

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825–1895) was a pivotal if enigmatic figure in the emerging historical discourse of modern sexuality. With no precedent or template to follow, he single-handedly launched a campaign of literary activism advocating for the rights of men who were sexually attracted to other men, publishing 12 books between 1864 and 1880.¹ He called these men ‘urnings’ and the men attracted to the opposite sex, ‘dionings.’² A lawyer by training, he based his arguments on contemporary medical knowledge and was influential on the emerging sexual sciences.

Scholarship has only turned his way within the last 50 years. More than a century elapsed between his main years of activity and the first historical appraisal. Much of what we know of Ulrichs came from his surviving correspondence. In contrast to his published works, the correspondence offers tantalising insights into Ulrichs’ intellectual world and networks of exchange. They also reveal facets of his character that extend our understanding of the man himself. Tragically, for the historian of sexuality, many of Ulrichs’ personal papers and letters were confiscated and then lost by the state and the remainder destroyed in a house fire in 1893. It is likely that many of the letters he wrote to others were also destroyed. Despite this, from the letters that have survived, historians can glean biographical details, insights into motivations and emotional responses and map out how other individuals reacted to Ulrichs and his campaign of literary activism.

ism. The following collection includes both the surviving letters from Ulrichs and, where available, the responses and unsolicited letters from others. Just under half of the letters are addressed to Ulrichs from other parties. The diversity of correspondents, including Prussian authorities, men responding to Ulrichs' writings, friends and employers, allows for a layered impression of where Ulrichs was situated and perceived by those interacting with him in correspondence.

The critical biographical narrative that follows guides the reader chronologically through the letters in this volume. It follows the flow of Ulrichs' letters, augmented by other sources not included in this volume. The narrative pauses around five points where a 'Spotlight' illuminates key developments in Ulrichs' life and campaigns in greater detail:

- Spotlight One: Employment in state service.
- Spotlight Two: Formulating the theories.
- Spotlight Three: Urning correspondence.
- Spotlight Four: Arrest and imprisonment.
- Spotlight Five: Rivals, comrades and followers.

Critical Biographical Narrative

Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was born at his family's Westerfeld estate near Aurich in the East Friesland region of the independent Kingdom of Hanover in 1825. His father, Hermann Heinrich Ulrichs, was an architect in the civil service of the Hanoverian government and his mother, Elise (nee Heinrichs), came from a prominent family of Lutheran clerics.³ Ulrichs' family was part of the *Bildungsbürgertum* (the educated bourgeoisie), that had emerged in the nineteenth century as the dominant political class.⁴ Ulrichs had two sisters, Louise and Ulrike, and described his childhood as happy (*letter 62*). Just before his tenth birthday, Ulrichs' father died tragically in an accident and the family moved to Burgdorf, where they could be close to his maternal relatives. It was from there that Ulrichs began his schooling, first in a village school near Hildesheim and then at *Gymnasiums* in Detmold and Celle, passing the '*Matura*' exam in Easter 1844 with second class distinction. Although it had been assumed that he would follow his father into an architectural career, his academic abilities, in particular his facility with classical languages, meant that he went instead to University. Ulrichs matriculated at the Georg Augusta

University, Göttingen, in the Easter term of 1844. Göttingen was at that time the preeminent University in Germany, particularly for the study of law. Ulrichs studied there for two years, during which he won a prestigious award for a Latin essay on cross-litigation (*letters 1 and 2*). While in Göttingen, he became fully aware of his sexual attraction to men (*letter 80*). Ulrichs transferred to the equally prestigious Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin (now the Humboldt University) for his final year. In Berlin, he developed a particular sexual interest in the Prussian soldiers who were garrisoned in large numbers there at the time. On graduation, Ulrichs returned to Hanover where he passed the Official Auditor exam in early 1848.

SPOTLIGHT ONE: Employment in State Service

(letters 3–39 in this volume)

On August 1, 1848, the Royal Hanoverian Ministry of the Interior appointed Karl Heinrich Ulrichs as an Official Auditor.⁵ Ulrichs would spend a little over six years working for the Hanoverian civil service, occupying six positions in the Ministry of the Interior and one judiciary role. The documents preserved in the Hanoverian civil service archives reveal Ulrichs' not entirely successful employment in state service.⁶ In addition to the letters to and from Ulrichs included in this book, the archives also contain internal reports and letters between his superiors about his performance. Together, these documents form Ulrichs' civil service personnel file. They do not make for comfortable reading.

The bulk of the correspondence in Ulrichs' personnel files relates to three of his civil service positions. In his initial period in the most junior position of Auditor he spent the longest period at Achim. Following the exams qualifying him for promotion to Assessor and two short stints in other offices, he was transferred to Bremervörde where doubts about his capabilities came to a head. Finally, after leaving the Ministry of the Interior, Ulrichs transferred to the judiciary at the High Court in Hildesheim. It is these three positions that will be the focus of this spotlight.

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Ulrichs started his period of employment at the High Court at Achim in February 1849.⁷ As an auditor, the most junior position for a lawyer in the Hanoverian civil service, Ulrichs kept the minutes, drafted briefs and executed other junior administrative tasks. His academic results might have indicated he would have little difficulty with these tasks, but Ulrichs struggled. On 23 July 1850, after praising his university studies and his gift for theory in a list of points, Ulrichs' annual review identified three other areas where Ulrichs' performance was considered to be inadequate:

3. that he has absolutely no practical sense, in such a way that one has to assume that he lacks the gift of understanding and judgment.
4. that he pleases himself in peculiarities, reluctantly learns about the traditional forms of business, or follow them, or does not separate the person from the business.
5. that in social life he is easily offended by his peculiarities and does not know how to find easier forms in social intercourse due to a certain obstinacy.⁸

These three criticisms were to be repeated at every disciplinary meeting throughout his employment in state service. They appeared to be touching on persistent character traits rather than specific tasks that he could master with practice. Ulrichs' superior at the time, Bailiff Meyer, was a sympathetic man. Ulrichs later commented that 'he seeks, as I judge him, to live at peace with everyone.'⁹ Meyer's letters to the Ministry reveal that he was withholding criticism so as not to discourage Ulrichs.¹⁰ However, unknown to Ulrichs, if it had not been that he was about to sit his second professional exam, the administration would have given him a final admonition while he was still at Achim (*letter 9*).

After Ulrichs had completed his civil service exams and had been promoted to Official Assessor, he served a short stint in Syke and then a few months in a similar position at Melle, before transferring to the office at Bremervörde in early 1853. Unlike Bailiff Meyer at Achim, Bailiff von Reiche, the superior at Bremervörde, was not one

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to forgive indiscretions or withhold criticism. Ulrichs noted that von Reiche ‘becomes annoyed and sensitive about the slightest detail.’¹¹ It was therefore not long before his performance became an issue. On 2 April, Chief Magistrate von Bülow wrote:

Bailiff von Reiche ... made it clear to me that among his great acquaintance of older and younger gifted and weak officials, he was convinced that he had never found one so useless in practice.¹²

Bailiff von Reiche suggested to von Bülow that Ulrichs’ substantial legal knowledge might be better exercised within a position in the judiciary branch of the civil service.¹³ After only four months at Bremervörde, the administration decided to terminate Ulrichs’ employment in the Ministry of the Interior and encourage him to look for an alternative career. On 14 May, Chief Magistrate von Bülow and Bailiff von Reiche conducted a disciplinary meeting where they impressed on Ulrichs that his performance was not satisfactory (*letter 9*). Von Bülow observed that Ulrichs responded to these charges with distress:

the Subject replied that the whole meeting, which was so painful for him, was so unexpected that he could not immediately make a well-considered statement about the importance of the matter for him (*letter 9*)

Ulrichs asked for the opportunity to respond, which was granted. However, he submitted this response—an ill-judged forty-six-page defence—a month later than promised.¹⁴ Ironically, and perhaps unwittingly, the defence confirmed all of the criticisms outlined in Ulrichs’ disciplinary meetings: it was over-thorough (or long-winded), included irrelevant material, lacked critical insight and had been supplied late, with no adequate explanation.¹⁵ Although Ulrichs’ account of his experiences in Achim and Bremervörde indicated he may have been the victim of bullying and poor management practices, it remained the case that the performance deficiencies noted by each of his employers were highly consistent.¹⁶

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The Ministry of the Interior responded within days of receiving his defence to say they would grant Ulrichs one year's leave from September 15 to make preparations for a new career (*letter 22*). He could not return to his old position, but he could find an alternative position elsewhere in state service. At the disciplinary meeting von Reiche once again suggested that Ulrichs might be better suited to the judiciary and Ulrichs followed this advice.¹⁷ On 4 November 1853, High Court Director Hagemann, President at the Royal High Court in Hildesheim, introduced Ulrichs as a probationary Assistant Judge in the court.¹⁸

Ulrichs initially fared marginally better in the judiciary (*letters 27–30*). Court President Hagemann was a more benevolent and perceptive superior than von Reiche had been. In a progress report on Ulrichs to the Justice Ministry on 3 October 1854, Hagemann acknowledged Ulrichs' deficiencies in the slowness of his work, his failure to distinguish between what was relevant and what was not and the poor quality of his written and oral presentations, but he balanced this by noting improvements and where qualities such as his legal understanding exceeded expectations.¹⁹ The conclusion of Hagemann's report contains sharp insights into Ulrichs' character:

He does not lack intellect, nor the good will and correct self-knowledge, his adaptability is, in my opinion, impeccable, his behaviour modest. The cause of his errors and his slow progress lies, as it seems to me, in a somewhat anomalous mental or emotional state, in a dreaming slackness and a departure from reality, the consequences of which manifest themselves in everyday life, and do not cause judgements or remarks without reason, which more or less expose him.²⁰

In the future, Hagemann felt that Ulrichs would benefit from moving to a new position with a strong but benevolent and able judge who could supervise him in cases that required substantial work but were not too difficult. However, he and Ulrichs agreed that he remain in this position at that present time.

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Ultimately it was not Ulrichs' professional deficiencies that were to be his downfall. In his letter of appointment, Ulrichs had been informed that 'his out-of-court behaviour will be taken into account and will be influential in his future employment in state service' (*letter 3*). The Hanoverian civil service required that its legal staff be above reproach and private lives were routinely scrutinised. His employers scrutinised Ulrichs' private affairs throughout his employment and on most occasions were found to be blameless. However, there had been a period early on in his career where concerns were raised; In 1850, rumours of his "unusual way of life" were circulating among colleagues. This led to an investigation that concluded 'Ulrichs obviously did not know how to make himself popular in private life, and as is so often the case in small places, stories have come into the public eye that do not hold up when examined more closely.'²¹ In February 1851, a report noted 'that he had been dining in pubs of second rank.'²² Ulrichs was discretely sexually active during this period and it is possible that he was visiting less socially constricted lower-class venues where he could interact with young soldiers.²³ After disapproval of his visits to 'second rate inns' was pointed out to Ulrichs, he avoided them.²⁴ No further investigation was conducted at that time.

In Hildesheim in 1854, there had initially been no rumours about Ulrichs so it must have come as a shock when allegations of his conduct were revealed. On 30 November 1854, Ulrichs heard that rumours were circulating relating to his sexual affairs. Rather than face disciplinary action or dismissal, he resigned (*letter 31*). Had he waited; the situation would have become much worse. The very next day, the prosecutor in Hildesheim reported:

On the 20th or 21st of this month, I was informed that Assistant Judge Ulrichs had been seen on more than one occasion in the company of persons of lower rank and under circumstances which suggested closer relations.

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On the following day, before I could carry out my intention of contacting the Praesidium of the High Court about these allegations, it came to my attention that, according to a rumour, Assistant Judge Ulrichs was having unnatural lust with other men.²⁵

While sodomy was not criminal in Hanover, §276 of the Hanoverian Criminal Code punished behaviour that caused public offence.²⁶ Ulrichs' precipitous resignation meant he avoided any disciplinary procedures or criminal charges.²⁷ Having resigned, the Hanoverian authorities took no further action. They purposely avoided a public legal process against Ulrichs as that 'could lead some to conclude that the immoralities carried on by the above-mentioned Ulrichs were known to the superior authorities before he was discharged from office.'²⁸ The Ministry had not fully investigated Ulrichs' out-of-office behaviour in Achim back in 1850 and wanted to avoid embarrassment.²⁹

Ulrichs' sexual private life was incompatible with state service but, consistently across all three positions, his professional skill set was also found to be deficient. Explaining his own sexual dissidence would become the crusade of Ulrichs' later life, but the character defects and failures at simple tasks are harder to map beyond his period in state service. It is possible that qualities that impeded his work in state service could have become, in other settings, neutral or even positive. His stubbornness and deficiencies in critical judgement may have enabled his later unswerving dedication to the activist cause and his remarkable bravery. Ulrichs' tendency to mix what in a legal setting was seen as irrelevant material into his arguments would become his idiosyncratic writing style in his books, where frequent diversions into whimsy, poetry, ancient history and quotations from his many letters, peppered his arguments. Ulrichs' poly-math interests and ability to see connections across disciplines generated insights not available to others, and in his activism they proved beneficial.

After resigning, Ulrichs went first to his sister Louise in Dassel to seek the spiritual counsel of his brother-in-law, pastor Johann Grupen, and then to his mother in Burgdorf (*letter 62*). Over the next few years, he tried to act as a legal advocate for the poor in the Hanover courts. However, he was frequently in dispute over his right to practice as an advocate or use his legal titles and was ultimately prevented from doing so (*letters 37–9, 121–3 & 131*). Ulrichs' mother died in 1856, leaving him a share in the house at Burgdorf and a small fortune. Taking advantage of the growing rail network, Ulrichs took the opportunity to visit cities across Germany including Nuremberg, Bamberg, Würzburg, Darmstadt, Mainz, Wiesbaden and Frankfurt (*letter 62*).

During this period, Ulrichs became involved in the debating societies that were then in fashion. The suppression of direct political activism across the German states following the revolutions of 1848 meant that other avenues for debate in societies promoting literature and science proliferated in its place.³⁰ Ulrichs joined and was active in the *Junggermanische Gesellschaft* in Nuremberg, Bavaria, in 1859 and, when he moved to Frankfurt on 20 October 1859, the *Freies Deutsches Hochstift für Wissenschaften, Künste und Allgemeine Bildung* (The Free German Academy for Science, Art and General Education). The letters Ulrichs sent to the *Hochstift* (*letters 40–68*) over the years 1860–1861 show that Ulrichs was extremely active in the society and spoke there on a wide range of subjects including poetry, jurisprudence and natural science.

In Frankfurt, Ulrichs worked as a secretary for Justin Freiherr von Linde, a conservative representative to the German Confederation Parliament. The Parliament governed 39 German states and cities, and von Linde represented Liechtenstein, Reus-Greiz and Hesse-Homburg. In this position, Ulrichs published two papers on the proposed reform of the post office monopoly.³¹ Ulrichs also worked as a freelance legal, political and legislative correspondent for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Germany's leading newspaper, and other newspapers published by the Cotta Publishing House. The prospect of German unification was the defining issue of his day, and there were two opposing positions: The left favoured a Greater Germany solution (*Großdeutsche Lösung*) advocating various models of a federal democratic republic uniting all the German-speaking states including Habsburg Austria; the alternative Lesser Germany solution (*Kleindeutsche Lösung*) was favoured by the liberals and advocated unification of the northern German, but not Austrian states, under an authoritarian, Prussian monarchy.³² During this period, Ulrichs advocated the leftist Greater Germany solution and published a 36-page essay on the subject in 1862.³³

SPOTLIGHT TWO: Formulating the theories

(letters 62, 66, 79, 80, 82, 85 & 86 in this volume)

Through Ulrichs' involvement in the *Freies Deutsches Hochstift*, he mixed with leading scientific, philosophic and literary intellectuals. The liberal progressive intellectual atmosphere of the *Hochstift* and its focus on rigorous science may have given Ulrichs the confidence to address, for the first time, the nature of his own sexuality. On 19 February 1861, he deposited a biographical note in the archives of the *Hochstift* and included with it a short appendix under the title 'Animal Magnetism' (letter 62).

This appendix, which was Ulrichs' first attempt to address same-sex sexuality, was a short explanation of his own sexual nature using mesmeric theories, which Ulrichs called 'spiritual-physical animal passive magnetism.' Mesmerism had a revival in the popular media in mid-nineteenth-century Germany, through the advocacy of Karl von Reichenbach.³⁴ Reichenbach's theories, dismissed by mainstream scientific and medical authorities, postulated a biological electromagnetic force called 'Od' that explained sexual and romantic affinity (among other things).³⁵ Having briefly introduced his own sexuality phrased in terms of Reichenbachian animal magnetism, Ulrichs stated that, because of the misunderstanding of several biblical passages, society had condemned this nature and science 'remains in complete error.' He considered this scientific error to be particularly disappointing and so requested permission to deposit a submission on the topic to the archives of the *Hochstift* (letter 62). This longer document was ultimately never deposited in the archives. As a first attempt to write on the subject, Ulrichs' passage on Animal Magnetism was difficult to follow and sufficiently obscure for other members of the *Hochstift* to mostly be unaware of what subject was being addressed. Although Ulrichs' obscurantist disquisition on animal magnetism may not have aroused much attention, it is possible that at least one prominent member took notice. The scientific materialist, Ludwig Büchner, had been one of the founders and was a board member at the *Hochstift* when Ulrichs deposited his biographical note. Büchner was a philosopher and populariser of science but had started off his career in medicine. In 1854, he had published an experimental scientific assessment of Reichenbach's theories.³⁶ If Büchner had seen

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Ulrichs' appendix on 'Animal Magnetism' he would have been in a position to understand what Ulrichs was trying to express. As a progressive materialist, Büchner would also have been more open-minded than much of the medico-scientific community at the time. By late 1861 the two men had become close enough for Ulrichs to visit and stay with Büchner in Darmstadt (*letter 66*). Büchner also stayed in touch with Ulrichs even after he had been expelled from the *Hochstift*.³⁷ A year later, on August 19, 1862, Ulrichs submitted a long scientific essay to the Cotta Publishing House for publication in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. In a follow-up letter, he indicated he would be willing to waive the fee if they published it (*letter 79*). The text of this essay has not been preserved as it was never published but Ulrichs quoted the title in his letter: 'The puzzling phenomenon in the natural history of the species: An opposing opinion giving rise to an unbiased, scientific, and social evaluation of the same: Particularly to a demonstration of the need of a special reform of German penal legislation' (*letter 79*). Ulrichs had possibly prepared this article from material he was assembling as a defence for Jean Baptiste von Schweitzer, the social democrat politician, who was then facing trial in Mannheim for seducing a young man.³⁸

The first appearance of his core arguments on sexuality and the medical evidence that he was going to use to underpin them came in four affectionate, but forthright and persuasive letters written to his relatives in the last few months of 1862 (*letters 80, 82, 85 & 86*). These letters are all that survive from a much wider correspondence that Ulrichs initiated to inform his relatives of his sexual identity, his theories about sexuality, and to discuss his intention to publish these ideas in books that he may already have started writing.³⁹ In the first letter, written to his younger sister Ulrike on September 22, Ulrichs used the words 'uranier' and 'dionäer' to describe respectively, men who were sexually attracted to other men and men who were sexually attracted to women. This terminology prefigures the 'urning' and 'dioning' neologisms in his published works.

In the second letter, a circular letter to his relatives written at the end of November 1862, Ulrichs discussed medical evidence he was newly acquainted with. On 23 and 26 November he had received

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letters from ‘an important scientific authority concerning various medically proven cases of hermaphroditism’ (*letter 82*). The source of this material he later referred to in his second book, *Inclusa*, as ‘a German physician, who is known in medical circles.’⁴⁰ Whether this was Büchner, who did send scientific evidence to Ulrichs as late as 1868, or some other medical man, this acquaintance was to be pivotal in the construction of Ulrichs’ theories. In a letter to his uncle, Ulrichs cited hermaphrodite case studies that had been sent to him, arguing that sexuality, like sex, was not binary (*letter 86*).⁴¹ Ulrichs’ books reveal that, as well as these case studies, he also made use of wider medical reading, including one further hermaphrodite case study, Hieronymus Fränkel’s study of Susskind Blank, anatomical text-books with embryological information, two essays from the leading encyclopaedia of the day and the works of the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer.⁴² It is likely that Ulrichs became acquainted with all of these texts around this time.

The letters to his family reveal not only an early articulation of Ulrichs’ sexual theory and political commitments, but also the limitations of his personal experience. His sister asked whether uraniers could love each other. Ulrichs considered it was possible but something he was ‘reluctant to explore,’ admitting that he ‘only knew a few’ other uraniers. Later in the same letter he told his sister that his understanding of his feminine nature ‘has only become clear to me since I have met and observed several other uraniers’ (*letter 80*). In a subsequent letter to his uncle, Ulrichs stated ‘All the uraniers I have asked (about six uraniers) are in agreement here, and all the rest will probably agree’ (*letter 85*). Surprisingly, Ulrichs was planning to act as a spokesperson in print for a class of people he had had minimal contact with. This meant his perspective on the identity and theories of sexuality he was delineating in print were initially very subjective. Ulrichs would address that subjectivity as he became more acquainted with other urnings through correspondence. Ulrichs’ initial theories were nevertheless sophisticated and well-articulated, so it is remarkable that they were based on such a small pool of personal experience.

Having completed his discussions with his relatives, Ulrichs likely spent the early months of 1863 wrapping up his affairs in Frankfurt. In January, he sent a copy of his newly printed essay of the Greater Germany solution to Hanover for Royal approval as much of the research for it had centred on documents from the kingdom's archives. This triggered a letter from the Hanoverian Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Frankfurt Parliament suggesting that they 'obtain more detailed information about the afore-mentioned Ulrichs in order to be able to judge whether his request for Royal endorsement should be granted.'⁴³ In reply, the Bundestag Legation said that 'nothing untoward has come to my ears' but that 'I remember having heard from Hanoverians that the reasons which led him to resign from the Hanoverian service were not commendable.'⁴⁴

By July, Ulrichs had left Frankfurt and was resident at the Schönbrunnen Hotel in Würzburg and by November he was staying with his friend August Tewes in Achim. Ulrichs stated on the final page of both *Vindex* and *Inclusa* that they were written in the summer and autumn of 1863 in Würzburg and Achim. With his publication plan now underway, Ulrichs had chosen to protect himself by leaving Frankfurt in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and by moving to places where there were no anti-sodomy laws: First to Bavaria (Würzburg) and then to Hanover (Achim).

While Ulrichs was in Achim, a notice appeared in a Frankfurt newspaper: The Examining Magistrate, Dr. Schneider, was calling for the apprehension of 'Carl Anton [sic] Ulrich, from Burgdorf (in the kingdom of Hanover and allegedly a former official assessor), against whom an investigation has been initiated here for attempts at unnatural fornication, and against whom I have issued a warrant for a trial today.'⁴⁵ Ulrichs had left Hesse by 16 July at the latest but this warrant was only issued four months later on 12 November. The timing of these charges may have had more to do with Ulrichs' urning writings than actual allegations of sexual misconduct. A few weeks later the Ministry of Justice in Hesse wrote to their counterparts in Hanover enclosing a copy of *Vindex* that Ulrichs had sent them. The letter referred to him as 'former Judge Carl Anton Ulrich from Burgdorf in Hanover,' making the same mistake in his name as the warrant did. It is possible that the Hesse authorities initiated the investigation on receipt of the unsolicited book from Ulrichs. The Grand Duchy of Hesse, of which Frankfurt was the capital, was one of the German-speaking states that still had an anti-sodomy law. Ulrichs was therefore wise to have left Frankfurt when he did.

Prior to publication, on 2 January 1864, the Crown Prosecutor in Hanover sent Ulrichs a sternly worded warning not to publish. Ulrichs

replied that he believed he was within his rights to do so and enquired why he had been warned against it (*letter 97*). Nevertheless, Ulrichs delayed publication while he waited for guidance from the Prosecutor. None came and Ulrichs became concerned that if he delayed it would be in effect an admission of guilt.⁴⁶ *Vindex* and *Inclusa*, were both published anonymously under the pseudonym ‘*Numa Numantius*’ respectively in April and May 1864.

Ulrichs also retained reserves to direct relevant works to legislators, courts and the leading minds in medicine and law. *Vindex* was a legal discourse whereas *Inclusa* was scientific and they were addressed to and intended for professional educated audiences. He knew that powerful political, legal and medical authorities could try to silence, ignore or exclude his ideas and chose to proactively confront them directly from the outset. Every time he wrote a new book, he would send copies with cover letters to those he wanted to influence, including:

1. Government Justice departments in Prussia, Bavaria, Hungary and Austria (*letters 109, 121, 165, 186, 192, 195 & 227*)⁴⁷
2. Courts in the process of trying urnings for ‘unnatural fornication’ (*letters 94, 110, 163, 166, 185, 192 & 221*)⁴⁸
3. Medical experts (*letters 107, 137, 146, 147, 161, 162, 177, 214 & 215*)⁴⁹
4. Leading legal authorities (*letters 105, 140, 154, 164, 168 & 179*)⁵⁰

For all the effort he put into this pamphleteering strategy, the response from his targets was minimal.⁵¹ He did receive a few positive replies and in the longer term his medical outreach did bear some fruit.⁵² However, the group that Ulrichs’ ideas had the most immediate resonance with were the urnings themselves.

SPOTLIGHT THREE – Uring correspondence.

(*letters 94–6, 99–105, 107–12, 136–42, 144–56, 161–2, 164–5, 167–72, 175–85, 187–94, 196, 211 and 213–6 in this volume*)

On 23 May 1864, Ulrichs’ publisher, H. Matthes, forwarded a package of letters to Ulrichs from his readers.⁵³ While *Vindex* and *Inclusa* had been addressed respectively to legal and medical experts, most of the letters he received were from urnings.⁵⁴ Ulrichs’ books were publicly on sale in H. Matthes bookshops at various locations. Same sex attracted men browsing the bookshelves would have been intrigued

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by the words prominently at the top of each cover: ‘man-manly sexual love’ (*mannmännliche Geschlechtsliebe*).⁵⁵ For those men who then went on to purchase and read the books, it wasn’t the scientific ideas or legal arguments that excited them. Their letters testify that Ulrichs’ outline of an identity had captured their imaginations.

Although he had used a pseudonym, Ulrichs had nevertheless written his books unashamedly as an urning, and the urning identity he described, its parameters and characteristics, was familiar to at least some of his readers. One correspondent told him ‘I find again my own self in much of your writing’ (*letter 111*) while another appealed ‘as a fellow-sufferer whose bitter experiences have changed into a rich life’ (*letter 99*). For some of Ulrichs’ urning readers, the delineation of identity was familiar because they had also made tentative steps along the same ontological path themselves. In the 1860s, a small class of men was emerging in Germany who were poised to become more assertive about their sexual identities.⁵⁶ Ulrichs coupled his advocacy of identity with a direct invocation to that incipient assertiveness. Ulrichs claimed that he was ‘overcoming hitherto existing hesitation and coming bravely forward.’⁵⁷ One cor-respondent expressed what may have been a common reaction: ‘You have boldly broken open the closets, even at the neglect of your social interests. I am deeply shaken by such daring.’ (*letter 111*). Ulrichs’ advocacy stemmed from the fact that he believed change was imminent: ‘In our century, indeed, in our decade, efforts will be made to abolish the persecution of man-manly love.’⁵⁸ His enthusiasm and optimism inspired his early readers and that was reflected in the volume of the subsequent correspondence.

Encouraged by the initial response, Ulrichs immediately started work on his next three books, *Vindicta*, *Formatrix* and *Ara Spei*, which were all published in early 1865. These new books now addressed the many urnings who had responded to his first books. Ulrichs was delighted to receive so many letters but directed his readers to respond in future on specific subjects with a ‘proto- questionnaire.’⁵⁹ Ulrichs wanted to hear from his correspondents about their own lives and experiences. In his idiosyncratic style, Ulrichs peppered all his subsequent books with liberal quotes from a

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portion of the letters he received. In his third, fourth and fifth books, he referred to 25 individual letters from urnings, 10 of which he quoted (*letters 95, 96, 99–103, 108, 111 & 112*).

The three most interesting letters that Ulrichs quoted described individuals whose sexuality or gender expression challenged his own theories. Ulrichs had originally proposed that urnings were a third gender with the bodies of men and the souls of women. The urning was supposed to be repelled by women and exclusively attracted to dioning men. Two of the letters Ulrichs had received were written by men who were sexually attracted to both men and women and one was written by a masculine urning who was having an affair with an extremely feminine urning (*letters 101, 103 & 108*). These letters directly challenged and could not be accounted for by Ulrichs' original theory and led him to revise and extend it to accommodate the new information. He acknowledged that dual-natured (bisexual) men must exist and called them 'Uranodioning.' Whereas he had previously argued that all urnings were feminine and formed relationships only with dionings, he now acknowledged that there was at least a variation in gendered expression among urnings. Masculine urnings he now called *Mannlings* and feminine he called *Weiblings* and he acknowledged that they could form relationships with each other. Ulrichs had many *Weibling* correspondents. He received copious descriptions of drag balls from men in Berlin, Vienna and London (*letters 141, 149 & 151*). There were also some men whose feminine nature was private and very much more complete, who might have identified as transgender today (*letters 181 & 187*). Few *Mannlings* were quoted by Ulrichs though he did receive letters from individuals claiming to be masculine urnings (*letter 109*).⁶⁰

Not all of Ulrichs' correspondents were as forthright. Ulrichs' books also came into the hands of men who had not previously addressed their urning natures. Some of the men who wrote to him were married men or men who had just come to terms with their identities (*letters 138, 139, 145, 153 & 181*). For these individuals, Ulrichs' books offered a tantalizing vision of possibilities that had not occurred to them before. One correspondent described the importance of Ulrichs' writing for this group:

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Thanks issue from the hearts of the unfortunate persons whose awareness you raised, whom you rescued from the abyss of self-contempt. Those who, themselves, have carried the life-negating secret in their soul, all the torments of this puzzling love in their hearts, and who because of it knew themselves to be condemned by the world—these alone can measure the value of your efforts in all their greatness ... They owe to you the fact that they can now breathe again, as if waking up from a nightmare. You have won for them again their self-respect! (*letter 189*)

For this group of men, Ulrichs' works were educative, a means to acquire and make use of the identities he was describing. An exercise in ontological definition was also an exercise in ontological dissemination. Ulrichs' willingness to be influenced by the evidence presented to him by his burning correspondents meant that he was able to reconfigure his theories into something that approximated more closely to the variation across the whole population of urnings. He was using the letters as case studies, much as a psychiatrist would. In the final iteration of his theories, after incorporating all the evidence he had gleaned from his urning correspondents, Ulrichs had developed a broader and more complex description of the urning. In contrast to his initial 'third gender' theory, Ulrichs now envisaged a continuum of identities with several axes including gender expression: 'There was a steady and regular progressive transition, i.e., a gradation of transitional individuals, from the *Weibling*, through the many phases of the Intermediate urning, to the *Mannling*.'⁶¹ This more nuanced and comprehensive theory was similar to Magnus Hirschfeld's 1905 theory that all of society could be characterised as sexual intermediaries (*Zwischenstufen*).⁶² Ulrichs' basic initial theory of identity, modelled mostly on his own experience, became in the course of his 12 books, a comprehensive and inclusive detailed identity crafted largely through engagement with a broad public readership of diverse urnings.

The letters from individuals with diverse sexual and gender gradations helped Ulrichs to refine and expand his definition of identity. Together with the full breadth of his correspondents, Ulrichs was engaged in a process of community-led ontological self-definition. In the decade before science turned its attention their way, this process generated all the categories that psychiatry and sexology would

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later rely on. What Ulrichs had accomplished for his urning readers was the intellectual articulation of their experiences as a broad and inclusive public identity. Ulrichs believed that society would change its views on sexuality once they were challenged by urnings who were open and unashamed of these public identities.⁶³ It took longer than he had expected but, in time, a class of men who publicly acknowledged their urning identities would be visible in Germany. A half century later, the vocal public communities of sexual and gender variant minorities in the Weimar period were testament to the process of change that Ulrichs initiated.

Just after books three, four and five were published, in early March 1865, Ulrichs began to seek employment again. He found a position that would have been ideal for both his needs and his professional experience: The mayoralty of the small town of Uslar. Ulrichs applied, but his reference from the civil service disclosed the sexual scandal that had prompted him to leave state service to the citizens of Uslar and, though he visited the town, Ulrichs was not appointed to the position (*letters 113, 114, 116 & 117*). This was the last time there was any evidence that Ulrichs applied for any permanent employment. From then on, he would rely on his occasional freelance journalism and on the donations from his wealthier urning readers, which he actively sought.

By this time, Ulrichs was receiving many letters from readers and, with a growing list of regular correspondents, he decided to set up an organisation. As well as those letters he quoted within his books there was probably a much larger number of people in touch with him, and he maintained long lists of names and addresses of these individuals.⁶⁴ In September 1865, he drew up a constitution for a 'Federation of Urnings' that would function as both a political force and a cultural body (*letter 126*). Ulrichs circulated this to his closest colleagues, but the Federation never progressed as other more important political events conspired to divert his attention.

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866 led to the defeat and annexation of Hanover by September.⁶⁵ The Hanoverian King went into exile at Heitzing near Vienna and Prussian troops occupied the Hanoverian state. The dream of a Greater Germany that Ulrichs had long believed in was at an end, but he was not ready to give up the fight.

SPOTLIGHT FOUR—Arrest and imprisonment

(letters 132–5, 157–9, 197–8 and 204–10 in this volume)

The file of documents in the Prussian State archives relating to Ulrichs' decades-long engagement with Prussian power is held in a folder with the headline: 'The proceedings against administrative judge Ulrichs, retired, for supporting the House of Welf' [activities supporting King George V].⁶⁶ They contain over 30 years of criminal proceedings, correspondence and other dealings with Ulrichs as a suspected political subversive.

In early 1867, Ulrichs' outspoken views against occupation soon caught the attention of the Prussian authorities. He had convened his own meetings in Burgdorf where he explained the current situation and argued against the annexation, calling for the restoration of the monarchy and the creation of an all-German democratic government (*letter 132*). For this, he was arrested. Ulrichs faced trial on January 26, 1867, and was then detained at the fortress of Minden on February 4. In this first incarceration, he was held a little over seven weeks until March 20.⁶⁷ Ulrichs mentioned in his confession that he had been publishing books on 'legal matters' in South Germany but there was no indication that, at this stage, the Prussian authorities had any suspicions about his urning activities (*letter 132*). On his release, Ulrichs was admonished and warned not to participate in political agitation (*letter 133*). The Prussian authorities had decided not to proceed with a full prosecution though they suspected he would reoffend.⁶⁸ Ulrichs did not participate in political agitation when back in Burgdorf but he did maintain correspondence with the exiled Hanoverian Royal family (*letter 133*). There was also an ongoing investigation in the civil courts where a Prussian military commander had accused Ulrichs of encouraging Hanoverian troops to desert rather than serve the Prussians.⁶⁹ This investigation led to a search of Ulrichs' apartment over two days in April 1867 where the correspondence with the Hanoverian royal family was discovered. Though Ulrichs later maintained his intentions were non-political, the replies from the Hanoverian Royal family in exile were incriminating (*letter 133*).

Ulrichs was immediately arrested and detained again at Minden for more than two months between April 24 and July 5 (*letter 197*).

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Inevitably the search of Ulrichs' apartment also uncovered his pseudonymous books, manuscripts for further publications and a large quantity of letters from his readers (*letter* 205). A report of 13 May from the occupying administration listed the documents that had been retained and concluded: 'most of the correspondence remaining provides the evidence for the correctness of the suspicion of serious crimes against morality, which existed earlier against Ulrichs. Neither the political nor the last-mentioned material can be returned.'⁷⁰ The authorities made sure the press were aware and they revealed to the public that Ulrichs was *Numa Numantius*, the author of the urning books.⁷¹ The release of the information to the media was presumably intended to intimidate him, damage his reputation and undermine his political activity. However, this may not have had the desired effect. Ulrichs had never intended to remain anonymous. He wrote in 1864 that he was maintaining the pseudonym at the request of loved ones but promised that he would throw it off 'at the earliest possible moment.'⁷²

Exposing him in the press may not have intimidated Ulrichs, but his detention in the vast, forbidding Prussian fortress prison at Minden must have been a low point. While Ulrichs was detained in the Officers Detention Centre, he was required to pay for his own meals in the mess and given no indication of how long his detention would last (*letter* 197). The case against him over encouraging soldiers to refuse to serve the Prussian authorities came to court on May 3, 1867, in Celle but was dismissed as no crime could be proven.⁷³ Similarly the charges of sedition also proved insubstantial. In a letter to the Prussian Chancellor, Bismarck, the Governor-General of Hanover, Lieutenant General Voigts-Rhetz, wrote, 'I am quite content to declare that the inquiries into retired Administrative Judge Ulrichs have yielded nothing significant in relation to his political agitator activity.'⁷⁴ Nor could they press any charges against Ulrichs for 'unnatural fornication' because there was no relevant statute in Hanover.⁷⁵ Ulrichs was released on 5 July with the 'obligation to take his residence outside the province or at Hildesheim.'⁷⁶ He chose to leave Hanover, never to return, and settled instead in Bavaria at Würzburg (*letter* 143).

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While still in custody on May 6, Ulrichs wrote to the authorities asking for the return of his property (*letter 135*). There was no immediate reply to Ulrichs, but it prompted the administration in Hanover to notify the Prussian government of the material, with the recommendation that they retain the political content and the documents pertaining to a 'crime against morality', whereas they should return to Ulrichs the other personal and professional items.⁷⁷ The nonculpable material was duly authorised for return, and Ulrichs received it once he had confirmed his release address in Würzburg, with a note saying the rest of the material had been retained for an ongoing unspecified 'criminal investigation' (*letter 209*). On October 10, the Prussian State Ministry requested that all the remaining incriminating material be sent to them.⁷⁸

This retention of his property obviously perplexed Ulrichs. It was not an insubstantial volume of material and included several hundred printed copies of his books, scientific texts, calendars, a manuscript of ancient and modern urning poetry he had intended to publish as '*Nemus Sacrum*,' a historical manuscript on Hadrian and Antinous, other collections of poems and a large number of letters and photographs (*letter 205*). Ulrichs waited a few months and then on April 19, 1868, when he assumed no 'criminal investigation' was still underway, he wrote again asking for the return of his property (*letter 157*). On this occasion he was told that the remaining items had been sent to the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin (*letter 158*). Indignantly, Ulrichs wrote to the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs demanding the return of his property and this letter, which had obviously been forwarded to the relevant departments for a response, had two notes in a different hand indicating first that the material was now in the hands of 'Privy Counsellor Wagener' and also that the matter was still under investigation (*letter 159*).

Ulrichs repeated these petitions to the authorities for the next twenty years, at periodic intervals. In November 1870 and January 1871, noting that others detained in Hanover had been exonerated and reimbursed, Ulrichs requested compensation for wrongful imprisonment (*letters 197 & 198*). A flurry of internal communica-

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tion between the Hanover authorities and Prussian government ensued, culminating in a decision that 'the complaint of the retired Administrative Judge Ulrichs of November 4 last year State Ministry number 2235 should only be referred to the files.'⁷⁹ On February 12, 1874, he petitioned the Prussian government and the King for the prosecution of the individual responsible for his wrongful arrest and detention as well as demanding the return of his property (*letters 204 & 205*). This time the internal communications went to the very top with the office of the Chancellor von Bismarck involved in deciding what to do.⁸⁰ In a letter replying to an enquiry by the Vice President of State, Lord Camphausen, the now retired Privy Counsellor Wagener wrote:

the documents in question, which were confiscated from Judge Ulrichs, were conveyed to me by his Highness the Lord Minister President, Prince Bismarck, with express orders not to let them enter the proper course of affairs of the Royal State, but to keep them at my side until further orders. Among the documents which had been confiscated there are, in large numbers, photographic portraits, correspondence and lists which refer to the connections with pederasts of the aforementioned Dr Ulrichs. These extend into the widest circles and in some cases have resulted in further steps being taken against persons who, unlike Dr Ulrichs at that time, did not enjoy the benefit of Hanoverian legislation.⁸¹

The Prussian government were using his lists, as well as the letters and portraits, where possible, to persecute urnings. These were the lists that Ulrichs may have been compiling for the formation of the Federation of Urnings. Ulrichs wrote that among that correspondence there were letters from 'London, Paris, Italy and Berlin—the ones from Berlin containing approximately 150 names, including those of persons in very high places.'⁸² The lists also contained 'so much compromising material relating to followers of the Welf party' that they were valuable to the Chancellor and his allies for leverage against opponents.⁸³ A direct request from Chancellor Bismarck followed, demanding that the documents 'be released to nobody other than by being forced by judicial order.'⁸⁴

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The political value of the documents meant they were held in secret. Engaging with Ulrichs by replying to or acknowledging his petitions would have led to their exposure. Likewise, any judicial action against Ulrichs could have compromised the material. The Prussian authorities steadfastly maintained their silence and took no action against him. Ulrichs did not give up and petitioned the government again in September 1874, October 1876 and so on until the final petition on October 15, 1888 (*letters 207–210*).⁸⁵ By the 1880s, internal correspondence in the Prussian government shows that the whereabouts of Ulrichs' documents were no longer known.⁸⁶

Ulrichs' tangle with Prussian authoritarianism in 1867 did not deter him. Within weeks of release from detention at Minden and arrival in Würzburg, Ulrichs had relaunched hisurning campaign with a public protest. The previous year, Ulrichs and his friend Professor August Tewes had submitted a motion on the legal rights of urnings to the annual Congress of German Jurists. This was the premier event for lawyers across the German-speaking world at a time when the unification of Germany and its various legal codes were under active discussion. As this motion was omitted from discussion, Ulrichs and Tewes submitted a protest motion to the 1867 Congress.⁸⁷ This time, Ulrichs attended the Congress and attempted to read out his protest from the platform of the Odeon Theatre in Munich. The uproar that greeted his attempted protest at the Congress of German Jurists meant that he was not able to deliver his speech in full. However, the attempt to do so marked the very first public protest for the legal rights of urnings. Ulrichs' published his account of the event under his own name in April 1868 in his sixth book: *Gladius Furens*.⁸⁸

Ulrichs was already working on his most important work, *Memnon*, which included a complete articulation of his scientific ideas that had been adapted to include the evidence he had gleaned from correspondence. *Memnon* was published in two parts in July and August 1868.

Ulrichs was at the peak of his career of literary activism when, at the same time, the Prussian crown was poised to achieve German unification. Prussian North Germany was already in the process of creating a unified criminal code, and there was every possibility that the Prussian anti-sodomy law would be expunged in the new code. In 1869, the nation was transfixed by the sensational arrest and trial in Berlin of the military officer, Carl von Zastrow, on the charge of the rape and attempted murder of a child and the rape and murder of a teenager.⁸⁹ Zastrow had a copy of *Memnon* in his apartment, and the courts and newspapers were trying to make the argument that it was Zastrow's urning nature that drove him to his crimes.⁹⁰ Ulrichs responded with a discussion of the urning nature, crime and violence in a new book, *Incubus*, in May 1869. Such was the public hunger for any discussion of the Zastrow case that *Incubus* proved to be extremely popular and was reviewed in several newspapers.⁹¹ Ulrichs revised and extended this work as *Argonauticus* in September 1869, which proved just as popular with the public.

The success of these two books convinced Ulrichs to plan a subscription periodical under the title *Uranus*. Only one issue, *Prometheus*, was published in January 1870 as the publisher did not consider the number of subscribers enough to sustain the publication.⁹² In the months that followed, it became clear that both North Germany and Austria would adopt anti-sodomy laws. Ulrichs' eleventh book, *Araxes*, published in March 1870, was a broadside addressed to both the North German and Austrian parliaments. In January 1871, Prussia, victorious against the French, laid claim to the whole of Germany and over the next year consolidated its rule with a unified criminal code retaining the anti-sodomy law.⁹³

Ulrichs moved to Stuttgart where he remained for the next decade. Perhaps uncertain of the new Prussian Germany and motivated by financial difficulties, Ulrichs ceased publishing for the next few years (*letter 199*). Over this time, he published only a small volume of poetry, *On the wings of the little bee: A flight around the world in epigrams and poetic images* in January 1875.⁹⁴ However, he maintained an animated correspondence with many urnings who had been inspired by his works.

SPOTLIGHT FIVE: Rivals, comrades and followers

(letters 126, 160, 199–203, 212, 217–23 and 225 in this volume)

In 1870, Ulrichs wrote of his pleasure and satisfaction corresponding with a ‘small circle ... whose number increases almost week by week.’⁹⁵ He went on to say that this small group included ‘Prussian and Bavarian judges in active service to the state; Austrian and Prussian officers on active duty, Austrian cadets, teachers in the high schools and in institutions of learning, booksellers, business people, factory owners, clerks, and travelling salespersons.’ Most of the correspondence from these, his closest associates, has not survived. However, there are exceptions. Letters to and from the following close associates in the cause have survived: Karl Maria Kertbeny, Carl Robert Egells, Jakob Rudolf Forster and John Addington Symonds. In each case, the engagement with Ulrichs spurred them towards their own efforts in support of the urning cause.

Ulrichs’ earliest follower and comrade was the freelance Austro-Hungarian journalist Karl Maria Kertbeny. Within months of the publication of Ulrichs’ first books, Kertbeny cited Ulrichs in a biographical passage on Charles Sealsfield.⁹⁶ Kertbeny may have sent this article and established contact with Ulrichs on or before 20 June 1864.⁹⁷ Ulrichs gleefully noted in the summer of 1864, ‘the first printed reference to my theories is in *Recollections of Charles Sealsfield* by Kertbeny.’⁹⁸ He must have implicitly trusted Kertbeny early on, as it was to him, in September 1865, that Ulrichs sent the only surviving copy of the by-laws for a Federation of Urnings (*letter 126*). Most of the correspondence between these two men has now been lost, apart from the by-laws and one single draft for a letter from Kertbeny to Ulrichs in 1868 (*letter 160*). This letter was probably intended to be the final letter in a friendship that was coming to an end. While they had exchanged many letters early on, it seemed that theoretical differences had arisen and Kertbeny’s alarm at Ulrichs’ arrest, documented in his diaries, meant the acquaintance soured.⁹⁹ Although the letter was hostile to Ulrichs and his campaign, it was also the first time Kertbeny presented his alternative ideas about sexuality and used his own new neologisms: ‘homosexual’ and ‘heterosexual.’ Kertbeny would go on to write and anonymously publish two open-letters to the Prussian Minister of Justice as pamphlets

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calling for repeal of paragraph 143.¹⁰⁰ He had intended to also write a much longer work but he suffered a stroke in 1870 and was unable to complete the manuscript. He eventually published part of this longer work as a chapter in ‘*Die Entdeckung der Seele*’ by the Stuttgart zoologist Gustav Jäger.¹⁰¹ It was this collaborative work that popularised Kertbeny’s terminology although, as it used a pseudonym and the two previous pamphlets were published anonymously, it would be many years before Kertbeny was identified as the author.¹⁰² While Ulrichs’ theories of sexuality were expounded in full over 12 books, Kertbeny’s rival theories were never published in full.¹⁰³

Ulrichs revealed his insights into Kertbeny’s authorship, motivation and impact in letters to a former soldier, Carl Robert Egells in Berlin. Egells first wrote to Ulrichs as an avid reader of his books in 1873, which Ulrichs replied to on December 14 (*letter 199*). Egells was the great nephew of Franz Anton Egells, one of Germany’s pioneering industrialists.¹⁰⁴ He was a masculine-urining, a *Mannling*, and had struggled to form relationships in Berlin (*letter 200*). Ulrichs referred to critics of his ideas and approach in this letter as the “Party of Grumblers”. Later, he described one of these “Grumblers” as a man motivated by unconscious jealousy who had tried but so far failed to produce a substantial work on the subject—almost certainly Kertbeny (*letter 202*). In a letter from Ulrichs of 21 May 1884, now lost, Egells’ friend Ferdinand Karsch-Haack later wrote that Ulrichs had specifically identified Kertbeny as the author of the two 1869 anonymous pamphlets on paragraph 143.¹⁰⁵

Egells appeared to have been a trusted confidante of Ulrichs and maintained a lively correspondence with him over many years. He had literary interests and in the late 1870s he wrote a homoerotic novel, *Rubi*, that Ulrichs promoted in his final book, *Critische Pfeile*.¹⁰⁶ This novel had faults, but it was the first literary presentation of an urining love affair as natural and morally neutral. Egells had sent a copy of his novel to a family friend, leading German author Paul Heyse, who took very great exception to the execution and subject matter of the book.¹⁰⁷ Egells sent or copied the content of this letter to Ulrichs, who then arranged for a copy of *Critische Pfeile* to be sent to Heyse on October 1, 1879 (*letter 217*). In an accompanying letter, Ulrichs conceded that many of Heyse’s stylistic

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criticisms were fair. This seemed to have the desired effect because a month later, Ulrichs wrote again to Heyse in reply to a letter that had been sent to him: 'we have finally, finally reached the point where thinking people test the matter' (*letter 218*). Heyse, who was not himself an urning, would go on to write several short stories with homoerotic themes, perhaps inspired by Egells' novel and this exchange with Ulrichs.

In the 1870s, while Ulrichs was living in Stuttgart, he met and then corresponded with Jakob Rudolf Forster. Forster did not have the educated background of many of Ulrichs' correspondents. He had been born into rural poverty in Switzerland and childhood sickness meant he attended school infrequently. In 1877, he was working as a honey pedlar travelling in Germany. At the Kreuz Hotel in Friedrichshafen, he encountered a railway employee who gave him one of Ulrichs' books.¹⁰⁸ This event captured an instance of the hand to hand distribution of Ulrichs' works that may have been common in the 1870s.¹⁰⁹ Forster sought out Ulrichs in Stuttgart and spent considerable time with him and some of his acquaintances before returning to Switzerland. Meeting Ulrichs had a profound effect on Forster as he later wrote: 'You have to love this man when you know what he's done for us. I will never forget this man, eternally grateful to him, wanting God to keep him alive for a long, long time to come.'¹¹⁰ Back in Switzerland, Forster worked tirelessly to advance the urning cause through publishing, advocacy and community building. For his efforts, he was repeatedly imprisoned in the 1880s and 1890s. Forster sought Ulrichs' support during his first incarceration in late 1879 (*letters 219–220*). Ulrichs did not send a petition for his release until too late, after Forster had finished this period of imprisonment (*letter 221*). More than any of Ulrichs' other correspondents, Forster was a committed follower and dedicated the rest of his documented life to the urning cause. He died in Zurich in 1926. One of the last individuals to engage with Ulrichs over the urning cause was the English writer, John Addington Symonds, then living in Davos, Switzerland. Late in life, Symonds had turned his intellectual attention to his own sexuality. In 1891, he was writing a sexual memoir. Symonds was originally struggling to describe his sexual self in the first few chapters of the manuscript.¹¹¹ However, the very

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act of writing these chapters may have made him delve deeper and prompted him, perhaps with guidance from another, to seek out the writings of continental sexual experts like Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Ludwig Casper and finally Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. What he read, changed his whole perspective:

When I wrote the above, I had not yet read the autobiographies of urnings printed in Casper-Liman's *Handbuch der Gerichtlichen Medicin*, in Ulrichs's "*Numa Numantius*" various tracts, notably in *Memmon*, and in Prof. Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*. I have recently done so and am now aware that my history is only one out of a thousand.¹¹²

Symonds was especially impressed with Ulrichs' uncompromisingly assertive perspective, though he did not necessarily subscribe to the whole thesis. When he had finished the memoir, he quickly set about publishing a polemic work on homosexuality.¹¹³ His *A Problem in Modern Ethics* was privately printed, distributed only to a circle of his friends, and drew substantially on Ulrichs as well as other continental sexual scientists.¹¹⁴ It would have been a new and exciting perspective for those who received a copy. Soon after, Symonds traced Ulrichs to Aquila in the Italian Abruzzo region and wrote to him. A probable draft of a response from Ulrichs to this letter is all that survives of what was an intense correspondence over many months (*letter* 225). In this letter, Ulrichs expressed surprise that nobody had sought him out on this subject for many years. It was a sentiment he expressed to another enquiry in February 1892 (*letter* 226). The rest of the correspondence between Symonds and Ulrichs is lost, though Symonds referred to it in correspondence with others.¹¹⁵ Struck with Ulrichs' standpoint, Symonds visited the old man in Aquila on 27 October 1891, accompanied by his lover/servant, Angelo Fusato. He told Horatio Brown in a letter of October 29 that 'Ulrichs is Chrysostomos to the last degree, sweet, noble, a true gentleman and a man of genius.'¹¹⁶ After this visit, Symonds collaborated with Henry Havelock Ellis on the first work of sexology in English, *Sexual Inversion*, which included thirty four case studies of men and women and argued that homosexual behaviour was normal and natural, and that it should not be illegal.¹¹⁷ Before *Sexual Inversion* was completed, Symonds died, on 19 April 1893, in Rome.

In 1878, Ulrichs started work on his final urning book, *Critische Pfeile*. Since the decade prior to this had seen a proliferation of psychiatric treatises on ‘contrary sexual feeling,’ some of which acknowledged Ulrichs’ contribution, he wrote to several leading medical authorities in early 1879 seeking positive testimonials. The replies he received revealed an emerging scientific consensus on the inborn nature of urning love at least among German medical experts. Ulrichs’ tireless lobbying of the medical establishment for more than a decade had delivered this consensus. *Critische Pfeile* was published in March 1879. Ulrichs did start one further book under the title *Der Urning und sein Recht* (The urning and his rights). However, he neither finished nor published it.¹¹⁸

Sometime in 1880, Ulrichs left Germany for good, crossing the Brenner Pass over the Alps into Italy. He travelled the length of the country, settling first in Naples and then in Aquila from late 1883. Spending his later life in exile, Ulrichs felt that his campaign had been a failure. He later wrote to an unknown correspondent: ‘It is the writings, the writings, that have brought me to the beggar’s staff by bringing me nothing. There should have been new editions long ago. Instead—oh! it was so hard for me to find any booksellers at all for these works’ (*letter* 226). Once he had left Germany, he stopped receiving the supporting correspondence from urnings. In his probable draft for a reply to John Addington Symonds, he wrote in early 1891:

Why did you not write to me 10 or 15 years earlier? If I had received two or three such letters at that time, they would probably have had a decisive influence on my work and my activity. It is now too late ... If I had received an incentive, I mean soon after 1880, for example ‘81, ‘82 or even ‘85, then I would have been ready to take heart again and resume my former activity. But this incentive did not come, and I despaired. (*letter* 225)

Ulrichs focused instead on earning enough to live on and turned his attention to publishing poetry and short stories. He had already published some poetry but in 1880 he published an edition of Latin student songs (*Little Latin Bee, Latin Student Songs*), in 1885 an edition of homoerotic short stories (*Sailor Stories*) and in 1887 a book of Latin poetry dedicated to the memory of the Bavarian king, Ludwig II (*Cypress*

Twigs on King Ludwig's Grave).¹¹⁹ When approached by the editor of a bibliographic calendar for a list of his literary works, it was these three books of poetry and creative prose plus his 1875 *On the Wings of a Little Bee* that he listed, with no mention of his earlier works.¹²⁰ In a subsequent letter to the same editor, Ulrichs mentioned that he was an independent scholar, studying the sciences, that he gave private lessons and that he was also writing journalistic articles for various publications in Germany and Austria.¹²¹ From May 1889 to February 1895 Ulrichs published a Latin newspaper *Alaudae* [Larks, the songbirds] that was read by an elect but widely distributed audience.¹²²

Ulrichs suffered a house fire that burned all his papers on 27 April 1893 in which he lost all his correspondence and books.¹²³ After years of silence on the subject, he sent a petition to the Austrian government for the reform of the anti-sodomy law on 18 June 1894 (*letter* 227). Around the same time, he reviewed a work by Krafft-Ebing in the September 1894 edition of *Alaudae*.¹²⁴ Ulrichs died after a short bout of nephritis in the hospital at Aquila on 14 July 1895 at 5 pm.¹²⁵

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The year that Ulrichs died, 1895, was a landmark year in queer history: Oscar Wilde was tried and found guilty of gross indecency in London in April and May; Magnus Hirschfeld, a young Jewish doctor, was making preparations to establish a sexual health clinic in Berlin and working on the manuscript for his first book on homosexuality, *Sappho und Sokrates*; Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds' work on sexual inversion appeared in Germany as *Das konträre Geschlechtsgefühl*. Each of these men was aware of Ulrichs and his works.¹²⁶ Ulrichs' campaign stands out because it preceded the flowering of Weimar homosexual culture, the launch of the first homosexual rights organisation and the establishment of the discipline of sexology by several decades. Ulrichs felt his ideas had been neglected in his later years, but his work had laid the groundwork for all the developments in the understanding of, and the fight for, the rights of homosexuals in the century that followed.

NOTES

1. Ulrichs used the words ‘*Druckschriften*’ (pamphlets), ‘*Hefte*’ (booklets) and ‘*Bücher*’ (books) to describe his publications. The 12 books on urn- ing rights vary in page length from just under 50 pages to more than 100 and the content is weighty and substantial. Properly speaking these are small books in a series of 12.
2. Although Ulrichs did include women in his theory (he called lesbians *Urnin* and straight women *Dioningin*) his main theoretical arguments and all of the engagement with correspondents that helped him make adjustments to it were focused entirely on male sexuality.
3. Hubert Kennedy. 2005. *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs: Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement*. Concord, California: Peremptory Publications. 1.
4. Robert Beachy. 2014. *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a modern gay identity*. New York: Vintage Books. 8.
5. Letter from the Royal Ministry of the Interior, Hanover, to the Stolzenau Office, August 1, 1848. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. 80 Hannover Nr. 11614, ff3–4.
6. Ulrichs later wrote that he had ‘little taste for state services and rather longed for the then federal civil service’ (*letter 62*). Following the March 1848 revolution, elections for a new federal parliament in May 1848 brought in a liberal reformist government (Norman Davis. 1996. *Europe: A History*. Oxford: OUP. 805.). In January and February of 1849, Ulrichs travelled to Frankfurt and unsuccessfully lobbied the Frankfurt National Assembly for a position (*letter 62*).
7. Letter from the Ministry of the Interior to the Royal Court at Achim, February 9, 1849. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 5951, f3.
8. My translation of ‘3. daß er durchaus keinen practischen Sinn hat, in der Art, daß man annehmen muß, es fehle ihm an Auffassungs- und Beurtheilungsgabe (.judicium.) 4. daß er sich in Sonderbarkeiten gefällt, sich ungern über die hergebrachten Geschäftsformen belehrt, oder sie befolgt, auch die Person vom Geschäfte nicht trennt. 5. daß er im geselligen Leben gerade durch seine Sonderbarkeiten leicht anstößt und durch einen gewissen Eigensinn leichtere Formen im geselligen Verkehr nicht zu finden weiß.’ Annual review of Ulrichs by Bailiff Meyer, 23 July 1850. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff6–10.
9. My translation of ‘*Er sucht, wie ich ihn beurtheile, mit Jedem in Frieden zu leben.*’ Ulrichs’ 46-page defence document, 4 August 1853. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff65–82.

10. Letters from Bailiff Meyer to Chief Magistrate Bülow, 2 January and 11 February 1851. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff14–21.
11. My translation of ‘*er über die geringste Kleinigkeit verdrießlich und empfindlich wird.*’ Footnote 11 in Ulrichs’ 46-page defence document, 4 August 1853. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff65–82.
12. My translation of ‘*der Amtmann von Reiche, ... mir bemerklich gemacht, daß er unter seiner großen Bekanntschaft von ältern und jüngern begabten und schwachen Beamten, nach seiner Überzeugung noch niemals einen, practisch so unbrauchbaren, gefunden habe.*’ Letter from Chief Magistrate Baron von Bülow, Royal Administration in Stade, to the Ministry of the Interior, 2 April 1853. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff28–30.
13. Letter from Chief Magistrate Baron von Bülow, Royal Administration in Stade, to the Ministry of the Interior, 2 April 1853. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff28–30.
14. 46-page report declaration and defence of Assessor Ulrichs at Bremervörde, 4 August 1853. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff61–106.
15. Letters 10–22 in this volume give ample evidence to the exasperation but a copious number of outraged internal letters also passed between Chief Magistrate von Bülow, Bailiff von Reiche and the Ministry. On 13 August 1853, Chief Magistrate von Bülow reported a fractious meeting with Bailiff von Reiche where the same demanded urgently that he be relieved of Ulrichs. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, f112.
16. This personnel record is not the only evidence of Ulrichs’ idiosyncratic work style. Ulrichs later admitted in a letter to Carl Robert Egells that he was a slow writer, just as his employers had noted (*letter 201*). His eccentric working style was also noted by a later employer who praised his behaviour but said he was ‘a quiet, withdrawn character who devotes himself with rather exclusive preference to the work bench and the study of books, and who probably neglects outward appearances in the process.’ My translation of ‘*einen stillen, zurückgezogenen Charakter, der sich mit ziemlich ausschließlicher Vorliebe dem Arbeitstische und dem Bücherstudium widme, und darüber wohl Äußerlichkeiten vernachlässige.*’ Paraphrased comments of Privy Councillor von Linde in a letter from the Bundestag Legation to Count Adolf von Platen-Hallermünde, 16 January 1863. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. Dep. 103 IV, No. 3850, ff14–5.

17. Two years earlier, in January 1851, Bailiff Meyer had made the same suggestion. Letter from Bailiff Meyer to Chief Magistrate Bülow, 2 January 1851. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff14–6.
18. Proceedings of the Royal High Court at Hildesheim, November 4, 1853. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. 26a Nr. 6206, ff15–6.
19. Report from Hagemann, President of the Royal High Court at Hildesheim, to Royal Ministry of Justice at Hanover, October 3, 1854. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. 26a Nr. 6206, ff 33–5.
20. My translation of ‘*Es fehlt ihm nicht am Verstande, nicht am guten Willen, nicht an richtiger Selbsterkenntnis, sein Wandel ist, meines Wißens, tadellos, sein Verhalten bescheiden. Der Grund aller Fehler und seiner langsamen Fortschritte liegt, wie mir scheint, in einer etwas anomalen Geistes- oder Gemüthsrichtung, in einer—ich möchte sagen träumenden Schlawfrheit und in einer Abkehr vom Wirklichen, deren Folgen auch im täglichen Leben sich äußern und nicht ohne Grund Urtheile oder Bemerkungen veranlassen, welche ihn mehr oder weniger bloß stellen.*’ Report from Hagemann, President of the Royal High Court at Hildesheim, to Royal Ministry of Justice at Hanover, October 3, 1854. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. 26a Nr. 6206, ff33–5.
21. My translation of ‘*seine ungewöhnliche Lebensweise.*’ Letter from Chief Magistrate Bülow to Bailiff Meyer, 27 November 1850. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff 11–13); My translation of ‘*Ulrichs hat sich offenbar, im Privat Leben, nicht beliebt zu machen gewusst, und so sind wie das an kleinen Orten so oft ist, Geschichten ins Publicum gekommen, die bey genauerer Prüfung nicht sich halten.*’ Letter from Bailiff Meyer to Chief Magistrate Bülow, 2 January 1851. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff14–6.
22. Letter from Bailiff Meyer to Chief Magistrate Bülow, 11 February 1851. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff18–21.
23. A love poem dated 17 June 1851 recounted the bittersweet love affair Ulrichs had with a Hussar called Andreas, which must have been conducted around the time the reports on his private behaviour were made (Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1868. *Memnon, Abtheilung I*. Schleiz: C. Hübscher’sche Buchhandlung. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book Seven: Memnon I. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume I* [trans Lombardi-Nash, M.]. 289–333. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. 298–9).
24. My translation of ‘*Wirthshäusern zweiten Ranges.*’ Letter from Bailiff Meyer to Chief Magistrate Bülow, 11 February 1851. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv—Standort Stade Rep. 80, Nr. 7201, ff18–21.

25. My translation of 'Am 20. oder 21. d.Mt. wurde mir mitgetheilt, daß der Gerichtsassessor Ulrichs häufiger mit Personen niedrigen Standes und zwar unter Umständen gesehen sein solle, die auf näheren Umgang schließen ließen. Am folgenden Tage, bevor ich meine Absicht, mich mit dem Präsidio des Obergerichts über jene Mittheilungen in Verbindung zu setzen, zur Ausführung bringen konnte, kam zu meiner Kenntniß, daß einem Gerüchte zufolge der Gerichtsassessor Ulrichs mit anderen Männern widernatürliche Wollust treibe.' Letter from the Prosecutor of the Royal High Court at Hildesheim to Royal Ministry of Justice at Hanover, December 1, 1854. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. 26a Nr. 6206, ff38–40.
26. Rainer Hoffschildt. 1992. *Olivia: Die bisher geheime Geschichte des Tabus Homosexualität und der verfolgung der Homosexuellen in Hannover*. Hannover: Selbstverlag. 18.
27. Kennedy. *Ulrichs*. 21.
28. My translation of 'wodurch das Publicum davon Kunde erhalten würde, daß die von dem g Ulrichs getriebenen Unsittlichkeiten vor deßen Dienstentlaßung den vorgesetzten Behörden deßelben bekannt gewesen seien.' Note in another hand from the Royal Ministry of Justice at Hanover appended to a letter from Ulrichs to the Prosecutor of the Royal High Court of Celle, May 26, 1859. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. 26a Nr. 6206, f53.
29. Letter from the Prosecutor of the Royal High Court at Hildesheim, to Royal Ministry of Justice at Hanover, December 1, 1854. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. 26a Nr. 6206, ff38–40.
30. Kennedy. *Ulrichs*. 30.
31. Karl Ulrichs. 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. *Archiv für das öffentliche Recht des deutschen Bundes*, ed. J. T. B. von Linde. 4[2]: 41–296; Karl Ulrichs. 1861. *Der Nassau-Taxis'sche Postvertrag und der Braun'sche Antrag in der Nassauischen 2. Kammer*. Gießen: Ferber'sche Buchhandlung.
32. Dirk Verheyen. 1991. *The German Question: A Cultural, Historical, and Geopolitical Exploration*. Boulder: Westview. 8.
33. Karl Ulrichs. 1862. *Großdeutsches Programm und Lösung des gross-deutschen Problems*. Frankfurt: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft.
34. Karl Freiherrn von Reichenbach. 1852. *Odisch-Magnetische Briefe*. Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta.
35. Ulrichs did not mention Reichenbach or Od in this appendix but when he came back to the subject in his written works, he did make explicit mention of them (Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1865. *Formatrix*. Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book

- Four: Formatrix. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume I* [trans Lombardi-Nash, M.]. 127–180. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. §120, 178).
36. Ludwig Büchner. 1854. *Das Od. Eine wissenschaftliche Scizze*. Darmstadt: Diehl.
 37. On 20 April 1868, Ulrichs wrote that ‘Dr B of Darmstadt, my non- uranian friend,’ had written to make a scientific point about the prolifera- tion of ‘uranism’ across species of higher animals. (Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1868. *Memnon, Abtheilung II*. Schleiz: C. Hübscher’sche Buchhandlung. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book Seven: Memnon II. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume II* [trans Lombardi-Nash, M.]. 351–434. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. §94, 390).
 38. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1869. *Argonauticus*. Leipzig: A. Serbe’s Verlag. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book Nine: Argonauticus. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume II* (trans Lombardi-Nash, M.). 473–540. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. §8, 479.
 39. The first letter to his sister Ulrike (*letter 81*) refers to two previous letters from her sent in response to his first letter making his case. The second circular letter (*letter 83*) alludes to letters from each of his close relatives.
 40. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1864. *Inclusa*. Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book Two: Inclusa. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume I* (trans Lombardi-Nash, M.). 49–96. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. §11, 57.
 41. Ulrichs used the word ‘Zwitter,’ which translates as ‘hermaphrodite’—a word that can seem uncomfortable to modern readers. However, Ulrichs did not intend the word pejoratively and he did go on to advocate for their rights. The word ‘intersex’ was not coined until the early twentieth century.
 42. These are the additional sources that Ulrichs would use in his first two books: Robert Froriep. 1833. Beschreibung eines Zwitters nebst Abbildung der Geschlechtstheile desselben. *Wochenschrift für die Gesammte Heilkunde*. 61–70; Hieronymus Fränkel. 1 Juni 1853. Homo Mollis. *Medicinische Zeitung von den Vereine für Heilkunde in Preußen*, Bd. 22, Berlin. 102–103; Joseph Hyrtl. 1859. *Lehrbuch der Anatomie des Menschen*. Wien: Braumüller; Essays by Carl Ludwig Klose and M. H. E. Meier on ‘Päderastie’. 1837. In *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. IX—Pac.-Pal. 147–89.
 43. My translation of ‘*daß Sie über den genannten Ulrichs nähere Nachrichten einziehen, um beurtheilen zu können, ob dessen Bitte Allerhöchsten Orts zur*

- Gewährung zu empfehlen sei*’ Letter from Count Adolf von Platen-Hallermünde to the Bundestag Legation, 8 January 1863. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. Dep. 103 IV, No. 3850, f16.
44. My translations of ‘*nichts Nachtheiliges zu Ohren gekommen ist*’ and ‘*ich mir jedoch von Hannoveranern gehört zu haben, daß die Gründe, die ihn zum Rücktritt aus dem Hannoverschen Dienst veranlaßten,*’ Letter from the Bundestag Legation to Count Adolf von Platen-Hallermünde, 16 January 1863. Niedersächsisches Landsarchiv Hannover. Dep. 103 IV, No. 3850. ff14–5.
 45. My translation of ‘*Carl Anton Ulrichs, aus Burgdorf (im Koenigreich Hannover und angeblich Amtsassessor außer Dienst), gegen welchen hier Untersuchung wegen Versuche der widernatuerlichen Unzucht eingeleitet worden ist und gegen welchen ich heute Vorfuhrungsbefehl erlassen habe.*’ Saturday, 21 November 1863. *Amtsblatt der Freien Stadt Frankfurt*.
 46. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1865. *Vindicta*. Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book Three: *Vindicta*. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume I* (trans Lombardi-Nash, M.). 97–126. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. III (u), 104.
 47. Ulrichs’ eleventh book, *Araxes* (1870), was also addressed as an open letter to ‘the Imperial Diets of North Germany and Austria’ and his 12th, *Critische Pfeile* (1880), was addressed to ‘the Legislators.’
 48. One of Ulrichs’ earliest attempts to use his ideas on sexuality for the defence of others in Court came in September 1862 when he sent two defences to the Court in Mannheim for the social democrat, Jean Baptiste von Schweitzer (Ulrichs. *Argonauticus*. §8, 479); Additional cases where Ulrichs mounted a defence and the original has not survived are referred to in his booklets: September 10, 1864, in defence of a 43-year-old Passier Priest (Ulrichs. *Vindicta*. 106–7.), and March 23, 1869, in defence of Valentin in Würzburg (Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1869. *Incubus*. Leipzig: A. Serbe’s Verlag. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book Eight: *Incubus*. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume II* (trans Lombardi-Nash, M.). 435–72. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. 443).
 49. Ulrichs also referred to other doctors he had been in contact with who had given him support, including J. Koller, M.D. of Herisau (Switzerland); Baute, PhD. of Zwingenberg; Buschmann M.D. of Burgdorf near Celle; and Dr. Carl Westphal of Berlin (Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1870. *Prometheus*. Leipzig: A. Serbe’s Verlag. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book Ten: *Prometheus*. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume II* (trans Lombardi-Nash, M.). 541–99. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. §45, 570–1).

50. Ulrichs claimed he had been in communication with Superior Court Attorney Rose, Celle, November 20, 1864; Superior Court Attorney Weinhausen, Hildesheim, 19 June 1864; Attorney Hering, Eisenach, 1 July 1869; J. Horning, student of law at Vienna; Professor of Law, John of Kiel; Professor of Law, Hälschner of Bonn; and Professor of Law, von Holtzendorf of Berlin (Ulrichs. *Prometheus*. §45, 570).
51. Not one of the court cases was influenced nor were the governments minded to change their laws. However, the proactive outreach did change minds on an individual basis. The earliest petitions were mostly returned unread; the later ones were filed though not answered. The one exception is the positive response from the Hungarian government, which nevertheless did not result in reform there (*letter 196*). In 1870, Ulrichs listed the names of those who had confirmed to him in correspondence or in their writings that they had been influenced by Ulrichs' outreach (Ulrichs. *Prometheus*. §45, 570–1).
52. Under the leadership of Rudolf Virchow, the Royal Scientific Committee for the Board of Health also included Dr. Skrzeczka (Magnus Hirschfeld. 1914. *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*. Berlin: Louis Marcus. English edition: Magnus Hirschfeld. 2000. *The Homosexuality of Men and Women* (trans. Lombardi-Nash, M.). New York: Prometheus Books. 1072). Westphal's 1869 paper that Foucault credited as the start of sexual science, quotes extensively from Ulrichs' work (Karl Friedrich Otto Westphal. 1869. Die konträre Sexualempfindung: Symptom eines neuropathischen (psychopathischen) Zustandes. *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten* 2: 73–108). Krafft-Ebing was less inclined to acknowledge Ulrichs in his published works but wrote to Ulrichs on 29 January 1879 to confirm his indebtedness (*letter 214*).
53. Ulrichs. *Vindicta*. 107.
54. Ulrichs. *Vindicta*. 101.
55. The adjective 'mannmännliche' was a new word invented by Ulrichs but there could be little doubt of its meaning.
56. Ulrichs' correspondents in some cases expressed their self-knowledge and eagerness to join the cause suggesting they had already established their own discrete secret identities. In the year before Ulrichs started publishing, the forensic examiner Johann Ludwig Casper was lobbied by at least one assertive pederast, and in 1863 he published a letter from one in full, with permission, as 'Selbstbekenntnisse eines Päderasten' (The self-confession of a pederast). Johann Ludwig Casper. 1863. *Klinische Novellen zur gerichtlichen Medicin: nach eigenen Erfahrungen*. Berlin: Hirschwald, 1863. 35–39.
57. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1864. *Vindex*. Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book One: *Vindex*. In *The Riddle*

- of “Man-Manly” Love: *The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume I* (trans Lombardi-Nash, M.). 29–48. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. §11, 36.
58. Ulrichs. *Vindex*. §34, 41.
59. Douglas Pretsell. 2019. The evolution of the questionnaire in German sexual science: A methodological narrative. *History of Science* (published online October 16, 2019).
60. Carl Robert Egells also claimed to be a *Mannling* (letter 200).
61. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1880. *Critische Pfeile*. Leipzig: Otto und Kadler. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book Twelve: *Critische Pfeile*. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume II* (trans Lombardi-Nash, M.). 625–690. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. §126 b, 688.
62. Magnus Hirschfeld. 1905. *Geschlechts-Übergänge*. Leipzig: Verlag der Monatsschrift für Harnkrankheiten und sexuelle Hygiene, W. Malende.
63. Ulrichs. *Vindicta*. §57, 123.
64. Ulrichs wrote that the list for Berlin alone contained 150 names (Ulrichs. *Argonauticus*. §5, 477).
65. Beachy. *Gay Berlin*. 27.
66. My translation of ‘*das Verfahren gegen den Amtsassessor a.D. Ulrichs wegen welfischer Umtriebe*.’ Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. f2.
67. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1867. *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28 March (in: Kennedy. *Ulrichs*. 101).
68. Letter from Lieutenant General Voigts-Rhetz, to the Prussian State Ministry, March 18, 1867. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff4,5.
69. Ulrichs. *Allgemeine Zeitung*. 28 March 1867 (in: Kennedy. *Ulrichs*. 101).
70. My translation of ‘*Der grösste Theil der Correspondenz pp liefert die Beweise für die Richtigkeit des Verdachtes schwerer Verbrechen gegen die Sittlichkeit, welcher schon früher gegen Ulrichs bestand. Weder das politische, noch das zuletzt erwähnte Material können zurückgegeben werden*.’ Report from the occupying administration in Hanover to the Prussian Royal General Government, May 13, 1867. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. f46.
71. Jens Dobler. 2004. Ulrichs vs. Preußen. In *Neue Funde und Studien zu Karl Heinrich Ulrichs*, ed. Wolfram Setz. 49–126. Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript. 50.
72. Ulrichs. *Vindex*. 688.
73. Transcript from the Court Proceedings for Meder. v. Pestel. May 3, 1867. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff50–51.

74. My translation of 'verfehle ich nicht ... ganz ergebenst anzuzeigen, daß die Recherchen hinsichtlich des Amtsassessors a.D. Ulrichs in Bezug auf die politisch agitatorische Thätigkeit desselben nichts Erhebliches ergeben haben.' (Letter from Lieutenant General Voigts-Rhetz, to the Royal Minister President, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Knight of the Supreme Order, His Excellency Count of Bismarck-Schönhausen, July 31, 1867. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff9,10).
75. Letter from Lieutenant General Voigts-Rhetz, to State Ministry, March 18, 1867. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff4,5.
76. My translation of '*die Verpflichtung, seinen Wohnsitz außerhalb der Provinz oder innerhalb derselben in Hildesheim zu nehmen.*' Letter from Lieutenant General Voigts-Rhetz, to the Royal Minister President, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Knight of the Supreme Order, His Excellency Count of Bismarck-Schönhausen, July 31, 1867. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff9,10.
77. Letter from the Administration in Hanover to the Royal General Government, May 13, 1867. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. f46.
78. Letter from the Prussian State Ministry to the Royal Supreme President in Hanover, October 10, 1867. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff12,13.
79. My translation of '*Beschwerde des Amtsassessors a.D. Ulrichs v. 4. Nov. v. J. StM No.2235 soll lediglich zu den Akten genommen werden.*' Various letters between Hanover and Berlin authorities between November 1870 and January 1871. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff31–35,52,55.
80. Various letters between individuals in the Prussian government, including the offices of Chancellor von Bismarck, Vice President of State Ministry Lord Camphausen, retired Privy Counsellor Wagener, the War Minister von Caprivi and Bernhard Ernst von Bülow, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the months of March and April 1874. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff56,57,64–77,80–82, 85–88.
81. My translation of '*daß die in Frage stehenden Schriftstücke, welche ihrer Zeit bei dem Aßeßor Ulrichs mit Beschlag belegt wurden, von Seiner Durchlaucht dem Herrn Minister=Präsidenten Fürsten Bismarck mir mit dem ausdrücklichen Befehle übergeben worden sind, dieselben nicht in den eigentlichen Geschäftsgang des Königlichen Staats=Ministeriums gelangen zu lassen, solche vielmehr bis auf weiteren Befehl von seiner Seite hinter mir zu behalten. Unter den mit Beschlag belegten Schriftstücken befinden sich nämlich, und*

zwar in großer Zahl, photographische Porträts, Correspondenzen und Listen, welche sich auf die päderastischen Verbindungen des genannten Dr Ulrichs beziehen, sich über die weitesten Kreise erstrecken und unter Umständen zu weiteren Schritten gegen Personen zwingen könnten, welche sich nicht—wie der Dr Ulrichs damals—des Beneficiums der Hannoverschen Gesetzgebung erfreuen.’ Letter from Privy Counsellor Wagener to Lord Camphausen, Vice President of the State Ministry, April 14, 1874. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff67–69.

82. Ulrichs. *Argonauticus*. §5, 477.
83. My translation of ‘für Anhänger der Welfenpartei so viel Compromittirendes enthalten.’ Letter from Bernhard Ernst von Bülow, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to Lord Camphausen, Vice President of State Ministry, June 17, 1874. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff75–77; the *Welfenpartei* were a conservative, federalist, German-Hanoverian political party allied to the *Deutsche Zentrumspartei*, then in opposition at the North German Reichstag.
84. My translation of ‘nicht anders als auf richterlichem Zwang herausgegeben werden.’ Letter from the Office of the Chancellor, Prince von Bismarck, to Lord Camphausen, Vice President of State Ministry, October 7, 1874. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff86,87.
85. Letter from Maximillian von Berchem, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to His Excellency the Minister of State Heinrich von Boetticher, Vice President of the Royal State Ministry, November 11, 1888. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. f106.
86. Various letters and notes between the Secret Registry of the Royal Ministry of the Interior, Secret Registry of the Royal State Ministry, the Central Bureau of the Royal Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 1881 and 1888. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz I. HA Geh. Rat, Rep. 90A, no. 3773. ff100–107.
87. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1868. *Gladius Furens*. Kassel: G. Württenberger. English edition: Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1994. Book Six: *Gladius Furens*. In *The Riddle of “Man-Manly” Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality Volume I* (trans Lombardi-Nash, M.). 259–288. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books. 263.
88. Ulrichs. *Gladius Furens*. 259–288.
89. Beachy. *Gay Berlin*. 34.
90. Ulrichs. *Argonauticus*. §5, 477.
91. Kennedy. *Ulrichs*. 169.
92. Ulrichs. *Prometheus*. 599.
93. Kennedy. *Ulrichs*. 191.

94. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1875. *Auf Bienschens Flügeln. Ein Flug um den Erdball in Epigrammen und poetische Bildern*. Leipzig: R. Schäfer.
95. Ulrichs. *Prometheus*. §64b, 592.
96. Karl Maria Kertbeny. 1864. *Erinnerungen an Charles Sealsfield*. Leipzig: Ahn. 74.
97. Karl Maria Kertbeny. 1864. Diary entries for June 20 and 22. National Széchényi Library (Hungary), Manuscript Collection. DuodH55/1.
98. Ulrichs. *Formatrix*. 130.
99. The majority of the letters were sent and received between June 1864 and December 1866, with the final record of contact on October 21, 1868. Kertbeny sent 37 letters to Ulrichs and received in return only 16. Multiple entries in Kertbeny's diaries between 1864 and 1868- National Széchényi Library (Hungary), Manuscript Collection. DuodH55/1–5.; Karl Maria Kertbeny. 1867. Diary entry for February 4. National Széchényi Library (Hungary), Manuscript Collection. DuodH55/4.
100. Karl Maria Kertbeny. 1869. *§143 des preussischen Strafgesetzbuches vom 14. April 1851 und seine Aufrechterhaltung als § 152 im Entwurfe eines Strafgesetzbuches fuer den Norddeutschen Bund*. Leipzig: Serbe's Verlag.; Karl Maria Kertbeny. 1869. *Das Gemeinschädliche des §143 des preussischen Strafgesetzbuches vom 14. April 1851 und daher seine nothwendige Tilgung als § 152 im Entwurfe eines Strafgesetzbuches fuer den Norddeutschen Bund*. Leipzig: Serbe's Verlag.
101. Gustav Jaeger. 1884. *Entdeckung der Seele*. Leipzig: Ernst Günthers Verlag.
102. Magnus Hirschfeld revealed that Ferdinand Karsch-Haack had discovered the identity of Kertbeny's authorship from letters from Ulrichs to Carl Robert Egells (Magnus Hirschfeld. 1905. *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Homosexualität, VII. Jahrgang. I. & II. Band*. Leipzig: Max Spohr. i–ii.).
103. Manfred Herzer. 2000. Kertbenys Leben und Sexualitätsstudien. In *Kertbeny, Károly Mária. Schriften zur Homosexualitätsforschung*. ed. Manfred Herzer. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel. 8.
104. Franz Anton Egells established the first engine factory in Germany at Tegel, Berlin, in 1823 and amassed substantial wealth as an industrialist. Carl's grandfather Johann Gerhard Egells, Franz Anton's younger brother, joined the family business in 1822. Carl was the illegitimate son of Johann's daughter Franziska. (Andreas Oehlke and Hartmut Klein. 2017. *Franz Anton Egells: von der heimischen Werkstatt zur Führenden Maschinenbauanstalt in Berlin*. Rheine: Heimdall Verlag. 16, 43–44.; Ferdinand Karsch-Haack. 1922. *Urnische Chronik*, 23 Mai. *Die Freundschaft* 20/4. 20 May.; supplementary research on ancestry.com).
105. Magnus Hirschfeld. 1905. Vorbemerkung des Herausgebers. *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Jg. 7, Band 1. Leipzig: Max Spohr. S. II.
106. Ulrichs. *Critische Pfeile*. 99–100.

107. F. Karsch-Haack. 1914. Die Homoerotik bei Paul Heyse. *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft* 9. 171–172.
108. Forster wrote and self-published an account of his activism and incarceration. I am grateful to René Hornung for sharing this with me. Jakob Rudolf Forster. 1898 *Justizmorde im 19. Jahrhundert: Wahrheits Darstellung des fast unglaublich verfolgten Schweizers*. Zurich: Self-published. 59.
109. Heike Bauer. 2009. *English Literary Sexology: Translations of Inversion, 1860–1930*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 28.
110. René Hornung. 2000. Jakob Rudolf Forster (1853–1926) oder Wie Ulrichs ein Leben praegte. In *Karl Heinrich Ulrichs zu Ehren, Materialien zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Wolfram Setz. 69–80. Berlin: Verlag Rosa Winkel. 70–1.
111. Amber Regis. 2016. *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds: A Critical Edition*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 9–10.
112. Regis. *Memoirs of JAS*. verso side of MS 561. N44, 528.
113. John Addington Symonds. 1891. *A Problem in Modern Ethics*. London: privately printed.
114. Sean Brady. 2012. *John Addington Symonds and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 21–2.
115. Symonds to Dakyns (23 Jan 1891) and Brown (10 March 1891). *The Letters of John Addington Symonds*, ed. by Herbert M. Schueller and Robert L. Peters. 1969. *Volume III: 1885–1893*. Detroit, IL: Wayne State University Press. 547–9.
116. Symonds to Brown (Oct. 29, 1891) Schueller & Peters. *Letters of JAS*. 619.
117. Ivan Crozier. 2008. *Sexual Inversion: A Critical Edition, Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds (1897)*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 2.
118. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1880. *Der Urning und sein Recht*. Unpublished but reproduced in Ferdinand Karsch-Haack. 1922. Carl Heinrich Ulrichs. *Die Freundschaft: Wochenschrift für Unterhaltung und geistige Hebung der Idealen Freundschaft*, 43. 4.
119. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1880. *Apicula Latina, Lateinische Studentenlieder. Mit Angehängten kleinen deutschen Poesien*. Leipzig: Kadler.; Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1885. *Matrosengeschichten*. Leipzig: F. E. Fischer.; Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1887. *Cypressenzweige auf König Ludwigs Grab*. Berlin: W. Pinn.
120. Letter from Ulrichs to Joseph Kürschner, 9 December 1886. Goethe und Schiller Archiv Frankfurt, GSA_55_10517. ff15736–7.
121. Letter from Ulrichs to Joseph Kürschner, 21 March 1887. Goethe und Schiller Archiv Frankfurt, GSA_55_10517. ff15760–3.

122. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs. 1889–1895. *Alaudae, Eine lateinische Zeitschrift*,
Reprinted in 2004 with an introduction by Wilfried Stroh. Hamburg:
MännerschwarmSkript Verlag; Kennedy. *Ulrichs*. 230.
123. Ulrichs. *Alaudae*. 282.
124. Ulrichs. *Alaudae*. 355–8.
125. Kennedy. *Ulrichs*. 251.
126. Wilde and Ellis had both encountered Ulrichs' ideas through Symonds;
Hirschfeld coordinated the reprinting of his works in 1898.