be difficult to distinguish: a defense of the deed and a defense of the accused person against injustice before the court that was threatening him.

And further: what harmed us, disastrously harmed us in the eyes of the Dioning world, that is the deed, not my statements on the deed. One should just not mistake one for the other! My statements have, in fact, on the contrary perhaps somewhat mitigated the evil effect of the deed.... The booklet *Argonauticus* at least has in reality decidedly aided our cause, and indeed the most of all my booklets, as it appears. No other has brought me so many followers, Urnings as well as Dionings, as *Argonauticus*. (Korrekturen, 47–48)

Having had three months to observe Zastrow, Professor Dr. Skrzeczka testified in court on 29 October 1869:

The ideas on Urning-love are not those of the accused. He took them from the writings of Assessor Ulrich [*sic*], whose theory of born Urnings suffers a hard blow already from his statement: a Dioning can be uranized, an Urning can be dionized. Thus this theory cannot be applied to the accused. From his whole development it may rather be assumed that he had practiced onanism from earliest childhood and in consequence of the lack of decision and energy of the character of most onanists he does not venture to approach the female sex. (*Prometheus*, 23)

Westphal plainly declared that Zastrow's love of men was inborn; and that was all the good Ulrichs could find in this testimony. Even this began to sour over the years, when Ulrichs had to realize that Westphal could only see this inborn nature as a pathological condition. A decade later he put Westphal at the head of his list of "scientific opponents" (*Critische Pfeile*, 96).

A view similar to that of Skrzeczka was already expressed by Dr. jur. Prager (Berlin) in a letter to Ulrichs on 9 September 1869. While admitting that Urning-love may be in-born for some, he argued:

It is entirely different in this case. The accused, having excessively indulged in women or been weakened by onanism, has thrown himself into the arms of sexual lust for boys or youths. Here the law must be given free rein. (*Prometheus*, 21)

Ulrichs, of course, found it ridiculous to think that overindulgence in women could cause someone to become an Urning. As for Zastrow, he had been ordered to leave Dresden in 1852 because of "disreputable conduct." Ulrichs easily believed Zastrow's explanation: "It was a matter of harmlessly touching a man" (*Argonauticus*, 122). Ulrichs saw here the usual police persecution.

The common belief that masturbation could lead to homosexual activity was countered by Ulrichs with the report of a charming experiment at the State Central Hospital for the Insane in Jacksonville, Illinois. This was reported to him by Dr. Julius Hoffmann who, in 1869, was in Würzburg, but in 1868 had been in charge of a section of that hospital which housed the mentally ill whose sexual drive was affected by their illness, especially masturbators. Never had he observed any homosexual activity; he assured Ulrichs it could also not have happened in secret "due to the strict policing by the management." But this did not stop the inmates from masturbating:

Onanists, who live in isolation outside such an asylum are careful to practice their vice quite secretly, while these, who constantly live together, had their secrecy taken away. If they had felt a sexual longing among themselves, then there was certainly in this point no ground of shame or anxiety for them to hold back. Whoever

did not have the moral courage to control a vice like self-pollution, would hardly restrain himself if he felt a drive for men. We had onanists who were hindered from masturbating for forty-eight hours long by strait jackets and chains, and during this time they were made to go hungry. At the moment they were freed, tasty food was set before them. But what do you think? Instead of even touching it, the first thing they did was to begin anew to satisfy their vice, and this in the presence of others! If someone who could do this had felt an inclination for men, he would hardly have hesitated to give in to this drive openly and freely. (*Prometheus*, 25)

That masturbation does not turn a man into an Urning was also confirmed for Ulrichs by his correspondence with a twenty-eight-year-old officer in Hamburg, who wrote on 9 November 1869 for advice on his problem: he had masturbated since early childhood and now women left him cold. Ulrichs suggested the following experiment to determine if he was an Urning:

I asked him to vividly imagine that he found himself lying in bed with a beautiful youth having a splendid build, and then to ask himself whether such nearness, in particular whether the youth's sexual parts would have an arousing effect on him. He replied: "A man's sexual parts make no impression on me; at most they disgust me." (*Prometheus*, 26)

Ulrichs found this a specific proof that he was not an Urning, adding: "This proves that he has not been uranized by his onanism, and it confirms the observation from Jacksonville." Ulrichs concludes: "Both observations prove that the whole twaddle of Prager, Skrzeczka, and company about the uranizing effect of onanism is simply an offspring of the dream god Phantasmus" (*Prometheus*, 26).

Besides the Zastrow case and a number of other cases of sadism discussed in *Incubus*, Ulrichs also gave examples from both the liberal and conservative press of how gleefully each presented the discovery of an Urning in the other party. He pointed out how Schweitzer's past was raked up again and again, and that he himself was such an example

when the Prussian police found papers dealing with Urning-love in his house in Burgdorf; then the opponents of the Guelph party were delighted (*Incubus*, 13).

Of more consequence for Urnings themselves was the power of extortionists. Ulrichs saw this as one of the worst consequences of antihomosexual laws. In *Incubus* and later writings he gave example after example of their oppressive power. He was outraged at the system that made this possible, a system in which to denounce a blackmailer was simultaneously to denounce oneself.

Although Ulrichs was most concerned to point out the evil consequences of the anti-homosexual laws, he was also aware that even in Bavaria, which had been without such a law since 1813, blackmailers still had power. He related the story of sixty-year-old Valentin, doorkeeper of the Franciscan convent in Würzburg. On 23 March 1869 a twenty-five-year-old man was arrested by the police for begging. He then accused Valentin of seducing him in a room of the convent—and was not a little astonished to learn that, according to Bavarian law, no crime had taken place. But the state attorney, instead of taking no notice of this legal act, made a detailed record and sent it to the convent, whereupon Valentin was immediately dismissed. He turned to Ulrichs for help.

On 31 March Ulrichs went to the Franciscan Guardian, Father Biergans, and pointed out how unfair it was to give a wandering vagabond the power of depriving a decent person of his livelihood in an instant by some unproven statement he may have pulled out of the air. “Will there be the same consequence if some tramp takes it into his head to say the same thing about a priest?” he asked. The only reply he received for his efforts was a shrug of the shoulders and some praise for Valentin, who remained dismissed (*Incubus*, 24). From Ulrichs’s viewpoint, the state attorney had intervened in a completely legal affair in a way that had a prejudicial consequence for a state’s citizen. He therefore persuaded Valentin to lodge a written complaint with the Minister of Justice, who did not even reply (*Argonauticus*, 29).

Many of Ulrichs’s examples were of priests and ministers, including one he described as “a distant cousin,” Superintendent Johannes Diederich Sarnighausen (1818–1901), who was pastor of a church in Göttingen. Sarnighausen’s father was a first cousin of C. F. Ulrichs of Aurich,<sup>94</sup> believed to be our Ulrichs’s uncle. Ulrichs reported that he

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94. Personal communication from Jochen Engling, 14 February 2001.

had been accused of a homosexual act with a soldier. “On the direct intervention of King Georg V, the Minister of Education and Public Worship caused him to quit his position. He went to America” (*Incubus*, 19). According to Ulrichs, this happened “about 1863,” but Sarnighausen’s biographer reported that he left already “in June 1860 with full sails for North America” (Sarnighausen 1999, 121; see also Böker and Engling 2000). He settled in Fort Wayne, Indiana, where he became the publisher of a German-language newspaper and was state senator for many years.

That Ulrichs’s concern extended to all classes is shown by a note on the border of a letter written by him around 1868. The addressee is unknown, but was presumably another Urning:

There is here an unfortunate in need of support, an Urning of the lower classes, a river boatman and day laborer, forty-nine years old from whom his entire suburb has taken work, because he is known in the town as an Urning. He loves the artillery.<sup>95</sup> (HNL, Oct. Germ. 301. Blatt 38)

Here too, as already in 1865 when he drafted the “Bylaws for the Urning Union,” Ulrichs showed concern for the plight of those deprived of their livelihood by social prejudice. But the repeal of the harsh antihomosexual laws, particularly in Prussia, remained at the heart of his cause, and we now return our attention to Berlin, where the Zastrow scandal was not the only event of 1869 to draw Ulrichs’s attention.

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95. Love for the artillery was something Ulrichs could certainly sympathize with!



## Efforts for Legal Reform: 1869

Perhaps of more importance to Ulrichs's than the Zastrow affair was the discussion in Berlin in 1869 of the draft proposal of the new penal code for the North German Confederation.<sup>96</sup> This did not receive such wide publicity, of course, and the discussions were not as open, so it is difficult to know precisely what influences were brought to bear on it. Certainly, however, the Zastrow affair must have had a strong negative effect. As Ulrichs expressed it: "For the opponents of the cause I champion, the Zastrow case was a plum fallen into their laps" (*Argonauticus*, 7).

The debate was over whether the Prussian antihomosexual law, §143, should be retained in the penal code of the North German Confederation (where it received the provisional number §152). The official Prussian press had promised that "in preparing the draft of the North German penal code, those severities, with which the Prussian code has been reproached, are to be eliminated" (Hirschfeld 1914, 961). Ulrichs, after his imprisonment by the Prussians, probably did not trust this statement, though he may have been encouraged by the fact that the Prussian Minister of Justice, Dr. Leonhardt, had previously been Minister of Justice in Hanover.

Leonhardt called on a Deputation for Medical Affairs to give their expert opinion on the subject to him. This was done on 24 March 1869, the document being signed by ten prominent persons, including Rudolf Virchow and C. Skrzeczka (*Gutachten* 1869). Noting that the Higher Court had decided that cases of mutual masturbation did not fall under the current paragraph, they remarked:

With reference to health, only onanism can be considered important, whereas an act imitating coitus between male persons, apart from some local injury that may come about, is essentially just like ordinary coitus in that only through an excess can it be harmful.

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96. A full presentation of the discussion, with a documentation of Ulrichs's contributions and position papers is given by Hutter (1992).

Recalling that the motive given for the current law, namely that “it manifests such a great degeneration and human degradation, and is so dangerous to morality, that it cannot remain unpunished,” the deputation noted that this motive was not in their competence to judge. They concluded:

Accordingly, we are not in a position to bring any reasons why, while other forms of indecency are left out of the penal code, precisely those with animals or between persons of the male sex should be threatened with punishment.<sup>97</sup>

This document was well described by Gisela Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg in 1978:

This expert opinion is in that characteristically arrogant tone for which Virchow was notorious. Although it clears out some old prejudices, it quickly replaces them with the new one of the dreadful harmfulness of onanism (without, of course, giving any proof whatever of it) and it gives the impression even today—if one imagines the situation at that time—of being less convincing than presumptuous.... Its effect was then absolutely negative. (Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1978, 339)

The final report of the Deputation does not mention Ulrichs. Nevertheless, as Jörg Hutter has reported: “The commission was supposed to explicitly address the first petition and two booklets of the jurist Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, which had been ‘most respectfully’ submitted by an official of the Ministry of Justice in October 1868.... In the original draft of the expert opinion there is a crossed out passage that is missing from the later printed version” (Hutter 1992, 200). This passage reads:

We do not feel the need to go into the particulars of the writings of Herr Ulrichs, which were submitted to us for our information, since his deductions lack a scientific basis and the circumstance, whether paederasty depends on an inborn abnormal dis-

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97. In his quotation from this report Ulrichs omitted “with animals or” (*Critische Pfeile*, 26).

position of a person—something he is principally concerned to prove—appears to us completely irrelevant. (facsimile in Hutter 1992, 200)

In fact, Ulrichs wrote five times from Würzburg to the advisory commission of the North German penal code draft or to the Prussian Minister of Justice Leonhardt. The first is dated 30 September 1868. In it he recalls the legal arguments (in legal-length sentences!) that we have already seen, e.g., in *Memnon* (part of which he included with his petition). He writes:

With regard to a special class of sexual acts that up to now have been punished as *delicta carnis* [crimes of the flesh], that is, with regard to the various kinds of expression of that sexual love that I have called uranian, this theory is based in addition on that same inborn natural justification and on the present state of natural science, which, namely, as a first consequence requires the recognition of such natural justification.

By natural science, namely, it is presently recognized that the uranian sexual love is altogether not an unnatural inclination, such as it has been commonly viewed up to now;... that it rather is based on a physical-mental hermaphroditism, expressed in the formula “*anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa*.” (Hutter 1992, 226–228)

After further arguments, Ulrichs then draws the conclusion:

The hermaphrodite is not only a human being: he is also a competent citizen of the constitutional state and as such he may demand, so long as he neither harms the rights of others nor gives public offense, that he too not be punished for the expression of his sexual love. (Hutter 1992, 228)

Ulrichs concludes his letter:

I allow myself to submit, for the whole section on the *delicta carnis*, a draft that is formulated to follow the above principles. (Hutter 1992, 228)

Apparently Ulrichs received no reply to this—or to any of his other petitions. This is hardly surprising, since the commission judged it “completely irrelevant.”



Adolf Leonhardt

Having read in the newspapers that the Federal Commission to Draft a Penal Code had decided to change the law in question, Ulrichs wrote on 4 March 1869 to Minister of Justice Leonhardt asking him to pardon some of those already sentenced under the law. He concludes:

Since a number of such persons are known to me, among them a scientifically educated 71-year-old man (from whom, as I have been informed, in accordance with

the house rules, at twilight even heating and light are taken away), then I would like to ask respectfully: whether the current situation of the convicted persons has any prospect of a well-disposed intercession of Your Excellency with His Majesty for the granting of requests for pardon? (Hutter 1992, 229)

And in a more personal note, apparently accompanying this petition, he addressed Leonhardt directly:

Excellency!

In the year 1852, when I had the honor of being examined by you in the second state's examination, Your Excellency showed me signs of benevolence. May you show me the same today too, and in a serious and truly worthy cause, namely in the case of a representation that I am hereby officially submitting to the Ministry of Justice concerning the pardoning of convicted comrades of my nature. Following the just reached decision pro futuro of the federal commission, I may perhaps have hope for those unfortunates. Excellency! If your predecessor in office gained for himself the doubtful merit of having, through the Prussian Penal Code, transplanted the persecution of inborn nature into Hanover, where it did not exist; then gain for yourself a greater, that of having opened the gates of the prisons to those persecuted for their nature! Let sparkle the tears of gratitude of those given back their freedom. May you excuse this request from me, who, since I left state's service, have made it my life's task to stand up for those unfortunates.

Respectfully

K. Ulrichs

Amtsassessor a.D.

District II, Martinsstr. 2

(Hutter 1992, 230)

That Ulrichs's views were often named in the press and also had some influence there may be seen in the following newspaper clipping from the Berlin *Börsen-Zeitung*, under the rubric "Local and Miscellaneous News" (24 February 1869):

As we hear it, while von Zastrow stubbornly denies the crime that he has been accused of committing, he expatiates openly and fondly on the confession and glorification of his love of men. He has very much made his own the contents of the often-named writings of the former Hanoverian Amtsassessor Ulrichs, in which love of men is derived from organic causes and mental conditions without admitting an “aberration.” These booklets, namely *Memnon*, were also found in his library. Of the greatest interest is further supposed to be the [auto]biography of Zastrow, which has been written by him in great detail. Since we have named Ulrichs, we add a note here that may be of interest, namely that his request to delete § 143 of our penal code, which punishes sodomy—which he persevered in promoting and presented at the Congress of Jurists—has found recognition by those writing the draft of the penal code of the North German Confederation. A provision corresponding to § 143 has not been inserted into the draft of the federal code, since it is, rightly, viewed as superfluous, in that the public interest, as far as it has a claim to protection through the penal authority, finds this sufficiently in the penal provisions that place under severe punishment every violation of modesty that gives offence (that is, takes place before witnesses), as well as indecent acts with children, and finally every force against a person that is directed toward sexual satisfaction.

The commission continued to ask for submissions as late as 19 October 1869 (Kertbeny 2000, 153). Ulrichs took the occasion to send them on 28 November 1869 copies of *Gladius furens* and *Argonauticus*. But already on 7 November the commission had essentially decided to keep the paragraph. According to Jörg Hutter: “The further deliberations of the Reichstag Commission brought only editorial changes. The commission rejected all petitions for the whole penal regulation. Thus the influence of Senator Donandt<sup>98</sup> and the Prussian Minister of Medical Affairs von Mühler was successful” (Hutter 1992, 208).

The draft was published in its then changed form in December. As Manfred Herzer has reported: “The changes touching the punishment of gays consisted only of a new number that was given to the pertinent paragraph. It was now called, in the second draft,

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98. Ferdinand Donandt (1803–1872), representative of Bremen.

§ 173” (Herzer 1990, 39). Despite this apparent conclusion, Ulrichs sent a final petition on 4 May 1870 to Minister of Justice Leonhardt, saying:

I request, in case § 173 is not simply to be deleted, at least the addition: “Under the preceding does not fall a person who commits sexual acts that correspond to the direction of his inborn sexual drive.” (Hutter 1992, 231)

It is no surprise that Kultusminister Heinrich von Mühler (minister for public worship, education, and medical affairs), to whom Leonhardt had sent the deputation’s opinion, replied to Leonhardt on 12 April 1869: “I hold that the motive given for § 143 in the penal code of 14 April 1851 is well founded, even against the opinion of the scientific deputation” (Hirschfeld 1914, 963). According to an official announcement: “In the interest of public morality it appears to him to be altogether inadmissible to allow the absolute punishment to fall” (*Araxes*, 17).

It is difficult to know what went on behind the scenes that led to his decision. In addition to the scientific deputation a number of prominent jurists were also in favor of striking the paragraph. Ulrichs reported a letter of 17 March 1870 from a Berlin university professor, who wrote: “If the paragraph is retained, then the decisive reason for certain influential persons, it appears to me, is this, even if they do not say it out loud: they want to make a concession to orthodox religious tradition” (*Critische Pfeile*, 76). Ulrichs adds (presumably his information came from the same source) that the head of this faction was said to be Frau Adelheid, wife of Kultusminister von Mühler. Some weight is lent to this last supposition by the following description of Mühler:

Those were probably not just rumors in his time (he died on 2 April 1874) that circulated about him, that he was completely henpecked by his wife Adelheid, to whose account was attributed the decision of the museum administration to remove the “Ariadne auf Naxos” from public view because of its nakedness, and to put it in the cellar. (Karsch-Haack 1924, 22)

At any rate, as Jörg Hutter remarked (above), Mühlner's view finally prevailed, and the draft penal code was to keep the old Prussian paragraph. In the end:

The second draft of the North German Penal Code was then debated in the Reichstag from February until May 1870 and after some minor changes—the gay paragraph received now its final number 175—came into force on 31 May 1870. (Herzer 1990, 40)

The motive given therein was:

§152 upholds the punishment set for sodomy and paederasty in the Prussian penal code (§143). For even if the omission of the penal clause can be justified from the standpoint of medicine, as through many grounds taken from theories of penal law, the people's consciousness of right judges these acts not only as vices, but rather as crimes, and the lawmakers must, in the face of this perception of right, justly hesitate to declare actions free of punishment, which in the public opinion fortunately are taken as worthy of punishment. To withdraw from the civil penal code the condemnation of such persons as have sinned in this way against the natural law, and to leave them to the moral law, would undoubtedly be blamed as a legislative mistake, and the draft, therefore, also did not believe it was allowed to follow the procedure of other legislatures. (Hirschfeld 1914, 963)

This last was a reference to the draft of a new penal code for Austria, submitted by Minister of Justice Komers on 26 June 1867, which would repeal the old antihomosexual law. Komers said at that time: "The imperial administration has attentively followed the researches of science. The results of these researches are taken into account in this draft code" (*Memnon*, 1: 48). This was quoted by Ulrichs in the first part of *Memnon*. His optimism had faded, however, before the completion of the second part, for he had to announce there that the earliest possible introduction of the law would be in 1870 (*Memnon*, 2: 123). In September 1869 he was still hopeful (*Argonauticus*, 148), and on 28 November he sent to the Ministry of Justice in Vienna and (as noted above) to the commission



for the draft of the North German penal code in Berlin “petitions for the final granting of justice, for the repeal of the legal punishment of nature, with reference to *Gladius furens* and *Argonauticus*” (*Prometheus*, 72). In January 1870, however, he learned that a parliamentary committee, under the leadership of the new Minister of Justice Dr. Herbst, had rejected Komers’s proposal and the old antihomosexual law was to be kept (*Araxes*, 30). Nor, as has been noted, did his petition to Berlin have any more influence.

The proposed penal code for the North German Confederation hardly had time to take effect before the relationship between France and Germany, which had been smoldering since Bismarck’s publication on 19 March 1867 of secret treaties with the South German states, burst into flames with France’s declaration of war in July 1870. In the subsequent formation of the German Empire (Wilhelm I of Prussia was proclaimed emperor at Versailles on 18 January 1871), its constitution of 16 April 1871 was remodeled from that of the North German Confederation and §175 was taken unchanged from the penal code of the North German Confederation and incorporated into the penal code of 1871 of the German Empire. Under the National Socialists the law was made more strict in 1935. It was retained in this new form by the Federal Republic until 1969, when simple homosexuality between men over twenty-one years of age was excluded from punishment. This age limit was lowered to eighteen in 1973. Following the reunification of Germany, § 175 was finally stricken from the penal code in 1994—though not without a substitute: parliament voted in a new law (§ 182) that established a gender-neutral age of consent of sixteen.

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Ulrichs’s was not the only voice to speak out publicly and vigorously for dropping the Prussian antihomosexual law. Early in 1869 an anonymous pamphlet in the form of an open letter to Minister of Justice Dr. Leonhardt was published with the title: *§143 des Preussischen Strafgesetzbuches vom 14. April 1851 und seine Aufrechterhaltung als §152 im Entwurfe eines Strafgesetzbuches für den Norddeutschen Bund* (§143 of the Prussian penal code of 14 April 1851 and its retention as §152 in the draft of a penal code for the North German Confederation). If the title of this pamphlet did not indicate which side of the controversy its author was on, his second pamphlet later that year left no doubt: *Das Gemeinschädliche des §143 des preussischen Strafgesetzbuches von 14. April 1851 und*

*daher seine nothwendige Tilgung als §152 im Entwurfe eines Strafgesetzbuches für den Norddeutschen Bund* (The general harmfulness of §143 of the Prussian penal code of 14 April 1851 and therefore its necessary cancellation as § 152 in the draft of a penal code for the North German Confederation).

The first of these pamphlets was reprinted in 1905 in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, where Magnus Hirschfeld described it in his introduction as “one of the best works on the homosexual problem” (Hirschfeld 1905, 1). Today the work is primarily remembered for only one word, for it was in this pamphlet that the word “Homosexualität” (homosexuality) was first used. Hirschfeld did not point this out, but did make public for the first time the name of its author: Karl Maria Kertbeny (1824–1882).<sup>99</sup>



Karl Maria Kertbeny

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99. The history of Kertbeny and his coinage has been thoroughly investigated by Manfred Herzer (1985; 2000).

Who was this Karl Maria Kertbeny, who coined “Homosexualität” (homosexuality), today the most common term for the phenomenon, who was one of Ulrichs’s first “comrades,” and who, if briefly and anonymously, spoke out for homosexual rights? For a brief sketch of his life, we turn once again to Herzer:

Kertbeny was born in Vienna on 28 February 1824, the son of the writer Anton Benkert and the painter Charlotte Graf. Two years after his birth his parents moved to [now] Budapest, where the family owned a hotel and led a comfortable petit bourgeois life. The child Karl Maria attended school in Pesth and Erlau, and in 1838 began a bookseller apprenticeship in Raab. As a nineteen-year-old he became a soldier in 1843 and fulfilled his service with the 5th Artillery Regiment, at first in Pesth and then in Dalmatia. The year 1845 must have marked the turning point in his life, when he came into contact with literary circles in Budapest, met Alexander Petöfi among others, and began to be active as a writer himself. On the death of his father in 1846, Kertbeny began his life as a wanderer with an extended trip through Italy and Switzerland. His following life as a traveling writer ended only twenty-two years later when in 1868 he settled in Berlin, living from 1872 in Schöneberg, at that time still a suburb of Berlin. In August 1875 he left Berlin to finally return to Budapest. There he passed the last years of his life, his health apparently shattered, until he died of a stroke on 23 January 1882. (Herzer 1985, 2–3; see also Herzer 2000)<sup>100</sup>

As we have seen, Ulrichs welcomed support for his cause from all quarters. Thus it is surprising to learn that nowhere in his writings did he even mention Kertbeny’s pamphlets. There may have been personal reasons for this later, but at this time he did not know who the author was, and so the reason must be sought in the pamphlets themselves—and it is not hard to find. That Kertbeny felt it necessary to avoid Ulrichs’s terminology and coin his own suggests already a different concept of homosexuality (Urn-ing-love) and hence a different strategy for combating prejudice and the legal code. Herzer points out three differences between Kertbeny and Ulrichs:

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100. The name “Kertbeny”—formed by reversing the syllables of the name “Benkert” and adding a Hungarian ending “y”—was, according to him, legally assumed (Herzer 1985, 3; Herzer 2000, 9–10).

1. Kertbeny fights under anonymity; Ulrichs argues under his own name and in person for his goal of Urning-liberation.

2. Kertbeny repeatedly asserts that he is sexually normal, a true man; Ulrichs calls himself an Urning with thoroughly “feminine” characteristics.

3. Kertbeny several times expressed his aversion to “effeminate” men, whereas Ulrichs accepted on principle the characteristics of Urnings traditionally ascribed to women and incorporated them into his theory as “natural.” (Herzer 1985, 10–11)

Whereas Ulrichs believed that he had found the key to the riddle of love between men, Kertbeny insists:

As much as we pride ourselves that ours is a time when science rules, when no riddle of nature goes unsolved, we must in shame admit precisely in regard to this apparent riddle of nature that scientific research, with a prudery held to only here, has up to now not once come near the subject. (Herzer 1985, 11; Kertbeny 2000, 173)

Kertbeny used Ulrichs’s term “Urning” in July 1869 in a long letter prompted by the Zastrow trial.<sup>101</sup> The letter, which was addressed to an unnamed editor, reveals a harsh view of Ulrichs. It was intended as a private letter; indeed, Kertbeny expressly requested that it not be published. In it he refers to “the homosexual” (or derived terms) five times, but to “Urning” (or derived terms)—always in quotation marks—sixteen times: “which name was invented by one of the most unclear heads from their ranks” (Herzer 1988b, 20). But Kertbeny does not name Ulrichs, only referring to him as “the thoroughly crazy author of *Incubus*” (Herzer 1988b, 23).

Since the pamphlets rejected Ulrichs’s Urning theory, he could not approve them. But since they urged an action, namely repealing the antihomosexual law, that was also a goal of Ulrichs, neither could he reject them. Thus he kept silent about them. Ironically,

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101. According to Manfred Herzer: “It appears to be only a draft. We still do not know if a final version exists or whether it was actually sent.” The letter and other biographical information is in Herzer (1988b); see also Herzer (2000) for biographical information.

Ulrichs was already in correspondence with Kertbeny, without knowing that he was the author of those two pamphlets. This he found out only later; and it was Ulrichs who was the ultimate source of this fact for Hirschfeld. On the death of the writer Carl Robert Egells in 1904, Ferdinand Karsch had come into possession of his correspondence with Ulrichs. In his introduction to the reprint of Kertbeny's first pamphlet, Hirschfeld wrote:

Professor Karsch informs us that the author is identical with the writer K. M. Kertbeny. Karsch is indebted for this information to the writer Karl Egells, who died in December 1904,... and whose informant was Ulrichs. "In one of his last letters to Egells, dated Aquila, 10 May 1884"—we quote from Karsch's lines to us—"Ulrichs wrote: 'Yes, Kertbeny is that anonymous author.' Now, although §143 is not expressly named in this letter, only it can come into question, since Ulrichs relates that Kertbeny did not want to use his (Ulrichs's) terms out of jealousy, but rather his own inventions, such as homosexual for Urning; he says further that for a long time he corresponded with Kertbeny; he also wants to let Egells know how he learned that the author of that anonymous work was none other than Kertbeny, namely by no means from him. (Unfortunately I cannot find this report; perhaps it was left undone.) Only in a later letter of 21 May 1884 to Egells does he directly designate Kertbeny as the author of §143; he says he became acquainted with him in 1864 or 1865, as one of the first 'comrades.'" (Hirschfeld 1905, i–ii)

It is not surprising that Ulrichs and Kertbeny were early in correspondence.<sup>102</sup> Ulrichs pointed out in *Formatrix*:

I find the first mention of my theory in print in *Erinnerungen an Charles Sealsfield* by Kertbeny; Leipzig: Ahn, 1864, p. 74. The renown that echoed from the old and new worlds was drunk in by this secretive man (Sealsfield) in the solitary quiet of his room. He is said to have died still in disguise. The author then inquires after the reason for this disguise. "The foundation of our European life," Kertbeny says, "is overgrown with the clinging vines of old prejudices that allow nothing to exist

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102. In a draft letter of 6 May 1868 Kertbeny mentioned their "four-year correspondence" (Herzer 1987b, 31).

alongside that is not of the same color. But this belongs in the area of the development of our mores and morals, and Numa Numantius's thesis." (*Formatrix*, viii–ix)

Charles Sealsfield was an Austrian novelist. Born Karl Anton Postl on 3 March 1793 in Moravia, he later entered a religious order in Prague and became a priest, but in 1822 he fled to America, where he assumed the name of Charles Sealsfield. He traveled several times between America and Europe, was correspondent for various journals, and wrote novels in both English and German. In 1832 he settled in Switzerland, where he died on his small estate near Solothurn on 26 May 1864. His will first revealed the fact that he was the former monk, Postl.

Kertbeny's mention of the name "Numa Numantius," which was clearly meant to suggest that Sealsfield was homosexual, surely must have prompted Ulrichs to write to Kertbeny, thus leading to their becoming acquainted "in 1864 or 1865," as Ulrichs recalled in his letter to Egells of 21 May 1884. It is not known when or from whom Ulrichs learned that Kertbeny was the anonymous author of the two pamphlets of 1869.

The notebooks of Kertbeny, discovered by Jean-Claude Féray and Manfred Herzer in the Hungarian National Library in Budapest (Féray and Herzer 1990), show that he wrote to Ulrichs as early as 26 January 1865, and received a reply on 10 February with a "portrait of Ulrichs."<sup>103</sup> Kertbeny noted only three more letters to Ulrichs that year, but for 1866 he recorded no less than nineteen letters sent to Ulrichs. He appears not to have recorded most of the correspondence from Ulrichs, and those letters were also apparently destroyed, for only two documents in Ulrichs's handwriting have been found among the Kertbeny papers. One of these is the "Bylaws for the Urning Union," discussed earlier; the other is a fragment of a letter to an unknown addressee and will be discussed below.

Letters to Ulrichs from Kertbeny were probably among the papers confiscated by the Prussian police in 1867. There is among the Kertbeny papers in Budapest, however, the draft of a letter, dated 6 May 1868, which must have been one of the last sent to Ulrichs. In it Kertbeny stated that their common goal was a change in the law and although he at first agreed that a scientific proof of the inborn nature was necessary, he now thought this

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103. This was perhaps the same photograph that was used for the etching published by Hirschfeld in 1899 (*Vier Briefe*, 36).

useless precisely with regard to persuading legislators. In the meantime, however, he said he had

thoroughly exhausted the scientific, anthropological, and historical side of the question, and set it out in a thick manuscript—which you do not yet know, and which is divided into four principal sections: Monosexual, Homosexual, Heterosexual, and Heterogenit. (Herzer 1987b, 33)

Thus the four sections of Kertbeny's manuscript were to treat persons whose sexual acts were directed toward, respectively, themselves, the same sex, the other sex, and another (i.e., nonhuman) kind. Of the terms introduced here by Kertbeny without further explanation, "homosexual" was published for the first time by him in the pamphlet of the following year. "Heterosexual" perhaps first appeared in print in 1880 in the second edition of Gustav Jäger's *Die Entdeckung der Seele* (The Discovery of the Soul) (Herzer 1985, 6; Kertbeny 2000, 231–254).

In the draft letter of 6 May 1868, Kertbeny goes on to say that, prompted by the legal problems of a friend, he had written a set of one hundred theses on the subject, which he sent to the defense attorney, but it was returned with the comment that it could perhaps help change the law, but was not helpful in the case at hand. Kertbeny then showed the hundred theses to several people:

All unanimously gave the judgment that these arguments topped everything; and the jurists only made the remark that it would be very desirable and of a still greater effect, if these theses were revised, re-styled, by a trained juridical pen. Therefore I wrote to Moritz, he was either to seek you to undertake this re-styling, or take them directly to a professional attorney, who would be paid for this. (Herzer 1987b, 35)

We now come to the one other sheet in Ulrichs's hand among the Kertbeny papers. It also contains a few lines in Kertbeny's hand obviously written first and then crossed out before Ulrichs wrote on the sheet. Among them is the sentence: "Read at least the hundred theses and write to me your criticism as an expert, quite freely, for fixed ideas are

not of concern, but rather the matter.” It thus appears that this is part of the letter to Ulrichs that was drafted on 6 May 1868, and that Ulrichs used the sheet for his own further correspondence. The addressee of Ulrichs’s letter is unknown, but there are several indications that it was not Kertbeny, including the statement: “K’s letter, which was supposed to bridge the gap between him and me, has (for the time being at least) entirely failed its purpose.”

If this interpretation is correct, “K’s letter” was probably Kertbeny’s letter mentioning the hundred theses (on this same sheet of paper), and this sheet, which obviously was of interest to Kertbeny, was sent to him by the recipient of Ulrichs’s letter (possibly their mutual acquaintance Moritz). At any rate, Ulrichs’s coolness in this matter may help explain why Kertbeny published the two pamphlets of 1869 without informing Ulrichs that he was their author.

When Hirschfeld reprinted the first of Kertbeny’s pamphlets in 1905, he announced that “Professor Karsch intends to publish the letters of Ulrichs and Egells that have come into his possession” (Hirschfeld 1905, ii), but only excerpts from a few of Ulrichs’s letters were published by Karsch in 1922 (Karsch-Haack 1922b). They indicate that their correspondence began in 1873 and was terminated by Ulrichs in 1884. In a letter of 20/21 December 1873 to Egells, who had apparently encouraged him in his efforts, Ulrichs complained of others, who were not as sympathetic.<sup>104</sup>

It is unbelievable what individual comrades have already done in blaming and finding fault in my booklets. The contents of *Memnon* have been called by them “nothing but cancan,” the contents of the booklets altogether is “sophistry,” the poems are “wretched,” and they say that all my booklets have only harmed our cause, “anyone can write such stuff,” etc. I have jokingly named this variety the “party of grumblers,” “Mops Party,” without exactly wanting to be uncouth. (Karsch-Haack 1922b)

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104. In this quotation we should note that the Low German word “Mops” is related to the Dutch word “mopperen,” to grumble. In High German “Mops” is the name of a breed of dogs, the pug. Ulrichs, of course, is punning on the meaning of the word familiar to him from his childhood in East Friesland. Also the French word “cancan” does not refer to the dance, but means “superfluous noise.”



A few weeks later, in a letter dated 31 January/1 February 1874, he mentioned one of the “grumblers.” Ulrichs does not name him, but the description exactly fits Karl Maria Kertbeny:

In the case of one of the chief “grumblers” the basis is probably an unconscious jealousy. He writes quite well, has indeed a more rhetorical and more flourishing style than I, and is also a poet. To be sure he has never had anything printed, would like to come forward himself in our cause (something, please note, that precisely I would most keenly wish, I mean, that he would do it), but appears not to find the time to prepare his manuscript for the press. This man appears unable to forgive me for the fact that not he, but I have come forward. He will not freely admit this for anything in the world. It may be that he is not entirely clear with himself about this. However, I am on a quite friendly footing with him. He also pays me a yearly Numapenny; he would also otherwise certainly help me and others, where and how he possibly could. (Karsch-Haack 1922b)

If, indeed, as seems most likely, Kertbeny was the man described, then the manuscript mentioned would be his “Sexualitäts-Studien. Psychologische Untersuchungen über Mann und Weib” (Sexuality Studies. Psychological Researches on Man and Woman). Kertbeny listed this 340-page manuscript in a bibliography published in 1874 under the heading “Manuscripts ready for the press,” but in fact it was never printed (Herzer 1985, 21; 2000, 37).

Although linguistic objections to “homosexual” and “heterosexual” as Greek-Latin hybrids continue, the terms have entirely replaced Ulrichs’s linguistically pure “Urning” and “Dioning.” There are at least two reasons for this: (1) The term “Urning” was too intimately bound up with Ulrichs’s theory, i.e., to use the term was to accept the existence of an *anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa*. “Homosexualität” was not given any theoretical construct by Kertbeny. (2) “Urning” was stamped by Ulrichs with a very positive connotation, precisely as a result of his theory. Not being burdened with a theoretical construct, as Herzer has noted:

The emancipatory sense that the word “Homosexualität” doubtless still possessed for Kertbeny could, therefore, be conjured away right off, so that it could finally become the scientific battle cry of all those who were, and are, interested in the suppression and, preferably, also the elimination of homosexuality and the homosexuals. (Herzer 1985, 16)

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If Ulrichs had difficulty getting his earlier booklets reviewed, this was not the case with *Incubus*. He finished writing it on 4 May 1869; there was an article about it within a week in the *Beobachter an der Spree* (Berlin). In June there were also articles in that paper and in the *Tribüne* (Berlin) (*Argonauticus*, 93). He was not entirely pleased with their comments, but the booklet apparently sold well and so gave him the opportunity to prepare an expanded edition, called *Argonauticus*. Ulrichs later told Carl Egells that he was a “very slow worker” (Karsch-Haack 1922b), but thanks to the postponement of the Zastrow trial, he was able to complete the booklet before the case was decided, so that interest in it was probably still high.<sup>105</sup>

In *Incubus* Ulrichs repeated his estimate that one in every five hundred adult males is an Urning, from which he calculated that in Berlin there were about six hundred to nine hundred Urnings. In *Argonauticus* he added the comment: “According to newer observations, which to be sure have not yet been confirmed, this figure is far below the truth. One could assume a figure almost double” (*Argonauticus*, 4). Ulrichs had in the meantime learned that the Berlin police kept an annotated list of more than two thousand Urnings. He rather sardonically adds:

If our two purposes were not somewhat different (approximately like the South and North Poles), then I could perhaps add a few from the coded notes I keep. As my only recognition I would ask for the satisfaction of a small curiosity: Do those lists

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105. By this time his writings had also reached Rome, where they were being investigated by the Congregation of the Index, to determine if they should be placed on the list of forbidden books (*Argonauticus*, 105). Apparently they were not put on the list; they are not in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of 1922 (letter from Margaret H. Harter, The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Indiana University, 19 February 1991).

reach as high as mine? Or do they stop, say, before certain names? (*Argonauticus*, 115–116)<sup>106</sup>

He also learned that the police were considering keeping a list of blackmailers. He knew that this would not help their victims so long as the antihomosexual law was not dropped, but he was still confident that this “is a near prospect” (*Argonauticus*, 117). He therefore urged Urnings to report the names of blackmailers to the police: “Presumably they will be considered, even without a signature, as long as the sender points out his fear of revealing himself as an Urning” (*Argonauticus*, 117).

If the law was not to be dropped, then Ulrichs preferred that it not be enforced. But he was well aware of the selective enforcement of the law by the police. If it were completely enforced, then the results would be so terrible that they would “more strongly than theoretical proof force the cry: ‘Away with this law!’” (*Argonauticus*, 138). This thought was apparently prompted by a line from Ulysses S. Grant’s first inaugural address as President of the United States on 4 March 1869, which Ulrichs quoted: “I know no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution” (*Argonauticus*, 137).

He gives a number of examples of extortion that were reported to him by correspondents, with quotations from newspapers. Several cases took place in the City Park in Vienna (*Argonauticus*, 138), leading the satirical typesetter of *Argonauticus* (probably Ulrichs himself in disguise)<sup>107</sup> to add his own comment, in which he imagines a chorus of blackmailers singing, “O Stadtpark, o Stadtpark, du wunderschöner Park!” (O City Park, O City Park, you very beautiful park!) One of the men arrested there was Karl Forstner, formerly a Jesuit, but then a religious leader of the Unitarian Church in Vienna. Ulrichs first reported his case in *Incubus* and mentioned him in all later booklets of his *Forschungen*. We sketch the case here as an example of one that particularly interested him

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106. In a handwritten note in his own copy of *Argonauticus*, Ulrichs added later: “Do the Berlin police follow Juvenal’s word: ‘Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas’?” (He pardons the ravens, but storms at the doves; Juvenal, *Satires* 2. 63) (Korrekturen, 52).

107. Referring to Ulrichs’s *Apicula Latina*, Wilfried Stroh pointed out a “pretended” note of the typesetter as “characteristic of Ulrichs’s self-critical irony” (Stroh 2000, 87).

and to illustrate Ulrichs's personal involvement and reaction to such cases. In Ulrichs's words (based on the Viennese *Presse* of 24 February 1869):

In Vienna, on the evening of 21 February 1869, the Artilleryman Anton Vogel of the 11th Artillery Regiment presented a gentleman to the police and denounced him for having spoken to him in the City Park around 8:15, inviting him to an immoral action, whereupon he had immediately forced the man to follow him to the police. With some hesitation the gentleman made himself known. It was once more a man of the "religious reform," one who had caused a sensation when he left the Catholic Church, Karl Forstner, the just 25-year-old leader of the "Unitarians" in Vienna. (*Argonauticus*, 19)

Forstner was then released, but an investigation was started. Ulrichs suspects that Vogel had maliciously provoked the incident so as to be able to denounce him.

The Viennese satirical journal *Kikeriki* published a cartoon making fun of the incident on 11 March. Ulrichs comments:

*Kikeriki* would also do well to present one day a picture of the crooked gang of "fleecers," who have taken over the Viennese City Park as their own hunting-ground, so as to carry out their extortion against Urnings with their infamous simulated love, under the umbrella of the old penal code, which has still not been set aside. On 3 February 1868, nevertheless, the Viennese district court sentenced the waiter Joseph Wahli to eight months in prison for having threatened in the City Park to denounce precisely this Forstner for an immoral assault, if he did not pay twenty florins. At Forstner's request he was arrested that time on the spot. He explained in court that one of his comrades had made such attempts often and successfully, namely with young clergymen. (*Argonauticus*, 20–21)

Forstner's own explanation of the latest incident was reported in the *Tageblatt* of 26 February, and repeated by Ulrichs:

The artilleryman joined me in the City Park after he had followed me on foot for a long time. Thinking that he had mistaken me, I spoke to him after he had sat down on a bench directly in front of me. This was in a much frequented part of the park. He began to relate that he had a leave until eleven o'clock (it was just seven o'clock, on a Sunday) and he did not know what to do until then. He had already experienced a number of interesting adventures in the City Park. He was eager to know what this evening would bring. He supposed that I, too, would not have sought out the park without a reason, since it had a reputation in many ways, etc. Since I noticed that he did not know me, I wanted to leave. When he dared to express a reproach against me,... I invited him to make his accusation to my face before his captain or before the police, whereupon he became nasty and agreed to the latter.... Before he came up to me a civilian had called his attention to me; thus it was presumably a coarse baiting or a failed speculation. I have visited the City Park daily for several years and such a case has happened to me twice already. (*Argonauticus*, 22–23)

*Kikeriki* made a joke of these last words, but Ulrichs was more sympathetic:

The cannoneer's words mentioned carry altogether the stamp of inner plausibility. That is entirely the speech of someone who is offering himself, or its imitation by someone who is laying a trap. In this point Vienna and Berlin are as alike as two eggs. I am informed that Vogel is Wahli's cousin. This suggests the possibility of a plot for revenge. The investigating judge has received anonymous letters full of the worst slander against Forstner. (*Argonauticus*, 23)

Forstner's presbytery had suspended him on 4 March, but removed the suspension already on 13 March, a move that Ulrichs could only applaud. This position was reiterated in June, when the Vicar General of the Unitarians, Professor Benisch, declared that he would not ask for Forstner's dismissal, even if he were declared guilty at the trial. (One of the newspapers then advised the Unitarian community to dismiss Benisch in any case.) At the trial, which took place in July 1869, Forstner's defense attorney reported

that Vogel had since twice attempted extortion in the City Park, but Vogel gave his own version of the Forstner case:

As we sat on a bench in the City Park, he began a conversation with me, at first about trivial matters. Later he flattered me; then he embraced and kissed me, touched my genitals with his hand, not, however, exposing them, and said: “You are a handsome young man; I have never seen such a beautifully built young man,” and “To make love with a man is more attractive than with a woman.” This was finally too much for me. For a long time I had the suspicion that he had impure intentions on me. This had become a certainty, so I went with him to the police. To be sure, no one saw anything of this incident. I first caught sight of him on the river bank. There I noticed that he was conspicuously looking at me and was following my steps. I went to a tree to urinate. (*Argonauticus*, 138–139)

Forstner denied this testimony, but Vogel’s final statement told Ulrichs all he needed to know: “That last is the well-known maneuver of enticement to provoke the curious glances of an Urning. Vogel simply acted, therefore, like an unworthy traitor” (*Argonauticus*, 139).

Also testifying against Forstner was a young journeyman mason named Tischer, who changed his testimony, finally asserting that Forstner had undertaken an external sex act on him. In the end Forstner was convicted of two crimes: for “attempted seduction to the crime against nature” (the Vogel case) and for “carrying out the crime against nature” (the Tischer case). Like the Prussian law, the “crime against nature” was, at that time, interpreted to mean anal intercourse. Ulrichs explained:

So, attempted seduction to anal intercourse! When it comes to the goal of the Urning’s sex drive, Dionings are just tapping in the dark. They constantly suspect that anal intercourse is intended. The various acts of external touch are foreign to them. The error would be laughable, if it did not decide the freedom and honor of Urnings. Touching the genitals of a handsome, rosy young man gives pleasure to the Urning all by itself, similar to the way touching the exposed breast of a girl does to

the Dioning. (Here the touched parts were not even exposed.) (*Argonauticus*, 141–142)

Forstner was sentenced to one year in prison, made more severe every fourteen days by a day of fasting and solitary confinement. The *Neue freie Presse* called the sentence “mild.” Ulrichs: “Well, I acknowledge at least the mildness, that the added severities are not, as in the sixteenth century, to consist of pinching with burning tongs” (*Argonauticus*, 141). Forstner appealed his conviction and on 13 August he was acquitted of the completed crime, but the conviction for the attempted seduction was confirmed—with exactly the same sentence as before. Ulrichs commented sarcastically:

So, after such a long practice in handing out punishments, the Austrian judges themselves do not know what their so-called crime against nature actually consists of: whether in external acts alone (the district court) or only in anal intercourse (the higher court). And about 20,000 Austrian citizens are exposed to such legal uncertainty, such a roll of the dice! The higher court also understands a touching of the genitals as an attempt to seduce to anal intercourse. I am not talking about bad will on the part of the judges. They have to make decisions on things they do not understand. But that is all the same to me. I stick to the result: in Austria in 1869 they have given a hard one-year sentence for a touching of genitals to someone following his natural drive. This is witch burning nineteenth-century style. More than that, the touching of genitals by an Urning is punished, whereas anal intercourse by a Dioning is legal. That is a stain on modern Austria. (*Argonauticus*, 142–143)

In the meantime, despite the earlier brave words of Benisch, the Unitarian community was up in arms. Forstner’s life was thoroughly investigated and every young man under the age of twenty was interrogated for similar “assaults.” All denied this except two, who said that he had sometimes stroked their cheeks during instruction for confirmation. Finally the Church Syndic, Dr. Alphons Huber, declared: “Since Forstner’s love-drive is obviously directed towards young men, he is dangerous to the male youth of the community. I therefore ask for his dismissal from office” (*Argonauticus*, 145).

From Ulrichs's viewpoint, Forstner could just as logically ask for Huber's dismissal, for "since his love-drive is obviously directed toward young women, he must be dangerous to the female youth of the community." Ulrichs points out again and again the double standard used against Urnings and the hypocrisy of the Christian solution suggested:

To call after the Urning, "Marry!" is to offer a stone instead of bread. Marriage is simply unnatural for him. (*Argonauticus*, 146)

But now the Forstner case took a new turn, for in the meantime he had escaped from Austria and in September 1869, one month after losing his appeal to the higher court, Forstner showed up in Munich, where he launched a public protest against his conviction. There, early on the morning of 8 November, two Austrian police officials came to his house and forced him to go with them to the municipal court, from which he was only allowed to leave under guard. Afterwards he was transported to Vienna, where he arrived on the evening of 10 November and was handed over to the district court. From there he was sent to prison (*Prometheus*, 51).

This action of the Bavarian court was a hard blow for Ulrichs, who had seen Bavaria as an asylum for Urnings. He had written less than two months earlier (on 27 September) in an appendix to *Argonauticus*:

In case §152 of the North German draft actually comes into force, then I call upon the 12,000 Urnings of North Germany to leave a land that formally stamps our love anew as a crime. To allow oneself no longer to be treated as a criminal will be from now on a matter of honor. (*Argonauticus*, 153)

Word of Forstner's return to Vienna reached Ulrichs on 26 November. Two days later he wrote to the Austrian Ministry of Justice asking for a complete pardon for Forstner. He did not get the full story of the action of the Bavarian court until 2 December; two days later he sent three petitions to Munich: to the Ministry of Justice, to the State Attorney, and to the Ministry of the Exterior. He also prepared two more, for the two houses of parliament, which he sent only on 3 January 1870 at the time they were



scheduled to meet. All five petitions were worded essentially the same. In them Ulrichs pointed out that allowing the extradition of Forstner violated all the relevant laws and treaties of Bavaria and he quoted from the Bavarian penal code of 1813, the German Federation extradition agreement of 1854, and a Bavarian promulgation of 1864, all of which appear to support his position. He therefore asked that the return of Forstner be requested, that those responsible for the extradition be disciplined, that parliament interpellate the government in the matter, and that guarantees be given against future such extraditions (*Prometheus*, 51–54).

This was a very strong document. Ulrichs was, after all, a trained lawyer and his arguments against Forstner's extradition were unanswerable. They were, therefore, simply not answered. Of course the bureaucrats found their own reasons for not answering. The "State Ministry of the Royal House and of the Exterior" sent Ulrichs's letter to the "Royal State Ministry of Justice" on 8 December, which replied on 15 December with a brief note that slandered both Forstner and Ulrichs. About the former: "Karl August Forstner who, as it appears, has illegally conferred upon himself the title of Superintendent of the Unitarian community, whom the extradition request concerns, had for a long time roved about here with no means of subsistence and therefore there was already a question of his expulsion by the police." After an unconvincing argument, the note concluded: "The agreement of the state attorney allows the assumption that the extradition was justified." Finally, about Ulrichs:

The undersigned State Ministry sees itself all the less induced to give any kind of answer to the complaint of the entirely unconcerned K. H. Ulrichs, since the same has already repeatedly and without right set himself up as attorney for persons prosecuted for unnatural lust, and has represented this tendency in a shameless way also in literature. (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, Abt. II: Geheimes Staatsarchiv MA 65693)

In fact, Speaker of the Upper House Eduard von Bomhard, in a report on Ulrichs's complaint, blamed a lack of power of attorney from Forstner (but in his Austrian prison Forstner was not allowed to sign any power of attorney that had as its purpose the ques-

tioning of his extradition). With the usual perfect hindsight, Bomhard informed Ulrichs that, if Forstner had lodged a complaint against his arrest by the Austrian officials, then he would not have been extradited (*Araxes*, 31).

In a letter to Ulrichs of 1 February 1870, the Austrian Minister of Justice Dr. Herbst rejected his request for Forstner's pardon as well as the earlier request for Hofer's pardon (*Araxes*, 30). In a later letter, State Attorney Liszt laconically wrote Ulrichs: "Every Austrian has the same claim to the mercy of the emperor" (*Critische Pfeile*, 72).

There the matter rested; indeed, the whole legal question of extradition became moot in 1872, when the new §175 came into force in Bavaria. Nor did the situation improve in Austria, where the antihomosexual paragraph, whose repeal was proposed in 1867 by the then Minister of Justice Komers, was retained in the new penal code (*Araxes*, 30).

In Vienna, meanwhile, the city commandant had incited and instructed the soldiers to follow Vogel's example—with a tragically ironic outcome by the spring of 1870. Ulrichs tells the story:

Several of the best-looking among them now went on a regular hunt for Urnings. They aimed at setting traps for us, these handsome villains. In order to mercilessly catch and then denounce us, they began charmingly to make eyes at us and with true Siren voice they awakened false hopes with the enticing pretense of granting favors. The result was new scandals. A very respectable young Urning became acquainted with one of them, also a cannoneer, who let himself be treated to drinks several times and then suggested that they visit a bath together. When they met in front of the bath, the young man was arrested on the street, as arranged by the soldier, and taken to the police station, although not an atom of a sexual act had taken place. On the instigation of the commandant an investigation was begun "for attempted seduction to a crime against nature." This went on for months and—for lack of evidence—was then dropped! The whole experience, first the disgraceful betrayal of the villain, then the horrors of the investigation, had, however, shattered his nerves and his spirit. He became depressed! He believed he was surrounded by spies and persecutors everywhere. Finally he threw himself into the arms of the clergy. They declared him "possessed." Through prayers, fasting, and sprinkling with holy water they happily suc-

ceeded in driving out the evil spirit (his inborn love-drive). Now he is held up as a shining example of a converted sinner and is exhibited for the edification of pious souls. O you threefold martyr! You victim of treason, of pious persecution for conscience, and, as a precondition of all, of a wicked legal paragraph! (*Araxes*, 25–26)

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In addition to the case of Karl Forstner, *Argonauticus* also discussed several similar cases, but the cases of sadism, the Zastrow case in particular, were of central interest. Ulrichs set his goal at the beginning of the booklet:

My task of touching on such a subject is truly a thankless one. Would it not be more advisable to keep silent? But for the opponents of the cause I champion, the Zastrow case was a plum fallen into their laps. They have indeed already been busy making capital of it against the rights of Urning nature, which is not understood by them, which the command of inherited ignorance has stamped up to now as unnatural. It was worth putting a stop to their practices. (*Argonauticus*, 7–8)

He goes on to list the various ways in which Urnings had been condemned: with prison, with loss of honor, driven to suicide, etc. And no one protested:

The Urnings let all that happen to Urnings in silence. Frightened by the terrorism of public opinion, they crept into their hiding-places, from which they watched the spectacle develop, culpably cowardly, if already pulling out their hair in despair. And yet they could have furnished enlightenment, for which perhaps even the judge, probably the lawmaker of the time, at any rate science would have been grateful.... It is precisely in cases of atrocity that the danger of keeping silent is greatest. For me it is worth showing that this terrorism is nothing but a frightening ghost, that this disgraceful time has been overcome. And thus this booklet, by its very existence, shows how far we have come. (*Argonauticus*, 8–9)

Ulrichs returned to this concept of terrorism near the end of *Argonauticus* where, in a series of rhetorical questions, he asks:

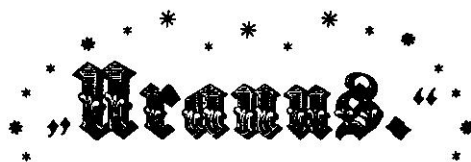
Is it his fault that the body of a youth is the most splendid work of all creation? Does not every human being, every living being around us have its own love-drive?... Who gives you the right to demand precisely of him the absolute and life-long struggle against nature?... To force it on him with an unnatural force and raw terrorism, with the threat and imposition of penal sentences and by making him a social outcast? (*Argonauticus*, 149–150)

The booklet concludes, however, on a note of optimistic serenity. There Ulrichs explains its title by recalling the Greek myth of Jason in search of the Golden Fleece:

I steer through the sea, an Argonaut, to far miraculous shores, where my Golden Fleece gleams under palm and myrtle. Why do you tarry, my Argo? Give wings to your keel, certain of your goal. I thirst to see the land of my deliverance, the land of my longing, my Colchis! to grasp in the grove of righteousness the Golden Fleece of freedom! (*Argonauticus*, 151)



Jason taking the Golden Fleece from a tree  
(Detail from a red-figured vase, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)



Beiträge  
zur  
Erforschung des Naturrathsels des Uranismus  
und zur Erörterung  
der sittlichen und gesellschaftlichen Interessen des  
Uringthums.

Von

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs,

Privatgelehrtem, Königl. hannov. Amtsassessor a. D., Verfasser der zu Göttingen und Berlin  
academischer Presse für würdig erkannten Schriften „de foro reconventionis“ und „de pace  
Westphalica“, sowie der Schriften über Uringeliebe „Memnon“ und „Argonauticus.“

I.

Januarheft 1870:

„Prometheus.“

Ruma Numantius Buch X.



Leipzig,  
Gerbe'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.  
1870.

## The First Homosexual Magazine: 1870

With the apparent interest in his writings high, Ulrichs felt that the time was ripe to launch the Urning periodical that he had planned since 1866. The first of the monthly issues was completed in December 1869 and published in January 1870. The title of the periodical was : “Uranus. Beiträge zur Erforschung des Naturrätshels des Uranismus und zur Erörterung der sittlichen and gesellschaftlichen Interessen des Urningthums” (Uranus. Contributions to the investigation of the riddle of nature Uranismus and to the discussion of the moral and social interests of Urningthum). The title page also indicated that this was the January 1870 issue: “Prometheus. Numa Numantius Book X.” By the time this was printed, however, the publisher had suspended plans for continued publication of the periodical, so that a second title page was printed, with the instruction to substitute it for the original title page when binding the booklet. This new page replaced “Uranus” in the title with “Prometheus.”

In a separate explanation, the publisher (Serbe'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig) expressed regret over being unable to continue the periodical. Subscribers who had already paid the prepublication price of one taler for the first quarter were promised copies of Ulrichs's next two works instead, but since none of his later writings were published by Serbe, they must have been disappointed. The publisher also promised to announce as soon as possible when the periodical could be properly begun and hoped this announcement could be made within the quarter. In fact, the periodical was never continued. Ulrichs explained to Egells in December 1873 that this was “from a lack of subscribers” (Karsch-Haack 1922b). But in the fall of 1869 it must have appeared to him that there would certainly be enough interest to launch the new enterprise.

In the introduction to “Uranus” Ulrichs gave two reasons for starting the periodical: (1) the “rising degree of interest” in Urning-love and (2) “the swell of material, which in rich abundance flowed in to me from almost half of Europe” (*Prometheus*, 5). He gave as evidence of the increasing interest the fact that *Incubus* had an expanded edition after only four months, whereas his earlier writings “had to be kept in storage for years” (*Pro-*

*metheus*, 5). He failed to see that the interest in *Incubus* was probably due more to the sensationalism of the Zastrow case than to a genuine interest in Urning-love.

The rich abundance of material, which, Ulrichs said, “truly does not deserve to be withheld from science,” must indeed have appeared overwhelming to him. In his groundbreaking article of 1852, Casper reported on “what my investigation of individuals in not less than sixty cases of rape and in eleven (!) of paederasty have taught me, a certainly shocking contingent, such as only very large cities can furnish, which are seats of the bitterest poverty, with its sad consequences, and of the most refined luxury with its most unnatural aberrations” (Casper 1852, 22). Ulrichs, too, in his letter of 12 December 1862 to his uncle, had supported his argument that Urnings feel love only for men by saying that every Urning in Frankfurt he had asked about this agreed: he had asked six. Were Casper still alive (he died in 1864) he would probably no longer have thought eleven a large number of cases. By then further cases had been reported in his *Vierteljahrsschrift für gerichtliche und öffentliche Medicin* (Quarterly Journal for Forensic and Public Medicine) and in Westphal’s new *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten* (Archive for Psychiatry and Nervous Diseases).

By now, however, Ulrichs must have accumulated more cases than had been published in both of those two sources. Furthermore, something not reflected in the “scientific” publications, his were cases of healthy Urnings, whose problems came from outside themselves—and when they were interior, came not only from the pressure of hostile laws and public opinion, but increasingly from the medical establishment. This shift from viewing paederasty as a legal problem (Casper) to seeing the “paederastic” condition as a medical problem was reflected precisely in the founding of Westphal’s journal and his coining in 1869 of the expression “die conträre Sexualempfindung” (the contrary sexual feeling) for this phenomenon. Indeed, Westphal literally defined it as a sickness: “an in-born inversion of the sexual feeling with the consciousness of the pathological condition of this phenomenon” (Westphal 1869, 73).

Ulrichs had tried to persuade scientists that the Urning’s nature was inborn. This much was granted by Westphal, but it was a Pyrrhic victory for Ulrichs. Not only did Westphal define the condition as a sickness, but at the same time he also imposed the classic double bind of psychiatry, namely that if such a person does not admit his sick-

ness, then he is even worse off than one who does.<sup>108</sup> Ulrichs probably had this in mind when he wrote that among the other goals of his periodical, “not the least will be to bring a counteracting enrichment to the inner condition of Urningthum, which a disgraceful thousand-year oppression has unnerved, dishonored, and demoralized” (*Prometheus*, 6).

One of the ways to counteract this interior oppression is to show that the individual is not alone, to exhibit historical Urnings who have shared his feelings. Thus Ulrichs announced several biographical sketches for the first three issues of “Uranus”; only that of Henri III of France, however, was included in *Prometheus*.

As usual, Ulrichs also included classic passages that he interpreted as referring to Urnings. The title of the booklet is explained, for example, by a long quotation from the *Fabulae Aesopiae* of Phaedrus, a Roman fabulist of the early 1st century A.D. Ulrichs quotes from Book 4, Fable 14, which represents Prometheus as “creating nature,” who, by mistake, gave male sexual parts to some women and female sexual parts to some men, thus creating Urnings (*Prometheus*, 18).

There is no systematic discussion of his theory in *Prometheus*, but Ulrichs does try to answer specific objections, for example, to marriage for Urnings. He begins by pointing out that, because of social pressure and being kept in ignorance of their own nature, many Urnings have married women. He describes the pain such marriages cause, calling them “martyr-marriages” (*Prometheus*, 33). Under certain conditions, however, he approves of a marriage of convenience between an Urning and a woman. These conditions are: (1) the Urning is fully aware of his nature and freely agrees to the marriage, (2) the woman is fully informed of his Urning nature, and (3) the marriage is for the sake of progeny (or family happiness in general), or the Urning consciously gives himself to a woman who truly loves him. This last motive, of course, sets the stage for the argument in favor of the marriage of an Urning and a Dioning, which Ulrichs sees as a strictly parallel marriage of convenience. It is interesting to note, however, that whereas he had earlier considered only this type of marriage for an Urning, he now mentions first the possible marriage of two Urnings.

It is notable that he now argues in a more aggressive way. He supposes his opponents to say: “To join two Urnings or Urning and Dioning in marriage would just not be

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108. He also hinted this of Ulrichs (Westphal 1869, 97).



easily possible” (*Prometheus*, 33). Ulrichs answers: “But why not, then?... What stands in the way? I ask once again: Why not?” He demands: “The Church must create for the Urning, as well as for the Urnigin and the hermaphrodite, a form under which they can fulfill their sexual nature without sin” (*Prometheus*, 33).

As for the sexual acts allowed in such a “marriage,” Ulrichs does not hesitate to include anal intercourse (though Hirschfeld apparently wished he had not, for the following passage was omitted from the 1898 edition of the *Forschungen*):

Nor is any objection to be derived from the variant form of bringing the vessels into play. My God! just what is this play of vessels?<sup>109</sup> Certainly, it is an unaesthetic act. But so is it in Dioning love. And thus it is no more and no less than the fulfillment of a law of nature, than the satisfaction of a natural need. For this reason it is not at all a matter of a more or less unaesthetic form. There are indeed daily natural needs, whose satisfaction is in the highest degree unaesthetic, without thereby being indecent or a breaking of the moral law. (*Prometheus*, 35)

Ulrichs then lists a number of recent suicides, which might not have occurred if marriage between Urnings were allowed:

Those bloody human sacrifices would have been spared, which the madness of the nineteenth century has brought to its bloodthirsty idol “folk hate,” which is now euphemistically named “consciousness of right”—one should rather call it “Iztizalcoa” and cast it in bronze with seven dragon heads. (*Prometheus*, 39)<sup>110</sup>

Ulrichs goes so far as to say that if the Catholic Church were to allow such marriages today, then: “tomorrow I would urge my comrades in nature to change over en masse. I

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109. Ulrichs may have taken the phrase “play of vessels” from Hössli, who used it in speaking of “the play of vessels, through which the world subsists” (Hössli 1996, 1: 149).

110. Iztizalcoa appears to be Ulrichs’s invention, possibly suggested by Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec war god.

myself would be the first by this change to grasp possession of the human right that has so unjustly been withheld from us" (*Prometheus*, 41).

Although Ulrichs often used very personal language, as in the quotation just given, certainly by now he saw himself as the leader of a genuine movement. Since, however, he was its sole public spokesman, it is not clear to what extent he expressed the views of others who, in one way or another, associated themselves with him. Ulrichs, at least, felt the necessity for the movement to take a position regarding other oppressed groups, not just Urnings; and he not unexpectedly had a mistrustful view of the liberalism prevailing in Prussia. This is reflected in the following passage:

The oppressed and abused recognize no right of oppression by naked force, nor a right of abuse. Therefore our position is everywhere on the side of the oppressed and abused, whether he is called Pole, Hanoverian, Jew, Catholic, or is an innocent creature who is "disreputable" to people for being so immoral as to be born outside of wedlock, just as we were so immoral as to be born with an Urning nature, or who is a poor "fallen woman," whom the highly moral barbarism of the nineteenth century drives to acts of despair, child murder, abortion, or even to suicide. We who know what it means to be oppressed and martyred, we can from the heart take the side of those whom we see in a similar position....

We fight against the arrogance of despotic majorities. Therefore we despise by all means the prevailing liberalism, which is hollower than empty nuts, which instead of bread offers us stones, which demands freedom only for the majority, who are already at the helm, but who, as soon as it is a question of an oppressed minority which is not to their taste, never and nowhere stand up for freedom; which endlessly falsifies it through its inherent despotism, which without blushing daily scorns human rights and tramples on human dignity. (*Prometheus*, 9–10)

Those are strong words; still, Hirschfeld included them in his later edition of the *Forschungen*. But he apparently thought Ulrichs's further comment too strong for Berlin in 1898:

Never can we go along with despots, who adorn themselves with a name they have appropriated by theft. To do otherwise would mean being untrue to ourselves. Let us beware of expecting our salvation from whitewashed despots. (*Prometheus*, 10)

Nor, Ulrichs points out, will salvation come from the “old school” of scientists, who only accept a result of new research if it regurgitates the prevailing doctrine, “like a ruminant chewing its cud” (*Prometheus*, 10). As examples of the latter, he mentions Virchow and Skrzeczka in Berlin, and Geigel in Würzburg, adding: “by the way, all of them, as I have been told, belong to the Liberal Party” (*Prometheus*, 11). (This, too, was omitted by Hirschfeld.) In contrast, Ulrichs also listed by name twenty non-Urnings, mostly jurists and medical doctors, who were in favor of repealing the antihomosexual law.

Other names mentioned by Ulrichs in *Prometheus* were those of blackmailers who had come to his attention—and he asked readers to send him others to publish: “Once and for all I ask for the names of fleecers and informers” (*Prometheus*, 74). He described several cases of extortion and promised more for the next issue of “Uranus,” including the “letter of a Berlin fleecer, whom I was able to hinder just in time” (*Prometheus*, 60).

To show the wide interest in Urning-love, Ulrichs lists cities from Moscow to New York, where copies of his booklets had been ordered. He also notes what a daily satisfaction it was for him to be in contact “with a widely scattered group of honorable comrades in nature who, since 1864, the time my writings first appeared, have joined with me in a close circle and whose number grows almost from week to week” (*Prometheus*, 71). He points out that they come from all classes and all occupations, and here he speaks directly to readers who are also Urnings:

My friends, may this knowledge of comrades offer you a security, which will protect you from that spiritual impoverishment. And may it be for you a power to strengthen your conviction, amid the anathemas that you, too, will perhaps not escape. (*Prometheus*, 71–72)

Unfortunately, Ulrichs also had to report opposition and apathy from fellow Urnings, particularly with regard to money. In an appendix to *Argonauticus* he wrote:

I wish to establish a relief fund for Urnings, who have undeservedly been persecuted and robbed of their living, and if possible to offer them a refuge. I ask for contributions for this. The happiness of so many lives among us has been threatened or already crushed, there is so much fear and need, so many sleepless, watchful nights! Often I would at least like to be able to step in to alleviate, even protect, if I were not left to do it in such a drop-by-drop way as heretofore. Let yourselves be shaken from your lazy composure. Do you not recognize an obligation of honor? (*Argonauticus*, 152)

Now in *Prometheus* he complained:

The greater mass of Urnings, particularly in cities like Vienna, Berlin, Moscow, Paris, and London, unfortunately show little understanding for the efforts that have been made to gain freedom, justice, and a position in human society for Urnings, and at the same time to ennoble their own inner condition. They think it more important to be taken for a lady at a masked ball and be courted by fooled Dionings. (*Prometheus*, 71)

Still, some money was coming in and he promised to give an accounting of it in the next issue of "Uranus." He reported that the total amount from 1 November 1867 to 1 January 1870 was 549 talers, or about 960 florins (*Prometheus*, 72). In *Memnon* he reported that he had received just over 411 florins in the previous half year; thus in the following year and a half he received about 549 florins. The money "is used for common purposes" (*Prometheus*, 72).

That Ulrichs had in individual cases already achieved one of the goals of the new periodical, namely raising the consciousness of Urnings, is illustrated by a letter from a twenty-five-year-old Urning in Vienna, dated 21 October 1869:

Thanks pour out to you from the hearts of those unfortunates, whom you have raised in their consciousness, whom you have rescued from the abyss of self-contempt.... The poor person who feels this fateful drive within himself, under the ban of world opinion up till now, had to consider himself a trespasser of the laws of nature. Under this frightful consciousness all the energy of his soul was crippled. He has you to thank, if now, like awakening from a nightmare, he can breathe again. You have given him back his self-respect! (*Prometheus*, 75)

In Holland the anonymous author of a letter to the *Geneeskundige Courant* in 1870 said that he was an Urning and gave an invitation to a discussion of Ulrichs's works: "Ulrichs, the noble and true hero, the profound scholar, the clear thinker, has set an example; the ice is broken" (Lieshout 1982, 24).

Although the project could not be continued, so that *Prometheus* was the only issue of the planned periodical "Uranus," nevertheless it is noteworthy as the first attempt to found a journal directed to the betterment and enrichment of the lives of homosexuals. The next such attempt would not be made until after Ulrichs's death a quarter of a century later. In Berlin in 1898 Adolf Brand's journal *Der Eigene*, which had begun two years earlier as an anarchist journal in the individualist tradition of Max Stirner (reflected in its title: der Eigene = the self-owner), was transformed into a deliberately homosexual journal. It continued, if irregularly (due in part to adverse police actions), until 1932, making it the first successful homosexual journal (Oosterhuis 1991, 3).

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Instead of working on further issues of the periodical, Ulrichs prepared another brief booklet addressed: "To the Legislatures of North Germany and Austria." Since their respective commissions had drafted penal codes that retained the antihomosexual laws, he thus appealed directly to the legislatures. *Araxes* was completed on 24 March 1870 (exactly one year after the date of the report of the Royal Prussian Scientific Deputation for Medical Affairs) and is subtitled: "Ruf nach Befreiung der Urningnatur vom Strafgesetz" (A call to free Urning nature from the penal code). The catch title is explained by a Latin motto, which may be translated: "For nature was outraged by the chains placed on her,

and after she had shaken off the yoke, she broke her bonds: just like the unsuccessfully tamed Araxes disdaining to bear the bridge” (*Araxes*, 3).

Ulrichs is recalling here the fact that Alexander the Great built a bridge over the Araxes river (today Aras) in Armenia. The river later tore the bridge away. The motto was presumably Ulrichs’s own composition, although the last phrase, “pontem indignatus Araxes,” is taken, in another context, from Vergil (*Aeneid* 8.728).

In *Araxes* Ulrichs expresses his own outrage over the retention of the antihomosexual law in the draft penal codes, and especially over the North German motive, “the people’s consciousness of right”:

But, gentlemen, this would be just a rather transparently veiled Lynch justice!  
But what am I saying? Lynch justice only takes over in isolated cases: this would be Lynch legislation! (*Araxes*, 7)

According to Ulrichs, the “people’s consciousness of right” is worthless because it is based on four gross errors (*Araxes*, 9–11):

1. that the Urning originally loved women,
2. that the Urning must be a depraved person,
3. that among the various love acts of Urnings, there is one that is the final goal of Urning love, which act causes various diseases, and
4. that the Urning is especially dangerous to children.

Ulrichs denies all of these, of course, pointing out with regard to the last that “the Urning is not a hair’s breadth more dangerous to the immature boy than the true man is to the immature girl” (*Araxes*, 11).

He mentions the list of twenty non-Urnings he had given in *Prometheus*, who were in favor of repealing the antihomosexual law, and he now adds a few more. He quotes, for example, from letters of 17 and 23 February 1870 from the Swiss cultural historian Otto Henne-Am Rhyn:

I am more and more convinced of the correctness of your views.... Your efforts for the repeal of the punishment appear to me to be well founded. If it should happen that I could do something for it, I would.... I am convinced that Urning-love is in-born, a natural characteristic of certain persons. (*Araxes*, 14)

In his *Kulturgeschichte der neuesten Zeit* (1872), Henne-Am Rhyn gave five pages to a discussion of Ulrichs's views. While continuing to agree that the law is wrong, he found Ulrichs's "anima muliebris" unconvincing and quite astutely pointed out the circularity of Ulrichs's argument. But he takes Ulrichs's writings seriously, in contrast to Geigel's *Paradoxon der Venus Urania*, which, he wrote: "proceeds without any scientific criticism and without more ado quite incorrectly throws Uranismus together with *paiderastia*" (Henne-Am Rhyn 1872, 154).

Happily, Ulrichs did not live to see Henne-Am Rhyn's apostasy. A quarter of a century later, apparently under the influence of the Morel/Krafft-Ebing doctrine of degeneration, he gave Ulrichs only one paragraph in his *Kulturgeschichte der jüngsten Zeit* (1897) in a section on "The degeneration of the sexual drive." It concludes: "Ulrichs's theory probably found little or no approval outside of this circle of perversely loving persons and may be regarded as forgotten around 1880 to 1886" (Henne-Am Rhyn 1897, 200).

This latter date is, of course, that of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia sexualis*, which Henne-Am Rhyn then mentions. He goes on: "Let us remain here with the scientific conception. Prof. v. Krafft-Ebing attributes the phenomenon ... to a 'degenerative disposition'" (Henne-Am Rhyn 1897, 200). And he concludes: "It is just a question of a degeneration, whether inherited or not, which is not only one such of our time, but rather is one that is as old as humanity" (Henne-Am Rhyn 1897, 202).

In *Araxes* Ulrichs once again vividly describes some obvious evils of the antihomosexual law, such as suicide and extortion, and he traces the recent history of such laws in Germany. He points out that in the 1840s there were eleven countries and regions of Germany which had no such law. Since then, under the influence of Prussia, this number had shrunk. With its penal code of 1851, the Prussian law was extended to its Rhine territory, then in 1867 to the countries and regions occupied in 1866. By the spring of 1870,

only five regions were left—Bavaria, Württemberg, Luxemburg, Limburg, and Braunschweig—and the last was about to accept the North German draft penal code.

Ulrichs was most concerned about Bavaria, which he called “the oldest asylum for Urning nature in Germany” (*Araxes*, 30). Bavaria had been without such a law since 1813, but now there was talk of accepting the Prussian law for the sake of legal uniformity. Ulrichs urges Bavaria to resist, and apparently expected it to do so:

Whereas Braunschweig, the last island in the North, is being defenselessly sacrificed to the waves washing it away, Bavaria may yet continue, thanks to destiny, to offer an asylum in the heart of Germany to persecuted nature, a place of refuge, where a martyred and hunted human being can breathe, where the persecution’s hangmen stretch out their hand in vain. (*Araxes*, 30)

Alas, Bavaria was not to remain a refuge for long, for on 1 January 1872 the antihomosexual §175 of the penal code of the German Empire came into force there (*Critische Pfeile*, 49). This law was also extended to Württemberg (but not to Luxemburg or Limburg), which also joined the German Empire in 1871.

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In his first booklet, *Vindex* (1864), Ulrichs wrote: “It was given to the two previous centuries to abolish the persecution of heresy and witchcraft. The abolition of persecution of love between men is reserved for our century, yes, hopefully, for our decade” (*Vindex*, 35). By now that optimism had faded. But he ended *Araxes* on a similar note of hope:

The preceding century brought two ideas to maturity and victory: the abolishing of torture and the casting out of witchcraft from the list of crimes. The present one will bring two more to maturity and irresistibly to victory: the abolishing of the death penalty and the freeing of Urning love from the penal code. The spirit of humanity, which strives for truth, wills it. (*Araxes*, 40)



## Final Efforts for the Urning Cause: 1871–1879

Whatever hopes Ulrichs may have had for the immediate influence of *Araxes* must have faded as 1870 wore on. The tension between France and Prussia, which had been smoldering for years, burst into war. The French army suffered defeats in August and September; an armistice was signed at the end of January 1871. In the meantime, both Württemberg and Bavaria had made alliance treaties with the North German Confederation in November, and on 18 January 1871, Wilhelm I, king of Prussia was proclaimed German emperor in the great hall of the palace of Versailles. By the treaty of 23 November 1870 (ratified by the Bavarian houses of parliament on 21 January 1871), Bavaria became an integral part of the new German empire. The North German Penal Code was now valid throughout the empire, and §175 came into force on 1 January 1872.

By then Ulrichs had moved from Würzburg in Bavaria to Stuttgart, capital of the Kingdom of Württemberg. The reason for the move is not clear. It could not have been to escape §175, for that was also extended to Württemberg. Still, it may have been due in part to his deep disappointment over Bavaria. Seven years later he expressed his feeling, making no mention of Württemberg:

The penal code of Bavaria from 1813 until 1872 was imposing. Inside Germany it was a rare protective shield of legal security and of personal freedom. I still cannot get over the fact that it was sacrificed. You will find this understandable. One thing I have not learned and one not forgotten. From the further transplantation of the paragraph I have not learned that the punishment of Urning-love is justified, and I have not forgotten that lost protective shield. Something like that is not so easy to forget. It is a feeling as if you had been robbed of your homeland and your home was destroyed. (*Critische Pfeile*, 78)

Whatever the reason for the move, it appears that Ulrichs was settled in Stuttgart sometime before 30 April 1871, when, in an epigram, written on that date in Stuttgart, he

mentioned breaking the spout of his coffee pot—which then matched his milk pot (*Apicula Latina*, 36). This agrees with his recollection in 1891, at the time of the death of King Karl I of Württemberg: “I lived under his scepter for ten years. Thus I myself know that the love of the people always attended this excellent king” (*Alaudae*, 201).<sup>111</sup> Since Ulrichs left Germany in 1880, he was probably in Stuttgart by the end of 1870.

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After completing *Araxes* Ulrichs sent copies to several influential people. He later reported that, as a result, he received letters favoring the repeal of the antihomosexual law from Dr. jur. Karl Dostal, court attorney in Vienna (on 1 July 1870),<sup>112</sup> and from Alexis von Simon, vice president of the Hungarian Congress of Jurists (on 6 November 1870) (*Critische Pfeile*, 94). In the following period, however, Ulrichs seems to have ceased such public activity and it was not until the end of the decade that he once again published a booklet—his last—on the subject.

In the meantime, earning a living must have been a more immediate concern. In 1873 a correspondence was begun between Ulrichs and Carl Robert Egells (1843–1904), and on 14 December 1873 Ulrichs wrote:

In one personal point you and I are unfortunately fellow sufferers. I am barely getting by. The well-off comrades scarcely put me in a position to continue working for our cause, so that I must dissipate my time in earning a living and, as a consequence, nothing more has been published by me since Book XI (*Araxes*, March 1870). (Karsch-Haack 1922b)

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111. There is no indication that Ulrichs knew of the king’s homosexuality. This came to public attention in 1888 through an article in the Munich newspaper *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, but was “long since the talk of the town in Stuttgart” (Dworek 1988, 7). When Ulrichs arrived in Stuttgart the king’s favorite was Wilhelm von Spitzemberg (1825–1888), whose sister-in-law noted in her diary on 12 August 1869: “(Wilhelm) literally lies the whole day in the arms of the king, to whom he is indispensable” (quoted in Dworek 1988, 5). But it was the king’s friendship with three Americans that led in the 1880s to a scandal. According to Magnus Hirschfeld, the scandal ended “with the king being forced to remove several young Americans from his presence and from the court” (Hirschfeld 1986, 88).

112. Ulrichs had already been in contact with Dostal in 1868, when he wrote to ask him for information on an Urning Dostal was defending for murdering his wife (*Memnon*, 2: xii).

Dr. med. Iwan Bloch (1872–1922) wrote in 1902 that “Ulrichs’s writings, which teem with obscene details, are in the hands of all Urnings” (Block 1902, 198). Hirschfeld later corrected this remark:

It is a completely false assumption, that the writings of Ulrichs are “in the hands of all Urnings.” How well-off Ulrichs would have been if only the hundredth part of this assertion fitted the poor Ulrichs, who a few years before his death still bitterly complained that the writings, which he had printed at his own expense, had reduced him “to beggary.” (Hirschfeld 1914, 338)

Ulrichs had expressed this complaint, when he was already living in Italy, in a 6 February 1892 letter to an acquaintance in Germany:

Your intention to do something for me in another way is very, very friendly. Certainly, however, it puts me in an embarrassing position, and I don’t know what to say or how to act regarding it. A certain feeling of shame holds me back, whereas I could accept subscriptions for my paper without hesitation. My Latin paper is a little entertainment magazine for those educated in Latin, which is not limited to a fixed field, but chiefly brings prose, but also little poems. It appears once about every two months. In my writings I repeatedly expressed such thoughts as yours, which gratified me, that we form a large, invisible union. That I had to leave my home and fatherland is false. No one forced me to leave Germany and I could return at any moment. The writings, it was the writings that brought me to beggary, since they brought no income. They should long since have enjoyed new editions. Instead of that—Oh! It was so difficult altogether for me to find booksellers for my works. (quoted in Hirschfeld 1903, 44)

Apparently Egells asked to be put into touch with other Urnings, for in a letter of 31 January/1 February 1874 Ulrichs wrote to him:

I will gladly arrange acquaintances among the comrades, but only under one strict condition, that those who become acquainted through me do not play chess, i.e., have sex. Not for the reason that I think this something wrong in itself, but rather since it would be improper for me, the champion of our cause, to be a panderer. I hope that you will acknowledge this principle. (Karsch-Haack 1922b)

Ulrichs may have been unwilling to play the role of a panderer, but he would probably have been amused if he had known that his name would be used as a code word for homosexuals trying to find one another. On 21 July 1894, shortly before a production of Wagner's *Parsifal* in Bayreuth, the following personal announcement appeared in a German newspaper:<sup>113</sup>

What young bicyclist, Christian, to twenty-four years, from a very good house, would join the same (foreigner) to undertake in August a nice bicycle trip to Tyrol. Desire very handsome appearance, distinguished manners, basically enthusiastic disposition. Will answer only applications with photograph, which will be immediately returned. Write "Numa 77" general delivery Bayreuth. (quoted in Panizza 1895, 88.)

This was quoted the following year by Oskar Panizza, who had no difficulty deciphering the code word "Numa":

Under this pseudonym, as is well known, the defender of Urning-love, and himself an Urning, C. H. Ulrichs, at the beginning of the 1860s published several works in German. Thus what the young man wanted and very cleverly hid behind the exercise of bicycle riding—one always travels in twos!—was clear. (Panizza 1895, 90)

Panizza, however, missed yet another clue: the number of Justinian's infamous Novella 77. Ulrichs would have seen it immediately.

Ulrichs did not tell Egells what he was doing to earn a living. One of his activities must have been raising silkworms, for this is described as if from personal experience in

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113. Manfred Herzer (1982, 14) identified this paper as the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*.

a poem begun in May 1873 (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 119–121). Another was work on a book of epigrams, to be titled: *Auf Bienchens Flügeln. Ein Flug um den Erdball in Epigrammen und poetischen Bildern* (On the wings of a little bee. A flight around the globe in epigrams and poetic images). Ulrichs had apparently conceived this project in September 1873, for he wrote in July 1874, “Hardly a year has passed: my little bee has already returned” (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 80), and although a couple of earlier items were included, the first surge of epigrams was written in September and October 1873. There was another surge in late summer 1874; the project was completed in December 1874 and published in January 1875.

The book contains 279 brief epigrams and poems.<sup>114</sup> This would appear to be a project well suited to Ulrichs, whose usual method of writing was to put his ideas down briefly “on separate sheets” (*Zwei Briefe*, 22). The topics are wide-ranging, from scenes of his childhood to political comments. Ulrichs shows a special fondness for puns, of which there are many.

Several of the entries relate to Ulrichs’s cause and writings: The “paragraph” symbol is compared to a fishhook (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 2). A poem “Colchis” recalls the sentiment of *Argonauticus* (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 58). Seedless berries also have a right to live (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 60); this also has a reference to a passage in *Argonauticus*.<sup>115</sup> The bands of blackmailers in Berlin are mentioned in a footnote (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 65). Memnon’s statue is described (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 66–67).

Only the poem “Der Weibling” directly touches on Ulrichs’s theory. It is a sympathetic description and defense, which concludes (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 122):

Built like a man, not man, to yourself a riddle and wonder,  
Weibling, never explained, nor understood by the world!  
Weibling, but confident: you were not born without rights;  
Not without rights does nature create the least of beings.

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114. The number 21 is used twice, so that the numeration stops at 278. References here are to page numbers.

115. “The Urning is a stepchild of nature. His love is always what that of the Dioning is at times: a barren blossom” (*Argonauticus*, 93).

The last line was twice recalled in his last booklet on Urning-love, *Critische Pfeile* (1879): the first time he again referred to Weiblings (*Critische Pfeile*, 14); the second time, he referred to Urning-love in general, including it in a brief poem, which he said he had once used “against an attack” (*Critische Pfeile*, 19).

Ulrichs’s old friend Windhorst, now a representative in the Bundestag, where he was a vigorous opponent of Bismarck’s “Kulturkampf,” is twice mentioned (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 26, 39). We also learn of a new friend in Stuttgart, the widow of the (Evangelical) Prelate Hermann, “a lady who has shown me many kindnesses” (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 44). She died in March 1874 and “through the courtesy of her heirs” he received a number of her books and other things. In contrast, Ulrichs complains that a former friend in Styria has left him feeling like a lemon that has been “pressed out and thrown away” (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 47).

In his letters to the writer Paul Heyse (1830–1914, Nobel Prize 1910), Ulrichs gave his address in Stuttgart as Silberburgstrasse 102. In an epigram of 25 March 1874, Ulrichs mentions speaking to a black spitz on Silberburgstrasse that was carrying a newspaper in its mouth (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 117); this suggests that he was already living on that street at that time. Near the southern end of the street (in the southwest part of the city) was the Silberburg, a garden with a restaurant, from which in fifteen minutes one could reach the top of the Reinsburg Hügel, which commanded a fine view. For Ulrichs, not the least advantage of living on Silberburgstrasse must have been the sights of the Great Infantry Barracks, which was nearby. This is not mentioned by Ulrichs, though the “boy” of the following may well have been the poetic evocation of a soldier (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 86–87):

#### By Burgundy Wine

Bright and clear as crystal glances your eye; and purple,  
Just like Burgundy wine, blossoms your mouth, O boy.  
Fill my cup for me. A toast. Let clink the goblets  
Of fragrant wine. And let your head be crowned with vines.

Look at me. Your eyes are so charming, like violets blue  
In early dawn and wet with falling teardrops of dew.

While Ulrichs no doubt enjoyed the sight of the soldiers and, presumably, drinking with them as well, he may have felt that he was too old—he was nearing fifty—for the affairs of his youth. This is suggested by the lines (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 118):

In the Grove

Kisses you granted me; wild roses bloomed in the grove.  
Roses still bloom in the wood; past is my rosy time.

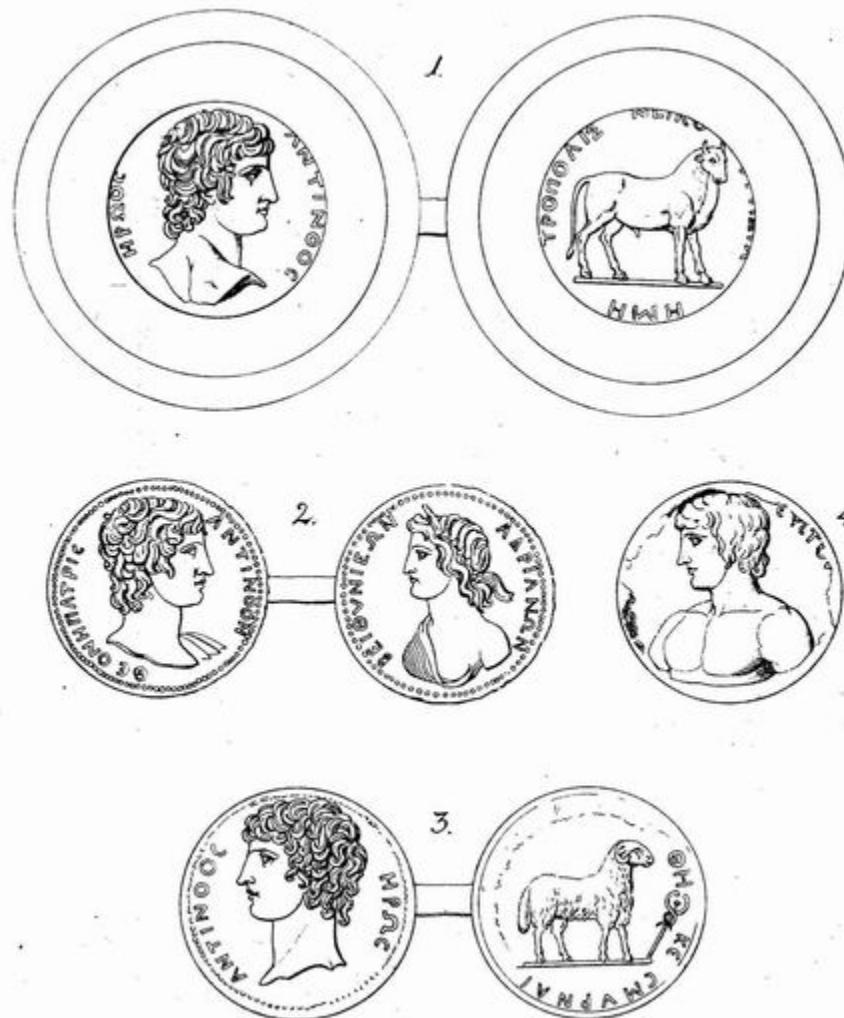
“The Converted Atheist” may be mentioned as an example of the many puns in *Auf Bienchens Flügeln*. The idea is that an atheist learns to like tea, and so becomes a tea-ist. The pun results from the fact that the German pronunciation of “Theist” (theist) is the same as “Thee-ist” (tea-ist) (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 70). He must have been especially fond of this pun, for he repeated it in Latin in 1889 in an early issue of *Alaudae* (*Alaudae*, 23), referred to it again four years later (*Alaudae*, 269), and also used it twenty years after the original publication, when he thanked a correspondent in Rotterdam for sending him tea (*Alaudae*, 271).

Also twenty years later, Ulrichs wrote:

Although in an active life among the public, I hardly excelled in anything. I always loved literature. Thus I acquired a superficial knowledge, or a bit more, of various sciences, as suits someone who, not entirely uncultivated and mediocre, wishes to get along, whether among the people or among learned men. I touched upon archaeology, ancient coins, and astronomy, the queen of the sciences. (Persichetti 1896, 6)

This could refer to his period in Stuttgart. Although there are no references to astronomy in *Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, several epigrams and notes show Ulrichs’s interest in ar-

chaeology, e.g., the description of the statue of Memnon in Egypt (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 66–67). There is also evidence of his interest in old coins about this time. The following passage, written in 1879, shows an acquaintance with the book of Konrad Levezow, *Ueber den Antinous, dargestellt in den Kunstdenkmälern des Alterthums. Eine archäologische Abhandlung. Nebst zwölf Kupfertafeln* (On Antinous, represented in the artistic monuments of antiquity. An archaeological treatise. With twelve copper engravings) (Berlin: Bei Johann Friedrich Weiss, 1808).<sup>116</sup> Plate I of this book shows several coins with the head of Antinous.



Konrad Levezow, *Ueber den Antinous* (1808), plate I

<sup>116</sup> There is evidence that Ulrichs owned a copy of this book and had it especially bound (Sigusch 1999, 248).



Several years ago I made a first attempt to carve small bas-relief figures in alabaster. I had seen a splendid head of Antinous in a work of Levezow. It was a copper engraving, which represented the obverse of an ancient coin. I set out to sculpt a representation of this mere drawing. When my little work of sculpture was done, it gave me an extraordinary delight. I compared it with the model. The alabaster head of Antinous lay beside the drawing. It was identical with it, to be sure, and yet how different the two were from one another! How much more was the eye charmed by these lines of beauty in stone than on paper! (*Apicula Latina*, 25)<sup>117</sup>

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Although Ulrichs did not publish on the subject of Urning-love for several years, his earlier writings were occasionally mentioned by psychiatrists and forensic experts, mostly to be dismissed as unscientific. Such was the case in 1877, for example, with Richard von Krafft-Ebing (to be discussed later) and a Dr. med. Stark, who spoke at a meeting of the Südwestdeutsche Irrenärzte (South-West German Doctors of the Insane). Stark traced the interest in “contrary sexual feeling” to Casper’s book of 1863, which, he asserted:

first caused a jurist suffering the phenomenon in question to publish a series of brochures on “love between men or Urning-love,” at first under the pseudonym “Numa Numantius” and later under his true name “Carl Heinrich Ulrichs.”... The publications of Ulrichs remained for years the only reports on the subject. Only since 1868 has medical science begun to be more closely occupied with the phenomenon. (Stark 1877, 209)

Stark went on to mention six cases that had been reported in the medical literature and he added four more. He noted that “Ulrichs very energetically fights against the idea that the contrary sexual feeling is a sick condition,” and he conceded:

Now, to be sure, from the fact that in all ten cases that have been medically observed up to now a psychopathic condition was present, it still does not follow with a

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117. This passage has one of the ironic typesetter’s notes: “I find that these ‘remarks’ are rather boring to read. My advice would be to skip them.”

logical necessity that such is the case for the many thousand such individuals living out there (however probable this may indeed appear). (Stark 1877, 212–213)

He then simply proceeded to ignore Ulrichs and draw his own conclusions, the first being: “that all those suffering the contrary sexual feeling, who have up to now been scientifically observed, were psychically abnormal” (Stark 1877, 213).

Stark noted in passing that “occurrences have been reported, which can only be related to a morbid heightening of the erect state, such as the emission of electrical sparks from the penis” (Stark 1877, 215). But his principal conclusion was:

It is of the greatest importance to confirm through numerous observations what the relation of the contrary sexual feeling is to hereditary taint. In the greatest majority of the cases observed up to now, heredity has been proven. (Stark 1877, 215)

An even less favorable view of Ulrichs was taken by Friedrich Berthold Loeffler in 1878 in the fourth edition of his manual for those preparing for the examination for state’s medical examiner in Prussia. In it he gives four pages to a discussion of §175. Following a brief discussion of what to look for in a rectal examination he then gives almost three pages to Ulrichs. The following is illustrative:

Paederasty has been seen from time immemorial as the most shameful and unnatural vice, even in the time of the lowest dissolution of the Roman emperors. How it is thus possible that today a man can have the audacity, in opposition to the whole civilized world, to present man-love as something justified, because inborn by nature, is only to be explained if one assumes that this man is not in complete possession of his senses, that, rather, he is obsessed by a fixed idea that is gradually stifling his whole thinking and feeling. This man is the former Hanoverian Amtsassessor Ulrichs, who ... takes on the risk of defending man-love and putting us back to the times of a Nero, Caligula, those disgraceful monuments to human immorality. (Loeffler 1878, 220)

That Ulrichs's impact on sexology was more significant for directing medical researchers' attention to the subject of homosexuality than in changing their view of it is evident in a five-page entry by L. Blumenstok on "Conträre Sexualempfindung" (Contrary Sexual Feeling) in a medical encyclopedia of 1885. He begins by noting that "the very experienced Casper has divided those peculiar individuals who are sexually drawn to persons of their own sex into two categories: those whose inclination is acquired and is a consequence of the satiety of enjoying sex naturally, and those whose inclination is in-born and is a symptom of a psychopathic condition." Further:

If Casper's view was now challenged, it was by the anonymous author who hid under the name "Numa Numantius" and through a series of years in numerous strange-sounding pamphlets (*Vindex*, *Vindicta*, *Inclusa*, *Formatrix*, *Gladius furens*, *Ara spei*, *Memnon*) has been at pains to justify the existence and contest the criminality of a large clan of individuals that one was rather used to characterizing as depraved libertines. But his behavior was all the less suited to shake the belief in the moral depravity of his protégés. Numa Numantius, who later turned out to be the "private scholar and former Hanoverian official" K. H. Ulrichs, brought too much system into his theory of "man-manly sexual love" and deprived the same of a basis, not so much through his repulsive declamation as much more through the fact that he rolled out a whole tableau of sexes, on which, according to his custom, he conferred poetic sounding, but in fact meaningless names (Urnings, Dionings, Uranodionings). Since the time, however, when at the assembly of jurists in Munich (1867) he called forth universal indignation with his proposal for a revision of the German criminal code in favor of sexual satisfaction contrary to nature, his muse became silent and with it the question defended by him appeared to be removed from the order of the day once and for all. (Blumenstok 1885, 515–516)

Blumenstok then notes that only two years later the subject was taken up by Karl Westphal and others, and he briefly reviews the cases discussed by them. Although he does not accept Ulrichs's explanations, it does appear that he has been impressed enough by him not to accept entirely the reported results of the others.

There can be no doubt, for daily experience teaches it, that aberrations of the sexual feeling appear not only in the case of nervous and mental illness, but also in individuals for whom neither any kind of disturbance of the psychic functions nor any anomaly in the nerve center may be demonstrated. It is further certain that in the ranks of the latter those aberrations are more often met with than among the former. Apart from the case of sodomy,<sup>118</sup> which, even if inexcusable from the standpoint of morality, still may at least be explained, in our experience, as a surrogate for the natural enjoyment of sex, especially in the countryside, we have in the large cities to deal with the clan of active and passive paederasts, whose behavior we would like to attribute to every other cause, only not conceive of as a neuropathic or psychopathic phenomenon.... Casper, therefore, goes too far when he views the abnormal sexual direction in most individuals as a symptom of a psychopathic condition: for even if it may be assumed that the number of those suffering from contrary sexual feelings is much greater than the small number of cases described up to now lets one suppose,... it is still vanishingly small in comparison with the greater number of paederasts. (Blumenstok 1885, 517)

Not all authors rejected Ulrichs's ideas. In 1875 appeared the 16-page *Urningsliebe* (Urning-love) by a certain Heinrich Marx. Since Ulrichs gladly mentioned authors who only partially agreed with him, it is curious that in his final publication, *Critische Pfeile* (1879), he did not mention this pamphlet, which he must have known about and which appeared to strongly support his views. Indeed, Marx praises Ulrichs:

If one succeeds in explaining and basing Urning-love in a scientific way, then with this is also demonstrated its justification and the illegality of the criminal provisions against the practice of Urning-love, such as are contained in § 175 of the German Penal Code. That has in fact been done in the writings of Ulrichs, Numa Numantius, Memnon and Inchlussa [*sic*]. (Marx 1875, 3–4)

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118. Bestiality is meant here, i.e., sexual acts with animals.

And surely the author's "preliminary remark" is promising:

The present writing has the goal of explaining Urning-love to the people, their legislators, jurists, medical doctors, etc. To advocate its inclusion in ordinary sexual life, the founding and sanctioning of Urning marriages between Urning and man, to emphasize the position of Urning-love with regard to Dioning-love between man and woman, to place the social side in its appropriate light, and finally to intercede in criminal cases of Urning nature for its justification as against lewdness and being contrary to nature.



But in the end it appears to be a case of the old saying “God defend me from my friends,” for the pamphlet turns into a (presumably unintentional) parody of Ulrichs’s views. Although Marx had read *Memnon*, he had absorbed none of its nuances. His is a very strict third-sex view, according to which Urnings are to be treated in all ways like women.

Let the social position of the Urning be that of the girl and the woman; he is also to bear a female name. Parents and guardians are obliged, on the appearance of the Urning nature in their child and foster child, to inform the authorities immediately. (Marx 1875, 11)

After assuring us: “The recognition of the Urning nature offers no special difficulties,” he draws the conclusion:

When the Urning nature of an individual is confirmed, the same is to be inscribed in the civil registry as an Urning, is to take a suitable name, and is to dress according to the individual’s nature. (Marx 1875, 12)

Marriage? Of course! “Further the Urning is to be allowed to legally enter into a marriage with a man” (Marx 1875, 11). And: “To counter prejudices, misrepresentations, and slander, let a word yet be said here about the sexual act between man and Urning”:

Since the Urning is predominantly of a fleshy, tender body formation, by drawing together the thighs of the Urning a fleshy place is offered in the place of the female organs, which is able to accommodate the love-organ of the man. During the enjoyment, just as in ordinary love, man and Urning feel a magnetic current. (Marx 1875, 13)

To which Marx added in a footnote: “Just so is the assumption false, that the man takes no pleasure thereby. Never yet has a man left the arms of a well-formed, beautiful,

young, rich, genuine Urning unsatisfied.” Thus it is no wonder that Ulrichs simply passed over Marx’s pamphlet in silence.

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By September 1878, Ulrichs’s financial situation appears to have improved so that he could plan a further publication on Urning-love. That is when he began writing *Critische Pfeile*, his final booklet in the series. It was completed on 29 March 1879, although a three-page addendum was written on 12 August 1879. The booklet was printed in Stuttgart and the title page gave Ulrichs as publisher: “Stuttgart, 1879. Verlag von K. H. Ulrichs.” Ulrichs must have later arranged for Otto & Kadler in Leipzig to take over the publication, for another title page was printed, which listed: “Leipzig; Commissions-Verlag v. Otto & Kadler. 1879.”<sup>119</sup>

*Critische Pfeile* (Critical Arrows), the only booklet whose catch title is German, not Latin, has the subtitle: “Denkschrift über die Bestrafung der Urningsliebe. An die Gesetzgeber” (Memoir on the Punishment of Urning-love. To the Legislators). It is addressed in particular to the legislatures in Vienna and Berlin. The arguments are already familiar to us, but some information is brought more up to date. For example, instead of estimating that one in every five hundred adult men is an Urning, Ulrichs now thinks one in every two hundred is more likely. He does not go into the details of his theory but simply asserts his result, namely that Urning-love is

the love-drive of a female being in a male body following its own nature. The entire disposition of Urnings is mixed throughout with feminine features, strongly varied in degree, to be sure....

It is, therefore, nothing more and nothing less than a special form of the common natural drive of sexual love, which is implanted in living beings by the hand of nature. (*Critische Pfeile*, 3)

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119. Copies exist with this overlaid by a label changing the year to 1880. Thus there has been some confusion over the year of publication. The 1898 edition of the *Forschungen* does not contain the addendum mentioned. Since Hirschfeld (1914, 964) gave 29 March 1879 as the date of completion, it seems likely that he used a copy from the first printing when preparing the second edition of the *Forschungen*.

He adds: “For the correctness of the preceding statements I refer to an expert opinion, which may be obtained from a scientific council” (*Critische Pfeile*, 3). He does not say, however, which “scientific council” he has in mind. Later in the booklet he lists several medical doctors, who more or less agree with him that this drive is inborn, but it seems highly unlikely that any “scientific council” would have given its full support to Ulrichs’s statements, and this may explain why he does not quote from the “expert opinion.”

After some discussion of the problems associated with the antihomosexual law, Ulrichs, “as defender of Urning-love,” poses the following question:

Whether there may still be punishment for what is natural? Whether honest human beings may continue to be robbed of freedom, honor, and life’s happiness because of an unalterable natural necessity? (*Critische Pfeile*, 19)

The solution of this question is not his only goal, however:

The goals I set myself are three: the scientific investigation of Urning nature; the justification of Urning love; and—but only in third place—its liberation from the penal code. (*Critische Pfeile*, 19)

That Ulrichs places “liberation from the penal code” decisively in third place seems rather odd in a publication directed precisely to lawmakers, but probably reflects a certain resignation to the fact that any immediate change was unlikely.

In fact, his emphasis does seem to be on the second point, and very little attention is now given to the first. He does, however, point out a “remarkable scientific fact, only recently discovered,” namely the observation of sexual acts between male animals, in particular among beetles. This is important, since “so much emphasis has been placed so of-



ten on its non-occurrence among animals, so as to prove the supposed unnaturalness of that act. This objection is therefore reduced to nothing” (*Critische Pfeile*, 22–23).<sup>120</sup>

Once again, Ulrichs retraces briefly the history of the persecution of homosexuals and the reasons given for it, noting that the condemnation of homosexuality spoken by the Apostle Paul does not apply to Urnings, since homosexual acts are natural to them (an argument that continues to be used by Christian apologists for homosexuality). To the various plagues attributed to homosexuality (he had earlier listed earthquakes, famine, and pestilence), Ulrichs now adds another, discovered in a law of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1120: “the plague in the countryside of frightfully fat and voracious field mice” (*Critische Pfeile*, 32).<sup>121</sup>

Ulrichs does not think that belief in any of these is the real reason why Urning-love has been prosecuted. They will not admit it, he says, but

it is rather to be sought in that acute and passionate repugnance of a more or less aggressive character (horror, disgust, aversion, indignation), which men born with a woman-loving nature feel toward man-love and with which a strong dose of cruelty is not seldom mingled. (*Critische Pfeile*, 34)

Ulrichs believes this repugnance is not a rational one, such as the repugnance to murder, arson, fraud, and so on, but rather “is only of an instinctive character, and thus only a subjective feeling” (*Critische Pfeile*, 34). It follows that this repugnance cannot be a rational basis for laws, and he once again criticizes the concept of “people’s consciousness of right”:

If I am not entirely mistaken, what is called consciousness of right is nothing else than precisely this subjective repugnance of the majority. The expression “con-

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120. Ulrichs could not have imagined that in 2000 the Artis Zoo in Amsterdam would have tours showing homosexual behavior in various animals, from monkeys to flamingos. “The idea behind it is to show that homosexuality is a natural phenomenon,” said zoo director, Dr. Maarten Frankenhuis (reported on Radio Netherlands Wereldomroep Internet desk, 11 August 2000).

121. Benedict Friedlaender was so impressed by Ulrichs’s discovery that he included an illustration by Paul Casberg-Krause of two such mice in his *Renaissance des Eros Uranios* (Friedlaender 1904, 162).

sciousness of right” is a blinding euphemism for the trite, even ugly word “repugnance.” (*Critische Pfeile*, 37)

To support his view, Ulrichs quotes from a recent book of Roderich Hellmann, who said that if “consciousness of right” were always to be correct, “then the witch trials, for example, would never have vanished from the world” (Hellmann 1878, 110).<sup>122</sup>

Ulrichs does not believe it is the role of the state to judge morality. Accordingly he finds only three cases in which sexual acts in general, and homosexual acts in particular, should be punished:

- a. if children (prepubertal) are seduced;
- b. in cases of violence (force and threat);
- c. if a sexual act is done in a public place and offends by being seen by third parties, who are there neither to entrap nor to spy on the action. (*Critische Pfeile*, 69)

He thinks it is a mistake for the state to go beyond this, for two reasons:

1. because every forced chastity is not genuine and so is as sad as it is ridiculous;
2. because, with regard to the state, the disposal over oneself for any purpose must be freely permitted to every adult. (*Critische Pfeile*, 69)

This last statement was as close as Ulrichs ever came to viewing the problem as one of personal freedom.<sup>123</sup> Rather, Ulrichs continued to stress the idea that Urning-love is inborn and so a law of nature.

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122. Ulrichs does not mention that Hellmann referred to him, as Numa Numantius, twice (Hellmann 1878, 91, 168) in that book, which is a plea for sexual freedom in general. The book is also remarkable for describing the taste of semen: “according to some, of a sharp, bitter taste, according to others, of a taste reminiscent of thickish oatmeal gruel and by no means unpleasant” (Hellmann 1878, 179). Ulrichs does mention that the book was on trial in Berlin in mid-January 1879; Liman was called on as an expert—and apparently favorable—witness (*Critische Pfeile*, 94).

123. This was the view taken at the turn of the century by the individualist anarchist John Henry Mackay and others, who rejected the Ulrichs/Hirschfeld “Zwischenstufen” theory of homosexuality.

*Critische Pfeile* was begun at the beginning of September 1878 and not completed until nearly seven months later (on 29 March 1879). Ulrichs called himself a “very slow worker” (Karsch-Haack 1922b), but the delay was probably also caused by the idea he must have had in January 1879 of soliciting testimonials to his writings from men, whom he could then quote as his own expert witnesses. We may gather from the reply of Dr. med. Erman of Hamburg (8 February 1879) what Ulrichs probably wrote to all of them:

You may rightly point to the fact that your publications have had the most essential part in shaking false beliefs, as if immorality and depravity were always the soil in which those perverse drives appear. The fact which you have urged, i.e., the fact of the inborn nature of that drive, is, under the name “contrary sexual feeling,” accepted by the other side as established. (*Critische Pfeile*, 92)

Ulrichs also received replies from Rudolf Virchow (1 February 1879) and Dr. med. von Gerhard in Gera (2 February 1879), both apparently agreeing that Urning-love is inborn; Ulrichs does not quote them. He does quote (the ellipses are his) from the letter of Richard von Krafft-Ebing (Graz, 29 January 1879):

The research in your writings on love between men has interested me in a high degree ... since the time you ... for the first time publicly discussed these facts.... From that day on when—I believe it was 1866—you sent me your writings, I have given my full attention to the phenomenon, which at that time was just as puzzling to me as it was interesting; and it was the knowledge of your writings alone, which gave rise to my research in this highly important field and to the setting down of my experiences in the essay with which you are acquainted in the *Archiv für Psychiatrie*. (*Critische Pfeile*, 92)



Richard von Krafft-Ebing

Ulrichs is quick to point out the limitation of such testimony:

To be sure, we are not yet entirely in agreement. For me Urningthum is a physiological, namely hermaphroditic, phenomenon, a fact of the laws of nature. They, on the other hand, declare it to be something sick, a pathological phenomenon, without indeed contesting its inborn nature. (*Critische Pfeile*, 92)

It may be noted that nowhere in the parts of the letter quoted does Krafft-Ebing say that Urning-love is inborn. Ulrichs probably quoted what he did in order to counteract what Krafft-Ebing had written about him, namely in the section on “contrary sexual feeling” in the essay mentioned:

In the middle of the 1860s a certain Assessor Ulrichs, afflicted with this perverse drive, came forward and asserted that the sexual life of the soul is not bound to the bodily sex, that there are male individuals, who feel themselves to be women toward men (“*anima muliebris in corpore virili inclusa*”). He calls them Urnings and demands nothing less than the recognition of Urning sexual love as inborn and therefore justified, as well as the permission for marriages between Urnings! The author of various brochures aiming at this goal still owes the proof that he, as an inborn phenomenon, is *eo ipso* a physiological and not perhaps a pathological one. (Krafft-Ebing 1877, 305–306)<sup>124</sup>

The title of Krafft-Ebing’s article may be translated: “On certain anomalies of the sexual drive and their clinical-forensic evaluation as a probable functional sign of degeneration of the central nervous system.” In the section on “contrary sexual feeling” (the section in which Ulrichs is mentioned), Krafft-Ebing credits Westphal with being the first to define the phenomenon and the one who gave it the “commonly accepted” name of “contrary sexual feeling” (Krafft-Ebing 1877, 306). After referring to a number of cases reported in the literature, he goes on to say:

Conspicuous in these neuro-psychopathic individuals are symptoms and groups of symptoms which are adduced by the observers as belonging in general to conditions of psychical degeneration, in particular to the hereditary degenerative condition (Morel, Legrand du Saulle). (Krafft-Ebing 1877, 308–309)

In some of the cases Krafft-Ebing finds other likely signs of degeneration, such as cleft palate and harelip. Along with these occurrences are other signs pointing to a neuro-pathic constitution or a genuine neurosis. He concludes:

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124. Krafft-Ebing included this statement about Ulrichs, with only a slight change in the wording, in his *Psychopathia sexualis* (Krafft-Ebing 1886, 58), and it remained in all later editions of this perennial best-seller.

From all of this it results with probability that the contrary sexual feeling, where it occurs as inborn, is to be regarded clinically as a partial occurrence of a neuropsychopathic, mostly hereditary condition, and it has the significance of a functional sign of degeneration. (Krafft-Ebing 1877, 309)

Ulrichs did not address this doctrine of degeneration; and he could not have foreseen its terrible consequences. As developed and popularized by Krafft-Ebing in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, degeneration theory furnished its adherents with a marvelous vehicle for the ever-increasing anti-Semitism in Germany. It was the theory on which the Nazis finally acted in murdering “degenerate” individuals (the mentally incompetent, homosexuals) and “races” (Jews, Gypsies).

This theory of degeneration may be dated from 1857, the year Bénédict Auguste Morel (1809–1873) published his *Traité des dégénérescences physiques, intellectuelles et morales de l'espèce humaine et des causes qui produisent ces variétés maladives*. The term “degeneration,” etymologically a deviation “from type,” always has a negative connotation. It was used before Morel, but as Peter Burgener says: “Morel gives the word a completely new meaning” (Burgener 1964, 3).

Just as Ulrichs’s term “Urning” is tied in with a theory that is burdened by assumptions, but which, in the end, Ulrichs insisted was scientific, so too Morel’s term “dégénérescence” is tied in with a theory of which, Burgener says:

Religious principles and scientific thinking are mixed inseparably here in the methodology followed by Morel. This characteristic of a naive belief in realism in Morel’s way of thinking connects him with the naturalists of the eighteenth century. (Burgener 1964, 28)

The circumstances of Morel’s life help explain why his religious views formed such a basic part of this theory. For ten years he was instructed by, and lived with, an Abbé Dupont, after which he entered a Catholic seminary with the intention of becoming a priest. He was later expelled because of certain reformist views, but this in no way weakened his faith. After completing medical studies in 1839 and having no success acquiring

patients, he studied psychiatry—with more success. From 1848 he was heading various asylums, and in 1852 he began reporting on his experiences in his *Etudes cliniques*.

At the very base of Morel's theory is the acceptance of the literal truth of the biblical story of creation, which science did not at all contradict. As Burgener says: "From the reasoning of the naturalists there resulted for him nothing less than the confirmation in natural history of the biblical report of creation, which he had never doubted: Mankind developed from one single ancestral couple!" (Burgener 1964, 26).

After the fall (to be understood in the strict Christian theological sense) the unity of type was lost, and this in two ways: (1) The various races came about through natural causes: climate, etc. Thus each race may be considered "normal," although clearly some are "higher" than others (e.g., Europeans are at the top, Hottentots at the bottom). (2) The deviations from each normal type are degenerate. Because degeneration is inherited, it cannot be reversed and, if left unchecked, can only get worse and lead to extinction in the end.

As the title of Morel's book indicates, there are three kinds of degeneration: physical, intellectual, and moral. These are not independent, however, and Morel is able to exhibit a number of physical signs of moral degeneracy. In fact, the book is accompanied by an atlas of drawings of physical signs illustrating this.

Such was the theory that pervaded much of the thinking of psychiatry and the educated classes in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. This is illustrated by the example of Henne-Am Rhyn, given earlier, who was sympathetic to Ulrichs at first, but later accepted Krafft-Ebing's theory as the "scientific view."

The power of Morel's degeneration theory was underscored by Annemarie Wettley, who wrote in reference to Krafft-Ebing:

What essentially appears here is the coercive force that degeneration theory exercised. This is clearly distinguished precisely in Krafft-Ebing, since he possessed neither the religious-anthropological background of Morel nor the ideological-speculative one of Magnan.<sup>125</sup> He quite simply took over the dogma of degeneration that had become purely formalistic and he so essentially dominated the psychiatry of

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125. Valentin Magnan (1835–1916).

his time with it, that Bumke<sup>126</sup> later designated this era as the reign of the degeneracy theoretician von Krafft-Ebing. The principal significance of Krafft-Ebing, however, lies not so much in psychiatry as in sexual pathology, whose modern founder he was. (Wettley 1959, 203–204)<sup>127</sup>

Ulrichs, of course, did not foresee this development, which was so foreign to his own thinking, and he took what comfort he could from the fact that Krafft-Ebing and others at least accepted the idea that Urning-love (however they named it) was inborn and, at any rate, were in favor of revising the antihomosexual laws.

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In the meantime, Ulrichs's own ideas had undergone a further development. His theory of the "Zwischenstufen" (intermediate stages) between Weibling and Mannling has been extended to include the "true man" as well, and he comes very close to the "Zwischenstufen" theory developed two decades later by Magnus Hirschfeld. Indeed, Hirschfeld's theory can be seen as a direct continuation of this line of development. The significance of this theoretical development in Ulrichs is hidden by his including it only in an appendix to *Critische Pfeile*. We quote the entire section, in order to present his final statement of his theory and to show the emphasis, and limits, Ulrichs puts on it.<sup>128</sup>

Finally, I wish to report the result of my latest observations on the phenomenon in human nature, which I call Urningthum.

a. The typical manifestation of Urningthum is the Weibling. I call Weibling that Urning whose soul and body are inspired by femininity, i.e., bear a female impression. Whoever wishes to study the nature of Urningthum must begin with the nature

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126. Oswald Bumke (1877–1950).

127. According to Harry Oosterhuis, for Krafft-Ebing "the underlying causes of all perversions remained degeneration and heredity," and "as the leading apostle of degeneration theory in central Europe, he stressed the role of heredity in the etiology of mental illness until the end of his career" (Oosterhuis 2000, 61, 103).

128. Note that Ulrichs used the suffix "-in" to turn the terms "Weibling" and "Mannling" into their female counterparts, but the counterpart of the "Urning" is "Urnigin" here.



of Weiblings. The Weibling is a total mixture of male and female, in which the female element is even predominant, a thoroughly hermaphroditically organized being. Despite his male sexual organs, he is more woman than man. He is a woman with male sexual organs. He is *neutrius sexus* [of neither sex]. He is a neuter. He is the hermaphrodite of the ancients.

b. There is a gradually and regularly proceeding transition, i.e., a progression of transitional individuals, from Weibling through the various phases of intermediate Urnings on to the Mannling. I call Mannling that Urning whose soul and body are inspired by masculinity, i.e., bear a male impression.

c. There is also, however, a gradually and regularly proceeding transition, i.e., a progression of transitional individuals, from Weibling through the various phases of intermediate Urning and Mannling, and on through further transitional phases all the way to the true man, i.e., born woman-loving.

d. The sexual varieties that exist among true men are only a continuation of the phases of the entire transition.

e. There is an entirely equal transition in Urniginnenthum, namely from the masculine-inspired, woman-loving Mannlingin, the typical manifestation of Urniginnenthum, through the phases of the intermediate Urnigin and the Weiblingin, on to the man-loving, true woman.

f. Such a transition does not exist between Weibling and woman, between Mannlingin and man, nor between man and woman altogether.

Other observers have already perceived bits of feminine elements in Urnings. Thus, e.g., Casper, Tardieu, Stark. Yet they did not know what to make of them. Stark even tried to evaluate them from a pathological standpoint, while, as it appears to me, they precisely speak in favor of the physiological.

I mean, the assumption of any kind of sickness is not compatible with that series of stages. There can be perceived in it nothing other than a purely natural phenomenon, which bears the stamp of health on its forehead, a physiological phenomenon, a fact of the natural law, which is based on an inner necessity of nature, in particular on the laws of the embryonic development of the individual. Nature creates transitions in so many of her fields.

My scientific opponents are mostly doctors of the insane. Thus, e.g., Westphal, Krafft-Ebing, Stark. They have made their observations on Urnings who were in institutions for the insane. They appear never to have seen mentally healthy Urnings. The rest followed the published views of doctors for the insane.

Speaking in favor of “inborn by a natural law” is also, it appears to me, that occurrence of sexual acts between male beetles. My opponents must separate this phenomenon from the field of natural history. They must insert it into the doctrine of animal sicknesses, into the section of animal psychiatry for mentally ill beetles. (*Critische Pfeile*, 95–96)<sup>129</sup>

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Thus ended Ulrichs’s last booklet of “Researches on the riddle of ‘man-manly’ love.” He was soon planning other publications. Apparently *Auf Bienchens Flügeln* had some success, for when Otto & Kadler published *Critische Pfeile* they announced that another book by him “would appear in a few weeks” (*Critische Pfeile*, 100). The title was to be “Lateinische Wort- und Buchstabenspiele aus alter und neuer Zeit” (Latin word and letter games from old and new times), but in fact it was not published. Instead, he decided to publish a slim volume of Latin songs. Many of these songs are translations of well-known German poems. The idea came to him, he said, when he recalled how much better his sculpture of the head of Antinous looked than the original drawing:

In a similar way I have now tried to present poems in a more beautiful material, at least in a material that is to my taste more beautiful.... I was curious to see how the beautiful lines of a German poem would look in the forceful and sonorous speech of Latium.... I make no claim to the merit of a poet, but rather here play the role of a sculptor, who transfers a drawing on paper to alabaster. (*Apicula Latina*, 25–26)

Ulrichs had made such a translation as early as 1853, when he was still Assessor in Hanover (his “Ad Adelaidam” [*Apicula Latina*, 19–20]), but his first deliberate attempt to play “the role of a sculptor, who transfers a drawing on paper to alabaster” was on 22

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<sup>129</sup> The last two sentences are missing from Hirschfeld’s edition of Ulrichs’s *Forschungen* (1898).

January 1879, with his “Carmen sepulcrale,” a Latin version of Goethe’s “Wandrer’s Nachtlied,” better known by its first lines as “Ueber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh.”<sup>130</sup> Ulrichs, as many others do, refers to “Ueber allen Wipfeln ist Ruh.”<sup>131</sup> He indicates that it is to be sung to the melody of “Integer vitae.”<sup>132</sup> We present it (as well as the original and Longfellow’s English translation, for comparison) as a sample of his efforts in this direction (*Apicula Latina*, 22):

Est quies ramis foliisque cunctis  
Et silet lucus. Teneras volucres  
Nox tegit somno strepitusque nullus  
Surgit ad auras.

Quid tibi pectus tremit inquietum?  
Pax erit quondam sua cuique. Somnus  
Et tibi mox mox veniet brevisque  
Ipse quiesces.

Ueber allen Gipfeln  
Ist Ruh,  
In allen Wipfeln  
Spürest du  
Kaum einen Hauch;  
Die Vögelein schweigen im Walde.  
Warte nur, balde  
Ruhest du auch.

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130. According to Wilfried Stroh, Ulrichs’s “Ad Adelaidam” is one of his “poetic pearls.” “And not less successful” is Ulrichs’s “Carmen sepulcrale”: “Here at least once gleams alabaster” (Stroh 2000, 88–89).

131. This brief poem was composed by Goethe on the evening of 6 September 1780 on the Kickelhahn Mountain near Ilmenau and written by him on the wall of the wooden hut, where he frequently spent the night.

132. This famous setting of the “Integer vitae” of Horace (*Carmina* 1.22) was composed by Friedrich Ferdinand Flemming (1788–1813) in 1811.

O'er all the hill-tops is quiet now.  
In all the tree-tops hearest thou  
Hardly a breath;  
The birds are asleep in the trees.  
Wait; soon like these  
Thou too shalt rest.

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Ulrichs put into Latin not only serious verse but also comical songs, such as student rounds. Two of these, written the first week in May, were entered in a prize contest of the Viennese publisher of a book of student songs. They were among the twenty-nine selected (from 389 entries) as worthy of inclusion in the new songbook on 30 June 1879, and Ulrichs received separate diplomas to this effect dated 10 July 1879. Ulrichs apparently inquired into why he did not receive one of the three top prizes, for Max Breitenstein, one of the judges, wrote him on 3 October 1879:

Your songs, honored sir, were exceptionally pleasing to the judging committee. An objection was raised against granting a prize, however, since they were only translations, although highly successful ones. (*Apicula Latina*, 29)

Ulrichs admitted that this was correct, although the requirement had not been stated in the original announcement.

The booklet was completed on 3 November 1879. The title page reads: “*Apicula Latina. Lateinische Studentenlieder. Mit angehängten kleinen deutschen Poesien*” (A little Latin bee. Latin student songs. With additional small German poems). A separate title page indicates that this is Book II of *Auf Bienchens Flügeln* and is “a supplementary volume to the present student songbooks.” It must have been published immediately, for on 10 November 1879 Ulrichs sent a copy to Paul Heyse, in the hope that he would publish a review of it (*Zwei Briefe*, 22).

Ulrichs himself had written a very nice blurb for Carl Robert Egells's novel *Rubi*, published under the pseudonym "Aurelius."<sup>133</sup> This was on a back page of *Critische Pfeile*:

This book bears the motto: "There are futile things for which untiring service is the highest virtue." The book means to serve the Urning cause, whose rightness the author and I equally recognize. It depicts the mutual love of two youths, the younger of whom is called Rubi. For my part, I would say: "There are just things for which untiring service cannot be in vain." (*Critische Pfeile*, 99–100)

It appears that Ulrichs had not yet read the book entirely when he wrote the blurb, for on 1 October 1879 he wrote in reply to Heyse's comments on *Rubi*:

Several passages in *Rubi* aroused a regular indignation in me. Had I already read the book through at that time, I would not have deigned to mention it at all at the end of my book. You are quite right to speak of "a sensuality oppressive beyond all measure." (Zwei Briefe, 21)

Ironically, Ulrichs had been given Heyse's address by Egells, to whom Heyse had referred to Urning-love as an "unnatural return to barbarism" and a "vice." In his 1 October 1879 letter, Ulrichs told Heyse that he had taken the liberty of having a copy of *Critische Pfeile* sent to him and he called attention to certain passages in it. This appears to have had the desired effect, for on 10 November 1879, Ulrichs wrote:

Please accept my sincere thanks for your letter of the 4th of this month, indeed for every word you express in it. My congratulations that we have finally at last come so far that thinking men examine the subject, that thinkers, instead of clamorously skipping away, as was the custom until very recently, have begun to subject it to a genuine, serious, objective examination and engage in a discussion about it. This is the way we will advance! (Zwei Briefe, 22)

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133. This pseudonym had been suggested to Egells by Ulrichs (Karsch-Haack 1922a).

This success with Heyse may have encouraged Ulrichs to continue his series of *Forschungen*. Ferdinand Karsch reported in 1922 that Ulrichs had begun a thirteenth booklet, but the number proved unlucky for him. Its title was “Der Urning und sein Recht” (The Urning and His Rights) and its motto was the last line of his poem “Der Weibling”: “Not without rights does nature create the least of beings.” Karsch notes:

It appears, however, that only one fascicle of sixteen pages of this unlucky booklet was printed and only one copy of it exists. From it *Die Freundschaft*, in No. 43 (of 30 October to 5 November) of the year 1920, reported several striking passages. (Karsch-Haack 1922b)

The passages in *Die Freundschaft* are indeed “striking,” but show no difference from his earlier views, which he decisively continued to represent. Thus he emphasized just as before that an Urning has the right to sexual satisfaction and adds:

A lengthy lack of satisfaction can have grave consequences, at least leading to the most distressing psychical condition. In the current views on sexual love altogether and on Urning-love in particular, this cannot be repeated enough, nor be strongly enough emphasized. Health and well-being do not require boundless excess. We are not talking about that. But they require an enjoyment of love, which grants true satisfaction. (Der Urning und sein Recht, 1)

Ulrichs complains about the fact that the study of sexuality in general has been neglected, and he seeks to sum up his principal discoveries in one sentence:

Unfortunately they have scorned examining these points of anthropology. They have deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphics and Persian cuneiform writings and have classified the smallest fossilized mussels of the primeval world and have determined the spectrum of Sirius and Vindemiatrix. But the field of human sexual nature is for them completely incomprehensible [ein Land voll böhmischer Dörfer].

A law of nature, of whose existence they had no idea until now, runs:

There is a gradual transition between the male and the female love-drive. (Der Urning und sein Recht, 2)

In his introduction to these passages, “Semper Augustus” writes:

In these page proofs, apparently the only ones that came off the press, Ulrichs announces on pages 3 and 8 “next a special (historical) volume,” that is, the 14th in his homoerotic writings. Presumably, after the printing of the first sheet of his 13th writing, the embittered man, harassed by the struggle for livelihood, lost all desire to further serve humanity. (Der Urning und sein Recht, 1)

Given Ulrichs’s habit of having his writings immediately printed, it is doubtful if he wrote much more than those sixteen pages. It is not surprising that he became discouraged, when he saw so little result from his efforts. He explained his situation around a decade later in a letter from Aquila to an unnamed correspondent:

Oh why did you not write ten or fifteen years earlier! Had I received two or three such letters then, that would have been a decisive influence for my work and activity. Now it is too late. At that time I suffered much because of my writings and I was oh so very much in need of encouragement and consolation. Such letters as yours would have brought me consolation and encouragement. I was indignant over the fact that this encouragement came to me only so scantily. I believed I deserved it—and not in such a miserable measure—through my untiring struggle for a down-trodden just cause. What I received was, on the one hand (with a few notable exceptions) indifference and shrugs, on the other hand (likewise with a few notable exceptions) hostility and hatred. Depressed by this result, as I believe, this undeserved result of my long years of working for truth and justice, I left my fatherland in 1880 to seek my bread for the time being elsewhere through giving lessons and general writing. To be sure, political antipathy also influenced my decision. (SB-Berlin)

Sometime in 1880, then, just like the persecuted Urning Ulrichs had written about in *Critische Pfeile* the previous year, “he shook the dust from his feet; he left the paragraph’s dominion; he went into a freer land” (*Critische Pfeile*, 90).



### Last Years in Italy: 1880–1895

Ulrichs crossed the Alps by way of the Brenner Pass and entered Italy from the then Austrian town of Riva, at the northern end of Lake Garda, from where he took a boat to the southern end of that long lake. There, on the narrow peninsula of Sirmione, he visited the famous Grotto of Catullus, the ruins of a villa thought to have been the home of the Roman poet. He next crossed over to the Adriatic coast, stopping in Ravenna to visit the tomb of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. This mausoleum was begun by Theodoric's daughter Amalaswintha, who succeeded her father on his death in 526, at first as regent for her son and then as queen on his death in 534. Ulrichs also paid his respects to Galla Placidia, the West Roman empress, who died in 450. Her mausoleum was said to be the earliest building in Ravenna.

He later traveled far enough south to stand on a mountain ridge from which he could see where the Basento river started, which flowed into the Gulf of Taranto. Later still, he returned north, beyond Rome and east of it, to the “lovely” gorge of the Velino river:

Here was my longing fulfilled, for I found a flourishing forest.  
Forest, O forest, which long I had longed for and long in vain had  
Looked for! Happy I entered with strides through olden chestnuts  
Under confusion of branches and breathed the fragrant wood air.  
(*Matrosengeschichten*, xi)

Ulrichs camped out there and then entered the valley of the Aterno river (“Magnificent valley!”) to finally end his journey at Aquila, where he was to spend the remainder of his life. The above itinerary is given in a poem, written in April and June 1884, and included in his volume of short stories *Matrosengeschichten* (Sailors’ Tales) (*Ma-*

*trosengeschichten*, ix–xiv).<sup>134</sup> According to Persichetti, after Ulrichs left Ravenna he stopped in Florence before going on to Rome. There he became sick with malaria. He then traveled on to Naples (Persichetti 1896, 15).

When Ulrichs left Germany, he did not expect to be away permanently. As he wrote a new correspondent sometime after 1889:

If I had received a stimulus soon after, I mean soon after 1880, for example, 1881, '82, '83, or '85, then I was ready to take courage again and resume my earlier activity. Only this stimulus did not come and I despaired. (SB-Berlin)

But Ulrichs did continue in Italy his earlier activity of trying to help Urnings in distress. In March 1881, Jakob Rudolf Forster (1853–1926) wrote from prison in St. Gallen, Switzerland, to Ulrichs, who was then in Naples, with a request that he seek a pardon for him. He had been arrested November 1879 and on 15 January 1880 was sentenced to 1½ years prison for homosexual acts.<sup>135</sup> Forster first heard about Ulrichs's writings on a trip to Germany in 1877. As René Hornung wrote:

After reading Ulrichs's writings—and all the more after meeting him personally—he could no longer be restrained. He noted in a surviving blue volume with the title “My Loves”: “One must love this man, if one knows what he has already done for us Urnings. Never will I forget this man, always be grateful to him. God grant him a long, long life.” (Hornung 2000, 70–71)

Ulrichs responded to Forster's request with an eight-page pardon request dated Naples, 11 July 1881, addressed to the St. Gallen authorities (Staatsarchiv des Kantons St. Gallen). Ulrichs blames his own sickness for the delay in responding and urges that his request be given “expedited treatment.” Indeed, quick action would have had to be

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134. In a biographical note for *Das literarische Deutschland* (1887), Ulrichs gave a list of his literary publications and added as forthcoming a book of Latin poems: “Wanderungen in den Appenninen und am tyrrhenischen Meer” (Excursions in the Apennines and on the Tyrrhenian Sea). The poem mentioned above was probably intended to be a part of this book, which never appeared. There is no mention of it in his revised note for *Das literarische Deutschland* (1891).

135. For the full story of Forster's life, see Hornung (2000).

taken in order to have an effect before Forster had completed his sentence, but in fact the state attorney rejected Ulrichs's request.

This request for pardon is of interest for showing that Ulrichs's move to Italy did not mark a complete break with his earlier activity. And its content once again points up the basis of his argument: the inborn nature of "man-manly" love. He insists that, even if the antihomosexual law is in force, the fact that this love is inborn should have a mitigating influence on the resulting sentence. He cites Krafft-Ebing as authority for this, noting; "Dr. von Krafft-Ebing has recently published the second edition of his book *Gerichtliche Pathologie*."<sup>136</sup> Ulrichs quotes a passage from it that includes the statement: "Under all circumstances allowance must be made for the inborn and decided pathological sexual feeling of such unfortunates," and he points out that this was not done in Forster's case.

Ulrichs then gives evidence that Forster's love drive toward men is inborn, insisting that a well-informed court doctor should be called to determine this. "I, for my part however, hold such an expert opinion to be superfluous. I know Forster personally." And of course the old fighter Ulrichs cannot resist showing his *giusto sdegno*:

Periodic satisfaction of the sexual drive is nothing less than a requirement of nature, i.e., a natural necessity. What right does the legislator have to require of the Urning, who is born man-loving, the life-long, forceful suppression of the sexual drive? He too has the right to be a full and complete human being.

"Not without rights does nature create the least of beings."<sup>137</sup> Is it not a pure presumption, when the majority of citizens, who are born woman-loving, seek to force citizens who are born otherwise to this life-long suppression through criminal punishment? (Staatsarchiv des Kantons St. Gallen)

But, as mentioned, Ulrichs's plea had no effect on the St. Gallen state attorney.

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Ulrichs himself mentioned that before he traveled to Aquila he was a guest at the Abbey of Monte Cassino (*Alaudae*, 76–77) and that he lived for a while in the province

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136. The second edition of Krafft-Ebing (1875) appeared in 1881.

137. Once again Ulrichs quotes from his poem "Der Weibling" (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 122).

of Basilicata (Carlo Arrigo Ulrichs 1891, 1329). In an application for admission to the Accademia Pontaniana (Naples), he wrote of those early years in Italy: “Having left Germany in the year 1880, I took myself to Naples, where I stayed for three years. From there, in 1883, for the sake of the colder air, I moved to Aquila” (Persichetti 1896, 6).<sup>138</sup>

According to Persichetti, after leaving Ravenna Ulrichs stopped in Florence before going on to Rome, where he contracted malaria and, because of it, moved to Naples. But other illnesses befell him there and he spent some time in the nearby provinces, visiting, e.g., Paestum, Benevento, and Frigento. On his return to Naples, he fell ill again and, on the advice of friends, settled in Aquila in the second half of 1883. “The pure air of these mountains reinvigorated his poor health and cheered his depressed spirits, so that he was able to dedicate himself anew to his studies” (Persichetti 1896, 16). Persichetti was presumably also the source for the additional bit of information given by Hirschfeld, that it was a “skin disease” that prompted Ulrichs to seek the colder mountain air (Hirschfeld 1914, 965). Hirschfeld also notes that Ulrichs made the trip to Italy “for the most part by foot.” This is also mentioned by Persichetti, who describes him as “begging for food as he went along” (Persichetti 1896, 15). Since Persichetti, in the next sentence, tells the certainly false story that Ulrichs asked for his Berlin prize money at that time so as to continue his journey, his account is not entirely to be trusted. Indeed, despite his undoubted friendship and admiration of Ulrichs (or perhaps because of it), his published account of Ulrichs’s life contains elements of pious hagiography. It was, in fact, his funeral oration.

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Aquila (today called L’Aquila), the town where Ulrichs spent his last twelve years, was founded by Konrad IV, son of the emperor Friedrich II, about 1250, as a bulwark against the power of the papacy. It had an early growth, reaching sixty thousand inhabitants at its height, but declined in the following centuries, so that when Ulrichs arrived the number was only eighteen thousand. It was (and is) the capital of its province and an archbishop’s seat. It lies on a hill in the wide valley of the Aterno, surrounded by mountains on all sides, the Gran Sasso d’Italia being conspicuous on the northeast. Being 2360

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138. It is ironic, given Ulrichs’s reason for the move, that one of his early addresses in Naples was “vico freddo 4” (vico freddo = cold alley). It was from “vico freddo 4” that he wrote the letter to St. Gallen, discussed above.

feet above sea-level and fifty miles directly northeast of Rome (145 miles by rail), it was a favorite summer resort of the Italians, but it is cold and windy in winter.



### L'Aquila

In Aquila there was the problem of earning a living, which Ulrichs had proposed to do by “giving lessons and general writing” (SB-Berlin). According to Persichetti, Ulrichs taught French, English, German, Latin, and Greek (Persichetti 1896, 16). His pupils included in 1892 Captain Gustavo Sommati di Mombello, later a colonel and good friend of Ulrichs (*Alaudae*, 224; Persichetti 1896, 7). He also taught the son of Professor Giovanni Antonelli of the University of Naples (Persichetti 1896, 7) and the daughters of the provincial prefect of Aquila (*Alaudae*, 234).

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Already in Naples Ulrichs had begun writing what was to be his next publication, *Matrosengeschichten* (Sailors' Tales), which was completed in Aquila in 1894 and published in Leipzig the following year. On the title page he gives the Italian version of his

name “Carlo Enrico.”<sup>139</sup> A second title page explains that this is Book I (the manuscript of the projected Book II was later lost in a fire and never published) and lists the short stories in it: “Sulitelma”—“Atlantis”—“Manor”—“Der Mönch von Sumbö.”

The first two of these tales, and the longest, describe the supernatural adventures of the eternally youthful sailors of a ship named “Sulitelma,” which is made of ice and sails through the air. Its home port is on the mountain of the same name in Norway. Ulrichs found the basic elements of his stories in the Edda, to which he referred in *Auf Bienchens Flügeln* as the source of his poem “Das Schiff Nagelfar und das Ende der Welt” (The ship Nagelfar and the end of the world), which begins (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, 95):

Slowly a ship is built of the nails of the buried dead;  
Nail is fastened to nail, gigantic in form and size.

The poem goes on to explain that when the ship is finished, the end of the world will come. In “Sulitelma,” the ship is made of ice, but carries a cargo of nails, and “because of these nails is also called Naglfar or Nagelfahr.... With these nails of the dead, however, the end of the world is delayed” (*Matrosengeschichten*, 17). The mountain Sulitelma was likewise mentioned in *Auf Bienchens Flügeln* (96).

The first tale has homoerotic overtones. It begins in a fishing village on the east coast of Scotland, where the central characters of the story, the thirteen-year-old Erich and his sister Thyra, who is three years older, live. On a high mountain they see the ship pass and Erich jumps aboard, helped by the sailor Harald. Several days later, having accidentally fallen out of the ship into the sea below, Erich returns and tells his sister of his adventures and his attraction to the sailors, especially to Harald:

I felt myself especially drawn to one of the sailors. He had a serious look, this fellow [Bursch], and was the one who helped me when I jumped.

Thyra: I saw how friendly he gave you his hand.

Erich: Oh, that I lost him so quickly!

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<sup>139</sup> He later revised the Italian name to “Carlo Arrigo.”

The ice breathed out a biting cold. Besides, we were sailing quite high in the air. I was freezing, so that I shivered.

He saw it. They had just started singing; he came over to me.

“I will warm you,” he said. He wrapped his arms around me and pressed me to his breast. I did not know what was happening to me. It was as if a god embraced me, and new life, fire, courage, and strength streamed through me. All pain and sorrow were taken from me. Then he released me and said, while the rest were still singing:

Boy, what is your name?

Erich, I said.

He: Erich? And mine is Harald. Erich, he said then and caressed my cheeks familiarly, will you stay with me?

I: Yes, Harald! (*Matrosengeschichten*, 17–18)

In the second part of the tale, the ship returns and Erich rejoins his beloved Harald, but Thyra, who also loves Harald, now joins them and becomes so jealous that she shoves her brother overboard. Harald does not know this and takes her as his bride back to Norway. But by the time they arrive she is frozen. Harald leaves her there and returns to his ship.

In the second tale, the sailors have further fantastic adventures on the island of Atlantis, where the phoenix lives (“Skiold: For sure, that’s no turkey cock!”) and where Harald forgets Thyra when he sees Cärula, queen of the water nymphs.

The brief, homosexual vampire tale “Manor” is the best known of these stories, having been reprinted many times.<sup>140</sup> Set in the Faeroe Islands, between Scotland and Iceland, it tells the story of Har, a fisherman’s fifteen-year-old son, who is rescued from drowning during a storm (his father is lost) by the orphan Manor, who is nineteen years old. They fall in love and, although living on another island, Manor often comes to visit.

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140. At least two English translations have been published: by Michael Lombardi, in *The Voice* (San Francisco), September 11, 1981, pp. 11, 23; by Hubert Kennedy, in *Embracing the Dark*, edited by Eric Garber (Boston: Alyson, 1991), pp. 98–108. Lombardi-Nash’s translation is also on the Internet at <http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/uraniamanuscripts/manor1.html>.

Manor then goes on a whaling voyage and just as the ship is returning two months later it breaks up on a reef during a storm. Manor's body is among those washed ashore. Har "threw himself sobbing over the beloved body and tasted again for a moment the bliss of an embrace" (*Matrosengeschichten*, 76). Manor was buried the same day, but that evening he came to Har's room, climbed into bed with him, caressed and kissed him with ice-cold lips.

The next night Manor came again, ice-cold as before, yet more demanding. He embraced the boy with cold arms, kissed his cheeks and mouth, and laid his head on the soft breast. Har trembled. His heart began to pound at this intimate embrace, and Manor laid his head directly over the pounding heart. His lips sought the smoothly filled-out mound over the heart, which had been set into motion by its pounding. Then he began to suck, demandingly and thirstily, like a nursing infant at its mother's breast. After only a few moments, however, he left off, raised himself, and departed. It seemed to Har as if a sucking animal had filled itself on him. (*Matrosengeschichten*, 78)

When the villagers learned of this, they nailed Manor into his coffin with a stake, but then poor Har died of longing. His mother fulfilled his last request, that he be buried in the same grave with Manor.

Ulrichs notes that "Manor" was written in the period 22–30 July 1884. "Der Mönch von Sumbö" (The monk of Sumbö), the final tale in the collection, was written in the brief period 3–6 October 1884. Sumbö is one of the smaller Faeroe Islands and "the monk" is what the inhabitants call a gray rock "a good one thousand whale lengths from the island" (*Matrosengeschichten*, 87). Two young friends, Axar and Turo, go there seeking to see the water nymph, who is rumored to live there. They do see her, and the eventual result is tragedy, for they end up on a cliff "one dead man beside the other." Then the wind and weather do their work: "And when a year had passed, on clear nights the moon shone upon Axar's and Turo's bones, bleached snow-white" (*Matrosengeschichten*, 98). As the last line suggests, this story was probably inspired by the line of Vergil that,



slightly altered, Ulrichs gave as motto: “Scopuli, multorum ossibus albi” (cliffs white with the bones of many).<sup>141</sup>

These stories are not without their charm, though readers may have been somewhat repelled by his non-standard spelling. For example, he wrote x for ks, cks, chs (when pronounced like x) and z for ts, ths. He found precedent for this in Latin, he says in a brief note, “A word in favor of x and z. Instead of a preface” (*Matrosengeschichten*, v). At any rate, it appears that the volume did not sell well, for the planned Book II was never published. According to Persichetti, this was because the manuscript was lost in a fire that Ulrichs suffered in his house. But since the fire was not until 1893, lack of sales seems the most likely explanation.

Indeed, he was not well off. He wrote to Carl Robert Egells on 22 November 1884:

By the way, you should sell the *Critische Pfeile* where you can and buy yourself boots and such with the proceeds, just as I will do, where I can, with the copies of your *Rubi*, something that I have not succeeded in doing up till now. Yes, if the dumb question of boots or of bread and potatoes were not there! Then we would gladly send our little children into the wide world free. (Karsch-Haack 1922b)

Ulrichs probably had no more success with his next publication, *Cupressi: Carmina in memoriam Ludovici II Regis Bavariae*, for although the subject was attractive—a memorial to the late King Ludwig II—this slim booklet was entirely in Latin. In contrast to his grandfather King Ludwig I, whose affair with the Spanish dancer Lola Montez was openly discussed, and then forgiven, but at any rate was not thought to affect his mental condition, the homosexuality of King Ludwig II, while much talked about privately, was only hinted at openly, but at any rate was sufficient to judge him to be “degenerate.” Thus the *Vossische Zeitung* (Berlin) of 22 June 1886:

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141. See Vergil, Aeneid 5. 864–865: “iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat, / difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos” (“Glides by the Sirens’ cliffs, a shelfy coast, / Long infamous for ships and sailors lost, / And white with bones”; translation by John Dryden).

Not what has been openly said in parliament, but rather what must be kept silent there, although it goes from mouth to mouth, forms the darkest point of this sad episode, even if the evidence made public already leaves nothing to be desired to prove the degenerate mental condition of the king. (Briefe Ludwigs II. an Richard Wagner 1901, 166)



King Ludwig II of Bavaria

The handsome king was declared incurably insane on 8 June 1886. His death a few days later was described by Justus Hashagen:

On the 13th of June 1886 he met his death by drowning in the Starnberger See, together with his doctor [Bernhard] von Gudden, who had unwisely gone for a walk alone with his patient, whose physical strength was enormous. The details of his death will never be fully known, as the only possible eye-witness died with him. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1911, 17: 34)

When his brain was examined, the medical faculty duly reported that it revealed a condition of incurable insanity.

Ulrichs, of course, was more sympathetic and understanding of the position of the king, who, under treatment at his villa on the Starnberger See, was in effect a prisoner. He ends one of the poems: “Caerula linter ad libertatem sic fuit unda tibi” (Thus the blue waves were for you a boat to freedom) (*Cupressi*, 5).

The poems in memory of King Ludwig II occupy only half of this slim volume; there follows a repeat of his translation of Goethe’s “Ueber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh” (with a couple of variations) and a longer poem recalling his childhood in East Friesland. The booklet was completed in December 1886 and printed in Stuttgart, so that by February 1887 he was able to send copies to journals and libraries.

By this time Ulrichs had despaired that any stimulus to resume his activity in Germany would come to him. As he wrote to a German correspondent: “Then I came upon the idea of founding *Alaudae* and with it shifting my activity to an entirely different field” (SB-Berlin). In response to a request from the *Jahrbuch des Scheffelbundes* (Annual of the Scheffel Union) later, Ulrichs described (in third person) how he arrived at this idea:

A German living in Italy had the intention a year ago of publishing a book. It was one of his favorite pastimes, when poetic thoughts came to him, of dressing them in Latin verses. Thus lyric poetry came about, and he wanted to publish them as a modest little volume. But then there came to him another idea: “You should found a little entertainment paper written in Latin.” No sooner thought, than done. Since those poems had given the impulse to the matter, they should have the place of honor

reserved for them, and the title of the paper should also refer to them. Each number should therefore begin with a poem, so that all the following prose would, as it were, form an appendix to it; and the name should be “*Alaudae*,” the larks, i.e., songbirds. And so he started the little journal in May 1889 with a poem “To My Larks,” in which he sends his larks out over land and sea. (Die lateinische Zeitschrift *Alaudae*, 295)

The first issue of *Alaudae* is dated 6 May 1889. It appeared twice a month in the beginning, but less regularly later on; the last issue is dated February 1895. Most issues contain exactly eight pages. The pages of the journal are numbered consecutively; there are 388 pages in all.

The title *Alaudae* (Larks) is explained by the poem “Ad meas Alaudas” (To my larks), which runs through the first several issues.<sup>142</sup> It begins:

What do you want, my little cohort of larks, or why do you thus flap your wings? Do you spurn your nest? Do you desire to cut the air with your feathers? Let it be approved. It is always allowed. Fly away from here, where the red flowers of the almonds revolve in the waters of the Aterno, running through the rocks. From here, where glistening with snow the Gran Sasso arises, showing its sublime peak to the two seas. (*Alaudae*, 1–3)

The journal is a broad mixture of poems, descriptions of the countryside, reports on the weather, and even jokes and puns. As the number of subscribers grew, Ulrichs announced the various countries to which his larks were flying; eventually they went to all the continents. Being written entirely in Latin, it had an elect, if widespread, readership. Ulrichs apparently sent copies gratis to royalty, for he often reported royal readers, and sometimes subscribers. For example, he sent the first two issues to King Karl I of Württemberg and received back a letter of thanks, dated 7 July 1889, saying that the king

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142. Caesar had raised a legion in Gaul, whose soldiers were called “*Alaudae*,” but Ulrichs rejected the association: “I called my larks a modest cohort; I compared them in no way to that proud legion of Romans” (*Alaudae*, 78).

wished to subscribe.<sup>143</sup> Ulrichs later reported that the subscription was renewed for the last time on 11 April 1891. The king died on 6 October 1891 (*Alaudae*, 201). The Italian Queen Margherita was also a reader of *Alaudae* and, according to Persichetti, it was because of this that he came to know Ulrichs.



Niccolò Persichetti

The Marquis Niccolò Persichetti (1849–1915), a prominent and wealthy citizen of Aquila, studied law at the University of Naples and practiced this profession for a decade in Aquila. He was best known as an archaeologist and historian, but his numerous writ-

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143. By this time the king's American favorites had left his court. "Already by the end of 1889 the king in fact found a 'substitute' in the stage mechanic of the court theatre, Wilhelm Georges, a 'good-looking man about 35 years old, with a blond beard pointed in the French fashion'" (Dworek 1988, 8).

ings include a variety of subjects, from the theater of Shakespeare (1871) to a collection of quotations from ancient and modern authors (1893).<sup>144</sup>

Hirschfeld visited Aquila on 18 April 1909 and met Persichetti then; he wrote the following narrative of Persichetti's conversation immediately afterwards:

I [Persichetti] had first heard of him in the Senate in Rome. The Minister of Education asked me: "What kind of a man is that, who is publishing a Latin journal in your Aquila? Queen Margherita reads it and is quite taken by it." "That must be a mistake," Persichetti replied, "there is no one there who could do that." After my return, his patron continued, I inquired at the Police Office, but no one knew anything about it. Finally, someone said to me: "That is perhaps the old German, whom one always sees hurrying along the streets with books under his arm all alone." I sought him out—Persichetti showed me the old corner house where he lived—and found him in sheer despair. Just the night before there had been a fire in his house, all his books and papers, his entire possessions were burned. I gave him a place to stay, Persichetti continued, in a house that I had inherited from my ancestors. Just then an attic apartment with a splendid view of the Gran Sasso d'Italia was empty. (Hirschfeld 1914, 965–966)

This colorful story cannot be entirely correct, however. Surely Ulrichs, who reported in *Alaudae* the dates of earthquakes and how many times each year he bathed in the river, would have reported such a fire—indeed he did:

On 27 April [1893] I suffered a terrible fire. My things were destroyed, spoiled, scattered, trodden underfoot, shattered, lost: also books, manuscripts, whatever I had. Driven from my home by the destruction of things, wandering about, I was kindly given shelter by friends. (*Alaudae*, 282)

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144. For Persichetti, see Aurini (1973) and *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada* (1921). Persichetti's book *In memoriam Caroli Henrici Ulrichs* (1896) contains a number of valuable documents relating to the life and death of Ulrichs.

There is evidence that Ulrichs was already acquainted with Persichetti at that time. In the June 1891 issue of *Alaudae*, Ulrichs presents the statement of Persichetti, as president of the “Fifteen men for the erection of a monument to Sallust,”<sup>145</sup> that money had been deposited into an interest-bearing account; Ulrichs adds, “I am a witness that the Marquis Nic. Persichetti placed under my eyes the book of the aforementioned account” (*Alaudae*, 159), and he states the amount in the account. In the same issue he mentions that the fund was started in 1882 and names several of the “fifteen” along with some of the contributors. And in the issue of 20 August 1891 there is a request for contributions signed by Persichetti (*Alaudae*, 176).<sup>146</sup>

Nor does it appear that Persichetti gave Ulrichs a place to stay immediately after the fire. This is suggested by his use of the plural in reporting that he was given shelter by

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145. Gaius Sallustius Crispus was born in Amiternum, a Sabine town about five miles north of Aquila.

146. At the time of Ulrichs’s death in 1895 this monument to the Roman historian had still not been erected. According to Hans-Peter Weingand, “The monument created by Cesare Zocchi was cast in 1896, a year after Ulrichs’s death, but could be installed in L’Aquila only in 1903” (Weingand 2000, 60).

The Sallust monument was also the occasion for Ulrichs’s last contribution to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, in the issue of 14 December 1894:

Aquila degli Abruzzi, November. Monuments for celebrities of antiquity.

The passion of the Italians to erect monuments is great. Foreigners who live in Italy often have to remark: “Even celebrities of the second or third rank get monuments here.” To be sure, this is also sensed among the Italians themselves. For about ten years a counter-current has made itself felt, which demands monuments, not for modern personalities of the second rank, but for stars of antiquity of the first rank. Thus a few years ago committees were formed to erect monuments to Vergil, Cicero, Horace, and Sallust: in Mantua, Arpinum, Venosa, and here in Aquila. The first three committees named have indeed only done little, in spite of the splendid names they represent. The local Sallust committee was more fortunate. It quickly collected about 3,000 francs in Italy, France, Hungary, Greece. To be sure, it saw itself forced to deposit this sum in an interest-bearing account, since it was not sufficient. Recently, however, a local international journal, *Alaudae*, written in Latin, has placed itself at the committee’s disposal and begun to collect from its readers. Thus the Sallust contributions have started again and new sums have arrived from Italy, Austria, Berlin, and Finland. The total amount is presently about 3,700 francs. Representatives of the city and province of Aquila, too, have declared themselves ready to work for the cause. Thus there is every prospect of seeing this monument come about. They have selected as an inscription the brief, charming epigram that Martial [XIV 191] wrote about Sallust. May the success of the most modest of the names be a spur to those other three committees. The hometown of Tacitus has named a Tacitus Square for him and plans to erect a Tacitus monument there. Also for Ovid there are loud voices, but so far without success. On the Black Sea, yes even there, a large, beautiful monument was entirely quietly set up several years ago in Dobruja, in Kustendje, near Tomi, the village of his banishment. In his hometown, on the other hand, in our neighboring Sulmo, they satisfy themselves with pretending that an old statue in the town hall is a statue of Ovid, a statue without hands and with a broken-off nose that is, indeed, antique, but anything rather than a statue of Ovid. Sulmo is satisfied with a false and nose-less Ovidius Naso.

“friends.” More likely, the apartment Persichetti let him use was the one mentioned in the last issue of *Alaudae*, where he reported, “In the month of December 1894 I moved into an old house,” describing it as having three little rooms, whose door and window rattled in the wind (*Alaudae*, 387–388). It is possible that, as Persichetti spoke French with Hirschfeld, there may have been some confusion since this was the native language of neither of them. It seems more likely, however, that, fourteen years after Ulrichs’s death, the events had simply become conflated in Persichetti’s memory.

What can be said with some certainty is that Ulrichs lived for a long period in the Palazzo Franchi. He stated in *Matrosengeschichten* that its final story was written there in October 1884 (*Matrosengeschichten*, 98) and he gave this address in a copy of *Cupressi* that he sent to Munich in February 1887.<sup>147</sup> The address “Via S. Teresa 7” was in *Kürschner’s Deutscher Literatur-Kalender* for the year 1894, i.e., before the move to the “old house.”

The supposition that the “old house” was Persichetti’s “attic” also agrees with Persichetti’s statement that Ulrichs was living in the attic apartment at the time of his death. Hirschfeld’s narrative continues:

You see—Persichetti led me up the dark stairs—up here he wrote, here was his bed, there by the window his writing desk, he had flowers here, which he loved so much, and there he cooked his own meals, which indeed occurred seldom enough, for he lived almost entirely on bread, cheese, eggs, milk, and fruit, with which, by way of exception, he drank a bit of the local wine.... His lack of wants was astonishing. My wife repeatedly wanted to give him clothes, but he constantly refused. Besides us he associated in Aquila only with an old Austrian lady; otherwise no Germans were living here. From the time he arrived here, he never left the town and its surroundings—the Abruzzi mountains. He wandered about the region a great deal, preferring the chestnut groves. They seemed to him like a piece of Germany moved to the South, he told me. (Hirschfeld 1914, 966)

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147. This is on the cover page of the copy in the Staatsbibliothek München; “arco Franchi 5” is on the copy in the Biblioteca Salvatore Tommasi, Aquila.



In the first issue of *Alaudae* was the statement: “These pages are being issued twice a month and are dedicated to minor studies and little poems” (*Alaudae*, 1). By the fifth issue in August 1889, however, Ulrichs had begun to see them as serving a cause, so that he substituted: “A certain marvelous power is in the Latin language for uniting nations” (*Alaudae*, 33). After that he more and more stressed the possible role of Latin as an international language.

In 1891, for example, he supported a proposal to use Latin in the Austrian Post Office as a common language of the seven different language groups of the empire and suggested that this idea could be extended world-wide (*Alaudae*, 131–132). But he did not see the success of Latin as inevitable, and he was never as passionate about this cause as he was for the cause of Urning-love. When a young Bohemian wrote him from Prague in 1893 that at a festive ball of the Bohemian and German pharmacists in Brno the dance programs were in Latin and called this a “good omen,” Ulrichs applied his version of an old saying: “The mountains labored and gave birth to a small, but by no means contemptible, mouse” (*Alaudae*, 283). At any rate he saw Latin as a superior alternative to Volapük, which did not contain, like the Latin in Brno, one or another barbaric form, but was “one total barbarism” (*Alaudae*, 284).

In fact, Volapük was enjoying a success that Ulrichs must have envied. The first artificial language in modern times to achieve a real success, Volapük was published in 1879 by Johann Martin Schleyer (1831–1912), a parish priest in Litzelstetten on Lake Constance, and within a decade it had over a million adherents. It then suffered a rapid decline, so that by the turn of the century Esperanto, first published by L. L. Zamenhof (1859–1917) in 1887, was the leading artificial international language. Ulrichs never mentioned Esperanto, but it is doubtful if he would have approved of it any more than he did Volapük. It is interesting to speculate whether Ulrichs would have approved the proposal of the Italian mathematician Giuseppe Peano (1858–1932) to make a simplified form of Latin a universal language. *Latino sine flexione* (Latin without grammar) was proposed by him in 1903. Ironically, to promote his language, Peano took over the old Volapük Academy in 1908 and converted it into the *Academia pro Interlingua* (“Interlingua” being the name of the language evolving from *Latino sine flexione*).<sup>148</sup> This lan-

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148. For Schleyer and Peano, see Kennedy (1980).

guage had a small success, but like most such projects it hardly survived World War I. Of the numerous artificial languages proposed, only Esperanto continues to enjoy a degree of recognition.

Ulrichs was not alone in promoting Latin as an international language. On 10 March 1890 he received a circular letter from London announcing the foundation of a society with this purpose. Ulrichs replied on 18 March to offer his cooperation, and in his autobiographical sketch in *Das literarische Deutschland*, he wrote:

In union with a society in London, which likewise founded a Latin journal to the same end, *Alaudae* strives to advance Latin, instead of Volapük, as a world language for the uniting of nations—an idea which has already found numerous adherents, just as I and my journal have been accorded the highest recognition. (Carlo Arrigo Ulrichs 1887, 1329)

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With the founding of *Alaudae*, Ulrichs had moved into an entirely different field from his former endeavors, as he explained to a new correspondent, who appears to have expected him to continue his old interest. Ulrichs added: “You understand that activity for that just cause is incompatible with this” (SB-Berlin). In fact, whereas several times in the pages of *Alaudae* he expressed his continued outrage over the Prussian invasion of Hanover, only twice does he mention the Urning cause, and then only obliquely. The first time is in the issue of 20 March 1891, which includes a brief note to a “detractor in Munich.” Ulrichs does not explain who or what prompted his outburst, but his comment clearly shows how strongly he still felt about the subject:

How prejudiced you are! You have certainly not read the books that I wrote about that amazing riddle. Have you investigated the depths of nature? Have you penetrated into its mysteries? It may be doubted. And you take it upon yourself to pass judgment, immature judge? Cease therefore, if you will sit as judge, cease to bring judgment concerning the undefended, lest you offend the daughter of great Thundering Jupiter, heavenly Justice. If you have it at heart that you have someone

you would condemn, then quarrel with creating nature. Condemn her. For she commits it, in that she does not create according to your command, little man. A Swiss historian, a man of most incorrupt judgment, having read the books attentively, wrote to me: “The way,” he said, “that you have defended yours, a wrong cause is thus unable to be defended.”<sup>149</sup> It is something important, I think, to know the truth, whose strength can explain obscurities and do away with an inexpiable wrong. To know it and keep silent, when I was able to speak, I believed unworthy. With right you would have despised me, if I had kept silent, as the vilest and one of the lowest beings. But I refused to desert what I regarded as my duty. I wished to fulfill my duty. I acted fearlessly, although my heart was pounding. (*Alaudae*, 142)

Privately, however, Ulrichs was more willing to speak about homosexuality, although Persichetti told Hirschfeld that on this subject “he spoke only very seldom here in Aquila.” By January 1891 Ulrichs was in correspondence with John Addington Symonds (1840–1893). Although Symonds wrote on 23 June 1891 to his friend Henry Graham Dakyns, “He does not seem to care for Urnings anymore,” he may simply have been surprised by Ulrichs’s new interest (Symonds 1967–69, 3: 548).



John Addington Symonds

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149. The Swiss historian, Henne-Am Rhyn, had written to Ulrichs in 1870: “One cannot speak in favor of an evil cause with such enthusiasm as yours” (*Araxes*, 14).

John Addington Symonds, poet, literary critic, and scholar of the Italian Renaissance, was one of the most prominent English men of letters in the late nineteenth century. He was best known for his *Renaissance in Italy* (7 vols., 1875–1886), but had written and printed privately in 1883 *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, which dealt with homosexuality in ancient Greece, and in 1891 he had fifty copies printed of his essay *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, in which he showed a good acquaintance with Ulrichs's *Forschungen*. This was a recent acquaintance, however, for he “had not read the extraordinary writings of Ulrichs” until sometime after May 1889 (Symonds 1984, 64). Thus, after only recently having discovered Ulrichs's writings, Symonds could well have been astonished at Ulrichs's interest in Latin.

Ulrichs had asked Symonds to explain Tennyson's “Crossing the Bar”; he had seen the Latin translation of Henry M. Butler, but could not make out the original English, and so asked Symonds to put two particular passages into another language for him. Symonds commented to Dakyns:

Is it not funny for me and Ulrichs, me only interested in him because he championed the slave-cause of the Urnings, and him mainly interested in me because I can expound Tennyson's odd English—is it not funny, I say, for us to be brought together upon this extraordinarily trivial trifle—the Master of Trinity's Latin translation of the Poet Laureate's “Vale” to the public—when our original rapport was in the hearts and viscera and potent needs of thousands of our fellow-creatures. (Symonds 1967–69, 3: 548)

Nevertheless, in that same letter Symonds noted: “I am in daily correspondence with Ulrichs,” and on 10 March he mentioned to his literary executor, Horatio Forbes Brown: “Strange, wild, feminine letters from Ulrichs” (Symonds 1967–69, 3: 567). These must have contained much on Urning-love; none of them have survived. They were probably in the papers of Symonds, which Brown left to Edmund Gosse, who gloated to Symonds's granddaughter that he “had a bonfire in the garden and burnt them all” (Symonds 1967–69, 2: 381).

In October 1891 Symonds traveled from Davos, Switzerland (where he was living for his health), to Italy, where he was joined by his longtime friend, the handsome Venetian gondolier Angelo Fusato, who acted as servant. They arrived in Aquila on 27 October 1891, leaving the next morning. A few days later Symonds described the visit in a letter from Rome to Horatio Brown:

Next, by Orte and Terni, into the very heart of hearts of Apennines, to Aquila below the Gran Sasso d'Italia. They are ugly mountains, with no grace but that of rarely manifested atmospheric charm. Still Aquila is worth a long journey. It has great character, and some unexpected beauties of art. The main thing there was Ulrichs. I spent a whole afternoon and evening in his company. Ulrichs is Chrysostomos to the last degree, sweet, noble, a true gentleman and man of genius. He must have been at one time a man of singular personal distinction, so finely cut are his features, and so grand the lines of his skull. (Symonds 1967–69, 3: 619)

On 15 January 1892, after returning to Switzerland, Symonds wrote to Henry Dakyns about his trip:

I also went to Aquila, on a visit to old Ulrichs. He is a beautiful and dignified old man, living in great poverty. We talked much about “inverted Sexuality.” I wish I could see more of him. Fancy, he supports himself entirely by the sale of a little Latin newspaper which he writes himself. (Symonds 1967–69, 3: 650-651)

The following year Symonds recalled his visit in a letter to Edward Carpenter of 7 February 1893. (Symonds mistakenly recalled the month he visited Ulrichs and the name of the mountain, but the description shows the impression Ulrichs must have made on him.)

Did you ever come across any of Ulrichs's works? They are very curious. He must be regarded as the real originator of a scientific handling of the phenomenon, I went to visit him in November 1891. He lives exiled and in great poverty at Aquila

in the Abruzzi, under the snowy crests of “Il gran passo d’Italia.” There is a singular charm about the old man, great sweetness, the remains of refined beauty. His squalor was appalling. I drove to his house in a carriage, and then persuaded him to take a drive with me, which he did. He had no shirt and no stockings on. My magnificent Venetian gondolier and manservant was appalled at the sight of this poor beggar sitting next his padrone. However, I told Angelo that the old man was one of the men I prized and respected most in Europe. And Angelo got to like him in spite of his rags. (Symonds 1967–69, 3: 814–815)

Ulrichs makes no mention in *Alaudae* of Symonds’s visit, but he must have been in good health at the time, for he reports that three days later he bathed in the Aterno river. He had begun his river baths that year on 2 July and this was the seventy-eighth bath. He believed: “These cold baths are most effective for invigorating the strength” (*Alaudae*, 206). The first days of November were too cold for him, but he determined to continue, so that the number of his baths reached ninety-nine on 16 December. He measured the water temperature that last week; it was constantly ten degrees centigrade.

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Early in 1891 Ulrichs’s old friend August Tewes in Graz was made a Knight of the Order of the Iron Crown, Third Class. Ulrichs celebrated the event with a poem in *Alaudae*, titled “Salve, Eques Auguste!” (Hail, Knight August!) (*Alaudae*, 138). In 1892 he again mentioned his “old friend and compatriot” in Graz, and says he calls his three daughters the “tres gratias” (three graces), making a pun on the name of Graz (*Alaudae*, 240). He recalled the knighthood in his application to the Accademia Pontaniana in 1894, in a list of his friends, where Tewes is particularly mentioned as having “always offered me his faithful friendship” (Persichetti 1896, 7).

During these years Ulrichs’s contacts in the United States were increasing. In October 1891 (the month Symonds visited) he received a copy of *The University Magazine* and reported in *Alaudae* not only on the use of Latin words in American colleges, such as “alumni” and “campus,” but also on some of the customs, such as naming the classes “freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors” (*Alaudae*, 198–201). He then sent copies of this issue of *Alaudae* to various people he thought would be interested and, as a result, he

received letters from some of them. For example, Alonzo Church of Princeton University (still at that time officially the College of New Jersey) wrote to him in Latin (*Alaudae*, 230).

With the date 17 July 1892, over the name Persichetti, Ulrichs reported contributions to the Sallust monument fund from two of his friends: Giuseppe Mengozzi in Rocca San Casciano and August Tewes (*Alaudae*, 237).

December 1892 marked the three-hundredth anniversary of Galileo Galilei becoming a professor at the University of Padua. The occasion was duly celebrated and a number of the congratulatory letters were in Latin. Ulrichs requested copies of several of them for publication in *Alaudae* and published them along with the cover letters addressed to him (*Alaudae*, 259–260, 274–277, 291–292, 305–306). These included the letter of Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, dated 17 November 1892, who said that the psychology professor William James would deliver his congratulations in person (*Alaudae*, 292). (The University of Padua gave James an honorary degree in 1893.)

The major event of 1893 for Ulrichs was the fire he suffered on 27 April, which destroyed most of his papers, including the manuscript of the second volume of *Matrosengeschichten*, as well as all his flowers, which were many. He reported: “My joys, flowers, miserably perished,” and he listed nine varieties (*Alaudae*, 282). He took great pleasure later in reporting the replenishment of his collection. In the issue of August 1893 he recorded that the horticultural firm of Hage & Schmid in Erfurt had sent him an “extraordinary gift” of plants as “consolation” for his loss in the fire (*Alaudae*, 298). In the issue of March 1894 he reported a second shipment of seeds and bulbs from Erfurt (*Alaudae*, 336).

Among the few papers saved from the fire were two poems, one German and one Latin, on King Geilamir, last king of the Vandals. Ulrichs published parts of both in *Alaudae*, beginning with the issue of March 1894 (*Alaudae*, 321–323, 337–338, 374–375). The German poem “König Geilamirs Göttergesang” (King Geilamir’s Hymn to the Gods) was reprinted in Detroit (USA) in the German-language paper *Der arme Teufel* (The Poor Devil), giving Ulrichs occasion to joke that *Alaudae* was “trafficking with the devil” (*Alaudae*, 384). The poem begins (*Alaudae*, 321):

I am dying in expiation,  
Odin in heaven, god highborn,  
That our fathers did forsake you,  
Who became the Christians' scorn.

It was printed in its entirety in *Der arme Teufel* on 29 September 1894; the following week (on 6 October 1894) his brief Latin poem “Ad matris tumulum” (On mother’s tomb) (*Alaudae*, 305) was printed, along with a quite favorable review of *Alaudae*. Ulrichs reported this in the last issue of *Alaudae* (February 1895) and briefly quoted some of the review, with which he was obviously pleased, noting that it had been sent to several other American papers (*Alaudae*, 384). The reviewer wrote:

The German nation has at all times brought forth the most remarkable odd birds [Käuze] and sent them into the world as apostles of all kinds of liberal knowledge. They like to make their nests particularly in the ancient stonework of world history, where in the neighborhood the grape vines are not lacking. Such an odd bird, named Carolus Henricus Ulrichs, has built his aerie in Aquila, founded in 1240 by Emperor Friedrich II “deep in the Abruzzi,” and he publishes from there a world-paper in the Latin language titled *Alaudae*, the larks. A world-paper in the true sense of the word, for until Volapük one day becomes the cosmopolitan colloquial speech, Latin is still the universal language of the scholar and vagabond student....

The pope’s private pleasure consists of using bait to catch larks passing through the Vatican gardens—a noble sport for the visible Lord of Christianity. Our German countryman himself sends larks into the world. The journal is quite varied in its contents; the antiquarian, the language scholar find material, science, art, world literature, not to forget wine-table humor. This last in particular is charmingly pleasant, clothed in classical language. For former students it altogether offers delightful entertainment, and it is certainly not harmful if one has to search around in forgotten corners of his school bag. It goes without saying that Carolus Henricus is also a poet. In the last issue I published one of his German poems, which presents us the proof



that in the Catholic atmosphere he has still remained at heart a heathen Vandal.  
(Reitzel 1894)

In his quotation from the review, Ulrichs discreetly omitted the sarcastic reference to the pope's "noble sport," but he apparently had no objection to being called an "odd bird" and a "heathen Vandal." These expressions, which for that matter were well meant, were doubtless much milder than what he had heard in the past. It is not known to what extent Ulrichs was aware of, or would have approved, the anarchist views of the weekly paper and its editor, Robert Reitzel. The paper was a place of contact between German and American anarchists, and it was probably Reitzel who in 1889 brought together Benjamin R. Tucker and John Henry Mackay, the leading exponents of individualist anarchism in America and Germany, respectively (Riley 1972, 81). In the first decade of the twentieth century, Mackay, himself homosexual and a boy-lover, based his own campaign for homosexual rights on the concept of personal freedom, rejecting the Ulrichs/Hirschfeld "Zwischenstufen" theory.

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On 24 May 1894 Krafft-Ebing sent Ulrichs a copy of his latest publication, *Der Conträrsexuale vor dem Strafrichter* (The contrary-sexual before the criminal judge) (*Alaudae*, 355). Krafft-Ebing still held that homosexuality was a "sick, mostly hereditary degenerative condition" (Krafft-Ebing 1894, 6), but the booklet is a strong argument for decriminalizing homosexual behavior. It is subtitled: "De Sodomia ratione sexus puni-enda. De lege lata et de lege ferenda. Eine Denkschrift" (On the punishment of sodomy by reason of sex. On the present law and the law to be proposed. A memoir).<sup>150</sup>

Apparently prompted by Krafft-Ebing's book, Ulrichs wrote yet another petition to the Austrian authorities (Sulzenbacher 1994, 21). Ulrichs's letter to the Minister of Justice contains a copy of his petition to the legislature, beginning:

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150. The legal term "sodomia ratione sexus" (sodomy by reason of sex, i.e., the wrong sex, for example, two men) is to be distinguished from "sodomia ratione generis" (sodomy by reason of species, i.e., the wrong species, for example, a man with an animal).

For the kind use in the discussion of § 129 I allow myself to send my memoir to the legislators *Critische Pfeile*. I will follow it in a few days with two short discussions:

I. on the “downfall of many peoples” ...

II. on an unjustifiable age of consent, i.e., too high, the 18th year, recommended by Krafft-Ebing.

Krafft-Ebing had written in his “Critique of the draft proposal”:

The draft gives as motive for the planned retention of the paragraph against unnatural lust, that the state is obliged to exercise repression against this vice, through which, as history teaches, whole peoples have been depraved. (Krafft-Ebing 1894, 25–26)

In his rejection of this, Krafft-Ebing shows that his view is still bound up with the degeneration theory of Morel:

It is not to be doubted that, with the moral and physical downfall of a people, there is also an increase of crimes and very especially sexual perversions, but these grievous phenomena are only part of a larger whole—a moral-physical degeneration of the masses—and for the most part are to be attributed to psycho- and neuropathological conditions, just as still today these sexual aberrations are found based on neurotic hereditary taint. (Krafft-Ebing 1894, 26)

After pointing out that “the greatest statesmen, artists, and philosophers of Greece were given to boy-love [Knabenliebe],” he concludes:

Yes, one is downright allowed to assume that Eros inspired many to great thoughts and deeds, just as today there are sufficient contrary sexuals who feel themselves morally elevated in association with beloved persons of their own sex, for the source of ethical feelings is the same for hetero- and homosexuals. An under-

standing of these facts may, to be sure, only be won by those who recognize in homosexuality not vice, but rather sickness. (Krafft-Ebing 1894, 26)

It is this last point that Ulrichs contests in his letter:

Let me be allowed today to draw attention to only one thing. I must declare Krafft-Ebing's theory of the sickness of the phenomenon in question to be in error.... The "Urning" is healthy in body and spirit, and therefore also of sound mind, as every non-Urning.

Ulrichs then defends his theory of the inborn nature of Urnings and concludes with his usual rhetorical flourish:

Whoever is born an "Urning," that is, whoever through no fault of his own feels himself sexually drawn exclusively to male individuals, who accordingly cannot love women: does this person deserve persecution for that which his special sexual nature drives him to, what it requires with great intensity from him as tribute, what it, as it were, prescribes for him, what is for him a necessity of nature and a *necessitas vitae* [necessity of life]? that is, what is for him not at all *contra naturam* [contrary to nature]? (Sulzenbacher 1994, 25)

Unfortunately we do not have his "two short discussions." It would be interesting to know how he argued that the age limit recommended by Krafft-Ebing was "too high." We recall (see page 157) that Ulrichs approved the relationship of a 30-year-old hussar riding master with a 14-year-old boy. Krafft-Ebing's argument was at any rate too simple. After noting that the proposed law intended "a special protection from seduction for girls up to the age of 16," he concluded:

Now since the paragraph to be written will also, and probably more frequently, be applied to young individuals of the male sex, and further that an 18-year-old male

corresponds in psychical maturity to a 16-year-old female, then it appears to me that an age of consent of 18 is the most acceptable. (Krafft-Ebing 1894, 33)

In the end Ulrichs's petition had no more effect than his earlier ones. Hannes Sulzenbacher reports that on the file cover in the Ministry of Justice Ulrichs's letter is described as "confused" and easily dismissed:

The promised copy of *Critische Pfeile* was not added to the petition. About the latter there is really nothing to be said: one gets the impression, however, as if Ulrichs were not really normal. (Sulzenbacher 1994, 22)

In the September 1894 issue of *Alaudae* Ulrichs gave four pages to a discussion of Krafft-Ebing's book, without, however, once naming its subject! (*Alaudae*, 355–358). Its title, for example, he gives only as "Denkschrift. De lege lata et de lege ferenda." Nevertheless, the subject is clear enough for anyone acquainted with Ulrichs's earlier writings, and indeed, for the first time in *Alaudae*, he mentions one of them: *Critische Pfeile*. Ulrichs has high praise for Krafft-Ebing's effort to influence the proposed new penal code for Austria (which was to retain the old antihomosexual paragraph). He urges readers of *Alaudae*, in particular the "malicious detractor in Munich," to read the booklet. Ulrichs finds only one point of disagreement:

He asserts, I deny, insanity. To be sure, the medical doctors are in the habit of having insanity at hand. "When there's something they cannot explain, madness, they say, is in the brain." Although of secondary importance, there is this disagreement. (*Alaudae*, 356)

Ulrichs complains, however, that Krafft-Ebing has not given him due credit:

Of the arguments which he draws out into the field, I spoke out on precisely the most important before him, fifteen and more years before, in more than one little work. For in this same field I have struggled and I continued my struggles, even

speaking aloud at a congress of German jurists. He is acquainted with my little works. (*Alaudae*, 356–357)

Ulrichs goes on to quote from Krafft-Ebing's letter to him of 29 January 1879. Then:

And yet, he says not even one word now of my writings, as if all of this were from himself, as if he were saying it as the first, as if I had no part in which he brings into discussion.... His battle is a repetition of my battle. It is a continuation in particular of my book: *Critische Pfeile: Denkschrift an die Gesetzgeber*; 1879. Were my labors not worthy of at least a small mention? He uses two words of mine (pages 12, 14, 16); for I coined them. Why does he not say—since he knows very well—by whom they were coined? (*Alaudae*, 357–358)

(The two words referred to are “mannmännlich” and “Urning.”)

Indeed Krafft-Ebing ignored Ulrichs entirely in his booklet. Instead, he called attention to his continuation of the ideas of B. A. Morel, “one of the greatest French anthropologists and psychiatrists of France” (Krafft-Ebing 1894, 4). Despite his complaint, however, Ulrichs was clearly pleased that the struggle was being continued. Symonds had thought that Ulrichs “does not seem to care for Urnings anymore,” but in what was to be his swan song on the subject (and Ulrichs perhaps felt that it was such), we see how much the Urning cause still meant to him. Ulrichs concludes:

Nonetheless, I read with gratitude the things he wrote. Nonetheless, I declare publicly that I am obliged to him. Obligated because such a man continued things that I, anonymously at first, began, and because he has appeared as defender of that which is right as a noble and acute defender: more successful, I think, than I was.

My struggle perished in sterile sand. And yet, this at least is now allowed to me to say: I sowed the seeds; all fell on gravel or under thorn bushes. Only one fell on a human heart. This one germinated and the germ flourished and now has grown into full vigor. The battle of this man will not perish in the sand. The ice is broken.

It is, of course, a late amends to my labors, not indeed expressed in word, but in the matter itself. It is the testimony that it was a just cause which I defended; it is weighty testimony against the persecutions and wounds I have suffered. A late amends. For my honor is pledged in the question. And I give thanks to the GREAT HIGH GOD, that my eyes have been allowed to see this day so that I can still enjoy the sweetness of this late comfort.

I hoped for a long time. In the end I scarcely was hoping more. But now the remembrance comes to me, how strong the hope was in which I then trusted. For in a little work published at that time, I wrote:

Hope, yet hope a little while; hope, for just like Enna's vale;  
Uranians, uranians, your spring is coming without fail!<sup>151</sup>

The justice of the opinions arising at last, is that not spring? And is not some god sometime speaking also through the least of mortals? (*Alaudae*, 358)

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On 18 October 1894, having been proposed for membership in the Accademia Pontaniana by Professor Giovanni Antonelli of the University of Naples, whose son Ulrichs had taught in Aquila, Ulrichs sent him a “Curriculum vitae literarium” to support his application for membership. This distinguished academy was founded in Naples in the early Renaissance by Jovianus Pontanus (1426–1503), after whom it was named. Ulrichs was accepted as a member and a diploma to this effect was sent to him, but not until the following July, when he was terminally ill. In addition to the information given earlier, Ulrichs notes in his “Curriculum” that his name and some of his writings are in the annual *Deutscher Literatur-Kalender*. In fact, he is listed there as the director of *Alaudae* and a Latinist, but with only three works: *Auf Bienchens Flügeln*, *Matrosengeschichten*, and *Cupressi* (Kürschner 1894, 1228).

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151. This couplet repeats the last two lines of the poem “Hybla and Enna,” which Ulrichs wrote in 1862 and published in 1870 (*Prometheus*, 76–77).

Ulrichs lists in his “Curriculum” the names of seven particular friends, including his old friend August Tewes. The other six are Italian: V. Mariani and N. Persichetti (both of Aquila), Cavarocchi (Chieti), Giuseppe Mengozzi (Rocca San Casciano), Gustavo Sommati di Mombello (commander of the military recruiting office in Brescia), and Giovanni Antonelli (a citizen of Aquila, then professor at the University of Naples). He also lists various countries in which there are subscribers to *Alaudae*. These include “nearly all” the countries of Europe, with Great Britain and Russia having the most. Persichetti noted that Colonel William Siddons Young had gained for *Alaudae* some fifty subscribers in Great Britain (Persichetti 1896, 7).

The last issue of *Alaudae* (no. 33, 22 pages) is dated February 1895. The variety it contains is astonishing. It includes: Ulrichs’s Latin version of Heine’s poem “Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam”; part of his own German poem “Der Vandale”; the program of the comedy “Phormio” of the Roman playwright Terence as presented in Latin on 19 April 1894 at Harvard University (the cast included Professor J. B. Greenough, in 1888 co-author with J. H. Allen of a well-known Latin grammar); Greek versions of Heine’s “Du bist wie eine Blume” and Goethe’s “Ueber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh,” sent to Ulrichs by correspondents in Dorpat (now Tartu, Estonia) and Göttingen, respectively; a note on an exchange of letters in Latin between Ulrichs and Alexandre Dumas fils and between the latter and Sarah Bernhardt regarding his play “La femme du Claude”; the fact that the University of Pennsylvania has a secret student society named Phi Beta Kappa;<sup>152</sup> the quotation from *Der arme Teufel*; a reminder to readers that early issues of *Alaudae* contained the beginning of “Sulitelma” in Latin and that the original edition of *Matrosengeschichten* is still available; the report of one of his pupils, who saw a dead wolf being brought in for the bounty; his move to the “old house” in December 1894; and more! With unconscious irony, Ulrichs brought his life full circle, for the very last lines of *Alaudae* are a sample of the speech of East Friesland, “where I was born.”

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152. Ulrichs gives the Greek letters, allowing him to remark (in English!): “Were the Americans more fond of titles, he might affix φ.β.κ. to his name” (*Alaudae*, 383).

One of Ulrichs's most frequent correspondents at this time was Colonel William Siddons Young in England.<sup>153</sup> Ulrichs wrote for the last time to Young on 23 June 1895 (Persichetti 1896, 24); he apparently made no complaint of his health, but must have fallen ill soon after. As was mentioned earlier, Persichetti told Hirschfeld that Ulrichs had been ill for four days when he found him and had him taken to the local hospital. Hirschfeld's narrative continued:

Once when he had stayed away for some time, I went to look for him. He had already been lying four days all alone in his attic in the greatest pain. It was probably bladder trouble, for he could not pass water. I had a doctor fetched, who said he must go to the hospital immediately. He did not want to part from his books and flowers. But in the end I did take him to our hospital.... As he lay for the fifth day in the hospital, Persichetti brought him a diploma, which the University of Naples had sent him in recognition of his Latin journal *Alaudae*. But he was already too sick to be able to read it. He only smiled with satisfaction and died soon after in the arms of Persichetti. (Hirschfeld 1914, 966)

Closer to the event, however, Persichetti gave the doubtless more accurate report that the diploma in question was from the Accademia Pontaniana. He also stated that Ulrichs

received the diploma the same day in which, after having been struck by a serious illness, he entered our hospital. He refused to look at the diploma, as if this were for him a final derision of fate, a presage of his approaching end. (Persichetti 1896, 18)

Persichetti adds that the illness was nephritis (acute inflammation of the kidneys) and that he was with him when Ulrichs peacefully died in the hospital on 14 July 1895 at 5 p.m. (Persichetti 1896, 9).<sup>154</sup>

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153. Persichetti told Hirschfeld that Young "wrote him a daily Latin letter from England" (Hirschfeld 1914, 967).

154. In the first edition of this biography I stated that the official death certificate contradicted Persichetti's statement by saying that Ulrichs died in his own apartment. Hans-Peter Weingand has shown that this was "a false interpretation" of the death certificate, that the place of death given there, "Piazza San Basilio," was in fact the address of the hospital (Weingand 2000, 63). I am very grateful to him for this clarification.





## COMUNE DELL'AQUILA

Ufficio dello Stato Civile N. 1, L'Aquila,

### ESTRATTO DI ATTO DI MORTE

L'Ufficiale dello Stato Civile certifica che dal registro degli Atti di Morte dell'anno mil-  
le 800 novanta e cinque parte I serie — numero 277  
risulta che il giorno quattordici del mese di luglio dell'anno  
mille 800 novanta e cinque è morto in L'Aquila  
Ulrichs Carlo Amigo  
nell'età di anni ottanta nato in Aurich (Germania)  
il — residente in Aquila  
di stato civile celibe  
di professione professore

Si rilascia a norma di legge per uso

Al settore — data —

Li 8-5- 1995

L'UFFICIALE DI STATO CIVILE  
(Silvana Di Pietro)  
Ufficiale dello Stato Civile

Visto per la legalizzazione della firma del Sig. —

Ufficiale dello Stato Civile di —

Li — 19 —

IL PRESIDENTE

## Conclusion

Ulrichs's funeral the next day was splendid. The authorities in attendance included: Iacobucci, the mayor of Aquila; Ciolina, president of the provincial deputation; Mancini, the town clerk; Parozzani, president of the Technical Institute; Gentile, president of the Charitable Institution; Muzii, president of the council of public attorneys; Vicentini and Ulrichs's friend Mariani, both members of the organization of attorneys; and Cocciolone, president of the Workers' Society. In addition there was a "thick crowd of professionals, students, and workers." The funeral carriage displayed wreaths from the Persichetti family, from Tewes, and from the editorial staff of the local paper, *L'Avvenire della Democrazia*.

The funeral had no doubt been arranged by Persichetti, who delivered a long oration at Ulrichs's coffin. The account of all this was reported on 25 July 1895 by *L'Avvenire della Democrazia*, which printed Persichetti's oration in its entirety, including footnotes listing Ulrichs's various publications.

Even before this was printed, Persichetti had sent copies of the death notice, which was published in *Il Popolo Romano* (Rome) on 18 July 1895, to interested persons, such as the Baron von Gravenreuth in Munich (who replied on 20 July 1895). But by the time his oration was published in *L'Avvenire della Democrazia* he had conceived the idea of soliciting contributions for a memorial stone to cover Ulrichs's grave, which was adjacent to the Persichetti family tomb. Thus he sent copies of his published oration along with his request, one of the first going to Colonel Young in Malvern (England). Young replied on 3 August 1895 and proved to be the most generous contributor.

By October Persichetti was already planning a memorial booklet (Persichetti 1896, 23), and the above information is taken from that booklet, which Persichetti edited the following year: his preface is dated 14 July 1896, the first anniversary of Ulrichs's death. Its title is: *In memoriam Caroli Henrici Ulrichs, ephemeridis cui titulus "Alaudae" auctoris, sylloge* (A collection in memory of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, author of the journal "Alaudae"). This collection includes the newspaper reports mentioned, various letters of

appreciation of Ulrichs, most importantly his “Curriculum vitae literarium,” and finally a list of 43 contributors to the erection of a tombstone. The largest number of contributions were from Italy (17, of which 13 were from Aquila), Romania (10), and the United States (6)—these last apparently collected by Arcade Mogyorossy, editor of the Latin periodical *Praeco Latinus* in Philadelphia (Persichetti 1896, 23). The only contributor in Germany was a pastor, Dr. Karl I. Klotz in Nuremberg, an “old and faithful subscriber” to *Alaudae* (Persichetti 1896, 26).

*In memoriam* also includes an epitaph for the proposed tombstone, written by Enrico Casti, director of the library in Aquila. It was in fact inscribed on the stone slab that lies over Ulrichs’s grave—with changes in the length of some lines, so as to reduce the number of lines. (It follows here, with an English translation.)

HEIC COMPOSITVS EST  
 CAROLVS HENRICVS VLRICHVS  
 QVI NATVS WESTERFELD APVD FRISIOS ORIENTALES  
 OMNIGENA HVMANIORIS DISCIPLINAE  
 STVDIA SIC ADRIPVIT  
 VT A CL GOTTINGAE ET BEROLINI DOCTORIBVS  
 NOBILIS INTER AEQVALES HABERETVR  
 NOVA ANTHROPOLOGIAE  
 ET IVRISPRVDENTIAE PROBLEMATA AGITAVIT  
 CONSPICVA OFFICIA MERITVS EST  
 NON SECVNDIS ELATVS NON ADVERSIS FRACTVS  
 DIFFICILLIMIS TEMPESTATIBVS  
 AB HANNOVERA REGIONE  
 EXVL ET PAVPER MAGNAM EVROPES PARTEM  
 PERAGRAVIT  
 VBIQVE INGENII DOCTRINAE ET VIRTVTIS  
 SPECIMEN EXIBVIT  
 TANDEM AQVILAE IN VESTINIS DIV DEGENS  
 EDIDIT EPHEMERIDEM LATINAM

CVI TITVLVS ALAVDAE  
AB ANTIQVO AD NOVVM ORBEM IVRE LAVDATAM  
INSANABILI MORBO CORREPTVS  
NON QVERVLVS NON ANXIVS OBIIT IN CIVICO NOSOCOMIO  
PRID ID IVL A MDCCCXCV AETATIS SVAE LXX  
FIDISSIMI AMICI  
SVA ADMIRATORVMQVE ET TRANS ALPES STIPE COLLECTA  
AMICO OPTIMO DESIDERATISSIMO MONVMENTVM POSVERE  
NE VIRTVS OMNINO FORTVNAE LVDIBRIVM FORET

HERE LIES BURIED  
KARL HEINRICH ULRICH  
BORN IN WESTERFELD IN EAST FRIESLAND  
HE SO EMBRACED THE STUDY  
OF ALL THE HUMANITIES  
THAT BY THE LEARNED IN GÖTTINGEN AND BERLIN  
HE WAS COUNTED AMONG THE NOBLE EQUALS  
HE PURSUED NEW PROBLEMS  
OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND JURISPRUDENCE<sup>155</sup>  
HE WAS MERITORIOUS IN DISTINGUISHED DEEDS  
NOT HAUGHTY BY SUCCESS NOR CRUSHED BY MISFORTUNE  
IN DIFFICULT TIMES  
FROM THE PROVINCE OF HANOVER  
AN EXILE AND PAUPER HE WANDERED  
THROUGH A GREAT PART OF EUROPE  
EVERYWHERE HE GAVE PROOF  
OF HIS CHARACTER OF LEARNING AND VIRTUE  
FINALLY SPENDING A LONG TIME AMONG THE VESTINI OF AQUILA<sup>156</sup>

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155. The somewhat guarded reference to Ulrichs's *Forschungen* ("he pursued new problems of anthropology and jurisprudence") corresponds to the way Ulrichs himself mentioned this in his "Curriculum Vitae" ("I exerted myself also in certain areas of anthropology, so as to investigate an anthropological riddle. I published my researches in German") (Persichetti 1896, 6).

156. The Vestini were an ancient Sabine tribe, which occupied the eastern and northern bank of the Aterno River in central Italy.

HE PUBLISHED A LATIN PERIODICAL  
TITLED ALAUDAE  
RIGHTLY PRAISED FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW WORLD  
SICK WITH AN INCURABLE DISEASE  
NOT COMPLAINING NOR FEARFUL HE DIED IN THE CIVIC HOSPITAL  
ON 14 JULY 1895 IN HIS 70TH YEAR  
FAITHFUL FRIENDS  
WITH DONATIONS ALSO FROM TRANSALPINE ADMIRERS  
PLACED THIS MONUMENT TO THEIR BEST AND GREATLY MISSED FRIEND  
SO THAT HIS VIRTUE NOT BE A SPORT OF FORTUNE

Hirschfeld was touched on seeing this inscription on Ulrichs's tomb and gave expression to his feelings in the following rhymed couplets:

Two words alone that dug themselves in me,  
Engraved were there in stone for all to see.  
The fine inscription there that praised his fame,  
It also came from Persichetti's name:  
"Exul et pauper" could be read by men,  
For poor in exile has this hero been.  
(Hirschfeld 1909)

\*

In his funeral oration Persichetti said that Ulrichs had a profound knowledge of

history, archaeology, law, mathematics, astronomy, botany, and classical languages.... But what distinguishes him most and will immortalize his name is the noble mission he assumed with his *Alaudae*, of reviving and conserving Roman classicism, of spreading the use of Latin in science and in everything that has the characteristics of being universal and enduring. (Persichetti 1896, 17)

This has, however, not been the case, for the use of Latin has declined since then and Ulrichs's "mission" seems even less realistic now than it did in 1895.

Rather, his struggle for the rights of Urnings is the reason his name is remembered today, and, ironically, recognition of the role he played came only a few years after his death. Ulrichs wrote in 1894: "I sowed the seeds; all fell on gravel or under thorn bushes. Only one fell on a human heart." But he was mistaken in the man, for it was not Krafft-Ebing but Magnus Hirschfeld who continued the struggle for the Urning cause, who only three years after Ulrichs's death edited a new edition of his *Forschungen*, who consciously saw his work as a continuation of that of Ulrichs, and who in 1909, fourteen years after Ulrichs's death, was the first foreigner to seek out his grave (Hirschfeld 1914, 967).

Hirschfeld was perhaps politically more astute than Ulrichs: in 1897 he founded the first true organization in the homosexual emancipation movement and he was able to collect the long list of endorsements for law reform that had eluded Ulrichs. But in many senses Ulrichs was "one of the first and noblest," as Hirschfeld himself wrote (*Forschungen* 1898, 14). He was the first to state publicly and unapologetically that he was an Urning. We may respect the strategic reason for which Hirschfeld never did so, but it is precisely this uncompromising integrity that we admire in Ulrichs.

If the formation of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee in 1897 was a landmark in the early history of the modern gay movement, its true birth can be dated 29 August 1867, when, fully conscious of the historic occasion, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs spoke out for our rights and set us an enduring example. "I acted fearlessly, although my heart was pounding" (*Alaudae*, 143).

## Afterword

In the decade and more since this biography first appeared (the American edition in 1988 and, with some additions, the German edition in 1990), recognition of Ulrichs has greatly increased. Hirschfeld reported that it was on 18 April 1909, 14 years after Ulrichs's death, that he spoke with Persichetti in Aquila and:

When, on the afternoon of that day, I inquired about the grave of Carlo Arrigo at the cemetery, which is picturesquely situated in a valley of the Abruzzi, the old cemetery guardian told me that I was the first in the fourteen years since his burial to ask about my foreign compatriot. (Hirschfeld 1914, 967)

When I went to Aquila on 4 June 1983, I suspect I may have been one of the few, if not the first, to visit Ulrichs's grave in the nearly three quarters of a century since Hirschfeld was there. I asked the cemetery guardian about the Cappella Persichetti and, following his directions, soon found it and the tombstone that lay beside it. The tombstone was broken into several pieces and was so covered with moss and lichens that the text was hardly legible. But I scratched away enough of the growth to convince myself that it was indeed the tomb of Ulrichs and made several photographs. Independently, in the spring of 1984 Enzo Cucco, a gay researcher from Turin, made the first of three visits to Ulrichs's tomb (email message, 10 September 2000, from Enzo Cucco to [history@gay.it](mailto:history@gay.it)).

On 10 July 1988, prompted by the recent publication of my biography of Ulrichs, Massimo Consoli (from Rome) found the tombstone as I had described it: "broken in several places and with the inscription almost completely illegible. One could make out only the double name, the surname, and a few words in Latin" (Consoli 1988). In 1995, on the 100th anniversary of Ulrichs's death, Consoli led a group from Rome in a celebration at Ulrichs's graveside (Cadelli and di Giacomo 1995). Since then such celebrations have regularly been held there, the one in 2000, on the 175th anniversary of Ulrichs's birth, being an especially important international gathering from Italy, Germany, Austria, and the United States.



Ulrichs's grave beside the Capella Persichetti, 4 June 1983





Wolfram Setz beside the cleaned grave of Ulrichs, May 1995

In the meantime, there were also pilgrimages from Germany. Two members of a gay organization in Göttingen, Jochen Engling and Wolfgang Böker, arrived in Aquila to visit the grave on 7 May 1995 and returned again the following day. They reported:

The grave of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs lies, as described in the literature, next to the mausoleum of the Persichetti family in the cemetery of L'Aquila. The tombstone, which measures about  $90 \times 180$  cm, is of light marble with an inscription and is broken into four pieces. One of the pieces was missing and was found by us at some distance from the grave hidden by foliage. We returned it to its place. The inscription on the tombstone had become almost illegible because of a layer of moss, lichens, and dust. On 5 August we cleaned and straightened the stone. To document the inscription, which until now had been quoted in the literature only from a draft or (though only in individual places) in different versions, a series of photographs was

made of the cleaned tombstone. Finally we laid a wreath of flowers on the grave. (Engling and Böker 1995, 5)

Back in Göttingen, an effort had begun in March 1994 to persuade the city to erect a memorial to Ulrichs, which was noted the following year in the local newspaper:

The first gay man to come out publicly was Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in the year 1867. The gays of the region want to honor the champion of homosexual emancipation with a marble plaque: Ulrichs was a student in the University of Göttingen....

Ulrichs lived in at least three houses in Göttingen, according to the student enrollment list of the university for the years 1844 to 1846: Weender Strasse 24, Prinzenstrasse 11, and Markt 5. (*Göttinger Tageblatt*, 17 February 1995, 12)

Finally, in 1997:

We succeeded after long efforts in motivating the municipal authorities of Göttingen to honour Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. On January 17th, 1997 the memorial tablet was unveiled at the house Markt 5 (next to the old town hall) after honouring addresses delivered by Mr. Wattenberg, chairman of the committee for cultural affairs in the town council (as the town's representative), by Bernd Aretz who was our laudator and by Hans Hengelein, consultant for gay concerns in the Land government of Lower Saxony. (letter from Wolfgang Böker and Jochen Engling, 28 January 1997)

Gay groups in other parts of Germany have also shown an interest in Ulrichs, especially places with a particular association with him, such as Berlin, where Ulrichs was also a student. And not only gay groups: On the initiative of its editor, Martin Tielke, my entry for Ulrichs has been included in the *Biographisches Lexikon für Ostfriesland* (Biographical Dictionary for East Friesland) (Kennedy 1997). On 9 October 2000

Wolfram Setz gave a lecture in the provincial library in Aurich, the first public lecture about Ulrichs in his hometown (*Ostfriesische Nachrichten*, 11 October 2000).



Harald Hasel as Ulrichs (Munich, 28 August 2000)

In Munich, where Ulrichs met such resistance at the Congress of German Jurists in 1867, it is thanks to the efforts of the Münchner Ulrichs Comité that a small square bears his name since 1998. The official commentary reads: “With his public advocacy for the decriminalization of same-sex relations throughout the empire at the Congress of German Jurists in 1867 in Munich, he very much contributed to the legal and social equality of homosexuals.” And in 2000 on the occasion of the 175th anniversary of Ulrichs’s birth the Münchner Ulrichs Comité, along with other gay groups and with the support of the

Munich authorities, arranged an international series of lectures, which in addition to speakers from various parts of Germany included speakers from the Netherlands and the USA. The lectures have also been published (Setz 2000b). On Ulrichs's birthday, he was honored at "his" square in the person of the actor Harald Hasel, who had played the role of Ulrichs in Rosa von Praunheim's 1997 film *Schwuler Mut*.

\*

Very encouraging is the number of publications relative to Ulrichs that have appeared since the first edition of this biography, reflecting in part the discovery of new information. I have tried to take their discoveries into account in this edition, but some of the books may be mentioned here. Most important is the facsimile reprint of all 12 booklets of Ulrichs's *Forschungen über das Räthsel der mannmännlichen Liebe* (1994); an English translation of the complete *Forschungen* by Michael Lombardi-Nash also appeared in 1994. To these may be added Ulrichs's *Matrosengeschichten und Gedichte* (1998). The volume *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs zu Ehren. Materialien zu Leben und Werk* (2000) is a treasure-house of hard-to-find documents; it also contains the first evaluation of Ulrichs as a Latinist by Wilfried Stroh. A reevaluation of the historical role of Ulrichs is presented by Volkmar Sigusch in his *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Der erste Schwule der Weltgeschichte* (2000). Numerous valuable articles relative to Ulrichs have appeared, notably in the journals *Capri: Zeitschrift für schwule Geschichte* and *Zeitschrift für Sexualforschung*. One of the most original articles discusses Ulrichs's role as prophet—in the biblical mode (Hüttinger 2000).

The Internet, of course, is also playing a big role today in spreading interest in and information about Ulrichs. A quick search (in August 2000) on "Karl Heinrich Ulrichs" turned up nearly 400 links to various aspects of his life and work and influence, from an English translation of Ulrichs's vampire tale "Manor" (by Michael Lombardi-Nash, translator of Ulrichs's *Forschungen* and one of the speakers at the international lecture series in Munich) to brief biographical sketches—for example, by Frank Schrader in "Das schwule Magazin im Querfunk"—to John Addington Symonds's contact with Ulrichs (in a biography of Symonds by Rictor Norton).<sup>157</sup> You can even find information about Ulrichs's grave, with a portrait of Ulrichs and photos of the gravestone, at the

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157. Less than two years later (in March 2002) a search returned 650 links.

“Find a Grave” website. Special mention should be made of the website <[www.angelfire.com/fl3/celebration2000/](http://www.angelfire.com/fl3/celebration2000/)>, maintained by the indefatigable Ulrichs-activists Michael Lombardi-Nash and Paul Nash, which contains much information about Ulrichs (mostly in English); it also documents unfolding activities and celebrations relating to Ulrichs.

Thus it indeed appears that the name of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs will be “constantly remembered,” as Hirschfeld predicted over a century ago, “as one of the first and noblest of those who have striven with courage and strength in this field to help truth and charity gain their rightful place” (*Forschungen* 1898, 14).

## Appendix A

### Karl Heinrich Ulrichs Curriculum Vitae (1861)

(Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt am Main, Personalakte K. H. Ulrichs)

Free German Foundation

Curriculum Vitae of Member Karl Ulrichs

1. Full name: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs
2. Born: 28 August 1825 on my father's estate Westerfeld near Aurich in East Friesland (Hanover)
3. Current position: Forensic writer; titles: Amtsassessor and Gerichtsassessor
4. Legal domicile: Burgdorf (town near Hanover); place of residence: Frankfurt a M
5. Author of:
  - a. *Fori reconventionis origines et doctorina*: awarded the academic literary prize in 1846 by the University of Göttingen. Published by Dietrich, Göttingen, 1846.
  - b. *Pax Westphalica quid constituerit de principum jure reformandi religionisque exercitio subditorum*: declared worthy of the academic literary prize by the University of Berlin, 1848. (Not yet published.)
  - c. (together with Bruno Stralau of Verden as coauthor) Untersuchungen über die Deutschen und Nordgermanischen Götinnen Menglada und Ostara. (In press, to be published. [not substantiated])

d. Das deutsche Postfürstenthum, sonst reichsunmittelbar: jetzt öffentlichen Rechtes der Fürsten von Thurn und Taxis als Inhaber der gemeinen Deutschen Post. Giessen, Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1861. (Will be published in a few weeks.)

In addition, author of the just-begun writings:

e. Numantia Gordiana. A tale from the history of the Roman emperors.

f. Hermannschild. German heroic epic.

## 6. Education, life

I spent my happy childhood in the country, on the Westerfeld estate of my father (the Royal Hanoverian architect Ulrichs). He died on 24 August 1835 and was buried precisely on the day I became 10 years old.

From an extremely loving motherly care, I received in part my first education and in part a whole series of other ineradicable intellectual impressions and influences.

In spring 1836 my mother moved with my younger sister and me to Burgdorf (my older sister was already there): I remained only until Easter 1839, when I was confirmed in the Protestant Lutheran Church by my grandfather there, the Superintendent, later Church Councilor, Dr. theol. et phil. Heinrichs (died 1850) (the author of several sections of the Kobbe Commentary to the New Testament). There I also enjoyed his very scientific instruction, namely also in mathematics, for which he had a special liking and in which he excelled.

I spent Easter 1839 to Michaelmas 1839 in the school of Pastor Müller in Rössing, a village in the Calenberg district not far from Hildesheim.

From Michaelmas 1839 to Easter 1842 I attended the Gymnasium in Detmold (Michaelmas 1839 to Easter 1840 in the Tertia: Easter 1840 to 1842 in the Secunda),

since my mother's brother, Dr. phil. Heinrichs, was Lutheran pastor (now Lutheran Consistory Advisor) there and my mother stayed with him many times.

At that time it was my family's idea and mine that I not be a university student, but was to dedicate myself to architecture and for this reason I also applied myself more to drawing and mathematics than, for example, to languages. Thus I had not studied any Greek at all at that time.

My guardian in Aurich, however, asked me to study everything and only later to decide on what profession to take up according to my own rational judgment. Thus I began only the last semester of the Secunda to learn Greek. I quickly sought to make up for what I had missed.

From Easter 1842 to 1844 I attended the Gymnasium in Zelle in the Kingdom of Hanover, where I passed the final exam with "No. II with distinction." (At that time there were four marks: No. I, No. II with distinction, No. II, No. III.) In Greek, which I studied only two and a half years, I received the mark "very good."

Then I went to the university, where I devoted myself to law. From Easter 1844 to Michaelmas 1846 I studied in Göttingen, from Michaelmas 1846 to 1847 in Berlin.

I have always been healthy in body and mind; only as a small child and again in 1858 did I come down with a lung infection. In 1858 it was so serious that I hovered in danger of my life. A bodily-mental characteristic of mine is a certain passive animal magnetism (see the attached statement [quoted on page 60]); it first manifested itself in my sixteenth year, but I only became aware of it, however, in my twenty-second year.

In 1848 I took the exam for Amtsauditor with the mark "perbene" or "very good." I was named Amtsauditor in the office in Stolzenau an der Weser. I had scruples of conscience about taking the oath of allegiance; therefore I took it only with important reservations in September 1848, whereupon the Minister of the Interior (Dr. Stüve) "recommended" to me "to leave state's service again, if it did not suit me." However, I did not have occasion to do so at that time.

As Auditor I took part through speeches etc. in the People's Union there, something that brought me much displeasure on the part of my conservatively minded superiors, the Amtsassessoren.



I found little taste for state's service, longed rather for service in the Reich of that time. Therefore I traveled in January and February 1849 to Frankfurt and applied to Reich ministers Gagern and Mohl for a position in Reich's service—unfortunately in vain. Thus I returned to my state's service.

From spring 1849 to August 1851 I was Amtsauditor in Achim an der Weser, then went to Hanover to take my Amtsassessor exam, which I passed with the mark “very good.”

During this test I gave an oral report of several hours, which caused the Minister of the Interior (at that time van Borries; the person who now holds the same position again) “to recommend to me a greater brevity in practical things and the avoidance of too great thoroughness.”

Around March 1852 I was installed as Supernumerary Amtsassessor in Syke (cum voto in matters of Justice and in administrative matters dealt with by me).

In October 1852, when Justice was separated from Administration, I went as Amtsassessor to the Administrative Office of Melle ([footnote:] It is said of the beautifully situated Melle: *Quid est dulcius melle*—What is sweeter than honey?), at the beginning of 1853 in the same capacity to the Bremervörde office—until autumn 1853.

As in 1848, I continually felt the same small degree of satisfaction in state's service, and therefore also showed little zeal. The district magistrate in Stade questioned me about this, so that I applied to the Ministry of Justice to be transferred to Justice.

Accordingly in autumn 1853 I became Assistant Judge cum voto in the High Court in Hildesheim and was attached to the Great Senate there.

This position pleased me somewhat more, even if it too was not entirely to my satisfaction.

Meanwhile, an event that, to be sure, could not be unpleasant to me as a state's citizen, but could be in my particular connection as a state's servant, caused me in December 1854 of my own accord to apply for my dismissal from state's service, and this was also “on my request” granted me, with the tacit allowance of my earlier rank and title, as the Ministries of Interior and of Justice still recognized by several later written ordinances titling me Amtsassessor a D by the former and Gerichtsassessor a D by the latter. In addi-

tion my claim to the title “Amtsassessor” was expressly recognized by a judgment of the High Court of Zelle in (1858 or) 1859.

Since then I have lived in Dassel, not far from Göttingen, with my brother-in-law, Pastor Grupen, and with my mother in Burgdorf. In spring 1855 I went on a recreational trip to the Weser Mountains, spent some time in Kassel, Marburg, Frankfurt, Darmstadt, and finally settled in autumn 1855 for a longer time in Mainz, where I dedicated myself to various sciences and literary efforts.

The sudden death of my dearly beloved mother (the second day of Christmas 1856) called me back to Burgdorf in spring 1857.

In summer 1859 I made a trip to Nürnberg, Bamberg, Würzburg, Darmstadt, Mainz, Wiesbaden, and Frankfurt. I remained in Frankfurt, where I have lived since 20 October 1859, occupied with various studies, namely with poetry, German mythology, and German public law, and where I joined the Hochstift in winter 1859/60.

Frankfurt a M, 19 February 1861

Karl Ulrichs

Sigmund Friedrich Ulrich  
 Personalakte  
 des  
 Mitglieds  
 Carl Ulrich

1. Vollständiger Name: Carl Heinrich Ulrich.
2. Geburt: 28. August 1825 auf dem adelichen Gute Weyherfeld bei Auring in Ostpreußen (Gammern).
3. (ehemaliger) Beruf: Juristischer Assistent, Titel: Amts-Registrator und Gerichtshauswart.
4. Heimatort zu Lebzeiten (Stadt bei Gammern), Geburtsort Frankfurt a. M.
5. Werke von:
  - a. „Fori reconventionis origines et doctrina“: 1846 von der Universität Göttingen gekürzte akademische Jurisprudenz (im Druck erschienen bei Tiedemann zu Göttingen 1846).
  - b. „Pax Westphalica quid constituerit de principum jure reformandi“: 1848 von der Universität Berlin als akademische Jurisprudenz für vordringende Jurisprudenz (Werk nicht gedruckt).
  - c. (in Gemeinschaft mit Lorenz Mehlhorn zu Münster als Mitverfasser) Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des Protestantismus in Mecklenburg v. Ostpreußen. (Werk nicht gedruckt).
  - d. „Das deutsche Rechtswissenschaften, wenigstens mittelbar: jezt nicht unmittelbar. Gemeinverpflichtung der Rechtswissenschaften.“

# The beginning of Ulrich's Curriculum Vitae

(Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Frankfurt am Main, Personalakte K. H. Ulrichs)

## Appendix B

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs

Antinous<sup>1</sup>

### I. The Nile Journey

That is the emperor's ship, the pennanted Antinoëa<sup>2</sup>  
In Alexandria's port, before the rejoicing masses,  
In the first light of dawn, the oars upraised and the anchor  
Weighed, in order that now the breath of the sail-swelling north wind  
Toward the Nile cataracts directs the southward journey.

See you the emperor there at purple-shimmering ship's prow?  
Majesty joined with joy in noble Roman features.  
Now that Antinous there has climbed on shipboard with him!  
He who leans on the rail, 'tis he, and look! up skyward  
Hurled up now is his lance, yes, up to the hunting falcon.  
Does he not stand as if born from blood of the gods of Olympus?  
With his curly hair and limbs all full and rosy,  
From his gleaming eyes divinely innocent glances,  
With the youthful rose on swelling cheeks so dewy?  
Eros reigns from them and sends out inflaming glances  
Into women's hearts and all the sons of Uranus!

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1. This translation attempts to imitate the meter of the original poem. It is in the dactylic hexameters used by Longfellow in his narrative poem *Evangeline*.

2. The ship's name Antinoëa may be an invention of Ulrichs.

On Antinous' eyes he drinks in blessed hours,  
On Antinous' lips forgets he death and Hades.  
Surely with him would he move to blessed isles in the ocean,  
Gladly dwell with him in snows of the German northland,  
With him in India stay, or frequent the Garamentes,<sup>3</sup>  
Happy with him to touch the ends of the earth, this Caesar!  
Prayerfully he entreats the powerful gods of heaven,  
That no evil fate would rob the boy's splendor from him.  
Ah, you did not know the secret sullen decisions;  
Ah, you were not aware that on the shore of the Pontus<sup>4</sup>  
There in malice three nymphs were secretly plotting against you!

With its plowing keel the curved and beautiful trireme,  
Strictly kept in time by sinewy arms of the oarsmen,  
Like the paddling swan now cuts through reflecting waters.

## II. Fate

But there dwells a fate in halls of the highest Olympus,  
Uncomprehended and grand; the gods all envy the human  
Joy on earth when it nears the blessed delight of heaven.  
Thus they called up now from gloomy abyss of Orcus<sup>5</sup>  
From the avenging Erinyes pale and monstrous Megaera,<sup>6</sup>  
Her whose frightful head is circled by hissing vipers:  
Now to seek out the one on Nile's high dancing billows

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3. The Garamentes were a tribe of North Africa, conquered by Lucius Cornelius Balbus Minor in 19 B.C.

4. Pontus was the name of the Black Sea and also of a Roman province on the southern shore of the Black Sea, east of Bithynia (the birthplace of Antinous).

5. In Roman mythology, Orcus was a god of the Underworld, later identified with the Greek Underworld god, Hades. The word Orcus eventually became synonymous with Hades as a place.

6. The number of the Erinyes, also called Eumenides, was in later times limited to three: Alecto (Unresting), Megaera (Jealous), and Tisiphone (Avenger).

From the number of youths on board Antinoëa  
Who in growth and face is youthfully formed yet god-like,  
Him and his spirit bright to dim with the night's misty darkness.

### III. Clouds and Light

Backwards now they turned from Nile's high-falling waters.  
But Antinous sat his beautiful eyes full of sadness,  
On the gilded rail and looked from the pennanted ship's side  
Silently down the depths of dusky crystal-green waters.  
And the caressing zephyrs played round his hair's curly fullness.

Under the foredeck's tent, in shadow of Indian purple,  
Hadrian sat and brooded. Over the boy he fretted.  
And it drove him up. He stepped from the tent to the outside  
Quickly out and gazed, the wildness of god in his bosom,  
Forward on the ship, at him who sat eyes staring.  
And he could hold it no more.

Antinous, oh my beloved!

O boy, with virgin-glancing eye,  
I call thee, but thou dost not hear;  
Thou know'st not how my soul doth cry  
For thee, its charioteer.<sup>7</sup>

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7. The brief poem of Anacreon (to Bathyllus), recited by Hadrian in the poem, was quoted by Ulrichs in the Greek original (with his own translation in a footnote). The translation into English given here is by Edward Carpenter (1917, 72).

He there dreamlike trembled, stroked his ringlets slowly  
Back from his brow as though he never more would waken.  
Yet as he looked at him, whose love was on earth like no other,  
Like no wife in the world and like no father or mother:  
Then his heart rejoiced and so he looked back smiling.  
Hadrian trembled then the sacred shudder of Eros.  
Only a moment! And then a melancholy sadness  
Darkened again the face and features of his darling.

#### IV. The Nymphs

With the waters of Xynthos from the mountains of Pontus,  
Flowing through scented plains and forests with waters splashing,  
Swam and danced with waves in youth that never ages  
Nymphs with arms snow-white, the reed-crowned nymph Nychea,  
Caerula and Aquosa, down to the salty waters  
And the billowing waves, the heavenly blue Propontis.<sup>8</sup>  
For the evening winds had whispered in the forest:  
With the most beautiful man, though grown in Bithynia's meadows,  
Seventeen summers only, wanders now the Roman  
Ruler of his domain the lands of the world and its waters.  
Thinking triumphantly back on thousand years of cunning,  
Hercules had they robbed of Hylas with hair so golden.  
Now they desired to embrace once more a young man's body.  
Thus they swam the breakers through the Hellespont crossing  
Through the Aegean Sea. But at the seven-pronged delta  
There they rested a day, near faint from the tiring sea journey.  
Then they swam up the Nile, directly to Antinoëa.

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8. Propontis, today Sea of Marmara, is between European and Asian Turkey.

## V. The Robbery

And Antinous sat and looked again from shipboard  
Sadly into the waves and stretched his arms toward them.  
Down so long he looked until he saw them moving,  
Dancing up and down as though within was movement.  
See there appears before him three snowy lotus blossoms,  
One with a golden calyx, bright blue another, the third one  
Shines with a purple red. The ship along was gliding  
Past the palmy banks and singing pillars of Memnon:<sup>9</sup>  
But ship's full sails could not glide past the blossoms.  
Rather they traveled with her, playfully danced around her.

And Antinous saw this very play and considered  
Robbing one of the blossoms, strode down into the water.  
For on the port of the ship a stairway had been built that  
Led from the railing downward to the water's surface.  
There he bent down his hand, to seize a stalk that was moving.

Yet when he touched the water hands were suddenly rising,  
Six from the water together quickly drew him under,  
Him who toward it so oft had stretched out his arms from shipboard.

Then "Antinous!" heard the nymphs, such a woeful cry that  
Even the stones would have pity; but the nymphs however,  
They were harder than stone, and would not return their booty.

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9. The name of the mythical Ethiopian king Memnon was given by the Greeks to a colossus of Amenophis III at Thebes in Egypt, which gave off a sound resembling a chord when touched by the rays of the rising sun. The ancients depicted Memnon as a youth of marvelous strength and beauty.

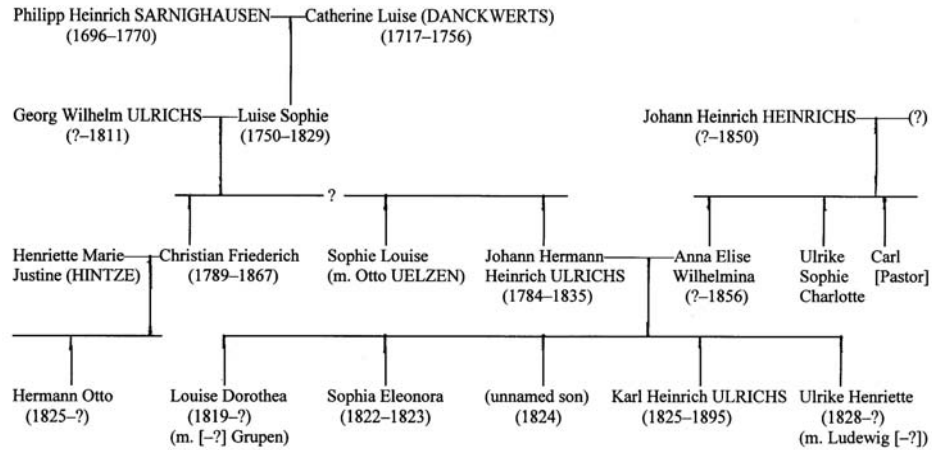


## VI. The Constellation

Now was the wailing man's heart consumed by unspeakable sorrow.  
So the compassionate gods, against Uranus' blue landscape,  
Near the Milky Way that winds so other worldly,  
Made "Antinous" shine—a starry consolation.  
That when temple and gems are gone, and marble statues,  
Still a shining sign looks down from the heights of heaven:  
For our race a speech that tells of an earlier rapture,  
Longing relieves and awakes, Uranian love's new witness,  
Till the earth dissolves and till the stars are fading.

*(Ara spei, 89–93)*

Appendix C  
Genealogy of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs



I am grateful to Jochen Engling and Wolfgang Böker for information on the ancestry of Christian Friederich Ulrichs.

## References

All citations in the text refer to the list of references. Citations to Ulrichs's writings are by title. Citations to other authors are normally given in the author-date form. Citations of archival sources may be abbreviated, as follows:

Cotta = Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Cotta-Archiv, Marbach (Neckar)

GU = Göttingen, Archiv der Georgia-Augusta-Universität

H = Archiv des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts, Frankfurt (Main)

NHH = Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hannover

SB-Berlin = Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

HNL = Hungarian National Library, Budapest

## Archives

Archiv des Freien Deutschen Hochstifts. Includes an autobiographical statement and 36 letters from Ulrichs in the period 1860–1865.

Cotta-Archiv. Includes 25 letters from Ulrichs in the period 1862–1874.

Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Letter of Ulrichs to an unknown addressee, Aquila, 17 January [after 1889].

Archiv der Georgia-Augusta-Universität, Göttingen. Includes a letter of 1846 from Ulrichs to the Curator in connection with his prize essay (4Ve 7, Nr. 16), an inquiry regarding a poem to the Crown Prince (2, Nr. 51), a report of Hofrat Ritter concerning Ulrichs (Schr.-Akten III A 2, Nr. 118), and Ulrichs's leaving certificate of 22 October 1846 (Juristische Fakultät, Zeugnisse).

Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hannover. Includes 4 letters of Ulrichs from the year 1856 (Hann. Des.80, Hannover I, Baa, Nr. 42) and Bestallungs-/Personalakten of Ulrichs from the years 1853–1886 (Hann. 26 a Nr. 6206).

Hungarian National Library, Karl Maria Kertbeny papers. Includes, among others, Ulrichs's draft of the "Bylaws for the Urning Union."

#### Writings of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs

A. Publications directly related to homosexuality. (The twelve writings with the collective title "Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe" are preceded by a numeral.)

1864

1. (Numa Numantius) „*Vindex*“. *Social-juristische Studien über mann männliche Geschlechtsliebe*. Leipzig: Matthes. xii+28 pp.
2. (Numa Numantius) „*Inclusa*“. *Anthropologische Studien über mann männliche Geschlechtsliebe*. Leipzig: Matthes. xii+72 pp.

1865

3. (Numa Numantius) „*Vindicta*“. *Kampf für Freiheit von Verfolgung. Criminalistische Ausführungen und legislatorische Vorschläge. Forderung einer Revision der bestehenden Criminalgesetze. Urnische Tageschronik*. Leipzig: Matthes. xxiv+28 pp.

4. (Numa Numantius) „*Formatrix*“. *Anthropologische Studien über urnische Liebe*. Leipzig: Matthes. xviii+66 pp.
5. (Numa Numantius) „*Ara spei*“. *Moralphilosophische und sozialphilosophische Studien über urnische Liebe*. Leipzig: Matthes. xxiv+93 pp.

1868

6. „*Gladius furens*“. *Das Naturräthsel der Urningsliebe und der Irrthum als Gesetzgeber. Eine Provocation an den deutschen Juristentag*. Kassel: Württenberger. 37 pp.
7. „*Memnon*“. *Die Geschlechtsnatur des mannliebenden Urnings. Eine naturwissenschaftliche Darstellung. Körperlich-seelischer Hermaphroditismus. Anima muliebris virili corpore inclusa*. 2 Abtheilungen. Schleiz: Hübscher, xx+50, xxxvi+[51–]135 pp.

1869

8. „*Incubus*“. *Urningsliebe und Blutgier. Eine Erörterung über krankhafte Gemüthsaffectionen und Zurechnungsfähigkeit, veranlasst durch den Berliner Criminalfall v. Zastrow. Mit 15 Fällen verwandter Natur*. Leipzig: Serbe. 93 pp.
9. „*Argonauticus*“. *Zastrow und die Urninge des pietistischen, ultramontanen und freidenkenden Lagers. Mit Erörterungen über Blutgier und Zurechnungsfähigkeit, kleinen Mittheilungen aus der Urningswelt und den Criminalfällen: Bischoff Morell von Edinburg, Graf Czarnecky in Posen, Superintendent Forstner zu Wien*. Leipzig: Serbe. 158 pp.

1870

10. „*Prometheus*“. *Beiträge zur Erforschung des Naturräthsels des Uranismus und zur Erörterung der sittlichen und gesellschaftlichen Interessen des Urningthums*. Leipzig: Serbe. 77 pp.

11. „*Araxes*“. *Ruf nach Befreiung der Urningsnatur vom Strafgesetz. An die Reichsversammlungen Norddeutschlands und Oesterreichs*. Schleiz: Hübscher. 40 pp.

1879

12. „*Critische Pfeile*“. *Denkschrift über die Bestrafung der Urningsliebe. An die Gesetzgeber*. Leipzig: Otto & Kadler. viii+99 pp.

1898

*Forschungen über das Rätsel der mann männlichen Liebe*. Edited by Magnus Hirschfeld. (Contains writings 1–12 above.) Leipzig: Spohr. Reprint in 30 copies, 1925; Reprint New York: Arno Press, 1975.

1899

Vier Briefe von Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (Numa Numantius) an seine Verwandten. Edited by Magnus Hirschfeld. *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 1: 36–70. Reprint in *Forschungen* 1994.

1920

Der Urning und sein Recht. *Die Freundschaft*, no. 43: 1–2. Reprint in *Forschungen* 1994, vol. 4.

1983

Zwei Briefe von Karl Heinrich Ulrichs an Paul Heyse, im Heyse-Nachlaß in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München. In Manfred Herzer, Erläuterungen zu zwei Briefen von Karl Heinrich Ulrichs an Paul Heyse. *Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft*, no. 2 (December): 20–26.

1994

*Forschungen über das Räthsel der mann männlichen Liebe*. Edited by Hubert Kennedy. 4 vols. (Bibliothek rosa Winkel 7–10). Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel. (Facsimile reprint of the original editions of Ulrichs's writings 1–12.)

*The Riddle of "Man-Manly" Love. The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality*. Translation by Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. 2 vols. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. (Translation of Ulrichs's writings 1–12.)

2000

*München 29. August 1867*. Edited by Wolfram Setz. Splitter 1, Materialien zur Geschichte der Homosexuellen in München und Bayern. München: Forum Homosexualität und Geschichte München.

Korrekturen und Ergänzungen aus zwei Handexemplaren. In *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs zu Ehren: Materialien zu Leben und Werk*, edited by Wolfram Setz, 45–68. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel.

B. List of publications not directly related to homosexuality. (Only books and monographs are included. Excluded, for example, are writings for newspapers. Some published poems are mentioned in the text. Reprints are not listed.)

1846

*Fori reconventionis origines et doctrina*. Göttingen: Dieterich. 65 pp.

1848

*Pax Westphalica quid constituerit de principum jure reformandi religionisque exercitio subditorum.* Berlin. (Although Ulrichs mentioned this essay several times, it was never actually published.)

1861

*Das deutsche Postfürstenthum, sonst reichsunmittelbar: jetzt bundesunmittelbar. Gemeinrechtliche Darstellung des öffentlichen Rechts des Fürsten von Thurn und Taxis als Inhabers der gemeinen deutschen Post.* Gießen: Ferber'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung. (*Archiv für das öffentliche Recht des deutschen Bundes*, edited by J. T. B. von Linde, 4 [2]: 41–296.)

*Der Nassau-Taxis'sche Postvertrag und der Braun'sche Antrag in der Nassauischen 2. Kammer.* Gießen: Ferber. iv+55 pp.

1862

*Großdeutsches Programm und Lösung des großdeutschen Problems.* Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft. 36 pp.

1875

*Auf Bienchens Flügeln. Ein Flug um den Erdball in Epigrammen und poetischen Bildern.* Leipzig: R. Schäfer, iv+144 pp.

1880

*Apicula Latina. Lateinische Studentenlieder. Mit angehängten kleinen deutschen Poesien.* (*Auf Bienchens Flügeln.* Buch II.) Leipzig: Kadler, vi+42 pp.



1885

*Matrosengeschichten. Sulitelma. Atlantis. Manor. Der Mönch von Sumbö.* Leipzig: F. E. Fischer, xiv+98 pp.

1887

Carlo Arrigo Ulrichs. In *Das literarische Deutschland*, edited by Adolf Hinrichsen, 656. Berlin. Reprint in *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs zu Ehren: Materialien zu Leben und Werk*, edited by Wolfram Setz, 42. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 2000.

*Cupressi: Carmina in memoriam Ludovici II regis Bavariae. (Cypressenzweige auf König Ludwigs Grab.)* Berlin: W. Pinn. 18 pp.

1889–1895

*Alaudae.* (Nos. 1–33, Aquila, May 1889 – February 1895.) 388 pp. (This journal was written entirely by Ulrichs.)

1891

Carlo Arrigo Ulrichs. In *Das literarische Deutschland*, edited by Adolf Hinrichsen, col. 1329. 2. verm. Auflage. Berlin. Reprint in *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs zu Ehren: Materialien zu Leben und Werk*, edited by Wolfram Setz, 43. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 2000.

1894

Die lateinische Zeitschrift *Alaudae. Jahrbuch des Scheffelbundes für 1894*, edited by A. Breitner, 295–297. Stuttgart.

1998

*Matrosengeschichten und Gedichte*. Edited by Wolfram Setz. (Bibliothek rosa Winkel 18.) Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel.

2000

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